

**RURAL HOUSEHOLD ADAPTATION OF DEVELOPMENT
INDUCED DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT IN DWANGWA,
NKHOTAKOTA DISTRICT**

MASTER OF ARTS (DEVELOPMENT STUDIES) THESIS

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work which has not been submitted to any other institution for similar purposes. Where other people's work has been used acknowledgements have been made.

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DEDICATION

To my son Zota Ray Tigone Munthali

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ABSTRACT

Malawi has in recent years experienced large land acquisitions by foreign agriculture and mining interests. Between 2006 and 2010, some households of Kasitu and Nkhunga in Dwangwa, Nkhonkhotakota were displaced to make way for the expansion of the sugarcane plantation in the areas. This study examines the different strategies that displaced households who had been removed from their established places of settlement employ as a way of adapting in the resettlement areas. This study sought to investigate the effects of development induced displacement and how these displaced households of Dwangwa adapted to resettlement areas. It adopted the qualitative approach and used focus group discussions and key informant interviews to collect the relevant data. The data was analysed using content analysis. The findings revealed that the displacement affected the settlers' main sources of livelihood which were farming, fishing and small scale businesses. Further, findings also revealed that the resettled households were engaged in a number of activities to restore their livelihoods such as *ganyu*, investing in the sugarcane schemes and getting employed at the sugarcane schemes. The conclusion from this study is that even though different livelihood strategies were employed, their outcomes were deemed insufficient to re-establish the standard of life the households had enjoyed previously. Hence the displacement and resettlement that took place in Dwangwa negatively affected the concerned households.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	Area Development Committee
CBRLDP	Community Based Rural Land Development Project
DC	District Commissioner
DCGL	Dwangwa Cane Growers Limited
DCGT	Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust
DFID	Department for International Development
DIDR	Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement
DLO	District Lands Officer
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GOM	Government of Malawi
GVH	Group Village Headman
HA	Hectares
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
LCGA	Lakeshore Cane Growers Association
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
TA	Traditional Authority
VDC	Village Development Committee

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Land is central to the livelihoods of large populations in the developing world. It is also one of the key components of wealth in many developing countries: it determines the productivity of countries, corporations and individuals. Some studies have demonstrated a correlation between inequality in land ownership and inequality in the distribution and accumulation of assets (Alesina and Rodrick, 1994). In Malawi land distribution is highly skewed. According to the 2015 Oxfam report the land Gini Coefficient is 0.523 a decrease from 0.6023 in 2004/2005 (Kishindo et al, 2017). There is a clear relationship between access to land and poverty. The rural poor are predominantly those who cultivate less than one hectare (ha) of land.

Following the food crisis of 2007/8 there have been unprecedented foreign acquisitions of large tracts of arable land in some of the most under developed and food insecure countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America (Teklemarian, 2013). These large scale land acquisitions have been referred to as agricultural investments by the World Bank and others but as ‘land grabs’ by critics sceptical of both the process and the potential outcomes (Peters 2013). They are mostly promoted by host governments and foreign or

domestic investors with the aim of bringing or improving new technologies, jobs, food security and development.

The phenomenon of '*foreignization*' of land is not new in Africa and other developing countries though. During the Berlin Conference between 1884 and 1885 European powers divided Africa among themselves. Colonial powers encouraged their people to settle in their newly acquired African territories and in the process dispossessed indigenous people of their lands (Kachika, 2010 as cited in Chinsinga et al, 2013) leading to displacement and relocation to other areas.

While there is a perception in some developed countries that there is abundant land in developing countries waiting to be developed, the reality is that much of the land may actually be used or claimed by local communities under the customary law (Cotula, et al, 2009). States have tended to ignore claims of ownership by local communities where there is no formal title.

The large land acquisitions which are taken for land based development initiatives often cause physical and economic displacement that result in impoverishment and disempowerment of the affected populations (Cernea, 1997). This is what scholars have termed as Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR). DIDR is the forcing of communities and individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands for the purposes of economic development (Mcdowell, 2002). DIDR represents one type of forced migration whereby people usually have no choice but to accept the decision of a public body, agency, ministry, or state owned company to relocate. The affected people

usually relocate within the borders of their districts and countries and are referred to as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (Cahlikova, et al 2013). Development induced displacement is primarily a socioeconomic issue associated with loss or significant reduction of access to basic resources on which communities depend (Terminski, 2013). The World Commission on Dams report (2000) refers to it not only as the physical displacement but also the livelihood displacement which deprives people of their means of production and displaces them from their socio-cultural milieu (Stanley, 2004).

Studies have shown that development induced displacement and resettlement affects more people as countries move from developing to developed nation status (Bartcome et al, 2000). Most literature lists at least eight main causes of DIDR which include development of transportation networks, urbanization and transformation of urban space, power generation, deforestation and expansion of agricultural areas, creation of national parks and game reserves and population distribution schemes (Croll, 1999). Cernea (2000) argues that, these are indisputably needed and they improve many people's lives by providing employment and supplying better services. However, the involuntary resettlement caused by such programmes also creates major problems for some population segments.

The most common effect of involuntary displacement is the impoverishment of considerable numbers of people (Cernea, 2000). Each year over 15 million people are affected by DIDR across the globe (Terminski, 2013). Downing (2002) and Cernea (2003) argue that displaced communities experience loss of physical and non- physical

assets including homes, community's productive land, income earning assets and sources, and loss of social assets like cultural sites, identities and destroyed patterns of social networks. But resettlement also affects the host populations that eventually accommodate the displaced populations (Perera, 2014). Host communities end up sharing their land, space, food and natural resources with the settlers. Chauma (2015) argued that when host communities accommodate settlers, there tend to be tensions due to competition over land and other natural resources, and other differences like culture and political beliefs.

While the international land deals have emerged as a global phenomenon, Sub-Saharan Africa is seen as a hot spot for international land acquisitions particularly in Sudan, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mozambique and Tanzania (Cotula et al, 2009). The economic liberalization, globalization of transport and communication and global demand for food energy and commodities have fostered foreign investment in many parts of the African continent, particularly in the extractive industries and in agriculture for food and fuel (Ibid: 2009).

1.2 Land alienation in Malawi

Malawi occupies a total land area of about 118,484 square kilometres covering land and water. Of this total area land only covers between 94,080 to 94,272 square kilometers. However, only about 54,070 square kilometers of land is considered suitable for cultivation (GOM 2002; Holden et al, 2006). Land is considered as the most basic asset in Malawi and accounts for both social and economic development. It is estimated that more than 89% of Malawians depend on agriculture as a means of livelihood production

(Republic of Malawi, 2012). Land, therefore, plays a central role in the livelihoods of most Malawians however: it is far from being equitably distributed in Malawi (Chinsinga, 2008). It is estimated that the average land holding sizes for smallholder farmers is about 0.8 - 1.0 ha, while 30, 000 estates cultivate between 100 - 500 ha of land (Chirwa, 2004 and Chinsinga, 2008).

The Malawi Land Act 1965 identifies land in three categories: public, private and customary land. Public land is defined as all land which is occupied, used, or acquired by government or any other land which is neither customary nor private land. Private land refers to land held, used or occupied under free hold title or a certificate of claim or is registered as private under the Registered Land Act (Matchaya, 2009). Customary land is defined as all land which is held, occupied or used under customary law but does not include any public land. Customary land is the largest category of land. The Land Act vests public and customary land in the President of the republic in perpetuity (Kishindo, 2004). But its administration is delegated to the Minister responsible for land matters. The Minister is empowered to grant leases out of customary land for periods of up to 99 years and convert it to public land. Under the authority of the President, the Minister may create freeholds out of both customary and public land.

Land in Malawi had already begun to change hands even before the beginning of the British administration in 1891. The arrival of the Scottish missionaries in the Shire Highlands¹ in 1875 marked the beginning of large scale land acquisitions in Malawi.

¹ The Shire Highlands consisted of what are now Blantyre, Zomba, Chiradzulu, Phalombe, Thyolo and Mulanje districts in Southern Malawi.

European planters affiliated to the mission acquired large amounts of land from African chiefs under various agreements (Pachai, 1978). By 1907 under the British Central African Protectorate, the European planters controlled more than 15% of the land which is about 1,543,856.25 million of 10,526,218 million ha (Pachai, 1973), by settling and establishing estates on much of the best land producing tea, tobacco and cotton which yielded healthy profits to their owners for their own benefit (Serrao et al, 2014 and Ross 1996). Some of the notable large tracts of land that were acquired included 2,916.67 ha of land by the African Lakes Cooperation in 1878 and 1,277 ha by John Buchanan. In 1893, 11,057 ha of land was offered to Joseph Booth by Kumtaja a Yao chief (Pachai, 1978).

