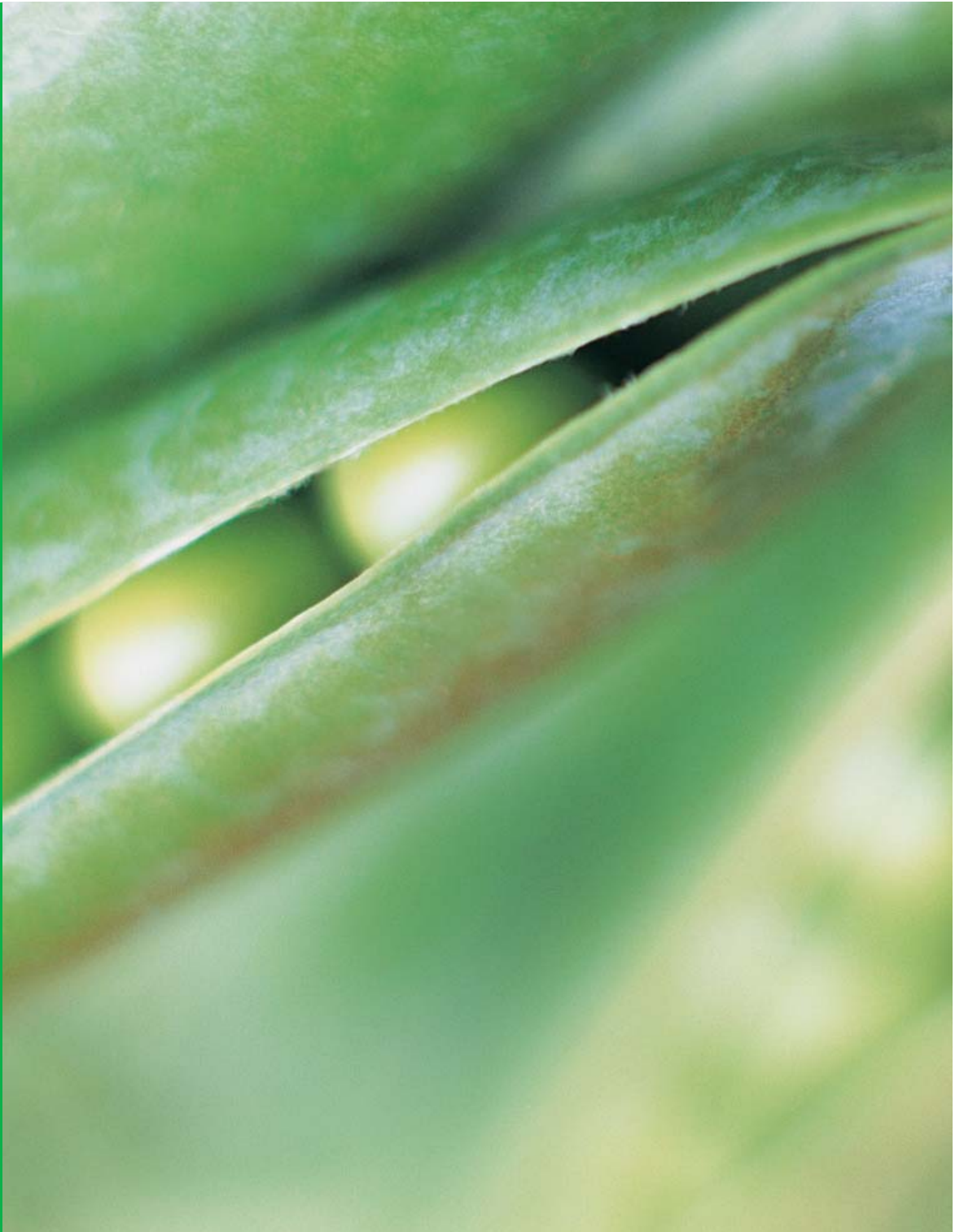


EXPLORING RURAL LIVELIHOODS IN AFGHANISTAN: A STUDY OF 10 VILLAGES IN DAI KUNDI PROVINCE

BY INGRID NYBORG, JALALUDDIN AKRAMY AND ASLAUG GOTEHUS

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Ingrid Nyborg, Jalaluddin Akramy
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/GLOSSARY

ACF	Action contre la Faim
CCA	Cooperation Centre for Afghanistan
CDC	Community Development Committee
CoAR	Coordination of Afghan Relief
DHSA	Development and Humanitarian Services for Afghanistan
HF	Hambastagi Foundation
ICDP	Integrated Community Development Programme
JACK	Just for Afghan Capacity and Knowledge
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO/RRAA	Norwegian Project Office – Rural Rehabilitation Agency for Afghanistan
NSP	National Solidarity Programme
WHH	Women-headed household
Afghanis (Afs)	Official Afghan currency, \$1≈50 Afs
Jeribs	One jerib equals 2000 square meters
Karez	Spring that has been improved through digging or cleaning
Mirab	Local water manager
Nawaz	Water reservoirs
Shura	Village Council
Syed	Respected families

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The main purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the livelihoods of selected communities of Dai Kundi and identify key areas where NCA partner activities could focus in order to help rural communities to develop new, improved and sustainable livelihoods. Particular focus was put on exploring differences within communities, and identifying livelihood options for disadvantaged groups such as the poor and women. The study was conducted in 10 villages in Shahrstan and Miramor Districts, collecting mainly qualitative data through group interviews. Findings and recommendations appear at several levels. Village specific data and findings are presented in the village profiles, which are available in a second volume to this report. More general findings and recommendations for NCA and its partners can be found in each section as well as at the end of this report. Some of the main findings are summarized below.

Main Findings

Water, health and sanitation

Although it was beyond the scope of this study to conduct a health survey of the study villages, the study did attempt to investigate some of the linkages between water, health and sanitation. Many of the development activities in the area focus on the provision of either drinking or irrigation water due to the drought, however often without a full understanding of the health and environmental aspects involved.

Although the villagers reflected an awareness of the standard health messages delivered by community health workers, they did not, however, seem to understand the connection between infectious pathogens and disease, and how these can be carried through water. Nevertheless, there was anecdotal evidence that current training efforts by the partners (for example the women, water and health program) have begun to make a difference in the villages. This training is given intensely, often, but not always, in connection with the construction of latrines. It is important that training in health and hygiene be directly linked to all sanitation and irrigation activities, rather than as separate activities. Also, training should be based on an understanding of local perceptions of health and disease and strive to foster an understanding of how pathogens are spread through contact and water (and soil) and how this can be prevented, rather than merely a training in recommended hygiene practices.

Wealth, land ownership and food security

There was great diversity both within the villages, and between villages concerning land ownership, level of migration, number of returnees, number of women headed households, which has important implications for organizations who are intent on identifying specific, vulnerable groups in the communities. Existing methods to describe and identify vulnerable groups in communities are too simplified, and do not reflect important sub categories of villagers. Sharecroppers, for example, can either be landowners or landless, and landless can have off-farm businesses which can put them in well-off. A more detailed description of the communities would allow for more relevant and appropriate interventions both within and between villages.

Food and Livelihood Security and Vulnerability

In general in all the villages, the well-off had enough food from their own production for 7-10 months of the year, the medium villagers from 4-7 months, and the poor between 2 and 7 months. The remainder of their food needs was met through the purchase of food in the market, or provided by others, i.e. family, neighbors or NGOs, or any combination of the above. Despite the fact that most people manage to secure an adequate level of food either through production or purchase, the conditions under which this is possible for certain households can be extremely difficult, and far from sustainable. It is therefore important to investigate the food security and livelihood trends of different groups in the different villages to see what degree of vulnerability they may be experiencing. This, however, is not a straightforward task. Whether a strategy represents a shorter-term coping strategy chosen in difficult times, or a longer-term shift in livelihood strategies is not always apparent, and the same strategy may be chosen by different households for different reasons. Also, what constitutes vulnerability in one village could be quite different in another, involving different types of households, with different potentials to participate in new activities.

Indicators for food and livelihood security, and vulnerability, thus need to reflect processes, rather than merely the status of certain households at one point in time. Also, there will likely be sets of indicators, rather than a single indicator that can inform on these processes.

Livelihood strategies: Labor and Labor Migration

In the study villages, labor migration as a long term strategy was evident particularly in the better-off households. In these households, the income from this labor fills the gaps when there are annual variations in production, as well as provides a source of investment capital, securing the better-off their positions in the community. In poorer households, labor migration was more of a last resort to ensure food security.

Labor is performed either by landless laborers moving from village to village in the different agricultural seasons, small landowners who need additional income than their smallholdings can provide, or by sharecroppers, who perform such labor in addition to the production they do on their patron's land. The impact of the lack of labor-earning possibilities in the village would therefore be different for different groups, and would differ as well between villages, depending on the size of each labor category. What is critical, therefore, is that those promoting and implementing activities affecting the demand for labor have a thorough understanding of how the choice of participants would affect labor relations, to ensure that the vulnerable are in fact being reached, and that the activities do not worsen already existing inequalities.

Livelihood Strategies: Agriculture

The basic agricultural system is similar in all the ten villages, however, there are differences due to agro-climatic conditions. The main constraints for agricultural activities in the villages are lack of water, lack of fertilizer and seed, lack of financial capital and poor access to the market. For widows, lack of labor and credit are particularly limiting. In eight of the villages poppy was grown for sale, regardless of their wealth group. Different farmers grow poppy for different reasons. The poor, for

example, grow poppy mainly as a strategy to improve their food security, while the well-off grow poppy not only to ensure their food security, but also to increase their wealth.

A key issue in this area is the swing in prices during the year, partly due to the closed roads during the winter season, and the lack of processing options to be able to market agricultural products in other areas and at other times of the year. Local farmers are currently forming a smallholder farmers union to try to deal with some of these issues, and this could be a focal point for more strategic investments in alternative agricultural activities. While the agricultural systems are somewhat similar between the villages, the crops grown for consumption and sale can differ widely both between and within villages. Further, while farmers may seem to share similar constraints, they differ in their abilities to meet these constraints. The process of developing a farmers' union is critical in this respect – it is important that the interests of smallholders and sharecroppers, including women farmers, are represented in this newly emerging institution, such that systems are developed to cater to their particular set of interest and constraints.

Livelihood Strategies: Livestock

Animal husbandry is an important part of the livelihood strategies in all of the villages. However, the importance differs between the different villages as well as the different wealth groups within the villages. The main constraint for livestock production is lack of pasture and fodder, both due to the drought, as well as to unequal distribution and access to land among the different groups within the villages. As development strategy, distribution of animals to poor villagers will therefore only be feasible where the recipients have access to pasture.

In all of the villages, the managing of livestock is mainly the responsibility of women, while men are responsible for their sale and control the income. Different wealth groups often rely on different animals, and the importance the products play in their livelihood also differ. Animals seem to be a potentially valuable resource in the agricultural system, both as income and food sources, particularly for women. For some households, however, an increase in the number of animals might increase the workload for the women in particular, without an appropriate increase in their control over the income generated from these animals. Also, while animals could be a valuable resource particularly for poorer households, the issue of access to fodder, particularly for winter feeding, needs to be addressed. This access could be different from village to village, and therefore has to be connected to an understanding of availability of and access to pasture areas.

Livelihood Strategies: Income

The sources of income are a mix of farming and non-farm activities, and the labor market for non-farm work is almost solely restricted to men. Income from working outside of the village is better than that from working inside the village, and the income of skilled laborers is also relatively good. Skilled men have good access to the labor market and get the highest income. Control of income is in the hand of the head of the household, and as a general rule, this gives men most of the decision making power when it comes to the spending of income. However, it was also said that the

one that contributes most to the income has the most decision making power. The women said that they consequently don't have a role in decision-making because they don't have a good income. The study confirms that the promotion of income-earning activities, particularly for women, continues to be a strategic activity. Not only can it improve income levels in the households, but it also has the potential to improve the decision-making power of women. Secondly, organizations need to be acutely aware of the different wages and income levels for agricultural and non-farm skilled and unskilled labor and investment opportunities to ensure that particularly women, whose participation in labor markets is limited, get a high return on their labor and investment in any activity proposed or introduced.

Land issues

The land areas defined as the villages (cultivated, stone mountain, pasture and public) are land which is controlled by the village. In Dai Kundi, agricultural land is privately owned. The degree to which non-cultivable land is divided between the villagers, however, differs. There seems to be three patterns of private ownership and common land rights in the study villages: complete division of all village land, including the pastures and stone mountains, division of cultivable land only, with pasture and mountain land accessible to all villagers, and division of cultivable and pasture land

In addition, some villages border on pasture land owned by the government, and there are sometimes conflicts over the use of this land. But unlike other areas of Afghanistan, there are no pastoral communities competing for these government-owned pasture areas in Dai Kundi. In all of the villages, there were conflicts over agricultural land, mainly between families and neighbors. There were also examples of how land was grabbed by the powerful. While some land conflicts are solved by NSP Shura or elders, most are brought to the governor's office in Alqan District Headquarters, since the Shura has no formal power to make decisions in these cases.

Although women have the right to inherit land according to Islamic law, there is strong social pressure for daughters not to claim their land rights from the family, and at the same time pressure from their husbands to claim their rights. Widows are in a particularly difficult position, and are most often completely denied their rights of inheritance. The implications are that when considering agricultural investment as a development activity, they need to be aware of both how land is distributed to different groups in the community as well of the weak position of women, and particularly widows are in when it comes to their inheritance of land, and thus the limited direct impact such activities might have on these women.

