

Box 4: Combinations of farm and non-farm labour in Saripul and Faryab

In a village in Saripul one man carries out work such as bringing water, protecting wheat and melon fields and weeding for three months in the summer. He also grazes people's livestock for money and milk. After the agricultural work is finished he works on other types of day labour. People know he does this kind of work and approach him to carry out various tasks such as construction. In November he goes to Sheberghan and Mazar-e-Sharif for non-farm day labour until spring, and receives Afs 150 compared to Afs 70-100 in the village. He had been a sharecropper before the drought but these opportunities are now fewer as landlords are cultivating their own land. He also lost his oxen during the drought.

A village in Faryab, which is upstream to other villages visited in Daulatabad, has more water available and as a result non-farm activities such as brick-making are possible. One man interviewed was making bricks to order as well as carrying out construction work on other people's houses and canal cleaning. He only had one son and his wife was busy with housework as there was no one else to help her, so she was unable to weave carpets. During the brick-making period he saves some of the income to use in winter when this work is not possible.

Source: Grace, J. 2004

the income data, information on expenditure was gained through a ranking system, identifying the most important household expenditures, for each season during the previous year. This has been aggregated for the whole year through a weighted scoring system³⁸ in order to capture a picture of village expenditure patterns, which are summarised in Table 11. This hides patterns of difference between wealth groups, which will be discussed later.

Table 11 includes the most common items of expenditure across villages. Notably absent from the list is payments for taxation, which was not reported by any household. The loaning out of money was only reported in very few cases.

Not surprisingly, across all sites and villages expenditure on food is ranked first in importance. In only a few cases, and these are a few households in WGI in Kandahar, Herat and Faryab, is expenditure on food not the most important item. There is no information on the nature of the food

expenditure - is it on wheat, rice or other food items? While not all NGOs were able to collect information on amounts of expenditure, information from those who could shows that the poorest groups sometimes had the highest expenditures as well as cash income. This is because they generally receive cash payments and spend cash on food, which means they are probably more dependent on the cash economy and susceptible to changes in food prices.³⁹

A second distinct expenditure feature is the repayment of loans, and in the case of Faryab, Badakhshan and Laghman the acquisition of assets. This issue of debts and changes in assets is addressed in more detail in the next section.

Expenditure on education takes place in some households across all sites, although ranking usually at least fourth or less in importance. In contrast, for many villages expenditure on health is the second or third most important item of expenditure. It is unclear what this health expenditure means, although a more

³⁸ A ranking system summing the household rankings for each income source and weighted by wealth group according to the number of positive answers.

³⁹ This is also reflected in the studies by Christoplos and also by Lautze, et al.

Table 11: Ranking of household expenditure

Province/ Village	Food	Fuel	Farm Inputs	Clothes	Education	Health	Repay Loans	Buy Assets
Badakhshan								
V1	1	4	2	3	5	6		
V2	1	2	6	3	4	5		
V3	1	5	4	2	3	6	7	8
Faryab								
V1	1	8	5	3	4	2	7	6
V2	1		7	3	8	2	4	6
V3	1	6	7	3	5	2	8	4
Ghazni								
V1	1	7	6	2	4	3	5	
V2	1	2	7	2	5	4	6	
V3	1	6		2	3	4	5	
Herat								
V1	1	5	3	2	6	4		
V2	1	7	2	4	5	3		
V3	1	5	4	3	6	2		
Kandahar								
V1	1	4	6	3	7	2		
V2	1	6	3	4	5	2		
V3	1	8	3	4	5	2	6	
Laghman								
V1	1	3	4		6	2	5	7
V2	1	4	6	3	5	2	7	
V3	1	3	4		5	2	5	7
Saripul								
V1	1		2	3	5	4		
V2	1	6	5	3	4	2		
V3	1	6	2	3	4	5		

detailed examination from Laghman and Herat indicates some of the issues (see Box 5).

Anecdotal evidence suggests that physical health issues may also be related to certain livelihoods such as carpet weaving. Poor eyesight, body pain and breathing difficulties are all common complaints made by those who weave carpets. It is also believed that many women use opium to ease the pain they feel from carpet weaving and to enable them to weave for longer. Handicraft production can also cause severe eyestrain and weaken eyesight, with the possible result of reducing a woman's income generation possibilities.

Ill health can seriously affect people's livelihoods, as one household member usually has to care for the ill person rather than engaging in income generating activities, which results in two household members being unable to work. Ill health can also severely impact on livelihoods as it may require the household to go into debt to pay for medical treatment (this will be discussed further in the next section on debt).

Another aspect of health expenditure not captured here is that of the effectiveness of treatment and medical advice. It is widely reported that pharmaceuticals in Afghanistan are ineffective and people may therefore be

Box 5: Health expenditure in Laghman and Herat

In Laghman and Herat, households are spending between nine and 26 percent of income on health, with poorer households generally spending more than richer households. While there is little difference between the amounts spent on health between seasons, spending on health is generally higher in winter.

Reasons for these health problems may include poor housing and sanitation conditions, poor nutrition, the young age at which girls are married and begin having children as well as mental health problems due to war and poverty.

To pay for these illnesses households operate a range of strategies from mortgaging out land, taking loans, migrating abroad to earn money for treatment, and selling valuables.

Source: Adapted from Kerr-Wilson, A. and Ghafari, J. 2004

repeatedly spending money on useless medication.⁴⁰

Expenditure on fuel features quite widely; it is ranked as a more significant item of expenditure in high altitude places (Badakhshan, Ghazni and Laghman). In some ways this is a surprising finding given the observational evidence of fuel collection in many locations by many households and the reports of fuel collection at particular times of the year. In part this may reflect a shortage of fuel as a consequence of the drought, but this probably needs more detailed corroboration. It may also suggest that households collect fuel types such as wood for sale and purchase or gather cheaper fuels for their own use.

Expenditure on farm inputs features across all sites, but the village level aggregation has hidden the distributional dimensions of this. Expenditure on farm inputs is ranked higher for WGI households than for WGIII households, for whom it features much lower, if at all. The exception to this is Badakhshan where the proportion of sharecropping-in, as a result of opium poppy cultivation, combined with the requirements of planting poppy, gives farm inputs a particular significance.

4.6 Debts

A significant feature of household expenditure is the repayment of loans, and from this study it appears that large numbers of rural households are indebted. From the data, there are two key dimensions of debt to be analysed: (i) the extent to which land is mortgaged, and (ii) the extent of cash and food debts households carry.

On the issue of mortgaged land, the evidence is that the amount of land that is mortgaged is very small. In four sites - Faryab, Ghazni, Kandahar and Laghman - no households have any land under mortgage. For the other three sites, some households have land under mortgage. In Herat, one WGI household, from village three, has one *jerib* mortgaged. Two WGIII households from village two in Saripul had a total of seven and a half *jeribs* under mortgage. In Badakhshan, three WGIII households, from village one, had a total of five *jeribs* mortgaged. In village three (Badakhshan) another three households, again in WGIII, had a total of three *jeribs* under mortgage. There may be different reasons for mortgaging land, but the majority of the above cases appear to be the result of drought. Payment for the treatment of an

⁴⁰ Karimi, A. *The Pharmaceutical System in Afghanistan*. Unpublished Draft. Kabul: AREU. 2004.

illness of a family member was also given as a reason for mortgaging land. Indeed, one woman said she had mortgaged land as well as borrowed a substantial amount of money to pay for her husband's illness.

In the case of Badakhshan, anecdotal evidence suggests that the reason for some households engaging in poppy production is to earn enough money to get their land out of mortgage. Three households did manage to retrieve their land, but whether this was due to the sale of poppy is unclear.

The evidence on other forms of debt gives a rather different picture. Table 12 summarises the debts that households reported holding at the time of the first interview. The data refer only to cash debts. This is because only a minority of debts were reported as being in grain, and these were largely found in areas of surplus grain production, namely Faryab (across all three villages) and Saripul (in village two). Grain debts typically ranged from 20 to 60 *seers* of wheat, while the maximum debt was 100 *seers* of wheat. Given that the main reason for taking out loans was food, it is somewhat surprising that households mostly took out loans in cash. This may be explained by people having to make repayments in cash for loans in food. Or, it could be explained by an apparent lack of household surplus grain. If on the other hand people prefer loans in cash, perhaps because they see cash as a more stable currency than food, then this may have some relevance for the food-for-work versus cash-for-work debate. For instance, would this play a part in people's decisions over whether to participate in public works programmes depending on whether cash or food was being offered?

As Table 12 shows, debts are not confined to households in WGIII, but are in fact found across all sites and wealth groups. In some villages, households in WGI have a greater

level of debt, while in other villages WGII and WGIII have a higher number of households with debt. The same mixed picture emerges with regards to mean values of debts, and it is important that debts are considered against the asset portfolio and income level of each household and wealth group.

Mean values of debt must be handled with caution with respect to interpretation, since the motivation and reasons for taking loans - and hence its significance - may vary greatly. For example, if we contrast the reasons for taking out loans between households (see Chart 2), it can be seen that WGI take a higher proportion of loans for ceremonies (mostly weddings) and for productive/investment purposes such as buying land and livestock compared to WGIII. WGIII takes out more loans for basic necessities such as food and health, with debts for health often being quite large, depending on the treatment needed. Poorer households, in comparison to wealthier households, are not obtaining loans that will bring them income, which will enable them to repay the loans. Poorer households are taking out loans as a coping strategy, while richer households are to some extent seeking loans in order to improve their livelihoods.

Loans for food may also be taken for seasonal consumption smoothing, and this practice is not always negative. Loans for consumption smoothing can be a very important income source for households, particularly as a lack of access to credit may be detrimental if it leads to the sale of assets. A study conducted in Kabul showed that a majority of households in the sample without debt had not taken loans because no one would provide them with credit; these households were deemed too poor to be able to repay.⁴¹ Debt can, however, be a detrimental coping strategy, if it leads to the sale of assets or mortgaging of land to make repayments. There is a need to learn more about the nature of loans and debts: Who is able to access credit? Are

⁴¹ Grace, J. *One Hundred Households in Kabul: A Study of Winter Vulnerability, Coping Strategies, and the Impact of Cash-for-Work Programmes*. Kabul: AREU, 2003. Also, see Alden Wily, L. *Faryab Land Case Study*. Draft. Kabul: AREU, 2004.

