



Knowledge Innovation and Excellence

Community Level Land Dialogue Report

Community Level Stakeholders' Understanding of the Current Land Context, the Customary Land Act (2016) and their Desired Future in the Area of Sub Traditional Authority Daniel Gausi in Mzimba District

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About SAIRLA - www.sairla-africa.org

Sustainable Agricultural Intensification Research and Learning in Africa (SAIRLA) is a five-year, DFID-funded programme (2015–2020) seeking to generate new evidence and design tools to enable governments, investors and other key actors to deliver more effective policies and investments in sustainable agricultural intensification. The programme covers six countries in sub-Saharan Africa – Burkina Faso, Ghana, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia.

Over the course of the programme, SAIRLA partners have generated new evidence and design tools to enable governments, investors and other key actors that are supporting agriculture commercialisation and intensification to deliver more effective policies and investments. As part of this work, SAIRLA supports eight research projects that have successfully generated new evidence, and five national learning alliances that have been

established to channel high quality evidence into national investment and policy making processes using a social learning approach.

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1. Introduction

This report is the result of the dialogue sessions on the Malawi Customary Land Act, 2016 held by the Facilitation Team of the Malawi National Learning Alliance (NLA) with various stakeholders. The stakeholders have discussed different contestations and generated common understanding on customary land in order to contribute to the development of a land legislative and governance framework that enables more equitable outcomes among the various stakeholders. The aims of the dialogue sessions are:

- i. To provide evidence for and illustrate the complexity of the land situation and reforms in Malawi.
- ii. Make the case that this complexity cannot be dealt with in a linear way but needs to be considered within an open and transparent multi-stakeholder dialogue.

The specific objectives for the dialogue mediated by the NLA are:

- To give stakeholders a platform to share views, perceptions, fears and hopes regarding the Customary Land Act, 2016.
- To enable stakeholders to better understand each other's voice, views, perceptions, fears and hopes about Customary Land Act, 2016 as a basis for generating consensus for developing a mutually acceptable land legislative and governance framework
- Identify opportunities and means to enhance future dialogues

The specific expected outcomes of the dialogue sessions include:

- Contextual situation and issues regarding access, control and tenure security over customary land, stakeholder agreements and disagreement identified.
- The desired future regarding the situation with customary land, stakeholder agreements and disagreements identified.
- Stakeholders' perspectives on Customary Land Act, 2016 and the extent to which it addresses current and future situations and aspirations identified.
- Possible pathways towards resolving the land contests and issues that stand in the way of a mutually acceptable land legislative and governance identified.

2. Background to the dialogue process

In Malawi the NLA Facilitation Team embarked on dialogue sessions on customary land as part of the programme on Sustainable Agricultural Intensification Research and Learning in Africa (SAIRLA) funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID). The programme has grown out of the global challenge for agriculture in which production must increase to meet the food and nutritional security demands of a growing population, but do so in a sustainable fashion. The aim of the SAIRLA programme is to generate, share and facilitate use of knowledge by decision makers (policy makers and investors) to develop Sustainable Agricultural Intensification (SAI) in ways that enable poorer smallholders, particularly women and youth to participate in and benefit from agricultural development.

In Malawi the wind of SAI is blowing at a time when there is a drive to commercialise agriculture. The Malawi Government (GoM), with support from development partners, has embarked on an ambitious programme of transforming the agricultural sector. The ambitions are well spelt out in policy pronouncements such as the Malawi Growth Development Strategy (MGDS), National Agricultural Policy (NAP), National Export Strategy Paper (NESP) and the National Agricultural Investment Plan (NAIP). The common thread in these policy and investment strategy papers is that agriculture must be commercialised and productivity should be enhanced. Key in the policy aspirations is the need for clearly defined property land rights, land being a key resource for agricultural commercialisation. The Malawi Government has been engaged on land reforms since the late 1990s, and in 2016 enacted the Customary Land Act (CLA). Key issues dealt with by the CLA relate to land registration, land conflict resolution bodies, access to land (by women), security of tenure and land governance.

The NLA dialogue sessions on customary land draw on equity perspectives to construct evidence of what does and what doesn't work in relation to the propositions of the CLA. The CLA is critical because customary land remains the most important productive asset for the majority of Malawians. A high proportion of the land area in Malawi is managed by smallholders (between 65% and 75% is customary land according to Chirwa (2008), GoM

(2008) and GoM (2002), although this situation appears to be rapidly changing (Jayne, *et al.*, 2016)).

