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Patterns of Migration in relation to Large-Scale Land Acquisition in the Makeni Region, Sierra Leone

GEO 511 Master's Thesis

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Abstract

Both large-scale land acquisition (LSLA) and contemporary national and international migration flows throughout West Africa highly influence citizens' capacity to achieve sustainable livelihoods. This master's thesis presents one of the first studies that address the possible interconnection of these two controversial research topics. The LSLA case assessed, situated in northern Sierra Leone, was certified by the Roundtable of Sustainable Biomaterial and praised as best practice model by the FAO. A total of 49 households were surveyed in the area concerned and 28 qualitative interviews were conducted with left behinds and in- or out-migrated citizens. The results indicate that LSLA and migration practice may enhance people's livelihoods. At the same time these possible enhancements are highly uncertain and can reverse easily and suddenly. It became evident that a close connection between the LSLA and the migration exists, as the LSLA remarkably influenced the achievable livelihoods in the case study area, which in turn were highly interconnected with occurring in- and out-migration flows. Consequently, people's self-determination decreased while the dependence on external inputs rose. Nevertheless, it is not possible to perceive either LSLA or migration as a positive or a negative practice, but rather we have to better understand the complex and multifaceted mechanisms and dimensions that determine the outcomes of people's livelihood strategies. These findings support the claim to implement more comprehensive international guidelines that also look at the implications of migration patterns, which might be changing due to the implementation of a LSLA.

Key Words: Large scale land acquisition, local impacts, rural livelihoods, migration, translocality, livelihood sustainability, Sierra Leone.

Acknowledgements

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List of Abbreviations

ABSL	Addax Bioenergy Sierra Leone
AFSRL	Analytical Framework for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
AOG	Addax and Oryx Group
Bfa	Bread for All
ESHIA	Analysis of the Environmental, Social and Health Impacts
LLAA	Land Lease Acknowledgment Agreement
LSLA	Large-Scale Land Acquisition
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDP	Farmer Development Programme
FLS	Field and Life School Programme
NIT	New Institutionalism Theory
NGO	None Governmental Organisation
Rsb	Roundtable for Sustainable Biomaterials
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SEI	Stockholm Environmental Institute
SILEPA	Sierra Leone Investment and Export Promotion Agency
Silnorf	Sierra Leone Network on the right to Food
Sunbird	Sunbird Bioenergy Africa Ltd.
WASSCE	West African Senior School Examination

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1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation

For several years, a rush on land, named as large-scale land acquisition (LSLA) - sometimes also "land grabbing" or large-scale agricultural investment - leaded to manifold land surface transformations, especially in developing countries. Nolte et al. (2016) estimated that already in 2016 the LSLA area worldwide must have covered about 28 million ha, of which 30% lay in Africa. These pressures on land were and still are pushed by the convergence of the triple crises from increasingly mono- to oligopolistic food systems. Particularly, since the finance and food price crises in 2008 and 2009 the global demand for agricultural land has risen manifold (Hufe et al. 2017, p. 168, Marfurt et al., 2016, p. 262, Yengoh et al. 2016, p. 328). Thereby, states try to safeguard their national food security for the imminent time when the world population will exceed the carrying capacity of our planet. Meanwhile, national and international investors lease or buy big patches of land to achieve profits through selling and exporting their yields or to gain speculative portfolio battles at the world market (Hufe et al. 2017, 168, Locher et al., 2014, p. 249, Schoneveld et al., 2011, p. 12-13, Vlasak, 2014, p. 17, Yengoh et al. 2016b, 329). If this would not be enough, also the current climate change challenges existing ecosystems with its provided resources and services (Davis et al. 2015).

The investors use, exploit or transform the acquired acreages for multiple purposes that range from mining activities, agricultural production to natural conservations (Fairhead et al. 2012, Hall 2011). Addressing the outcomes, multiple researchers reported about the effects LSLA has on local livelihoods and the natural resources (Baumgartner et al. 2015, Fairhead et al. 2012, Richards 2013, Thondlana 2015, Yengoh et al. 2015b). It became evident that LSLA may have profound damaging social and environmental impacts (Anane et al. 2011, Fairhead et al. 2012, 2016, 2017). Findings highlighted processes of dispossession, relocation and irreversible ecosystem degradations (Fairhead et al. 2012, Siciliano 2014). Few authors reported about fostered migration flows (Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. 2017, Siciliano 2014, Yengoh 2015b). Nantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2017) highlighted that the emergent mobility results in translocal patterns with modified relationships, lifestyles and commodity flows. Generally, inabilities to generate an adequate livelihood are reported to be the main triggers that pressure people to leave their home in search for better living conditions (Gulger et al. 1995, Maconachie et al. 2006, Thieme 2014). Statistics indicate that already in 1995 30 - 40% of all West African citizens resided outside of their birthplace, whereof 11% even lived outside of their home state (Maconachie et al. 2006).

Due to the upcoming green politics and the high oil prices, the European Union set the target to replace 10% of their energy consumption in the transport sector by biofuels until 2020. Through this political decision a huge potential sales market was generated and therefore the essential precondition for an emergent biofuel investment sector was given (Marfurt et al. 2016).

Proponents see large-scale land investments, as a welcomed tool to develop isolated regions in southern destinations by the creation of labour opportunities and enhanced infrastructures (Deininger et al. 2011, Liu 2014). These remote agricultural sectors would be in need to increase its productivity through the use of agro-chemicals, improved technologies and high-yield varieties (Baumgartner et al. 2015, World Bank 2014). Furthermore, the target

countries would possess vast reserves of underused acreages (Boamah 2013). As a consequence, many local governments were attempted to flatten the path for foreign investors to provide a lucrative and welcoming ambiance for their projects (Lustenberger 2014, Marfurt et al. 2016).

On the other side of the coin, in the last years, broad critics emerged concerning the outcomes of project implementations and their influence on rural livelihoods (Bottazzi et al. 2016, Marfurt et al. 2016, Wedin et al. 2013, Yengoh et al. 2015a, Yengoh et al. 2016a). It is concerned that the local population is often excluded in the negotiating process, misinformed, dispossessed or even relocated (Käser 2014, Marfurt et al. 2016, Siciliano 2014, Silnorf et al. 2016, Yengoh et al. 2016b). Agricultural values as well as social relations would be altered, whereby livelihood struggles, like food security or social tensions would emerge. Authors reported that the change of the local living conditions and modified relationships pressured locals to adapt new livelihood strategies (Bottazzi et al. 2016, Hufe et al. 2017, Käser 2014, Marfurt 2016, Marfurt et al. 2016, Wedin et al. 2013, Yengoh et al. 2016b). Consequently, most enterprises and local authorities were alleged to have only their own benefit in mind without carrying about the outcomes their operations might have on the local communities (Schoneveld et al. 2011, Yengoh et al. 2016b).

Davis et al. (2014) evaluated that globally about 12.1 million people are potentially affected by LSLA. Specifically, in the case of the Sierra Leone 10% of the whole population is regarded to sense the consequences of a large-scale land deal (Davis et al. 2014). What the outcomes of these impacts could be and if they were of either positive or negative nature, could not be estimated from his findings. Rather, multiple other authors investigated the current LSLA cases in the small West African country (Marfurt et al. 2016, Wedin et al. 2013, Yengoh et al. 2016b). Especially, the case by Addax Bioenergy Sierra Leone (ABSL) was studied profoundly, since it presents one of the few examples, which fulfilled the international standards[1] and was certificated as the first bioenergy project on the African continent for its sustainable biofuel production by the Roundtable on Sustainable Biomaterials (Rsb) (Marfurt 2016). Manifold results concerning food security, social class and gender inequalities, access to land, emerging conflicts or labour conditions were published (Bottazzi et al. 2016, Käser 2014, Knoblauch et al. 2014a, Millar 2015c). Nevertheless, only little is known about the livelihood impacts, which the shut down in 2015 and the lease transition to the British-Chinese company Sunbird had on the local communities (e.g. report Silnorf et al. 2017). Furthermore, if a possible interconnection between the LSLA and the migration flows exists and what potential consequences emergent movements might have for the concerned individuals, is only partially mentioned in few publications (Maconachie et al. 2006, Yengoh et al. 2015b). Therefore, my master thesis aims to fill this gap by first investigating the achieved livelihoods in the treatment area since the break down of ABSL occurred. Secondly, I am attempting to identify if or in what relation these possible livelihood modifications catalyst migration practices and what consequences the emergent translocal patterns have for the parties concerned. The gained knowledge will lead to policy recommendations regarding sustainable investment guidelines and good governances.

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[1] The standards were developed by multiple international and corporate social responsibility organisations. These were the Food and Agriculture Organisation FAO, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development UNCTAD, the World Bank and the Roundtable on Sustainable Biomaterials (Rsb).

1.2 Research aims and questions

First, my thesis aims to present new findings about the differences in locals' capacity to achieve an adequate livelihood between the operational times of ABSL, the shut down and Sunbird. Therefore, the contextual framework and the livelihood resources of the local residents will be elaborated. Secondly, I aim to identify the triggers of emergent migration practices and how the resulting translocality affects people's relationships and abilities to maintain a living. In both parts, I will address the influences LSLA respectively migration may have on livelihood resources and adopted (coping) strategies. The potential occurrence of social changes will be considered as well, before the present participants' livelihood outcomes and achieved sustainability will be illustrated. With this detailed elaboration of both, the impacts of LSLA on locals' livelihoods and the outcomes of present migration practices, I target to identify the possible linkages between the two phenomena.

The following five main and eleven sub-questions will guide me through the research process:

- To what extent has the change from Addax to Sunbird influenced people's livelihoods?

    o   How far has the way of making a livelihood changed?

- Which factors and circumstances made locals migrating out of their home place?

    o   In what way have these factors changed over time?

    o   Which factors are affected through external or through intra-familial or intra-communal influences?

- When it comes to migration, what kind of migration patterns do emerge?

    o   How are these migration patterns embedded into livelihood strategies?

    o   To what extent do social networks and translocal relationships play a role?

    o   Are there tendencies respective age, gender or social stratum visible?

- In what way do the emerged migration patterns influence the livelihoods?

    o   To what extent do the migration flows affect social relations within the community and the individual families?

    o   How do the different individuals cope with the new situation?

    o   Are present livelihood outcomes sustainable? And in what way has this changed over time?

- To what extent are migrants' migrations influenced by the impacts of the LSLA?

  o In what way have the modified land and natural resources access abilities an influence on migration decisions?

  o In what way have migration patterns changed since ABSL arrived?

1.3.   Structure of the thesis

In the first three chapters, I will summarize the state of research (Chap. 2), then come up with the theoretical background (Chap. 3) and lastly present the used methods (Chap. 4). Subsequently, my thesis will be structured into two main blocks. The first one addresses the research context wherein I will describe the local setting and the traditional livelihoods (Chap.5) and the impacts of the LSLA on these traditional livelihoods (Chap. 6). The second block will deal with migration as one livelihood strategy, whereby the emigration reasons and the emergent patterns will be specified (Chap. 7). As a synthesis, I finally will clarify in what relation the LSLA and the migration are interconnected with each other (Chap. 8). The thesis will be completed by a discussion of the livelihood outcomes and their sustainability over time before I will compare my findings with the existing literature (Chap. 9). In the conclusion, I will present my thesis outcomes in a nutshell, broad up the scope of view to the global level again and formulate policy recommendations (Chap. 10).

2   The state of research

2.1   The state of research about LSLA and translocal relationships

In recent years multiple researchers have studied the impacts of large-scale land deals on local communities all over the world (Marfurt et al. 2016, Millar 2015a-c, Nantakyi-Firmpong et al. 2017, Nolte 2014, Thondhlana 2015, Schoneveld et al. 2014, Yengoh et al. 2016a, Yengoh et al. 2016b). For example, Schoneveld et al. (2011) investigated local impacts of a biofuel company on rural development and livelihoods in Ghana. Locher and Müller-Böcker (2014) studied the implications of European forestry companies on Tanzanian livelihoods from a perspective of access theory and with a bargaining power model. Yengoh et al. (2016a) addressed the access and availability constraints for the affected population by LSLA in Southern Sierra Leone. Furthermore, authors such as Borras and Franco (2013) dealt with the contemporary land deals by analysing the political reactions "from below". Other authors such as Hufe and Heuermann (2017) reviewed the existing literature on LSLA and summarized the positive and negative effects the projects may have on the local populations.

Independent from big land deals a bulk of scientists also examined migration patterns and the varieties and facets of translocality, which arise from altered mobility (Adepoju 2005a-b, Byerlee et al. 1976, Greiner et al. 2013, Olurode 1995, Thieme, 2008a-b). Hereof, I present three studies on migration flows and emergent translocal patterns. Thieme (2014) studied the translocal relationships between left behinds in a rural Kirgiz village and the emigrants residing in the urban settings of Bishkek (Kirgizia), Almaty (Kazakhstan) or Moscow (Russia). Further, the publication by Greiner (2010) dealt with migration, identities and livelihoods in Northwest Namibia. Finally, Gulger et al. (1995) gathered general information about the interconnection of migration and gender in Sub-Sahara Africa.

Although the three researchers investigated in highly distinct settings and compared current with past migration data, all of them identified that most people decided to migrate in attempts to search for an enhanced living. However, there were also some differences between the studies. While Thieme (2014) found in the Kirgiz case that men and women used to migrate to the same degree and children remained with their grandparents at home, Gulger's et al. (1995) investigations on the African continent showed that gendered migration patterns indeed emerged, which were highly variable between the countries. In some countries mainly the men migrated, while the women and the children were left behind (ibid: 260). He affiliated this tendency to gendered labour roles (Gulger et al. 1995). In his opinion they were highly influenced by colonial practices. In those time periods the colonialists preferably employed men while women were forced to stay at home and care for the children and the house. During the absence of their husbands the wives used to be controlled by another male villager. As present statistics highlight, only some countries (Lesotho, Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa) were able to overcome these gender-stereotyped labour roles and thus show a unified gender relation in migration patterns (ibid.: 258-260). Nonetheless, even then not all females migrated to the same extent. Married women or women with small children only rarely changed their place of living. Hence, the group of migrating women was primarily composed by unmarried, divorced or unhappily married females, which migrated in attempts to find a paid labour (ibid.: 262). However, Greiner et al. uncovered that although women used to send home remittances more often, they tended to return sooner than their male counterparts (2010: 147). These observations were perceived to be interlinked to females' augmented risk to meet unemployment, since gender stereotypes in the labour market would still hinder women from acquiring a work (Gulger et al. 1995: 260).

So, although gender relations in migration flows might fluctuate dependent on the country, each of the three studies found clear age patterns in migration practices. Young left, while elderly remained (Greiner 2010, Gulger et al. 1995, Thieme 2014). As the majority of the young migrants planed to remain in urban areas they preferred to invest into urban housing (e.g. better infrastructure, access to education, labour opportunities). In contrast the elderly expected that their offspring return and maintain the living base at their rural origin (Greiner 2010: 141-142). These disparities combined with the newly gained financial independence of the youth from their ancestor fostered social change in traditional institution systems (Gulger et al. 1995: 264-265). Nevertheless, all scientists observed that the rural origin remained the cultural and emotional centre of the migrants. Moreover, most would intend to return sooner or later. Hereof, Gulger et al. (1995) and Greiner (2010) identified different migration patterns. In past times people used to migrate on a seasonal basis. This means that men returned during farming seasons and left as soon as the labour intensive period was over (Greiner 2010: 133). Gulger et al. (1995: 263) recognized that as soon as the labourers oversupplied the demand and thus struggled to acquire an employment the migration patterns changed from seasonal to temporal, permanent or circular. Hereof, 'temporal' means that migrants no longer return for the agricultural production but rather visit the left behinds from time to time (dependent on their capacity and willingness to come up for transportation). In such a case the left behind women often indeed continue to farm on their own but in a reduced dimension. Other migrants migrate 'permanent'. This indicates that they do not return anymore to their origin and thus possibly reunify with their wife and children (ibid.: 263-264). Nonetheless, after Greiner (2010: 132) these permanent migration patterns were rare, as most people remained tightly connected to their birthplace. Hence, he perceived that 'circular' migration occurs more often. In such an instance young adults migrate and stay at their destination to work for some years. During this time they possibly even buy properties in the

urban areas and bring their wives to the city. But as soon as they become elderly they return to their place of birth to enjoy the quiet and traditional ambience of the villages (ibid.: 133). Finally, all theses four migration types could be fostered by chain migration. Thereby, the emigrant's entry into the new social field is facilitated by social networks to relatives or friends at the destination (ibid.: 146).

In each study the remittances sent by the migrants were crucial for the left behinds to maintain an adequate living or even to enhance their livelihoods (e.g. food, access to education). Therewith, the pressure on the migrants to be successful rose (Thieme 2014: 42). The majority of the migrants worked for low wages under precarious conditions at highly insecure and mostly temporal workplaces (Gulger et al. 1995: 260, Thieme 2014: 40). Hence, many of them became socially marginalized while they were celebrated as heroes at their origin (if they sent remittances) (Thieme 2014: 41).

Conclusively, migration practices are not something new, but have existed for centuries and were influenced by colonial ruling. Migration indeed depicts a vague and uncertain project whereby left behinds feel the consequences first if the migrants do not succeed (Thieme 2008b: 335). Nonetheless, if the migrants manage to send remittances the livelihoods of whole households could be enhanced (Gulger et al. 1995: 260). Although high pressures reside on rural migrants' shoulders to be successful and though most refuse to return without any remittances (Thieme 2008b: 338), in the worst case each of them still has the fall back option to return and farm again (if he or she possess land – which is mostly the case in rural populations) (Gulger et al. 1995: 263). Nevertheless, the rising translocal connections between urban and rural places results in an exchange of material as well as social and ideological assets and thereby provokes social transformations (Gulger et al. 1995: 264, Thieme 2014: 40).

Regarding migration flows in Sierra Leone Byerlee et al. (1976) studied the migration patterns in post-colonial times with a focus on labour migration flows and policy implications. More recently Maconachie et al. (2006) addressed post-conflict migration patterns produced by return or labour migration movements. Initially, they clarified that seasonal migration has been an important livelihood strategy of Sierra Leonean for centuries. People used to farm and trade their goods. With the colonisation the infrastructure was enhanced but at the same time the ruling powers introduced tax schemes, military conscriptions and forced labour. As a consequence, the financial responsibility of the citizens rose. As the financial revenues through the trading of agricultural goods were too low to meet people's own necessities as well as the states requirements, most households were no longer able to maintain an adequate livelihood just by farming. Thus, they were forced to diversify their livelihood strategies. If they were not able to do so at their home place they began to migrate (Maconachie et al. 2006: 223-224). Hereof, statistics indicate that already in 1995 30 - 40% of all West-African citizens were residing outside of their birthplace whereof 11% lived outside their home state (ibid.: 240). Further, the survey by Amanco showed that temporal migration flows in Sierra Leone contributed fundamentally to rural livelihoods (2002 in Maconachie 2006: 225). He suggested that about 10'000 mobile migrants moved to the diamond mining areas in the south east of the country each year. Thereby, 70'000 to 140'000 people in the rural sending districts were supported with the earned revenues. Hereof, Maconachie et al. identified that most households depended on a dual-economy, which was characterized by a combination of agricultural engagements at the origin and seasonal earnings in the mines. This especially was the case after the war as the rural economy was depressed due to a lack of farming

tools and as unemployment was omnipresent. Consequently, people were forced to search for another income beside agricultural revenues (ibid.: 232). Furthermore, households tried to gain access to lacking assets by transforming one capital into another. Accordingly, livelihood portfolios and strategies were broadly dynamic over time and space, since external impacts could transform local circumstances. Thus, Maconachie et al. (2006) argued that Sierra Leoneans depended on all three livelihood strategies defined by Scoones (1998): Agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration. These strategies were not assigned to the genders equally (Maconachie et al.: 229). Rather, men primarily migrated seasonally to the mines to achieve supplemental incomes (peak of season from January until March - due to low rain falls). With the approach of the farming season (April to May) they returned to help their wives with the physically exhausting farming tasks such as ploughing and seeding. Meanwhile, the women remained at the home base all year to care for the children and to maintain the cultivations (ibid: 231). These emergent translocal patterns led to social changes. Notably, a divide between the young and the elderly developed, since the youth was said to have lost its connection to the traditional lifestyle and therewith the allegiance to the chiefs. As a result, the researchers alerted that if migrants stay away for long time periods they might run into risk to be excluded from communal rights at their origin. Maconachie et al. (2006: 237) presumed that this could have serious effects on migrants' ability to survive, since without an identity one would likely be unable to gain access to most basic necessities.

However, many participants stated that the high seasonal mobility had two sided effects. On the one hand, the livelihood diversification through migration practice might essentially spread livelihood risks, especially for those households with little access to arable land. The earned revenues could be invested into housing (as many were destroyed during the war) or agricultural activities, particularly to hire labourers[2]. On the other hand, the researchers recognized that the migration practice led to a general reduction of the agricultural production. They explained this pattern by the observation that young men usually became too lazy to farm since they had enlarged their horizons through the mobility. As a consequence, they preferred to be engaged in paid labour full-time instead of investing their labour force in subsistence farming (ibid.: 236-237).

Finally, I profoundly searched for literature that unified the two subjects of LSLA and migration practices. But I was only able to detect very few papers that combined both topics (Nantakyi-Firmpong et al. 2017, Nyari 2008, Schoneveld et al. 2011, Siciliano 2014). The best example is the research conducted by Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011). They studied the impact of a LSLA by a foreign mining company in the north-western corner of Ghana on land access relations and social differentiation processes within farming communities. They addressed patterns of land dispossession and thereby identified the emergence of a new agrarian class. Furthermore, increased emigration flows out of the leasing zone caused by the lasting land scarcity were detected (ibid.: 421-423). Nyantakyi-Firmong et al. (2011: 428) surveyed that in 96.8 % of all households at least one member migrated. But the migrants were not originating uniformly from the distinct agrarian classes. Namely, in average only one member per land rich family migrated in search for labour. The amount of migrants per household rose to three individuals in near-landless households, while six members per household originated from the landless families. Thus, the less land a household owned the

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[2] Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011) namely recognized that most villagers see themselves as 'land poor' although they had access to enough fertile acreage. However, they lacked the labour forces to transform the natural resources into consumable food entities (232).

more members migrated (ibid.: 436). Striking is that Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. recognized that in pre-lease times near-landless households existed but completely landless ones used to be rare (2011: 432).

Although also in Ghana migration flows were nothing new, since the LSLA the migration patterns changed from seasonal to permanent. Previously, men had returned in the wet season to farm. As a consequence of land becoming scarce, however, the migrants (mainly men, due to decision-making power) returned seldom (ibid.: 437). The research team even identified a tendency that an increasing number of men did not return at all but rather abandoned their wife and children to engage themselves anew.

The majority of the migrants worked in low-skilled engagements. The working contracts and conditions were highly exploitative (ibid.: 436). Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011) assumed this to be caused by an endless supply of "surplus labour", a phenomenon described by Tania Murray Li (2010: 68, 87). Typically, men were engaged in the agricultural sector (87 %) and earned their salaries on a daily basis as tenants or sharecrop farmers. Only few worked as butchers (5%) or mini bus drivers (8%). The job repertoire of female migrants looked a bit different, since they mainly laboured as porters at markets or bus terminals (57%) or as domestic servants (43%). Alarmingly, the researchers discovered that in general the salaries did not meet the daily expenses for urban accommodation and food (Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. 2011: 437). As a consequence, workers struggled to earn enough money to maintain their and their family's livelihoods (ibid.: 435). These households gradually lost their bargaining power to negotiate fair salaries, while the landlords, who profited form the sharecropping contracts accumulated further resources. Accordingly, Nyantakyi-Firmopong et al. (2011: 438, 440) illustrated that the rich-poor-division and the communal inequalities were reinforced through the LSLA and the initiated migration patterns.

Moreover, the research team highlighted the influence the LSLA and the migration patterns had on gender relations. Hereof, women's positions became further marginalized, especially in regard to land holdings. Although females had customary land use rights, these were not recognised as properties. Therefore, they had no right to participate in negotiations or to benefit from compensations of any kind (ibid.: 435). Even before the LSLA most women only had little access to land and through the land enclosure their bargaining power shrank even more. Specifically, they were no longer allowed to cultivate their own patches. As a consequence, females lost their small earnings by the cultivation of cash crops, which operated as fall back option in times of food shortage (ibid.: 436). But also within the households the gender roles and duties changed through the LSLA and the emerged migration patterns. As the household head (oldest male) migrated, the oldest women replaced him. They had to make daily decisions and to represent the family towards the broader community. This strengthened the presence of women in communal meetings, but as their bargaining power remained low the position of the whole household often was degraded (because de jure these female household heads had neither more power nor more rights) (ibid.: 433-434). Such changes in intra-familial and communal power relations were assumed to possibly provoke conflicts over properties or role allocations (ibid.: 435).

It became clear in this subchapter that LSLA as well as migration practices are broadly studied research fields all over the world. More recently translocal migration and relationships became an additional focus of investigations. Nonetheless, only few scholars combined the two topics and looked at their possible interconnections.

In the following, I will summarize the crucial content of the manifold publications released on the LSLA case near the provincial town of Makeni in Sierra Leone.

2.2 The Bioenergy project and the state of research in the Makeni case

This subchapter addresses the state of research in the Makeni case. Initially, I will introduce the two foreign investors Addax and Sunbird, their philosophies and their operations. In a second step the published papers, reports and working papers, which concerned the project implementation or its impacts in the Makeni case will be presented and shortly summarized. These clarifications will serve as basis to compare my investigations with previous findings (s. Chap. 9).

2.2.1 Addax and Sunbird – The bioenergy project

As described above the heightened demand for biofuels resulted in a boom for large-scale land investments worldwide. Due to the evadable large reserves of arable land Sub-Saharan countries are favoured destinations for foreign direct investments (FDI). With a FDI friendly leadership and the warm, moisture climate Sierra Leone is one of the top investment locations. Thus, it is not surprising that ABSL chose the Makeni region in the northern corner of Sierra Leone as their project site. In the following, the company, its operational history and the change to the subsequent lease owner will be exemplified.

The Addax and Oryx Group (AOG) is a Swiss based resource company, which was founded in 1987 in Geneva. It is a private investment group that describe itself as an entrepreneurial investor with a lively "can-do" spirit and principles of fairness and equality (AOG n.d.). In 2008 they founded the newly integrated business ABSL to produce bioethanol out of sugar cane. The product was exported to the European Union. The lease emerged from negotiations with the Sierra Leonean government. Thereby, totally three institutional agreements were signed. Therein, the amount of land was defined, the framework in which the company was allowed to operate and the postulated mitigation actions. During this process the land was demarcated, participatory village meetings were hold and abilities as well as compensation terms were defined (Bottazzi et al. 2016: 977).
The first agreement, the memorandum of understanding between the company and the government, recorded that the company was compelled to sell 90'000 MW electricity to the national power grid, to improve the local infrastructure, to recruit 4000 workers and to establish an assistance program for local farmers. Therefore, they launched a Farmer Development program (FDP), which provided the farmers machineries (e.g. tractors) and supplied fertilizers and seeds during the first thee years for free (Bottazzi et al. 2016: 978).
In the second agreement, different village councils granted to lease 54'000 ha of fertile land to the company. These acreages entailed also entire villages (Bottazzi et al. 2016: 978). The company paid in exchange USD 3.60 per acre and year. Therefrom, 10 % went to the government, 20 % to the district council, 20% to the Chiefdom Administrator and 50% to the landowners (Anane et al. 2011: 31, Wedin et al. 2013: 43).
The third convention, the Land Lease Acknowledgment Agreement (LLAA) between the company and the landowning families determined the additional lease payments of USD 1.40 per acre and year to each landowner. In this agreement the landowners also declared that the company had no restrictions on ecological, economic and social application of the leased area. But all seven years the landowners had the right to renegotiate the LLAA (Bottazzi et al. 2016: 978-979).
The amount of the leased acreage was initially 54'000 hectares for a total time period of 50 years, with a possible extension of 25 years (Bottazzi et al. 2016: 977). In 2014 14'300 ha were under utilization whereat 10'000 ha served as sugarcane cultivations and 4300 ha were

used for the factory side, ecological compensation areas and rice production (Silnorf et al. 2016: 9). The project costs accounted for 335 million USD. It was founded by AOG and twelve public international funding agencies, among which also several development banks (African, Sweden, Germany) were found (Bottazzi et al. 2016: 977). The total public funds amounted to £ 267 million (Bottazzi et al. 2018). The ABSL Company intended to produce annually 380,000 litres of ethanol and to use the remaining baggage for the electricity production. The affected area enclosed 53 rural villages with a total population of approximately 25'000 people (Rist, 2016: 2, Silnorf et al. 2016: 9).

In 2011 the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) published a monitoring report about the ABSL project operations. Thereby, the project was praised as a "ground-breaking initiative, which integrates environmental and social criteria at all levels of its business model, combining a profitable financial investment with a truly sustainable operation" (Beall and Rossi 2011). Further commendations ranged from a profound analysis of the environmental, social and health impacts (ESHIA), a successful stakeholder engagement and mapping process, a sensitivity to gender equity to a detailed mitigation and compensation action plan. Above all, it was said that the local population would profit from employment possibilities, land lease payments and local development investments. The food security should be granted by means of a Farmer Development and Field and Life School Programme (FDP & FLSP). On the domestic level the project would meet the growing demand for biofuels and contribute to the national power grid. The few identified challenges concerned mainly local or infrastructural deficits like lack of education at all levels or minimal agricultural potential (Beall and Rossi 2011: 1-6).

But already in 2015 the ABSL Company scaled down its production. About the causes it can only be speculated. Hypothesis range from the Ebola epidemic, low sugarcane yields, bad management to the fall of the bioethanol prices (Botazzi et al. 2018). After this sudden production suspension, one year of uncertainty followed until AOG announced that they found a new owner. They sold the majority of the lease (75.1%) to the British Chinese Company Sunbird Bioenergy Africa Ltd. (Sunbird). Sunbird is a developer and operator of large-scale energy projects in Sub-Sahara Africa, which produce electricity and low-carbon transportation fuels from sugarcane, Napier grass and cassava. They describe themselves as a conscious cooperation, which has the intention to include the local population and to advance the national economy. Thereby, they declare that their "value-added agriculture projects contribute to Government themes of employment generation, rural development and import substitutions" (Sunbird, 2018). In 2017 the new owner started with its operations, whereat the production of electricity from burning elephant grass was initiated. On their website they communicated that currently 10'000 ha would be under sugarcane cultivation whereby another 2'000 ha would be planed for cassava plantations. With the latter power and bioethanol for the national and international market should be generated (Sunbird, 2018). Additionally, they would have built up a 400 ha cassava nursery to establish an out-grower program, which should be launched in 2018. Therewith, 600'000 tones of cassava should be harvested every year, whereby economic opportunities for 20'000 rural farmers should be developed (Sunbird, 2018).

Through these broad praises from various noteworthy organisations the case caught broad scientific interest from NGO's and international scientists (Marfurt 2016: 55). Neither the scale down in 2015 nor the take over by Sunbird diminished the attention the LSLA attracted.

Thereby, most researchers did not survey such a glorious project implementation and outcome as the FAO and the Rsb communicated. This topic will be addressed hereinafter.

2.2.2 The state of research in the Makeni case

In the subsequent I will present and summarize the studies of multiple writers. Due to the numerous publications the literature review for the single authors is kept quite brief. Nonetheless, an adequate overview about performed surveys will be generated. In terms to discuss and compare scientists' results with my findings (s. Chap. 9) some authors will be specified in more detail than others.
The review is structured after the single author groups. First the reports of the None Governmental Organisation (NGO) will be presented, followed by the published investigations by the Stockholm Environmental Institute (SEI), the scientific papers and finally the master theses.

The NGO's reports
The focus of the NGO's was to reveal the negative sides of the project implementation. They continuously visited the affected villages to monitor the project influences on the local basis. Thereby, they were attempted to include all different age, gender and ethnicity groups. The local organisation Sierra Leone Network on the right to Food (Silnorf) was the main NGO, which gave the locals a voice and second discovered other, so far unnoticed, influences of the company's operations. They were supported by the Swiss NGO Bread for All (Bfa) and the two German ones Bread of the Wolrd and Evangelischer Emtwicklungsdienst. In their reports (2011 & 2016) they indicted Addax for several negative impacts that the lease and the operations should have had on the local communities. The accusations range from dispossession and reduced access to land, contested food security, unequal power relations between the stakeholders in the negotiating process, little compensation and mitigation actions, bad working conditions, broken promises, strengthened marginalization of vulnerable groups to the attempts of bribery (Actionaid 2013, Anane et al. 2011, Silnorf et al. 2016). Since the take-over of Sunbird in 2016 Silnorf et al. (2017) additionally accused the company for contaminated and insufficient water access, contested food securities (caused by rigidly fire bans) as well as delayed land lease payments and insufficient intentions to initiate the renegotiation process of the LLAA with the local authorities.

The SEI examinations
The SEI in collaboration with the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (one of the donors of the ABSL project) showed a bit a flattened picture. They traded the positive outcomes like new job opportunities, enhanced infrastructure (houses, roads, wells and commercial buildings) and upgraded market access against the surveyed negative ones like food shortages, inflation or negative impacts of the in-migrated labourers. They concluded that the negative outcomes were primarily caused through the inadequate functioning of national institutions and the lack of good governance and capabilities of the Sierra Leonean government (Fielding et al. 2015: vii-x).

The scientific papers
Vlasak (2014) also addressed the negative impacts the LSLA project had on the local communities. Her findings overlaped with the one made by the NGO's. She argued that the company broke many promises, that the compensation payments and the salaries were not enough to meet daily needs, that the food prices inflated and became instable and that walk-

ing distances became longer (due to pivots circumventions). Respectively, the population would be worse off than before whereby their vulnerability to food insecurity rose.

Baxer's research in collaboration with the Oakland Institute focussed on the ESHIA report and its inclusion in the company's business plan, the negotiation process and the labour conditions (2011). Thereby, he criticised Addax for its unsatisfactory consideration of the recommendations the ESHIA report suggested (ibid.: 25-27). Moreover, the company would take an advantage of the prevailing traditional authority structures and elected the advisors and representatives for the communities. As a consequence Barxer considered the abilities of local communities to challenge the land lease as highly restricted and queried the independence of the assisting stakeholders (2011: 28). In accordance with other scientists and Silnorf, he uncovered that the seasonally employments mostly overlap with the ploughing and seeding periods. Consequently, as the strongest labourers would be engaged at the company during farming times, Barxer concluded that this phenomenon could have a negative impact on the food security (2011: 29).

Menzel (2015) took under analysis to what extent FDI-driven developments in Sierra Leone could enhance the livelihoods of the local population. Her research showed that many people complained about poor working conditions, occupations of evitable empty land and nudging or pressure during the negotiation process. She concluded that the so-called development often brought disappointment and marginalisation instead of betterment for the affected population (Menzel 2015: 18).

Millar published after a six months field stay in Sierra Leone three different papers (2015a, 2015b, 2015c). In the first publication (2015a) he addressed to what extend FDI could trigger economic restoration in a post-war country like Sierra Leone. Therein, he argued that the high expectations among the affected villagers were not only a result from made promises by the company but would have emerged also from ideologies, which were based on the traditional patron-client system (where the powerful has to provide for the powerless – s. Chap. 5.3.3). Furthermore, he pre-calculated how much a daily meal would cost for an average local family and compared these expenses with the income one could generate with an employment at Addax. The results were deflating since the revenues were not able to cover the expenses for food or other necessities (e.g. cloths or school fees). As company agents would have told him, the salaries were considered as a supplemental income besides people's subsistence farming rather than a replacement. Thus, he concluded that the company would have failed to incorporate the local cultural circumstances or to contribute to an economic restoration of the conflict shattered country. Instead the focus would have been set only on profitability (Millar 2015a).

In his second paper (2015b) he illustrated how the legal model of global governance and the applied technologies intruded into the traditional systems of authority. According to Millar Addax was able to grab the control over land and people by the introduction of western technics (satellite based maps and written agreements) into a non-western setting. Most villagers would have enjoyed little education or even would have been illiterate. Therewith, the new technologies of knowledge disrupted cultural authority structures and customary practices whereupon the power and the control fell into the hands of the company.

The focus of Millar's last professional article (2015c) was set on the impact the project had on gender rights. In Sierra Leone women would have the legal right to own land and thus also to participate in land negotiations. However, Millar found that in the case of Addax women had no voice to influence the decision-making. Consequently, they experienced disempowerment and marginalisation. As the influence of the disempowering neoliberal economy and the patriarchal cultural norms would still be omnipresent, this disparity between the legal rights and the implemented practice could not be solved with a simple institutional solution.

Nevertheless, Millar (2015c) demonstrated how the gender-neutral neoliberal model of development had failed to achieve a gender-balanced participation and thus reproduced or even reinforced an ambience of paternalism.

Yengoh et al. (2015b) addressed how large-scale land acquisitions affect women's access and right to land resources in the concerned areas. They detected that women's economic independence and social standpoint heavily relied on local natural economic assets like fire wood or medical plants. As LSLA often disrupted these access abilities, the income through land-based resources significantly fell for many households. As a consequence men would tend to emigrate in search for new livelihood possibilities while women would mostly remain behind. The leave of the husbands would lead to augmented struggles of the wives to maintain a living. Accordingly, Addax's interference would have firstly impaired the access to natural resources and secondly triggered male out-migration flows what derogated women's independence and the abilities for socio-economic development (Yengoh et al. 2015b).

Later on Yengoh et al. (2016b) investigated which factors made local populations vulnerable against LSLA by the example of the ABSL case. They found that on a local level the socio-economic characteristics, like low education, power inequalities between chiefs and the community and the predominant corruption made these regions especially attractive for LSLA. On a larger scale the unsatisfactory governance, the national poor economic situation and the external political-financial interest would have additionally enhanced the ambience for foreign investments (Yengoh et al. 2016b).

In a further analysis Yengoh et al. (2015a) dealt with the impacts of the ABSL project on the local food security. Thereby, the researchers found that the food insecurity became severe and that the agriculture production had declined. In comparison to the total amount of people living in the affected communities the provided labour positions would be inadequate. Consequently, the paid wages by the company would not be sufficient to compensate the harvest declines. Yengoh et al. (2015a) concluded that the local population would be better off by cultivating its own food instead of relying on the company's operations.

Also Wedin et al. (2013) looked at the food security and to what extent Addax affected it. They identified following factors, which influenced the food security in the project zone: "Land and water availability, agricultural intensification and infrastructure, self-sufficiency/market dependency and alternative income options". Although, Addax would have tried to mitigate negative impacts of its operations on the local food security, Wedin et al. (2013) argued that the mitigation actions were frequently inadequate. Reasons could range from lax laws, poor governance to deficits in supervision. Accordingly, the community would have faced risen food insecurities and altered vulnerabilities to shocks and risks (Wedin et al. 2013).

Knoblauch et al. (2014a-b) engaged themselves in two related research projects on the "changing patterns of health in communities impacted by" the ABSL project. Thereby, they compared the collected health data from affected and control sites. Their findings showed that many parameters like prevalence's of wasting, Anaemia, stunting and Plasmodium falciparum in children under five years had decreased significantly at the impacted but non-significantly at the control sites. The explanations for these changes were based on LSLA induced and non-LSLA induced factors. The identified factors ranged from effects triggered by national campaigns, control programs and free health care initiatives to LSLA. All factors together would have improved the socioeconomic status as well as the road and well infrastructures. But in return the company's practices would also have led to risen immigration flows, which might result in declined sanitation or water quality. As a consequence, the authors supposed the risk of disease transmissions as possibly heightened (Knoblauch et al. 2014a-b).

The emergence of possible conflicts and institutional innovation were also a matter of investigations. Thereby, Bottazzi et al. (2016) recognized that the formalisation of customary land tenure structures reinforced already existing social inequalities. Accordingly, the risk of emerging conflicts would have risen. Following four conflict-types were identified: interfamilial, intergenerational, intervillage and interlineage. The researchers supposed that these conflicts contested the predominant land-based socio-political structures and could trigger societal change (ibid.: 2016).

Finally, Bürgi Bonanomi (2015) analysed the de jure responsibilities of the different actors involved in the ABSL case. She argued that the international law would still entail some gaps concerning soil resources and land tenure. She recommended that the international law should strengthen the responsibility of the investor's home state. Regarding investment, tax and trade policies she pleaded additionally for more restrictive national and international economic laws (Brügi Bonanomi 2015).

Of particular interest is the recently published article by Bottazzi et al. (2018). The researchers studied the livelihood impacts of the large-scale agricultural investment by comparing a treatment and a control area with each other. Their statistical findings demonstrated that clear differences between the treatment and the control area existed. Within the treatment area the access to land and other natural resources had significantly declined. Therewith, also the amount of produced agrarian products and the achieved revenues therefrom decreased significantly by 50%. These losses were mainly compensated through an augmented wage income of up to 70%. Further, they found clear differences between landowners' and tenants' access abilities to land and financial revenues. Landowners were generally cultivating bigger patches and achieved higher monetary incomes (through employment and lease mitigations). As only 2% of all women were employed (while 20% of men), also Bottazzi et al. (2018) detected that the project implementation maintained or possibly even reinforced gendered inequalities. Nonetheless, the perceived food and water security significantly rose in the treatment, but remained unchanged in the control area. Finally, the authors highlighted that FDI corporations not only have negative impacts on the local communities, but that rather the complex dynamics and temporal developments would have to be addressed to fully understand the ambiguous effects LSLA might have. Hereof, they specified that their research would just represent a temporary snapshot of the situation during the peak of ABSL's production in 2014. This snapshot would have shown that LSLA indeed could lead to enhanced local livelihoods. Nevertheless, the simultaneous decrease of land-based revenues would lead to people's augmented dependence on off-farm financial incomes. Therefore, they supposed that a sudden shutdown of the company's production might cause serious problems.

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Lustenberger (2014) observed the involved actors, which made a realization of the ABSL project possible. Thereby, he identified five pillars: the Biofuel Complex, the mother company AOG, the Development Finance Institutions, the European Union and the Makeni region in Northern Sierra Leone. Furthermore, he analysed the variables or organisations, which negatively influenced the implementation process. These were NGO's, lacks of local support, cases of corruption, thefts, land disputes, labour issues and the Ebola epidemic (Lustenberger 2014).

Käser (2014) was interested in the local impacts of the ABSL project and highlighted the theme more from an anthropological perspective. He studied the local setting with its culture and traditions. The contextual framework was subsequently set in relation to the impacts of the ABSL project implementation. In doing so he showed that even a praised LSLA project,

like the one of Addax, could result in strengthened inequalities and livelihood degradations as soon as the local settings would not be precisely considered (Käser 2014).

By analysing livelihood impacts and coping strategies of local villagers also Marfurt (2016) conducted an anthropological research. Her focus was set on the detection of possible gendered impacts the company had regarding access abilities to natural resources and land. The research showed that the female villagers indeed were marginalized by the formalisation of customary land rights and the implementation of the ABSL project. Nonetheless, in her specific case the women and other affected individuals were capable to raise resistance. Thereby, they were capable to prevent their livelihoods from additional degradations (Marfurt 2016).

Finally, Pulver (2015) tested the extraterritorial obligation concept by the ABSL case. She examined that Switzerland, as the home state of the AOG, had not properly addressed their obligation to ensure that ABSL met the human rights principles in Sierra Leone. Instead the power of the Transnational Cooperation's would have been able to enforce the ABSL's interests against a more decentralized and weak state (Pulver 2015).

This literature review demonstrated that up to now multiple publications were already released. Therein, the addressed research fields dealt with numerous topics, ranging from general livelihood impacts, food security, legal land rights, health care and gender relations to extraterritorial obligations. However, so far only little was known about the impact of the breakdown and the transition to Sunbird.

3   Theory

My master thesis will lean on eight theoretical pillars, which should enable a complete and detailed analysis of the complex and interwoven processes, dimensions and connections between LSLA, migration and rural livelihoods. These are the *Sustainable Livelihood Approach* (SLA) by Chambers and Conway (1991), its extension by Scoones (1998) to an *Analytical Framework for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods* (AFSRL), the *Theory of Access* by Ribot and Peluso (2003), the *New Institutionalism Theory* by Ensminger (1992), the *Concept of Translocality* by Freitag and Von Oppen (1998), the *Theory of Practice* by Bourdieu (1986), the *Concept of Social Capital* by Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (1998) and the *Concept of Regionalisation* by Backhaus and Müller (2003).

In the following, four sections the core characteristics and terms of the original theories will be presented. Subsequently, I will generate an analytical framework, which combines the distinct theories to an analytical tool. Thereby, the established analytical framework consists of two analytical steps (s. Chap. 3.5 Fig. 5 & 6). Figure 5 will be structured mainly after the AFSRL (Scoones 1998) while figure 6 will be designed in dependence on the Theory of Practice (Bourdieu 1986). Nonetheless, for a successful and profound answering of my research questions the inclusion of further concepts is necessary. Consequently, the tools and strategies presented in all other six concepts will be incorporated into the single analytical steps (single boxes in Fig. 5 & 6 - s. Chap. 3.5). This tactic enables me to elaborate an analytical framework that is precisely tailored to my research aims. Finally, I will present and define the terms, which are essential for my thesis.

3.1   The Sustainable Livelihood Approach

The successful long-term eradication of poverty can be achieved when people gain sustainable livelihoods. This is the case where the natural environment is in equilibrium, people's vulnerability is low and the resilience against intern and external impacts is high. To detect the diversity and complexity of ways how people make a living the SLA will be used (Thieme 2006: 40). This approach facilitates to identify if rural livelihoods are sustainable or when they are not, how they can be made as such (Chambers & Conway 1991: i-ii). Hence, the SLA serves as a good tool to disclose complexities and to analyse single parameters.

First, I will present the concept of Chambers and Conway (1991) by introducing all crucial terms and how they are interconnected. Secondly, the AFSRL by Scoones (1998) will be summarized, which serves as one fundamental pillar for the generation of my own analytical framework.

Capability, Equity and Sustainability of Livelihoods
Chambers and Conway formulated the SLA, which should serve as a tool for research and policy implications to achieve sustainable developments of rural livelihoods (1991: 1). They founded their approach on the three essential concepts of capability[3], equity[4] and sustainability[5]. Mostly these are mutually supportive interconnected with each other, while all of them can be a source for and a production of sustainable livelihoods. To achieve a sustainable livelihood Chambers and Conway argued that all these three concepts have to be incorporated although also other influencing factors should to be considered (1991: 3-5).

Chambers and Conway distinguished between tangible and intangible assets. The tangible assets are composed of stores (food stocks, cash savings, credit schemes etc.) and resources (land, water, livestock, trees etc.). Intangible assets are claims and access. Chambers and Conway exemplified claims as follows "Claims are demands and appeals, which can be made for material, moral or other practical support or access" (1991: 8). The raise of claims is most frequent in times of hardship and is made towards friends, relatives, neighbours, patrons, organisations or governmental bodies. They are legitimized through rights, moral and social conventions or obligations as well as through power relations. Access is outlined as the practice to utilise a resource, gain a service and to achieve information, materials, employment, food, technology and so on (ibid.: 8).

The way in which people make a living through their assets by activities like labour, knowledge, skills and creativity could be manifold and deviate from space[6] and time. Some generated outputs are consumed immediately, some are transformed into other assets and others are stored for future needs. The livelihoods can be enhanced through distinctive strategies, which include investments in resources, claims, access or capabilities (ibid.: 8).

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[3] Capability refers to the ability of a person to perform certain basic functioning like to be comfortably clothed, to have enough food, to live a life without shame or to be able to visit friends (Sen 1984, 1987). As the term refers to the quality of life, which may have various means for different people in distinct places its definition is not universally but has to be formulated individually (Chambers & Conway 1991: 4).
[4] Chambers and Conway use the word equity in a broad sense whereby it refers to the equal distribution of assets, opportunities and capabilities whereat especially discrimination and deprivation of the weakest should be ended (1991: 4).
[5] The term sustainability refers to a way of living, which ensures a long lasting preservation of good social and environmental surroundings (Chambers & Conway 1991: 4-5). For more details see paragraphs below.
[6] For the definition of space see footnote 26 p. 27.

Chambers and Conway also tried to specify when a livelihood could be regarded as sustainable and which dimensions have to be considered for the development of sustainable livelihoods (1991: 9). Hence, ensuing from the Advisory Panel of the World Commission on Environment and Development 1987 Chambers and Conway defined sustainable livelihoods as follows; "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term" (1991: 6). A livelihood is only then sustainable when it meets both environmental and social sustainability.

The environmental dimension concerns the effects of a livelihood on resources and assets whereby a long-term preservation of the productive resource base should be achieved. Environmental sustainability is composed of a local and a global dimension. Meanwhile, the local level examines if a livelihood enhances, maintains or depletes the local natural resources. Examples therefor would be the improvement of soil fertility, deforestation or desertification. On the global level it is understood whether a livelihood has a net positive or negative impact on the environmental sustainability of other livelihoods. These are primarily the emission of greenhouse gases, other environmental pollutions or the irreversible use of non-renewable resources. Important to mention is that the authors consider a livelihood also then as environmentally unsustainable if it has a net negative effect on claims or accesses of others (Chambers & Conway 1991: 9-10).

Social sustainability addresses if the developed livelihood strategies of a human unit (individual, family or household) allow it to achieve successful livelihood outcomes. Thereby, a researcher should investigate to what extent a human unit is able to endure stresses and shocks and how capable it is to continue and enhance a living after such times of hardship (1991: 10-11). Chambers and Conway defined stress as gradual and predictable pressures like seasonal labour access, volatile income, declining common property resources or yields as well as indebtedness, ecological changes or population pressures (ibid.: 10). Shocks on the other hand refer to sudden, unpredictable impacts like droughts, market collapses, civil violence or epidemics (ibid.: 10-11). To gain as much security as possible from those negative impacts human units develop manifold livelihood strategies[7]. A livelihood is then socially sustainable when the human unit is able to prevent or stand such stresses or shocks meaning that they are resilient to endure struggling times without any persisting negative consequences (ibid.: 11). Human units usually are attempted to search those livelihood activities with tangible and intangible assets, which enable them to reduce their vulnerability and risk of threats in future times (ibid.: 11). The vulnerability reduction can be undertaken first through external interventions by public action, as the development of insurances, flood protection or off-season public works. Secondly, internal interventions on the private base refer to preventive actions through which livelihoods should become capable to respond more effective to such impairments (ibid.: 11). Examples therefor would be investments into housing, storages or social mutual relationships.

Further, a livelihood is only then absolutely sustainable when its heritage allows future generations the capability to maintain an adequate living. Chambers and Conway distinguished between direct and indirect intergenerational sustainability. Direct intergenerational sustainability refers to inherited assets or skills like knowledge, properties, and access to land or wa-

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[7] Chambers and Conway's defined livelihood strategies range from stint, hoard, protection, depletion, diversity and claims to migration (s. Chambers and Conway 1991: 11).

ter. The indirect dimension mainly concerns benefits, which emerge from enhanced education or job possibilities as well as new livelihood opportunities at distinct places. Consequently, parents often are prone to invest in their offspring's' education to increase their children's and their own chance of enhanced living conditions (ibid.: 12).

Chambers and Conway also introduced the term of net sustainable livelihoods[8], which include the concepts of net sustainable livelihood effects[9] and net sustainable livelihood influences[10] (1991: 18-21). As the comprehension of this additional concept would be beyond the scope of the here presented thesis only the net effect of competition is closer examined here. Hereof, a livelihood might be sustainable for itself but restricts or even damages others. Competition is one example for such a dilemma and especially affects the poor. Frequently upcoming competition situations arise when many compete for few resources or opportunities like in oversupplied labour markets or when common land access is reduced (Chambers and Conway 1991: 21).

Analytical Framework for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods

Some years later, based on the publication of Chambers and Conway (1991), Scoones (1998) elaborated an extended approach. While Chambers and Conway's approach aimed to elaborate an method to find out how rural sustainable livelihoods can be achieved and how researchers and politicians can recognize, which livelihoods are sustainable or how they can be made as such, Scoones (1998) illuminated the theme from another perspective. He elaborated an analytical tool to study the complexities of rural sustainable livelihoods, their embedment into the local context and their determining factors. With this extended approach he set the basement to answer research questions like: "How can you assess who achieves a sustainable livelihood and who does not?" (Scoones 1998: 3).

The heart of his publication is a framework for the analysis of sustainable rural livelihoods (s. Fig. 1). Thereby, he first clarified the importance of the contextual conditions and trends, in which a livelihood is embedded. Hence, previous evaluations of the historical background, made experiences in the past as well as the local political, economical, social and environmental circumstances are essential for a profound analysis of sustainable livelihoods (ibid.: 5-7). Subsequent, Scoones introduced the four livelihood resource assets of natural, financial, human and social capital. In the following, these are exemplified:

- The term natural capital refers to natural resource stocks (e.g. soil, water) and environmental services (e.g. pollution sinks, pollination), which are useful to achieve a sustainable livelihood (ibid: 7).

- Financial capital[11] is composed of any capital basements like economic assets (cash, savings, debts, loans) and access to infrastructure, technologies and equipment, which are essential for the realisation of any livelihood strategy (ibid: 8).

- Human capital contains assets like knowledge, healthiness, skills as well as physical and working capability that are needed to implement various livelihood strategies (ibid: 8).

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[8] Net sustainable livelihoods highlight to what extent a group of socially and environmentally sustainable livelihoods benefits respectively harms the entire other livelihoods anywhere (Chambers & Conway 1991: 18).

[9] "Net sustainable livelihood effects are the net adequate and sustainable livelihoods generated and supported by a livelihood itself, or by an enterprise, project, programme or policy, …" (Chambers & Conway 1991: 18).

[10] "Net sustainable livelihood-intensity relates net adequate and sustainable livelihoods as numerator to the denominator of another livelihood, or an enterprise, programme […] or a social, economic or political grouping or system" (Chambers & Conway 1991: 18).

[11] DFID (2002) split the financial capital into financial and physical capital. Thereby, financial capital only contains real monetary dimensions (like earnings, savings, loans, remittances and debts). Other possibly economic-related aspects like infrastructure, property, land or tools are comprised in the physical capital (In Thieme 2006: 42).

- Social capital addresses parameters that are necessary for the elaboration of livelihood strategies, which require harmonized actions. Examples therefor are social claims, relations and networks as well as associations or memberships (ibid: 8).

The formation of these capitals highlight that also financial poor people may have access to other assets like social networks, natural resources or skills. Through their recognition one can identify which opportunities the single capitals offer or where the constraints are laying (Thieme 2006: 42).

The livelihood resources accessibility determines which livelihood strategy combinations can be pursued. Scoones (1998) identified three strategy classes based on the options he considers for rural populations. These range from agricultural intensification respectively extensification and livelihood diversification to migration (for more information s. Scoones 1998: 4, 9).
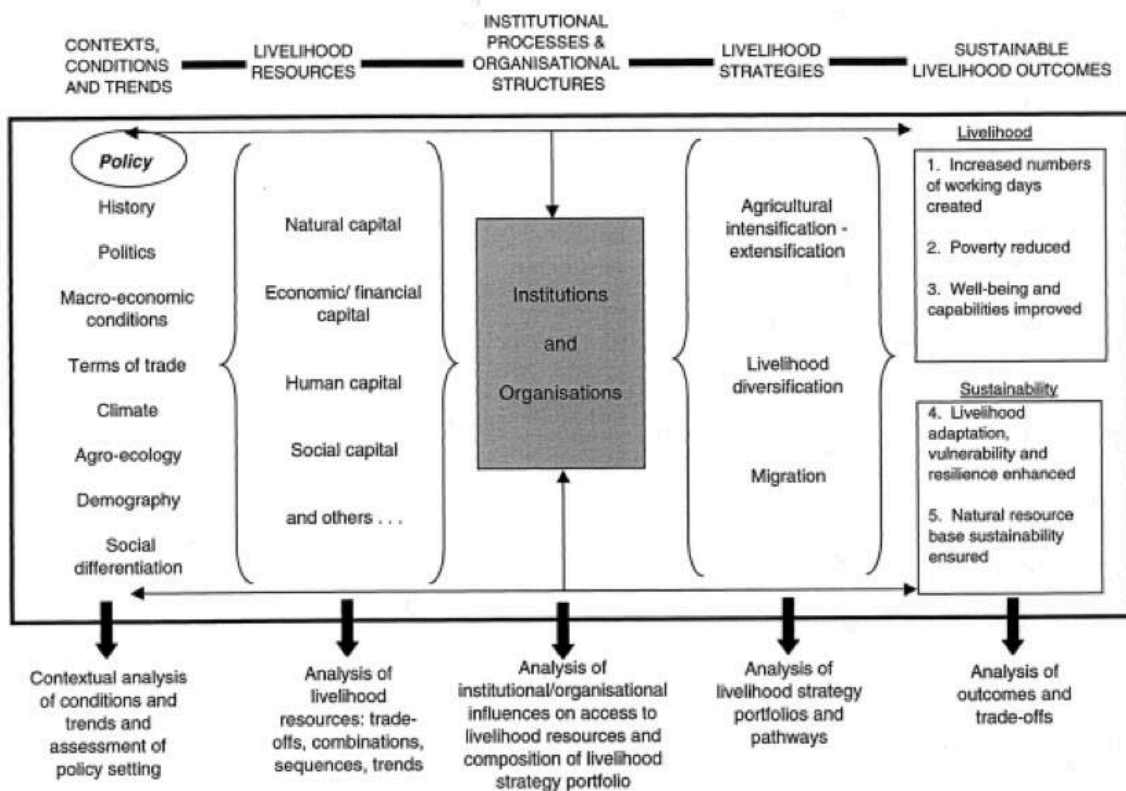
Figure 1: A framework for the analysis of sustainable rural livelihoods (elaborated by Scoones 1998).

The ability for a human unit to choose between different strategies and consequently between attempts to diversify or specialize depends on the availability of resources and alternative options. The extent of choice and flexibility in livelihood strategies determines how able a human unit is to withstand, react or adapt to long-term, seasonal or short-term influences (DFID 2002 in Thieme 2006: 42). As socio-economic differences (e.g. gender, ethnicity, ownership, socio-political status or age) between stakeholders lead to unequal resource access abilities and hence to involuntary distinctive compositions of livelihood portfolios[12], the

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[12] The combinations of activities, which a human unit chooses in attempts to achieve a sustainable livelihood, are called 'livelihood portfolios'. The range of possible livelihood portfolios is almost infinite and could range from highly diverse to absolute specialized niche-activities. Meanwhile, various livelihood paths are possible throughout

achievement of sustainable livelihoods is restricted especially for the poor and marginal groups (Scoones 1998: 10-11). As a consequence, not all population strata are able in a same way to predict and adapt to social, environmental and economic transformations (Chambers and Conway 1991). To identify these individual opportunities and restrictions to achieve a sustainable livelihood, the understanding of institutional processes and structures is crucial (e.g. institutional change – s. Chap. 3.3) (ibid.: 12). Thus, the inclusion and studying of formal and informal institutions plays a fundamental role in every livelihood analysis.

Finally, also Scoones (1998) addressed the outcomes and sustainability of livelihoods. Meanwhile, he considered the creation of labour, the reduction of poverty and the measuring of well-being and capabilities as the three parameters to gather the livelihood outcomes (for closer clarifications he points to further literature) (ibid.: 5-6). From my point of view Köberlein (2003) and DFID (2002) structured the possible outcomes a bit more comprehensible. Hereof, DFID distinguished between material and non-material increased well-being[13]. Then, Köberlein (2003) differentiated between expected and real outcomes[14]. Thereby, the outcomes of strategies do not always have to be positive and improving but might also be erosive or non-coping. Hence, outcomes can have a positive or negative impact on asset portfolios (Köberlein 2003: 56).

Concerning the assessment of livelihood sustainability Scoones (1998) followed closely the approach of Chambers and Conway (1991) whereby social and environmental sustainability is elaborated with the help of concepts like adaptation, vulnerability and resilience under the aspect of shocks and stresses (Scoones 1998: 6-7).

In this first conceptual section the SLA after Chambers and Conway (1991) was introduced followed by the exemplification of the AFSRL, which was elaborated by Scoones (1998). The SLA clarified many terminologies and brought some order into a highly complex construct of diverse structures and processes regarding sustainable livelihoods. For my thesis I will use their approach to analyse, which livelihood outcomes were achieved and in what way these were sustainable.
Scoones expanded the approach towards an analytical framework, with which livelihoods, their resources, strategies and contextual embedment can be analysed. His practice will particularly facilitate to structure my analytical framework in a logic and comprehensive manner.

Greiser et al. (2011) illustrated that the sustainable livelihood approach and its related concepts are indeed helpful for researchers to focus on core livelihood issues. Nonetheless, to study the complexity of the manifold factors that influence livelihood realities, theories, which provide solid analytical tools, would have to be consulted. This would be particularly important for studies dealing with inequalities, power relations and daily social practices (Greiser et al. 2011: 257). As my research questions are based precisely on the study of these phenomena, it is essential for a comprehensive data analysis to incorporate further theories

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time and space. Thus, it is especially important to include individual life histories into livelihood analysis as the choosing of certain strategies is influenced through past experiences and historical events (Scoones 1998: 10).

[13] Like improved access to services or health facilities or the sustainable use of natural resources or infrastructure.

[14] The expected outcomes are grounded on the imaginations people have from a place or a certain livelihood strategy. They crucially influence migration decisions and expectations of migrants and as well of left behinds (Brickell & Datta 2011: 19). These socially constructed mental imagines result from the processes of regionalization and space appropriation (for further explications see Backhaus & Müller in Backhaus & Müller-Böcker 2006: 19-24).

and concepts. Hence, in the following, three sections further valuable conceptual contributions by diverse authors will be presented.

3.2   The Theory of Access and interrelated terminologies

As access to land and natural resources fundamentally affects people's livelihood and thus has an influence on migration decisions and flows, the theory of access by Ribot and Peluso (2003) will underpin my analysis on LSLA. In the following, I will shortly introduce the concepts of property and access relations. Subsequently, I will discuss the essential terms and characteristics of the theory of access and the intersecting concept of regionalisation and space appropriation.

Already 150 years ago Proudhon questioned the way in which property should be analysed (In Ribot & Peluso 2003: 155). Recently, scientists from different backgrounds addressed the question of property and its formalisation anew (e.g. De Soto 2000). Ribot and Peluso (2003) kept the focus of their investigations and theory formations on the term property, which is defined as "the right to benefit from things" (ibid.:153). Nevertheless, they revolutionized the paradigm with a distinctive conceptualisation (2003). Their theory of access namely amplified the horizon from the prior narrow view of property relation analysis to a broader picture, which helps to understand why some people are able to benefit from resources even though they might have not rights to them (Ribot & Peluso 2003: 154). Thereby, property relations are not left out in an access analysis but rather are embedded within various other mechanisms that outline the ability to benefit from things. Therewith, Ribot and Peluso (2003) set the analytical baseline to understand and include complex contexts and processes, which influence people's access to land and natural resources. In their theory they came away from the classical definition of property to a new approach where access is defined as "the ability to benefit from things – including material objects, persons, institutions, and symbols" (ibid.: 153). In contrast to property, which has to be acknowledged by rights or claims through laws, customs or conventions, access involves all possible forms through which a person may benefit from things (ibid.: 156). These abilities to benefit from things are dependent on bundles or webs of power[15], which help us to understand the social actions of gaining[16], controlling[17] and maintaining access[18] in the political and economic framework where our analysis of access relations normally take place (ibid.: 154-155, Ghani 1995 in Ribot Peluso 2003: 158). A person might benefit from things through legal[19] or illegal[20] access. Furthermore, the bundles of powers are not universally but are compounded individually by 'structural and relational mechanisms of access' (ibid.: 159-162). Ribot and Peluso (2003) characterized eight different structural and relational mechanisms of access, whereat their interplay determine to what extent a person gains, controls or maintains his or her own access abilities (ibid.: 164-172). In the following, only the crucial characteristics for an access analysis in reference to LSLA will be presented.