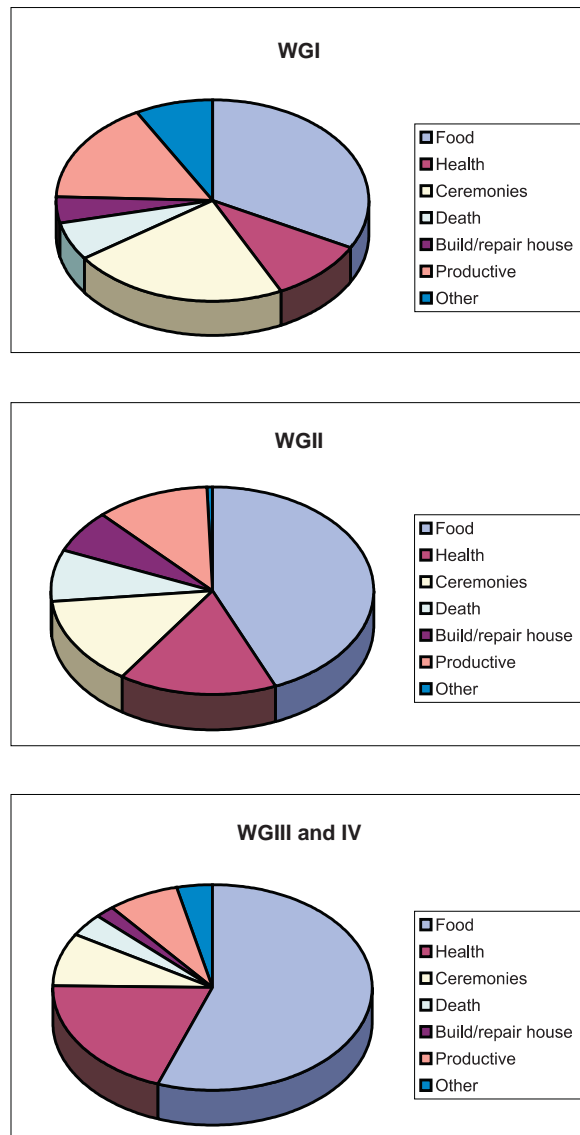
Table 12: Percent of households with debts and weighted mean value of cash debt by site, village and wealth group

Province/ Village	WGI	WGII	WGIII	WGIV	Total Weighted Mean
Badakhshan					
V1	66% (6,250)	33% (11,500)	50% (10,416)		
V2	0	40% (59,000)	42% (10,000)		
V3	25% (5,000)	50% (5,467)	25% (4,200)		
	33% (8,750)	33% (16,400)	37% (9,195)		11,424 (12,927)
Faryab					
V1	60% (57,500)	57% (173,250)	88% (81,666)		
V2	40% (100,000)	80% (28,125)	88% (21,950)		
V3	60% (27,500)	63% (8,100)	57% (17,975)		
	53% (51,312)	65% (65,077)	76% (17,530)		51,137 (72,248)
Ghazni					
V1	100% (23,000)	82% (24,222)	86% (17,167)		
V2	0	0	50% (6,000)	82% (24,327)	
V3	29% (65,000)	60% (54,333)	62.5 (85,000)		
	40% (46,560)	80% (24,937)	63% (17,530)		23,390 (22,103)
Herat					
V1	50% (40,000)	66% (75,000)	63% (28,500)	0	
V2	100% (26,667)	66% (20,000)	71% (16,240)	100% (40,000)	
V3	50% (20,000)	0	66% (51,780)	50% (3,000)	
	71% (26,000)	50% (47,500)	66% (28,381)	50% (27,667)	30,611 (34,702)
Kandahar					
V1	100% (215,000)	86% (56,767)	82% (45,278)		
V2	0	40% (375,000)	71% (47,580)		
V3	50% (800,000)	89% (358,850)			
	60% (410,000)	77% (145,678)	76% (58,105)		126,324 (229,527)
Laghman					
V1	75% (11,000)	60% (36,000)	100% (17,417)		
V2	0	100% (23,300)	80% (70,250)		
V3	100% (10,000)	77% (18,930)	100% (7,000)		
	57% (68,250)	76% (24,643)	88% (45,080)		38,386 (63,159)
Saripul					
V1	66%(65,00)	40% (22,500)	40% (6,500)		
V2	66% (20,000)	60% (12,500)	80% (16,000)	67% (15,667)	
V3	33% (7,700)	50% (7,200)	50% (6,000)		
	44% (101,750)	41% (11,893)	52% (8,167)		10,455 (7,831)

people who can access credit able to repay? What happens if they default? What are the terms and conditions of a loan?

It is worth noting that the time when households became indebted featured strongly in the household history of many of the sample groups. This indicates that people view the time when they were indebted as a very serious and significant life event.

Chart 2: Reasons for loans held by households by wealth groups



So where are households obtaining loans from? Table 13 shows the main sources for loans by wealth group and combines all sites. Relatives are the main source of credit across all wealth groups. This could be indicative of a lack of alternative credit sources, and the difficulty poor households have in obtaining credit from other sources. Obtaining loans from friends is also a major source for WGII-IV. This indicates that access to social networks is highly important for access to loans in times of need. Shopkeepers and traders provided the second largest source of loans for WGI and the third for WGII-IV.

Table 13: Source of loan by wealth groups with loans

Loan Source	WGI (35)	WGII (147)	WGIII/IV (170)
Relatives	21 (60%)	78 (53%)	82 (48.23%)
Friends	3 (8.6%)	44 (29.9%)	43 (25.29%)
Shop/traders	6 (17.1%)	20 (13.6%)	30 (17.64%)
Businessmen	0	1 (0.68%)	2 (1.17%)
Villager	3 (8.6%)	2 (1.36%)	8 (4.7%)
Other	2 (5.7%)	1 (0.68%)	3 (1.76%)
Landlord	0	1 (0.68%)	1 (0.58%)
Commander	0	0	1 (0.58%)

There are differences in terms of the major sources of loans between wealth groups in different sites. For example, AKDN found that the wealthier households were more able to access loans from family members, while the poorer households borrowed more from traders, presumably at less advantageous terms. The ability for households to access loans from family members will depend on the ability of family members to provide loans and is again linked to the social capital of the household.

What is unclear from the data collected is the effect the giving of loans has on the lender. Do families feel obliged to provide loans? Is it seen as a form of saving, in that the debtor household/person will then be more likely to lend them money/food in times

⁴¹ Grace, J. *One Hundred Households in Kabul: A Study of Winter Vulnerability, Coping Strategies, and the Impact of Cash-for-Work Programmes*. Kabul: AREU, 2003. Also, see Alden Wily, L. *Faryab Land Case Study*. Draft. Kabul: AREU, 2004.

of need, as has been found in other contexts?

4.6.1 Debts and change over time

Analysing changes in debt levels during the period of monitoring can be undertaken by looking at the number of households in debt and the mean level of cash debt they hold. Table 14 summarises the evidence on changes in debt during the period of monitoring.

Looking at Badakhshan, the debt levels for WGI and WGII in all villages either stayed the same or declined, both in terms of the number

of households in debt and the mean level of cash debt. For WGIII households in village one, the number of households in debt and the mean level increased, the latter by about three times. For village two, the number of households in debt in WGIII declined by about eight percentage points, although the mean level of debt increased by over two times. In the case of village three, the number of households in debt jumped by 50 percent, but the level of debt declined by about 50 percent. There is evidence that for households in WGIII, new debts are being taken on once some old debts have been paid off.

Table 14: Changes in debt level: percent of households with debts and the mean value of cash debts in Afs

Province/Village	WGI	WGII	WGIII	WGIV
Badakhshan				
V1	66% (6,250)	33% (↓5,000)	↑58% (↑34,357)	
V2	0	↓25% (↓49,000)	↓33% (↑23,550)	
V3	↓0%	↓37.5% (↓3,667)	↑50% (↓2,262)	
Faryab				
V1	↑80%(↓28,250)	57% (↓114,500)	↓63% (↓39,700)	
V2	40% (100,000)	80% (↓22,500)	↓75% (↑24,483)	
V3	60% (30,000)	63% (↓6,300)	↑100% (↓8,614)	
Ghazni				
V1	*	*	*	
V2	*	*	*	
V3	*	*	*	
Herat				
V1	50% (40,000)	66% (75,000)	↓57% (29,373)	0
V2	100% (26,666)	66% (↑40,000)	71% (↑27,041)	100% (↑52,500)
V3	50% (20,000)	0	66% (↓43,583)	59% (3,000)
Kandahar				
V1	100% (↑290,000)	↓71% (↓51,920)	↓72% (↑75,062)	
V2	0	40% (37,500)	71% (48,150)	
V3	50% (80,000)	↑94% (↑64,411)		
Laghman				
V1	↑100% (↑25,750)	60% (↑60,000)	100% (↑25,667)	
V2	0	100% (↑108,333)	↑90% (↑131,062)	
V3	100% (↑60,000)	↑85% (↑160,564)	100% (7,000)	
Saripul				
V1	*	*	*	
V2	↓0%	↓20% (?20,000)	↓20% (↑25,000)	↓50% (↓6,667)
V3	↓0%	↓30% (?4,189)	↓38% (↑8,000)	

Key: ↓=decline; ↑=increase; no arrow means no change; * refers to no data

A similar picture emerges for WGI and WGII households from Faryab, Herat and Kandahar, with the number of households in debt and the level of cash debt largely staying the same or declining. For WGIII households the picture is more mixed and depends on the village as to whether the percent of households in debt increased, stayed the same or declined. The change in the level of debt also varied for WGIII households according to village. In Saripul, for the two villages for which there is data, the number of households in debt declined across all wealth groups, although the level of debt increased in three of the groups.

Unlike the other provinces, in Laghman the number of households in debt either stayed the same or increased and the mean level of debt increased for seven of the nine wealth groups. For example, in villages two and three the mean level of debt for WGII households increased by four and a half and eight and a half times, respectively. One explanation for the increase in the level of debt for village two could be the reportedly poor performance of the opium economy during the time of research, which could have had a significant negative effect on household economies. The increase in village three may be more associated with a ban on woodcutting, which was a main income source for households in all wealth groups in this high altitude village (see Box 6).

While the evidence is suggestive of a decline in the level of debt in many sites and particularly for the richer wealth groups, the rather more mixed picture for poorer wealth groups and the evidence from Laghman are not encouraging.

Another asset where changes are found during the relatively short period of this project is livestock holdings. Table 15 records the changes in livestock holdings, which, like the debt data, present a mixed picture both across and within sites and between wealth groups.

It should be remembered that in many sites and for many wealth groups livestock holdings were low in the first round of interviews (see Table 8). Starting from a low base exaggerates the significance of percentage changes. However, for the low livestock holding sites - Herat and Laghman (unfortunately there is missing data for Ghazni with respect to changes in livestock holdings) - the direction of change is largely positive and appears to be taking place across all wealth groups. In Herat there have been positive changes, particularly in cattle numbers, while in Laghman positive changes have been recorded for all wealth groups for cattle and other livestock. This raises interesting questions as to the nature of debt. In particular, have loans been taken out to invest in livestock or do the increases in livestock reflect natural growth combined with investment? This cannot be answered with the available data.

In Kandahar, where livestock holdings are heavily skewed towards village one and WGI households in general, the poorer wealth groups appear to still be losing livestock. It is unknown if this is due to the sale of livestock to purchase other assets, which could possibly be positive, or due to stress sales, or whether the animals died.

In Badakhshan and Faryab, the livestock rich sites, the picture is varied. In Badakhshan, notably in poorer wealth groups, livestock holdings in cattle, sheep and goats are increasing from already moderate levels. Similar changes are to be found in Saripul. In Faryab, on the other hand, where two of the villages (village one and two) had the highest livestock holdings of all the sites, there appears to have been a depletion of cattle across all wealth groups. Sheep flocks have, however, increased by about five percent from an already high base for higher wealth groups, but declined overall for the lowest wealth groups.