The dialogue sessions have been conducted through a multi-stakeholder platform for social learning processes called the National Learning Alliance (NLA) on SAI. The stakeholders are decision-makers with interest in and/ or influence on equitable SAI. They are at local, district and national levels and they include government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), academia, media, research, private sector, chiefs, women's groups, local development committees, and the youth. Through these dialogue sessions:

- different perspectives on customary land have been shared and discussed
- scenarios and options on customary land have been jointly assessed
- more inclusive /joint decision-making on customary land has been discussed
- capacity and commitment to act has been discussed.

3. The Customary Land Act (2016)

The customary land question in Malawi remains unresolved and it is complex. The regime has faced challenges including purported inherent insecure customary land rights. It is evident that Malawians are becoming concerned about the current land situation, particularly with respect to losing land to foreigners, although there is also a trend regarding acquisition of land by Malawian middle-scale land users (Jayne *et al.*, 2016).

Efforts to formalise land rights started in colonial times with “certificates of claim” as an acceptable basis of occupation of land (The Land Ordinance, 1951). The Land Act (1967) superseded the Land Ordinance (1951) and provided for registration of title. In 1996, the Malawi Government steered comprehensive Land Policy Reforms through a Presidential Commission on Land Inquiry (PCLI) in recognition of land pressure and tenure insecurity. In 2016 a new Customary Land Act (CLA) was enacted by Parliament with the aim of formalising land ownership and governance. Despite these efforts, divided opinions and views still exist: some stakeholders have supported while others have resisted the new land legislative and governance framework.

3.1 On-going processes in relation to the Customary Land Act (2016)

Following the adoption of the National Land Policy (GoM, 2002) the Malawi Government embarked on reviewing, amending and developing new land and land related laws. The key provisions of the CLA focus on land registration, land conflict resolution bodies, land access (women rights), security of tenure, land governance and compensation.

The provisions of the CLA have been contested throughout this process: by some NGOs, tribal groupings and chiefs. Government of Malawi and some of its development partners have begun to implement the law with pilot projects delivered by civil society organisations (CSOs) in selected districts of Msimba, Kasungu, Phalombe, Chikwawa in awareness of this contestation. The pilot projects are intended to provide Government with evidence and lessons on how the CLA is working. Government and its partners intend to use the evidence and lessons to inform the implementation of the CLA in the rest of the country (Deputy Commissioner of Lands, personal communication, 2019).

3.2 Major, relevant and related provisions in the Customary Land Act (2016)

The major provisions of the CLA include the creation of Traditional Land Management Areas (TLMAs) and land registration in form of customary estates. The CLA provides for title registration throughout the country for all land categories including Customary Estates. All land shall be subject to registration for purposes of determination of ownership. This supersedes the Customary Land Act, 1965 which recognised land ownership according to customary arrangements. Some specific provisions of the CLA, which are particularly relevant to the dialogue work are set out in Box 1.

Box 1. Some relevant Customary Land Act provisions (original provision number has been retained)

4. Land committees shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be responsible for the management of all customary land in a Traditional Land Management Area.

5. (1) There shall be established in each Traditional Land Management Area, customary' land committees at a group village headman level.

5. (2) A Land Committee shall consist of:

- a) A Group Village Headman who shall be the chairperson;
- b) Six other persons elected by and from within the community, at least three of whom shall be women

8. (1) There shall be appointed a land clerk for each Traditional Land Management Area to serve as a secretary to any land committee appointed for the purposes of this Act.

20. (1) A customary estate shall be allocated by a land Customary committee

21. (1) A person, family unit, a group of persons recognised under customary law or who have formed themselves together as an association, a co-operative society or as any other body recognised by any written law, may apply to a land committee responsible for that land for the grant of a customary estate

24. (1) A land committee may require the payment of a fee on the grant of a customary' estate to an organisation or body.

26. A land committee may require the payment of annual rent for customary estates granted to an organisation or a body.

44. (1) There shall be established in every Traditional Land Management Area, a customary land tribunal to adjudicate on any disputes concerning customary land in the area.

