



Knowledge Innovation and Excellence

Land Ownership Security and Investments Incentives in a Matrilineal Social System in Malawi

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Presentation outline

- Background
- Objectives of the paper
- Methodology
- Results and discussion
- Conclusions
- Recommendations

1.0 Background

- The comeback of the land question on Mw govt's pgm related to the democratisation process in the 1990s.
- The campaigners of the multiparty political administration contended that espousing the political changeover presented favourable circumstances to address various inequities and unfairness inflicted by the one party government system, mainly the discriminatory and unbalanced land redistribution system (Kishindo 2004; Kanyongolo 2005).
- The nation has, from the mid 1990s, seen the spreading of poverty reduction initiatives which included the PAP, MASAF, Vision 2020, MPRSP, OVOP and MGDS

Background cont'd

- Land continues to be the most crucial productive resource and in the absence of a major reform in land tenure system and ownership, poverty reduction interventions are very unlikely to bring on their proposed effects
- Presidential Commission of Land Inquiry in 1999 recommended some structure of land rearrangement in the country
- A national land policy was drafted and approved in 2002
- This was followed by the development of a land reform programme implementation strategy which was adopted by the government in 2003
- This research studied one of the projects under the land reform programmes namely the Community-Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP).

Background cont'd

- The land policy introduced changes to customary land ownership towards stronger individualised rights where the husband and wife jointly own land they acquire through the MLRP.
- The policy also alters inheritance laws to allow the surviving spouse, children, regardless of sex, to inherit land (GoM 2002).
- This however, is not compatible with the traditional inheritance systems in matrilineal and patrilineal communities of Malawi



Background cont'd

- As most districts are largely matrilineal, Malawi could be said to be a predominantly matrilineal society (Mwambene 2005)
- The general rule of the matrilineal social system is that females inherit and own land.
- Men, on the other hand, gain rights to land through uxori-local marriage arrangements



Background cont'd

- The role of men in matrilineal groups has raised arguments against matrilineal principles as being uneconomic, linking matrilineal rules of inheritance to men's (supposed) lack of incentive to invest in order to increase agricultural productivity.
- Customary arrangements of matrilineal land ownership and use have been perceived as “uneconomic” and inappropriate for improved agricultural production.



Background cont'd

- Phiri exemplifies that a husband relocating to the wife's family or natal village is perceived as a hindrance to economic improvement because the man is a “stranger” in his wife's village, consequently, he is logically unwilling to invest energy and money to develop the land assigned to his procreation family (Phiri 1983).



I.1 Objective

- This study sought to investigate whether the newly acquired land rights by men in this matrilineal social system influenced their incentives to invest on land

2.0 Methodology

2.1 Study Design

- Targeted first BGs resettled in 2005 from Mulanje and Thyolo to Machinga and Mangochi districts
- The BGs constituted a population of 914 smallholder households
- 914 families constituted 26 beneficiary groups/clusters of CBRLDP
- Probability sampling proportional to size sampling technique was used in order to select the 11 clusters from which SRS was done to select a sample of 276 HHs (McGinn 2004)

Methodology

- The study employed Moser and Kalton's sample size and adjustment formula given below:
 - $n = (Z) * (p) (1-p) / (e^2)$
 - $n = (1.96^2) * (0.5) (1-0.5) / (0.05^2) = 384$
 - $\acute{n} = (n) / [1 + (n/N)]$
 - $\acute{n} = (384) / [1 + (384/914)] = 270$
- (Moser and Kalton 1971)
- 6 HHs were added to 270 to take care of non responses



Methodology

- Data collection involved mixed methods approach:
 - Quantitative data – HH survey
 - Qualitative data - FGD and Key informants and Observations
- Why mixed methods?
 - a single method may not provide all the options that will generate appropriate and sufficient data
 - interlocking natures of information mean that some of which require complementing different research methods (Creswell et al., 2003; Greene and Caracelli 2003).)

Methodology

2.2 Data analysis

- Evolutionary Theory of Land Rights was used to determine the effect of land ownership security on HH heads' propensity to invest on land
- ETLR theory anticipates that private property rights regime will result in increased individualisation which is reflected in the expansion of land holders' rights to plant trees, grow perennial crops and make improvements on land (Platteau, 2000).



Methodology

- This study regarded the adoption of tobacco farming by the resettler households as a long-term investment for the following reasons:
 - The productive capacity of the resettled farmers would take the shape of a learning curve path
 - The resettled farmers would have to enroll with the locally available tobacco associations for purchases of farm inputs and tobacco market permission. This process according to Place and Otsuka demands that one invests in cultivating individual relationships in the community and cash collateral as a guarantee for loan (Place and Otsuka 2001).