Of the women who were reported to have sole ownership of livestock, there is little change in livestock holdings. Only three

Table 15: Changes in livestock holdings

Province/Village	WGI		WGII		WGIII		WGIV	
	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep	Cattle	Sheep
Badakhshan								
V1	0	-14%	-16%	-23%	0	-14%		
V2	-10%	0	+23%	+26%	-11%	+8%		
V3	+9%	+17%	+57%	+19%	0	+27%		
	-3%	-8%	+10%	+8%	+9%	+18%		
Faryab								
V1	-12%	+6%	0	+14%	-100%	-58%		
V2	-66%	+1.4%	+40%	-32%	0	0		
V3	-36%	-5%	-12%	-50%	0	+140%		
	-41%	+4%	-6%	+4%	-100%	-47%		
Ghazni								
V1	*		*		*			
V2	*		*		*			
V3	*		*		*			
Herat								
V1	+66%	-500%	0	0	+20%	0	0	+100%
V2	+66%	0	0	-60%	+25%	0	0	+100%
V3	+50%	+500%	0	+200%	+50%	0	+50%	0
	+71%	0	0	-2%	+21%	0	+20%	+200%
Kandahar								
V1	0	+8%	0	+6%	0	-11%		
V2	0	0	-67%	-6%	-47%	-3%		
V3	0	0	0	-67%				
	0	+8%	-36%	-3%	-28%	-5%		
Laghman								
V1	+86%	+100%	+50%	+100%	+44%	-66%		
V2	+150%	-50%	+100%	+500%	+25%	+70%		
V3	0	+400%	+44%	+70%	0	0		
	+90%	+110%	+32%	+83%	+22%	+52%		
Saripul								
V1	0	+25%	-14%	+88%	0	+100%		
V2	0	-7%	+27%	0	0	0		
V3	0	+25%	+900%	+26%	0	0		
	0%	+5%	+56%	+55%	0	+100%		

* Unavailable data

women increased their livestock by one animal, while for three other women their livestock numbers decreased. It should be noted that those women who do own livestock normally own only one or two animals. This may reflect that the animals are used for dairy produce for household consumption rather than income generation. It may also

reflect that livestock management by women takes place within the compound, which may possibly limit the number of livestock for women in some areas to own. On the other hand, it may reflect the fact that there are other factors constraining greater acquisition, ownership and management of livestock, such as lack of access to credit,

and lack of female extension and veterinary workers.

4.7 Differences between villages

The evidence examined thus far has largely focused on comparative analysis between sites and between wealth groups. The aim of this section is to discuss the differences that exist between villages within sites.

4.7.1 Differences in village assets and history

Each village has its own unique history (see Appendix 1) and, as has already been discussed, different villages within a district have access to different natural resources such as land and water. This access is partly determined by location along a valley, in terms of water supply and altitude, by propensity to drought and/or flooding, as well as to the history of the villages, including settlement pattern and conflict over resources. Access will also be partly determined by the claims of those in neighbouring villages, for example, to pasture or water.⁴²

Access to natural resources both between households and individuals in each village, and between villages, partly determines people's ability to engage in agriculture. As has been shown earlier in this report access to land is often uneven and many households own no land. However, the extent of landlessness also differs from village to village. For example, in village two in Faryab 40 percent of the village was landless, while in village three 80 percent of the households in the village are landless. It is logical that the impact of agricultural programmes will differ according to the land ownership situation.

Christoplos argues that agricultural programming and policy also needs to be

differentiated by area in terms of its agricultural potential - commercial farming should be the focus in high potential areas and food security the focus in low potential areas.⁴³ Regardless of this differential between high and low areas, it will continue to be important to recognise difference in access to assets existing between villages in the same areas as well as between households. Likewise, it is important to remember that villages within the same district have different levels of access to schools and health care, and that traditional occupations and skills can vary greatly between villages in close proximity.

All of the above factors, together with local gender relations, household composition and access to social networks (as well as what is happening in the rest of the country and the region) combine to partially determine the livelihood options available to people within villages. Villages need to be looked at separately, as livelihood opportunities and constraints differ within and between villages, and thus appropriate interventions will not be the same.

4.7.2 Differential effects of policies and power structures

The reliance of villages and individuals on diverse assets and income sources means that villages and their inhabitants are differentially affected by policies, local politics and power structures. For example, in contrast to many other villages in the area, in village three in Laghman, which is a high altitude village, the majority of villagers have traditionally been involved in cutting off dead wood for sale as firewood. Due to a recent ban on the cutting of wood in the area many of the villagers, who have very small land and livestock holdings and extremely low education levels, have lost one of their main income sources (see Box 6). While most of the villagers have been affected by this ban,

⁴² Pain, *Understanding Village Institutions*, op cit.

⁴³ Christoplos, op cit.

Box 6: The politics of wood economy in a village in Laghman

Many of the people of this village, especially the poorest, rely on the collection and sale of wood from the forests for their income. Different governments, including the agricultural department of the present government, have asked for a ban on the cutting down of wood to preserve the forests. However, the people of this village argued against it, as they had no alternative income source.

More recently, DACAAR staff were involved in trying to have a ban imposed on cutting wood. DACAAR enlisted the help of a locally respected man who was instrumental in getting five *shuras* to agree to a ban. People agreed to the ban for several reasons: DACAAR had always advised them to, it would assist in preventing flooding, it would aid the storage of irrigation water, provide trees for construction in the long term, provide fodder, and beautify the area.

While the poor are now unable to sell wood, the more powerful appear to be profiting from the ban. The brother of a local commander takes one truckload to the *Wuliswali* everyday. As a result of the ban the powerful are benefiting, wood is still being cut down, though to a lesser extent, and many of the poor are considering turning to poppy cultivation. The poor have also turned to cutting down their own fruit trees for sale, as this is not banned, which further jeopardises their future livelihoods.

Source: Ghafari, J. 2004

women have been especially hard hit, as they were generally responsible for collecting firewood for sale. As a result, women were able to control and manage some of their earnings, whereas now they have to ask their husbands for money, which is not always given.

4.7.3 Wealth differences between villages

In the vast majority of villages wealthier households are said to be those with larger land holdings and sometimes businesses, while the poorest households are those that rely on daily labour and at times begging. There are, however, differences between villages. As noted earlier, the size of land holdings needed to be deemed wealthy varies enormously from location to location.

Size of land holdings does not always mean a village is richer than another that has less land. The wealth of a village will in part depend on who owns the land, whether the land is equitably distributed, the quality of

the land and the availability of resources such as water. CHA/EOCA, for example, found that the village they had thought to be the wealthiest was actually not. The village may have had much larger land holdings and flocks of livestock, but the other two villages had better access to water and pasture. The combination of assets, and not only the quantity, is highly important and varies from village to village.

Similarly, while villages in Faryab and Saripul have larger amounts of land per village than villages in other areas, there is a high proportion of landlessness, which means that while the village as a whole might appear wealthier, individual village members may be worse off.

Having now looked at the main themes emerging from this project, the next section outlines the major implications and policy recommendations that can be drawn from the above evidence.

5. Conclusion: Key Implications and Recommendations



Courtesy of DACAR

This final chapter outlines the main implications and recommendations from the findings presented in this paper for policy and practice in Afghanistan. Particular reference is made to the implications of the findings of this project for the two technical annexes of the Securing Afghanistan's Future (SAF) document, which were outlined in chapter two. The two technical annexes are: the Social Protection and Livelihoods (LSP) Annex and the Natural Resources (NR) Annex, with a focus on the agricultural section.

5.1 Social protection and livelihoods

5.1.1 Livelihood diversity

The majority of households, both rich and poor, have diversified income sources and

many are involved in a combination of farm and non-farm work. This diversity varies from area to area and needs to be understood in the local context.

For wealthier households livelihood diversity is generally a strategy of accumulation, but diversity of income sources is more of a coping mechanism for poorer wealth groups.⁴⁴ That is, livelihood diversity is a way of dealing with a lack of work inside a village and the short-term nature of employment, which is often linked to seasonality.

For some households or individuals, income diversity is used as a means of spreading risk, particularly where income sources are not connected. This means that the effect of shocks on one income source, such as in agriculture, may not have the same

⁴⁴ This has also been found in other studies. See Ellis, F. *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2000.

immediate effect on the urban wage sector, although wage levels will be affected in both. More research is needed into the links between different income sources and principally the link between agriculture growth and the non-farm sector. This is particularly important to investigate if agriculture is to be the engine of growth in Afghanistan.

Recommendations

The Government of Afghanistan (GoA), United Nations (UN) agencies, donors and NGOs should ensure that their activities support the multiple income strategies that poor households use and not encourage dependence on one sector, such as agriculture, as a livelihoods source. One way forward could be to:

- *Design activities that support an entire household*, rather than an individual, to enable responsibility for income diversity to be shifted to the household level. This would result in different household members engaging in different activities, rather than each member engaging in alternate activities. Such an approach to supporting livelihood diversity strategies would facilitate the spreading of risk, while securing the income sources of individual household members, and thereby enable households to accumulate and build up their asset and skill base.

5.1.2 Non-farm Labour

This study found that in 18 out of the 21 villages studied, non-farm labour is the most important source of income for poorer wealth groups. The current importance of non-farm labour in rural Afghanistan has major implications for the agricultural focus of much rural programming and policy. The vital role of non-farm labour in rural Afghanistan necessitates that action be taken towards supporting the non-farm sector and improving people's abilities to gain employment and income in this sector. The current importance of non-farm labour in rural livelihoods must be recognised.

Recommendations

The GoA, UN agencies, donors and NGOs must recognise and support the importance of non-farm labour in rural livelihoods and look to:

- *Monitor over time employment trends at the local level*, specifically the nature and type of work available, in order to inform rural policy development and programming. This will, for example, mean examining whether the non-farm sector continues to be as vital to the poor over time. The NRVA could be one vehicle through which this could be done. Mechanisms also need to be put in place to enable NGOs working at the local level to feed information on trends in their area up to the national level.
- *Examine and support the skills people already possess*, and develop them through vocational training combined with business training, where appropriate. This could enable the rural poor to increase their incomes through being able to demand higher wages.
- *Build an understanding of the skills needed for non-farm labour for men and women*, both now and in the future, through labour market research on current work opportunities as well as newly developing employment areas.
- *Link vocational training to business and/or marketing training*, where appropriate, to enable people to gain the maximum income benefit from their production and income generation activities. While business training is mentioned in the LSP Annex, vocational training is not.
- *Play a role in enabling people to develop existing income generating activities*. This is particularly relevant to microfinance providers. For example, microfinance products could be offered to female carpet weavers in Daulatabad who since the drought have had to rely on middlemen to provide raw materials. As a result, women work more as contract labour for less return. Credit from

microfinance providers could enable women to buy their own raw materials and ideally receive more of the profit of their labour. For this to be done successfully possible constraints will need to be identified, such as if it is possible for women to sell carpets without middlemen, given unequal power relations in the carpet market.

- *Explore providing skills training as part of public works programmes* so that the benefits of involvement in these programmes outlive the project lifetime.
- *Ensure that national programmes directly benefit women and also develop women oriented strategies.* National programmes, such as the National Emergency Employment Programme (NEEP) and the National Solidarity Programme (NSP), should both directly benefit women as well as men, and where this is not possible separate strategies to benefit women must be developed.

5.1.3 Labour migration

Labour migration, both inside and outside Afghanistan, is a very important income strategy for over a quarter of households. For wealthier households labour migration may be a strategy of accumulation. For the poor it is a crucial way of coping with uneven job opportunities inside the village, or of seeking better-paid work. There is, however, currently insufficient knowledge about how labour migration works and who is involved.

