

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE INFLUENCE OF HOST-SETTLER
RELATIONS ON SETTLERS' LIVELIHOODS IN MACHINGA DISTRICT**

MASTER OF ARTS (DEVELOPMENT STUDIES) THESIS

By

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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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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

To my parents, the love of my life Max and my daughter Lethiwe Eleventine Gertrude.

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ABSTRACT

Many developing countries have used resettlement as a rural development tool. People have been encouraged to move from one area to another mostly to enable them to access adequate land for subsistence requirements and a viable livelihood. Malawi used resettlement as a rural development tool in the late 1960s and 1970s. In a situation of resettlement there is potential conflict between the host population and incoming groups. In 2005, some landless people from Mulanje and Thyolo Districts had been resettled in Machinga District as part of the Community Based Rural Land Development Project popularly known as *Kudzigulira Malo*. The main objective of this study was to establish the influence that host-settler relations had on settlers' livelihoods. This study was carried out in the areas of Traditional Authorities Liwonde and Chiwalo in Machinga District, where some families had resettled. While adopting a qualitative approach, data was collected using Focus Group Discussions and Indepth Interviews. The data was analysed using content analysis. The study established that the relationship between the settlers and their hosts was generally characterised by tensions. The tensions were caused by competition for natural resources such as land and forest products; cultural differences; and political affiliations. The study found that tensions and conflicts were experienced differently by the settlers. Where tensions were high there was reluctance to make long-term investments. The conclusion from this study is that the livelihoods of settlers to some extent depend on the quality of host-settler relationships. Poor relationships compromise the ability of the settlers to make permanent improvements to the land and therefore to the quality of their lives.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BG	Beneficiary Group
CBRLDP	Community Based Rural Land Development Project
COC	Community Oversight Committee
DC	District Commissioner
DFID	Department for International Development
DLO	District Lands Officer
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GOM	Government of Malawi
GVH	Group Village Headman
IGAs	Income Generating Activities
KII	Key Informant Interview
KIs	Key Informants
RGCT	Realist Group Conflict Theory
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
T/A	Traditional Authority
VH	Village Headman

Chapter One

Introduction

1.0 Background

Resettlement is part of human history; for various reasons, people have moved from one place they called home to settle permanently in another place. Enterprising individuals, families and communities, for example, have sought new land for agricultural settlement (Scudder, 1985). Colonial governments had used resettlement projects to achieve social, economic as well as political objectives just as have post-independence governments. These objectives include stemming rural-urban drift by providing opportunities for market oriented agriculture; providing land to landless families as a safety valve through which some displaced members of society could obtain land; redistributing population and combating environmental degradation; and promoting ethnic integration (Chambers, 1969, Scudder, 1985, Kishindo, 2009).

Malawi is an agriculture-based economy; land is therefore a key asset as most people rely on agriculture to earn a living. An estimated 84% of the population earns their living from agriculture (Chinsinga, 2008). However, land distribution is highly skewed. According to the World Bank (2007) the distribution of land is concentrated between 0.2 hectares and 2 hectares whereby 30% of smallholder farmers using rudimentary tools

cultivate less than 0.5 hectares which is inadequate to meet the annual food requirements of an average household of five members. The skewed land distribution is a result of the policies that were put in place during the colonial era where most of the good land was being used by the European farmers and the smallholders were pushed onto marginal lands (Machira, 2009; Chinsinga, 2008). This situation is exacerbated by rapid population growth an average of 2.8% annually (Malawi Government, 2008).

In light of the unequal distribution of land in Malawi, the Government was compelled to formulate a new land policy which was expected to foster a more efficient and environmentally sustainable and socially equitable land tenure system (Holden et al., 2006). To this end, a Presidential Commission on Land Policy Reform was established in 1996 to conduct hearings with all the relevant stakeholders throughout the country. In 2002, the National Land Policy was inaugurated based on the findings of the commission.

In 2004, the Malawi Government with the assistance of the World Bank rolled out the Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP). The CBRLDP is popularly known as *Kudzigulira Malo* Project. The aim of the project was to improve the incomes of about 15,000 poor rural families through community based voluntary land reform in four pilot districts in the Southern Region where land pressure was severe (World Bank, 2012). The project was aimed at availing land to landless or near landless households through market-based principles and not the usual customary processes of acquiring land, and ultimately contributed to increased agricultural productivity, enhanced incomes and poverty alleviation (World Bank, 2012). The eligibility criteria to

participate in the project was that the landless and near landless households who owned less than 0.2 hectares and no more than 0.4 hectares and were chronically food insecure but had enough labour to cultivate more than 0.4 hectares of land. In effect these people depended on agricultural labour (*ganyu*) to survive because they could not grow their own food. The resettlement project was implemented from 2005 to 2011. It started with four pilot districts of which Machinga and Mangochi were the receiving districts and Mulanje and Thyolo were the sending districts. In 2008 the project was extended to Balaka and Ntcheu as receiving districts, essentially to cover for shortfalls in land availability in the initial two sending districts. There was also intra-district relocation. People moved within Machinga and Mangochi Districts, although predominantly they came from other districts.

Kishindo (2007) analysed the relations between the people who had moved from Thyolo and Mulanje Districts to Machinga and Mangochi Districts under the Kidzigulira Malo Project and observed that the arrival of families from Thyolo and Mulanje Districts who were ethnically, religiously and culturally different from the host community had potential for inter group conflict. Tensions were already apparent even at that early stage.

1.1 Problem Statement

Inadequate land in agrarian societies is strongly associated with low living standards and land poverty in general. In the absence of off-farm employment, access to land is an important means for households to move out of poverty (World Bank, 2007). Thus, resettlement is meant to enable land poor households to acquire adequate land for

subsistence and viable livelihoods. Viable livelihoods in this case entail increased productivity and higher incomes. Several countries have used the strategy of resettling communities as one way of advancing their socio-economic development and improving their livelihoods. However, planners of resettlement programmes have too often conceptualised projects only in technological terms and tended to underplay the human factor (Scudder, 1985). The response of the resident population or host community to the immigrant group and how it might affect the decision to remain permanently and invest in the new lands has not received adequate attention. According to Scudder (1985), hostility from the host community has been known to frustrate resettlement programmes. The CBRLDP was premised on the assumption that beneficiary households would be farming the land in the resettlement areas efficiently, which would lead to increased productivity and higher incomes and ultimately poverty alleviation. The effect of host-settler relations on the decision whether to settle permanently in the new lands or move on have not received much attention. Kishindo (2007) in his study on host-settler relations established that indeed tensions between settlers and hosts existed but did not go further to establish the effects such relations would have on development of the settlers livelihoods. After making the observation, Kishindo apparently did not do a follow up study on whether the tensions he had observed had persisted or how they had affected the livelihoods of the settlers. According to Chinsinga (2008) in a study which focused on the political capture of the land redistribution, it was established that cultural differences between different groups affected their livelihoods in terms of livestock keeping. Chimhowu (2002) in his study focused on land resettlement and changing livelihoods established that resettlement resulted in changed livelihoods of settlers and

their hosts in terms of increased competition over the use of resources. However, his focus was on spontaneous settlers.

This study focused on inter-district relocation. The assumption was that such people had relocated to totally new environments. It sought to understand how the host community responded to the settlers' presence and the extent to which these relations affected the livelihoods of the immigrants.

1.2 Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study was to investigate the influence that host-settler relations had on settlers' ability to develop their livelihoods in Machinga District.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives

This study had four specific objectives, which were to:

- Investigate the state of host-settler relations in resettlement areas.
- Establish the basis of such conflict where tensions or conflicts exist.
- Determine mechanisms that existed to mitigate tensions and conflicts between hosts and settlers.
- Establish how tensions affected the settlers' access to natural, social financial and physical assets for livelihood development.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This research project on host-settler relations and its influence on settlers' ability to develop their livelihoods is important as it will contribute to the body of knowledge on resettlement and rural development in Malawi. The existing studies such as those by Chirwa and Mvula (2003); Chirwa (2008); Kishindo (2007) and Chinsinga (2008) do not take into account the influence that difficult relations might have on the ability of settlers to build their livelihoods in a new environment. Research on resettlement is largely dominated by the analysis of economic impacts such as a study by Chirwa (2008); and the politics of land redistribution, for instance, the one conducted by Chinsinga (2008). This study therefore attempted to fill the knowledge gap that exists pertaining to host-settler relations and the development of livelihood.

1.4 Organization of the Study

The rest of the thesis is organized as follows: Chapter Two proffers Literature Review and the Theoretical Framework. In the chapter, literature on global experience on resettlement and the success and failures of projects on resettlement as a policy instrument is reviewed. Methodology of the study is provided in Chapter Three. Chapter Four discusses the Research Findings, and the Conclusion is presented in Chapter Five.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In order to inform on the understanding of the influence of host-settler relations on settlers' development of livelihoods, it is critical that related literature on resettlement and host-settler relations within settlements be systematically reviewed. In this Chapter the review focuses on the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) and the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) to understand the context in which two different social groups come into permanent relationship.

2.1 The Concept of Resettlement

Resettlement as defined by Leeuwen (2001) is a population movement from one place to another or from places of origin to other locations. However, different terminologies are used to define population movement. The terms include resettlement, migration, transmigration and colonisation used especially in Latin America and pre- independence Indonesia (Scudder, 1985).

Zhibin (2003) noted that researchers use the terms interchangeably rendering them to no clear distinction. There is indeed a similarity in the activities that take place. First, at the centre of the meaning in each one of them is people relocating from their places of origin

to new lands. Second, in all these, there is a premise that the relocated people would stay permanently in the new areas.

2.2 Types of Resettlement

2.2.1 Voluntary and Involuntary Resettlement

Resettlement can be grouped in two: voluntary resettlement and involuntary resettlement. Voluntary resettlement occurs when people move from their areas on their own volition, while in the involuntary resettlement people are forced to move out of their homes. According to Yntiso (2002) voluntary and involuntary resettlements of the migrants are distinguished on the bases of decision-making power, their willingness to leave original place of residence, the presence of push and pull factors, and the age makeup of settlers before relocation. Cernea (2000), on the other hand, differentiates between involuntary resettlement and voluntary resettlement from a different perspective, namely that voluntary resettlement is a primary goal of a project whereas involuntary resettlement is usually not the major objective but a by production of an occurrence. For instance, as cities expand long-term residents in the periphery may be compelled to move to make way for the expansion.

Similarly, Shami (1993) makes the observation that involuntary resettlements are a result of direct action by the state to pave way for development projects, natural disaster, wars and other types of political upheavals. Thus, scholars have identified different factors that differentiate voluntary and involuntary resettlements. However, the major difference lies in the decision-making process those individuals have prior to relocation. If they are

forced to move out, that can be involuntary relocation; and if they relocate on their own volition, that is voluntary resettlement.

2.2.2 Planned and Spontaneous Resettlement

Resettlements have been further classified into those planned and those spontaneous. According to Scudder (1985) planned resettlements are those where settlers respond to the recruitment initiative by the state or sponsoring agency, whilst the spontaneous one is self-recruited. Recruitment in this case is the selection of individuals or families that are to participate in a resettlement programme and oftentimes the process follows a set of criteria for the identification of eligible participants (Scudder, 1985). Thus, this classification focuses on whether an external agency has been involved or not in the process of resettlement rather than on the push or pull factors for relocating as is the case in the categorization of involuntary and voluntary resettlements. The categorization of resettlements is influenced by the specific focus adopted by the scholar. For instance, the categorization of spontaneous and planned resettlements can either be voluntary or involuntary if one takes into consideration the decision-making power that these people had at the time of relocation (Yntiso, 2002). Therefore planned resettlements can either be voluntary or involuntary, and the same applies to the spontaneous resettlements.

There are diverging views on planned resettlement. The proponents of planned resettlement view it as an opportunity for land poor households who cannot move themselves to acquire land. As noted by Chimhowu and Hulme (2006), planned resettlement provides households with better and more land than does the spontaneous

resettlement. On the other hand, other scholars view it as a costly venture and highly artificial (Scudder, 1985; Coelho, 1998).

Scudder (1985) pointed out that the costs of planned resettlements are high and that the host countries, donors and sponsoring agents become disappointed with the economic returns that they bring as compared to the project appraisal projections. In addition to this, Coelho (1998) also argues that planned resettlement is highly artificial with the excessive government support, resulting in the local people becoming spectators which lead to the belief that the villages are state undertakings.

Seemingly neutral in the debate, Chimhowu (2002) pointed out that there is a difference in the beginning between spontaneous and planned settlers in terms of livelihoods, however their livelihoods seem to converge once government or supporting agencies withdraw their support. This could be because the spontaneous settlers have the means to move themselves out of their situation and this means they are better off than the planned settlers who mostly depend on assistance from external agencies.

While there may be cases of failure in the planned resettlement, the pessimists' argument that planned resettlements always fail, is an over generalisation. If this was the case, it is surprising to see donors continuing supporting projects which never succeed.

2.3 The Global Experience of Resettlement Schemes and Motivation for using them

Globally, resettlement schemes were motivated by economic, humanitarian and political considerations (Chambers, 1969). In African territories this meant the separation of the

indigenous population from Europeans; evacuation of areas affected by sleeping sickness; overpopulation; and in some cases the achievement of the objectives of national building (Spierenburg, 2005; Chimhowu, 2002; and Amerasinghe, 1976). In some countries, it has been used to control environmental degradation and poverty alleviation (Rodgers and Wang, 2006). In addition, resettlement schemes in Malawi were used to compensate indigenous people who were displaced by Europeans' commercial agricultural interests (Kishindo, 2011).

Brazil has used resettlement as a development tool to combat inequalities in access to land and to open up unused frontier land (Ludewigs et al., 2009). Similarly, in Indonesia, the transmigration programme involved the movement of landless people from the overpopulated islands to the outer islands with government assistance (Leinbach et. al, 1992). The aim was to provide the resettled people with adequate land for agricultural activities with the major goal of stimulating regional development. According to Rodgers and Wang (2006), China has used resettlement with two main objectives of poverty alleviation and protecting the environment. Thus, to prevent further environmental degradation, people living in fragile areas have been relocated to uplands to reduce sand storms in the country. In the process of reducing environmental degradation, an effort is made to ensure that the relocated people are assisted to rebuild self sustainable livelihoods.

According to Tamunoibuomi (2012), in Uganda, the objective of establishing Nyakashaka settlement scheme since independence was to introduce modern agricultural

techniques to check the increasing migration from rural to urban areas. This was also the case with Malawi's irrigated settlement schemes in the post-independence era where the Malawi Young Pioneers were resettled on highly productive unoccupied land to serve as models of good agricultural practices (Kishindo, 2011). The Nyakashaka scheme was a success, and among other factors, the success was attributed to the cultural affinity of the manager and the settlers as well as on the farm training and discipline that the settlers were subjected to. The Malawi irrigated scheme was a failure because there was a mismatch between the government's expectations and the Malawi Young Pioneers' aspirations (Kishindo, 2011). For instance, the Government planned that the farmers would settle on the farms permanently and reinvest in the local economy. On the otherhand whereas the farmers never wanted to spend the rest of their lives in rural areas and they tended to move out once they made some money to seek better life in urban areas. In addition to this, the farmers never reinvested in the local community but rather their original villages which they felt were their moral obligation to develop. Most of all, the Malawi irrigated scheme was faced with a high turnover rate.