Methodology

- Where trees are limited, there is an additional investment in planting trees and/or buying trees to make available poles, which are needed in the building of tobacco drying barns.
- Therefore in analysing the effect of land ownership security on HH head's incentives to undertake long-term investment on land, the study addressed the adoption of tobacco farming by HH heads.
- The decision to adopt tobacco farming is therefore dichotomous between two mutually exclusive alternatives: either to adopt or not to adopt.
- A logit regression analysis was employed
- Content analysis was used to analyse qualitative data

3.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1: Perceptions of Land Ownership Security among Female and Male Household Heads Before Resettlement

Respondent category (n)	Security perception %		Residence arrangement %	
	Did not feel secure	Felt secure	Matrilocal/ Uxorilocal	Otherwise
MHH (180)	72	28	71	29
Wives (58)	26	74	70	30
FHH (38)	13	87	59	41

Results and discussion

- Women irrespective of their marital status perceived that their land ownership security was strong
- This is because they inherited and owned the land that belonged to their households.
- Men, on the other hand, possessed weak land rights as they did not inherit land but accessed land rights through their wives.
- FGD further revealed that married men were subject to the overriding power of their wives' male guardians who controlled how the married men used the land
- Married men's land rights were not considered to be long-lasting due to the fragile nature of marriages
- Marriage break-up meant loss of land rights for a married man
- Thus prior to resettlement security of land tenure was not an issue for women in this matrilineal group

Results and discussion

- Discussions showed that women did not undertake long-term investments on land in their natal villages because of income shortages
- Men on the other hand generated more income than their spouses but were not willing to develop their spouses natal home because they possessed weak land ownership security.
- Uncertainty bars men in uxori-local marriages from investing in soil conservation measures such as contour bunds and terraces and, from moving beyond subsistence farming (Rimington 1963; Lamport-Stokes 1970).
- It has been argued that placing decision making power and control of land rights in two different individuals is a hindrance to long-term investment on the land and eventually to agricultural development (Mbalanje 1982; Nzunda 1992; Nankumba 1994).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 2: Perceptions of Land Ownership Security among Female and Male Household Heads After Resettlement

Respondent		Security perception %	
category	(n)	Felt insecure	Felt secure
MHH	(180)	22	78
Wives	(58)	59	41
FHH	(38)	13	86

Results and discussion

- FGD showed that married women experienced a reduction in land ownership security. The study noted that married women's rights to stay on the acquired land depended on their husbands' authority.
- Even though married women participated in planning and decision-making processes relating to land use, the crucial decisions on land use were still made by their husbands reflecting an improvement in men's control and ownership security over land.
- The study found that strong land ownership security among men empowered them to make major decisions regarding land without interference from their spouses.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 3: Adoption and Spread of Tobacco Farming among the Female and Male Household Heads

(n)	Adopted		Grew tobacco							
	tobacco %		2006/07		2007-08		2008-09		2009-10	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
MHH	100	138	17	221	45	193	73	165	79	159
(238)	(46.6)	(53.4)	(7.1)	(92.9)	(18.9)	(81.1)	(30.7)	(69.3)	(33.2)	(66.8)
FHH	7	31	2	36	2	36	3	35	3	35
(38)	(18.4)	(81.6)	(5.3)	(94.7)	(5.3)	(94.7)	(7.9)	(92.1)	(7.9)	(92.1)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 4: Mean Tobacco Production and Mean Area under Tobacco Cultivation

(n)	Mean area (ha) and Production (Kg)							
	2006-07		2007-08		2008-09		2009-10	
	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production	Area	Production
MHH (238)	0.28	114	0.38	165	0.42	201	0.48	276
FHH (38)	0.27	60	0.27	71	0.23	73	0.26	71

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 6: Logit Regression Results for Determinants of Tobacco Farming Investment

Variable	Coefficient	S.E.	Odds Ratio Exp (B)	T-statistic
SEX	1.264	.496	3.538	2.548**
LABOURTYP	-.090	.103	.914	-.873
AGE	.019	.010	1.019	1.900*
LANDOWN	2.844	.661	17.188	4.302***
EDUC1	.127	.396	1.135	.320
EDUC2	.714	.491	2.042	1.454
OCCUP	-.711	.551	0.491	.1.290**
CREDIT	.305	.289	1.357	1.055
LIVESTOCK	.341	.356	1.406	.958*
INTERCEPT	-2.332	.845	.097	-2.759***
Nagelkerke Rsq = 0.65 Model significance = 0.0				
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test, Chi-square = 4.864 (p<.772) Chi-square = 4.864 (p<.772)				
*** p< 0.01				
** p<0.5				
* p<0.1				