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[15] Ribot and Peluso (2003) defined power in two ways. First, "as the capacity of some actors to affect the practices and ideas of others (Weber 1978: 53, Lukes 1986: 3)" and second, "as emerged from, though not always attached to, people" (2003: 155-156).
[16] The term 'gaining access' refers to the process through which a person establishes access (Ribot & Peluso 2003: 159).
[17] "Access control is the ability to mediate others' access" (Ribot & Peluso 2003: 158).
[18] "Maintenance of access requires expending resources or powers to keep a particular sort of resource open" (Ribot & Peluso 2003: 159).
[19] Legal access "derives from rights attributed by law, custom, or conventions" (Ribot & Peluso 2003: 162).
[20] "… illegal access refers to the enjoyment of benefits from things in ways that are not socially sanctioned by state and society" (Ribot & Peluso 2003: 164).

- *Access to technology* facilitates the ability to benefit from resources in distinctive ways. Thereby, technology might improve the access to or the psychical ability to reach a resource (ibid.: 165).

- *Access to capital* fundamentally influences the sustainability of livelihoods. Thereby, capital is used to gain, control or maintain access to certain resources (ibid.: 165-166). With extended access to capital an individual might become wealthy, which increase the possibility for further wealth accumulation (s. Chap. 5.3.3).

- *Access to Market* determines to what extent a person has the ability to enter an exchange relation and thus to commercially benefit from a resource. But also general market movements as processes (e.g. demand and supply) and fluctuations (e.g. inflation) influence people's access to benefit from things (ibid.: 166-167).

- *Access to labour and labour opportunities* affects the ability to benefit from things as well. Though, Ribot and Peluso (2003) distinguished between the one who controls the access to labour (mostly the employer or patron) and those who try to gain and maintain their labour opportunities (mostly the employees or clients). The interplay of market access and market movements is crucial. For example scare or surplus labour influences labour opportunities and the risk for exploitative processes (ibid.: 167-168).

- *Access to knowledge* is an additional mechanism, which shapes to what extent a person is able to gain, control or maintain its access to resources. Knowledge can be shaped through beliefs, moral or ideological controls, systems of meanings or through education. The access to knowledge often empowers individuals and may create and legitimate hierarchies between different stakeholders (ibid.: 168-169).

- *Access to authority* influences especially the individual ability to benefit from resources. The persons or institutions, which hold the authority to enact legal or customary laws or to take important decisions, mostly have altered access, through legal or also illegal channels, to access building mechanisms. Furthermore, access to authority also specifies if one has the capacity to reach agents of the state and other authorities what might influence the access abilities too (ibid.: 170).

- *Access through social identity* or group membership impacts if a person is able or allowed to benefit from things. Social identity is shaped by age, gender, ethnicity, status, religion, education level, place of birth, profession and so forth. The influence of social identity on access abilities is dependent on the political, social and cultural framework and can be manifested by law or through customary practices (ibid.: 170-172).

- Access *through the negotiation of other social relations* as trust, friendship, kinship, patronage, dependence or reciprocity forms an essential pillar in access webs. Thereby, an individual or a group of individuals gain and maintain access to a resource through social relationships. This form of access provision is found to be particularly crucial in African societies (ibid.: 172).

Ribot and Peluso (2003) clearly clarified that the abovementioned list is heuristic and thus has not the aim of being absolute.

Backhaus and Müller disclosed in their socio-geographical publication that the access to natural resources and land is closely related to processes of regionalisation. Thereby, the concept of regionalisation intends to answer questions concerning, who is why able to appropriate space, in which way and under which rules. Meanwhile, the aim is to analyse the human-environment relations whereby unequal access abilities and scopes of action should be detected. To enlarge an access analysis after Ribot and Peluso (2003) with further suitable terminologies three terms will be introduced here, which arise from regionalisation processes. Hereof, the term space appropriation concerns the occupation of space segments, whereas a space can be appropriated mentally or physically. A space is mentally occupied through the assignment of meanings to certain segments or through space imagines, which people have[21]. Physical space appropriation means the active occupation respectively control over a certain terrain. Thereby, only the occupant or proprietor is allowed to move freely in the appropriated space (Backhaus et al. 2006: 25). The contrary of space appropriation is space dispossession or space alienation. Space dispossession implicates the absolute prohibition for a human unit to further use or newly acquire a certain space. A bit less strict is the term space alienation whereat a particular space cannot be adopted as required since the reign rules and norms does not allow a human unit to act along their desired freedom of action (ibid.: 25-26). If or to what extent a human unit is able to gain, maintain or control the access to natural resources and land depends from their bargaining power (ibid.: 19-22).

In this chapter, I introduced the theory of access with its essential terms and characteristics and some crucial regionalisation terminologies. Although my analytical framework (Chap. 3.5) will be structured after the defined capitals by Bourdieu (s. Chap. 3.4) the procedure and the defined accesses by Ribot and Peluso (2003) will be considered and incorporated in the defined single capitals. Further, the concept helps me to comprehend what I have to consider for an access analysis[22]. Hence, the inclusion of the theory of access enables me to analyse the influence LSLA might have on access relations. The found access abilities or restrictions will facilitate to better understand why possible migration motivations emerged. Finally, the Concept of Regionalisation will allow understanding the mechanisms of space appropriation, dispossession and alienation concerning LSLA related mechanisms and migration practices.

3.3   The New Institutionalism

To be able to understand the complexity LSLA, access relations and migration processes may have on peoples' livelihoods, the institutional background has to be included. Institutions are not static but undergo continuous changes. In the following, I will explain first what institutions are and how the term arose historically. Secondly, I will present the approach of the New Institutionalism Theory (NIT) followed by an exemplification of the Models of Behaviour. At the end of this section, I will note in what way the NIT is crucial for my research project.

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[21] For a mental appropriation there is no need for the physical presence at the particular place. It is the result of people's imaginations about how the world looks like, which norms are valid and which expectations are suitable (Backhaus & Müller in Backhaus & Müller-Böcker 2006: 26).
[22] For example to comprehend the influence power relations might have on social actions of gaining, maintaining and controlling access.

The importance of institutions for the management of common pool resources and property regimes was realized in particular during the 1960's, as Hardin triggered a broad debate over common properties and open access resources. In his publication 'The Tragedy of the Commons' (1968) he argued that under common property relations users would act within the 'prisoner's dilemma', where every stakeholder tries to maximise his or her own benefit without feeling responsible for the preservation of the common resource. Thus, resource overuse and destruction would be the consequence, wherefore he pleaded for a transformation of the commons into private property (Hardin 1968). But already Acheson criticised (1989) Hardin's assumption that everybody has open access to the commons. Thereby, he stated that Hardin overlooked the existence of institutions (In Haller 2013: 17). One year later, Ostrom (1990) used Acheson's entry point to present her revised approach of the commons, which was based on various political, social and anthropological studies. Thereby, she exemplified that local communities often are managed through historically emerged institutions, which define, who (membership), when (timing) and how (intensity, technology) is allowed to use a resource. Accordingly, access relations are determined, whereat outsiders could be excluded and misdeed would be sanctioned (Haller 2007: 7-8, Lesorogol 2008: 11). In her work she introduced eight design principles, through which robust institutional arrangements should be achieved to ensure the sustainable use of common pool resources (Ostrom 1990: 90 ff.). Therewith, her book not only clarified between open access and common pool resources but as well provided a new tool to elaborate sustainable resource use (Lesorogol 2008: 11).

Triggered by the discussion over commons, also the debate over institutions, their definition and possible transformations moved into the focus of the scientific debate. In remembrance of North (1990) and Henrich et al. (2006), Lesorogol defined institutions as follows: "Institutions are the formal and informal 'rules of the game' that bind social actors together in a dense web of shared normative frameworks that include codified laws as well as informal codes of conduct, norms and conventions" (Lesorogol 2008: 4). Institutions are like a guide for social interactions in everyday life, as they clarify how another society member would react in a certain situation. Equipped with this information, social stakeholders align their expectations and reactions to the prevailing norms and practices. In the case of transgression the respective member is sanctioned and punished, whereby punishment itself becomes normative (ibid.: 4). Consequential, institutional mechanisms facilitate social interactions, enable the development of confidential relationships and therefore reduce transaction costs (Lesorogol 2008: 4, North 1990: 3-4).

By the above-mentioned terms of formal and informal rules, Lesorogol refers to the dual system, which evolved in many countries during colonial times. This duality is as well predominant in West Africa, where in the pre-colonial societies order was maintained through so-called informal or customary rules, which were often arranged along reciprocal and asymmetric altruism (s. Chap. 5.3.3). Only with the colonial leadership, the formal system by laws and conventions was launched. Up to now both institutional mechanisms are applied. Thus, the rural societies fall under the national government and their agents, in which at the same time the elders' council and the customary practices still shape the villagers' life (Lesorogol 2008: 5).

In 1992 Ensminger published the NIT, which was extended by Haller in 2007. The theory structures and regulates access relations over land and natural resources, whereat institutions are moved in the centre of the approach. Thereby, notions from social, political and economic science are united to analyse and clarify how institutions evolve and transform

over time (Haller 2007: 15). As analytical tool, Ensminger established a framework, which is composed through the following four internal aspects of a society; *institutions, ideology, organisations* and *bargaining power* (s. Fig. 2). Institutions are defined as aforementioned. Ideology illustrates people's values and beliefs, which determine their choices and aims (Ensminger 1992: 5). People find together in organisations to achieve objectives collectively (ibid.: 6). By Ensminger bargaining power is defined, as "one's ability to get what one wants from others" (1992: 7). If someone holds the power to manipulate others ideology, is dependent from social status and wealth (ibid.: 5-7). These four internal aspects interact with each other and are influenced through external factors.
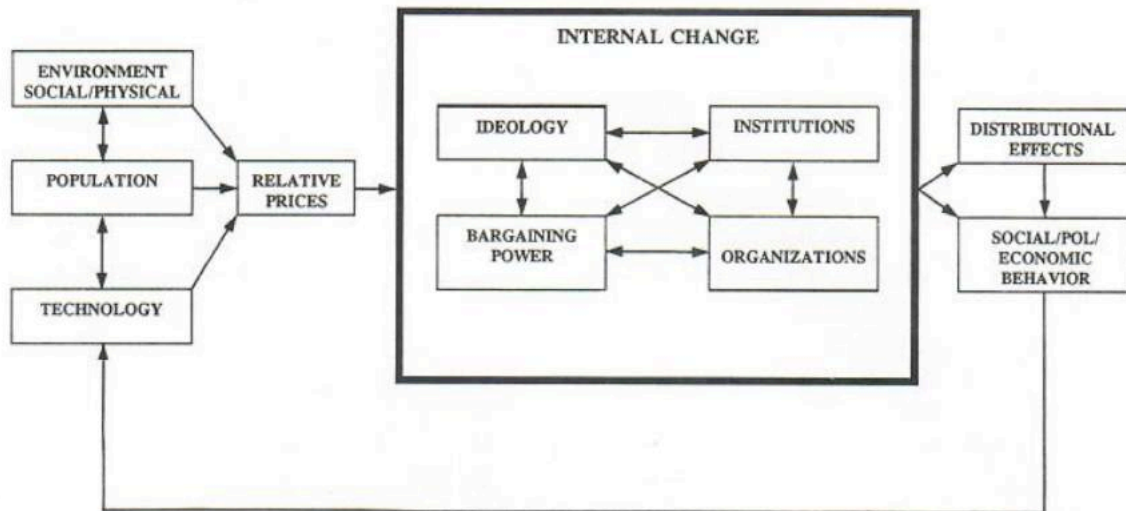
Figure 2: 'Modelling Change' (elaborated by Ensminger 1992: 10).

Exogenous factors could be environmental or social kind (transformation of natural environment or changes in socio-political structures), which are interrelated with demographic (population) and technological changes (technology) (Ensminger in Haller 2007: 15). Haller enlarged the external factors by changes in political-economic (e.g. market generations, monetisation) and infrastructural structures (e.g. transportation system, marketing costs) as well as altered state control (e.g. laws, administration) (2007: 16). These exogenous factors influence in turn relative prices of goods in relation to other goods (e.g. when the price for rice rises compared to another good like transportation costs). Subsequently, Ensminger argued that relative prices influence the endogen aspects, which respond in a feedback loop through distributional effects and socio-economic behaviour (ibid.: 15-16). Finally, North, Ensminger and Haller share the same perception that social transformation processes not always bring forward the best institutions but rather the one, which serve the individuals the most with the highest bargaining power (ibid.: 16).

The here presented and broadened NIT is the forth out of eight instruments in my theory-toolbox that enables me to analyse social changes, where endogenous aspects are transformed and new socio-economic behaviour might arise.

3.4 Migration and the Concept of Translocality

In the subsequent paragraphs, I will introduce three interrelated concepts, which will enable me to analyse translocal relations and migration processes. First, the exemplification of the concept of translocality will span the framework, in which my migration analysis will take

place. Successive, the theory of practice will facilitate the study of interconnections between the social surroundings and the actors themselves, whereby with the survey of the resource capitals, the individual abilities to adopt and cope within a certain social field will be elaborated. As networks are part of the social capital and one of the essential determinants for translocal relationships and transformation analysis, the concept of social capital will be presented as well. It has to be noted here that the social capital, which will be exemplified in this sub-chapter deviates from the definition established by Scoones (s. Chap. 3.1).

As a comprehensive evaluation of my gathered data by the theory of practice and the concept of social capital would be beyond the scope of the here presented master thesis, only certain characteristics of them will be displayed here and incorporated into the analytical framework.

In recent years, the concept of translocality found rising approval in distinctive scientific circles (e.g. Freitag and von Oppen 2010; Graf 2018; Greiner et al. 2013; Thieme 2008a, 2008b). Thereby, the term amplifies the territorial bounded and disembedded concept of transnationalism[23] to the broaden view where people's localities[24] and their connections to other places[25] and spaces[26] are shifted into the focus of spatial dynamic analysis (Brickell & Datta 2011: 1, Verne 2012: 16-17). Translocality not only deals with transnational mobility but includes also those migrants, which live beyond national borders embedded in diverse contexts and localities across distinct time periods and spatial distances (Brickell & Datta 2011: 4, Graf 2018: 35, Freitag & von Oppen 2010: 5). Thereby, translocal research addresses complex connections and interactions between actors, institutions and places, study flows and processes of cultural exchanges and discusses as well relations of gender, norms and heritage (Freitag & Von Oppen, 1998, 5-7). Verne illustrates this ample scope of conceptual application nicely by the notion; "translocality opens up a way to look at the ways, in which the movement and manifold connections of people, material objects and ideas [...] are actually lived" (Verne 2012: 19). Hence, the concept of translocality reflects the importance of movements in geographical, cultural and political spaces, where social relations and connections are used, maintained and newly developed (Freitag & Von Oppen 1998: 5-7).

Furthermore, translocality often results in blurring and deterritorializing national borders, whereby an open view on translocal connections and boundaries between distinctive scales and types of spaces is considered (Freitag & von Oppen 1998: 12, Graf 2018: 35, Verne 2012: 19).

The antecedent exemplifications clarified that translocality often results in transformed orders, institutionalisation or socio-cultural, economic or political changes. However, it has to be noted here that translocality[27] has not necessarily to be characterized by societal transformations or developments but rather by temporary, non-permanent and disordered spaces (e.g. refugee camps – transit of large quantity of people) (Freitag & von Oppen 1998: 7).

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[23] After Portes et al. transnationalism encompasses "activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementation. … [It] involves individuals, their networks of social relations, their communities, and broader institutionalized structures such as local and national governments" (1999: 219-221).

[24] By locality a specific position of a place is meant, where certain intersecting social relations and physical settings are tied together on a local level (Massey 1993: 144– 145).

[25] Regarding Messey "A 'place' is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location" (1994: 169). Further, a place is not static, given or fixed but got formed and gets continuously transformed by social relations (Messey 1994: 120).

[26] Graf describes spaces, as a spatial entity, which is abstract and detached from social relations (2018: 30). Spaces might get transformed into places by getting acquainted or through the attachment of value (Tuan 2001: 6).

[27] For the sake of convenience, from now on the term translocality will be used as a notion, where the concept of translocality, social capital and the theory of practice are included.

Although, the concept of translocality facilitates the analysis of migration patterns, social connections and translocal practices, further concepts and theories are needed to capture the variety of facets translocality brings along (Freitag & Von Oppen, 1998, 5-7, 20). Thus, subsequent the theory of practice by Bourdieu and the concept of social capital will be presented.

The theory of practice by Bourdieu (1986) includes components of the livelihood as well as of the institutionalism approach, whereby relationships and interactions between social fields and the habitus are analysed. In this way, social practices by an individual or a social group become tangible for study proposes (s. Fig. 3) (North 1990, Dörfler et al. 2003).

The habitus is a durable, subconscious manifestation, which is configured by social and cultural conditioning and through past experiences. The habitus constitutes the present and future perceptions, actions and thinking of a person. Thereby, the habitus of an individual or a social group is not steady but may change through time or over generations (Thieme 2006: 44).
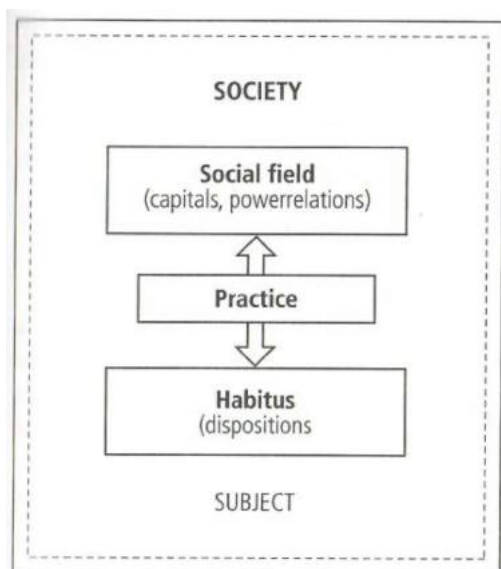
Figure 3: The Theory of practice (elaborated by Thieme 2006: 45)

The social field is a dynamic and structured framework wherein the habitus moves, lives and interacts with external and objective conditions. It is composed by various capitals[28] that some agents may possess, while others do not or to another extent. Bourdieu distinguishes between the four dimensions: cultural[29], economic[30], social[31] and symbolic[32] capital (ibid.: 44). Each person possesses like a backpack of capitals. This might be valued differently depending on the social field, in which the actor is staying. Thus, migrants often face some struggles and difficulties to adapt to new surroundings. To enhance the value of ones own capital backpack in a new social field, where other norms and practices are present, one could transform a capital into another one. This procedure is called transformation work (Brickell & Datta 2011: 11-13). Nevertheless, not all actors have the same access to resources and capitals (including abilities of transformation work), as inequalities and uneven power relations exist between different stakeholders (Thieme 2006: 44-49).

The above-explicated theory of practice is particularly interesting to study migration patterns, as it facilitates and structures the gathering of relevant data to analyse social fields and migrants abilities to adapt and cope with a new surrounding.

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[28] Bourdieu defined capital as accumulated labour that constitutes material and symbolic goods, which are valuable, rare or sought in a specific social field (Bourdieu 1986).

[29] "Cultural capital is the product of intellectual or educational qualifications" (Thieme 2006: 48).

[30] "Economic capital is ownership of monetary rewards and can be cashed in" (Thieme 2006: 48).

[31] "Social capital consists of a network of lasting social relations or sphere of contacts of an individual" (Thieme 2006: 48).

[32] Thieme defines symbolic capital as assets like "prestige, educational grades, reputation, by virtue of a certain religious or political position" (2006: 49). It often originates from the recognition of social or economic capital (ibid.: 49).

The survey of social capital expands the theory of practice by an in deep framing of social networks and social relations over time and space and consequently simplifies the analysis of translocal processes and connections (Thieme 2006: 60, Verne 2012: 22). Furthermore, it is considered by several authors, as one of the main preconditions in rural poor societies for the occurrence of migration (Thieme 2006: 3). Thus, the concept of social capital will be part of my toolbox. In the following, its fundamental parameters will be outlined.

Social capital constitutes the actual and the possible resources, which origin from a network of more or less institutionalized relationships. After Bourdieu a network of social relations originates from collective or individual investment strategies in a social field, in which intended and unintended social relations arise or are maintained. These would ensure sooner or later beneficial outcomes (Bourdieu 1983: 192). Social capital could also be understood, as a membership of an individual to a certain group. The groups often act like a social insurance, as its members are mutually interrelated (Bourdieu 1986: 248-249). These social capital relations are not given but have to be gained and maintained through direct symbolic or material exchanges or by social communication technologies (Bourdieu 1983 in Thieme 2006: 51, Verne 2012: 23). They are manifested through institutional or societal structures, like class, ethnicity or family names. Consequently, social capital is linked with the concepts of identity[33] and belonging[34] (Thieme 2006: 50).

Although, the investment into social networks and relations intents to bring positive outcomes in form of social capital, also unrequested consequences might occur. Hereof, social practices of group building associated with its belonging and formations generate and reproduce boundaries to other social groups and individuals (Thieme 2006: 55, Backhaus & Müller 2006: 23). Exclusions and the emergence of outsiders are the result. Further, the highly mutual and social controlled system implicates major claims on other group members and individual freedom restrictions. Hereof, Evers (1994) came up with the description of the Traders' Dilemma (In Thieme 2006: 54). This takes for instance place, when a migrant has the social obligation to share his or her revenues with relatives or neighbours, whereby his or her own chance for a livelihood improvement sinks. Thus, they have to select between loosing either cash or social reputation (Evers 1994 in Thieme 2006: 54). Lastly, Portes (1998) identified that through individual success the communal solidarity norms could be downgraded what might have negative influences on communal solidarity systems (In Thieme 2006: 54-55).

The above explications illustrate that the capturing of translocal processes and complexities requires an ample application field and the involvement of numerous concepts. Thus, it is not surprising that surveys on translocality demand a lot from a researcher. Accordingly, an investigator has not only to bring along high flexibility in the fieldwork[35] or major reflexivity regarding various localities but he or she has to be able as well to think beyond the own research domain and thus in an interdisciplinary way (Freitag & Von Oppen: 18-20).

The concept of translocality, social capital and the theory of practice provide multiple tools and inputs to analyse various mechanisms and processes regarding translocality. In the se-

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[33] "Identities are narratives, stories people tell themselves and others about who they are (and who they are not)" (Graf 2018: 28).
[34] Belonging concerns the membership of an individual to a certain social group or environmental field. Thus, it concentrates on the act of boundary making between different social and physical spaces, in which an individual takes action (Graf 2018: 29-31).
[35] To gather translocal relations, connections and processes it is often needed to conduct a multi-sited fieldwork. Therefore, the researcher has to be mobile in the field, reflexive and open to a variety of methods (Freitag & von Oppen 1998: 19).

cond part of the here presented master's thesis, I will analyse the social fields, in which the left behinds and the migrants are situated and will study the emergent translocal relationships. For this analysis, I will especially use the presented strategies to examine a social field with its existing power relations and social practices as well to grasp the single capital backpacks a person holds. Therewith, I aim to uncover people's adaptation strategies to certain social fields, complex translocal relationships and emergent or blurred boundaries between social groups. Additionally, the capitals elaborated by Bourdieu will help me to define the capitals that will be used to conduct an analysis of the accessed livelihood resources in the first and the second part of my thesis.

3.5 An analytical framework for the analysis of rural livelihoods and migration patterns under the influence of LSLA

As shown in manifold research projects, LSLA has a fundamental impact on the affected populations' access relations to natural resources, economic assets or health care (Konblauch e al. 2014a, 2014b, Bottazzi et al. 2016, Mezel 2015). It therefore affects their livelihoods and livelihood strategies. This might lead to several follow-up consequences, like social change (Actionaid 2013, Botazzi et al. 2016a-b, Hufe & Heuermann 2017, Marfurt et al. 2016, Millar 2015a-c, Schoneveld et al. 2011, Silnorf et al. 2016, 2017, Vlasak 2013, Wedin et al. 2013, Yengoh & Armah 2014). These dynamics are as well true for the object of the actual case study in the rural Sierra Leonean village 'Mamaria', where the land appropriation by the commodity enterprise ABSL brought along essential changes in contextual circumstances and livelihood resources. It is the aim of the study at hand to find out to what extent the LSLA project influences local livelihoods, how these changes are interconnected with the on-going migration patterns and what consequences these migration practices have on social practices and translocal relationships. To achieve this goal, a specific inclusion of concepts from different theories must guide the data analysis. In figure 4 the study outline illustrates the framework of the analysis.

Focus of the Study

Impact of LSLA on local livelihoods
Interconnectedness of LSLA and migration flows
Migration as one livelihood strategy

Object and venue of the study

Gathering livelihood strategies and access abilities before and after LSLA
Possible influence LSLA has on migration patterns
Investigating social practices and translocal relationships
Mamaria, Bombali District, Sierra Leone: Village Lifes and Livelihoods of the left behind
Freetown, Mile 91, Mokanji, Small Masettle, Kalia, Kumoro: Migrants social practice in a
different social field

Analytical Framework

Sustainable Livelihood Approach
Theory of Access
Concept of Regionalisation
New Institutionalism Theory
Concept of Translocality
Theory of Practice
Concept of Social Capital

Figure 4: Study Outline (elaborated by the author).

3.5.1 The Analytical Framework – An Overview

The two established analytical framework figures entail all of the above-mentioned concepts (s. Chap. 3.1 - 3.4). Thereby, the first analytical figure will facilitate to analyse the impacts of LSLA on local livelihoods. With the second analytical figure, I will examine migration, as one possible livelihood strategy. In the following, I will clarify which concepts will contribute in what way to either of the analytical framework figures.

The structure of figure 5 was established based on the AFSRL. The SLA itself will particularly be used to analyse livelihood sustainability. Both livelihood concepts allow me the collecting of livelihood complexities and their embedding into the contextual background. The presented strategies by Köberlein and the DFID will additionally help me to analyse livelihood outcomes. Further, inspired from the Theory of Access, the Analytical Framework for Sustainable Rural Livelihoods and the Theory of Practice the single capitals of the livelihood resources will be defined. These will enable me to record land and resource related dimensions. The Concept of Regionalisation will not be incorporated in the analytical framework as itself, but rather serves as a mental pillar to grasp space appropriative mechanisms. The New Institutionalism Theory will be included in several respects. It helps to analyse social changes of livelihood contexts and sets the basis of the here-presented figure 7. Together with the Theory of Practice it additionally facilitates to comprehend institutional norms and processes.
Up to now the analytical framework enables me to investigate the contextual background of my study area, the possible LSLA induced changes in livelihood resources and strategies as well as the resulting livelihood outcomes with their sustainability. Through the NIT also emergent social changes can be grasped and analysed.

The second analytical framework figure 6 draws on the findings from figure 5. It aims to study translocal relationships with its multiple side-dimensions, as one possible livelihood strategy[36]. Figure 6 will provide an investigative tool to study the social fields, in which left behinds and migrants are located, the social practices they developed and the translocal relationships, which result from migration practices. Therefore, single characteristics of the Theory of Practice, the Concept of Social Capital and the Concept of Translocality will be incorporated. Specifically, the Theory of Practice will help me to structure figure 6 in a logical way. Furthermore, the procedure to study social practice between individuals and the distinct social fields will be incorporated into my analysis. The concept of Social Capital will facilitate the investigation of social networks and relations between individuals and their current social field and as well between the geographically separated left behinds and the migrants. Finally, the Concept of Tanslocality will allow me to identify complex connections and interactions between actors, institutions and places and to recognize possible boundary construction or blurring. Translocal relationships and social practices at both places (destinations and village/origin) lead to certain outcomes and resulting sustainability. Further, these practices, movements and relationships may foster social changes. Hence, the outcomes, the achieved sustainability and the potential social changes will be studied here again (for migrants and left behinds). Therefor, I will rely anew on the concepts of the NIT, the SLA and the strategies established by Köberlein and the DFID.

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[36] Livelihood strategies will be identified with the help of the first analytical figure.

Although some characteristics of the concepts partially overlap with each other, their single inflow into my analytical framework allows an overarching data analysis, whereby the various influencing variables and dimensions can be analysed and interpreted. This individual and combined analysis strategy makes it possible to generate a complete and comprehensive picture of the on-going complex dynamics, processes and influences. In the following, I present the elaborated analytical framework with its single characteristics and processes.
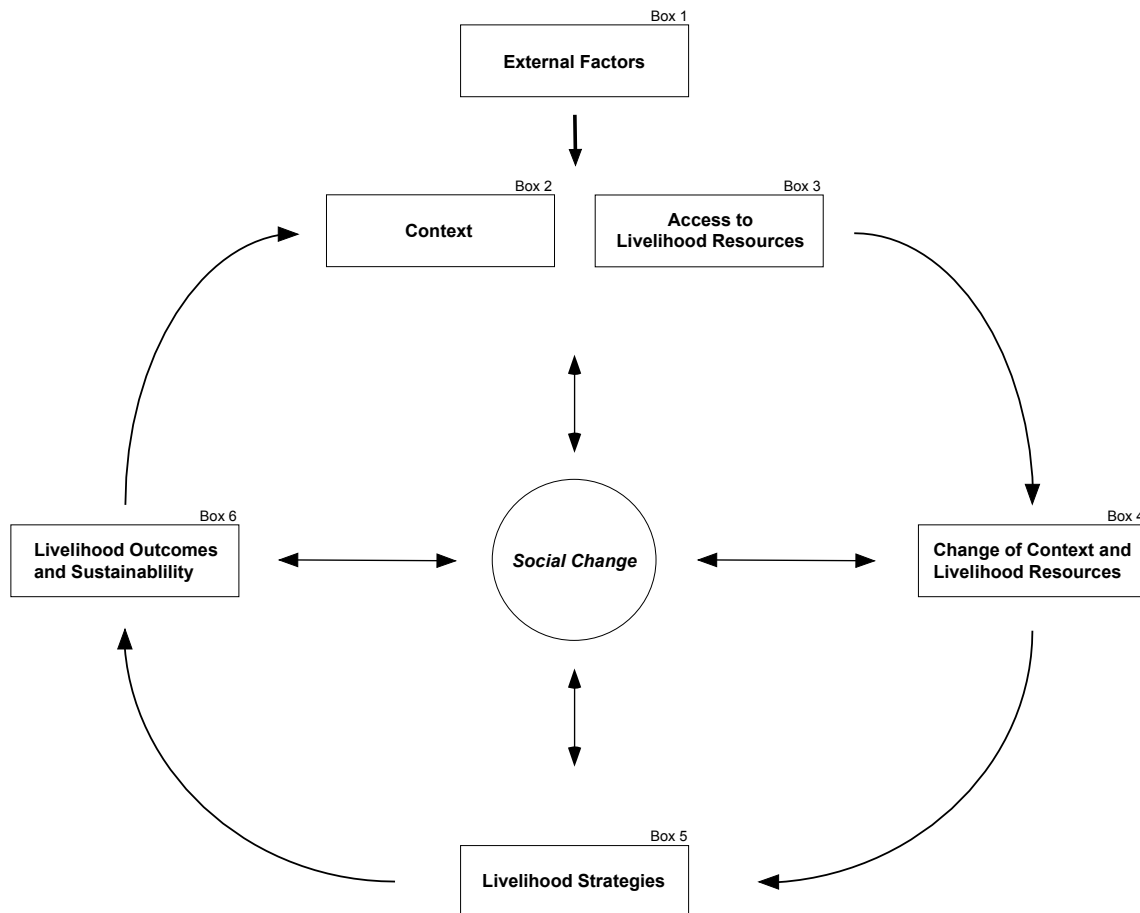
Figure 5: Analytical framework to study people's livelihoods (elaborated by the author in dependence on Scoones 1998).

The first figure of the analytical framework illustrates a circular process of making a livelihood (s. Fig. 5). The contextual background with its rules and regulations (second box) determines the access to the livelihood resources. External factors (first box) influence the contextual frame and the on-going livelihood resources (third box). This may lead to the change of the contextual background and the livelihood resources (fourth box). Follow-up consequences, like social change might occur (circle in the middle). The transformations of the context and the livelihood resources as well as social changes lead to altered or newly developed livelihood strategies (fifth box). These strategies, with the performed daily activities, end in livelihood outcomes, which might be sustainable or not (sixth box). These outcomes in turn can impact the contextual framework and the future livelihood resources directly or indirectly by the activation of renewed social changes.
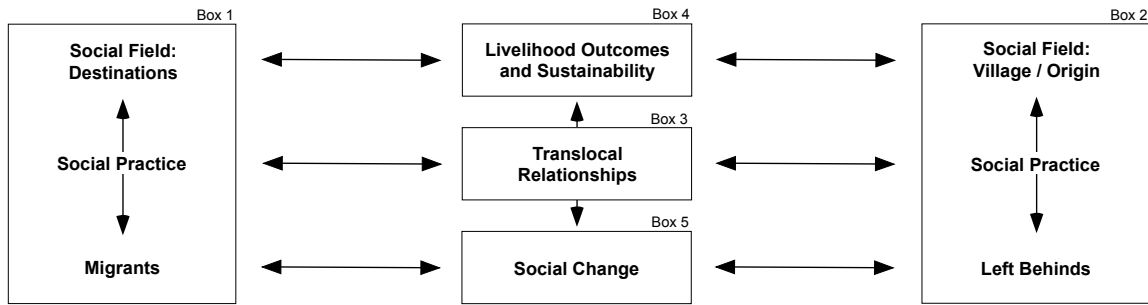
Figure 6: Analytical framework to study migration, translocality and social practice (elaborated by the author in dependence on Bourdieu 1986).

Figure 6 sets a linear interconnection of two geographically disconnected social fields (first and second box). These are the destinations and the villages/origins. The migrants and the left behinds respectively are in a steady exchange with their social field through social practice. The villages/origins and the destinations are connected through translocal relationships (third box). The established livelihood strategies of both, migrants and left behinds, lead to certain outcomes. These outcomes may be sustainable or not (fourth box). Finally, the livelihood changes and adaptions may foster social changes (fifth box), which in return can have again an effect on their triggers. All boxes do influence each other in a direct or indirect manner. In the following, I will explicate and define the single entities and processes of each box, which are represented in either one or both analytical figures.

3.5.2   Analyses of the LSLA impacts on the local livelihoods

In the subsequent, I will introduce and exemplify the boxes of the analytical figure 5. Some of them will only be used for the first analysis, while others will be part of the second analysis too.

External factors (Box 1 in Figure 5)
Based on the contributions of Ensminger (1992) and Haller (2007) to the NIT, external factors may have an influence on following aspects:

- Social Aspects: Impact on social norms, customs, imaginations, habitus and relations

- Political aspects: Impact on political authorities and state control

- Environmental aspects: Transformation of environmental circumstances

- Infrastructural and material aspects: Precipitate infrastructural changes like roads, buildings or access to technology

- Financial aspects: Effects on market based prices, assets and labour possibilities

As a comprehensive analysis of all external factors and their resulting aspects would be beyond the analysis at hand, the focus will be set only on the influence the ABSL project implementation has on the local circumstances and its aspects. Thus, also the aforementioned aspects are specific to an LSLA focused analysis. Striking distinct external factors (e.g. Ebola epidemic) will be mentioned and roughly included into the analytical thoughts.

I was attempted to gather information about all above-mentioned aspects. But yet, I am conscious that I likely have not been able to include the full dimensions of each aspect.

Context (Box 2 in Figure 5)
Prior to the analysis of livelihoods themselves, it is crucial to study the contextual background. This is necessary because nobody's livelihood exists unbound from its setting, in which it is embedded. Here the contextual conditions, which determine people's access to livelihood resources, will be studied. Thereby, the localities, in which the citizens of Mamaria make a living, will be captured as comprehensive as possible through participatory observations and gathered interview data. Following single contextual parameters will be considered:

- Historical background: Past experiences and occasions, which might have striking influences on present ways of perceptions, decisions and norms

- Political dimensions: Past and present political circumstances and decisions, which influence the way of living

- Cultural conditions: Important cultural and traditional customs and norms that affect people's way of thinking and their daily decisions

- Institutions and organisations: Formal and informal institutional regulations, mechanisms and manifestations as well as collective organisation formations

- Natural Environment: Past and present environmental conditions, whereby the focus will be set on land and natural resources

- The village: Place bounded contextual circumstances, like infrastructure, population composition and daily activities

The determination of the contextual framework will enable me to understand the embedment of people's livelihoods into their surrounding. Therewith, the influences and the dependencies will be recognized, what allows me to understand how the single livelihood resources are formed. In a further step, the impacts the LSLA project might have on the single context parameters and thus on people's livelihood resources will be analysed as well.

Access to livelihood resources (Box 3 in Figure 5)
For the subsequent analysis of access and use relations of livelihood resources, diverse concepts will inflow into my final definition of the various livelihood capitals. The scientists' ideas of a resource concept and their definition of the single capitals or access abilities respectively, overlap to some extent (s. Chap 3.5.4). Nevertheless, it is necessary to incorporate every theory into my analytical framework, whereby different analyse stages are covered by distinct concepts. Furthermore, the theorists considered different aspects, which a livelihood resource may have. Thus, the incorporation of every conceptual contribution into my capital definition secures the generation of a specific tool, which is perfectly tailored for a profound analysis of the research subject at hand. Thereby, the different capitals will be identified and analysed in several stages of the research. First, I will try to reconstruct the access to past livelihood resources followed by a collection of present ones. The analysis through the second analytical figure will differentiate between the capital backpacks the left behinds and the migrants held.

The following definitions of the single capitals is established in dependence on the AFSRL by Scoones (1998), the Theory of Access by Ribot and Peluso (2003) and the Theory of Practice by Bourdieu (1986):

- Natural Capital: Common and privatized natural resources and services as land and fishing grounds

- Economic Capital: Earnings, loans, savings, debts, remittances, credits

- Human Capital: Knowledge, skills, physical health, authority, class, ethnicity, gender, age (capital which is hold individually and is less influenced by other society members)

- Social Capital: Social networks and relations, group membership, reputation and prestige (capital in dependence on or strongly influenced by others)

- Physical Capital: Physical private or public infrastructures, like houses, tools, livestock, roads or latrines

Not all actors in a social field have the identical capabilities to gather capitals to the same extent, as inequalities and unequal power relations are present. Furthermore, the capitals are not static but can be transformed into each other by transformation work.

Additionally, it has to be noted here that the access to some parameters of the single capitals can originate through a combination of several capitals. An example therefor is the access to labour, which may arise through social capital or human capital. But even other resources, like physical capital (e.g. working distance and access to transportation systems) can have an essential influence on the ability to realize a certain capital. Consequently, we should not consider the capitals uncoupled from each other but rather we have to incorporate the interwoven processes and interrelated dependencies to generate a holistic picture.

As the study through the first analytical figure focuses on the external influence LSLA has on the local livelihoods, the access to natural capital before and after the land appropriation will receive special attention in the first stage of the analysis. Thereby, the power relations and the processes of gaining, maintaining and controlling access to natural capital will be analysed in accordance to the Theory of Access. Past and present distributions of private and common properties in its basic expansion will be gathered as well.

Livelihood strategies (Box 5 in Figure 5)
The access to the single capitals permits the realization of certain livelihood activities and forms in its sum the individual livelihood portfolios, which each person possesses. These might be valued differently, depending on the social field where a person stays. The human units develop diverse livelihood strategies to achieve sustainable livelihood outcomes or in times of struggles to escape processes of impoverishments. We will see that in reaction on the modified contextual background and livelihood resources, people developed manifold livelihood strategies. Migration represents one possible livelihoods strategy.

Livelihood Outcomes and Sustainability (Box 6 in Figure 5 and Box 4 in Figure 6)
The analytical figure 5 will help me to grasp people's livelihood outcomes during a traditional lifestyle and how these outcomes were modified through LSLA. Later on, in the analysis with figure 6 the outcomes of the migration practices will be analysed too. Thereby, I will try to find out, if the transformed livelihood strategies of the migrants as well as of the left behinds,

were able to achieve successful livelihood outcomes. Hence, for both analyses I will rely on the SLA and the strategies established by Köderlein and the DFID. Thereby, I will differentiate between material and non-material well-being, as well as between expected and real outcomes.

In terms to uncover, if the achieved livelihood outcomes are sustainable or not, I will conduct a sustainability analysis as described in the SLA by Chambers and Conway. Thereby, I will try to state, if or to what extent the achieved livelihood outcomes are social, environmental and intergenerational sustainable. Between shocks and stresses, which the people experience, will be distinguished. Thereby, it will be examined how vulnerable people are and to what extent their resilience enable them to endure these events.

Initially, I will only conduct such an analysis for the traditional livelihoods. To what extent LSLA and the migration practice influenced people's livelihood sustainability will finally be addressed in the discussion.

Social Change (Circle in the middle of Figure 5 and Box 3 in Figure 6)
To identify the possible occurrence of social change, which might be triggered throughout distinct phases of a livelihood formation, an adapted version of the 'Modelling change' elaborated by Ensminger will find its application (s. Fig. 7). Thereby, external factors, like LSLA, influence directly or indirectly the interrelated endogen aspects of ideology, institutions, organisations and bargaining power. These affect distributional effects (e.g. access relations) and socio-economic behaviour (e.g. consummation of goods or social behaviour), which might lead to transformed or diversified livelihood strategies. Migration, as one possible strategy, subsequent influences the population and their livelihoods. These outcomes in turn have again an affect on present endogen aspects, which might influence future distributional effects, livelihood strategies and thus whole livelihoods. Consequently, the 'Modelling Change' itself is a feedback loop where the different aspects and factors are interrelated in a web of direct and indirect strands. The inclusion of social change dynamics into my data analysis enables me to detect possible institutional transformations, altered organisational or ideological aspects and modified power relations that originate from LSLA induced phenomena, like migration.
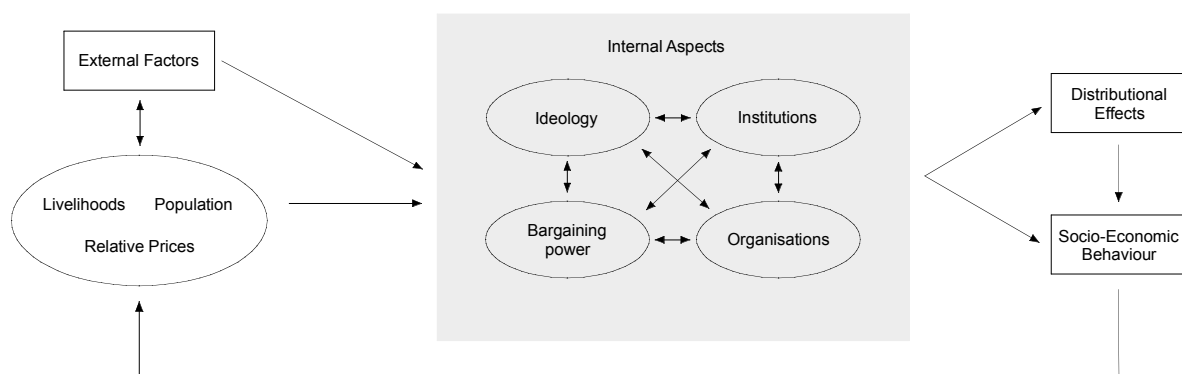
Figure 7: 'Model of Social Change' elaborated by the author in dependence on Ensminger (1992) and Haller (2007). As my analysis not only focuses on economic aspects of people's livelihoods, the model includes, besides population, technologies and relative prices, all other possible livelihood resources and outcomes.

This Model of Social Change will be used in the first part of my analysis to detect potential social changes triggered by LSLA. It will also find its application in the second part of my analysis, where I will state to what extent migration practices can lead to social changes. This analysis of social change will be based on collected and observed modified internal aspects, distributional aspects and socio-economic behaviours. The findings neither can nor have the aim of being complete. Consequently, I presume that further social changes might occur but were not identified.

3.5.3 Analysis of migration, translocality and social practice

The findings from the first block will set the basis for the analysis with the second analytical figure. Through the first analysis, I will already have uncovered the contextual background, livelihood resources, livelihood strategies and daily activities as well as possible conflicts that acted as triggers for an upcoming migration decision. Furthermore, the above explicated procedures to analyse livelihood outcomes and upcoming social changes will be used here once again. In the following, the characteristics of the remaining boxes illustrated in figure 6 will be presented.

Social fields, Subjects and Social Practice (Box 1 and 2 in Figure 6)
For my analysis of migration, translocality and social practice, I will first identify and present the single study subjects and the social fields, in which they are residing. These are on the one hand the migrants at their destinations and on the other hand the left behinds at the villages/migrants origin. The subjects are possessing individual capital backpacks. The size of these backpacks is dependent on the provided livelihood resources at their current location and the value certain capitals have (this might differ depending on the social field). As we saw above these capitals also can be converted into each other by transformation work. Further, the subjects have single responsibilities and obligations that lay on their shoulders. These bundles of accountabilities will be called responsibility backpacks (s. definition Chap. 3.5.4). By social fields (destinations and villages/origins) I mean the contextual and societal background and the provided livelihood resources. These circumstances will be already elaborated for the left behinds in the first part of the analysis and in the chapter on the research context respectively. The one for the migrants will be roughly illustrated in the second part of the analysis. Nonetheless, in both cases (migrants and left behinds) the subject and the social field stand in a steady exchange through social practice. Power relations, social networking and group memberships characterize this exchange. Thereby, existing struggles, inequalities and claims, but also abilities, enhancements and possible coping strategies will be detected.

To conduct this analysis, I will mainly rely on the Theory of Practice. But also other concepts will find their application, as the contextual framework and the livelihood resources of the migrants have to be identified as well. The according analysis will be conducted similarly as described in the paragraphs above.

Translocal Relationships (Box 3 in Figure 6)
The second part of the analysis will include space spanning relations between the left behinds and the migrants. Therefor, translocal relationships between the two social fields of the destinations and the village/origin will be studied. Parameters, like the sending of remittances, contact frequency and quality as well as the connotation of the single places will be addressed. To do so, I will rely on the Concepts of Translocality and Social Capital.

The presented analytical framework with its two investigations steps (analytical Fig. 5 & 6) will facilitate the study of complex mechanisms, dimensions and structures, which are incorporated in LSLA related processes where people's livelihoods are affected and migration practices possibly emerge.

3.5.4   Definitions

Multiple terms, which I will use throughout my thesis, were distinctively defined depending on the individual authors. Subsequently, I will present and define the terminologies, which I have not already defined in chapter 3.5.1 or 3.5.2.

As I consider the following definitions from the single authors as appropriate for my research as well, I will adopt them for my analysis:

- SLA by Chambers and Conway (1991): *Livelihood, sustainability, claim* (s. Chap. 3.1)

- Theory of Access by Ribot and Peluso (2003): *Capital* (s. Chap. 3.2)

- NIT by Ensminger (1992): *Exogenous and endogenous aspects, institution, organisation, ideology, bargaining power* (s. Chap. 3.3)

- Theory of practice by Bourdieu (1986): *Social field* (s. Chap. 3.4)

Subsequently, I will present the remaining terms, for which I adjusted their definitions to the particular setting of my master's thesis.

Access
Based on the publication by Ribot and Peluso (2003), I define access as the capability of a human unit to benefit from individually held capitals. These were defined in chapter 3.5.2. Moreover, the terms of gaining/achieving and maintaining access to certain capitals are crucial for my analysis. Gaining/achieving access refers to the process through which a human unit acquires the access to capitals. The process of maintaining concerns the actions and the strategies undertaken by a human unit to keep the access to a certain capital open.

Direct and indirect sustainability
Outgoing from Chambers and Conway (1991), I will use the term intergenerational sustainability to address the degree of inherited direct and indirect assets. Thereby, the direct inherited assets refer to tangible assets, like properties or access to land. In contrast, by indirectly inherited assets, I mean intangible assets, like skills, knowledge or beliefs.

Habitus

Based on Thieme (2006), I define habitus as a persons' individual subconscious manifestation, which is determined by the social and cultural context and the made experiences. The habitus of an individual is dynamic and hence might change over time. Thereby, current thinking and future perceptions are part of the habitus that influence the action and the ideology of a person.

Hardship

Throughout my field stay, the theme of falling into hardship was omnipresent. As this term will continuously be used in my master's thesis, I will define it in the following.

Already in the last century multiple researchers considered the definitions of poverty related terms, like hardship. Nonetheless, no consensus about the definition exists yet (Beverly 2001: 28). Most authors relate hardship-associated phenomena to the lack of purchasable materiality (Nelson 2011, Maskow 1992). Thereby, Nelson defined hardship as "an inadequate consumption of goods or services that the public deems minimally necessary for decent human functioning" (2011: 1). But already Sen recognized that the relations between adequate or inadequate consumptions of goods and services are dependent from special, personal and social dimensions and characteristics (2009: 41). Hence, I incorporate the reflections of other authors (Beverley 2008, Nelson 2011, Sen 2009) but adjust the here used definition of hardship to the local setting of Sierra Leone. Thereby, the subsequent definition is based on personal communications, participatory observations and on its use by the interviewees. I consider that people face hardship, when they are not able to ensure their basic needs. The defined dimensions of basic needs are: Access to sufficient food (no starving), cloths, basic healthcare (no irreversible consequences due to the inability to visit a doctor) and education (ability to pay school fees - particularly the one for the primary school).

Livelihood portfolios

Inspired by Scoones (1998), I define livelihood portfolios as the bundle of activities people adopt in attempts to achieve an adequate livelihood. These bundles of activities result from the chosen livelihood strategies. They are not static but rather changeable over space and time.

Migration types

Outgoing from the publications by Greiner (2010) and Gulger et al. (1995), I will use the terms of 'seasonal', 'on-off', 'temporal', 'circular' and 'permanent' migration for the identified migration patterns. Thereby, 'seasonal' refers to the pattern when a person migrates in times during low agricultural workload and returns as soon as the farming season approaches. I defined an 'on-off' migrant as a person, who at least stays one week per month at his or her origin. However, the daily activities of these people mainly take place at the destination. 'Temporal' migration implies that a person stays for a longer time period outside of the home place, whereby he or her possibly just return for visits. When an individual migrates on a 'circular' basis he or her leaves, mostly with the attempts to work for many years outside of the origin, before returning to the birthplace as an elderly person. Finally, I define 'permanent' migration as the case when a person migrates and does not permanently return to his or her origin (just short visits). All these four types of migration can be triggered through 'chain' migration. 'Chain' migration takes place, when a person uses his or her social network to chose the destination, to enter the new social field or to access housing or labour at the destination.

Responsibility backpack

The term responsibility backpack refers to the bundle of responsibilities the single interviewees were holding. These backpacks could be heavier or lighter depending from the individual life histories and the household sizes. Consequently, a big or heavy backpack means that the concerned participant had many responsibilities and obligations to fulfil. This was often the case when for instance a man had to care for many children, maybe more than one wife and for his parents and siblings. In contrast, a small or light backpack indicates that a person had few responsibilities and obligations. Hereof, I regard that a migrant, who had to care for 'only' his wife and one to two children was carrying a light responsibility backpack.

Strategy-jumping

During my field stay I observed that many migrants frequently changed their livelihood strategies before they left. Hence, I introduce here the term of strategy-jumping. It refers to the action a human unit adopts when the current livelihood portfolio is not enabling them to maintain an adequate livelihood. Then the livelihood strategies frequently are changed. I realized that the occurrence of strategy-jumping was an indication that the concerned people were incapable to safeguard their basic needs with the currently adopted strategy.

4 Methodology

In this fourth chapter, the utilized methods before, during and after my 3,5 months field stay will be illustrated. In the first two subchapters, I will introduce my methodical assumptions and how I attempted to achieve comprehensive data of high quality. Subsequently, the procedure of the data acquisition and the sampling strategy will be exemplified. Then, I will clarify how I analysed the gathered data. Finally, I will come up with a critical reflection on the applied methodical approach and its resulting consequences on the research outcomes.

4.1 Methodological Assumptions

In my research process, I took up a Realist Position. This means that I assumed that a real world exists but that I would never be able to record its full expansion. My study is based on individual memories and perceptions. Thereby, the interview partners interpreted past incidences and combined those with present emotions and circumstances. As a researcher, I interpreted these statements. Consequently, the research outcomes are constructs of interpreted interviews and participatory observations. These depict one possible version of the reality, which does not have to precisely match with the true world (s. Flick 2011).

4.2 Triangulation and Limitations

To achieve a high quality of research, I performed all triangulations that were applicable to my study.

- *Triangulation* of the theories
  First, the integration of multiple theories into my research design enabled me to approach the research topic from diverse standpoints and perspectives. This facilitated a theory triangulation (s. Flick 2011).

- *Triangulation of the data*
  Second, I was also attempted to triangulate my data. Hereof, my investigations included key informants from the four different villages[37]. Those provided information about the lease, the involved companies, the labour conditions, the negotiation process and the natural surroundings. To investigate the migration flows and the resulting translocal relationships as profound as possible, I interviewed both, the left behinds and the migrants at their present locations. Therewith, I gained manifold insights into individual perceptions and life histories (s. Flick 2011).

- *Triangulation of the methods*
  The joint elaboration of the interview guide, the joint conduct of the interviews and the post-interview conversations with my translator, supported me to reflect the applied methods and data. Therewith, I tried to identify possible bias and to rethink the elaborated interview guides. Further, the immediate transcription of most interview data enabled me to integrate possible deficits into successive interviews. Accordingly, the research process was shaped by a constant back and forth procedure, whereby I compared, pondered and progressed my approach with the aim to reach a qualitative valuable analysis. These ongoing adjustments throughout my field stay and the combination of the different methods in the data coding and analysis enabled me to achieve a methodical triangulation within and between the methods (s. Flick 2011).

Nonetheless, I am conscious that this research project has clear limitations. The finite number of interview partners and the locally bounded study area restrict the ability to make generalized statements. Hence, no ultimate conclusions may be drawn about the interconnectedness of LSLA with migration flows. Further, the recognized triangulations indeed enabled me to generate a clearer picture of the current situation, but my previous life experience still influenced the research process. Consequently, the aim was not to achieve an objective master thesis, as this would have been anyway impossible (Fielding et al. 2011: 70). Rather, this master thesis seeks to uncover certain tendencies and processes in LSLA related migration processes.

Throughout the whole research process a main objective was the high quality of the sampled data. Thereby, I relied on the quality criteria of Steinke (2008). With the incorporation of thoughtfully selected qualitative and quantitative methods, I tried to facilitate an appropriateness of the whole research process (Steinke 2008: 320-322). Through the weighing of diverse methods and theories, the methodical choice and the elaboration of the research design was reflected. These assessments together with the long-lasting field stay and the empirical data collection resulted in a founded data collection and analysis (Steinke 2008: 328-329).

4.3   Data acquisition

A convenient way to gain insights into daily routines, social relationships, everyday challenges and the subsequent livelihood strategies is by qualitative investigations (Flick et al. 2007: 13-17). Thus, my study focuses on a qualitative approach. In addition, a quantitative survey was conducted in one village in order to grasp demographical data about and migration flow numbers of the village population.

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[37] Mamaria, Marokie, Mataro and Manewa.

4.3.1   Interview technics

The data collection contained two main investigation steps in a multisided research frame. The two steps were explorative interviews with key informants and semi-structured interviews with left behinds and migrants. The latter were combined with biographic interview technics. As unpredictable circumstances and waiting periods occurred, the order of the investigation steps varied. Altogether 28 individuals were interviewed.

Systematized expert interviews
Throughout the first half of my field stay, I conducted informal talks and systematized expert interviews with locally residing key informants, which followed distinct interview guidelines. All of these interviews aimed to achieve praxis orientated and experience based knowledge (Boger & Menz 2002: 37-38). The selected key informants helped me to understand the local setting with its cultural, political and economic dimensions. Therewith, the potential impacts originating from the LSLA project and the emergent migration patterns were identified. I was aware that key informants also had a highly subjective view. Thus, I did not take their argumentations for granted. Rather, I tried by the reflection of their statements, by the consultations of diverse chiefs and by the multiple discussions about LSLA related themes (interviews and personal talks) to gather comprehensive data.

To additionally broaden my perspective on the LSLA impacts, I intended to conduct systemized expert interviews with Sunbird deputies. At the beginning of my stay, I occasionally met two high skilled Ex-Addax and current Sunbird employees, who originally came from South Africa. I spent an evening with them and gained many insights into their perceptions and experiences. Later on, I visited one of them at the factory site for a 30 minutes talk. He was willing to meet up again, after the conduction of my field research, to exchange our experiences and opinions. But at the day of our appointment, he was not able to meet up, since he had urgently to fix a problem at the factory site. As my leave was imminent, we were not able to find an appropriate date anymore. Nonetheless, the notices from the previous open talks contributed to my local understanding and enlarged my investigation with an additional perspective. Thus, these findings were incorporated into the thesis.

Semi-structured and biographic interviews
A semi-structured interview guide has the advantage that a certain framework is given and that the collected data is comparable (Flick 2006: 144). In contrast, a narrative or biographic interview allows the interviewee to talk freely. Like this a deepened picture of the experiences and the embedment into a broader context can be achieved (Flick et al. 2007: 355-357). As I considered both interview tactics as valuable for my research aims, I incorporated each of them into the elaborated survey practice. Each interview with left behinds and migrants began with a biographic part. Therewith, I gave my interviewees space to openly narrate about their life and experiences. Dependent on the respondent, this first part was longer or shorter. Thereafter, the semi-structured interview guide was consulted to gather explicit information about the topic of interest (s. Chap. 4.3.2).

4.3.2 Interview guides

To develop the interview guides, I followed the SPSS-principles. These include to collect, to examine, to sort and finally to subsume the interview questions (Helfferich 2009: 182-189, Kruse 2014). For each participant group (biographic & semi-structured interviews) and every key informant (systemized expert interview), I elaborated individual interview guides. First, I questioned myself what I wanted to find out in a certain interview. I was attempted to constantly keep the research questions in mind while I collected possible questions. In a second step, I rethought the questions. Thereby, I considered, if they are truly relevant for my study and crosschecked them, if they are not asked in a suggestive way. Finally, the questions were ordered and subsumed into single blocks and categories. The structure of the first interview parts mostly was equal for all interviews (only some sub-questions deviated between the participants). The second part of the interview guides was individually tailored to the concerned theme and sometimes even to the single persons[38]. In the figures 8 and 9 the superior structure of the single guides is illustrated.

With increasing experience in the interview conduction and the collaboration with my translator, I kept the interview guides more and more simple. Mostly, I asked the superior questions and then reacted on my interviewees' argumentations. When I had the impression that my interview partner provided me with most information I needed regarding a certain superior question, I went back to the interview guide to crosscheck, if I really received all necessary answers. In the case that still something was missing, I asked the remaining sub-questions, before I continued to the next superior question. Like this, I was attempted to permit my interview partner as much space as possible to come up with own perceptions and topics. Therewith, a relaxed atmosphere frequently emerged and valuable topics were addressed, about which I would not have thought before.

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[38] Especially, when I had already interviewed another household member (often the left behinds), I incorporated specific follow-up questions into the interview guide (mostly migrants). Exemplary are the statements concerning the translocal relationship between wife and husband. In the process, I made sure that the questions were formulated in a manner that the interviewee hardly realized that I possibly already knew the answer to the particular question. Therewith, I aimed to gather multiple perceptions and perspectives. Additionally, I was attempted to maintain the anonymity of my interview partners and to treat their statements with discretion.

Interview guide structure for left behind women

- Biographical questions
- Life before Addax
- Life since Addax arrived, but before husband migrated
- Life since the husband has migrated

Interview guide structure for left behind parents

- Biographical questions
- Life before Addax
- Life since Addax arrived
- Information about offspring and his/her spouse in general
- Information about left behind since the spouse of his/her offspring left

Interview guide structure for emigrated landowners

- Biographical questions
- Life before Addax
- Life since Addax arrived, but before he/she migrated
- Relationship to left behind spouse and family
- Migration, the destination and future plans

Interview guide structure for migrated tenants

- Biographical questions
- Life before Migration
- Life at the destination (Mamaria/Marokie)
- Life since back migration (only for tenants who are not residing in the area anymore)
- Future plans

Figure 8: Setting of semi-structured interview guides with left behinds and migrants (elaborated by the author).

Interview guide structure for the chiefs

- Life before and during the war (only with the c.ch.Mam.)
- Life before Addax
- Life since Addax arrived
- Facts about the village, the population and the land use management
- Ebola and the breakdown
- Life since the transition to Sunbird
- Migration patterns before, since and after Addax

Interview guide structure for Aruna

- Life before Addax
- Working condition at Addax
- Working condition at Sunbird
- Comparison of the two companies

Interview guide structure for Yusuf

- Life before Addax
- Life since Addax arrived (special focus on land and negotiation process)
- Life since the transition to Sunbird

Interview guide structure for the hunter

- Hunting practices and wildlife density before Addax
- Hunting practices and wildlife density since Addax arrived
- Hunting practices and wildlife density since Sunbird took over

Figure 9: Setting of systemized interviews guides with key informants (elaborated by the author).

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4.3.3 Household survey

I extended the qualitative data collection with a quantitative household survey. Due to time restrictions only Mamaria was surveyed. In the subsequent, I argue why I have conducted a household survey, how I elaborated the questionnaires and which strategies I used to acquire the needed information.

I decided to conduct a household survey based on several motivations. These were:

- Capturing the population size and distribution

- Presenting a quantitative overview about in- and out-migration flows over time

- Gaining information about migration reasons

- Accessing quantitative information about age, social stratum and gender disparities in migration practices

These four motives set the starting point to elaborate the questionnaire. Thereby, I tried to design the questionnaire so that the above-stated information could be gathered as precise as possible. Although I kept those aims continually in mind I initially forgot to distinguish between still residing and already left tenants. Therefore, I adjusted the questionnaire and visited all households anew. Table 1 shows the final version of the elaborated questionnaire. In further preparations for the household survey, I mapped the village by hand on a piece of paper. During several days, I walked with my translator from house to house to complete the questionnaire together with the male or female household heads. In doing so, I also marked the size of the various buildings of each household on the drawn map (s. Fig. 14). In total 49 households and 1179 individuals were surveyed.

Table 1: Elaborated household questionnaire (elaborated by the author).

Total Household members	Therefrom tenants (immigrants)	Adults with children		Adults without children		Students abroad		Children in Mamaria		Emigrated landowner family members									
										M					F				
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Nr.	Age	Since (years)	To	Purpose	Nr.	Age	Since (years)	To	Purpose

Emigrated Tenants

M								F							
Nr.	Age	Immigration	Emigration	From	To	Why coming	Why going	Nr.	Age	Immigration	Emigration	From	To	Why coming	Why going

On-off migrants

M					F					Immigration									
										M					F				
Nr.	Age	Since (years)	To	Purpose	Nr.	Age	Since	To	Purpose	Nr.	Age	Arrive	From	Purpose	Nr.	Age	Arrive	From	Purpose

Tenant	Landowner	Family Name	Notices

4.4 Selection of the case study and the sampling strategy

Since the selected sampling strategy varied depending on the concerned layer, a mixed purposeful sampling strategy was chosen (Patton, 1990: 183). The layers are: village, left behinds, migrants, key informants and households.

4.4.1 Selection of the Village

I was attempted to identify the village, which would provide me with the information-richest data for my investigation purposes (Patton 1990: 171-172). I defined following five key characteristics that the chosen village should likely fulfil.

- Clear influence of the LSLA project on local livelihoods
- Appearance of in- and out-migration as one livelihood strategy
- Mixture of different social characteristics (s. Chap. 4.4.3)
- Medium distance to the next major provincial town
- Access to clear water (due to safeguard my health during the field stay)

On site the local NGO Silnorf confirmed to be a reliable working partner. With one of their employees, I visited five different villages in the area where Sunbird currently operated. These were Mamaria, Massaethleh, a small village beside Massaethleh, Tschunca and Lunghe Acre. Table 2 illustrates, which preconditions the single villages fulfilled.