Similarly, the main objectives of the Western Nigeria Farm Settlement Scheme were to attract young educated persons to take up farming and discard the negative ideas they had about farming. The scheme was also aimed at demonstrating that with careful planning, farms could be established and operated by young educated farmers with reasonable assistance in form of advice and loans from government and other sources. This was believed to provide a comfortable standard of living for the owners, comparable with or higher than that gained by persons of their status in other forms of employment

(Tamunoibuomi, 2012). The scheme failed as many settlers left the settlement discouraged by the hard life on the settlement and the authoritarian behaviour of the staff, among other factors. In the case of the three countries under discussion, settlement schemes were used as a tool for increasing agricultural productivity and at the same time, as a control measure for rural-urban migration.

In Rwanda, authorities established a settlement programme in response to the return of an estimated 2.5 million refugees. The settlement programme was later on extended to all rural people who were scattered and were being regrouped into villages. It was thought that this initiative would facilitate the provision of social services, promote security and encourage reconciliation (Hillhorst and Leeuwen, 2000).

From this global experience, it can be seen that many countries have used and continue to use resettlement. Resettlements have been used to uplift the livelihoods of the people who are considered to be land poor; to control rural-urban migration as well as to facilitate the provision of social services, promotion of security and reconciliation.

2.4 Resettlement History in Malawi

During the colonial era, European settlers displaced the local people in the Shire Highlands due to their interest in commercial agriculture. To ease the land tensions that existed between the local people and the Europeans, the colonial government embarked on a resettlement programme to avail land to the landless people (Kishindo 2011). The earliest settlements were the Chimwalira Estate and Chingale which were established in 1952 and 1948 respectively (Holden et. al, 2006). After independence, the Malawi

Government continued to use settlement schemes as a rural development tool in trying to improve agricultural productivity. During that time, Malawi used the schemes to serve as agricultural models as well as to reduce the number of youths migrating from rural areas to urban centres (Kishindo, 2011). However, the project was faced with high turnover rate of farmers from the schemes due to a number of reasons, which included poor earnings by the farmers due to the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes, failure to adjust to life in remote areas, and the tendency to work towards achievement of specific income target (Kishindo, 2011).

In the context of increasing land scarcity and the presence of underutilised land on estates, a policy to redistribute land to the landless poor households was developed. In this case, the state bought land after negotiations with estate owners and redistributed it to the land poor households through the use of traditional leaders and party functionaries. It is reported that the party leaders got more land than the intended beneficiaries (Holden et al., 2006). The benefits of the land redistribution projects were effectively captured by the powerful elements in the project areas.

The most recent resettlement scheme is the Community Based Rural Land Development Programme (CBRLDP) which is market-based land redistribution on a willing-buyer and willing-seller basis (Chirwa, 2008; Kishindo and Mvula, 2008). With the assistance of the World Bank, the programme was rolled out with the aim of availing land to about 15,000 land poor households. The settlers were expected to organise themselves into beneficiary groups of not less than 10 and no more than 35 (Chirwa, 2008). The

beneficiary groups were to identify and buy land that private land holders were willing to sell. The land was to be bought with a government grant after negotiations.

According to Simtowe et al. (2011), the initiation of the project distorted the land market. The increased demand for land by the beneficiaries resulted in price increase due to market forces. The prices rose to MK 18,540 per ha in 2010 from MK 8,000 per ha in 2005. This scenario brought some fears that the grant that beneficiaries were being provided with would not be adequate for the intended purposes of farm development and purchases of land, a situation which would neither improve their food security nor income status. They would be in the same situation as before. Apart from land price increase, the usage of farm development funds were affected by the non provision of social amenities in the resettlement areas as per the project design, and the beneficiaries had to use part of their grant for such (Simtowe et al., 2011; Kishindo, 2009).

Furthermore, the willing-seller willing-buyer principles of identifying land had some challenges. In some districts, such as Thyolo and Mulanje no land was made available on the market such that beneficiaries were forced to relocate to distant districts. According to Ng'ong'ola (2006) the inter-district relocation had some disadvantages as the relocated beneficiaries faced some cultural shock. The study by Ng'ongola (2006) did not go further to establish the effect such cultural shock had on the people who had relocated inter-district. Chinsinga (2008) noted that due to cultural differences, the settlers were limited in their livestock portfolio when among an Islamic community where the keeping of pigs, one of the settler's major livestock, was not allowed. Thus, Chinsinga

established that by limiting the type of livestock the settlers could keep in such areas, cultural differences affected their livelihoods.

Chinsinga (2008) also identified another problem with the CBRLDP, namely that the project was strategically exploited by the local elites such as traditional leaders, chiefs and Community Oversight Committee (COC) leaders who steered the implementation in such a way that it benefitted them and their close friends more than it did the intended beneficiaries. Thus, the project failed to fully eliminate the problem of landlessness among the rural poor. The aim of the resettlement programme was to avail land to the landless poor people. Simtowe et al. (2011) established that the land holding size changed significantly among the relocated households both in the vacated areas and in the receiving communities. For the vacated areas, there was a positive spillover effect as those remaining behind took over pieces of land that their relations had left when they relocated. However, the change in landholding size for the receiving community could not be attributed to the project but to demographic changes as well as reporting errors.

The change in landholding size resulted in increased production in the first year upon relocation (Ng'ong'ola, 2006). Similarly, Chirwa (2008) in his study also observed that the increased landholding size resulted in increased productivity. However, he made a further observation that the increase in productivity was due to access to farm inputs that was made possible by the grant that was provided to the beneficiaries in the first year of relocation and not just landholding size. Chirwa further observed that without the grant productivity gains achieved in the first year were likely to be lost given the high cost of

farm inputs. Evidence suggests that settlers have tended to be excluded from farm input subsidy programme on the grounds that they are not “true” members of the local villages (Chinsinga, 2008).

The design of the project paid attention to potential conflict eruptions within the communities. This was done through extensive public awareness campaigns through the media, thus both written and audio. In addition, another measure to minimise the eruption of conflict was adoption of the no-landgrabbing policy whereby only land that was offered willingly to be sold was bought (Simtowe et al. 2011). The CBRLDP failed to prepare the potential host communities on the ground. It has been argued elsewhere that priority to the abandoned estates should have been given to the local landless, considering the fact that the tobacco estates were carved out of ancestral lands in most cases. However, despite the attention that was given to minimise the eruption of conflicts, conflicts did arise. A study by Kishindo (2007) in which he focused on the host-settler community relations in new land settlement, established that relocated households were faced with hostility from the receiving community. He established that the conflict was due to competition over land. He further established that the existence of conflicts might affect their decision to stay on in their relocated areas. However, he did not go further to establish what implications such hostility would have on the relocated households' livelihoods should they stay on in the new lands.

Ng'ong'ola (2006) also observed another weakness with the CBRLD project. He established that there was gender imbalance in its implementation. The proportion of total

number of female beneficiaries was less than the actual number of female-headed households in the vacated areas. Kishindo and Mvula (2008) established that the low participation of female-headed households was due to multiple factors which included personal, social, cultural, economic and project policy related. The project design of not providing social amenities in the relocated areas contributed to the low participation of women as they were unwilling to relocate to such areas.

2.5 Relationship between Resettlement and Livelihoods Improvement in Settlement Schemes

There is growing evidence that resettlement results in long-term changes in the livelihoods of both the settlers and the resident communities. Regassa et al. (2011) argued that resettlement benefits both the settler population and the host community. In his study, he noted that resettlement resulted in income earning opportunities that the host community benefitted from. The hosts benefitted from the experience that they got from the settlers on agricultural practices such that they increased the number of crops they could grow which resulted in better income from crop sale. The establishment of the resettlement sites also resulted in the improved provision of infrastructure such as schools, roads and markets which, without the resettlement, the government could not have provided. Thus resettlement resulted in improved access to social amenities, markets and roads to markets. On the other hand, Yntiso (2004) in his study in Ethiopia established that resettlement resulted in a sharp decline of the hosts' income due to changes in the livelihood strategies that the resident population adopted with the

establishment of the settlement scheme. There were unprecedented changes to their livelihoods that they adopted.

Chimhowu (2002) is of the view that resettlement brings changes to the livelihoods of both the settlers and host community. However, he argued that the changing livelihood strategies that are adopted result in increased resource-use conflicts between the various stakeholders. This is a result of the two groups having different world views of the best livelihood strategies due to different cultural backgrounds in resource use. Thus, the establishment of settlements brings both positive and negative changes to the hosts as well as the settlers. The study that he undertook focused on spontaneous settlers who occupied the frontier lands. It is not clear whether the planned settlers would face the same challenge.

In relation to this, it has been argued that the major barrier to improved livelihoods in settlement schemes is the lack of proper inputs necessary in the transition period (Nuykina, 2011). In Northern Russia where government was relocating people to the South, the initiative did not work very well due to discrepancies between the price of housing where people were to relocate and the certificate of housing claim they were being given. Thus the assistance they received was lower than the cost of housing in the region they were to relocate to, which entailed that the settlers had to top up from their pockets. However, since the resettlement was aimed at relocating the socially vulnerable, it was a challenge for them to pay for the excess.

Chirwa (2008) made a similar argument regarding the importance of proper inputs in settlement schemes. He made an observation that land acquisition alone cannot translate into improved productivity. In the study that he conducted on the CBRLDP settlers, he discovered that the improved productivity among the settlers was not due to land reform or access per se, but to the financial resettlement grant that contributed to it. Thus, agricultural markets, and other necessary services made available to the settlers would sustain the improved productivity. Proper inputs are necessary for the success of resettlement programmes.

Studies have revealed that there exist differences between voluntary and involuntary migrants in terms of resource ownership and levels of food security. According to Yntiso (2002) there is a differential reestablishment of voluntary and involuntary migrants though they receive equal assistance in the new location. He established that the voluntary migrants readjusted better and faster than the involuntary ones. The differential reestablishment was due to certain psychological and socio-economic factors. Thus, the presence or absence of determination to relocate that existed in the resettled households determined the way the settlers made their plans. The involuntary settlers did not have the motivation to stay in the relocated land and they had also developed insecurity pertaining to property rights taking into account that they were forced to leave their agreeable environment. On the other hand, the voluntary settlers were so determined to make an improvement in their livelihood as they relocated willingly to change the vulnerable situation they were in.

2.6 Host-Settler Relations in Settlement Schemes

One of the challenges that tend to emerge in most resettlement programmes is the host-settler conflicts. Existing studies suggest that the conflicts in settlement schemes are due to different reasons, which include poor planning of the programme, different cultures, values, and religious affiliation. On programme planning, Shami (1993) argued that lack of consultations with the hosts is what brought conflicts between the settlers and the host community. She further pointed out that this was due to ensuing competition over scarce resources.

Scudder (1985) makes a similar argument to Shami's. However, Scudder makes a further observation that even if the hosts do not lose land, the fact that they are ignored within the settlement design increases the possibilities of conflict between the hosts and settlers. Furthermore, Hoppe and Faust, (2004) observed that the lack of legal arrangements and sufficient involvement of all parties in the development of the resettlement areas resulted in tensions. According to these scholars prior consultations with the host communities would help reduce host-settler community conflicts that characterise resettlement schemes.

Fernando (2010) argues that inequality in access to facilities can be a source of conflicts. He stressed the need to ensure the provision of important infrastructure in the host village in order to minimise resource-related tensions between the host community and the settlers. The unequal provision of services in both communities can bring tension which sometimes might lead to conflicts if the other party is denied access. In a situation where both parties receive equal services, conflicts are unlikely to happen.

According to Fernando (2010) most of the time the host communities make claims over land when the settlers have registered success. On the contrary, in a study by Hammond (2008), the settlers were not successful since the programme resulted in the invisibility of the vulnerable, but still there were conflicts over land as the settlers were allocated land which the government thought was vacant when in actual sense was being used by the hosts who were pastoralists. Thus, it is not just the success of the settlers that triggers these conflicts; the scarcity of the resources does contribute too.

2. 7 Theoretical Framework

2.7.1 Introduction

The study is guided by the Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) propounded by Muzafer Sherif and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as advanced by the Department for International Development (DFID, 1999). The choice of these frameworks is based on the fact that they can help in explaining inter-group conflict and potential sources of conflict as well as the influence that host-settler relations can have on livelihoods. The RGCT delineates the causes of conflict in inter-group relations. On the other hand the SLF elucidates the important assets that enable households to construct livelihoods, and it also helps to explain the transformation structures that facilitate or constrain people from accessing the assets.

2.7.2 Realistic Group Conflict Theory

The Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) provides profound insight into some of the universal causes of inter-group conflict. The theory argues that inter-group conflicts are

rational in the sense that groups have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources (Bornstein, 2003). Hostility is caused by competition between groups for valuable but limited material and symbolic resources (Brief et. al., 2005). Common incompatibilities between groups that can cause conflict include scarce resources such as those economic in nature; value differences; and power. Economic conflict refers to competition for resources; power conflict refers to fight over dominance; and value conflict involves disagreements between groups' beliefs or lifestyle.

The RGCT argues that the structure of the situation and not the personal characteristics of the individual is what determines human behaviour. Conflict is caused by incompatibility of goals regarding material and symbolic resources, and it is the struggle over such resources that leads to inter-group conflict and not personal characteristics like a prejudiced personality (Liu, 2012). Thus, the source of conflict is realistic (Hewstone and Greenland, 2000). The theory suggests that if there were enough resources for all groups then there would not be conflict between groups. This theory is very optimistic that coexistence without conflict is possible provided that there is no competition for scarce resources.

Although this assumption of rationality pertains to the competing groups, it has commonly extended to include the individual group members. Inference is made that if it is rational for the groups to compete, it must also be rational for the individual group members to do so. However, the conflict between group and individual interests is unavoidable since the benefits associated with the outcomes of inter-group conflict are

usually public goods that are nonexcludable to other members of their group (Bornstein, 2003). There will indeed be other people who would not participate in the fight for their group as they see that whether they participate or not they will still benefit. For instance, if the conflict that the group is involved in would result in the group benefiting from status, power or pride among other things, there is bound to be conflict between the group and individual interest. As noted by Taylor and Moghaddam (1987) cited in Bornstein (2003), this theory is depicted as an economic theory presuming that people are selfish and will try to maximise their own rewards.

