

We are suffering like we are not Malawians:

The process of exclusion and the livelihoods of the excluded in
Malawi, Kasungu



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Abstract

Malawi is experiencing land scarcity, partly due to a focus on estate led agriculture after independence in 1964. The focus on estate led agriculture was particularly aimed at tobacco production. Therefore, there was an expansion of tobacco estates after independence, foremost on communally owned land. Tobacco is a labour intensive crop, thus many Malawians migrated to tobacco districts in order to work and live at the tobacco estates. The tobacco industry was liberalized in the 1990s, which caused many estates to cease their production all together. Former estate workers, in one of Malawi's previous tobacco estate districts, claim they have not been able to find land for settlement or cultivation since their employment at the tobacco estates ended.

This study aimed at investigating excluded former estate workers. An area in the Central region of Malawi, called Kasungu was studied. This study applied two frameworks in order to study the process of exclusion and the livelihoods of the excluded. The frameworks used were 'Powers of Exclusion' and 'Sustainable Livelihood Framework'. The result showed that former estate workers came with their families, from the Southern region, in the 1970s-1980s to work as direct wage labourers for Press Agriculture in Kasungu. Furthermore, it showed that former estate workers in Kasungu are excluded from land and exclude others from land. The exclusion from land seem to have affected former estate workers access to some other livelihood resources and strategies, but it's hard to establish a clear correlation.

Keywords: Kasungu, former estate workers, exclusion, livelihoods.

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1. Background

1.1 Introduction

The foundation of an agrarian society is land (Peters, 2002). Land is not an ordinary commodity but rather the basis of life in agrarian societies (Hall, Hirsch & Li, 2011). An unequal distribution of land is seen in all developing countries today (Broegaad, 2005), therefore it's no surprise that land has become a source of conflict and competition around the world (Peters, 2002; Hall, Hirsch & Li, 2011). All land use and access to land requires some sort of exclusion of others from land (Hall, Hirsch & Li, 2011). The process of excluding people from accessing land in agrarian societies denies them the right to live. From the moment land becomes scarce the exclusive access to land that is productive for some comes into tension with the fact that others cannot access it. The process of exclusion is not random and does not occur on an even playing field rather its power relations that shape the process of exclusion from land (Ibid.).

The African continent has for a long time been seen as land rich with a highly egalitarian type of access to land (Peters, 2002). But over the past 100 years it has changed and African countries are experiencing relative land scarcity with the related struggles over maintaining or trying to claim land. This shift could be compared to the agrarian transformation that has occurred in Europe and Asia, which caused a deepening social stratification and division of people into landed and landless classes (Ibid.). The great amount of research on Africa published today concerns issues of land, which shows the pervasiveness of competition and conflict over land and landed resources across Africa (Peters & Kambewa, 2007). The increasing competition over land and natural resources in Africa will fuel existing and new conflicts (Chinigo, 2015). Conflicts over land come in different shapes but can for example be between locals and migrants, indigenous people and strangers or between the state and the people (Peters & Kambewa, 2007).

1.1.1 Malawi

Malawi is a landlocked country in the Southern parts of Africa (Chirwa, 2004; Kishindo, 2007; ILC, 2015). Malawi occupies about 11.8 million hectares (ha) of which 9.8 million ha is land (Ibid.). A little bit over 50 per cent of the land is considered arable (Kishindo, 2004, ILC 2015). Malawi is one of the world's poorest countries, considering per capita income (Peters, 2002). Income distribution is one of the most unequal in the world where a small political, bureaucratic and professional elite has the major share of the money in the country (Peters, 2002). The bigger share of the population in Malawi lives in rural areas (Whiteside 2000; Potts, 2006), around 80 per cent (Kishindo, 2004; Chirwa, 2004). Agricultural activities

form the bulk of household's livelihood strategies and the country has an agricultural based economy (Place & Otsuka, 2001; Chirwa, 2004; Potts, 2006; ILC, 2015).

1.1.1.1 Large-scale agriculture on private leaseholds

Policies favoring large-scale agriculture after Malawi's independence in 1964 have caused land scarcity in Malawi today (Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Soon after Malawi's independence, the post-colonial government shifted focus towards the promotion of a dual agricultural system (Chriwa, 2004; Peters & Kambewa, 2007; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) where smallholders would produce food crops and larger estates would produce cash crops (Kishindo, 2007; Chriwa, 2004). Not long after independence the minister of land gained the power to create private leaseholds out of the communally owned land (Lamport-Stokes; 1970, Kishindo; 2004; Chingò; 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) a power that was used extensively, especially in order to create private leaseholds on land for tobacco production (Lele, 1989; Chriwa, 2004; Kishindo, 2004; Prowse, 2013; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo and Mvula, 2017). Leaseholds on land could be up to 99-years (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Place & Otsuka, 2001; Kishindo; 2004; Prowse, 2013 & Chingò; 2015) and there was no limit as to how much land one applicant could lease (Kishindo, 2007; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo and Mvula, 2017).

1.1.1.2 Expansion of tobacco estates & laborers

The expansion of tobacco estates was foremost done on customary land but also through the redistribution of previously European-owned estates. At the beginning of estate expansion in Malawi it was foremost the political elite that was engaged in tobacco production. In 1972 estates got the exclusive right to produce flu cured and burley tobacco (Donge, 2002; FAO, 2003; Kishindo, 2007; Prowse, 2009; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo and Mvula; 2017). Now people had to have some form of private ownership, in other words an estate, in order to apply for a license for producing tobacco (Donge, 2002; FAO, 2003; Kishindo, 2007; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo and Mvula; 2017), which resulted in a rush of people obtaining private leases on land for estate tobacco production (Kishindo, 2007; Chriwa, 2004; Prowse, 2013; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). At this time estate ownership broadened (Krydd & Christiansen, 1982), but still it was the elite that benefitted from the policy (Kishindo, 2007; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). The rush for private leases on land was foremost evident in the areas that had been pointed out as suitable for tobacco production (Ibid.).

Tobacco is a very labor intensive-crop hence did the tobacco estates need to locate laborers that could help them with their production (FAO, 2003; Smalley, 2013). Most laborers were transferred from the Southern region of Malawi (Takane, 2005; Prowse, 2013) since the region was land constraint (Prowse, 2013) because of the expansion of tea estates during the

colonial period (Chome & McCall, 2002 & Kishindo, 2007). Many tobacco estates used a visiting tenant system where migrant laborers would live and produce tobacco on the estates (Prowse, 2009). Often did such tenants not managed to accumulate any resources or save income during their time at the estates (Ibid.).

1.1.1.3 Estates failed

Several reasons are mentioned as to why the tobacco estates started failing in the 1980s (Prowse, 2002; Kishindo; 2003, Peters, 2006; Peters and Kambewa, 2007). Due to the failure of the estate sector the new government had to undertake structural adjustments and liberalization policies in 1994. The most radical change during this time was permitting smallholders to produce tobacco (Walker & Peters, 2010) and soon after that smallholders became the major producers of tobacco in Malawi (Prowse, 2002; FAO, 2003; Peters, 2006; Walker and Peters, 2010; Prowse; 2013; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Today smallholders produce about 80 per cent of the total share of tobacco (Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) which is a big change considering that the estate sub sector had exclusive rights to produce tobacco during the first three decades after independence (Prowse, 2002). With the opening up of tobacco for smallholders estates found it even harder to continue their production (Prowse, 2002; Keyser, 2007; Jaffee, 2003). After the liberalization policies was put in place many tobacco estates ceased their production altogether, those affected the most was the larger and absentee-owned estates (Jaffee, 2003).

1.1.1.4 Land scarcity

The importance of land in agricultural based economies cannot be understated (Chirwa, 2004) and land in Malawi today is a critical resource for most households (Chome & McCall, 2002; Kishindo, 2007; ILC, 2015; Peters, 2006; Peters & Kambewa, 2007; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule, Kotsopoulos, 2016). About 89 per cent of Malawis population depends on subsidence agriculture for their livelihoods (ILC, 2015). But land is not only considered valuable due its economic importance, it's also considered being the basis for social security (Kishindo, 2007). Many Malawians consider access to land as a fundamental right whether or not they are in paid employment (Ibid.).

Land is not equally distributed in Malawi (Lele, 1989; Peters, 2006). Today there is a concentration of land within a small number of actors (ILC, 2015; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule, Kotsopoulos, 2016), whom are excluding the poorest share of the population from land (ILC, 2015). There is a problem of shortage of agricultural land relative to the rural population (ILC 2015; Peters, 2006). The average plot size amongst smallholders in Malawi is less than 0.5 ha (Peters, 2006) and one quarter of the population farm less than 0.5 ha (ILC, 2015). Small

farm size is an obvious constraint on the rural populations livelihoods (Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016) due to rural families need for land in order for them to achieve decent living standards (Peters, 2006).

1.1.2 Kasungu

Kasungu is a district in the Central region of Malawi and was one of the districts pointed out as suitable for tobacco production (Kishindo, 2007; Prowse, 2009: Kishindo and Mvula, 2017). Press Agriculture was said to be the biggest producer of tobacco in Malawi during the 1970s and 1980s (Kishindo and Mvula, 2017). Press Agriculture opened most of their tobacco estates in Kasungu (Nthyolamwendo, 2017) and had about 100-150 estates in Kasungu (Panyanja, 2017). Press Agriculture had a big recruitment campaign in the 1970s in order to attract laborers to their tobacco estates, which resulted in a mass migration of workers to Kasungu (Flywell, 2017).

Press Agriculture made an announcement in 2011 saying they would stop producing tobacco all together due to the low tobacco prices on the market, meaning that up to 24,000 workers would loose their jobs on their tobacco estates (Ngozo, 2011). In 2017 did former Press Agriculture estate workers report that their land rights were abused in Kasungu (Kathewera, 2017). Former estate workers in Kasungu argue that ever since their employment at Press Agriculture ended, they have not been able to find land for settlement or cultivation (Ibid.). Mirece, a local Community based organization (CBO), in Kasungu is working towards securing rights for former Press Agriculture estate workers. The director of Mirece states that 1712 families of former Press Agriculture estate workers are members and that they are living under inhuman conditions in informal settlements in Kasungu district (Flywell, 2017).

1.2 Aim with the study and research questions

Former Press Agriculture (Press) estate workers claim they have been excluded from accessing land in Kasungu ever since their employment at Press ended. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) argue it's important to look into who is excluded from land, how they are excluded and why they are excluded. This study will investigate whom former estate workers are as well as why and how they exclude others from land and are excluded from land. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that excluded people may protest, acquiesce or just disappear and argue it's extremely difficult to assess the impacts of exclusion from land. This study aims at examining which possible consequences the exclusion of former estate workers from land have had on their access to other livelihood resources and strategies.

Two different frameworks were used, Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) 'Powers of exclusion' in order to understand the process of exclusion, Scoones (1998) 'Sustainable Livelihood Framework' (SLF) in order to assess however the exclusion from land has affected former estate workers access to livelihood resources and strategies. Hopes are that this study will encourage stakeholders to take responsibility for former estate workers lives in Kasungu.

The following three research questions evolve around former estate workers whom worked at Press tobacco estates in Kasungu. The first question aims at investigating whom former estate were before their employment ended at Press, in order to get a fuller picture for their situation in Kasungu today. The following question concerns the process of exclusion, after former estate workers left Press, where they both exclude and are excluded. The third and final research question is about which ways the exclusion from land affect former estate workers access to livelihood resources and strategies in Kasungu.

- Who are former estate workers living in Kasungu today?
- How and why are former estate workers, after their employment ended at Press, being excluded as well as excluding others from land?
- In which ways does the exclusion of former estate workers from land, affect their access to livelihood resources and strategies in Kasungu?

1.3 Delimitations

The research was conducted in Malawi during a three-month long fieldtrip. The empirical data in the study is based on information collected through different qualitative methods but foremost interviews. Selection of former estate workers was limited to those that had worked or lived at Press tobacco estates in Kasungu. Other participants in the study were locals in Kasungu such as other villagers or and other stakeholders such as staff from different Ministries in Lilongwe and at the municipality in Kasungu as well as employees at companies and non-governmental organisation (NGO:s) and community based organisations (CBO:s).

Literature and data used was limited to articles concerning issues of land and labour. Some research used was not specific to Africa or Malawi such as Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) research regarding the process of exclusion from land. But research specific to Malawi was also used extensively in order to understand the particular context. Research used from Malawi concerned aspects such as tenure regimes and the tobacco industry.

Geographically, the study is limited to Malawi and an area situated in the Central region called Kasungu. The data collection in Kasungu was combined with an internship for a Swedish NGO called Mobilizing and Uniting Development (Mud Africa). Mud Africa works towards strengthening the rights of poor households in Malawi, with a focus on land and women's rights. The first contact with Mud Africa was established in January 2017. Not long after that, Mud Africa suggested that my data collection could be combined with an internship for them. Mud Africa wanted an intern to help out with a pilot project they were doing with a new local partner of theirs. The local partner, Millennium Information and Resource Centre (Mirece) is a CBO working towards securing citizen and land rights for former estate workers and their families living in Kasungu district. Mud Africa were also interested in collaborating with a student in order to get data on former estate workers residing in Kasungu today. Thus Kasungu was chosen as study area.

Chronologically is the study's main focus former estate workers life after they left Press estates. But one of the research questions, "Who are former estate workers living in Kasungu today?" is supposed to highlight their lives before they stopped working for Press. The other two research questions are concerned with the time after former estate workers stopped working at Press estates. Former estate workers stopped working at the estates between 1990s-2016.

1.4 Study site

Kasungu is a district in the Central region in Malawi (Republic of Malawi, 2008), which borders Zambia (Google Maps, 2018). Kasungu district has a high population density (Republic of Malawi, 2008; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016) and about 616,000 people live in the district (Republic of Malawi, 2008). Kasungu has a semi-arid to sub-humid climate (Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016) and is situated on the Kasungu-Lilongwe plains (VAC, 2003) where the soil type sandy loam dominates (Li *et al.*, 2017). Malawi has one single rainy season and in Kasungu 85 per cent of the rainfall occurs during the months of December to March with a nearly complete drought from May to October (Peters, 1969). Kasungu has 80 inhabitants per km² hence farm sizes are small with an average of 1.32 ha (Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016). The production system is a mix of dry-land crop production on individual plots of land and cattle and small-stock grazing, commonly done on communal lands (Ibid.).

Maize is the main food crop in the area (Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016). Tobacco is the dominant cash crop cultivated in Kasungu (Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016; HEA). Tobacco is grown by large-scale estates and small-scale farmers

(Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016). The majority of households living on the Kasungu-Lilongwe plains grow tobacco and it provides about 65-85 per cent of the income in all three-wealth groups (poor, middle, better off) (HEA).

Many people in Kasungu are dependent on the market in order to meet their minimum food requirements, about 30-40 per cent of food needs is required through purchasing food (VAC, 2003). In Kasungu about 25 per cent of the poorest households rely on agricultural labor about six months a year in order to access food, they foremost work on the farms of in better off farmers or in the tobacco estates (HEA). Agricultural laborers are paid for in cash or in kind (for example maize, maize flour or sometimes maize bran). Considering the areas high dependence on tobacco, the livelihoods of basically all people in this area is affected by the changes in the world tobacco market (Ibid.).

Figure 1



Figure 1 shows Kasungu district marked in red (source: Google Maps, 2018)

2. Methods

The empirical data was collected during a three month long fieldtrip to Malawi. Data was collected from October 2017- January 2018. Data was collected more specifically in Kasungu and Lilongwe, but foremost in Kasungu since former estate workers lived there. Data in Kasungu were collected partly in Kasungu town but primary in different rural areas outside town. The reason for collecting data in different rural areas was to be able to get a general understanding and see however conditions differed for former estate workers depending on the area they lived in. Svensson and Arne (2011) argue that it can be good to compare data from different areas in order to get a better overview and general understanding of the issue, but at the same time the authors explain that if a researcher only focus one area a deeper understanding of the issue can be achieved compared to if several areas are studied.

Literature used (se section 1.3) is foremost collected from Google scholar and the online database of Det Kongelige Bibliotek. These pages search function was used in order to find relevant e-books, scientific articles and other published material. Information has also been obtained from webpages through Goggles search function.

2.1 Empirical data

The data was collected though qualitative methods. Different qualitative methods were used in order to answer the research questions. Alvehus (2013) argue that a big part of qualitative methods is to interpret information, which he says may seem arbitrary but that the point of qualitative methods is that that the interpretation will contribute with a general understanding of what is studied and say something of importance to others interested in the subject (Ibid.). The qualitative methods used were semi-structured interviews, group interviews, focus groups, observations and unstructured interviews. The main method was semi-structured interviews.

Interviews were foremost used to collect data. Since the purpose of the study roughly was to tell former estate workers stories, their experiences, feelings and opinions were considered important. Authors (Svensson & Ahrne, 2011; Alvehus, 2013) argue that interviews are a suitable method for collecting data concerning these aspects. Eriksson-Zetterquist and Ahrne (2011) state that a disadvantage with interviews is that the influence of the researcher might be bigger than when using other methods. I believe I had an influence on the respondents, and even more so since they did not merely see me as a researcher but also as a representative

from a donor (Mud Africa). As an example, I often had to answer questions concerning how and when I (Mud Africa) would assist former estate workers with land. In such situations I had to make it clear to respondents (once more), that my main purpose was to pursue my own research. Still the perception of me as a donor have probably affected former estate workers and made them answer in ways they would not do if I had not been in front of them. Authors (Ahrne & Svensson, 2011; Dahmström, 2011) furthermore mention that the one interviewing has the power to affect the content of the interview. The authors furthermore state that it's important to acknowledge that you as a researcher are producing data rather than collecting it (Ibid.). Alvehus (2013) mentions that critics of using interviews as a method often argue that what is being said during an interview are of little significant outside of that interview. The author explains that it is common for interviewer and respondent to produce appropriate images of themselves for each other during the interview, which in turn can affect the data collected (Ibid.). Ahrne and Svensson (2011) mention something similar and explain that the researcher is affecting the data collected by choosing which questions to ask and how to ask them. The authors also mention how the researcher pre expectations and conceptions can effect the respondents and make them act in a way they would never do outside that specific interview (Ahrne & Svensson, 2011). As an example did I from the get go have an interest for investigating the relations between former estate workers and indigenous villagers, which had an effect on what questions I choose to ask. Still I had this in mind and did not ask leading question, which for example would imply that former estate workers had a bad relation with indigenous villagers.

Focus groups were conducted in the beginning of the study. Desai and Potter (2006) explain that focus groups can be used for two different reasons, a) in order to see how participants interact with each other and b) in order to in a fast and efficient way interact with a community. The purpose with these six focus groups were foremost to get a basic ide of what was going on in the area and gain insight in what issues former estate workers felt was of most importance to them. Basically I wanted to know how to proceed with the semi-structured interviews. Desai and Potter (2006) state that focus groups are a good way of obtaining a collective view on social issues. Eriksson-Zetterquist and Ahrne (2011) argue that, respondents, if participating together will influence each other. Desai and Potter (2006) also discuss this and state the importance of acknowledging that what is observed in a focus group is a product of the group dynamic, in that group at that specific time, rather than individual behaviors or motivations. The authors furthermore explain that what is said during a focus group cannot be considered as the authentic voice of the people (Ibid.).

Semi-structured interviews were the main method used. An interview guide was prepared

before each interview and used as a guideline during the interview. Bernard (2011) explains that semi-structured interviews often is a scheduled activity and open-ended but still follow a general script and covers a list of topics. The reason for using semi-structured interviews was to be able to have more of a conversation with respondents. The purpose of the loose structure in the interviews was to enable respondents to speak their mind and focus on the issues they felt were most important. Dahmström (2011) argues that an advantage with semi-structured interviews is that you can adjust the questions after the situation. The loose structure of the interviews made it possible to ask follow up questions based on what had already been said by the respondent. Eriksson-Zetterquist (2011) explain that the ability to adjust the interview after the respondents answers is good if you want to get a broader picture and deeper knowledge about an issue, something that would not be possible by only using standardized questions. Still some standardized questions were used when I had obtained information during a previous interview that I wanted to confirm by asking another part or when I wanted to investigate an issue further.

Two other methods were used throughout the fieldwork, participant observations and unstructured interviews. Bernad (2011) explains that participant observation is when a researcher through her/his own presence observe and record information about other peoples lives. Babbie (2002) states that participant observation is something that happens by just “*being there*” (p. 299) and argues that a researcher can get a better understanding of the complex and rich nature of human affairs by using this method. An issue with doing observations, mentioned by Dewalt, Dewalt and Wayland (1998) is that the once being observed can adjust their behaviour while being observed. The authors argue for the importance of being aware of that the observer is a part of the observation. Bernard (2011) furthermore explains what unstructured interviews are and says that unstructured interviews go on all the time. The author exemplifies by saying that they can occur in a bar, peoples homes or while you walk down the road. The author adds that even if unstructured interviews can happen anywhere it does not make them informal. The author explains that even though they are unstructured a researcher still have a clear plan in mind. Still the author says that this type of interviewing is characterized by a minimum of control over people’s answers (Ibid.). Participant observation and unstructured interviews were used throughout the study for example in the beginning of the study to get a general understanding of the context in which former estate workers live. The two methods were also used to triangulate data that had been obtained from semi-structured/ group interviews and focus groups. Triangulation is, according to Bernard (2011) a way of validating data.

2.2 Guide and translators

Somanje Flywell, the director and founder of Mirece, was hired as guide and translator during visits and interviews with former estate workers in the field. Somanje Flywell first came in contact with former estate workers through his work as a revenant in Kasungu. In 2014 he choose to leave his mission as a revenant and start the CBO Mirece. Before conducting any interviews Somanje Flywell was instructed on his role as translator. He was as an example, told to not interrupt respondents and to translate back the exact same answer as the respondent had told him. Somanje Flywell was also informed about the purpose of the study and on the more general interview themes that would be used as well as examples of questions that could be relevant for me to ask. Rear and Parker (2005) state the importance of giving proper instruction to the one conducting your interviews. The authors argue that instructions should include guidelines about formalities and making sure that the translator understands the purpose with the study and the questions asked. Somanje Flywell was the only one who did my introduction and Desai and Potter (2006) argues that having to rely completely on one person to do your introduction is not desired. Interviews with former estate workers differed in time ranging from 40 minutes to one and a half hours long. An issue with using a translator was the additional time spent at every interview. Desai and Potter (2006) explain that if a translator is being used during an interview it will double the time spend on that interview.

There were three main reasons for why I chose to use Somanje Flywell as guide and translator in the field. First of all Somanje Flywell is a gatekeeper to the community of former estate workers in Kasungu. Many former estate workers move around a lot, which makes it hard to arrange appointments with them. Due to Somanje Flywells many contacts in the settlements he was able to arrange interviews with people that otherwise would have been hard to locate. Desai and Potter (2006) argue that local translators and guides can open doors and be intermediaries. Somanje Flywell being a gatekeeper he had established relations with many former estate workers in the settlements, which made it possible for him to respond quickly to unforeseen events and cancelations. When such events and cancelations happened he could easily communicate rearrangements to former estate workers. The second reason for using Somanje Flywell was that former estate workers seemed to have trust in him. As an example did former estate workers many times questioned why they should take time off their lives to participate in my interviews. I tried to answer their concerns but it was clear that Somanje Flywell was the one who had their trust and therefore could motivate them to participate in my interviews. Besides getting a higher participation rate, I also felt that it was important to have someone with me in the field that had the trust of former estate workers in order to get deeper information. The third reason was Somanje Flywells understanding of the context. He

had the ability to guide me in a way an outsider never would have been able to. As an example could Somanje Flywell and I discuss my general thoughts and ideas during and after interviews, which definitely brought the study forward. Desai and Potter (2006) explain that a well-known advantage when using a local translator or guide is that they can explain the local context and local behavior.

At the same time its important to consider the possible influence Somanje Flywell had on the respondents and the information obtained. To start off, Somanje Flywell is a known figure amongst former estate workers, hence its possible that he, based on what perception a respondent had of him, influenced that respondents answers. Somanje Flywell was also familiar with the context and Desai and Potter (2006) argue that local translators and guides often are biased due to their own perspective of their own society. This was clear in the beginning of the study, as an example, did Somanje Flywell question why some of my questions had to be asked since he already had the information. I tried to make it clear that his perspective of the situation was not enough and that I had to ask former estate workers directly to be able to tell their story. Still Somanje Flywell could sometimes answer my questions himself during interviews and I had to repeat the importance of getting the perspective of former estate workers. Somanje Flywell also had the possibility to influence the information obtained though interviews depending on how he formulated questions asked by me and what information he translated back. Finally, Somanje Flywell have his own agenda and he was looking to get financial support from Mud Africa in order to help himself as well as former estate workers. Thus would it not be completely strange for him to exaggerate former estate workers answers.

To try and limit Somanje Flywells influence on respondents and the data obtained from the interviews we did together I wanted to record all interviews to get a second translation on them. I managed to record 32 out of the 37 interviews where Somanje Flywell had been translating (Including both semi-structured interviews and focus groups). The reason for why five interviews were not recorded was in four cases (Trayness Chivunga, fouds groups 3a, 1a, 2b) due to technical issues. It was only one respondent (Emily Chakwira) that did not want to be recorded.

I hired a second translator named Alexander Kumcheza to translate all recordings into text. Alexander Kumcheza has a bachelor degree in computer science and is the national coordinator for Taste of Malawi, an organisation that works with empowering girls and women though designing garments. I came in touch with Alexander Kumcheza through a staff member from Mud Africa, this staff member told me that Mud Africa had used

Alexander Kumcheza for other purposes before and recommended him, saying he was trustworthy and good at English, both in writing and speech. Alexander Kumcheza was instructed on how the recordings should be translated and I emphasized the importance of accuracy, that every word was translated.

Alexander Kumcheza translated about half of all recordings while I was still in Malawi, which made it possible for me to give feedback to Somanje Flywell on his translations in the field. As soon as I got the first three translations from Alexander Kumcheza I compared them to Somanje Flywells translations to see in which ways they differed. To start off where Alexander Kumchezas translations much more detailed than Somanje Flywells. This was especially the case when respondents had given more complex and elongated answers. Desai and Potter (2006) mention that translators sometimes filter out parts they believe to be irrelevant. Using Alexander Kumcheza became a way for me to limit Somanje Flywell screening of information and I got fuller answers instead of summaries of what Somanje Flywell thought was important.

If a translation did not correlate after comparing the two versions I discussed it with Somanje Flywell to try and solve the issue. One example of a discussion we had was when Somanje Flywell had added his own information to a respondents answer. During our meeting I discussed this issue with Somanje Flywell and he explained that the questions I asked sometimes would not give me all the information. I then emphasized the importance of translating exactly what the respondents say and to not twist their answers in any way. During this meeting I also made sure he understood that inputs like these were of high significance for me but that he should not take the matter in his own hands. After having this discussion Somanje Flywells translations became much more accurate and he also became more verbal, giving me feedback on my questions during the interviews. This made it possible for me to adjust questions during an interview, which was proven to be very useful and made it possible for me to get deeper and more versatile information.

As an example did Somanje Flywell during an interview tell me that my question “*Does your children attend school?*” did not necessarily give the right image of former estate workers lives. Somanje Flywell explained that former estate workers might answer yes on that question if their children are attending school right now. He explained that many of their children attend school to some extent but that its common that they are not able to attend enough days to actually complete a school year and therefore often have to redo a grade, sometimes several times. Getting this information from Somanje Flywell made it possible for me to ask follow up questions considering for example however their children had failed to

pass a grade at any time. One much more common issue with Somanje Flywells translations was caused by his sometimes-lacking knowledge in English. Somanje Flywells sometimes did not use the right pronoun and he could for example translate grandmother or her when Alexander Kumcheza translated grandfather and his. If I was not satisfied with Somanje Flywell answer on why his translation differed from Alexander Kumchezas or if it was a translation that I had received after I left Malawi, I used Alexander Kumchezas translation. Reasons for using Alexander Kumchezas translations is that he is unbiased and has a better knowledge in the English language.