Table 2: Rating of villages' characteristics with the pre-defined preconditions. The symbol ✓ indicates that the village met the particular precondition. The sign ✗ on the other hand refers to a non-fulfilling of the concerned precondition (elaborated by the author).

Village Name	Influenced by LSLA	Occurrence of in- and out-migration	Mixture of different social classes	Size of Village	Medium distance to provincial town	Access to clear water
Mamaria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Massaethleh	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
Small Village beside Massaethleh	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
Tschunca	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
Lunghe Acre	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

As in table 2 illustrated, only Mamaria and Lunghe Acre fulfilled all defined preconditions. Due to the fact that Lunghe Acre already attracted broad scientific and public attention[39], I finally decided to choose the less studied case of Mamaria.

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[39] Lughe Acre was one of the first villages that leased its land. The community previously was one of the largest rice producers in the area. Conjectures circulated that political pressure and manipulations possibly interfered the negotiation process. Hence, the community was object of numerous journalistic inquiries. I assume that these made experiences with politicians and journalists might have affected the citizens motivation to participate in scientific investigations or even made them cautious to openly talk about the LSLA case (Pers. Com.).

4.4.2 The key informants

Access to key informants was gained through direct requests (chiefs) or through snowball sampling (other key informants, e.g. Aruna) (Patton 1990: 176). Initially, I intended to interview just key informants living in Mamaria. But with time, I realized how the impacts of the LSLA project were individually spread among the villages. Thus, I recognized that I had to amplify my focus in attempts to broaden my understanding about possible effects of the LSLA. As became clear, the impact of the LSLA on a single village highly depended on its population size and the pre-lease and after-lease dimensions of arable land. Apart from the chiefs, I predominantly chose key informants from Mamaria, since I knew its contextual framework best. Nonetheless, as Mamaria did not house any hunter at the time of my stay, the chosen interview partner was from the neighbouring village Manewa. In total, I interviewed six key informants in four different villages according to a systemized expert interview guide (s. Tab. 3).

Table 3: The interviewed key informants (elaborated by the author).

Interview partner (abbr.)	Key informant subject	Date of interview	Place of interview
Ceremonial chief of Mamaria (c.ch.Mam.)	Local cultural, political and economic dimensions with relation to LSLA	17.2.2018	Mamaria
Village Chief of Marokie (v.ch.Marok)	Local cultural, political and economic dimensions with relation to LSLA	16.3.2018	Marokie
Village Chief of Mataro (v.ch.Mataro)	Local cultural, political and economic dimensions with relation to LSLA	16.3.2018	Mataro
Aruna	Labour conditions at Addax & Sunbird	25.2.2018	Mamaria
Yusuf	Negotiation process and landownership (he refused to lease his land)	3.4.2018	Mamaria
Hunter	Impact of LSLA on wildlife	14.3.2018	Manewa

4.4.3 The interviewed left behinds and migrants

I sought that the total pool of chosen interview partners included as many crucial social characteristics as possible. These were degree of landownership (landowners vs. tenants), age (elders vs. youth) and gender (men vs. female). Moreover, I was interested in possible ethically caused disparities. However, it became clear that settlers from the Temne tribe mainly populated Mamaria and the adjacent villages. Consequently, an analysis concerning ethically based differences was not addressed. Altogether, 22 individuals were interviewed after a semi-structured and biographic interview guideline. They were sorted into two main and two subgroups. These were 'Left Behinds' with the subgroup 'Wives'

and 'Parents' and 'Migrants' with the subgroups 'Landowners' and 'Tenants' (s. Tab. 4).

Table 4: Participants interviewed with biographic and semi-structured interview guides (elaborated by the author)**.** For profound information about the single participants groups see chapter 7.1.1 and 7.1.2.

Participant group		Numbers of Interviewees
Left behinds	Wives	6
	Parents	3
Migrants	Landowners	7
	Tenants	6

The left behinds
The detection of the interview partners in the village was conducted by theoretical (wives) and snowball sampling (parents) (Mey & Muck 2009: 110-111, Patton 1990: 176). Thereby, the interview partners with the potentially richest information were found successively with the help of my translator (theoretical sampling). Through these interviewees, I gained access to further inter-familial interview partners (snowball sampling). The interviewed left behinds accessed by theoretical sampling were all wives of emigrated landowners. The interviewees detected by snowball sampling were all mothers, either of the left behind wives or the emigrated sons.

I aimed that my sample size contains the richest information and the most frequently met cases. Hence, I consciously included 'special' cases and 'normal' ones. The 'normal' ones were in majority. Further, I sought to interrogate male and female left behind. But as no case in any of the three villages was encountered, where the wife left and the man remained at home (s. Chap. 5.3.4), my sample only includes female left behinds (wives).
During the field stay, I decided not to conduct interviews with none-migrating households[40]. I did so, because firstly a profound inclusion of non-migrating households would have exceeded the possibilities of my stay. Secondly, I perceived that the gained information about the LSLA's impacts was comprehensive enough.

The migrants
The interviewed migrants were also accessed through theoretical and snowball sampling (Mey & Murck 2009: 110-111, Patton: 176). Before my field stay, I intended only to include out-migrating individuals, as I perceived the inclusion of immigrants as beyond the scope of a master thesis. Nevertheless, during my field stay, I realized that a research only including out-migration patterns would not be comprehensive, but rather would neglect the half of the story. As I was attempted to study LSLA's impact on migration patterns as profound as possible, I decided to widen my research focus on both in- and out-migrated landowners and tenants.
Again, I was interested in the special and the normal cases. I sought to find out differences in migration patterns due to distinctive social characteristics. Therefore, it was crucial to interview landowners and tenants as well as men and women of different ages. Hereof, migrating male tenants and landowners formed the major group of the interrogated participants. Female migrants (apart from engagement related migration reasons) were rare (s. Chap. 5.3.4). Nonetheless, I particularly searched for these special cases, as I

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[40] Where no one of the whole household emigrated.

was interested to study the differences in gender-related migration patterns. The efforts were worth it, since two cases of female migrations were detected.

The interviewed tenants were all found by theoretical sampling with the help of my translator. Some of them were still residing in Mamaria or Marokie, while others already returned to their home place. The ones residing outside of the LSLA area were contacted by phone and later visited at their current location.
The interviewed landowners were mainly found by snowball sampling. I obtained their contacts (except of one) through the left behind wives or relatives. Also, these migrants were contacted by phone before I visited them at their destination. If possible, I spent some time with the migrants and participated in their daily activities. Therewith, I aimed to gain an idea of their living conditions and every day routines.

Generally, I only considered cases where a tracking of the migrant was thinkable. But a visit and an interview with them depended on their willingness to participate in my study. Hereof, only one chosen interview partner did not agree to provide me with any information[41].

4.4.4 The households

In the household survey, I included each household situated in Mamaria. I was attempted to include every villager, who was still residing there or who already left (again). Landowner and tenants of each age, ethnicity and gender were recorded. Consequently, I conducted a statistical sampling, as I studied the whole sample (Müller-Böker et al. 2017: 31).

4.5 Data documentation and chronology of the field stay

All interview partners agreed to record the interview. To safeguard the gained information, also hand notes were taken throughout the interrogations. In terms to subsequently analyse the data, the interviews were transcribed in the software TAMSAnalyzer. Through this transcription scientifically information on paper or on a recorder were made substantially available (s. Kowall & O'Connell 2008: 438).

I chose the smoothing transcription method (s. Hammersley 2010). This means that I grammatically adjusted the interviewees' statements in terms to form understandable sentences. I did so, because neither for the interviewees nor for my translator English was their mother tongue. Nonetheless, I sought not to lose any information and that the content remained the same. I followed the strategy to maximize the intelligibility, while conserving the originality of the arguments. Thus, although I partially adjusted the statements, most quotes were kept in a simple English.

The research process was further accompanied by participatory observations and personal talks with diverse individuals (translator, villagers, migrants). Important information was written down in the research diary. These notes were incorporated as well into the data analysis. But above all, these talks helped me to understand the local setting with its

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[41] Based on the information of his wife and his stepmother, he had several problems with the company and the police. Consequently, I suppose that he was afraid to participate in an interview.

culture and traditions. In the following, when a finding refers to these notes, I will use the abbreviation 'Pers. Com.' to indicate that I received the certain information through these personal talks besides the interview conduction. For the names of all interviewees I use pseudonyms. The names were chosen as such that they still fit into a Sierra Leonean context. Table 5 illustrates, when, which activity was performed throughout the field stay.

Table 5: Time schedule during the field stay. The green filled boxes indicate when the particular activity in the field was conducted (elaborated by the author).

Kind of Activity	1. - 15. Feb.	16. - 28. Feb.	1. - 15. March	16. - 31 March	1. - 15 April	16. - 30. April	1. - 15. May
Village selection							
Village stay, with temporal stays in Makeni							
Tracking of the migrants							

4.6 Data Analysis

The content of the transcribed interviews was analysed based on the elaborated analytical framework (s. Fig. 5 and 6). This framework was developed by the consultation and incorporation of eight theories (s. Chap. 3.1 to 3.4). Through such an analysis, I sought to generate a comprehensive picture of the local circumstances, the influence of the LSLA and the consequential migration practices. Therewith, I aimed to work out step by step the answers on my research questions. Links to the multiple theories and the contextual cultural knowledge were steadily drawn.

What has to be mentioned here is that, in contrast to my proposal, I decided not to generate a household typology, where I grouped the interviewed individuals after social characteristics. I did so, because the met circumstances deviated from the expected ones. Hereof, the estimated differences between landowners and tenants were not as crucial as I initially supposed. Thus, no topological classification was conducted, but rather differences between participants were elaborated by a well-structured and cautiously chosen coding strategy. This approach will be exemplified in the following subchapter.

4.6.1 Coding of the qualitative data - Interviews

To structure, detect and finally extract the crucial information from the gathered and transcribed interview data, I followed the concept of open coding (Strauss & Corbin 1996: 43-55). The aim thereby was to abstract the text more and more and to form superior- and sub-categories of the defined codes. Therewith, I intended to achieve not only a clear data condensation but also to develop a logical structure of my thesis's content. The coding

was conducted in the MAXQDA program. In the following, the practical procedure of the open coding will be illustrated.

According to an open coding, I first developed 10 superior-categories (Flick 2006: 259, Strauss & Corbin 1996: 43 et seqq.) This procedure was based on the transcribed interviews and on the idea how I intended to structure my master's thesis. In a second step, I added to these superior-categories codes and sub-codes. During this coding process, new codes were added from time to time. Thereby, the thematic categories and codes were logically structured by topics and stood simultaneously in line with the chronological occurrence of historical incidences. The elaborated code system set the fundament for the subsequently developed table of content. Only small adjustments were undertaken throughout the successive writing process. Figure 10 shows the superior structure of my developed code system. The defined codes and sub-codes are illustrated in figure 41 to 49 in the Appendix.

Codesystem	1'983
GELB	1
Introduction and Context	189
Influences of Addax, the break down and the change to Sunbird	613
The Migration flows	89
The left behinds	197
The Migrants	489
Migration outcomes and sustainability	48
Gender disparities and social stratum	18
Translocality	241
Migration and its interconnectedness with LSLA	87
Conclusions	11

Figure 10: Structure of superior categories (developed in MAXQDA by the author).

Furthermore, I developed the additional superior category of 'Relationships', as many interview passages fitted into its codes or sub-codes. This category stood not directly in line with any research question. Nonetheless, it helped me to evaluate and answer my research questions (s. App. Fig. 50).

As I already structured the research diary after themes throughout the writing process, I did not code it. Consequently, I consulted the notices during the writing process, when I was addressing the topic of the particular diary entry.

4.6.2   Data Analysis of the quantitative data - Household survey

With the gathered data of the household survey, I conducted a descriptive statistical analysis. The data was analysed by structuring and calculating and finally by illustrating it in graphs and tables. Therefor, I firstly summed, standardized and formed averages of multiple phenomena to gain a demographical overview of the village's population and its present and past inhabitant numbers. In a second step, crucial parameters of each migration group were extracted (emigrated landowners, currently present and emigrated tenants).

These included for example the quantity of a stated migration reason or the amount of people emigrated during a certain time period. Based on these calculations, I generated bar and pie charts to illustrate the processed data. In a final step, I standardized the migration flow numbers of all migration groups. Therewith, I gained the migration flows in proportion to the time before Addax. This enabled me to create bar charts, in which the temporal developments of the in- and out-migration flows of the landowners and the tenants were illustrated. Moreover, the drawings produced during the conduction of the household survey were used to develop a map of Mamaria (s. Fig. 14).

Initially, I intended to use the data of the origins (from where the tenants were) and destination (to where the landowners and the tenants left) to produce a migration flow map. Therewith, it should have been illustrated to where emigrating landowners went, from where most tenants originated and to where the tenants migrated in the case they left Mamaria again. Although I tried hard to localize the single settlements by utilizing multiple contacts, by involving a GIS and mapping office in Sierra Leone and by independent searches within the Internet, I was not able to acquire the necessary information. As a consequence, the map production was limited to the development of migration flow maps for the tracked migrants (these locations were known as I visited them by myself) (s. Fig. 15 and 16).

4.7 Critical reflection on the methodology

In the subsequent four subchapters, I will critically reflect my chosen methodology. First, I will deliberate the applied research design and the position I took up consciously or unconsciously. Later on, the process of the data acquisition will be reviewed. Thereby, I will state what functioned well, where I met difficulties and which possible improvements I identified. Finally, also concerning the data analysis and its interpretation, a critical rethinking of the chosen strategies will be conducted. Therefor, I will come up with made experiences and state to what extent the elaborated analytical framework supported the research process.

4.7.1 Research design

The choice of a mainly qualitative approach, which was amplified through a quantitative survey, proved to be beneficial to achieve the pre-defined study aims.
The interview guides were kept open and set the basis to extend the transcripts. No presumptions in the data analysis were made and the research design was elaborated after the interview conductions. The categories and codes were not defined from the beginning on, but were rather steadily adjusted. This procedure enabled me to elaborate an analysis, which was exactly tailored to the collected data. Thus, the presented thesis is not based on my own presuppositions, but rather on the data gathered through the interviews and the household survey.

4.7.2   Positioning

During the field stay, I adopted the clear position as a white, young woman. Although I lived as the local people did during the period I spent with them and although I sought to encounter my interviewees on eye level, I was not able to get rid of the connotation my appearance and my origin implicated. Consequently, I was seen as a wealthy person and was repeatedly asked if I could support the locals and their families. This unintended position was firstly created through my skin colour and the well-known richness of Switzerland. Secondly, it emerged through culturally manifested obligations and expectations in the Sierra Leonean societies that the rich have to care about the poor (s. Chap. 5.3.3).

Despite this, I tried to make the intention of my visit as transparent as possible. But some occasional conversations showed me that some villagers and especially the interviewed migrants were still unsure, if I really had nothing to do with either Addax or Sunbird. Hereof, some interviewees asked me after the interview, if I would help them or even offer them a job at the company. This let me assume that some interviews were possibly biased through the hopes of people that I might help them in reverse.

Apart from the fact how the local population saw me, my adopted position was influenced by the texts I read before the field stay. These documentations and scientific papers mainly drew a negative picture of Addax and LSLA in general. Thus, I entered the field with a pre-formed opinion, which made it difficult to adopt an objective and impartially position. Nonetheless, I attempted to argue as neutral as possible and to base my analysis on a comprehensive data acquisition. Since, my opinion about LSLA partially shifted throughout my field stay, I suppose that my efforts to stay as unbiased as possible were quite successful.

The fact that I was the only investigator resulted in some advantages but as well in some disadvantages. An advantage was that the interviews were conducted uniformly, since I was the only researcher. But at the same time, this prevented the achievement of an investigator triangulation. Nonetheless, I sought to allow a possible replication of my study through a structured and transparent data documentation.

4.7.3   Data acquisition

This subchapter will critically reconsider the data acquisition process. Thereby, I will address the suitability of the chosen methods and the sampling. Additional reconsiderations will be done in regard to the interview conduction and other circumstances.

Suitability of chosen Methods
The choice of semi-structured and biographical interview guides proved to be useful to acquire the requested information. The openly kept interview guide helped me not to forget any important questions. Further, it allowed a certain flexibility to react on spontaneous questions or topics.

Also, the selection of the systemized expert interview proved to be well chosen. It namely enabled me to obtain contextual and experiential knowledge about particular topics. The inclusion of various chiefs facilitated to relativize single statements and to comprehend the hyper-local circumstances each village encountered.

Suitability of the Sampling
Generally, I perceived the chosen sampling methods as appropriate. Nonetheless, it has to be mentioned here that the selection of Mamaria was influenced by the pre-choice of the five possible places of investigation by the deputies of Silnorf. The consultation of another partner could have led to a different village selection and thus to variant research outcomes. However, through interviewing three different chiefs, I tried to gain a broad awareness of varying interference degrees and coping strategies.
The theoretical and snowball sampling allowed me to find appropriate and information-rich interview partners without any bigger difficulties. Nevertheless, it has to be clarified that I found most interview partners through my translator's social network. Since the sampling was not conducted unaffected by the perception of my translator, a certain bias potentially emerged[42]. Hereof, I assume that his networking especially influenced the access to tenants, who still resided in Mamaria or Marokie. Namely, all interviewed tenants resided in in either of the two villages since some time. Based on personal communications and the results I gained through my household survey, I however suppose that most tenants normally stood for a shorter time period. This observation leads me to the assumption that I might have unwittingly surveyed more the special cases, instead of the normal ones (only valid for tenants residing at the destination). Thus, I suppose that the findings, which show in what way the interference of the commonly restricted land access might have an impact on tenants' well-being in general, possibly were biased.

Contacting, time and location of the interviews
The contacting of the diverse interview partners mostly did not cause any problems. Hereof, the well cross-linkages and the organisational talent my translator brought along were highly valuable to acquire access to potential interviewees (especially to the migrants). As stated above only one contacted interviewee was not willing to be interrogated. I consider that his rejection had nothing to do with the efforts of my translator but rather with his made experiences (s. footnote 41 p. 51).

Especially with the villagers it was not easy to set a time for the interview. Most villagers did not possess a watch or mobile phone where they could have checked the time. After several unsuccessful meetings (where the interviewee was not available), I learnt that I had to arrange the interviews in another manner. Hereof, I began to use other time orientations like, subsequent to the afternoon prayer (was always at 4 o'clock) or before the lunch. This strategy proved to be preferable, as I had normally to wait less.

Further, I sought to choose the location for the interview at a silent place, where no one else was listening to our conversation. This place was mostly at the consulter's front garden or in his or her house. Therewith, I first tried to preserve the anonymity of my interviewees' statements. Secondly, the comprehensibility of the recordings should be se-

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[42] Maybe he ignored certain cases due to aversions. However, I experienced my translator as an impartial person, who was striving to provide me with the most suitable interview partners he was able to access.

cured. Finally, I was attempted to generate an ambience, in which the interviewee felt comfortable and by which upcoming unpleasant situations could be prevented. By doing so, I hoped to gain the interviewees confidence. In most interviews, I had the feeling that I was successful, since the participants openly narrated about personal experiences and perceptions. This showed trust is not self-evident. Concerning the interviewed villagers, it seems to have helped that I lived in the settlement for a while, spent some time with them and participated in their daily activities. Therewith, I possibly gained their confidence and their openness to talk with me about personal issues.

Nonetheless, in some cases (particularly valid for the migrants), I did not spend any or only little time with the participants before the interview was conducted. In these cases the confidence many still showed me (this was at least my perception), cannot be ascribed to the time we spent together. However, some interviewees were shy and thus not too talkative. As a consequence, not all interviews were detailed and the length varied heavily between 1,0 and 3,5 hours[43].

Other circumstances

Throughout the interview process some difficulties emerged. These could be solved to some extent. First, my translator and me had from time to time misunderstandings or difficulties to understand each other due to linguistic incomprehensibleness. By post-interview debriefings these confusions could mostly be solved.

Second, these interviews were, besides some gathered knowledge throughout the master studies, my first experience in interview conduction. Therefore, particularly in the beginning of my field stay, I was not sure how much I should go into detail regarding specific statements. As the whole theme around the LSLA as well as the cultural and traditional background highly interested me, I had from time to time difficulties not to ask more questions than was necessary to reach my research aim.

4.7.4 Data analysis and interpretation

Finally, I will address the gained experiences in the documentation and the analysis of the data. It will be stated, in which relation the research setting has influenced the study outcomes and what I have learnt thereby. Additionally, the elaborated and utilized analytical framework will be critically rethought.

Experiences in the data analysis

The selected smoothing method to transcribe the interview data proved as beneficial. As some interviews lasted long, this precise transcription technic was quite time-consuming. Nevertheless, I assume that other transcription methods, like the content protocol, would have reduced the quality of my analysis by far. Namely, valuable quotes, in which interviewees narrated about made experiences, perceptions and cultural manifestations would have been lost. Accordingly, I am content that I have chosen to leave the participants' statements as unchanged as possible, while upgrading the linguistic comprehensibility

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[43] The length of the interviews also depended on the interview guides (those depended from the themes I intended to address with the certain participant - s. Tab. 8 & 9). Generally the interviews with the migrants were longer, since the interview guides entailed parts about LSLA, their relationship to their left behinds and the migration including the destination. The interviews with the left behinds on the other hand only included topics about LSLA, life before the husband left and life since he left. The interviews with the key informants did not show any tendency in duration.

and the correctness.

Since, the MAXQDA program was simple to handle and as the platform was intuitively understandable, I was satisfied with its usage as well. The choice of the open coding procedure proved to be advantageous, since this approach allowed the adding and the adjustment of new codes during the process.

Experiences in the data interpretation

My investigation and analysis is built upon participants' experiences and perceptions. These, as imaginations or memories, are highly individual and may change over time. Hence, I am aware that the gathered information does not specifically correspond to the reality, but rather illustrate one possible version of it. This phenomenon is especially striking for the notions about the assessment of Addax and Sunbird. As will be shown, most interviewees pleased the times when Addax was still operating, while complaining about Sunbird's activities. These findings stay in contrast to previous findings, where the authors gathered predominantly negative votes concerning Addax and its operation. Since arguments are always influenced by past experiences and current circumstances, I assume that the moment of the interrogation has a vast influence on the made statements and thus on the research outcomes.

Already during the investigation process and especially throughout the data interpretation, I realized that some statements made by the left behind wives did not match to the ones made by their husbands. These mainly concerned the household finances and the sending of remittances. Most men stated to have frequently sent remittances, while the women denied to have received any financial support from their migrated husband. Accordingly, my data was providing contradicting information. As I did not know, if the migrants sent money or not and if the left behinds received it or not, I could only assume what happened. Based on conversations with my translator and through the consultation of literature, which explained cultural customs, I suppose that mostly the women were possibly withholding the receipt of remittances. Hereof, my translator reported that he thinks that some women intentionally underestimated the received remittances. Therewith, they namely would first minimize the risk to meet solidarity obligations and second maximize the chance to achieve support from the solidarity system. These assumptions stay in line with the findings Fafchamps published (1992: 151-154) (s. Chap. 5.3.3). In some cases interviewees might even hoped to raise my mercy with the neglecting of receipt remittances and therewith to achieve further financial support (as I was seen as a wealthy individual). Nevertheless, I question, if my translator would not have known the participants and consequently would not have been part of the same solidarity system as the women were, if then the women would have told me about receipt remittances[44].

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[44] Another possibility could be that the money did not reach the left behind. Hereof, I asked the husbands, if they would be sure that the money reached the left behind safely. As they answered that their wives would have confirmed the receipt of the remittances, I consider this risk as low.

However, I do not know what the reason was for these contradicting statements and thus any presumption is vague. Consequently, I incorporated all interviews to the same extent without reacting on any presumptive untrue statements[45].

Rethinking the Analytical Framework
The used theories were helpful to elaborate the analytical framework. However, some concepts were related close to each other and overlapped now and then. Hence, I had some difficulties to incorporate the multiple theories logically into one single framework. Nonetheless, it was valuable to include all these theoretical concepts. I namely gained much theoretical knowledge, which enabled me to develop a precisely tailored analytical framework: an analytical framework that proved to be beneficial for my analysis.

5 Research Context

In this chapter, I will introduce the research context, in which my survey took place. Therefor, I will shortly introduce the country of Sierra Leone with its historical and political background. Then, the cultural and traditional dimensions identified by various authors will be presented and interlinked with the circumstances I encountered during my field stay. Finally, I will exemplify in what way the local population achieved a living in pre-lease times and to what extent these attempts were successful.

5.1 Sierra Leone and its demography

Sierra Leone represents with a territorial size of 71'740 km^2 one of the smaller West African cost countries. As in Figure 11 visible Sierra Leone borders on the two French-speaking countries of Guinea in the north and Liberia in the south (Manson et al. 2018: 3-4). The country has principally two seasons – a wet (from May to October) and a dry season (from November to April). Throughout the whole year the humidity is high with values between 69-82%. The average monthly temperature varies only little between 27° and 30°C (Manson et al. 2018: 3-4, 291).

After projections outgoing from the medium-fertility variant, the total population was estimated to 7.6 Million in 2017, whereby 74.8% of all employed people lived with 3.10 US$ per day. The population is young with an average age of 18.3 years while the total life expectancy is low with 52.2 years. With a literacy rate of 32.4% and a mean schooling time of 3.5 years the educational level is nationwide low. Furthermore, the Gender Inequality Index[46] of 0.645 concludes that a paternalistic system is prevailing. Against this background it is not surprising that Sierra Leone is presently still found at the bottom of the Human Development Index[47] with a rank on position 184 out of 189 countries worldwide (UNEP 2018).

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[45] I explained this found incongruity in such detail, since it depicts a clear source of error.
[46] Its calculations are based on reproductive health, the labour marked and empowerment parameters (UNEP 2018).
[47] The HDI measures since 1990 the development status of a country while measures concerning health, education and income set the basis of the elaborations (UNEP 2018).

Figure 11: Map of Sierra Leone (produced by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency). Source: University of Texas Libraries.

5.2   The historical and the political background of Sierra Leone

Already 2500 years BC manifold languages and ethnicities were characteristic for the population of the Upper West African Cost. Communities were organized after and controlled by the ruling houses[48] (Ade-Renner 2010: 13) and were engaged in trans-Saharan and Atlantic trading systems (Fanthorpe 2001: 374).

The first settlement by Europeans was formed by the Portuguese, which circumnavigated Africa in the fifteenth century. In 1495 they built up a strategic post to connect the transnational trade system at the present location of Freetown. Together with further major European powers as France, Britain and the Netherlands they recognized soon that an investment into a slave trade system would slake the thirst for plantation workers across the Atlantic. Accordingly, a flourishing exchange between slave traders and local authorities emerged. Although, the British banned slave trading officially in 1809 and also tried to enforce the new law by appointing present Freetown as a British Crown Colony, the barter existed further on. Only in the late 19th century some British philanthropists began to question the human trafficking (Pham 2006: 3-4). Consequently, some Scottish abolitionists[49] founded Freetown. Later on, the British extended their ruling area into the so-called hinterlands of Sierra Leone by the formation of a protectorate in 1896 (Pham 2006: 4). Therewith, they aimed to ensure their authority against the nearby spreading of colonial settlements by France (Hirsch 2001: 23). Additionally, the British permitted local authorities to maintain their traditional governance system[50]. Nevertheless, some modifications were undertaken since only Queen Victoria was allowed to own the title of a royalty (Alie 1990: 133). Hence, traditional ruling entities were transformed into paramount chiefs, who were custodians of the Protectorate.

After the 'Hut Tex War'[51] in 1898 the British established new Chiefdoms in 1899 (Hirsch 2001: 24)[52]. Thereby, the assignments of the paramount chiefs were expanded by actions like tax collection and civil labour recruitment. Consequently, the relationships between chiefs and their citizens were transformed from sole nepotistic to economic ones. Therewith, terms like 'native' and 'stranger'[53] were introduced into a precedent customary land system where everybody enjoyed access to land. As a consequence the access to land was matched to certain conditions whereas landowners stood above tenants (Ade-Renner 2010: 240-250). This induced class society by the colonial power shapes local access relations up to date.

Some years before the peacefully transition into independence in 1961, the administratively divided sections of the Colony and the Protectorate were unified into one single entity (Fanthorpe 2001: 382). But the territory fragmentation into various chiefdoms and administrative structures was largely conserved (s. Fig. 12).

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[48] Ruling house refers to people, whose ancestors are assumed to have founded the chiefdom (Ade-Renner 2010: 13).

[49] They were promised freedom as they served for the British in the American Revolutionary War (Pham 2006: 4).

[50] Thereby, kings and queens ruled the multiple countries.

[51] In the 'Hut Tex War' a locally formed guerrilla rose up against the introduction of a five-shilling tax for each household by the colonial power (Hirsch 2001: 24).

[52] The Chiefdoms were divided into multiple sections, which were administrated by the hereditary paramount chiefs (Hirsch 2001: 24).

[53] 'Native' refers to persons, which hold in customary law the hereditary rights of communal land. In contrast 'strangers' are not customary allowed either to posses or to inherit communal land. This divisional treatment was applied as well to topics like right of residence, marriage or divorce (Ade-Renner 2010: 240-250).

The subsequent politics of the independent nation were shaped by several manipulative and corruptive scandals, whereat the government missed to generate a national identity (Hirsch 2001: 24-25). Meanwhile, traditional patrimonial structures were enforced whereas national resources were distributed to deputies' followers, relatives and friends. This patronage patterns attained its peak during the so-called rule of the "seventeen-year plague of locusts" by Siaka Stevens from 1971 to 1985 (ibid: 29). As by the beginning of the 1990's the country was economically and politically ruined, citizens found themselves in a nation without employment and perspectives (Hirsch 2001: 29, Pham 2006: 77). As a consequence, some young men formed the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) led by the ex-Sierra Leone army corporal Foday Sankoh. They had the aim to vanish the 'rotten system' of the state (Hirsch 2001: 31, Peters 2011: 25). The subsequent, extraordinary brutal and complex war lasted a decade long and involved multiple stakeholders ranging from the RUF, several fractions of the Sierra Leonean Army to different assemblages of Civil Defence Forces established by foreign troops, secret hunting societies and regional militias (Pham 2006: 78-126). As the innocent civil population was accused to support the respective hostile troop, it was the on-going target of strikes by all parties. By the end of the war in 2002 more than 70'000 people were killed and over 2.6 millions had fled into neighbouring countries (Pham 2006: 153). Although, the country was found in a miserable condition already during pre-war times, in 2002 left behinds and returnees faced a country with a totally destroyed infrastructure and a devastated economy (Bolten 2009).

Since the political marginalization of the youth is seen as a major cause for the outbreak of the war, the government was attempted to weaken the customary institutions that often were led by corrupt chiefs (Fanthorpe 2005: 34). Hence, decentralization processes characterized the national politic agenda in the following years whereby new district and city councils were established[54]. Nevertheless, Fanthorpe argues that rural populations would still favour traditional customary chiefs. As a consequence, the administrative restoration had not brought any decentralisation but rather the existence of a confusing dual system where chiefs' hegemonic influence on people's social and political identity formation did continue (2001: 382, 2005: 45).

To boost the growth of the Gross Domestic Product the government recently opened the national market. Multiple favourable conditions[55] were elaborated to attract international investors. Therefor, the Sierra Leone Investment and Export Promotion Agency (SILEPA) was founded in 2007. It lures entrepreneurs with slogans like "Huge potential for agribusiness" and is promising that "Sierra Leone has significant amounts of arable land, most of which remains uncultivated, with Millions hectares of arable land still available for cultivation" (SILEPA 2018). Their tactic was successful, since multiple contracts for long-lasting LSLA leases were signed whereas ABSL was one of them.

Tragically, only a decade after peace came in March 2014, a further civil catastrophe shattered the country. Sierra Leone was namely in the heart of the Ebola epidemic outbreak. After statistics totally 14'123 infections were registered wherefrom 3'956 individuals died (Statistica 2016). The 'Welthungerhilfe' declared already in August 2014 that 150'000 people would starve, as a direct consequence of the epidemic (Pilar 2015). The fever

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[54] Thereby, democracy and participation on the local government level should get ensured.
[55] The government enacted several favourable conditions to create an attractive ambience for investors. Concerning land investments they tempt with tax exemptions, flexible labour provisions, cheap land and free access to water and resources (Oakland 2011: 14)).

reached all provinces and chiefdoms of the country until the cases finally decreased throughout the summer half year of 2015. At the 7th of November 2015 the country was finally affirmed as Ebola-free (Weber 2015).

During my field stay elections were taking place. As the mandate of the sitting president Ernest Bai Koroma was terminated, Sierra Leone's citizens had to choose between over a dozen candidates. In the first ballot at the 7th of March 2018, none of the candidates reached the absolute majority of votes. Hence, a second ballot between Julius Maada Bio (SLPP) and Samura Kamara (APC) took place at the 31st of March. In the meanwhile, several riots between SLPP and APC supporters rose (mainly in the southern cities of the country). Therefor, the government imposed several curfews in divers towns. Ensuing from these political uncertainties, some citizens reduced their daily activities to a minimum, as they were afraid that riots might reach their settlements (Pers. Com.). Finally, Julius Maada Bio was elected and the military was able bring the riots under control. Therewith, the country became peacefully again.

President
Julius Maada Bio
(since 4.4.2018)

Parliament
APC (63), SLPP (46)

Provinces
Provincial Secretary

District
District Council and Chief Administrator

Chiefdom
Paramount Chief

Constituency
Honourable

Section
Section Chief

Ward
Councillor

Communities
Town Chief, Village Headman, Elder Council, Chairlady and Youth Leader
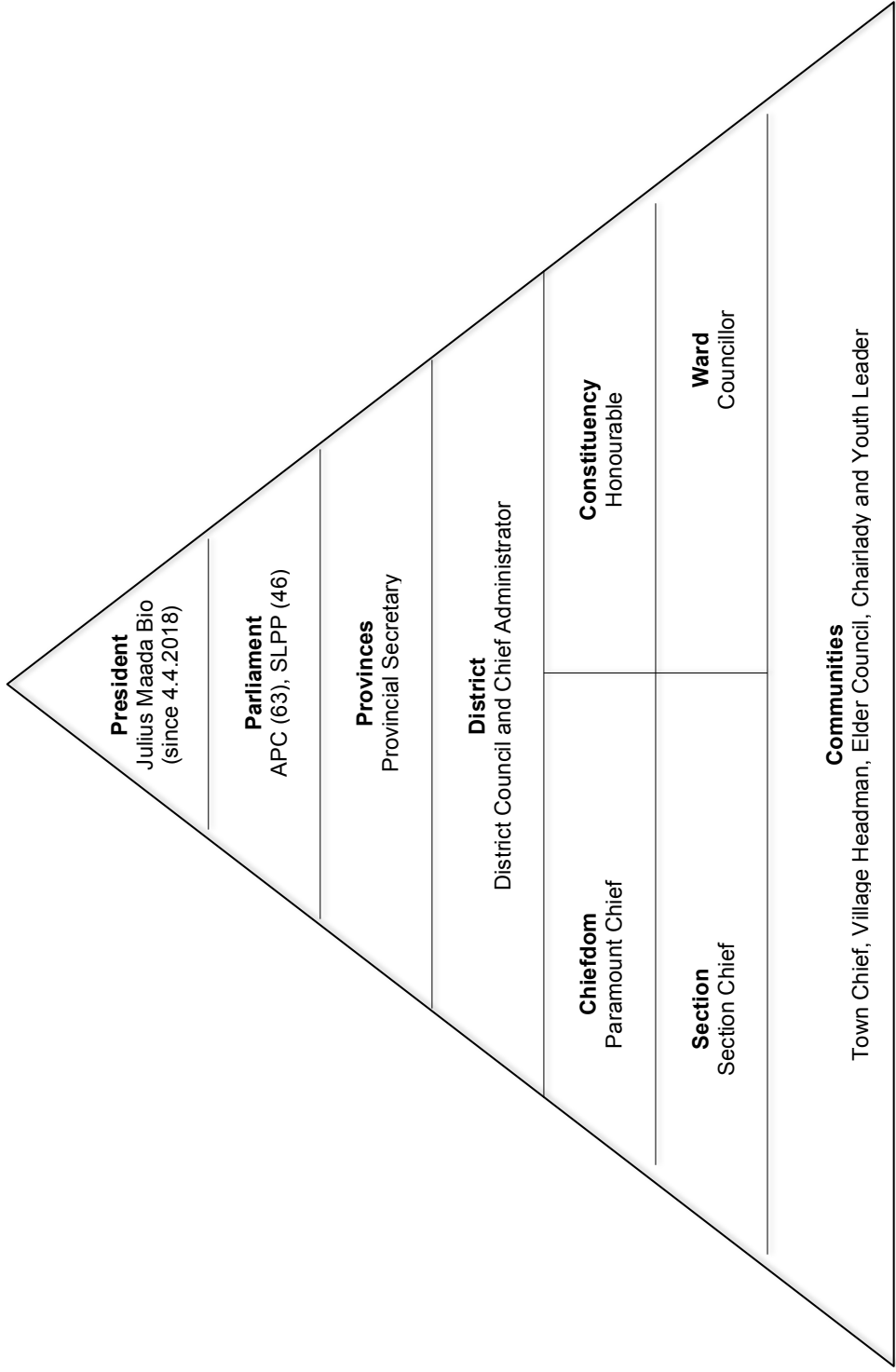
Figure 12: Political hierarchy of Sierra Leone. The All Peoples Congress (APC) holds currently the majority in the Parliament over the opposition of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). Julius Maada Bio is in charge as President since 4.4.2018. Situated at the bottom left of the pyramid are the Chiefdom and the Section form the customary structure of the political apparatus. On the bottom right the department of the Constituency and the Ward presents the legal governmental entities.

5.3 The local setting and the traditional livelihoods

In this chapter, I will introduce the contextual framework of the village, in which my analysis took place. The setting and the composition of the village will be addressed, before descriptions of the local political structures, the cultural conditions, the gender relations and the traditional land use management will follow. Later on, traditional livelihoods and their outcomes of the villagers before Addax arrived will be circumscribed.

The gained knowledge will enable us to compare the traditional living circumstances, the activities, the strategies and the outcomes with the current attempts to achieve an adequate livelihood in the subsequent chapters.

5.3.1 Description of the Village

Mamaria is located in the north-eastern corner of the country, southwest of the principal town of Makeni in the Bombali District (s. Fig. 13). It is part of the northern belt of the drier savannah woodlands. In times before Addax arrived, the ecosystem was composed by environmental mosaics, which flew into each other by transition zones. The inner circles were characterized by lively swamps, which were surrounded by several grass types. Circles of bush land that passed into dense old forests followed these. In those times, many wild animals, like deer, buffalos, zebras, giraffes, wild pigs, elephants, jackals, lions, leopards, hyenas and different types of apes, populated the region. Although, some of these species left the area during war times, people reported that they returned after peace and were abundant (except elephants) up to 2008 (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018 & hunter 14.3.2018). Before war the village was located in the heart of an old forest whereat all buildings were constructed by wood, earth and grass. The settlement was far smaller than today and was exclusively populated by people from the Temne tribe. Most citizens belonged to a landowner's family, while tenants formed the minority. As the rebels arrived, many people permanently left the settlement or flew into the surrounding woodlands. The ones, who stayed, founded a new settlement at the current location of Mamaria, as the rebels destroyed 'the old town' (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

To reach the current location of Mamaria one had to pass one of the two neighbouring villages Manewa or Marokie and to take the impasse, which was a rough road. The main path through the settlement was predominately accompanied by solid houses with zinc roofs and concrete floors (s. Fig. 14). In the backyards, a mixture of solid and traditional clay houses emphasized the village scene. On the left hand at the entrance of the village, the football field with the adjacent primary school was found. The school contained two classrooms for the grads 1-3 and 3-6. Two teachers educated approximately 250-300 children. The closest secondary schools were located in the one-hour drive distant towns of Makeni or Malal.

The mosque with the opposing community centre formed the core of the village. Several big mango trees seemed the streets and three covered wells supplied the citizens with water. Energized by a rattling generator, a cinema and a mobile charging station provided from time to time electricity and entertainment. Two mills and a bakery supplied the population with fresh bread during the feast month in May. Down the main road a ceremonial structure was situated, which was constructed and maintained by the ceremonial chief. At the southern end of the village the main road passed into a small footpath, which led into the surrounding forests in direction to the neighbouring villages Rupotor and Makumbie.

Figure 13: Map of Sierra Leone including the location of Mamaria and its neighbouring villages (produced by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and extended by the author with the help of Google maps). Source: University of Texas Libraries, Google Maps.
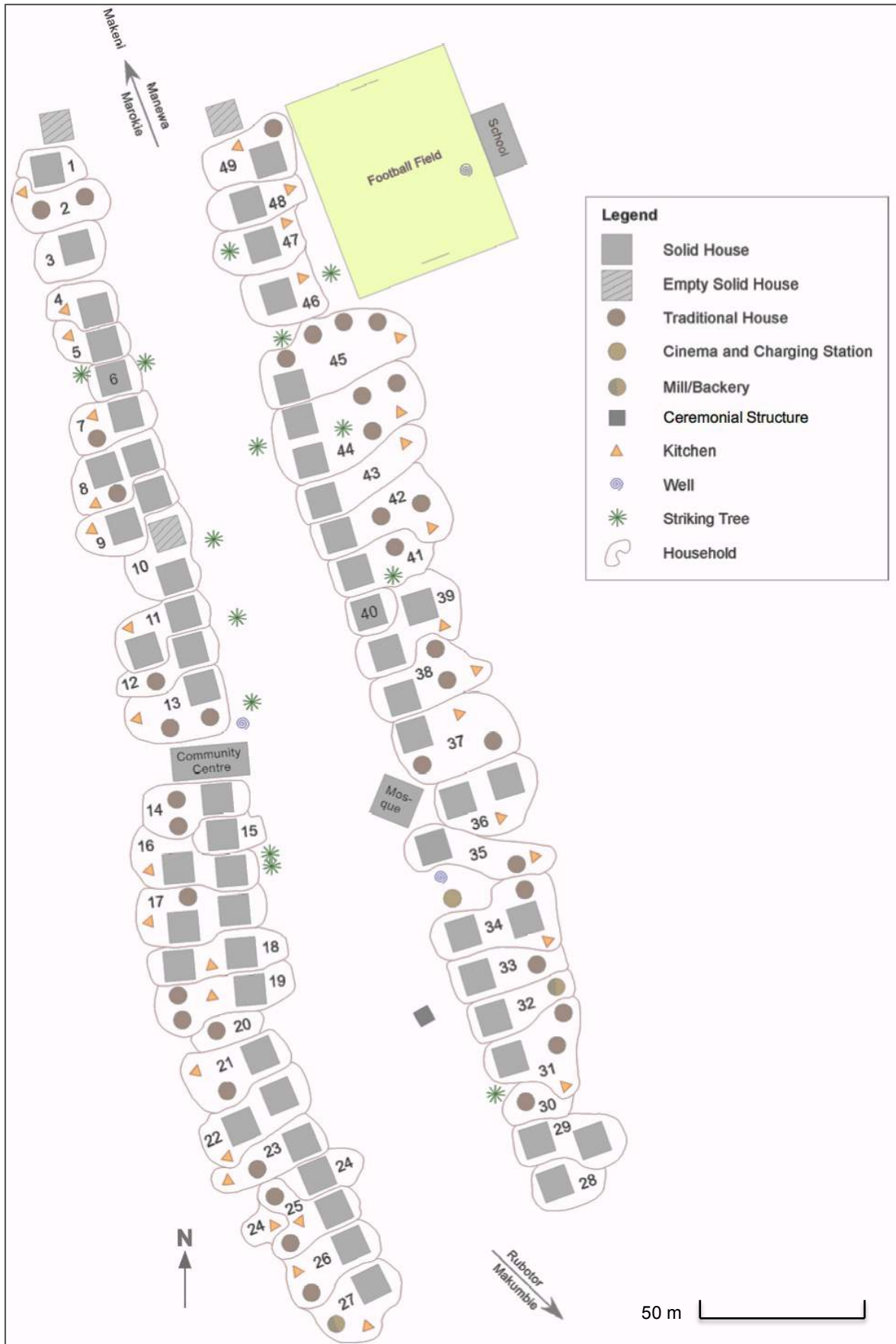
Figure 14: Map of Mamaria including all surveyed 49 households (elaborated by the author).

After a population minimum in 2002, demographic growth shaped the last decade, besides the tragically incidence of the Ebola Epidemic in 2014 (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). My household survey showed that the village currently reached a total resident population of 750 individuals, whereas 357 were male and 393 were female (excluding students abroad and emigrants). With an amount of 366 children their share of the population constituted 49.5 %. Presently, 56 persons were not natively born in the village and thus called tenants. The remaining 694 individuals were members of a landowning family. As only two persons (one Limba and one Shabro) did not belong to the Temne, the tribe constellation in the village was still almost uniform. The 750 villagers were living in 49 households whereby the average household size lay at 15.3 individuals. As illustrated on figure 14, the village was composed of 58 solid and 39 traditional houses. Thereby, the possession of a household ranged from one solid or traditional house to congeries of up to 5 buildings. Furthermore, almost every household acquired a kitchen that was constructed by sticks, clay and grass.

5.3.2 Local political structures

Mamaria was hierarchically imbedded in the governmental structure of Sierra Leone whereby on the village level the democratically elected village chief represented the interests of the village and was the contact person for any requests that concern the village itself or its surroundings. He stood in close collaboration with the village elders, which formed the village council. Although, the traditional chief stood at the top of the socio-political hierarchy, the village headman represented the community if it came to governmental affairs. Mamaria also had a youth leader and a chairlady, which represented the interests of the youth and the women respectively. Finally, the ceremonial chief was engaged in the performance of traditional rituals and ceremonies throughout the whole year.

5.3.3 The solidarity and patron-client system

Mamaria's societal structure was based on a solidarity system that was already described in earlier studies conducted by multiple authors from 1962 until 2008 (Dorjahn & Fyfe 1962, Chauveau 2008, Fafchamps 1992, Jackson 2004). I experienced the solidarity system and the hierarchical structures almost similar to the scientists' descriptions. In the following, I will resume their findings and clarify to what extent their illustrations fit to the insights I gained throughout my 3,5 months field stay. The here gained knowledge is crucial to understand people's views and decisions that will be presented in the subsequent chapters.

Fafchamps (1992) and later Jackson (2004) described the emergence of reciprocity, respectively solidarity, in societies where financial and social conditions were highly uncertain. Thereby, Fafchamps explicated that solidarity was a type of mutual insurance whereby "the person receiving assistance was not expected to give back something equivalent to what is received. What was expected from the recipient was simply to help others in return" (Fafchamps 1992: 148). Thereby, mutual insurances were held for group members, which were interconnected with each other through networks. Arising from the lack of privacy and the reduced monitoring costs, many mutual relationships were between relatives and neighbours. Nonetheless, reciprocal expectations might exist as well towards friends or other villagers (Fafchamps 1992: 158-159). These expectations and claims were influenced by imperfect observability and hence could lead to pressured rela-

tionships, distrust or unfair treatments (Fafchamps 1992: 151-154). Throughout my whole field stay, I sensed the presence of these reciprocal obligations and expectations people were urged to fulfil. Hereof, I witnessed both: How these strict obligations to share one's livelihoods with each other could cause severe struggles but also how these obligations to help might assist individuals in times of hardship (s. Chap. 7.2.1, 7.3.4 & 7.4.3).

As Fafchamps (1992) put it, these mutual insurances would be only able to protect society members from idiosyncratic risks. For collective risks, like drought or war, accumulated wealth by so-called wealthy individuals was a way of safeguarding (Fafchamps 1992: 160). Consequential, patron-client relationships would be developed whereby the wealthy individuals offered protection against unpredictable hazards. The patron provided his client with acreages, brides of his own lineage and allotted him a place to build. The patron was accountable for his client action and had to act as his advocate in the case of a conflict (Dorjahn & Fyfe 1962: 391-392). In return, the society granted preferential treatment for wealthy individuals, by providing a variety of services, like repeated small gifts, provisions of labour force, religious contributions or supplying useful information (Chauveau 2008: 519). Also Mamaria was inhabited by multiple temporary and permanent tenants, which lived a typical patron client relationship with their superior landowner (c.ch.Mam. 17.3.2018). Thereby, landowners provided the 'strangers' with land to build and to farm as well as with bridges for marriage (v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). Only a marriage with a landowner could transform the status from tenant to landowner[56] (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). The above-described obligations a tenant had to meet were addressed in multiple conversations I had. But also I, as a tenant, felt the expectations from elders that I should demonstrate my appreciation through frequent gifts and visits at the landowners' house[57].

As Chauveau (2008) observed, the exchange between tenant and landowner constituted at the same time a blessing and a curse for the mutual insurance system. The transfer of labour and the channelling of information namely helped the rich to accumulate further resources, while the clients remained poor. Hence, the patron-client system tended to reinforce uneven social structures up to the transformation of mutual insurances into exploitative instruments (Chauveau 2008: 519). Thereof, peripheral and central spaces throughout the solidarity network would emerge. Meanwhile, the centres would be traditionally occupied by chiefs, religious leaders and elders and by recently developed prestigious positions, like cadre, politicians or teachers. In contrast, the periphery would be composed of marginal society groups, like widows, old people without offspring or latest settlers, often entitled as "strangers" or "outsiders" (Fafchamps 1992: 160-162). Although I sensed the presence of clear hierarchies and the high status of the male chiefs, the religious leaders and the elders I never experienced a situation where I witnessed that a person was exploited through another village members. Nonetheless, I am conscious that I did possibly not encounter such exploitative treatments because either people were not behaving in such a way when I was present or because such situations just occasionally occurred. Fafchamps (1992) continued by arguing that in a case of persisting common stresses or sudden shocks the risk that peripheral society groups were excluded from the mutual insurance system would be augmented. With enduring times of hardship, especially the poor would only remain with unremarkable resources, like own labour force, skills or experience. Hence, they would not be any attractive mutual partners anymore whereby people would stop with sympathetic actions (Fafchamps 1992: 165-166). Fortunately, I

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[56] But not before the first child is born (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).
[57] Consequently, most times I returned from the Makeni to the village I brought cola nuts or mangos to the elders.

never observed such an excluding practice. However, the omnipresence of broad poverty and the perceived high level of vulnerability against unpredictable or prolonged affects let me assume that such an exclusion could become true if hardship comes in for most villagers.

The hierarchically organisation of the Sierra Leonean traditional rural societies by age and lineage (described by Fafchamps 1992 and Jackson 2004) was omnipresent throughout everyday life in Mamaria. Thereby, the elders were at the top of the society. They decided or highly influenced daily activities and livelihood strategies families pursued and thus determined their livelihood outcomes (s. Fafchamps 1992: 151). As the superior rulers, elders and parents were attempted to ensure that everybody was able to live in a sustainable way and that law and order was maintained, one had to appreciate them.
The dominance of the elders over the youth already once brought the solidarity system to collapse, as the youth revolted against their leaders what led to the long lasting civil war. Although, the Sierra Leonean government adopted The National Youth Commission Act in 2009 not much had changed in the persistence of the age hierarchy (Chauveau 2008: 519). Chauveau (2008: 519) argued that the still strong secret societies fostered the maintenance of tight hierarchical structures between age groups. These institutionalized secret societies existed since hundreds of years. Also the Christianisation at the beginning of the 17th century and the conventions by Fulah merchants a century later, could not diminish the spiritual believes. Thus, up to now secret societies and the two world religions coexisted in a peaceful way. Thereby, Muslims mainly populated the North of the country, while the South was inhabited by Christians (Alie 1990: 43-46, 101-110).

Fanthorpe (2007) explained that the supporters of the traditional persuasion would believe in the power of spirits and symbolic artefacts. Powers would be loaded with moral norms, duties and rules (Fanthorpe 2007: 1). As powers would be gender-specific, secret societies were split by gender. The two biggest societies were for the female the Bondo (mainly in the North) or the Sande (mainly in the South) and for the male the Poro or the Oujeh society respectively. The aim of the initiation would be to impart the knowledge of how to be and to behave, as a fully adult and socialized human being. Therefor, the girls would be taught how to behave like a woman in social interactions (regarding different roles as mother, wife etc.) and therewith-included skills, like washing and cooking. Their male counterparts in turn would be trained the skills to lead and to feed a family (e.g. farming, animal trapping etc.). These practices not only formed inequalities between secret society leaders and the new initiates or between girls from better and worse positioned families but as well enforced and maintained gendered spaces and roles within the society (Fanthorpe 2007: 1-4). During my field stay, I frequently sensed the presence of those traditional believes. Be it during public traditional ceremonies of the secret societies in the streets of the remote villages and in the city of Makeni respectively, or the manifold told stories about spirits or devils (s. Ill. 1 & Ill. 2). But, as the practices and believes the secret societies performed and lived were strictly secret[58], I indeed recognized that the societies were split by gender but not to what such separations might lead.

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[58] I felt it on an everyday basis hat the practices of the traditional believes were strictly secret, since people did not answer, if I asked them anything about their believe. They did so, since it was said that one would die, if he or she would inform any non-society member about their believes or practices.

Illustration 1: Coming-out Ceremony of the Bondo Society in Makumbie (photographed by the author).

Illustration 2: Young girl dancing at the coming-out Ceremony in Makumbie (photographed by the author).

As Amanor described, the above exemplified patron-client system would have been strengthened and enlarged through the indication of the taxation scheme by the British at the end of the 19th century whereby a differentiation between 'native' and 'stranger' would have been initiated (2012: 19). Before the customary land law and the initiation into local secret societies would have secured an uncomplicated integration of 'strangers' into local societies (ibid: 15-16). Today the tribal membership and the place of birth would play a decisive role in the access to land. 'Strangers' would have to ask the chiefs and elders council for permission to settle in the village. If they had the intention to build or to farm, they would have to beg at a landowner's house for access to land. Thereby, the landowner and the tenant entered a patron-client relationship. Hence, non-natives had less rights and power within the society and were often found at the bottom of the mutual solidarity system (Fafchamps 1992: 160-162, Fanthorpe 2007:5, Ade-Renner 2010: 240-41).

The subsequent quotation shows that already Hardin identified the above-illustrated societal parameters as identity and place building factors:

"Where someone is born, where they join Sande or Poro, where their ancestors are buried, and where they themselves will be buried work to limit the claims to identity and the rights and statuses available through the descent and kinship system. Rituals associating the individual with particular places are performed at critical junctures. These ritual acts tie individuals to particular places and to the ancestors associated with those places" (Hardin 1993: 93).

After Fanthorpe (2001 and 2007) this place boundedness of religious rituals, kinship and status generated a sense of belonging and identity. The establishment of localities would result in constructed boundaries whereby 'strangers' were identified through distinct visions, beliefs, languages or political orientations.

The statements of my interviewees mostly matched with the statements of Amanor (2012), Hardin (1993) and Fanthorpe (2001 & 2007). I experienced the importance of the connotation if someone was a 'stranger' or a 'native-born', especially in relation to land access, tribal membership and political orientation[59]. I also perceive that the sense of

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[59] Generally a person, who belonged to the Temne tribe, was perceived to vote for APC, while a person from the Mende tribe normally was seen to ballot for the SLPP party. This was especially evident during the elec-

strangeness respectively nativity was crucial for the individual identity construction and the process of locality (s. Chap. 7.6). Hereof, as soon as someone was a 'stranger' at a place he or she automatically was a tenant and thus had to enter a patron-client relationship.

In this subchapter, I illustrated how the solidarity and its interlinked patron-client system functioned in Mamaria, as one rural village in Sierra Leone. During my field stay I recognized every day the consequences the solidarity system and the patron-client relationships induced for concerned people. The societal parameters of age, gender, tribal membership and class resulted in the formation of identities that in turn triggered the emergence of localities. Nevertheless, some statements in personal conversations and in interviews made me realize that this system is under pressure and that some changes could sooner or later be on its way (s. Chap. 6.5 & 7.6.3).

5.3.4 Gender relations and intra-familial roles

Through my everyday participatory observations and the interviews with numerous women and men of different age, I was able to gain an insight into traditional gender roles and their obligations and assignments. I recognized soon the paternalistic ideology, which guided people through everyday life. Women's and men's strategies and activities were embedded in a gender-specific web of norms and rules.

As already Jackson (2004) described, gender relations within rural Sierra Leonean societies were shaped by patriarchal structures and were organised in patrilineal way. Thereby, women lived patrilocal[60], as they migrated for marriage's sake from their hometown to either Mamaria or Marokie. As well as Jackson (2004) illustrated, women were not allowed to have more than one spouse, while their male counterparts were living polygamous. Concerning land ownership, I discovered the same patterns as Staffa et al. (2017). Women namely had the right to own land, since the release of the Gender Laws in 2007, but in practice land was still transmitted through patrilineal inheritance.

This patriarchal system was tangible in everyday interactions and role allocations. Exemplary, an interview partner told me that the man stands always above the woman (Abdul 14.4.2018). Consequently, the husband would take the necessary decisions over the family and their daily activities. As Adamse, Nashe and Halima disclosed the action scope of a man went so far that he had the legislation to patronize his wives, to restrict their freedom of action and to take decisions for them (Adamse 28.3.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018). Thus, women had to follow their husband and respect his will. The following quotation exemplified nicely the scope a man's influence might has on a women's life:

"My husband said that I should not have a business but rather I should stay at home, take care of the children and cook for him when he comes back from the work. […] I would have loved to sell cloths, shoes and so on" (Saley 10.4.2018).

Also concerning the household finances, men had the last word and decide when and for what money was spent (Adamse 28.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018). Often women did not know

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tions in March 2018. Based on these presumptions several riots between political supporters of the SLPP and the APC enlarged the tribal division temporarily.

[60] To live patrilocal means that a woman has to move to the husbands house as soon as they are married. Hence, many women did not reside at their birthplace, but rather at the one of their husband.

how much their men earned and for what they were using it (Iatu 17.4.2018). As Nashe's interview excerpt shows, the decisional power of a man also affected the earnings generated by a women:

"… When I had paying day I gave the money to my husband. Sometimes he gave it back to me to keep or to use it for food" (Nashe 24.2.2018).

If a husband allowed his wife to keep her earnings, he usually stuck this permission to certain conditions. For example, she consequently had to pay for foodstuffs or health care (including children) by herself (Abdul 14.4.2018). Nonetheless, norms did not have to be implemented always in the same way, as following quotation by Chernor exemplifies:

"It would have been really bad, if I would got paid without showing her [my wife] the money I had earned. As my woman is preparing the food and organizes the household, she should know how much I earned. Thus, we always sat together and discussed for what we should use my salary. And when we had some money left, I gave her the half of it because everybody has to solve some problems, which are only one's own business" (Chernor 14.4.2018).

The patriarchal system not only restricted women's scope of action and allowed the husbands a broad freedom of action but as well implicated that men held the whole responsibility to provide their family a sustainable living and to support their wife's parents with monetary or material gifts (Pers. Com.). I recognized that this high responsibility should not be underestimated, as in times of hardship many men and sometimes already teenagers (which impregnated their girlfriend's) were highly struggling to find a way to safeguard their family's survival (Alaji 26.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

Against this background, it was surprising that either men or women were allowed to separate or divorce themselves, without remarkable rumour or restrictions. Hence, I met manifold cases where the partnership broke up (Pers. Com. 16.3.2018).

Similarly, as Jackson (2004) described, I also observed that the society was arranged after age hierarchies. The youth had to respect their ancestors and elders whereby their demands should be met. As children stood at the bottom of the power scheme, they enjoyed little rights. In this regard, many children did not grow up with their biological parents but were adopted by relatives or acquaintances. I identified that adaptations often happen when a woman was not able to bear her own children. Further, in the case when a couple still had small children they also used to adopt older children, which were able to help the family with the daily housework, the child rising and the farming process. Also, when a woman bore only several boys or girls respectively, families often adopted a child from the unrepresented gender. From personal conversations, I got to know that in cases of divorces or separations, the mother had the legal right to keep the child up to an age of 7 years. From then on, the father was permitted to appear and take it along without any further discussions (Pers. Com. 12.3.2018). But also in the other way round, women could drop their above 7 years old children at their (ex-) husbands house to minimize their responsibilities:

" I came without child, so I also go without!" (Pers. Com.).

When children had grown up, they mostly remained in a close relationship to their parents, whereby multiple obligations and expectations from both sides shaped the daily interac-

tions, like it is typical for solidarity societies (s. chap. 5.3.3). In contrast, the parents were legitimated to choose the marital partners[61] and to restrict or to punish their descendants, if they did not obey their advices (Abdul 14.4.2018).

In the hope that at least one child would be successful and would bless the family with wealth couples usually begot many children (Pers. Com.). The offspring was namely obligated to share their earnings and harvests as soon as they were adult. Hence, descendants formed the old-age provision of their parents (Aruna 25.2.2018, Pers. Com.). In turn parents were expected to care for their offspring and grandchildren in cases of hardship, unexpected pregnancy[62] or the abandonment of their spouses[63]. As Lizbeth clarified, these obligations could lead to high burdens for both mothers and fathers:

"Since my husband died, I have the full responsibility for all these children here. As my oldest two daughters married both a soldier, who died of illnesses and, as the two other daughters were abandoned by their husbands, all of them returned back to me. … Consequently, me and my 4 daughters are caring for totally 18 children" (27.3.2018).

The close mutual relationships between parents and their children was expanded to the broader family web where uncles, aunts, nephews, cousins or grandparents also rose demands but simultaneously were supposed to meet the obligations and the expectations (Pers. Com.).

In sum, the experiences I collected and the insights I received throughout my 3.5 months field stay, corresponded clearly with the pre-read literature about gender and age relations, where mutual relationships shape the everyday life. Thereby, women lived in a highly patriarchal society where their personal freedom and their scope of action was determined by the goodwill of their husband. Simultaneously, the husbands carried a huge 'responsibility backpack'. They were attempted to ensure their families an appropriate living. Children and parents normally maintained a close relationship that was characterized by reciprocal expectations and obligations.

5.3.5   Traditional land access

In Mamaria and the two nearby villages Marokie and Mataro, the access to land was regulated by patron-client relationships between landowners and tenants. In personal conversations the chiefs disclosed to me how land property relations were organised before the LSLA took place. Thereby, the ceremonial chief of Mamaria summarized the functioning of the landowner-tenant relationship, like it was disclosed by Fafchamps (1992) and characterized in the Sierra Leonean context by Dorjahn & Fyfe (1962), as follows:

"Almost everybody here is a land owner whereby most of them are elders and thus deserve some respect […]. So, when you want to farm you have to ask them. They also know all the boundaries. As a sign of appreciation, you bring them cola-nuts. The elders

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[61] Thereby, men enjoy a higher freedom to make a proposition for a potential spouse.
[62] The care in a case of unexpected pregnancy was valid for the father or the mother. This could be for example the case when a male teenager impregnates his girlfriend. Then he was obligated to come up for her and his child's care. But simultaneously, also the parents of the girl and the boy were expected to assist the teenager in achieving an adequate livelihood for the newly formed family (Alaji 26.4.2018).
[63] Thereby, no age limits were set. Thus, also a mother with 40 years might return to her parents' house when for example her husband died.

are the presidents of the land [...] they distribute the land to the different families" (17.3.2018).

Furthermore, all three interviewed chiefs reported that land used to be 'free' before Addax arrived. This means that land was abundant and accessible for everybody. The chiefs mentioned that landowners farmed as they liked and newcomers were welcome (c.ch.Mam. 17.3.2018, v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018). Especially, around Mataro land used to be such abundant that the village borrowed land to other villages or wealthy individuals, who wanted to benefit from the lavish bolilands the village owned (v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018).