2.7.2.1 Weakness of the Realistic Group Conflict Theory

The weakness of this theory is that rationality is assumed. It has focused much on the structure of the situation being the cause of the conflict and at the same time ignoring personal characteristics of the people involved. It has been noted by Hornsby (2008) that the fact of belonging to a group that is different from another group is enough to create prejudice in favour of the in-group than the out-group. Thus, according to Identity theorists it is not only the aspect of scarce resources that fuels inter-group conflict; prejudice also plays a role. Conflict is not only for resources but esteem that is group-based. Social comparisons to inter-group superiority are seen as a second major basis for inter-group conflicts.

2.7.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

This study uses the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) to examine the influence of host-settler relationship on the main components of the livelihoods in settler

households. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is an analytic tool developed by DFID.

The SLF is based on the belief that people require a range of assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes. The SLF focuses on the essential range of assets that are accessible to a social entity for survival and accumulation of wealth to move out of poverty. According to Farrington et al. (1999) these assets through their own production or exchange entitle people to goods and services.

These assets that are being referred to here are categorized differently by various scholars. Chambers and Conway (1992) grouped them into two: the tangible and intangible assets. Scoones (1998) categorized the assets differently by stating that there are four types of assets which include Natural, Human, Social and Economic/Financial. On the other hand, Ellis (2000) identifies five categories of assets which include Natural, Human, Social, Financial and Physical. Odero (2006) is of the view that to the five assets “information” should be included to make them six capital assets. As it can be noted here the categorization varies with different scholars. Kutengule (2000) noted that the difference in the categorization emanates from the fact that other scholars split assets that others recognized as one. The common factor in all these scholars is the recognition of the importance that is accorded to the assets in earning livelihoods. While scholars would categorize assets differently, what is important is to note the essential elements that define the asset.

In general, a livelihood platform that a community or household is perceived to own comprises five assets: the natural, social, financial, human and physical capital, which enables them to make a living. These assets that people draw upon to make a living are referred to as capital because they are able to serve a productive end (Farrington et al., 1999). The natural capital includes all the natural resource stocks such as land, water, air, forests genetic resources, among other things which are useful for livelihoods to be derived.

On the other hand, social capital includes the formal and informal social resources that people draw upon in pursuit of their livelihood (Ellis, 2000). People develop these social resources by investing time, effort and other resources. Such investment creates trust and reduces transaction costs and improves information exchange. This allows people to make claims on other people's obligation to support them and it also allows the development of informal safety nets. Social capital includes social networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations and associations among other things.

Another asset which is also considered important for the successful pursuit of livelihoods is financial capital which includes savings, credit, income from employment, trade and remittances among others (Serrat, 2010). Similarly, human capital is recognised as another asset in earning livelihoods. It includes the skills, knowledge, ability to work and good health. The acquisition of this asset can be either through formal means like attending school and training or informal through socialization.

The last one is the physical capital. This type of capital includes basic infrastructure, for instance roads, water and sanitation, and schools (Ellis, 2000). Tools such as farm implements and machinery that communities own can also belong to this category.

According to Serrat (2010) in the SLF there is another component that describes the vulnerability context as well as policies and institutions which can enhance or constrain social entities' efforts to pursue livelihoods. He explains that vulnerability in the well-being of individuals, households and communities may result from changes in their external environment and this can have an impact on the accessibility of assets. According to Vedeld et al. (2012) there are many factors that impact on social entities' livelihoods strategies which include exposures to world markets and prices, structural adjustment programmes and contraction of the public sector, corruption, climate change which might result in drought and floods, conflicts and land contraction through protection of areas, amongst others. Similarly, conflicts and tensions between settlers and hosts can impact settlers' livelihoods. Serrat (2010) further explains that livelihood strategies are not just dependent on the accessibility of assets or constrained by the vulnerability context but they are also transformed by institutions and their processes. These institutions and policies can either avail or deny people access to assets.

The subject under study is to understand the influence of host-settler relations on settlers' livelihood. The SLF is important as it touches on assets and the context in which these assets do exist. The SLF was important to this research as it provided the parameters to be analysed pertaining the settlers' livelihoods in the context of host-settler tensions.

2.7.3.1 Strength and Weaknesses of the SLF

The strength of this framework lies in the fact that it applies a holistic approach on the types of assets that are utilised by households, individuals and communities in a quest to earn livelihoods by not focusing only on the conventional capital assets. In addition to this, it facilitates an understanding of various factors that can constrain or enhance an individual's, households' and communities' effort in pursuing their livelihoods.

On the other hand, the weakness of this framework is that it does not have a component which would help development practitioners to identify poor people in a community. However, this shortfall would not jeopardize the analysis of the findings of this study as that is not its focus.

2.7.4 Application of the Two Theories: An Integrated Approach

The SLF focuses on the resources that enable households to earn various livelihood outcomes. There are several factors that that can influence or have an impact on livelihood outcomes. However, the SLF is limited in explaining how such constraining and facilitating factors come into being. These factors include institutions and processes such as organisations and social relations. This study focused on the host-settler relations that might influence the livelihoods of the households and this was explained by the RGCT as the theory explains what causes conflicts in inter-group relations.

It is pertinent to highlight how the SLF and the RGCT guided the research process of this paper. The SLF guided the research by providing the basis for choosing parameters to be analysed and measured in this study of settlers' livelihoods. The study focused on the

assets such as natural, physical, financial and social capitals. Human capital is not included as it was one of the eligibility criteria for households to have enough labour if they were to be beneficiaries. The RGCT set the foundation in the analysis of the causes and potential sources of conflict and this is the case because the theory helps to understand the causes of inter-group conflict.

2.8 Conclusion

This Chapter has shown that both colonial and independent governments have used the settlement schemes for various reasons. It has been shown that some resettlement schemes have been successful in achieving their objectives while others have proved to be failures due to varying reasons. It has also been observed that conflicts between groups in settlements are inevitable when two or more distinct social groups are compelled to share space. The literature reviewed on various studies have highlighted the potential eruption of conflicts in new settlement areas but the studies conducted in Malawi have not discussed further how such relations would impact on the development of settlers' livelihoods in detail. Furthermore, studies have not established if those settlers who were faced with hostility from the host communities have experienced any changes in their relations with the receiving communities. One study though by Chimhowu (2002) is shown to have focused on spontaneous settlers and their hosts in changing livelihoods though it did not focus on planned settlers. This current study thus, proves a timely attempt to fill these gaps.

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the focus will be on nine areas. Section 3.1 provides a description of the study area. The study design is discussed in section 3.2. Section 3.3 presents the selection of participants. Section 3.4 proffers the data collection methods; section 3.5: the data collection procedures; and data analysis is presented in section 3.6. Research ethics followed in this study are presented in section 3.7 while section 3.8 presents the challenges faced during data collection. Finally, section 3.9 provides the limitations of this study.

3.1 Study Area

The study was carried out in the Southern Region of Malawi, specifically in Machinga District in areas of Traditional Authorities (T/As) Liwonde and Chiwalo. Machinga District is one of the thirteen districts in the Southern Region. The district shares boundaries with Zomba District in the South, Mangochi District in the North, Balaka District in the West, and the Republic of Mozambique in the East. The district covers a total land area of 3,771 square kilometres. The justification for conducting the study in this district was the availability of planned resettlements in the District. People relocated

from other districts to this district on the premise that they would stay there permanently as part of the *Kudzigulira Malo* Project.

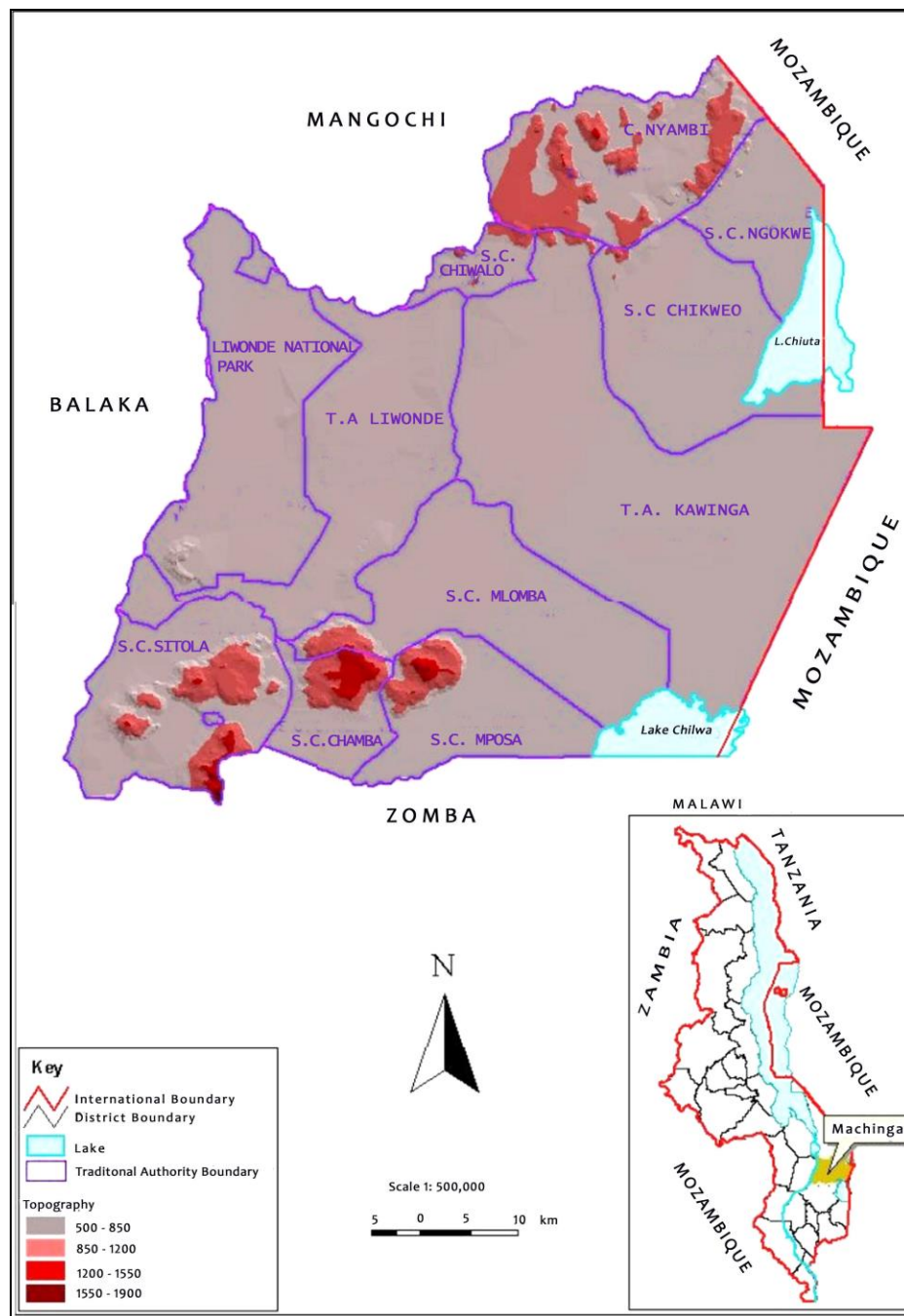


Figure 1: Map of Machinga District Highlighting T/As

Source: National Statistical Office

3.2 Study Design

The study adopted a qualitative approach as it aimed at capturing the experiences of the people who were relocated to the new areas, and also to understand the influence that host-settler relations had on the settlers' livelihoods. Since the choice of one methodology over the other is largely influenced by the research problem, personal experience and the intended audience for the research (Creswell, 2012), in this study, the nature of the research problem was a major determinant for the researcher to adopt a qualitative approach. The problem under investigation required a deeper understanding as little research on the area has been carried out. For the reason, open ended questions which a qualitative approach employs, was appropriate. The adoption of a qualitative design allowed the gathering of data with some detail which enabled the researcher to explore and better understand the complexity of the phenomenon. On the other hand quantitative design would have answered the questions but the detail would conspicuously miss out.

3.3 Selection of Participants

In Machinga District there were two types of beneficiary groups that were relocated; some were relocated from within the district whilst others were inter-district settlers from Mulanje and Thyolo Districts. The main focus of this study was to investigate the influence that host-settler relations had on livelihoods of the settlers who had relocated to a totally new environment away from their relatives and friends. In order to establish this, the focus was on inter-district settlers since the researcher wanted to understand what happened when different social groups were brought together in a permanent relationship

in a new environment. The intra-district settlers were not involved as they had not, to a greater extent, changed their environment. This study employed stratified purposive sampling. Firstly, only beneficiary groups from Mulanje and Thyolo districts were purposively selected for the study. Secondly, those beneficiary groups which were among the first to relocate were purposively selected. This enabled the researcher to analyse how the relationships had changed overtime; and whether their relationship had a bearing on the development of their livelihoods. All these participants were deliberately chosen to meet the specified criteria of being from outside the district and being part of the first set of immigrants.

The criteria for identifying key informants were that those village chiefs bordering the settlers were considered and that these were Group Village Headmen who have been there since the relocation. The chairpersons of the beneficiary groups qualified as key informants provided they had arrived at the same time with the first settlers. The District Lands Officer of Machinga District automatically qualified as a key informant because of his responsibilities. Project officials at the Ministry of Lands, District Lands Officers from the sending districts were not included since the information required from them was captured from the project documentation.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

Qualitative data collection techniques were utilised. This enabled the researcher to understand the subject since qualitative tools provide a chance for open ended questions and allowed for the collection of detailed data pertaining to the subject under study.

Multiple methods were used in studying this research problem as the use of two or more different measures of the same variable can strengthen measurement considerably (Chambliss and Schutt 2010). The data collection techniques utilised in this study included Focus Group Discussions, In-depth interviews, and Key Informant Interviews. Quantitative data techniques were not utilised in this study because they provide preconceived ideas and also do not provide detailed information which, with the nature of the problem in this study, could not have been appropriate.

3.4.1 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were conducted with both settler and host communities. Targeting both settler and host communities assisted to get a balanced understanding of the subject under study. In total, fifteen (15) FGDs were conducted. Seven (7) FGDs were conducted in the area of T/A Liwonde where three (3) of them were done with settlers and the other four (4) with the host community. Focus Group Discussions for men and women were conducted separately in order to allow both sexes to participate freely. Similarly, the remaining eight (8) FGDs were conducted in the jurisdiction of T/A Chiwalo in the same manner. Fifteen FGDs were conducted as the saturation point was achieved. The total number of FGDs that was conducted was not decided in advance.

In all the FGDs, the Researcher was the moderator. A voice recorder was used during the discussion with the consent of the research participants, and observation notes were taken during the interview to capture the participants' gestures. At the end of each day

transcriptions were done and record was kept as per theme. The FGD guide for settlers is attached in Appendix 2 and that for hosts is attached in Appendix 3.