Water issues

As a result of the nine-year drought, water is a critical issue in Dai Kundi. While there is enough water in the spring season from the rains, in summer and autumn there is lack of water for cultivation. Often the springs are private, and water is shared mainly within families. In areas where most of the water sources are private, there is no separate person (i.e. mirab) or institution in the village to manage this water. Thus, when new, shared water sources are proposed, cooperation can be extremely difficult.. In such cases, conflicts have arisen. Such conflicts can evolve despite preliminary discussions with the Shura and other villagers in the planning process. Also, despite

an emphasis on the most vulnerable when providing assistance, there is still a tendency for the better-off to appropriate the largest portion of benefits. It is therefore important that a method is developed whereby discussions involve all relevant stakeholders from the earliest stages, ensuring a transparent process which gives voice to the less powerful concerning water issues. Currently, much of the initial discussions by partners with villagers concerning most activities are with the Shura, and it is not until much later in the process that the different interests in the community become apparent.

Decision-Making and Power Relations

Decision-making and power relations in the villages are a mix of formal and informal forums and social relations. The villagers described four periods of decision-making: Pre-revolution (pre 1979) where the Arbabs made decisions, Post-revolution (during Soviet occupation 1979-1992) where the warlords held power, the transition period (Taliban and pre-NSP Shura period 1996-2004) where the Taliban and village elders made decisions, and the NSP Shura period (2004-present). All of the villages have now established CDCs (Community Development Councils), which they refer to as NSP Shuras. Elders play a role during this phase as well; they have no formal power, but they still have a strong influence. The members of these Shura are elected. The warlords are no longer in direct power, but in some villages they still have a strong influence. Women are involved either directly in the main Shura, or in a separate women's Shura.

While some of the Shura have implemented an NSP project in their village, most have not. Nevertheless, they are the focal point for contact for both NGO and government offices in the village. Currently, it seems the main Shura are taking on a broad range of diverse activities in the villages, and not yet formed sub-committees or project committees as recommended by the NSP strategy. This means that power is concentrated in one decision-making body of the villages. While most villagers agreed that more villagers are involved in decision-making than before, they still estimated that about 60% of the Shura is controlled by the powerful, and 40% by people representing the community at large, none of which represented the poor. There is thus a long way to go before there is equitable representation in the village leadership. This has important implications for how development activities are implemented, since the Shura is the main contact point in the village for NGOs and government services.

Development Initiatives

In the study villages a wide range of activities within the sectors of health, agriculture and livestock, institutional development (NSP), water, hygiene, have been implemented. Not all activities are in all villages, but there are usually several in each village, and sometimes implemented by different NGOs. In some villages, different NGOs have been involved in similar activities. While in village level meetings it was claimed that all had benefited from the development activities, the separate group session revealed that impact was skewed toward the better-off, even when the activities were specifically targeted to the poor. The main reason for this was found to be too much dependence on the Shura for identifying beneficiaries, and distributing resources. Villagers claimed that it has always been a custom in these villages for the

well-off to take any extra or new resources coming into the villages for themselves, believing that they had the right to these resources due to their position in society. They also had a tendency to exclude people who they did not consider as members of the community, i.e. landless laborers, which are often the most vulnerable in the communities. Since the NSP program is still quite new, they felt it will take time for the Shura to take on new roles in which they become more sensitive to the needs of all their constituents. It is thus perhaps unrealistic for development partners to assume that the Shura are at this point able to both be the sole contact point for NGOs as well as the implementers without running into conflict of interests problems. Since bypassing the Shura is neither desirable or possible, the partners emphasized the need to inform and gain the cooperation of the Shura, while at the same time interacting more directly with other, more representative groups in the community in the actual implementation of activities.

Contribution to Competence-Building

NCA staff directly involved in the research activities have gained considerable experience in understanding livelihood issues, design of the question guide, qualitative interviewing, and analysis of qualitative data, including quality control of the data, skills which are very relevant to their work as program coordinators. The core partners of NCA now comprise a cadre of experienced field surveyors which can be used for training other staff in their own and other organizations in conducting qualitative studies in connection with their work. One of the key activities in increasing the competence of the partners was participation in the analysis workshops, where they progressed from a mere question-asking and answering exercise, to one where they question the underlying reasons behind the answers. In particular, the partners became increasingly curious about the complexity of the communities with which they work. Also, and quite importantly, including the villagers in the analysis workshop allowed the partners to see the villagers as partners in development rather than merely as beneficiaries.

The villagers, and particularly the vulnerable groups, appreciated both the opportunity to explain their situation and express their interests and concerns. The analysis workshop also gave them the opportunity to see the potential of using such an analysis as a tool in community planning, one of the main responsibilities of the NSP Shuras. This is where the real potential of this method lies, by making such a survey participatory, NCA not only learns about the communities for the better implementation of its activities, but it in fact supports local institutions in developing the skills to analyze and plan for more equitable community development.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the strong focus on developing alternative livelihoods in Afghanistan, there is relatively little information on exactly what these livelihoods comprise in the different regions of the country, and what the potentials for improving them might be. Although it is clear that poppy cultivation has become an important source of income for farmers in many parts of the country, exactly how it is integrated into the livelihoods of the local population in terms of why it is grown, by whom and the degree to which it is institutionalized locally is not well understood. Afghanistan is a hugely diverse country, both ecologically and culturally, so it is imperative that those working in the different regions put a solid effort into assessing the local context such that their activities prove to be relevant for their areas. There is particularly scarce information on rural livelihoods and the potentials of increasing income and improving people's lives through investments in crop and livestock production, and decreasing dependence on poppy cultivation.

In this study, NCA wished to look more in depth at the livelihood situation in Dai Kundi in order to determine the affect of their current activities, and try to identify new activities which might be initiated to improve local livelihoods and reduce dependence on poppy cultivation. Are there possibilities of improving crop production efficiency through improved techniques, seeds etc? What are the possibilities of diversification, the production of high value crops, the introduction of new animal breeds, improved management techniques? These are not merely technical issues. The ability to improve livelihoods also involves the development of capable local institutions and human capacity. Understanding the situation of disadvantaged groups in Dai Kundi, such as smallholders and women, were to be given particular focus, both in terms of exploring potential livelihood investments and increasing their degree of participation in decision-making in both households and communities.

Objectives

The main purpose of this study was to learn more about the communities of Dai Kundi and identify key areas where NCA partner activities could be focused in order to help rural communities to develop new, improved and sustainable livelihoods through investments in, for example, crop and animal production. Particular focus is put on identifying livelihood options for disadvantaged groups, such as the poor and women.

The objectives of the study were rather ambitious, and included the following:

- To generate in-depth data on the livelihoods of different groups and types of households in Dai Kundi.
- To develop meaningful indicators to measure/evaluate improvements in livelihood security for different vulnerable groups (i.e. income increases, food security, institutional development, increased participation in decision-making, improved health, social cohesion).
- To assess the impact of current agricultural activities supported by NCA on women and men's quality of life.
- To identify potentially new and improved agricultural activities that would contribute to more sustainable livelihoods, particularly for vulnerable groups.

- To provide input into the development of action plans by the communities
- To build competence of NCA staff, partners and community activists in conducting participatory surveys and analyzing particularly qualitative data
- To document the results of the survey, both for use by the project, and for use by other actors in Afghanistan.

While the study did address all of these objectives to a certain extent, some of the objectives, i.e. those such as the introduction of new agricultural activities and the development of community action plans, are still in the process of being addressed by NCA and its partners as a part of their regular activities. A rather large focus was put, on the other hand, on competence building of NCA and its partners to be able to better understand the communities and the work they are doing with them through a more holistic and participatory approach. We have therefore included a section in this report where we have tried to describe the ways in which this study has contributed to increased competence among NCA staff and its partners in Afghanistan.

STUDY AREA

Dai Kundi is one of the 34 provinces in Afghanistan. The province is located in the central part of Afghanistan.



Map 1 Afghanistan

Dai Kundi was officially established as its own province in 2004, previously being a remote district of Uruzgan district. The estimated population of the province is 723

980, with the Hazara tribe being the main ethnic group. Dai Kundi is located 310 km from Kabul with limited accessibility due to poor road quality, landslides and the closing of mountain passes during the winter months. The landscape is mountainous, with very little arable land and the climate is harsh, experiencing in addition a drought for the past nine years. When precipitation comes, it is often in large amounts at once, resulting in flooding and erosion of topsoil. The economic situation in Dai Kundi is poor, and the income resources of the province are agriculture and animal husbandry.

Dai Kundi is one of the poorest areas of Afghanistan, and consequently the facilities of healthcare and education is minimal. Access to health facilities is a major problem in the province. Situated far from Kabul and other big cities, the people have been isolated from all health facilities. The mortality rate of all diseases is very high, and especially the mortality rate in mothers and children. However, after the establishment of Dai Kundi as a separate province, some NGOs have started some basic health activities in some parts of the province. As people are living in scattered villages, the accessibility to these facilities is very difficult, especially in the winter.

STUDY VILLAGES

The study was conducted in ten villages in two neighboring districts, Shahrستان and Miramor, in Dai Kundi province. Six villages were surveyed in Shahrستان district; Alqan, Kuja Chasht, Sherma, Ghuchan, Ghaf and Chaprasak. All these villages were located within a radius of 30 km. In Miramor district the survey included four villages; Bagh, Tagab, Sarqul and Arwas.



Map 2 Dai Kundi Province

The size of the villages varies. The average population size is 1550, with an average household size of 6 persons. The average total area of the villages is 87 km², but large areas are not cultivable as the area is mountainous. There are also relatively large areas that are not cultivated due to drought and lack of water. Dai Kundi is comprised almost exclusively of Hazara, under which there are several sub-categories of families or tribes, including Mir and Khan, which originally were of the ruling elite in the early 19th century¹. There are also, however, small populations of Tajik and Qizilbash, both Shia but not belonging to the Hazara.

Kuja Chasht, Sherma, Tagab and Sarqul are remote villages in the sense that they are located far from market centers. Two of the villages, Alqan and Chaprasak are market centers, and four villages are located close to a market center; Ghaf, Bagh and Ghuchan close to Chaprasak and Arwas close to Uskan market. While Kuja Chasht and Chaprasak are relatively drier areas, Bagh and Arwas are villages that have more water than the others. Ghaf village is the biggest village in terms of population, and has three Community Development Councils (CDCs)².

Alqan is the only village that has a health clinic. There is one medical clinic with 20 health workers, most of them are only high school graduates but have taken some first aid and nursing courses, one male doctor, two male nurses and two female nurses. Despite the low formal education level, the staff has a good working experience. There is also one clinic in the village that treats leprosy and TB patients. None of the other villages have any health clinic, and they have to travel a distance of 12 to 63 km to get to the nearest clinic. Lack of clinics and health workers make the villagers wait as long as possible before they travel to a clinic, and by that time they are usually seriously ill. The most common diseases in the villages are TB, diarrhea (typhoid), respiratory diseases, sore throat and complications and deaths related to delivery.

Education up to grade 9 is stated as compulsory in the Constitution of Afghanistan. Even so, access to schools is limited. The students enroll from the age of 7 and above, and boys and girls go to separate schools. Poor family economy is a big constraint for both boys and girls who wish to go to school, as well as the limited numbers of schools in the villages. Some years of schooling is available in all the villages, except for Kuja Chasht, Sarqul and Arwas where the children have to travel for 6-25 km to go to school. In the other villages, the schools are only offering a limited number of grades, and the children do also here have to travel a fairly long distance to get education. The distance is especially constraining for girls' education as the parents do not allow them to travel too far from their village.

¹ Prior to the extensive socioeconomic changes in the 19th and 20th centuries which redefined social relations in the area, the Hazara were organized in tribes of landed mobility (Mir, Khan), peasants and artisans (Harpviken n.d.).

² CDCs are the main decision-making bodies in the villages under the National Solidarity Program (NSP), taking the place of, or a transformation of, more traditional institutions i.e. the jirgas.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The most common approach to studying rural livelihoods in recent years has been the use of the Livelihood Framework³. This is a broad framework, which considers the diverse and complex nature of social change, and the multitude of processes and factors which affect rural livelihoods. The framework takes as its starting point a 'taking stock' of the main resources available to rural people, including natural, economic, human, social and political. These resources are then described, as are the formal and informal institutions involved in their use and management, issues of access to and control over resources, political, social and cultural relations, and agency. There is also a focus on the dynamics of livelihoods, such as trends, vulnerability, and strategies. Altogether, the framework provides an overview of what types of processes and factors need to be considered when trying to understand how rural women and men are able to, to varying degrees, to secure a viable livelihood for themselves and their families.

This study takes as its starting point the view that in order to understand rural livelihoods, one must consider the complexity suggested in the livelihood framework, and has thus used this framework as a general backdrop when designing the question guide for use in the group interviews. However, since livelihoods are very much a product of the particular context in which they are practiced, the issues, analysis and emphasis is very much influenced by the particulars of the case of Dai Kundi. This is where the participatory approach of the study has proved particularly interesting. The collaboration between researchers, practitioners and villagers in investigating livelihoods has been an exercise in teasing out the issues from different perspectives and seeing how they can be better understood when put through the scrutiny of not only academics, but also the practical, pragmatic eyes of implementers, as well the critical eyes of the villagers, whose lives, in the end, are what is at stake.