Based on the understanding I gained through multiple conversations the term 'land access' is not related to the debate about landowners and tenants. The word 'free' rather referred to the general abundance of available and arable land. This means that in times before Addax each villager (if tenant or landowner) was said to have had enough access to land. Nonetheless, this provides none information about the relationship between landowner and tenant. Based on historical reviews, I namely assume that during those times the patron-client system was already manifested in the communal institutions since decades.

Already in pre-Addax times the intra-communal boundaries between different landowning entities were more or less clearly defined. Nonetheless, as the ceremonial chief from Mamaria reported, land never was scarce and thus the people would have handled them relatively loose (17.2.2018). Only, inter-communal boundaries would have been strictly specified and obeyed. Although, the village chiefs of Mataro and Marokie mentioned the occurrence of periodic conflicts with neighbouring villages over land, they made clear that all of them would have been solved peacefully. Based on surname disputes also intra-communal conflicts between landowners would have occurred (v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018, v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018).

The presented narrations about the past in daily conversations and interviews let me assume that in times before Addax the access to land was not a problem. Although, I got to know that patron-client relationships were persistent, neither landowners nor tenants seemed to have had problems in accessing enough fertile and arable land. Conflicts about land occurred but never were grave. But as these assumptions are based on narratives, I cannot state here to what extent I experienced these access relations and if my observations fit with the made exemplifications.

5.3.6   Traditional livelihood resources, strategies and daily activities

In this section, I will illustrate how the villagers of Mamaria and the surrounding villages used to make a living in pre-Addax times. Therefor, the multiple capitals on which they relied will be exemplified. I will show which strategies the locals developed to gain, to maintain and to control their access to these livelihood resources and which difficulties they encountered thereby. Finally, it will be stated, in which daily activities these access abilities and livelihood strategies resulted.

The specifications in this and the subsequent chapter 5.3.7 will be based on people's narrations about past incidences. As many people tend to blench past experiences and circumstances over and as I cannot state if or to hat extent my observations matched with

their statements, I want to point out here that the following findings are based on highly individual perceptions.

All interview partners stated that their traditional livelihoods were mainly based on natural resources. They emphasized that the access to natural resources and land was good before Addax arrived. Hereof, they stated that everyone had in one or the other way sufficient access to arable land and common assets, like fishing grounds, firewood, medical plants, wild animals and fruits. The soil used to be fertile, while the recurring rains and the intact ecosystem enabled citizens to maintain prosperous rice farms, vegetable[64] and tree[65] gardens (v.ch.Mataro, 16.3.2018. The walking distance to these resources was manageable while the quality and the amount of single resources was satisfying (Ayo 27.4.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). As the harvesting season of the various fruits and vegetables slightly differentiates, people also enjoyed a seasonally variable diet. Since they stored their rice, beans and cassava[66] harvests, people always had something to eat. The palm seeds were available all year round and were processed in a complex and long-lasting procedure to palm oil, which represents the basis for all rural Sierra Leonean meals. Furthermore, livestock products like milk, meat and eggs amplified their diet. But also, wild animals of all kind[67] used to be hunted or fished and grilled over the open fire. As many swamps surrounded the village, people fetched water there or at the two dug wells in the village (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Hence, I suppose that people enjoyed a broad freedom in gaining natural resources. Although, I surveyed that differences between landowners and tenants access to common and privately owned natural resources existed, most interviewees reported that they had accessed enough foodstuffs.

Nonetheless, this broad access to natural resources stood in sharp contrast to the achievement of financial capitals. All interviewees were in high consensus that economic capital widely was lacking. This monetary shortage seems to have been quite severe, as multiple consultants complained about disabilities to buy sufficient clothing or other purchasable assets (Ayo 27.4.2018). Further, I identified that almost nobody enjoyed during those times access to monetary loans, as either interest rates were too high or the estate was insufficient to ask for a credit. In attempt to generate some cash, most settlers were engaged in the palm oil business. Some upgraded their financial well-being through other activities, like bike riding (taxi service), wood cutting or petty trading. As the lack of monetary capital was for many households omnipresent, upcoming 'problems' were hard to solve. Hereof, many interview partners used the general term 'problems' for things that needed financial assets to be solved. Examples therefor would be the payments for marriages, burials, school fees, transportation costs, agricultural labourers, tractors or rearrangements of conflicts. As consequence of these problems, some men decided to migrate, with the aim to find an adequate paid job (s. Chap. 7.3.1). Nonetheless, only few found a way to generate an additional income by paid labour activities.

I perceive this financial marginality, as one of the multiple consequences of villagers' generally low educational level and the lack of professional skills. Interviewees namely told me that almost all elders in the village would be illiterate, while younger generations would

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[64] They planted pepper, corn, garden eggs, groundnuts, beans, cucumbers, pumpkins, cassava, potatoes and so forth.
[65] The tree gardens consisted of oil palm plantations and fruit trees like mango, papaya and banana.
[66] They use to cure the cassava by cooking and drying it in the sun.
[67] I realized that people almost ate every animal they were able to catch including mice, turtles, frogs, monkeys or birds.

attend school more often (but only few passed over to a secondary school) (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Reasons therefor would be the precarious circumstances during the war, which hindered children to attend lessons and the fact that most parents were and still would be incapable to come up for school fees. Thus, I realized that the economic and the human capital restricted each other. Hence, people were trapped in a dilemma where poverty persisted. However, I recognized that locals had a profound agricultural as well practical[68] and cultural[69] knowledge. This was transmitted from generation to generation[70].

I do not want to underestimate the practical and cultural human capital individuals held. Everybody has human capitals, whereby it is a matter of standpoint, if somebody has or has not high human resources. Nonetheless, I perceive here the human capital as low, because the ability to choose one's own live path was highly restricted through lacking abilities (these might have various backgrounds: economic, human, physical capital). These lacking abilities generally leaded to a high time and energy investment into social capitals (s. Jackson 1976 & Fafchamps 1992). Thereby, individuals tried to gain many mutual relationships to ensure their wellbeing in times of hardship. These near and far ranging relations to relatives, neighbours, friends and acquaintances were maintained by regular visits, gifts and actions of food sharing. Parents used these social bonds as well to access a shelter for their offspring in times of secondary school education. A result of this system was that people always tried to enter relationships with wealthy individuals. Consequently, it might happen that individuals with a small capital backpack could be marginalized with time, since they were unable to provide their counterpart adequate gifts. If a wealthy individual still entered such a relation, it was possible that he or she indeed provided assets but in return asked for services, which might exceeded the value of the given goods. Thus, the marginalized person was underlying the goodwill of the wealthy individual. Hence, similar to Chauveau (2004) and Fafchamps (1992) I observed that the control over these reciprocal relationships lay in the hands of the wealthier, which made the poor vulnerable against exploitative practices.

After the ceremonial chief of Mamaria, during pre-Addax times the village's private and public infrastructure existed at a basic level. He reported that villagers used to live in traditional houses with unsealed floors and without constant water or electricity supply. People maintained and controlled their infrastructural possessions by collecting freely available natural resources and by utilizing mutual relations and the individual labour force. He stated that most of them were incapable to pay a tractor for ploughing the farms and gardens. Hence, they cultivated the land by manual tools (Ayo 27.4.2018). Concerning public property, the village entailed a mosque, a mill, a football field and a charging station (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). The one-roomed school had to serve for all children attending primary school (Pers. Comm.). People reported that the road system was poor, as most paths were only passable by bike and not by car. Thus, also the transport system to the close by towns of Makeni and Malal used to be expensive and difficult to organise. The chiefs narrated that the elders' council and the village chief had the control over communal funds. Thence, they repetitively called for communal work[71] to construct and maintain the above-stated public facilities.

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[68] Practical knowledge includes house or hut building, cooking, housekeeping, tree climbing and so forth
[69] Under cultural knowledge I understand the socialisation a person brings along. So he or she knows how to behave in a certain surrounding, which norms and values are predominant and which rules one has to obey.
[70] Almost every child was initiated into a secret society, where societal, gender and class specific norms and duties were taught. Further children joined their parents in daily-based tasks.
[71] Every native settler had to join the task without payment.

Although, the tasks between the genders and the age groups varied, the daily activities people chose were quite unify. I observed that the women had the duty to provide their husbands with a pleasant home, where his daily needs were satisfied. Therefore, they were engaged in childcare, housekeeping and cooking activities[72]. Furthermore, women were the main one, who cared about the vegetable gardens. The husbands on the other hand were reliable for the rice farms and the infrastructural integrities. Further, they had to rule the household and to assure their families a desirable living. Hence, they were in charge to take all necessary decisions and to solve the occurring 'problems'. Finally, both genders were engaged equally in fishing, palm oil processing and petty trading.

Although above-described activities were mainly performed by young and middle aged people (ca. 16-60 years) already children were included in farming, cooking and house-keeping activities. During harvest or ploughing seasons children even cut classes, as their family were in need of every available work force. Moreover, female elders used to help their daughters with the housework and the childcare. Their male counterparts were dele-gated to rule the village and to mediate conflicts.

In this subchapter, I showed through which strategies and activities people tried to achieve an adequate livelihood. Thereby, natural resources set the basis of every villag-er's livelihood, since other resources, like money, paid labour, academic medicine or edu-cation were lacking. Hence, typical households gained and maintained a living by activi-ties, like farming, gardening, collecting wild natural resources, keeping livestock, selling the processed palm oil, investing in mutual relationships and attending communal tasks. Daily activities were split between men and women and got modified throughout their life-time.

5.3.7 Traditional livelihood outcomes and sustainability

In this last section, I will generate an overall picture of the livelihoods people achieved before Addax arrived. Thereby, resulting outcomes from above illustrated strategies and daily activities will be illustrated. Finally, the achieved livelihood outcomes will be analysed concerning their environmental and social sustainability.

"Life was good… we had more than enough food" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

As Ayo's statement indicates, the access to natural resources facilitated a rural and sim-ple but good life. The only, repeatedly stated problem was the restricted access to eco-nomic capital and its resulting consequences (Ayo 27.4.2018, Yusuf 3.4.2018). According-ly, people often were incapable to pay the transportation to nearby hospitals and at least the treatment costs (Pers. Com.). Children, who had the rare possibility to attend a sec-ondary school in Malal or Makeni, suffered from hunger, as their parents were not able to come up for foodstuffs besides paying school fees. As a result, children began to beg or even to steal on the street. Mainly girls were victims of sex abuses[73] while boys used to join the clicks on the street[74].

As monetary assets and human capitals were low, people relied exclusively on natural

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[72] The cooking activities included related tasks, as fire wood collecting and harvest processing (rice and beans beating, groundnut and cassava pealing etc.).
[73] Mainly male adults used to utilize the vulnerable situation children were facing to bend them to their will. They provided the children with food, while these in return had to satisfy their sexual needs. Hence, not un-commonly a girl returned home impregnated and thus was forced to stop her education (Pers. Com.).
[74] The activities the clicks undertook ranged from informal labour, theft to committing nuisances (Pers. Com.).

resources. Although, they had manifold ideas to diversify their livelihoods, they lacked the ability to implement them. Hence, villagers were attempted to safeguard their livelihoods by cultivating mutual relationships. These solidarity insurances were often capable to reduce struggles originating from individual stresses or shocks, like unemployment, illnesses or sudden deaths of family members. Nevertheless, unforeseeable shocks, like political distemper, epidemics or prolonged stresses that affected entire societies, could normally not be secured through mutual relationships. In such a case, single households or whole villages faced severe difficulties to achieve an adequate livelihood. Then, people began to modify daily activities by distinctive livelihood strategies ranging from diversification, claims[75], stores and loans[76] to on-off and more seldom to temporary or permanent migration. An exemplary diversification strategy would be that people used to amplify their revenue generating activities in times of hardship. For example, if the rice harvest was bad they seeded excessively cassava in terms to compensate the loss. Furthermore, people reported that they used to increase their palm oil production in times of arising problems. The addressed on-off migration would have taken place mainly to the nearby towns of Makeni or Malal where particularly men were engaged in bike riding (taxi services) or daily job possibilities. Meanwhile, women sold rice and palm oil on markets. Interviewees mentioned that only few decided to leave the village for a longer period of time, in terms to find a better-paid job opportunity in other parts of the country.

I surveyed that the livelihood outcomes people achieved, brought them insofar a well being that they had enough food and some earnings to ensure an adequate living. Nevertheless, the lack of financial assets affected villagers' non-material wellbeing and hindered them to cover all material needs. Hereof, interviewees mostly stated the lack of cloths. But also other purchasable assets, like pans, cooking ingredients or water buckets were mentioned.

Based on narrates from several young and elderly male and female interview partners and arising from personal conversations, I suppose that the villagers' livelihoods were quite environmentally sustainable. The reserve lands used to be large enough to ensure the preservation of the surrounding ecosystems[77]. People were engaged in shifting cultivation, which aimed to preserve the soil fertility. Hence, harvests used to be good, unless rain was missing. Furthermore, as villagers hardly used cars or other air polluting vehicles, their global environmental sustainability must have been high[78].

Although people enjoyed continuous legal and customary access to all kind of naturally available resources the restricted access to economic capital and the national wide poor conditions of roads, labour opportunities, social insurances, health services etc. caused that people in Mamaria faced low social sustainability. In the following, villagers' vulnerability to shocks and stresses will be illustrated:

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[75] In times of hardship people relied on reciprocal relationships by raising claims towards friends, relatives, neighbours and acquaintances.

[76] After several interviewees people used to take mainly rice loans as monetary loans were hardly available (due to low purchasing power).

[77] The hunter told that the species constellation and their individual abundance was high until Addax arrived. The landscape mainly used to be covered by a mixture of young and matured forests intermittent by lively swamps and fertile meadows. He reported that the untouched areas were big enough to serve wild animals as reliable retreat during daily heats (14.3.2018).

[78] My analysis does not include any past profound analysis of essential magnitudes like soil fertility, biodiversity or woodcutting rate. Statements are rather based on qualitative interview data. Hence, the made assumptions have to be treated with caution.

- Shocks: The strong dependence on the agricultural sector made people vulnerable to natural hazards like droughts or plant diseases. Their low economic power increased their vulnerability against epidemics or civil violence. Thereby, the solidarity system was only able to balance out individual shocks, like sudden deaths of family members.

- Stresses: The vulnerability against stresses was more difficult to grasp. The solidarity system was able to reduce people's vulnerability against continuous stresses. Nevertheless, I assume that from certain stress durations on, social relations might were depleted and consequently hardship occurred.

Depending on the occurring stress or shock, people were more or less able to prevent hardship. Varying from the character and the duration of shocks or stresses people faced higher or lower abilities to withstand or to recover from such impacts. Outgoing from narrations about past struggles, of long lasting and straining recovery times, I conclude that people's vulnerability used to be high, while their resilience against shocks and stresses remained low.

As livelihoods seem to have been locally environmental sustainable and as physical assets, like tools, houses and livestock were maintained, I assume that the livelihood basis for following generations was preserved. But, since educational levels and national developments of economic and social related parameters remained low, chances for enhancing living conditions or new opportunities remained low. Hence, I presume that the direct intergenerational sustainability was high, while the indirect one stood low.

As land and natural resources used to be abundant in past times no competition in basic livelihood assets existed. Nonetheless, the uneven ratio between labour demand and supply in urban areas led to competition between job seekers.

6   The impacts of the LSLA on the local livelihoods

This chapter deals with the impacts LSLA had on the local communities. Initially, I will address the influences the single (non-) operational time periods had on people's livelihoods. I will distinguish between the times of Addax, the breakdown and Sunbird. Subsequently, several interview quotes and exemplifications of participatory observations will illustrate to what extent people regarded the LSLA as disillusioning or enhancing respectively. Based on the NIT, I will work out possible social changes that were triggered by the lease. Finally, I will to what extent these transformations led to modified livelihood strategies.

Throughout my field stay, I have gained uncountable, precious information about the affects the companies had on the local communities (e.g. unequal negotiation process, doubtful labour conditions, (un-) successful fire management, manipulative actions etc.). Nevertheless, as many themes do not address my research aim, this knowledge will not be analysed here in detail.

6.1   The ABSL and its influences on the local livelihoods

In this subchapter, I will show that Addax had a profound impact on people's livelihood resources. Thereby, not only the access to natural capital was highly transformed but as well abilities to achieve economical, physical, social and human capital were influenced.

As Addax leased huge parts of the village's environmental surroundings, the access to land and natural resources was fundamentally changed. Thereby, Mataro leased 15 pivots (23.6 km^2) while Marokie lent 7 (11 km^2) (v.ch.Mataro & v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018)[79]. The ceremonial chief of Mamaria could not tell the exact number of pivots they resigned to Addax. He only stated that they were many (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

Villagers did not agree with each other, if the remaining land would still be enough to farm, plant and harvest to the same amount, as before the company arrived. The opinions depended on the village and the interviewee's status. Hereof, Mataro indeed represented the village, which had given away most land, but as it had huge estates before the lease and as only a small population cultivated the remaining land, the village chief stated that all villagers would still have enough access to arable land (v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). In contrast, Marokie, as a big community, possessed already before the appearance of Addax little acreages. Hence, the village chief of Marokie reported that through the lease the remaining land was not sufficient anymore to provide all citizens with sufficient acres. Mamaria represented a case in between Mataro and Marokie, as it was a big community, which previously had a large estate but also leased huge parts of it.
The statements by the chiefs and the villagers were only totally congruent in Marokie. In Mataro and Mamaria the chiefs outlined the situation better than the villagers did. The chiefs told me that all citizens still would have enough access to arable land and that up to now no conflicts over land occurred (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). In contrast, the statements of other villagers and migrants (tenants and landowners) were almost uniform[80]. Besides of two, all other interview partner stated that today the access to land would not be 'free' anymore. The remaining land (boliland and uplands) would not last to maintain the same size of cultivated plots, as they did before. Consequently, the cultivated patches would be smaller. Further, interviewees moaned about enlarged distances to cultivation grounds (Unusa 1.4.2018).

Many interviewees highlighted that the access to other natural resources, like trees, firewood, wild animals, plants or fruits, medical plants or fish would be also highly modified through the land transition of Addax. Whole tree gardens were modified into sugar cane monocultures and manifold fruit and palm trees were destroyed. Hence, villagers' access to fresh fruits, like pineapple, mango, banana, papaya or avocado was clearly diminished. Oil palm trees provided for many villagers the only possibility to generate an income. Thus, the clearing of palm tree gardens affected especially the poor and jobless citizens. The following quotation illustrates the relation between paid reimbursement and real long-term outcomes:

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[79] The chiefs did not know the absolute size of their leased land. But as one pivot has a diameter of a kilometre, the leased area was easy to estimate.
[80] There was none pattern visible, which would indicate that a difference between landowners and tenants perception of the overall land access situation existed.

"…when you calculate that they [Addax] pay you only once 45'000 Leones [ca. 6 US$] for the destruction of a palm tree and when you [… compare this with the] profit a palm tree could bring you in the next 50 years, the benefit you get from the compensation is just nothing. The farmer has a lot of losses" (Yusuf 3.4.2018).

As many forest and bush areas were cut, also the access to fire wood, medical plants and wild fruits or vegetables was affected. Hereof, interviewees were in agreement with each other that they invested far more time in searching these resources than before. Walking distances became longer and the quality of found wood depleted. Some forest dependent medical plants, fruits and vegetables completely disappeared, while others were still rarely found. Only plants that grew in grasslands would still be available.

People showed me several areas where swamps used to be. But, since the drainage, distances to swamps were longer and the amount of traded fish in the villages rapidly decreased. Interviewees narrated that now citizens' fishing activities concentrated on few spots, whereby the amount of caught fish declined. Over all, people told me that wild animals just disappeared. Hereof, my key informant, the hunter, reported that following species existed before the arrival of Addax and have disappeared since then: Elephants, lions, leopards, hyenas, buffalos, jackals, giraffes, zebras and wild pigs. Further, the monkeys were pushed to the river edges, while the deer population collapsed and only few loners remained (14.3.2018).

Moreover, the ceremonial chief from Mamaria explained me that for the traditional shifting cultivations fire would be an essential 'partner'. Hence, before clearing and ploughing, people used to burn the bushy land. To avoid the spreading of flames into adjacent areas, citizens established fire belts and controlled the slash-and-burn by active guidance. As Addax forbid the sparking of fires, they in turn offered an equipped fire service. This came to burn the needed area for the villagers. After different interviewees this introduced system functioned quite reliable (c.ch.Mam 17.2.2018).

Other elaborated services by the company, like the Farmers Development Program (FDP), the Farmer Development Services (FDS) or the village gardens functioned more or less[81] (v.ch.Matrao 16.3.2018). However, villagers stood in agreement that the provision of fertilizers during the FDP and the FDS brought enhanced yields and thus an extended productivity per acre.

I observed that people's access to land and all other natural resources was generally reduced since Addax appeared. Nevertheless, the severity of the interference depended on the location (outgoing from personal conversations Mataro was affected the most) and the interviewee (chiefs vs. other villagers). The identified consequences were declined access to land and other wild resources, diminished harvests and augmented walking distance

"…You know before it was a problem to hand 100'000 Leones. Now with the lease, the company brings Millions every year" (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

As the antecedent quotation exemplifies handing money was a rarity before Addax arrived. The access to economic capital was clearly augmented through the paid lease

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[81] Some villagers raved about good harvests, while others complained about late sowing processes and crop failures.

money and the unique compensations (for destroyed crops or cut trees s. 2.1.1) as well as through established workplaces. The surveyed basic salary labourers earned in the diverse, lower corporate divisions ranged from 250'000 to 350'000 Le per month (33 to 46 US$). With overtime (working Saturday and Sunday), labourers' salary rose up to 600'000 (~79 US$) (Aruna 25.2.2018, Calon 29.4.2018, Alaji 26.4.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018). Only Isa was able to operate, in a so-called 'skill-job'[82], where the monthly salary varied between 1'200'000 and 1'400'000 Leones (~159 to 185 US$) (16.4.2018). All interviewees affirmed that salaries were paid on time. Nonetheless, wages might were cut through missing marks or not listed over time on wage tables (Alaji 26.4.2018, Aruna 25.2.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018). Hereof, Interviewees narrated, that sometimes their salaries were reduced but they did not known why. When they looked up on their wage table, they saw that the supervisors marked them absent because they were either not able to finish their daily tasks[83] or allegedly not present.

Furthermore, rising labour opportunities influenced also the market place of the affected communities. People reported that with the decline of transportation costs and the enlarged sales marked, new trading opportunities emerged. Traders from near and far surged into the villages to sell a variety of assets (especially at and after paying days) (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Also, local citizens benefited from the enhanced ability to build up their own little business (mainly petty trading). The access to financial capital enabled them to attain loans and the high local consumption level generated a nearby sales market (Mohammed 29.3.2018, Shera 28.2.2018). In consequence of the enhanced market place, the increased population and the heightened spending capacity, interviewees stated that the local price level of almost all purchasable assets rose exorbitantly[84] (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

In regard to villagers' human capital, Addax's project implementation brought in some dimensions enhancements but in others also depleted or reinforced uneven capital allocations. First, villagers' human capital benefited directly through gained skills and certificates at the company[85]. Secondly, human capital was upgraded indirectly through the enlarged access to economic capital. Thereby, people were enabled to enhance their medical healthcare[86], what improved their physical condition. The enlarged monetary access also facilitated school fees payments. Consequently, interviewees narrated that more children attended primary and secondary schools.
In contrast, I observed that the lease negotiations and the project implementation maintained or even reinforced existing inequalities between society groups. Hereof, women, tenants and the youth were only marginally included in lease negotiations, while having anyway no right to influence their outcomes. Hence, I consider that the uneven distribution of human capitals between genders, age groups and social strata persisted.

Concerning people's social capital, the arrival of Addax induced that the prestige of some individuals was augmented and that inter- and intra-village conflicts were reduced (s. Chap. 6.5).

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[82] Skill jobs refer to jobs in which people need labour specific knowledge.
[83] The daily tasks depended on the department. Exemplary, for a cane cutter the daily tasked used to be; harvesting and bundling 80 sugar cane rows.
[84] For example the price of one cup of rice would have risen from 500 to 1'200 Le (Adamse 28.3.2018).
[85] Skills gained through practice or active training, sponsored by the company. Based on the interview data the latter case used to be rare.
[86] People were likelier able to pay visits at health centres or hospitals through better access to money.

Furthermore, the sudden possess of comparably huge financial assets catapulted individuals from poor to almost wealthy individuals. This led to rising claims and pressures on the concerning labourers. Hereof, Isa reported that originating from their historically emerged and societal embedded solidarity system, they had the obligation to share their new gained wealth (16.4.2018). The sharing brought them enhanced reputation and newly gained bargaining power.

Then, as illustrated in chapter 5.3.5, conflicts over land occurred before Addax arrived. Concerning this issue, people used to argue on the one hand about the definition of the diffuse village borders. On the other hand they used to disagree about the segregation of family properties (s. Chap. 5.3.5). Nowadays, after the chiefs the occurrence of such disputes had nearly disappeared. One stated reason was that Addax mapped the land and thus clearly defined village borders[87]. The village chief of Marokie explained why inter-village disputes declined, although arable acreages were scarce:

"We do not have any conflicts over land anymore, because the land is no longer owned by a certain person. The land just belongs to the village – it is accessible for everybody" (16.3.2018).

Thence, the actions undertaken by Addax led to modified social capitals where individual prestige was enhanced and inter- and intra-village tensions declined. Nevertheless, new social challenges emerged through the huge financial progress some people experienced (s. Chap. 6.5 and 6.6).

Originating from communal and privately based investments, as well through infrastructural developments Addax promoted, I observed that the physical capital was generally enhanced. Communal investments, like revising the school[88], constructing a community centre and enlarging the mosque, were transacted by revenues of the annual lease money[89].

With the augmented access to privately held financial assets, people replaced their traditional houses by solid buildings with sealed floors and zinc roofs (John 15.4.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Mohammed 29.3.2018). Furthermore, the ability to buy cloths and other purchasable assets was enhanced.

Every interviewee complained about the failed promises, whereby the Addax deputies would have assured to invest into local developments, like constructing schools, wells, streets, business as well as healthcare centres (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018, v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). Nevertheless, I recognized that some infrastructural developments, like latrines, rough-roads and wells were realised by the company. Through the road constructions, the travel-time to other destinations was cut down. As a result, also the mobility costs declined. This raised people's mobility whereby a short trip to neighbouring villages or towns became possible[90]. Finally, interviewees were in agree-

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[87] GPS coordinates sometimes were used instead of clearly visible landmarks. This caused misunderstandings about exact borderlines between distinct municipalities. Nonetheless, conflict rates were regarded to have decreased (v.ch.Marok 16.3.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

[88] Newly the school had two classrooms, which were equipped with benches, tables and a blackboard.

[89] This was possible, as landowners used to keep only a part of the land lease money, while the majority went to the communal cash box (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

[90] In earlier times pupils, who attended a secondary school in Makeni used to walk the whole way by foot or in the best case took a bicycle. As pupils had no cash to buy food in town, many of them walked back home at Sunday's to have dinner and to take along some foodstuffs. At night they left again in terms to attend classes at Monday morning (Pers. Com. & Aruna 25.2.2018).

ment that the provision of tractors, for 50'000 Le per hour (compared to common commercial prices of 100'000 Le per hour = ~13 US$), functioned well and brought an upgrade in their food production (Lizbeth 27.3.2018). The communally and individually modified physical capital the company fostered, led to directly and indirectly diverse enhancements, which facilitated new possibilities and made life in some areas easier.

Based on the above-collected statements, I conclude that the ABSL project had manifold and diverse impacts on people's capitals. Thereby, some capital access abilities were enhanced, while others declined.

6.2 The breakdown

In this section, the experiences people made during and after the breakdown of the company will be examined. As described in chapter 2.2, the production of Addax was downgraded during the Ebola epidemic in spring and summer 2014, before it was totally shut down one year later in August 2015. The sudden changes in daily routines and livelihood capitals influenced and altered citizens' life anew.

"Money began to flow as Addax was there [in Mamaria] but when the breakdown occurred everything went backwards again and development stopped" (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

Most interview partners highlighted the sudden and unheralded mass dismissals. Many labourers did not even know that they will not have their job anymore, until the very certain day their supervisors told them that they should not come any longer (Alaji 26.4.2018, Aruna 25.2.2018). Hence, loans (financial or material) people took or other obligations (rents etc.) they had to meet suddenly became a problem. As a result, conflicts about debts rose and people's capabilities to react on emerging problems or hazards declined. Accordingly, people began to change their livelihood strategies. Most started again to farm. Nonetheless, the interviewees mentioned that most families faced hardship, since they had not saved enough money to survive until the next harvesting season. Simultaneously, previous risen prices for variable assets, like basic foodstuffs or other purchasable assets remained high. Accordingly, Aruna answered me on my question how the time after the breakdown was concerning food security:

"It was really hardship" (25.2.2018).

6.3 The change to Sunbird

The take over of a mayor part of the lease by Sunbird had a major effect on the local livelihoods. This section addresses exactly these impacts on the population of Mamaria, Marokie and Mataro. Thereby, I will address to what extent Sunbird's operations had an impact on people's local livelihood capitals. If not mentioned explicitly, the above-explicated capital characteristics remained as they were during Addax times.

Based on the necessity to produce more food, people told me that the amount of cultivated land rose slightly during Sunbird times. To do so people either began more frequently to clear reserve land or to use residual acres between pivots (Adamse 28.3.2018). Nevertheless, manifold interviewees reported that the harvests were not enough, since the soil fertility had declined. Some years ago, rice blades would have grown dense and harvests

would have been mainly good. Nowadays, the productions per acreage declined, although people would not have changed anything about the way of production. Mentioned reasons reached from over-use[91], pesticide usage[92] to inexplicable causes (Ayo 27.4.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). The subsequent quotation illustrates the dilemma people were facing:

"In some areas the fertility is the same and in others it is reduced. But when you intend to farm at a place where the ground is still fertile you will not get a big patch because everybody wants to have it. […] It [life] is more hardship now. Hence, we ask the company to farm on the empty pivots … as they [Sunbird] only allow it for a certain time period, we cannot farm as we like" (Fatu 1.4.2018).

Fatu continued by arguing that their ability to plant the same diversity of crops declined. Land would either be too small or the time-limited usage of empty pivots did not allow the cultivation of certain crops (e.g. rice).

Another influence on people's natural capitals was the changed fire management. Sunbird imposed an absolute fire ban to hinder the burning of elephant grasses (Pers. Com.). Simultaneously, the operation of the fire brigade was recruited. But as the ceremonial chief of Mamaria told me exactly the contrary of Sunbird's intentions took place; the occurrence of fires rose exorbitant (17.2.2018). About the reasons for this phenomenon only can be speculated. Based on personal communications people came up with following explanations: First, through the absolute fire ban citizens faced the problem that they the essential clearing for ploughing was forbidden. Thus, many set fires illegally. But subsequently, they run away, since they were afraid to get caught. Hence, fires spread uncontrollably. Moreover, some people were angry about Sunbird's present operations and thus set actively fire on elephant grasses (v.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). However, it also happens that a fire occurred naturally or was set by mistake (e.g. cigarettes). As a consequence of the frequent uncontrolled fires, people complained about burnt crops and destroyed trees (Yusuf 3.4.2018). Villages, like Mataro, which were not surrounded by a dense forest circle anymore, feared that flames might reach their houses and burn down their properties (Pers. com.).

Also, the access to economic capital changed in comparison to Addax times. During the first few months after Sunbird took over, higher salaries were paid (v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). But soon payments dropped, while additional obligatory taxes[93] remained high and while people had to come up for transportation costs by their own[94] (Ayo 27.4.2018, Mohammed 29.3.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Aruna added that Sunbird did not only cut their salaries by marking them absent (as Addax did it), but also paid them without any explanation less, as written in the contract. Moreover, the contracts durations were actual-

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[91] Traditional people conduct shifting cultivation. Thereby, the land had several years time to recover (depending on the quality of the land – bolilands had to recover shorter than uplands) before it was cultivated again for two to three seasons. As the remaining land presently was scarce, people cultivated the plots multiple seasons in subsequence and reduced fallow times. This might lead to exhausted soils (Yusuf 3.4.2018).
[92] Close to pivots where herbicides against grasses were applied, people complained about huge losses of scions (Ayo 27.4.2018).
[93] Obligatory taxes had to be paid for newly established bank accounts of each labourer or for the health care insurance.
[94] In contrast to Addax the distance to the working place mattered now remarkably, as people had to individually come up for their transportation.

ly shorter than during Addax times[95] (Aruna 25.2.2018). Additionally, many interviewees stated that the frequently delayed payments illustrated a huge problem for labourers. People were not able to plan their expenses anymore. Hence, many got into trouble to pay back the loans they took for lunches, rice or other purchasable assets (Ayo 27.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Interest rates for loans were exorbitant high (50% per time period – which could be a week or a month). Hence, the delayed payments of one or two weeks enormously increased the owed refunds. But maybe Sunbird's most far-reaching impact was the decreased employment rate. During Addax big families profited from up to 10 salaries. Now one to two earning entities had to last (Fatu 1.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Further, contracts durations were actually shorter than during Addax times (Aruna 25.2.2018). The remaining high price level, the less frequent positions and the risk for indebtedness by late wage payments resulted in substantially reduced economic capital and increased insecurity.

Since the breakdown and the appearance of Sunbird, the achieved human capitals dropped again due to lacking monetary assets and unsatisfactory access to land and other natural resources. Arising from decreased financial capabilities, people were not able anymore to afford necessary health treatments, school fees or other basic needs. Since harvests from cultivated land and remaining wild natural resources would be insufficient and since the spending capacity would be too low to feed everybody, some people even stated that they often sat without food[96] (Fatu 1.4.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, v.ch.Marok. 17.3.2018). As Fatu explained, also the variety of consumed foodstuffs dropped again:

"During Addax the variety of foodstuffs was higher than before… now when have the money it might be the same but as harvests are low we have not enough food. I feel sometimes hungry" (1.4.2018).

Therefore, Sunbird's impacts on human capitals not only cut the access to skill, knowledge and healthcare but also affected people's basis of existence, namely the food supply. Since Sunbird neither enhanced any infrastructure, also villagers' capacity to invest into their community or housing facilities remained low. Accordingly, people's physical capital stagnated or even declined.

The transition to Sunbird affected as well people's social capital. Generally, as job possibilities declined and as the risks for indebtedness rose, I observed that the previously gained reputation dropped again. Additionally, the frequency of conflicts increased, since people were not able to pay back their loans or other obligations by time (Pers. Com.). Consequently, networks and relationships were stressed and might split up (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Hereof, Fatu explained that jobless and hungry people began to steal livestock, what led to augmented bad moods, conflicts and rising distrust throughout the village (1.4.2018).

This section described the influences of Sunbird's operations on people's resources in the studied villages. I surveyed that the Sunbird had an affect on all previously defined five capitals. Their operations steadily decreased the access to natural capitals, as the soil

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[95] Previously, contracts were signed for 3-9 months. Now they often only lasted from the beginning on for three months (Aruna 25.2.2018).
[96] Possible consequences from insufficient access to adequate foodstuffs could be reduced sturdiness. Hence, physical vulnerability was augmented.

fertility declined and as uncontrolled burnings destroyed labour- and fund-intensive crops. Also the access to economic capital notably dropped, as employment rates decreased, salaries were not paid on time and business was not prospering anymore. As a consequence, the earlier gained enhancements in healthcare and enrolment rates completely disappeared. The affectation led so far that relational ties were disconnected and intra-village conflicts rose. Therewith, I assume that people's capability to rely on social networks got depleted.

6.4   Addax or Sunbird - Enhancement or disillusion?

In this section, I will generate a comprehensive picture of the livelihood outcomes people were able to achieve during Addax and Sunbird times respectively. The focus will be set on the differences between the two companies. Thereby, I will balance the expected against the real outcomes and differentiate between material and non-material well-being. In the end, I will show to what extent the concerned persons were or are happy with the operations of the two distinct companies.

Addax
Outgoing from manifold interviews, I obtained the general impression that although several things did not function or were not implemented as planned or expected people were happy that Addax entered the area (Aruna 25.2.2018,Calon 29.4.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Hunter 14.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Shera 28.2.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). As people were able to enhance their living standard, "live was better than before" (Aruna 25.2.2018). People reported to have used their salaries for various material and non-material assets, like business initiations, foodstuffs, setting conflicts, healthcare, school fees, housing, marriage, cloths, solar lights, joining 'Susu's (s. Chap. 6.5) and buying livestock, land or other "expensive things" (Adamse 28.3.2018, John 15.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018, Chernor 14.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018,). The following quotations elucidate interviewees happiness during Addax times:

"When Addax was here life was good because business was flowing and when people got paid they 'made you good'" (Lizbeth 27.3.2018)

"During this time [when he worked at Addax] I was so happy because I had money to solve my problems, to buy food and other things" (Isa 16.4.2018).

Furthermore, Aruna explicated that the salaries brought higher revenues than the farming activities:

"… it depends on the concerned month when you compare the earnings between Addax and farming. During harvesting months farming brings a higher income than the salary at Addax. But when you calculate it up to a whole year people earn more at Addax" (Aruna 25.2.2018).[97]

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[97] Nevertheless, it has to be added, that it highly matters how long the contract at Addax lasted. Because if the contract exactly lasted three months during farming season and expired afterwards, the result of such a calculation might show a different picture.

Nevertheless, the enthusiasm was lowered through manifold broken promises (s. Chap. 6.1), bad working conditions and short-term benefits. Latest, when the breakdown occurred people began to realize the consequences of their land renouncement.

Sunbird
I realized that since Sunbird was in charge of the lease with its associated obligations and responsibilities, people's satisfaction about the operations decreased. Previous disappointments remained, while problems and dissensions with the company increased. Striking were the frequent cases of corruption within the company. Many interviewees disclosed to me that they were not able to acquire any employment because deputies would assign posts only to people, who would provide them something in return (cash, gifts) (John 15.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018). But bribes were not even a guarantee for secure recruitments, as Ayo exemplified:

"… although I knew how to operate the excavator and even though I paid some Addax workers, who promised me to organize a job for me, I was not able to acquire one. In total I paid 4 people; supervisors, the manager of the department and the man who taught me how to conduct the excavator. To one I paid 200'000 Le, to the others 350'000 Le. Further I presented fowls, goats, rice and so on. All of them promised to have a job for me if I would pay. But everyone was cheating on me. Hence, I lost a lot of money […]" (27.4.2018).

People accused Sunbird not only for their highly illegal and controversial machinations, but also for severe impacts on basic needs as following quotations highlight:

"[…] now we face even more hardship, because although we farm, we are not able to produce enough food. Hence, when no one of your family works in the company you will suffer […]. This is one of the main changes because before the companies came we were just farming but we had enough food. During Addax, when people were employed we had enough food as well but now, as Sunbird employs only few people we suffer" (v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018).

"[…] some daughters and sons have died because their families had not have enough money to bring them to the hospital" (Shera 28.2.2018).

Accordingly, the ceremonial chief of Mamaria hit the nail right on the head by stating concisely *"poverty came back"* (27.4.2018). Hence, it is not surprising that people questioned if it was the right decision to lease their land:

"Before, when Addax was here, it was worth to have given away the land because our children were at work and brought many things back home. So we were better off then when we farmed. But for now, as the land is not free anymore, as nobody is working there and as we are not able to buy any food, it is less worth to have given the land away" (v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018).

Nevertheless, I realized that people's hope was still high that Sunbird might change its way of operation and thus that present hardship would take an end again (Fatu 1.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018, v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018). But in the case that Sunbird would not change its way of operation, I observed that the willingness of chiefs to lease communal

acreages again declined to zero, as the quote of Mamaria's ceremonial chief exemplary shows:

"If the company does not change their operating, I would like them to leave" (17.2.2018).

Based on the above quotations and the findings presented in the previous section (Chap. 6.1 - 6.3), I assume that expectations towards Addax and Sunbird were from the beginning on high. These might originate from manifold promises Addax made during the negotiation process before the lease. Further, the cultural background with the solidarity system, where the rich have to provide for the poor, might have increased villagers' hopes of an enhanced life. Regrettably, the truth looked highly different, as their land was lost, many expectations were not met and the company already broke down after few years. Hence, I showed that many people were disappointed and particularly accused Sunbird's operations for their current suffering.

After interviewees, the operations between the two companies highly differ, whereby also people's material and non-material well-being strikingly fluctuated. During Addax, people used to be able to afford investments into material assets, like buildings, cloths, foodstuffs and other purchasable goods. Since the breakdown, this ability significantly dropped, as only few people were still employed and as the traditional source to generate money missed (e.g. vast destruction of palm gardens). Hence, the access to material well-being like houses, streets or communal buildings continued, while the material well-being of fast consumption goods, like cloths or foodstuffs alarmingly declined.

Addressing non-material well-being, the developmental curve showed as well a highly fluctuating pathway[98]. Addax had positive as well as negative impacts on the non-material well-being. On the one hand, the company maintained or even reinforced existing patriarchal structures were women and young adults were marginalized and chiefs retained high decisional power. Exploitative practices and bad working conditions characterized the relations between the villagers and the company. On the other hand, Addax also had direct and indirect positive impacts on people's non-material well-being. Namely, more children went to school, the access to health care got augmented and the ability to 'do people good' and thus to amplify one's social network was facilitated. But as long as negative impacts persisted, positive outcomes lasted shortly. Through the breakdown and the change to Sunbird the positive impacts on the non-material well-being notably dropped. The rate of indebtedness and new conflicts arose, while the medical healthcare declined to a frightening minimum.

Conclusively, people were kicked from one edge to the other, were informed about the company's future plans (v.ch.Mam 17.2.2018, v.ch.Marok 16.3.2018. v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018) and thus had to constantly adapt to changing and unforeseeable external impacts. This uncertainty combined with the already carried out capital transformations, provoked and still provokes the occurrence of social changes, which might lead to modified livelihood strategies. These, through the LSLA triggered consequences, will be addressed in the following chapter.

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[98] The inflow of manifold factors into this dimension makes an absolute statement quite vague. Depending, which factors and, in which detail are included into the statement formation, the outcome of the non-material well-being looks slightly different. Thus, the here presented list of influencing parameters does not has the ambition to be absolute.

6.5.   Occurrence of Social Change

As illustrated in figure 5, the transformation of the contextual framework and of the liveli-hood resources may lead to social changes. These in turn can have an impact on the con-text and the livelihoods itself or trigger modifications of the livelihood strategies. In this section, I will apply the model of change to my study (s. Fig.7). Thereby, I will show that the influence of the LSLA operations led to changes of interrelated internal aspects. As a result distributional effects and socio-economic behaviour began to transform as well.

Bargaining power
Based on my observations both companies maintained and enforced old patriarchal struc-tures and actively restricted female's access to labour (Aruna 25.2.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018). Isa reported that Sunbird's preferential employment of tenants instead of landowners led to frequent tensions between the two social strata (16.4.2018). This unsympathetic and contextually detached behaviour of the LSLA enterprises thwarted ambitions to reduce class-, age- and gender related discriminations. Hence, I perceive that the bargaining power of already marginalized groups remained low, while the rule of wealthy individuals was enhanced.

Institutions
Throughout my field stay I recognized that the land lease fostered institutional changes, which led to more equality between natives and non-natives as well as between the age groups. Striking is the change from the previous more or less manifested private owned acreages where landowners had the privilege to decide who, where and how cultivated the soil, to a common property system. Hereof, the ceremonial chief of Mamaria explained that the village council split the village into three parts whereby in each an elder council annually allocated the arable patches to the single farmer groups (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). As most farmer groups were composed of landowners and tenants the former patron-client system was questioned. Consequently, under customary law, tenants and landown-ers enjoy nowadays almost equal land access abilities. As land is not allocated anymore to determined families, also inter-village border conflicts declined through the renewed land use management.

However, several interviewees highlighted that the sudden access to money and the une-qually distributed job possibilities between young and elderly people led to the revival of well-known intergenerational conflicts. Through salaries the youth gained never knew in-dependence from their ancestors. As a consequence some of them are said to have taken distance from the solidarity obligations and to have refused to hand over signs of appreci-ation to the elderly (Aruna 25.2.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

"At the end of the month when they [the labourers] got their salaries they doesn't give any money to the elders as a sign of appreciation anymore. … So this is why the elders and the youth have now conflicts with each other" (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

I suppose that with youngsters' acquirement of enhanced financial independence and thus augmented bargaining power, the elders began to worry about their position at the top of the solidarity system. As a consequence, as the ceremonial chief from Mamaria stated the

elders initiated to sell the places on the lists[99] to tenants and neighbouring villages. Therewith, they were attempted to ensure their profit from existing labour opportunities at the companies (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). As a result, various interviewees informed me about increasing amounts of conflicts between the elders and the youth since Addax arrived. Hence, I consider that the traditionally manifested age hierarchy indeed persists, but becomes challenged by on-going dynamics and discussions.

Organisations
Manifold villagers narrated that during Addax times their access to financial capital rose, wherefore they began to organise themselves in associations. Therewith, everybody's chances to achieve or build up a secured livelihood should be improved. Hereof, the so-called 'Susu'-system was elaborated where every member monthly contributed a certain amount of money. At the end of each month the collected funds were overhanded to two or three persons, who were allowed to use the revenue for whatever they liked[100] (Pers. Com.).
Another organisation, which was established during the last few years, is the 'village box'. People explained that it had functioned like a collective loan system, where everybody deposited a certain amount of money. Based on the total value someone saved throughout his or her contribution period, the person was allowed to take a higher or lower loan. Through the interest rates the needed revenues for the next loan were guaranteed (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).
Lastly, also the tenants reported that they would have organized themselves in a tenants club (only found in Mamaria). Thereby, the places on the list (s. footnote 99) that village elders provided exclusively for tenants, were allocated between the club members. The elected individuals had to deposit 100'000 Le into the tenant's fund. In the subsequent the non-working tenants were allowed to use this money for whatever they preferred (Chernor 14.4.2018). Therewith, they aimed to generate equal chances within the tenant community to allocate paid labour and to minimize tenants' general risk to fall into hardship due to redundancy.
I assume that these newly established organisations facilitated individuals to diversify their livelihood activities, to obtain long-lasting physical capital and hence to reduce their vulnerability against shocks and stresses.

Ideology
Based on the interviews and the participatory observations I perceive that the operations of the companies affected people's way of thinking and their values. Villagers' ideology was modified what had an effect on choices and decisions they took. For example my translator told me that people handed so much money as never before. Hence, they did not know how to handle its quantity. Rash spending was a challenging consequence as the subsequent quote shows:

"The problem is how people use the money, because before they just handed about 10'000 but now they have 100'000. […] thus they become crazy! So when you see a nice shirt, you want to buy it. Everybody became a fashionista. Even though you might be hungry afterwards, once you also want to celebrate" (Pers. Com. 16.3.2018).

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[99] During Addax time regularly and since Sunbird took over once a year, the single chiefs (in collaboration with the elders council) were allowed to hand the company a list, on which they suggest people for a post at the company.
[100] The majority of the people used their 'Susu' for housing or the initiation of a business.

Consequently I suppose that the higher supplies pushed the consummation and thus the purchase of assets. But also through the above-explicated rise of claims or the temptations to enhance one's prestige fostered the expenditures.

Nevertheless, with time people were used to hand money and gained new skills apart from farming. Hereof distinct interview partners reported that an increasing number of citizens was not willing anymore to attain a livelihood only through agriculture. People saw their future in paid labour while the own production of foodstuffs depicted a minor part of their daily activities. Hence, people 'became lazy to farm' and hang out throughout the villages (Fatu 1.4.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

"Before Addax came they knew that they have no alternative to make a living apart of farming. But now as Addax came many got lazy (v.ch.Mataro. 16.3.2018).

Thus, Ayo and other migrants stated that since people tasted the 'sweetness' of earning money, agriculture was not seen as a profitable business anymore (Ayo 27.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). I assume that these basal ideology modifications might provoke distinct decisions and the rise of altered aims and imaginations about people's future livelihoods.

The changes in people's bargaining power, the contested and recently arising institutions, the new established organisations and the modified ideological values led to certain distributional effects and socioeconomic behaviours. These will be elucidated in the following two paragraphs.

Distributional effects

I observed that the above-shown internal modifications had distributional effects on old societal structures, whereby access abilities to land and loans were simplified.

Based on the enforced unequal bargaining power between distinct individuals, the access abilities to assets and capitals were not spread equally. For example, women told me that they were not as successful as men to grasp a job at Addax. Hence, their customary position as housekeeper and child raiser remained, while men were still seen as the responsible to provide their family an adequate living.

Based on the rise of the communal land system, general land access abilities were augmented, also for non-natives. Nonetheless, it became evident through interviewees narrations that too many patches were occupied by Addax's respectively Sunbird's monocultures to guarantee everyone sufficient access to arable land.

I perceive that the newly emerged organisations, the temporal business flows and the people's augmented access to financial capital during Addax time improved individuals' capability of redemption. Hereof Fatu namely stated that lending was simplified (1.4.2018).

Socioeconomic behaviour

As I will show the internal aspects influenced directly or indirectly through distributional effects, certain socio-economic behaviours (s. Fig. 7). These ranged from enlarged consumption patterns, rising commodity prices and agricultural salaries to the increased occurrence of conflicts, thefts and general problems.

Unusa and the village chief from Mataro reported that people began to purchase 'expensive things' like bikes, generators, fancies or electronics (1.4.2018, 16.3.2018). As many

were not willing anymore to utilize their own physical power to farm, they either bought the foodstuffs instead of producing them substantially[101] or hired labourers or tractors (Calon 29.4.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Marie 10.3.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Yamarie 1.4.2018). As a consequence, the prices of both the general goods and the agricultural labour forces rose. Although, salaries dropped again, interviewees narrated that the prices remained high, wherefore people began to struggle.

"[People] sit a long time until they maybe are able to find one [employment]. And also when they have the job they are not paid on time. Thus, they began to steal goats, chickens and sheep" (1.4.2018).

As interviewees told me the adoption of these new illegal strategies as well as the upcoming inability to refund loans raised the potential for intra-communal conflicts (Unusa 1.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Thereby, initially well-functioning loan organisations were weakened, while capabilities to solve arsing problems were downgraded again.

I conclude that the explicated social changes, combined with increased unforeseeable and insecure capital access abilities, pushed people to develop new livelihood strategies to achieve an adequate and preferably sustainable livelihood. These upcoming new or altered livelihood strategies will be the topic of the next subchapter.

6.6 Transformation of the livelihood strategies

I will show that the old known, newly developed or adjusted strategies to achieve an adequate living ranged from modified access strategies to natural resources, contestations of the lease agreement, engagement in labour and other life-sustaining daily activities to arising migration practices. In following these coping strategies will be explicated in detail.

Coping strategies to secure the access to natural resources
People told me that their most obvious adjustment to raise their access to land was to access new arable acreage. Hereof, they began to utilize reserve lands by cutting trees and bushes (c.ch.Mam. 16.3.2018, Yusuf 3.4.2018). As the village chief of Mataro stated villagers from land-poor communities would have began to beg for acreages in neighbouring settlements[102] (v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018). Nowadays, as Sunbird left some pivots fallow, people asked the company to grant them the permission to cultivate this unused land. In some cases the company permitted them to do so, but only for a restricted time period (Adamse 28.3.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018). As I noticed, people began to use every empty square meter, whereby the little acreages between the pivots were transformed into gardens or rice farms.
Ensuing from the unsatisfying access to arable land and due to depleted soils, Isa reported that some villagers began to shift from soil cultivation to cattle breeding. Pastoral grasses would namely still be abundant (Isa 16.4.2018).
To the decreased access to natural resources like fish, other wild animals and wild vegetables or fruits, people informed me about two possible reaction strategies. First, they re-

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[101] The reason for this behaviour could emanate from the restricted access to land and natural resources, decreased motivation to farm or just from the will to buy a distinct product, which they had not day in, day out. For example some preferred the Indian instead of their own rice and thus actively purchased Indian rice (Pers. Com.)
[102] One such case was Marokie's or Manewa's villagers, who cultivated on Mataro's respectively Mamaria's land.

duced their consumption (fruits, wild vegetables or animals) and second, they intensified the pressure on remaining sources (e.g. fishing ponds). As a result people narrated about changed diet[103].

To cope with decreased access to fire wood, interviewees communicated that they began either to cut living trees[104] or to shift from long lasting wood to fast burnable sticks or leaves (e.g. dried bean-plants or oil palm leaves) (Fatu 1.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018, V.ch.Marok. 16.3.2028).

Contesting the companies' operations

I became to hear that already during the negotiation process people had little scope of action to express or to take a stand for their rights and desires (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Also today, most people stated only to be *"able to grumble"* or to hope that the company's actions would be in favour of their interests (Momy 3.3.2018). Only some (ex-) labourers reported that they frequently declared their discontent about various labour practices (payment delay, harsh treatment, absent marking etc.). But nothing changed. Thus, they perceived to have not further legal action opportunities (Aruna 25.2.2018). In the following, people began to take action from behind. The ceremonial chief from Mamaria narrated that people began to purposely set fire on elephant grasses or stole cassava and sugar cane from the fields (17.2.2018).

Labour

Since the breakdown and the lease transition to Sunbird, people perceived their access to locally paid labour as markedly restricted. Further, as above-mentioned I suppose that their ideology changed (s. Chap. 6.5). Most citizens are namely not willing anymore to return to their previous life as farmers. As a consequence I observed that many search for daily-based jobs (e.g. transportation of goods, assistance in constructing etc.) or engage themselves anew in the bike taxi-business (Abdul 14.4.2018, John 15.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018). But as daily job opportunities were rare, the usage of a bike was costly and the hopes remained high to be reemployed, people reported that the majority of Ex-Addax respectively Ex-Sunbird labourers sat in the villages waiting, grumbling or farming unenthusiastic (Mohammed 29.3.2018, Momy 30.3.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Indeed, they would have tried to make usage from their social network by asking supervisors or old working mates for employment, by frequently visiting the factory site or by bribing manifold persons. Nonetheless, most interviewees told me that their attempts usually remained unsuccessful (Alaji 26.4.2018, John 15.4.2018, Ayo 1.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018).

Other life-sustaining daily activities

I found out that as struggles arose, people were forced to draw on fall back options like alimentary or monetary stocks, utilizing social ties or less desirable strategies as starving or theft.

Hereof, interviewees stated that they first relied on their savings from salaries or on harvests from previous seasons. But after few months stores were used up and hence other strategies needed to be found (Isa 16.4.2018).

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[103] It changed by the augmented purchase of new, non-local products and the transformed access abilities. Interestingly, people did not substitute the missing yields of land-based foodstuffs by purchasing them, but rather altered their consumption (e.g. buying rice instead of fruits) (Adamse 28.3.2018).
[104] As the village chief of Marokie explained, villagers began to cut fruit trees (16.3.2018).

Especially women and elderly people were reported not to have been able (anymore) to hold down a paid job. Thus, I perceive that they were particularly vulnerable to land based transformations and restrictions. As a resulting strategy, interviews reported that people would have mostly raised claims towards their sons, husbands, brothers or other, mostly male, relatives or friends. But, since everybody was meant to help each other out in times of hardship, also the amount of expectations towards females or neighbours increased (Adamse 28.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

Although, starving was stated definitely as a less desirable and sustainable strategy, various women reported that they presently ate less than in past times, since foodstuffs often would not be accessible (Adamse 28.3.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018. Iatu 17.3.2018).

Migration

I observed that if hardship persisted, the possible strategy of migrating was more frequently taken into consideration (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Interviewees reported about multiple reasons why they or other individuals began to leave. Thereby I observed that different migration practices emerged that predominantly ranged form on-off, temporal to permanent migration. Chain migration set thereby a fundamental strategy to choose to and enter the new social field. National migration practices and occurring translocal patterns set the main research objective for the second part of my master's thesis. In the following, chapter seven, I will therefore profoundly address migration as one possible livelihood strategy. Then, a synthesis will follow in chapter eight, where I will uncover and discuss the potential linkages between LSLA and Migration practices.

7 Migration as a livelihood strategy

This second part of the thesis will present my results concerning migration practices and translocal patterns. The interviewees were categorized into three groups in attempts to possibly recognize gendered or social strata patterns. These were left behinds (Chap. 7.2), migrating landowners (Chap. 7.3) and migrating tenants (Chap. 7.4). In the first sub-chapter each category with its single participants will be introduced. Then, I will illustrate on which livelihood resources every group relied, which daily strategies they adopted, which challenges emerged, how they coped with them and what the perceived livelihood outcomes were. Subsequent to these exemplifications, I will summarize participants' future planes and draw attention on observed gender and social stratum disparities in migration flows. Finally, characteristics of translocallity and the potential occurrence of social change will be addressed.

7.1 The categories of the left behinds and the migrating landowners and tenants

7.1.1 The left behinds

Emerging from diverse institutional and societal manifestations, the group of people who was left behind was mainly constituted by women, their children and parents. In the following, I will explain why men commonly decided to leave the particular group behind and by which means these patterns emerged[105].

Women
Women formed the biggest and most affected group of the left behinds. Table 6 contains the information about the current residing place, the age, the tribal membership, the educational level, the amount of children and the name of the spouse of the interviewed female left behinds.

Table 6: The interviewed female left behinds (elaborated by the author).

Name	Village	Age	Tribe	Educational Level	(Ex-) Husband	Amount of children
Adamse	Mataro	26	Temne	Started Secondary School	Isa	2 (since 1 died)
Iatu	Marokie	42	Temne	No School	Abdul	5
Halima	Marokie	~35	Temne	No School	Not visited	4
Marie	Mamaria	20	Temne	Attended Primary School	Calon	1
Nashe	Mamaria	~28	Mandingo	No School	Ayo	2 (since 1 died)
Saley	Mamamso	28	Temne	Started Primary School	Isa	4 (2 with Isa)
Shera	Mamaria	~27	Temne	Started Secondary School	Samuel	3

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[105] Although, also female landowners left the settlement I will assume In the following, that the migrant is a man. This decision is based on my observation that most migrants were males. I will do to simplify the writing style.

I recognized that the total familial responsibility of all life-sustaining activities in the village mainly remained on the shoulders of the left behind women. Hereof, they had to maintain the living areas, to look after existing and newly established cultivations, to perform all domestic activities and to grow up the children. Therefore, most women reported to have no alternative rather than to remain in the settlement. Their husbands namely did not ask them about their opinion, not to mention, allowing them to influence their migration decision:

"Mostly people only inform their fathers before they go. Sometimes they even do not inform anybody. It depends on the person" (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

"Sara: Was his migration in agreement with you? Answer: It might look like an agreement but it was not really one. Because when he told me that he wants to leave I said, "No I do not want you to go anywhere, because if you migrate my life here will be harder, I will suffer a lot". But he was not listening to me" (Shera, 28.2.2018).

However, my sample showed that women usually did not travel but rather lived within their known surroundings (Iatu 17.3.2018, Marie 10.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Shera 28.2.2018,):

"I spent my whole life here [in Marokie]. I never even travelled to Makeni" (Halima 17.3.2018).

The following quotations of Mohammed, Samuel and Ayo illustrate that the main causes for men's sole leave were the high uncertainties at the destination and the persistent obligations at home.

"I only came to try. I had not any idea what I will meet and if I will be able to make a living here. If I would have known, that where I go everything would be fine then I would have migrated with her and our children" (Samuel 27.4.2018).

"[I left her back home] because somebody had to take care of the house and the garden. Further our children went to school there" (Mohammed 29.3.2018).

"My wife has the responsibility I had before. So she holds the money and if necessary distributes it to family members" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

I recognized that all quotations cited above stay in line with the culturally manifested roles, which female respectively male society members were regarded to fulfil. Women had to follow their husbands and to respect their decisions. They cared about the offspring and did all the housekeeping. On the other hand, men were regarded to lead and to generate a living[106]. Hence, it is obvious that usually men were the ones who left while women stood behind to maintain the shared home basis.

Children
Job-searching migrants would have to take care about their children at the destinations. Hence, most migrants stated to have left their children behind because their presence would have hindered their job-hunting and working activities.

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[106] It did not matter if this was through paid or unpaid labour (e.g. subsistence farming).

Parents

Table 7 entails the information about interviewed parents. They concern place of residence, tribal membership and of whom they were the ancestors.

Table 7: The interviewed parents (elaborated by the author).

Name	Village	Tribe	Parent of
Fatu	Mamaria	Temne	Shera
Yamarie	Mamaria	Temne	Isa

As my survey showed the leave of sons or daughters highly influenced the lives of left behind parents. The ceremonial chief of Mamaria clarified that most elderly people were not in agreement with their child's migration since they knew how unsure life 'out there' was and because they experienced many cases where migrants had not returned anymore (17.2.2018). Additionally, migrants were often one of the strongest labour forces a family was holding. Consequently, their absence brought a successful farming season and thus the provision of enough food for the next season at risks (Calon 29.4.2018). Mainly male elders feared about their replace once they would leave this earth[107] (Aruna, 25.2.1018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

But, as parents of both spouses were meant to aid the left behind wives, also tangible changes occurred in parents' lives through their sons' (in law) migration:

"I never would have thought that I would have again the responsibility to care about my daughter and my grandchildren. This brought a change to my life and makes me unhappy. But as they are my daughter and grandchildren I has to manage, because I never would leave them straining" (Fatu 1.4.2018).

Based on peoples exemplification I assume that the parents were left behind, as they were elderly and often not capable anymore to carry out hard physical work. Further, I observed that male elders were usually engaged in ruling positions and thus required to stay in the settlement. As the elders were left behind they had to manage new responsibilities and altered workloads.

In this subordinate chapter, I introduced the main left behind groups. These were women, children and parents. Often they were only marginally informed about the migration plans of their family member's and thus were not able to influence their decision process. They were forced to accept continuing tasks and duties of their households.

As I mainly studied the translocal relationships between husbands and wives and as my sample of left behinds predominantly contains left behind wives, my analysis concentrates on this left behind group.

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[107] To maintain traditional structures and cultural customs a male elder has to be replaced by one of his sons. The particular person has to adopt his father's responsibilities and has to lead the village (together with other male elders) into a desirable future.

7.1.2   The migrants - landowners and tenants

My sample of interviewed migrants entails people who left Mamaria or Marokie respectively or who (once) immigrated into either of the two villages. In the following, I will clarify how the group of the migrants was constituted and which categories I defined to simplify the analysis.

Men
I consider that based on culturally manifested norms and obligations men present the main migration group (s. Chap. 5.3.4).

My sample includes ten male migrants. Table 8 provides the individual information about the origin, the destination, the age, the tribal membership and the educational level of all migrated interview partners. The average age of participants, who grew up in Mamaria or Marokie was 29.6 years while the equivalent for non-natives was 41.2 years.

Table 8: The interviewed male migrants. Landowning migrants are marked in blue, migrated tenants are marked in orange (elaborated by the author).

Name	Origin	Destination	Age	Tribe	Educational Level
Alaji	Marokie	Keliya	24	Temne	Started Secondary School
Ayo	Mamaria	Kumorru	~35	Temne	No School
Abdul	Marokie (Yele)	Mile 91	44	Temne	Attended Secondary School
Calon	Mamaria	Mamori	22	Temne	Attended Arabic School
Chernor	Small Masheka	Mamaria	45	Temne	Primary School
John	Mile 91	Marokie	46	Temne-Loko	WASSCE[108]
Isa	Mamaria	Mokanji	34	Temne	No school
Mohammed	Mabom	Mamaria	40	Temne	Primary School
Samuel	Mamaria	Kumorru	34	Temne	No school
Unusa	Mile 91	Marokie	31	Temne	WASSCE

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[108] WASSCE stands for West African Senior School Examination. It is a standardized test in Anglophone West African Countries. A person may attend the test after completing secondary school. The WASSCE allows a graduate to apply for studies at a University (Per. Com.).