3.4.2 In-Depth Interviews

In-depth interviews were used to collect data from the settlers' communities (both men and women). This method was utilised in order to get life stories and also follow on issues which were not clear after the FGDs. All the settlers qualified to participate in the in-depth interviews; however, only one was selected to be interviewed. A total of four (4) in-depth interviews were conducted. The tool that was utilised was an interview guide which has been attached in Appendix 4.

3.4.3 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

Key Informant Interviews were conducted using an interview guide where a set of general questions drawn from the themes of the study were asked. These were conducted with the Group Village Headmen of the host communities, the chairpersons of the settler groups, and the District Lands Officer. Project documents were also used, as such there was no need to involve CBRLDP Project officials at the Ministry of Lands. In total seven (7) KIIs were conducted. The Key Informants were used in this study as these people are believed to be knowledgeable about the resettlement project. The KII interview guide is attached in Appendix 5.

3.5 Data Collection

Data collection was done for a period of twenty-two (22) days from 9th September, 2014 to 30th September, 2014. Prior to the data collection, a pilot study was undertaken. A pilot study is a small scale study which gives a researcher an opportunity to assess the feasibility of the main survey and also supports designing the main study (Arain et al., 2010). Such an approach greatly improves quality of the research as well as minimises risk. In light of this, a pilot study was carried out. The research tools were pretested and necessary amendments were made. The pretesting exercise was necessary to check whether the tools were designed well enough to capture the required data with minimum problems. The people who were subjected to the pretesting exercise did not participate in the main study as they were already exposed to the intervention and therefore they might have responded differently from those who had not previously experienced it, thereby affecting the results of the study. All the research tools which included FGD guides for both settler and host communities, the interview guides for in-depth interviews and KII, were pretested.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis was done using content analysis. Content analysis is a data analysis method for systematically analysing and making inferences from text (Chambliss and Schutt, 2010). Content analysis was used as the researcher wanted to make some meaning out of the data that was gathered.

The analysis started with transcription of the verbal data which was recorded using a voice recorder. At the end of each day, transcription was being done and preliminary analysis conducted. This enabled the researcher to follow up issues that emerged and also issues that were not clear. Then coding of the data followed. This was done manually according to the emerging themes. Data organisation paid attention to the identification of differences among the two groups. After sorting out the different codes into themes, the final stage was to review the themes that had emerged.

3.7 Research Ethics

To ensure that research ethics were observed in this study, I obtained permission to conduct the study in the district from the District Commissioner of Machinga District. I presented a letter of introduction from the Faculty of Social Science to the District Commissioner and debriefed him about the study. The District Commissioner then gave me consent to conduct the research in the district. I also sought permission from T/As Liwonde and Chiwalo. To ensure that the participants' rights were protected, I sought consent from the research participants. I provided adequate information about the study to the participants in order for them to make an informed decision whether to participate in the study or not. Furthermore, I did not coerce participants to take part in this research and I informed them that they were free to opt out of the study at any point in time. However, none of the participants opted out of the study. In addition to this, everything was done to ensure that no participant in the research was injured in anyway. Finally, I kept the data that was collected confidentially.

3.8 Challenges during Data Collection

The study population has been over-researched in the sense that there have been many studies being conducted on them. For instance, they mentioned that in the recent past a research study was conducted that focused on agricultural production but they have not seen any intervention following that study. The study population expects to experience some changes in their livelihoods following previous studies conducted there. However, to date they have not seen the benefits of participating in these studies. In light of these experiences, they were unwilling to take part in research studies in the area.

The study community had come to expect handouts in cash or kind for providing information and they had expected the same from this researcher in spite of a clear explanation at the beginning that they would not benefit materially for taking part in the study as it was a purely academic exercise. To address the issue, the researcher had to take her time to explain to them as participants that the activity was purely for academic purposes, and that the researcher was sponsoring herself without external funding, and they understood such that the quality of information provided was not affected by this.

3.9 Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of this study is that it was conducted on a very small number of households compared to those that had relocated inter-district. Despite this limitation, the findings still provide empirical data on the subject under discussion: the influence of host-settler relations on development of settlers' livelihoods and the impact such relations have on the decision of settlers to make long-term investments.

Chapter Four

Research Findings and Discussion

4.0 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to investigate the influence that host-settler relations had on settlers' ability to develop their livelihoods. There were four specific objectives. The first objective was to investigate the status of the relationship between hosts and settlers in the resettlement areas. The second objective was to establish the basis of tensions and conflicts between hosts and settlers. Thirdly, the study was to determine the mechanisms that existed to mitigate tensions and conflicts between the settlers and hosts. The last objective was to establish how tensions affected the settlers' access to natural, financial, social and physical assets for livelihoods development. The study was done in settler communities that had relocated to Machinga District under the Community Based Rural Land Development Project popularly known as *Kudzigulira Malo* Project. This chapter gives a detailed analysis and results of the study.

4.1 State of Host-Settler Relations

Focus Group Discussions with the settlers and hosts revealed that there was underlying tension between settlers and their hosts. The level of tension was, however, not uniform across the two resettlement areas.

It was established that in T/A Liwonde's area, there had been a very big positive change compared to the time they had just relocated; whereas in T/A Chiwalo's area, the tensions were getting worse. The quotations below reveal the tensions that existed between the two groups:

“Anthu kuno amaopsezedwa kuti tikupangani chiwembu. Koma iii kulimbamtima basi. Amatinena anthu anjala inu, atigulire, maremfajizi. Koma anthu amangopilira kuona kwathu njala.” (People here are threatened but perseverance and determination is what keeps them here. We are called demeaning names, for instance, refugees and hungry people, but we just persevere knowing that there is food insecurity in our original home.)

Female Settlers FGD, Nang'oma Trust, T/A Chiwalo

“Tikukhala bwinobwino. Mtendere ukupezeka ngakhale sizilephera ati ife obwera. Atigulire.” (We are living peacefully. Although misunderstandings are there since they regard us as second generation arrivals.)

Male and Female Settlers FGD, Kalungu Trust, T/A Liwonde

The host community members had this to say on the state of relations:

“Pano zilibwino chifukwa kulibe mkangano ndi anthu amenewa. Chairman anali okonda zolongolola ndi achinyamata ena koma pano amenewa anathawa kubwerera kwao ndiye kukhala ngati kuli ziii. Koma ena onse anatsalawa ndi anthu abwino ndithu; tikukhala nawo bwino.” (Currently all is well because there are no conflicts with these people. The chairman was too talkative together with some young men but now these returned so it is calm. These remaining people are good people and we are staying with them peacefully.)

Njirima Village, T/A Liwonde

“Sitikukhalanawo bwino anthu amenewa ndi ovuta chikhalidwe chawo. Nkhuni kukaniza kulephera kupempha.” (We are not living in peace with these people. They are ill-mannered. They refuse us to collect firewood even if we ask.)

Female hosts FGD, Sale Village, T/A Chiwalo

The difference in the levels of tensions between the two resettlement areas was attributed to the reduction in numbers of the settlers. Some settlers had left the settlement areas and the number of returnees is higher in T/A Liwonde's area than in T/A Chiwalo's area, and as such the settlers in these areas were not regarded as threats. Additionally, the traditional leaders in T/A Liwonde's area were said to be very accommodating, a situation that had contributed to peaceful co-existence as compared to the chiefs in T/A Chiwalo's area whom the settlers felt were in the forefront demeaning them.

The study found that another factor that had contributed to the different levels in tensions in the two areas was the contestation by the village headmen over the control of the settlers. Findings showed that in T/A Liwonde's area there were contestations as to who should be in charge of the settlers. This was to the advantage of the settlers because the chiefs were looking for power in terms of having larger numbers and they ended up encouraging their subjects, who are the hosts, to accept these settlers as part of their village so that they should not lose them (settlers) to other chiefs. This was evidenced by the situation that the settlers in Chimwavi Trust experienced as the surrounding chiefs were contesting as to whose jurisdiction they were in. The quotation below summarises this:

“Komanso tizafike ife sitimadziwa kuti tili kwamfumu ndani ndiye kunali aeni ake mafumu kukokana. Anthuwa ndi anga, Enaso anthuwa ndi anga; ndiye ife tinangokhala kuti ife mbuye wathu ndeuti. Poti zonse zimatha kukambirana, pano tinadziwa.” (At the time we arrived we didn't know to which chief we belonged and it was now the chiefs fighting for us. But since issues get resolved through dialogue, now we know.)

Female Settlers FGD, Chimwavi Trust T/A Liwonde

On the other hand, if one compared the situation with that of other settlers, for instance, those in Bangulo and Nang'oma trusts located in T/A Chiwalo's area, it was completely the opposite as the chief was in the forefront demeaning the settlers. The chief in this area openly denied responsibility of these settlers. In one case, the chief himself, during a meeting, stood up and pushed one of the settlers as she wanted to raise a complaint pertaining fertiliser subsidy coupon distribution. This is perhaps aptly illustrated in the following quotations as expressed by participants of a female FGD which was also echoed in the Male FGD as well as by a KI:

“Ngati amayambitsa a mfumu eni eniwo kutikankha what more anthu omvetserawo; ati ife anthu osokoneza; tizapita kwathu.” (If it starts with the Chief himself not accepting us what more those that listen to him saying we will return to our home we bring misunderstandings.)

Female Settlers FGD Bangulo, Trust, T/A Chiwalo

From the analysis of this factor, it can be derived that once the settlers have the traditional leadership' support, the resentments that the hosts would have towards the settlers are minimised as they are afraid of being reprimanded. The study findings corroborate findings by Dzingirai 1996 cited in Dzingirai (2003) who in his study established that migrants find support from traditional leaders who still reckon wealth and power in terms of people.

4.2 Causes of Tensions between Settlers and Host Communities

The following section discusses the study findings on the causes of tensions between the settler and host communities.

4.2.1 Competition over Land and other Natural Resources

The study established that the resettlement areas where the relocated households were settled were already experiencing declining land availability by the time the immigrants arrived. The area has customary land tenure system which follows principles of matrilineity that requires a mother to share her land holding with her daughters when they get married. This practice results in constant subdivision of land and ultimately small land holdings. The arrival of the immigrants increased the competition for a declining resource. Jere (2011) established that population increase in Chikhwawa District was the reason host communities were hostile towards settlers who were relocated in the upland areas due to the frequent floods in the district.

As reported by the group village head in T/A Liwonde's area:

“Minda yawo aduladula chifukwa ana awo akwatiwakwatiwa, nde ukakhala ndi ana angapo maka akakhala akazi, nde kulibe zachiwongo kwathu kuno, ndiye chidandaulo.” (Their gardens have been subdivided because their children have been married. Especially when you have female children there is no *Chiwongo*¹ in this area, that's why they are complaining.)

From the hosts' perspective, the resettlement of these settlers impeded their access to land which served as a safety valve for land deficit families. Previous estate owners could allow land-deficit families to use some of the land to grow food crops, or when the land was not being used, the land-deficit families would simply encroach on it. With the former estate land in use by the new owners, these options were closed. This situation generated resentments among the hosts who now had no opportunity to encroach on the

¹Chiwongo is money that is paid to the bride's family if the husband wants to take his wife to his village.

farms. The resentment often found expression in encroachment and destruction of demarcation beacons:

“Minda yathu yachepachepa; angotilowerera kumaswa ma bikoni” (Our gardens are getting smaller as they are just encroaching and destroying the beacons.)

Male Settlers FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

This finding is corroborated by studies elsewhere. Regassa *et al.* (2011) in her study of Guarafada resettlement site in Ethiopia found that the major cause of conflict between the settlers and the host community was the competition over scarce resources, for instance, farming and grazing land. Likewise, Fernando (2010) in a study conducted in Galle, Sri Lanka, also established that land encroachment by the villagers on the new settlements resulted in conflicts.

4.2.1.1 Competition over Forest Products

The study established that settlers’ blocking of hosts’ access to forest products was resented by the hosts. The forest products in this study included items like firewood and thatch grass. The hosts believed that the settlers only had the right to access land and not the things that grow on it because their relocation was due to the fact that they were land poor. The things that grow on the land naturally were understood to be common resources by the host communities. On the other hand, the settlers believed that they owned both the land and the things that grow on it and they had the liberty to share with hosts freely or sell to them. The hosts’ position regarding forest products is captured in the following statement:

“Two anabwerera dothi. Atisiile ife zimitengozo, asamatikanize. Azingolima basi.” (These people came here for land so they should not deny us access to firewood. They should just concentrate on farming.)

Female Hosts FGD, Sale Village, T/A Chiwalo

However, the correct position pertaining to the land ownership and entitlements is the one that was held by the settlers as confirmed by the DLO. The legal ownership of land and entitlements were communicated to the host communities through the sensitisation meetings that were being held before the relocation of the settlers. It was communicated that the settlers had full entitlement to the land that they had purchased.

A study by Regassa *et al.* (2011) in Ethiopia also found that competition over forest products was a cause of conflict in Guarafada site. Initially, before resettlement, the hosts were involved in forest honey production, and upon establishing a resettlement site, their production declined as the trees were either cut down or owned by the settlers and they were denied access to hang their bee hives.

4.2.2 Cultural Differences

There are cultural affinities between the Yaos who are the hosts and the Lomwes who are the settlers. The few Lomwes who were in the resettlement area were marital immigrants who had assimilated into the culture of the Yaos. The major differences between the hosts and settlers revolved around food and initiation ceremonies. The settler communities came from Thyolo and Mulanje Districts and belonged to the Lomwe tribe who were predominantly Christian, whereas the host community mostly comprised the Yao people and the majority of whom were Muslims. In Islamic teaching, there is food

which is regarded as “haram” which one should not consume. Pork and mice are regarded as “haram”. The open consumption of such food was resented by strict practitioners of Islam who feared their children might be tempted to start eating them too.

The quotations below illustrate the misunderstandings around food:

“Amatinenabe ati ife kuti Boma silinachite bwino kuwabweretsera anthu ody zilizonse chifukwa timadya agwayani ndi mbewa.” (They say Government did not do a good thing relocating people to their area who just eat anything including monkeys and mice.)

Male Settlers FGD, Nang’oma Trusts, T/A Chiwalo

“Panali kusamvetsetsana pakati pathu sinanga anzathuwo amadya zoletsedwa monga liguluwe ndi zina zotero” (There were misunderstandings between us due to the fact that our friends eat food that is not allowed in this area such as pork among other things.)

Male Hosts FGD, Sale Village, T/A Chiwalo

The Yao believe that an individual is not an adult unless he or she goes through a special initiation ceremony. Although the immigrants had their own initiation ceremonies, these were perceived as inferior by the hosts. The settlers were therefore viewed as people that were not well-brought up. On the other hand, the settlers tended to question the wisdom of initiating very young boys and girls. This was captured in the quotations below:

Anthu amenewo ndiwosavinidwa; alibe khalidwe. Amatitukwana (These people have not been initiated. They do not have manners.)

Female Hosts FGD, Sale village, T/A Chiwalo

“Kodi kamwana kakang’onong’ono akalanga chani?” (How can they initiate a small child?)