Themes

In addition to general information on the villages (history of the village, demographics etc), the study has been organized around the following themes, which have formed the basis for the question guide used in the group interviews:

- Wealth and food security
- Local infrastructure and government institutions
- Land issues
- Water issues (Health, hygiene and irrigation)
- Livestock activities
- Decision-making
- Development initiatives

Within each of these broad themes specific questions on resource use, power, conflict and difference formed the basis for the group discussions. While some of the questions were asking for specific, quantitative data, or particular answers, most were open-ended, intended to spark discussion around each issue.

³ See Carney (1998), Scoones (1998), and Ellis (2000).

Difference within the communities

Since one of the main objectives of the study is to learn more about the situation and need of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in the communities, the study emphasizes the investigation of difference within the communities. This involved the identification of groups and individuals within the community which might be expected to have experienced different degrees of access to or control over resources, and different opportunities in the market or political arenas. In other areas of Afghanistan, ethnic differences may be considered one of the most prominent differences between villagers at the local level. Dai Kundi, however, is comprised almost exclusively of Hazara. There are nevertheless many ways in which villagers differ. This study looked at difference in terms of wealth, gender, food security, land and animal ownership and labor relations, political influence, and migration. During the survey, this meant that attempts were made to form discussion groups based on some of these differences. In some cases, large differences were seen between the responses between the groups, while in others, there was little difference. During analysis it was important to try to get a grasp on whether differing responses were a reflection of different knowledge bases that provided additional information on an issue, or if they reflected real differences in interests, access to resources, or power. Discussions of the significance of the differences between groups therefore were a central focus of the analysis workshops.

METHODOLOGY

The 10 villages were chosen in consultation with NCA partners working in Dai Kundi, such that they could follow-up the findings of the study as a part of their regular activities. The study itself was conducted by NCA partner organizations working in Dai Kundi, with the guidance of NCA staff and a researcher from Noragric, Norwegian University of Life Sciences. Four survey teams visited 2-3 villages each, spending an average of 10 days in the field for each village during the period 2005-2007. The data is mainly qualitative, collected primarily through group interviews using question guides; one for general data at the village level, and one for more specific data from different focus groups. In each of the villages, the following groups were formed to the extent possible:

- 1 focus group of men for general information
- 1 focus group of women for general information
- 6 focus groups for more specific information representing different genders and wealth classes in the village:
 - 3 male groups, representing rich, medium and poor men respectively
 - 3 female groups, representing rich, medium and poor women respectively

In addition, other focus groups were formed in some of the villages which represented particular interest groups, i.e. widows, landowners, migrants, landless, and sharecroppers. See appendix 3 for details on the groups interviewed in each village.

Analysis: Field notes and Village Profiles

During the first two rounds of field visits, the team members recorded the group discussions in notebooks. After the field visits, the teams discussed the results and filled in question sheets. In the last round of the last two villages, the group discussions were recorded directly onto the question sheets. These sheets were then forwarded to NCA and translated into English. The data from the sheets were then analyzed and compiled into village profiles. These profiles, as well as the original sheets in Dari, were discussed in a series of workshops with survey team and community members. This has resulted in two reports, the current one with a focus on the general findings and lessons learned, as well a report where the methodology has been discussed in more detail, and where the Village Profiles and workshop reports have been compiled, mainly for use by NCA and its partners in their further work in the area.

Limitations of the study

Since the study was the first of its kind for NCA and its partners in Afghanistan, there was a need for a strong component of competence building of staff and partners on the research teams. It was clear that over time, the ability of the teams to collect and analyze data was greatly improved, and there was therefore a marked difference in the quality of the data between the first and the last round of fieldwork. Also, due to the constantly changing security situation, the time allotted to improving the quality of the data and in-depth analysis of each village together with the team and villagers was often truncated, and thus the analysis was not at the same level for each village or issue. This means that the direct comparability of specific data between villages is not necessarily possible. There was also a difference in how the survey teams interpreted some of the terms, and this had consequences on the extent to which the figures from the villages were comparable. While on the one hand this limited our analysis, on the other hand it also uncovered new sides of certain issues which were not anticipated. These will be discussed in the text where relevant.

Since the quality and comparability of the discussion group data can be quite variable, focus in this report has been on discussing the data available and its implications as revealed in the analysis workshops, where the teams and villagers could supplement the data reported with their rich knowledge of the area. Taking this into consideration, the findings represent a highly interesting set of qualitative data, from a relatively remote rural area, which have surfaced through a unique interaction of external researchers, NCA staff, partners, and villagers, and have allowed all of the actors to look at their ideas and activities in a new light both for now, and in the future.

WATER, HEALTH AND SANITATION

Health is an important but often underemphasized aspect of rural livelihood security analyses. Poor health results not only in direct human suffering through morbidity and mortality, but also weakens the longer-term ability of households and communities to realize their full potential as a healthy, active working force. The most common health problem linked to water is diarrhea, caused by pathogens present in contaminated water. In the survey, all of the groups named diarrhea as a common disease, particularly in young children. This is confirmed by the data collected by ATA-AP mobile clinic in 2006/2007, where they recorded diarrhea as the second most occurring illness in Shahrستان and Miramor Districts in under-fives, and the third in the 5-14 year-old group.

Although it was beyond the scope of this study to conduct a health survey of the study villages, the study did attempt to investigate some of the linkages between water, health and sanitation. This is mainly due to the central importance that water, or rather the lack of water, has in the district as a result of the drought. Many of the development activities in the area focus on the provision of either drinking or irrigation water, however often without a full understanding of the health and environmental aspects involved. There are also several organizations involved in building latrines, which also have consequences for health, both in terms of hygiene and pollution of water sources. Unless these aspects are considered, there is a risk that the provision of water will have unforeseen and negative impacts on health and the environment. This study, therefore, has tried to explore some of these links through looking at water, health and sanitation as well.

In all of the villages surveyed, springs and covered wells were considered safe drinking water sources, and rivers, streams, reservoirs, ponds, standing water were considered unsafe drinking water. However for karez, the channels whose source is mainly groundwater, this was less clear, with some villagers saying it was unsafe, and others safe for drinking. In all of the villages they explained how to keep water clean, by for example covering water containers, and boiling or using chlorine to clear contaminated water. They also said they knew that it was important to wash ones hands after visiting the latrines, as well as ones bodies periodically to avoid diseases. None of the houses had washing rooms, bathing were done in the rivers and karez, once or twice a month. The women had to bathe at night for privacy, and where there was no access to latrines they mainly practiced open-defecation.

Although the villagers gave some indication of an understanding of the links between water, hygiene and health, the study was not able to investigate in detail whether these ideas were put into practice. In one way the knowledge reflected an awareness of the standard health messages delivered by community health workers, but without direct observation it was not possible to confirm that these are followed. The responses seemed to be the same from the villages that had had some hygiene education and those who hadn't.

In one of the villages, however, we conducted an in-depth discussion on water, health and hygiene with a group of women who had gone through intensive hygiene and health training. They told that now they understand that traditional hygiene and sanitation practices had likely led to high incidences of disease (i.e. diarrhea) in the

village. They practiced open defecation in the past, and had a completely different local understanding of what caused disease. As documented in other areas of Afghanistan, traditionally giving birth was often performed in the stable (where it was warm), the baby was not washed for 3-20 days for fear that its crying would call forth evil spirits and affect the baby's disposition, and the baby was not breastfed for the first three days in the belief that the milk was dirty. They claimed, however, that these were not practiced anymore in the village, because they saw that the babies born at the clinic under cleaner conditions survived much more often. They also explained very clearly how to prepare re-hydration solution, and that they treated both children and older people with this if they suffered from diarrhea

They also explained that hygiene was more than a matter of washing their hands with soap, and rejected the idea that they have never had an understanding of hygiene. They have always had traditional ways of washing hands, either with soil, ash, or a special local grass. They said, however, that 'even if one does not have soap, if they understand the importance of keeping clean they will keep clean. Even if you have and can afford soap, you may not use it if you do not understand its importance'.

They did not, however, seem to understand the connection between infectious pathogens and disease, and how these can be carried through water, one of their most important resources particularly in connection with the drought. Considering their traditional practices and beliefs, the mere introduction of, for example, latrines, without a component of training in their use and placement, could actually result in increased pollution in ground and karez water, and illness in connection with handling the waste from the latrines. Also, it was not apparent that the risk of water contamination through the practice of washing in the karez, and using it for drinking water was considered. Even if they bathed downstream from a spring water source, NGO trainers had observed them taking drinking water from an unprotected pool near to the source, where also animals were grazing and drinking.

Behavioral changes, however, can take a long time, and the health and hygiene trainers remarked that the older women and men of the households often resisted changing their habits, or investing in more costly changes such as the construction of latrines, or having separate rooms for animals and people. In this respect, sharecroppers had additional constraints in that they are living in houses owned by the landlord and therefore cannot make structural changes. There was less resistance, however, from the younger villagers, although their influence within the households is limited. The trainers anticipated that as this young generation forge their own households, their knowledge of health and hygiene would be reflected in new behavior.

Nevertheless, there was anecdotal evidence that current training efforts by the partners (for example the women, water and health program) have begun to make a difference in the villages. This training is given intensely, often in connection with the construction of latrines, to groups of 15-20 young women, each of whom is responsible for training an additional 5 young women in the village. Sherma villagers claimed that after the training, their village was 100% cleaner and there was less disease. This was also supported by people from other villages which had visited Sherma before and after the training. Although more investigation is needed to see exactly what changes have been made, and if they survive over time, some

observations can nevertheless be made concerning how to best address the link between water, health, hygiene and sanitation in, for example, water activities.

- Training in health and hygiene should be directly linked to all sanitation and irrigation activities, rather than as separate activities.
- The training should be based on an understanding of local perceptions of health and disease and strive to foster an understanding of how pathogens are spread through contact and water (and soil) and how this can be prevented, rather than merely a training in recommended hygiene practices.

WEALTH, LAND OWNERSHIP AND FOOD SECURITY

Determining levels of household wealth in rural communities is notoriously complex, being a composite of several factors which together give an indication of household status and potential livelihood strategies. In this study we look particularly at the intersection of landownership, wealth ranking, and food security to attempt to understand how households differ in terms of their ability to secure livelihoods. In order to understand household status and strategies, however, one needs to consider the context within which they function. The study therefore also looks at the differences and similarities of the study villages, and the implications this has on how women and men cope. Although we present a number of tables and figures describing the villages, the figures are not always directly comparable between villages, as they represent relative values (i.e. the wealth ranking). Nevertheless, we have found them useful in illustrating some of the points brought out particularly in the analysis workshops.

Wealth group criteria

The wealth group criteria were defined by the villagers themselves in each of the villages, and the criteria therefore to a certain extent varies between the various villages. The wealth groups are in all the villages to a large extent based on their ability to cultivate and produce food. This is not necessarily based on ownership of land, but on the amount of wheat seed they are able to sow. In addition to land and agricultural production, having the means (i.e. money) to purchase food and other items is also important in measuring one's wealth.

Rich: A villager is usually considered to be rich if she/he is able to produce a yield that lasts nearly the entire year. On average, rich households produce enough food for 8-9 months. When a shortage of food occurs, a rich household has the means to purchase food from the market. The villagers that run a business, like for example a shop, own a car or receive remittances from abroad are also classified as well-off. Having enough money to start a business or being able to save money and invest so that their annual income will increase the following years is said to only be possible among the rich villagers.

The criteria used for measuring wealth do also differ between the villages. In Chaprasak, which is a District Center, the local criterion for well-off households is 100,000 Afs, with which they can start a business. In Bagh, the main criteria are linked to agriculture and livestock, and wealth is ranked according to size of land and

the size of the livestock. In addition to this, remittances and owning a shop also increases your wealth.

Medium: Medium-wealth households own their own land, and they also have paid jobs and crop production for sale so that they can cover their annual expenses. Unlike the rich, the medium wealth HH is not able to increase their income from year to year. On average, medium households produce enough food for 6 months, having to purchase the rest from the market. Some are sharecroppers.

Poor: The poor farmers on average only grow enough food for 4 months of consumption. They usually have small landholdings (1-4 jerib), and have to rely on other sources to cover their annual expenses. They get money from working inside or outside of the village. In two of the villages (Sherma and Ghaf), the poor were said to survive by depending on charity, loans, begging and migration.

Composition of the villages

There was great diversity both within the villages, and between villages concerning land ownership, level of migration, number of returnees, number of women headed households, which has important implications for organizations who are intent on identifying specific, vulnerable groups in the communities. In investigating the composition of the villages, however, ambiguity in the terminology of different groups in the villages quickly became apparent. In the study villages, the population has thus been described using the following terms:

Households – In Afghanistan, it is common to use the term household for larger family units (joint families), and families for smaller units. In this study, however, we refer to households as the smallest family unit, in line with its more common use internationally. The linkages between households and families, however, are important to study, particularly when trying to understand migration and remittances (see migration below).

Landowners – this refers to those households which own land in the village and reside in the village, but can also refer to migrants who are living outside the village who own land.