Women
I perceive that due to customary norms and gendered roles only a tiny proportion of women emigrated without intents connected to engagements or family reunifications (s. Chap. 5.3.4). But exactly these few cases were the ones I was interested in[109].
My sample includes two female migrants. Table 9 provides their individual information about the origin, the destination, the age, the tribal membership and the educational level:

Table 9: The interviewed female migrants. Landowning migrants are marked in blue, migrated tenants are marked in orange (elaborated by the author).

Name	Origin	Destination	Age	Tribe	Educational Level
Rugiatu	Mamaria	Freetown	25	Temne	Started Secondary School
Momy	Kabala	Marokie	~24	Kranko	Started Secondary School

Striking is that the educational background of the single male and female interviewees, which grew up in an urban areas was clearly higher than the one of participants originating form rural villages. As the interviewed landowners obviously grew up in a rural setting their educational level was in average below the one of the tenants.

Children
"Answer: Some [children (mainly boys)] do not want to listen to their fathers or they have done bad things to the family. [Hence] they decide to leave, because they have huge conflicts with their parents. Sara: And where do they go? Answer: Some of them migrate to another house and ask if they [the residing family] can look after them. [Others] migrate to Makeni, Magboraka or Freetown. [… They] live in gangs, look for jobs, engage in farm work or carry things for other people. [… Other migrations emerge when] a girl gets impregnated at the age of about 15 years. In this case the parents of the boy usually take care of the pregnant woman [while] the boy migrates to search for a job" (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

Besides these tragic individual stories, most migrating children left the village together with their parents. In such a case children were indeed migrants but their motivations were totally distinct from the former instance. Hence, the latter underage migrants were not identified as migrants but were rather regarded as a part of family reunifications.

My sample does not include any underage migrants. Nevertheless, one male interviewee migrated to Makeni at the age of 13 to search for a job (Alaji 26.4.2018). He faced the unintended responsibility to feed his girlfriend and their new-born son. Now, ten years later his second migration emerged from slightly different motivations (s. Chap. 7.3.1).

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[109] Based on the household survey I was able to categorize upcoming gendered migration patterns. Many women migrated due to engagements or family reunifications. But I wanted to investigate migration occurring due to other causes because I assumed that the former would not or only marginally be interconnected with the LSLA. Hence, I identified females, whose migration was caused by other motivations besides engagement or family reunification.

Categorizing interviewees into landowners and tenants
One research aim is to investigate if or to what extent social stratum influence migration patterns. Consequently, to simplify my analysis I generated the two analytical categories of landowners and tenants.

The category of landowners includes all participants, who were born either in Mamaria or Marokie and thus belong to a landowning family[110]. The category of tenants on the other hand entails all people, who did not grow up in either of the two villages. Accordingly, they did not possess any acreage at their destination. All landowners were interviewed at their migration destination, while the tenants were met either at their destination (Mamaria /Marokie) or at their origin (when they had already returned).

7.2   Livelihoods and social practice of the left behinds

This chapter addresses the lives and social practices of the left behinds[111]. Initially, I will illustrate what challenges the migration of the left behinds' family member brought along for the left behinds daily livelihood generation. Subsequently, the adopted coping strategies will be exemplified, before I will show on which livelihood capitals the left behinds relied, which daily activities they performed and what livelihood outcomes they achieved.

7.2.1   How to cope with the new situation

This subchapter focuses on the new situations left behinds confronted. I will identify the arsing challenges they faced to maintain their livelihood basis. The livelihood strategies, which were developed through this contestation, will be addressed subsequently. Therein, I will show on which capitals my interviewees relied and which daily activities these were allowing them to perform.
As an analysis of the livelihood changes for every left behind group would be beyond the scope of the thesis at hand, the focus will be set only left behind wives.

Emerging challenges
I recognized that the emerging challenges women met due to the absence of their husbands were manifold. Most striking were modified relationships and reduced bargaining powers throughout the village as well as increased responsibilities. Coincidently, capabilities to generate an adequate living were often reduced. As a consequence, I observed that women and their children faced enlarged hardship with depleted access to food and other life-sustaining assets.

In times when their husbands were still around, women exemplified that life used to be fine or at least manageable. The husbands provided them with all necessities and protected them from maliciously people (Adamse 28.3.2018). Now, as they were on their own, women narrated that life changed in manifold ways. The statement of Halima indicates that women's bargaining power might be contested through the absence of their husbands:

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[110] One migrant was not born in Marokie but was married to a resident landowner. Consequently, he obtained the same legal and customary rights and obligations native landowners used to have. Hence, he fit into neither of the two categories. Nonetheless, as he had lived in Marokie for many years and formed a family there I included him in the category of migrated landowners.
[111] From now on, I will use just the term 'left behinds' for all family members who remained in the village while other migrated away.

"… when my husband was here I had more chance to interact with people on the street because when he was here I had like a protection from behind … but this changed. Now I do not like anymore to walk often throughout the town" (Halima 17.3.2018).

Shera highlighted that this protection "from behind" would have lacked also in interactions with the families-in-law, as the relationship to them often would have become worse through the husband's leave:

"…when my husband was here it [life] was better, because when a conflict with the family of my husband arose, his family was afraid of him and stopped bothering me. But now as he is left all of them just do what ever they like to me" (Shera 28.2.2018).

Hence, the missing protections and meditative capacities by husbands, led to women's exposures towards villagers in general (Adamse 28.3.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Shera 28.2.2018, Yamarie 30.3.2018) and especially concerning families-in-law. Halima and other interviewees told me that the affected relationships between left behind women and their families-in-law often led to the negligence of parents'-in-law customary obligation to care about their daughter-in-law if their son was not capable to do so (Halima 17.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Shera 28.2.2018). Consequently, the responsibilities remained on the left behind wives and their parents. This brought along new challenges (Lizbeth 27.3.2018, Yamarie 30.3.2018). Thereby, women perceived the lack of financial capital as especially dramatic since livelihood expenses continued (e.g. health care, school fees, foodstuffs) and outstanding loans had to be refunded (Adamse 28.3.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018, Halima 17.3.2018).

Besides, the difficulties to access financial capital, women reported that they struggled to maintain the productivity of their farms and gardens. As most farming activities required high physical strengths and as especially suckling mothers were not able to leave their children unattended, women quarrelled to produce enough food to feed themselves and their offspring (Halima 17.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018). Consequently, Lizbeth assumed that the only way out would be to hold financial capital (27.3.2018). Then, women namely would be capable to hire labourers or tractors to plough, seed and harvest a large enough plot[112] to feed all left behinds. But as my sample shows, unfortunately, this was almost never the case. Women were namely even restricted to access palm fruits, which would depict the easiest way to achieve some little earnings[113]. Consequently, left behinds began to starve as Adamse's quotation highlights:

"Life has changed [since] my husband went away. Nobody is providing us food, so we struggle. Even the children struggle, because they sometimes stop playing because they are too hungry" (28.3.2018).

Further, most left behinds stated that their migrated family member had not sent any remittances or only sparsely[114]. Accordingly, I observed that many women faced contested

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[112] Presumed that the family has sufficient access to arable and fertile land.
[113] Before women can process the palm seeds to oil, they relay on men who are the only ones that climb the palm trees and pull down the seeds.
[114] Hereof, Nashe and Yamarie stated that they respectively received some remittances from their husband (24.2.2018, 30.3.2018). Adamse told me that Isa had sent only once 80'000 and not more (28.3.2018). Finally, Shera, Iatu and Halima mentioned that their husbands had not sent anything up to now (28.2.2018, 17.3.2018, 17.3.2018).

food securities and lived at the edge of viability (Adamse 28.3.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018). Thus, it is not surprising that almost every interviewed woman was unhappy with her current situation. Interviewees specified that life used to be better when husbands were around and severe hardship began as they left (Adamse 28.3.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Lizbeth 27.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Shear 28.2.2018).

As a consequence of this augmented hardship since women's husbands left, interviewees stated that they were forced to adopt new livelihood strategies. As I will show these ranged from developing new activities, leaning on social ties to intra- or inter-village migration.

First, most women tried to safeguard their livelihood by autonomous actions. Hereof, Adamse sold her food stocks to redeem their or their husband's debts[115] (28.3.2018). Others began to take loans for seeds or rice (Yamarie 30.3.2018) or intensified their farm work (Fatu 1.4.2018, Yamarie 30.3.2018).

Secondly, interviewees outlined that they hoped that others would assist them. Thereby, some just waited until somebody might come and help them (Halima 17.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018). Others relied on received remittances either from their (ex-) husbands[116] or from previous or recent engagements with other men (Iatu 17.3.2018, Lizbeth 27.3.2018). Hereof, Halima explained that many females who were abandoned were attempted to find a new man, who could care about them and their children (17.3.2018). Nonetheless, the chances that a woman with children would find a new boyfriend would be difficult. Most men would namely not be willing to care about children, which were not their own descendants (Halima 17.3.2018). However, most women reported to follow the strategy to make use of their social ties throughout the village apart from romantic affiliations (Adamse 28.3.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Marie 10.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Shera 28.2.2018, Yamari 30.3.2018). They relied on mutually relationships to relatives, friends or neighbours as Shera's quote exemplifies:

"People in the village do good to me, because when we had money we were also good to them, so now they return this goodness" (28.2.2018).

The received help ranged from different tangible and intangible assets like food, money, medicine and child care to conflict mediation[117]. As explained above, despite customary obligations, most women did not receive any help by their families-in-law. Hence, female left behinds approached their ancestors. They were namely also regarded to adopt the responsibility for their daughter as soon as her husband was not around anymore. Although, in all cases parents accepted their anew accountabilities, women repeatedly reported that their parents help was not sufficient to ensure their survival. Hence, also other villagers were requested to support the women in need. And indeed, various women stated that they received additional assistance from other villagers, often even without asking them (Adamse 28.3.2018, Marie 10.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018).

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[115] Although some of them faced food shortages afterwards.
[116] Some couples separated as the man migrated away (s. Chap. 7.3.1.).
[117] Usually male elders helped these women to settle arising conflicts. Hence, I assume that the maintenance of good connections to mediators was for the left behind women especially precious, as their husbands could not protect them anymore.

"As she does not has a husband anymore, some friends feel so sorry for her. Thus, they give her between 2'000 to 10'000 Le. Before when she still had a husband they never gave her any money" (Halima 17.3.2018).

In cases where women were not natively born in their husband's village, many decided to return to their parents' house as hardship became unbearable. In the hometown women namely were often far better connected to other society members (parents, relatives, friends etc.), who were willing to assist them (Adamse 28.3.2018, Saley 10.4.2018). Hereof, Adamse disclosed that since she returned, she would survive through the salary of her brother (Adamse 28.3.2018). But, as the example of Shera showed, also intra-village migration took place when conflicts between families-in-law and left behind women persisted or escalated[118](Fatu 1.4.2018, Shera 28.2.2018).

"If [the children] have grown up and if [Samuel] did not return for a long time we would call him and say: 'As you did not come back for a long time and as you are not caring anymore about [our daughter] … come and collect your children while we take our daughter back'" (Fatu 1.4.2018).

As the forehead quotation exemplified, some women took the separation from their (grand-) children into account by passing them over to their father or his family. This namely depicted a further possibility to reduce their starving (Halima 17.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018). I suppose that this practice leaned on the institutionally manifested ideology that children belong to the man (s. Chap. 5.3.4).

Utilized and modified livelihood capitals
Up to now, I collected possible livelihood strategies that women adopted in attempts to gain a living. These depended on the access to appropriate livelihood capitals. I will illustrate on which capitals women relied and how the access to them might have changed through their husbands' migration. Therefor, I will differentiate between economic, environmental, human, social and physical capital. The following exemplifications do not have the intention to be complete but rather presents a generalisation of held capitals, which I assume as representative for my analysed sample. Moreover, the identified differences between social strata will be illustrated in 7.5.3.

The livelihood strategies and adopted daily activities of left behind women predominately relied on their natural, physical and social capital as these were (still) more or less available. The physical and the social capital had not changed remarkably since their husband left. However, I recognized that the utilization of females' social capital must have been augmented by far, since they hardly relied on the assistance of other villagers. Thereby, each interviewee assessed help from relatives, friends or neighbours through active[119] or passive[120] claims. Nonetheless, since women were presently not able to reciprocate the provided assistance, I imagine that the mutual relations were stressed with persisting hardship.

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[118] Also native women returned to their parents home to escape from daily disputes and to enhance their livelihood security (Fatu 1.4.2018, Shera 28.2.2018).
[119] When women actively beg for financial or material assistance.
[120] Passive claims means that women received help without asking anybody. Many villagers namely recognize left behinds' difficult circumstances and thus tended to assist without any request.

Moreover, all women stated that they still would have the same access abilities to natural resources but they would be restricted to transform them into tangible assets since their husbands left (e.g. rice, vegetables, palm fruits - for explanation s. paragraphs above). We saw that a consequence therefrom was that several female complained about frequent insufficient access to foodstuffs. Hereof, the mother of Shera highlighted:

„Since the husband left I recognized that Shera's body became slimmer" (Fatu 1.4.2018).

Fatu assume that this was the case because Shera worked now more intensively on the farm while eating less, due to frequent food shortages (Fatu 1.4.2018). Hence, I suppose that women's human capital got partially eroded, since they ate less while often working more. The decreased access to foodstuffs and purchasable assets was additionally aggravated through the reduced access capabilities to economic capital. As Adamse's case illustrated some women first used up possible savings or sold parts of remaining food stocks (28.3.2018). But these remaining economic capitals were soon used up wherefore most women narrated that their access to money clearly declined since their husbands left. This would be the case because first they had difficulties to organise or pay respectively a person, who pulled down the palm seeds. Like this their ability to process and sell palm oil was restricted. Secondly, Nashe told me that while her husband was still around he not only would have paid all the cooking ingredients, cloths and school fees but also would have handed her from time to time some cash, which she was allowed to use for her own purposes. Since he left the access to all these purchasable assets would have declined (Nashe 24.2.2018). Consequently, left behinds narrated that currently their single financial revenues would be the infrequent remittances and monetary gifts by other villagers (Adamse 28.3.2018, Halima 17.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Shera 28.2.2018).

As we saw women initially tried to gain livelihood assets through their human capital (agricultural intensification) or possible remaining of economic capital (savings or sales of harvests). But as soon as these two strategies were not successful anymore to ensure an adequate livelihood, female left behinds were pressured to develop further strategies. Thereby, they mainly began to utilize their social bonds, by what they transformed their social capital into naturally or economically based capitals[121].

The last three sections illustrated that women faced new or enforced difficulties to achieve an adequate livelihood. I found out that heir struggles ranged from deteriorated relationships and bargaining powers to persistent difficulties in maintaining access to essential living assets. The coincidence of several incidences resulted in marginalized standpoints and contested food security. Although women tried to prevent their offspring from any impairment, various cases showed that the fathers' migration influenced the physical health of some children as well (Adamse 28.3.2018, Shera 28.2.2018). Consequently, I showed that women were pushed to develop new strategies in attempts to achieve an adequate living. As the fall back on present capital backpacks was mostly unsatisfactory, women were attempted to make possible resources (e.g. economic capital) accessible through actual resources (e.g. social capital) by transformation work. Therefor, I showed that the majority relied on their social network, whereby mutual relationships and connections to elders and other wealthy or influential individuals were crucial to endure these times of hardship. Consequently, I assume that also in the case of Mamaria, Marokie and Mataro,

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[121] These are all assets which arise from or can be made accessible through natural respectively economic capital. These are for example foodstuffs, cloths, school fees or health care.

the solidarity system described by Jackson (1976) and later by Fafchamps (1992) acted, as an important social insurance mechanism especially in times of hardship and for marginal society members (s. Bourdieu 1983, Thieme 2006, Verne 2012). However, I recognized that women's access and transformation capabilities were not equally spread among the interviewees but rather I identified differences between the social strata and the individual habitus. Hence, I assume that not all women possessed the same capacity to endure such times of hardship (s. Chap. 7.5.2).

7.2.2 The daily activities

Based on my interviewees' exemplifications, I recognized that women's current daily activities differed from times when their husbands were still around. Some women became more active in autonomous farming (Fatu 1.4.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Shera 28.2.2018). Halima and Nashe, who did not extend their farming activity, justified their disengagement by the fact that they found no one, who would be willing to take care for their offspring while they would be at the cultivations (17.3.2018, 24.2.2018). But as Iatu and Shera just took their children along (17.3.2018, 28.2.2018), I assume that having children (especially small ones) indeed restrict women's capability to farm but that it forms not an absolute impediment. Further, all interviewee stated that they still were engaged in intra-village activities like harvest processing, childcare, housekeeping and cooking (Nashe 24.2.2018, Shera 28.3.2018). However, none of the interviewed women was still running any business. Further, most women told me to actively maintain their connections and relationships by visiting or by helping friends, neighbours or relatives[122] (Nashe 24.2.2018, Saley 10.4.2018, Shera 28.2.2018, Yamarie 30.3.2018).

7.2.3 The livelihood outcomes

The achieved material and non-material well-being that the various participants achieved, differed between the individuals and the time frame, since when the husbands left. Although each interviewee stated that she was better off before her husband left, some women were still able to maintain a more or less adequate living, whereas others still searched and diversified their strategies. Hereof, I exemplify my assumption by the two cases of Adamse and Nashe; Adamse first tried to maintain her life basis by agricultural intensification and by utilizing her social bonds. But as parts of the harvest were stolen, as her relationship to her stepmother became worse and as her social network was small she and her children began to suffer from hunger. Hence, she returned to her parents' house in Mataro. Since then her material and non-material well-being would be satisfying (28.3.2018). Nashe's initial strategies were almost in accordance with the ones adopted by Adamse. She namely first also farmed with her family-in-law and relied on neighbours help. But as conflicts with her family-in-law became frequent, they denied caring for her. In the subsequent, although her neighbours were assisting her, she and her children began to face food and health care insecurity. By phone she informed her husband about the unbearable situation they faced (24.2.2018). As I got to know after my return to Switzerland, her husband was afterwards able to send her some remittances. These allowed her even to start a petty trading in Makeni and Freetown. My informant concluded that she would now be far better off (Pers. Com.). Thus, I assume that her search for a life-granting strategy finally was successful.

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[122]Only Halima argued that she would not cultivate their relationships to the same extent than before anymore, as she would feel uncomfortable to walk through the village without her husband's protection 'from behind'. Thus, she would have fewer friends than before her husband left (Halima 17.3.2018).

I consider that the livelihood strategies women developed were neither equal nor steady within time and space but rather differed between the individuals and were constantly adjusted to present circumstances. Furthermore, I recognized that as soon as a husband sent remittances women were capable to maintain an adequate livelihood. As the case of Nashe exemplified it is even possible that the remittances allow them to enhance their living standard. Nonetheless, I realized that such cases were rare for left behinds in Mamaria, Mataro and Marokie. Based on personal communications and the found augmented chances of tenants to succeed (s. Chap. 7.4.5 & 9.2.2), I suppose in contrast that the ability to maintain an adequate living of the women the interviewed tenants left behind was at least sufficient or even augmented through their husbands leave.
Consequently, I suppose that the material well-being of left behind women highly depend on the success of their husbands.

Moreover, above I showed that the women's workload, their responsibilities and their risk of having conflicts rose while bargaining powers declined. Hence, I assume that the non-material well-being of women, who were still in a relationship with the migrated husband, generally decreased (Fatu 1.4.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Yamarie 20.3.2018). In contrast, the cases where women considered their marriages as failed and where the (ex-) husbands were unlikely to return left behinds told me that they indeed would face hardship but that they would be content that their (ex-) husbands left (Halima 17.3.2018, Saley 10.4.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018). Thus, I suppose that these women gained somehow a psychological freedom through the men's leave. Consequently, no conclusive statement can be formulated regarding the degree of women's achieved non-material well-being. Rather it was fluctuating and highly dependent on the individual circumstances (e.g. divorce, partnership etc.).

Finally, as all women expected that they would face augmented hardship soon after their husbands left, I perceive that the expected outcomes did not vary largely from the real ones.

7.3 Livelihoods and social practice of the landowners

In the Subsequent five subchapters, I will introduce the surveyed migration reasons, the chosen destinations, the arising challenges, the coping strategies, the used capitals and the performed daily activities and finally the resulting livelihood outcomes of the migrated landowners.

7.3.1 The migration reasons

Here, I illustrate landowners' migration motives. Most migrants were led by multiple motivations rather than by a unique one. The manifold causes were connected to land related restrictions, lifestyle changes, high responsibilities, lacking opportunities, persisting conflicts, invitations and promising imaginations. In the following, the distinct dimensions will be explained in more detail.

Access to land
Owing to the transformed surroundings brought by Addax and Sunbird, people were forced to adopt modified or newly developed strategies to ensure their access to food assets (s. Chap. 6.6). All migrants stated that these strategies were not successful enough to maintain an adequate living (e.g. food, cloths, health care etc.). Hence, people were pressured to seek for other possibilities to substitute the lost access to arable land (Ayo

27.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018).

Lifestyle

As we saw not only the restriction to land and natural resources led to declining harvests but also the changed lifestyles fostered the emergence of a common "laziness to farm" and hence, influenced cultivation outcomes. Hereof, Fatu explained that many men were used to hold money and acquired new skills. Therefore, they would no longer be satisfied with a simple rural farming life but would rather desire to engage themselves in paid labour (Fatu 1.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). Isa confirms Fatu's assumption by stating:

"I was not able to live the same life as before, because now I have skills. Thus, I wanted to have a [paid] job" (Isa 14.4.2018).

These opinions match with my personal experiences and observations. I namely recognized that people in general were longing for an industrialized lifestyle where the acquisition of money substitutes the hard physical farming work. As a consequence, many men were not as motivated as before Addax to establish huge farms or to generate an income through the time consuming procedure of palm seed processing.

Hardship

All interviewees were once employed by the company and lost their jobs either before or after the breakdown. As life used to be easier during paid employment each interviewee hoped to get employed soon again (Alaji 26.4.2018, Isa 14.4.2018, Lizbeth 27.3.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018, Shera 28.2.2018, Yamari 30.3.2018). Hence, many told me that they were unsure if or to what extent they should start farming again[123] and how they should invest their remaining savings. If the company namely would have recalled them to work, their previous farming investments would have been, at least partly, in vain because full time labourers were not or only partially able to look after their cultivations. However, I assume that the 'laziness to farm' also had an influence that some individuals preferred to wait and hope for a monetary income.

Nevertheless, the ones that re-established their farms (Ayo 27.4.2018, Isa 14.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018) often faced severe losses while investments into physical capital or borrowing money did not ensure any long-term life sustenance. Hereof, Ayo narrated that he would have spent his remaining salary in financing tractors and agricultural labourers and in bribing Sunbird agents. But as harvests were bad and as agents had not kept their promises to reemploy him, he lost a lot of money (Ayo 27.4.2018). I suppose that the consilience of these investment uncertainties, the persistent high prices for commodities and labour forces and the shrinking access to economic capital led to a reduced capability to purchase essential living assets (Adamse 28.3.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). Resulting, hardship and men's burden to comply with responsibilities and obligations rose exorbitantly.

I recognized that especially the ones, who already had to care for multiple family members prior to the arrival of Addax, came into severe struggles. Ayo's quotation exemplifies this impressively:

"During that time in 2016 one of my younger brothers came and asked for money to pay the fees to sit the WASSCE. But I was not able to pay him the fees. Consequently, I decided to take a loan. As the palm oil trade was not good at that moment I decided to sell

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[123]

some of my belongings. But the gain was not enough to pay back the loan. Hence, I trav-
elled to Makeni to earn some money through daily-based job opportunities. But […] as
soon as I have paid back one loan another problem occurred whereat I was urged to take
a loan. With time this made me burden so much that I decided to leave […]" (Ayo
27.4.2018).

The above exemplifications show that the combination of redundancy with the insufficient
access to enough or fertile acreages led to landowners' inability of solving everyday ac-
countabilities. Hence, many men began to jump from one strategy and loan to the other
since none of them seemed to be rewarding enough (s. 'strategy-jumping' Chap. 3.5.4). I
observed that migrants' most common pre-migration livelihood strategies were intensifying
agricultural engagements, borrowing, relying on the business of their wives, riding taxi-
bikes in Makeni or working in daily based job opportunities (Alaji 26.4.2018, Ayo
27.4.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Samual 27.4.2018, Shera 28.2.2018). But my interviewees
reported that with time they became depressed, because no strategy would have been
fruitful enough to meet all family's necessities. Consequently, they would have realized
that they had to leave, as the situation would not have been bearable for them anymore
(Ayo 27.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018).

Conflicts or broken relationships
Migrants did not state persisting conflicts or lately broken relationships to their partners as
the main reasons for their migration (Abdul 14.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Saley
10.4.2018). Nonetheless, I assume that the bad relationships still influenced their migra-
tion decision as the quotation of Fatu illustrates:

"At the beginning the relationship [of Samuel and Shera] was great but then the conflicts
began. I do not know if these conflicts made him leave" (1.4.2018).

For men relationships are not a migration-restricting factor. They namely have the power
to decide freely if they want to migrate or not even if their wife disagrees with their migra-
tion decision. For a woman such behaviour would be almost impossible, since the man
holds the decisional power as long as they are in a relationship (s. Chap. 5.3.4). Hence, I
perceive that for women the (non-) existence of a binding relationship was even more de-
termining for an up-coming migration aspiration. This assumption is strengthened by the
quotation of Rugiatu:

"The relationship to the man had no influence because it was already over. If we would
have been still together, he might not have allowed me to migrate. But as this was none of
his business anymore I left (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

Rugiatu continued by saying that her ex-husband did not look after her and their children
and never sent any remittances. *"[Thus] I have to stand on my own feet now and care*
alone for my children […] so I decided to leave" (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

Social Connections
Alaji and Calon mentioned that a call from people at the destination were the main cause
for their arising migration aspiration (26.4.2018, 29.4.2018). Hereof, Calon narrated that
he stood in Mamaria and was engaged in his ordinary farming life when his uncle called to
ask him if he would be willing to help him with his mining business. Calon met his uncle's

requirement by travelling to the mentioned mines in Mamori (Calon 29.4.2018). These examples show that social networks play a fundamental role for potential movements. Thus, I assume that chain migration was a crucial part of my interviewees' migration practice.

Imaginations
"I saw that people, which returned from the mining areas, were able to buy a car or land in the village or in Makeni. This convinced me that I should try to go there as well" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

According to Ayo many individuals believe that happiness might be achievable in other parts of the country. They would only focus on the returnees who were successful and able to enhance the live of their family rather than remembering the ones that were not better off than before or even had not returned at all. Also Alaji stated that he was willing and curious to leave his village, with its hard farm work to seek for another, preferably better way of living (26.4.2018). Finally, the ceremonial chief of Mamaria stated:

"[The] youth is full of joy and hence wants to make a change" (17.2.2018).

These exemplifications show that people used to mentally appropriate spaces beyond their own social field. Outgoing from Ayo's statement and further personal communications I suppose that these spaces imagines were frequently connoted as more glorious as they were in reality.

As I showed the consilience of the difficult economic and environmental circumstances struggled male household heads to meet all the emerging responsibilities. Hence, although the young and strong labourers were desired to remain in the village their responsibility to achieve a living[124] outweighed the liability to stay in the village. Nonetheless, I recognized that the retrogressive developments were usually not the only causes for landowners' leave but rather they were influenced by further factors. These included persistent conflicts, broken relationships or whitewashed migration aspirations. Consequently, individuals, who were invited, did not ponder but grabbed the chance and left.

7.3.2 Entering a new social field

This subchapter examines historic and present migration flows of the different participants, how long they stood at the various places, in what way the individuals organised their journey and to what extent they were able to enter the new social fields. I will show that some migrants had never before passed beyond Makeni's regions while others had already visited multiple locations.

Time frame and destinations
Three out of seven migrants had never left the Makeni region before. Hereof, Isa explained:

"Sara: Were you happy during the time before Addax had leased the land? Answer: Yes, I was. Sara: And why have you not thought about migrating during that time? Answer: Well, because I was fine. I had no reason to leave my place" (Isa 27.4.2018).

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[124] Not only for their closer family but also for their own and their wife's parents and siblings.

However, the remaining four interviewees[125] have left their hometown already once before (Calon 29.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018). Thereby, only one migrated for educational reasons (Abdul 14.4.2018) while the other three left due to newly obtained responsibilities[126], crop failures[127] or curiosities how life might be at other places (Alaji 26.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). Nevertheless, two out of these three migrants perceived their attempts as unsuccessful, since they either had not found a permanent job or did not earn enough through daily-based job opportunities (Alaji 26.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018.). Only Ayo, who left for the diamond mines, stated that he was happy about his migration outcomes (27.4.2018).

My interviewees' current migrations started between November 2016 and February 2018. In average, they left the village two years after their dismissal. I observed that the majority travelled to the cities or the mining areas while few entered other rural villages.

Being on a journey
"When you travel to another place to search for work you do not know anybody at the new place. Thus, your food is in your pocket and [you know] life is expensive" (Alaji 26.4.2018).

Besides, life expenses at the new place Interviewees told me that the journey often set the first financial obstacle they had to solve. Therefore, many processed and sold additional palm seeds, used up their savings or took loans. As Fatu's quotation shows some men even foisted off their financial problems on their wives:

"Shera took a loan for Samuel when he was still here. […] He did not inform her what he would use it for. Only when she gave him the money he explained to her that he will leave to find a job. […] As the he left she was not able until now to pay back [the loan]" (Fatu 1.4.2018).
Interviewees justified this behaviour by their worries to meet disagreement and its consequences. Hence, most told their family only half of the truth:

"I told [my wife] that I will go to Makeni and that I will come back soon. Because if I had told her that I was intending to search for a job in the mining area, she would not have accepted it, because it is too far" (Samuel 27.4.2018).

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[125] Abdul was originally a tenant and thus obviously migrated before.
[126] Alaji got father at an age of 13 years. The new obligations he met forced him to quit the secondary school and to search for an earning. Thus, he began to ride the bike on the streets of Makeni in 2008 (Alaji 26.4.2018).
[127] Samuel left in 2010 to Freetown, as the harvest was not adequate to feed his family for the whole season. He supposed that the depleted soils were the reason for the crop failure. On the question since when the soils were depleted, he stated that fertility would have decreased since Addax arrived (Samuel 27.4.2018).
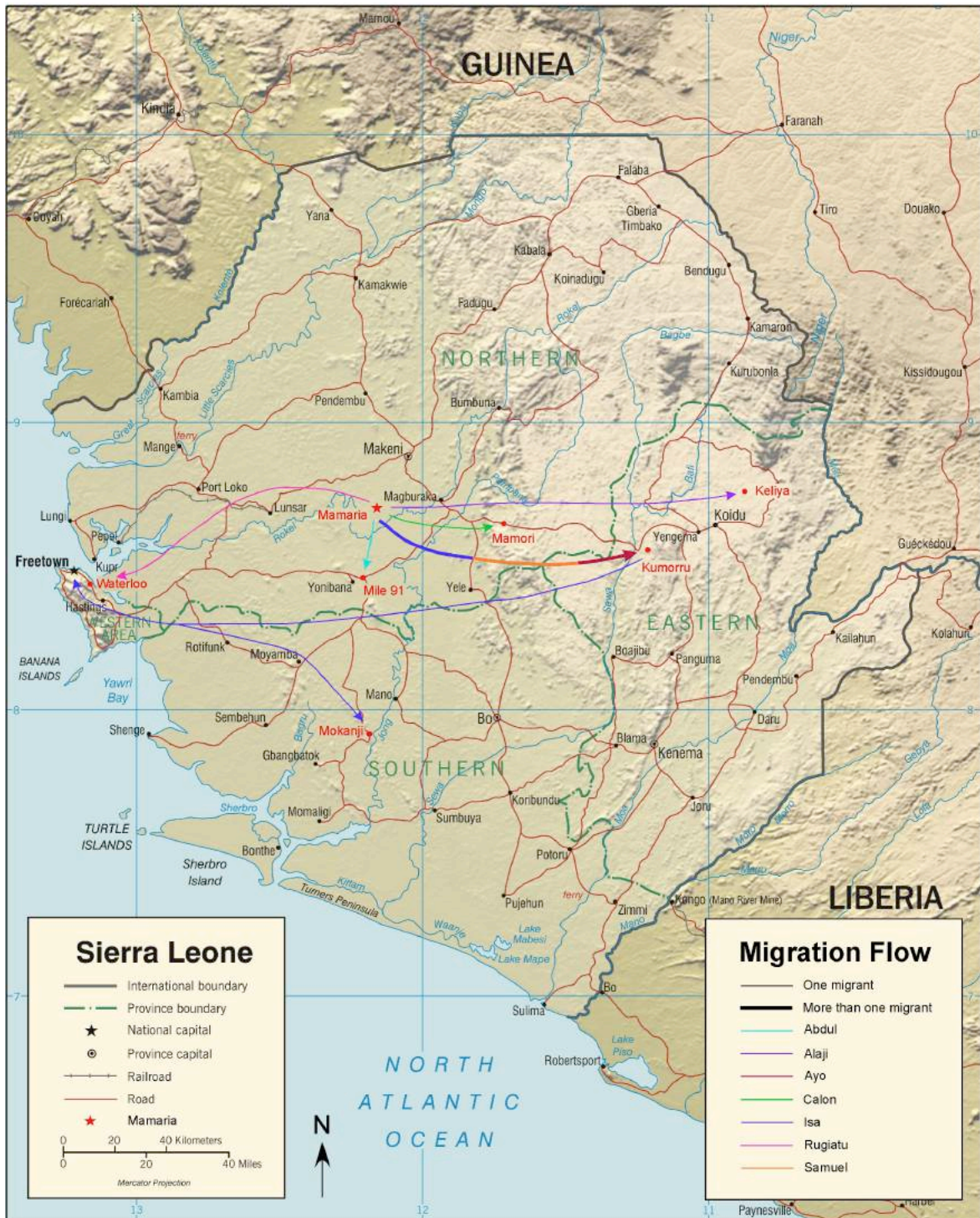
Figure 15: Migration flow map of migrated landowners (produced by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and extended by the author). Source: University of Texas Libraries.

Some of the migrants already had a destination in mind while others decided stepwise where to go and where to stay. However, migrants stated that they went to the places where they expected to find the best job opportunities (Abdul 14.4.2018, Alaji 26.4.2018, Isa 14.4.2018). The information about job-hotspots was acquired through social rela-tions[128] or national media (Alaji 26.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018).

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[128] Not only through direct personal communications but also through hearsay or phone calls.

As I exemplified migrations were based on savings, loans or invitations. Thereby, the emerging migration patterns were highly dependent on the access to information prior to the departure. When a person already had an aspiration about or an invitation to a location he or she mostly travelled directly. In contrast, the journey of spontaneous migrants was usually shaped by stepwise movement patterns. As a result, multi-local movement structures emerged, whereby labour relevant information guided these migration paths. Thus, the migration of all migrants was characterised by chain migration.

7.3.3 The different destinations

Where did the migrants go and which contextual background did they meet at their destinations? Although, I am obviously not able to come up with a comprehensive introduction to each social field[129], a short illustration of the circumstances I met will be described below. The gained insights will facilitate the understanding of the subsequent chapters.

The interviewed migrants, who started their migration from Mamaria or Marokie moved either to urban areas such as Mile 91 or Waterloo, to mining sites such as Mokanji, Mamori and Kumorru or to Keliya where timber business was flourishing (s. Fig. 15). Subsequently, I will roughly illustrate how I observed the personal living conditions at the single destinations[130]:

- **Mile 91 (Ill. 3):** Abdul welcomed us in a typical neighbourhood of the smaller town of Mile 91. Mile 91 is located at the border between the Temne and the Mende land. Most people were engaged in informal earning activities like petty trading or bike riding. Together with his new wife and his two-year-old son he rented a small room. The cooking place and the sanitary facilities were shared with the neighbours and the other tenants.

- **Mokanji (Ill. 4):** The bigger, but rural village Mokanji is located in the hilly southern part of Sierra Leone where predominantly people from the Mende tribe reside. Isa lived in the small Temne neighbourhood where he shared a flat with other Temne-guys. During my stay the village-life was quiet and people were mainly engaged in farming or traded items on the street.

- **Waterloo (Ill. 5):** As Waterloo is a suburb of Freetown it is shaped by an urban lifestyle where streets are crowded and business is flowing. Hence, I assume that daily earning opportunities were indeed tangible although their capacity to sustain an adequate living was questionable. Rugiatu rented a little house together with other tenants in a middleclass neighbourhood.

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[129] Firstly, I was spending only one or two days at the migrants' destinations and secondly a profound illustration of each destination would be beyond the scope of this thesis.
[130] The order of the described destinations corresponds to the chronology of my visits.

- **Keliya (Ill. 4 & 6):** In the middle far east, close to the boarder of Guinea the small and rural village of Keliya is located. Smooth savannah hills and sparse forests surrounded it. Although, citizens originated from various tribes, Mende predominated the area. Alaji lived at the house of his uncle, who provided him with daily meals and transportation to the small provincial town of Koidu located nearby.

- **Kumorru (Ill. 7-10):** Samuel and Ayo were both staying at a gold mining settlement adjacent to the rural village of Kumorru. The mining settlement seemed to have grown uncontrolled into a chaotic construct, which was composed by thousands of shelters made of sticks, corn bags and plastic sheets. The riverside of the centrally located stream was shaped by multiple high hills from where stone graining machines led into swampy pools. Due to the immense shortage of sanitary facilities and the absence of any waste management, garbage-lined, earthy paths and contaminated riversides shaped the whole settlement. Soon I recognized than an ambience of despair and frustration filled the air, whereby especially men seemed to drown their sorrows into the vast consummation of cheap spirits. This collective fuddle began at noon and lasted far into the night. Hence, caterwauling and the never lasting rattling of the stone graining machines prevented the upcoming of any silence. The few women and children I encountered sold food or other basic assets on the street. I observed that mainly men but also some women and even children were engaged in the daily mining activities. They either worked in holes beside the river or at the nearby hill slope. As people from all over the country flooded the mining site, interviewees stated that no predominant tribe or language was found but rather that manifold languages, religions and clanships were represented.

- **Mamori (Ill. 4):** Also Calon was engaged in the mining business near the provincial town of Koidu in a village called Mamori. Nevertheless, I observed that the local living conditions were highly distinct from the one beside Kumorru. People (mainly from the Mende tribe) were living in solid houses with zinc roofs. Most adults were engaged in common rural activities like farming, cooking or housework while children attended school. Some citizens and tenants walked every day to the nearby gold mine to dig and process the precious metal.

As I showed the places were the tracked migrants lived were not only spread broadly over the country (s. Fig. 15) but were also highly distinctive concerning their contextual background and the present living conditions.

Illustration 3: Abdul's home in Mile 91 (photographed by the author).

Illustration 4: Typical rural village in the south-eastern part of Sierra Leone (photographed by the author).

Illustration 5: Street life in Waterloo, Freetown (photographed by the author).

Illustration 6: Cutting and transporting teak wood near the village of Kaliya (photographed by the author).

Illustration 7: The mining settlement beside the rural village of Kumorru (photographed by the author).

Illustration 8: Typical shelter in the gold mines near Kumorru (photographed by the author).

Illustration 9: One of dozens working grounds at the mines of **Kumorru** (photographed by the author).

Illustration 10: Shovelling of grained rock debris by children (photographed by the author).

7.3.4   Adaptation to a new social field

Below I will introduce the different activities the migrants were engaged in. Daily challenges and resulting coping strategies will be exemplified in the following. Finally, the multiple capitals, on which the adopted strategies and daily activities relied, will be dismantled.

Daily activities
The seven landowning migrants I visited were engaged in various activities. Subsequently, I will exemplify what their daily tasks were and how they made a living at their destinations. These illustrations are based on information I gathered during interviews, gained through further personal talks and experienced through participatory observations.

- **Mining:** Four of my interview partners were involved in mining activities. However, not only the locations clearly differed (s. Chap. 7.3.3) but also their daily engagements greatly varied.
  Ayo and Samuel were autonomous labourers, who had to search for a possible earning opportunity on a daily basis. At the gold mines in Kumorru people worked for wealthy individuals, who bought or leased land from village elders. They paid for machines to quarry the stones in the huge holes. Subsequently, the workers filled 50kg bags and carried them on their shoulders uphill. Out of ten bags the labourers were allowed to keep two. Afterwards they paid for a stone-graining machine to crush the raw material. The resulting product[131] was manually washed with a head pan in the ponds beside the river. In a last step the wet dust was mixed with quicksilver and wrung through a towel. As first the quicksilver attracted the gold and as subsequently the quicksilver was filtered out, small gold particles remained in the towel. These were sold for 45'000-55'000 Le (5.8 to 7.1 US$) per carat to a dealer. Samuel stated that he used to earn around 30'000 Le per working day. But due to the high demand for graining machines

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[131] The graining machine produces two different output materials. With the finer one the procedure described above is applied. The coarser-grained residual sand was often sold further on since its advanced processing was even more exhausting than the essential mining activities anyway. The sand namely had to be beaten by hand with a iron bar to dust before it was sieved. Lastly, it also had to go through the last procedure of washing that is described in the running text (Ayo 27.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018, Pers. Obser.).

he was not able to work each day. He told me that miners often had to wait up to two weeks until it was their turn to process the raw material further. Hence, Samuel explained that his monthly income lay between 50'000 and 200'000 Le (6.5 to 26.1 US$). Simultaneously, I observed that living costs at Kumorru were almost twice as high as regular prices in the cities[132]. As most labourers came without their wives and as they preferred to work instead of cooking, they predominantly bought already prepared food. Hence, Samuel and Ayo reported that it was hard to save any money. Mostly they would live from hand into mouth. Nevertheless, Samuel told me that he was capable to send all several months 200'000 to 300'000 Le (~26 to 39 US$), while Ayo shared with me that he would be able to send monthly between 100'000 and 150'000 Le (~13 to 19 US$) (27.4.2018, 27.4.2018).

Although, the mining procedure in Mamori was more or less identical the miners were employed (although only by an oral contract) by a wealthier individual and had continuous access to stone-graining machines. Hence, they were able to work every day and enjoyed a certain protection by their superiors. As a consequence they achieved a steady, monthly salary of 300'000 Le (~39 US$). Besides, bosses came up for housing and meal expenses. Hence, labourers were able to use their wages for distinct purposes besides daily living costs. Nevertheless, at the time of the interview Calon was not able to send any remittances since his mining group had not yet processed the shovelled raw material[133] (Calon 29.4.2018 & Pers. Com.).

Finally, Isa mined at his destination but instead of gold he was engaged in ore mining. Hence, his daily tasks looked different. He reported that he would know how to operate an excavator due to his experiences at Addax. These helped him to gain his current skill job as an excavator conductor (Isa 16.4.2018). I observed that the mining ground was enclosed and only few machines and some workers were engaged in daily tasks. After excavating, the soil was separated by machines before trucks were loaded to transport the earth to the factory site where the raw material was processed further or shipped to another destination. Since Isa was based in Mokanji, he stated that his monthly salary rose from previously 800'000 Le up to 1'500'000 Le (~104 to 196 US$)[134]. Accordingly, he supported his family with a monthly amount of 400'000 Le (52 US$). He affirmed that this salary also lasted to cover additional financial problems (Isa 16.4.2018 & Pers. Com.).

- **Timber:** Alaji worked for his uncle, who dealt with timber. In groups they bushwhacked by hand in search for appropriate trees before they cut them with the chainsaw. In succession the trunks were loaded into an old truck by hand and moved to the shore. From there the load was shipped to overseas (mostly China). Alaji reported that since he arrived in Keliya he neither received any salary nor knew how much he will be paid. As his brother offered him board and lodge he had everything he needed but was not yet able to send any remittances (Alaji 16.4.2018 & Pers. Com.).

- **Daily-based job opportunities:** Moses told me that since he returned to Mile 91 he was not able to find any permanent employment. Hence, he was engaged in daily-based job opportunities. As he learnt how to handle the chainsaw already prior to his post at Addax he had some skills with which he was attempted to earn a living. But as

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[132] For example one bag of groundnuts cost 2'000 instead of 1'000 Le.
[133] They once processed a small amount of their mined rocks. Hence, he was able to calculate how much he will earn per month (29.4.2018).
[134] Before he migrated to Mokanji he spent three months in Freetown whereby he worked for his current superior too (16.4.2018).

jobs were rare he only occasionally received orders to cut trees. Consequently, he reported to mainly stay at home with his family. From time to time he visited factory sites of nearby companies that dealt with timber to ask for open vacancies.

- **Education and new job opportunities:** Rugiatu's daily activities varied greatly compared to the ones of other migrants. She was the only one, who saved a huge amount of money (1'500'000 Le approx. 196 US$) during her working period at Addax. Therefore, she was capable to pay for a hairdresser school and to rent a small room in Waterloo. The gained skills enabled her to achieve a small income by assisting in a hairdresser salon. She narrated that since she would monthly earn about 200'000 Le and hence was no longer relying principally on her savings she would have sent some remittances back home (150'000 Le approx. 19US$). She continued that the remaining 50'000 Le (~6.5 US$) together with the financial aid from her current boyfriend would last to cover her daily living expenses (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

Arising Challenges
In the following, I will dismantle to what extent the single migrants were able to generate a living. Hereof, tangible and intangible challenges migrants faced will be discussed.

It has to be noted that four out of seven interview partners were not facing severe struggles to meet daily needs at their destinations. Although, Alaji would have preferred to stay in an urban surrounding he clarified that his brother was providing him with everything to ensure an adequate living. Also Calon never faced any hardship since he stood in Mamori. As Isa had a rather high salary he neither faced any life-threatening struggles. Finally, Rugiatu told me that before she was earning an own income she would have struggled, wherefore she would have relied on her aunt, who lived in Waterloo too. But now she would be able to manage all basic living expenses on her own.
In contrast I observed that the remaining three migrants repeatedly faced situations where they were not capable to maintain their basal necessities (Abdul 14.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018).

In the following, the identified tangible and intangible challenges that affected migrants lives will be addressed. Not all impacts did endanger basal life-sustaining necessities but still impaired migrants living conditions or their freedom of action. Some of the following statements were true for all migrants while others only influenced certain individuals.

Difficulties to enter the new social field:
The interviewees, who migrated to places where they were not socially connected, admitted that they had difficulties to enter the new social field since they were not familiar with local rules and norms (Isa 16.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). The quote of Samuel exemplifies these struggles precisely:

"At the beginning it was so difficult […] With time as I got to know more people I began to understand what one has to do to find a job. Although, it is still difficult […] I know now what I have to do to find a new [daily-based] job" (27.4.2018).

Exhausting working conditions:
All interviewees, who were engaged in gold mining activities, reported that the hard physical work was exhausting their bodies to a high degree (Ayo 27.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018,

Isa 16.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). Hereof, Samuel complained about constant head-aches[135] and even had to interrupt the interview to throw up (27.4.2018).

Financial insecurity:
As I identified that most migrants either relied on highly insecure daily based earning op-portunities or on temporary employments, I assume that they neither achieved a constant nor a trustworthy income. Especially Ayo, Samuel and Abdul reported that they were in-capable to develop any tangible life plans but rather lived day by day with the hope that no bigger troubles will appear. I observed that except for Isa all interview partners lived from hand to mouth with the highly restricted ability to save monetary assets. Samuel's quota-tion exemplifies this:

"That [saving money] would not be possible, because you saw how much she [Shera] was grumbling back there. She has to take care of the children, thus she needs money to buy food, cloths and so on" (27.4.2018).

Isa[136] told me that the tiny incomes of miners at Kumorru were even more degraded by the wandering Securitas. They assigned fines to individuals, who were supposedly en-gaged in illegal gold mining (Isa 16.4.2018).

But also 'non-miners' struggled to come up for certain investments, which required some savings. Exemplary, even though Rugiatu had finished her studies she stated that she still could not graduate because she was not able to afford the necessary uniform for the graduation ceremony (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

Pressure to succeed and destructing ambience:
All migrants stated that they would prefer to stay in Mamaria rather than at their destina-tions and that they would miss their familial surroundings. Nonetheless, I identified that the high pressure to meet responsibilities and obligations forced them to keep on trying and to endure upcoming strains (Ayo 27.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). The sporadic information migrants received from their beloved ones and the knowledge that their work force on the farms was missed, often led to augmented worries and pressures to succeed (Ayo 27.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018).   Based on the following statement by Samuel I imagine that the homesickness combined with these high responsibility back-packs and pressures to succeed frequently resulted in heavy psychological burdens.

"Sara: The pressure on your shoulders is so high... hmm, when I look around here, I have the feeling that this pressure, these uncertainties, this waiting to have a job… break many men. Like this they begin to drink and take drugs to try to forget... this is just what I see and how I interpret it... so how do you cope with this? [...]
Answer: ... all these things are in my heart... sitting, high expectations... I think a lot about how I could make more money to pay to plough and to go back to see all my people again... but how can I make money!? If I had to care only for myself the problems would be few and I never would have migrated so far. But as my responsibility is so high it was impossible for me to sit without doing anything. Thus, I decided to go and to search some-thing … so I am here" (Samuel 27.4.2018).
I assume that not only the ambience of despair and violence I encountered in Kumorru

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[135] Constant headaches could be a epiphenomenon of a chronic mercury intoxication.
[136] The first place to which Isa migrated was also Kummorru (s. Fig. 15).

must have additionally fostered the homesickness of Ayo and Samuel but also the upcoming tribalism and discriminative actions stated by Isa might have influenced the migrants' sense of well-being[137] (16.4.2018).

The above-mentioned struggles migrants faced, is neither complete nor applicable to all migrants. It rather depicts a collection of individual experiences and perceptions of present circumstances migrants encountered. In the following, the strategies migrants developed in reaction to these struggles will be illustrated.

Coping Strategies
To react to struggles, which concerned tangible assets (e.g. access to food or health), migrants first tried to adopt certain autonomous strategies. An example would be the current strategy of Rugiatu, as she lived as close as possible to her school to save the transportation allowance[138] for breakfast or dinner. Furthermore, some interviewees sought precisely for skill enhancing prospects to improve their employment chances (Abdul 14.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018). But my survey showed that before migrants faced severe hardship all of them tried to utilize their reciprocal relationships. The ones who were able to lean on a pre-migration social network just raised claims on these existing bonds while the others adopted a range of strategies to achieve trustworthy and preferably long-lasting mutual connections. Especially miners formed group alliances while others increased their livelihood security through reciprocal relationships to neighbours. Isa explained me these alliances would provide each member a certain security in an otherwise highly insecure and hostile surrounding. For example it enhanced the chances to negotiate down assigned fines by so-called Securitas (Isa 16.4.2018). Furthermore, the following exemplification by Abdul shows, how precious the entering of mutual relationships could be, especially in times of struggle:

"Although, it [life] is hardship we manage. We manage because our neighbours and we help each other out. So when we do not have any food for dinner the neighbours come and bring us some. [In turn] when we have [food] but they do not, we share it with them as well" (14.4.2018).

Concerning intangible struggles the first coping strategy all interviewees formulated in one or the other way, was 'hope':

"Any time when you leave your home and you go to an uncertain place with an uncertain future your heart gets heavy. But at the same time you think that you will try and maybe tomorrow or the day after tomorrow you will succeed and you will be able to go back" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

Especially, when I asked why participants stayed although they faced substantial hardship each answer included phrases like *"one day I might be successful"* or *"I still have the hope to find big money"* (Samuel 27.4.2018).

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[137] Isa told me about the attacks he and his 'Temne-friends' had to endure after the elections. Moreover, rumours were circulating that Temne tribesmen were treated like foreigners, since goods prices were purposefully set higher as soon as venders realized that customers did not talk their native language.
[138] Rugiatu received school-allowances for transportation sakes. The amount was equal for every pupil independent from his or her access route (20.4.2018).

Further, I discovered some specific strategies my interviewee adopted in certain social fields. First, Samuel told me that he was eager to find a balance between developing friendships with other miners and keeping enough distance to prevent the adoption of disadvantageous habits[139] (27.4.2018). Secondly, Isa narrated that he and his friends would consciously keep 'Mende-girlfriends' to enhance their integration into the new social field and consequently to reduce the risk of discriminative actions (Pers. Comm.).

Conclusively, I observed that migrants adopted a variety of strategies to tackle their struggles. Most strategies focussed on existent or newly developed social connections independent from concerning tangible or intangible assets. If existent social ties were in place, less energy was needed to achieve possible advantages from mutual relationships.

Capitals
Based on the above-mentioned exemplifications and further participatory observations, I identified the capitals people held at their destinations, how they possibly transformed one into the other and to what extent the single capital value changed in relation to pre-migration circumstances. It will be distinguished between environmental, human, social, economic and physical capital.

Initially, not all interviewees brought along the same degree of educational background and acquired skills. Some never attended any school, while others sat the WASSCE or held skills, which were favourable in terms of job hunting. Nonetheless, at the destination the human capital of most interviewees was degraded. Exemplary, they were not part of the Temne majority anymore, whereby some experienced discriminative and disadvantageous treatment by the Mende (Isa 16.4.2018). Moreover, I assume that especially the gold miners possibly eroded irreversible their physical health due to the risk of a mercury intoxication. The maintenance of the physical health at the big mines was further in danger due to the almost inexistent public infrastructure and services. Nevertheless, I observed that these access abilities highly varied between the distinct locations the interviewed migrants resided. Generally, I got the impression that migrants, who lived in vibrant towns, had better access to public infrastructure and services compared to migrants, who lived in rural surroundings. Moreover, also the degree of investments into private physical capitals differed between the individual circumstances and future plans. The migrants, who intended to stay at their destination, invested little by little into privately held physical capital (e.g. housing) (Abdul 14.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018). The others preferred to rent rooms or to lodge with friends or relatives. Only Ayo and Samuel were incapable to do so, because Kumorru was anyway just composed of temporary, simple houses (s. Ill. 7).
As none of the interviewed migrants was still engaged in the agricultural sector, the natural capital on which my participants relied varied highly from the one at their origin. Rather, natural resources like gold, timber and ore were transformed into monetary assets. Nevertheless, most migrants struggled to access enough economic capital to maintain an adequate living. Working conditions were rare, temporal and often precarious. Hence, all interviewees highlighted their strong reliance on their social capital. Thereby, the mutual relationships either prevented the emergence of hardship or mitigated its degree. People assisted each other as far as they were capable of. Hence, reciprocal ties acted as a social insurance.

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[139] With 'disadvantageous habits' Samuel meant the high consumption of alcohol as well as other drugs such as cannabis (Samuel 27.4.2018).

I showed that migrants' access to various capitals differed, whereby all of them were restricted to make the one or the other capital accessible. Simultaneously, it became evident that value differences of held capitals between origin and destination existed. The degree of these value differences depended on the concerned capitals, social fields and individual habitus. Exemplary, hereof were the divergent price levels between urban, rural and job hotspot areas. Thence, the achieved revenues were more or less worth at migrants' destination than at their home. Moreover, I recognized that migrants often were incapable to valorise certain capitals at their destination (e.g. agricultural or cultural knowledge). As a consequence they were attempted to ensure their access to missing or depleted capitals by transformation work. In this respect, I observed that most interviewees transformed their access to natural capitals (e.g. ore, wood, gold) with the use of their human capital (e.g. labour force) and the available physical capital (e.g. graining machine, chainsaw) into economic capital. The achieved economic capital in turn was used to maintain their human capital (e.g. health care, nourishment, education), their physical capital (e.g. housing, cattle) or their social capital (e.g. socialize by doing people good). Nevertheless, the access to manifold capitals was insufficient whereby most migrants struggled to transform one into another. Hence, especially in times of hardship migrants used their social capital to access other missing livelihood necessities. Thereby, social capital was transformed into physical capital (e.g. housing), human capital (e.g. integration, foodstuffs) and economic capital (e.g. real money, job opportunities).

In this subchapter, it got evident that most interviewees lived just day-by-day without having either a constant livelihood basis or a clear future plan. Hence, I consider their livelihood as highly uncertain. Additionally, I recognized that their capital backpacks became slimmer through the entering of a new surrounding. As a consequence, they were forced to develop manifold strategies in attempts to adopt daily activities, which were capable to safeguard their surviving. Hereof, I showed that for most the reliance on their social capital was crucial to access life-sustaining assets.

7.3.5 The migration Outcomes

In the following, the perceptions of the landowning migrants will exemplify if or to what extent they regarded their migration as successful. I will demonstrate that considerations of success or disillusions were not only dependent on the destinations migrants chose or on the achieved earnings but also originated from the individual capabilities to manage multiple uncertainties and the heaviness of their responsibility backpacks. The following three quotations show how different migrants' perceptions about their migration outcome were:

"[When I was still in the village], I saw that people, who left for mines or big towns, were able to make some money. […] But when I got here [Kumorru] I recognized that everything is not so easy […]. [Nonetheless] the conditions to earn money are better here than over there [Mamaria]. […] Now I am able to pay the school fees of my siblings and children. […] But I am not happy because although I am able to live somehow the situation is so difficult. I have to be strong and fight for my family, because I do not want my children to end up like me as well. They should get educated" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

"Sara: […] did your migration bring any improvement up to now? Answer: No, up to now it was not worth it. […] My time has not come yet, but I hope every day to find big money" (Samuel 27.4.2018).

"Sara: How are you coping with your new life here? Answer: Thank god, I am really good here. When I was in Mamaria I was not able to do anything by myself. But now I am beginning to build something up. I feel at home here […]" (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

By considering the locations where the different migrants resided, their current financial circumstances, the personal backgrounds as well as the degree of responsibilities and obligations that encumbered on their shoulders, some patterns are recognisable. Migrants, who did not have too many mouths to feed or school fees to pay[140] (Alaji 26.4.2018, Calon 16.4.2018), earned enough to provide an adequate living for their families[141] (Isa 16.4.2018) or knew that their families were in good hands[142] (Alaji 26.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018), generally perceived their migration as successful. Of especial interest is the case of Rugiatu as she was the only woman in this study who emigrated without any engagement purposes. By leaving she disentangled herself from old and patriarchal structures and thereby gained independence she never knew before. I imagine that this achieved freedom had a huge influence on her current sentiments about the success of her migration. Striking is moreover, that except of Isa all interviewees, who considered their migration as enhancing and who stated that they never faced severe hardship, had access to pre-migration social networks (Alaji 27.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

On the other hand, migrants, whose responsibility and obligation backpacks were extremely heavy[143] and who had not yet met the possibility to earn enough to ensure an adequate living for themselves and their families, considered their migration as unsuccessful or only partially successful (Ayo 27.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). Nevertheless, I suppose that Ayo's and Samuel's perceptions were influenced by the difficult circumstances they met at the mines in Kumorru. However, all migrants stated that they would decide to leave again, since they were anyway not capable to maintain an adequate livelihood at home. They were eager to make a change and therefore willing to endure homesickness, discrimination or increased physical strains.

Although, the outcomes of participants' migrations were individual, repetitive patterns were detected. In table 10 these findings are illustrated whereby the degree of stress at the destination depends on earning abilities, carried responsibilities, access to social networks, labour conditions and the ambience at the destination. Hereby, the category 'Earnings' includes the access to earning possibilities and the amount of the monthly income. The category 'Responsibility' contains the degree of obligations and responsibilities back home. It is dependent on the size of the migrant's family and his/her position in the en-

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[140] As Calon was the youngest participant he did not have such high responsibilities yet, as he had to care only for one wife and one child (29.4.2018).
[141] Since Isa was the only participant with a constant and comparably high salary he frequently sent remittances back and hence was not worried about his beloved ones left back at home (Isa 16.4.2018).
[142] Alaji, Calon and Rugiatu knew that their children and their wives did not struggle, as their families were capable of taking care of them.
[143] Ayo and Samuel were the sole responsible for their family's survival. Ayo even had to come up for his siblings and his mother, as he was the only matured man in the family since his father died some years ago (Ayo 27.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018, Pers. Comm.).

larged circle of relatives[144]. The category 'Social Network' entails pre-migration social ties at the destination as well newly acquired ones. The category 'Location' refers to the ambience that characterizes the life at the destination. Therein included are physical (natural or constructed) and societal circumstances (e.g. discrimination). The category 'Labour' indicates, how physically or mentally exhausting the daily tasks are. Moreover, I was attempted to include the influences of my migrants' single habitus, which was formed by their personal life histories and experiences. Nevertheless, I am conscious that this was only partially possible.

Stress at destination	Earnings	Responsibility	Social Network	Location	Labour
'High' ↑ 'Low'	'Low' ↑ 'Adequate'	'High' ↑ 'Low'	'Low' ↑ 'High'	'Harsh' ↑ 'Peaceful'	'Exhausting' ↑ 'Modest'

Table 10: Degree of stress at migrants' destination. The adjectives are written in single quotation marks, as the degree of e.g. 'low or 'adequate' earnings is highly dependent on individual perceptions. The table depicts a simplification of the processes and circumstances at hand and does not have the intention to be complete (elaborated by the author).

7.4   Livelihoods and social practice of the tenants

In total, I have interviewed six persons, who were born neither in Mamaria nor in Marokie. Three of them still resided in the area, while the remaining three already returned to their origin. Hence, the former only contributed to the data of immigration while the later one provided data about in- and outmigration. It has to be noted here that the corresponding left behinds were neither contacted nor interviewed and consequently were not included in the analysis at hand. I decided to do so, because they had not made any experiences with either one of the two companies.

In the following, I will briefly introduce how tenants' lives were before they started their current migration. Then, I will come up with the migration reasons, the activities at their destination, the arising challenges, the adopted strategies, the utilized capitals and finally the perceived migration outcomes.

7.4.1   Life before the migration

Each tenant originated from modest to northern parts of Sierra Leone (s. Fig. 16). All male interviewees migrated even once before in their life. Hereof, Unusa grew up with his brother in Waterloo, before he attended secondary school in Mile 91 at his mothers place (1.4.2018). John never lived at another place, besides Mile 91, but visited other parts of the country as well as Conakry in Guinea (15.4.2018). Mohammed and Chernor both worked in the diamond mining during and after war times (29.3.2018, 14.4.2018). Moreo-

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[144] The responsibility of the oldest son is always the highest. As soon as the father dies the oldest son has to adopt his obligations and responsibilities too.

ver, Chernor just recently lived and worked in a gold mining area (14.4.2018). The two interviewed women never migrated before their current in- or out-migration (Saley[145] 10.4.2018, Momy 30.3.2018). In pre-migration times my interviewees were engaged in informal activities, like farming, petty trading or mining to legal ones as teaching or contractual labour at Salcost[146] or Complant[147]. Consequently, I observed that origins, previous migration experiences, engagements and living conditions highly deviated within the tenants' sample.

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[145] Saley was the only participant, who was not immigrating due to job hunting, but rather to marry the landowner's son Isa (10.4.2018). She never worked at either of the two companies. Hence, her case was one of multiple within the pool of immigrating female tenants. As my focus is not on engagement related immigration reasons (as these supposedly do not get influenced through the LSLA), her case will not be addressed notably in the following analysis.

[146] Salcost is an Italian company that is engaged in road constructions in Sierra Leone. John worked from 2010 until 2013 for them and monthly received a basic salary of 550'000 Le (15.4.2018).

[147] Complant is a Chinese company that produces sugar out of sugar cane. Mohammed was engaged at the company for totally 5 years within the 1990's and the early 2000's. He worked as cane cutter, whereby he earned between 100'000 and 150'000 Le per month (29.3.2018).

Figure 16: Migration flow map of migrated tenants (produced by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and extended by the author). Source: University of Texas Libraries.

7.4.2 The reasons for in- and outmigration

This subchapter discusses why particular tenants immigrated to or emigrated from Mamaria or Marokie. I will show that immigration causes emerged from lacking opportunities at their origin, high responsibilities and the rumour of good job opportunities at Addax/Sunbird. Furthermore, it was striking that every single interviewee had pre-migration connections to Mamaria or Marokie.