The Mang'anja chiefs granted land to these European missionaries, companies and settlers due to reasons like insecurity and slave raiding by the slave traders. Pachai (1978) argues that the pioneer foreigners, traders and missionaries took advantage of the friendliness and gullibility of the people to lay claims to vast extents of land. The chiefs exchanged the land with trivial quantities of goods under agreements signed by chiefs with no understanding of English concepts of land ownership. As a result of these transactions the land that was once controlled by the chiefs and families was now controlled by the European settlers.

From this historical evidence it can be argued that the current wave of 'land grabs' is not a new phenomenon in Malawi. However, Malawi can not necessarily be classified as one of the current hot spots for land grabs as compared to other countries. But the process is nonetheless becoming common (Chinsinga et al, 2013). According to the Land Act 1965

the Minister responsible for land matters has powers to dispose of public or customary land by executing grants, leases or other dispositions of public or customary land for any such estates, interests or terms he may think fit. Therefore whenever it appears that customary land is needed for a public purpose be it for the direct or indirect benefit of the whole community he may declare it by notice and publish it that such land is public land (Republic of Malawi 1965). Through the use of Ministerial powers, the government of Malawi has allowed large scale land acquisitions in several districts of the country with the aim of addressing the poverty situation of the masses by creating employment, bringing infrastructure development and social services through corporate responsibility and expanding the governments' tax base (Zuka, 2013). The extent to which these land acquisitions have contributed to poverty alleviation is not immediately evident. However the presence of large scale agricultural estates has generated resentment among the growing number of local small scale farmers who can no longer access the land occupied by these estates in their midst (Kishindo et al, 2017).

Some of the notable recent large scale land acquisitions that have taken place in recent times in Malawi include the awarding of 607 square kilometers to Nobium Project under Globe Metal and Mining Limited in Mzimba in 2005. In 2009 the Government of Djibouti signed a deal with the Government of Malawi for a 55,000 ha concession for irrigated farming. In the same year 6,000 ha was granted to Illovo in Nkhotakota and 13,800 ha to the same company in Chikhwawa. In 2010 Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust were granted an extension of 2,670 of farmland while 680 ha of land was given to Genesis Global Commodities and Mtemadanga Distributors in Chikwawa to grow

sugarcane; (Chingaipe et al, 2011; Chinsinga et al, 2013; Zuka, 2013). Such large land acquisitions have led to the displacement of settled communities. Such displacements lead to effects like loss of land and property, disruption of livelihood systems and community organization (GOM 2009).

1.3 Problem Statement

Several socio-economic and political currents have shaped the leasing of land to both national and international investors in recent years (Teklemariam, 2013). Governments have been compelled to lease out large tracts of land to investors for various benefits to attract Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), access to new markets, increased investment in agriculture and an increase in food production (Dheressa, 2013). There are indeed enormous benefits of development projects to countries; and they are mostly in favour of the investors and governments at large. However, these development projects often inflict costs which are borne by the country's poorest and marginalized citizens (World Commission on Dams 2000). The acquisition of these large tracts of land is mostly on customary land which is already occupied and consequently it has led to the occupants being displaced and resettled. Displacement of settled populations threatens their livelihoods and truncates their chances for sustainable development (Terminski, 2013).

There have been several studies of population resettlement done in Malawi, but most of these studies focused on voluntary resettlement, where the resettlement is state planned or sponsored. Such studies by Chinsinga (2008), Chirwa (2008), Kishindo (2011), Chikaipa (2012) and Jere (2011) found that there are different costs and benefits that are associated

with resettlement. The benefits of resettlement include increases in household income, access to larger land holdings, access to improved farming methods and food security. The costs on the other hand include psychological stress, disruption of social networks, loss of social capital, livelihoods and cultural assets.

While a considerable amount of work has been done on sponsored or planned resettlement in Malawi, less attention appears to have been paid to development induced displacement where people are compelled to relocate in order to make way for development projects.

This study sought to investigate the effects of development induced displacement and also understand how the affected households adapt to their new environment and reestablish their disrupted livelihoods. It focused on households which were compelled to relocate within the Dwangwa area in Nkhosakota District in order to make way for the expansion of sugarcane production in 2006 and 2010 to meet increased demand for sugar on the local and international markets. The affected households came from Group Village Headman (GVH) Kalimkhola, Traditional Authority (TA) Kanyenda, in Nkhunga area; and GVH Bondo, TA Kafuzila in Kasitu area. Resettlement of households from Nkhunga occurred in 2006; while those from Kasitu were resettled in 2010.

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

The aim of the study was to understand how households displaced by development projects in Dwangwa adapt to their resettlement areas and rebuild their livelihoods.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The study had three specific objectives which were to:

- Examine the effects of involuntary relocation on displaced household's livelihoods.
- Assess how relocated households have adapted to their new social environment.
- Determine the extent to which displaced households have been able to re-establish livelihoods in resettlement areas.

1.5 Significance of Study

This study on adaptation and coping strategies of development induced displaced households is very important since it examined the different strategies that displaced households who had been forcibly removed from their established places of settlement employ as a way of adapting and coping in resettlement areas.

Most research on resettlement in Malawi is focused on state planned resettlement and disaster induced displacement and resettlement. In these planned resettlement projects the state plays a central role in ensuring that the costs of resettlement are kept to a minimum and benefits are enhanced. There is an apparent knowledge gap in how displaced people without state sponsorship rebuild their disrupted livelihoods and social capital. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the filling of the existing knowledge gap.

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis has been divided into several chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction of the study. It also states the problem and the study objectives. Chapter 2 discusses the literature review on involuntary displacement and resettlement associated with development projects and goes farther to discuss the theoretical framework and analysis of previous studies. Chapter 3 discusses the research design and methodology of how the study was carried out. Chapter 4 discusses the research findings whilst chapter 5 provides the summary and concludes the discussion.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This section aims to provide a general understanding of displacement, resettlement and development induced displacement, building on the brief introduction that has been given in chapter 1. The chapter also highlights some of the key findings by different scholars in the displacement and resettlement literature. In addition, the chapter also discusses the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework as the theoretical framework that guided this study.

2.2 The Concept of Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR)

Development induced displacement and resettlement is defined as the forcing of communities and individuals out of their homes and place of settlement or homelands for purposes of economic development. It occurs when host governments decide that an inhabited place or territory should be used in a different way such as an implementation of a development project that requires the physical change of the current landscape (Cahlikova et al, 2013). Investors are granted large tracts of land with the aim of developing the areas and to promote economic growth for the country and improve people's lives by maximizing their well-being. However, such development projects create groups of those who enjoy the benefits of increased agricultural productivity and

those who bear the pain, for example, those who lose their land and other basic resources (Cernea, 1997).

There are a number of things that are framed within the concept of development induced displacement. The first criterion in DIDR is that the displacement and resettlement is caused by the implementation of development projects. Such type of projects that cause the change of landscape include agricultural investments, construction of water supply projects like dams and reservoirs, agricultural expansion projects like parks and reserves and population distribution schemes and urban infrastructure and transportation projects like construction of education and health facilities, industrial estate and transport corridors and roads (Cernea, 1999). Because of the change in landscape, occupants of the affected land are asked to move and resettle somewhere else.

Secondly, DIDR involves displacement: a situation in which a person is forced to leave his/ her proper or usual place or country of residence. Usually in DIDR the displacement is forced or compulsory. It is often associated with lack of choice hence does not give much room for the displaced people to choose whether to stay or not. Hyndman (2000) argues that displacement usually involves some form of de-terrorisation. Population displacement regardless of its type affects the livelihoods of people in many and different ways. Vulnerable households which include female headed households, the poor, children and the elderly are the ones that are affected most by development induced displacement (Robinson 2003; Satioglu et al, 2015). This is because such vulnerable households lose out on things like access to natural and man-made capital (Cernea,

2003). People face more risks than opportunities hence leading people to impoverishment even though the primary goal of development projects is to contribute to poverty reduction.