Sharecroppers – These farmers can be male or female, and can either own some land themselves, or be landless. In the study area, sharecroppers who were landless could also move between villages from year to year, or season to season, and the landowner's field which they left would be cultivated by another sharecropper. Rights to benefits in the village are in theory connected to the field rather than the person, so any new person coming into the village as a sharecropper would have these rights. This was decided as a part of the NSP program in order to ensure that sharecroppers, which can be considered a vulnerable group, received benefits of community activities. In practice, however, this may not always be the case.

Landless – Likewise, landless can include sharecroppers, but also business people such as traders and shopkeepers, salaried villagers, or laborers. Therefore, the landless may or may not be poor, and some may be relatively well-off if they have a good business and high remittances from relatives working abroad.

Women-headed households (WHH) – these can be comprised of widows, wives of handicapped or ill men, or households where the husband is living outside the village. WHHs are thus not necessarily poor, particularly if they are receiving remittances from, for example, Pakistan or Iran. The number of WHH ranges from 2-33%, and they are represented in every group, for example, they are landowners, sharecroppers, returnees, and found in poor, medium and rich wealth groups. This makes it important, for example, for partners to have strategies to deal with WHH in all activities, for all groups.

Migrants – this term is used to refer to those who have left the village. It was common in all the villages that when the villagers gave statistics on how many households were in the village, these households were included, although they may have been out of the village for many years. It was also common that some of these households had close contact with relatives still living in the village, who often would be responsible for looking after the migrant's house and using the migrant's fields, and providing information to them on whether it was feasible to return to the village. Some villages gave information on whether the migrants were landowners or not, but we still know very little about these households, particularly those who do not own land, and whether there was a high percentage of poor or WHH, and when and why they left. It could be, for example, that many of the migrants were poor WHH which had to migrate because they had no other option. Also, some may have migrated to earn money to settle loans. In some cases, the survey teams did not distinguish between whether a whole family migrated, or just one or two family members. In Bagh, for example, 44% of the villagers had migrated, however this was from the total village population rather than an expression of number of households. This is discussed further below. More detailed information on migrants, for example, who they are, when they migrated and why, and where they migrated to, and what they are doing, would shed light on what kind of activities and groups need to be targeting to prevent the vulnerable from having to migrate if they had preferred to stay in the village.

Returnees – this term refers to those who migrated earlier, but have returned. It is this group that is more prone to becoming involved in, for example, land disputes. Some of the teams were able to get information on when and why these returnees had migrated originally, which could have been, for example, long before the drought. Usually, returnees were landowners.

	Ghuchan	Chaprasak	Bagh	Ghaf	Kuja Chasht	Alqan	Sherma	Tagab	Sarqul	Arwas
Total Pop	1290	900-1000	936	3000	1000-1050	2360	1200	1458	2310	950
Total no. of hh	215	110	156	700	150	400	280	243	330	218
Average hh size	6	9	6	4	6	6	4	6	7	6
% hhs living in village	84%	79%	56%	79%	41%	83%	71%	86%	69%	71%
% hhs migrating	16%	21%	44%*	21%	59%*	17%	29%	14%	31%	29%
%Returnees	6%	19%	19%	18%	5%	9%	10%	8%	13%	12%
% Women-headed hhs	2%	33%	3%	9%	3%	11%	10%	13%	15%	10%

*These figures represent the percentage of the total village population which has migrated.

Table 1 Summary of Demographic data: Population and village composition

The average population of the villages, is 1537, ranging from 900 (Chaprasak) to 3000 (Ghaf). The average number of households per village is 277, ranging from 70-700, with an average household size ranging from 4 to 9⁴. Some of the differences between the villages are striking, for example 7 of the 8 villages have between 2-13% women-headed households, while Chaprasak reported 33%, with 23% of their landless WHH. Although for Chaprasak we don't have a breakdown of the number of landless poor, we do know that landless WHHs have a difficult time in terms of food security, as will be discussed in more detail in the next section. Thus, if one wishes to focus on supporting activities for the most vulnerable households in Chaprasak, they may be different than the activities of another village, where the vulnerable have a different profile (i.e. sharecroppers or farmers with less productive land and limited non-farm income). The figures for migration are not immediately clear, since the teams were inconsistent in distinguishing between entire households migrating, and labor migration, where households send a few members to work either inside or outside the country.

	Ghuchan	Chaprasak	Bagh	Ghaf	Kuja Chasht	Alqan	Sherma	Tagab	Sarqul	Arwas
% Rich	10%	9%	10%	18%	5%	15%	17%	5%	20%	12%
% Medium	40%	14%	30%	42%	30%	35%	76%	35%	40%	57%
% Poor	50%	77%	60%	40%	65%	50%	7%	60%	40%	31%
% Landowners	86% (66% of migrants)	69% (12% large, 88% small)	84%	58% (5% WHH)	70% (86% large, 14% small)	88%	95%	98% (50% of migrants)	81%	74%
Landless	7%	31% (77% share-croppers, 23% WHH)	16% (50% med., 50% poor)	42% (share-croppers, of which 5% WHH)	30% (2% WHH)	12%	5%	2% (50% of migrants)	19%	26%

Table 2 Summary of Demographic data: Wealth and land ownership

⁴ This is comparable to UNHCR's estimated average size of household of 7 in Afghanistan.

In Table 2, we see that there is also a large variation in the size of the wealth groups between villages, With Chaprasak having the highest percentage (77%) of poor, while Sherma reported 7%. In Sherma, the largest group with the medium villagers, where 89% of this group own land, and there are very few sharecroppers. The relatively few poor in Sherma are sharecroppers, WHHs and landless. Kuja Chasht, however, which borders with Sherma, is quite different, with a larger percentage of poor households, as well as more landless. Although some of the difference in wealth-ranking can be contributed to differences in criteria used to categorize villagers, Sherma was still considered better-off, since it has relatively less water problems, and more families have income from outside the village (remittances). We also see quite different distributions of landholding sizes. In Chaprasak, only 12% of the villagers have holdings of over 4 jerib, whereas In Kuja Chasht 86% had landholdings larger than 4 jerib. If this is the case, then it is important to cater particularly agricultural and livestock activities to different agricultural conditions and practices.

Breakdown of wealth groups

While looking as land ownership and wealth separately is interesting to a certain degree, it is also useful to combine this data, by looking both at landownership within wealth groups, and wealth groups within land ownership. Figure 1, for example shows the breakdown of land ownership by wealth groups in the village of Bagh.

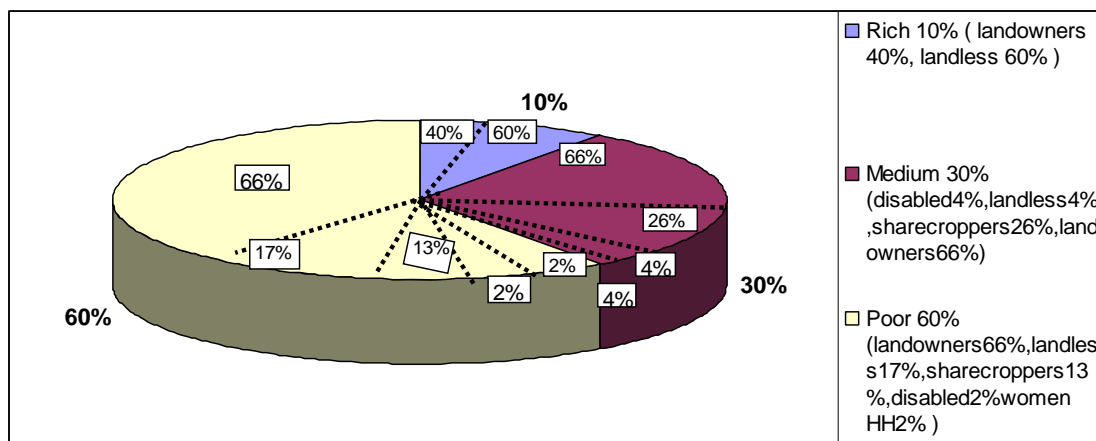


Figure 1 Composition of Wealth groups in terms of land ownership in Bagh Village

Here we see that of the 60% poor in the village, 66% are landowners, 17% are landless, and 13% are sharecroppers. Of the 30% medium villagers, again 66% are landowners, 4% are landless, and 26% are sharecroppers. Among the rich, 40% are landowners, and 60% are landless. Here we see, for example, that not all sharecroppers are poor, and that only 40% of the well-off are landowners. Likewise, we can examine the breakdown on wealth within landownership categories in Figure 2.

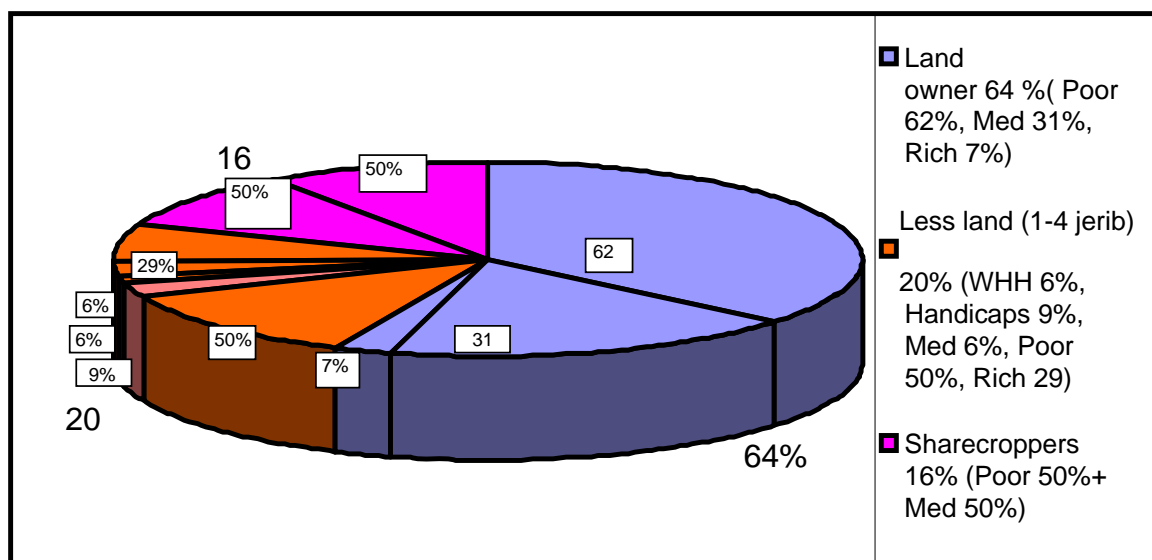


Figure 2 Wealth group representation in relation to land category in Bagh Village

In Figure 2 we see that 62% of the large landowners are poor, and 29% of the rich have small farm sizes. These profiles indicate that the wealthy have other sources of income than agriculture, and that the poor experience difficulty despite their ownership of larger pieces of land. The village also has experienced extensive migration, with 44% of the villagers living outside the village. A lot of fighting combined with drought was stated as the reasons behind difficult times in Bagh.

In Ghaf, however, (Figure 3), the picture of wealth and land ownership is a bit different. 42% of the villagers are sharecroppers, with a higher percent in the poor category than in Bagh. Only 58% of the villagers are landowners, with a higher percent of landowners in the well-off group. Here it seems that the poor have less access to land, and if so only as sharecroppers, thus activities based on agriculture would have to take this into consideration. We also see that migration is half of what it is in Bagh, and 70 households (likely landowners) returned last year due to improving agricultural conditions.

To sum up, the main implications of these findings are:

- NCA and its partners need to have a more detailed breakdown of the composition of each village to be able to capture local diversity and identify vulnerable groups, and the strategies used and required by each in order to design appropriate activities together with the communities. This can also serve as baseline information, which can be re-examined over time.
- NCA and its partners could use this data to discuss the variations between villages and the reasons behind them, as well as the need for more strategic activities in the area.

We therefore recommend:

- Partners, together with villagers, develop a detailed description of the composition of each village in terms of wealth, land ownership, sharecropping, and migration (see figure 1).

Create a forum where partners, community members NCA staff and other stakeholders discuss the implications of the differences between villages for their work.

FOOD AND LIVELIHOOD SECURITY AND VULNERABILITY

In addition to wealth and land ownership, food security is a key aspect of understanding people's livelihood strategies. Food security is a broad concept, which in the study villages was expressed as women and men's access to sufficient food throughout the year, and whether it is grown themselves, purchased in the market, or provided by others, i.e. family, neighbors or NGOs, or any combination of the above. In general in all the villages, the well-off stated they had enough food from their own production (or their share of production) for 7-10 months of the year, the medium villagers from 4-7 months, and the poor between 2 and 7 months. The remainder of their food needs was met through the purchase of food in the market. There are of course important exceptions to these figures, for example in Bagh, 60% of the rich were landless but with non-farm income sources, and the poorest, for example homeless WHH in Chaprasak, barely have enough food to survive. Also, despite the fact that people manage to secure an adequate level of food either through production or purchase, the conditions under which this is possible for certain households can be extremely difficult, and far from sustainable. It is therefore important to investigate the food security and livelihood trends of different groups in the difference villages to see what degree of vulnerability they may be experiencing.