Explaining the variables in the model

- The coeff. for sex was +ve and significantly different from zero at $p < 0.05$.
- Sex of hh was +vely related to investment in tobacco farming.
- Mhhs were 3.5 times more likely to invest in tobacco farming than female household heads.
- Most of the mhh were married (98%) compared to fhh (8%)
- One explanation that supports the involvement of male household heads in tobacco farming is that labour is pooled within a household upon marriage (Matchaya, 2010).
- Considering that tobacco farming is labour demanding, being married would seem to promote investment in tobacco farming among men

Explaining the variables in the model

- The coefficient for age was positive and significant at $p < 0.1$.
- This means that age was positively associated with investment in tobacco farming implying that the younger the household head, the more likely he or she was to invest in tobacco farming.
- Household heads aged 50 years or less were more likely to invest in tobacco farming than those above 50 years of age.
- Considering that tobacco farming requires construction of barns, shades, laborious management practices and transportation to market, older farmers may not adopt the crop.
- Tobacco production is a risky business. Younger farmers are more likely to take on a business venture that has riskier market, more uncertain but higher returns even in the long run.

Explaining the variables in the model

- The coefficient for household head's perception about land ownership security was positive and highly significant at $p < 0.01$.
- Perception for land ownership security was positively and strongly related to investment in tobacco farming.
- Household heads who perceived that they owned the acquired land were 17 times more likely to invest in tobacco farming than those who perceived that they did not own the land.
- Focus group discussions revealed that, prior to resettlement, weak land ownership security among uxorilocally married men reduced their incentive to invest in tree planting, perennial cropping, permanent houses and long-term soil and water conservation measures.



Explaining the variables in the model

- FGD further showed that the absence of unacceptable behaviours from in-laws, restricted freedom to exercise rights and a reduction in incidences of land disputes, may all have contributed to strengthen men's perception of their land ownership security after resettlement.
- A study on land rights, power and trees in rural Ethiopia found a strong causal link between perceived land rights and land allocated to perennial crops (Dercon and Ayalew 2007).



Explaining the variables in the model

- The main occupation of the household head was negatively associated with tobacco farming and significantly different from zero at $p < 0.05$.
- HH who mainly relied on off-farm work for survival were twice more likely to invest in tobacco farming than those whose main means of livelihood was farming
- Involvement in off-farm work signifies the exposition of the household head to outside information, puts restriction on the use of family labour for the adoption of tobacco farming and indicates an additional source of family income outside of agriculture.
- Access to outside information may positively influence tobacco adoption considering that the crop was new to the resettlers. Off-farm income, on the other hand, would finance the necessary management resources required to invest in tobacco farming.



Explaining the variables in the model

- The number of livestock owned was positive and significant at $p < 0.1$.
- This means that those household heads who owned livestock had a higher probability to invest in tobacco farming than those household heads who did not own livestock.
- The positive relationship could be due to the fact that livestock is a highly liquid asset, thus households tend to sell their livestock when in need of money to purchase farm inputs.
- For each livestock type, discussions revealed that majority of the participants owned more after resettlement than before resettlement.



Explaining the variables in the model

- The reason, according to the participants was the availability of feed and pasture land. Despite a general increase in number of livestock after resettlement, it was observed that male headed households owned more livestock than female headed households.
- This could help explain why majority of male household heads invested in tobacco farming compared to female headed households

Conclusions

- Findings determined that after resettlement, perceived land ownership security became stronger for both mhh and fhh.
- Stronger land ownership security did not encourage fhh to invest in perennial crops and tobacco farming because of labour and financial constraints.
- On the other hand, strong land ownership security motivated men to invest in perennial crops and tobacco farming.
- Although mhh and fhh equally qualified to acquire land titles in CBRLDP, unequal access to and use of other resources is unlikely to raise productivity among women.

Conclusions

- This implies that efforts to balance land rights of men and women are unlikely to contribute towards gender equity and improved efficiency and productivity of women farmers unless other limitations encountered by women are also addressed.
- It is therefore concluded that land ownership security after resettlement influenced men in this matrilineal social system to invest on land, and that the availability of income from other economic activities enabled them to do so.
- Women, on the other hand, were not affected by land ownership security because of labour and financial constraints



Recommendations

- If rural development projects are to be helpful they should also aim at empowering women so that even in cases where men feel land insecure women should continue to optimally use their land.
- Specifically, in addition to strengthening existing land ownership regimes, policy makers should seek to address the many liquidity, information and transaction cost related factors that deter agricultural production among women.

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- Published online in Land Tenure Journal 2015/01 and is now available on the FAO website:

<http://www.fao.org/3/a-i5244tre.pdf>



END OF PRESENTATION

THANK YOU