Resettlement is the third criterion in DIDR. Resettlement refers to the physical pre-planned relocation of individuals or groups from their usual home (place of origin) to another location (place of relocation) (Mkanga, 2010). Terminski (2013) defines resettlement as the process by which individuals or group of people leave spontaneously or un-spontaneously their original settlement sites to resettle in new areas where they can begin new trends of life by adapting themselves to the biophysical, social and administrative systems of the new environment.

Resettlement is in two forms: voluntary and involuntary. The voluntary resettlement refers to any resettlement not attributed to eminent domain or any other forms of land acquisition backed by the power of the state (World Bank 2004). On the other hand, involuntary resettlement is when resettlement occurs without the informed consent of the people relocating or if they give their consent, it is without having the power to reject resettlement (Munshifwa, 2007). Involuntary resettlement involves all groups of people regardless of their characteristics like children, the elderly, healthy or unhealthy employed or unemployed (Cernea, 1993). It restricts the population rights and mostly the affected population end up worse off than they were (Cernea, 2009), since most of the involuntary resettlement projects have focused on the economic aspects of resettlement and neglected the political and social aspects.

2.3 Effects of Displacement and Resettlement

One of the effects associated with development induced displacement and resettlement is psychological effect and stress due to the changes that happen in life regardless of whether it was voluntary or involuntary resettlement. Stress comes about as a result of the separation of individuals from families, kinships and other community formations which are part of livelihood production are separated. Scudder (1985) argued that by settling people who are alien to each other, they run a risk of increasing stress among the settler families.

De Wet (2006) argued that most of the development induced displacement has been forced because people have been compelled by authorities to move whether they wanted to or not. Involuntary displacement takes away people's choices. People are expected to accept the decision of a public body be it an agency, ministry, state owned company or private company to relocate (Cahlikova et al, 2013). This therefore takes away people's power to make decisions about where and how they want to live, the conditions under which they have access to and use productive resources and the autonomy they are to exercise over the running of their own socio-political institutions (Koenig, 2001; De Wet, 2006).

Cahlikova et al (2013) in their study found out that development induced displacement involves an aspect which is not involved in other types of migration: that is a permanent physical change in the place of origin due to which the displaced persons can never come back not to even visit the place. Maldonado (2012) and Terminski (2013) also argued that

due to the irreversible nature of the development induced displacement and resettlement, the implementation of development projects leads to serious social, economic, physical and psychological consequences and has the potential of affecting the current and future generations.

Another effect that displaced households face is lack of access to basic resources. Studies have shown that most often people are resettled in areas where there are poor quality and quantity of resources, or in areas with disturbed environment. Sometimes these areas lack basic resources like hospitals being far away, schools, potable water and electricity (Cahlikova et al, 2013 & Jere 2011). Kishindo (2011) in reference to the voluntary settlers under the Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP) made a similar observation regarding access to basic social and economic services. He argued that in spite of the potential benefits for people to voluntarily relocate, they faced many challenges. The challenges included remoteness from the main roads which made travel to markets and towns very difficult especially for women who had wanted to engage in small businesses as they had done in their homes of origin. Thus access to basic services would prove effective in people's resettlement process.

Cerneia (1997) in his study on African involuntary population resettlement argued that much as development induced displacement affects the people who have been displaced by the development projects, the host populations that take in the displaced people also experience a magnitude of the displacement triggered problems. These problems arise due to the needs of the displaced population. The hosts often see themselves in

competition with the settlers because of the added pressures that growing populations put on natural resources, social services and common property services (Koenig 2001). The hosts are likely to share their land, natural and other basic resources leading to which the displaced people often lower the hosts' standards of living and tend to rapidly deplete the natural resources of the areas of settlement. Madebwe et al (2011) argued that since a disproportionate number of people live in rural areas, the loss of land means loss of means of survival and recovery to economic conditions. There is bound to be competition over natural resources between the host population and the settlers which could generate conflicts. As such these effects can have a bearing on people's lives as they reconstruct their lives and livelihoods in the new settlement areas.

2.4 Displacement and Resettlement in Malawi

There are a number of studies of resettlement in Malawi. Kishindo (2011) in his study on experiences of relocated households in the Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP) found that despite the opportunity of gaining improved incomes and food security the project was offering, people were reluctant to move to the resettlement areas. The reluctance was due to reasons like uncertainty of adapting to a strange place with different customs, soil conditions and the potential of disrupting social networks that were useful in times of distress and hardships like food shortages, illness and bereavement. In his view economic opportunity is not the sole determinant of voluntary resettlement. The decision to leave one's usual place of residence permanently is ultimately a function of personal, economic, social and cultural factors.

One of the major problems that has been observed in most of the resettlement processes is the conflicts that arise between the hosts and the settlers. Displaced people are most of the times resettled in areas where other groups of people already live. As such hostilities are likely to happen because of the differences between the two groups. A study by Chauma (2015), found that there were conflicts associated with the interaction between hosts and settlers. Causes of such conflicts included competition over land and other natural resources like firewood and thatch grass, political and cultural differences. Similarly, Jere (2011) in her study of flood displaced families in Chikhwawa concluded that people who moved to safer places faced hostile reception by the resident population and land disputes mainly due to land ownership. In some cases houses of displaced families were demolished by members of the host community. This led the settlers who faced such hostile reception from the hosts, to reconsider their decision and return to the flood prone areas. A micro study of mining in Karonga by Lindskog (n.d) corroborates the existence of hostility to in-coming groups leading to their marginalization.

From the discussion above it can be noted that there are various effects to displacement and resettlement regardless of the type of resettlement that people may go through. Throughout the resettlement processes, people's way of life and their livelihoods have often been interrupted by the fact that they have to physically relocate to new environments. The adaptation to the new environment, social conditions and to the new way of life can be very difficult (Cahlikova et al, 2013). A common thread running through the studies of resettlement whether voluntary or involuntary is that there is

potential conflict over resources, disruption of livelihoods and social networks and it is not easy to rebuild them.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the Sustainable Livelihood Framework by Department of International Development (DFID 1999) of the United Kingdom. The framework was chosen because it helps in giving insight into how displaced households applied different livelihood strategies in the resettlement areas with the aim of bringing out positive livelihood outcomes. In using this framework, the study analysed how displaced households tried to reconstruct their livelihoods and integrate into their host communities.

2.5.1 The Sustainable Livelihood and Framework by DFID 1999

There are many frameworks for studying sustainable livelihoods but this study used the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) by DFID which provides an analytical structure to facilitate a broad and systematic understanding of the various factors that constrain or enhance livelihood opportunities, and to show how they relate to each other (DFID, 1999).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is a holistic and integrated view of the processes by which people achieve or fail to achieve sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). It is a framework that tries to capture the many complexities of livelihoods and the constraints and opportunities that people are subjected to. It is basically a framework for understanding poverty and the work of poverty reduction (DFID, 1999). The framework

in this study therefore provides an analysis of the sustainable livelihood concept and its application to resettlement and livelihood reconstruction of the displaced households.

The SLF is people centered and is founded on the belief that people require a range of assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes (Ibid, 1999). Chambers and Conway (1991) define livelihood as comprising of people, their capabilities and their means of living including food, income, and assets (as tangible assets) and claims and access (intangible assets). A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generations (Ibid, 1991).