This, however, is not a straightforward task. Whether a strategy represents a shorter-term coping strategy chosen in difficult times, or a longer-term shift in livelihood strategies is not always apparent, and the same strategy may be chosen by different households for different reasons. In the study villages, for example, migration as a strategy can only be understood if one examines the different reasons different households migrate, and the impact the migration has on their survival as households.

Labor migration is not new in Dai Kundi. Historically, the Hazara of Hazarajat have been migrating to Pakistan and Iran since the end of the 1800's, when war with the king caused famine in the area. The trend continued, and it has been estimated that between 30 and 50% of the male population of the poorest villages migrated for labor in the 1960s (Harpviken web page). This was confirmed in the study villages, where they stated that labor migration has long been a livelihood strategy in Dai Kundi.

Over the past 9 years, however, the rate of migration in Dai Kundi increased dramatically, mainly due to the drought, but also, in some cases such as Bagh, fighting and conflict compounded the difficulties resulting in an out-migration of 44%. In a landscape where cultivable land is already extremely limited, we see from Table 3 that only between 10-50% of the cultivable land is under production due to

lack of sufficient water for irrigation. Rain fed agriculture in this area has not been possible, and the pastures have suffered from very low production.

	Ghuchan	Chaprasak	Bagh	Ghaf	Kuja Chasht	Alqan	Sherma	Tagab	Sarqul	Arwas
Total Area	15-4km ²	10km ²	30km ²	7km ²	54km ²	200km ²	114km ²	???	300km ²	50km ²
Pasture	40%	50%	37%	40%	40%	50%	48%	50%	75%	44%
Stone Mountain	48%	25%	33%	50%	30%	20%	40%	36%	10%	50%
Cultivable Land	13%	15%	30%	10%	30%	30%	12%	14%	15%	4%
Cultivated Land (as % of cultivable)	50%	50%	10%	50%	40%	5%	50%	???	67%	33%
Public Land		10%								

Table 3 Land use in study villages

This has had a dramatic impact on the medium and poorer households, who previously had a larger percentage of their food needs met through their own production. The poor and medium households described a similar process as conditions deteriorated. As their land became less productive, and as the possibility for labor on the lands of others decreased also due to drought, some households told of changing both the amount and composition of food, reducing the consumption of sugar and oil, and switching from wheat to maize. They would also borrow food or money at high prices during the winter and spring months when there was a food deficit. For example, if one borrowed 1000 Afs, they would have to repay 1500 Afs to either the well-off farmers or shopkeepers. Likewise, if one borrowed 7 kilos of wheat, then they would have to repay 10.5 kilos. Some of the better-off farmers could repay from the sale of almonds. Others, however, had to send a family member out of the village or country for labor. As the drought continued, some farmers had no option but to mortgage their land to pay for their debts, and migrate to earn enough money to repay and reclaim their land. They also informed that it was not uncommon for a family to give one of their young daughters in marriage to settle their debt to be able to reclaim their land.

Getting a complete picture of the extent of migration is a challenge, however in several of the villages the community members were able to give what we considered credible estimates of not only how many households have migrated, but whether they were landowners or not. It was much more difficult, however, to get information on migrants who did not own land, and whether they had for example been sharecroppers or women-headed households, or had to sell their land outright rather than mortgage it. We also learned that returnees were also diverse. Some of those who returned from migrating were those with land who had received information that the agricultural conditions had improved and were able to reclaim their land and continue farming. Others, however, returned somewhat destitute with neither land nor a house to live in. In Chaprasak, for example, the most vulnerable group identified by the villagers was the women-headed landless returnees, as well as women-headed migrants from other villages, whose only income was begging, charity from NGOs, and income from temporary labor, for example, from road construction.

From this we can see that there may be several possible indicators connected to migration that could show whether conditions are either worsening or improving for villagers; for example when they migrated and for what reason, if they sent only one or two family members out, if the whole household migrated and mortgaged their land, and if they were able to return, and what they returned to. Such indicators, however, have to be combined with others which would allow one to see the extent to which migration is a long-term livelihood strategy or short term coping strategy in that particular context. Again, this study reveals difference not only within villages, but between villages as well. Because the villages differ in their resource bases, access to markets, agro-ecological conditions, distance to markets, land ownership patterns, and social and political context, the trends and strategies of different households, and the degree of vulnerability, can vary greatly. This means, for example, that what constitutes vulnerability in one village, could be quite different in another, involving different types of households, with different potentials to participate in new activities.

In all of the villages, lack of water due to drought significantly affected the food security situation of all of the wealth groups, either due to reduction of production on own land, or on the land one sharecrops for a share of the food, or the resulting lack of demand for agricultural labor for cash crops, thus affecting landless laborers as well. The impact between groups, however, is quite variable. In Bagh, for example, where farmers are only able to cultivate 10% of their land due to lack of water, the well-off are able to switch to other income-earning activities, such as shop keeping and transport services, while the medium and poor farmers, the majority of which (66% in each group) own land, have to find other options, for example borrowing and/or migrating for labor opportunities. The next section examines more closely the livelihood strategies of the different groups in the study villages.

The implications of these findings for NCA is that indicators for food and livelihood security, and vulnerability, need to reflect processes, rather than merely the status of certain households at one point in time. Also, there will likely be sets of indicators, rather than a single indicator that can inform on these processes. Understanding the dynamics around labor and whole family migration is particularly important in understanding strategies of vulnerable households in the short and long term, as well as learning whether conditions in the village are getting relatively better or worse. We therefore recommend:

- Indicators including for example the reasons for sending family members for labor, sale and purchase of land, sale of animals, labor dynamics and whole family migration to be developed together with the communities to see what livelihood trends there are in the communities. These may be different for different groups.
- Case histories can be developed for selected households to better understand their longer term strategies, and changes over time in the communities.
- When collecting data on migration, it should be very clear whether migration figures represent labor migration of individuals in the households, or whole family migration.

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Labor and Labor Migration

As mentioned in the previous section, labor migration as a longer-term livelihood strategy has a long history in Dai Kundi. It has been quite common to send one or two sons to cities, particularly in Iran and Pakistan, to work. In the study villages, labor migration as a long term strategy was evident particularly in the better-off households. In these households, the income from this labor fills the gaps when there are annual variations in production, as well as provides a source of investment capital, securing the better-off their positions in the community. In poorer households, labor migration seems to be more of a last resort to ensure food security.

In addition to labor migration outside the village, performing labor on the lands of others is also a common strategy for both medium and poor households. This strategy is used by landless laborers, some of which move from village to village in the different agricultural seasons looking for opportunities, or by small landowners, who need additional income than their smallholdings can provide, or by sharecroppers, who perform such labor in addition to the production they do on their patron's land. During the drought, when agricultural production decreased on all land, there was also a decrease in the need for labor in agriculture, as well as an increase in the need for labor income as food from own production decreased. We saw in table 2 and figures 1 and 2, that the mix between small and large landowners, and landless and landowning sharecroppers is quite different between the villages. The impact of the lack of labor-earning possibilities in the village for these groups would thus be different in different villages, i.e. in those villages with a large percentage of sharecroppers and landless laborers, such as Ghaf, these might end up migrating early on in difficult times, since they have no formal claims to the land (Ghaf has 44% migration). Small landowners, on the other hand, may use other strategies before resorting to out of village migration.

Since the mix of landownership and labor relations does differ from village to village, activities to mitigate the effects of the drought will likely have different impacts on these relations. For example, in a village with a high percentage of poor, landless sharecroppers, providing irrigation water to larger landholders could result in providing agricultural work to this vulnerable group. This might be the case in Ghaf, where 42% of the villagers are sharecroppers, making up 38% of the poor. In the same village, however, there are poor landowners, who would of course also benefit from being able to cultivate larger portions of their fields. In a village with many poor, smallholders, providing irrigation water would increase the area cropped and decrease their need to perform other types of labor to secure food for their families. Since agricultural labor is 'unskilled' labor (as opposed to carpentry for example), the pay is relatively low, so villagers and sharecroppers would choose the mix of strategies which would give them the best opportunities. What is critical, however, is that those promoting and implementing such activities, such as NCA and its partners, have a thorough understanding of how the choice of participants would affect such labor relations, to ensure that the vulnerable are in fact being reached, and that the activities do not worsen already existing inequalities.

We recommend, therefore, that

- NCA and its partners discuss with villagers the impact of suggested activities on the different groups, particularly in terms of production and labor relations, to ensure that the impact particularly on the vulnerable households is clear.

Agriculture

The basic agricultural system is similar in all the ten villages. Even so, there are some differences due to agro-climatic conditions. All villages practice double cropping except Sarqul, which due to its high altitude has single cropping. The main constraints for agricultural activities in the villages stated by the villagers themselves are lack of water, lack of fertilizer and seed, lack of financial capital and poor access to the market.

In cultivation, the land is first irrigated. After about two-four days the seeds are spread and the land is plowed and fertilizer is applied. Most of the villages practice intercropping, where wheat is often planted with carrots in the spring, followed by lentil, beans or maize in the fall, intercropped with, for example, pumpkin. They say they prefer planting two crops together in order to save labor, land, and water, and they can harvest two crops rather than only one. Although they rotated crops between the two main seasons, they planted their crops the next year on the same fields (i.e. wheat was always planted on the same field). Seeds are taken from the previous harvest, and farmers claim that they have not brought new seeds into their systems for the past 30 years.

When available, both manure and chemical fertilizer is used by the villagers. Farmers informed that manure is used to keep the land humid, to prevent the wastage of water and to 'empower' land. However, the use of chemical fertilizer varies. Although fertilizer is available in some of the local markets, the price of chemical fertilizer is high, and especially many of the poor farmers say that it is too expensive for them to purchase the fertilizer needed. They therefore to a large extent primarily use manure as fertilizer. Manure is however also important for fire and heating in the winter; in Bagh village for example, they are not using manure for agricultural land, only for fuel.

Both women and men take part in cultivation and crop production. Women are involved in most of the work related to crop production like sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and collection of products/crops. Some farmers did however say that women are a little less involved than men in the agricultural production. When it comes to the almond production, women weed, pick the almond and peel the skin. Both men and women take part in the decision making when it comes to storage and consumption of the agricultural products. Women are also to some degree involved in the decisions over which crops to grow. The control of the products for sale is the responsibility of men and they do also control the income from the sale. The income is thus with the men, and they have the control over it. For WHH, women are the decision makers in the whole process since there are no men in their households. For widows, lack of labor and lack of credits are major constraints to their production.

The villagers in all the villages except Sarqul and Arwas said that they were growing poppy for sale. This was the case regardless of which wealth group they belong to. The reason for not growing (or at least only growing a small amount) of poppy in Sarqul and Arwas was first and foremost that poppy does not grow well in these areas; they get very poor yields. Secondly, since poppy growing is illegal, the farmers have to bribe the government officials to grow poppy, and they say that they are too poor to do this. Those who grow poppy can cultivate it in up to 50% of their fields, less when there is less water or if the market for poppy decreases, as it did in 2006. Poppy seeds can also be diseased, resulting in crop loss. In one of the discussions in an analysis workshop, the villagers linked trends during the drought period in production, migration and poppy production, which opened for a discussion on why different groups grow poppy, and how it fits into their overall livelihood strategy.

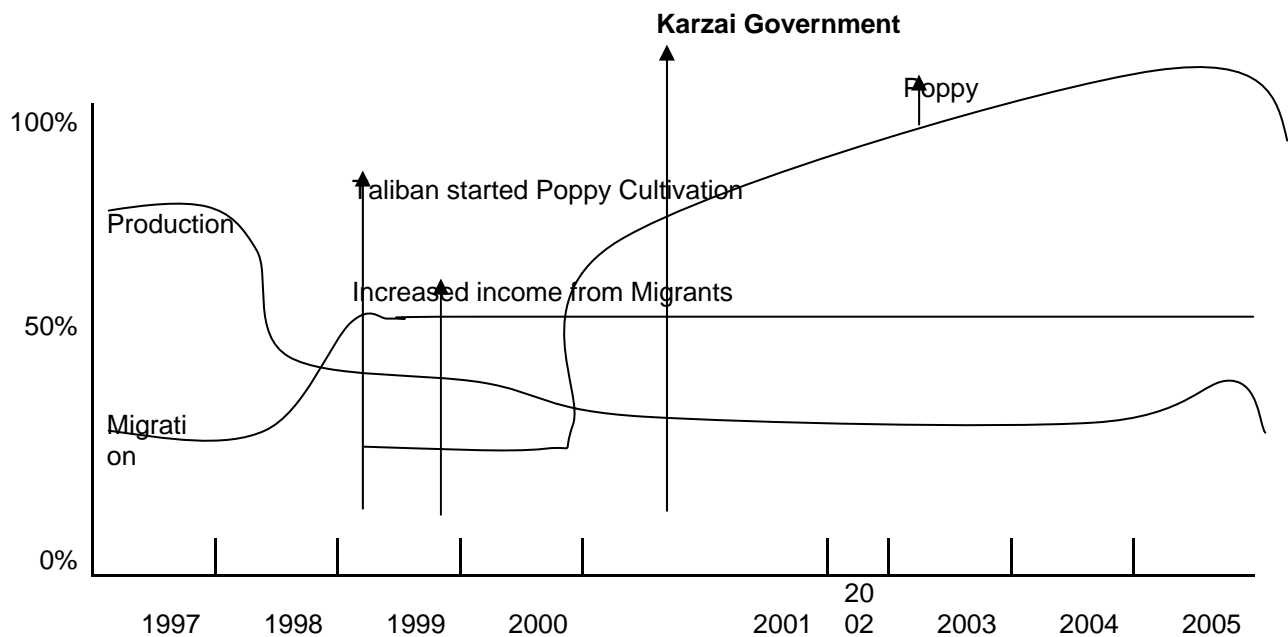


Figure 3 Poppy cultivation and migration trends in Dai Kundi

From the sketch above, we see that migration already existed in the area as a livelihood strategy before the drought in 1998, but increased dramatically as the drought persisted, in proportion to the drop in production of over 50%. Poppy cultivation was not common in Dai Kundi in the past, and was introduced during the Taliban period starting in 1999. Production stayed fairly low at first, as farmers had to bring their own poppy to markets outside of Dai Kundi. When the Karzai government came to power, poppy buyers started coming directly to the farmers in Dai Kundi, making poppy growing a much more lucrative business. It was also found that different farmers grow poppy for different reasons. The poor, for example, grow poppy mainly as a strategy to improve their food security. As one farmer put it, *'if we grow wheat on our small plots of land we will have enough food for 2-3 months, but if we grow poppy for two months then we have food for the whole year'*. The well-off, however, grow poppy not only to ensure their food security, but also to increase their wealth. In fact, people's perceptions of being well-off have changed; as they said themselves, "to be rich is no longer to have 100 sheep"; there are more vehicles in the area, even satellite dishes on some of the houses. It is therefore not necessarily interesting for all farmers to discuss merely returning to production levels from before

the drought – for the food insecure this is important, but for the well-off their standard of living has actually increased, and they are interested in larger investments.