Reasons for immigration
The subsequently outlined immigration reasons concern the origin of the tenants. The interviewees, who came from rural areas complained about hard farm work, comparably tiny harvests and missing access to financial assets to solve arising problems. Hereof, Mohammed exemplified that he was unable to send his children to school (29.3.2018). As they should not become like him, he was willing to leave his home in attempts to find some cash. In turn, migrated city inhabitants moaned about lacking job opportunities or insufficient funds to develop an own business or to further their education. Moreover, I observed that disputes and discrepancies at the origin extended the struggles of some interviewees and hence influenced a possible migration decision (Chernor 14.4.2018, Momy, 30.3.2018). Hereof, Chernor told me that he fell in love with another woman in the village. Although, the woman got married, they kept on having an affair. As her husband realized the cheating, Chernor and he entered a conflict. The disability to solve the problem influenced Chernor's decision to leave, as he needed to find cash, with which he was able to settle the dispute (Chernor 14.4.2018). Furthermore, I recognized that depending on the age and the size of a tenant's responsibility backpack, participants left either to improve the ability to care about their families (Chernor, Mohammed, John) or to gain independence from their parental home (Momy, Unusa).

However, although the emigration form tenants' origin was pushed by multiple causes, the main motivation to immigrate to Mamaria or Marokie respectively was the aim to obtain a working position at the company. All interviewees reported that either friends or relatives informed them about open positions at Addax, provided them housing, access to their social ties or even organized a job at the company for them. Hence, I assume that pre-migration social networks played a key role in a successful job allocation and facilitated the entering into the new social field.

Reasons for emigration
In the meanwhile, three interviewees returned to their hometown.

"I was just there for the job. As I got suspended, I had no reason anymore to stay there" (John 15.4.2018).

The quotation of John is exemplary for stated reasons why interviewees would have returned[148]. Except of Unusa, who emigrated in times of redundancy and immigrated as soon as he heard of reactivated working positions, all other returnees had not entered either of the two settlements ever since. They stated that they would not have any reason to move again to Mamaria or Marokie because no vacancies would be currently available anyway (John 15.4.2018, Chernor 14.4.2018).

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[148] Only Saley returned to her parents' house due to persistent conflicts with her ex-husband (Saley 10.4.2018).

These exemplifications show that although my interviewees originated from distinct parts of the country and were engaged in different pre-migration jobs, their migration decisions were mostly based on similar motivations and challenges.

7.4.3 Adaptation to a new social field

In the following, I will present tenants' capability to adapt to the new social field of Mamaria or Marokie respectively. As I already described the contextual background of Mamaria and its surroundings in chapter 5.3, I will not address this topic here again. Initially, I will introduce tenants' ability to enter the new social field, followed by a description of their daily activities and their potentials to maintain an adequate living. Later on, arising challenges and adopted strategies will be discussed, before I will address tenants' capital backpacks.

Entering the new social field
Except of one, all tenants migrated alone to Mamaria or Marokie. They explained to do so because they were either young and hence had no one to take along or because they did not knew what they will encounter at their destination (John 15.4.2018, Momy 30.3.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). Additionally, as affairs and obligations had to be solved back home, someone of the closer family circle had to remain to address these issues (Mohammed 29.3.2018). Chernor was the only one, who moved straightaway with his whole family, since he was worried that that they will strain back home (14.4.2018).

Each interviewee reported that he or she lodged from the beginning on at a friend's or relative's place, before an own housing opportunity was found. Based on their statements, I recognized that dependent on the degree of friend- or kinship, the existent social bonds enabled the tenant more or less to successfully enter the new social field. My interviewees' ability to allocate a job at either Addax or Sunbird differed highly. Hereof, John and Unusa narrated that they just migrated as soon as they had a job offer (15.4.2018, 1.4.2018). Mohammed and Chernor noted that they indeed had to wait for some time but through the list and social connections also they obtained quite fast an employment. Only Momy told me that she was incapable to acquire a position for more than two years, whereby she even had to bribe to achieve a three months contract (30.3.2018). Although it seems to be striking that exactly the female tenant had the most difficulties to acquire a job position, I suppose that the moment of arrival might influence people's success in job-hunting even more. Momy namely just arrived with the breakdown in 2015, while all others immigrated when Addax was still operating. However, if Momy's inability to acquire an employment for such a long time is caused by her gender or by the point in time when she arrived, is difficult to estimate.

Furthermore, as John explanations below illustrate, the existence of a pre-migration social network also highly influenced, if a tenant felt comfortable and was able to secure his or her living at the destination:

"When you migrate to another place you are a stranger there. [Thus] you struggle in the beginning, as you do not know anybody with whom you can spend time. So, I felt often lonely. And […] when you do not have any friends in a village, you do not have anybody, who helps you with things" (John 15.4.2018).

Although, all tenants reported to have possessed pre-migration social connections, I recognized that heir comfort in the new community was not equal. Some migrants integrated themselves fast, while others struggled to assimilate themselves. Consequently, some developed a sense of belonging to their destinations and enjoyed trustfully social bonds (Chernor 14.4.2018, Mohammed 29.3.2018), while others narrated about few social connections and occasional conflicts (John 15.4.2018).

This paragraph illustrated that the social network interviewees possessed facilitated their access to housing, employment and social integration. Nevertheless, I identified that the degree of social well-being clearly differentiated between the individuals. Hereof, I observed that the reported numbers and strengths of social ties were in close correlation with the stated degree of social well-being.

Daily activities
Currently, none of my interviewees was still employed at either of the two companies. Nonetheless, each of them worked once for Addax or Sunbird respectively. In the following, I will illustrate their statements about the encountered working conditions, tasks and salaries.

Table 11 shows interviewees' contracts at Addax or Sunbird, how long those lasted, in which tasks they were engaged, how they experienced the working conditions and how much they earned in average. Despite of Unusa's first contract, all interviewees were working at an agriculture sub-department. Striking is that the individuals, who carried out skill tasks, reported that they used to be content with the labour conditions. In contrast, the low-skill jobs were mostly described as physically exhausting. Moreover, interviewees mentioned that harsh treatments by their supervisors, missing breaks and absent marking[149] frequently existed. The quote of John exemplifies that it was expected from the team leaders to handle their underlings roughly:

"Well… first, I treated them [my assigned labourers] in a positive way. But then my supervisor told me that I am not allowed to encourage the workers or to laugh with them. Rather, I would just have to pressure them to work. Although I thought that this is not the wright way […] I had to fallow the instructions of my supervisor. … [Hence, I also] marked a person absent, if he was not able to finish his daily task" (John 15.4.2018).

Table 11 illustrates furthermore, that the monthly salary at Addax was in average lower than the one at Sunbird. Nevertheless, all interviewees stated that at Addax they received their wages on time, while Sunbird usually paid in delay.

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[149] My interviewees explained that supervisors used to mark labourers as absent on the paying sheets, if they either had not managed to meet the daily task or if they came too late in the morning. Nevertheless, some mentioned that they recognized to have been marked as absent although they were neither late nor unable to finish their tasks. This indicates that arbitrary absent marking might occur.

Table 11: The reported labour conditions of the six tenants, who worked at either Addax or Sunbird. (A) stands for Addax while (S) stands for Sunbird. The abbreviation 'D.' refers to 'department'. And under the rubric 'Salary' the (on time) respectively (delay) indicates if salaries were paid punctually or not. The average contact duration of 9.7 months entails the two permanent employments while the 6.5 months neglect them (elaborated by the author).

Interviewee	Arrival - Leave	Working period(s)	Working Tasks	Working conditions	Salary
Mohammed	2011 - still	10 Months (A)	Irrigation D.	Okay, but salary los	520'000 Le (on time)
		2 Years (A)	Weeding D.	Okay, but salary los	
		9 Months (S)	Weeding D.	Too high daily tasks, absent marking, harsh supervisors	614'000 Le (delay)
Chernor	2011 - 2015	11 Months (A)	Civil D.	Good, Skills job	~ 600'000 Le (on time)
		3 Months (A)	Irrigation D.	Good	
		3 Months (A)	Cane Cutting	Hard work, absent marking, harsh supervisors	
John	2013 - 2015	2 Years (A)	Team Leader in Agriculture D.	Pressure labourers, absent marking, harsh supervisors	422'000 – 600'000 Le (on time)
Unusa	2013 - still	6 Months (A)	Mapping/Land Survey	Good, Skills job	400'000 – 500'000 Le (on time)
		6 Months (A)	Supervisor in Land Preparation D.	Pressuring supervisors	
		6 Months (A)	Team Leader in Fertilizer Application	Hard work, absent marking, harsh supervisors	
Momy	2015 - still	5 Months (S)	Planting D.	Good	~614'000 Le (delay)
Saley	2009 - 2015	-	-	-	-
Average		9.7 (6.5) Months	-	-	520'250 Le (A), 614'000 Le (S)

The salaries the tenants achieved were spent and invested into various items, projects and remittances. Thereby, all interviewees spend it for daily needs, like meals or clothing. Some interviewees stated that they normally used up their earnings[150] every month, while others saved for future plans[151]. However, throughout employment period(s) all participants reported to have sent remittances back home. Except of Momy[152], no employed tenant extended his or her salary through further activities (e.g. farming, business).

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[150] They invested into housing or farming activities or had to solve occurring problems, like illnesses, school fees or burials (Chernor 14.4.2018, John 15.4.2018, Mohammed 29.3.2018).
[151] Joining a 'Susu' was a popular way to make bigger investments accessible (Momy 30.3.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018)
[152] She sold of milk and grained groundnuts during leisure (Momy 30.3.2018).

This paragraph exemplified that tenants' daily activities varied due to different working tasks and working periods. Hence, interviewees experienced the working conditions differently. Nonetheless, I recognized the pattern that skilled jobs generally offered better working conditions. Furthermore, Sunbird paid higher salaries but frequently delayed its payment. The findings show that tenants used their salaries for a variety of things, while some were able to save more than others.

Challenges

Depending on the social well-being at the destination, some interviews mentioned frequent homesickness. Usually, participants told me that they struggled with the frequent recurring gaps between the contracts. They normally lasted between four and nine months. Thereby, the participants reported that they were often led in absolute darkness, if or to what conditions they might get reemployed. Regarding the delayed payments by Sunbird, Mohammed and Momy declared that this practice restricted them to plan their expenses (29.3.2018, 30.3.2018). Furthermore, John exemplified that his sudden dismissal hindered him to pay his rental by time, what led to a conflict with his landowner. This shows that the unpredictable end of working contracts[153] might trouble the labourers to come up for continuous expenses (e.g. rents, loans).

Moreover, Mohammed and Unusa highlighted that the time span of most contracts used exactly to overlap with the farming season (29.3.2018, 1.4.2018). Hence, participants often were unsure, if they should start to engage themselves in subsistence farming or if they should wait for a possible reemployment call. However, I detected that the motivation to farm was not equally spread between the interviewed tenants. Hereof, Mohammed admitted that he would not be as motivated anymore, as he used to be before Addax employed him. He would be eager to be engaged in paid labour, rather than in the exhausting traditional framing (Mohammed 29.3.2018). Nevertheless, it is striking that only tenants from Marokie complained about missing access to or inadequate quality of land. Hereof, Unusa and John stated that they just accessed either unfertile or small patches, which were located far away. But both of them clarified that the elders would have liked to provide them better acreages but were incapable to do so because reserve land used to be scarce since the LSLA (John 15.4.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). These explanations match with the findings presented in chapter 6.1, where I explained that the villagers from Marokie possibly became to sense the consequences from the lease more intensely, as they had less remaining acreages per capita than Mamaria or Mataro. Through the interviews, it got evident that these access shortages affected the tenants as well - possibly even augmented due to their 'stranger' status. Based on interviewees' narrations, I recognized that tenants' low engagement in subsistence farming (e.g. uncertainty of reemployment, access to land, laziness to farm) raised their risk to meet hardship in times of redundancy.

Finally, Mohammed and Unusa pointed out that life would currently go backwards again. Only few people would still be employed, whereby most tenants would leave. Hence, many businesses would fall into bankruptcy, what would deteriorate people's livelihoods further on (Mohammed 29.3.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). Consequently, it is not surprising that none of the interviewees was content with the current practices of Sunbird.

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[153] Although, most employees signed a temporal contract with a clear ending date, the contracts often were extended on a monthly basis. Then, labourers did not have any written confirmations anymore, which determined the contracts' duration neither the labourers' rights or protection (Aruna 25.2.2018).

Strategies
As I illustrated above, most migrants were attempted to utilize their social network to gain an employment at the company. Additionally, Chernor stated that it was useful to maintain good relationships to the elders, as they had access to the employment lists (14.4.2018). Further, I recognized that the contacting of ex-supervisors represented tenants major tactic to possibly achieve a reemployment or at least information about vacancies. This strategy confirmed to be successful for some participants, like Mohammed and Unusa (29.3.2018, 1.4.2018). However, interviewees reported that they would have repeatedly sought for talks with their supervisors or other company agents to complain about the delayed payments or the harsh treatments by their superiors (John 15.4.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). But as nothing changed, they had no alternative than to grumble (Momy 30.3.2018).

To handle the above-described contradiction between job offers and farming periods most tenants decided to purchase foodstuffs (Unusa 1.4.2018) or to rent agricultural labourers or tractors (Mohamed 29.3.2018). They reasoned this behaviour by the statement that they were not willing or able to maintain any cultivation during paid labour periods. Only Momy was puzzled, as I asked her, if she really would have been able to farm besides working at Sunbird:

"I mean one have weekends, no? Consequently, one can farm on Saturdays and Sundays. [… So] when I am not going for over time, I farm these two days" (30.4.2018).

However, due to personal talks and the findings gained through the household survey, I assume that with recurring redundancy most tenants left the settlement. The one, who stood, mostly fell back on self-employed farming activities. But I recognized that sometimes tenants' insufficient motivation or low access to land led to low yields. Consequently, interviewees were stressed to develop additional livelihood strategies. These ranged from processing and selling foodstuffs, on-off migration[154] and petty trading to joining a 'Susu' or a 'tenant's club' (Chernor 14.4.2018, John 15.4.2018, Mohamed 29.3.2018, Momy 30.3.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). Nonetheless, Unusa and John stated that persistent unemployment still led to hardship. Hence, they began to take loans to solve problems or to come up for urged food expenses (John 15.4.2018, Unsusa 1.4.2018). The ones, who possessed a well-established local social network, managed to survive by raising claims on these mutual relationships (Mohamed 29.3.2018). The others tried to utilize the pre-migration bonds to relatives and friends back home (John 15.4.2018). Based on the interview data, the latter one struggled more to maintain their livelihoods. Hence, outgoing from the interviewees' explanations, it seems that the material well-being of tenants, who were better integrated, was less at risk to get degraded in times of unemployment. Consequently, I suppose that better integrated tenants had higher chances to be carried from the solidarity system.

The above clarifications illustrated that tenants adopted a variety of livelihood strategies to cope with insecure access to financial assets and arable land. Thereby, the individual circumstances, the motivation and the personal habitus highly influenced, which strategies a person adopted.

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[154] Unusa returned in times of redundancy back to Mile 91 to search for other job opportunities and to support his mother in local petty trading (1.4.2018).

Capitals

The following analysis of the held capitals by the interviewed tenants will show through which capitals they mainly were able to achieve a living, how the capital values differed and to what extent interviewees were attempted to transform their capitals into each other. Thereby, I will distinguish between environmental, human, social, economic and physical capital.

The interviewees' access to the local public facilities (e.g. mosque, village centre, wells etc.) was the same as the one of the native population. They lived in local houses and cooked at the landowners' kitchens. Dependent on their educational level, their skills and gained experiences, they had better or worse chances to access a skill job at the company. Hereof, I recognized that the one, who originated from urban areas, generally were higher educated and thus achieved labour positions with better working conditions and higher salaries. But, if dismissals became frequent the one, who had grown up in rural villages, had the advantage to hold agricultural skills, which facilitated them to achieve higher yields. Nonetheless, as we saw the access to and the fertility of the assigned patches differed between the interviewees. Hereof, I have shown that the tenants residing in Mamaria had the higher possibility to fall back on traditional framing than the one lodging in Marokie. As all interviews highlighted that the elders were treating them in a good way and were not purposely denying them the access to near, enough and arable land, I assume that this pattern was indeed just existent due to the comparably lower amount of remaining lands per capita Marokie still accessed. However, for the tenants, who were restricted to fall back on traditional ways of living, the access to financial capital was even more important. Its access was in times of employment clearly augmented compared to pre-migration times. As soon as they faced unemployment, most people tried first to endure these times by generating an income through a business. But with enduring common unemployment the profitability of this earning sector declined rapidly, since outmigration flows were high and people handed less cash, wherefore business flows declined. I observed that, at least for some time, most interviewees still resided at the destination due to the hope of reemployment. These times were mentioned as the hardest ones, whereby all interviewees mentioned that they saw themselves forced to fall back on their existent or newly developed social capital. Nevertheless, the web of relationships was for all tenants lower compared to their home place. Further, it became evident that not all tenants had equally access to the solidarity system and accordingly experiences more or less hardship (s. paragraphs above).

Moreover, I recognized that the value of my interviewees' capitals differed depending on their individual background and the entered social field. Striking is that I identified clear patterns regarding the origin of the tenants. For tenants, who originated from urban areas, I namely assume that the value of their held physical capital declined, since the services and facilities in rural villages normally is situated below the one of vibrant towns. In contrast, I suppose that their natural capital got enhanced, since in cities the access to arable land or natural resources is below the one of rural areas, also when we incorporate the influence of the LSLA. For the tenants, who grew up in other rural settlements the access to public infrastructure and services remained more or less the same, while the access to land and natural resources was clearly reduced, as they had lower access to land and natural resources (especially resources that grew in gardens). Regarding the values of financial assets, urban-rural patterns were identified as well. For tenants originating from urban locations, the value of their salaries was comparably higher for locally produced

assets, while lower for imported goods (e.g. cloths or prefabricated foodstuffs). In the case of rural to rural migration, tenants' buying capacity decreased compared to their origin (e.g. inflation). Moreover, all interviewees affirmed that clear differences between tenants and landowners exist. But, in what way these disparities were recognizable in every day life was explained differently. Hereof, interviewees addressed the infrequent unequal distribution of the arable land (Marokie) or the land lease money. However, most tenants told me that they never experienced any discriminative treatments. Interestingly, the only ones, who did, were the ones, who had few pre-migration social ties and who reported to feel uncomfortable in the village (John 15.4.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). I realized that potential victimization and discomfort vastly declined with the marriage of a landowners' son or daughter (Unusa 1.4.2018).

Momy and John also mentioned that they experienced an advantage of their 'strangers status', since they would have augmented chances to achieve an employment at the company. They reasoned their presumption by the statement that first company agents would know that tenants always were in search of an employment and thus sometimes would ask them directly, if they should employ them (Momy, 30.3.2018). Secondly, John reported that agents would have directly handed lists over to him, whereby he was able to add some names, before he passed them on to the village elders (15.4.2018).

Finally, I identified that also the tenants were attempted to transform accessible capitals into other ones. As we saw dependent on time and space, their access to and their value of held capitals varied. In times of employment tenants particularly transformed their economic capital into physical capital (e.g. housing, rent), human capital (e.g. prestige and life-sustaining goods) and social capital (e.g. remittances, 'doing people good'). In times of unemployment they diversified their transformation work. Thereby, they use their access to natural capitals to produce marketable assets (e.g. groundnuts, ingredients for sauces, charcoal), which were sold and thus transformed into economic capital. Finally, striking was their high reliance on social networks, which facilitated them to access economic, human and physical capital (e.g. cash, foodstuffs, housing).

This subchapter illustrated how tenants experienced their destination, how they coped with arising challenges and which capitals facilitated the achievement of an adequate livelihood. I identified that working conditions fluctuated between labour positions, that temporal contracts overlapped with cultivation circles and that the gaps between employments caused insecurity and hardship. Consequently in times of unemployment, almost every tenant, who remained in the area, adopted several livelihood strategies. They relied on various capitals, whereby social ties were most frequently utilized. If and for who the usage of mutual insurances was successful, could only be presumed. Nonetheless, the gathered information implies that people with locally stronger developed mutual relationships struggled less to endure sudden or prolonged incidences.

7.4.4 The returnees – Life back home

Three out of six tenants returned to their origin. All returnees declared that they first had the vision to reengage themselves in pre-migration engagements. They were happy to spend more time with their beloved ones again. Nonetheless, the circumstances at their home place had changed. Thus, most were unable to proceed immediately with their ordinary activities. This led to augmented struggles. The problem a returnee might face, was nicely illustrated by Chernor:

"When I got suspended from Addax and as we returned to Small Masheka, the problem was that it was already too late to begin with farming. Thus, I had to earn something to purchase food for my family. Consequently, I decided to leave and search for a living. [At the mining] life was really straining. I was able buy food and so on for myself but I was not able to send any money back home. Thus, I saw no reason why I should stay longer, since my family was suffering back home. This is why I returned" (Chernor 14.4.2018).

Besides, the possibility to migrate further on, Saley adopted the strategy to temporary rely on her family members, while John searched for daily-based job opportunities (10.4.2018, 15.4.2018). In the meanwhile, daily routine returned and all three interviewees reported that they would manage. Nonetheless, Saley and Chernor, who reside in rural surroundings, stated that they worked hard but still would face from time to time troubles to solve occurring problems (10.4.2018, 14.4.2018). Also John, who tried to make a living in the urban area of Mile 91, had not found yet any permanent employment. Hence, he was ever since engaged in daily-based job opportunities as a plasterer. But, as sometimes the earnings were insufficient, he reported that he frequently relied on his wife's trading or on the support achieved through mutual relations (John 15.4.2018).

As I demonstrated, all returnees needed some time to resettle at their home place. With time they were able to stabilize their livelihoods at a more or less manageable equilibrium. In rural areas, farming activities set the basis of most livelihoods, while in urban locations, tenants were making a living through daily-based job opportunities or petty trading.

7.4.5 The migration outcomes

This subchapter will illustrate tenants' perceptions, if or to what extent their migration was enhancing. It will be shown that although most tenants encountered diverse struggles at their destination all of them mentioned that their migration was worth the costs.

"Life changed a lot since I came here. […]. As I worked at Sunbird, I was able to hand some money for the first time in my life. […] I got independent, was able to help other people […] and to send some money back home" (Momy 30.3.2018).

Although I suppose that Momy was the only tenants, who successfully invested her salary into long-lasting livelihood generating activities (e.g. petty trading in Freetown) each tenant mentioned that the migration enhanced their living, at least for some time. During those times they would have been able to hand 'big money', wherewith expensive things and house renovations were paid or conflicts were settled (John 15.4.2018, Mohamed 29.3.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). Nonetheless, as redundancy rates currently were high, Unusa and Mohammed reported that 'life would go backwards again' and that hardship would be just around the corner (29.3.2018, 1.4.2018). Consequently, I recognized that the mentioned glorious and gloomy times precisely matched with the ones of employment or unemployment respectively.

Conclusively, the interviewed tenants told me that their migration was worth all the hazards and the frequent struggles they faced. The migration namely would have allowed them to enhance their livelihoods, at least temporarily. Thus, I assume that the sporadic income at the company must have been sufficient to perceive a migration as enhancing. The insight into returnees' life back home clarified that they were used to highly insecure

livelihoods and currently recurring struggles. Hence, it seems that they were willing to accept low labour rights, highly volatile incomes and a life far away from their homes, for the chance to occasionally achieve an income, which facilitated to overcome the next few months.

7.5 Future plans and emerging patterns - Gender disparities and social stratum in migration flows

The previous chapters illustrated the individual situations of left behinds and of migrating landowners and tenants. This subchapter addresses the future aspirations and plans my interviewees had. Thereby, it will be shown that quite a unified picture exists within the single groups of male and female migrants as well as the left behinds. The second part of this chapter will address emergent gender, age and social strata patterns. Thereby, differences and inequalities will be dismantled and discussed.

7.5.1 The future plans

The left behinds
Most left behind women had some imaginations about what they would like to do in future. Nonetheless, all plans were vague, since most ideas were not currently realizable.

"Sara: Did you ever thought about migrating too? Answer: Yes, but as long as I am a suckling mother I stay. But […] I want to migrate to Makeni to build up a trading. I intend to take a loan at the bank to finance the up building of the business. […] I would leave my older two girls here and would only take along my smallest [child]" (Shera 28.2.2018).

The quotation of Shera exemplifies that women's current responsibilities and the lacking financial assets restricted their action scope. Further, almost all women stated that they not only presently relied on their parents' support but that also their future plans would often presume their ancestors' assistance. Hence, none of the interviewee was already able to realize her imaginations[155]. Accordingly, women were only capable to undertake actions, which did not require any financial assets. These ranged from back migrating to the parents' home[156] and intensifying farming engagements to passing the children back to the husband's family (Halima 17.3.2018, Iatu 17.3.2018, Shera 28.2.2018). Nonetheless, the ones who already returned to their parents' house reported that they intended to return to their husband's home as soon as their men would return (Adamse 28.3.2018, Shera 28.2.2018).

The landowners
Although, the future plans of migrated landowners were highly diverse, patterns were identifiable. The ones, who were not yet satisfied with their migration outcome, stated that they would like to return but that they would not have enough money to be already able to do so. Hence, if they would not become successful at the present location, they would migrate further on to try their luck somewhere else (Ayo 27.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). On the other hand, the ones that were content with their migration outcomes, intended to return soon, were looking forward to visit their beloveds or even planned to reside at their

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[155] The majority of the interviewees had the wish to build up a business either in the village itself or somewhere outside (Iatu 17.3.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Shera 28.2.2018).
[156] To escape from hardship and daily conflicts with families-in-law (Shera 28.2.2018, Adamse 28.3.2018).

destination (Alaji 26.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018). Only Abdul, who migrated due to both, the persisting redundancy and the broken relationship to Iatu, mentioned that he would just return, if Sunbird would reemploy him (14.4.2018). Except of Alaji (26.4.2018), who intended to continue his secondary school, all interviewees were willing to drop everything at their destinations, if they would have the chance to be reemployed at the company. So if they would hand (more) cash, interviewees told me that they would use it for renovating or buying houses, providing themselves or their wives a start capital to build up a business, sending children to school, further the own education or to augment their cattle herds[157] (Alaji 26.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018).

If the participants considered migrating again in future, would depend on the living conditions they would face. Thus, as soon as hardship would reoccur and they would not be able to overcome the struggles with locally adopted strategies, migrants mentioned that they would leave again (Ayo 27.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018).

The tenants

All tenants, who still resided in Mamaria or Marokie respectively, stated that they hoped for a soon reemployment after elections[158]. All three interviewees, who still resided in the area, noted that they would leave in terms of an unsuccessful job allocation (Mohammed 29.3.2018, Momy 30.3.2018, Unusa 1.4.2018). The other two male migrants, who already returned to their hometown, were both willing to move again as soon as they would have the chance to sign a contract at Sunbird (Chernor 14.4.2018, John 15.4.2018). Only Saley had no intention to permanently return to Mamaria since her relationship to Isa was over anyway (10.4.2018). The collected future visions let me assuming that most tenants effectively only resided in either of the two villages in attempt to acquire a salary.

This section addressed the future plans of all the three participant groups. It got evident that left behinds indeed had future visions but mainly were unable to realize them. Migrated landowners' future imaginations depended on their current success. If they were happy with their migration outcome, they intended to return and to invest into diverse projects. If not, they planned to stay or to migrate further on, until they would be more successful. Lastly, tenants' future ambitions contributed to the common picture that they follow labour opportunities. Thus, depending on the accessibility of an employment they were willing to reside or migrate again.

7.5.2 The emerging patterns

The left behinds

All interviewed left behinds were the wives or the parents of the emigrants or the parents of the left behind women. Without exception, all interviewees stated that they were not happy about the leave of their family member. Besides, Marie, whose necessities were well provided by her family-in-law, participants' abilities to maintain an adequate livelihood were eroded since the particular family member left. Most of them reported that they meet augmented hardship wherefore they exploited their own physical labour force and relied on mutual social ties. It is moreover interesting that most relationships between families-in-law (especially the mother-in-law) and left behind wives became worse as the "protec-

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[157] As farming would not be lucrative anymore some interviewees intended to shift from agriculture to pastoralism. Grasses namely would be still abundant compared to arable land (Ayo 27.4.2018).
[158] People told me that the company would have promised to (re-) employ many labourers as soon as the elections would be through peacefully (Per. Com.).

tion from behind" through the husbands was not guaranteed anymore. As a consequence, I observed that women became more vulnerable and their bargaining-power declined.

Due to the fact that social capital is not steady throughout time and space but rather depends on the habitus and the social field, in which a woman moves, not all left behinds had equal access to social capital. Thereby, I recognized that native women were capable to rely on a broader elaborated social network compared to immigrated females. I assume that this pattern emerged due to the fact that they had more time to establish their social network, since they were born in the settlement. However, individual habitus also had an influence on the quantity and quality of achieved social bonds. I namely presume that shy and introverted women had more difficulties to develop a broad social network compared to more sociable and outgoing women. However, also other characteristics, like honesty, might be important to achieve high quality bonds. Hence, I perceive that profound information about individual circumstances[159] and characteristics should be integrated into an analysis. However, a profound investigation of individual social networks and the individual circumstances was beyond the scope of the thesis at hand. Nonetheless, I realized that natives faced lower risks to fall into severe hardship, as their chances were higher that their social bonds would safeguard them.

Both, initially 'strangers' and 'natives' returned to their parents' home, the longer the man stood away and the more unbearable hardship was. Nevertheless, the proximity of their hometown influenced their ability to back migrate (Nashe 24.2.2018). All women, who already returned to their ancestors' house, reported that they were content with their decision and that they would now face less hardship than before. However, since returning to the parents' home was a popular strategy of left behind women, I recognized that also the parents were highly affected through the leave of their sons-in-law.

Migrating landowners

Within the group of male landowning migrants I identified that the movement pattern of all young interviewees was characterized by chain migration. All of them namely left due to calls of friends or family members instead of persistent hardship. In contrast, the interviewees, who were over 30 years old, saw themselves forced to search for a better living, since adopted strategies were not successful enough to maintain an adequate livelihood. None of them left with an exact plan and thus did not migrate directly but rather step-wise. Together with the bigger responsibility backpacks elder migrants were carrying, these disparities in the migration reasons and the migration strategy clearly correlated with perceived migration success. The younger migrants namely were both, more successful at their destination and also enjoyed adequate access to local facilities and infrastructures (due to social ties). Nonetheless, my sample is too small to come up with generalizing statements.

In contrast to the household survey, my qualitative sample entails far more men than women. This striking difference I caused by my research design, since I intended to track migrants, whose migration could be connected to the LSLA. As these were mainly males, my sample was predominated by men. The average age distribution was below the one in the household survey. Interestingly, the type of stated the daily activities in the qualitative interviews differed from the one mentioned by household heads during the household survey. Hereof, the pool of miners in the qualitative sample was far higher. It is striking that in the household survey no landowner stated that migrants were engaged in daily-based job opportunities but rather mentioned precise job engagements. This phenomenon might emerge due to distinct reasons. First, it is possible that landowners just reproduced

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[159] Individual circumstances include even more aspects, like the degree of prosperity of the own family.

the information they became to hear, which does not have to be true. Further, as migrants often stated that they feared to tell that they were not as successful as they hoped to be, they might just communicated that they would be engaged in this or that job. But in reality they might work only frequently when opportunities emerged. Finally, it could be that land-owners indeed knew that the migrants were engaged in daily-based opportunities but just named the type of engagements rather than its frequency.

The representativity of female migrants in my qualitative sample, who emigrated beyond reasons regarding engagements or family reunifications, was comparably higher than the one in the household survey. But as I struggled to find any emigrated woman with the required characteristics, I assume that my qualitative sampling distribution corresponds with the detected patterns for female emigrants in my household survey.

Migrating tenants

Without any exception, each tenant migrated with the aim to find an employment at either Addax or Sunbird. Everybody had to some extent social connections to the chosen destination and almost the half organised a job previous to their immigration. Depending on the quality and quantity of existing social ties and the willingness to reside in the new social field, tenants settled themselves more or less at the destination or even took their families along.

The surveyed ratio, between male and female migrated tenants, of my qualitative and quantitative sample correlates quite nicely. Nonetheless, the only interviewed female tenant did not fit into the common pool of migrating female tenants, since she did not left to accompany or marry a man. Moreover, the reasons for in- and out-migration of male tenants fit exactly with the one found in the quantitative data. But compared to the household survey the degree of tenants, who left the village shortly after their dismissal, was not as high as one might suspect. Hereof, it has to be considered that the chance to interview a tenant, who resided only shortly in either of the two settlements, was lower. Hence, the probability to interview a person, who lived since a while in the village and organised him- or herself with persistent redundancy, was higher.

Gender disparities

The general gender specific differences in migration patterns refer to culturally and traditionally embedded gender roles and their involving norms and obligations (s. Chap. 5.3.4). Emerging therefrom men's migration decisions were always linked to job-hunting, while women mainly migrated due to made engagements. These findings are congruent in both the household survey and the qualitative investigations. Therefore, it is not surprising that the average age of native female migrants was lower since commonly women marry between 18 and 30 years old. Meanwhile, men migrated when they either got the possibility or when they were forced to leave as they and their families struggled to maintain an adequate livelihood[160].

As I showed, women migrated besides marriage related reasons only when they were not married yet, their relationship broke up or they returned to their parents' house. In all other cases, when the matrimonial was satisfactory, the man migrated to meet his responsibilities and obligations as the family head.

Although, my sample size was small it is striking that both interviewed women (who left their origin without any relationship related motives) invested their income into long-lasting

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[160] The one who migrated due to emergent possibilities were mostly in marriage age (so as old as the female migrants) while job-hunting migrants usually exceeded the age of 30 years. Hence, in average male migrants were older than female ones.

projects that I presume to be especially profitable in future (e.g. businesses, education). On the other hand, most men were not investing into continuing beneficial entities but rather solved family affairs or invested into housing, motorbikes, land appropriations or other "expensive things". Therefrom one could conclude that women would act more proactively then men. Nonetheless, the individual circumstances, the age disparities and the gender-connoted accountabilities each sex was expected to fulfil have to be regarded (s. Chap. 5.3.4). Most women only migrated when they either were not in any relationship or were able to rely on their left behind families (e.g. child care). These women were still young and therefore had not already as many children, like most matured Sierra Leonean women. Hence, their responsibility backpack was lighter. Furthermore, due to cultural ascriptions the expectations on women to share their revenues and to care about other relatives beyond their closer family circle was lower, compared to their male counterparts. Consequently, I have to be careful with generalizing statements about proactivity and successfulness of women's compared to men's investments.

Further, when it comes to migration men mainly relied on their wives to manage arising family affairs and to take care of social relations, the properties and the children. In contrast, when women migrated they never relied on their husband's but rather on their parents' assistance. Thereby, the father came up for financial expenses while the mother took care of the offspring. Thus, the migration of all women was in agreement with their parents. This leads me to the presumption that if parents disagree with their daughter's movement, women cannot leave at all. This exemplifies that depending on the migrants' gender different strategies were chosen and distinct social ties were stressed. However, it also became evident that independently from the gender, migrants would be unable to maintain their home basis and to care for their children without the assistance of their left behinds.

Social stratum

Although, all male migrants aimed to enhance their families living, the adopted strategies highly differed between the individuals. In regard to social strata it is noticeable that all tenants previously knew to their departure where they would go and for which labour they were looking for. This makes sense, since I interviewed only tenants who resided in the Addax's respectively Sunbird's operation area that was known for its frequent contractual labour possibilities. In contrast, only some emigrated landowners had either a plan where to go or pre-migration social connections to their destination. But when I form two groups by considering the pre-migration existence of social connections to the destination as well as whether migrants had a plan where to go and what to do, without regarding the social status, a unified picture is recognizable. Namely, those migrants with a social network at their destination were far more successful than migrants without such an opportunity. Thereby, the 'successful' migrants were always engaged in either written or oral contract engagements while the one who were struggling at their destination relied on independent or daily-based job opportunities. When I consider the insecure economic situation Sierra Leone is facing and the uncertainty that daily-based job opportunities bring along, it makes absolutely sense that all interviewees favoured contractual employments rather than autonomous labour. Beyond this background it makes more sense that every tenant regarded his or her migration as successful, while the perceptions within the group of emigrated landowners was fluctuating. Accordingly, I conclude that the existence of a pre-migration plan, the presence of a social network at the destination and the type of the performed labour (daily opportunities vs. contractual employment) correlate highly with the outcome of migrants' migration.

Concerning social strata a further pattern is striking. Obviously, all emigrated landowners originated from a rural setting while the immigrating tenants originated both from rural and urban areas. As I observed a clear difference of the educational levels between municipally or rurally raised people respectively, I assume that tenants had in average better chances to grasp skill labour and thus better paid jobs than landowners. This educational disparity with the consequent unbalanced distribution of high and low paid employments sometimes led to tensions between the social strata. I observed that landowners felt somehow cheated as the company leased and cultivated their land but employed them only for the low paid and the physically exhausting tasks. However, all in all I witnessed the relationships between landowners and tenants as quite peaceful.

Finally, no social stratum patterns were recognizable concerning the frequency of migration practices or the size of individually held 'responsibility backpacks'. Hereof, I presume that gender and age and age are the more determining factors.

I identified future paths interviewees were attempted to go and dismantled age, gender and social stratum patterns within and caused by migration practice. My research showed that the left behind women were unable to implement their wishes, since insufficiently accessed financial capital or high responsibilities restricted their action scope. The migrants (independently from social strata) left to preferably achieve permanent contracts with an adequate earning. To do so most were willing to wait, to migrate anew or to endure physical and psychological stresses at their destination.

In the second part of this chapter, I illustrated that patterns due to gender or social stratum disparities emerged. These mostly were constituted or at least influenced by traditional and institutional manifestations. Hence, the inclusion of the contextual and cultural circumstances was crucial to understand my findings. However, no remarks should be interpreted as being universally valid since multiple and complex interrelated parameters influenced the individual experiences, opinions and future perceptions.

7.6   Translocality

In the first part of this chapter, I will exemplify in what way social networks had an influence on emergent migration patterns and to what extent translocal relations emerged. Thereby, it will become clear that the geographical distance, the infrequent contact and the persistent expectations and pressures to succeed stressed social ties and provoked relational transformations. Later on, I will identify in what way single places were important for the specific participants and how they were connoted in different ways. It will become clear that some connotations influenced more the one or the other gender. Besides, I will explain that the found connotations of places were not steady but rather changed over time. In this way the transition to the last section about social change will be set. Thereby, I will try to identify in what way social change occurred or might occur in future.

7.6.1   Social networks and translocal relationships

In the following, I will show that migration patterns did not emerge randomly but followed social ties. When it came to migration, migrants and left behinds were able to contact each other only infrequently. As a consequence, occasional misunderstandings resulted. Moreover, I will show that existing expectations and felt pressures to succeed not only depressed many migrants but also influenced their daily decisions and future visions.

Hence, translocality had the power to modify existing social relationships and thereby future developments.

Migration patterns and pre-existing social networks – Deconstructing borders?
All tenants and more than the half of the landowning migrants built on pre-migration social bonds to gain either advice where to go or access to local social networks, housing or job opportunities. Hence, it is evident that a correlation of existing social networks and the emergent migration flows existed. Consequently, migration patterns do not emerge randomly but developed along social networks. Most migrants originated from or left to nearby destinations. This makes sense as I assume that chances to have a social tie declined with geographical distance. Through the migration itself existing social ties were strengthened and new mutual bonds arose, which enlarged the basis for future exchanges between the two locations. Accordingly, I showed that the translocal practices fostered the contact between different social groups what might lead to the blending of religious, tribal and linguistic borders (s. Chap. 7.6.3).

Contact or Silence?
If any contact existed between the migrants and the left behinds and how frequent it was, depended first on the access to a mobile phone. Namely, only few left behind women and only about the half of all migrants possessed a cell phone. Secondly, neither Mamaria nor Marokie were constantly connected to a mobile network, not to mention to the Internet. Hence, the communication between left behinds and migrants was highly limited. Nevertheless, people sometimes managed to talk to each other by using phones of friends or relatives. Messengers, who travelled occasionally between the two locations, transmitted information. Nonetheless, most interviewed women did not know either where their husband currently resided or in what he was engaged. Similarly, migrants were not fully informed about the circumstances their families back home faced. This sometimes led to intensified worries about beloveds. For most migrants the transportation costs represented an impediment to visit their home. But not only the transportation costs hindered migrants from seeing their families but also claims and pressures to succeed had an influence on their prolonged absence. These socially constructed obstacles will be addressed in the subsequent two paragraphs.

Expectations
Each migrant mentioned that villagers in general had high expectations towards returnees. Most claims originated from the closest family members like wives and parents. But also friends, relatives and acquaintances were attempted to grasp a piece of the pie. Interviewees reported that most claims concerned "doing people good", which could be done in a monetary or a material way. If the expectations would not be fulfilled people would grumble and be disappointed. As the following quotes illustrate, participants coped distinctively with the claims that encumbered on their shoulders:

"When you have been for such a long time absent people expect that you return with something and not just with empty hands. […] Sara: Have you ever returned since you left one year ago? Answer: No, because I haven't any money to bring back. […] If I would go home [now] I would even be a burden for my family as they would have to feed one mouth more" (Samuel 27.4.2018).

"The contact is good, but of course many expectations are involved. But as they are my family I have to manage the situation" (Isa 16.4.2018).

"Sara: Are also expectations included in this contact? Answer: Yes, but not too much about money. My family ask me more when I will come back home again, because the farming season has begun now. So at the moment my only target is to return. I don't care how much money I will have" (Calon 29.4.2018).

The quotes exemplify that some were able to dissociate themselves from claims and expectations and were just looking forward to return home no matter how much money they would be able to take along (Alaji 26.4.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018, Calon 29.4.2018). Others were trapped in the socially constructed obligations (Isa 16.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). Although, this shows that the individual habitus seemed to be crucial for the handling of these external pressures, a pattern is recognizable concerning migrants' age and size of their responsibility backpacks. The only two, who were absolutely not worried about the expectations of their left behinds were the two youngest participants, who simultaneously had comparably few responsibilities (Alaji 26.4.2018, Calon 27.4.2018). Only Ayo was indeed aware of the expectations that would expect him as soon as he would return and hence also stated that he had first to earn more before he would be ready to return. Nevertheless, he dissocialised himself from all the pressure since he stated, *"I work for my own plan […] and not for theirs".* All other interviewed landowners were afraid to disappoint their beloveds and consequently perceived a return as impossible until they would hand enough money to meet people's expectations (Isa 16.4.2018, Rugiatu 20.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018).

These expectations have two origins one historical and one cultural. First, as Fafchamps (1992) described the rich always have to provide the poor, as the patron has to care about his tenant. Second, throughout history returnees often brought wealth to their left behind families' and friends. Rugiatu nicely explains the follow-up consequences:

"[…] people think that when you often visit them you must have money" (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

Accordingly, Ayo explained that people would imagine that in engagements besides farming (e.g. mining) cash would be accessible more easily and that as soon as a migrant would return he or she must have been successful (Ayo 27.4.2018). Since these practices tended to lead to the non-return of 'unsuccessful' migrants, the system of high claims towards migrants and the imaginations of glorious destinations maintained themselves in a circular feed back loop (s. Fig. 17).

"[…] people, who returned from the mining areas were able to buy land […] or a car. This made me thinking that I should try to go there as well" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

As Ayo's quote illustrates this loop even could foster the outmigration flow, since the return of successful migrants motivated villagers to try their luck as well. Moreover, the example of Alaji exemplifies that a person, who was engaged in a better-paid job, not necessary had more money. When he namely was engaged in bike-taxi riding he held the same amount of money as during his employment in Addax, although he earned less in the taxi-business. The reason therefor is that with raising revenues also expectations and claims increased whereby most labourers just spent more financial assets to 'do people good' instead of investing it into their own affairs (Alaji 26.4.2018).
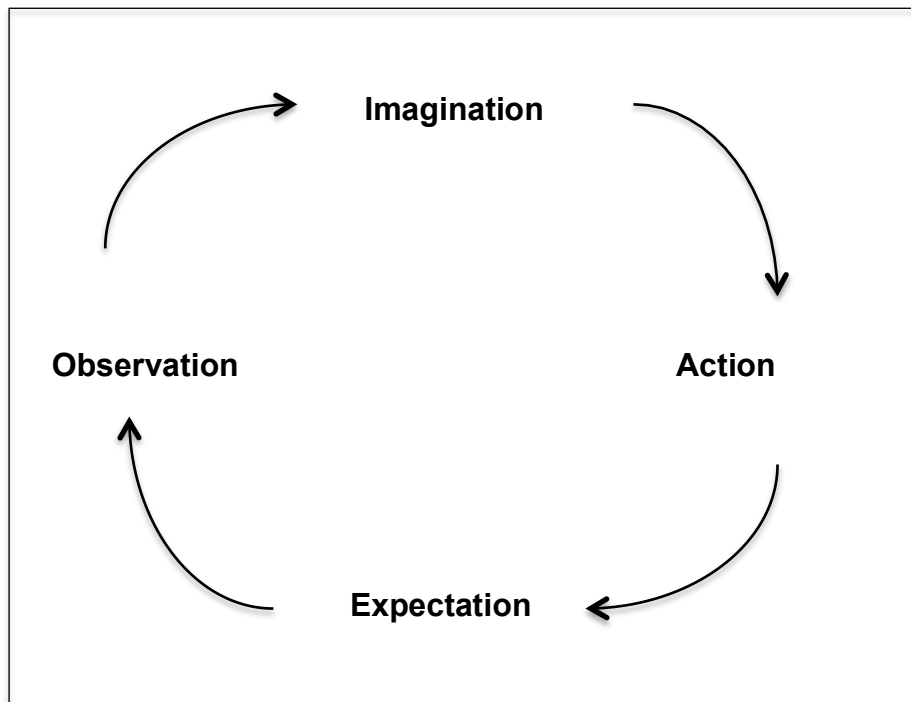

Figure 17: Expectation maintaining feedback loop (elaborated by the author). Due to historical and culturally emerged imaginations people perceive that the returning migrants were richer than most other villagers. Resulting, people might migrate more often in attempts to find a better way of living. Thereby, the left behinds' expectations towards them were high, as in traditions the rich have to provide the poor (s. Chauveau 2008 & Fafchamps 1992). Hence, in case the migrants were not as successful as they perceived to be, they tended not to return until they reached the required wealth. Consequently, left behinds observed that all returnees were successful. This reinforced their imagination that at destinations 'big money' could be made. Therewith, the feed back loop of maintaining expectations persists.

Concerning expectations from migrants towards left behinds only two patterns were notable, which were elucidated in chapter 7.2.1. Namely that first, the family of the husband was obligated to take care of the left behind woman and the offspring. But as I have illustrated this often was not the case, by what women had to shift their livelihood strategies (Shera 28.2.2018). Secondly, left behind women were perceived to solve all arising family affairs at home, to raise the children and to maintain a pleasant house. Rugiatu's and Momy's case illustrated that in the rare case when a woman migrated, the expectations, which were raised in the first case on the wives, then were passed on to the parents (20.4.2018, 30.3.2018).

In accordance with Fafchaps (1992) and Chauveau (2008) I recognized that the rural Sierra Leonean societies were largely built on reciprocal relationships. The therein involved expectations and claims against each other were especially noticeable in times of hardship or in connection with migration practices. In the case of migration this system was

maintained by the self-enforcing 'expectation feedback loop'. Thereby, I observed that not only the individual freedom of the migrants' was affected, but also the left behinds felt the consequences of culturally manifested rules and norms. Accordingly, translocality led to an interwoven and complex web of mutual relationships were everybody had expectations towards each other. I identified that through the distance and the missing contact, these claims often could not been either discussed or solved. As I will show in the subsequent paragraphs this raised the risk of misunderstandings and contested social relationships.

Pressure to succeed
Based on the interview data the pressure to succeed was highly connected to the individual 'responsibility-backpack' and migrant's age (s. paragraphs above). Male participants, who had many children, were the only son, the single earning household member or even the head of the family were caring the biggest 'responsibility backpacks'. These migrants were also the one, who had no intention to return before they were 'successful'.

"If I return with nothing, I am a looser. [… Because] when you return with nothing for what have you even left then?" (Samuel 27.4.2018).

"I feel the pressure when I talk [to my wife] and she tells me that she took a loan from somebody to pay the school fees of one of my siblings or for medicines" (Ayo).

The pressure to succeed at their destination was connected to migrants' persuasion that, unless they would achieve a job at Sunbird, the possibilities to maintain an adequate living at their home place would be insufficient (s. Chap. 6.1 - 6.3 & 7.3.1) (Ayo 27.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018). Hence, they observed their engagement at the destination as currently the only way to come up for necessary family requirements. I assume that these sentiments were combined with men's socialization in the solidarity system where expectations and obligations were inherent. Thus, I consider that pressures to succeed were rooted in culturally manifested institutions.

Furthermore, I suppose that the degree of migrants pressure to succeed depended on the age with the interrelated 'responsibility-backpack', the single habitus, the circumstances their beloved met back home and the amount of active claims raised towards them. However, it is questionable if the age-related pattern only arose due to made life experiences and sizes of responsibility backpacks, or if further factors or even contested social norms had an influence on the allegedly reduced pressures young returnees felt[161].

Modified relationships
I observed that translocality led to the modification of the relationships between migrants and left behinds and among left behinds themselves. The following quotes illustrate, how migrants perceived that their relationships had already changed or possibly change in future:

"I have the feeling if I would return without enough money, the relationship could change, as I would not be able to do all the people good, who expect from me something. But as soon as I have enough money and consequently am able to meet all the claims, relationships will not change and will remain good" (Isa 16.4.2018).

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[161] For more common statements, further and more profound investigations would be necessary.

"Relationships have changed. When I visit the village people come closer to me because they hope that I might give them something. But they begin to grumble and say that I would never bring them something. [… This] makes me unhappy because I am not able to meet their expectations" (Rugiatu 20.4.2018).

"Sara: When you went back to Mamaria [after his first migration] has your life changed in a certain way or was it the same as before? Answer: It changed […] as everybody was happy to see me and appreciated the things and the money I brought to them" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

Important to mention here is that the three above-cited participants were at different stages of their migration. Isa had not returned at all and hence only made his imaginations about how difficult it must be if he returns without enough money. Rugiatu already visited Mamaria and experienced the common grumbling of people due to her inability to satisfy all claims. In contrast, Ayo already left and returned once before the present migration. During those days he returned quite successful what led to upgrade social networks and reputations throughout the village. Accordingly, I observed that depending on returnees' abilities to meet arising claims, social ties and reputations could be degraded or enhanced.

Few migrants were worried that relations to their families might have changed through their long-lasting absence. Hereof, the missing contact played a crucial role since migrants just suggested that their parents might be angry on them or would not care about them anymore (Samuel 27.4.2018). However, interestingly neither women nor men worried about their marriage (if they were still in a relationship) (Adamse 28.3.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018).

Moreover, the leave of a family member also had an impact on relations among left behinds. Hereof, in chapter 7.2.1 it became clear that the relation between women and their mothers-in-law often was modified through the husband's leave. Except from one case, relationships became worse (Adamse 28.3.2018, Ayo 27.4.2018, Fatu 1.4.2018, Isa 16.4.2018, Nashe 24.2.2018, Samuel 27.4.2018, Shera 28.2.2018, Yamari 30.3.2018). As I demonstrated these modifications could have far reaching consequences ranging from augmenting women's risk to meet hardship, fostering the return to their ancestors or influencing further intra-familial (between the couple and both parents) or intra-communal relationships.

The above clarifications showed that translocality had an impact on both translocal and local relationships. Thereby, the geographical distance and the isolation tested the resilience of the single social ties. I realized that the high expectations and the migrants pressure to succeed combined with the lacking contact possibilities often led to misunderstandings or rampant visions how the relationship might be. Furthermore, the triangle relation between husband, wife and his family (especially his mother) frequently was at risk to loose its balance. Additionally, most migrants were worried what might happen if they would not be able to meet the expected claims. Examples have shown that a return with insufficient monetary or material assets deteriorated migrants' social bonds and reputations while a successful return led to its enhancement. Hence, I conclude that translocality has the power to influence people's perceptions, decisions and finally also their relations.

7.6.2 Connotation of places

In this section the crucial places and locations where participants resided and how these were connoted will be illustrated. I will exemplify that a places' connotation depended on the fact if a person already resided there or not. Thereby, the meanings varied throughout geographical spaces and were transformed over time.

What is home?
Where did people feel at home and to what extent was this feeling modifiable? Based on my interview data, I identified a clear difference between home and origin.
Although, interviewees mostly used the term 'home' or 'real home', during communications it got clear that not all participants meant home by itself but rather their roots, their origin. Hence, I assume that the term 'home' referred to people's social wellbeing at a place and to the existence of tight social bonds. Accordingly, people might feel at home without being born and raised at that certain location. In contrast, I suppose that my interviewees meant by the term 'real home' or 'home basis' their 'origin', which was more connected to belongings and identity (s. Chap. 3.4). The place where they grew up and where most of their relatives resided was and ever will be understood as 'the' home. Only the left behinds, who already resided since decades in the villages (elderly people) or who grew up there, used the two terms in a congruent way. Then, some migrants felt even so much at home at their destinations that they thought about migrating permanently. When I consider the circumstances under which these migrants imagined to shift their constant home, it becomes clear that decisions depended on three main variables: The first one depended on migrants' success at the destination and how sustainable and durable the achieved livelihood seemed to be. Secondly, how comfortable they felt at the destination, how many new tight social bonds they developed and how cross-linked their newly developed local network was. Finally, I identified that the existence of responsibilities at their origin influenced their aspirations as well. Nonetheless, Interviewees' answers showed me that even then the 'real home' ever would be their origin.

As I showed, through migration practices 'home' and 'origin' did not have to refer to the same settlement anymore. People's perception of home itself shifted due to made experiences and newly developed social ties. Therewith, some developed the aspiration to build up a new permanent home at a distinct place. Thus, I assume that 'home' is transformable throughout a lifetime while 'origin' remains stable.

The destination
Initially, I have to declare that I distinguished between imaginations that people had about migrants' destination and the ones that migrants themselves had about their location.

"[When I was still in the village], I saw that people, who left to the mining or to big towns, were able to make money. […] But when I got here I recognized that everything is not so easy. [… Hence] I was disappointed […] and regretted my decision" (Ayo 27.4.2018).

As the quotation shows that none-migrants often believed that destinations would offer enhanced chances to achieve an adequate living compared to their home. Life there was often perceived to be fine and that one could hand money quick and easy (Ayo 27.4.2018, c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). But I recognized that through the migration process these imaginations might change at least for the migrants themselves (Ayo 27.4.2018). Thereby, the

imaginations of tenants, who migrated the first time, usually remained unchanged. But especially for migrants, who resided previously or presently in mining areas or were engaged in daily based job opportunities, the positive connotations of far off places were relativized. Consequently, the manifold interviews specified that destinations stood for both labour and hope and as well for perseverance and loneliness.

The husband's house
Since women were meant to live patrilocal the house of the husband represented an important place for left behind women and their children. Although, women mostly entitled their husband's house as home (s. paragraph above) throughout the communications it got clear that the migration of their husbands frequently led to a notable transformation. Namely as we saw some migrated back to their parents' house or resided without feeling comfortable anymore. Thereby, the initial identification of the husband's house as home and as a place of wellbeing, modified to a place where mobbing and unpleasant ambience were prevalent (Nashe 24.2.2018, Shera 28.2.2018). Nonetheless, with a return of the husband most women intended to return to his house as well (Adamse 28.3.2018). Hence, I suppose that they considered that the sense of wellbeing and of feeling at home could be regained, or at least they hoped so.

The parents' house
The parents' house was for all interviewees of both genders indeed connoted as save harbour where people felt comfortable. They identified themselves with their parents' home and felt attached to it. Nevertheless, I observed that emerging from distinct gendered requirements, this, almost romantic vision, often was double-sided, especially for men. They namely felt the high pressures to meet the obligations to care, at least for their parents, if not even for their siblings and further relatives (s. Chap. 5.3.4). Accordingly, the bond to the parents' house represented a kind of an insurance and a save harbour where one could return in times of hardship. Nonetheless, I assume that this perception might change through space and time. I base this presumption on the case of Ayo, whose association of the parents' house might have changed through the death of his father. He namely was the oldest son, wherefore he was obligated to take over all his father's responsibilities and duties (Ayo 27.4.2018). For example in such case, I suppose that the connotation of a save harbour might had shift to a place, which was newly characterized by high responsibilities and arising problems.

The connotation of farm and garden
I surveyed that traditionally the farm and the garden were connoted as life-sustaining resources, which ensured a basic income for the whole family. Since Addax appeared in the area, this association was modified. Namely, through insufficient access to large enough, fertile and nearby farming plots and through the newly emerged opportunity to make a living through paid labour, farming patches were not seen as 'the' live sustaining resource anymore. Simultaneously, palm fruits lost their meaning as an everlasting insurance for hard times. Consequently, I assume that natural resources lost of importance whereby their previous connotations were transformed.

I showed that important places for my interviewees were the destination, the farms and gardens at their origin village and the parents' as well as the husband's house. Thereby, the conception of home was interconnected with most of these places. I illustrated that hrough migration processes, gained experiences and the land lease by Addax the conno-

tations of these places changed over time. No shift was ultimate but rather recurrent modifications occurred as values and associations were constantly influenced through internal and external effects.

7.6.3   Occurrence of social change

Outgoing from the analytical framework, illustrated in chapter 3.5, adopted strategies might lead to social change. In chapter 6.5, I illustrated the occurring social changes due to the implementation of the LSLA project. Now, the possible social changes ensuing from migration practices will be exemplified. Thereby, influences on the four internal aspects will be identified followed by discussing its impact on distributional effects and socio-economic behaviours.

Bargaining power
Depending on the participants' group the influence of the migration-induced dimensions on individual bargaining powers varies. Commonly, the bargaining power of left behind women was eroded, as they increasingly relied on their social networks (s. Chap. 7.2.3). But also many male migrants lost bargaining power at their destinations, since they entered the new social field as 'strangers' (s. Chap. 7.3.4 & 7.4.3). Only the three female migrants gained bargaining power, as they were capable to generate a living by themselves. Thereby, their dependence from their social network dropped[162].

Institutions
First, I assume that the migration practices led to the additional contestation of the manifested age hierarchies (s. Chap. 6.5). In contrast to their ancestors the youth was namely still capable to migrate and hence to possibly hand money. Therewith, power structures shifted towards younger age groups. Secondly, I consider that the success of the few female migrants might lead to the questioning of still persistent gender assigned roles. However, I also recognized that translocal patterns potentially maintain or even strengthen the practices of high expectations and obligations the solidarity system implies (explained in the expectation feed back loop - s. Fig. 17). I also realized that the traditional institutions, with its follow-up obligations, were still consistent and regarded as highly valuable. The statements of Aruna and the ceremonial chief of Mamaria exemplify this:

"Sara: You would like to migrate… why don't you? Answer: Because my parents are here and they haven't any other person, who would help them with their everyday needs. Thus I am staying" (Aruna 25.2.2018).

Sara: And why do the parents want the children not to leave? Answer: Most important for us elders is that we get replaced after we pass away. So we want that our sons are like us and stay around us. When they leave who will make the work we are doing now? (c.ch.Mam.   17.2.2018).

Finally, since I surveyed that migration practices augmented the reliance on social bonds, I question if a prolonged utilization of these reciprocal ties, might challenge the mutual system. This topic will be discussed in the chapter 9.2.2 on sustainability.
Organisations

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[162] Women became especially independent concerning maintaining an adequate livelihood. In relation to childcare most were still highly dependent on their parents assistance.

In chapter 6.5, I have shown that new organisations were formed. The emergence of these novel associations was based on the extended monetary incomes and the larger village population. Presently, as redundancy was prevalent, most tenants and even some landowners left the settlements. Thus, the organisations of the village box and the 'Susu' Corporation met hard times while the tenants club was completely dissolved.

Ideology
Although the beliefs of a gloomy destination shifted for some participants and although female migrants were an example for altered gender roles, the imaginations, reciprocal claims and gendered stereotyping still continued. These hegemonic ideologies endured through the combination of the occurrence of the expectation feedback loop, the social punishment for unfulfilled claims and the preservative practice of the secret societies. Furthermore, through migration flows, people from manifold origins came into in contact with each other whereby their horizons were broadened. Although sometimes conflicts occurred, the village chief of Mataro noted that *"[people] saw that we are all the same"* (16.3.2018). In overall, I assume that the exchange led to fewer discriminative practices and unequal treatments arising from the distinction between 'stranger' and 'native' (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018, v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018).

Distributional effects
The above-presented provocation of the internal aspects led to altered distributional effects and socioeconomic behaviour. Concerning distributional effects, migration generally led to augmented power concentrations into few hands whereby the already disadvantaged women became further marginalized. Nonetheless, the few exceptions, where females migrated by themselves, show that a break of these hegemonies could redistribute bargaining powers and action scopes. Hereof, the alignments of tenants rights and abilities to the one of the landowners would be an example for modified distributional effects, emergent from a transformed social system[163].

Further, the initial high inflow of tenants indirectly had an influence on the distribution of financial goods. The enlarged population namely facilitated, through heightened request rates, a prosperous business ambiance. Consequently, the variety of traded goods and price levels increased. As outmigration flows were progressive, since the breakdown of Addax, business opportunities nosedived. Hence, demographic fluctuations had and still have an influence on local business opportunities and price levels and thus on distributional effects.

Socioeconomic behaviour
The modification of internal aspects through migration practice had an effect on individual's socioeconomic behaviour. Hereof, the erosion of left behind's farming abilities and their consequential reliance on monetary assets led to adjusted socioeconomic behaviours, ranging from excessive loan taking to augmented dependences on their social networks. Moreover, if a migration was successful, people achieved augmented access to financial goods (either personally or through 'doing good'), whereby expensive goods and possessions were captured. Finally, regarding the tenants the ceremonial chief from Mamaria noted that the inflow of 'strangers' would have raised the presence of sexual

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[163] These alignments are provoked through multiple internal and external factors, whereas migration practice is one of them.

labourers. Immigrants and the augmented access to economic capital would foster the local sex trade industry[164] (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018).

This subchapter highlighted migration induced social changes. Power distributions and institutional structures were both altered and maintained. Thereby, some ideologies were challenged but most persisted. Meanwhile, organisational associations lost importance while distributional effects emerged and socioeconomic behaviours were adapted. These provocations and modifications had in turn an impact on the contextual framework with its livelihood resources and consequent developed strategies and activities.

8 Migration and its interconnectedness with LSLA

In the first part of the Master's thesis, the traditional livelihoods, the local influences of the LSLA and the subsequent consequences, like social change and modified livelihood strategies were elucidated. In the second part, various dimensions of migration, as one possible livelihood strategy were addressed. In this section, these two parts will be brought together. The aim is, to find out if and to what extent, the LSLA influenced past and current migration flows. Therefor, the numerical results from the conducted household survey will be presented. It will be shown by graphs why and when, who migrated and to what extent the migration flows might stand in connection to the historical time periods. To do so, the flows will be categorized into four time periods ('Before Addax', 'During Addax', 'Ebola, breakdown', 'Since Sunbird'). Subsequently, striking patterns regarding gender, age and social stratum will be analysed and discussed. Then the information about possible migration reasons, gained through the qualitative analysis in chapter 7.3.1 and 7.4.2 will be grouped as well by the historical time periods. Finally, a conclusive statement if or to what extent LSLA and migration flows could be interconnected, will be formulated.