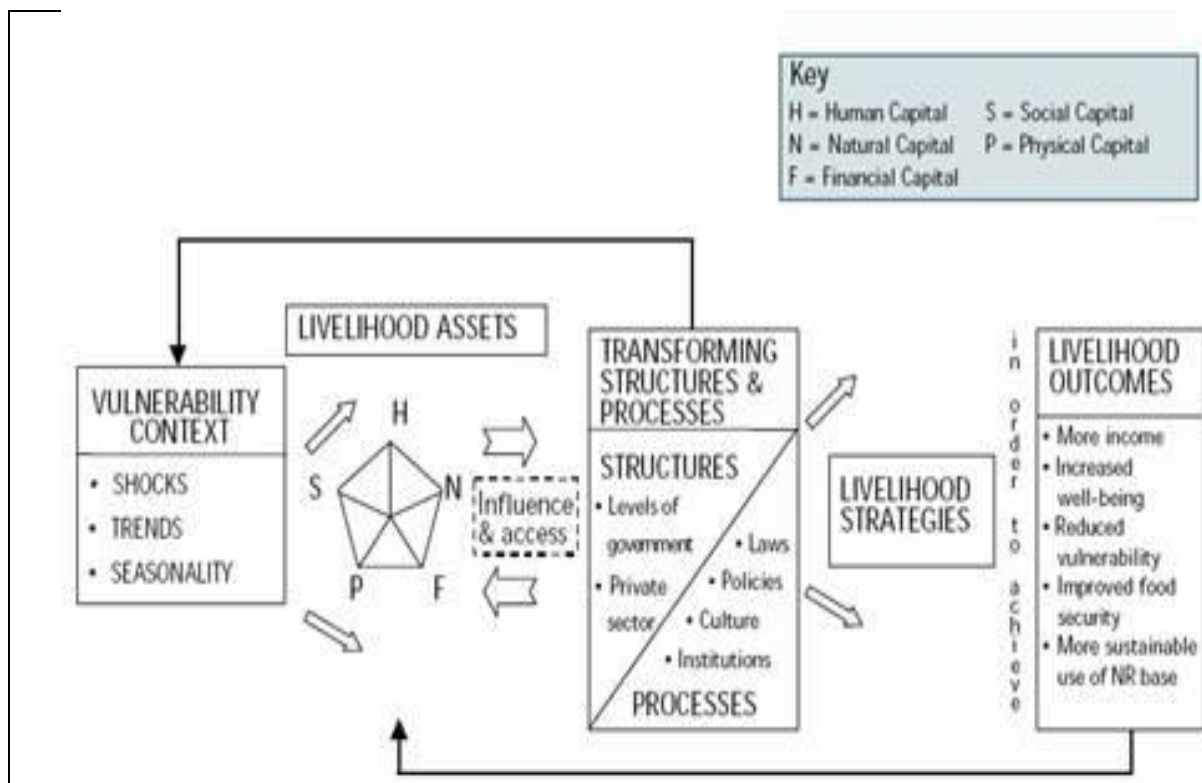


Figure 1: The Sustainable Livelihood Framework: Adapted from DFID (1999)

The SL framework comprises of five main elements that affect the people's livelihoods and the typical relationship between these. The elements are the vulnerability context which describes the external uncontrollable factors that influence people's assets and livelihood opportunities. Broadly, these factors are classified as: shocks (e.g. environmental, conflict-related); trends (e.g. resources, technology) and seasonality. The second element is the livelihood/ capital assets which focuses on the asset status of households that are necessary for the pursuit of positive livelihood outcomes. Households and individuals are considered to possess assets which they seek to nurture and combine in ways that will secure survival (Alemu, 2015).

The third one is transforming structures and processes which refer to the organizations that create and enforce legislation, provide the necessary requirements for acquiring and capitalizing upon assets. The fourth element is the livelihood strategies whereby people combine a range of activities in order to achieve their livelihood goals. Such strategies may include income diversification and agricultural intensification. Lastly there are the livelihood outcomes: these refer to the outputs of livelihood strategies, the achievements gained as a result of employing various livelihood strategies in relation to the vulnerability context. The outcomes may be positive, for example, increased well-being and food security; or they can be negative, for example, food insecurity or decreased income.

Of the various components or elements discussed above the asset portfolio or asset pentagon is the one that lies at the centre of the framework. People draw upon these

assets to make their livelihoods. These assets have been grouped as tangible and intangible assets (Chambers and Conway 1991), while others have grouped them into four assets or capitals as natural, human, economic or financial and social capitals (Krantz, 2001; Scoones, 1998). On the other hand others have further grouped them into five assets or capitals as human, financial or economic, natural, social and physical (Scoones, 1998; Morse et al, 2009). As much as these seem to be the common assets Mcleod (2001) has gone further to identify more assets or capitals as institutional knowledge and institutional or political capital. These assets are connected, therefore portraying, the fact that livelihoods depend on a combination of assets or resources of various kinds. Even though these assets differ, they are all important for people to achieve their livelihood outcome as no single category of asset on its own is sufficient to yield many and varied livelihood outcome that people may seek (DFID, 1999).

The first asset is the human capital: this represents the skills, knowledge, labour and ability to command labour and good health. All these together may enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives. The human capital is required in order to make use of any of the other capitals. However, it is not sufficient on its own for the achievement of positive livelihood outcome (DFID, 1999). The second asset is the natural capital: in this context it represents the natural resource stocks and environmental services on which people draw on for their livelihoods. Such resources include the quality and quantity of natural resources, ranging from fisheries, land, forests, water, and air. In rural economies natural capital seems to be a very

essential category. The variations in endowments and access to such natural assets may determine households' choice of livelihood strategy (Alemu, 2015).

Physical capital is the third asset. It represents the basic infrastructures that people need to make a living as well as the tools and equipment they use in supporting their livelihood strategies. These infrastructures help people to meet their needs and to be more productive. Such infrastructures include transport and communication systems, shelter, water and sanitation systems and energy (Kranzt, 2001). The fourth asset is the financial or economic capital. It denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. It is also regarded as the capital base of which is essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategies. It includes cash, savings and regular inflows of money and access to financial services.

The last asset is the social capital. It is taken as the social resources upon which people draw their pursuit of their livelihood objectives requiring coordinated actions. This capital includes formal and informal social resources (Chauma, 2015). In the formalized relationships, people follow rules, norms and sanctions. While in the informal relationships they are relationships based on trust and reciprocity and exchanges. All these relationships are developed through networks and connectedness of which they increase people's trust and ability to work together (DFID, 1999).

Throughout the displacement and resettlement process, people's livelihoods get affected in one way or the other mostly because they are forcibly uprooted from one place to the

other. The SLF was chosen because it allowed the investigator to understand how the displaced people have used various strategies in reconstructing their livelihoods as a way of adapting and coping in the new settlement areas.

2.5.1.1 Strength and Weakness of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The framework helps in understanding the underlying causes of poverty. It focuses on the variety of factors that are at different levels that directly or indirectly determine or constrain poor peoples' access to resources or assets of different kinds in pursuing their livelihood.

However, its limitation is that the way resources and other livelihood opportunities are distributed locally is often influenced by informal structures of social dominance and power within the communities themselves and of which formal structures may fail to deal with. But this will not limit the focus of the paper.

2.6 Application of the SLF

The SLF has been used to understand how displaced people adapt and cope in their new settlement areas. The SLF has therefore mainly focused on the displaced peoples' livelihood strategies. Livelihood strategies relate to the different ranges and combination of activities that people employ in order to achieve livelihood outcomes. In this context the focus was on strategies that displaced households used in the resettlement areas to rebuild their disrupted livelihoods.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter discusses the research methodology that was used in the study. Specifically the chapter describes the research site, research design, and methodology of study.

3.2 Research Design

Enon (1998) defines a research design as a plan on how a researcher will carry out an investigation. This study strategically adopted the qualitative research methods to collect the most meaningful data, since qualitative research helps to develop an in-depth exploration of central phenomena (Creswell, 2012). The qualitative methods helped in exploring the behaviours, values and experiences and also gave deeper insights into the specific issues regarding people's experiences of displacement and resettlement. It also helped to understand how the resettled household members of Nkhunga and Kasitu areas have been able to deal with the effects of displacement and how they are adapting after resettling in these new communities.

3.3 Research Site

The research sites for the study were under GVH Kalimkhola, TA Kanyenda in Nkhunga and GVH Bondo, TA Kafuzila in Kasitu, Dwangwa. The population in both areas mainly comprises of the Chewa (owners of the land). However, there are members of ethnic groups from other districts who have permanently settled in the area including the Tongas Tumbuka, Sena, Ngonde, Yao and Ngoni. It is estimated that about 150 households (100 households from Nkhunga and 50 households from Kasitu) lost land, crops and houses when the sugarcane estates were expanded. Some of the affected households resettled in other areas within the Dwangwa area and other parts of Nkhotakota, while some returned to their homes of origin. This study focused on households which resettled in villages under GVH Kalimkhola and GVH Bondo.

Kazilila Dambo is a wetland and Kasitu is located along the crescent of Lake Malawi in North Nkhotakota, 270km northeast of Lilongwe City. Both areas have good fertile soils and the climate is good for growing sugarcane and other crops (Zamchiya et al, 2015). The Government of Malawi, in pursuance of its policy of diversifying agricultural production, enhancing the foreign reserve position and alleviating rural poverty, sought assistance to finance smallholder sugarcane production. It recognized the potential of growing sugarcane in Nkhotakota because of the different advantages that the district offered. These advantages included availability of land suitable for sugarcane production in the vicinity of Dwangwa Sugar Corporation Milling and low cost production (ADB, 1999). Due to these factors Kazilila Dambo and part of Kasitu were identified as potential lands for implementing the projects. But, the land was already occupied by farming

communities growing mostly cassava and maize. However, the project in its pursuance thought it would not undertake activities that would require land acquisitions and that involuntary resettlement would be avoided (ADB, 2009). Nevertheless, expanding the hectarage of land under sugarcane entailed relocating these established farming communities to make way for expansion.