Female Settlers FGD, Bangulo Trust, T/A Chiwalo

The RGCT elucidates that incompatibilities such as value differences in terms of beliefs and lifestyles cause conflict between groups. This study established that cultural

differences caused tensions between the hosts and settlers. It thus corroborates that by Fernando (2010) in Sri Lanka who found that inappropriate practices by the settlers due to different cultures such as dressing, communication and food made the hosts angry and it resulted in conflicts.

4.2.3 Political Affiliation

Perceived differences in political affiliation fuelled tensions between the settlers and the hosts. There was a perception that Lomwes would support a fellow Lomwe and Yaos a fellow Yao. The study established that prior to the May 20th (2014) tripartite elections, each group had their own preferred presidential candidate that they were rallying behind on ethnic grounds. The hosts had Atupele Muluzi who is originally from Machinga District, and the settlers were rallying behind Peter Mutharika who is from Thyolo District and is a Lomwe. In this context, the political competition assumed the form of competition for dominance which is in line with what the RGCT elucidates that conflict between groups is caused by competition over power.

The following quotation emphasizes the levels to which the tensions and resentment reached:

“Kungoti kuno kwa T/A Chiwalo mpakana kwa Bwana Nyambi amadalira kwambiri ichi chipani cha UDF, nde poona kuti Atupele ndiponso Joyce waluzi nde amati ife obwera tizipita kwathu chifukwa takondera uyu Peter. Chifukwa iwo analibe lingo lokuti aluzi Atupele nde n’chifukwa mpungwepungwe unachuluka.” (The issue is that here in T/A Chiwalo all the way to Chief Nyambi, is a UDF stronghold. The loss of Presidential candidates Atupele and Joyce has put us in trouble. We are seen to

have preferred Peter. They did not anticipate Atupele to lose hence the heightened fracas.)²

Male Settlers FGD, Nang'oma Trust, T/A Chiwalo

Politicians fuel these tensions by using land scarcity as a political campaign tool. The study found that during the 2014 Tripartite Elections some politicians were making promises to the people that once they are in power they will ensure that the settlers return to their original home and redistribute the land to the host community. This finding corroborates a study by the International Institute for Research and Development (2005) cited in Holden *et al.* (2006) which established that one of the causes of conflicts between settlers and the nearby villagers during the Makande Estate land redistribution exercise in Thyolo District was false expectations that politicians created in the villagers that they would get back their ancestral land.

The main causes of tensions between the settlers and their hosts were the competition over scarce resources such as land and forest products. Cultural differences and perceived differences in political affiliations tended to exacerbate already existing tensions between the two groups.

4.3 Tension Mitigation Strategies

Following tensions between the two groups, several strategies were developed to mitigate the tension. Some of the strategies were those that were incorporated in the project

² The comment was in reference to some violent scenes in some parts of the district, which occurred just after the 2014 elections.

design while others were developed by the settlers. The goal was to foster peaceful coexistence. The following sub-sections detail these strategies.

4.3.1 Civic Education

A series of civic education meetings that the District Commissioner's office held with local traditional leaders, the host community and the settlers played a crucial role in improving the relations. These meetings were used to clarify to all concerned parties the position regarding the land held by the settlers. It was emphasised that the settlers owned the land, and that the land would not be redistributed to the host community even if some members left. This removed any false expectations that the hosts had. The statements below represent the situation:

“Zinatengera aboma kukamba nawo anzathuwa ati chifukwa ena abwerera iwo amayembekeza kuti atenge malo awo koma ananeneratu kuti olo pazakhale munthu modzi malo onse azakhala ake ndimmene anthu ena amakhuzumuka.” (It took Government' intervention to inform the hosts that no matter how many people will leave the estate, they will not get the land as it will be in the hands of the remaining people or person in the event that all, but one have left, it was after this clarification that others changed their mentality.)

Male and Female Settlers FGD, Kalungu Trust, T/A Liwonde

“The sensitisation meetings that we were having were with the traditional leaders. It had to start with them as the subjects listen to them such that in areas where the traditional leaders understood what we had to tell them, we, as the DC's office were receiving few cases of complaints.”

DLO, Machinga District Council

The strategy by the District Commissioner's office further suggested that civic education targeting the community leaders was even more effective than involving the subjects only as the chiefs have control over their people and they listen to them.

4.3.2 Mediation

The study also found that the chiefs played an important role in containing the tensions that existed between the settlers and the hosts. The traditional leaders acted as mediators most of the time. Issues of land encroachment were most of the time resolved through the involvement of the chiefs. In some instances the settlers would report the issue of land encroachment to the chief who would then summon the hosts and resolve the disagreements. However, this study established that the chiefs' ruling most of the time had been in favour of the local people. This finding is in agreement with a study by Chinsinga (2008) who found that the chiefs in his study area tended to allow cases of land encroachment to stall. This forced the settlers to give up their encroached land for the sake of peace.

The settlers had this to say:

“Timakaponda bwalo ife komano timaluzanso ndife pachigamulidwe nthawi zambiri.” (It is we who complain yet the ruling does not come in our favour most of the time.)

Male Settlers FGD, Chimwavi, T/A Liwonde

“Njira yake ndiyakuti mikangano ikakhalapo ifeyo timapita kwa mfumu, sinanga iwowo alinso ndi a tcheya awo ndiye timakhaliranapansi.” (The strategy that we use is that when there are conflicts we report to the village chief and since the settlers have their chairperson we discuss the matter.)

Female hosts FGD, Njirima Village, T/A Liwonde

Where a dispute settlement had taken place, it had been respected by both the hosts and settlers. FDG results indicated that some hosts who did not have adequate land resorted to renting extra pieces of land from the settlers. This is illustrated in the quotation below:

“Basi pano ukakhala ndi ndalama tikafuna malo timapanga renti kwa odzigulirawa, sinanga tinapusa tokha osalowa nawo pologalamu.”
(When we have money we just rent pieces of land from the settlers since it was our fault not to join the programme.)

Female Settlers FDG, Njirima Village, T/A Liwonde

The settlers adopted their own strategies to foster peaceful coexistence with the hosts.

4.3.3 Adoption of the Hosts’ Language

The settlers learnt their hosts’ language, chiYao. Learning the language of the hosts eased communication between the two groups, but it also represented concession to the dominant culture. This concession is aptly captured in the following quotation:

“Kaletu amapangitsa msonkhano onse mu chiYao. Sankasamala kaya iwe sutolapo kanthu, olo tidandaule. Amatiuza kuti sitafika tiphunzire chinenero chawo osati iwo aziyankhula chinenero chaife. Ndepano ife tinaphunzira, pano timamva ndiye sitidandaula.” (Initially they were conducting the whole meeting in Yao language not caring whether we understood it even if we complained. They were saying we should now learn their language since we are in their area, not them speaking the settlers’ language. So we learnt the language and we do understand and do not complain.)

Female Settlers FGD, BanguloTrust, T/A Chiwalo

The hosts had this to say on the settlers’ initiative to learn their language:

“Kuti anthu abwere pano akudziwani inuyo kuti ndinu alendo chifukwa nkhope yanu ndiyonyowa. Koma awa atigulire tilinao limodzi amayankhula chiYao ndipo amangoyenera kuphunzira chinenero chimenechi chathuchi.” (If someone was to come here they would definitely know you do not belong here but we are in the same boat with these settlers since they now speak our language, Yao, they just had to learn.)

Male Hosts FGD, Sale Village, T/A Chiwalo

Koven (1992) observed that knowledge of the French Language had assisted the immigrants from Maghreb countries, particularly Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco to integrate with the French even though there have been cases of discrimination. However, this is contrary to the findings by Regassa *et al.* (2011) who found that in Ethiopia both the host and settler communities were making an effort to learn each other's language. The settlers learned the local language whilst the host also learned some Amharic words to enable them to communicate easily. However, this study established that the lack of interest among the Yaos to learn Lomwe was the fact of power relations. The hosts being the first settlers in the area wanted to claim their superiority.

4.3.4 Submission to the Host Dominance

The submission to the hosts' dominance was established in cases where hosts encroached on settlers' land, the settlers preferred to give up the land instead of defending their rights, out of fear and to keep peace. As immigrants they felt they could not successfully fight the hosts who often had the support of the chiefs and traditional authorities. Upon relocation, the settlers fell under the jurisdiction of the chiefs in those areas to which they were relocated. There was also fear that they might be bewitched by the encroachers if they insisted on defending their rights. The submissiveness strategy is aptly illustrated in the following quotation:

“Ifeyo basi kulandidwa kwa maloko tinagonja kuti basi tizilima komwe tatsalanakoku nde kukhala ngati kamtendere kakukhalapo, sinanga kuti ife obwera tinangogonja.”(We just gave up our land being new comers, that we will be farming on the little land that is left, that’s how we started living peacefully.)

Male Settlers FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

Although the amount of land lost through encroachment could not be ascertained, the fact was that this strategy had cost the settlers some of their land. Hoppe and Faust (2004) found comparable results in Indonesia that revealed that conflicts over land boundaries were resolved through the retreating by the trans-migrants in order to avoid further conflicts with the locals. Being newcomers they did not feel strong enough to fight for their rights.

4.3.5 Making Friendships

Making friendships contributed to the mitigation of tensions that existed between the two groups. This strategy was mentioned in the FGDs, during the in-depth interviews as well as by the KIs. By establishing friendships with the hosts, the resentments that they used to harbour had been assuaged. However, the findings indicated that some of the relationships were one-sided. This is emphasised by the quotation below from the settler community:

“Ife sitimatsatira zipanga iwozo. Ife timacheza nawo kumamasuka nawo ndichifukwa ubale ukupezeka.” (We don’t do what they do to us. We chat with them openly that is why the relationship has improved.)

Female Settlers FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

The study further found that intermarriages that were taking place between the hosts and settlers were helping in developing meaningful social relationships. Marriages in African settings do not only involve the couple only but it is a group affair. The quotations below are evidence that these marriage unions contributed to the coexistence:

“Kumeneko ku atigulireko kuli tiana tasungwana moti ena iii achita mwayi konko. Ndiye poteropo sibasi kulimbikitsa ubale. (There are girls among the settlers and some have been lucky to find soulmates. In Such situation you just ensure that the relations are stable.)

Male Hosts FGD, Sale Village, T/A Chiwalo

“Siiwo akumabwera kumazatikwatirira ana anthu momuno. Ife tikuwalola ndi kuwapatsanso malo munga muchikhalidwe chathu. Basi be ndi umodzi umenewo.” (Since they are marrying our daughters here, and we allow them to stay by providing land as per our culture that means we are one.)

Male Settlers FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

The matrilineal principles of land acquisition are being recreated in the new lands as noted in the quotation above. The implication is that the settlers’ farming plots will become small as such practices will recreate land scarcity in the near future.

4.4 The Effect of Tensions on Access to Natural, Social, Financial and Physical

Capital for Development of Livelihoods

In general terms, a community or household is expected to own some assets to enable them to make a living. This section discusses results of the assessment of the effect of tensions on natural, financial, social and physical capitals that settler communities utilise to develop their livelihoods. I wanted to ascertain whether the existence of tensions between the two groups had any influence on the settlers’ livelihoods by focusing on access to natural, financial, social and physical capitals.

4.4.1 The Effect of Tensions on Access to Natural Capital

Natural capital is the term used for natural resource stocks which comprises among other things the land, water and biological resources that are used by people to earn a living (Ellis, 2000). To people who derive all or part of their livelihoods from resource-based activities such as farming, fishing and mineral extraction, natural capital is very important. The study established that both the settlers and the hosts in the study area depended on farming as their number one strategy of earning a living. Therefore land was a prime natural capital for the settlers. The crops which are grown in the areas of study include maize, groundnuts, cassava, legumes and tobacco.

Tensions between settlers and hosts have had an effect on the settlers' access to land, which is the main natural capital for the settlers. Study results indicated that in both resettlement areas the settlers had lost a part of their land holdings especially those who had their plots in the periphery of the estates on which they were relocated. However, there was a difference in the extent of land encroachment that the two areas experienced. In the resettlement area in T/A Liwonde's area where tensions were minimal, people just lost part of their land due to encroachment, whereas in T/A Chiwalo area some settlers lost their whole land holdings to the hosts during the first year. Soon after the first rains, some hosts planted in the settler's prepared gardens as a way of asserting ancestral claims to land. It had taken the intervention of the DC and the project officers for the settlers to get other plots. However, the plots that they were given afterwards were of poor quality. The tensions that existed between the two groups resulted in the settlers losing good

arable land which they could have been cultivating and from which they would be harvesting more.

Following this encroachment and relocation to less fertile land, the settlers harvested less than what they would otherwise have been harvesting. The effect of the tension in terms of access to good land is illustrated in the following quotations:

“Ifeyo aNang’oma tinapatsidwa minda yabwino koma iliyolimalima anthu akunowa anadzala mogwirizana ndi a mfumu. Aboma poona kuti tisabwerere anatisamutsila ku minda yomwe inatsala ku Nakalimbe yomwe ili ya miyala. Ndiye ifeyo tikudandaula chifukwano anatiika ku miyala komwe sitingakolole.” (We from Nang’oma were given good arable land but with the tensions the local people planted on the land that we had already prepared with the blessing of the village chief. So the Project Officers seeing this relocated us to left over land which is very rocky at Nakalimbe. We cannot harvest enough as the land is very rocky.)

Female Settlers FGD, Nang’oma Trust, T/A Chiwalo

The others who lost the land due to encroachment had this to say:

“Mmene timabwera kuno tinauzidwa tidzapatsidwa 2 hekita yolima koma munkuyesa panapezeka malo ena adulidwa okwana 7.6 hekita ndi anthu akunowa ndipo zotsatila zake ndizakuti aliyense anapatsidwa 1.8 hekita yolima. Komanso abale ena okwana 10 minda yawo yadulidwa kwambiri chifukwa chotilowera nde kuti alime zinthu zambiri ndi povuta. Anthu amenewa minda yawo ndiyochepe kwambiri tayesa kulira koma takhala manja nkhosi.” (When we were coming here we were told we will get 2 hectares for farming plots but it was discovered that 7.6 hectares was lost to the hosts through encroachment and this resulted in us being allocated 1.8 hectares for farming. Additionally some 10 people have lost their land due to encroachment and they have very small plots and to diversify is difficult. We tried to get the land back but to no avail.)

Male Settlers FGD, Chamwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

The hosts had this to say

“Sizinali bwino; zinali chimpwirikiti. Mfumu amakhala kuLilongwe panthawiyo ndiye aboma anakambirana nawo kuti amfumu atenge malo mmene akudziwira iwowo. Ndiye tinatengadi malo kuti ayi analakwitsa poika tcheni.” (The situation was bad. The chief was staying in Lilongwe that time. The Government officials had a discussion with him and was

told to take the land according to the boundaries he knew. So we got the land since they had made a mistake in demarcating the farm.)