While the SAF does argue for supporting migrant workers, it provides no strategy as to how this will be done. From this research such strategies could include supporting the rights and working conditions of migrant workers and improving people's skill base, so that where people need or choose to migrate they can command higher wages, as well as providing employment information. Strategies for supporting those who are unable to migrate for financial reasons, but for whom migrant labour could be highly beneficial,

should also be explored. This could include providing such people with access to credit for travel costs as well as covering the basic expenses needed to support those left behind.

Recommendations

The GoA, UN, donors and NGOs alike need to begin to view migration in a more positive light, rather than something negative that should be prevented, and:

- *Undertake research on labour migration to provide a better understanding of why people migrate, where they migrate, how they migrate, what activities they engage in and what is needed for migration in terms of skills, information and credit as well as how those in the source villages are coping.* With this understanding the government and others could then begin to design strategies aimed at supporting migrant labour populations and their families.

5.1.4 Indebtedness

Many households are indebted, rich and poor alike, and indebtedness is a factor in both the creation as well as the perpetuation of poverty. For wealthier households, loans are often taken either for ceremonies such as weddings, where a large lump sum is needed, or for purposes of production or investment. For poorer households, the majority of loans are taken out as a coping strategy to meet basic needs such as food and health care. In contrast to a loan taken out for productive purposes (if the production is successful), copy strategy loans are unlikely to lead to an improved ability to repay the loan, recognising, of course, that having healthy household members is important for work purposes.

At the moment, many households are able to access credit, but the majority of loans come from family and friends. Some households are indebted through mortgaging land. These households face the double challenge of trying to regain their land by paying off the mortgage, while in some cases

not being able to use their most productive asset.

Credit for the purchase of food and health care is often essential for the poor. While recognising that microfinance organisations do not like to provide such loans, for reasons of financial sustainability, these types of loans *must* be available if microfinance is really to reach the poorest and play a large role in social protection. Providers, with a large enough portfolio of wealthier clients, should be able to provide credit to the poor on terms that enable repayment over time in small instalments.

Microfinance lenders should, however, be careful not to disrupt local credit support mechanisms where they function well. On the other hand, providing alternative credit sources could ease the burden of those, often family members, who lend often quite substantial sums of money.

Recommendations

Policy makers and practitioners, particularly from the government and microfinance providers should:

- *Explore and monitor locally existing credit mechanisms*, particularly the terms and conditions of loans, the penalties of inability to repay, who is able to access local credit sources, what loans are used for, and how loans are repaid. Interventions should then be targeted towards those who have difficulty accessing credit and repaying loans. If terms and conditions are found to be highly exploitative then the possibility of households accessing credit under fairer terms from microfinance providers to repay exploitative loans should be explored.
- *Monitor the level of indebtedness*, again possibly through the NRVA, and identify problem areas in order to prevent negative coping mechanisms for repaying debts.

- *Consider moving part of the money currently allocated for targeted transfers to the poorest to the MicroFinance Investment and Support Facility for Afghanistan (MISFA)*. This could allow MISFA to target the poorest population (who may have a high default rate) with credit to meet their basic needs. This credit could help protect the livelihoods of the chronically poor and could be used to gradually assist them to improve their livelihoods through the provision of credit for income generating purposes.
- *Study the possibilities of helping people recover assets*, such as land held in debt, as well as helping people accumulate and protect assets. The possible positive impact of recovery of assets such as land on reducing incentives for households to engage in poppy cultivation should also be explored.

5.1.5 Gender

Recommendations for improving the livelihoods of both men and women are included under each sub-heading in this section, but a separate sub-heading for gender is warranted given the lack of focus on gender in both the LSP Annex and the NR Annex. While there are no doubt initiatives being undertaken by NGOs in the field, steps towards increasing the livelihoods of different types of men and women need to be spelt out if clear strategies and actions are to be undertaken. It is unclear how programmes grouped under LSP, such as NSP and NEEP, will really benefit women as opposed to men, and what steps will be undertaken to carry forward any positive change.

Women have been shown to be involved in many production and income generating activities and to contribute to household income, yet few women own resources such as land and livestock. Inequities, in terms of access to resources, are barely mentioned in either annex, yet these are very real barriers for many rural women, especially those who are financially responsible for their households

and who have few income generating options sufficient to support a family. It is these structural inequities that make some female-headed households particularly vulnerable to poverty and it is these structural causes of vulnerability, and not just the symptoms, that need to be tackled.

Women possess many skills that could and do provide income, such as carpet weaving, tailoring, embroidery, livestock management, and agricultural work such as weeding. However, due to a lack of recognition of women's work in areas of agriculture, or a lack of business and marketing training, these activities often generate less income than is possible.

Recommendations

Policy makers and practitioners from the government, donors and implementing organisations need to:

- *Protect, support and develop the livelihoods of women.* In this regard, the government should work with gender and livelihoods specialists to develop explicit strategies for women, which disaggregate how the livelihoods of women vis-à-vis men can be protected, supported and developed.
- *Recognise and support women's role in agriculture at the policy and programme level.*
- *Conduct market research before providing skills training* in areas such as handicrafts, to ensure there is a market for the goods produced, and accompany skills training with business and marketing training where appropriate, to enable women to obtain the maximum benefits from their labour.
- *Tackle the structural causes of gender inequity* and look beyond traditional activities, such as poultry farming and embroidery.

5.1.6 Health

Health accounts for the second largest expenditure in the majority of households.

Health is very much a livelihoods issue in that ill health, either physical or mental, has an enormous impact on livelihoods. It is a major factor in creating indebtedness as well as leading to the depletion of assets through sales to pay for treatment. Ill health also impacts on livelihoods through the inability of the person who is ill, and possibly their carer, to engage in production or income generating activities. Health is also tied up with livelihoods through the negative effects on health of certain types of income generation activities, such as carpet weaving or embroidery. Labour migration may be another livelihood strategy that has health implications that need to be addressed. If, for example, male migrant workers visit sex workers, as happens in other parts of the world, there may be a need for health education to these groups, as well as to others, around HIV and AIDS awareness.

Despite all of the above, the Ministry of Health (MoH) is not part of the Livelihoods and Social Protection Consultative Group (LSP CG). Health issues also do not appear to be considered either as a livelihoods or a social protection issue in the LSP Annex. Instead, it is assumed that social protection will lead to greater ability to access health care. This fails to take into account several issues:

1. Social protection as currently outlined in the LSP will do little for the chronically poor (those unable to help themselves) in terms of the income generation strategies incorporated under LSP.
2. Ill health, either physical or mental, maybe a factor preventing households from gaining work and may serve to perpetuate poverty. Participation in programmes such as NEEP, which are physically demanding, will require a certain level of health to begin with and thus exclude certain households. Moreover, there are health implications in participating in physically demanding work on a poor diet, while such participation may lead to household food resources being diverted to those working on such schemes. These dynamics need to be better understood.

3. There is anecdotal evidence that much of the medication available to households is ineffective.⁴⁵
4. Ill health can prevent either the person who is ill or the person caring for the sick person from accessing employment or income.

Recommendations

The government, the LSP CG and/or implementing organisations should:

- *Include the MoH on the LSP CG*, as health is very much a livelihoods and social protection issue. Improvements in health care planned under the Health Technical Annex of the SAF will have an important impact on livelihoods and social protection, but it is necessary that linkages be institutionalised and understood, if they are to be effectively acted upon.
- *Ensure the chronically poor receive adequate health care.* This should be done by developing measures that provide health care under social protection strategies to those who do not have access to health care through participation in programmes such as NEEP. While it is difficult to know which needs come first - improvement in health care or improvements in income enabling greater access to health care - it appears that for the chronically poor, who may be unable to work, health care is a social protection issue. Similarly, for those who cannot currently access employment due to ill health, health care needs to come first.
- *Provide advice on livelihood related health issues in health education activities.* For example, for women, advice should be provided on the need to rest your eyes when working on embroidery or carpet weaving, or the need to wear masks and move around

when weaving carpets and *gilims*. While for migrant labourers, and others, it may be appropriate to provide advice on HIV and AIDS.

- *More closely control pharmaceuticals and pharmacies to prevent the sale of ineffective medicine* and ensure that drugs and antibiotics are only available by prescription. Health education should also include awareness raising about ineffective drugs.

5.1.7 Social protection and the “poorest of the poor”

Most current policy and programmes do not target the very poor, who are likely to be those who are unable to work and lack assets. While the LSP Annex has empowerment of the most vulnerable as an aim, the programmes encompassed within the LSP are unlikely to reach the most vulnerable. Indeed, the document itself raises the question of whether to target the “poorest of the poor” or those closer to the poverty line for whom a wider range of possibilities, such as food/cash for work and micro-finance, are available. Programmes such as NEEP and NAP appear to be targeting the latter category. The LSP does mention resource transfers to the chronic poor, as a “last resort,” but it is unclear how this will work.

The annex does recognise the need to understand and work with traditional mechanisms of support, for those not able to help themselves, but no strategy for doing this appears to have been developed. Gaining an understanding of local support networks for the poorest is crucial to understanding whether improvements in the livelihoods of the less poor are likely to benefit those less able to help themselves.

This research shows that there does appear to be a relationship between the wealth of the less poor and poorer groups. For example, a mullah in Herat spoke of how his life had

⁴⁵ Karimi, op cit.

been very difficult during the drought as he relied on alms from others. Those who gave him alms were badly hit by the drought and were only able to give him a very small amount, which was not enough for him to support his family. Similarly, in two of the villages in Kandahar, *shura* members said that the amount of alms given to the poorest members of the community had changed during and since the drought. In one village, no alms are given to the poorest now, while in the other village people reported giving substantially less to the poor than before the drought.

Helping wealthier households to give more to poorer households, as required in Islam, would not tackle inequitable power structures, but it could be one way through which the poorest are targeted. Separate strategies to target the poorest will also be needed.

Recommendations

Policy makers and practitioners in government ministries and/or NGOs should:

- *Target resources to households with young children in which adults are not able to work.* This may enable the children of these households to attend school, rather than work from an early age, and give them the skills to improve their livelihoods in the long term.
- *Use community workers to raise awareness of the long-term livelihoods consequence of women marrying much older men.* This could be one way in which the vulnerability of women to food insecurity in later life could be reduced, although it is likely that such practices would be reduced if people were not as poor.

There is also a need to gain more understanding of the following:

- The extent to which the traditional giving of alms has been affected by events such

as drought and war and to what extent these informal social protection systems are still functioning. It is equally necessary to determine to what extent improved livelihoods for some lead to greater support for the poorest.

- The characteristics of those individuals and households who are unable to support themselves. This study found the poorest to be those who resorted to begging. Understanding more about the characteristics of these people and engaging them in a dialogue would enable better programme and policy design to assist them.
- The structural factors that keep people in poverty and how to break through them. For example, in the case of female-headed households a large factor is the lack of opportunities for women to engage in income generating activities that provide sufficient income to support a family. This is linked to a lack of ownership of productive assets, such as land and livestock, which to a large degree stems from socio-cultural norms and stigmas that dictate what people *can* and *should* do.

5.2 Agriculture

This study found that a majority of poor households access most of their grain from the market or from other means, and that non-farm labour, rather than agriculture, is the most important source of income for a majority of the poorest households. This raises questions over the accuracy of the frequently cited “80% of the population are dependent on agriculture.” Agriculture plays a role in the lives of many of the rural poor, but this research shows that even under relatively good agricultural production conditions, agriculture plays less of a role than other income sources, if any, in many poor households in different parts of Afghanistan.