3.4 Selection of Participants

This study used purposive sampling to select the study participants. In purposive sampling the researcher identifies the people, places and situations which has the largest potential for advancing his/ her understanding of the concerned issues (Palys, 2008). The sites of Nkhunga and Kasitu in Dwangwa were purposefully sampled because of the intensity of the land grabs and the displacement that had taken place in the areas. As such the people of Nkhunga and Kasitu were a case of people that were specifically affected hence the deliberate choice to understand how the displacement had affected them and how they have adapted to the resettlement areas.

The participants that were selected for this study were in two categories. The first group was from the Nkhunga area in TA Kanyenda. This group of participants was originally from Muwale village near Kazilila dambo. It had refused to take part in sugarcane production and to move away from the land voluntarily; consequently they were forcibly displaced from their area. They never received any form of compensation. After the displacement, this group settled in different villages under GVH Kalimkhola, in the area of TA Kanyenda.

The second group of participants was originally under Chimponongo Village. After the displacement, they resettled in different villages under GVH Bondo, TA Kafuzira in Kasitu. Some of the affected households in this group had agreed to transfer from food crop farming to sugarcane farming and still own the land but move away from it to go and resettle elsewhere. They therefore received monetary compensation for the immovable infrastructure and property such as houses, trees and boreholes. However, much as they were compensated they were not given enough time to move away from their land and had to be forcibly removed too.

The study also interviewed the following key informants (KIs); Nkhotakota District Lands Officer (DLO), Director of Planning and Development (DPD); officers from Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust (DCGT) and Dwangwa Cane Growers Limited (DCGL), the Secretary of Kasitu Village Development Committee (VDC), Secretary of Mkhuto Group (Nkhunga); Chairperson of Lakeshore Cane Growers Association; the Secretary of Umodzi Group, the; Senior Chief, GVHs in Nkhunga and Kasitu. It was necessary to interview these individuals because they were deemed to possess information relevant to the issues under investigation in the study by virtue of their positions.

3.5 Data Collection Tools

The study used three methodological tools to generate relevant data. The tools were focus group discussions (FGDs), key informant interviews and secondary data. These tools were used in order to achieve the research objectives by accessing people's experiences towards their forced resettlement in Nkhunga and Kasitu areas.

3.5.1 Focus Group Discussions

FGDs were used to collect a shared understanding from several individuals as well as to get views from specific people (Creswell, 2012). In conducting FGDs a researcher employs relatively homogenous groups to provide information around topics specified by the researcher. The FGDs were used to obtain views and insights into the effects of displacement and adaptation process of the displaced households in the resettlement areas. The groups for the discussions comprised of 8 - 12 participants. A total of eight FGDs were conducted. These were separate groups for male and female immigrants and separate groups of female and male hosts in both Kasitu and Nkhunga areas. These FGDs were guided by semi- structured interview guides.

A voice recorder was used to record all the discussions with consent from the participants. An assistant took notes during the discussions. The researcher moderated the discussions.

3.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

The study also used Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with the purpose of collecting accurate and specific information from a wide range of people and who are well conversant with the subject matter (Onwuegbuzie et al, 2009). These KIIs were done with individuals who had particular firsthand knowledge about the issues in Kasitu and Nkhunga and were able to explain the phenomena. An interview guide with semi-structured questions was used in conducting the interviews. The semi-structured

questions allowed the researcher to follow up on relevant issues as they emerged during the interviews. Notes were taken during all the interview sessions.

3.5.3 Secondary Data

The secondary sources of data for this study included books, journal articles, academic working papers, theses, internet sources, newspapers, magazines and other publications. The secondary data which focused on topics like development induced displacement, large scale land acquisition and adaptation studies helped the researcher to understand the context of development induced displacement in general and also to locate Malawi's experience in the global context.

3.6 Data Management and Analysis

The data analysis process started with transcribing the audio data which was collected through voice recorders. The aim of transcription was to make sense of the data, identify the emerging themes and also follow up on the issues that were not very clear. The themes were examined in detail and where possible the data was sub-categorized. This process was undertaken to make sure that the collected data was relevant to the study objectives.

The study used content analysis to analyse the data that was collected. Content analysis is a method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text of data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes of patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The analysis focused on the content and contextual meaning of text of the collected data.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

The study followed the research ethics as required by social research. Firstly, permission was sought from Nkhotakota District Council as the study site falls under that jurisdiction. When permission was obtained from the District Council, the researcher also went to the relevant local authorities like the chiefs and other stakeholders to seek permission before carrying out the research. During the introduction the researcher explained clearly that the study was purely for academic purposes. Secondly, an introduction letter from Chancellor College was used to prove that the study was an academic project. Lastly, all participants were allowed to give their consent in order to voluntarily take part in the research. The consent that was given was verbal.

3.8 Challenge faced during data collection

The challenge that was encountered was that there had been a lot of other researchers carrying out their studies with the same study populations. Some of the study participants clearly expressed their concerns on how they had not benefitted from the previous studies and how these studies had not helped them in reclaiming back their land. They therefore expected this study to go beyond data collection and have their grievances submitted to the higher authorities. However, the researcher was quick to say that this study was for academic purposes and was being done as a fulfillment of the requirements of a Master of Arts (MA) programme. The results could therefore not be used beyond the scope of the study.

3.9 Limitations of Study

Firstly, the research was based on case studies such that it is case specific hence the findings cannot be generalized beyond the specific cases.

Secondly, this study is retrospective in nature and participants were expected to recall events that happened as far back as 2006. Participants may not have been able to remember everything that had happened. But triangulation of data from different sources for example primary and secondary data helped in dealing with this recall problem.

These limitations, notwithstanding, some of the insights from the case study could be applied to other development induced displacement studies within and outside Nkhotakota.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents, interprets and analyses the findings of the research which focused on the adaptation and coping strategies of the development induced displaced households of Dwangwa, Nkhotakota which took place from 25th - 29th January 2016. The discussion has been divided into three sections. These sections are in response to the study objectives and in relation to the SLF theoretical model that was been used the guiding framework of the study. The first objective was to examine the effects of involuntary relocation on displaced households' livelihoods. The second objective was to assess how relocated households adapted to their new social environments. The last objective was to determine how the displaced households re-established their livelihoods in resettlement areas. The study focused on the people who had resettled in the Nkhunga and Kasitu areas of Nkhotakota, following their removal from Dwangwa area to make way for the expansion of sugarcane production.

4.2 The Effects of involuntary relocation on displaced people's livelihoods

There is evidence that displacement leads to many different effects that lead people into impoverishment. McDowell (2002) argues that impoverishment comes about because of the rapid change brought about by the forced displacement and involuntary resettlement. As such impoverishment may lead the affected households to go through a diminishing quality of life due to the social, economic, physical, natural and human losses. The economic aspects of the impoverishment relates to the loss of economic resources upon which the displaced people based their livelihood production. Such losses include loss of grazing land, crop land, and water resources all of which are important in livelihood production of the local communities. This study established that the displaced people of Dwangwa experienced a number of changes with regard to their livelihood generating activities.

Before the displacement, the people were involved in a number of activities for generating income with farming and fishing as the main economic activities. These economic activities were underpinned by social networks which enabled members to access to information about economic opportunities, the labour of others and informal credit. The people's experiences are discussed in the subsequent sections.

4.2.1 Farming

The common crops grown by the households prior to resettlement were maize, rice, cassava, potatoes, sugarcane, fruits like bananas and papaws, and vegetables. Some households were able to grow some crops twice a year because of irrigation farming, by taking advantage of the free water resources that they had. The harvests were then sold and the money earned was used for different activities including more investment in farming and consumption. The quotations below emphasize this point.

Tinkalima mbeu zambiri monga chimanga, mbatata, mpunga, ziyawo ndi masamba kenaka timagulisa kwa mavenda omwe amazaoda kuchokera komwe ku Mzuzu, Nkhotakota ndi ku Dwangwa. (We used to grow a lot of crops here including maize, potatoes, rice, papaws, cocoa and vegetables. Then we would sell the things to vendors in bulk who came all the way from Mzuzu, Nkhotakota and Dwangwa).