2.3 Implementation

2.3.1 Observations and unstructured interviews

The first two weeks of field studies were spent on having introduction meetings. A total of four meetings were held. Two of the meetings were held in two of the settlements where former estate workers live, Nthuduwala and Chipala and the other two were held at two of Mirece's meeting points in Kasungu. I wanted to have these meetings in order to inform attendees about my research as well as to get a basic understanding for the context before conducting any interviews. Those attending were former estate workers, Somanje Flywell, village chiefs and other members of the traditional authorities. All the meetings went down in a similar manner. They started off with; a welcome speech by the chairman for former estate workers of that settlement or meeting point, Somanje Flywell informing about Mireces progresses, me introducing Mud Africa and their pilot project as well as myself and my research, testimonies (basically explanations of living situation and struggles) from two former estate workers, man and a woman and finally a speech held by the village chief. The number of former estate workers that attended these meetings differed and ranged from 30-100 people. Meetings were about one- one and a half hour long. After the meetings I got the chance to do unstructured interviews with people that had attended the meeting, interviews which provided valuable background information and helped me understand the context. When the meeting was held in settlements where former estate workers lived I also did observations where I for example looked at the size of the land and infrastructure. My experience is that the two weeks of observations and unstructured interviews in the beginning of the study facilitated the preparation for focus groups and semi-structured interviews.

But observations and unstructured interviews were not only used in the beginning of the fieldtrip, rather they were used throughout the study. As an example were unstructured interviews held on a weekly basis with my translator and guide Somanje Flywell. Since Somanje Flywell has been working with former estate workers several years we, on an almost

a daily basis, were chatting about former estate workers lives. During these unstructured interviews, we for example discussed answers we had gotten from interviews or brainstormed possible solutions to former estate workers situation. Unstructured interviews were also held with my driver Kenani Mwalt who is the village chief in Linyangwa, a settlement where former estate workers have been given land. I also had unstructured interviews with staff at the hostels where I lived and with residents in Kasungu in general. Unstructured interviews with staff and residents in Kasungu often revolved around tobacco growing. Since many people in Kasungu are growing tobacco themselves, or have done before, they have insights about the manners of production, such as labor regimes used when growing tobacco. Unstructured interviews helped me get a better understanding for the context in general in Kasungu. On some occasions did these interviews result in data that was used in this report.

Different types of observations were also made throughout the study. I observed a lot by just driving around in Kasungu by car, such as tobacco plantations and tenants houses. I also did participant observation when visiting the settlements of former estate workers. Former estate workers then showed me around, for example showing me their houses from the inside. Furthermore did I use observations in order to validate information obtained from the interviews. As an example, did some former estate workers from Linyangwa in a focus group argue that the local community in Linyangwa had accepted them. They exemplified this statement by explaining that they attended funerals together with the local community in Linyangwa. A couple of weeks later I drove by the church in Linyangwa where a funeral just had been held. Then I took the opportunity to go out from the car and greet former estate workers and ask about the funeral ceremonial to confirm that they had attended.

2.3.2 Interviews

A total of 54 interviews were conducted. Out of these were 45 semi-structured interviews, three group interviews and six focus group interviews. All interviews started off with me introducing myself and telling the respondent/s the purpose with my research. If I were doing an interview with a former estate worker I would also, as a part of my introduction, show them a photo album with pictures of my family and home country Sweden. I showed them the photos in order to try and establish a personal connection (since I wanted to ask quite personal questions) with the respondents from the start and as a way to loosen up the atmosphere. Furthermore were all respondents informed about how I would use the data obtained from the interviews. Respondents were asked however they wanted to be anonymous and told that they could end the interview at any time if they wanted to.

Respondents were also asked for their permission to record the interview. Out of all the 54

interviews made were all except seven recorded. Three respondents (Dennis Kalilangwe, Phil Musukwa, Emily Chakwira) did not want to be recorded and four interviews (Focus groups 3a, 1a, 2b & Trayness Chivunga) were not recorded due to technical issues. Alvehus (2013) and Gustavsson (2004) point out that recording respondents can limit them in their answers. But Alvehus (2013) also state that recordings can be useful since notes sometimes is not enough and can change along the way. The author also agree that respondents sometimes feel comfort in being recorded, knowing that what they say is perceived word for word. Notes were taken during all the interviews as backup if something would go wrong with the recordings but also in order to get information that the recording would not show, such as facial expressions. Furthermore were no more than three interviews, or two focus group, done per day, this limitation was set in order for me to have time to analyze and write down notes from the same day I took them. Eriksson-Zetterquist and Ahrne (2013) state that its good to alternate interviews with analysis since it makes it easier to see if there are similar answers and however additional or new questions have to be asked. When interviews were done respondents were given information regarding how my studies were going to precede, my contact details and they were also offered to get the report sent to them once finished. Finally did I thank all participants for their participation in the study.

2.3.2.1 Focus groups

A total of six focus groups were conducted with former estate workers in three different locations in Kasungu district. At every of those three location were two focus groups held. Two of the locations for focus groups were settlements where former estate workers live. One of these two locations is called Linyangwa where 35 families have been given land and relocated permanently and the other is called Chipala where 86 families were leasing land for a year. The final location for focus groups was one of Mireces meeting points in Kasungu. All former estate workers that participated were members of Mirece. Sizes of focus groups ranged from four to six participants. Hoang, Castella, Novosad (2006) argue that participation can increase if different groups are separated, hence were female and male participants separated. Somanje Flywell acted translator and moderator during the focus groups. Before conducting any focus groups I had a meeting with Somanje Flywell discussing what it meant to moderate a focus group and he was for example told about the importance of engaging silent participants during the focus groups. Focus groups were 1 – 1 ½ hours long.

The three overall themes participants were asked to reflect over were; their lives before, during and after working at Press estates. The reason for asking about their lives before they started working on Press estates was that I thought it was important to understand who they were before they came to Press to get a better understanding of their situation in Kasungu

today. Furthermore, the reason for asking about their time during the estates was for me to get a general understanding of their time at the estates such as what type of work they did, for how long they lived at the estates and so on. But the main focus of the interviews was former estate workers lives after they stopped working for Press. I wanted to learn about their lives after Press in order to understand the processes of exclusion from land and what possible effect exclusion had on their access to livelihood resources and strategies. Former estate workers were also given more specific questions to try and get the discussion going such as “*How do you access land today?*” or “*Where do you feel that you belong?*” as well as questions more specific to the location where the focus group was held. It was hard to get participants to actually discuss and it was always one or two participants that spoke more than others. Desai and Potter (2006) explain that dominant figures might take over the discussion in focus groups, which makes it hard for others to get their voice heard.

2.3.2.2 Semi-structured and group interviews

A total of 17 semi-structured interviews were made with former estate workers. All, except two, were members of Mirece. Interviews with former estate workers were conducted in eight different rural locations in Kasungu district, namely, Bagidad, Chipala, Nthuduwala, Chamawi, Linyangwa, Tongole, Rusa River and the riverbank. Some respondents lived in the settlements where they were interviewed and some lived close by and came by in order to participate in an interview. Eriksson– Zetterquist and Ahrne (2013) argue that it might be difficult to do private interviews in respondent’s home environment for example if other family members are present. Thus were none of the interviews conducted in a respondent’s home and all interviews except the three group interviews were done in private. Sometimes someone still came and wanted to listen in on interviews whereby they instantly were asked to leave. Eriksson-Zetterquist and Ahrne (2011) and Alvehus (2013) argue for the importance of privacy during interviews and explain that if other people are present they can influence the respondent’s answers. The three overall themes during interviews with former estate workers were the same as those used during the focus groups namely, life before, during and after working at Press estates, with a focus on their life after the estates.

Another 14 interviews were conducted with locals (Villagers, the traditional authorities and contract farmers) living in the same areas as former estate workers namely in the areas of: Nthuduwala, Chamawi, Linyangwa, Tongole, Rusa River and the riverbank. The idea with these interviews was to try and get another angle and fuller picture of former estate workers situation in Kasungu. Interviews with villagers and traditional authorities were focused on their relation with former estate workers. Interviews with smallholders (growing tobacco) were focused on their relations with their tenants, which often were former estate workers. Even though it was only two of the interviewed former estate workers that were tenants as of

now (the two that were not members of Mirece) all former estate workers interviewed had, after their employment ended at Press, been tenants for smallholders at some point. Thus did I feel it was important to get smallholders point of view as well.

Additionally were nine interviews conducted with government staff on national, regional and local level. All those interviewed except one were conducted in the offices of the interviewees. One of the interviews was conducted in a public restaurant since that was requested from the respondent. Two of these nine interviews were group interviews where two respondents participated in each interview. When I conducted a group interview it was always because a respondent had requested it. As an example, Phil from the Ministry of Labor, asked if his colleague Linda could join in on the interview, stating they together would be able to cover a broader area.

Furthermore were four interviews conducted with four NGO:s. Two out of the four interviews with NGO staff were made in the offices of the interviewees. Somanje Flywell was interviewed at two separate occasions, both times in public restaurants, but in private corners.

Finally, were three interviews conducted with staff working at two involved companies, Press Agriculture and Limbe Leaf. Interviews were held at the interviewee's respective offices.

2.3.3 Selection of respondents

The selection of respondents was not random. The first criteria for former estate workers participating were that they had worked or lived at one of Press estates in Kasungu. Former estate workers that were members of Mirece all had their own chairman, which chairman they had depended on which location they lived at. Chairmen were instructed by me to find those willing to participate at their locations. For the focus groups were three chairmen told to find five women and five men in their respective areas. I also asked them to try and get participants from mixed ages. Having a mix of ages felt important to try and get a fuller picture of former estate workers situation. I was also clear about not wanting someone underage to participate (younger than 18 years old) partly due to ethical reasons but also since they due to their young age would not be able to give me as much information as someone older. The procedure was similar when locating participants in semi-structured interviews. Chairmen were told about the importance of having both male and female participants as well as my wish of getting participants of different ages. In a few cases did I requested to speak with a specific person, for example if I wanted to speak with someone again that earlier had participated in a focus group, as in the case with Rute Phiri.

The two former estate workers interviewed that were not members of Mirece was located through Somanje Flywell. He knew the smallholders where these two former estate workers were working as tenants, in Tongole village. Thus were we able to get the permission of the smallholders to conduct a short group interview with their two tenants. I believe that having interviewed, almost exclusively, former estate workers that were members of Mirece will affect the result since I wont be able to show the reality of those that are not members. The reason for not interviewing more former estate workers that were not members of Mirece was merely because they were hard to locate and since the once we were able to locate were tenants at smallholders' farms hence they would need their employer's permission to do an interview. Villagers interviewed were located through the village chiefs in their respective areas, whom in turn were requested to find people that wanted to participate. All three smallholders were located though Somanje Flywell since he knew them personally.

I visited the Ministry of Labor, Land and Agriculture, as well as Press Agriculture and Limbe Leaf without actually having a contact there. In all places, except at the Ministry of Land, was I able to get interviews this way. Snowball sampling was also used in order to locate government staff and NGO:s/ CBO:s. Alvehus (2013) explains that snowball sampling is when participants in the study, among their acquaintances recommend other participants. The author argues that this sampling method can be a fast way of identifying suitable participants compared to if you locate them randomly. As an example did Emanuel Mlaka at Land Net recommend me to speak with Davie Chilonga at the Ministry of land, thus did I get his contact details this way and could arrange an interview. Another example is that Phil Musukwa from the Ministry of Land advised me to get in contact with Olive Panyanja at the Labor office in Kasungu. Alvehus (2013) states that a downside with snowball sampling is that you only get participants within the same network hence participants that share opinions and thoughts. Alvehus (2013) and Eriksson-Zetterquist and Ahrne (2011) state that this type of selection may result in the issue not being explored from different angles since participants are from the same network.

3. Theoretical basis

3.1 Previous research

3.1.1 The dual structure of agriculture

Authors (Peters & Kambewa, 2007; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain that when Malawi gained independence in 1964 Hastings Banda became president and led the country as a one party state until 1994. Hastings Bandas party was called the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) (Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) and from the beginning did they say that they, in contrast with the

colonial government, would put the development of smallholder agriculture first (Peters, 2002; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Chingò (2015) say that the MCP in the early years after independence channeled resources to smallholder agriculture in order for them to fulfill their full potential. But authors (Chriwa, 2004; Peters & Kambewa, 2007; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain how the government shifted focus soon after independence and reinforced the so-called “dual” structure of agriculture.

Kishindo (2004) and Chriwa (2004) state that the dual agricultural system meant that large-scale producers would focus on high value export crops while smallholders would focus on food production. Chriwa (2004) states that this division of responsibility resulted in a government policy biased towards estate-led agricultural development in Malawi’s early years of independence. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) explain that the shift towards large-scale agriculture was motivated on the grounds that the estate subsector with its large holdings and potential for borrowing capital was a steadier basis for economic development and better source of revenue for the government than the smallholder subsector. The authors say the government argued that an enlarged estate sector would create more rural employment and improve people’s standards of living (Ibid.). Authors (Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that the government, through the promotion of the dual strategy, had returned to the agricultural policies of the previous colonial government. They argue that the only exception now would be that Malawians would not merely participate as providers of labor they would also be investors and constitute the bulk of estate owners (Ibid.).

3.1.2 The Land Act of 1965

Chingò (2015) argues that the Land Act of 1965 was a piece of legislation that promoted the dual agricultural system. Kishindo (2004) states that cabinet adopted the New Land Policy in 2002, which seeks to correct some of the issues with the Land Act. The first land related bills that emanate from the New Land Policy were passed in parliament in the summer of 2016 (Chilunga, 2016). Hence was it still the Land Act that was practiced on the ground in Malawi when this study took place. Authors (Lamport-Stokes, 1970, Kishindo, 2004, Matchaya; 2009, ILC, 2015) explain that three categories of land recognized under the Act are, customary, private and public land.

3.1.2.1 Customary land

Authors (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004; Matchaya; 2009; ILC 2015) explain that customary land is defined by all land that is used, held or occupied under customary law. Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Takane, 2007) explain that the power over customary land in Malawi often is vested in the village chiefs and that different rules apply depending on the area and ethnic group that occupies a piece of land. The author states that village chiefs are

trustees over the land but don't own the land.

3.1.2.2 Private land

Authors (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004; Matchaya, 2009; ILC, 2015) explain that private land is defined by land, which is owned, held or occupied under a freehold/ leasehold title and a Certificate of Claim, or land that is registered as private land under the Registration Land Act. Kishindo (2004) states that private land for example is tea and tobacco estates, if not owned by the government

3.1.2.3 Public land

Authors (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004; Matchaya, 2009; ILC, 2015) state that public land is defined by land, which is used, occupied or acquired by the government.

Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Matchaya, 2009) state that it's also all land that does not belong to either customary or private land. ILC (2015) state that public land for example is government buildings such as schools, hospitals and infrastructure. Public land is also estates bought by the government (Lamport-Stokes, 1970) national parks, forest reserves (Kishindo, 2004) and lapsed leaseholds (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004).

3.1.2.4 Creation of leaseholds

Lamport-Stokes (1970) and Kishindo (2004) state that the minister of land gained power over customary and public land under the Land Act. They explain that the minister was regulating, administering and controlling how customary and public land was used (Ibid.). Authors (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that it under the Land Act became allowed to create free-and leaseholds out of customary (Ibid.) and public land (Lamport-Stokes; 1970, Kishindo; 2004). Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Chingò, 2015) explain that the minister foremost used his power to dispose customary land. Authors (Lele, 1989; Chriwa, 2004; Kishindo, 2004; Prowse, 2013; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) argue that the minister used his powers extensively to dispose customary land, especially for the purpose of tobacco production.

Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) argue that there was no maximum limit as to how much land that could be leased by an applicant. Authors (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Place & Otsuka, 2001; Kishindo, 2004; Chingò, 2015) state that the minister could grant leases for up to 99 years. Chingò (2015) say that both individuals and corporations could get leases for up to 99 years. Place and Otsuka (2001) explain that leaseholders could transfer their land to another person or company if they got the approval from the government. Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016; Kishindo and Mvula, 2017) explain that when a lease had lapsed that land was reverted

to the state as public land and could be leased out again by the minister. Auhtors (Kishindo, 2004; Prowse, 2013; Chingò; 2015) argue that the result of this policy was that productive customary land was permanently lost from the stock of available land for smallholders.

3.1.3 Tobacco production after independence

Kanyongolo (2005) and Prowse (2013) argue that the promotion of estate led agriculture after independence in 1964 particularly was for tobacco production. Pryor and Chipeta (1990) explain that the tobacco prices went up in the late 1960s. Prowse (2002) state that it was the high prices that resulted in the fast increase of tobacco estates in Malawi in the 1970s.

3.1.3.1 Press Corporation

Prowse (2002) argues that Press Corporation was the heart of estate expansion during the 1970s. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) explain that Press Corporation was a large diversified Malawian company and property of the then president, Kamuzu Banda. Krydd and Christiansen (1982) explain that Press Corporation was divided into several divisions. They state that one division was Press Agriculture (Press), which in turn was divided into General and Press Farming. Prowse (2013) states that these two divisions of Press Agriculture increased their estate holdings significantly throughout the 1970s. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) state that Press Agriculture was believed to be the largest producer of tobacco in Malawi during the 1970s and 1980s.

3.1.3.2 The first period of expansion of tobacco estates

Pryor and Chipeta (1990) state that foreigners owned all estates in Malawi before independence. Krydd and Christiansen (1982) explain that during the period of 1969-1972 General and Press Farming created estates primarily out of customary land. The authors explain that the then president Kamuzu Banda was of the opinion that all his ministers had to own an estate each hence was the president in the forefront of indigenizing estate ownership. The authors furthermore explain that during this period previously European-owned estates were also redistributed to the Malawian political elite (Ibid.). Pryor and Chipeta (1990) state that high officials during this time also were encouraged to buy estates by the government. The authors state that it seemed like the government wanted to create a new class of rural entrepreneurs that would help drive the country forward through their private development efforts (Ibid.) Prowse (2013) argues that this was the time when the postcolonial structure of the economy was set and when Kamuzu Banda and his allies took control over the Malawian economy as well as over the financial sector. Authors (Pryor & Chipeta, 1990; Prowse, 2013) state that governmental institutions was involved such as government owned banks. Pryor and Chipeta (1990) state the banks gave out credit to the estates and Prowse (2013) mention that they issued loans and offerd management services to the estates.

3.1.3.3 License requirement for tobacco growing

Authors (Donge, 2002; Kishindo, 2007; FAO, 2003; Prowse, 2009; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo and Mvula; 2017) explain that in 1972 an amendment was added to the Special Crops Act from 1963, which initiated a licensing system for burley and flue cured tobacco production. Authors (FAO, 2003; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that, people in order to be allowed to grow tobacco, now had to obtain a license from the Tobacco Control Commission (TCC). Several authors (Donge, 2002; Kishindo, 2007; FAO, 2003; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) furthermore explain that it was only people with access to leasehold or freehold land that were eligible to apply for a license. Authors (FAO, 2003; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that this in practice meant it was only estates and landowners that could apply for a license to grow tobacco (Ibid.). Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain that the policy of only allowing people with access to lease- and freehold land to grow tobacco, was based on an assumption that these types of tenure regimes were the only ones that could provide enough security for land based investments. Several authors argue that smallholders through this policy were excluded from producing and commercializing tobacco (Keyser, 2007; Place & Otsuka, 2001; Donge, 2002; FAO, 2003; Jaffee, 2003; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Authors (Kishindo; 2003; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that burley and flue cured tobacco, at the time for the amendment in 1972, was in great demand in international markets. They explain that assumptions are that adding the two crops to the Special Crops Act was yet another way to protect the interest of a Malawian political elite who had taken up tobacco growing at this time (Ibid.). Chingò (2015) state that result of the licensing system was a protected market for large-scale tobacco estates, generating rents and further strengthening the dual agrarian system.

3.1.3.4 The second period of expansion of tobacco estates

Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Chriwa, 2004; Prowse, 2013; Chinigò, 2015; Kishindo and Mvula, 2017) argue that the license requirement for growing flue cured and burley tobacco further fueled the rush of people wanting to acquire leases on land (Ibid.). Krydd and Christiansen (1982) state that estate ownership in the second period of growth, 1973- 1977, estate ownership was broadened since more people now acquired leaseholds on customary land. Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) argue that still, those benefiting from this policy were the Malawian elite. Kishindo (2004) states that those benefitting from the policy were the political elite, businessmen and civil servants. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) state that the president Kamuzu Banda, guaranteed capital and provided loans, from the governmentally owned banks, for those acquiring licenses on land for estate expansion. The authors argue that this was a form of patronage since those acquiring licenses were rewarded (Ibid.).

Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain that the rush for leases on land was foremost evident in areas believed to be suited for tobacco production. Authors (Place & Otsuka, 2001; Kanyongolo, 2005) argue that the growth of the tobacco estate sector foremost was concentrated in districts in the central and northern regions of the country. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) mention several districts in Southern, Central and Northern regions, amongst others Kasungu in the Central region. Prowse (2009) state that Kasungu in the Central region was one of the districts pointed out as suitable for tobacco production.

3.1.3.5 Creation of a labor pool for the estates

Authors (FAO, 2003; Smalley, 2013) state that tobacco is very labour intensive. FAO (2003) state that basically no machinery is used in tobacco growing and harvesting. They state that even larger estates, ranging from 600 ha and up, in principal rely completely on manual labour (Ibid.). Krydd and Christiansen (1982) argue that the fast growth of large-scale agriculture in Malawi was linked to an equally fast transfer of labour into wage employment and a decline of the importance of peasant production. Place and Otsuka (2001) say that since smallholders weren't able to produce burley and flue cured tobacco (due to the license requirement) the demand on the estates increased as well as the demand for labour to the estates. Whiteside (2000) and Place and Otsuka (2001) state reasons as to how a labour pool was created for the estates. Whiteside (2000) say that smallholders lost land to the estates, which forced some to seek off farm employment. Authors (Whiteside, 2000; Place & Otsuka, 2001) mention that smallholders were weakened by the depressed terms of trade. Whiteside (2000) explains that smallholders were paid low prices from the governments marketing apparatus called Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC), which during the 1970s added up to a 50 per cent tax on smallholders. Place and Otsuka (2001) states that since the government was a monopoly buyer of maize producer prices was set very low which acted as a tax on smallholders producing maize. Authors state such depressed terms of trade forced smallholders to look for other ways to earn money.

Jaffee (2003) states that in general smallholders could only take part in tobacco production as tenants or other types of labourers on the estates. The author furthermore states that since there were not many other remunerative options available to the main part of the population it was common for people to work at the estates. Prowse (2013) argue that production on the tobacco estates in Malawi often was based on annual tenants from the land-constrained south. Takane (2005) states that the land pressure in the south at this time was the major reason for why people migrated from the region to tobacco estate districts to work as tenant or labourers. Prowse (2009) states that larger estates growing burley tobacco often used a visiting tenant

system. The author explains that this labour regime meant that migrant (or sometimes local) households lived at the estate and were loaned basic inputs for tobacco production as well as food rations during the season. Loaned food and inputs were deducted from the tenant's salary after the season was over (CfSC, 2015). Prowse (2009) state that such tenants often did not manage to accumulate any resources or save any income due to the low prices they were paid for the tobacco after the season was over (Ibid.) Authors (Whiteside, 2000; FAO, 2003) argue that labourers on the tobacco estates were paid low salaries. In a report from FAO (2003) they state that since the pay for labourers on estates was so low it further stimulated the use of labourers. Whiteside (2000) explains that due to the low pay on the tobacco estates remittances to the labourers homes were small or none at all, the author adds that the money they got was not even enough to cover the basic needs of the workers families nor to invest in agriculture or other income-generating activities.

3.1.3.6 Failure of the tobacco estates

Prowse (2002) explains that in the end of 1970s relations between some important economic institutions (such as Press Corporation and the Commercial Bank) came under a strain. The author argues that these institutions in the 1970s had been crucial in the expansion of large-scale tobacco tobacco estates. The author says that due to the weakened relations estate expansion was on a different scale during the 1980s (Ibid.). Peters (2006) explains that in the beginning of the 1980s the dual agricultural system had some issues due to exogenous shocks. The author state that these issues were in form of a drought, collapse in the terms of trade and effects of the Mozambican civil war which showed how vulnerable the very import dependent sector was and how marginalized smallholders had been which in turn resulted in both foreign exchange and food shortages. Pryor and Chipeta (1990) state that another exogenous chock on the tobacco estate sector was when the global tobacco prices fell in the 1980s.

Peters and Kambewa (2007) state that the tobacco estates in the late 1980s started failing. The authors mention some reasons such as mismanagement, overextended capitalization and the oil price hike and aftermaths of it. Authors (Peters & Kambewa, 2007; Chingò, 2015) state that Kamuzu Bandas government was overthrown and a transition to multi- party system happened in 1994. Authors (FAO, 2003; Peters & Kambewa, 2007) explain that the new government in 1995, due to the failure of the estate sector, had to adopt a Sector Adjustment Program (SAP) and liberalization policies with the assistance of the World Bank and International Monetary Found. FAO (2003) state that the goal with the program was to re-establish financial stability and set the foundation for sustainable economic growth. Walker and Peters (2010) state that it the conversion of customary land to leasehold estates were put

on hold at this time and that rents for estate land were raised. But the authors argue that the most revolutionary change was to allow smallholders to produce burley tobacco.

3.1.3.6.1 Smallholders were allowed to produce tobacco

Authors (Kishindo, 2007; FAO, 2003; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain that a part of the SAP was the repealing of the Special Crops Act in 1996. Authors (Kishindo; 2003; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain that this meant that smallholders now could grow tobacco on their customary land. Authors (Prowse, 2002; FAO, 2003; Peters, 2006; Walker and Peters, 2010; Prowse; 2013; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that after the Special crops Act was repealed, smallholders produce the major share of Malawi's biggest export crop, burley tobacco. Authors (Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that smallholders today produce more than 80 per cent of burley tobacco. Prowse (2002) states that this is a huge change considering that the estate sub sector, for about three decades, had exclusive rights to produce both burley and flue cured tobacco (Prowse, 2002).

FAO (2003) state that there still was a minimum requirement in order for smallholders to sell directly on the action floors. But authors (FAO, 2003; Prowse, 2013) explain that intermediate buyers (middlemen) for tobacco were introduced during the 90s, which meant that if a smallholder did not produce enough to sell on the action floors she/he could sell to the intermediate buyers without any quantity restrictions. The authors explain that production clubs were established and that smallholders were now growing and selling tobacco on the action floors collectively (Ibid). Authors (Prowse, 2002; Jaffee, 2003; Keyser, 2007) explain that it at this time became even harder for estates to continue their businesses. Authors explain that bigger estates could not attract as much labor as before and had problems of labor abandonment. The authors also argue that another issue for the estates was that people, such as tenants at the estates, now could sell stolen tobacco anonymously to intermediate buyers or others (Ibid.). Prowse (2002) state that Press, which was a key actor in the tobacco industry and one of the biggest employers in Malawi, had major losses in the middle/end of the 90s, which the company blamed on the liberalization and more specifically on tobacco theft by their workers.

Jaffee (2003) argues that many estates ceased tobacco production altogether after the liberalization policies was put in place. The author explains that those estates that were affected the greatest by the liberalization and changed economic circumstances because of it were absentee-owned estates and larger estates. But the authors add that small/medium estates had a decline in production as well. The author says that estimations say that 40-50 per cent out of the estates that were producing tobacco in the early 1990s had stopped their entire

production in the beginning of 2000s. The author adds that most estates, even though they did not stop their production entirely, cut back on their operations (Ibid.).