Many of the poorest households are landless and own few livestock. Women have been

found to own far less land and livestock than men. These findings have huge implications for the assumptions in the NR Annex that agricultural reconstruction can be equitable, particularly given that participation in agriculture is not equitable because of unequal land ownership between men and women and households.

There is, moreover, a disjunction between the recognition of livelihood diversity and the importance of non-farm labour in the LSP Annex, and the fact that this is not mentioned in the NR Annex. Indeed the latter states that:

“The overall sector objectives are that improved livelihoods and economic conditions of rural families, and enhanced household food security will result in their active participation in the national economic growth that will be guaranteed through deployment of improved, efficient and sustainable use of water resources, agriculture, forestry, rangeland and other sub-sectors, and based on adoption of sound environmental practices.”

The findings of this research have major ramifications for agricultural policy and programming, as it demonstrates that the needs of the rural poor are currently being missed by this focus on agriculture. For example, if a household has land through which support could provide part of household food needs, then agricultural programming may play a large direct role. However, unless households have sufficient land to be able to sell or trade produce for expenditures, such as health and other expenses, it is likely that they will still be involved in non-farm labour, both to generate cash income as well as to spread risk.

For those without sufficient land, or land at all, residing in areas where farm labour opportunities are lacking and/or poorly paid, alternative income sources will always need to be sought. This may be especially the case for women, and widows in particular, because

as has been shown here, women have less access to land than men and despite often being involved in agriculture are rarely considered in agricultural programming.

There may be some benefits for poorer households from improved agricultural production, such as greater labour demand, but these are assumptions that are largely untested. It is possible that agricultural programming could have the opposite effect, with higher yields meaning lower food prices, resulting in lower wages for farm labourers. (This may be offset by a lack of farm labour available due to other opportunities, meaning landlords have to pay higher wages.)

It is recognised that agricultural development may lead to higher production and thereby lower prices, enabling the poor greater access to food; however, this will not necessarily improve people's ability to access income to purchase food. This is not to say that agricultural programming is of no importance to the rural poor, but that the extent to which it has a positive impact will depend from household to household on asset portfolios.

Recommendations

Policy makers and practitioners need to recognise the discrepancy between the realities of rural livelihoods and the policy and programme focus on agriculture and:

- *Distinguish between the asset portfolios of different households and individuals* in order to understand who will benefit from agriculture programmes and who will not. This will help policy makers and practitioners to better target resources to those they seek to assist.
- *Understand the different natural resource base which households have access to before designing agricultural programmes.* Land without water and livestock without pasture does not make for productive assets. While livestock may be an option for women and men without land, who live in areas with sufficient common pasture land, it may

not be for those who live in areas with insufficient pasture land. Thus differentiated programming for different households is required at the local level.

As well as these broad recommendations, there are other potential ways in which agriculture can benefit poor households with little or no land, and who currently rely largely on non-farm labour. While many of the poor in this study were found to depend mostly on non-farm labour, agriculture also forms part of the livelihood strategies of many. It is crucial, therefore, that strategies be explored with a view to supporting household livelihood diversification, rather than trying to move households to agriculture entirely. It is also worth mentioning that the example of the differential effects of the wood collection ban in Laghman demonstrates that there is a need to monitor who gains and who benefits in conservation attempts. The following need to be explored (and monitored to see who benefits):

- *Providing non-farm opportunities for large landowning families*, which may thereby provide more opportunities for poorer households to sharecrop-in land.⁴⁶
- *Harnessing employment opportunities for the poor*, which may arise from increases in the processing industry.⁴⁷
- *The recruitment of more female agricultural and veterinary extension workers* to provide training to women involved in agriculture. This will of course necessitate ensuring that these women have appropriate work conditions including accommodation for women and toilet facilities.
- *Factors that currently constrain the involvement of the poor in agriculture.*

5.3 Livelihoods monitoring

All of these findings demonstrate the importance of monitoring livelihood trends and who is benefiting and who is losing: Is the importance of non-farm labour as a current phenomenon, because of the amount of reconstruction or is it a long-term trend? What effect will agricultural growth have on the non-farm sector? The NRVA is one vehicle through which this monitoring could be done, but other more qualitative studies will need to be conducted to fill in gaps in understanding, while also providing a better temporal perspective of people's livelihoods.

Given that many poor rural households appear to be reliant on the cash economy, the monitoring of changes in food price and labour wage rates is crucial. WFP and others are currently undertaking this monitoring, but it needs to be ensured that this information is analysed and shared and that strategies for using the data are designed. Understanding more about the factors that affect the livelihood choices people make, such as migrating for work, would help us understand the effects that market price changes may have on livelihoods.

⁴⁶ Christoplos, op cit.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

NGOs working at the local level need to have the capacity to use such data sets for their local programming. However, NGOs should also be involved in some livelihoods monitoring in their areas of work to ensure their programmes are relevant to the realities of those they seek to aid. This does not necessarily mean replicating what has been tried here, but simply trying to obtain a better understanding of what different people in a given village are doing and why, and to look at the constraints and opportunities they have and monitor how this changes over time.

The majority of the NGOs who participated in this livelihoods monitoring research project found what they learned to be very valuable in assessing whether their programmes were responding to the realities of people's lives, especially those of the poor. DACAAR, for

instance, found that their agriculturally focused programmes were missing their target beneficiary groups to some extent, since the poorer groups were not dependent on agriculture and were largely landless. This has resulted in DACAAR looking at additional ways of reaching the poor.

NGOs, government and their donors also need to begin to look more at the outcomes (effects) of their projects, and where possible the impacts, rather than focusing largely on outputs (deliverables). These actors also need to begin to look at and tackle the causes of livelihood constraints and not only the symptoms. For this to happen, however, more investment in learning and longer-term funding than is currently available will be needed.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Village descriptions

Jurm District, Badakhshan Province
(Adapted from AKDN, 2004)

Village One

This village is located in the centre of Yumgan sub-district and is nestled in the main valley surrounded by agricultural land, green and lush vegetation, with plenty of access to water (both drinking and irrigation). Village one is the wealthiest of all three villages surveyed and because of its historical importance it is quite a large and rich village with its own market, clinic, schools (boys and a girls school), electricity station, and an administrative centre that is about 10/15 km away. Until the fall of the Taliban regime the village was positioned along an important access route with direct access to the north that linked it to major markets in both Baharak and Faizabad, and to the south that linked it to the Lapis Lazuli mines and the Panjsher Valley.

Historically village one has been a place of great importance. It is where one of the greatest Ismaili leaders, Naser Khesraw, is buried. Naser Khesraw came to the area from Mazar-e-Sharif in the year 455 (1076) seeking to move as far away as possible from the centres of political power. Upon his arrival to the area, the village was renamed and became an important intellectual centre for a number of years, as he was regarded as a highly educated man and an important intellectual thinker. Upon his death the village lost its importance as an intellectual centre, however, it remained a strong agricultural centre and later a strategic village on an access route during the *jihad* for the *mujaheddin*.

During the Russian invasion of Afghanistan the people of village one suffered many

casualties primarily because of the location of the village on a primary access route, linking it to areas like the Panjsher in the south and further down to Kabul. In 1359 (1980) the *mujaheddin* captured village one, where they were well received, and ultimately the village became strong supporters of the movement.

Village one is predominantly a Sunni village, with only 30 Ismaili families living in it despite its historical background.

Village Two

Village two lies in the middle sub-valleys in Jurm District known as Furghominj Valley with direct access to Baharak District in the south and the centre of Jurm in the north, which in turn provide it with direct links to markets, schools, health facilities and the administrative centre. However, unlike village one it has no high schools located in the village and students need to travel 15-16 km to reach Baharak. Unlike the two other villages it has better access to health facilities because it can reach the Baharak hospital within three hours by foot. The main water source of village two is a stream that people use for both their irrigation and drinking.

Village two is considered to be middle ranking, not isolated like village three, but much smaller in size and less wealthy than village one. Village two is said to have been established many years ago and like many of the villages in the district it supported the *mujaheddin* and was very much affected over its course of history by natural disasters such as the drought. On two different occasions in 1322 (1943) and 1349 (1970) the people of the village lost large numbers of livestock due to Caw Ghumar,⁴⁸ and 1349 (1970) again because of the drought.

⁴⁸ A disease that kills cows.

The basic economy for village two has been agriculture and livestock, of which poppy has become a major crop in all households. In addition to agriculture, village two is known for its women's skills in *gilim* weaving and all activities related to the production of *gilims* from spinning to weaving are a major part of the household activity shared by men and women.

Village Three

Village three is located in Khustak Manteqa of Jurm at a high altitude (one of the higher villages in the sub-*manteqa* at 2,330 m) and is inaccessible by vehicles. It is a one-hour walk by foot from the nearest road. Village three suffers from the fact that it is very isolated and the nearest bazaar, clinic, school and administrative centre are about 40 km away, nearly nine hours by foot. The main water source for the village is a stream that people use for both their irrigation and drinking. In the months of October and April villagers are required to collect water from very far away as the stream dries up.

Village three is the poorest of the three villages, located on the peripheral/marginal side of Jurm. This village is one of only three villages in Jurm District with a religious minority (Ismaili community) that have traditionally been oppressed by the elite power structures. Village three is said to have been established about 550 years ago by people coming predominantly from Zeebok and Balkh District.

During the communist government of Afghanistan era the people lost large amounts of pasture land to a commander of the area who later gave the land to people from outside the village. In addition the village suffered from heavy bombardment and attacks by different *mujaheddin* groups.

The basic economy of village three has been agriculture and livestock, but like many places in Afghanistan, its residents own more rain-

fed land than irrigated land, which in turn has led to a lot of loss and suffering from such events as drought, floods, and Shah Dard disease (a disease that killed their livestock). Throughout its history, village three has suffered more than one drought, which in turn has resulted in food deficiency, leading to many of its residents leaving for other areas in Badakhshan of which only some have returned. However, for those residents that did stay or returned many have had to sell their land, livestock and other assets to make ends met. The result today is that most people have become sharecroppers, as they have had to sell or mortgage most of their land.

Village three is different to the other three villages in the fact that most of its residents are Ismaili and will claim that they are not growing poppy because of a Farman⁴⁹ that came out prohibiting Ismailis from growing or using poppy. Even though village three has not traditionally been a poppy growing area there is evidence that its residents began to grow poppy in 2001 as a means to gain access to credit and regain lost assets.

Jaghatu District, Ghazni Province (Adapted from CARE, 2004)

Village One

Village one has a population of 130 households, including 25 female-headed households, and the population is Hazara. It is at the highest elevation of the three villages and the furthest away from Ghazni City. It is the closest to a water source and thus has the best access to irrigation and the highest rate of cultivation, although the village is prone to flooding. Village one is considered to rank second in wealth of the three villages.

Village Two

Village two is also entirely Hazara and contains 100 households, including five female-headed households. Thirty of these households are currently living outside the village. It closer

⁴⁹ A statement issued by the Agha Khan, Ismaili religious leader, as a rule for guidance.

to water sources and has more land under cultivation than village three. Village two is considered the wealthiest of the three villages as the head of the *shura* has been very successful in attracting NGO support to the village and men in some of the households in WGI are employed by NGOs.