Men FGD, Kasitu

Timalima chimanga, chinangwa. Timagulitsa mpunga, mbatata, mapapaya. Kunali zambili, china chilichonse chimene ungalime timagulisa enanso amatigulitsila, owoda amabwela kuzatiwoda basi tele. (We cultivated maize, cassava. We used to sell rice, potatoes, and papaws. There was a lot. Whatever we cultivated we would sell, or people would sell for us others would even come to buy on wholesale).

Women FGD, Nkhunga

However, after the relocation the settlers were no longer growing crops for sale. The participants explained that they were not farming as much as before because in the new lands they had limited access to land and could not afford to rent the land. Limited access to land reduced their cash earning opportunities. There were other challenges to agricultural production such as lack of farm input and poor soils. In their original homes

the soils were agriculturally rich and as such they never needed chemical fertilisers. A combination of these factors constrained the household's ability to revive farming as a major source of income.

Terminski (2013) and Cernea (1995) observe that land is such a vital resource in most rural communities. It is upon this resource that most of the farming activities take place. The loss of land may therefore lead to loss of farming. Such losses imply a collapse of the economic activities of the many concerned households and take away the foundation upon which livelihood systems are based on. Mettle (2011) argued that poor quality of resettlement land forces settlers to seek and rent fertile soils from hosts, however this depreciates the households' income activities to the extent that some livelihood activities such as farming and trading are put on halt in the longer run.

4.2.2 Fishing

Fishing was an important economic activity before the displacement. The study established that the households who had resettled in Kasitu were involved in fish farming. They had fish ponds that were constructed with the technical assistance of agricultural field services of Salima Agricultural Development Division (ADD). The fish ponds were run by cooperative groups. The proceeds from the fish sales would be shared among members of the cooperatives and re-invested in the cooperatives to build up assets.

Those who had settled in Nkhunga had been involved in capture fishery before the displacement. This type of fishing involves every fishing activity of harvesting fish in

fresh waters. The participants explained that they were able to consume and sell some of the fish. Earnings made from such sales helped them to meet some of their daily needs at home. Proximity to Kazilila Dambo had made fishing possible. However fishing was female dominated activity. In the words of the Secretary for Mkhuto group:

Azimayi ndiwo anali kuweza kwambiri. Ankagwiritsa ntchito chisako² poweza nsomba. (The women were especially involved in fishing. They used to use the chisako for trapping fish).

However, after the relocation, the fishing patterns changed. The Kasitu settlers, no longer practised fish farming as they had settled in an area where they did not have access to water resources, and they could no longer access their previous fish ponds as the site had become a restricted area. In addition the cooperatives were disbanded as members had resettled in different areas.

In the case of the Nkhunga settlers, men replaced women in the fishing business. The major reason for the cessation of female involvement in fishing was the distance to the nearest fishing area. Kakuyu which is almost 5 KM away, also happens to be infested with crocodiles and mosquitoes and also prone to regular flooding during the rainy season. As such women find these conditions difficult to put up with.

² *Chisako* also known as *mono* are basket traps for catching fish. It has a larger front end to allow fish to get in but not to escape and a back end which is closed when the trap is set and opened when removing the catch.

Fisheries form part of the diversified livelihood strategies of communities and is regarded as an important engine for economic growth in most rural areas. It also acts as a safety net to the landless or where other livelihood strategies have failed (FAO, 2005; Daw et al, 2009). In the case of these two communities the absence of opportunities for fish farming and capture fisheries denied the settlers an income generating activity thus breaking down one of the systems upon which they had based their livelihoods. In the case of Nkhunga settlers, opportunities for fishing transferred from women to men, in the event providing men with an alternative livelihood source.

4.2.3 Businesses

Much as farming and fishing were the main livelihood strategies for the settlers before the displacement, the study established that there was livelihood diversification through businesses that were not farm related. The businesses included selling of grocery items and food stuffs. However, some of the participants in Nkhunga claimed that they lost their savings as they had to use the money to re-establish themselves and for consumption. For example one male participant argued that he had a shop at the trading centre, but he eventually used the money to buy food and other necessities. On the other hand, some of the participants explained that they lost different items and properties for the businesses during the displacement since some of the property was in their houses which got demolished. They therefore could not continue with the businesses because of the lost financial capital.

Amayi awa poyambapo ankapita ku Dar-es-Salaam kukapikula ma foni kudzagulisa kuno. Koma pano sangatheso. Akungokhala kunyumbako. (This woman used to go to Da-res-Salaam for business; she used to buy phones and would sell them here. But now she can't, she is just staying at home).

Women FGD, Nkhunga

The small scale businesses were not very common, but for the settlers in Nkhunga and Kasitu who were involved in these small scale businesses explained that they helped them in their lives and they were able to do a number of activities including paying school fees for their children, buying clothes and others even managed to build houses. But with the relocation, the settlers revealed that they could no longer continue with such businesses since they had lost their financial capital, whilst others lost a market base.

The displacement and relocation for the people of Nkhunga and Kasitu led to a disturbance to their sources of livelihood production. Such losses therefore meant a loss from the source of financial capital from which people derive their earnings to sustain themselves and their families hence making them vulnerable. This finding corroborates with the findings by Kemirere (2007) who concluded that the social problem of displacement destroys women's status and dignity and puts them in a vulnerable and dependent position. Further, Robinson (2003) argues that when the security forces take action to move people for development projects they constitute a direct threat to the right to livelihood. He further argues that displacement threatens people's way of earning a living whether by hunting, fishing, farming or trading. Thus displacement may weaken

people's financial capital and may be felt even after the displacement and resettlement processes are long past.

4.3 How the relocated people adapt to their new social environment

Displacement and resettlement exposes the concerned people to different shocks and affects them in different ways. Such effects may be psychological, physical, financial and social. Mutangi et al (2014) argued that forced migration causes profound unraveling of existing patterns of social relationships. Formal and informal associations and self-organized services are wiped out by the scattering of the community members. Therefore, in order to overcome the consequences of such social disintegration, settlers use different strategies to cope and adapt in the resettlement areas. In addition host communities also play a central role in helping the settlers to settle down and adapt to existence in their host communities. How a host community responds to in-coming groups is critical to the latter's decision to settle permanently in a particular area or move on.

The study established that the displaced people of Dwangwa have been using different strategies as a way of coping due to the change that they went through. It was noted that as much as the people use different adaptation strategies to cope, they still have a long way to get back to the kind of lives that they had before the displacement.

4.3.1 Establishing social networks with the hosts

The participants in both Kasitu and Nkhunga revealed that they have had to establish and maintain different relationships such as marriages and friendships with the host communities as one way of adapting in their new settlement areas.

Anthu akuno anatilandira bwino malingana ndi umo anawonera mabweredwe athu..... nthawi zambiri timakhala nawo bwino. (The people here received us well probably because of the way we came in....we live in harmony mostly).

Women FGD, Nkhunga

The settlers and hosts in Nkhunga and Kasitu revealed that overall there was a cordial relationship between most of the settlers and the hosts. People have made friendships and were living together in peace. The settlers of Kasitu went further to say that the settlers and hosts can intermarry. However, for the settlers in Nkhunga, they argued that much as there was a cordial relationship between them and the hosts, they at times felt that the hosts are not really welcoming. One woman participant lamented:

Anthu ena amatiseka tikamayenda akuti tawaonani awo angokhalila maganyu komanso kukhala nyumba za lendi, moti ena sakutiona mosangalala chifukwa takhala ngati tachita kubwela pakhomu paja kuti tuzalandadi chani malo.(Some people laugh at us they say we are just depending on piece work and renting houses. Some are not even happy with us because they think we have come to grab their land)

Women FGD, Nkhunga

Aside from such unwelcoming remarks from the host communities there were also some tensions between the hosts and the settlers in both Kasitu and Nkhunga. It was noted that the tensions and conflicts were mostly land related.

In Kasitu the secretary for the Area Development Committee (ADC) explained:

Kusamvetsetsana kulipo makamaka chifukwa cha malo poti ndi ochepa. (Misunderstandings are there mainly because of land, since it is not enough).

Senior Chief Kanyenda from Nkhunga further explained:

Mavuto osalephera alipo ndithu. Kawirikawiri, amakhala mavuto okhuza kukanganilana malo. Aliyense akufuna malo koma malowo kulibe. Ndagamulapo milandu yokanganilana malo. (Problems are there without fail. Mostly they have to do with land issues. Everyone wants land, but there is no enough land. I have mediated such cases before).