8.1 Migration as a livelihood strategy - Changes over time

Before, I present the findings from the household survey, I have to clarify the defined classes I developed to systemize my analysis. In attempts to grasp possible patterns concerning social stratum and origin, I distinguished between three migration groups. These were: Out-migrated landowner family members, past in- and out-migrated tenants (not present anymore) and in-migrated and currently present tenants. I am aware that this classification differs from the one in chapter 7, where I distinguished within the migrant group just between landowners and tenants. Here the category of tenants was split into past in- and out-migrated tenants and into in-migrated and currently present tenants because the former contributed to the in- and out-flow data, while the latter only contributed to the in-flow data. Additionally, to identify gender-related patterns, I gathered, analysed and illustrated my data separated by gender. The identified gender and age specific asymmetries or correlations will be discussed in section 8.2.

As I only talked to the minority of people, who were included in my household survey, the presented reasons for emigration and the performed activities abroad were based on the knowledge or imaginations of the household heads (male or female).

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[164] The chief made clear that the female sex workers would not originate from the village itself but rather would visit the settlement.

8.1.1 Emigration of the landowner family members

In the following subchapter, I will illustrate the numeric results for all emigrated landowners from Mamaria. Initially, an overview about the surveyed sample will be given followed by an illustration of the investigated migration reasons and migrants' activities at the destination. Then the emigration flows will be shown over time, before these flows will be arranged according to the four defined time periods.

Overview of the sample

Table 18 illustrates that since 2002, in total 58 male and 80 female landowners (thereof 25 children) left Mamaria and have not returned yet. I identified them as temporary or permanent migrants. 31 male and 11 female landowners were on-off migrants (including children). The age of emigrants varied slightly between the genders, whereby males left with an average age of 34.3 years while females were only 32.2 years old (s. Fig. 19).
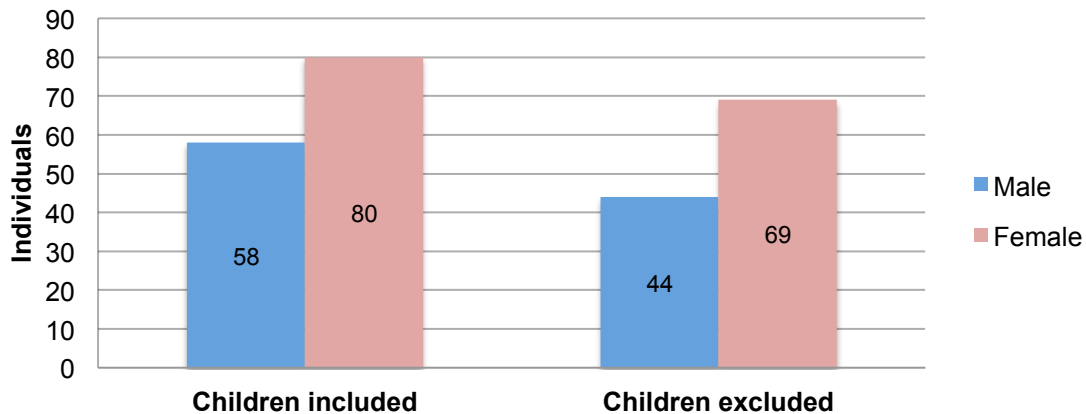

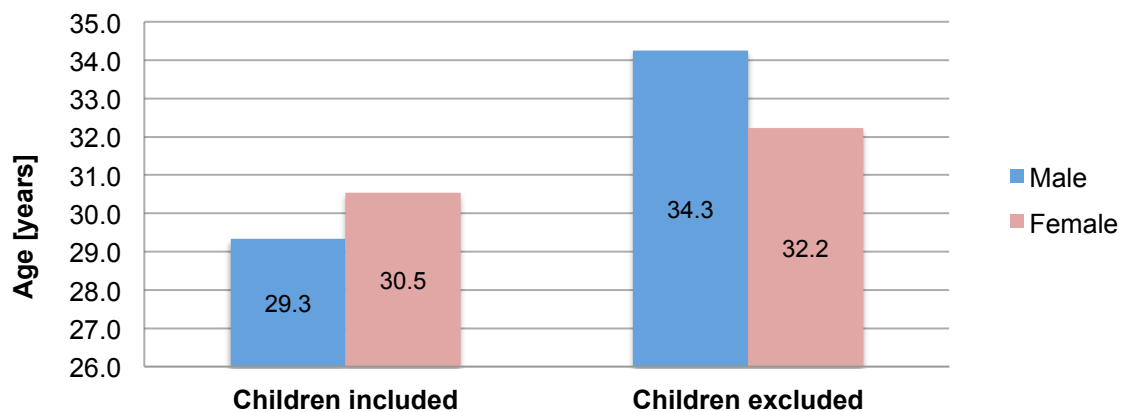**Figure 18: The emigrated landowner family members since 2002** (elaborated by the author).

Figure 19: The average age of the emigrated landowner family members (elaborated by the author).

Reasons for the emigration and the activities abroad

The here presented graphs should generate an overview of the multiple migration reasons. As the migration causes were clearly interwoven with the migrants' current activities abroad, the two themes were taken together into one illustration (s. Fig. 20 & 21). Hereof, the household heads' answers, why a certain person migrated, highly varied between the genders. The answers regarding female migrants indeed addressed the reasons why

women migrated, while responds regarding male migrants concerned the activities, in which men were engaged at their destinations. Through data discussions with my translator and by participatory observations, I realized that males might have not migrated with the exact imagination of the activities they were currently engaged in. More likely, almost all of them left their home place to search such an activity. Hence, based on the household survey, it remained unclear, if the men only left in terms to search paid labour or if hardship, conflicts or other reasons were pushing them away (s. Chap. 7.3.1 & 7.4.2).

Table 20 illustrated the activities in which emigrated male landowners were engaged at their destination. Thereby, most (56%) were 'Trading', 'Mining' or 'Farming' or 'Fishing' respectively. But also other occupations were learned or carried out at the destinations, which represent 28% of the total daily activities (s. legend of Fig. 20). According to respondents, only few migrants were engaged in 'Bike riding' (4%). The performed activities at the destination were unknown of 6%. 4% of the included emigrated male landowners left with their parents. Their present daily activities were unknown. A minority of 4% migrated to other African countries with the intention to achieve a living there or to travel further on to cross-sea countries.

Most occupations, which were included in 'Other jobs' and especially 'Trading' and 'Bike riding', were activities that usually were performed in urban localities. In contrast, 'Fishing' and 'Farming' were typical rural engagements. Mining exhibited a special case, as some smaller mines were located just beside villages while others, mainly bigger and better known mines led to the establishment of huge settlements, which could be considered as towns. For migrants, who had not left with their parents, crossed the border or of whom their engagements were not known, no statement could be made about the type of present locations. When I compile all migrants, who were engaged in jobs, which usually take place in urban or rural settings, I come to the rough picture that 63% of all domestic migrants migrated to an urban and 37% to a rural location respectively[165].

The respective table for female emigrated landowners shows a highly divergent picture (s. Fig. 21). The vast majority of all leaves were caused by engagements with a man from another settlement (78%). This category is even expanded by females, who were already married before they left Mamaria (5%). Then, 6% of the emigrants were women, who were indeed married to a male landowner but where the relationship came to an end. 3% migrated with or to family members, while of another 3% the migration motivations could not be identified. Strikingly, only 8% ('Trade' & 'Other activities') of all female emigrants did not left due to relational concerns but rather with the aim to generate an income. It was not identifiable from the stated migration reasons or from the daily activities, if women migrated to urban or rural places. Therefore no statement can be done regarding the distributional effects.

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[165] The percentages entail only the data of the migrants from whom the engagements were known. Thus, the categories 'Activity unknown', 'With parents' and 'International Migrants' were excluded.
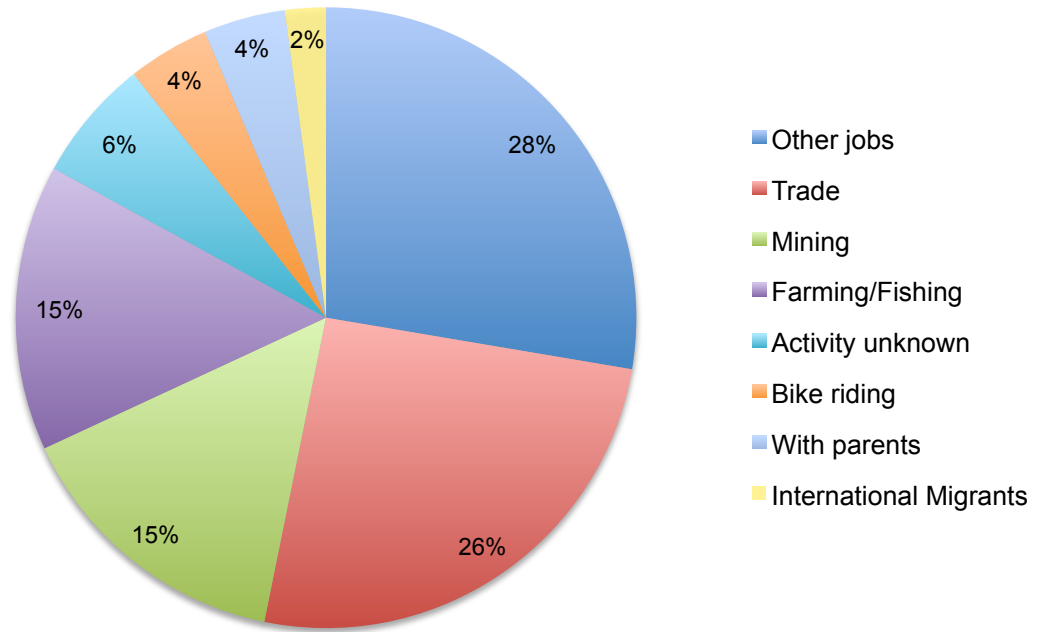
Figure 20: The activities of the male, adult landowning family members at the destination (data includes only temporal and permanent migrants). 'Other jobs' include: Carpenter, bricklayer, mechanic, tailor, beaker, teacher, NGO deputy and conductor of excavators. The term 'With parents' means that a child migrated with both parents or only with either of them (elaborated by the author).
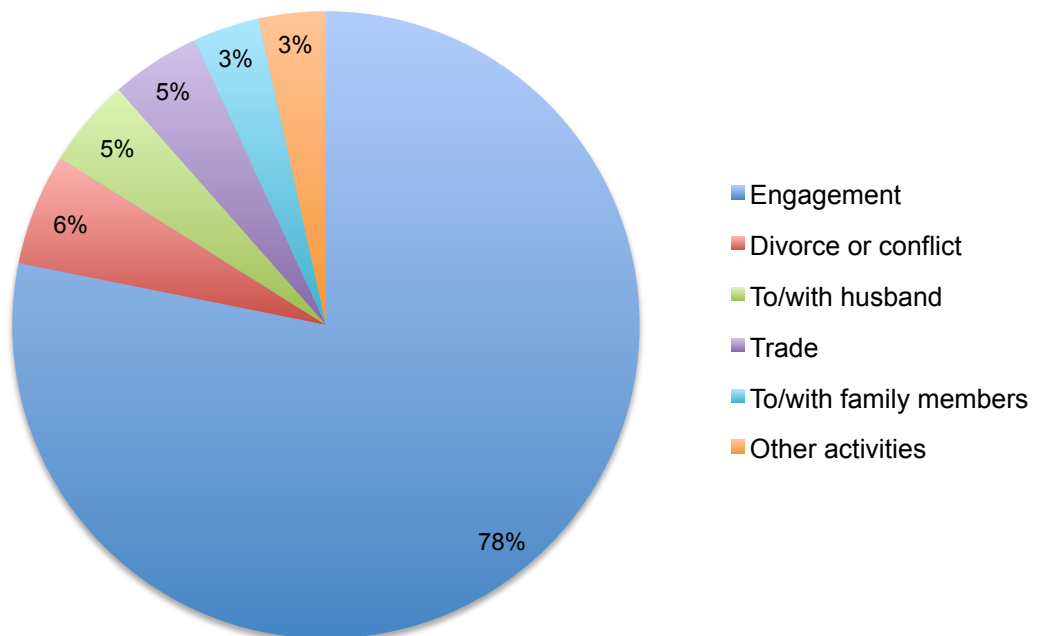

Figure 21: The reasons for migration or the activities at destinations of the female adult landowning family members. 'Other activities' include engagements as farming, teaching or mining (elaborated by the author).

Emigration flows over time

In the two graphs below I illustrate the emigration flows from 2002 until 2018, whereby in total 50 male and 75 female adult landowners left (Fig. 22 & 23). Figure 22 indicates that in male emigration flows from 2002 until 2018, three peaks occurred (2003, 2008 and 2018). After the drop in 2004, the out-migration flows remained on zero until a new peak in 2008 occurred. Interestingly, this peak decreased again to zero in 2009 before the out-flow curve began to fluctuate from 2011 to 2017. Outgoing from my calculations, the out-migration would achieve a never known peak in 2018.
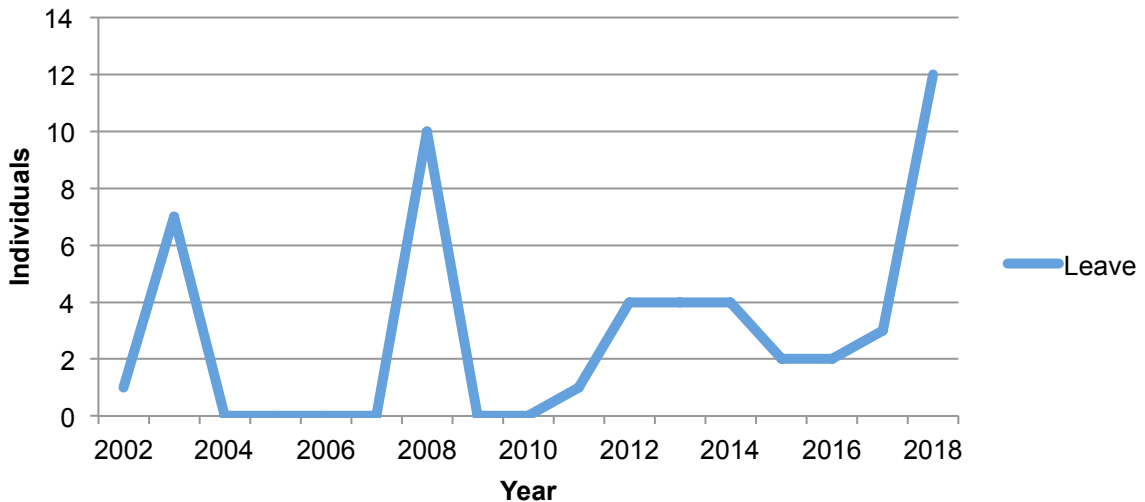

Figure 22: The total emigration of the male landowners from 2002 until 2018 (elaborated by the author).

The respective graph for female emigration flows shows a bit a different picture (s. Fig. 23). The peak in 2003 was less striking than the one of their male counterparts. Between 2004 and 2006, the emigration remained also on zero before the peak in 2008 occurred. Between the two minimums in 2010 and 2017, women's emigration rate continuously rose. Now in 2018, the emigration rate grew slightly again.
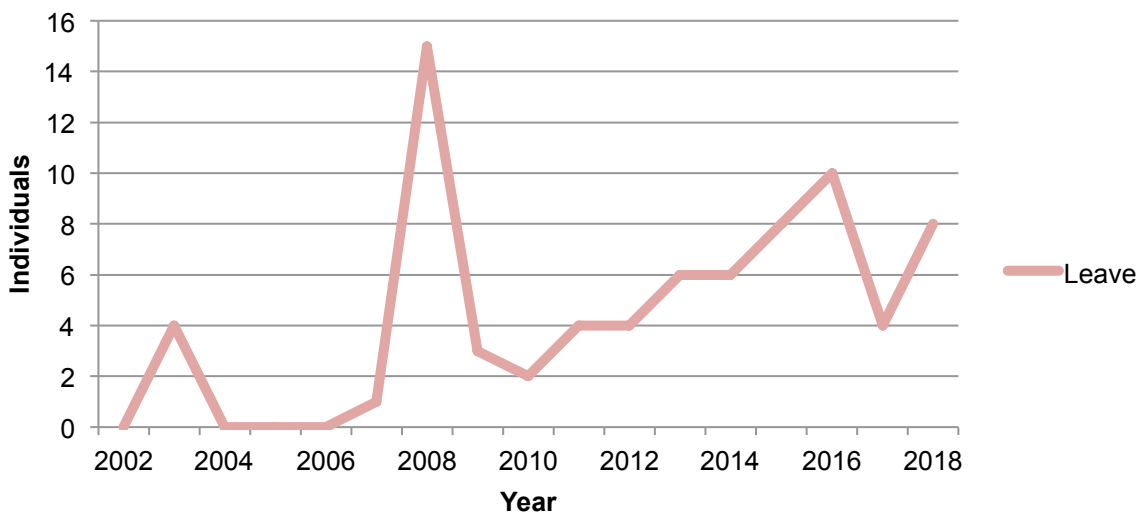

Figure 23: The total emigration of the female landowners from 2002 until 2018 (elaborated by the author).

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When we group the migration flows into the four time periods, it becomes more evident how the flows developed in dependence on the single historical incidences. Figure 24 exemplifies that in pre-Addax times, 19.7% of all emigrated male landowners left the settlement. The proportion decreased with the arrival of Addax to 13.8%. Later on, in times of Ebola and the breakdown, the emigration quote rose again to a total share of 23%. With a majority of 43.4% most landowners emigrated, since Sunbird took over (so in the time period from 2002 until today). The emigration rates for female landowners developed quite congruently. The share of women's leaves before Addax arrived and during their operational times was between 13.6% and 18.1% of the totally emigrated females, since 2002. With Ebola and the breakdown, the share rose up to 33.3%, and 34.9% respectively, since Sunbird was operating. Compared to their male counterparts, female outmigration flows seemed to have stagnated.
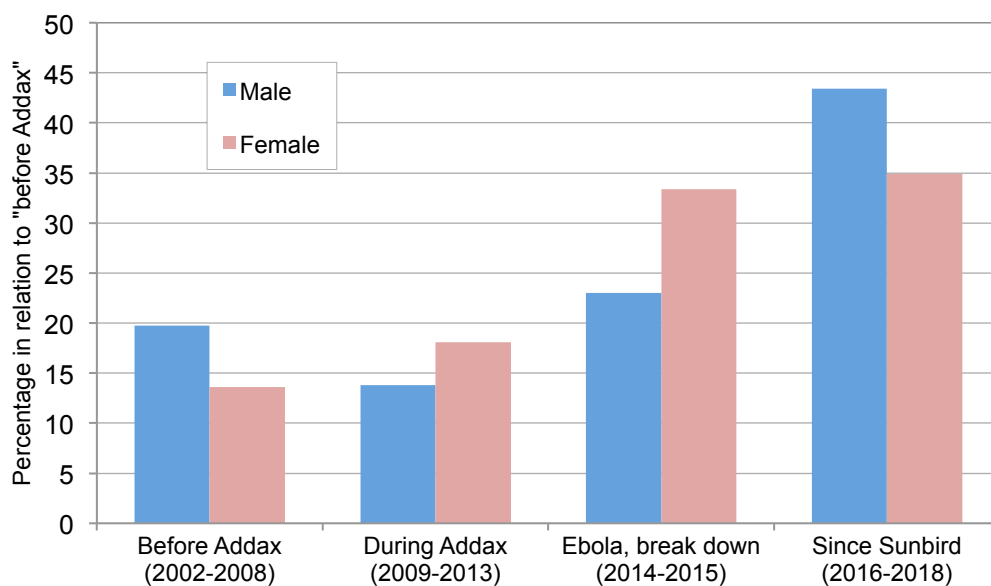

Figure 24: The emigrating adult landowners arranged according to the four time periods. In total, the blue and the pink bars each sum up to 100%. The percentage of migrated individuals had proportionally been converted in dependence on the duration of the time span 'Before Addax' (elaborated by the author).

8.1.2 Past In- and Outmigration of the tenants

In the following, section, I will present the in- and out-migration flows of tenants, who used to stay in Mamaria during past times. Thereby, I will first give an overview of the total amount of persons, their age and gender. Then, I will illustrate, why people immigrated, what their engagements in the village were and why they left once in a while. Afterwards, a historical outline of in- and outmigration flows from 2000 until 2018 will be discussed, before these flows will be arranged according to the four defined time periods.

Overview of the sample
The amount of tenants, which in- or out-migrated during the last 16 years explicitly varied between the genders. With a total in- and outflow of 109 male individuals, men found their way almost three times more to Mamaria than their female counterparts (s. Fig. 25). Also, the age distribution differed between the genders, since male tenants were in average nearly six years older than female ones (s. Fig. 26).
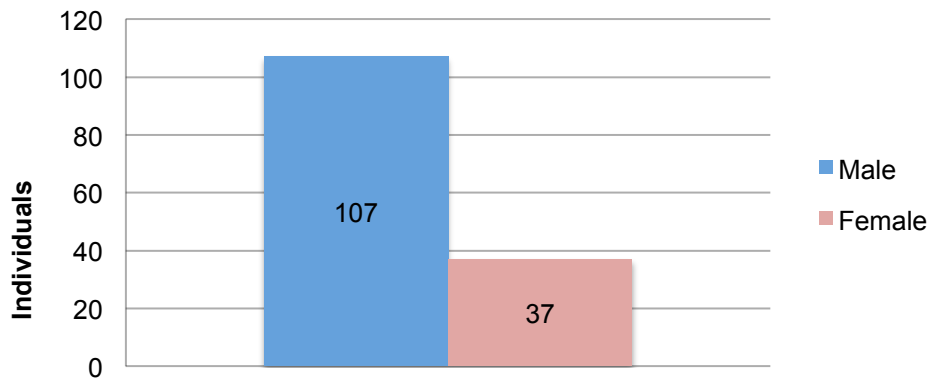
Figure 25: The total in- and outmigration flow of the tenants between 2000 and 2018 (elaborated by the author).
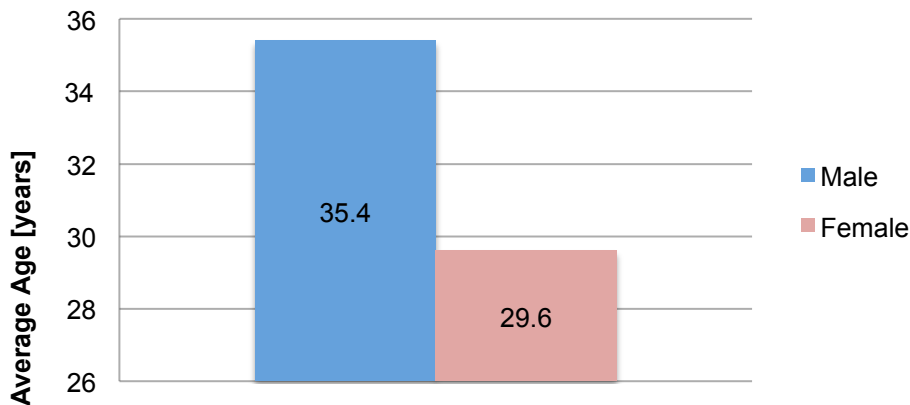

Figure 26: The average age of the in- and out-migrated tenants between 2000 and 2018 (elaborated by the author).

Reasons for the immigration and the activities in the village

The following graphs illustrate for what purpose tenants settled in Mamaria and which main activities shaped their everyday life. In figure 27, the reasons and the main daily activities of male immigrants are presented. The categories 'Addax worker', 'Sunbird worker' and 'A & S worker'[166] include that the particular tenant immigrated with the purpose to search a job at either of the two companies and in the subsequent effectively worked there. Most male immigrants (86%) searched and found a job from 2009 (when Addax began to employ) until March 2018. Striking is the high percentage of Addax workers compared to Sunbird workers (80% vs. 10%). Interestingly, only 4% of all participants outlasted the breakdown and were successfully reemployment by Sunbird. Furthermore, the category of 'Searched for a job' implicates that they came to seek for employment (at Addax or Sunbird) without any success. Only few (5 %) came to Mamaria for visits, to farm or to teach. This distribution of the single categories highlights the prominence of job-hunting related immigration reasons.

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[166] The category of 'A & S worker' stands for people, who first worked for Addax and later on for Sunbird.
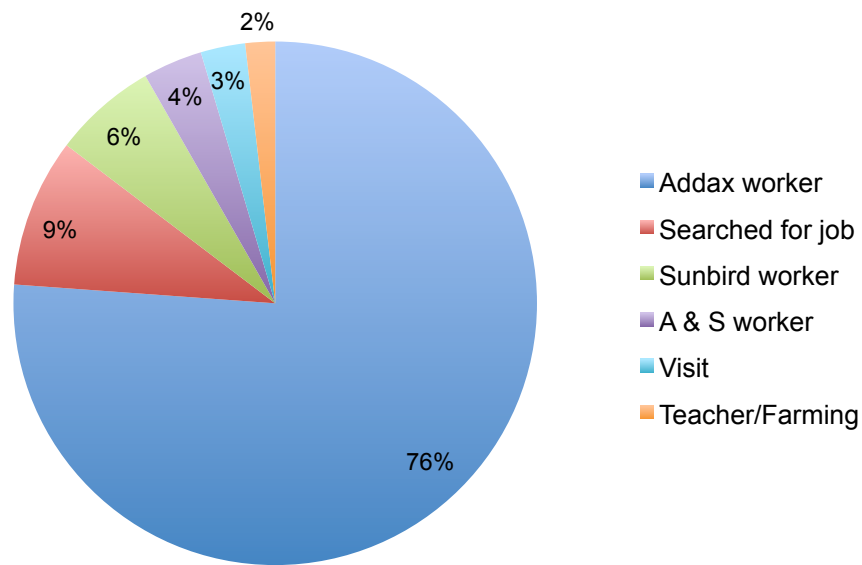
Figure 27: The immigration reasons and the daily activities of the male tenants (elaborated by the author).

Since most women (67%) immigrated with their husbands, female immigration patterns seemed to be highly influenced by male migration decisions (s. Fig. 28). Another 11% entered the village to marry a tenant or a landowner. The remaining 22% concerned job related immigration reasons. Thereof, 11% vainly tried to find an employment, while another 11 % finally were employed at either Addax or Sunbird. In contrast, to male tenants, no woman faced the opportunity to work for both companies.
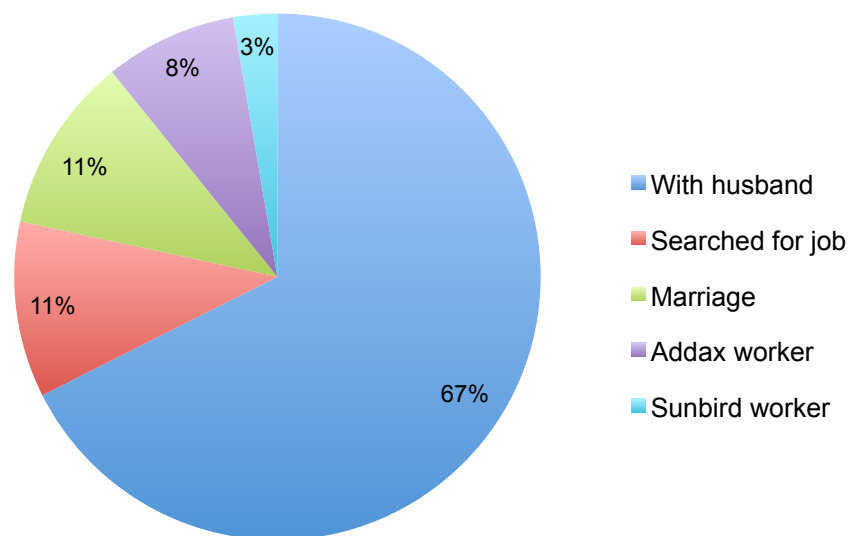

Figure 28: The immigration reasons and daily activities of the female tenants (elaborated by the author).

Reasons for the emigration

As the here-included tenants were not present in the village anymore, also the reasons for their emigration was gathered. The results present a clear picture. Men left the village because they had not a job (anymore) or because their position was shifted to a distant location (89%). Only few left the employment by their own decision (4%) or moved based on conflicts or divorces (3%). A minority of 3% left Mamaria due to other reasons (s. description in Fig. 29). Finally, 3% of household heads did not know, why their tenants left.

Women's emigration motives were only to 22% related to none existing job opportunities (anymore) (s. Fig. 30). In return, the most departures were caused by the migration decision of their husband (78%).
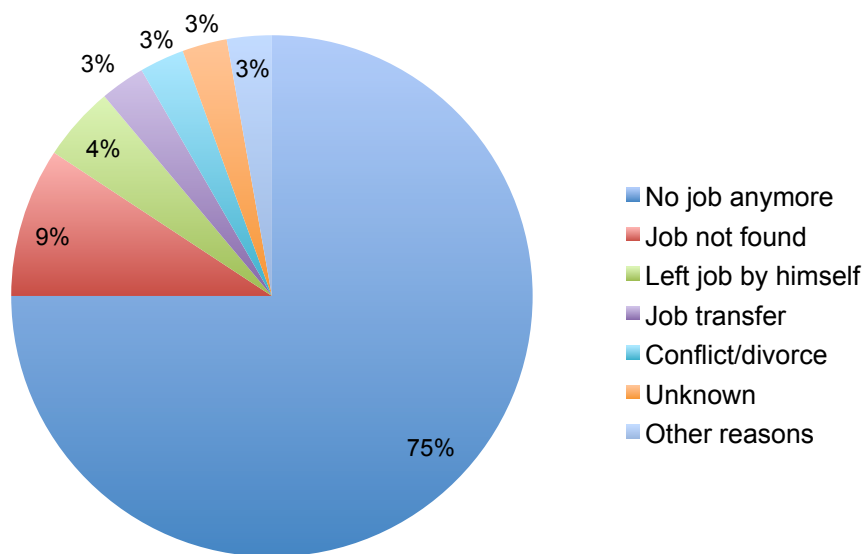

Figure 29: The emigration reasons of the male tenants. In the category of 'Other reasons' fall all surveyed persons, where the interviewed household head named hardship, completed farming periods or existing hope for better livelihood achievements, as the first reasons for their leave.
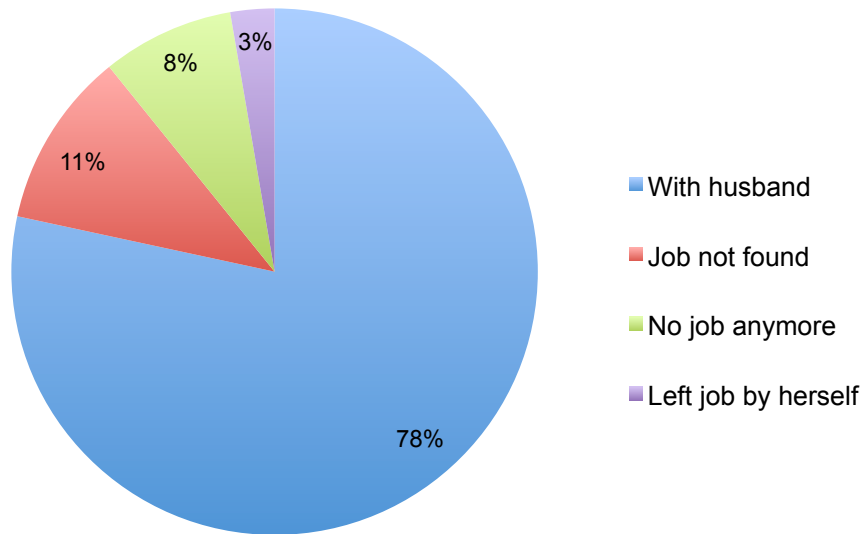
Figure 30: The emigration reasons of the female tenants (elaborated by the author).

In- and outmigration flows over time

Figure 31 and 32 illustrate the total in- and outmigration of the tenants since 2002 until today. As shown in figure 31 until 2008, male tenants only occasionally arrived in Mamaria. But from then on, the amount of immigrating men continually rose until 2011, before the inflow of people dropped to an interim low in 2013. Although, in-migrations slightly increased again in 2014, the total inflow sank below the emigration line. From then on, the immigration rate remained low with small fluctuations, until it dropped to zero in 2018. Obviously, the emigration rate behaved in a contraire manner. Men's outmigration began in 2010, whereby the 5 individual quotas never were cracked until 2013, when the leaves began to rise up to an absolute peak in 2015 with 32 individuals. From then on, the leaves dropped again to approximately 15 individuals in 2017 and 2018.

Figure 31: The total in- and outmigration of the male tenants from 2002 until 2018. The blue lines depict their immigration- and the red one their emigration-flow (elaborated by the author).

The corresponding table for female tenants presents a quite similar picture although totally three times less women entered and left the village (s. Fig. 32). Their immigratio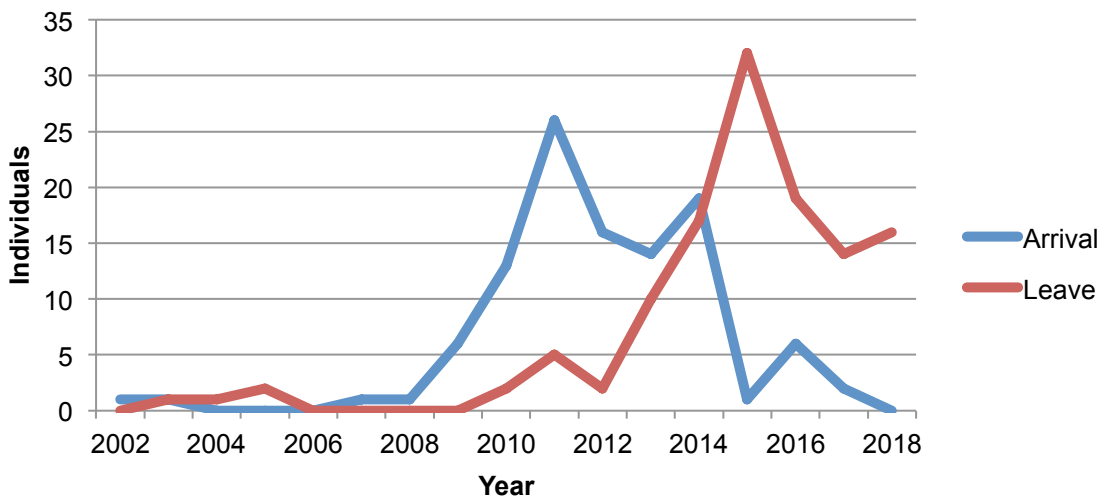n started a year earlier in 2008, with the maximum as well in 2011. Striking is that the interim low in 2015, the temporary increase in 2016 and the final drop to zero in 2018 overlapped quite well with the equivalent male immigration line. The female emigration started in 2012 and henceforth drastically grew to the maximum in 2015 (again the same year like the male maxima). Although, the rate dropped again, leaves remained frequent up to date.

As male and female immigration started between 2008 and 2009 and exceeded the emigration rate in 2014, since 2015 more people emigrated than immigrated.
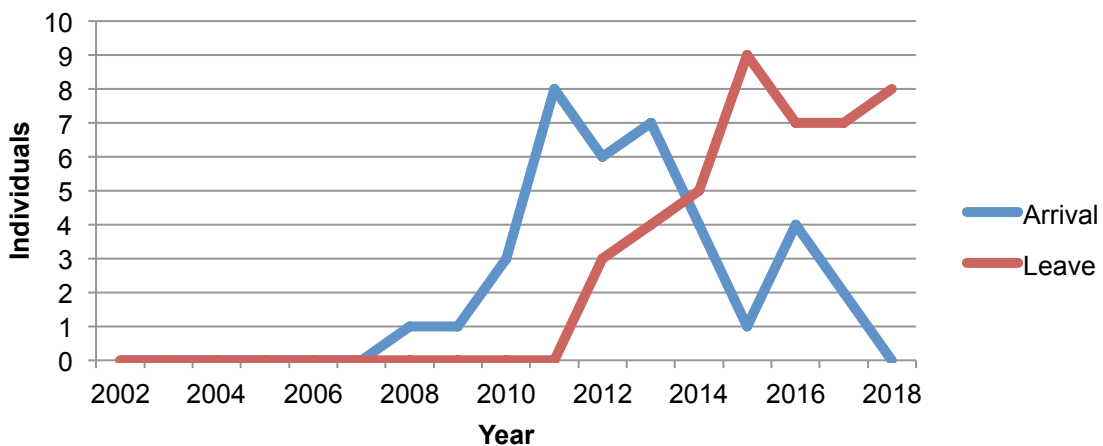

Figure 32: The total in- and outmigration of the female tenants from 2002 until 2018. The blue lines show their immigration- and the red one their emigration-flow (elaborated by the author).

Also for tenants I grouped the migration flows after the four time periods, whereby the connection between historical evidences and the in- and out-flows of tenants became more evident.

Figure 33 shows that before Addax almost no one immigrated to Mamaria. With the LSLA, numbers of male arrivals vastly increased to a share of 52.6%. With the breakdown, the immigration rate sank again approximately by one third (35%). Since Sunbird took over, numbers nosedived further to a small share of 9.4%. For women, the development of immigration flows was almost congruent. A steep increase from pre-Addax to Addax times and a subsequent decrease with the breakdown was similarly observable. The decrease to present immigration flows was not as explicit for women (note that these are not absolute numbers but rather proportions).

The picture of tenants' emigration was converse to the one of their arrivals (s. Fig. 34). Before Addax arrived in the area and during their operational time, the male emigration rate was low. With the breakdown, leaves strikingly rose. Hence, from the total amount of in- and out-migrated male tenants more than half (54.2%) left during the breakdown and Ebola. Since Sunbird took over, the rate indeed decreased to the share of 36.1% but remained high up to date. For female tenants, the portions of leaves were distributed almost equally compared to their male counterparts. Their leaves remained at zero or were low before and during Addax times and rose exorbitantly with the breakdown. Their share even slightly increased with the transition to Sunbird.
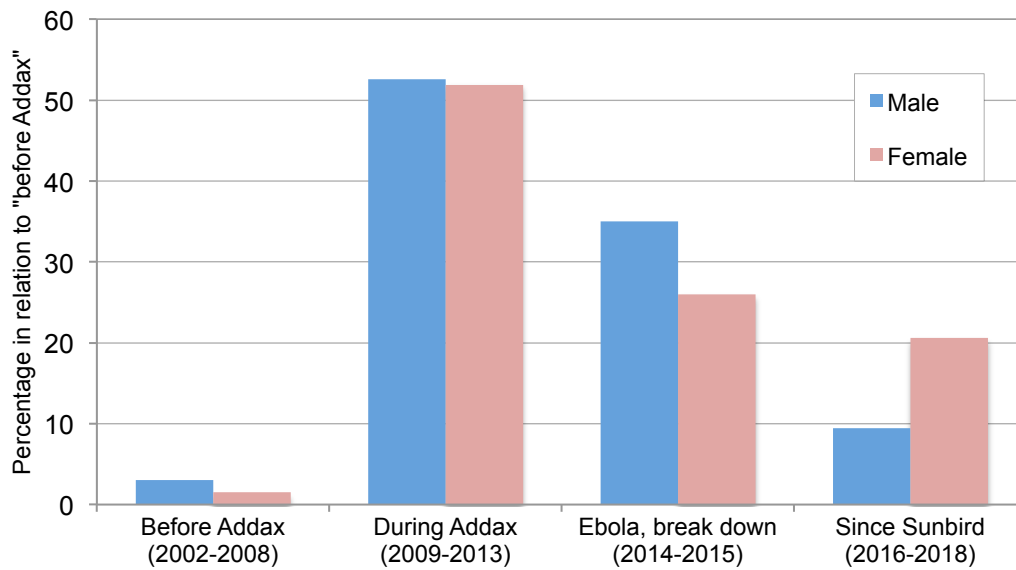
Figure 33: The arrivals of the tenants, who already left again. In total, the blue and the pink bars each sum up to 100%. The percentages of migrated individuals proportionally were converted in dependence on the duration of the time span 'Before Addax' (elaborated by the author).
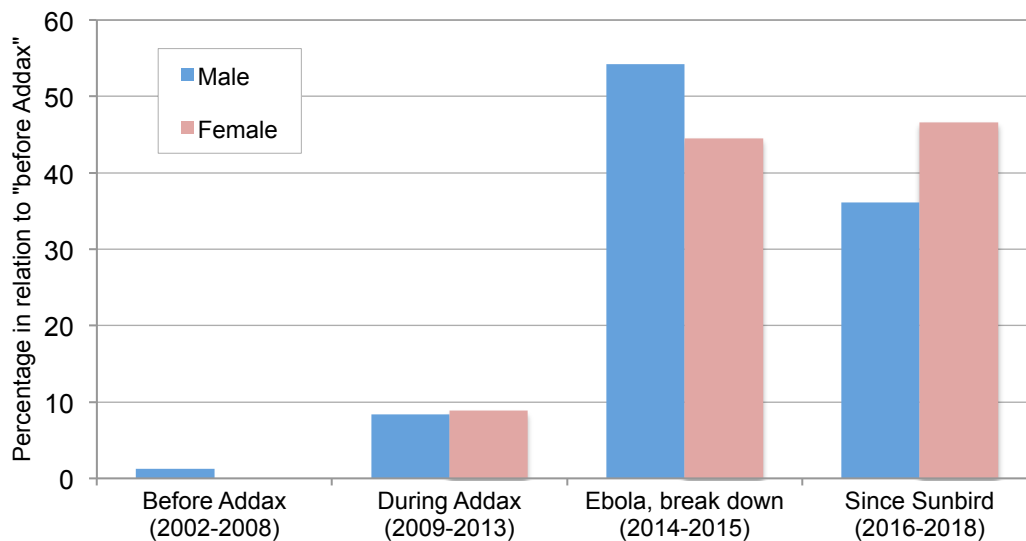
Figure 34: The leaves of the tenants, who already left again. In total the blue and the pink bars each sum up to 100%. The percentages of migrated individuals have proportionally been converted in dependence on the duration of the time span 'Before Addax' (elaborated by the author).

8.1.3   The currently present tenants

Lastly, I have a look at the currently present tenants. Also here the demographical characteristics of the surveyed sample will be outlined. Then, the reasons for tenants immigration and the chronological migration flows will be illustrated. Finally, these migration patterns will be grouped by the four time periods to possibly detect a connection between the migration flows and LSLA.

The tenants, who resided the longest in Mamaria arrived in 2007. Thus, the here-illustrated data begins in 2007. Nevertheless, it was possible that tenants, who immigrated before 2007 were still living in Mamaria but were not listed here. This would be the case, if a tenant married a member from a landowning family. Thereby, she or he became part of the community and thus was not considered as a tenant anymore.

Overview of the sample

In March 2018, totally 56 tenants were living in Mamaria. Accordingly, they represented 7.4 % of the total village population. Thereby, adult male tenants outnumbered their female counterparts almost by triple times (s. Fig. 35). Currently present tenants were comparably young, whereby males were in average 8.2 years older than females (s. Fig. 36).
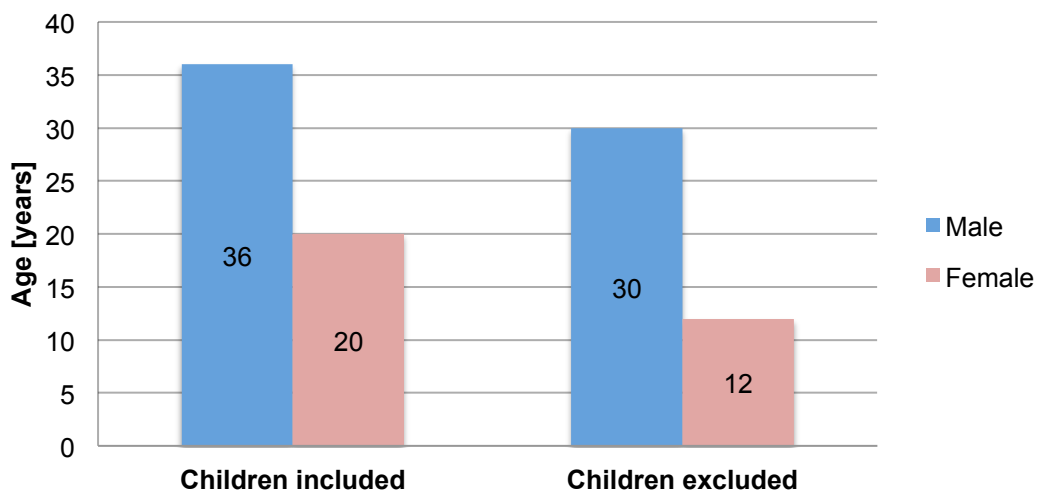
Figure 35: The total currently present tenants (elaborated by the author).
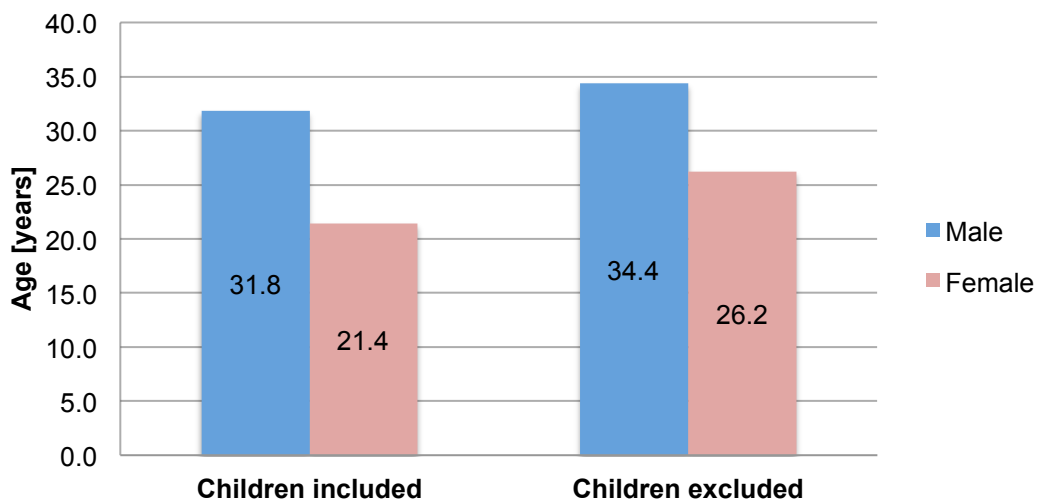
Figure 36: The average age of the currently present tenants (elaborated by the author).

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Reasons for the immigration and the current employment status

Regarding the currently present male tenants, household heads assumed that job hunting was the main reason for their tenant's immigration. Visible in figure 37, a bit more than the half (54%) of currently settling tenants were employed by Sunbird. Almost a quarter (23%) had worked for either Addax or Sunbird but was suspended. 20% of all male tenants were still searching a job. Only one man had not migrated primarily due to either job-hunting but rather built up a tailor shop (category 'Other').
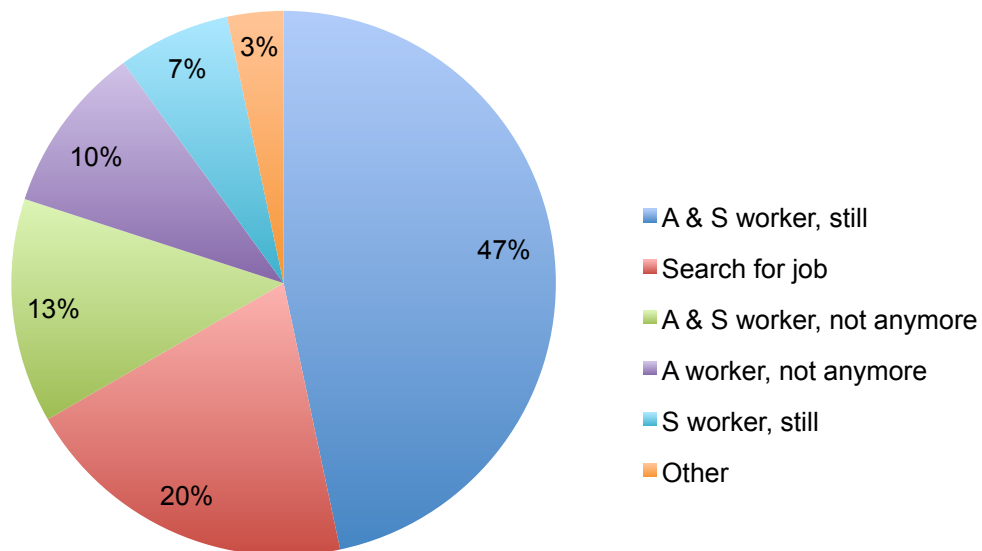
Figure 37: The immigration reasons and the employment situation of the currently present male tenants. The category 'A & S worker' concerns all tenants, who were working first for Addax and currently for Sunbird. Tenants, who tried and still were trying to achieve an employment, are found in the category 'Search for job'. People, who worked for Addax or for Addax and Sunbird but were suspended, are found in the groups 'A worker, not anymore' and 'A & S worker, not anymore'. The category 'S worker, still' entails every tenant, who used to be and still was employed by Sunbird. The only person who falls into the pool of 'Other' was the village's tailor (elaborated by the author).

The migration motivations that brought the women to Mamaria highly differed from the one of their male counterparts (s. Fig. 38). The vast majority (75%) of all women settled in the village due to engagements with a male tenant. Only 17% ever worked for the company, while at the moment not even one woman still was employed. Long-term visitors illustrated 8% of the sample.
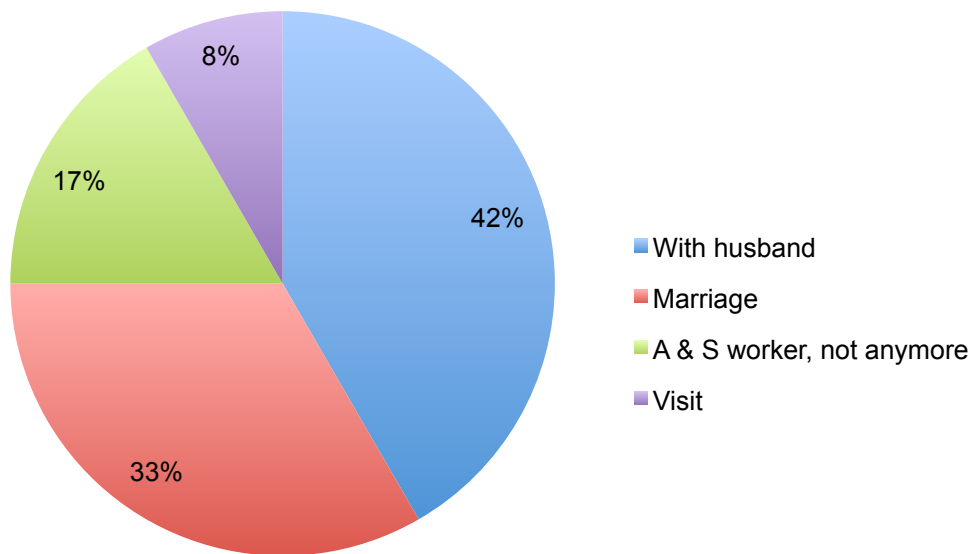
Figure 38: The immigration reasons and the employment situation of the currently present female tenants. The category 'With husband' refers to women, who immigrated due to their husband's decision. The category 'Marriage' entails all female that entered Mamaria to marry a male tenant. 'A & S worker, not anymore' refers to female tenants, which used to work for Addax and Sunbird but were suspended. In the category 'Visit' falls every tenant, who initially entered Mamaria for a visit but subsequently remained for a longer time period up to now.

Immigration flows over time

In figure 39, the immigration flows of male and female tenants over time are presented. Striking is that the inflow curves for men and women were highly congruent, except of the amounts. Only the immigration peak of male tenants in 2013 was not occurring for females at all. Otherwise, it can be generally stated that 2011 was a year of high inflow as well as the current year of 2018. Prominent were furthermore, the sharp declines of immigration flows in 2012 and from 2013 until 2016.
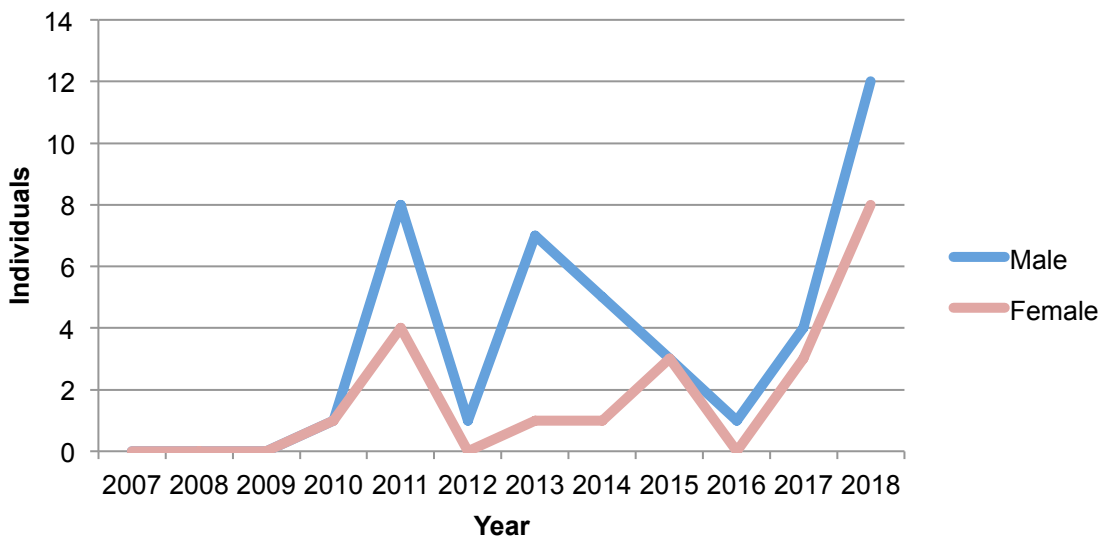
Figure 39: The immigration of the currently present Tenants from 2002 until 2018 (elaborated by the author).

The grouping after the four time periods shows that the share for both males and females rose from about 20% during Addax times, to 30% during and after breakdown to finally approx. 47%, since Sunbird arrived (s. Fig. 40). This exemplifies that the vast majority of currently present tenants entered the village within the last 4 years. As no currently present tenant arrived in pre-Addax times, the longest residence time was 9 years.
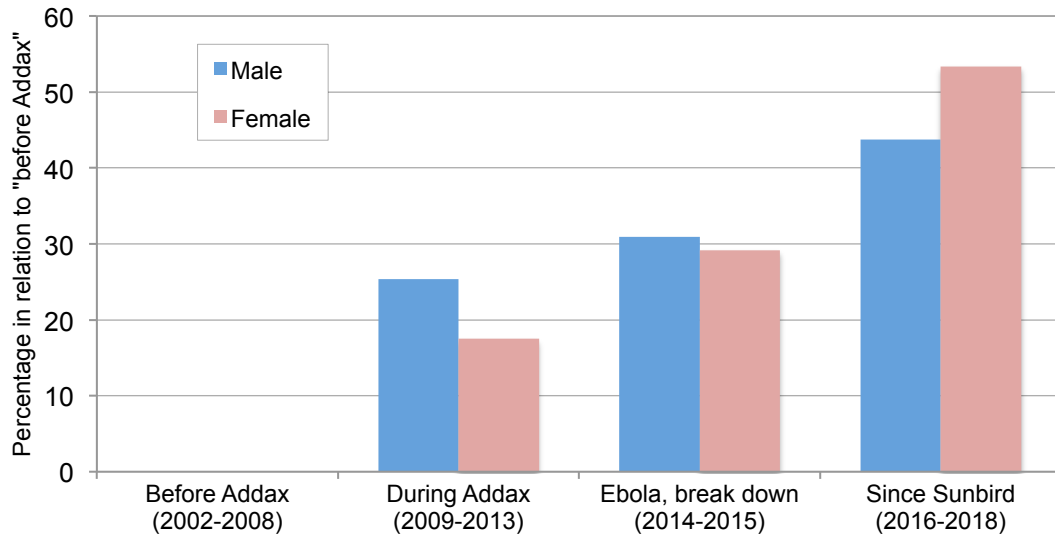
Figure 40: The arrivals of the currently present tenants. In total, the blue and the pink bars each sum up at 100%. The percentages of migrated individuals have proportionally been converted in dependence on the duration of the time span 'Before Addax' (elaborated by the author).

In this section, the quantitative results from the household study analysis were illustrated. Thereby, the single sample groups were introduced and their migration motivations, their activities at their destination as well as their chronological flows over time were demonstrated.

8.2 Influence of age, gender and social stratum

In this chapter, a strong correlation of the surveyed migration patterns with the contextual dimensions will be identified. Thereby, age and gender related patterns were highly interwoven with each other.

8.2.1 Age and gender patterns

Gender and age patterns could be recognized in all above-presented tables. Reasons for the upcoming disparities and congruencies respectively, were highly embedded into contextual traditions and institutional norms. In the following, the reasons for distinctive age distributions, migration amounts and unequal employment rates as well as matching migration flow curves will be collected and discussed.

Since the migrants' average age varied between 34.3 and 35.4 for men and between 26.2 and 32.2 for women (without children), they were generally quite young. The causes for this young and unified age distribution were of distinct nature. First, I recognized that most Sierra Leonean men become a father quite early (between 20 and 25 years) and beget up to 20 children with different wives. Under these circumstances the responsibility rises higher and higher with every born child. Hence, I assume that men's responsibilities are usually the highest within their thirties. At that age, they namely still present the only

household member, who comes up for daily needs and school fees, since the firstborns are not matured yet to help their fathers in achieving a living. But as soon as the offspring grew up and hence, is able to come up for his or her smaller siblings and the parents (mainly sons are obligated to do so), the responsibility backpack lying on the father's shoulders become lighter.

Accordingly, it is not surprising that in my case especially men migrated in terms to search an employment. As most workers did not bring along a high educational background, they predominantly were employed in manual jobs. For these, they had to be physically fit, wherefore a younger age was advantageous to acquire a post.

Based on the above-stated circumstances, I assume that the surveyed average age distributions of male migrants were not by chance fluctuating around 35 years. Rather, I perceive that exactly these circumstances formed the reason, why surveyed male migration rates were particularly high between an age of 30 and 45 years and why these rates declined again after males passed ca. 45 years. This indicates that upcoming patterns for male migrants were clearly influenced by traditional life circles and obligations that enhanced pressures to succeed on the particular age groups. These high responsibilities that men were facing due to their sheer amount of offspring and through the socially constructed role assignments, were one reason for the unequal distribution of migration causes between men and women. I recognized that men migrated mainly in terms of job-hunting, while females moved due to patrilocal living traditions or broken relationships. As men were the family leaders, they decided, if their wife should either migrate with or to them, or if she should remain at his or her parents' house (s. 7.1) (Unusa 1.4.2018). This culturally embedded social norm explains, why most female tenants in- or out-migrated and it also explains, why landowning women left. Since, the main cause for female movements originated from these relational backgrounds and since women usually married before or around their twentieth year of age, it is not surprising that the average age level of female migrants clearly was below the one of their male counterparts.

Moreover, it is striking that both companies employed more often men instead of women. Hereof, I suppose that the causes ensued from multiple origins. First, a Sunbird and previously Addax deputy disclosed to me that the company opines that a woman should not have to do these physically hard jobs. Thus, they would prefer to employ men instead of women (Pers. Com.). Hence, I assume that women were disadvantaged due to their lower physical strength. Secondly, I presume that the traditional imaginations of female daily activities and obligations did not fit to an engagement in a fulltime job. Especially, I observed that if a woman still had suckling children, she was incapable to leave the house for a whole day. Also, in the case that children were older, many women struggled to find a person (mostly relatives), who would have been willing to care for the children for several days a week. I met only one case, where the husband remained at home and looked after the children, while the woman went to work. Thus, I perceive that the socially constructed hurdle hindered many females to apply for a post at the company. Further, one female interviewee stated that her husband explicitly forbid her to apply for a position at either of the two companies (Adamse 28.3.2018).

The general obligation that females have to live patrilocal and that males have to care for their (extended) families also set the basis to explicate divergent migration amounts between the genders. Hence, women left their settlements to live with their spouse, while men mostly preferred to migrate alone and to leave behind their wives and children. This culturally emerged behaviour explicates, why men commonly outnumbered women in

terms of immigration and in reverse, why more landowning women left to reside at their husband's hometown.

Moreover, I assume that the societal constructed obligations and norms also explain the emergence of uniform and non-uniform migration flow curves for tenants and landowners respectively. Female tenants namely followed their husbands. Hence, the moments of in and out-flows of male and female tenants largely corresponded. I suppose that the amount of moving male tenants primarily differed from the amount of immigrating female tenants because only some men decided to take their wives along.

Concerning the landowners, most males did not take along their wives, as the destinations and the way of living were highly unsure (s. Chap. 7.1.1). This is why, only a minority of native women left Mamaria to follow their men. In turn, most landowning women left to meet their patrilocal way of living. As a consequence, the emigration curves of landowning migrants did not show crucial gender correlations.

In this chapter, I exemplified, why certain patterns in age and gender related migration structures emerged. Thereby, the socially founded expectations and responsibilities each gender is urged to meet, set the basis for the emergence of gendered disparities and similarities within the migration related phenomena.

8.2.2   Emergent patterns between the different migration groups

In the following, I will address and discuss the patterns that are recognizable, when the three defined migration groups are compared with each other. These concern the tenants' short residence time, the female in- and outflow rates and the social strata disparities.

By comparing the pie charts of the currently present tenants with the one of the tenants, who have already left Mamaria, it is striking that in earlier times the employment rate must have been higher than today. Namely, 86% of all male and 11% of all female tenants were employed, before they decided to migrate. Nowadays, only 54% of all male and 0% of all female tenants were salaried by Sunbird. This numerical finding fit with the villagers' complains about declined employment opportunities.

Furthermore, the male tenants were mainly engaged in labour at the company, while the male migrated landowners were attempted to make a living through a handful of strategies. Hence, the daily activities varied clearly between the tenants and the landowners. However, I recognized that this difference was not social stratum specific but rather originated from the local circumstances. As I namely showed in chapter 7.3.2 different locations provided distinct labour opportunities.

Regarding the migration motivations and the daily activities of the female migrants, the picture looks quite unified. Most women were engaged in typical female tasks, whereby job related activities were rare. Thereby, the degree of the female tenants, who left for job-hunting, was slightly higher than the equivalent for the female landowners. This deviation could be explained by the labour hotspot Mamaria and its surroundings formed or still forms. Consequently, I assume that the few cases of migrating women were concentrated in my research area.

The estimated high immigration and emigration rate of the tenants in the on-going year indicates a high turnover rate. Hence, I assume that many tenants immigrated due to high hopes of finding an engagement at Sunbird. Hereof, I suppose that hopes remain high because labour opportunities during Addax times were realistic and because people

heard that Sunbird readopted the production. But as real chances were low, the resulting common redundancy led again to heightened emigration flows.

Finally, when I compare the social strata with each other, two patterns are noticeable. First, far more female landowners emigrated than female tenants arrived in the village. But, as the total amount of currently present women did not indicate a shifting gender ratio over time, I assume that the pattern arose through survey related circumstances. Female tenants, who were married to a landowner in the village, were namely not surveyed as tenants but rather as residential landowners. Second, when we have a look at the migration flows of the male tenants and the male landowners, it might by almost confusing that the emigration rates of the two strata did not match with each other. But as soon as the flows are grouped after the four time periods, patterns get visible. Namely, for both strata the emigration rates were low during Addax times and clearly rose with the shutdown. I assume that the tenants' outmigration decreased in Sunbird times due to the lower numbers of tenants, who resided in Mamaria anyway. In contrast, the landowners' emigration even rose with the take over by Sunbird.

In this chapter the observed age, gender and social stratum patterns in migration flows were addressed and discussed. It became evident that the cultural background had a huge influence if, who and at which age possibly migrates. Moreover, the structuring into the four time periods clarified that the emigration flows of tenants and landowners broadly matched with each other.