This village has some conflict with both commanders and *kuchis* and has severe levels of joblessness, as do the other two villages.

Village Three

Village three is populated entirely by Turkmen and contains 115 households, 12 of which are female-headed. It is the closest to Ghazni City. Village three has the least access to water for irrigation and other purposes and has very little land under cultivation. The village is also prone to flooding. Because of this it is considered the poorest of the three villages.

The economies of the three villages are quite similar. First, households in all wealth groups in all villages use a mix of income generating activities to address their needs. These include agriculture, livestock and their own labour. From the data and discussions with staff it emerged that non-farm labour is perhaps the most significant income generation activity for households across all wealth groups in all three villages. Travel to Ghazni City for casual labour is most common, followed by travel to Pakistan and Iran. Those who travel to the latter two places will go for a season or up to several years. In each of the villages, a number of the female-headed households have a male household head who has been overseas for many years. Men who travel to these faraway places will often borrow money to tide their families over during their absence. On their return, they repay their debts and use other cash to meet family needs.

Agriculture is apparently less important in the economy of all of the villages, though the level of engagement does vary. In village three, agriculture seems to be least important

as the village has the least access to water. Only five percent of the 2,000 *jeribs* of irrigable land is under cultivation. In village two, with a somewhat closer location to water sources, approximately 15 percent of the irrigable land is under cultivation. In village one, the village closest to the source of water, up to 30 percent of the land is under cultivation. In all villages wheat is the main crop produced, followed by a small amount of vegetables (potatoes, onions, alfalfa and others).

Livestock is an important part of the income generation and consumption strategies for households across all villages. Wealthier households tend to own cattle and sheep while all households own at least a few chickens. In the past, the villagers sold most of their livestock for income but the drought has badly affected their capacity to keep large numbers of animals (no food or grazing pasture, limited water). Currently most families have only a few livestock - the smaller ruminants (chickens) are consumed while the less poor families sell the larger livestock cattle and sheep if they have any in the fall for cash over winter. Women in all villages are involved in income generating activities both in and outside the home. These include collecting firewood, wild plants and livestock management. Many women also have skills (tailoring, sewing) that could bring the family extra income.

Pashtun Zargun District, Herat Province
(Adapted from Kerr-Wilson and Ghafari, DACAAR, 2004)

All three villages were badly affected by fighting between the communists and the *mujaheddin* and also between separate *mujaheddin* factions such as that of Juma Gul Palawan. Many of the *mujaheddin* committed terrible atrocities in the village and villagers were forced to provide food and ammunition for both. The villages were attacked by land and air and many fled, but have since returned.

Village One

Village one is the furthest away from the road of the three villages. Most villagers are involved in agricultural activities and the main crops grown are wheat, vetch, cotton and millet for pigeons. Villagers have been unable to grow rice for four years due to a lack of water. As the village is surrounded by agricultural land and they do not have any open pasture to graze their animals in, they have little livestock. A high school has recently been constructed near the village.

Village Two

Village two is the richest village of the three and is the nearest to the road, with the largest population. Around one-third of the villagers own orchards, the produce of which they sell in Herat. There is a school inside the village as well as shops. Households in this village are food self-sufficient for a greater part of the year compared to the other two villages, with the main crops being cotton, wheat, vetch, a little rice and sunflowers.

Village Three

This is considered the poorest of the three villages and is drier than the others. While this village has more land than the other two villages, there is not enough water to irrigate it. Plots of land are therefore divided into two halves with one half being cultivated one year and the other half the next year. The main crops grown are wheat and barley.

There are fewer landowners here than in the other villages and therefore more landless households, largely because one man owns 300 *jeribs*, two-fifths of the total land in the village, and lives in Herat.

The villagers reported problems with over population and conflicts with kuchis.

Alingar District, Laghman Province (Adapted from Kerr-Wilson and Ghafari, DACAAR, 2004)

Many of the men from all three villages fought with the *mujaheddin* against the communists and all of the villages suffered in terms of

loss of human life, destruction of homes, the killing of livestock and the plundering of valuables. In 1979, the communists bombed villages one and two, destroying houses and killing a number of villagers. Two years later, the communists renewed their offensive, bombing village three by air and moving tanks into villages one and two. In village two, to avoid fighting, many villagers escaped to the mountains and hid in underground caves, while others fled on foot to Pakistan. Refugees began returning to the villages around 1993.

Village One

Village one is situated close to the river on the valley floor and only about 1,000 m above sea level. It is the wealthiest of the three Alingar villages. At the entrance to the village there is a small shop owned by one of the more wealthy villagers, while wheat, rice and maize can be seen growing. In addition to privately owned land, there is about 200 *jeribs* of commonly owned pasture land. The land around this village is irrigated with water from the Alingar River and a tributary stream called Nurullam.

Villagers live in compounds, where households from the same family live in separate rooms within the compound. In some compounds, income and expenditure are shared between all members, while in others it is only shared within households. Unlike village three, the women of village one belong primarily to the private world of compounds and are responsible for housework and childcare. The men, on the other hand, belong to the public world and are involved in agricultural activities, fishing, running shops and collecting wood. Some men from this village also migrate to Pakistan for casual labour. It is a predominantly Pashtun village, although there are a few Pashaie households.

Village Two

Village two is on the same side of the river as village one, but thirty minutes away in the direction of Mehterlam. The village sits on a mountain slope in a side valley called Sangar. The people in the village seem more

desperate and unhappy than in the other two villages, as the village has been seriously affected by drought. Land in the village is irrigated by spring water and in normal conditions rice, mulberries and apples are grown. However, because of the drought the orchards are bare and there is not enough water to grow much rice. According to the villagers, the lack of water has meant that they have had to grow alternative crops, including cotton and poppy.

Like the other two villages, some men spend long arduous hours going to far away mountains to collect wood, while due to a lack of available work in the village others travel to Pakistan or Iran for casual labour. As a result, the Pakistani rupee supplements the Afghani as the currency for many transactions. Women in this village do not collect wood, but do take part in agricultural activities alongside their male relatives. Some women also accompany their male relatives to Pakistan and work as agricultural labourers or do piecework, such as putting together factory toy cars, at home.

Village Three

Village three is a 20-minute walk up a narrow path between terraced fields; it is a beautiful place, about 1,450 m above sea level, where houses jostle against each other on narrow mountain shelves.

Village three is the poorest of the three Laghman villages with most households owning less than a *jerib* of land, although many households, even landless ones, have walnut trees whose nuts and wood they trade. Wheat is the main crop grown in the village, while a little maize is grown when there is enough water in the tributary river.

This is a Pashaie village, where young men loll around on the sides of pathways, their eyes rimmed with kohl, hair dyed bright orange with henna. Kalashnikovs decorated with flowers can be seen in the village and highlight the presence of local commanders.

Women with handmade beaded necklaces and brightly coloured, tatty dresses, are seen outside working in the fields and carrying heavy baskets of wood down from mountain forests to the wood bazaar. Gender relations in this village and in other Pashaie villages are different from many places elsewhere in rural Afghanistan. Women can move freely within the village from house to house, although they do need the permission of male relatives to travel outside the village.

Daulatabad District, Faryab Province
(Adapted from EO/CA and CHA, 2004)

Daulatabad District is located 70kms, some two and a half hours drive, north of Maimana, the provincial capital of Faryab, on the main road to Andkhai. The distinguishing geographic features of the district are a wide plain area in the centre with surrounding low-lying clay hills, which constitutes a substantial area of rain-fed cultivation.

Village One

Village one is believed to have been established in the 1860s and is entirely populated by Pashtuns with residents originally coming from Qalat, Zabul Province. Settlers were livestock owners who migrated seasonally to graze their livestock. After the drought of 1971 when 80 percent of their livestock was lost they started cultivation of land on a larger scale. The village population was estimated by the village *shura* to be 2,050 families (10,000 individuals) in 2003.

Village one is ranked the poorest of the three villages. Although crop production is common in the village and crops grown are wheat, sesame, melon and watermelon, village one has an identity of traditional livestock owners.

Village one was attacked and plundered during 1989 by a militia commander supporting the communist regime and 6,700 sheep and goats were taken away. During that period villagers were displaced to Badghis Province and Tur Ghundy in Herat Province until 1998, when the Taliban took control of the area.

Women in village one make less of a contribution to the family economy in comparison to villages two and three, although they participate in seasonal migration during the spring season for grazing animals, where they make dairy products. Women in village one also weave *gilims* that are rarely sold, but instead are given as a dowry by a bride's family or kept as family asset.

Village Two

Village two is thought to have been established in the early 1800s by the first influx of a tribe from Turkmenistan into the area.

Village two is comprised of 95 percent Turkmen and five percent Arab and Uzbek families. The village has a population of 980 families (6,000 individuals). Some 200 families fled to Pakistan during 1998-2001 due to security and drought, from which 150 already returned to the village.

Crops grown in the village are wheat, sesame, melon and watermelon. Land is cultivated every other year with wheat being the major crop. Grapes and raisins are also produced in the village. The village is located along the irrigation system between the other two villages under study, however, irrigation water is only accessible in early spring and winter.

Women play a considerable role in the family economy largely through generating income from carpet weaving.

Village Three

Village three is believed to have been established in the early 1700s and is made up of 85 percent Uzbek families, nine percent Turkmen and eight percent Arab families. The village population is around 550 families (3,300 individuals). Settlers originally came from Maimana, Andkhoy, Sheberghan of Jawzjan Province and Balkh Province.

Village three has suffered from factional fighting taking place between warlords backing the Soviet regime staying in the

village and *mujaheddin* from the village and neighbouring villages, which deprived them of access to their land and pastures outside the village during 1983-1992.

Village three is ranked in the middle in terms of wealth among the three villages and women have a considerable role in the family economy by earning income from carpet weaving.

Crops grown in the village are wheat, sesame, melon and watermelon. Land is cultivated every other year with wheat being the major crop and others acting as secondary crops. Grapes and raisins are other agricultural products produced in the village.

Sayyad District, Saripul Province (Adapted from GAA, 2004)

Village Two

This is an Uzbek village and is located some 23 km away from Saripul centre in the upper part of the valley in a hilly area. The local economy is livestock based. The village has more irrigated land than village two. Wild plant collection is an important activity for households.

Villagers said that the village is some 200 years old. War resulted in repeated destruction, flight and return to the village over the past 20 to 25 years. A flood also cost the lives of many children and animals and destroyed much of the village, the road and the flourmill. In 1363 (1984) internal fighting between different commanders, tribal groups and ethnic groups started. During the repeated bombardments the population migrated to Kohistanat and to Pakistan or Iran to live a life in poverty and destitution there. Following the fall of the Taliban regime 80 percent of the families returned to the village, with the remaining 20 percent still in Pakistan.

Village Two

Village two is mostly inhabited by an Arab and Pashtun population and is some 7 km away from Saripul centre. It is characterised

by rain-fed agriculture and livestock. As compared to village three, this village has less land and many people do supplement their income by labour migration.

Village Three

Since the market in Saripul is near, there is no market in village three. However, there are shops offering goods for basic household needs, a pharmacy is available, and some shops selling agricultural inputs are available. Agriculture is characterised by rain-fed and irrigated cultivation (wheat, barley, melons, sesame, flax, vegetables, maize). Some gardens have poplar trees that are used for building purposes, but are also sold at times. The area is also known for *gilim* weaving and hat production. The village is some 200 years old.