The chief further revealed that at times the settlers were found encroaching into the hosts' farm lands which upset the hosts who felt that the settlers should be grateful with the land that they were given. This finding is in line Cernea (2000) who argued that the inflow of displaced people increases pressure on resources and other scarce economic resources in resettlement areas which causes conflicts between the hosts and the settlers.

4.3.2 Taking part in community activities

The study also found out that as part of the well established relationships between the settlers and the hosts, the settlers were free to take part in different activities that took place within the their respective communities.

Such community participation was facilitated by the well established relationships that existed between the hosts and the settlers.

Pali zambiri zomwe timatenga nawo mbali ku mudzi kuno. Monga pano amatha kutigawilako ma udindo ku ma komiti a chitukuko, ku tchalitchi komanso kuzochitika zina za pamudzi. (We take part in a lot of activities in this community. For example we are given positions in development committees, church and other community activities).

Men FGD, Kasitu

This was also echoed by the hosts from both Kasitu and Nkhunga who revealed that they had been involving the settlers in different community activities that were taking place within the communities. For example the hosts in Kasitu explained that they told the settlers to join in the road construction that was taking place.

Monga mwachitsanzo pamene alendo amabwera anapeza tikukumba msewu ndipo ena anatengapo mbali ndikutithaniza. (For example when the visitors first came in they found us constructing a road such that others helped us.)

Men FGD, Kasitu

By integrating the settlers in community activities, the hosts tried to show that they had welcomed and accommodated them as their own within their community. In addition the hosts also allowed the settlers to take part in other activities like funerals, weddings and they could intermarry. The intermarriages created alliances between the settlers and local kinship groups.

By having cordial relationships with the hosts, the settlers had in a sense maximized their social capital which was essential to adapting to new social environment. The networks,

norms and trust that are integral to social capital help in facilitating and coordinating cooperation towards mutual benefits (Putnam, 1995). Through these relationships and networks settlers had the potential to be offered informal social safety nets and survival strategies (Holtzman, 2004). For that reason, establishing and maintaining relationships with the hosts played a crucial role in helping the settlers adapt to the resettlement areas.

4.3.3 Maintaining relationships with the other displaced community members

The study also found out that the settlers still maintain relationships with the other displaced people who had settled in distant areas. The settlers in Nkhunga and Kasitu were able to communicate with the other settlers through phone calls and visits. They argued that they could not afford to lose some of these connections as some were blood relations. The following quotation shows how connected some of these people were:

Munakabwera masiku a m'mbuyomu simunakatipezayi. Tinali ndi maliro. Panali abambo ena anali achikulire ndithu a m'mudzi ku Muwaleko koma anasamukira kutali uko ku mapiri komwe amwalilira. Moti chonchi tinasonkhanisa, kupeza galimoto ya hayala kupita kukatenga maliro ndipo tazawayika kuno chifukwa kuja kunalibe abale enieni. (If you were here a few days ago you wouldn't have found us. We had a funeral. There was a man when we were in Muwale, he settled far away from here, near those hills where he died. We had to make contributions to hire a car to go and get the dead body to bury him here since he didn't really have relations that side).

Secretary, VDC, Nkhunga

In Kasitu both the settlers and the hosts agreed that when the settlers were being offered the pieces of land, the hosts also took into consideration things like the settlers' ethnic background and structure of families.

The group village headman explained:

Anthu amagawidwa malingana ndi madera awo ochokera. Monga mudziwa ena ngokonda kuphika mowa, kuyimba ng'oma komanso kusiyana zilankhulo. Choncho timagawa kuti aku Karonga akhale apa, aku Mzimba apa basi. (The people were being settled depending on their ethnic backgrounds. As you know some are into beer making, others beating drums and the different languages. As such settlers from Karonga would be settled together, those from Mzimba would be settled together.

Such settlement procedures helped the settlers to easily adapt in the new settlement areas. The settlers would be able to continue carrying out some of the activities that they were used to with some of the settler relations that they had before the displacement. The activities include beer making and drinking and cultural events such as traditional dances.

4.4 Extent to which the displaced people have been able to establish new livelihoods in the resettlement areas

According to the SL framework when livelihood strategies are employed there are expectations for sustainable livelihood outcomes. But according to the findings of this study most of these livelihood strategies are temporary and insufficient to sustain a decent quality of life for the settlers and are inadequate for asset accumulation. Before the displacement most households relied on land for agriculture and fishing as the main livelihood strategies and other small scale businesses like selling of non- farm based items. But after the resettlement, the displaced households have had to diversify further on the livelihood activities strategies in order to gain more income.

4.4.1 Doing piece work (*ganyu*) in other peoples' farms

The findings from the study from both Kasitu and Nkhunga revealed that quite a number of people get involved in doing *ganyu* or piece work as a way of earning a living. Most of the piece work involves working in peoples' farm lands.

Azimuna athu kumapangapanga timaganyu umu ndi umu..... nafe tipangeko maganyu basi kukhala kwake ndi choncho. (Our husbands do piece work, we also do piece work that is how it is).

Women FGD, Nkhunga

The earnings from *ganyu* are very small. The participants explained that an average pay rate for cultivating one acre³ of land was about K10, 000 – K15, 000. 00. Most of the times the people do piece work so as to find food and house rentals for a particular period of time. Takane (2008) in his paper on labour use in smallholder agriculture in Malawi noted that *ganyu* is a major source of income for poor households. People get involved in *ganyu* as a way of coping to the effects of climate change and flood times (Stringer et al, 2009; Jere, 2011). It is also a mechanism for coping with food insecurity. However, Bryceson (2006) argued that *ganyu* may deepen impoverishment by widening the gap between those who can afford to purchase it and those who rely on selling the service.

4.4.2 Migrating to Kakuyu

The study also established that some of the displaced men in Nkhunga temporarily migrate to Kakuyu⁴. The place has a lot of rice farms and an ideal place for fishing.

³ 'Acre' as used in rural areas refers to a plot of land. It varies in size and has no specific measurements.

⁴ Kakuyu is an area where Dwangwa River and other small rivers join Lake Malawi.

A village head under the group village headman Kalimkhola explained:

Anthu ambiri pamudzipa saoneka. Amapita kuja ku Kakuyu kukalima mu minda ya wanthu komanso kukaweza nsomba. (Most people are not available in the village. They go to Kakuyu to work in peoples' rice farms and for fishing).

People migrate there in search of work in other people's rice farms and fishing. However the participants were quick to say that the area is not ideal for dwelling as it is far from public services. The area is too swampy and prone to flooding. In addition the area is infested with a lot of mosquitoes and crocodiles. The participants reported that it was mostly the men who go there as they are the ones that can withstand the harsh conditions.

A study of families displaced by dam construction in Vietnam found that family members often applied migration as an adaptation strategy to cope with landlessness, loss of income and food insecurity and would normally send remittances back home (Druppers, 2013). However in the case of the displaced people of Nkhunga area, the migration involved was temporary. Household members went to Kakuyu and returned after a few weeks and months bringing back what they had earned. The migration involved thus raises the question of livelihood sustainability.

4.4.3 Investment in the Sugarcane Scheme

The study established that before the displacement, teams from Nkhotakota District Council, Dwangwa Cane Growers Trust (DCGT) and Dwangwa Cane Growers Limited

(DCGL) went into the communities to sensitize them about sugarcane farming. The settlers were made aware that they could take part in sugarcane growing as a business enterprise to replace subsistence farming. As explained by an official in the scheme:

The approach of the sugarcane farming was not to alienate the farmers from their land, but to transfer from food crop farming to sugarcane farming. (Nkhani siinali yoti anthu alandilidwiretu malo, koma kuti asiye ulimi wa chakudya nkuyamba ulimi wa mizimbe).

Executive Secretary, DCGT

It was on this basis that although the people of Kasitu were displaced from their land and resettled somewhere else quite a number of people opted to get involved in the sugarcane farming.

Tinalowa nawo ulimi wa mzimbe. (Yes I took part in the sugarcane farming)

Secretary, ADC Kasitu

They thus retained their land and transferred from farming other crops to sugarcane farming under the DCGT. However the participants argued that in the initial years of the investment the returns were high but by the time of this study earnings from the sugarcane farming had declined. It was reported that the earnings had declined to as low as K15, 000. 00 per hectare yet before the displacement they were able to cultivate a variety of crops on their lands that earned them higher profits.