(2) A customary land tribunal shall consist of—

- a) A presiding chairperson who shall be the Traditional Authority responsible for the area; and
- b) Six members of the community nominated by the Traditional Authority and approved by the Commissioner, at least three of whom shall be women

46. (1) There shall be established in every district, a district land tribunal which shall consist of the following—

- a) A presiding chair person who shall be the District Commissioner responsible for the District;
- b) Up to three Traditional Authorities;
- c) Three reputable persons that come from and reside in the district, two of whom shall be women, who shall be in office for a renewal term of three years; and
- d) The District Land Registrar who shall be the secretary

48. (1) There shall be established a Central Land Board consisting of the following—

- a) Resident Magistrate who shall preside over proceedings of the Board;
- b) Three Traditional Authorities, one from each region of Malawi, one of whom shall be a woman; and
- c) Two other members with good standing in society, one of whom shall be a woman.

4. Methodology

4.1 Social characteristics related to land issues in the area

Just like the whole of Mzimba district, the area of Daniel Gausi is characterised by a patrilineal system whereby women live in the homes of their husbands, cultivating land belonging to the husband's family. It is a patriarchy society and rarely do women become chiefs in this area. Children belong to their fathers' side.

4.2 Major agricultural activities/projects in the area

The area of Daniel Gausi is dominated by smallholder farmers. The area does not have big agricultural projects or estates. Small scale farmers - men and women -grow tobacco, maize and legume crops such as soybeans, common beans, and groundnuts. The area is peri-urban as it is close to the Mzimba district headquarters. A new university is being constructed in the area.

4.3 Activities related to implementation of customary land law in the area

Sub-Traditional Authority (Sub TA) Daniel Gausi is one of the areas where the CLA is being piloted in the Northern region of Malawi. Sensitisation meetings by the Mzimba Lands Office and LandNet Malawi targeting chiefs, local development committee, women, and the youth had already started at the time of the consultation. Sub TA Daniel Gausi said he and other chiefs have been trained by LandNet to train other chiefs and people.

4.4 Description of the stakeholders consulted

In the area of Sub TA Daniel Gausi the meeting took place on September 14th, 2018.

Table 1 provides details of the stakeholders consulted and included:

- Chiefs under Sub TA Daniel Gausi
- Women belonging to the Women Empowerment Group. The women's group is an advocacy movement organisation on land rights. It was formed with the facilitation of LandNet.
- The youth group

Table 1 Stakeholders consulted

Stakeholder group	Detail	Male	Female
Chiefs	1 Sub TA, 2 Senior Group Village Headman, 6 Village Headmen, 1 Pastor. The pastor was also the chief	11	0
Women Empowerment Group	Women from the area of Sub TA Daniel Gausi, who have been trained in land rights and advocacy by LandNet	0	8
Youth	Members of the youth group working on youth activities in the area of Sub-TA Daniel Gausi	8	6

4.5 Method for district consultations

The Facilitation Team used a modified outcome mapping approach (OMA) to initiate a dialogue on the CLA. The stakeholders were divided into focus groups of chiefs, women, and youth to facilitate discussions. Each focus group was facilitated by two members of the Facilitation Team. In the groups, stakeholders reflected on the current situation of land themes – access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women. The stakeholders were then reflected on changes they would like to see in access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women in the next 5 to 10 years. Finally, the groups were asked to assess the implications of proposals in customary law on access/ownership, tenure security and control by the poor, women and the youth. See Appendix 1 for the checklist that is used for the FGDs. After focus group discussions the groups presented their discussions in plenary, where members from other groups commented on each other’s presentation. Video and audio interviews were recorded as part of the process of generating evidence on how the CLA is envisaged to work on land access, land tenure security and access to land among women, men, youth and the chiefs

5. Results of Focus Group Discussions

5.1 Consultations with women

5.1.1 Awareness and knowledge about the CLA

Women in the area of Sub TA Daniel Gausi have participated in meetings organised by LandNet on the CLA. All 16 women who took part in the discussions said that they were aware of the CLA but they did not have substantive knowledge about the contents.

5.1.2 The current situation of land issues – access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women

On access to land, women in Sub TA Daniel Gausi said the land belongs to their husbands. Upon getting married the women only use the land. If not married, they use land belonging to their father. Some women buy land.