Male Hosts FGD, Njirima Village, T/A Liwonde

The effect of tensions on agricultural production, the sector being a major source of livelihood, also had implications for the farm incomes of the settlers. The study established that the tensions had affected the settlers' livelihoods by reducing their income-earning opportunities that could have been realised from the land. Their access to land was only used for direct productivity but could also be turned into income generation through renting out the land. Land markets in the area were popular due to land scarcity that the hosts face. However, with the existing tensions the settlers were unable to enter the land markets for fear of losing their land to the hosts if they rented it out. In Kalungu trust where 80% of the relocated households returned, the remaining settlers (20%) were in control of the land that was left, part of which they could rent out to generate extra income. However, they were hesitant to rent it out due to tensions. This is properly explained in the quotation below:

“Ifeyo kuti tipangitse lenti munda ndikumapeza kangachepe timafuna koma timachita mantha adzangoukakamira anthu akunowa kuti mundawu unali wa mbuye anga nde kulibwino malowo azigonera.” (We wish we could rent out part of our land but are afraid to do so for fear of losing it to the hosts as they might just claim that the land belonged to their forefathers, so it's better just to let it fallow.)

Male and Female Settlers FGD, Kalungu Trust, T/A Liwonde

Thus, an opportunity to earn extra money which could have been invested in other livelihood strategies or for direct consumption was foregone due to the tensions that existed.

Furthermore, the tensions limited the settlers' chances of accessing the government subsidised inputs, without which, they found it difficult to buy farm inputs which were very expensive. The Malawi Government runs a Farm Input Subsidy Programme to benefit the rural poor. However, the majority of the people who were benefitting from this programme were the hosts and not the settlers. The chiefs excluded the settlers from benefiting because of the existing tensions. Owing to the high cost of inputs, the settlers were forced to cultivate crops without applying fertiliser and as a result, they harvested just enough for consumption. The following quotations rightly illustrate this:

“Iwowo feteleza samawavuta kwambiri pafupifupi mbumba ina iliyonse ndi amfumu ndiye ma coupon akabwera amatha aliyense kuwapatsa, ifeyo angotitapira pang'ono penipeni.” (They do not have a problem accessing subsidised fertiliser because almost each clan is a chieftaincy but as for us they just give us a little.)

Male Settlers FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

The hosts had this to say:

“Anthu kunoko atichulukira ngati mwa GVH. Boma silikutiganizira. Anthu aja ndi ambiri ndiye kuti feteleza akwanile mpaka kummeneku ndiye ee kumakhala mkangano. Boma litiganizirepo kuti anthuwa asamadziwike kuti ndi obwera.” (There are a lot of people in the jurisdiction of this GVH. Government is inconsiderate. Those people are many so for fertiliser to be enough it is not possible. Government should reconsider the numbers so that these people should not be known to be new comers).

Male Hosts FGD, Sale Village, T/A Chiwalo

The research findings are similar to Dzingirai (2003) who in his study established that the migrants faced exclusionary actions. They were denied access to benefits that came with community based natural resources management programmes because they were not regarded as *bona fide* residents.

In general, land is the key natural capital for the settlers' livelihoods. However, the tensions have affected access and utilisation of this key resource. Specifically, following the tensions, the settlers harvested less because of encroachment on their land. The settlers also missed out opportunities of earning extra income from their land. The settlers wished they could be renting out part of their land, but they were afraid of losing their land. The settler communities also wished they could be benefitting from the subsidised farm inputs. Consequently, their livelihoods from farming remain unsustainable and vulnerable to economic shocks.

4.4.2 Effect of Tensions on Access to Financial Capital

Financial capital refers to stocks of money to which the household has access (Ellis, 2000). The two main sources are savings and access to credit in the form of loans. In rural communities, access to financial institutions is limited. Thus to assess the effect of tensions on financial capital I focused on earned income through income generating activities, access to loans, and transfers from the state.

4.4.2.1 Access to loan

In the study area, banking facilities are far and the access to formal loans is a challenge (Malawi Government, 2007). The communities formed local associations that served as financial institutions whose major aim was to improve access to credit and savings. Members can access loans to acquire assets for supporting their livelihoods. The study found that the settlers in the area of T/A Chiwalo where tensions were high were excluded from joining these local associations. The settlers were not regarded as *bona*

fide members of the host community and as such they wanted them to form their own associations. However, the settlers indicated that the associations in the host community were vibrant and would not match the one they could establish.

The settlers were socially excluded in their settlement areas. Poor social capital between the two groups resulted in the lack of trust between the two groups which limited the settlers' opportunity to access financial capital for investing in productive activities that could support their livelihood. Social cohesion enables members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive (Stanley, 2003). In this case, social cohesion was non-existent.

The quotation below explains this:

“Ufulu weniweni tilibe chifukwa tinajoina nawo banki ya mudzi yaku Umbwa koma anatibwezera ndalama zathu ati inu muzikapanga ma banki ku matrust kwanu konko. Ife koma mtima umalakalaka kuti tikhale nawo timafuna titapanga nawo yaku Umbwayo chifukwa titha kuthandizika.”
(We do not have freedom to join groups because we joined Village Bank from Umbwa but they gave us back our money stating that they should have their own village bank in the trusts. We wish we could join the Umbwa one as it can help us.)

Female Settlers FGD, Bangulo Trusts, T/A Chiwalo

The study further established that access to regular flow of money through transfers from the state by settlers was affected by tensions. The study found that there was a difference in the levels of participation in the two areas in community development work such as the Public Works Programme that is associated with cash transfers from the government that

would enable them to have an additional source of income and contribute to the construction of their livelihoods.

The study results indicated that in T/A Liwonde's area, where tensions were minimal the participation of settlers was the same as that of the hosts. Whereas in T/A Chiwalo' areas where tensions were high the research found that settlers were excluded. In these areas the settlers felt they were just used by the chiefs to get more benefits as they include them for the numbers but did not receive whatever benefits that came. The participation in development work such as Public Works Programme which comes with cash transfers contributes to the individuals' welfare. This implied that lack of participation in these activities denied them the opportunity to earn additional income to sustain their livelihood through direct consumption or investment. The degree of exclusion could be noted from the following quotation from tension plagued area:

“Pakakhala kuti pali ntchito yamudzi yoti tilandirapo samatitenga mwina mmatrust konsekuno atenga munthu mmodzi. Tikadandaula amatinena kuti inu anthu osokoneza muzibwerera kwanu.” (When there is development activity where one would receive something, they don't involve us to the extent that in all these trusts they would only get one from each trust. If we raise a complaint they dismiss us stating that you will return to your village as you cause misunderstandings.)

In-depth Interview with Female Head of Household, Bangulo Trust, T/A Chiwalo

4.4.2.2 Tensions and Involvement in Income Generating Activities

As a strategy to diversify their sources of income, settlers were also involving themselves in income generating activities (IGAs). In the study area there was non-farm income which related to IGAs such as operating small shops, cooked food vending, produce business and forest products selling such as fuel wood. The study established that the

existence of tensions between the host and the settlers had a bearing on the type of IGAs that the settlers were engaged in.

The study found that differences existed in the ways in which settlers engaged in income generation in the two areas. In T/A Liwonde's area, where the relations had improved, the study results indicated that the settlers did not experience any reservations by the hosts for them to engage in IGA of their choice.

This was said by the settlers:

“Ifeyo timatha kupanganao ma business chifukwa amfumu kuno anatimasula ati inu ndinu ana anga mupange mmene mungapangile kaya ndi mageni nde ife kuno timatha kupanga opanda vuto lililonse.” (We are able to engage in any business activity since the chief accepted us as his own and we do income generating activities without limitations.)

In-depth interview, female settler, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

As stated by the hosts:

“Timakhalira nao limodzi pa senta. Iwo kuyala zawo akunonso kumagulitsa. Sibolani mpamba basi.” (We interact freely at the trading centre. We display our merchandise side by side with the settlers. It's just a matter of startup capital.)

Male Hosts FGD, Njirima Village, T/A Liwonde

However, in T/A Chiwalo's area where the relations had worsened, the results indicated that settlers were also free to engage in all income generating activities except that which involved cooked food vending. The involvement of settlers in this type of IGA was a challenge. There existed mistrust and some discrimination when it came to this business due differences in religious beliefs. The hosts had reservations about the food that these settlers consumed such as pork, mice and monkeys and they did not want to share food with them since they were not sure if separate cooking utensils were used to prepare such food. Thus even though already cooked food such as doghnuts and *kanyenya* (fried fish)

sells fast, the settlers reconsidered their involvement in this type of IGA. The following quotations properly showed that the settlers were able to diversify their other sources of income identified above but to engage in IGAs of their choice was somehow limited by tensions that existed:

“Ifeyo timafuna kupanga bizinezi zoti zitithandize, koma ukafika pa senta kusolidwa. Azingokuyang’ana ati mphika waphikira sakuuziwa. Mpaka uyende nazo firi daizi kenako ungozita funa wekha basi wakhala pansa. Koma zinazi a china tanaposi amatigula.” (We want to engage in businesses that would help us but when we get to the trading centre there is a lot of discrimination. They just look at you up to the extent that you eat the food yourself and that’s the end. But other items like vegetables they buy from us.)

Female Settlers FGD, Bangulo Trust, T/A Chiwalo

As stated by the hosts:

“Anzathuwa ozigulira malo ali ndi ufulu kwambiri. Akupanga mabizinezi komabe ife timaona zowagula zokhudzana ndizophikaphika. Monga ngati mbewa amakagulitsa kwao ku Mulanjeko ife kuno sitigula. Komanso pena kuti ugule zophikaphika zimakaikitsa.” (The settlers have the freedom. They are engaging in businesses but for us, we choose what to buy from them when it comes to already prepared foods. For instance, we do not buy mice they go to their district of origin, Mulanje to sell such.)

Male Hosts FGD, Sale Village, T/A Chiwalo

A similar finding was reported by Levitte (2004) who conducted a study in Canada and established that tensions between members reduced the size of an available market. In the study, two northern communities were at odds with each other over land ownership and those tensions caused some members to stay away from each other’s businesses. This also revealed that consumer choices were dictated by not only the price and quality of the goods and services available on the market but other factors such as the existence of

tensions also played a role. The hostilities between groups impacted on the performance of businesses.

The study exposed the interactions among cultural differences, tensions and livelihoods. The livelihood strategies of the settlers were influenced by the tensions that were in existence between the two groups as the settlers were not free to engage in other IGAs due to cultural differences. The study revealed that hosts are not comfortable to consume already cooked food by the settlers as they still have those feeling that they might consume “*haram*” food that they are not supposed to eat indirectly through the use of the same pots that they use in cooking some food items that are prohibited in their custom such as pork and mice.

In summary, the access to financial capital that can be converted into other forms of capital or into direct consumption thereby contributing to livelihoods was affected by tensions through exclusion from benefitting from cash transfers, lack of access to loans and limited income generation.

4.4.3 The Effect of Tensions on Social Capital

The study results indicated that existence of tension between the settlers and the host communities had an influence on the accessibility of social capital upon which people draw for their livelihood strategies through claims. The assumptions of social capital are that people are able to turn social relations into a resource. Social capital is grouped into two: bonding capital also known as strong ties; and bridging capital also referred to as

bridging capital (Levitte, 2004). It is assumed that those that use their networks apart from relying on strong ties such as close family relatives into a network of acquaintances are in a better position to access resources. Thus, the weak ties provide leverage and enable people to get ahead economically as compared to strong ties which only provide social support.

The study established that there was a difference in the accessibility to social capital outside the circle of settlers in the area where tensions were minimal as compared to the areas where the tensions were still high. The investigation was done to find out whether the settlers had managed to access social capital through friendship formation.

Like other capitals, social capital can be used to maintain and improve livelihoods through social claims by virtue of belonging to those groups. On this, the focus of this study was on the formation of friendships between the settlers and hosts to establish the extent that this was being used to maintain and improve livelihoods in the resettlement area.

4.4.3.1 Friendships

The study found that in T/A Liwonde's area where relations between the hosts and the settlers were better, the majority of settlers had made reliable friends outside their circle of settlers. The study also found that the settlers and hosts had created trustworthy relations which made it possible to help each other through lending money and the sharing of important information other than relying on their fellow settlers alone. The

following quotations emphasise how friendships were being utilised to enhance their livelihoods:

“Tonse tili ndi anzathu ambiri. Aliyense ali ndi anzake. Timatengerana mphatso. Mwina ukapita kocheza ubwerako ndi nsomba ati anali kumadzi nafe akabwera tiwapatsa ka mtedza.” (We have many friends. Each one of us has friends. We exchange gifts. Some times when we go to their homes to chat they give us fish if they went fishing, similarly when they visit us we give them some groundnuts.)

Male Settlers FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

“Tili ndi anzathu ndipo tiziti abale. Mpaka timapanga nawo mabanki amudziwa. Ndiye chibale chipose pamenepa?” (We have friends, in fact we should be saying relatives. We even established village banks with them. So should good relations be beyond this?)

Male and Female Settlers FGD, Kalungu Trust, T/A Liwonde

“Ife timachezerana nawo. Kumayenderana, kupatsana zakudya izi. Anzathu akakhala nazo zinthu atipatsa nafenso timawapatsa, kumathandizana basi. (we chat with them. We visit each other and share food. When they have things they give us and we also do likewise just to help each other.)

Male Hosts FGD, Njirima Village, T/A Liwonde

On the other hand, in T/A Chiwalo’s area, among the beneficiaries of Bangulo and Nang’oma Trusts where tensions were high, the access to social capital outside their circle was limited. In comparison to the situation in T/A Liwonde’s area where there were cordial relations with minimal conflicts they had higher chances of accessing social capital outside their circle of settlers. The study results indicated that the existence of tensions between the two groups denied them the opportunity of diversifying their sources of income. In most Malawian communities, friends lend each other money without charging any interest. Furthermore, friends freely share with each other

information about various available opportunities essential for sustaining their livelihoods. Friends also support each other in times of distress. As the circle of friends get wider, the chances of benefiting from the social capital also increase. Because of the tension, the settlers in the area of T/A Chiwalo were missing out on such an opportunity. The following quotations show the situation in T/A Chiwalo's area whereby the first was said by the settlers and the second by the hosts:

“Chinzake choyenderana ndi kunyamulirana mituka ndi anzathuwa tikubwera kumene chinalipo koma mkucheza kungoona zochitika tinangoti phazi theee! Nde panopa ambirife chinzake chake ndichomwechi cha mulibwanji koma zoyenderana ndi kuthandizana tinadula.” (Initially we had friends whom we could exchange gifts with and visit each other but in the process with what was happening we just stopped being friends. Currently the friends that we have are those that we just greet but visiting and helping each other we stopped.)