Villagers recall bombardments during the Russian occupation (1361/1982) and mentioned that all houses were destroyed in the events and people lost animals. Many migrated to the Kohistanat area and were forced to earn their livelihoods through daily labour, since the only assets that were remaining were animals for transporting goods.

After a short period of control by the *mujaheddin* between 1362 (1983) and 1365 (1985), some of the migrants returned and tried to rebuild their houses and livelihoods but the village was again taken over by government forces in alliance with Russians. Villagers again lost orchards, livestock and houses, and migrated again to Kohistanat and to Pakistan only to return some six years later. When the Taliban took over the village in 1377 (1998) three-quarters of the population migrated to Pakistan and again sold their assets for livelihood. After the fall of the Taliban regime in 1381 (2001) 85 percent of the population returned. The infrastructure of the village was destroyed and the villagers faced difficulties in accessing safe drinking water, shelter and restocking their livestock herds.

Kandahar District, Kandahar Province
(Adapted from MC village descriptions)

Village One

Village one is entirely populated by Pashtuns from five different tribes and has a population of 100 families (several households within one compound).

The village was heavily hit by the Russian bombardment in 1982 and again in 1984 during which time most of the villagers migrated, some to Pakistan and some to other villages in the south. In 1992 many people returned to the village but faced many difficulties as the village was heavily mined and 12 people were killed by landmines. Deminers worked in the village for 2 years. During that time there were no work opportunities within the village.

The village is traditionally known for good production of crops such as wheat. However, during the drought many of the villagers lost livestock and people's orchards dried up. Those who previously worked as farmers and farm labour could not continue such work due to a lack of water and many are now involved in daily labour.

Village Two

Six Pashtun tribes as well as a small number of Tajik families populate village two. The village has a population of 260 families.

The village had a similar history of events as village one with heavy destruction and casualties from the Russian bombardments. In 1980, 120 villagers were taken prisoner by the Terakai regime and 60 were killed, leaving many women widowed. Many of the villagers fled the area and 60 families are still in Pakistan and Iran.

This village has fertile land but now produces very little due to a lack of water. Fifty families used to be involved in sharecropping before the drought but are now unable to due to this lack of water. The landless are now involved in daily labour.

Village Three

Village three is populated by seven Pashtun tribes and is made up 170 families. Village three also has a similar history to villages one and two and also suffered huge damages and casualties from the Russian bombardments that left 35 people in the village disabled and unable to work. Most of the villagers fled during the fighting as well

as during the drought and 100 of the 170 families have still not returned.

As with village one this village was famous for its good agricultural production, but since the drought little cultivation has taken place and many people who had once worked in agriculture now work as daily labourers, often in Kandahar City, where they can go and return the same day.

Appendix 2: Means of accessing grain

(No. of months food self-sufficient from one production and main cash income source by wealth group, by village by district.)

Province/ Village	Wealth Group	Grain Budget		No. months food self- sufficient from own produce	Main source of cash income
		Majority grain from own production	Majority grain from market or other		
Jurm District, Badakhshan					
Village One	1	x		8	Farm labour
	2		x	5	Farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour
Village Two	1	x		10	Farm sales
	2		x	7	Farm sales
	3		x	2	Fl/fs.nfl/credit & loan
Village Three	1	x		6	Farm sales
	2		x	3	Farm sales
	3		x	1	Farm sales
Daulatabad District, Faryab					
Village One	1	x		12	Farm sales
	2	x		10	Livestock
	3		x	6	Remittances/Nfl
Village Two	1	x		12	Farm sales
	2	x		10	Farm sales
	3		x	6	Non-farm labour
Village Three	1	x		12	Farm sales
	2	x		9	Farm sales
	3		x	6	Non-farm labour
Jaghatau District, Ghazni					
Village One	1		x	3	Non-farm labour
	2		x	1	Non-farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour
Village Two	1		x	2	Non-farm labour
	2		x	20 days	Non-farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour /credit and loans
Village Three	1		x	1	Non-farm labour
	2		x	5 days	Non-farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour
Pashtun Zargun District, Herat					
Village One	1	x		7-8	Farm
	2		x	4-5	Sales/livestock
	3		x	2-3	Non-farm labour
	4		x	0	Non-farm labour Non-farm labour

Village Two	1	x		7-8	Farm sales
	2	x		*	Farm sales
	3		x	*	Non-farm labour
	4		x	0	Non-farm labour
Village Three	1	x		12	Farm sales
	2	x		9	Farm sales
	3		x	2	Non-farm labour
	4		x	0	Nfl/credit & loans
Kandahar District, Kandahar					
Village One	1	x		*	Farm sales
	2		x	*	Non-farm labour
	3		x	*	Non-farm labour
Village One	1		x	2-3	Non-farm labour
	2		x	*	Non-farm labour
	3		x	*	Non-farm labour
Village Three	1	x		*	Non-farm labour
	2		x	*	Non-farm labour
Alingar District, Laghman					
Village One:	1	x		6	Farm sales/livestock
	2		x	3-4	Non-farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour
Village Two:	1		x	3-4	Non-farm labour
	2		x	1	Non-farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour
Village Three:	1	x		*	Non-farm labour
	2		x	*	Wood
	3		x	*	Wood
Sayyad District, Saripul					
Village One	1	x		*	Non-farm labour
	2		x	5	Non-farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour
Village Two	1	x		12	Livestock
	2	x		6	Livestock
	3		x	4	Non-farm labour
	4		x	0	Non-farm labour
Village Three	1		x	12	Non-farm labour
	2		x	6	Non-farm labour
	3		x	0	Non-farm labour

* Unavailable data

Appendix 3: Household Questionnaire

Table 1 Defining the Household

Female

	Interview 2		Interview 3		Interview 4		Interview 5		Interview 6	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1.1 NGO Name										
1.2 Interviewer										
1.3 Interview Number	1									
1.4 Interview Date (D/M/Year)										
Afghan Solar Calendar										
1.5 Province										
1.6 District										
1.7 Village Name										
1.8 Manteqa										
1.9 Village Code										
1.10 Household Code										
1.11 Wealth Group Enter 1,2,3 (or 4,5)										
1.12 Household Head Name										
1.13 Interviewee Name										
1.14 Sex of interviewee (tick either male or female)										
1.15 No. of men (16 or over) in household										
1.16 No. of women (16 or over) in household										
1.17 No. of boys (15 or younger) in household.										
1.18 No. of girls (15 of younger) in household										
1.19 Changes since previous interview (Yes/ No)	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1.20 If 1.19 yes, increase or decrease (+ or -)	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
1.21 If 1.20 increase give reasons - B = birth; M = marriage in; R = returnee; O = other										

1.22	If 1.20 increase specify who - man, woman, boy, girl															
1.23	If 1.20 decrease give reasons; D = death; M = marriage- out; OM = out - migration; O = other															
1.24	If 1.20 decrease specify who - man, woman, boy, girl															
1.25	No. related households living in the compound															
1.26	Is income & expenditure shared by related households. (tick either yes or no)															
	If answer to 1.26 is No, go to 1.29; if Yes go to 1.27															
1.27	If 1.25 is yes, state the number of households sharing with interview household															
1.28	Total No. of individuals in households sharing with interview household															
1.29	No. unrelated households in the compound sharing consumption															
1.30	Total number of individuals in unrelated households in compound sharing consumption															
1.31	No. unrelated individuals (servants) living with household and sharing consumption, who have lived there for the past 6 months															
1.32	Total Number sharing consumption (1.15 + 1.16 + 1.17 + 1.18 + 1.28 + 1.30 + 1.31)															
1.33	Memo Field															

Table 2 Household Member Identity

Female

	Female						
	Husband	Wife	Child	Grand-parent	Brother / Brother in law	Sister / Sister in law	Other
2.1 Interview No							
2.2 Household Code							
2.3 HHld Member Code							
2.4 Name of individual							
2.5 Sex (Male/ Female)							
2.6 Relation to HHld head (tick)							
2.7 Skills (even if not practising) tick; Specify for other	Gilim Weaving Other 1	Carpet Weaving Other 2	Sewing Other 3	Tailoring Other 4	Carpentry Other 5	Mason Other 6	Mechanical Other 7
2.8 Highest Education Level (tick)	Cannot read or write	Can read or write	Not at school	Madrassa	School Class (Specify)	University	Other
2.9 Age	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6	
2.10 Memo field							

Table 3 Household Member Activities

Female

	Female				
	1	Last Year Winter (3m)	Spring (3m)	Summer (3m)	Autumn (3m)
3.1 Interview No					
3.2 Household Code					
3.3 Hhld Member Code					
3.4 Season					
3.5 No months resident					
3.6 Household Activity 1					
3.7 Household Activity 2					
3.8 Household Activity 3					
3.9 Production & Income Activity 1					
3.10 Production & Income Activity 2					
3.12 Production & Income Activity 3					
3.13 No months non-resident					
3.14 Location non - resident					
3.15 Income Generating Activity 1					
3.16 Income Generating Activity 2					

- Activity Choices:
- Child Care;
- Caring Sick/elderly
- Cooking; Cleaning;
- Education
- Firewood Collection
- House Maintenance
- Other
- Activity Choices
- Crop Planting
- Crop Weeding
- Crop Harvesting
- Crop Processing
- Fodder Management
- Livestock Mngmnt
- Shepherd; Irrigation
- Wild Plant Collection
- Kilim/ carpet making
- Farm Labour
- Non-farm labour
- Other
- Activity Choices
- Casual labour

3.17 Income Generating Activity 3	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6	Skilled labour Domestic Trading ; Clerical Professional; IDP; Other

Male and Female

Table 4. Household History

Household Code:

Year	Month	Sex Respondent	Event	Code Event	Response	Code Response
		M / F				

Table 5 Household Assets - Physical Assets

Male

Interview No	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
5.1						
5.2						
5.3						
5.4						
5.5						
5.6						
Currency Units: US\$ = US dollars; Pakistan Rupees = Pk Rs; Government Afghani (old) = Old Afg Government Afghani (new) = New Afg; Jumbesh Afghani = Jbs-Afg; Other = specify						
5.7						
5.8						
5.9						
5.10						
5.11						
5.12						
5.13						
Utilities						
5.14	Yes / No	Yes/ No	Yes/ No	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No
5.15						
5.16						
5.17						
5.18	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No	Yes / No
5.19						

Table 6 Household Assets - Land Assets [Note: It is possible that a household might own or use land in more than one village or even province; if this is the case then a second table 6 should be completed for lands owned or used in a second (or third) place

		Male				If yes enter below where this land is & complete a second Table 6	
6.1 Interview No	Does the household own/ use land outside this village?	Yes / No	District		How many owners?		
6.2 Household code	Other Land	Province	Production		Total Owned Area (jeribs or ha)		
6.3 Land owned & cultivated	Seed amount (seers or kg) / no. trees	No. of Parcels	All		M	W	
6.4 Irrigated grain (no land / wheat /barley / paddy / other)	Seers Kg	Seers Kg	Jeribs Ha.				
6.5 Irrigated pasture (no land / alfalfa)	Seers Kg	Seers Kg	Jeribs Ha				
6.6 Irrigated orchard (mulberry/ walnuts/ apple)		Seers Kg	Jeribs Ha				
6.7 Irrigated vineyard (no land / died / grapes)		Seers Kg	Jeribs Ha				
6.8 Rainfed grain (no land / wheat / barley/ melon/ other)	Seers Kg	Seers kg	Jeribs Ha				
6.9 Rainfed pasture (no land/ dry/ used)			Jeribs Ha				
Sharecropped land	Seed amount / no. plants	Production	No. of Parcels		Area		
6.10 Sharecropped with landlord 1	Seers Kg	Seers Kg	Jeribs Ha				
6.11 Sharecropped with landlord 1/2	Seers Kg	Seers Kg	Jeribs Ha				
Who provides?	Seed	Fertiliser	Draught power	Crop Share (%) Farmer	Crop Share% Landlord		

6.12 Sharecrop terms Landlord 1
F = Farmer; L = landlord

6.13 Sharecrop terms Landlord 1/2
F = Farmer; L = landlord

6.14 Sharecropped out to farmer 1

6.15 Sharecropped out to farmer 2

Who provides?