A key issue in this area is the swing in prices during the year, partly due to the closed roads during the winter season, and the lack of processing options to be able to market agricultural products in other areas and at other times of the year. There are currently only two crops where they can get a guaranteed price and market; poppy and almond. Improving not only production but also price, processing and marketing conditions for other crops could thus be one strategy to decrease dependence on the poppy market and possibly lead to reduced dependence on poppy production. Local farmers are currently forming a farmers union to try to deal with some of these issues, and this could be a focal point for more strategic investments in alternative agricultural activities. Poppy production apparently went down this last year due to a decrease in price. And while the farmers said they would rather not grow poppy, they admitted that if the price rose again they would have no choice but to increase production next year.

Almond is a crop cultivated mainly for sale, and represents together with poppy and apricot the most important cash crops. In Arwas village, the rich farmers said that the main constraint to the almond production is lack of water. Almond is a crop that is easy to store and that can be sold at a high price. The medium and the poor farmers said that the main constraints that they are facing are the distance to the market and that they do not have knowledge about alternative crops or seed varieties. Although Arwas is located close to Uskan market, the poor explained that there is in fact no market for the products they are producing, which are crops that everyone produces for own consumption in the same season. They have no storage system for perishable crops, so they are not able to store them so that they can either sell or consume them when the season is over. They therefore end up buying food for a very high price in the winter. They are aware that in towns where people do not grow the food they need for own consumption there would have been a market for these products. However, the poor farmers are only growing a small amount of surplus food, and it is therefore not profitable to transport their products for sale to markets far away.

Providing storage facilities for the poor farmers would be one potential development initiative, given that they have something to store, whether it be for sale or consumption. If storage is built, it is important to be aware of the fact that it is not necessarily the poorest that would benefit, and that it might even increase the differences between the villagers. For example, the richer villagers that are able to produce a surplus might use the storage as a chance of selling food for a high price to the poorer villagers.

Even though some crops, like for example almond, are grown by all the farmers regardless of wealth and village, there are also differences between and within the villages. In Ghuchan village, the well-off are able to sell almond, apple, barley, poppy, corn, lentil, peas, chickpeas, beans, melon and watermelon in the market. The poor reported that they sell only a few horticulture crops for income, the rest of their production is used for own consumption (see Appendix 2). In Bagh village, the situation is the other way around. The well-off villagers are mainly selling almond and poppy, as well as some potato and onion. The poor farmers are selling a wider variety of different crops and also say that their livelihood is much more dependent on

agriculture (see Appendix 3). In Bagh village, 62% of the large landowners are poor. Despite relatively large land holdings, the poor farmers report that the agricultural production is not sufficient, and in difficult times they borrow money from the rich people and have to work as daily laborers or go to Iran and work there to pay back the loan.

The implications of these findings are several. While the agricultural systems are somewhat similar between the villages, the crops grown for consumption and sale can differ widely both between and within villages. This has consequences for the types of production, marketing and storage systems which would be developed, and who would benefit from them. Further, while farmers may seem to share similar constraints, they differ in their abilities to meet these constraints. The process of developing a farmers' union is critical in this respect – it is important that the interests of smallholders and sharecroppers, including women farmers, are represented in this newly emerging institution, such that systems are developed to cater to their particular set of interest and constraints. It is thus recommended that:

- NCA and its partners play a consultative role in the development of these unions to promote the active participation of vulnerable groups in decisions on the types of investments which should be made in the agricultural sector.

Livestock

Animal husbandry is an important part of the livelihood strategies in all of the villages. However, the importance differs between the different villages as well as the different wealth groups within the villages. In Kuja Chasht village, livestock is said to be more important than agriculture. The reason given for this is that there is a large pasture surrounding the village for feeding the animals. For three seasons the animals are fed out in the meadows and do not need food at home. Lack of fodder is only a problem in the winter. For this reason, animal husbandry is easy and cheap to continue. In Bagh village, livestock is also here said to be a less troubled occupation than cultivation. This is so because livestock can be done at any time of the year and if there is no water in the village they can take the animals to other areas for grazing.

In the remaining villages, the main constraint for livestock production stated is lack of pasture and fodder. Before the drought, people in Ghuchan village were very eager in keeping livestock. Due to the drought, all pastures have dried up and people cannot provide fodder for their livestock any more. Now those with enough land can keep some sheep and goats because in most of the seasons with a little alfalfa and grass from the mountainside a few can survive.

Lack of pasture for livestock production is also an issue of distribution and access to land among the different groups within the villages. The pasture in the villages is often open for all the villagers to be used for grazing. However, even in the villages where everyone has access to the pasture for grazing, it is very often only the landowners that can harvest fodder. Out of the villages examined, it was only in Kuja Chasht and Sherma that all the villagers have access to pasture for both grazing and fodder collection. Kuja Chasht is also one of the villages where livestock is said to be

the most important source for their livelihood. This indicates the importance of access to pasture when examining the suitability of livestock as a livelihood strategy.

Distribution of animals to poor villagers is a common development strategy, so also in the Afghan context. In order for such an activity to be successful and benefit the intended beneficiaries, it is important to know about the local context in terms of access to land and power structures. If the ones that receive animals do not have access to pasture to collect fodder for the winter months (if they are, for example, landless) these farmers will then have to sell the animals or even rent land in order to be able to feed the new animals, reducing their net benefits considerably.

Within the villages, the rights and responsibilities are different between men and women. According to Islamic law, women have the right to inherit animals. Even so, in three of the visited villages women were said to not have the right to inherit. In addition to this, women were reported to have very little or no saying in buying and selling, even in villages where they have the right to inherit and own animals. Only in Sherma villages do the women have the same right as men to buy and sell animals. The situation is different if there is no man in the house. Women can then manage and decide on livestock and buy and sell animals just like the men headed households.

In all of the villages, the managing of livestock is mainly the responsibility of women. Women collect the products of the livestock, clean animal waste and make it ready to be used as fuel. Women can also take animals for grazing and have the responsibility for the production of dairy products. In Alqan village, for example, the women milk the cows and make the dairy products, the elder women train and keep the offspring of the animals, and the wool is made into threads, gleam and woolen mattresses by women. Men help in bringing fodder for the animals. Although women are responsible for the production of livestock products, men are responsible for their sale. As a consequence of this, men control the income.

The different wealth groups often rely on different animals, and the importance the products play in their livelihood also differ. This can be illustrated by looking at the situation in Bagh village. For the well-off farmers, the milk they get from their cows is sufficient to be used for ghee the whole year around and sometimes they also sell it in the market. Most of their foodstuff consists of milk products such as butter, cream and yoghurt. For the middle and poor farmers, cows are said to be too expensive to buy, even though they could be a good income source as well as a good source of nutrition. In the villages there are 15 cows, 15 bulls and 800 sheep and goats. The poorer women said that they only have a few sheep and goats, they use the dairy products for themselves and the manure of the animal used for firing in the winter.

The implications of these findings are that animals seem to be a potentially valuable resource in the agricultural system, both as income and food sources, particularly for women. There are two points, however, that need to be addressed when considering support to animal husbandry:

- For some households, an increase in the number of animals might increase the workload for the women in particular, without an appropriate increase in their control over the income generated from these animals.

- While animals could be a valuable resource particularly for poorer households, the issue of access to fodder, particularly for winter feeding, needs to be addressed. This access could be different from village to village, and therefore has to be connected to an understanding of availability of and access to pasture areas.

Income

The sources of income are a mix of farming and non-farm activities. For the poor farmers, income from own land is seldom enough, and they rely heavily on work on the land of others or on non-farm activities. In Ghuchan village the main income source for the rich is agriculture (70%). Non-farm income comes from having shops, working for salary, working for NGOs and government and driving. The income is spent on food, health, education and investment. For the middle group, the income comes from agriculture (45%), livestock (5%) and labor work outside the area and out of the country. The income is used mainly for food, health and education, with any surplus for further education and housing. For the poorer farmers, the main source of agricultural income is labor work on the land of other people. Non-farm income is earned mainly through working in cities outside of the villages, and this comprises 50% of the expenses. The income is used for food, health and education. They do not have any surplus income to use. Being able to save money and invest so that their annual income will increase the following years is said to only be possible among the rich villagers.

As mentioned earlier, an important source of income is migration within the country as well as to other countries. Migration seems to be a strategy not so much used by the rich as the poor, and to some extent also the medium. In Bagh village, very few of the rich said that they had to send a son to Iran to work and send money home. The medium men said they have to send one of their family members to work as labor either inside the country or outside like Iran. Migration is used both as an income strategy in a long-term coping strategy.

The labor market for non-farm work is almost solely restricted to men. Since men have better access to the labor market than women, they also have better income. The men in Alqan village said that they have a better income than the women in the market because they can do hard work. Both men and women work as wage laborers on the farms of other people, but it is only men that can work outside of the village. The income from working outside of the village is better than that from working inside the village, and the income of skilled laborers is also relatively good. Skilled men have good access to the labor market and get the highest income.

Control of income is in the hand of the head of the household, and as a general rule, this gives men most of the decision making power when it comes to the spending of income. In Ghuchan village, however, it was said that the one that contributes most to the income has the most decision making power. The women said that they consequently don't have a role in decision-making because they don't have a good income. Even though the men make the main decisions on the use of the income, sometimes women in Ghuchan are involved, depending on the source of income. The men said that women make decisions inside the house and men outside.

For NCA, these findings confirm that the promotion of income-earning activities, particularly for women, continues to be a strategic activity. Not only can it improve income levels in the households, but it also has the potential to improve the decision-making power of women. Secondly, NCA and its partners need to be acutely aware of the different wages and income levels for agricultural and non-farm skilled and unskilled labor and investment opportunities to ensure that particularly women, whose participation in labor markets is limited, get a high return on their labor and investment in any activity proposed or introduced.

LAND ISSUES

The land areas defined as the villages (cultivated, stone mountain, pasture and public) are land which is controlled by the village. The village leadership has the responsibility for informal mediation of land conflicts, and for defining use-rights to common areas. In Dai Kundi, agricultural land is privately owned, and land ownership and transactions i.e. inheritance should be registered in Shahrستان, however the villagers said this is not usually done. The degree to which non-cultivable land is divided between the villagers, however, differs. There seems to be three patterns of private ownership and common land rights in the study villages:

- complete division of all village land, including the pastures and stone mountains (i.e. Ghuchan),
- division of cultivable land only, with pasture and mountain land accessible to all villagers (i.e. Kuja Chasht), and
- division of cultivable and pasture land

In addition, some villages border on pasture land owned by the government. In Ghaf, for example, there is a pasture area beyond their divided village pasture, where they informed that all villagers have access to graze their animals and collect winter fodder, even the landless. There is also, however, another village, Faisabad, which borders on the same area, which also claims access rights. This is a source of conflict between the two villages, each claiming they have the right to use these pastures as they wish. There are apparently similar cases throughout Dai Kundi resulting in conflicts between villages. But unlike other areas of Afghanistan where for example the Kuchi pastoral communities have used these pastures and come into conflict with bordering agricultural communities⁵ there are no pastoral communities competing for these government-owned pasture areas in Dai Kundi.