3.1.3.7 Tobacco production today

Prowse (2013) mention that depending on what type of tobacco is grown there are different labour regimes used in Malawi today. The four regimes mentioned are as following, Tenant production on estates, direct wage labour production on estates, Out-grower production on customary land through the estates and Smallholder/peasant production on customary land.

3.1.3.7.1 Labor regimes on the estate

Centre for Social Concern (CfSC, 2015) state that there also are labour regimes used on the actual estates (on both small, medium and big estates) in Malawi. The three regimes mentioned, which are used for tobacco production on the estates, are those following:

i) Tenants and their unpaid family members. Tenants get a plot from the leaseholder where they alongside their family members cultivate tobacco for the landlord (CfSC, 2015). FAO (2003) explain that tenants often are provided with basic inputs, food and housing. They also state that tenants sell the tobacco to the landlords in order to pay back for the costs of fertilizers, food and other costs they had during the season (Ibid.).

ii) Permanent labourers. Permanent labourers are employed for different periods of times, ranging from a few months to all year around. They have different duties involving direct crop production, assist tenants and crop or labour supervision (CfSC, 2015).

iii) Casual labours (in Malawi referred to as ganyu). Casual labourers are employed on a daily or weekly basis when extra labour is wanted. These labourers do specific jobs required at that particular time (CfSC, 2015).

3.1.3.7.2 Contract farming

Authors (Kumwenda & Madola, 2005; Prowse, 2013) state there has been an increase of contract farmers in Malawi. Prowse (2013) state that contract farming in Malawi was initiated in 2000-2001 with smallholders. The author states that in 2009, 30 per cent of the total burley tobacco production in Malawi was produced through contract farming. The author furthermore says that contract farming by leaf merchants started in 2001- 2002 (Ibid.). Authors (Kumwenda & Madola, 2005; Prowse, 2013) mention Limbe Leaf as an example of a leaf merchants involved in contract farming in Malawi, for example active in Kasungu. Kumwenda and Madola (2005) explain that Limbe Leaf wanted to get involved in contract farming as a way of escaping tenancy tobacco production. Prowse (2012) argues that contract farming can be a way out of poverty for smallholders since their farms in general are run and

owned by the poor whom often use locally hired labour and spend income within the nearby community. CfSC (2015) state that contract farming has been promoted as the enabling factor in order to move from tenancy labor to hired labor and wageworkers. But the authors state that however this assumption has not proven right so far (Ibid.).

3.1.4 Land scarcity in Malawi

Several authors (Chome & McCall, 2002; Kishindo, 2007; ILC, 2015; Peters, 2006; Peters & Kambewa, 2007; Walker and Peters, 2010; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016) state that land is scarce in Malawi today. Authors (Chome & McCall, 2002; Kishindo, 2004) explain that the issue partly is connected to the colonial legacy, such as the expansion of tea estates in the Southern region. But the authors argue that the post-independence government also is responsible for the land scarcity today (Ibid.). Kishindo (2004) states that the postcolonial governments favouring large-scale agriculture, is responsible for extending the land problem to areas that were unaffected before, namely the central and northern regions. As mentioned before (See section 3.1.2.4) was customary land used in order to create leaseholds for large-scale tobacco causing smallholders to lose large tracts of land that before was available to them.

Kishindo (2004) adds that even though the government partially put a stop to the conversion of customary land in 1989 through The Control of Land Order those that already had leases got to keep them. ILC (2015) argue that there still is a trend of land concentration where a small number of actors have the majority of the land, which is causing the exclusion from land of many of the poorest people. Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule and Kotsopoulos (2016) state that one per cent of Malawi's farmers are cultivating the major share of the country's landholdings. The author furthermore explains that this one per cent of farmers are those that have five or more ha of land, the bigger majority of those farmers have over ten ha of land. As mentioned before (See section 3.1.2.4) will lapsed leases turn into public land, hence is the leased out land permanently lost from the customary land bank.

Kishindo (2004) argue that besides government policies favouring large-scale agriculture has rapid population growth contributed to create land scarcity in Malawi as well, a statement that is confirmed by other authors (Peters, 2006; Peters & Kambewa, 2007; Walker & Peters; 2010; ILC, 2015; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule and Kotsopoulos (2016) state that the population in Malawi grew from around 4 million in 1966 to 13 million in 2008. As of 2018 UN estimates that the population in Malawi is about 19 million (Worldometers, 2018). Kishindo and Mvula (2017) states that explain the population is constantly increasing due to high fertility rates in the

country. Potts (2006) states that Malawi is the country with the highest population density in Southern Africa. Chome and McCall (2002) state that Malawi has a very high population to land ratio. Peters (2006) states that on average a smallholder farm less than half of a hectare of land. In a report from ILC (2015) they say that the increasing population is causing landlessness and fragmentation of customary land. Several authors (Chome & McCall, 2002; Peters, 2006; Walker & Peters, 2010; Chingò, 2015) state that the population is concentrated in the Southern region. Chingò (2015) state that land scarcity due to population densities is an old phenomenon in the Southern region.

3.1.4.1 Kasungu

Walker and Peters (2010) explain that in Kasungu, in the Central region, two of the main reasons for land scarcity are population growth and the withdrawal of land for private leasehold estates. Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule and Kotsopoulos (2016) state that the government implemented the estate development policy particularly in Kasungu. Prowse (2009) explains that Kasungu was one of the districts pointed out as having good conditions for producing tobacco and later on the district became known for burley tobacco production. Mandondo, German, Utila and Nthenda (2014) state that Kasungu still is one of the main tobacco growing districts in Malawi.

Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule and Kotsopoulos (2016) state that Kasungu today is characterized by a larger number of estate farms owning the major share of the land. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) state that the presence of large-scale estates in Kasungu has created an artificial land scarcity in the district. Walker and Peters (2010) state that it's not just the large-scale estates adding pressure to land in Kasungu, but also the creation of small-scale leasehold tobacco estates. The authors explain that it's the middle-class establishing such estates, which were popular in Kasungu during the 1970s and 1980s. Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule and Kotsopoulos (2016) argues that Kasungu has had an almost double increase in small-scale and medium farmers (5-50 ha) between 2000 and 2015. Authors (Walker & Peters, 2010; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016) state that small and- middle scale estates have been created out of the customary land. Peters (2002) argues that the increasing commodification of land in Malawi will exacerbate the competition over land.

3.1.5 Access to land in Malawi

3.1.5.1 Private estates are idle & underdeveloped

Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Chingò, 2015; ILC, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain that the estate sector has not made productive use of all land they acquired through lease- or

freeholds for tobacco production. ILC (2015) they state that most of the customary land converted to tobacco estates in Malawi is underutilized today. Chingò (2015) says that the estate sector, out of all the land they converted to lease or freeholds only ever made productive use of about half of the land. ILC (2015) explain that it's hard to know the exact how much estate land is underutilized in Malawi today since it's a sensitive question. As mentioned before (See section 3.1.3.6.1) were many tobacco estates completely abandoned after the liberalization of the industry, Chingò (2015) state that this particularly was the case in the Central region. Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that the reason for the underutilized and abandoned estates are that people were encouraged to acquire more land than they had the capacity to develop due to low and poorly collected ground rents. Authors (ILC, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that amongst the underutilized or abandoned estates are land hungry communities. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) explain that communities' cannot access this estate land legally since they are private property. ILC (2015) argue that while the population increases more it will create conflicts between estates and land hungry surrounding communities.

3.1.5.1.1 Encroachment on private estates

Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Kanyongolo, 2005; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that people in Malawi are encroaching into private estates. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) explain that people, after the transition to a multi-party system, was encouraged to asserts their rights hence they started encroaching leasehold and freehold lands. Kishindo (2004) argues that encroachment on private estates did not happen as frequently before as they do now. Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Kanyongolo, 2005) state that issues of encroachment are worst in the tea and tobacco estates district in Malawi. Chingò (2015) states that an example is encroachment in the Central region where many tobacco estates, after the liberalization of tobacco were abandoned. Kishindo (2004) state that encroachers have been removed from the estates by force, which sometimes has resulted in the encroachers being injured or killed, which in turn has increased the tension between estates and neighbouring villages. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) state that local smallholders in Kasungu today feel resentment towards the large- scale tobacco estates whom are occupying large tracts of land that previously were a part of their ancestral land.

Kishindo (2004) state that encroachments onto estates and the tension created will, if not taken care of, have the potential to harming the agricultural economy. In a more recent report from ILC (2015) they state that in areas where private estates are present there are often conflicts between estate owners and neighbouring villagers. The author's state that the land estates occupy today often belonged to the neighbouring communities before the estate

owners acquired it. The authors furthermore explain that these neighbouring communities sometimes encroach into these estates, particularly if they see that the land is under-utilized or not used at all (Ibid.). Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that it's not just the indigenous people living close to the estates that want to claim the estate land. The author explains that landless also might try and claim estate land but if they do indigenous people can make a counter claim to the same land on the grounds that it belonged to them before it was converted.

3.1.5.2 Customary land belongs to indigenous villagers

Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Takane, 2007) state that its the community as a whole that holds customary land but that the village chiefs are managing the land and allocating it to community members. Takane (2007) states that all indigenous to a community have a right to land due to their membership in the community. Matchaya (2009) explains that however someone is considered indigenous or not in their village of residence is based on the status of their parents, and however they are indigenous or not to the village. Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Matchaya, 2009) state that customary land is passed on through lineages and that kinship is the main determinant of access to land. Takane (2007) explains that when the landlord and his or her kin members all die or migrate from a community the land must be returned to the village chief for allocation to other community members. Peters (2002) state that due to the severe land scarcity in many rural parts of Malawi it's hard to allocate land to returnees.

Kishindo (2004) and Matchaya (2009) argue that non-indigenous people in Malawi don't have much land tenure security. Kishindo (2004) states that it's particularly hard for non-indigenous people in Malawi to access land during the early years of settlement. Matchaya (2009) states that non- indigenous for example is immigrants. Takane (2007) adds that land can be allocated to non-indigenous inhabitants such as immigrants if there is vacant land and those that the land is allocated to respect the community customs and traditions. Kishindo (2004) says that if a host community accepts non- indigenous people as members in the community they can also get user rights.

3.1.5.3 Protected areas for the common good

Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) explain that protected areas often are created in order to save the common good such as natural landscapes but also to protect resources, which the rural people depend on. But the authors state that someone still has to pay the price for conservation, which often the relatively powerless villager. The authors state that protected areas for example are national parks and forest reserves. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that conflicts can arise around protected areas if one community believes that the other is damaging the

protected area. The authors state that such conflicts in-between communities can result in violence (Ibid.).

3.1.5.3.1 Encroachment in protected areas

Kishindo and Mvula (2017) explain that landless people don't see the logic behind conservation when they don't have sufficient land to feed themselves. Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Kanyongolo; 2005; Chingò, 2015; ILC, 2015) state that people in Malawi are encroaching into protected areas. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) state that people after the transitions to a multiparty system were encouraged to encroach protected areas such as game reserves. Kishindo (2004) states that the deliberated encroachment on protected land is a new phenomenon in Malawi. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) say that force can be used in order to remove people from protected areas. The authors furthermore state people living in protected areas are particularly exposed to eviction and acute loss of livelihood (Ibid.).

3.1.5.4 Buying and renting others land

Peters (2002) states there has been an increase of people wanting to rent, lend or buy land in Malawi. Peters and Kambewa (2007) argue that the increase of people wanting to rent land in Malawi is a sign of the increased competition over land in Malawi. Peters (2002) states that if the land, which is rented or sold, is customary land its also illegal, but still are transfers of customary land increasing. Peters and Kambewa (2007) state that another sign of the competition is that rents have been firmly increasing since 1986. Chome and Mcall (2002) state that an increase of rent levels result in displacement of existing tenants.

3.1.6 Lack of land generates poverty

As mentioned before (See section 3.1.4) is land scarce in Malawi today. Chriwa (2004) states that several studies, from developing countries dependent on agriculture, show that land is one of the most important factors when assessing the welfare of the people. Kishindo (2004) argues that lack of land easily transforms into poverty and Chriwa (2004) states that access to land will result in a higher welfare. Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Peters, 2006) state that since the major share of the people in Malawi are dependent on agriculture is land crucial for them to achieve decent livelihoods.

3.1.6.1 Poorer households

The following section is based on Peters (2006). The author has preformed a study about poverty in a district in Malawi called Zomba. The study showed that the poorest households in general were those with the smallest landholdings. Due to the poorest households small landholdings they could not use crop diversification as a way to avoid the worst crises of food shortage or as a way of getting cash. The poorest households, in order to make productive use

of the small land they had, also had to be able to access other resources such as fertilizers and seed. The poorest household also would have to be able to labor the land in order to make use of it. But often were the poorest households occupied working long hours at poorly paid casual jobs at local estates or other at better off households. The poorest households were often those that had to buy food from local and more expensive sources since they didn't have a regular inflow of cash and only could obtain small amounts of cash. Besides lacking food did the poorest households also lack sufficient shelter. Their shelters did often consist of a one-bedroom grasshatched hut of unfired mud, which could be washed away easily if there were heavy rains. Furthermore did the poorest households only have a few garments, often only one set of clothes and possibly a thin blanket to share with all family members in the household (Ibid).

3.1.6.1.1 Dependent on the community

The following section is based Chrome and McCall (2002). The authors argue that the survival of the poor in Malawi to a great extent depends on however they are a part of and accepted in a community. In a village in Malawi its the village headman that is at the center of the community hence the headman is the one that can initiate and direct the communities support to someone in need or distress, for example if someone in a household is sick or is having a funeral. Since community members can get support from their communities is membership in a community, or other society functions, an important function for providing support in hard times. The most important social security function of the community is the function of locally validated land registration (Ibid).

3.1.6.1.2 Dependent on benefits

The following section is based on Peters (2006). The author states that there has been some success with pumping assets into rural areas trough the development programs in Malawi, where work has been done on, for example on basic infrastructure and roads. Locals have been performing these works themselves hence have they gotten compensation either in cash, kin, or fertilizer vouchers. Since the poorer households struggle with providing sufficient food they have a particular need for distribution of benefits derived from public works and credit programs.

3.2 Frameworks

Two frameworks were used as guidelines in order to answer the research questions. To start off were Hall, Hirsch and Li's (2011) analytical framework called 'Powers of exclusion' used in order to investigate the process of exclusion. Furthermore did I use parts of Scoones (1998) 'Sustainable Livelihood framework' (SLF) in order to investigate former estate workers access to livelihood resources and strategies.

3.2.1 The powers of exclusion

The following section is based on Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011). Exclusion is defined by “*the ways in which people are prevented from benefiting from things*” (p.7). The concept of exclusion has been framed in term of access, a concept introduced by Ribot and Peluso (2003) where they define access as “*the ability to derive benefits from things*” (p.153). But exclusion is not merely the opposite of access it also concerns issues of contention, conflict and power relations amongst different actors. There are four main powers of exclusion which shape the way actors are prevented from accessing land. In order to understand exclusion is it important to look into the four powers but also how the powers interact with each other to shape exclusion. I have used these four powers in order to investigate how and why former estate workers are excluding others from accessing land as well as being excluded from accessing land. The powers presented by Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) are the following.

- Regulation, which is both formal and informal rules governing exclusion. There are four concepts within regulation, the first is called boundaries and are those boundaries in-between different pieces of land. The second is land use which is what type of activities are accepted and not on a piece of land. The third is ownership which means who has the right to use the land. The fourth and final is claims which are those claims made by different actors on land, it can be individuals, groups or households claims on a piece of land.
- Market, which influences the price on land and thereby, determines access to land. For example can prices on land increase when many want to participate in a certain market such as when a specific crop becomes popular, which then will drive the prices up on land and thereby excluding others from benefitting from the land.
- Force, which is at the core of regulation since sanctions can be brought on those that don't follow the regulations. Force can be used by powerful actors such as the state but also by less powerful actors such as villagers. An example of when force is used is when the police defend private estates from encroachers or when villagers use arson in village disputes. Landless people also use force when they occupy land. But force does not have to be outright violence, it can be enough with the promise of force. For example can people choose not to mobilize because they are afraid that the state will use force against them if they do. This way can force be a very effective

without ever being used.

- Legitimation, which is justifications of what is or should be. Every form of exclusion requires a rationale, in other words the power of legitimation. For example is legitimation when people believe they have a right to a piece of land because they have paid for it or because their ancestors used to live on it. Landless can use discourses of citizenship and nation in order to claim their right to a piece of land. Discourses to justify claims are often are in conflict with each other. The authors also state that all interventions to redistribute land must be justified through legitimation.

3.2.2 Sustainable livelihood framework

In order to investigate the possible consequences from exclusion from land, on former estate workers livelihoods did I choose to use Scoones (1998) Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) as guidance. I used two parts of the SLF, livelihood assets and strategies in order to analyse the data I collected in the field. The scale of the analysis was done on an individual level. I also used a sheet from DfID (1999), in which they offered a more detailed explanation of how to apply Scoones (1998) framework as well as another resources which was not mentioned by Scoones (1998).

3.2.2.1 Livelihood resources

Scoones (1998) explain that there are four main resources considered in the SLF, even though the author adds that other forms of resources exist as well. The author argues that people must combine access to different resources in order to achieve their livelihoods. The author also state that people's livelihoods are complex and dynamic and will be composed by different resources at different times. The five resources motioned by the author are, Natural, Financial, Human and Social resource (Ibid.).

3.2.2.1.1 Natural resources

Natural resources are those that livelihoods derive from (Scoones, 1998). It can for example be natural resources stocks such as soil and water (Ibid.) or land and trees (DfID, 1999). It can also be environmental services such as pollution sinks or hydrological cycle (Scoones, 1998). Natural resources are important for everyone, both for those whose livelihoods depend directly on them such as farmers but also for all of humanity since we all for example need food to survive (DfID, 1999). Support in order for people to be able to accumulate natural resources can be in form of services such as inputs for agriculture or through changing institutions that govern and manage access to natural resources. In order to analyse natural resources can several aspects be consider, for example which group have access to which

natural resources, what the nature of access is and how secure the access is as well as if there is conflict over a resource and if the resource is productive (Ibid.).

3.2.2.1.2 Financial resources

Financial resources are essential for people to pursue any livelihood strategy (Scoones, 1998). Financial resources can be in form of cash, savings, credit and other financial assets (Ibid.). It is possible to divide financial resources into available stocks which someone can have in form of cash or for example livestock and regular inflows of cash which can be in form of earned income (DfID, 1999). Available stocks are preferred since they are more reliable and one does not have to depend on someone else to access them. Financial resources is important since it can be converted into other resources and used to get direct access to livelihood outcomes such as using money to buy food and can be converted into political influence. It is the resources which poor are most likely not to have access to making access to the other resources more important. Supporting people's access to financial resources is done indirectly for example through supporting the development of financial service organisations through which people can gain access to credit, savings and insurance. In order to analyse financial resources there are several aspects to consider such as which, informal and formal, financial organizations exist, who have access to them and what are the current levels of savings and loans.

3.2.2.1.3 Human resources

Human resources are the skills, knowledge, capacity to labour and good health that enable people to follow their strategies (Scoones, 1998). Many argue that the two core dimensions of poverty are bad health and lack of education hence many poor might, as their livelihood objective, strive to overcome these two (DfID, 1999). Human resources are important in order for people to be able to use the other resources. Supporting people's access to human resources can be both in form of offering education/training as well as changing local institutions that limit access to education. In order to analyse human resources, it's important to look into both formal and informal education (Ibid.).

3.2.2.1.4 Social resources

Social resources are those used by people when they pursue different livelihood strategies that require coordinated actions (Scoones, 1998). Social resources can be divided into three divisions (DfID, 1999). Firstly networks and connections (both patron/client and between people with similar interests), which increases the trust in-between people and their ability to work together as well as increases their access to wider institutions such as civic or political

bodies. Secondly, membership in less or more formalised groups, membership which means following rules, norms and sanctions, which have been accepted together with the others in the group. Finally the relationships of trust, which include reciprocity and exchanges that facilitates collaboration and cut transaction costs. The relationships of trust often works as an important safety net for the poor. These three aspects of social resources are connected, for example if a person is a member in a group that membership can result in a higher influence on other institutions. Social resources can affect access to other resources for example since it can increase access to other resources, for example through mutual trust and reciprocity. An example is that financial resources can increase if economic relations between people are strengthen (Ibid.).

But social resources can be negative as well for example if people are excluded from strong groups, which provide benefits, they can be disadvantaged (DfID, 1999). Social resources can also be negative for some since membership in a group often comes with obligations and some people might find it hard to follow such obligations, for example assisting someone in need. In order to build social resources one can offer direct support, through for example improving the internal function of groups and indirect support through for example formation and structure of group/networks. In order to analyse social resources it's important to investigate the nature of the group (Ibid.).

3.2.2.1.5 Physical resources

DfID (1999) have added a resource they call physical resources and I have chosen to look into that as well. They state that physical resources are the producer goods and basic infrastructure. I have looked into infrastructure. The essential parts of the basic infrastructure are, secure shelter/buildings, affordable transport, enough water and sanitation, affordable and clean energy and access to information. The lack of some types of infrastructure, such as access to water and energy, are the core of poverty. If people lack access to water and energy they will spend much time in non-productive activities, searching for firewood and water. Lack of infrastructure can have an effect on other resources as well, for example if people lack affordable transport they cannot transport their produce to the market in an easy and cheap way. Supporting people's access to infrastructure can be in form of pumped wells or through capacity building for communities where they learn how to construct infrastructure. In order to analyse physical resources it's important to listen to what the people want and prioritize.

3.2.2.1.6 The six aspects for analysis

Scoones (1998) state that there are six aspects, which are good to consider when analysing the different resources. The six aspects presented by Scoones (1998) are the following.

- Sequencing, which means looking into what or which resources are important in order for an individual to successfully choose a particular livelihood strategy.
- Substitution, which means looking into however one resource can replace another.
- Clustering, which means looking into if access to one resource result in access to other resources as well.
- Access, which means looking into which different people have access to what resources.
- Trade offs, which means looking into if people when pursuing a livelihood strategy make trade-offs whereby they for example get access to one resource but loose another.
- Trends, which means looking into if there are any trends when it comes to the availability of the resources.

3.2.2.2 Livelihood strategies

DfID (1999) state that livelihood strategies are the combination of activities and choices that people undertake or make. The authors say it's important to put aside preconceptions of what livelihood strategies of the poor are. For example might some think that the rural poor are farmers hence they channel support towards agriculture when in fact the poorest might be wageworkers. Scoones (1998) argues there are three core strategies that rural people use, Agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration.

- Agricultural intensification/extensification, which means intensifying cultivation in order to get more output or extensifying cultivation by increasing the land under cultivation (Scoones, 1998). The intensification can be capital-led, meaning that it's supported by external inputs and policy, as well as labour-led, meaning that it's based on someone's own labour and social resources (Ibid.).
- Livelihood diversification, which means off-farm employment (Scoones, 1998). Diversification can be an active choice for someone wanting to invest in diversification, an involuntary action for someone using diversification to cope with temporary hardship or a more permanent adaption when there are no other good

options (Ibid.).

- Migration, which means seeking employment either permanently or temporary somewhere else (Scoones, 1998). The cause for migration can be both voluntary and involuntary, the effects of migration can be different such as consumption at home or at migration site, and movement patterns can be different such as if someone moves to or from places.

Scoones (1998) state that some will be more concentrated on one specific strategy and others will rely on a combination of different strategies and activities. But both Scoones (1998) and DfID (1999) state that livelihood strategies often are a part of a dynamic process where people combine different activities to meet different needs, for example based on the season or someone's health condition. Scoones (1998) explain that the degree of specialization or diversification can be related to access to livelihood resources and the level of risk with other alternative strategies. The author argues that it's important to consider what resources are required for what strategies. The author state that an example is that agricultural intensification might require access to natural resources in form of land or financial resources in form of credit. The author says that other strategies might require social resources such as labour sharing arrangements. The author also states that socio-economic differences such as, class, resource ownership, gender and social status also will also play a part in how someone's portfolio of livelihood strategies looks like (Ibid).

4. Results

The following results were based on 45 semi-structured interviews, three group interviews and six focus group interviews as well as unstructured interviews and observations made during three months of field studies in Malawi. Data was collected, from October 2017- January 2018. Respondents consisted of former estate workers, locals, staff from government/NGO:s/CBO:s and companies. Former estate workers were interviewed at Mireces meeting point in Kasungu as well as in, Nthuduwala, Bagidad, Chipala, Linyangwa, Chamawi, Tongole, Rusa River and the riverbank.

Focus groups were only held with former estate workers and are marked with numbers and letters depending on where the focus group was conducted and however it consisted of women or men. Focus group 1 was conducted at one of Mireces meeting point close to the two settlements called Rusa River and the riverbank. Focus group 2 was conducted in Linyangwa and focus group 3 in Chipala. Focus groups with female participants are those

ending with the letter a, and focus groups with male participants are those ending with the letter b. I sometimes use the abbreviation FEW, which stands for Former estate worker.

4.1 Who are former estate workers in Kasungu

The following sections will evolve around answering the first research question, “*Who are former estate workers living in Kasungu today?*”. The bigger share of former estate workers migrated to Kasungu in order to work for Press. They migrated because they were poor and lack of land/ access to land. Most of them migrated from the Southern region of Malawi as families in the 1970s-1980s. Some were born on Press estates. Most of them worked as direct wage labourers at Press. They stopped working for Press at different times but all of them stopped in-between 1990s-2016. There are conflicting opinions as to how many former estate workers still live in Kasungu today.

4.1.1 Reasons for migrating

All former estate workers except two (Anne Phiri & Mavuto Brighton) state that them or their parents came to Kasungu in order to work at Press tobacco estates in Kasungu. Former estate workers (Focus group 2b, Mavuto Brighton, Hendrina Juma) argue that estate owner’s targeted areas and villages where they knew people were poor and landless. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus groups 3a-b) explain that those that did not go with the estate owners had something in their pockets. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) elaborate and explain that it was people with access to food and land that stayed behind. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a) further state that it was the pieceworkers that went with Press, the poorest class in society that did not have their own land. Ruth Phiri, FEW Linyangwa, explains that her parents came to Kasungu because “*They had no money, food or land to farm*”. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b), argue that since there was a one party rule in Malawi at that time many were afraid of declining Hastings Banda if they were offered employment with Press. They say that it was difficult to protest, also due to the fact that many of them were just children or teenagers when they were taken to the estates.

Two former estate workers, Mavuto Brighton and Anne Phiri, were not recruited by Press to work at their estates in Kasungu. James Kanyangalazi, District commissioner (DC) in Kasungu, states that some people came to Kasungu during this time by themselves because there was idle land and they were hoping to get a share. Mavuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says he came to Kasungu to search for land. He explains, “*I thought that the government was sharing land here in Kasungu, then Press Agriculture took us to work for them*”. Anne Phiri,

FEW Chipala, says she came to Kasungu in 2010 in order to search for her parents, whom went to work for Press decades before.

4.1.2 Families migrated in the 1970s-1980s

Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says that many former estate workers left their homes villages already in the 1970s. All former estate workers except three (Anne Phiri and two women in Focus group 2a), say that they came to Kasungu between the 1970s-1980s. Some former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) and Chipala (Focus group 3a) say they don't remember when they came to Kasungu. Former estate workers (Focus group 3a & 2a, Hedrina Juma, Brighton Mtsukunya, Jason Kapala, Chimdzeka Banda, Grevanzio Bagdad, Jasten Kamulanje, Mercy banda, Samala Dowgolosi) state they came with their parents (and sometimes siblings) when they were children or teenagers. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, says she came with her husband to Kasungu. Emanuel Mlaka, LandNet, says that Press wanted whole families to come, even though it was only the head of the family that was formally employed, in other words the man.