6.16 Sharecrop terms farmer 1
F = Farmer; L = landlord

6.17 Sharecrop terms farmer 2
F = Farmer; L = landlord

Rented land

6.18 Rented in - 1

6.19 Rented in - 2

6.20 Rented out - 1

6.21 Rented out - 2

Mortgaged land

F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F =	L =
F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F =	L =
F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F =	L =
Crop		Seed amount / no. trees		Production (seers or kg)		No. of Parcels		Area		Land Type			
		Seers Kg		Seers Kg				Jeribs Ha					
		Seers Kg		Seers Kg				Jeribs Ha					
Labour		Seed		Fertiliser		Draft power		Crop Share (%) Farmer		Crop Share (%) Landlord			
F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F =	L =
F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F	L	F =	L =
Crop		Seed amount / no. plants		Production		No. of Parcels		Area		Rental			
		Seers Kg		Seers Kg				Jeribs Ha					
		Seers Kg		Seers Kg				Jeribs Ha					
		Seers Kg		Seers Kg				Jeribs Ha					
		Seers Kg		Seers Kg				Jeribs Ha					
Crop		Area (jeribs)		Ownership		When mortgaged?		Debt / loan Amount		Mortgaged to whom / from whom (relative / village non-village)			

- 6.22 Mortgaged out - 1
- 6.23 Mortgaged out - 2
- 6.24 Mortgaged in - 1
- 6.25 Mortgaged in - 2

Land sold and bought

- 6.26 Land sold
- 6.27 Land bought

Irrigation

- 6.28 What are the water rights you own?
- 6.29 What water rights do you rent?
- 6.30 Memo

Have you sold / bought land?	Land Type	Which year did you do this?	What area did you sell/buy?	How much did money did you sell/ buy it for?	Sold/ bought from whom (relative / village/ non-village)
No					
Yes					
No					
Yes					
How long can you irrigate?	How often can you irrigate? (daily, 2-3 days, 4-7 days, >7 days)	Inherited or bought?	Rented out?	If rented out/ in what is the payment? How often and for how long?	Water source: tube well, karez, spring; river
			Yes		
			No		

Male

Table 7 Household Assets - Number of Livestock by type

	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
7.1 Household code						
7.2 Sex of interviewee						
7.3 Interview No						
Livestock and Ownership						
7.4 Cattle owned by men						
7.5 Cattle owned by women						
7.6 Cattle owned by men & women						
7.7 Draft animals owned by men						
7.8 Draft animals owned by women						
7.9 Draft power - other						
7.10 Goats/sheep owned by men						
7.11 Goats/sheep owned by women						
7.12 Goats/sheep owned by men & women						
7.13 Donkeys owned by men						
7.14 Donkeys owned by women						
7.15 Donkeys by men & women						
7.16 Horses owned by men						
7.17 Horses owned by women						
7.18 Horses owned by men & women						
7.19 Camels owned by men						
7.20 Camels owned by women						
7.21 Camels owned by men & women						
7.22 Chickens owned by men						
7.23 Chickens owned by women						
7.24 Chickens owned by men & women						
7.25 Are there any animals that you manage but donot own?						
7.26 If 7.25 is yes, please explain						
7.27 Memo						

Table 8 Household Assets - Valuables

Male

8.1 Household Code	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
8.2 Interview No.	Value/Number /List	Change +/- & cost/received/made	Change +/- & cost/received/made	Change +/- & cost/received/made	Change +/- & cost/received/made	Change +/- & cost/received/made
8.3 Sex of Interviewee						
8.4 Jewelry - men						
8.5 Jewelry - women						
8.6 Savings - men						
8.7 Savings - women						
8.8 Carpets - men						
8.9 Carpets - women						
8.10 Gilims - men						
8.11 Gilims - women						
8.12 Radio						
8.13 Bicycles						
8.14 Taxis						
8.15 Tractor						
8.16 Truck						
8.17 Other 1						
8.18 Other 2						
8.19 Other 3						
8.20 Memo						

Table 9 Household Debts

Male

9.1 Household Code										
9.2 Sex Interviewee										
9.3 Interview No	1									
Existing debts	Type: C = cash F = food	Amount In Afs or Seers	Collateral? N = none; L = land; LV = livestock; O = other	Which year & month?	With Whom? R = relative; F = friend; L = landlord S = shop/ trader	Reason? D= Death F = Food H = Health W= Wedding O = Other	Amount still to be paid off?			
9.4 Debt 1										
9.5 Debt 2										
9.6 Debt 3										
9.7 Debt 4										
9.8 Debt 5										
Existing Debts	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6				
9.9 Debt 1 - balance										
9.10 Debt 2 - balance										
9.11 Debt 3 - balance										
9.12 Debt 4 - balance										
9.13 Debt 5 - balance										
New Debts	Type: C = cash F = food	Amount In Afs or Seers	Collateral? N = none; L = land; LV = livestock O = other	With Whom? R = relative; F = friend; L = landlord S = shop/ trader O = Other	Reason? D= Death F = Food H = Health W= Wedding O = Other	Repayment Amount				
9.14 Interview No										
9.15 Interview No										
9.16 Interview No										
9.17 Interview No										
9.18 Interview No										
9.19 Memo Field										

Table 10 Household Grain Budget
 (Note: It is assumed that all grain quantities refer to unhusked grain; a table should be completed for each major grain)

Male

	Interview 1 Last winter	Last spring (3 months)	Last summer (3 months)	Last autumn (3 months)					
10.1 Interview No									
10.2 Household Code									
10.3 Grain (wheat, barley, paddy, maize, potatoes)									
10.4 Season									
10.5 Sex of interviewee									
10.6 Units (Seers or kg)									
10.7 Stocks at start of period									
10.8 Harvested									
10.9 Bought									
10.10 Received as payment for private work									
10.11 Received as food for work									
10.12 Borrowed									
10.13 Gathered / gleaned									
10.14 Begged									
10.15 Sold									
10.16 Repayed against debts									
10.17 Loaned out									
10.18 Given out									
10.19 Eaten									
10.20 Stocks at interview time		Interview 2 Last 4 months	Interview 3 Last 4 months	Interview 4 Last 4 months	Interview 5 Last 4 months	Interview 6 Last 4 months			
10.21 Season									
10.22 Sex of interviewee									
10.23 Units (Seers /Kg)									
10.24 Stocks at start of period									
10.25 Harvested									
10.26 Bought									

10.27	Received as payment for private work					
10.28	Received as food for work					
10.29	Borrowed					
10.30	Gathered / gleaned					
10.31	Begged					
10.32	Sold					
10.33	Repayed against debts					
10.34	Loaned out					
10.35	Given out					
10.36	Eaten					
10.37	Stocks at interview time					
10.38	Memo field					

Table 11 Household Expenditure (Cash)

Male

11.1	Interview No	1				
11.2	Household Code					
11.3	Season	Last Winter	Last Spring	Last Summer	Last Autumn	
11.4	Gender of interviewee					
11.5	Currency					
Currency Units: US\$ = US dollars; Pakistan Rupees = Pk Rs; Government Afghani (old) = Old Afg Government Afghani (new) = New Afg; Jumbesh Afghani = Jbs-Afg; Other = specify						
		Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
11.6	Food					
11.7	Fuel					
11.8	Farm Inputs					
11.9	Clothing, including shoes					
11.10	Other Household Non-food					
11.11	Education					
11.12	Health					

11.13 Tax cash																						
11.14 Debt Repayment																						
11.15 Loan out																						
11.16 Purchase of assets																						
11.17 Estimated total expenditure																						
Interview			Interview 2				Interview 3				Interview 4				Interview 5						Interview 6	
11.18 Gender of interviewee																						
11.19 Currency																						
Currency Units: US\$ = US dollars; Pakistan Rupees = Pk Rs; Government Afghani (old) = Old Afg Government Afghani (new) = New Afg; Jumbesh Afghani = Jbs-Afg; Other = specify																						
11.20 Food	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
11.21 Fuel																						
11.22 Farm Inputs																						
Clothing including shoes																						
11.23 Other Household Non-food																						
11.24 Education																						
11.25 Health																						
11.26 Tax cash																						
11.27 Debt Repayment																						
11.28 Loan out																						
11.29 Purchase of assets																						
11.30 Estimated total expenditure																						
11.31 Memo																						

Male

Table 12 Household Income (Cash)

12.1	Interview No	1								
12.2	Household Code									
12.3	Season	Winter	Last spring	Last summer	Last autumn					
12.4	Gender of interviewee									
12.5	Reserves at beginning of period									
12.6	Currency									
Currency Units: US\$ = US dollars; Pakistan Rupees = Pk Rs; Government Afghani (old) = Old Afg Government Afghani (new) = New Afg; Jumbesh Afghani = Jbs-Afg; Other = specify										
12.7	Farm Sales	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	
12.8	Wild Plants									
12.9	Livestock sales									
12.10	Farm labour labour									
12.11	Non-farm labour									
12.12	Trade & transport									
12.13	Carpets & Kilims									
12.14	Remittance									
12.15	Credit & Loans									
12.16	Land Mortgage									
12.17	Other asset sales									
12.18	Estimated Total Income									
	Interview No	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6				
12.19	Gender of interviewee									
12.20	Reserves at beginning of period									
12.21	Currency									
Currency Units: US\$ = US dollars; Pakistan Rupees = Pk Rs; Government Afghani (old) = Old Afg Government Afghani (new) = New Afg; Jumbesh Afghani = Jbs-Afg; Other = specify										
12.22	Farm Sales	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
Afs	Afghanis is the currency of Afghanistan, and 50 Afghanis is roughly equivalent to US\$1
AKDN	Aga Khan Development Network
CARE	Care International
CHA	Coordination for Humanitarian Assistance
DACAAR	Danish Committee for Assistance to Afghan Refugees
EOCA	Ecumenical Office of Christian Aid
GAA	German Agro Action
GoA	Government of Afghanistan
LSP	Livelihoods and Social Protection
LSP CG	Livelihoods and Social Protection Consultative Group
LSP PIP	Livelihoods and Social Protection Public Investment Programme
MC	Mercy Corps
MISFA	Microfinance Investment and Support Facility for Afghanistan
MoH	Ministry of Health
MRRD	Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development
NABDP	National Area Based Development Programme
NDF	National Development Framework
NEEP	National Emergency Employment Programme
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NR	Natural Resources
NRVA	National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment
NSP	National Solidarity Programme
NSS	National Surveillance System
UN	United Nations
WFP	World Food Programme

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