Female Settlers FGD, Nang'oma Trust, T/A Chiwalo

“Pachiyambi chinzake chinalipo koma azangokhazikika zonse zinatha.” (Initially we had friends but now that they are settled there is no friendship.)

Female Hosts FGD, Sale village, T/A Chiwalo

This study has shown that the existence of tensions between the host and settlers influenced the accessibility of social capital. Social capital, in turn, played an important role in the pursuit of the livelihoods. The study established that social capital provided alternative sources of income, information as well as social support, which had a direct bearing on people's livelihoods. The study further established that access to social capital improved with a tension-free environment. This finding can be linked to a study by Narayan and Pritchett (1999) who demonstrated econometrically that the ownership of social capital by households in Tanzania had strong effects on the households' welfare.

4.4.4 The Effect of Tensions on Physical Capital

This section focuses on the effect that tensions between settlers and hosts have on physical capital of the settlers and the development of their livelihoods. The study focused on the livestock keeping and long-term investments in the settlement areas.

4.4.4.1 Tensions and Livestock Keeping

Physical assets are a good indicator of the extent to which economic activities have managed to support a household's livelihood. To ascertain the extent to which tensions between the settlers and the hosts affects the accumulation of assets, an investigation on livestock keeping was done.

In the study area, it was established that the settlers were keeping livestock and the number of settlers keeping livestock was higher in resettlement areas located in the area of T/A Liwonde where relations between the settlers and the hosts had improved as compared to the areas in the area of T/A Chiwalo where tensions were still high.

Livestock that was being kept in both areas of T/A Liwonde and T/A Chiwalo included goats, cattle, sheep, pigs and poultry. Most households kept chickens more than any other type of livestock. However, no settler was reported to be keeping big ruminants such as cattle for fear of livestock diseases.

In the area where tension were minimal, the settlers that did not own livestock indicated that it was due to other reasons including lack of resources, and nothing to do with the tensions between them and the settlers. Whereas in resettlement sites located in T/A

Chiwalo's area where the tension were high some settlers were not keeping livestock due to fear of losing them to the host community in the event that they were chased out of the land as claimed by the hosts that they will be evicted. In addition to this, the study established that other settlers were skeptical to keep livestock such as goats as there had been incidents where sometimes they were intentionally killed by the hosts once they were found accidentally marauding crops in the hosts' farm when that was not supposed to be the case. The existence of tensions influenced the settlers' decision not to keep livestock which is an important asset as it can be turned into cash. This is appropriately illustrated in the quotations below:

“Ine mbuzi ndinali nazo koma ndizangomva kuti akufuna kutithamangitsa ndinagulitsa kuti ndiziyenda ndi kashi pansalu kuti ndikamathawa ndithawe nazo.” (I had goats but when I heard that they wanted to chase us out of this place I just sold them so that I should be moving with the cash on my lappah so that when I'm running out of this place I should go with it.)

Interview, Chairperson Bangulo Trust, T/A Chiwalo

“Tinagulitsa chifukwa ikangoti mbuzi yangodula chingwe yalowa munda wa anthuwo ikudya liponda amangoti mbuzi yandani iyi? Chikwanje Phiii! Pompo basi nde munthu poona umangoti ndidyeretu chile. (We sold the goats because when the goats cut their tether and have gone into the farms of the people eating grass they just say who owns this goat? They just kill with a Panga knife. So seeing that, we just decided to eat our goats.)

Female Settlers FGD, Nang'oma Trusts, T/A Chiwalo

The study showed that the settlers were in a state of powerlessness as they just envisaged their eviction and becoming preparing for it. It was further established that lawlessness was tormented in this area as the killing of goats intentionally should be unacceptable. The community lacked social cohesion which could have contributed to economic prosperity of the settlers. Thus existence of tensions was impacting on the settlers' livelihood by

limiting the assets, which settlers could possess. The settlers in the areas with low tension stood a better chance of surviving droughts and other disasters that could fall on their crops because their assets were more diversified than the other group in high tension areas.

The study results are comparable to findings by Chimhowu and Hulme (2006) who established that the tenure insecurity altered settler investment behaviour as they tended to invest in liquid assets like livestock and movable households goods. However, this study established that the settlers were skeptical to keep livestock but preferred to keep cash on them. The tensions between the settlers and hosts brought tenurial insecurity among the settlers.

4.4.4.2 Long Term Investment amidst Resentment

The study revealed that the state of relations between the settlers and the hosts had a bearing on their decision to make long term investments. Where there were tensions, settlers did not feel secure enough to engage in long term investments. The long term investments that settlers were engaged in included the construction of permanent houses and tree planting. Research findings indicated that in T/A Liwonde's area where host-settler relations were cordial with minimal tensions, the settlers felt secure enough to engage in long-term investments as compared to the settlers in T/A Chiwalo's area where the tensions were high. In both areas the settlers were engaging in long-term investments but the settlers in the area where tensions were still high were reluctant to invest and this was evidenced by a few households with iron sheets when one moved around the trusts as

compared to the other area. Thus, the more the settlers felt insecure, the less motivated they got to engage in long-term investments. The decision to make long-term investment was mostly dictated by the sense of security the people felt in their area as evidenced by the following statement which was the common view of most of the participants:

“Chitukuko chimakhala ndi poimira sichonchi takolola tili ndi kashi ndiye ukuganiza zogula malata ndiye uzimva kuti uku anthu akugawana manyumba athu kuti azalowemo atithamangitsa. Sindiye choncho umangoti odi ine ndigule buledi ndi mafuta ndiye akamatithamangitsa ndizangonyamula scumba yanga.” (Investment depends on the availability of funds. Like now we have harvested and we have cash and you are thinking of buying iron sheets that is when you start hearing that people are sharing our houses to occupy when they chase us out. With that you just decide to buy bread and oil and eat when they chase us out I should just grab my jacket and go.)

Female Settler FGD, Bangulo Trust, T/A Chiwalo

The study findings corroborate that of Chimhowu and Hulme (2006) that established that in Rengwe where settlers spontaneously settled and were land tenure insecure, they had often delayed the construction of permanent structures fearing their destruction upon eviction. High tensions between the settlers and the hosts created insecurity among the settlers.

The study further established that the settlers were making improvements on the land as it was observed that the settlers in both areas had planted both fruit and non-fruit trees. This was an indication that the people regarded themselves as permanent settlers as one does not plant fruit trees for his own consumption only but also for the future generation. Such long-term investments contribute to livelihoods as the fruits trees will bear fruit for a

number of years which can be for direct consumption as well as turned into cash through selling. The other trees such as eucalyptus are used for fuel wood and also as a source income.

This is aptly illustrated in the quotations below:

“Ndinadzala timitengo tanga monga uyu blugumu wakhotakhota sazafolelanso nyumba basi ndi mangoduladula ndukagulitsa ndapeza one sauzande ndigula kaya ndiwo kaya yakuchigayo yapezeka.” (I planted some trees such as bluegum (eucalyptus) and if the tree seems not fit for house construction I just cut and sale as firewood and by doing that I have a thousand kwacha which I would use to buy relish or for milling.)

Interview, Chairperson Chamwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

“Anthu amenewa afika ndipo akhazikika. Akutiposaso ife ndipo ife tikuphunzira kwa iwo. Ndithu akhazikika. Manyumbaso amangamanga amalata. Kaletu ana fikila pamasasa.” (These people are permanently settled. They are even ahead of us and we are learning from them. They have built permanent houses. When they just arrived they were in temporary shelters.)

Interview, GVH Njirima, T/A Liwonde

The study established that in both areas the hosts regarded the settlers as having a right to make long-term investments in the land. However, the study established that the settlers perceived the hosts that they did not regard them as permanent settlers. For instance, if one built a good house the comments that one got from some of the hosts were discouraging like *“mukumanga ngati ndi kwanutu.”*³ This aptly showed that some hosts did not regard the settlers as permanent settlers to be making long-term investments in the area.

³ Male FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde meaning you are building like you are at home.

My analysis is that these settlers are permanently settled even though they were engaging in long term investments with fear. The perception of security by the settlers in their settlement area had some influence on the decision-making process on whether to make a long-term investment or not. However, an individual's attitude could also have some influence such that in the presence of uncertainties in terms of permanent settlement those who are pessimistic will not invest. Nonetheless, settlers' decision to invest in long-term investments is greatly affected by the type of relationship that the host and the settlers share. The quotation below rightly illustrates this:

“Koma mmene ubale ulilimo olo anthu akupanga chitukuko anthu amagwa mphwayi komabe tikumangabe akazati tizibwerera kwathu basi tizazisiya.” (The way the relationship is even though people are investing sometimes we are discouraged but still more we are building when they say we should go back we will leave the things behind.)

Male FGD, Chimwavi Trust, T/A Liwonde

The study established that settlers in the areas where they felt they would be evicted, taking into account the existing tensions, were not willing to construct permanent houses as compared to those in T/A Liwonde's area. This finding is similar to the findings by Chimhowu and Hulme (2006) who established that due to land tenure insecurity, households often delayed the construction of permanent structures fearing their destruction upon their eviction. In summary, the tensions had an effect on the decision to make long-term investments which would contribute to the settlers' livelihoods.

4.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has discussed the key findings of the research objectives for this study. The first objective was to investigate the status of relationship between hosts and settlers. The study has found that there were conflicts between the settlers and the hosts. However, in T/A Liwonde's area, the conflicts were mild compared to those experienced by the settlers in T/A Chiwalo's area. The difference was attributed to more people returning to their original homes and as such the settlers were no longer regarded as threats by the hosts. The second objective was to establish the basis of such tensions and conflicts between hosts and settlers. The study has established that competition over natural resources such as land and forest products such as firewood and thatch grasses; cultural differences; and different political affiliation exacerbated the conflicts.

The third objective was to determine the mechanisms that existed to mitigate tensions and conflicts between the settlers and hosts. It was found that mechanisms like adopting the hosts' language, submitting to dominance of the hosts, making friendships with the hosts, mediation and sensitisation on inter-group relations helped mitigate tensions. The study's fourth objective was to establish how tensions affect the settlers' access to natural, financial, physical and social capital for livelihood development. It was established that tensions affected the access to all the capitals for livelihoods development.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.0 Introduction

The study set out to investigate the influence of host-settler relations on settlers' ability to develop their livelihoods. There were four specific objectives that included: to investigate the status of host-settler relations in the resettlement areas; to establish the basis of tension between the hosts and the settlers; to determine the strategies that settlers and authorities adopt in order to contain the tension; and to establish the influence of tension on the accessibility of natural, financial, social and physical assets for settlers' livelihoods development in their new settlement areas.

In this chapter, conclusion has been made based on findings and discussion of the study. The chapter also highlights areas for further study.

5.1 Conclusion

This study has revealed that host-settler tensions existed in Machinga District and that there were several causes of tensions between the settlers and hosts. The Realist Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) argues that inter-group conflicts are rational in the sense that groups have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources. The common

incompatibilities between groups that can cause conflict include scarce resources such as power, economic and value differences. This study established that the competition for scarce resources such as land and forest products such as firewood and thatch grass were among the major causes of tensions between the two groups which is competition of economic resources according to the RGCT. The tensions between these two groups were further exacerbated by cultural differences which revolved around food and initiation ceremonies; and political affiliation. The study revealed that there were different levels of tensions between the settlers and hosts in the two resettlement areas. The relations in the area of T/A Liwonde were cordial with minimal tensions whereas in the area of T/A Chiwalo the relations were strained. Competition for scarce resources and political perceptions contributed significantly to these differences in tensions levels. The factors that were established in this study to be the main causes of tensions between the settlers and the hosts are in line with what the RGCT elucidates. The competition for scarce resources such as land and forest products was established as the competition for material resources which are economic. Perceived differences in political affiliations which also exacerbated the tensions signified the competition for scarce resources which is power. On the other hand the cultural superiority as a cause of conflict between the two is competition due to incompatibilities in value differences.

Many strategies were used to mitigate the tensions that existed between the settlers and hosts. The District Council and TAs had facilitated dialogue between the settlers and their hosts. The settlers, on the other hand, had devised ways which they used in order to live in peace with the hosts. Such ways included submission to the hosts' dominance, entering

into social relationships and intermarriages. Clear differences in livelihoods emerged between areas with minimal tensions and the area where relations were strained. The differences in the levels of tensions were due to the fact that there was a larger number of returnees in T/A Liwonde's area than in T/A Chiwalo' area such that the remaining settlers are not viewed as threats by the hosts. Additionally, the power contestation among the chiefs as to who should be in control of the relocated people has contributed to the cordial relations. The chief in whose jurisdiction settlers were made sure that they were accommodated for fear of losing them to the other chiefs through defections. Using the SLF was very relevant in studying the influence of host-settler relations on development of the settlers' livelihoods in their new environment. With the holistic approach that the SLF adopts it made it possible to look at livelihoods not just using the conventional capital but to consider the other assets which also contribute to livelihoods. For instance, being a rural community, farming is just one of the many strategies that social entities utilise to earn livelihoods. Thus, the way the SLF operates emphasises that land is just one of the many assets necessary to earn livelihoods. This framework enabled this study to be holistic in its analysis in assessing the effect of tensions to the development of livelihoods.

Cordial relations were conducive for settlers to engage in livestock keeping, income generating activities as well as in participation in local associations which contributed to the development of their livelihoods. Cordial relations have also allowed settlers to engage in long-term investments, for instance, construction of permanent homes and planting of fruit trees on the land. In the area where relations remained strained the

settlers had not made satisfactory progress. This research had revealed that the existence of tension between the hosts and settlers had some influence on the development of livelihoods. Tensions between settlers and hosts generate insecurity in the minds of the settler which impacts negatively on the motivation to make long-term investments.

5.2 Areas of Further Study

The influence of host-settler relations on settlers' livelihood is a broad subject that can be researched from different angles. This study has touched the subject of host-settler relations and the influence on settlers' livelihood by focusing on inter-district settlers. However, further studies could be done on host-settler relations focusing on intra-district settlers. Not much is known regarding the successes or challenges of intra-district relocations.

In addition, further study could be conducted to analyse the effectiveness and sustainability of these relocations on household poverty alleviation. Such a study would provide evidence for or against this community relocation strategy as an effective development tool.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction



Prof. Christopher Kamlongera., B.A., Dip TEO, MA., Ph.D

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OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that Chikondi P. Chauma is a Masters Student in Development Studies at Chancellor College. Please assist her with relevant information she may seek to fulfill her studies.

Thanking you in advance for assisting her academic endeavor.

Dr. B. Dulani
POSTGRADUATE COORDINATOR

Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Settlers (Study Tool 1)

SECTION A: CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN HOSTS AND SETTLERS

1. What made you to leave your home area?

Kodi chinakupangitsani kuti muchoke kudera lanu kubwera kuno ndi chani?

1. b What things do you appreciate that were done for you by the hosts upon arrival?

Kodi munakondwa ndi ziti zomwe eni dziko anakuchitirani pofika?