4.1.3 Migrated from the Southern region

Emanuel Mlaka, LandNet, states that it was a section of Press called Press transport that went out in Malawi to collect workers. Respondents (Jos Kuppins, Emanuel Mlaka, Somanje Flywell, Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Phil Musukwa, Linda Mtegha-Kawamba, Olive Panyanja, Dennis Kalilangwe) argue that workers and their families foremost were recruited from the Southern region of Malawi. Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality, states that 80 per cent or more, of Press labourers, came from the Southern region of Malawi. During the four introduction meetings held at four different locations I asked former estate workers to raise their hands if they migrated from somewhere in the Southern region. After comparing raised hands versus non-raised it showed that approximately 70 per cent of former estate workers whom attended these meetings (out of about 200 attendees in total) were from the south. Jos Kuppins, CfSC, explains that some estate workers came from the tea districts in the northern region as well, namely; Mangochi and Machinga. Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that since families migrated from different districts and sometimes regions they are a mixed group considering ethnics and religion. Jos Kuppins, CfSC, argues that labourers still are taken from various districts to work at tobacco estates in Malawi.

4.1.3.1 People were poor and short of land

Some respondents (Jos Kuppins, Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Dennis Kalilangwe) say that people in the south were short of land due to a fast increasing population. Dennis Kalilangwe, Ministry of Agriculture, and Olive Panyanja, Kasungu municipality, explain that since the tea

estates already had grabbed much land in these districts many people were land short. Jos Kuppins, CfSC, states that people in the south already in the 1970s were struggling to provide for themselves since they did not have access to their own gardens. Emanuel Mlaka, LandNet, says people in the south were desperate for work. He continues by explaining that Press transport would go to villages and offer people an immediate job, they did not do interviews and the only requirement was that you could cultivate with a hoe. He argues that the poorest people always went with Press. He says, *“If you’d tell these people they were going to earn money working for you, no matter how low the wages would be people would still come”*. Phil Musukwa, Ministry of Labor, says that he has been told that the reason employers want to recruit workers from other districts is that they are easier to control. He explains that if they would recruit workers from the same districts workers could just leave if they were unhappy. He says that if a worker comes from another district it would be difficult for them to return back home, for example considering that they probably would be short of money and would not be able to afford transportation for them and their families. Linda Mtegha-Kawamba, Ministry of Labour, agrees and says, *“It was not easy for them to leave”*.

4.1.4 Worked as direct wage labourers

All former estate workers have worked and lived at Press tobacco estates in Kasungu. Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Press, state that Press opened most tobacco estates in Kasungu, which is confirmed by other respondents as well (Somanje Flywell, Shadreck Jere, Davie Chilonga). Olive Panyanja state that Press had about 100-150 estates in Kasungu. Press Agricultures estates are often from 500 – 1000 ha (Davie Chilonga). Phil Musukwa, Ministry of Land, says *“Some people say that it was all political and that most estates opened in the central region since the political elite were from there”*. Most former estate workers state they at some point worked as labourers on Press tobacco estates. Olive Panyanja, Kasungu municipality, explains that all Press estates used the same labour regime. She states that Press never used the tenancy system and argues that Press used a labour system on all their estates. She states that former estate workers were direct wage labourers on Press estates. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b) and Chipala (Focus group 3a) explain that they lived full-time on the estates but that labourers sometimes moved in-between Press different estates in Kasungu. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and Olive Panyanja, Kasungu municipality, explain that if you were a labourer you got a daily target everyday and were paid a monthly salary. Former estate workers state that the money was not enough to even cover basic needs (Focus groups 1b &, Rute Phiri, Mercy banda, Eziloni Ngwila, Hedrina Juma, Emily Chakwira). They say they did not gain anything by working for Press. Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1b) and in Chipala (Focus group 3b) explain that if you did not meet the daily target supervisors could cut your salary, food supply

or the supplies you used to grow tobacco. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) state that if you had missed one days target you would have to finish that before getting any food.

4.1.4.1 Employment ended

Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and Olive Panyanja, Kasungu municipality, state that Press shut down their estates at different times but that most of them had closed around 2010/2011. Former estate workers state different years they quite working for Press, some stopped working before the estate shut down and some in conjunction with the closing of the estate where they worked. But all of them say they stopped working at Press estates in-between the middle of the 90s up until 2016.

4.1.5 How many stayed behind

There are conflicting opinions as to how many of Press estate workers that stayed behind in Kasungu after their employment ended. Olive Panyanja, Kasungu municipality, states that very few workers stayed behind in Kasungu and that even those born at Press estates went back to their homes. But Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality, and Yusuf Shaibu, Ministry of Agriculture, say something different and argue that most former Press estate workers stayed in Kasungu. Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Press, says that some workers used their (Press) cars to get back and some choose to stay behind. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says they have counted households that are members in Mirece and come up with the number 1481 households. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that in one household on average consist of about 5 people or more, which in turn would mean that Mirece have about 7400 members (1481 X 5 =7405). He furthermore argues that the organisation is growing, since they, on a regular basis are registering new members.

4.2 Former estate workers exclude & are excluded from land

The following sections will answer the second research question, which is *“How and why are former estate workers, after their employment ended at Press, being excluded as well as excluding others from land?”*. Former estate workers access land through the powers of regulation, legitimation and force and they are excluded from accessing land through regulation, legitimation, force and the market.

4.2.1 Kasungu

Former estate workers use one power in order to justify their right to land in Kasungu, legitimation. They argue they have a right to land in Kasungu because they have lived there

for decades and since many of them were born and raised in Kasungu. They also claim their right to land in Kasungu by stating that they don't know where their origins are, hence they cannot return. But some delegitimise their claims on land in Kasungu and think that former estate workers could have gone back to their origins if they wanted to.

4.2.1.1 Decades spent in Kasungu

Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) argue that most former estate workers, even if they came as adults, teenagers or were born at the estates consider Kasungu to be their home since they spent the biggest share of their lives there. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) state that it was very unusual for labourers to leave the estates, that most did not move once during the decades they spent at Press estates. Former estate workers (Focus group 2b & Jason Kapala) say they feel Kasungu is their home. Jason Kapala, FEW riverbank, explains that since he was raised at the estates in Kasungu, had his friends and family there he cannot go to his origin. He says the estate and Kasungu is his only home. During a focus group (1a) with former estate workers at Mireces meeting point a woman starts crying when I ask if Kasungu is home to them. She explains that, to her Kasungu is her home and says it pains her thinking about those that don't think they belong in Kasungu. James Kanyangalazi, DC Kasungu, is of another opinion. He argues that former estate workers have their own home, at their origins, and that is where they belong. He says, *"If these people just would go back where they came from, that's the best"*.

4.2.1.2 Children were born & raised in Kasungu

Some respondents (Emanuel Mlakal, Shadreck Jere & Somanje Flywell) explain that since former estate workers lived at Press estates for a long time many children were born and raised at estates. Emanuel Mlakal, LandNet, says the first workers should have come to PAL in 1966-67, which is almost 40 years back, thus children born during the first years would be more than 40 years old today. Former estate workers (Focus groups 2a-b, Oliver Fountain, Rute Phiri, Eziloni Ngwila, Emily Chakwira, Rosemary Banda, Kalikokha Phiri & Madalitso Chisepa) state they were born on one of Press estates. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, explains that Press employed his father in the 1970s. He says they were eight children in his family and that all of them were born and raised at Press estates. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, argues that the children born on the estates have never known of any other home than Kasungu.

4.2.1.3 Don't know their origins

Yusuf Shaib, Ministry of Agriculture, argues that former estate workers could not have gone back home, since most of them don't even know where that is. Olive Panyanja, Kasungu

municipality, states that some children born at the estates might not know where they come from which could make it hard for them to return. James Kanyangalazi, DC Kasungu, says *“If someone does not know where he is coming from, it’s a trick he is a foreigner, he is not a Malawian”*. Some former estate workers (Oliver Fountain, Madalitso Chisepa, Kalikokha Phiri, Trayness Chivunga) argue they don’t know their origins. Madalitso Chisepa explains that his parents died in the estate when he was very young hence he doesn’t know where his parents lived before Kasungu or any of their relatives. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, says that she was born at an estate, grew up at the estates and did not know where to go after her employment at Press ended.

4.2.2 Former estate workers did not go back

Former estate workers were (and are) excluded from land at their origins by two powers, market and regulation. They were (and are) excluded by the market since they could not access land by buying it, after their employment at Press ended. The reason for why they could not afford to buy land then (or now) is because they never accumulated any resources while working for Press and because the money they got from Press was not enough for them to buy land at their origins. They were (and are) also excluded by regulation and more specifically ownership, since they legally cannot access customary land at their origins any more. The reason for that is because they have lived in Kasungu for a long time.

4.2.2.1 No vacant land

Respondents (Harry Migochi, Yusuf Shaib, Somanje Flywell, Shadreck Jere, Mercy Mkinga, Emanuel Mlaka) and former estate workers (Focus group 1a, Anne Phiri & Jasten Kamulanje) argue that former estate workers did not really have the option to go to their origins. Former estate workers (Focus group 1a & 3b, Mabvuto Brighton) state they worked at Press estates in Kasungu for decades. Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality, states that most worked at Press estates for 30-40 years. Respondents (Somanje Flywell, Shadreck Jere, Emanuel Mlaka & Mercy Mkinga) argue that former estate workers would not be able to access land at their origins since they spent decades away from their land. Mercy Mkinga, Kasungu municipality, says *“Former estate workers lived at the estates for 30 years or more so I don’t think they would be able to find vacant land at their origins”*. Emanuel Mlaka, LandNet, explains that since land in Malawi is not personalized, if you leave your land for a couple of years it will be allocated to someone else. Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) and in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) state that it would be hard for them to return to their origins considering all the time they spent in Kasungu. Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) say they would never get land at their origins, especially since their villages already were short of land when they left. Olive Panyanja, Kasungu municipality, says that it’s not fair of former estate workers to say they don’t have a place to

live, since they had the option to go home, but they themselves chose to stay in Kasungu. James Kanyangalazi, DC Kasungu, argues that former estate workers could go back to their origins. He says that they, in the concerned villages, could share the little land they have amongst each other.

4.2.2.2 No money to buy land

Former estate workers (Focus group 1b, Mabvuto Brighton, Hedrina Juma) state that the reason for working for Press was to save some money to be able to buy land at their origins. Former estate workers (Focus group 1a-b, 2b, & 3a-b, Eziloni Ngwila, Mercy Banda, Mabvuto Brighton, Hedrina Juma) state they did not manage to save any money during their time as labourers on Press tobacco estates in Kasungu. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) and at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) state they rarely received money while working for Press. Eziloni Ngwila, Chairman Linyangwa, state that the money they got at Press estates did not even cover basic living cost, such as buying soap. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) state *“Poverty became worse once we started working at the estates”*.

There are conflicting opinions as to however Press offered their former estate workers money after their employment ended. Two former estate workers, Mabvuto Brighton, Rusa River, and Jasten Kamulanje, riverbank, say they got some money from Press but that it was too little in order for them to go back to their origins. Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says, *“Unfortunately they (Press) closed the company and as a pension funds they gave me 20.000 Malawi Kwacha (approx. 23 euro) and it was not enough to go back home with this money”*. Several former estate workers (Focus groups 1a-b & 2b, Anne Phiri) as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, argue Press did not give former estate workers any money at all. Mercy Mkinga, Kasungu municipality, states that even if former estate workers got money or not, they would not have been able to buy land at their origins for that money.

4.2.3 Former estate workers & the estates

Estate owners use two powers to exclude former estate workers from the estates, regulation and force. They use regulation, and more specifically ownership, to exclude former estate workers since estate land is private, hence former estate workers don't have a legal access to that land. Estate owners use force when they remove former estate workers from their land.

Former estate workers use two powers in order to access land at the estates, legitimation and force. They use legitimation to justify their right to land at the estate, stating that estates are

idle. They furthermore use force through the occupation of the land in the estates.

4.2.3.1 Encroachment

Respondents state that many estates are idle in Kasungu today (Shadreck Jere, Mercy Mkinga, Dennis Kalilangwe, Andrew Msosa, Mike Banda, Yusuf Shaibu, James Kanyangalazi, Somanje Flywell). James Kanyangalazi, DC in Kasungu, says its both bigger companies and individuals keeping estate land idle in Kasungu today. He says “*Apart from companies owning estates we have many individuals owning bigger portions of land as estates, including myself and my friend here (pointing to his college)*”. He does not think any individuals have 99-year leases and say that most of the time private leases are 24 years or 49 years. Davie Chilonga, Ministry of land, says they are doing research right now concerning how much land is utilized on the estates in Kasungu. He says that as of now it looks like almost 90 per cent of the estate land in Kasungu is not being cultivated. Mercy Mkinga, Kasungu municipality, explains that today there is a lot of idle land in Kasungu and at the same time people are experiencing shortage of customary land. She says since people in Malawi depend on agriculture they are desperate for land hence they will go into land, which is idle, without getting the permission of the owners the land.

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a & 3b) and other respondents (Andrew Msosa, Yusuf Shaibu, Harry Migochi, Mercy Mkinga, Olive Panyanja, Dennis Kalilangwe, Mike Banda, Godfrey Nthyolamwendo) explain that former estate workers encroach estate land in Kasungu. Former estate workers (Focus group, 3b) in Chipala as well as Yusuf Shaibu, Ministry of Agriculture, explain that often it’s possible for people encroaching to stay a couple of years before estate owners notice them. In a focus group at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) they say it pains them seeing all the idle land in Kasungu when they have nothing. Andrew Msosa, Ministry of Agriculture, explains that when former estate workers encroach they will start by clearing the land. He says they do this slowly in order to see if somebody will come around. After a while he says, they will start cultivating the land. Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality, says there is tension between former estate workers and estate owners due to their repeated encroachment on the estates. He furthermore state that just because they don’t have their own land they should not encroach estates since that is private land, which belongs to the estate owner.

4.2.3.1.1 Encroachers are often removed by the police

Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality, states that when former estate workers find encroachers on their estates they go to the police and ask them to remove the encroachers. Several former estate workers (Focus group 2a-b & 3a-b), as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and Mbiri

Gothi, village chief Rusa River, state that when former estate workers get caught on estate land the police or estate owners often chase them by setting their houses on fire. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) say that estate owners sometimes call the authorities and they get arrested. Some respondents (Focus group 2b & 3a-b, Yusuf Shaibu, Somanje Flywell) state that former estate workers have gone to court and prison, several times, for encroachment in Kasungu. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a-b) say they, including their wives and children, went to prison for 14 days for encroachment once. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that estate owners chase former estate workers out from the estates since they are afraid they will try and claim their land.

4.2.3.1.2 Village chiefs mobilize former estate workers

Former estate workers (Focus groups 2b & 3a-b) as well as other respondents (Somanje Flywell, Shadreck Jere, Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Mbiri Gothi) say that village chiefs in Kasungu are mobilizing former estate workers in order to, through encroachment, try and claim land back that used to belong to them. Mbiri Gothi, village chief riverbank, says that Press took land from them, which they have tried to claim back several times with the help of former estate workers. Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Press, says that village chiefs often fool former estate workers and tell them they have been given land back from the estates. He says village chiefs often do this in order to get money from former estate workers whom move to that land and starts paying them rent for it.

Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) and in Chipala (Focus group 3a-b) as well as and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explain that former estate workers are set up by village chiefs in order for them to try and claim land back from the estates. They explain that village chiefs often tell them they have vacant land where they can settle, giving them the idea that they have been given land hence they go there in order to start a new life. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) add that chiefs tell them that if they get the land back they will sell it to them cheaper, but they state they never have won a battle of land. They say it's easy for village chiefs to use them like this since they know how desperate they are for getting their own land.

Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus groups 3a-b) argue it is very common for village chiefs to use them this way, and how they often encroach land only because village chiefs have told them to. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b), Chipala (Focus group 3b) and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explain that after a while estate owners and police always come and chase them and when they do village chiefs are nowhere to be found.

Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) and in Chipala (Focus group 3b) argue that they have been thrown in prison several times because village chiefs have fooled them to

encroach, letting them think they had been given land.

4.2.3.2 Press Agriculture

Press use two powers to exclude former estate workers from their estates, regulation and force. They use regulation, and more specifically ownership since they have obtained 99-year long private leaseholds on their estate land. Thus do former estate workers don't have the legal right to access the estates they once lived at. Press also use force in order to remove former estate workers from their estates.

Former estate workers use two powers in order to access Press estates, legitimation and force. They use legitimation to justify their land on Press estates by saying they did not know where to go after their employment ended and that the land was idle. They furthermore use force through the occupation of the land in Press estates.

4.2.3.2.1 99-year leaseholds

Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality, says that Press estates are private land owned by Press hence it's Press that decides who get to use their land and not. Several respondents (Dennis Kalilangwe, Andrew Msosa, James Kanyangalazi, Mercy Mkinga, Shadreck Jere, Davie Chilonga, Emanuel Mlakal, Godfrey Nthyolamwendo) state that Press have 99 year long leaseholds on their former tobacco estates in Kasungu. Davie Chilonga says, *"So in terms of duration if a Press estate got the lease in 1979 almost 38 years have gone by, but still they have about 60 years left"*. Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Press, states that Press have leases for 99 years and that they got them in the 1970s. He state that once the leases lapse they will see if the will renew them or not. Emanuel Mlakal, Land Net explains that even if Press has closed their tobacco farms and is not cultivating their land they still have a lease on that land, until their lease has expired that land is still private. Davie Chilonga, Ministry of Land, states that Press as of today still has a lot of land in Kasungu in terms of ha. Davie says *"PAL estates they were 500 ha, 1000 ha for one estate only. They are few but huge but in terms of land size, they are huge because its arable land"*.

4.2.3.2.2 Press estates are idle

Respondents (Shadreck Jere, Mercy Mkinga, Dennis Kalilangwe, Andrew Msosa, Mike Banda, Yusuf Shaibu, James Kanyangalazi, Somanje Flywell) state that its foremost Press estates that are idle in Kasungu. Andrew Msosa, Ministry of agriculture, explains that Press does not want to admit that they are keeping their estates idle, but argue that they have analysed satellite images (from 1992) which showed that most of Press estates were idle.

Mike Banda, Ministry of Agriculture, and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that former estate workers encroach into Press estates because they are idle. Former estate workers (Focus group 1a, Trayness Chivunga, Chimdzeka Banda, Samala Dowgolosi, Oliver Fountain, Rosmary Banda) and Andrew Msosa, Ministry of Agriculture, explain that some former estate workers stayed behind at their respective estates after their employment ended with Press. Two FEWs from Nthuduwala, Samala Dowgolosi and Oliver Fountain say they stayed for two more years at that estate after their employments ended. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, explains that she stayed behind at the estate because the land was idle she did not know any other place where she could go.

Mike Banda, Ministry of Agriculture, says that when estate owners after some time realised former estate workers were still living on their land they chased them out. Trayness Chivunga, FEW riverbank, and Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chipala, say they stayed at the estates until they were chased away by estate owners. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) and Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chipala, say estate owners chased them and burned all their houses to the ground. Chimdzeka Banda, furthermore state that former estate workers at the estate he worked were chased three times before they left for good. He says that estate owners burnt down their houses all three times.

4.2.4 Former estate workers in the park & Zambia

Former estate workers are excluded from the land in the national park and in Zambia by two powers, regulation and force. They are excluded through regulation and more specifically ownership since national parks is public land, thus do former estate workers don't have a legal right to the land. The same goes for the land in Zambia. Furthermore are they excluded through force when they are removed from the national park and from Zambia.

Former estate workers use two powers in order to access the land at the national park, legitimation and force. They use legitimation to justify their right to land in the national park, through the discourse of citizenship. They furthermore use force through the occupation of land in the national park and in Zambia.

4.2.4.1 Kasungu national park

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a & 2b, Eziloni Ngwila, Rosmary Banda) as well as other respondents (Somanje Flywell, Mercy Mkinga, Fyson Tchezan) explain how some former estate workers, about seven years ago (around 2010), encroached into Kasungu national park in search of land. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says everyone knew

that the national park was a protected area. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group, 2a) explain that they heard there was idle land in Kasungu national park and that they were tired of working as tenants, which made them settle in the national park. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group, 2a-b) they say they felt the national park was their only option, they had already tried encroaching estate and villagers land but they were always chased and they were tired of being in conflict with estate owners and villagers. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group, 2b) say they stayed in the national park for about three years 2010, 2011, and 2012. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, furthermore states that the village of former estate workers grew fast during a couple of years, going from 10 to 2000 houses.

4.2.4.1.1 Being Malawians we own the country & the forest

Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, and Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, say former estate workers thought they could go in to the national park since Zambians were living in the national park already. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, and two FEWs from Nthuduwala, Rosmary Banda and Samala Dowgolosi explain that Zambians had encroached on the Malawian side of the national park thus did they feel they could do the same. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, explains that when they saw Zambians living in the national park in Kasungu, they felt they had a right to encroach since them, being Malawians, are the owners of the country and the forest. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, says “*We could not watch them enjoying our land while we were suffering*”. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, says he found out former estate workers were cultivating land in the national park and reported them to the DC since he knew it was illegal.

4.2.4.1.2 Chased out by staff & police

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a-b, Eziloni Ngwila, Samala Dowgolosi) and other respondents (Fyson Tchezan & Somanje Flywell) explain how former estate workers were chased out from the national park by staff and the police. They (Focus group 2a-b, Eziloni Ngwila, Samala Dowgolosi) furthermore state that their houses were burnt down and Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, says that the staff from the national park took their animals. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, explains that some former estate workers stayed behind at the reserve and that they were taken into custody. She says that one of her friends Charles Phiri died in the prison at that time because he was beaten badly by the police. She argues that they tried to get his body back to be able to have a proper funeral, but that the police refused to give them his body.

4.2.4.2 Zambia

Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwla, and former estate workers (Focus group 2a, Eziloni Ngwila, Samala Dowgolosi) say they tried to go into the Zambian side of the national park after being chased from the Malawian side. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, explains that a chief in Zambia reported them to immigration shortly after they got to the Zambian side. Some former estate workers (Focus group 2a, Eziloni Ngwila, Samala Dowgolosi) continue by explaining that they, once they got to Zambia were gathered in a refugee camp. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, says that they were told that the Malawian government would be contacted and asked to deal with the issue. Former estate workers (Focus group 2a, Eziloni Ngwila, Samala Dowgolosi) and other respondents (Fyson Tchezan, Somanje Flywell, Precious Phiri) say former estate workers shortly after coming to Zambia were taken back to Malawi by the government and the DC, who promised them that they would be relocated somewhere in Malawi.

4.2.5 Former estate workers in Nthuduwala

Former estate workers are using two powers in order to access land in Nthuduwala, legitimation and force. They use legitimation to justify their right to land in Nthuduwala by saying it was the government who put them there. It's possible that villagers' are afraid of chasing former estate workers because there might be a potential promise of force from the government if they do. Former estate workers are furthermore using force through the occupation of the land in Nthuduwala.

Former estate workers are excluded through the powers of legitimation and force. Locals use legitimation to justify their right to exclude former estate workers by stating that former estate workers only were supposed to stay temporarily and that they need their land back. Villagers use force when they take land back from former estate workers, as well as the promise force when they threaten to burn down former estate workers houses. Traditional authorities use the promise force when they display their power over former estate workers through forcing them to move their houses.

4.2.5.1 Nthuduwala camp

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a & 2b, Eziloni Ngwila, Rosmary Banda, Samala Dowgolosi), other respondents (Somanje Flywell 2017 12/10, Mike Banda, Mercy Mkinga, Fyson Tchezan) and locals in Nthuduwala (Limbanikani Banda, Vghmbuzi Andersson, Headson Makow, Precious Phiri) explain that former estate workers taken from Zambia were relocated in Nthuduwala. Vghmbuzi Andersson and Limbanikani Banda, village headmen's

in Nthuduwala, say that one day the government just told them that there were people from Zambia coming. Several respondents (Somanje Flywell, Precious Phiri, Mercy Mkinga, Fyson Tchezan, Limbanikani Banda, Vghmbuzi Andersson, Eziloni Ngwila) say that the government told them former estate workers would only stay in Nthuduwala temporary while they were searching for a new home for them. Fyson Tchezan, Precious Phiri, Vghmbuzi Andersson, and Limbanikani Banda state that they were told former estate workers only would stay for two weeks in Nthuduwala. They furthermore argue they allowed former estate workers to come because they believed that they would only stay for two weeks. Limbanikani Banda, village headman Nthuduwala, continues by explaining that when the DC asked the chiefs, chiefs never asked for people's opinions since they thought former estate workers would stay for two weeks only. Mercy Mkinga, Kasungu municipality, says that the DC requested the chiefs in Nthuduwala to offer a part of their customary land, about two ha. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, states that the government at that time brought 143 families.

Somanje Flywell, Mirece (2017 12/10), says that the government kept postponing the date for when former estate workers would get their own land. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, says former estate workers have been living in Nthuduwala for a long time now. Mercy Mkinga, Kasungu Municipality, says former estate workers have been living in Nthuduwala for a couple of years. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) as well as other respondents (Headson Makow, Precious Phiri, Somanje Flywell) state that former estate workers have stayed in Nthuduwala for about seven years (2010-2017). Somanje Flywell, Mirece (2017 12/10) states it's around 500 households of former estate workers living in Nthuduwala today, in what is classified by the government as a refugee camp. Somanje Flywell, Mirece and Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, say Nthuduwala camp is growing bigger and bigger because children are being born. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, and Limbanikani Banda, headman Nthuduwala say they feel deceived by the government, who told them former estate workers would only stay for two weeks. Limbanikani Banda, Vghmbuzi Anderson and Headson Makow are in agreement of that they don't have the resources to be able to help former estate workers. Limbanikani Banda argues that the community in Nthuduwala are devastated because the government gave them this huge burden and responsibility, which they cannot handle.

4.2.5.1.1 Camp is getting smaller & smaller

During my first visit in Nthuduwala (2018-10-18) the size of the land where former estate workers are living is about 1/2 hectare. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, says that the piece of land first given to former estate workers was bigger than what they have now. He

says villagers are frustrated and want their land back hence the camp where they live have been getting smaller and smaller during the years. During informal interviews (2018-10-18) the first time I visit Nthuduwala former estate workers say villagers have threatened to take more land back. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says that the camp in Nthuduwala was created based on orders from the central government hence villagers and chiefs in Nthuduwala should not be able to chase former estate workers. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, and Limbanikani Banda, village headman Nthuduwala, say villagers have tried to chase former estate workers but that it has not worked so far. When I visit Nthuduwala for the last time (2018-12-12) villagers have, since I was there the first time (2018-10-18) taken back about half of the land where former estate workers camp is situated. Now former estate workers are squeezing in on an even smaller piece of land, about ¼ hectare. Former estate workers during an observation (2018-12-12) explain that villagers came and forced them to remove their houses. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, explain that even though the land former estate workers have right now is very small the community in Nthuduwala are land short and desperately want all their land back.