In villages with limited pasture area and without access to government pastures, (patterns one and two above), all of the pasture is divided between the landowners, and the landless only have access to the areas for grazing their animals, or collecting stones (for construction) or bushes (for firewood), but not the harvesting of grasses, which is important for winter-feeding. This seriously limits the possibility of the landless to invest in animal husbandry, unless they are sharecroppers and are able to gain access to pasture under the rights of their landowner. In fact, we see that in one of the villages, income from animals was a particularly important source of livelihood

⁵ See Wiley, Liz Alden (2004). Looking for Peace on the Pastures: Rural Land Relations in Afghanistan. AREU.

for sharecroppers. Access to fodder, particularly for winter feeding, are thus a major constraint in investing in animals, and is important to consider when introducing new activities for, for example, the landless. One landless villager told of receiving a sheep through a development initiative, but due to lack of fodder entered an agreement with a landowner, where he would be allowed to collect winter fodder in return for providing the landowner with a share of the sheep's production. This significantly reduced the benefits for the one for which the activity was intended to assist.

In all of the villages, there were conflicts over agricultural land. The types of conflicts were described by the villagers as follows:

- Conflict between neighbors who disagree where the border is.
- *Zamin Doz*: If several farmers are bordering pasture or common land, and one of the landowners has more water and would like to cultivate part of the pasture land, then the others will say that he has to share the land, but he would say no, that he has the water.
- Conflict between brothers. For example, when brothers divide the land, then afterwards one of the brothers expands the land through development, then the others will want to divide the land again. But since he was the one doing the work, he refuses.
- When one person is digging a karez to make it longer, and the one on the end will not allow it because it is on his land.
- When there is a wide piece of unused land between two households, and one would like to develop it, the other says no, they have to share fifty-fifty.
- Conflict between cousins, because their fathers didn't divide the land equally from their grandfather.

There were also examples of how land was grabbed by the powerful. In Ghaf, for example, the group of poor women told of a widow whose land was captured by another villager who is harvesting all the yields. The case was not solved by the Shura, but sent to the district governor's office. There were, however, relatively few of these cases, and it was also not common that land was grabbed while families migrated to other countries. Apparently relatives remaining in the village would look after their interests. Those who had mortgaged their land, however, always ran the risk that it would be sold before they returned. On the other hand, during the period where the district was controlled mainly by warlords, the local warlords were quite active in appropriating and redistributing land. For example, if a farmer was for some reason unable to cultivate all of his/her land, the warlord would redistribute a portion of the land to another farmer for cultivation. After the warlords pulled out of the area when Karzai came to power, the original owners of this land made claims to the government to get their land back. These cases are still pending at in the district governor's office.

Thus, while some land conflicts are solved by NSP Shura or elders, most are brought to the governor's office in Alqan District Headquarters, since the Shura has no formal power to make decisions in these cases.

Land inheritance

The rules are quite clear in Islam on the rights of women to inherit land. When a father dies without a will, his widow shall receive 1/8 of the inheritance, the rest is divided between the children, with sons inheriting twice the land of their sisters. If there are only daughters, they inherit equally. This is seldom, however, how land is inherited in practice in Dai Kundi. If there is a son, the villagers said they are not willing to give the land to their sisters. The brothers might talk to their sister(s) and ask her for a letter saying that she has given her land to her brother. Some commented that the girls do not always know of their rights to land so they don't ask. The only women owning land do so because their brothers have died. It is more common that women own animals, but not everywhere. One custom in Dai Kundi is that 4-5 days after the wedding the bride's family gives animals and clothes to their daughter. Since there are others in the households they can also share them, but the daughter owns them.

It is not common for a sister to claim her share of her fathers land, and even if she wants it and knows of her rights. She won't take it because she doesn't want to have a conflict with her brother. One of the women (trainer for WWH) explained the following:

“In some cases the husband is quite close to his wife. He is loving and trying to convince her to take her share of her land from her brother. If she does, however, her relation with her brother will be cut, and her husband stops treating her nicely – he becomes a real husband and she a suffering wife”. Thus, there is strong social pressure for sisters not to claim their land rights from the family, as well as strong pressure from her husband to claim them.

The women and men both agreed that the reality is that no one is ready to give the right to women to inherit their land. *“We are the same here as everywhere else, we (the men) accept half of the Koran, the half that gives us the benefit!”*

A widow is in a particularly difficult position. She can inherit land if she has children, and if the child dies the land goes to the mother, even if she is alone. But if she has no children then she has no right to land according to local practice. Even if she is young and she marries her deceased husband's brother, she still gets nothing. And if she is old and returns to her father's family, she still gets nothing. But even when she has children, sometimes she is still given nothing. In one case in Chaprasak, for example, a woman and her children were kicked out of her in-laws' house when her husband died. In such a case, the Shura can only step in if the woman officially complains; otherwise it is considered a family affair. Conditions for widows have nevertheless changed slightly for the better in recent years. Before, a widow without children was obliged to marry back into the family, but now she is independent and can marry outside the family – but in neither case does she inherit. This means that widows who otherwise would inherit at least through their children slip into the category of landless, and thus in a much more vulnerable livelihood position.

The implications of these findings for NCA and its partners is that when considering agricultural investment as a development activity, they need to be aware of the weak position of women, and particularly widows are in when it comes to their inheritance

of land, and thus the limited direct impact such activities might have on these women. In order to strengthen vulnerable women's position in the control over assets, we recommend:

- NCA and its partners discuss land rights issue with the communities, such that women and men are properly informed of women's rights to land, as well as to other assets, when property is inherited or sold.

WATER ISSUES

As a result of the nine-year drought, water is a critical issue in Dai Kundi. While there is enough water in the spring season from the rains, in summer and autumn there is lack of water for cultivation. Villagers reported that groundwater levels have decreased and springs and wells are not recharged, land cover on pasture is minimal, and they can only cultivate around half of their cultivable land (see Table 3). Paradoxically, despite the drought, short, heavy rains in the spring of some years have caused periodic floods and destroyed agricultural lands.

The traditional irrigation systems are based on water from ponds, karez (channels), springs, wells and in the spring from water that is collected in reservoirs (nawaz) from rain. Often the springs are private, and water is shared mainly within families, with the karez along the fields of only the owners rather than across the fields of different users. In areas where most of the water sources are private, there is no separate person (i.e. mirab) or institution in the village to manage this water. Where families or neighbors share springs and karez, then they said that they have to agree on how to share access equally. When larger water sources are developed and shared, however, there could be a mirab appointed (one that would receive training from a project for example), however this did not seem to be the norm in this area as it is in other parts of the country. The respondents stated rather that it was those who are sharing who decide together how the water will be distributed.

There were several types of conflicts over water in the study villages:

- When the upper part of the village is taking all the water, and the lower part of the village does not have enough for their lands, this creates conflict between the villagers.
- For those who are sharing the karez, they can disagree on the length of time of watering, for example, the one who has more land wants more water, instead of an equal share. This is decided by agreement between individuals, and can be different every year.
- When two landowners had two karez next to each other they are only to clean them but not dig them deeper, because if one digs his deeper then there will be less water for the other.

In a shared karez, it was said that conflict is often higher in the year following a year with lot of water. For example, if there is more water one year, some farmers can use more on their fields without creating conflict. But if the next year is dry, then those who used more during the wet year want to use the same during the dry year. The others say no, however, because they say that once there is less water they should

divide it evenly. Normally the elders or Shura are involved in solving these relatively small conflicts.

Villagers explained that existing irrigation water problems in the fall and winter seasons can be solved, for example, through the cleaning of karez, building reservoirs and digging springs and small water dams. Improvements can either be made on existing structures, making them for example bigger, deeper or stronger, or they can involve the construction of new structures. When improving existing structures, awareness on who owns the structure is an important part of assessing who will benefit from the improvements. When new, shared water sources are proposed, the picture becomes more complex. Cooperation can be extremely difficult, particularly in areas where water sources have been more individualized in the past. In such cases, conflicts have arisen in the villages as to who had the rights to the 'common' water, for example, how the water was to be distributed between different parts of villages, and between landowners with different sized holdings, as well as over the ownership of the land on which the structure was to be built. Such conflicts can evolve despite preliminary discussions with the Shura and other villagers in the planning process. Also, despite the emphasis on the part of the partners and NCA to focus on the most vulnerable when providing assistance, there is still a tendency for the better off to appropriate the largest portion of benefits (see Appendix 6)

Considering the findings surrounding water, there are three components which can be considered as key in the process:

- *A thorough description and understanding of the water situation in the villages, technically, institutionally and environmentally, to try to anticipate outcomes, management challenges and potential conflicts.* Some of this information is a part of existing assessment processes, however, it seems somewhat ad hoc.
- *A thorough understanding of the livelihood strategies of the intended beneficiaries and how increased access to water would contribute to, for example, food and livelihood security.* Some of this information is collected in connection with planning water projects, however, land ownership and labor dynamics should also be examined, as they will likely be affected as access to water increases.
- *A method whereby discussions involve all relevant stakeholders **from the earliest stages**, making a transparent process which gives voice to the less powerful concerning water issues.* Currently, much of the initial discussions by partners with villagers concerning most activities is with the Shura, and later with groups of farmers who would be directly involved in an activity. By the time NCA becomes involved, many of the premises of the activity have already been defined, and not necessarily in a process where all the stakeholders have had a voice from the beginning.

It is clear that the partners and NCA separately have a lot of knowledge and experience in implementing water projects, but are still searching for ways to identify their gaps in knowledge, systematize this knowledge, share it between them, and analyze it such that it can contribute to improved implementation.

DECISION-MAKING AND POWER RELATIONS

Decision-making and power relations in the villages are a mix of formal and informal forums and social relations. According to the villagers, the following are all involved directly or indirectly in the decision-making in the village:

- Male and female Shura
- Elders
- Mullah
- Teachers
- Influentials
- Activists
- Rich
- Syed

When asked to explain how decision-making has changed over the years, the villagers described four periods:

1. Before the revolution (pre 1979).

Before the revolution the communities had an *Arbab* system. The communities would select a man, called an *Arbab*, to make decisions, but also to represent the community in the government. The *Arbab* had an assistant, called a *Daruga*, who took responsibility for the village when the *Arbab* was out of the village. Although the *Arbab* had the power, he could not make decisions totally by himself, he would use the elders as a kind of ‘consultant team’ for the community.

2. After the revolution (during Soviet occupation 1979-1992)

During this period the warlords made the decisions for the community. The others (*Arbab* and *Daruga*) left. These warlords had weapons from outside. The elders had a role in giving advice here as well, but a very reduced role.

3. Transition period (Taliban and pre-NSP Shura period 1996-2004))

During this period the warlords were still around, but less directly involved in the communities. There were Hazara Taliban, but it was mainly the elders who were more involved in decision-making. They had always had a role in the community, but mainly an advisory role to the *Arbab*, and would also give advice to community members on personal and social issues. This system is apparently different than the system in other parts of the country, where there may have been strong traditional Shura where the elders were powerful as a group during most of the periods⁶. The

⁶ Under a discussion in an analysis workshop, participants from other areas reflected on how the system in Dai Kundi compared to their home areas, making the following observations: ‘In Ghazni province, decision-making is similar in some ways to this province, but still the *Arbab* and warlords are active in decision-making, not the Shura. In fact, the warlords go through the mullah to strengthen their influence, they persuade the mullah. Educated people, even when they want to do something, are kept out of the system.’ ‘In Bamiyan there is one difference; the commanders are still in power through the government rule, and are following their own policy. Even in some Shura they are involved, so they can be involved both in the Shura and the government, having up to 80% power.’ In Baglan, they also have the *Arbab* system, very similar to Dai Kundi, but the elders are a bit more active and stronger than

local name for the elders is *Reesh Safedan* – those who have white beard – or *Muee Safedan* – Those who have white hair. For women they were called *Sar Safedan* – those who have a white head.

4. NSP Shura (2004-present)

All of the villages have established CDCs (Community Development Councils), which they referred to as NSP Shuras. Elders play a role during this phase as well; they have no formal power, but they still have a strong influence. The members of these Shura are elected. The warlords are no longer in direct power, but in Alqan for example, they are indirectly involved, and still have great influence over decisions (see below). If the NSP Shura is to make a decision of any kind, they consult their elders. The elders have ‘100% respect’, and though they have no decision making power officially, nothing can be done without consulting them. In some of the villages, different ethnic groups are represented in the Shura, but each one must go back to their own elders and ask advice, and bring the decision back to the Shura. This is also the case for the women’s Shura, and the women members of the village Shura.

In most of the study villages there is only one Shura, and they are either referred to as being mixed (Chaprasak, with 2 women and 3 men) or having a women’s representative in a men’s Shura, where there are one or two women. The women’s representative in Sherma said that she tried to start a women’s Shura, but the women did not want to make one. They accused her of taking 80 thousand dollars from the government and ‘eating it’ herself, so they didn’t want to join her.

In Tagab, when the Shura was first formed it was mixed (2 women, 5 men). Now there are two independent Shura, with 7 women in one, and 7 men in the other. The women make their own decisions, but they also meet together and brainstorm with the men. Religious issues are mainly solved by the mullah. The women and men’s Shuras discuss different issues, but when needed they consult with each other. For example, if there is a family issue, like if a girl does not want to go home with her husband, the women’s Shura or women members are consulted and they then consult the women elders.