4.4.4 Employment at the Sugarcane scheme

In addition to the settlers investing in the sugarcane farming, the study also found out that a few of the settlers who had settled near the sugarcane schemes had the opportunity of getting employed as temporary workers at the sugarcane scheme through the DCGT.

Anthu amatha kukalembedwa ntchito kumeneko. Amayi kaya abambo amalembedwa. (People are able to get employed there be it men or women).

Women FGD, Kasitu

Some of the people who have settled near the scheme are able to get employed and they work as laborers. (Anthu ena amene anasamukira pafupi ndi munda amatha kupeza mwayi ogwira nawo ntchito ngati ma lebala).

Acting General Manager, DCGT

Even though the people of Kasitu had the chance of getting employed at the sugarcane scheme, the people of Nkhunga did not. Few projects take on the displaced people as employees as wage labourers than in the formal employment. The study noted that most displaced people do not get ample employment opportunities. As was noted from the study not all the settlers had the chance of getting employed in Kasitu and none of the settlers in Nkhunga were employed at the scheme of which it culminates into further impoverishment (Ota, 2001).

4.5 Conclusion

The displacement that happened in Dwangwa affected displaced households in various ways. However, the study focused mainly on the effects of displacement and resettlement on the settler's livelihood production. The loss of farmland was perceived as the main

effect of the displacement. It can be argued that the settlers of Nkhunga were affected more than their Kasitu Counterparts due to the forcible nature of the displacement and the lack of compensation to reconstruct their livelihoods.

The settlers in both Nkhunga and Kasitu engaged in a number of income generating activities. Such activities included *ganyu*, fishing, farming, temporary employment on the sugarcane schemes and also investing in the sugarcane schemes. But the settlers reported that the strategies they were using in resettlement areas for generating income were not sustainable because most of them are temporary.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary and conclusion of the study findings.

5.2 Summary and conclusion of the study findings

The study set out to understand how displaced households of Nkhunga and Kasitu in Dwangwa, Nkhotakota adapted to resettlement areas after facing involuntary resettlement. The study specifically sought to find out the effects of involuntary relocation on displaced households' livelihoods; to assess how the displaced households had adapted in their new social environment; and to determine the extent to which the displaced people had established livelihood strategies in the new settlement areas. It was guided by the conceptual framework for sustainable livelihoods SLF, developed by DFID.

This study found that involuntary displacement and resettlement negatively impacted on the displaced households' livelihoods. Before the displacement fishing and farming were the main sources of generating income for most households. However, due to the

relocation, the displaced households were located in areas that were already land constrained and hence could not be guaranteed land for own production. Using the vulnerability context from the SLF, it described external uncontrollable factors that influenced household assets and livelihood opportunities. Such factors include trends, shocks and seasonality. It is factors like these that affected the livelihood production of the displaced households of Dwangwa. However, in order to overcome such shocks and risks that are associated with displacement and resettlement, the displaced households applied different livelihood strategies in order to adapt and cope to changed circumstances in the resettlement areas. The livelihood strategies used were *ganyu*, investing in the sugarcane scheme, fishing, and short term employment on the sugarcane schemes.

The study noted that there were efforts between the settlers and the host community to build up cordial social relations, notably through intermarriages. These social relations are a useful resource in the pursuit of livelihood production. Through these links some members of households were able to gain access to additional land. But there was tension as some settlers attempted to increase their landholdings by encroaching on their neighbours' land. These suggest that the inflow of displaced households into land constrained areas potentially triggers land conflicts.

Studies have concluded differently with regards to voluntary and involuntary resettlement. However, in this study, the conclusion is that displacement and resettlement

that took place in Dwangwa negatively affected the concerned households. Even though different livelihood strategies were employed, their outcomes were deemed insufficient to re-establish a standard of life the households had enjoyed previously.

5.3 Areas of Further Study

This study mainly focused on the adaptation and coping strategies of development induced displaced households of Dwangwa in Nkhotakota. Further studies could be done to understand the socioeconomic impact of displacement on households that settled in other districts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction



PRINCIPAL
Richard Tambulasi, B.A (Pub Admin), BPA (Hons), MPA, Ph.D
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2nd October 2015

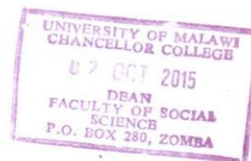
OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that Alice Mkandawire is a Masters Student in Development Studies at Chancellor College. Please assist her with relevant information she may seek to fulfil her studies.

Thanking you in advance for assisting her academic endeavor.

Dr. B. Dulani
POSTGRADUATE COORDINATOR



Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Settlers

Involuntary Relocation

A. Relocation Process

1. Where were you before the resettlement?
2. Who made the decision for you to relocate?
3. What were the reasons given for the resettlement?
4. Were you informed about the resettlement?
5. When were you informed about the resettlement process?
6. How long have you been in the resettlement area?
7. What was the arrangement in the displacement and resettlement process (Probe if any sensitization and awareness activities were carried out)
8. Were you or any of the immigrants involved in the selection of the resettlement site?
9. Did you or any other person you know who relocated receive any compensation?
10. If you were compensated how much did you receive?
11. What was the basis of the monetary compensation?

B. Effects of Involuntary Relocation

12. Who did you relocate with (Probe if they relocated with their immediate family members and other kinsmen)
13. Do you still communicate with the people that you left behind or any other relations that relocated to other places?

14. How has the relocation affected your other social relations? (Probe for positive and negative effects i.e. social networks, and other relations?)
15. Did the displacement have an effect on your economic activities? (Probe for positive and negative effects i.e. access/ loss of businesses, jobs, to land and markets?)
16. How did you deal with these challenges?
17. What assets did you have before resettlement? Did you lose any because of the resettlement?
18. What long term investments did you have before displacement?
19. Were there any other challenges that you faced because of the displacement and resettlement?

C. Establishment of Livelihoods

20. What was the basis of your livelihood in the area of origin?
21. Has the situation changed since you relocated? Are you able to practice your livelihood regimes?
22. If the situation is different now, how are you able to obtain a livelihood? -(Probe for reasons on the difference?)
23. What assets have you accumulated after resettlement?
24. What are the long term investments that you have here?
25. What are the factors that helped you to make such long term investments?

D. Role of Hosts in the resettlement processes

- 26. Are there any conditions attached to the resettlement (Probe for payment, land size and allocation of land?)
- 27. Under what conditions do you hold land?
- 28. What were the settlement agreement procedure between the settlers and the hosts? (Probe for land use, forest use).
- 29. What roles did the hosts play in your resettlement process? What is it that they did to make you comfortable?

C. Relationship

- 30. How were you perceived by the hosts? (Probe in terms of competition & threats to land, market, social services)
- 31. How did you perceive the hosts? (Probe in terms of security and social inclusion)
- 32. How do you interact with the hosts?
- 33. Are there any conflicts between the settlers and the hosts? (Probe for any sources of conflict)

D. Adaptation Process

- 34. How have you adapted to the new settlement areas?
- 35. What adaptation strategies have you adopted to sustain yourselves?
- 36. How have the hosts helped you adapt?
- 37. Are you and any other person as settlers free to engage in community activities?

(probe for participation in development committees and economic activities- eg village saving loan groups)

- 38.** What are the social services that you had in your homes of origin that you do not have in the new lands?
- 39.** How has the absence of such services affected your lives?
- 40.** How are you coping without these social services?

Appendix 3: Key Informant Interview Guide

Key Informants' Position:

Involuntary Relocation

A. Arrangement for relocation

1. What were the reasons given for relocating households from their original village?
2. What procedures were followed to inform the people?
3. Who was involved in informing the people about the resettlement?
4. Were there prior negotiations with the host communities about the arrival of the settlers?
5. What were the relocation agreement procedures that were followed?
6. Was compensation paid to the relocated households?
7. How much was each household given?
8. On what basis was the compensation made (was it in terms of assets or it was a uniform amount to all the households)
9. Apart from the compensation were there any other interventions that were provided to the settlers?
10. Were there any negotiations carried out with customary land holders?-What was the agreement?

B. Arrangement on Resettlement

11. Who made the arrangement to the resettlement areas?
12. What role did your office play in the relocation and resettlement processes?

C. Role of Hosts in the resettlement processes

13. What procedures were followed to inform the hosts about the arrival of the settlers?
14. Did the hosts play any role in the settlers' resettlement process?
15. What kind of relationship do the settlers and hosts have?