4.2.5.1.2 Threats from villagers

Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, and Limbanikani Banda, headman Nthuduwala state villagers don't want to host former estate workers in Nthuduwala. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says that villagers in Nthuduwala are mocking former estate workers because they want them to move somewhere else. He says, "*Villagers said they wanted us to go back to the estates, where we came from*". Former estate workers in Nthuduwala, Rosmary Banda and Samala Dowgolosi, argue villagers come by their houses to harass them. Samala Dowgolosi says villagers come by their houses when they are drunk and Rosmary Banda, FEWs Nthuduwala, argue they come by almost every night screaming, swearing at them and threatening them saying they will chase them. FEWs Nthuduwala, Rosmary Banda, Samala Dowgolosi and Oliver Fountain say villagers sometimes send the Gule Wamkulu (a traditional dancer used in the Chewa tribe) who come to their houses and harass them, swearing at them and calling them refugees. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, says the Gule Wamkulu has been in the camp about three times, she says the last time was only two days ago. She says, "*We are living in fear now, they told us that they will burn our houses down*".

4.2.5.1.3 Intimidated by traditional authorities

Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says that the chief is happy to keep former estate workers in Nthuduwala. He argues that the issue is between former estate workers and the sub chiefs. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, says that chiefs from Nthuduwala have

come to him to complain about former estate workers. He says he knows that chiefs are intimidating former estate workers to try and force them to leave. Somanje Flywell, Mirecce, says, “*When chiefs come to the camp they may use their power to control former estate workers, they can for example say that they have been given orders that former estate workers have to move their houses*”. This is also confirmed during an observation and informal interviews (2018-10-18) where former estate workers show me around in the camp telling me that they recently were told by one of the sub chiefs they had to move their toilet somewhere else, without given an explanation as to why. They state this happen regularly.

4.2.6 Former estate workers rent land and houses

Former estate workers are excluded from renting land and houses by two powers, market and force. They are excluded trough the market since they are struggling with finding land or houses they can afford to rent. They are also excluded trough the market since they are forced to move often due to increased rents. Former estate workers are also excluded from land and houses they rent trough force since their landlords sometimes chase them away from the land even though they have paid rent. They are also excluded trough the promise of force by landlords, villagers and estate owners since they argue they can burn down their houses at any time if they want too.

4.2.6.1 Riverbank, Bagidad & Chipala

Former estate workers (Focus group 1a, 2b, 3a & 3b, Jason Kapala, Anne Phiri, Chimdzeka Banda, Jasten Kamulanje, Trayness Chivung, Mercy Banda, Rosmary Banda, Rute Phiri, Grevanzio Chisau) as well as other respondents (Shadreck Jere, Somanje Flywell, 2017 12/10, Patrick Mbewe, Elletina yalaka, Chinseu Banda, Kenani Mwalt) say former estate workers often rent land from estate owners, village chiefs and other locals in Kasungu. Shadreck Jere, Kasungu municipality, explains that people are not renting out land to former estate workers formally with proper contract, they rent out informally hence the contracts are insecure.

Most former estate workers seems to have been renting land at some point after Press shut down their estates. Former estate workers sub-leasing land right now, live at three different locations, Bagidad, Chipala and at the riverbank. From observing former estate workers settlements it seems like they at the riverbank (2018-12-08) and in Bagidad (2018-12-05) are living scattered. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says about 182 households (members of Mirece) live in Bagidad and 160 housholds at the riverbank. In Chipala (2018-11-04), former estate workers tell me that they are a group of 86 people that sub-lease, and live on, a piece of land

together. Several respondents (Somnaje Flywell, Mercy Banda, Chimdzeka Banda, Patrick Mbewe, Elletina yalaka, Chinseu Banda) explain that former estate workers that are sub leasing land or renting houses often are forced to move. Former estate workers, Anne Phiri and Chimdzeka Banda from Chamawi, explain that they never have been able to lease land for longer than a year. Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chamawi, says that before they were resettled they often moved once or twice a year.

4.2.6.1.1 Rents are expensive & increasing

Former estate workers (Focus groups 1b, 2a-2b & 3a, Mercy Banda) as well as other respondents (Somanje Flywell & Patrick Mbewe) state that former estate workers are struggling to find land or houses they can afford to rent in Kasungu. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, Somanje Flywell, Mirece, say former estate workers often can't afford to lease land for cultivation only for settlement. Patrick Mbewe, local riverbank, states that all the money former estate workers get goes to paying rent. Jasten Kamulanje, FEW riverbank, says, "*We do not have enough land for cultivating and we cannot afford to lease more land that is why we are failing to feed ourselves and our children*". Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, explains that the rent is so high they spend almost all money on rent. She says, "*Instead of buying food we pay rent*". Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1b), Linyangwa (Focus group 2b), and Chipala (Focus group 3a), argue that rents are getting more and more expensive. Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chipala, says that landlords, often raise the rent in order to force them to move. In a focus group (3a) they say that rumours of land available to lease spread quickly which often result in a rush of former estate workers coming to look for land which in turn increases the rent in that area. Trayness Chivunga, FEW riverbank, is leasing land from the village chief at the riverbank. She says that she heard a rumour saying that there was land to lease at the riverbank hence she went there.

4.2.6.1.2 Chased even if they have paid the rent

Former estate workers (Focus group 1b, Chimdzeka Banda, Anne Phiri) as well as Somanje Flywell say that former estate workers, even if they have paid rent, can get chased before the season is over. They furthermore explain that landlords often lease out bush land and after they have cleared land the landlord raises the rent, which forces them to move. Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group, 1b) say landlords sometimes raise the rent as soon as they have paid the rent, which forces them to move if they don't have more money to pay them. They explain that the landlords can say the rent is 10.000 mkw (approx. 12 euro) and when they have paid and moved in, a week later or so, landlords raise the rent to 20.000 mkw (approx. 22 euro), which often forces them to move since they cannot afford the raise. They argue that they never get the money back from the landlords if they have to move due to

a raise of the rent. Former estate workers (Focus group 3a) in Chipala argue it's not just landlords that try to chase them away from the land they lease. They say that villagers and estate owners constantly is trying to intimidate them saying that they can chase them and burn down their houses at any time if they want to.

4.2.7 Living on no-mans-land

Former estate workers are using two powers in order to access land at Rusa River, legitimation and force. They use legitimation to justify their right to land at Rusa River saying that the land does not belong to anyone. They furthermore use force through the occupation of the land at Rusa River.

Former estate workers are also excluded by two powers, legitimation and force. Estate owners and the village chief use legitimation to justify estate owners right to the land. Estate owners claim the land is theirs because they are paying the government for the land at Rusa River. Estate owners also use legitimation when they justify their right to chase former estate workers since they are afraid they will encroach their estates. The village chief use the promise of force when he threatens former estate workers. Estate owners use force when they remove or try to remove former estate workers from Rusa River.

4.2.7.1 Rusa River

Former estate workers (Focus group 1a & 1b, Eziloni Ngwila, Hedrina Juma, Mabvuto Brighton) have lived at Rusa River at different periods and stayed for different amount of time. The village chief from the village next to Rusa River, Mbiri Gothi, says that former estate workers started coming about six years ago. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, lived at Rusa River seven years ago but don't live there anymore. Former estate workers at Mirece meeting point (Focus group 1a) state they have lived at the river for seven years (2010-2017). Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River, says she came to the river a couple of months ago. Mabvuto Brighton says that most people that come to Rusa River only stay for a short time.

Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) explain that the settlement at Rusa River is surrounded by estate and village land. Some former estate workers (Focus group 1a, Mabvuto Brighton) as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explain that the reason for why they are living at Rusa River is because the land next to the river does not belong to anyone according to the law. They (Focus group 1b, Mabvuto Brighton, Somanje Flywell) also say that since the river does not belong to anyone they don't pay rent. Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says he used to sublease land but that it became too expensive for him hence he moved to Rusa River. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says that it's the lucky ones that

live so close to Rusa River since they don't have to pay rent, others living further away from Rusa River, in the settlement called riverbank, have to sublease the land they are living on. Former estate workers (Focus group 1a) at Mireces meeting point argue that both estate owner and villagers want them to move from the Rusa River. They continue by saying that when they lived at Rusa River, even if they knew they had the law on their side, they knew they could be chased at any time.

4.2.7.1.1 Village chief threaten to chase

The village chief close to Rusa River, Mbiri Gothi, says the relationship between former estate workers and villagers is good. He claims there is no competition about the land at Rusa River, since its waterlogged and nothing grows there. But FEWs, Hedrina Juma and Mabvuto Brighton say they are afraid they will get chased from Rusa River by the village chief. Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says he's only stayed for one year and already the village chief is trying to chase him and his family. Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River, says that she has never known peace due to a constant fear of being chased by the chief. Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says that the village chief tell them the land they live on belongs to the estate and that this must be their final year living there. He says he doesn't know why the village chief wants them out of there.

4.2.7.1.2 Estate owners chase

Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says that besides the village chief the estate owners also want them to leave. He says that the estate owners want them to move since they are afraid they will encroach their estate land, which he says never has happened. Patrick Mbewe, local riverbank, says that sometimes the estate owners make water drainages towards Rusa River where former estate workers farm in order to wash away everything they plant. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says that when he lived at Rusa River seven years ago they had a conflict with the estate owners. He says that the estate owner told them that they were paying the government for the land. He furthermore says that estate owners once came and set their houses on fire, and that when they asked the village chief for help he did nothing which made him move from the river. Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group, 1b) one of the men state that he used to live at the river but moved when the estate owner burned all their stuff.

4.2.8 Living on smallholders land

Smallholders use two powers in order to exclude former estate workers from their land, regulation and force. They use the power of regulation and more specifically ownership since their land belongs to the customary land which former estate workers don't have a legal access to. In Zambia former estate workers are also excluded by ownership because they

don't have a legal access to that land since they are Malawians. Smallholders furthermore use force when they remove former estate workers from their land.

4.2.8.1 Tenants producing tobacco

Jos Kuppins, CfSC, explain that tenancy means working and living on land which belongs to a landlord. All former estate workers, except Grevanzio Chisau and Hedrina Juma, state they have worked and lived on smallholder's farms as tenants at some point after they stopped working for Press. Out of the interviewed former estate workers are only two, Kalikokha Phiri and Madalitso Chisepa, working as tenants and thereby living on smallholders land right now. Former estate workers (Focus group 2a-b) as well as Harry Migochi, Malawi human rights commission, and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, argue that many former estate workers still work as tenants in order to access land and employment. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that Mireces members don't still work as tenants because it's hard for Mirece to get in touch with tenants due to their employers control over them.

4.2.8.1.1 Tenants in Zambia

Former estate workers (Samala Dowgolosi, Oliver Fountain, Rosmary Banda, Eziloni Ngwila) state that some of them went to work as tenants in Zambia, after Press closed their estates in Kasungu. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, explains that in Zambia they don't have tobacco estates hence former estate workers were working as tenants for smallholders growing tobacco. She furthermore states that those former estate workers that went to Zambia where those whom had worked at estates close to the Zambian border. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, explains that when she had stayed at the estate for two additional years after her employment ended there was a hunger. She says that at this time Zambians came to the estate where they were living and tried to convince former estate workers to come with them to work as tenants in Zambia. She argues that the Zambians took advantage of the hunger and bribed former estate workers with food in order to tempt them to come. She says that whole families went to Zambia during this time, including herself and her family. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says he went to Zambia on his own to look for land in the game reserve but ended up being recruited by Zambians to work as a tenant. Rosmary Banda and Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, say they were working in the boundary between Malawi and Zambia. Rosmary Banda says *"Because it was in the boundary, it was so easy to work there and for someone to take us there without border passing problems"*. She adds that as of today, former estate workers are still living and working as tenants in Zambia.

Rosmary Banda, Nthuduwala, says smallholders in Zambia had their ways in order get rid of their tenants without paying them after the season was over. She says she knows of former

estate workers whom have been killed by Zambian smallholders who poisoned their water and food or burned their houses while they were sleeping inside. She says that while she and her family were tenants in Zambia they were always afraid to eat, sleep and drink at the end of the season due to the known strategies of the Zambians. She finally adds that this is still happening to former estate workers that are tenants in Zambia today.

4.2.8.1.2 Tenants in Kasungu

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a & 3a, Jason Kapala, Kalikokha Phiri, Madalitso Chisepa) and other respondents (Harry Migochi, Emanuel Mlaka, Shadreck Jere) argue that former estate workers after Press stopped producing tobacco, in order to have somewhere to stay, had to find work as tenants for smallholder in Kasungu. Emanuel Mlaka says, "*They (FEWs) had nowhere to go so they started working as tenants for smallholders in order to have a place to live*". Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Press, says that when Press closed their tobacco estates some of their workers went to work as tenants for smallholders in Kasungu. Symon Mbewe, contract farmer JTI, says that since former estate workers had nowhere to go when the estates closed smallholders like him self wanted to be merciful and assist them hence they employed them. Benjamin A. Changaiuwa, former contact farmer Limbe Leaf, says he never has employed former estate workers but knows of other smallholders employing them in Kasungu.

Respondents (Focus groups 2b & 3b, Somanje Flywell, Symon Mbewe, Mike Mtelera) state many tenants working for smallholders in Kasungu today are former estate workers. Symon Mbewe and Mike Mtelera, contract farmers JTI, state their tenants often are children of former estate workers. Those two tenants interviewed, Kalikokha Phiri and Madalitso Chisepa, FEW Tongole, are, 20 and 21 years old and works as tenants today. They are children of former estate workers and state it's common to find children of former estate workers working as tenants in Kasungu today. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and Symon Mbewe, contract farmer JTI, argue that former estate workers, after they stopped working at the estates, were considered valuable workforce since they had good knowledge of tobacco growing. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) state, "*Smallholders were smart they used our knowledge on growing tobacco*". Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that since smallholders prefer to hire former estate workers in Kasungu because they otherwise have to go outside the district to find tenants. Saulos Banda, contract farmer Limbe Leaf, says that smallholders don't employ people from close by villages as tenants, he explains "*We don't take people from around our village because they can't listen to what you command them*".

Contract farmers, Symon Mbewe, Benjamin A. Changaiuwa and Mike Mtelera says tenants

often are disappointed, due to their small profit, which also is the reason for why most tenants leave after one season. Symon Mbewe, contract farmer JTI, says he changes tenants every year mainly because tenants are not satisfied with the payment. Mike Mtelera, contract farmer JTI, says that once tenants get paid they get drunk, come to his house and insult him. He says that after that they cannot have a good relationship. He says he has to have a good relationship with his tenants in order for them to follow his rules. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says tenants after one season starts looking for a new employment at another smallholder hoping they will get paid this time around. Kalikokha Phiri, FEW Tongole, explains that his life consists of moving from one place to another searching for somewhere new to stay. Madalitso Chisepa, FEW Tongole, says that some bosses treat their tenants well hence they stay longer than one season.

4.2.9 Resettled on customary land

Former estate workers are using one power in order to access land in Linyangwa and Chamawi, regulation and more specifically ownership since they have a legal right to customary land due to the acceptance from the village chief and villagers in the communities they have been resettled. Village chiefs are using one power in order to justify their resettlement of former estate workers, legitimation. Kenani Mwalt use legitimation when he justifies the resettlement of former estate workers by saying that they are human beings and should be treated the same way as other villagers. Maria Nyirongo use legitimation when she justifies the resettlement of former estate workers, through the discourse of citizenship, saying that they wanted to help former estate workers since they are fellow Malawians.

4.2.9.1 Linyangwa & Chamawi

Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and former estate workers (Focus groups 2a-b) explain that Mirece had a segment on the radio asking village chiefs in Kasungu for help with resettling former estate workers. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and the two village chiefs, Kenani Mwalt and Maria Nyirunco say Mirece after that segment had a meeting with village chiefs in Kasungu whereby Kenani Mwalt and Maria Nyirunco agreed to help Mirece with the resettlement of some former estate workers, which resulted in the resettlement of 35 families in Linyangwa and seven families in Chamawi. Former estate workers in these resettlements have been given customary land from the village chiefs. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains it was the vulnerable out of the vulnerable that were prioritized for resettlement such as disabled, females, female headed families and families with many children.

4.2.9.1.1 Linyangwa

Former estate workers (Focus groups 2a-b, Eziloni Ngwila), Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and Kenani Mwalt, village chief Linyangwa, say that 35 families of former estate workers were

resettled in the beginning of 2017 and have stayed about a year in Linyangwa. Kenani Mwalt, village chief Linyangwa, says that when he informed villagers about the suffering of former estate workers they all wanted to help. He explains that they in Linyangwa wanted to give land to former estate workers because they look at every person as a human being and think that all should be treated equally. He says that if he had not informed the community there would have been problems but now everything went smoothly. Former estate workers (Focus groups 2a-b) in Linyangwa state that since the whole community accepts them they feel confident that they will get to keep the land they have been given by the chief. Kenani Mwalt, village chief Linyangwa and former estate workers (Focus groups 2a-b) state that they are in the chief's book over landowners hence nothing will happen if he pass away. Former estate workers (Focus group 2b) state that the government has a copy of that book. Kenani Mwalt, village chief Linyangwa, says "*No one can grab that land from them now*". He continues by explaining that the land former estate workers got did not belong to anyone before, it had not been cultivated. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and Rute Phiri, FEW Linyangwa, explain that depending on the size of the family they got different sizes of land. Kenani Mwalt, village chief Linyangwa, Somanje Flywell, Mirece and Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, state that each family received land for settlement and cultivation. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that the 35 families resettled in Linyangwa are living together on a piece of land secluded from other locals. This information is also confirmed during observations (2018-10-19, 2018-11-02).

4.2.9.1.2 Chamawi

Two Former estate workers from Chamawi, Anne Phiri and Chimdzeka Banda, as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece and Maria Nyirongo, village chief Chamawi, state that seven families were resettled in the summer of 2017 hence they have stayed a couple months in Chamawi. Maria Nyirongo, village chief in Chamawi, says that the issue was discussed in the village before they decided to take some families. She says that since former estate workers are fellow Malawians they all wanted to help them. Maria Nyirongo, village chief in Chamawi, and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that former estate workers received land for settlement and cultivation. She states that the land they live on had recently been allocated back to them, after being a part of a governmental forest project. She states that former estate workers are in the chiefs' book over landowners. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that the seven families resettled in Chamawi are living close to and amongst the locals. This information is also confirmed during observations (2018-12-05).

4.3 Lacking access to basic livelihood resources

The following sections will partly answer the third and final research question, which is *“In which ways does the exclusion of former estate workers from land, affect their access to livelihood resources and strategies in Kasungu?”*. The first part of the answer will evolve around answering how the exclusion from land has affected former estate workers access to livelihood resources.

Former estate workers are struggling to access natural, financial, human and physical resources. They are lacking access to some of the most basic livelihood resources such as trees, sufficient shelter and education. It seems like former estate workers have access to some social resources since they have trust for one another and support each other. But then again, many former estate workers lack social resources since they don't have good relations with villagers in the villages they live and don't feel they are a part of the communities they live in.

4.3.1 Natural resources

Former estate workers lack access to some basic natural resources. They all struggle with access to land and trees where they live.

4.3.1.1 Land

Former estate workers in Bagidad, Chipala, Nthuduwala, Tongolo, Rusa River and the riverbank, say they don't have land for cultivation only for settlement. In Bagidad, Mercy Banda and Grevazio Chisau, FEW, explain that they in Bagidad only rent houses to live in, not land hence they don't cultivate anything. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 2b) state they only lease land for settlement, they also argue that since estate owners and villagers lease out land they don't want themselves, the land they lease usually is not fertile either way. In Nthuduwala former estate workers show me around (2017-10-18) and explain that they barely have land for settlement. At the riverbank former estate workers show me around (2017-12-08) and it's clear they live on bush land. Former estate workers confirm this observation and explain that they haven't cleared the land because their landlord doesn't allow them to. They say they have tried to grow some crops in-between the trees but failed. Former estate workers, Kalikokha Phiri and Madalitso Chisepa are living on a smallholders land in Tongole, working as tenants. They state that they are not allowed to cultivate on their own. I observe (2017-12-08) that they have a small home garden outside their house, of the size of about 2 X 2 square meters. This is confirmed by former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1b) and in Lingyangwa (Focus group 2b) who state that they, while they were working as tenants, were not allowed to grow anything besides tobacco

which forced them to depend on their employers for food supply. At Rusa River (2017-10-11) former estate workers show me around and I see that they don't have much land they can use for cultivation, which they also confirm. At Rusa River (2017-10-11) former estate workers also explain they live on waterlogged soil, which they state is another reason for why they fail to cultivate the small land they have.

In Linyangwa and in Chamawi former estate workers have been given land for settlement and cultivation (See section 4.2.9). But former estate workers in the resettlements in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b; Emily Chakwira) and Chamawi (Anne Phiri, Chimdzeka Banda) state they can't sustain their livelihoods through farming either. In Chamawi, village chief Maria Nyirunco, state that the land where former estate workers have been resettled is fertile. Anne Phiri, FEW Chamawi, also confirms this statement saying they if they had access to other recourses they would be able to feed themselves from the land they have been resettled on. In Linyangwa former estate workers (Focus groups 2a-2b, Emily Chakwira) as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, and village chief in Linyangwa, Kenani Mwalt state that the soil where former estate workers live is waterlogged. Kenani Mwalt explains that there are other villagers whom also live on waterlogged soil, which is confirmed by former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group, 2a). Emily Chakwira, FEW Linyangwa, explains that as soon as the rain comes she has to search for piecework and therefore cannot focus on farming. She says *"I cannot split myself in two"* and argues she has to focus on piecework because her family needs food right now.

4.3.1.2 Trees

Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus groups 2a-b; Emily Chakwira), Nthuduwala (Samala Dowgolosi, Oliver Fountain), Bagidad (Grevanzio Chisau) and at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1b) state they struggle with accessing trees to use as firewood. Other respondents mention former estate workers lack of firewood in Kasungu in general (Somanje Flywell, Limbanikani Banda & Vghmbuzi Anderson). Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus groups 2a-b; Emily Chakwira) and in Nthuduwala (Samala Dowgolosi, Oliver Fountain) state they don't have any trees on the land where they live and that they are not allowed to fetch trees anywhere else. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus groups 2a-b; Emily Chakwira) say they had trees before but that they have cut all of them down. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, explain that there before were trees on the land where former estate workers live today. He says that the land they live on was a part of a community project. He explains that the land was intended to become a natural forest for community members to use when in need. He continues by saying that former estate workers

cut the forest down to be able to sell firewood. He states that they had no other choice but that villagers still think it's frustrating that they cut down their forest.

4.3.2 Financial resources

Former estate workers lack access to financial resources. They all struggle with access to both cash and savings.

4.3.2.1 Ability to buy or pay for necessities

Former estate workers struggle to earn enough cash to pay for basic needs. Former estate workers can't afford to buy food, soap or fertilizers. They also struggle with paying school related expenses.

4.3.2.1.1 Buying food, soap & fertilizers

Several respondents (Focus group 1a & 3b, Fyson Tchezan, Somanje Flywell, Anne Phiri, Mercy Banda) argue that former estate workers struggle to buy food. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, explain that since former estate workers don't cultivate their own land they often have to buy or work in other to get food. Anne Phiri state the money they get for working often is not enough to buy food hence they are rather paid in food. Mercy Banda, Bagidad, says that they often can't eat anything in the morning and sometimes when they don't have enough food they eat cocked mangos for lunch. Grevanzio Chisau, FEW Bagidad, says, "*We are struggling to find daily bread and we eat whatever comes our way, as long as it's edible*". He says that some days he will have to settle for a bun and some water. Samala Dowgolosi, Nthuduwala, says former estate workers in Nthuduwala eat nsima (made from maize flour), once a day, but if they are lucky, twice. Hedrina Juma, estate boundaries, says that it pains her to see her children getting thinner and thinner. Jasten Kamulanje, riverbank, explains that they might loose some people to hunger soon. He says, "*We are suffering like we are not Malawians*".

Furthermore former estate workers (Hedrina Juma, focus groups 1a-b) as well as Somanje Flywell argue former estate workers cannot afford to buy soap to be able to wash properly. Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) state that if they get some small money they spend it on little things for themselves such as soap to wash with.

Resettled former estate workers in Linyangwa (focus group 2a-b) and in Chamawi (Chimdzeka Banda, Anne Phiri) complain about their lack of money to buy fertilizers for their cultivation. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group, 2b) state that since their soil is waterlogged they need fertilizers in order to succeed with cultivating anything. They

state that other villagers in Linyangwa also live on waterlogged soil but they can afford fertilizers and grow both food and cash crops. Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chamawi, says that since he cannot afford fertilizers he still cannot grow anything and therefore his family is still

4.3.2.1.2 Paying for school expenses

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a, Eziloni Ngwila, Mercy Banda, Hedrina Juma, Jasten Kamulanje, Chimdzeka Banda, Anne Phiri) and other respondents (Patrick Mbewe, Somanje Flywell & Fyson Tchezan) state that former estate workers children often are not able to attend school. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, say that one of former estate workers main issues is that they cant afford to pay school fees, uniforms and other necessary materials for their children's schooling. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, says that former estate workers children often don't attend school and the reason is poverty, since they cant afford the uniforms for their children. Hedrina Juma, FEW, Rusa River, and Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, explain that what is keeping many former estate workers children from school is poverty.

4.3.2.2 What they own (or don't)

Former estate workers don't have anything that could be used as collateral for taking a loan, don't own many personal belongings.

4.3.2.2.1 Collateral

From observations and informal interviews at all the different settlements it's clear that former estate workers don't have access to any collateral. They don't have any bigger animals just chickens, except in Chipala where they also have some rabbits. The houses they live in (See section 7.4.3) would they not to be able to use as collateral.

4.3.2.2.2 Inside their houses

Inside former estate workers houses there are almost no belongings. Former estate workers don't have furniture. The few belongings they own are some pieces of clothing and cooking tools. Clothes hang in the ceiling or lie on the ground in the corners of the houses. Hedrina Juma, FEW River, explains they don't have anywhere to cook, put their food or sleep. Somanje Flywell (2018-12-14) confirm these observations and state that former estate workers often don't have much more than a few garments and some cooking tools. I also observe that the few belongings former estate workers have in their houses look dirty, old and worn out. Jasten Kamulanje, FEW riverbank, says, "*We sleep like wild pigs, our place to sleep it's like where dogs sleep, no blankets*". At two of the introduction meetings held in Nthuduwala (2018-10-18) and at one of Mireces meeting points (2018-10-19) former estate workers during their testimonies, as a way of explaining how poor they are, state they cannot

afford to buy a blanket to sleep under. Hedrina Juma, FEW River, says she shares a blanket with her husband and child. During observation in Nthuduwala (2018-10-18) I can see that some FEWs have mosquito nets and mattresses, which they say, have been given to them from charity workers many years ago, which is evident by looking at the condition of these things, as an example nets have holes in them.

4.3.3 Physical resources

Former estate workers lack access to physical resources. From observations at all the settlements where former estate workers live, Bagidad, Chipala, Nthuduwala, Chamawi, Linyangwa, Tongolo, Rusa River and the riverbank it shows that many of them don't have access to basic infrastructure such as boreholes, sufficient shelter, sanitation or transport.

4.3.3.1 Boreholes

In Linyangwa (2017-10-19), Chipala (2017-11-02), Chamawi (2017-12-05), Rusa River (2017-12-11) and at the riverbank (2017-12-09) former estate worker explain that they lack access to clean water due to the far distance to the nearest borehole. Former estate workers in Chipala and Chamawi state that women walk long distances in order to get to a borehole. In Linyangwa and at Rusa River former estate workers have dug their own holes in the ground from where they fetch dirty water. Former estate workers at Rusa River (2017-12-11) show me how they use a bucket to get the water from the hole in the ground. They complain about the safety saying that since they don't have a fence around the holes it can be dangerous to fetch water. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus groups 2a-b) argue that their biggest problem, now when they have land, is the lack of clean water for drinking and washing. At the Rusa River (2017-12-11) former estate workers show me the water they use, which is of a brownish colour, and explain that they have no choice but to use that dirty water for washing themselves (See photo below).



Photo: Celina Dahl, 17-12-11. Waterhole at Rusa River.