For men, they are entitled to inherit land from their fathers when they reach 18 years old. Men also buy land when it is available. Some young males also get their land from chiefs. Regardless of gender, all young people cultivate land with their parents as members of their parents' family.

In terms of tenure security, the women said people secure their land by planting trees around the boundaries or by putting beacons. It is important to keep land under cultivation at all times so that people know that the land belongs to someone.

In terms of control, the owner of the land has control. Chiefs only intervene when there are conflicts, in order to help with the situation.

5.1.3 Changes would like to see in access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women in the next 5 to 10 years

With regard to access and ownership of the land, the women would like and love to see that in 5 to 10 years there should not be changes on how people access the land. However, they recognise that there might be some changes as the new laws are implemented.

With regards to tenure security, the women strongly feel that in the next 5 to 10 years the current status quo should remain where natural features and traditional practices should continue to be used to secure the land.

In terms of control, the women indicated that in the coming 5 to 10 years they would like and love to see that the situation remain the same, whereby the owner of the land should remain in control of the land.

5.1.4 Implications of proposals in customary law on access/ownership, tenure security and control by the poor, women and the youth

The women feel that the CLA has been developed to take away the land from people. This will be done when people fail to pay the fees for the land that has been registered. They feel that when land has been demarcated the remaining will be taken by the government. However, the CLA is also seen as a way for women to own their own land

5.2 Consultations with Chiefs

5.2.1 Awareness and knowledge about the CLA

In the area of Sub TA Daniel Gausi, the chiefs indicated that they had heard about the CLA. Out of the 11 chiefs present during the meeting only three, including Sub TA Daniel Gausi, were very conversant with the new Act. Others had heard about the CLA but were not conversant with it because they had not been reached or had not participated in the meetings. The three chiefs that were conversant with the CLA had participated in the meetings conducted by LandNet as it was setting up the pilot. The three chiefs in fact had booklets from LandNet on the guidelines for implementing the proposals in the CLA. They had been appointed by LandNet to be champions of the implementation of the new law. With this role, the chiefs organise meetings to talk to people about the CLA. The three chiefs revealed that they knew that the Act has proposed that customary land should be registered and there should be joint ownership by the husband and the wife. They also knew that the Act had proposed that there should be Land Management Committees and Land Tribunals.

5.2.2 The current situation of land issues – access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women

The first issue discussed was access and ownership of land. The chiefs indicated that the people in the area are the Ngonis. According to the Ngoni culture, a man owns the land he gets or inherits from his father. Upon getting married the boy receives or inherits the land from his father. In some cases, the boy gets the land from his father before he marries.

As for a woman, upon getting married she leaves her home and resides in her husband's village. She uses the land that belongs to her husband. The chiefs emphasised that, unlike in other cultures, marriage among the Ngoni is strong such that a woman is assured of living in husband's village the whole of her life. Even after the death of the husband, a woman continues to stay because she is inherited by the brothers to her husband. In so doing she has permanent access to the land. Only on occasions does she lose access to her husband's land when, upon death of the husband, the woman decides to marry outside the family. But such cases are rare.

Other forms of access to land in the area include:

- Access through renting. This is a growing mode of access and it is locally called sub-leasing. However, one does not own the land that has been sub-leased
- Other people buy the land from those that have too much.

The second issue discussed with the chiefs was land tenure security. To begin with, Sub TA Daniel Gausi revealed that land tenure insecurity exists in his area. This is the case because the area is close to Mzimba district headquarters and there is a new university (Mombera) being built in the area. People from the district headquarters and the university are buying land from people. This situation is a threat to ordinary people as they are selling their land without considering the future of their children.

The main form of security is the chief and the father. The two know the history of the land parcels and no one can take away the land. However, this form of security is not written. As such, clever people (brothers) sometimes challenge others and get the land from those that may not be able to articulate their rights for themselves.

The third issue was about control over the land. The chiefs indicated that currently chiefs and parents (family) have control over the land. Currently, no one can sell the land as they fear family members, especially the father. In the past chiefs controlled allocation of the land but now they only play a role to settle disputes. At household level the husband dictates what to grow and what to do with the land. A woman cannot sell the land belonging to the husband. Neither can the child sell the land without the approval by the father.