1. c What things did the hosts do to you upon arrival which you did not like?

Kodi simunakondwe ndi ziti pofika?

2. Were there tensions or resentment between you and the host community? (If yes)-

What were the causes of conflicts or resentments between you and the host community?

Kodi zimene zimayambitsa kusagwirizana pakati pa inu ndi eni dziko ndi chani?

3. Have you observed any changes in the relationship that you share with the Host Community? What is the current status? What caused the change?

Kodi pali kusintha pakati pa ubale wanu ndi eni dziko? pakadali pano ubale pakati pa eni dziko ndi inu ndiotani? Nanga chimene chinachititsa kuti ubale usinthe ndi chiani?

SECTION B: INFLUENCE THAT HOST-SETTLER RELATIONSHIP HAS HAD ON SETTLERS LIVELIHOODS

5. How do people earn their living in this area?

Kodi anthu mdera lino amapeza bwanji zofunika za mooyo wawo wa tsiku ndi tsiku?

6. Is there any difference in the livelihood strategies that are adopted by settlers and hosts?

Kodi pali kusi yana kulikonse munjira zimene eni dziko ndi inu (anthu obwera) amapezera zofunika za moyo wanu wa tsiku ndi tsiku?

7. What are the causes of such differences?

Kodi ndi chifukwa chani pali kusi yana?

8. Are you able to freely engage in income generating activities?

Kodi muli ndiufulu opanga mabizinesi opanda kusokonezedwa ndi eni dziko?

8b. What are the income generating activities that you are involved in?

Kodi inu mumapanga mabizinesi otani?

9. Do you feel secure enough in the new lands to make long term investments?

Kodi mumaona ngati muli okhazikika kuti mutha kupanga ma bizinesi akuluakulu?

10. Do you feel you will live here undisturbed permanently? Why do you feel this way?

Kodi mumaona kuti mutha kukhala kuno musasokonezekwa mpaka muyaya?

Chifukwa chani mumaona choncho?

11. Have you made friends outside the circle of beneficiary households?

Kodi muli ndi anzanu kupatula omwe mudabwera nawo/akadzigulire?

12. Are you able to freely participate in village activities?

Kodi mumatha kupanga nawo ntchito za mudzi?

13. Are you able to access water sources and forests freely?

Kodimumatha kupeza zinthu zachilengedwe?

14. Are you able to access health facilities freely? How about schools?

Kodi mutha kukapeza chithandizo kuchipatala mosaletsedwa ndi wina aliyense?

Kodi nanga ana amatha kupita ku ma school mosa opsyezedwa?

SECTION C: INFLUENCE ON MAKING LONG TERM INVESTMENTS

15. Do you feel you are permanently settled? Are you regarded as full members of the community?

Kodi inuyo mumaona ngati kuti mwakhazikika? Nanga eni edziko amakutengani ngati ndimu mzika zenizeni zamudzi muno?

16. What assets did you have before you relocated?

Kodi munali ndi katundu wotani musanasamuke?

16. b What assets have you accumulated so far?

Nanga pakanali pano mwapeza katundu wanji?

17. What long term investments do people in this area engage in?

Kodi chitukuko chokhazikika kapena buzinezi akulu akulu amene anthu mdera lino achita ndi ati?

18. What are the factors that determine the possibility of one investing in such long term investment?

Kodi chimene chimabweretsa kuthekera koti anthu apange chitukuko/mabizinesi ngati amenewa ndi chani?

19. Are you also involved in the long term investment the same way as the hosts?

Kodi inuyo mumachita zitukuko kapena mabizinesi ngati amenewa chimodzimozi ngati eni dziko?

20. Are you able to freely engage in income generating activities?

Kodi mumatha kupanga mabizinezi mwaufulu?

21. Do you feel secure enough in the new lands to make long term investments?

Kodi mumaona kuti ndinu omasuka kupanga ma bizinezi okhazikika kunoko?

22. Do you feel you will leave here undisturbed permanently? Why do you feel this way?

Does the relationship that you share with your host influence your livelihood?

Kodi inu mumaona ngati mukhoza kukhala kuno opanda kusokonezedwa mwamtundu wina uliwonse mpaka muyaya? Chifukwa chiyani mumaona choncho?

23. Do you feel the host perceive you to have the right to make long term investments in the new land?

Kodi eni dziko wa amakuonani ngati kuti muli ndi ufulu ochita zitukuko zokhazikika?

**SECTION D: COPING MECHANISMS / STRATEGIES THAT HAVE BEEN PUT
IN PLACE BY THE AUTHORITIES AND SETTLERS TO DEAL WITH
RESENTMENTS**

24. Were there any conflicts and what was their basis?

Kodi kunali kusamvetsetana pakati pa magulu awirinu?

25. What are the solutions that have been put in place by the authorities to deal with these resentments?

*Kodi njira zimene akulu akulu anakhazikitsa kuti ubale wapakati pa eni dziko ndi
inu ukhale bwino ndi zotani?*

26. What are the mechanisms that you have adopted to deal with the resentments?

Nanga inuyo mumatani pofuna kukhazikitsa ubale wabwino?

27. What is the best mechanism that can be put in place in order to contain such resentments?

*Kodi njira yabwino yomwe ingagwiritsidwe ntchito pofuna kuthetsa mavuto
aubale pakati pa enidziko ndi inuyo ndi chani?*

Appendix 3: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Host Community (Study Tool 2)

SECTION A: CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN HOSTS AND SETTLERS

1. Did u know about the impending arrival of the immigrants? And how did u get to know about it?

Kodi munkadziwa zakubwera kwa alendowa? Ndipo munadziwa bwanji?

2. What things were you happy with when the settlers arrived?

Kodi munakondwa ndi zinthu ziti obwera atafika?

3 What things were you not happy with when the settlers arrived? Why

Kodi ndiziti sizinakusangalatseni ndikufika kwa obwera?

4. Was there any conflict between the settler and hosts? What was the basis? Has the relationship changed over time, why?

Kodi panali mikangano pakati pa obwera ndi eni dziko? Nanga chimadzetsa mkanganowu chinali chani? Nanga panopa ubalewu wasintha? Wasintha chifukwa chani?

SECTION B: THE INFLUENCE THAT SETTLER HOST RELATIONSHIP HAS HAD ON SETTLERS LIVELIHOOD

5. How do people earn their living?

Kodi anthu mdera lino amapeza bwanji zofunika za mooyo wawo wa tsiku ndi tsiku?

6. Are they different from those of settlers?

Kodi pali kusiyana kulikonse mmene inuyo ndi anthu obwera mumapezera zofunika za moyo wanu wa tsiku ndi tsiku?

7. Has the presence of settlers affected the way you earn your living now?

Kodi kubwera kwa anthuwa kwabweretsa kusintha kwina kulikonse mmene mumapezera zofunika za moyo wanu watsiku ndi tsiku?

8. Are the settlers free to access water sources and forests?

Kodi obwerawa ali ndiufulu wopeza zinthu monga zachilengedwe monga m'mitsinje malo amadimba?

9. Do you have friends among the household beneficiaries? Do you involve beneficiary households in village activities?

Kodi muli ndi anzanu pakati pa anthu obwera? Nanga anthu obwera ali ndi ufulu okhlanawo amatha kukhala nawo mmagulu osiyanasiya omwe angathe kuthandiza kuti apeze zina ndi zina?

SECTION C: THE INFLUENCE ON MAKING LONG TERM INVESTMENTS

10. What long term investments do people in this area engage in?

Kodi chitukuko/mabizinesi akulu akulu amene anthu mdera lino amachita ndi ati?

11. What are the factors that determine the possibility of one investing in such longterm investments?

Kodi chimene chimabweretsa kuthekera koti anthu apangechitukuko/bizinesi okhazikikangati amenewa ndi chani?

12. Are the settlers also involved in the long term investment the same way as the hosts?

If not, why not?

Kodi obwera amachita ma zitukuko/mabizinezi okhazikika i ngati amenewa chimodzimozi ngati eni dziko? Ngati ayi, chifukwa ninji?

13. What factors influence decisions to invest in long term investment?

Kodi ndi chani chimene chimapangitsa anthu kupanga zitukuko zokhazikika?

14. Do you feel the settlers have a right to make long term investments in this area?

Kodi inuyo mumaona kuti obwera ali oyenera kumapanga chitukuko chokhazikika kapena bizinezi zokhazikika kudera lino?

SECTION D: COPING MECHANISMS / STRATEGIES THAT HAVE BEEN PUT IN PLACE TO DEAL WITH RESENTMENTS

15. Were there conflicts? What was the basis?

Kodi panali mikangano? Nanga chimabweretsa kusamvetsetsana chinali chani?

16. What solutions have been put in place by the authorities to deal with these resentments?

Kodi njira zimene akulu akulu anaziika mmalo kuti ubale wapakati pa eni dziko ndi obwera ukhala bwino ndi zotani?

17. What initiatives do you take to build better relations with settlers?

Nanga inu mumachita zotani kuti ubale ukhale bwino?

18. What is the best mechanism that can be put in place in order to contain such resentments?

Kodi njira yabwino yomwe ingagwiritsidwe ntchito pofuna kuthetsa mavuto aubale pakati pa enidziko ndi anthu obwera ndiyanji?

Appendix 4: In Depth Interview Guide for Settlers (Study Tool 3)

1. How did you get to know about this resettlement project?

Kodi zozigulira malo mudazidziwa bwanji?

2. Who made the decision for you to participate?

Anakupangirani chiganizo kuti musamuke ndindani?

3. What kind of reception did you get upon arrival?

Kodi munalandiridwa bwanji mutafika ku dera lino?

4. Are all your household members here? (Those people that you were eating with from the same pot home village).

Kodi onse amunyumba yanu munabwera nawo?

5. Would you say you are better off now than where you came from?

Kodi moyerekeza chabe mungati umoyo zilibwino kuno kapena uko munachoka

6. How do you earn your living?

Kodi mumapeza bwanji zinthu za umoyo wanu watsiku ndi tsiku?

7. Are you able to freely engage in income generating activities?

Kodi mumatha kopanga ma business mwaufulu?

8. Do you feel secure enough in the new lands to make long term investments?

*Kodi ndinu omasuka kuti mutha kupanga ma bizinezi okhazikika/zitukuko
zokhazikika kuno?*

9. Do you feel you will leave here undisturbed permanently? Why do you feel this way?

*Kodi inuyo mumaona kuti kunoko mutha kukhazikika popanda kusokonezedwa?
Chifukwa chani inuyo mumaona chonchi?*

10. Are you allowed to participate in village activities?

*Kodi inuyo mumatha kukhala nawo mmagulu kapena kupanga nawo zochitika za
mmudzi?*

11. Have you made friends outside the circle of beneficiary households

Kodi inuyo muli ndi azinzanu kupatula omwe munabwera nawo kuchoka kwanu?

12. Are you able to freely access water sources and forests?

*Kodi mumatha kupeza zinthu zachilengedwe monga madzi, nkhalango ndi zina
zotero mosavutikra/ mosakanizidwa?*

13. Are you able to access health facilities freely? How about schools?

*Kodi mumatha kukapeza chithandizo kuchipatala mmene mungafunile? Nanga
ana anu ali ndi ufulu opita kukaphunzira mosakanizidwa?*

Appendix 5: Key Informant Interview Guide (Study Tool 4)

Key Informant Position

Government official:.....

Traditional Leader:.....

Other:.....

SECTION A: CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN HOSTS AND SETTLERS

1. How was the reception of the settlers by the host community? Probe if need be (Was there hostility or cordial relations)

Kodi eni dziko anawalandira bwanji obwera? (analandilidwa bwino/mikangano

2. What were the causes of conflicts or resentments or indeed cordiality from the host community towards settlers?

Kodi zimene zinayambitsa kusagwirizana kapena kugwirizana pakati pa obwera ndi eni dziko ndi chani?

3. Have you observed changes that have taken place?

Kodi pakadali pano ubale pakati pa eni dziko ndi obwera ndiotani?

4. What has contributed to such changes?

Kodi chimene chinachititsa kuti ubale ukhale mmene ulili pano ndi chani?

**SECTION B: THE INFLUENCE THAT HOST-SETTLER RELATIONSHIP HAS
HAD ON SETTLERS LIVELIHOOD**

5. How do people earn their living in this area?

Kodi anthu mdera lino amapeza bwanji zofunika za mooyo wawo wa tsiku ndi tsiku ?

6. Is there any difference in the livelihood strategies that are adopted by settlers?

Kodi pali kusiya kulikonse munjira zimene anthu obwera amapezera zofunika za moyo wawo wa tsiku ndi tsiku?

7. What are the causes of such differences?

Kodi chimene chimabweretsa kusiya munjira zimenezi ndi chani?

8. Are settlers free to access water resources and forestly?

Kodi kapezedwe kazinthu ngati malo olima, zachilengedwe ndi zina zotero kwa anthu obwera amatha kupeza mosavutikira?

9. In your observation are settlers allowed to participate in village activities and join local associations and groups freely?

Kodi obwera amatha kukhala nawo mmagulu osiyanasiya omwe angathe kuthandiza kuti mupeze zina ndi zina?

SECTION C: THE INFLUENCE ON MAKING LONG TERM INVESTMENTS

10. What long term investments do people in this area engage in?

Kodi mabizinezi kapena za chitukuko cha pakhomo chimene anthu mdera lino achita ndi chitii?

11. What are the factors that determine the possibility of one investing in such longterm investments?

Kodi chimene chimabweretsa kuthekera koti anthu apange mabizinesi kapena chitukuko ngati chimenechi ndi chiyani?

12. Are the settlers also involved in the long term investment the same way as the hosts?

Kodi obwera amachita ma investment ngati amenewa chimodzimozi ngati eni dziko?

13. In your observation do settlers feel secure enough to make longterm investments?

Mmene inuyo mumaonera kodi obwerawa ali omasuka kupanga mabizinesi okhazikika?

14. In your observation do hosts feel that settlers have a right to make long term in investments in the new lands?

Mukuona kwanu kodi enidziko amawaona kuti obwera ali ndi ufulu ochita mabizinesi okhazikika?

15. What are the factors that influence the decisions to invest in long term investment?

Kodi ndi chani chimene chimapangitsa anthu kupanga chitukuko chapakhomo chokhazikika?

SECTION D: STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH TENSIONS BETWEEN THE HOSTS AND SETTLERS

16. Have there been any cases of conflicts? What was the basis and how was it resolved?

Kodi panachitikako mikangano kapena kusamvetsetsana pakati pa ma guluwa?

Nanga mkangano chinayambitsa ndi chani nanga nkhanayi inatha bwanji?

17. What is the best mechanism that can be put in place in order to contain such resentments?

Kodi njira yabwino yomwe ingagwiritsidwe ntchito pofuna kuthetsa mavuto aubale pakati pa enidziko ndi anthu obwera ndiyanji?