In, Bagidad (2017-12-07), Tongole (2017-12-13), Nthuduwala (2017-10-18) former estate workers have a borehole close by where they live. In Bagidad and Tongole former estate workers don't complain about their access to water but in Nthuduwala they do. Several respondents (Focus group 2b, Samala Dowgolosi, Eziloni Ngwila, Oliver Fountain, Rosmary Banda, Limbanikani Banda, Headson Makow, Fyson Tchezan, Somanje Flywell) explain that former estate workers in Nthuduwala struggle to access water from the pump. Respondents furthermore explain that former estate workers in Nthuduwala are not allowed to draw water from the pump until everyone else in the village has taken water, as mentioned before.

4.3.3.2 Buildings

Most former estate workers live in temporary shelters not houses. In Nthuduwala (2017-10-18), Chipala (2017-11-02), Tongole (2017-12-13) and at the riverbank (2017-12-09) they live in grasshatched huts. Trayness Chivunga, FEW riverbank, says that when they lease land they are allowed to live there temporary, knowing that, they always build temporary shelters, not something more permanent. Jos Kuppins, CfSC, explain that tenants often (Tongole) construct their own huts, made completely out of grass. Agnes Mwase, Limbe Leaf, says their smallholders struggle with providing sufficient shelter for their tenants.

In Linyangwa (2017-10-19) Bagidad (2017-12-07) and at Rusa River (2017-11-12) they live in mud and/or grass huts. From the observation in Linyangwa (2017-10-19), it shows that former estate workers, as decoration, have painted their houses on the out- and inside. One woman proudly shows me inside her house where she has painted flowers on the walls and

hung paper decorations in the ceiling. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says that they now, when they know they can stay in Linyangwa permanently, they have decorated their houses with paintings and started to add mud to them to make them more stable (See photo below) He explains that they want their houses to look nice and says a goal in the future is to have iron houses. In Chamawi (2017-12-05) they live in mud/ mud brick houses. Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chamawi, says that since they know they can stay in Chamawi permanently they have made some proper houses out mud bricks instead of their old grass huts.



Photo: Celina Dahl, 17-10-19. Houses in Linyangwa.

Most former estate workers share a one-bedroom house per family. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says that in general, a family of about 6-8 people share a one-bedroom house. This seems to be the case in all settlements except Chamawi, Linyangwa and Nthuduwala. In the two resettlements Chamawi and Linyangwa former estate workers have bigger houses about, two-bedroom. The reason is probably that they now have more space per family than before. In Nthuduwala families are separated and women/children, men and elderly share one-bedroom houses due to lack of space. During informal interviews in Nthuduwala (2018-10-18) it appears that the number of former estate workers sharing one bedroom house is higher, about 9-10 people (See photo below).



Photo: Celina Dahl, 17-12-12. Houses & bathroom in Nthuduwala.

From observations and informal interviews in all settlements it's clear that former estate workers foremost do their cooking inside their own houses hence they don't have access to a separate cooking station but rather they cook where they sleep. Observations in Nthuduwala (2017-10-18), Linyangwa (2017-10-19), Chipala (2017-11-02) and at Rusa River where a bigger group of former estate workers live closely together they seem to share an outside cooking station. The cooking stations does not consist of much, just a shelter some tools and mats.

4.3.3.3 Sanitation

From observations and informal interviews at all settlements it shows that former estate workers don't have access to sanitation in form of bathrooms and showers, which is confirmed by Somanje Flywell (2017-10-11) as well. Former estate workers in all the settlements have build a grassstached bathroom where they have dug a hole, which they use as a bathroom. But with regards to how many people, which shares such a bathroom the difference is big. As an example, do three families in Chamawi share one bathroom and in Nthuduwala are 112 families are sharing two bathrooms. As mentioned before (See section 4.3.3.1) many former estate workers don't have good access to clean water. Former estate workers don't have showers or shower rooms and at many settlements where former estate workers live they lack access to clean water to wash with.

4.3.3.4 Transport

All former estate workers live in rural areas outside of Kasungu town. Those former estate

workers living at Rusa River and riverbank live the closest to Kasungu town, about 20 minutes drive from Kasungu. Those living in Nthuduwala live the furthers away from Kasungu town, about 2 hours drive from Kasungu, and due to the conditions of the roads its hard to get there during the rainy season.

Its important to note that since former estate workers don't have financial possibilities, as mentioned before are they are not able to afford communal transport or to buy themselves a bicycle to use as their mean of transport. This is confirmed for example during my second visit at Rusa River (2017-12-10) when a former estate worker have been lying inside her house sick for several days without getting to the hospital because she cannot afford the transport to get there. Another example is that Somanje Flywell (2017-10-11) states that if Mirece host a meeting former estate worker will not be able to attend if they cannot offer them transport money. It seems like walking is former estate workers mean of transportation. This assumption is based on that we on several occasions pick up former estate workers walking alongside the roads, trying to get to a meeting point or village, where we are having a meeting or doing interviews. Former estate workers are also clear about that they walk long distances, in order to for example find water, as mentioned before.

4.3.4 Human resources

Former estate workers have access to human resources in form of skills for farming. But former estate workers lack human resources in form of education and good health.

4.3.4.1 Farmers but uneducated

Former estate workers (Emily Chakwira, Eziloni Ngwila, Rute Phiri, Mercy Banda, Trayness Chivunga) as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state it's unusual for former estate workers to have attended school. Eziloni Ngwila, Chairman Linyangwa, explains that they were eight siblings in his family and none of them attended school. He states that they, since their father had left them, had to help their mother to take care of younger siblings. Rute Phiri, FEW Linyangwa, explain that they were seven siblings in her family and none of them went to school because they had to help their parents in the estates. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, state that her parents could not afford any school fees and that she had to help them in the estates.

Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a), in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) and in Chipala (Focus group 3b) state that former estate workers have been farmers their whole lives hence they have all the skills they need to become self sufficient through farming. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) and at Mireces meeting point

(1b) explain that they have been farming their entire lives, but never worked for themselves, always for other people. Former estate workers skills in farming are also evident since all of them support themselves through farming today, through piecework and tenancy, two strategies which require skills in farming and are presented further down in this report.

4.3.4.2 Health

Former estate workers in Linyangwa (focus group 2b), at Mireces meeting point (1b), Jason Kapala and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that former estate workers are sick often. They all explain that former estate workers get sick as a result of their living standards such as bad access to sanitation and working long hours. Jason Kapala, FEW riverbank, says that there are several reasons as to why former estate workers are sick often. He mentions not having access to proper food, water and overworking. Former estate workers at Mireces meeting point (Focus group 1a) argue they often work even though they are sick, which makes them sicker, but they argue they often don't have the choice to stay home.

4.3.4.3 Children's education

Former estate workers (Eziloni Ngwila, Anne Phiri, Jasten Kamulanje, Mercy Banda, Hedrina Juma) as well as other respondents (Somanje Flywell, Patrick Mbewe) state that former estate workers children are allowed to attend school just as every other children. But several respondents (Focus group 1a, Somanje Flywell, Patrick Mbewe, Hedrina Juma, Anne Phiri, Limbanikani Banda, Headson Makow, Mercy Banda, Jasten Kamulanje) argue that former estate workers, due to financial reasons are struggling with sending their children to school, as mentioned before.

Anne Phiri, FEW Chamawi and Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, explain that their children often are sent back from school since they don't have a school uniform. Hedrina Juma, says that her children can't go to school because she cannot afford soap to clean them nor can she afford the exercise books they need. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, and Limbanikani Banda, village headman Nthuduwala, says former estate workers can't feed their children properly and that parents can't send their children to school with empty stomachs. Headson Makow, group village headmen Nthuduwala, says FEW's children can't attend school because they have to do household chores while their parents are working. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank says former estate workers children can't go to school because they have to help their parents doing piecework.

Former estate workers are worried about their children's future since they struggle with sending their children to school. Former estate workers (Hedrina Juma, Jasten Kamulanje,

focus group 2a) state they see no future due to their children's lack of access to education. Jasten Kamulanje, riverbank, says that if his children could get an education maybe they would get peace.

4.3.5 Social resources

Former estate workers have access to social resources through the network of former estate workers. Some former estate workers also have access to social resources due to their membership in Mirece. But many former estate workers also lack social resources in form of good relations with villagers in the communities they live in. Former estate workers that have been resettled in Linyangwa and Chamawi have better relations with villagers in the communities they live in.

4.3.5.1 The network of former estate workers

Somanje Flywell, Mirece, mentions that former estate workers have good relations with each other and as an example state that they choose to live close to each other in order to be able to provide each other with support. Grevanzio Chisau, FEW, has lived in Bagidad for nine years now and says *"I chose to settle her with my fellow former estate workers so that we can encourage each other and share ideas on how to survive"*. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says that the reason why he went to stay at the Rusa River some years ago was because he had heard that other former estate workers were staying there. He says that former estate workers already living at Rusa River welcomed him and his family once they arrived. Trayness Chivunga, FEW riverbank, says one of the reasons she went to search for land at the riverbank was because she had heard that other former estate workers were living there. Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says that former estate workers already living at Rusa River warmly welcomed him and his family when they got there.

Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explain that former estate workers live a communal life together where they support and help each other if someone is in need. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, says that former estate workers in Bagidad sometimes help one another but that its not something organized. Kalikokha Phiri and Madalitso Chisepa, Tongole, state there often are several tenants working for the same smallholder and therefore they can help each other if needed. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b) state that they ask their neighbour, in order words a former estate worker, for help if they for example don't have any food or need some extra cash. Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, says he lives with other former estate workers and states they trust one and other. He exemplifies the trust in-between them by explaining that they lend each other money if someone is in need, for example if someone needs to go to the hospital. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, explains that if

someone, in Nthuduwala camp, is in need they will contribute with what every little money or food they have. She also says they sometimes cook food in groups and eat together.

Former estate workers, Samala Dowgolosi and Oliver Fountain in Nthuduwala, as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that former estate workers search for and work together in groups in Zambia. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, states that the reason for why they go in mixed groups and not families is so that those that stay behind can help out with the children and homes of those that have left. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, says that when someone have left their children in the camp, in order to go for work, those that stay behind will care more for those children than their own. She also explains that when former estate workers come back from working they all share the food they have received.

4.3.5.2 Members of Mirece

All former estate workers interviewed except two, Kalikokha Phiri and Madalitso Chisepa, are members of Mirece. Somanje Flywell (2018-12-14) as well as former estate workers (Focus group 1a & 3a-b) whom are members of Mirece state their membership has brought members closer together. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that one of Mireces missions are to try and connect their members with each other in order for them to grow stronger as a group. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a) state that some of them know each other through Mirece. They state that Mirece are helping their members to connect with each other for example through telling them where other former estate workers live and encourage them to live together to enable them to help each other more.

4.3.5.2.1 Demonstrations

Somanje Flywell, Mirece (2018-10-13), and former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) and Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) say Mirece have helped them mobilize three times in order to demonstrate outside the DC's office in Kasungu. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, says that since the local government in Kasungu was denying former estate workers existence he decided to bring them to the DC's office in order to prove the DC wrong. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) say they feel stronger as a group now when they have organized demonstrations with other former estate workers. Rute Phiri, FEW Linyangwa, states she has participated in one demonstration, which was outside of the DCs office and lasted for three days. She explains that they wanted to demonstrate because they thought it might result in them getting land from the government, but so far the government haven't done anything to help them. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a) state they after one demonstration received some maize from the government.

4.3.5.2.2 Activities with Mud Africa

At three times I participated in three activities with Mirece as Mud Africa's representative. Activities where two education days on land and human rights as well as one live debate with stakeholders and former estate workers. After the two education days (2017-10-25 & 2017-10-26) former estate workers said they had learned more about the tenure system in Malawi. Amongst other things they had a lesson about the Land Act (1995) as well as the New Land Policy (2002). After the third activity, which was a debate, former estate workers were happy they had been able to discuss and ask questions to some of the involved stakeholders, such as staff from Kasungu government. They also said that they wanted to have debates frequently in order to voice their opinions. One of the issues with the debate was the ratio between men and women, especially amongst the former estate workers participating. During the debate I observed (2017-11-15) that the ratio of men and women was uneven, 29 men versus six women. Those women participating did not speak up during the debate. Somanje Flywell, Mirece (2018-11-21), says that it in general it's hard to get women to participate in activities Mirece do. He goes on by saying that they, for this specific activity, told chairmen from the different settlements to send both women and men but that it still ended up being mostly men whom participated. He furthermore explains that he thinks that women are afraid of participating actively and speaking up in bigger groups where men are present. Therefore he in the future wants to have activities where men and women are separated.

4.3.5.2.3 Savings groups

Somanje Flywell, Mirece, states that a new mission of Mirece is to organize their members into savings groups, something he says he just started planning for and encouraging members to do. He argues that a major issue for former estate workers is that they feel vulnerable financially since they don't have any savings or possibilities to take a loan. He says that he believes that if they would put financial resources together in a more organized way than now, they would have more financial security.

4.3.5.3 Relations with other locals

Relations between former estate workers and locals in the communities they live differ, especially between former estate workers that have been resettled and those that have not. One special case is also Nthuduwala where former estate workers seem to have a very tense relationship with the locals.

4.3.5.3.1 Linyangwa & Chamawi

Former estate workers resettled in Chamawi (Chimdzeka Banda, Anne Phiri) and Linyangwa (Focus groups 2a-b) state they feel they belong in the communities where they have been

resettled. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says he feel like his life has changes because he now has a home. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) state they feel this is their home because villagers don't call them refugees in Linyangwa. They (Focus group 2a) also state they feel this it's their home because they get protection from the village guards just like anyone else in the village. They (Focus group 2a-b) furthermore state that they, together with other villagers, participate in events like funerals and weddings. This statement is also confirmed during an observation (2018-11-02) when I pass by a funeral at a church in Linyangwa. I jump off the car to greet some former estate workers, standing outside the church, amongst others Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, who tell me they just came from a funeral.

Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chamawi and Maria Nyirongo village chief Chamawi, say the relationship between former estate workers and villagers is good. Anne Phiri, FEW Chamawi, says the relationship with villagers is okay. Former estate workers Chimdzeka Banda and Anne Phiri, Chamawi as well as Maria Nyirongo village chief Chamawi state that former estate workers attend funerals and do other community activities together with villagers in Chamawi. In a group interview with five locals (2017- 12-05) that live next to some former estate workers in Chamawi they say that the community warmly welcomes former estate workers. Maria Nyirongo, village chief Chamawi, says its easy for them to provide security for former estate workers since they live amongst them. Anne phiri and Chimdzeka Banda, FEW Chamawi, state they feel like Chamawi is their home since they know they will be able to stay for as long as they want.

4.3.5.3.2 Remaining settlements

Former estate workers from the other settlements (Focus group 1a & 3a-b, Grevanzio Chisau, Jason Kapala, Jasten Kamulanje) say they don't feel, as if they are apart of the communities they live in. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a) say villagers tell them they don't belong in Chipala. Two villagers at the riverbank, Elletina Yalaka and Chinseu Banda explain that former estate workers are a part of the community in some ways. As an example they state that former estate workers attend funerals and wedding together with them. Chinseu Banda, villager riverbank, furthermore states that former estate workers share the community services with villagers, such as school and hospital. Precious Phiri, Group chief Nthuduwala, states former estate workers in Nthuduwala attend the ceremonies they have in the community like funerals and weddings. But Limbanikani Banda, Village headman Nthuduwala, argues that former estate workers are segregated in Nthuduwala and Elletina Yalaka, villager riverbank, explains that former estate workers are not completely a part of them because, *"They (FEWs) are a part of the estate not us"*.

Many former estate workers (Focus groups 1a, 2a-b & 3a-b, Samala Dowgolosi, Eziloni Ngwila, Rosemary Banda, Maputo Brighton, Mercy Banda, Hedrina Juma, Brighton Mtsukunya, Rosmary Banda, Grevanzio Chisau, Jasten Kamulanje) state that their relations with other villagers are not good. Other respondents (Somanje Flywell, Fyson Tchezan) also argue former estate workers and villagers don't get along. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, argues that villagers use a specific rhetoric to insult former estate workers calling them derogatory names such as "refugees", "newcomers", "strangers" and "homeless". These names are mentioned by several former estate workers as well (Focus groups 1a-b, 3a, Eziloni Ngwila, Rosmary Banda, Jason Kapala, Grevanzio Chisau, Emily Chakwira) as well. Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, says villagers in Nthuduwala called them "refugees" the first day they arrived there. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, states that villagers call them refugees, say that they are in Nthuduwala eating government food, that they came with the intention to trouble them. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, says that villagers are insulting them in different ways for example saying they are in Nthuduwala because of their own will. Furthermore, I during those interviews I conduct with other respondents than former estate workers, notice how they use the Malawian term 'Obwera' when speaking about former estate workers, a word that in English translates to 'Newcomer'. Headson Makow, group village headman Nthuduwala, explains that some villagers feel sorry for those seeking refugee and some don't. He says that just depends on a villager's personality.

4.3.5.3.2.1 Nthuduwala

In Nthuduwala former estate workers, due to their lack of social resources struggle with accessing school, water, cash, market and piecework. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, and Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, argue that former estate workers children are harassed in school. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, and Eziloni Ngwila, chairman Linyangwa, state that former estate workers don't go to school in Nthuduwala because of how their classmates treat them. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, states that the children's classmates beats them and snatch their exercise books and pencils. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, says former estate workers children get teased in school because they look poor and have dirty clothes. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, explains that villagers in Nthuduwala don't want former estate workers children using their school. He states that the reason is that the school in Nthuduwala don't have the capacity to offer the same services anymore since former estate workers have so many children attending school.

Headson Makow, group village headman in Nthuduwala, explains that villagers believe they should draw water before former estate workers because they have their own gardens to water. Fyson Tchezan Ward councillor, Kasungu, states that the reason for former estate

workers drawing water last in the village is because all of the villagers together have contributed money in order to build the borehole. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, have another version and says that it's true that they did not do any development work to construct the borehole but she adds that the reason for that is that the borehole already had been constructed when they arrived to Nthuduwala. Former estate workers in Nthuduwala, Oliver Fountain, Rosmary Banda and Samala Dowgolosi state that they are the last ones to draw water because they are refugees. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, argues that villagers harass them at the water pump saying they are refugees who don't have their own homes thus they have to wait for them to get water before they take any.

Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, says that they once were invited to work for a village road project by MASAF (Malawi social action fund) but that the villagers after they were done took their money for the three days of work they did, which was 3000 mwk (approx. 3,5 euro) per person. She argues that villagers could just take their money without anyone caring because they are refugees. Furthermore Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, says she once cooked some small maize flour cakes and brought them to the closest market to sell. She explains that when she arrived at the market with the few cakes she had she was not allowed to sell them. She says villagers at the market chased her away from the market saying, "*You are not from here, this is not your market*".

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a, Samala Dowgolosi, Rosmary Banda, Emily Chakwira) state villagers are mean to former estate workers while they search for and do piecework in Nthuduwala. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, says villagers harass them calling them refugees when they search for piecework. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, says villagers in Nthuduwala get mad if someone employs former estate workers instead of them. Precious Phiri, group chief Nthuduwala, states that villagers will question those hiring former estate workers, saying "*Why do you give piecework to refugees*". Former estate workers in Nthuduwala, Oliver Fountain and Samala Dowgolosi as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explain that former estate workers due to the ill treatment by villagers go to Zambia to search for and do piecework. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, says, "*Here (Nthuduwala) they abuse us that's why we go to Zambia*". Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, says that sometimes they are treated badly in Zambia as well but that it doesn't compare to how villagers treat them in Nthuduwala.

4.3.5.3.2.2 No access to benefits meant for the community

Former estate workers, Jasten Kamulanje, riverbank and Grevanzio Chisau, Bagidad as well as other respondents (Patrick Mbewe, Elletina Yalaka, Chinseu Banda, Fyson Tchezan,

Somanje Flywell) state that villagers don't share benefits provided for the communities with former estate workers. They explain that benefits for example can be in form of support from the government or NGO:s. Jasten Kamulanje, FEW riverbank, and Chinseu Banda, villager riverbank, explain that typical benefits are in form of subsidies for fertilizers and cement. Grevanzio Chisau, FEW Bagidad, says that benefits can be in form of subsidy products or coupons. He also adds that some organizations distribute food and other essentials for the most vulnerable in the communities.

Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, explains why former estate workers cannot share such benefits with villagers in Nthuduwala by saying, "*Living in the camp doesn't make you a citizen*". Chinseu Banda, villager riverbank, says that they cannot share benefits with former estate workers since they are not from their community. Elletina Yalaka, villager riverbank, says "*We cannot share benefits we get as a community, they are not part of us they are part of the estate*". Grevanzio Chisau, FEW Bagidad, argues the reason they cannot take part of benefits are because they are segregated and villagers have not accepted them as a part of the community. He says, "*They (villagers) say its because we are strangers*"

4.3.5.3.2.3 Public work

Former estate workers (Focus group 2a, Anne Phiri, Jasten Kamulanje, Jason Kapala, Oliver Fountain, Hedrina Juma,) as well as other respondents (Somanje Flywell, Chinseu Banda, Fyson Tchezan, Elletina Yalaka, Patrick Mbewe) state that former estate workers do public work in the communities they live. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, explains that public work is an initiative the government is pursuing in order to make people in the villagers their own agencies of change. He says villagers all over Malawi are encouraged to participate.

Some respondents (Somanje Flywell, Hedrina Juma, Jason Kapala, Oliver Fountain) explain that public work is an unpaid activity. But Elletina Yalaka, villager riverbank, and Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, state that there are some types of governmental founded public work that is paid. Elletina Yalaka says they (villagers) cannot share paid public work with former estate workers since they need the money. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, explains that villagers only invite them for public work that is unpaid.

Somanje Flywell (2017-11-28) states that public work can consist of different types of tasks depending on what they community needs. Former estate workers (Hedrina Juma and Jason Kapala) as well as Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank state public work often is done in the village schools. Jason Kapala, FEW riverbank, and Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, state

they also work on the hospital. Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River, states tasks can be fetching water, making bricks and breaking stones for construction. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, states that they construct walls and make mud bricks. There are different answers regarding how many times a week public work is done. Chinseu Banda, villager riverbank and Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River, say public work often is once a week, but that it can be more times as well depending on the urgency of the project. Jason Kapala, FEW riverbank and Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, say they often do public work twice a week. Jason Kapala and Hedrina Juma say they often start public work early in the morning and end around 1-2 pm.

4.3.5.3.2.4 Villagers development committees

Villagers at the riverbank, Elletina Yalaka, Chinseu Banda and Patrick Mbewe state that they in the community have development committees where they discuss what public work they want to do. Chinseu Banda, villager riverbank, explains that if villagers don't agree with what the village headman has suggested they can discuss in these meetings. Villagers at the riverbank, Elletina Yalaka, Chinseu Banda and Patrick Mbewe say that former estate workers are not allowed to attend these meetings. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, explains that they don't allow them to participate because they can pack their things and leave at any time. He also argues that former estate workers often are not available for any meetings because they are out looking for piecework. Chinseu Banda, villager riverbank, says something similar and argues that most former estate workers come and go and therefore they don't want to waste time on training people who might not stay for a longer period. Jason Kapala, FEW riverbank, state villagers have their own meetings about what public works to do and but that they are not invited, he says, *"In the end they just tell us what to do"*.

4.3.5.3.2.5 FEWs unwillingness to participate

Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, and Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, state that former estate workers living in a community should not find it strange to participate in public work, since they use the community services. But several respondents (Somanje Flywell, Jasten Kamulanje, Fyson Tchezan, Hedrina Juma, Patrick Mbewe) argue that formers estate workers don't like to participate in public work. Jasten Kamulanje, FEW riverbank, says it's unfair to force them to do public work even though they are not really a part of the community. Fyson Tchezan, Ward councillor Kasungu, says former estate workers don't want to do public work in Nthuduwala since they have wanted to leave the place since the first day they got there. Some former estate workers (Focus group 2a, Jason Kapala, Hedrina Juma) as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that former estate workers don't want to participate in the public works since they often cannot combine them with piecework which results in them not getting anything to eat on the days they do public works.

4.3.5.3.2.6 Punishments for not participating

Several former estate workers (Jason Kapala, Jasten Kamulanje, Oliver Fountain) as well as other respondents (Somanje Flywell & Patrick Mbewe) state that if someone doesn't participate in the public works they will get punished. Jasten Kamulanje, FEW riverbank, says villagers would chase him away from the land he lease if he did not participate. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, state that a punishment can be in form of not letting former estate workers children attend school. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank and Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River state that the Gule Wamkulu (a traditional dancer used in the Chewa tribe) sometimes are send in order to force people to go attend the public works. Somanje Flywell (2017-11-21) explains that many people are afraid of the Gule Wamkulu, which is why they can be used as a way of mobilizing people. Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River, says that when the Gule Wankulu come they take their things in replacement for the work. She says *"If we don't go to the public work, they Gule wamkule will take our chickens and plates"*. She argues its abuse, sending the dancers to their homes.

4.4 Selling cheep labour in order to survive

The following sections will be partly answer the third and final research question *"In which ways does the exclusion of former estate workers from land, affect their access to livelihood resources and strategies in Kasungu?"*. This second and final part of the answer (See part one in section 4.3) will evolve around answering how the exclusion from land has affected former estate workers access to livelihood strategies.

Former estate workers foremost use two livelihood strategies in order to support their livelihoods, which are piecework and tenancy. Other livelihood strategies mentioned by some former estate workers are, farming, stealing and begging. Former estate workers use livelihood strategies in order to get food, money and other livelihood essentials such as firewood.

4.4.1 Piecework (Ganuy)

All former estate workers except two, Kalikokha Phiri and Madalitso Chisepa, say they depend on piecework for their livelihoods, which is also confirmed by other respondents (Somanje Flywell, Limbanikani Banda, Patrick Mbewe, Mbiri Gothi, Vghmbuzi Anderson, Precious Phiri). All former estate workers performing piecework, state they do them in order to get food and money. Jasten Kamulanje, riverbank, says he sometimes do piecework to get manure from villagers animals. In a focus group (1a) they say they sometimes do piecework in order to get firewood. Former estate workers in the two resettlements, Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) and Chamawi (Anne Phiri, Chimdzeka Banda), state that they also rely on piecework. Respondents (Focus group, 2a; Chimdzeka Banda, Anne Phiri, Somanje Flywell

& Maria Nyirunco) explain that the reason for that is because former estate workers in the resettlements cannot utilize the land they have been given.

Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, say they search and do piecework during the whole year. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus groups 2a-b) explain that doing piecework is not something they plan beforehand. They state they go and search for work when their food supply is ending and will see what work they will do and for how long once they get the job. Patrick Mbewe, villager riverbank, says former estate workers often do piecework as a family, often man and wife but sometimes children as well. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, explain that piecework can be both at estates and in villager's farms or homes.

4.4.1.1 Piecework at estates

Respondents (Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Hedrina Juma, Mbiri Gothi, Somanje Flywell) state that former estate workers do piecework at the estates. It seems like its foremost former estate workers living in, Bagidad (Mercy Banda) riverbank and at Rusa River (Hedrina Juma) that do piecework at the estates. Somanje Flywell, Mirece (2017-11-21), explains that former estate workers will do piecework at estates if they live close to an estate. Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River, says that piecework at an estate can be in form of levelling the ground and growing maize, tobacco, beans and groundnuts. Mbiri Gothi, village chief Rusa River, says piecework at the estates consists of clearing the land, plating tobacco and weeding. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, explains that piecework can be in form of planting tobacco.