5.2.3 Changes would like to see in access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women in the next 5 to 10 years

In terms of the changes in the modes of access, the chiefs would like to like and would love to see that their sons continue inheriting the land from the father. In other words, the status quo should remain because it is their culture. Any change to the current situation implies the end of the Ngoni culture (Ungoni). However, the four chiefs were in favour of a change whereby daughters and wives were able to also own the land. Sub TA Daniel Gausi indicated that the CLA is good because it replaces the bad culture which did not respect women. With the new law, women are freed from this bad culture and they will have ownership of the land. The law is also good for the men as it will make them have title deeds, which marks full evidence of ownership.

With regards to tenure security, the chiefs indicated that in the next 5 or 10 years, the chiefs would like and would love to see that fathers and chiefs continue to play their role in providing security. This will maintain the oneness among the members of the family. This oneness has been so important in making sure that members of the families do not lose land to others. However, there is weakness where the protection is not written down and family members are able to take land from other members, it means there is need to reinforce security. The chiefs are of the view, therefore, that members should register their land as individuals so that they should have title deeds. However, land registration should not replace the current situation, where parents are the important unit. Rather, registration should include the family to maintain the oneness. In addition, while they appreciate registration, the chiefs are concerned that the process might be expensive for the poor.

With regards to control over the land or land governance, the chiefs would like and love to see that chiefs continue controlling the land. However, there is need for land committees to assist in controlling the land especially now when some chiefs are grabbing land from their subjects. In fact, there are two units that are important when it comes to control over the land and these are chiefs and the father. In this case the rights people have over the land can only be negotiated with the chiefs or the father. No one can engage in any transaction without the knowledge of the father and the chief.

5.2.4 Implications of proposals in customary law on access/ownership, tenure security and control by the poor, women and the youth

The chiefs feel that in the area of Sub TA Daniel Gausi, there is insecurity of tenure where farmers, chiefs and clan leaders are selling land to people from Mzimba town and the proposed university. There is a strong feeling that security of tenure could be enhanced by land certificates. The chiefs also feel that while land registration will affirm land ownership by individuals, care should be taken as this can give people the freedom to sell the land without fearing their family members. The chiefs therefore propose that land certificates should complement instead of replacing the existing measures of tenure security such as the chiefs, the clan and the family.

5.3 Consultations with the youth

5.3.1 Awareness and knowledge about the CLA

The youth in the Area of Sub TA Daniel Gausi have heard about the CLA from the radio. They complained that they have not been invited to meeting organised by LandNet to sensitise people about the Act. Most times LandNet has been inviting chiefs to the sensitisation meetings. As a result of this the youth do not have much knowledge about the Act.

5.3.2 The current situation of land issues – access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women

Currently, the youth access the land mainly through inheritance from their fathers upon getting married. Some are allocated by the chief, while a few borrow or rent land when it is available. The women mostly access the land through their husbands. But when they return from marriage, women are given land by their fathers to cultivate. The women who have money are able to rent or buy land for themselves.

In terms of tenure security, the one cultivating the land makes sure that the land is protected. He puts boundary markers to make sure that no one can encroach. In case of disputes, chiefs and family members help to make sure that the rightful owner of the land is protected. Chiefs and family members are able to defend the fields because they have knowledge of the history of the field.

In terms of control, the one cultivating the field is in control of what to do with the piece of land he owns. He decides what to grow. When it comes to the rights over the field, the family controls what an individual can do. The family prohibits selling and disposing the land by any member of the family because they say land belongs to the family. The chiefs also play a role in controlling individuals so that they do not dispose of their land without following proper procedures.

5.3.3 Changes would like to see in access/ownership, tenure security, control for the poor, youth and women in the next 5 to 10 years

In 5 to 10 years, the youth would like and love to see no changes to the current status quo. They would want the current modes of access and ownership, measures of tenure security and control over the land to remain the same.

6. Plenary Discussion

In the area of Sub TA Daniel Gausi, the chiefs have mixed feeling about men and women's respective rights to own land. Some feel the current status quo should remain where men have ownership and use rights while women only have user rights. Other chiefs feel there is need to accord women both ownership and use rights to land.