8.3   Change over time of the migration reasons

In the chapters' 7.3.1 and 7.4.2 the qualitative results concerning stated migration reasons of landowners and tenants were elucidated. Here, the group of the past in- and out-migrated tenants and the in-migrated currently present tenants will be unified again to the one category of tenants. I did so, because only qualitative data is used and because the data from the household survey and the interviews are combined. Moreover, to be capable to analyse, if migration decisions were interconnected with the LSLA, the mentioned migration reasons (from the qualitative and the quantitative survey) will be listed according to the four time lines: 'Before Addax', 'During Addax', 'Ebola, breakdown' and 'Since Sunbird'. Based on the gathered data about traditional livelihoods and the impacts of the LSLA (either Addax or Sunbird), I will assign the migration reasons to either internal or external influenced factors. Thereby, the classification into these two classes and the assignment to either predominantly male respectively female causes, do not aim to be comprehensive. It is rather based on the single interviews, the household survey, personal communications and participative observations. Thus, it represents one possible way to simplify the interrelated and manifold information I gathered throughout my field stay. The reasons, which were stated the most, were identified as main migration triggers (written in bolt letters - s. Tab. 12). Nonetheless, for a minority of interview partners the determining migration reason might be written in narrow letters.

8.3.1   Changes of migration reasons - The landowners

According to diverse interview partners, migration flows existed before Addax arrived (s. Tab. 12 row 1, line 1). During these times, male landowners would mainly have migrated to the mining areas (mostly diamond and sometimes also gold mining), while women primarily emigrated to other rural settlements (e.g. engagements). Males left due to low ac-

cess to financial assets and the resulting difficulties to solve arising problems (e.g. school fees, health care, debts etc.) (Ayo 27.4.2018, v.ch.Marok. 16.3.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). Nonetheless, interviews clarified that people would have had enough food and that mainly the lack of money would have caused difficulties. Returnees would have brought wealth to the whole settlement and especially enhanced their families' livelihoods (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). Hence, I assume that imaginations and interconnected expectations played an important role for the raise of a landowner's migration aspiration. Moreover, I suppose that most emigrants only returned when they were successful at their destinations.

As Addax arrived, chiefs told me that most landowners would not have left anymore but rather returned from the mines in attempts to be hired by the company (s. Tab. 12 row 1, line 2) (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018). The few, who still left were not employed and mostly had a call from somebody. Although already during those times social changes arose and other migration-enhancing factors existed, I suppose that the high job opportunities, with comparably high and constant salaries, overtrumped the pushing factors. Hence, outmigration flows remained low.

With the breakdown and the consequential common redundancy, previous latent pushing factors suddenly became striking (s. Tab. 12 row 1, line 3). Accordingly, changing ideologies (e.g. laziness to farm, gained skills, used to hand money) and consequences from reduced access to land and other natural resources were crucial migration triggers. Hardship came in (e.g. hunger, inability to solve problems etc.), whereby claims and expectations rose. Thus, I observed that most migrants only returned when they were successful at their destination.

Since Sunbird took over, I observed that the range of possible migration causes was further amplified (Tab. 12 row 1, line 4). First, since soil fertilities decreased and fire bans were mandated, the negative outcomes and agricultural restrictions due to the land demise additionally rose. Moreover, the persistent redundancy and the delayed payments led to frequent indebtedness. Social changes became manifested, wherewith modified ideologies represented a supplementary pushing factor. Since, only few labour opportunities still existed, most landowners perceived a remigration as unrealistic, unless they found what they searched for (except the ones, who migrated due to social connections).

Finally, the reasons for female landowners to migrate had not changed much over time (Tab. 12 row 1, line 1-4). Most left due to marriage or other engagements. They used to return only if conflicts endured, whereby separations or divorces took place. Only recently, few women began to leave autonomously to educate themselves or to start a business. All of them were not engaged (anymore) and financed their migration through saved revenues.

8.3.2   Changes in migration reasons - The tenants

Before Addax, only few tenants immigrated to build up a new life in Mamaria as farmers (Tab. 12 row 2, line 1). As the area was famous for its vast palm tree forests, men also temporarily immigrated to tap palm wine (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018). As I had not interviewed any tenant, who in- or out-migrated to or from any of the three villages during pre-Addax times, I cannot make any comment about pushing factors. Furthermore, why exactly tenants left during those times, was neither evident during my interviews nor through the household survey.

I observed that with the arrival of Addax, immigration motivations shifted completely (Tab. 12 row 2, line 2). Influenced through social connections, men immigrated to search for paid labour. Main pushing factors were the redundancy and the commonly low access to financial assets. With the breakdown, pushing factors remained the same but pulling factors got vanished, as vacancies did not exist anymore (Tab. 12 row 2, line 3).

Since Sunbird took over, new job openings emerged again, although to a lower degree (Tab. 12 row 2, line 4). Therewith, hopes to achieve a paid labour emerged anew, whereby immigration rates rose slightly.

For female tenants the reasons for in- and outmigration did remarkably not change over time (Tab. 12 row 2, line 1-4). Rather women immigrated for marriage or to accompany their husbands. They left again with their husband or more seldom due to divorces.

As it became clear, tenants' emigration reasons changed over time. During Addax they only left, if an urgent call from back home occurred. But since the breakdown, outmigration was predominantly triggered through redundancy.

In the explanations above, it became evident that landowners' as well as tenants' migration was provoked by internal and external factors (s. Tab. 12). The intra-familial duties and claims, as well as the intra-communal expectations towards family heads, formed a striking factor for rising migration aspirations. The existence of social connections further crucially effected migration patterns. Especially for women, the intra-familial duty to reside patrilocal represented the main migration reason.

Nonetheless, external influences fostered some of these culturally manifested factors. Namely, most of the predominant reasons for out-migrations (of landowners and tenants) were interconnected with the practices of either one of the two companies (e.g. access to natural or economic capital). Also the attraction of male tenants or the return of male landowners was highly provoked by the companies' operations (e.g. vacancies). Nonetheless, landowners' return was as well influenced by other external (e.g. living circumstances, degree of success) and internal (expectations, claims) factors. The immigration by tenants was fostered by other external factors, which were not directly connected to the LSLA (e.g. access to education or economic capital). For women, external factors were mainly indirectly affecting their migration decision, since they often follow their husband, who might have decided to leave due to externally induced circumstances.

In this chapter, a chronological overview about mentioned migration reasons of landowners and tenants was elaborated. Thereby, the changes of major migration triggers were elucidated in dependence on gender. Further, it was shown that migration reasons were influenced by both internal and external factors. The internal factors stayed more or less stable over time, while the external ones highly fluctuated. The LSLA was identified as one of these fluctuating external factors, which seems to vastly influence migration reasons, especially on a local level.

In the following chapter, the patterns, which were elaborated in this and the previous subchapters, will be combined to provide a more comprehensive picture, on how the LSLA and the migration flows were interconnected.

Table 12: The migration reasons arranged according to the previously defined time periods: Before Addax, Addax, Breakdown, Sunbird. Black = Valid for male and female. Blue = Mainly valid for female. Pink = Mainly valid for male. Bolt = Predominant migration reasons. In brackets = Factors not necessarily affected through the external factor of the LSLA but rather through other external factors (e.g. economic situation) or through intra-familial or intra-communal factors (e.g. conflicts, expectations, marriages). Not in brackets = Factors affected through the external factor of the LSLA (elaborated by the author).

Group & Direction of Migration Flow		Time period			
		Before Addax (line 1)	During Addax (line 2)	Ebola, Breakdown (line 3)	Since Sunbird (line 4)
Landowner (row 1)	**Emigration**	• (Low access to economic capital) • (Debts) • (Marriage)/with husband • (Conflicts) • (Education) • (Imaginations/ Expectations) • (Social Network)	• Changed ideology • Reduced to land and natural resource • Redundancy • Debts • Education • (Marriage)/with husband • (Conflicts) • (Imaginations/ Expectations) • (Social Network)	• Changed ideology • Reduced to land and natural resources • Debts • Redundancy • Education • (Marriage)/with husband • (Conflicts) • (Imaginations/ Expectations) • (Social Network)	• Changed ideology • Reduced to land and natural resources • Fire Management • Debts • Redundancy • Education • (Marriage)/with husband • (Conflicts) • (Imaginations/ Expectations) • (Social Network)
	Return	• (Call from home) • (Success at destination) • (Divorce)/with husband	• (Call from home) • (Success at destination) • Employment at Addax • (Divorce)/with husband	• (Call from home) • (Success at destination) • (Divorce)/with husband	• (Call from home) • (Success at destination) • Employment call from Sunbird • (Divorce)/with husband
Tenant (row 2)	**Im-migration**	• Farming • Wine tappers	• (Low access to economic capital) • (Hard farm work and low harvests) • (Redundancy) • (Marriage)/with husband • (Conflicts) • (Imaginations/ Expectations) • (Social Network) • Labour possibilities	• (Low access to economic capital) • (Hard farm work and low harvests) • (Redundancy) • (Marriage)/with husband • (Conflicts) • (Imaginations/ Expectations) • (Social Network) • Labour possibilities	• (Low access to economic capital) • (Hard farm work and low harvests) • (Redundancy) • (Marriage)/with husband • (Conflicts) • (Imaginations/ Expectations) • (Social Network) • Labour possibilities
	Emigration	No Data	• Call from home • Redundancy • Broken relationships • (Divorce)/with husband • Restricted access to land and natural resources	• Call from home • Redundancy • Broken relationships • (Divorce)/with husband • Restricted access to land and natural resources	• Call from home • Redundancy • Broken relationships • (Divorce)/with husband • Restricted access to land and natural resources

8.4   Interconnectedness of the LSLA and the migration flows

Finally, the found chronological migration patterns and the identified migration reasons are combined with each other. Therewith, a profound picture of the past and the present influences of the LSLA on the migration flows will be discussed. It will be shown that the LSLA induced transformations and the major migration reasons as well as the emergent migration flows, were highly interconnected with each other.
Initially, I will explain the interconnectedness of the LSLA and the migration flows of landowners, followed by the equivalent for tenants. In each case, first the patterns for males and then the equivalent for the females will be presented.

8.4.1   Interconnectedness of the LSLA and the migration flows of the landowners

The following explanations will show, how precisely the mentioned capital affections and surveyed migration reasons matched with the quantitative findings of the grouped migration flows. In pre-Addax times, natural resources, as land, palm trees and fishing ponds were abundant and thus formed the basis of people's life. Nonetheless, as cash was rare, the farm work hard and the imagination about distant mines glorious, male landowners left the area to search for a more lucrative way of living.
I showed that with the large-scale LLAA, people's livelihood basis largely shifted from subsistence agriculture to paid labour. As vast arable lands and forest gardens were transformed into sugarcane monocultures, people's access to natural capitals highly deteriorated. Nonetheless, as outmigration flows and hardship decreased, the augmented access to other capitals, especially economic capital, seems to have offset the deteriorated access to natural capitals.
As the government delegated multiple migration bans during the Ebola epidemic (Peak et al. 2018), I assume that the epidemic did not foster but rather hinder upcoming migration aspirations. Hence, increased migration flows during 2014 and 2015 could rather be connected with the breakdown. The shift from natural to economic capital, as a main livelihood basis, was namely challenged through the shutdown. I recognized that people were forced to return to old routines, whereby the consequences of the land relinquishment increasingly affected people's lives. I showed that depending on the social status, individual habitus, size of responsibility backpacks and villages' reserve land/population ratio, single families faced more or less hardship. These augmented struggles to achieve an adequate living were reflected in the augmented out-migration flows of both, landowners and tenants.
The change to Sunbird first brought hope. Nonetheless, the company's delayed payments, the, as insufficient perceived, jobs offers and the involvement of further external impacts resulted in persistent struggles to maintain a living. As a consequence, I observed that out-migration flows rose exorbitantly.

Identified female migration patterns over time were not congruent with the one of their male counterparts. One explanation is that women's movement patterns only originated partially from external influences, while males' outmigration flows were highly influenced by LSLA's induced external factors. Hereof, I assume that migration aspirations, which arose from attempts to reunify a family, were indeed interconnected with the companies' operations. Females' migration decisions were namely linked to the one of their husband, which were especially triggered by the LSLA. Nonetheless, I suppose that a more or less steady amount of women left due to internal factors, which were based on culturally manifested norms and rules (e.g. living patrilocal).

8.4.2 Interconnectedness of the LSLA and the migration flows of the tenants

In the following, the assembling of the single findings (concerning locally available capitals) and discovered migration reasons (with the grouped migration flows over time, s. Fig. 33, 34, 40) will dismantle close congruencies of tenants' migration flows and the LSLA induced parameters.

Firstly, I identified the internally and the externally influences, which had no connection to the LSLA operations, as pushing factors (s. Tab. 12). Secondly, the externally triggered existence of labour possibilities at a destination acted as the major pulling factor of a certain area. As no labour opportunities, besides agricultural engagements existed in Mamaria and its surroundings during pre-Addax times, just some tenants in-migrated to utilize the abundant natural capitals. Nonetheless, as these were available at multiple places all over the country, immigration flows remained low.

It is striking that as soon as Addax arrived and people heard about raising job opportunities, immigration rates skyrocketed. Besides, small fluctuations, immigration rates remained high throughout the whole production time (s. Fig. 31-32). Only with the breakdown common redundancy came in. Thereby, the primary attraction of the area decreased (e.g. missing vacancies). Simultaneously, tenants' ability to fall back on other life-sustaining activities (e.g. farming or business) got restricted. Hence, both internal and external impacts led to substantial pushing factors for tenants still residing in the lease area. Consequently, the emigration rates rose and immigration flows dropped. Nonetheless, I assume that the lower pulling factors and the risen pushing factors did not stop emigrations from tenants' origin[167], but rather diverted the flows to other destinations.

With the take-over by Sunbird, alleged job opportunities reactivated immigration flows. But I observed that the continuing rare vacancies let tenants frequently return to their origin. These observations stay in line with the argumentation that people would just stay as long as they would achieve a position or remain employed (c.ch.Mam. 17.2.2018, v.ch.Marok 16.3.2018, v.ch.Mataro 16.3.2018).

Also the arrival curves of currently present tenants stay in line with the surveyed migration reasons and the observed migration patterns. The area continued to be connoted as a job-hotspot. But as the rare vacancies caused disillusion, people left soon again. Consequently, short residence times combined with lasting high immigration rates resulted in high turnover rates of immigrants.

The migration curve of female tenants highly overlaps with the one of their male counterparts. The majority of women moved either to follow their husbands or to enter an engagement with a tenant residing in Mamaria. Accordingly, internal factors mainly influenced their migration. Nonetheless, as women's movements highly depended on their husband's decisions, their migration flows were connected to the external factors influenced by LSLA. It is striking that current female in- and out-migrations proportionally were higher than the one of male tenants. I assume that this pattern could have various reasons, ranging from enhanced family reunifications and frequent marriages to augmented autonomous female migration[168].

The above illustrations showed that most migration reasons were directly (male) or indirectly (female) influenced by the LSLA. The various factors might foster or hinder the migration

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[167] Since I did not observe any evidence that a decrease of pushing factors at tenants' destinations existed.
[168] These are only speculations as no clear congruencies with precise causes could be found.

flows. Hereof, I identified that fostering could be of positive or negative nature. The achievement of economic capital or skills might enable labourers to pursue their aims. These might include investments in education or the establishment of inter-regional businesses. In such a case, the LSLA would positively foster migration practices. But the LSLA related external influences of local redundancy or reduced access to natural capitals present examples of negative migration triggers. Also migration-hindering factors that were interconnected with the LSLA could be understood in a positive or a negative relation. The provision of labour would depict an example of a positive migration-hindering factor for landowners. In contrast, redundancy would be an example of a negative migration-hindering factor for tenants. So depending from the perspective (tenants vs. landowner), the same factor could be perceived as a positively or negatively fostering or hindering migration factor.

I observed that landowners resided or returned and tenants resided or immigrated as long as employment rates remained high. As soon as operations were scaled down and labourers were suspended, outmigration increased, while immigration decreased. I conclude from the found congruency of the LSLA operations with the emergent migration flows and the predominant migration reasons (quantitative and qualitative) that the LSLA operations and occurring migration patterns are indeed interconnected. The operational degree determines, whether tenants are attracted and landowners' sedentariness is enhanced or if tenants' and landowners' immigration flows decrease and emigration rates grow.

9   Discussion

In this chapter, I will conduct a sustainability analysis of the surveyed livelihoods after the SLA (Chambers & Conway 1991 - s. Chap 3.1). Thereby, the comparison of the perceived traditional livelihood sustainability with the present one will show that LSLA indeed can augment peoples living basis but that the enhancements are highly insecure. It will be shown that current migration practices did either enhance or deplete the livelihood sustainability of individuals and whole households. Hereafter, a profound consideration and a linking of the findings with the contextual framework of Sierra Leone will complement our perception. Thereby, the surveyed outcomes of highly insecure and vulnerable livelihoods will be relativized to some degree. Finally, the results of this thesis will be compared with the existing literature before an outlook will conclude the discussion.

9.1   The influence of the LSLA on the local livelihood outcomes and the achieved livelihood sustainability

In the following two subchapters, I will show that the locally achieved livelihood outcomes and their sustainability were highly influenced by the (non-) presence of ABSL and Sunbird respectively.

9.1.1   The livelihood outcomes over time

In pre-Addax times the villagers were indeed able to maintain a rural simple life through the utilization of the vast natural resources, which surrounded their villages. Nonetheless, the insufficient access to financial capital restricted their capacity to maintain an adequate living. Consequences were low access to clothing, tools, healthcare, education and mobility. People indeed tried to diversify their livelihoods but they lacked the abilities to do so. With the large-

scale land lease by Addax, the livelihood outcomes of most villagers were augmented. Although, vast natural resources were destructed, the improved access to economic capital enabled whole families to enhance their material and non-material wellbeing. Children went to school, houses were built and businesses flourished. Also people's capacity to diversify their livelihoods, led to the development of new life-sustaining practices (e.g. business).

With the breakdown and the change to Sunbird, the livelihood situation changed again. Hereof, the newly gained access to economic capital was lost again. As reserve land became scarce, people were unable to fully readopt their traditional way of living. Simultaneously, possibilities to rely on other livelihood strategies declined. Consequently, the material and the non-material wellbeing decreased, at least to the level of pre-Addax times or even below.

I observed that these livelihood outcomes villagers were able to achieve, within the certain time periods, matched with the found migration flow rates. It is namely striking that the lower the material and non-material wellbeing of the population was, the higher the migration outflows were. In contrast, the better the chance for high material and non-material wellbeing was, the more immigration took place.

9.1.2 The livelihood sustainability over time

Subsequently, the identified livelihood sustainability in pre-Addax times will be compared with the achieved one since the LSLA took place. To do so people's narrations about past and present livelihoods will be analysed concerning their environmental, social and intergenerational sustainability. Finally, I will have a look at the competition as one parameter of net sustainability. Table 13 provides a simplified visualization of the findings.

The results of this chapter are based on narrations about the past. Hence, possible perceptual weighting of my interviewees could lead to biased conclusions (s. Chap. 4.7.3).

Table 13: Degree of livelihood sustainability arranged after the four time periods. As this illustration presents only a simplification of the truth and does not have the aim of being complete, the degree of the achieved sustainability are not illustrate in absolute numbers but rather in relative proportions to each other. To facilitate the legibility, I assume that 'before Addax' all sustainable variables were medium. Thus, the table shows the sustainability of the single time periods in dependence on the area 'Before Addax'.

Degree of Sustainability	Before Addax	Addax	Ebola & Breakdown	Since Sunbird
Environmental Sustainability	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Social Sustainability	Medium	High	Low	Low
Intergenerational Sustainability	Medium	Medium	Low	Low
Degree of Competition	Medium	High	High	High

I assume that through the LSLA especially villager's local environmental sustainability declined. This presumption is based on the vast land surface transformation by the LSLA with the consequential increasing pressure on the remaining natural capitals. Moreover, interviewees mentioned that whole ecosystems were destroyed and soil fertilities had declined.

Hence, I question if the stressed or even eradicated natural capitals are capable to recover from these emaciations (through monocultures, herbicides etc.) or if the large-scale modifications will have long-lasting and irreversible consequences.

Further, I recognized that villagers' global environmental sustainability decreased too (e.g. heightened forest cutting and enhanced mobility). Nonetheless, the decline was not striking, since the individual ecological footprint remained vanishingly low (especially in comparison to ordinary individuals from other states).

On the other hand, my livelihood analysis has shown that the large-scale project of Addax mostly had an enhancing effect on people's social sustainability. Namely, since Addax arrived, high vulnerability and low resilience towards sudden shocks or enduring stresses were mitigated through the enhanced access to financial assets. The employment at the company furthermore, allowed many villagers to diversify their livelihood strategies and to invest into long-lasting tangible and intangible assets. Nonetheless, the improved social livelihood security did not persist. Due to the breakdown, the access to financial capital was lost again, while arable land remained scarce. The lease transfer to Sunbird was not able to restore the newly gained security. Rather, I presume that since the breakdown, people's social sustainability was depleted to a level possibly even below traditional dimensions.

During traditional ways of living, the direct intergenerational sustainability of natural capitals was high, while its indirect dimensions remained low (s. Chap. 5.3.7). Throughout those times, competition over land and jobs remained low in rural areas, like Mamaria, Mataro and Marokie. While Addax operated, the indirect intergenerational sustainability was enhanced (e.g. school enrolment rates) and the direct intergenerational inheritance shifted from natural to physical capital. However, I assume that the value of the potentially inherited physical capital was not able to substitute the one of the natural capital, at least not over longer time periods[169]. Hereof, the discontinuous earning opportunities and especially the breakdown clarified that the access to financial capital is highly unstable. Consequently, as the direct (e.g. housing) and indirect (e.g. education, healthcare) intergenerational sustainability were enhanced only temporary, I perceive the current livelihoods as intergenerational unsustainable. Moreover, as the labour supply exceeded its demand and since the acreages per capita decreased, competition about labour and natural resources became challenging. Thus, even if some livelihoods were individually sustainable, they would have hindered others therefrom due to the dilemma of prevalent competition. Accordingly, I consider that the net sustainability of locally residing villagers' decreased through the LSLA.

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[169] I assume that inherited natural capitals are more sustainable since they are largely renewable. In contrast the physical capitals have to be maintained, either with financial investments or with collected natural resources.

9.2 The achieved livelihood outcomes and the achieved livelihood sustainability through migration practice

This chapter examines, if or to what extent migration practice contributes to the achievement of livelihood sustainability. Initially, I will shortly resume the achieved livelihood outcomes of the left behinds and the migrants (tenants and landowners). Following this, the livelihood sustainability of each participants group will be examined, before the net sustainable parameter of competition will be addressed. Throughout the whole analyses, the analytical human unit will mainly be on an individual (left behinds, migrants), rather than on a household level.

9.2.1   The resumed livelihood outcomes

Based on the above-clarifications in chapter 7.2.3, 7.3.5 and 7.4.5, I assume that a migration does only partially have positive livelihood outcomes for both migrants and left behinds. I have shown that the migrations' success or non-success, highly depended on the destinations with its provided opportunities, the individual habitus, the size of the migrants' responsibility backpacks and whether local social networks pre-existed or not. I recognized that especially for left behinds the migration practices of male landowners frequently led to depleted livelihood outcomes.

9.2.2   The achieved livelihood sustainability

In this chapter, I will exemplify if or to what extent, the migration practices brought environmental, social and intergenerational sustainability for the left behinds, the migrated tenants and the emigrated landowners. Lastly, also the net sustainability of achieved livelihoods will be addressed. Thereby, it will be shown that it is impossible to draw a unified picture, but rather that the livelihood outcomes and the attained sustainability highly fluctuated between individuals and whole households.

The activities of the left behinds that influenced the natural surroundings did not notably change through the emigration of their husbands. Thus, I assume here that their local and global environmental sustainability corresponded to the one of all other villagers in Mamaria, Marokie and Mataro. This was illustrated in the previous chapter 9.1.2.

Moreover, as most tenants in Mamaria and Marokie nearly lived in the same way like native citizens, I suppose that their presence increased the pressure on the local natural resources. In contrast, I presume that others, who mainly purchased the natural assets, had a slightly lower negative impact on a local level[170].

The impacts of landowning migrants' activities on natural resources ranged from medium- to high-presumed interferences. Thereof, I suppose that the daily activities of migrated landowners, who continued their education or resided in urban areas, mostly did not severely endanger existent natural resources. Thus, I generally perceive their livelihoods as quite environmental sustainable on a local level. In contrast, I assume that migrants, who were engaged in timber or mining businesses, highly depleted local natural resources, maybe even irreversibly (e.g. cutting of old teak forests, soil displacements, quicksilver pollution, lithering).

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[170] I came to this conclusion because I assume that as soon as one consummates imported or industrially manufactured goods, the impact on the local resources decreases, while the one on natural resources at another place are augmented. Consequently, through the purchase of those goods the global environmental sustainability decreases (e.g. greenhouse emissions through transportation).

Hence, their local environmental sustainability is clearly below the former.
Furthermore, I suppose that besides the released greenhouse gases for travelling purposes, the global ecological footprint of all migrants (tenants and landowners) remained low.

Outgoing from the theory, the social sustainability of people's livelihoods highly depends on their vulnerability to stresses and shocks and their capacity to overcome such times of struggles. In the following, it will become clear that under such an assumption the migrants' as well as the left behinds' social sustainability must have been low and sometimes even lower than before a migration.

- Stresses: Both, left behinds and migrants were exposed to diverse gradual and predictable pressures. Left behinds especially faced indebtedness, low volatile incomes, declining yields, generally reduced access to natural resources and challenged social networks. Migrants were confronted with highly doubtful labour access opportunities, volatile incomes, insecure social surroundings, high corporal burdens and uncertain access to housing, healthcare, sanitary facilities and foodstuffs.

- Shocks: During my field stay, no severe common shock on communal dimensions occurred. Although, present (civil violence during elections 2018) and past (e.g. civil war, Ebola epidemic, breakdown of Addax) collective shocks occurred, no generalizing conclusion about people's capability to persist sudden and unpredicted external impacts can be made. Regarding individual shocks, the encountered situations or the narrations of participants allow a more profound statement. Diverse migrants namely encountered sudden illnesses or injuries. Hereof, Samuel narrated that his finger was once seriously infected, wherefore he was incapable to mine for some weeks. Consequently, he vastly struggled to come up for either healthcare or foodstuff (Samuel 27.4.2018). Furthermore, Moses reported that his family met extended hardship, since his wife was incapable to work due to an unforeseen sickness (14.4.2018). Then, although no left behind women told about recently occurred shocks, based on personal observations I assume that they are highly vulnerable to sudden impacts. Exemplary hereof is that during my stay, a woman gave birth to triplets at a nearby hospital of Magboraka. After her return to the village, she endured extreme pain in her womb. The whole day she lay on the floor and cried from time to time due to heavy pains. Since, her husband had spent all his savings for the hospital and the transportation, he was incapable to pay for any further treatment (Pers. Comm. & Participatory Observation).

Based on the observed high vulnerability to stresses and shocks and the general low resilience migrants and left behinds normally possessed, it is not surprising that most participants stated to heavily rely on social ties in the case of emergent hardship (s. Chap. 7.2.1, 7.3.4 & 7.4.3). Consequently, I suppose that a functioning mutual solidarity system is crucial for a successful withstanding during struggling times without irreversible impairments. I observed that depending on the social field, the individual skills and the existence of present or newly developed social ties, migrants were more or less capable to mitigate emergent stresses or shocks. I assume that especially the migrants, who resided at places where the inhabitants' constellation frequently shifted and where the ambience for arising trustworthy and long-lasting relationships was not favourable (e.g. big mines), the chance to achieve an adequate mutual insurance was particularly reduced. Actually, I question, if at hostile living places like the big mines, a mutual insurance system can anyway even emerge or function. Furthermore, it is also questionable, if women's mutual relationships would persist with a long-

lasting absence of their husbands, since their attraction as a reciprocal partner declined ever since their spouses left. After Fafchamps such a case could lead to the exclusion of women's participation in the solidarity system (1992). Fortunately, such an exclusionary practice of peripheral society members was not observed.

It is undoubted that migration practices may bring forward highly unsure situations (Thieme 2008, Greiner 2010, Gulger et al. 1995). During such times of uncertainty, I perceive that the capacity of both parties (migrants and left behinds) to adapt, cope and recover from persistent stresses or sudden shocks is marginal. In the meantime, the development of risk reducing strategies through external and internal interventions allows them only partially to mitigate their high vulnerabilities to stresses and shocks. But my survey also showed that as soon as a migrant has a temporal or permanent position (e.g. Sunbird, timber cutting, mining at a small mine), not only his living standard but as well as the one of the left behind wives is uplifted[171]. In such a case, the vulnerability of both parties can even be reduced to a pre-migration level (particularly valid for interviewed tenants).

Consequently, the examination of the determining factors of social sustainability leads me to the conclusion, that migration practices may either deplete or enhance the livelihood standard of both, the migrants and the left behinds. If the one or the other occurs, depends on the success of the migrants. As we saw, their success in turn varies dependent on place and time. As soon as someone is at the right place (job-hotspot) at the right time (many vacancies), migration can indeed enhance the livelihoods of whole households. Exemplary therefor, were the tenants, who stated almost unexceptional that their migration was worth all the difficulties, since their livelihoods used to be save at least during the working periods. This finding stays in line with tenants' general willingness to return to either of the villages (Mamaria, Marokie) as soon as the company would employ more labourers again.

In comparison thereto, the amount of the successful emigrated landowners varied more. I suppose that this was the case, because not all of them were able to acquire an employment, not to mention a steady one. Hence, many of them missed the right place or at least the right time[172]. Resulting, I presume that the tenants ability to enhance their own and the left behinds livelihoods were comparably higher than the one of the emigrated landowners. This pattern has nothing to do with the social strata, but rather with the destinations where I surveyed the participants (all tenants migrated to a job hotspot area) and the slightly higher educational level of tenants (general disparity between urban and rural education levels). However, after an analysis of the vulnerabilities against shocks and stresses neither of the participant groups achieved social sustainability.

The interviewees' intergenerational sustainability was highly determined by the achieved environmental and social sustainability. Hence, I consider that some interviewees were able to partially enhance it, while the one of others was additionally eroded. Nevertheless, as the reliability of realized revenues were usually insecure, I consider the potentially improved intergenerational sustainability as vague.

Moreover, landowners' net livelihood sustainability was contested through the rise of a competing atmosphere (s. Chap. 9.1.2). Neither them, nor the tenants were capable to escape

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[171] The example of Nashe shows that as long as a husband is unsuccessful at the destination and thus sends none or only little remittances, a woman suffers and face hardship. But as soon as an adequate amount of money is earned and sent home, the livelihood of a woman may be enhanced (compared to before the husband's migration). Hereof, Nashe began a business with the money her husband sent her and thus diversified her livelihood strategies. Therewith, she not only reduced her vulnerability to stresses and shocks but as well augmented her independence and bargaining power (Nashe 24.2.2018, pers. com. after field stay with translator).

[172] The miners in Kumorru indeed were residing at a job hotspot, but since the labour market was vastly oversupplied I perceive that they missed to be at the right time at the right place.

from such a competing ambience through a migration (s. Chap. 9.3). Consequently, this restricted their ability to achieve net sustainable livelihoods.

9.3 Are the livelihood outcomes and the achieved livelihood sustainability influenced by the linkage between the LSLA and the migration?

Outgoing form the explanations and the shown interconnection of migration flows and LSLA in chapter 8.4, I come to the following conclusions about the impacts an interlink of LSLA and migration may have on people's ability to achieve sustainable livelihood outcomes.

I recognized that the interconnection of LSLA and migration is mainly a one-sided mechanism. Namely, migration only influences the available labour pool and therewith co-determines the scope of possible operations by the LSLA. However, LSLA impacts potential migration practices far more. I namely observed that high employment rates by the company specifically led to both, the sedentariness of landowners and the increased immigration of tenants. In such a case, the lease area indeed presented a job hotspot and the migration outcomes of tenants possibly were positive, while landowners were not forced to leave (since their achieved livelihoods mostly were adequate). In the reverse case, when the company either employed few people or when the shutdown occurred, the chance to succeed for immigrated tenants declined, whereupon their turnover rate increased (decreased residence times, while immigration rates usually remained high - s. Chap. 8.1.2 & 8.1.3). Simultaneously, I observed that landowners' capacity to maintain a living shrank, what led to augmented emigration rates. If the landowners were successful at their destination, was indeed not influenced by the LSLA. But, since the landowners left a potential job hotspot, I assume that the probability to find a sustainable way of living elsewhere was comparably low.

I have shown that landowners', tenants' and consequentially also left behinds' chances to achieve a living was and still is clearly influenced by the LSLA's operations. Accordingly, I presume that the linkage between LSLA and migration has a profound effect on people's capacity to achieve sustainable livelihood outcomes.

9.4 The livelihood outcomes and the achieved livelihood sustainability under consideration of the national context

In this chapter, I intend to interlink the achieved livings to my overall perception of people's national wide capacity to generate sustainable livelihoods. In doing so, I do not want to underestimate the difficulties and often severe situations my interviewees faced.

Through daily encounters and talks with the local population of rural and urban areas[173], I gained an insight into Sierra Leoneans' lives. Especially, by the contact to the family of my translator (villagers) and to one young adult and a university student in Makeni, I witnessed their and their friends' happiness and troubles in everyday life. Based on these experiences and the information from the conducted interviews, I developed an understanding of how life seems to be, as a Sierra Leonean in a Sierra Leonean context.

"The day, when I do not have to worry about anything anymore, will be my happiest one" *(Ayo 27.4.2018).*

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[173] Mamaria, Marokie, Mataro, Makeni and at the migrants' destinations.

This statement of Ayo is exemplary therefor, how I observed the general ambience in the country. I namely witnessed that the majority of the population struggled to achieve a lasting and secure livelihood basis. The national wide economic, social and political security remained instable. This was exemplary illustrated by the rise of civil violence during the elections or the drastic inflation after my field stay. As a consequence, investors were rare and the labour market was poor. Moreover, most teenagers, particularly from the villages but as well as from the urban areas, were unable to finish an education due to monetary restrictions. Hence, most young adults lacked the skills to reach better paid jobs. But even the one, who finished a secondary school or held a university degree, struggled to acquire an employment. Accordingly, most livelihoods of people I encountered built either on subsistence agriculture or on occasional and low paid labour opportunities in the informal sector (e.g. petty trading, building assistants). I observed that the labour market for low skilled workers was absolutely oversupplied, whereby competition and the risks of exploitative labour conditions were omnipresent. As a result, financial capital used to be chronically insufficient. This led to multiple consequences, which implied constraints to meet basic necessities, like access to health care, education or foodstuffs. Accordingly, I assume that the civil society is especially vulnerable to lasting stresses or sudden shocks.

Based on these insights into the daily routines of Sierra Leoneans, I perceive that only few citizens are capable to achieve sustainable livelihoods. Thus, it is not surprising that my analysis detected for neither of my participants a sustainable livelihood, either in pre-Addax times, nor since the lease or through the migration practices. Consequently, I regard it as essential to embed my conducted livelihood analysis into a Sierra Leonean context. In doing so, not the unsustainability itself should be weighted, but rather it should be shown in what relation the assessed unsustainability was influenced by the LSLA and the migration practices.

Beyond this background, the labour supply with its temporal or even permanent contracts as well as the development services, specifically Addax provided, have to be acknowledged. Addax undertook some efforts to mitigate their actions, to provide workplaces for landowners and tenants and to supply some highly requested services (e.g. tractor rents). When the company namely operated, valuable workplaces with comparatively adequate salaries were generated in a country, where employment opportunities are chronically rare. Hence, although people were not able to achieve sustainable livelihood, it has to be noted here that during Addax times the living conditions of many households seem to have improved. The results indicate that if implemented well[174], LSLA indeed can enhance at least people's social sustainability. Nevertheless, this does not legitimize the repeatedly exploitative labour conditions both companies were alleged to offer. Locals indeed mentioned the grievances at the company and also actively complained about them. However, the potential opportunity to access, at least for some months, a monetary income in present or future times silenced most critical voices. I identified that people underwent their low rights, the loss of arable land and the exploitative labour conditions for the chance to hand money quick. If the company namely operated, their originally so rural communities were transformed into flourishing job hotspots, where business was prospering. Accordingly, most people still did not want the company to leave but rather waited and hoped that Sunbird would employ again, so that life would become more bearable again.

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[174] It should not be concluded that I assume that Addax implemented the lease in a good way. The company missed in several regards the requirements to be entitled as a best practice example. Nonetheless, the analysed interviews led to the overall conclusion that Addax was able to enhance people's livings and that during their operational time people's social sustainability indeed increased (s. Chap. 6).

Also, the findings that migration practices were incapable to secure livelihood sustainability are somehow relativized by their embedment into a Sierra Leonean context. I namely realized that only few places in Sierra Leone exist, where it can be assumed that one stays at the right place to the right time. Nevertheless, various participants managed to attain a more or less steady income. How did they manage to do so? From my point of view, it is impressing how the migrants coped with the few capitals they held to assert themselves in oversupplied labour markets, to enter new social fields, to bear the carrying of heavy responsibility backpacks and to continue despite uncertain outcomes. Under such circumstances many migrants still managed to survive day by day and to send some remittances back home. I consider the absolute uncertainty the migrants faced, concerning what they will encounter at the destination and if or when they will be successful, as the biggest difficulty they and the left behinds had to handle.

Consequently, the continuing unsustainability of both, migrants' and left behinds' livelihoods has to be relativized. I namely assume that under such circumstances of national wide social, political and economical instability, absolute sustainable livelihoods are almost impossible. Thus, I want to clarify here that migration, as one livelihood strategy, indeed facilitated to mitigate the livelihood unsustainability of some surveyed households.

This chapter highlighted the importance to reflect the national setting, in which a livelihood is achieved. Thereby, it namely became clear, that my interviewees indeed were not able to achieve sustainable livelihoods, but that this aim seems to be unrealistic for individuals living in such an insecure setting.

9.5 Comparison of the findings with the existing literature

In this chapter, the similarities and the disparities of my findings with the existing literature about LSLA, migration and the interconnection of the two will be elaborated.

9.5.1 Comparison with the existing literature in the Makeni case

On the one hand, my findings overlap with the previous research on the same case but on the other hand also relativize some statements by diverse authors.

The complaining of my interview partners about unfulfilled promises by the company match with the findings of multiple publications (ActionAid, Marfurt 2016, Silnorf et al. 2011 & 2016, Vlasak). Nevertheless, in accordance with Millar (2015a), I ascertain that the upcoming of mentioned broken promises were influenced by the high expectations that the patron (company) has to assist the poor (villagers).

Similar to many other studies, I detected an alarming decrease of people's abilities to access to land and other natural resources (e.g. wood, medical plants, wild animals). As a result, subsistence agriculture declined what led to lower yields (Silnorf 2011 & 2016, Käser 2016, Marfurt 2016). Consistent with the findings of Vlasak (2014), my interviewees highlighted the longer walking distances to the remaining cultivation plots. Nonetheless, my findings indicate that the lower yields were possibly not only caused through the declined access to land but that ideological changes, like the willingness to farm, influenced the cultivation degree as well. Further, I suppose that the surveyed higher agroforestry rates within the lease area by Bottazzi et al. (2018) possibly represent a side effect of the augmented bush clearing. People namely reported to have increasingly encroached on reserve lands wherefore they had to

clear elderly bush lands and forests. I presume that the felled trees were afterwards traded, by what the agroforestry rate increased.

In accordance with Bottazzi et al. (2018), but in striking disparity to many other studies, my interviewees never reported about livelihood degradations or enhanced food insecurities during the operational time of Addax (Anane et al. 2011, Millar 2015a, Silnorf et al. 2016, Vaslak 2014, Wedin et al. 2013). Rather, they narrated about the flourishing business, upcoming livelihood diversification strategies, enhanced school enrolment rates and reduced worries about food shortages. As argued by Baxer (2011), also my interviewees emphasized that the temporal contracts overlapped with the farming season. Nevertheless, my findings still indicate that people would not have been better off just by farming. Rather, in line with Bottazzi et al. (2018), I suggest that during Addax time increasing financial revenues compensated the reduction of the agricultural production. This assumption contradicts the results of Millar (2015a) and Yengoh et al. (2015a). Nonetheless, like Bottazzi et al. (2018), I recognize that this shift of people's livelihood basis from natural to economic capital led to their augmented dependence on monetary incomes. Additionally, as most landowners did not possess anywhere else arable land, LSLA degraded their fall-back option to readopt traditional ways of living.

Moreover, in contrast to some researchers, who criticized the labour provision by Addax (Silnorf et al. 2011 & 2016), my standpoint stays in line with Fielding et al. (2015). He stated that during Addax times the local access to labour was quite good, especially, if one compares them with the circumstances on a national scale. These indications match with my quantitative results that during Addax time the immigration flows exorbitantly increased (the area was a job hotspot). Nonetheless, similar to Bottazzi et al. (2018), Marfurt (2016), Millar 2015c, Silnorf et al. (2016) and Yengoh et al. (2015b), I surveyed highly unequal employment access between the genders. Women had particular difficulties to grasp a job at the company. In agreement with the aforementioned scientists, I consider that these constraints were caused by the companies' practice of preferring male workers and by the culturally assigned gender roles (ibid.). Concerning the criticised working conditions by Menzel (2015) and Silnorf et al. (2011 & 2016), my survey is neither in agreement with nor in contrast to their findings. I rather identified varying working conditions depending on the interviewees, the rank and the practice of the particular working department.

Interestingly, my survey indeed detected disparities between landowners and tenants but in contrast to the findings of Bottazzi et al. (2016 & 2016), I identified that these seemed not to be as severe for neither of the social classes. Tenants indeed had low access to land[175] but based on the conducted interviews most of them did not declare this low access as a troubling disadvantage in everyday life. Rather, the statements indicate that most tenants immigrated to search a paid employment instead of establishing cultivations. Through the household survey and the qualitative interviews, it became evident that most tenants used to leave anyway shortly after their dismissal. Hence, I assume that this tendency was not based on the non-access to land but rather on the joblessness. Further, most tenants originating from a rural setting noted that the left behinds farmed, wherefore they would never had intended to establish a farm at the destination. This shows that agricultural engagements at the destination only represented a potential and supplementary income for tenants, while paid labour

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[175] In Marokie the interviewed tenants complained that they had lower or worse access to land than the landowners. In contrast, in Mamaria participants stated that both social strata would have the same access to land.

used to be their main objective. Lastly, tenants clarified that their low access to land would not be due to preferential treatment of landowners by the elders, but rather a consequence of insufficient access to land for all villagers.

Remarkably, no author noted that the land use management changed from a privately to a communal system. Referring to this, the chiefs of Mamaria, Marokie and Mataro narrated that the land presently would not be owned any more by the single landowners, but rather that the remaining land would belong just to all villagers. Instead of allocating the land by the landowners to the tenants, annual meetings of the elders' council determined who was allowed to farm where in the following season. This newly introduced system possibly supports a more balanced assignment of the arable plots.

Additionally, the class based differences Bottazzi et al. (2018) detected for landowners' and tenants' capability to acquire an employment seems not to be valid anymore. My case namely showed that currently landowners instead of the tenants felt disadvantaged in acquiring a job at the company. Some of them justified this phenomenon by the fact that Sunbird only once passed a job list over to the chiefs. Instead, the company would find their workforces through direct requests or recruitments at the factory site. Consequently, I suppose that Bottazzi's et al. (2018) observation of landowners' higher employment quotes possibly resulted from the job-lists completed by the elders, which favoured their sons and daughters rather than tenants. Nevertheless, through the missing lists this practice is not in implemented anymore.

In accordance with Bottazzi et al. (2016), I recognized that the lease likely led to social changes. However, I did not survey any case, which indicates that the interfamilial, intervillage or interlineage (almost all surveyed villagers were Temne) conflict potential rose due to these changes. Solely, I also identified repeatedly intergenerational conflicts (s. Chap. 6.5 & 7.6.3).

As Bottazzi et al. (2018) presumed I identified that the augmented dependence on monetary assets turned out to be a real problem as soon as the company shuts down or decreases its employment rates. Since the access to land was restricted and since unemployment was omnipresent, villagers namely were not able to compensate the lost financial revenues through the resumption of farming activities. Similarly, to the findings of Silnorf et al. (2017) my interviewees narrated about reduced food security and occurring hardship since the breakdown occurred. Further, we both realized that these severe circumstances had not remarkably changed yet because Sunbird employed only few people, paid off in delay and as the price level for foodstuffs and agricultural labourers remained high (Silnorf et al. 2017). Supplementary, participants underlined the current low yields per acreage due to the declined fertility of the remaining plots.

My research identified that one consequence of these long-lasting struggles was, that potential migration flows increased, decreased or changed. To what extent my findings correspond with the existing literature regarding migration and translocality, will be stated in the subsequent chapter.

9.5.2   Comparison with the existing literature about migration and translocality

Like many other researchers, my survey showed that most people decided to migrate for reaching an adequate or an enhanced standard of living, whereby their livelihood basis would be diversified (Greiner 2010, Gulger et al. 1995, Maconachie et al. 2006, Thieme 2014). In accordance with Greiner (2010), Gulger et al. (1995) and Maconachie et al. (2006), I identified that men and women did not migrate to the same degree. Rather, men left while women and children remained behind. I consider that this pattern arose as a consequence of the culturally manifested gender roles. Similar to Maconachie et al. (2006), I observed that women were reliable of any domestic work and the parenting, while the men had the duty to search for a monetary income. Accordingly, no married woman was found, who migrated or intended to do so. In contrast, my sample included independent, unmarried, divorced or un-happily married women, who left their home in trying to either educate themselves or to search for an employment. However, the majority of the surveyed migrants were young or middle aged, married men. These findings broadly correspond with the ones of Gulger et al. (1995).

Historically, rural households used to rely on a dual-economy that was characterized by sea-sonal on-off migration patterns (Greiner 2010, Maconachie et al. 2006). As a consequence of the long-lasting Sierra Leonean war, Meconachie et al. (2006) supposed that these patterns began to change, since the agricultural sector was depressed and an oversupplied labour marked caused long lasting job hunting. Although my field stay took place 16 years after peace came in, the oversupplied labour markets still persisted and in the lease area the agri-cultural production was visibly reduced through the land renouncement. Hence, I consider that these two circumstances are comparable, while the triggers were distinct. Interestingly, the found follow-up consequences were the same like the one Maconachie et al. (2006) listed. People namely were not able to maintain their livelihood basis and thus were forced to search another income, besides agricultural revenues. In accordance with Maconachie et al. (2006), I identified that many participants tried to transform available capitals into missing ones. Thereby, it became evident that people's livelihood strategies were dynamic over place and time. In agreement with Maconachie et al. (2006), I observed furthermore, that migration shifted from seasonal to predominantly temporal patterns with few exceptions of permanent settlements at the destination. People continued to rely on a dual-economy, where the man tried to generate monetary revenues, while the wife remained at home and maintained small cultivation patches. In line with Greiner (2010), I further observed a huge degree of chain migration. Hence, social networks proved to be an essential advantage to enter the new so-cial field, to gain sooner access to labour and to mitigate the risks of marginalization or hard-ship. However, in line with Gulger et al. (1995) and Thieme (2014), I also recognized that migrants were primarily engaged in low paid working positions under precarious and inse-cure labour conditions.

Consistent with the results of Greiner (2010), Gulger et al. (1995) and Thieme (2014), I iden-tified clear age patterns in migration practices. Thereby, the younger population left, while the elderly stood. Further, the young preferred to stay in urban areas and to generate a living by paid labour. Consequently, they first invested into urban housing. However, my results and the ones of other authors have shown, that the village remains the emotional and cultural centre of migrants' lives (Greiner 2010, Gulger et al. 1995, Thieme 2014). My findings indi-cate that an urban lifestyle contradicts the traditional livelihood, which the elders suggested for their offspring. Moreover, as most children dissociate with the traditional way of living, the elders were worried about their substitution once they would pass away. Through the migra-

tion and the newly gained financial independence, I observed that the change of the youth's ideological ideas even got fostered. As a result their farming activity decreased and the laziness to farm spread. These results are consistent with the patterns Maconachie et al. (2006) described. However, I assume that in my case this laziness to farm was not only a consequence of migration practice, but as well resulted from the restricted access to land and the additional social changes the LSLA provoked. Based on these changes, I and other researchers observed that the younger population only infrequently donated signs of appreciation to the elders, wherefore the elders accused them to have missed their allegiance. Hence, new intergenerational conflicts emerged. Like Gulger et al. (1995), Maconachie et al. (2006) and Thieme (2014), I showed therewith that migration and translocal relations might foster social change.

In agreement with all four authors, I illustrated that remittances were crucial to ensure the livelihood of the left behinds and that these likely enhanced their living standards (Greiner 2010, Gulger et al. 1995, Maconachie 2006, Thieme 2008 & 2014). In coincidence to this, my results indicated that left behind women were highly vulnerable to drift into hardship as soon as these remittances were lacking (Thieme 2008). This led to migrants' high pressures to succeed and simultaneously set the basis for the perception that a return would be impossible in the case of unsuccessfulness. These findings stay in line with the argumentations of Thieme (2008). Additionally, we both recognized that the migrants, who returned with enough financial capitals or purchasable assets, were celebrated as heroes.

In agreement with Thieme (2014), I consider migration, under the present conditions, as a vague concept. On the one hand, it has the potential to spread risks through livelihood diversification, especially for households with low access to land. On the other hand, it includes manifold risks that migrants and/or left behinds fall into temporarily or persistently augmented hardship. I assume that my thesis represents a case, where these risks were higher than the ones described in other studies (Gulger et al. 1995, Maconachie 2006, Thieme 2014). My assumption is based on the incapability of my research subjects to readopt their traditional way of living, since possible agricultural revenues were frequently mentioned as insufficient to maintain an adequate living. Thus, I consider that in contrast to the case of Maconachie et al. (2006), the villagers from Mamaria, Marokie and Mataro were hindered to freely adopt the three livelihood strategies, which Scoones (1998) defined (In Maconachie et al. 2006). Instead, I conclude that they were forced to reduce their agricultural production, with the consequence that the strategies of livelihood diversification and migration had to be implemented even more effectively.

9.5.3 Comparison with the existing literature about the interconnectedness of LSLA and migration practice

The findings of Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011) overlap to a high degree with the ones I gained. Most striking is that both of us identified a clear interconnectedness between migration flows and LSLA. Nevertheless, it became evident that our distinct contextual circumstances led to slightly divergent phenomena. First, the mining company in Ghana never mitigated any of their actions nor hardly provided employment opportunities. Hence, the affected people lost their farming capacity, without any possibility to replace these damages through other local accessible capitals (Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. 2011). In contrast, Addax respectively Sunbird provided or possibly will provide work places for locals. Thus, in my case some people had the opportunity to compensate their losses of natural capital through livelihood diversifications directly at their home place. Accordingly, I conclude that this fundamental

difference between our settings is the reason, that in the Ghanaian example a shift from seasonal to permanent migration occurred instead of temporal movements.

Moreover, Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011) surveyed that either both genders moved or that women and children were left behind, whereby they experienced marginalisation and additional losses of bargaining powers. Hence, similarly to my case, left behinds' vulnerability to fall into hardship rose with the leave of the husbands. But in contrast to Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011), I did not identify any disadvantageous change in the agrarian class formations. Based on the clarifications made by Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011), I assume that his identification of the emergence of absolute land less households and the amplification of the rich-poor division resulted from the predominant rural to rural migration, where the poor population worked under exploitative circumstances for the landowners. Therewith, the gap between rich and poor increased and livelihoods were eroded (Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. 2011). I suppose that I did not survey this pattern because first, not even one interviewed migrant was employed in the agrarian sector. Rather, people moved to urban or job hotspot areas. Second, the altered land access relations shifted from privately to communally held possessions. Accordingly, at least on a theoretical basis, all villagers had the same possibility to cultivate land.

In regard to the Makeni case only Yengoh et al. (2015b) brought the LSLA in connection with the migration flows. Similar to him, I identified that LSLA fostered the emigration of male landowners. Nevertheless, I predominantly recognized temporal migration patterns, while Yengoh et al. (2015b) stated that temporal, seasonal and permanent movements emerged equally. Furthermore, I indeed surveyed that most migrants were engaged in unskilled employment but, in contrast to Yengoh et al. (2015b), these working places were not found in the agrarian sector but rather in daily job opportunities or the mining or timber business.

We both found out, that wives and children were left behind, whereby women had to carry the vast responsibility to maintain the house and the cultivations (Yengoh et al 2015b). I suppose that these gendered roles represent also the reason, why most married women did not move at all. In contrast to the findings of Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. (2011) and Yengoh et al. (2015b), in my sample no matrimony existed, which broke due to a migration. All participants, who were still engaged when they migrated, stated that they intend either to return to their spouse or to pick her up.

Most striking is that Yengoh et al. (2015b) stated that the outmigration of male landowners was common in communities affected by the LSLA, as monetary opportunities would have been too few. This statement is indeed valid for certain time periods (e.g. breakdown, change to Sunbird). But as his survey was conducted during Addax time (2013), his results do not match with the ones of my household survey. I namely showed that in the years from 2008 to 2014 the outmigration flows of male landowners even dropped compared to pre-Addax times (s. Fig. 24). These disagreements, between my investigation outcomes and the ones of Yengoh et al. (2015b), may be based on the one hand on methodological differences. Yengoh et al. (2015b) namely aligned their methods to their research aim, which focused on the identification of gendered LSLA outcomes. Based on the clarifications Yengoh et al. (2015b) made about applied methods, I assume that their findings, concerning migration patterns, were neither based on quantitative nor on profound qualitative data, but rather built on single remarks of focus group participants. On the other hand, the detected disagreements may also originate therefrom that Yengoh et al. (2015b) did not consider any migration patterns, which

took place before the lease. Namely, during those times the lack of economic assets was even more severe and out-migration flows used to be higher. Based on my interview data people's restricted access to financial capital was the major challenge and the main migration reason during those times. Simultaneously, my findings indicate that during Addax times the access to labour and the thereby gained salary was sufficient, what rather reduced people's motivation to leave the area.

9.6   Outlook

As was illustrated in chapter 9.5, several investigations were already undertaken about both, LSLA and translocal migration flows. Nevertheless, I recognized various research gaps, which I recommend to address in further studies. Regarding the newly adopted communal land management in Mamaria, Marokie and Mataro, it would be interesting to understand, why these communities implemented this new system and what effects the transition had on the villages (concerning the different social classes). As neither my research nor the one of Bottazzi at al. (2016) focused on social changes (triggered by LSLA or migration) or on its long-lasting influence, I particularly recommend further research about generally possible social changes and their consequences. In the case of Makeni up to now no scientist regarded LSLA's influence on the local ecosystems. I suppose that the transformation from a manifold mosaic of cultivated and semi natural zones into vast monocultures led to irreversible ecological damage. Accordingly, I highly appeal to address this issue and its long-time consequences. Concerning emerging migration patterns, it would be useful to understand, under which circumstances females leave, what implications their migration has or how successful they are compared to their male counter parts[176]. Finally, it is particularly striking that only a handful of researchers looked at possible interconnections of LSLA and migration. Although I found a clear interconnection of the two phenomenon and uncovered complex processes and dynamics, my case illustrates only one potential outcome of the linkage between LSLA and migration. Thus, I appeal to further investigate this multifaceted research topic and its diverse subthemes. I namely assume that further research may enable us to compare distinct cases with each other, to identify possible unified patterns and therefore, to formulate more profound and advantageous policy recommendations.

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[176] Although my findings gave an insight into such mechanisms and phenomena my sample size was too small to come up with profound statements.

10   Conclusion

In the last decade manifold migration studies have highlighted the potential and the risk of translocal migration practices to foster or deplete people's capability to achieve sustainable livelihoods (Greiner 2010, Gulger et al. 1995, Maconachie et al. 2006, Thieme 2008 & 2014). In another research domain, multiple scientists have reported about the current land rush in West Africa in attempts to raise the awareness of its negative implications on local livelihoods (Aha et al. 2016, Hufe et al. 2017, Yengoh et al. 2016b). Only few authors have addressed the possible interconnection of these two highly controversial research topics (Nyantakyi-Firmpong et al. 2011, Siciliano 2014). The various studies investigating the LSLA case near Makeni emphasized, besides decreased land access abilities, the endangerment of poor people's livelihoods (Millar 2015a-c, Marfurt et al. 2016, Menzel 2015, Sinorf et al. 2011, 2016, 2017, Vaslak 2014, Yengoh 2015a-b) and the potential emergence of intensified out-migration flows (Yengoh et al. 2015b).

My research does not challenge those concerns, but rather uncovers the complexity of the multiple outcomes LSLA and migration practice can potentially have. Hence, from my point of view, it is necessary to recognise the double-edged sword LSLA and its follow-up conse-quences represent. When we namely better comprehend the diverse and multi-layered mechanisms, which characterise these transformations provoked by LSLA, more effective policy recommendations can be formulated. The study at hand is aimed to profoundly con-tribute to this objective.

My master's thesis has illustrated that, dependent on the current operational tactics of either Addax or Sunbird, people's quality of life could be depleted or enhanced. Independent from the one or the other outcome, I identified a clear interconnection between LSLA and potential migration flows. In times of high employment rates, immigration flows increase while a shut-down or lowered production rates leads to lasting redundancy, which provokes altered emi-gration flows. I have shown that these migration practices represent a vague project, which could impair or improve livelihoods of both migrants and left behinds. Its success fluctuates highly over time and space and is determined by manifold interlinked variables. However, LSLA vastly augments people's dependency on foreign investors, whereby the freedom to choose their own life path and livelihood strategy deteriorates. Upcoming social changes and strategy jumping are the consequences.

Although Addax was attempted to implement a responsible agricultural investment, the oc-currence of the breakdown and the change to Sunbird have shown that the impacts of LSLA are only partially dirigible and foreseeable. To mitigate the challenges the current implemen-tation practices cause for the local population, I appeal to Sunbird to recognize their social and environmental responsibility. Specifically, they have to pay labourers on time, enhance their communicational exchange with the local communities about future goals and employ-ment rates, augment employment posts for women, combat internal corruption of agents, initiate the LLAA renegotiations, start the mentioned out grower program and generate sub-sidised trainee positions.

Moreover, I call on the Sierra Leonean politicians not to enter into contested deals with for-eign investors anymore or to follow self-interests, but rather to promote their own national economy, to upgrade the educational system and to implement a social insurance organisa-tion. I am namely conceived that if Sierra Leone manages to decrease corruption and imple-ment lasting, good governance, the richness of the natural resources and the potential of citizen's social and human capital could be transformed into sustainable livelihoods; liveli-hoods that would preserve people from entering a risky migration practice.

These lessons learnt from the Makeni case highlight the urgent need to introduce political guidelines, which reduce the risk of exploitative machinations and intensified dependences on external inputs. Thereby, people's ability to balance out potential shocks, like a sudden operational change or a collapse of an LSLA company, should to be increased. Through the gained experience, I question if the attempts to achieve the EU climate goals legitimize large-scale space appropriations and environmental transformations, which substitute productions of highly valuable foodstuffs in rural African societies? Further, I wonder what a £ 267 million investment of public development funds could have achieved in a politically, socially and financially instable country like Sierra Leone, if finances would have been used more sustainably and direct for development purposes?

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Appendix

Figure 41: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; Introduction and Context

▼ Introduction and Context	0
▼ Description of the Village	0
Geography	8
Composition	6
Communal work	0
▼ Social Organisation	0
Political organisation	7
Minorities	10
▼ The households	0
Structure	8
Land distribution	16
Husband and wife	32
Children	9
▼ Traditional livelihood	0
Livelihood resources	19
Livelihood strategies and daily activities	42
Outcomes & Sustainability	32

Figure 42: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; Influences of Addax, the breakdown and the change to Sunbird

▼ Influences of Addax, the break down and the change to Sunbird	0
▼ Addax	0
Land lease negotiations	47
Access to land	75
Labour	110
Changes in livelihoods	161
Image	31
▼ The break down	0
Experiences	15
▼ The change to Sunbird	0
New negotiations	8
Influence on land	9
Influence on labour	72
Influence on livelihoods	67
Image	18

Figure 43: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; The Migration flows

▼ The Migration flows	2
Reasons for in– and outmigration of tenants	26
▼ Emigration of landowner family	8
Reasons for emigration – Landwoners	38
▼ Influence of gender, age and social stratum	0
Gender disparities	3
Age	2
Social Stratum	10

Figure 44: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; The Left Behinds

▼ The left behinds	0
▼ Who are the left behinds	0
Women	28
Children	36
Parents	5
▼ Emerging challenges	1
Status	7
Conflicts	8
Challenges	27
▼ Coping strategies	0
Migration to parents house	15
Coping strategies	30
▼ Modified livelihood capitals	7
Household finances	8
▼ Daily activities	0
Change of daily activities	14
▼ Outcome of migration	0
Enhancement	11

Figure 45: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; The Migrants

▼ The Migrants	0
▼ Who are the migrants	1
Men	15
Women	12
Children	3
Landowners vs. Tenants	1
▼ Landowners: Reason for migration	0
Changes in daily activities	2
Hardship	23
Lifestyle	8
Access to land	3
Conflicts/Broken Relationships	19
Social connections	12
▼ Landowners: Destination and time frame	0
Destinations	21
Time frame	19
Journey	20
▼ Landowners: Daily activities and occupation	0
▶ Landowners: Livelihoods	58
Strategies	8
Bike riding	2
Other business	3
Mining	16
Timber business	5
Education	4
Redundancy	4

▼ Landowners: Coping with the new situation	0
Challenges	12
Phsycological influences	15
▼ Landowners: Migration outcomes	0
Enhancement or disilusion	20
Tenants: Life before Migration	18
▼ Tenants: Reasons for in- and outmigration	1
Hardship/Redundancy	18
Conflicts/Broken Relationships	9
Social connections	16
▼ Tenants: Destination and time frame	0
Destinations	7
Time frame	10
On-off migration	6
▼ Tenants: Daily activities and occupation at the destination	0
▶ Tenants: Coping with the changed situation	35
▶ Tenants: Capitals	25
Mining	2
Sunbird worker	2
Farming	8
Redundancy	4
▼ Tenants: The returnees – live back "home"	2
Living and daily activities	5
Challenges	4
Strategies	3
▼ Tenants: Migration outcome	0
Enhancement or disilusion	8

Figure 46: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; Migration outcomes and sustainability

▼ Migration outcomes and sustainability	0
Future plans tenants	12
Future plans landowners	26
Future plans of left behinds	10

Figure 47: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; Gender disparities and social stratum

▼ Gender disparities and social stratum	0
Gender disparities	1
Social stratum	17

Figure 48: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; Translocality

▼ Translocality	0
▼ Translocal relationships	0
Influence of social networks on migration decisions/dest...	30
Contact	84
Expectations	21
Pressure to succeed	29
Modified relationships	20
▼ Connotation of places	0
Destinations	5
Parents house	19
Husbands house	2
Education/Relatives	15
Fram and garden	5
Home	11

Figure 49: Codes and Sub-Codes of the superior category; Migration and its interconnectedness with LSLA

▼ Migration and it's interconnectedness with LSLA	0
▼ Change over time of migration reasons	14
Before Addax	5
During Addax	4
Break down	6
Sunbird	5
▼ Influence of LSLA on migration factors	0
farming	3
Community organisation	3
Access to land	4
Job opportunities	14
Access to money	5
Mentality	20
Relationships	3
Other Reasons	1

Figure 50: Codes and Sub-Codes of the additional category; Relationships

▼ Relationships	0
Between landowners & tenants	9
Others	24
Wife and mother in law before migration	21
▼ Between Man and wifes	0
Before migration	70
Since migration	4

Personal declaration

I hereby declare that the submitted thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis.

Sara Schälchli