4.4.1.2 Piecework at villagers' gardens and homes

Respondents (Focus group 2a-b, Somanje Flywell, Mercy Bagdad) state that former estate workers do piecework at villagers' gardens and homes. Respondents from Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b), Nthuduwala (Vghmbuzi Anderson) and Chamawi (Anne Phiri) state they mostly do piecework in villager's gardens. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a) say that farming someone's garden is a whole day activity while domestic work often is from 4am to 11 am. They state that both men and women do domestic work as piecework. Some other former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2b) state that men more often do piecework in the gardens than domestic work.

4.4.1.3 Piecework in Zambia

Former estate workers in Nthuduwala goes to Zambia to search for and do piecework. Former estate workers in Nthuduwla, Oliver Fountain and Samala Dowgolosi state that brokers come to the camp in order to try and convince former estate workers to come with them to Zambia. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwla, states that her son is a broker. She says that her son came last week and took some former estate workers with him to do piecework in Zambia. Samala

Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, says that most former estate workers refuse go with the brokers because they know they will cheat them. Oliver Fountain, FEW Nthuduwala, states that most former estate workers in Nthuduwala go by themselves to Zambia, without a broker being involved. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, state they go to Zambia in a mixed group of both men and women and state they also work side by side once they find piecework. She argues it's important for women to go and work alongside men in order to protect them from sexual harassment. She also adds that it's more secure to go a big group because Zambians are known for putting poison in their employee's food and drinks. Samala Dowgolosi, FEW Nthuduwala, explain they walk from Nthuduwala to Zambia. She says it takes about 12 hours to get to the border and after that they often have to walk for another two days to find piecework. She says they sometimes have to walk longer if they can't find piecework. She states they sleep along the roads and get up early in the morning to continue walking.

4.4.1.4 Difficulties finding piecework

Former estate workers (Hedrina Juma, Eziloni Ngwila, Anne Phiri, Grevanzio Chisau, Mercy Banda, Emily Chakwira) as well as other respondents (Somanje Flywell, Vghmbuzi Anderson, Limbanikani Banda, Headson Makow) state that piecework are hard to find during the dry season since farmers don't need help in their gardens then. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, says that they during the dry season mostly do domestic work in peoples homes.

Other reasons are also mentioned as to why former estate workers struggle with finding piecework. Respondents from Nthuduwala (Precious Phiri; Limbanikani Banda; Vghmbuzi Anderson, Headson Makow & Fyson Tchezan; Emily Chakwira), Chipala (Focus group, 3b), Bagidad (Mercy Banda) and Rusa River (Mabvuto Brighton) state former estate workers struggle with finding piecework because the competition is high. In Nthuduwala respondents (Precious Phiri; Vghmbuzi Anderson, Emily Chakwira) explain that, partly competition is due to the high numbers of former estate workers living there but also because villagers want piecework. Former estate workers in Bagidad (Mercy Banda), Chipala (Focus group 3b) and at Rusa River (Mabvuto Brighton) state that the competition is high because they are many former estate workers living together on the same spot. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, explain that they due to the competition with other former estate workers often have to walk long distances to find piecework. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3b) state it happens regularly that they, when they show up at someone's home, another former estate worker is already working there. Hedrina Juma, FEW Rusa River, say they compete with people from the village but also people coming from other districts, such as Lilongwe, whom

also come searching for piecework at the estates.

4.4.1.5 Payment

Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that since the supply of pieceworkers is higher than the demand in Kasungu villagers can get away with paying small amounts of money and food to pieceworkers. Several respondents (Focus group 3b; Limbanikani Banda; Anne Phiri; Mercy Banda, Emily Chakwira) argue that the payment is very small comparing to the work performed by pieceworkers. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, argues they cannot negotiate the payment saying they have to accept what ever is offered. Former estate workers in Lingyangwa (Focus group 2a) state their negotiation power is better now when they have land. They say that when they were living in Nthuduwala they could not even suggest a price for their services, which they can now.

Respondents from Nthuduwala (Limbanikani Banda), Lingyangwa (Emily Chakwira) and at Rusa River (Mbiri Gothi), say former estate workers are foremost paid in food, not money. Hedrina Juma, Rusa River, state that they prefer to be paid in food because when they are paid in money its too little to cover the food needs of the whole family. Limbanikani Banda and Vghmbuzi Anderson, village headmen Nthuduwala, say former estate workers in Nthuduwala often get a plate of maize flour for a days work. Limbanikani Banda, village headman Nthuduwala, say they sometimes get some peanuts (small money) as well. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, says they sometimes work one hectare of land (for example clearing) and only get a tin and half of maize flour. Former estate workers in Lingyangwa (Focus group 2a) say they do piecework in exchange for maize and/or maize husks. They say the payment often is five kilogram of maize or 20-kilo huskies per day, both for garden and domestic work.

Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, and Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, explain that villagers make them wait for the payment. They state that sometimes they have to finish all the work before they get paid. Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, furthermore explain that sometimes they work for a week or more without getting any food or money in return. Former estate workers (Focus group 2a, 3b & Rosmary Banda) and Somanje Flywell, Mirece, state that villagers often cheat former estate workers and don't give them what they were promised once they finish the work. Somanje Flywell, Director Mirece, says it happens that former estate workers don't get paid at all.

4.4.2 Tenancy

As mentioned before are only two former estate workers tenants today, Kalikokha Phiri, Madalitso Chisepa but all former estate workers except two have been working as tenants and several respondents say that many former estate workers still work as tenants for smallholders. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a) as well as Somanje Flywell, Mirece, say tenants often have a verbal contract with their employers for one growing season. Former estate workers (Focus group 1b, Rute Phiri & Eziloni Ngwila, Kalikokha Phiri & Madalitso Chisepa) explain that tenants live on a smallholder's land for about ten months. During this time they say smallholders provide their tenants with food and agricultural inputs for growing tobacco. Jos Kuppins, CfSC, explains that in return tenants provide the smallholder with tobacco.

4.4.2.1 Contract farmers use tenants

Dennis Kalilangwe, Ministry of agriculture Kasungu, explains that tobacco in Kasungu today mostly grown in form of contract farming where farmers are given a quota from bigger tobacco companies such as; Limbe Leaf, Universal, JTI, TAMA Alliance one. He furthermore explains that smallholders often don't lease land from the companies but grow tobacco on their own customary land, which they have managed to get private leasehold on. Lucious Saidi, Limbe Leaf, states Limbe Leaf started using contract farmers seven years ago in Kasungu and say they mainly produce tobacco through contract farmers today. He furthermore states that Limbe Leaf have about 3000 contract farmers in Kasungu as of now. Dennis Kalilangwe, Ministry of Agriculture, and Benjamin A. Changaiuwa, former contract farmer Limbe Leaf, says companies using contract farmers give orders to farmers regarding how much tobacco they want them to produce. Respondents (Lucious Saidi, Benjamin A. Changaiuwa & Symon Mbewe) explain that the company has to provide the contract farmer with a loan for agricultural inputs, which the farmer after the season is over has to pay back.

Lucious Saidi, Limbe Leaf, says that even though Limbe Leaf's contract is with one farmer this farmer in turn has tenants working for him. Dennis Kalilangwe, Ministry of agriculture Kasungu, and Benjamin A. Changaiuwa, former contract farmer Limbe Leaf, explain that smallholders, due to tobacco being a labour intensive crop, have to hire tenants to help them grow the tobacco. Symon Mbewe and Mike Mtelera, contract farmers JTI, state that their tenants plus families perform all the work with tobacco on their farms. They furthermore argue its tradition to use tenants when growing tobacco in Malawi. Symon Mbewe says, *"If a smallholder grows tobacco this person will have tenants, it does not matter how big or small the land is. It is tradition"*. Jos Kuppins, CfSC, state that tobacco companies are afraid of the world learning that tenants still produce the tobacco, he says if it got out it would be as bad

for the tobacco companies as it was when it was revealed that children were involved in the tobacco production in Malawi.

4.4.2.1.1 Tenants & unpaid family members

Several respondents (Dennis Kalilangwe, Mike Mtelera, Symon Mbewe, Benjamin A. Changaiuwa, Saulos Banda, Kalikokha Phiri, Madalitso Chisepa, Rosmary Banda, Emanuel Mlaka, Somanje Flywell, Jos Kuppins) explain that tenants usually bring their whole families to live and work at smallholders land. Some former estate workers (Kalikokha Phiri, Madalitso Chisepa and Rosmary Banda) as well as other respondents (Emanuel Mlaka, Somanje Flywell, Jos Kuppins) say smallholders prefer to hire men with wives since they know wives and possibly children will work for free. Jos kuppins, CfSC, argue that the fact that women and children work without getting paid is a cost that is never calculated in the production of tobacco. Kalikokha Phiri and Madalitso Chisepa, tenants, argue they got married young in order to get work as tenants. They state that their wives married for the same reason. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, says something similar and argues that she and her husband got married young in order for her husband to get a job as a tenant. Mike Mtelera, contract farmer JTI, and Benjamin A. Changaiuwa, former contract farmer Limbe Leaf, state that man and wife work fulltime together and children after school.

4.4.2.1.2 Working like slaves

Former estate workers in Lingyangwa (Focus group 2b) and in Chipala (Focus group 3a) say they did not have any targets while they were working as tenants, which they had on the estates. Former estate workers in Lingyangwa (Focus group 2b) argue this meant that they often were working 04.00-23.00 every day. Former estate workers in Lingyangwa (Focus group 2b) say they were working like slaves, and former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a) state they never had any free time while they were tenants.

4.4.2.1.3 Food supply

Agnes Mwase, Limbe Leaf, says their contract farmers are suppose to provide food for their tenants, but she adds that they can't force their contract farmers to give out food for free even if that's what they advise them to do. She says it's still a business for the contract farmers hence most of them choose to deduct the costs for food from the tenants' payment at the end of the season. Brighton Mtsukunya, FEW Bagidad, and contract farmers Mike Mtelera and Salus Banda say smallholders deduct the cost of food from tenants after the season is over. Former estate workers (Focus groups 1b, 2b & 3a) argue that the food they got while working as tenants was not enough. Former estate workers in Chipala (Focus group 3a) state that smallholders gave them the same amount of food per month as they got while working at the estate, but with one exception, the food had to last for one moth instead of two weeks which had been the case at the estates. Agnes Mwase, Limbe Leaf, explain that many of their

contract farmers struggle with providing enough food for their tenants during the season.

4.4.2.1.4 Payment

Several respondents (Focus group 2b & 3a-b, Agnes Mwase, Somanje Flywell, Mike Mtelera, Jos Kuppins) explain that tenants in general don't get paid until the season is over.

Respondents (Focus group 2b, 3a-b, Agnes Mwase, James Kanyangalazi, Somanje Flywell, Jos Kuppins, Anne Phiri, Symon Mbewe) also argue that, in fact, tenants don't always get paid at all after the season is over. They explain that after deductions for food and agricultural inputs are done tenants sometimes are left with no profit. Agnes Mwase, Limbe Leaf, says *"Often tenants are considered as forced labour since they sometimes don't get paid after the season"*. James Kanyangalazi, DC Kasungu, argues that being a tenant is more like slavery than anything else hence should tenants start thinking about graduating from tenancy and look for a other better paid jobs and to try to become independent. He says now tenants know that they, even if they use all the money they earn at the end of the season, will be able to live and eat for free at another smallholder if they want to.

Former estate workers in Lingyangwa (Focus group 2b) as well as in Chipala (Focus groups 3a-b) state smallholders always promised them they would get paid but that they never received any payment besides the food they got during the season. Madalitso Chisepa, FEW Tongole, says he has heard that some bosses, when it's time for payment, tell their tenants they are children of the house and therefore there is no need for paying them, arguing that the food they have consumed during the season was their payment. Agnes Mwase, Limbe Leaf, and Benjamin A. Changaiuwa, former contract farmer Limber Leaf, explain that smallholders often don't benefit enough to be able to provide both good living standards and a decent payment. Symon Mbewe, contract farmer JTI, says it happens frequently he cannot pay his tenants after the season is over. He explains that his priority is to first pay off the loan then split the money between him and his tenants.

4.4.3 Other livelihood strategies

Former estate workers mention some other livelihood strategies they use in order to support their livelihoods. These are farming, begging and stealing. Somanje Flywell, Mirece, also mentions that female former estate workers are trafficked from Nthduuwala camp to Zambia and that some female former estate workers in Bagidad support their livelihoods through prostitution.

4.4.3.1 Farming

As mentioned before (See section 4.3.1.1) does former estate workers not have land set aside for cultivation, except those resettled, but they cannot sustain their livelihoods through

farming either. But still some former estate workers mention (Mabvuto Brighton, Hedrina Juma) they are cultivating some crops on a small scale. Two examples is of what I observe in Nthuduwala (2018-10-18) and at Rusa River (2018-11-12) where former estate workers have, amongst their houses, squeezed in, a couple of small plots approx. 3 X 3 square meters big where they are growing for example maize, tomatoes and beans. Important to mention is that these plots are shared in-between several families of former estate workers. During the observation in Nthuduwala (2018-10-18) a man shows me the plot outside the house where he lives and tells me they are nine people sharing one plot for cultivation. Furthermore, Mabvuto Brighton, FEW Rusa River, state he is growing some cash crops on a small-scale and try to sell them. In Nthuduwala (2018-10-18) I observe that they have laid out a piece of fabric on the ground by the small road passing their camp, where they have about a ten tomatoes for sale.

4.4.3.2 Begging

Former estate workers (Mercy banda, Grevanzio Chisau, Jasten Kamulanje) mention they sometimes beg for food when they don't have any other option. Mercy Banda, FEW Bagidad, says that they work hard trying to feed themselves but sometimes it's not enough. Mercy Banda and Grevanzio Chisau, FEW Bagidad, say they go around in Bagidad and beg for mangoes. He adds that they he sometimes beg for firewood as well. Jasten Kamulanje, riverbank, says that the food he can provide for his family, due to his high age, is maize husks he gets by begging at the maize mill. Limbanikani Banda, Village headman Nthuduwala, says villagers in Nthuduwala sometimes give food and firewood to former estate workers when they beg for it.

4.4.3.3 Stealing

Respondents from Nthuduwala (Rosmary Banda, Limbanikani Banda, Samala Dowgolosi) and Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b; Emily Chakwira) state former estate workers steal from villagers in order to survive. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala and Limbanikani Banda, Village headman Nthuduwala, say former estate workers in Nthuduwala often steal firewood and maize husks from villagers. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b; Emily Chakwira) state they steal firewood and food from villagers.

Samala Dowgolosi and Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, explain they steal firewood because there is nowhere they can fetch firewood freely. She explains that they have tried asking for firewood but that villagers never allow them to take any, saying that the firewood belongs to them. Limbanikani Banda, Village headman Nthuduwala, says it causes problems for the chiefs when former estate workers steal since villagers get angry and come to them

seeking for help.

Limbanikani Banda, Village headman Nthuduwala says former estate workers do get punished for stealing and explains a punishment can be in form of villagers giving them a piece of land they have to work on without getting paid. Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, says that when they are caught stealing sometimes villagers take their firewood, panga knives and their clothes. She says that once when she was caught villagers wanted to her to the police station, she explains she had to beg villagers to let her be. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b) state their lives become very difficult if they get caught stealing firewood since it is against the customary law in Linyangwa. They say they can get chased for stealing but also beaten by villagers. Emily Chakwira says that when she gets caught villagers take all her firewood and her tools. Samala Dowgolosi and Rosmary Banda, FEW Nthuduwala, say they will keep on stealing since they cant get access to firewood in any other way. Former estate workers in Linyangwa (Focus group 2a-b; Emily Chakwira) state they have no other choice but to keep stealing.

5. Analysis

This section will discuss the frameworks and partly the previous research in relation to the empirical material collected. The discussion will be centered around who former estate workers are, why and how they exclude and are excluded in Kasungu and which affects the exclusion from land has had on their access to livelihood resources and strategies.

5.1 Former estate workers in Kasungu

I want to start off by answering the first research question "*Who are former estate workers living in Kasungu today?*" Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state the importance of investigating who is excluded from accessing land when looking at processes of exclusion.

5.1.1 Arrived 1970s-1980s to Press estates in Kasungu

Kasungu was one of the districts pointed out as suitable for tobacco production (Kishindo, 2007; Prowse, 2009; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Press Agriculture had most of their tobacco estates in Kasungu, about 100-150 estates (Olive Panyanja). Press Agriculture was a main actor in the tobacco industry (Prowse, 2002) and a division of Press Corporation (Krydd & Christiansen, 1982) a company that during the one-party rule in Malawi was owned by Kamuzu Banda, the former president (Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). All former estate workers, except two, state that they or their parents migrated to Kasungu in order to work at Press

Agricultures tobacco estates. They migrated because they were poor and did not have land, had a small share of land and/or lacked access to their land. Press Corporation was at the center of estate expansion in the 1970s (Prowse, 2002) and Press Agriculture increased its estate holdings significantly during the 1970s (Prowse, 2013). All former estate workers, except three, state they or their parents came to Press Agricultures tobacco estates in Kasungu between 1970s-1980s.

5.1.2 Families from the Southern region

Tobacco is a very labor intensive-crop, thus the tobacco estates had to find workers to produce their tobacco (FAO, 2003; Smalley, 2013). Press Agriculture had a big recruitment campaign in the 1970s in order to attract laborers to their tobacco estates, which resulted in a mass migration of workers to Kasungu (Flywell, 2017). Workers for the tobacco estates often came from the Southern region of Malawi (Takane, 2005; Prowse, 2013). The reason why workers came from the Southern region is that the region was land constraint (Takane, 2005; Prowse, 2013; Jos Kuppins, Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Dennis Kalilangwe). The reason for the land constraint was that tea estates already had grabbed much of the land (Dennis Kalilangwe, Olive Panyanja), during the colonial period (Chome & McCall, 2002; Kishindo, 2007). The major share of Malawi's population live in the Southern region (Chome & McCall, 2002; Peters, 2006; Walker & Peters, 2010; Chingò, 2015) thus, this was a good labor market (Dennis Kalilangwe). Most former estate workers in Kasungu came from the Southern region (Somanje Flywell, Godfrey Nthyolamwendo, Phil Musukwa, Linda Mtegha-Kawamba, Olive Panyanja), up to 80 per cent (Shadreck Jere). Whole families were recruited in order for estate owners to enjoy access to free labourers in form of family members (CfSC, 2015). Many former estate workers state that they came to Press Agricultures tobacco estates as children or teenagers in the company of their parents.

5.1.3 They were direct wage labourers

Tobacco production on the estates was often based on annual tenants coming from the land-constrained south (Prowse, 2013). Larger estates growing burley tobacco would use visiting tenants (Prowse, 2009). Former estate workers were direct wage laborers, not tenants on Press Agricultures estates (Olive Panyanja). Being a visiting tenant meant that you lived on the estates (Prowse, 2009). Former estate workers migrated from other districts (See section above) and lived at the estates full-time (Focus group 2a-b & Focus group 3a) hence they were visiting labourers. The reason why estates wanted to use visiting tenants was because they would be easier to control and not be able to leave as easily as locally hired workers (Phil Musukwa, Linda Mtegha-Kawamba). Being a tenant also meant that you were loaned basic inputs for tobacco production as well as food rations during the season (Prowse, 2009). Loaned food and inputs would be deducted from the tenant's salary after the season was over

(CfSC, 2015). Former estate workers got food and supplies from the estates but they were not deducted after the season, rather estate owners would cut former estate workers food, supplies or salary if they had missed to complete a daily target (Focus group 3b). Being a tenant also meant that you would sell the tobacco to the estates after the season was over (Prowse, 2009). Former estate workers got monthly salaries, hence they did not sell tobacco to the estate owners after the season was over (Somanje Flywell & Olive Panyanja). Press Agriculture had major losses in the middle-end 1990s (Prowse, 2002) and announced that they would stop producing tobacco completely in 2011 (Ngozo, 2011). Press Agriculture's tobacco estates in Kasungu shut down at different times but most of them had ceased their operations around 2010/2011 (Somanje Flywell, Olive Panyanja).

5.2 Processes of exclusion

I want to proceed with the second research question "*How and why are former estate workers, after their employment ended at Press, being excluded as well as excluding others from land?*". Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that every form of access to land will require exclusion of others from that land, that even landless people exclude others when occupying land. Therefore former estate workers are excluding and being excluded from land in Kasungu today. The authors mention four different powers that are used in the process of exclusion, which are; regulation, legitimation, force and market.

5.2.1 Kasungu is our home

In Malawi there are three categories of land recognized under the Land Act; customary, private and public land (Lampton-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004; Matchaya, 2009; ILC, 2015). Former estate workers don't have a legal right to land under any of these three categories, except for those former estate workers that have been resettled on customary land in Linyangwa and Chamawi. But former estate workers are using *legitimation* in order to justify their claims to land in Kasungu. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) state that people in Malawi were encouraged to claim their land rights after Kamuzu Banda's dictatorship came to an end and the multiparty system entered in 1994. Former estate workers in Kasungu claim that they have a right to land in the district. They justify their claims based on that they have lived in Kasungu for decades, some were born and raised there and that many don't know their origins. The District Commissioner (DC) in Kasungu, James Kanyangalazi, delegitimizes former estate workers claims to land. He says that if someone doesn't know where he comes from that person is a foreigner, not a Malawian. Thereby he is saying that if former estate workers don't know their origins they don't have a right to land in Kasungu or in Malawi. Villagers in Kasungu, in general, also delegitimizes former estate workers claims to land by referring to them as refugees in order to make it clear that they don't have a legitimate access

to land in Kasungu.

5.2.2 Access to customary land at origins

Former estate workers were (and still are) excluded through *regulation*, from accessing customary land at their origins. As mentioned before, most former estate workers came to Kasungu from the Southern region of Malawi due to land scarcity. Peters (2002) states that in many parts of Malawi the severe lack of land makes it hard to allocate land to returnees. Former estate workers and other respondents explain that it would be hard for former estate workers to get land at their origins considering the time they spent in Kasungu and that land was scarce when they left. Takane (2007) states that when a migrant leaves their land that land must be allocated to someone else in the village, in accordance with the customary law. Being migrants, former estate workers don't have a legal access to the customary land at their origins any more.

5.2.2.1 Buying land

Former estate workers were (and are) excluded by the *market* from buying land at their origins, once their employment at Press ended. Peters (2002) states that there has been an increase of people in Malawi wanting to buy land even though its illegal. Some former estate workers explain that they were hoping to save up money while working for Press Agriculture, in order to be able to buy land at their origins. Whiteside (2000) states that salaries on the tobacco estates in Malawi often did not cover even the basic needs of the family. Former estate workers state that the monthly salary was not enough to support their families. Prowse (2009) states that tobacco tenants often did not manage to gather any resources or save any income due to the low prices they were paid by the estates for the tobacco. Former estate workers state they did not gain anything by working at the estates. There are conflicting opinions as to however former estate workers were given money in order to go back to their origins or not. However that money would not have been enough for them to buy land at their origins (or anywhere else).

5.2.3 Access to estate land in Kasungu

Former estate workers are excluded from accessing private land through *regulation*. Authors state that it under the Land Act (1965) became possible for the minister of land to create leaseholds on customary and public land (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Press Agriculture got their leaseholds on estates in Kasungu in the 1970s. Authors (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Kishindo, 2004; Matchaya, 2009; ILC, 2015) explain that private land in Malawi could be land that is occupied under a freehold or leasehold title. Since Press Agriculture has leaseholds on their land it's therefore considered private land and thereby former estate workers are excluded from accessing it legally.

Authors state leaseholds under the Act could be up to 99 years long (Lamport-Stokes, 1970; Place & Otsuka, 2001; Kishindo, 2004 & Chingò, 2015). Press Agriculture has 99-year leaseholds in Kasungu. Kishindo (2004) argues that even though the government partly put a stop to the conversion of customary land, those that already had leaseholds were allowed to keep them. Press Agriculture still have their leaseholds in Kasungu, with about 50 years left. Authors state that there was no limit on how much land could be leased by one applicant (Kishindo, 2007; Chinigo, 2015; Kishindo and Mvula, 2017). Press Agriculture managed to lease huge tracts of land in Kasungu; sizes of their estates are often from 500 – 1000 ha (Davie Chilonga). Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Anseeuw, Jayne, Kachule & Kotsopoulos, 2016; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that land once converted to private leaseholds will turn into Public land when the lease has lapsed. After Press Agriculture's leaseholds lapse the land will revert back to Public land, meaning that former estate workers (or villagers) will not get legal access to Press Agriculture's land then either. ILC (2015) state that many of the poorest people in Malawi are excluded from land by a small number of actors that own the main share of the land.

5.2.3.1 Occupation in tobacco estates

Former estate workers use *force*, when they occupy tobacco estates in Kasungu. Authors (Kishindo, 2004; Kanyongolo, 2005; Chingò, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that encroachment on private estates is happening in Malawi. Kishindo (2004) argues that the repeated encroachment into estates in Malawi is a new phenomenon. Former estate workers have encroached private estates in Kasungu on several occasions. Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Chingò, 2015; ILC, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that many tobacco estates in Malawi are underutilized or idle today. In Kasungu there are many idle estates. Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) state that the reason for why estates are underutilized or idle in Malawi today, is because people were encouraged to acquire more land than they had the capacity to develop due to low and poorly collected ground rents. Authors (ILC, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017) explain that in the areas where estates are underutilized or abandoned there are land hungry communities. Former estate workers in Kasungu are such a community and they often encroach into estate land they deem to be idle. Often the estates they encroach are Press Agriculture's estates in Kasungu since most of them are idle or underutilized today. ILC (2015) state that since the population is increasing there will be more conflicts between land hungry communities and estate owners.

5.2.3.1.1 Mobilized by village chiefs

Village chiefs are mobilizing former estate workers in order to get them to occupy estates through the power of *force* (See section above). ILC (2015) state that private estate owners and neighbouring villagers often are in conflict with each other. Kishindo & Mvula (2017)

claim that smallholders in Kasungu feel resentment towards large-scale tobacco estates that are occupying large tracts of land that previously was a part of their ancestral land. Village chiefs in Kasungu believe they have a right to estate land that used to belong to them before. ILC (2015) state that the land estates occupy today often belonged to the neighbouring communities before the estate owners acquired it. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that indigenous groups can make a counter claim to the same piece of land that landless try to claim. The authors give an example saying that indigenous people can claim their right to land on a plantation since that land belonged to them before it was converted, hence they should reclaim the land and get the access to it, not the landless trying to claim that land. Village chiefs often fool former estate workers and mobilize them to encroach estate land that they themselves want to claim. This is a way for village chiefs to test the estate owners' claims to their land without being actively involved in the encroachment.

5.2.3.1.2 Police defend the tobacco estates

Police use *force* when they remove former estate workers from the estates. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that powerful actors such as the police can use force when they defend private estates. Kishindo (2004) explain there have been cases in Malawi where encroachers have been removed from estates by force, which sometimes have resulted in the encroachers being injured or killed. The police often use arson in order to remove former estate workers from the estates, setting their houses on fire. Former estate workers have also been sent to prison for encroachment on the estates.

5.2.4 Access to Kasungu national park

Former estate workers are excluded from accessing the national park through *regulation*. Kishindo (2004) explains that national parks in Malawi are public land. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that regulation of protected areas, such as national parks, often is legitimized by arguments concerning the protection of the common good and of rural peoples resources. The authors add that often it's the relatively powerless villagers that pay the price for conservation. Former estate workers are a powerless group and they are excluded from the national park since they don't have a legal access to protected areas.

5.2.4.1 Occupation in the national park

Former estate workers use *force* when they occupy the national park in Kasungu. People in Malawi are encroaching into protected areas (Kishindo, 2004; Kanyongolo; 2005; Chingò, 2015; ILC, 2015; Kishindo & Mvula, 2017). Kishindo (2004) states that the repeated encroachment into protected areas in Malawi is a new phenomenon. Former estate workers in Kasungu have encroached the national park. Kishindo and Mvula (2017) explain that landless

people see no logic behind conservation when they don't have enough land to sustain themselves. Former estate workers in Kasungu state that they, due to their lack of access to land, did not see any other choice but to encroach the national park. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) say it's common for landless to use *legitimation* and discourses of nation and citizenship in order to justify their right to land. Former estate worker justify their occupation of land in the national park by arguing that they are Malawians and therefore the country and thus the forest belongs to them.