But Sub TA Daniel Gausi and the other two chiefs who have been trained to become champions on land issues have taken a stand to support the CLA. They categorised the Ngoni tradition as primitive and in need of change. They argue that in the current situation they do not see why one should stop development because of tradition. Their major aim is to change the tradition which limits the freedom of women and free them to own land, even in the village of the husbands. Because doing so is good for women so that they do not struggle when a husband dies. Chief Daniel Gausi stated *"I am the champion on land issues. I am given power to empower women so that they should own the land. Our tradition is not good because women didn't have land. So my job is to tell people to make sure that women should have land. We must change our attitude. What we used to do with our grandparents here, where we used to look down on women should not continue. There are some traditions which are bad and we should accept what the government is teaching us to change the way we used to do things and give a woman ownership of the land"*.

The women reported that they have issues about land. When the husband dies without allocating land to the children there are always conflicts. If the husband hasn't given ownership to the wife there is always conflicts. But in general women don't have power over land, it is the man.

7. Conclusions of Facilitation Team

7.1 Contextual situation and issues regarding access, control and tenure security over customary land, stakeholder agreements & disagreement

The chiefs, women and youth all see access, control and tenure security embedded in the Ngoni culture of the people of Mzimba. This culture dictates that a man owns the land he gets or inherits from his father. The son, upon getting married, inherits the land from the father. As for a woman, she does not own the land but uses the land belonging to the husband and she is a permanent member of the husband's family.

The main form of land tenure security is the chief and the father. These two units know the history of the land parcels and no person can take away the land from another. However, the chiefs, women and the youth feel that land tenure insecurity exists. This insecurity is perpetuated by some farmers, chiefs and clan leaders who are selling land to people from Mzimba town and the proposed university. In terms of control, chiefs and family members have authority over ownership of the land.

7.2 Stakeholders' perspectives on the CLA and the extent to which it addresses current and future situations and aspirations

There is agreement among some chiefs, women and the youth that the provision for land registration and certificates in the CLA addresses the existing land tenure insecurity and affirms ownership by individuals. However, land registration may give people the freedom to sell the land without the knowledge and agreement of their family members. Some chiefs and women feel that the CLA is a way for the government to take away the land from people. This will happen when people fail to pay the fees for the land that has been registered.

7.3 The desired future regarding the situation with customary land, stakeholder agreements & disagreements

The chiefs and women agree that there should not be changes in how people access the land. The same is the case with the measures for ensuring tenure security and control, whereby the owner, chiefs and families should remain in control of the land. However, the growing land tenure insecurity necessitates that the Ngoni culture should respect women (wives) and daughters to own the land. However, any ideas to incorporate women should be done in such a way that the Ngoni culture is maintained. This entails that chiefs, the clan and families continue to play their role in ensuring security of tenure. This way the oneness among the members of the family will be maintained.

7.4 Possible pathways for resolving the land contests and issues that stand in the way of a mutually acceptable land legislative and governance

Some ways to resolve the contests and issues over customary land have been identified as follows:

- i. Maintain the status quo while accommodating the freedom of women to own land even in the village of the husbands.
- ii. The CLA should accommodate the culture of the Ngoni people, for example by providing for a system of security of tenure and land transfer that continues to give traditional means, include chiefs and fathers, a role.

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9. Appendix 1: Checklist for district and community stakeholder engagement meetings

Preamble

During the introductions with the community or district stakeholders explain the aim of the meetings and the methodology to be used. Split the community stakeholders into Focus Groups of youth, women, Area Development Committee and chiefs. District stakeholders should be split into civil servants, NGOs. Use the matrix here below to guide the discussions. Mention to the entire group that after the FGDs with the split groups, the results will be presented in plenary.

Key questions

Modified Outcome Mapping Matrix

Describe access to land over the timelines given in the tables below. For each change in access to land per respective group of people in the first column provide reason (s).

Access of land	Current situation	Next five years	Next 10 years	Future
Women				
Men				
Youth				
Chiefs				

Describe land tenure security over the timelines given in the tables below. For each change in land tenure security per respective group of people in the first column provide reason (s).

Land tenure security	Now	Next five years	Next 10 years	Future
Women				
Men				
Youth				
Chiefs				

Describe control over land over the timelines given in the tables below. For each changes or failure to change in control over land over per respective group of people in the first column provide reason (s).

Control over land	Now	Next five years	Next 10 years	Future
Women				
Men				
Youth				
Chiefs				