5.2.4.1.1 Police and staff defend the national park

Former estate workers in Kasungu were removed by *force* from the national park. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) explain that conflicts can arise between different communities if one community argue that the other is damaging the environment, which can result in violence. In Kasungu it was one of the group village headmen that reported to the DC in Kasungu that former estate workers were living in the national park. He did this in order to get them removed since he knew it was illegal. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) say that encroachers in protected areas can be removed by force. The authors state that powerful actors like the police can use *force*. The police and staff from the park removed former estate workers. They used arson in order to make former estate workers leave. Some former estate workers were taken in to custody where one former estate worker named Charles Phiri was beaten to death.

5.2.5 Access to land in Zambia

Some former estate workers flew to Zambia after they were chased out of the national park, other former estate workers got to Zambia before. Either way former estate workers are using *force* when they occupy land in Zambia and are excluded by *regulation* since they don't have a legal right to the land in Zambia, because they are Malawians. The Malawian government also used *force* when they went to Zambia and brought former estate workers back to Malawi and more specifically Nthuduwala.

5.2.6 Access to customary land in Kasungu

Most former estate workers are excluded from customary land in Kasungu through *regulation*. Kishindo (2004) and Matchaya (2009) state that customary land often is passed on through lineages and kinship. Matchaya (2009) states that whether someone is indigenous or not depends on however that someone's parents are indigenous to the village. Former estate workers' parents are not from Kasungu. Matchaya (2009) says that immigrants are non-indigenous. Former estate workers are immigrants, originally coming from other districts than Kasungu. Kishindo (2004) and Matchaya (2009) state that non-indigenous to a community don't have much land tenure security. Kishindo (2004) adds that it's especially hard for non-

indigenous people to access land in the early years of settlement. Most former estate workers seem to move often, and none of them state they have stayed longer than nine years at the location they live now, hence villagers would consider them early settlers.

5.2.6.1 Occupation in Nthuduwala

Former estate workers are using *force* when they occupy land in Nthuduwala. They were dropped off in Nthuduwala by the government. They were supposed to live there for a short period of time but now they have stayed for about seven years. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that less powerful actors such as villagers can use *force*. Villagers in Nthuduwala are using *force* through the action of taking back land from former estate workers. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that force also can be effective without ever being used, in form of the promise of *force*. Villagers in Nthuduwala use the promise of *force* when they threaten former estate workers to burn down their houses. The traditional authorities in Nthuduwala use *force* when they make them move around their buildings. Villagers and traditional authorities in Nthuduwala also work hard to try and delegitimize former estate workers claims to the land by referring to them as refugees and newcomers on a regular basis.

5.2.6.2 Resettled in Linyangwa and Chamawi

Village chiefs in Linyangwa and Chamawi use *legitimation* to justify the resettlement of former estate workers in their villages. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that interventions to redistribute land must be justified through *legitimation*. The village chief in Linyangwa states he wanted to help former estate workers because they are human beings just like everyone else and therefore they should be treated equally to villagers. The village chief in Chamawi states that they wanted to help former estate workers because they are fellow Malawians, hence she is using the discourse of citizenship, which Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state often is used by landless to justify their claims to land.

Former estate workers have gained access to customary land in Kasungu through *regulation*. Takane (2007) states that village chiefs are managing the customary land in Malawi even though it's the communities as a whole that holds the land. The author states that if there is vacant land it can be allocated to non-indigenous inhabitants. The village chiefs in the two respective areas have allocated customary land to some former estate workers. The land in Linyangwa was not utilized and the land in Chamawi was set aside for a forest project that did not take place. Kishindo (2004) explains that non-indigenous people can get user rights on customary land if the host-community accepts them. Former estate workers state that the communities in Linyangwa and Chamawi accept them. The two village chiefs in Linyangwa and Chamawi explain that they discussed the issue with the community and that all agreed to offer former estate workers some of their customary land. Takane (2007) states that non-

indigenous inhabitants such as migrants that are allocated land in a community have to respect the community customs and traditions. Former estate workers in Linyangwa state that they don't follow the customary law since they encroach others land and steal firewood. Possibly this could endanger their right to customary land in Linyangwa in the future.

5.2.7 Access to Rusa River in Kasungu (no-mans land)

Former estate workers use *legitimation* in order to justify their claims to the land at Rusa River, saying that the land according to the law does not belong to anyone. Former estate workers also use *force* through their occupation of the land at Rusa River. Estate owners use *legitimation* in order to claim their right to the land at Rusa River. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that *legitimation* can be when someone claims their right to land because they have paid for it. Estate owners at Rusa River state they have a right to the land where former estate workers live because they are paying the government for that land. Estate owners and the village chief are using the promise of *force* when they threaten former estate workers at Rusa River. Estate owners have also used *force* in form of arson in order to remove former estate workers from the land.

5.2.8 Access to renting land in Kasungu

Former estate workers are excluded by the *market* from renting land in Kasungu. Peters (2002) argues that there has been an increase of people in Malawi wanting to rent land even though that's illegal. Former estate workers in Kasungu are renting land and houses from villagers, village chiefs and estate owners. It seems like most former estate workers have rented land at some point after they stopped working for Press Agriculture. Peters and Kambewa (2007) state that the rents are getting more expensive. Former estate workers in Kasungu are often forced to move due to rent increases. Peters and Kambewa (2007) state that the increased amount of people wanting to rent as well as the actual increases in rents are signs that the competition over land is getting more intense in Malawi. Former estate workers state that rents on land often increases due to rumours spreading about available land, which increases the competition and thereby the rents. Chome and McCall (2002) state that an outcome of increased rents is the displacement of those tenants currently renting that land. Former estate workers are often forced to move due to increased rents. Former estate workers are also excluded by *force* from the land and houses that they rent since landlords sometimes force them to move even if they have paid their rent.

5.3 Livelihood resources and strategies

I want to proceed with answering the third and final research question “*In which ways does the exclusion of former estate workers from land, affect their access to livelihood resources and strategies in Kasungu?*”. Hall, Hirsch and Li (2011) state that excluded people may

protest, acquiesce or just disappear and argue it's extremely difficult to assess the impacts of exclusion from land.

5.3.1 Access to resources

Former estate workers lack access to some of the most basic livelihood resources. Scoones (1998) argues that people's accesses to resources are complex, which is clear looking at former estate workers access to resources. Therefore only some connections and relations between the resources, and sometimes strategies, are brought forward in the following sections.

5.3.1.1 Natural resources

Scoones (1998) states that natural resources are resources which people's livelihoods derive from. DfID (1999) state that such resources can be land and trees. First off, former estate workers lack a *natural resource* in form of land. DfID (1999) state that some people, such as farmers, depend directly on natural resources in form of land to sustain their livelihoods. Former estate workers are not foremost farmers but rather wagedworkers. Authors (Kishindo, 2007; Chriwa; 2004; Peters, 2006; Walker and Peters, 2010) state the importance of access to land in Malawi in order for rural populations to sustain their livelihoods and not get stuck in poverty. All former estate workers, except those resettled in Linyangwa and Chamawi, state that they don't have land set aside for cultivation. For example former estate workers in Bagidad are only renting houses. Still most former estate workers, and especially those that have been resettled, want to become self-sustained through farming. Therefore, former estate workers lack of land is a big issue for them. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Sequencing' former estate workers, in order to successfully choose farming as a livelihood strategy need land.

But land is not enough for former estate workers to be able to choose farming successfully. This is particularly evident since former estate workers resettled in Linyangwa and Chamawi, still cannot support themselves through farming. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect called 'Access' former estate workers in the resettlements (or any other settlement) don't have access to the land they live on. Peters (2006) states that in order for people to make use of land they have, they have to have access to other recourses such as inputs like fertilizers. Former estate workers state they can't access the land they have because of lack of *financial resources* in form of cash in order to buy fertilizers. Peters (2006) states that poorer households in Malawi rarely managed to buy fertilizers. The author furthermore states that people also need to be able to labour the land to make productive use of it. Former estate workers in Linyangwa and Chamawi can't access their land because they lack access to

human resources in form of labour since they have to focus on doing piecework to survive.

Former estate workers lack another *natural resource* in form of trees because they don't have any trees on the land they live on and are not allowed to cut down trees on others land. Since many former estate workers move often it might not be an option for most to plant their own trees. But those that have been resettled in Linyangwa state they would like to plant their own trees, the issue is their lack of access to *financial resources* in form of cash in order to buy plants. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect called 'Clustering' could former estate workers, in the resettlements, if they got *financial resources* gain access to a *natural resource* in form of trees.

5.3.1.2 Physical resources

DfID (1999) explain that physical resources are the producer goods and basic infrastructure. This study only concerns infrastructure. DfID (1999) state that infrastructure for example can be pumped wells, energy, secure shelter, sanitation and transport.

Former estate workers lack access to two *physical resources* in form of clean water and energy. DfID (1999) state that if there is a lack of access to clean water and energy people will spend much time doing non-productive activities such as searching for firewood and water. Former estate workers state they spend time searching for firewood and walking to the borehole to fetch water. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers lack of energy and water affects their access to other resources, such as *human resources* since they spend time doing non-productive activities instead of, for example farming their own land.

Former estate workers also lack access to a *physical resource* in form of secure shelter. Most former estate workers live in one-bedroom grasshatched huts, sometimes with mud and sometimes without. Peters (2006) states that those with insufficient shelter in Malawi often have a one-bedroom grasshatched hut of unfired mud. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers lack of secure shelter affects their access to other resources such as *financial resources* since they can't use their house as a collateral to take a loan. Important to mention is that former estate workers that have been resettled in Linyangwa and Chamawi, state that now when they know that they can stay long-term they have started to put more effort into constructing proper houses. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers access to a *natural resource* in form of land, results in access to a *physical resource* in form of secure shelter.

Furthermore, former estate workers lack access to *physical resources* in form of sanitation. Former estate workers bathrooms are grasshatched huts with a hole in the ground and often they are many sharing one bathroom. Some former estate workers, as mentioned above, don't have access to clean water. Hence they wash themselves with dirty water. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers lack of sanitation affects their access to other resources such as *human resources* since low sanity levels can have an affect on health status.

Finally, former estate workers lack access to a *physical resource* in form of transport. Many former estate workers live in rural areas where the roads are bad. One example is that it's difficult to get to Nthuduwala during the rainy season due to the bad conditions of the roads. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers lack of transport affects their access to other resources such as *financial resources* since it's hard for them to transport themselves to an area where there might be more remunerative options available.

5.3.1.3 Financial resources

Scoones (1998) explain that financial resources are essential for people to be able to pursue a livelihood strategy. The author states that financial resources can be in form of cash, savings, credit and other financial assets (Ibid.). DfID (1999) states that financial resources are those the poor most likely will not have access to, hence access to other resources become more important to them. The author furthermore states that one of the two main financial resources is available stocks or savings. Former estate workers lack *financial resources* in form of savings. DfID (1999) state savings can be in form of livestock and cash. Former estate workers don't have livestock or any other belongings that might be worth any money. DfID (1999) argue that savings are the preferred financial resource since it's more reliable than regular inflow and because people don't have to rely on others to access it.

DfID (1999) state that the other main financial resource is regular inflow of cash, for example through earned income. Former estate workers lack *financial resources* in form of cash. DfID (1999) state that financial resources can be used to buy food. Peters (2006) explains that most households in Malawi need to use cash in order to purchase the major share of their food supply. Former estate workers struggle the most to access cash during the dry season since it's hard to find piecework then. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect "Trends", former estate workers struggle more to access cash during the dry season. Former estate workers lack the ability to purchase food but also other necessities such as school uniforms, soap, clothes and fertilizers. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers lack of *financial resources* affects their access to other resources. To start off, former estate workers inability to buy food affects their access to other resources such as *human resources* since

children sometimes can't go to school because of hunger. The same goes for their inability to buy school uniforms, it affects *human resources* since children sometimes are sent back from school. Furthermore, their inability to buy soap affects *human resources* since lack of soap could affect their health status. Finally, their inability to buy fertilizers affects their access to other resources such as *financial resources* since they have to spend the cash they have on food instead of growing the food themselves. Former estate workers inability to buy fertilizers is an especially big issue for those that have been resettled. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Sequencing', former estate workers need fertilizers in order for them to be able to choose farming as a livelihood strategy.

5.3.1.4 Human resources

Scoones (1998) states that human resources are the skills, knowledge, capacity to labour and good health that allow people to stick with their livelihood strategies. Former estate workers have a *human resource* in form of knowledge and skills within farming. Former estate workers have been working as farmers their entire lives. Furthermore former estate workers lack access to a *human resource* in form of good health. DfID (1999) argue that a core dimension of poverty is bad health. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers lack of health depends on their lack of other resources such as *physical resources* since they don't have clean water to wash with. Former estate workers also lack a *human resource* in form of education. Scoones (1998) argues that another core dimensions of poverty is lack of education. Former estate workers themselves don't have an education and their children are also struggling with getting an education. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers lack of education depends on their lack of other resources such as *financial resources* since they cant afford to pay school fees. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Sequencing', former estate workers lack of education limits their options of livelihood strategies. DfID (1999) argue that if people lack *human resources* in form of good health and education it's likely that their livelihood objective is to overcome their insufficient access to these two resources.

5.3.1.5 Social resources

DfID (1999) state that social resources are established through three different elements. The first element mentioned is networks and connections which enhance peoples trust for each other and their capability to work together as well as increasing people's access to wider institutions for example political bodies. The second element is membership in groups, in which, members follow rules, norms and sanctions that they in the groups have accepted together. The third is the relationships of trust, which includes reciprocity and mutual trust (Ibid).

5.3.1.5.1 Network of former estate workers & Mireces members

Most former estate workers are apart of at least two networks. One is the network of former estate workers in Kasungu and the other the network of Mireces group members.

Scoones (1998) state that networks can consist of people with shared interests, which is the case in both these networks. In both networks they share the interest of improving and supporting other former estate workers livelihoods. Former estate workers being a part of the network of former estate workers in Kasungu seem to try and live close to one another to be able to support and assist one another, in times of distress. This indicates that they have the capability to work together in this network. As an example they say that they lend each other money if someone is in need which would indicate that they have built mutual trust through reciprocity. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers through their access to this network gain access to other resources, in this case *financial resources* since they lend each other money.

The other network former estate workers are apart of is the group Mirece. Mireces members have organized demonstrations outside the DCs office in Kasungu and they have also attended a live debate with involved stakeholders such as the local government. Both these activities have resulted in Mireces members gaining access to wider institutions in form of political bodies. Furthermore, Mirece and Mud Africa have offered some former estate workers training in land and human rights. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering', former estate workers through their access to this network gain access to other resources, in this case *human resources* since they gain knowledge through their membership in Mirece. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Substitution', it is also possible that Mireces members through their membership will get access to another resource in form of *financial resources* since Somanje Flywell, Director Mirece, wants to start up savings groups in the different settlements. DfID, (1999) state that the creation of such organizations can let people get access to *financial resources* such as credit, savings and insurance. This way could former estate workers access to a *social resource* in form of membership in Mirece replace their need to access *financial resources*. It is important to note that there are former estate workers that are not members of Mirece hence they will not have access to the same benefits that members of Mirece do.

5.3.1.5.2 Relations with communities

Furthermore, former estate workers are to a different extent a part of the communities where they live. There is a clear difference between those former estate workers that have been resettled and those that have not.

5.3.1.5.2.1 Resettled

Chrome and McCall (2002) state that however poor people in Malawi survive or not depends to a great extent on whether they are accepted and a part of the community they reside in. Former estate workers that have been resettled in Linyangwa and in Chamawi seem to have better relations with villagers in the communities than former estate workers that haven't been resettled. Former estate workers in these two settlements state they feel they belong in the communities. In Linyangwa former estate workers state they feel it's their home because they are not called refugees anymore. Former estate workers in both settlements say they participate in activities with the communities such as funerals, weddings and that they get protection. Chrome and McCall (2002) argue that having access to locally validated land registration is the most important social security function of a community in Malawi. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Clustering' it's possible that former estate workers who have been resettled, through their access to land also get access to other resources in form of *social resources* and in this case the acceptance of the community. Former estate workers in these two settlements don't mention anything about not wanting to participate in public works or that village chiefs don't share benefits with them. But former estate workers in Linyangwa are clear about not following the customary law when they encroach others land and steal firewood from them. This might become an issue for them, as mentioned before, DfID (1999) state that members in a community have to follow the rules. At the same time former estate workers seem to accept the sanctions brought upon them for stealing.

5.3.1.5.2.2 Remaining settlements

Chrome and McCall (2002) state that it's the registered members of a community that gets the communities support. Former estate workers in the remaining settlements don't seem to have the same support from the communities they live in, rather their relations with villagers seem to be tense. Some indigenous villagers from the settlements state they have good relations with former estate workers but former estate workers state that they are not fully accepted as a part of the communities. Indigenous villagers in these communities seem to think of former estate workers as refugees and newcomers, which they inevitably are compared to the indigenous villagers. Still it seems like former estate workers are using communal services such as school and hospital like every other villager in the communities. Relations between former estate workers and villagers seem to be worst in Nthuduwala. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Access' it shows that even though former estate workers have resources in Nthuduwala they cannot access them such as for example a *physical resource* in form of the borehole or a *human resource* in form of education. They are also prevented from accessing some livelihood strategies since they for example cannot access the local market.

In the remaining settlements former estate workers furthermore state that the village chiefs

don't share benefits meant for the community as a whole with them, such as support from the government or NGO:s. Considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Access' it shows that even if support is directed towards communities where former estate workers live they cannot access them. Former estate workers don't get a share of these benefits because they are not considered a part of the communities they live in. Peters (2006) argues that poorer households that struggle with providing enough food for their families have a specific need for benefits derived from public work and credit programs. The author states that such development works often pump assets into rural areas for example since it's locals performing the work who gets paid in cash, kin, or fertilizer vouchers. Former estate workers are required to participate regularly in public works, but are not offered to participate in those that are paid. Again, considering Scoones (1998) aspect 'Access' it show that there are opportunities but former estate workers cannot access them. The unpaid public work often occurs once-twice per week and are discussed in development committees, which former estate workers are not invited to participate in. Former estate workers don't want to participate in the public works, and sometimes they don't, because they are not able to combine them with piecework. Thereby former estate workers not following the rules as DfID (1999) state is important for being members in a network. Sanctions are also brought on former estate workers when they don't participate in the public works. Scoones state that the group should have agreed on sanctions, which former estate workers don't, they think it's unfair that they get punished.

5.3.2 Strategies

DfID (1999) state that livelihood strategies are the combination of activities and choices that people undertake or make. Scoones (1998) says some might rely on a combination of different strategies and activities. Former estate workers rely foremost on piecework and tenancy but they also use farming, begging and stealing as ways to support their livelihoods. Scoones (1998) explains that there are three main strategies that rural people use, which are Agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration.

Scoones (1998) states that the diversification out of farming can be a permanent involuntary adaption, which is the case for former estate workers working as pieceworkers and tenants. These are not strategies they pursue during difficult times, rather these two are their main strategies, which they pursue due to the lack of better options. But former estate workers struggle to even access this strategy. Hence some are using another of Scoones (1998) strategies called migration where they go to Zambia in order to find piecework. Scoones (1998) states that diversification out of farming can be an involuntary action for someone using it to cope with temporary hardship. This is the case for two of the other strategies former estate workers use, begging and stealing. These are not activities they want to do or

have as permanent diversification strategies rather they pursue them when they don't have another choice. Scoones (1998) mentions that being able to pursue agricultural intensification might require access to *natural resources* in form of land or *financial resources* in form of credit. Most former estate workers have neither of those resources, hence is the strategy, which Scoones (1998) refers to as agricultural intensification/extensification not an option for any former estate workers. DfID (1999) state the importance of not thinking that all poor will be farmers since the poorest may in fact be waged workers.

5.3.2.1 Piecework

All former estate workers except two depend on the activity piecework in order to get food and money. Peters (2006) states that the poorest households perform casual jobs at local estates or at the better off households. Former estate workers perform piecework both at estates and at villager's houses in Kasungu and in Zambia. Piecework is often domestic or garden work. It's not a planned activity, former estate workers search for and do piecework when they need food or cash. Former estate workers spend much non-productive time searching for piecework since they are hard to find, especially during dry season. But they are also struggling with finding piecework due to the competition amongst them or with villagers. Peters (2006) states the payment often is very low for those depending on casual work, even though they work long hours. Former estate workers state they payment is very small compared to the work performed, sometimes they don't get paid at all.

5.3.2.2 Tenancy

Two former estate workers are depending on tenancy in order to get food, money and somewhere to stay. Most former estate workers say they have worked as tenants at some point after their employment ended at Press Agriculture, and probably do many former estate workers still work as tenants. Prowse (2013) state that one of the labour regimes for growing tobacco is peasant/smallholder production where they produce the tobacco on their customary land. Smallholders are producing tobacco in Kasungu. Authors (Kumwenda and Madola, 2005; Prowse, 2013) say that contract farmers in Malawi have increased. Prowse (2013) and Kumwenda and Madola (2005) say that Limbe Leaf is one of the involved leaf merchants in contract farming, for example operating in Kasungu. Bigger international tobacco companies like Limbe Leaf sometimes employ smallholders in Kasungu. Limbe Leaf has about 3000 smallholders growing tobacco in Kasungu. Kumwenda and Madola (2005) explain that Limbe Leaf wanted to use contract farmers in order to avoid tenancy tobacco production. According to smallholders in Kasungu, all smallholders producing tobacco have tenants doing the work for them since it's tradition. CfSC (2015) say that contract farming has been promoted as a way to move from tenancy to hired labour and waged workers, but that it has not worked so far.

Often smallholders in Kasungu use former Press Agriculture estate workers due to their good knowledge of tobacco production. Prowse (2012) argues that contract farming can reduce poverty for smallholders and their locally employed labourers. Smallholders in Kasungu complain about their low returns and the payment for tenants is often very low or non-existent in Kasungu. CfSC (2015) state that payment is low after the season because the landlords make deductions on the tenant's salary cutting the costs the tenants had during the season. The low payment after the season causes conflict between tenants and smallholders when the season is over and often forces tenants to search for a new smallholder to work for after almost every season.

6. Conclusion

Former estate workers came to Kasungu in the 1970s-1980s from the Southern region due to poverty and lack of land and/or access to land. Most of them worked as direct wage labourers at Press Agriculture's tobacco estates in Kasungu. After their employment ended at Press Agriculture they did not know where to go.

Different powers are interacting with each other to shape both the exclusion of former estate workers and their exclusion of others in Kasungu. Former estate workers in Kasungu justify their right to land in Kasungu by arguing that they have lived there for decades, that many of them were born and raised there and because they don't know their origins. But the DC in Kasungu as well as traditional authorities and villagers don't seem to agree and delegitimize their claims to land in Kasungu and Malawi by referring to them as refugees, foreigners and the like. When former estate workers' employments ended they could not access land at their origins, either through customary law or through buying land. In Kasungu today, former estate workers are not entitled to access either private, public or customary land but they have occupied land from all the three tenure categories. The police are often contacted in order to remove former estate workers. Often the police use arson in order to force former estate workers to leave the land they occupy. Former estate workers are also currently, and have been trying to, occupy land in Zambia, but the government removed them about seven years ago and brought them back to Malawi and Kasungu.

Former estate workers' resources are linked with each other and lack of access to one resource results in the lack of access to others and so on. All former estate workers except those resettled lack land and access to land. Those resettled lack access to land since they cannot make productive use of the land they have. Former estate workers also lack access to trees and boreholes forcing them to spend much time on non-productive activities in order to access energy and water. They furthermore lack access to secure shelter, clean energy,

sanitation and information. But it seems like former estate workers in the resettlements, since they now have their own land, are focusing more on building proper houses. Furthermore, former estate workers don't have savings or access to cash and neither good health nor education. To say the least, former estate workers in Kasungu lack access to some of the most basic livelihood resources. But former estate workers do have access to the network of other former estate workers in Kasungu and some have access to the group Mirece. Then again all of them, except those resettled in Linyangwa and Chamawi, don't have good relations with the villagers in the communities they reside and don't feel like they are apart of the communities. Former estate workers bad access to livelihood resources affects their options of livelihood strategies and all of them are forced to sell their labour cheap, or for free, to estate owners, villagers and contract farmers. Furthermore they are sometimes, during the toughest times, forced to use other strategies such as begging and stealing, in order to access resources. None of them are able to sustain themselves as farmers.

It's difficult to find a clear correlation between the exclusion of former estate workers from land and their lack of access to other livelihood resources and strategies. As seen in the two resettlements, having land does not necessarily change much concerning access to livelihood resources or strategies. Still, it seems like having land has motivated former estate workers in the resettlements to focus on building better houses and their relations with villagers in the communities are much better than the relations between villagers and former estate workers in other settlements. Furthermore, if the resettled would get access to other necessary resources, they would at least, have the option to choose farming as a livelihood strategy.

These results are foremost based on former estate workers that are members of Mirece, hence it's hard to know if these results are applicable to other former estate workers in Kasungu and Malawi. Still, hopes are that this study will encourage stakeholders in Kasungu and Malawi to take action in order to improve the lives of former estate workers.

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7.1 Personal communication

7.1.1 Interviews

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7.1.2 Focus groups

Focus group 1a. Majawe, Ulifd., Maluta, Kafosi., Phiri, Eleen. & Samuel, Jenifa. Former estate workers, Mireces meeting point, 2017-11-03.

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Focus group 2a. Banda, Futora., Chakwira, Emily., Miritro, Efero., Milazai, Lovenes., Minsothi, Bitress. & Pttiri, Rute. Former estate workers, Linyangwa, 2017-11-01.

Focus group 2b. Banda, Mishaeis., Ngwira, Aliya., Pesulu, Tehalawsi., Whatson, Kasiya. & Wibto, Kaphikira. Former estate workers, Linyangwa, 2017-11-01.

Focus group 3a. Banda, Christina., Mofati, Alece., Nthara, Aneya., Phiri, Maria. & Phiri, Veronica. Former estate workers, Chipala, 2017-11-02.

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7.1.3 Informal interviews & observations

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Former estate workers. 2017. Bagidad, informal interviews & observations, 2017-12-07.

Former estate workers. 2017. Chamawi, informal interviews & observations, 2017-12-05.

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Tenants settlement. 2017. Tongole, observations, 2017-12-13.

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7.1.4 Meetings & activities

Capacity building, 2017. Kasungu. Trainings on human and land rights, activity, 2017-10-25 & 2017-10-26.

Introduction meeting, 2017. Linyangwa. Former estate workers, Somanje Flywell, Village chief and/or other members of the traditional authorities, meeting, 2017-10-19.

Introduction meeting, 2017. Nthuduwala. Former estate workers, Somanje Flywell, Village chief and/or other members of the traditional authorities, meeting, 2017-10-18.

Introduction meeting, 2017. Mirece meeting point 1. Former estate workers, Somanje Flywell, Village chief and/or other members of the traditional authorities, meeting, 2017-10-17.

Introduction meeting, 2017. Mirece meeting point 2. Former estate workers, Somanje Flywell, Village chief and/or other members of the traditional authorities, meeting, 2017-11-03.

Live debate, 2017. Kasungu, Former estate workers, Mirece, Stakeholders, NGO:s/CBO:s, 2017-11-15.