In addition to the main Shura, there was also what was referred to by the villagers as CDCs, but which were actually CDC committees, or sub-committees. In Ghaf, for example, although they have one main Shura with a woman’s representative, they also informed of a women’s CDC, which is comprised of 7 women. These women are involved in decisions on the use of resources through these committees. The women’s council proposes different projects for the betterment of women’s livelihoods, such as training on literacy, sewing, knitting Qalin, etc. They informed that women and men CDCs coordinate closely and hold meetings regularly. They take decisions in coordination with each other, and they said that they don’t have any conflict with each other. Some women’s council proposals, such as literacy courses for women, are reviewed by the men’s council. In one case, for example, the men decided that all women of the village should attend the course, but the organization that organized the

Dai Kundi.’ In Paktia there is a strong Shura/Jirga, and was in fact where the term came from. Here the Shuras have a strong system for conflict resolution, however women are not traditionally involved.

course could not accept all women, therefore a conflict occurred and course was discontinued.

Although there is not a women's Shura or CDC in all the villages, a parallel process has also been taking place in the district. The school of Ghuchan was at some point visited by the parliamentary members for this area and the female teachers were asked to make a Shura. Thus, 5 schools along the road between Ghaf, Alqan, Ghuchan etc have teachers in this Shura. It was established in October 2006 (one month old at the time of this discussion). The members have been elected by the teachers in each school. They now want to have representatives from each of the villages. They deal with many issues, not only educational issues. They claimed that the biggest difference between this Shura and a village Shura is that this Shura has more educated women, and it does not have any formal decision-making responsibility or power (as is the intention of the village Shura in the future).

While some of the Shura have implemented an NSP project in their village, most have not. Nevertheless, they are the focal point for contact for both NGO and government offices in the village. Since many of the members of the NSP Shura are also influentials who had decision-making power in the past, they also take on responsibilities such as conflict resolution. In Chaprasak, for example, they have a mixed Shura of 2 women and three men. The Shura has recently dealt with a land case where a landowner gave land to a poor person as charity. Now the original house is destroyed and he wanted to build a new house, but he didn't have a stream for water. While the landowner initially refused to give him access to water, the Shura stepped in and convinced the landowner to allow the man to dig a stream. Currently, it seems the main Shura are taking on a broad range of diverse activities in the villages, and not yet formed sub-committees or project committees as recommended by the NSP strategy. This means that power is concentrated in one decision-making body of the villages, some of the consequences of which we will discuss below.

Power relations in practice

In discussions at the village level, most of the groups said that since the introduction of the NSP Shura, they feel that they have more say in decision-making in the village. In the words of the villagers of Ghaf:

'Nowadays the most powerful and influential people in the village are elders and NSP's Community Development Councils (CDCs). 20 or 30 year ago warlords were powerful and were governing the area, and they were forcing people to perform different jobs, but now the situation has completely changed, work is now done with the help and advice and cooperation of each other, and people are happy with local power'. (Ghaf village)

In stark contrast, however, the villagers of Alqan stated the following:

'The most powerful people in the village are those who have weapons and they still make the decisions. The influential people are the elders, and the rich also have authority. Control of the village is in the hands of those who have weapons and guns, there is corruption and they create divisions among people in the village. They slaughter people, and people's sheep and cows for their armies; they are looted by jihad commanders' (Alqan Village).

Apparently in Alqan village, the former commander is still able to exercise his power, even over the Shura. In further discussions on power with the villagers, and with partners working with the villages, it was revealed that, in fact, it was not only in Alqan village that the powerful had a strong influence on decision-making. While most villagers agreed that more villagers are involved in decision-making than before, they still estimated that 60% of the Shura is controlled by the powerful, and 40% by people representing the community at large, none of which represented the poor. There is thus a long way to go before there is equitable representation in the village leadership. This has important implications for how development activities are implemented, since the Shura is the main contact point in the village for NGOs and government services. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

After in-depth discussions with villagers on the various components of livelihood security, the villagers were asked to inform on the different development initiatives which had been implemented in their villages, and the impact these activities had on their livelihoods. Table 4 gives an overview of the main activities in each village, and the organizations which were involved in these activities.

NO	Activities	Implementing Organization in the villages									
		Bagh	Kuja Chasht	Sarqul	Ghaf	Ghuchan	Sherma	Alqan	Arwas	Chaprasak	Tagab
1	Construction of latrines	ACF-NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	0	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	ACF_NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	ACF-NPO/RRAA
2	Road rehabilitation	GRSP-CoAR	0	GRSP	GRSP-CCA	0	DHSA	0	GRSP-CoAR	GRSP-CoAR	GRSP
3	School Construction	GRSP	0	0	DHSA-CCA	0	DHSA	DHSA	0	0	0
4	Water Reservoirs	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	0	GRSP-NPO/RRAA	GRSP-NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	0	NPO/RRAA	GRSP-NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA
5	Hand pump insulation on well	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	0	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA
6	Construction of aqueduct	0	0	0	CoAR	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	Sheep distribution	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR-CCA	CoAR-CCA	CoAR-CCA	CoAR-CCA	CoAR-CCA	CoAR-CCA	CoAR-CCA
8	Literacy program	GRSP	JACK-DHSA	HF-GRSP	CCA	CCA	CCA	DHSA	DHSA	GRSP-HF	GRSP-HF
9	Veterinary program	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR
10	Agriculture program	CoAR	CoAR	0	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR	CoAR
11	Teacher training	GRSP	0	GRSP	GRSP	DHSA	DHSA	DHSA	DHSA	DHSA	DHSA
12	CDC	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM
13	Health Education	GRSP	NPO/14RRAA	GRSP	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	ACF	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	GRSP
14	Micro credit	0	0	0	0	CCA	0	0	0	0	0
15	Construction well	ACF	ACF	0	0	ACF	0	ACF	0	0	ACF
16	Reconstruction of School										
17	Construction of Manhole for drinking water	NPO/RRAA	0	0	CoAR-NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	0	0	NPO/RRAA	NPO/RRAA	0
18	Hygiene	NPO/	NPO/	0	NPO/	NPO/	NPO/	NPO/	NPO/	NPO/	NPO/

	Promotion	RRAA	RRAA		RRAA	RRAA	RRAA	RRAA	RRAA	RRAA	RRAA
19	ICDP	NPO/ RRAA	0	0	0	0	0	NPO/ RRAA	0	0	0
20	Gleem weaving	0	0	0	0	JACK	0	JACK	0	0	0
21	Mobile Health Team	ATA	ATA	ATA	ATA	ATA	ATA	ATA	ATA	ATA	ATA

Table 4 Development initiatives in the villages

We see that in the study villages a wide range of activities within the sectors of health, agriculture and livestock, institutional development (NSP), water, hygiene, have been implemented. Not all activities are in all villages, but there are usually several in each village, and sometimes implemented by different NGOs. In some villages, different NGOs have been involved in similar activities, such as the building of latrines.

The villagers were asked in three different forums to describe the impacts of the activities on their livelihoods, first in the general group interviews, second in each of the specific group interviews, and thirdly as village representatives in the Dai Kundi analysis workshops. Since the groups were given the freedom to express this impact in their own terms, the results are not easily comparable, particularly between the different village groups. Nevertheless, the discussions revealed very interesting trends. As expected, what was expressed in the general group interviews was often quite different that what was expressed in the specific groups, revealing the importance of discussing such issues in several forums so that different villagers feel freer to express their own experiences. In Kuja Chasht, for example, in the general meetings, they stated that all of the people of village have benefited from the above-mentioned projects and 100% of the right people of the village are involved in the activity. In the specific group meetings, however, it was found that it was the well-off and middle men who had been involved in the activities (food for work in road construction and water supply). The well-off and middle groups said:

‘the impact of the activities has had positive effects on the life of the people, their lives have improved, and they have developed new strategies for life improvement. There have been changes in the village compare to the past because now the villagers have road facilities, job opportunities, most of the children are going to school, there is literacy and health education courses in the village, health statues has improved and before the villager were busy in agriculture activity and some of the people were jobless but now the jobless people have job in the NGOs. The initiating of new activities has very positive change in the village. Now the people of the village are able to make decisions identifying their needs, for example road rehabilitation, water reservoir, and latrines to avoid disease’.

The group of poorer villagers, however, said they had not developed new livelihood strategies, and said that the activities did not have any visible effects on their lives. The poor women stated clearly that they were not involved in the development activities of the village. If there were any development activity, they said mostly the rich people are benefiting. They claimed that up to this point the poor have only gotten light from the generator electricity (NSP project). They also felt that the initiatives did not change power relations in the village and have not made any difference in their lives. They still have many problems in their lives, their children cannot go to school because they are poor and they cannot afford their expenses, and

the school is located far from the village. *‘We are living like animals and we do not know about anything.’*

When the issue of impact was brought further to discussions in the analysis workshop, the villagers together with the project teams began to express their experiences with development activities in terms of percent of direct or indirect impact. Again, this was a subjective valuation, which only really takes on meaning when the reasons behind the valuations are discussed in detail. Table 5 shows the results of the discussion of development activities in Kuja Chasht and Baugh.

No	Development activities	Impact (different groups)		
		% poor	% medium	% rich
1	Reconstruction of roads	40%	35%	25%
2	Digging of wells for drinking water purpose	30%	30%	40%
3	Construction of water reservoirs saving water	25%	40%	35%
4	Construction of school in Bagh village	40%	35%	25%
5	Construction of sanitary latrines	20%	50%	30%
6	Literacy courses	60%	30%	10%
7	Improvement of agricultural, livestock status	20%	30%	50%
8	Teacher training courses	10%	60%	30%
9	Vaccination of women and children	40%	30%	30%
10	Vaccination of animals	10%	30%	60%
11	Distribution of sheep	20%	20%	60%
12	Distribution of improved seeds and fertilizer	10%	30%	60%
13	Establishment of NSP Shura	15%	30%	55%

Table 5 Impact of development activities in Kuja Chasht and Bagh villages

What was particularly revealing from this discussion was the fact that even for activities which were specifically targeted to the poor, such as sheep distribution for widows, the well off and medium villagers had managed to reap the majority of benefits. While some of the activities, such as literacy courses and vaccination of women and children managed to have a more substantial impact on the poorer members of the community, it is still clear that the general trend in the communities is not one that favors the poorest, although they are often quoted as being the intended beneficiaries of development initiatives. These impacts vary, of course, from village to village, as well as between the organizations which are responsible for their implementation. They also vary according to who in the villages could be beneficiaries, for example, veterinary services benefited mainly the well-off and medium, since these are the villagers which own animals. In Appendix 4 we have summarized the discussions on the impact of development activities in all of the villages. Although these results cannot be considered as perfect representations of what has happened in the villages, they do reflect a clear perception by both villagers and partners working in the communities, of the often unequal pattern of impact at the village level.

As the reasons behind the valuation were discussed in detail, several stories emerged from different villages describing how the well-off, through the auspices of the Shura, consistently managed to gain control over the resources provided through the projects. Firstly, it was common that when partners went to the villages, and the Shura were asked to identify the poor who would be receiving assistance, they identified instead the well-off, often their relatives, rather than the poor. This was the case for, for example, sheep distribution, blanket distribution, training opportunities and labor opportunities. One villager told, for example, of how a project distributed blankets in the mosque to the poor, and as the poor left the building the Shura members were waiting outside and took the blankets from them, saying they had no right to these, as they were not really from the village. This could indicate that the Shura have their own definition of who comprises the villagers, and less visible groups such as returnees and landless laborers are systematically denied resources provided to the villagers through development initiatives. While this is probably not always the case, many such cases were revealed both in the specific groups and the analysis workshops, and, again, were reflected in the trends of impacts towards the well-off.

Possible reasons for this trend were suggested by both partners and villagers. One interesting thing we were told that it has always been a custom in these villages for the well-off to take any extra or new resources coming into the villages for themselves, believing that they had the right to these resources due to their position in society. This has, in fact, often been the case as those coming into power in each of the phases mentioned above also took control of the resources in the communities. This does not mean they don't have a sense of community or charity, but rather that there may not exist the same emphasis on equity as is, for example, expressed as one of the pillars of the NSP program⁷. Since the NSP program is still quite new, it will take time for the Shura, who we have found are often comprised of many of the same influential persons as before, to take on new roles in which they become more sensitive to the needs of all their constituents. It is thus perhaps unrealistic for development partners to assume that the Shura are at this point able to both be the sole contact point for NGOs as well as the implementers without running into conflict of interests problems. Since by-passing the Shura is neither desirable or possible, the partners emphasized the need to inform and gain the cooperation of the Shura, while at the same time interacting more directly with other, more representative groups in the community in the actual implementation of activities. Experiences working with water user groups and women's health and hygiene groups have been promising, and a similar approach could be used for other activities as well. The partners in particular experienced that through the implementation of the Livelihood Survey, they gained a completely different picture of the village and villagers than they had using their own methods of interaction, and they could clearly see now how they could re-direct their efforts to be able to communicate more directly with the different groups in the communities.

⁷ The NSP Operational Manual states that the NSP is 'based on the Afghan traditions of *'Ashar'* – community members working on a volunteer basis to improve community infrastructure; *'Jirga'* – councils comprised of respected members of the community; and Islamic values of *unity, equity and justice.*' (MRRD 2007: 1)

CONTRIBUTION TO COMPETENCE-BUILDING

One of the objectives of this study was to build competence of NCA staff, partners and community activists in conducting participatory surveys and analyzing particularly qualitative data. In this respect, the following observation can be made:

Competence of NCA staff

The NCA staff member responsible for running the research activities has gained considerable experience in understanding livelihood issues, design of the question guide, qualitative interviewing, and analysis of qualitative data, including quality control of the data. He has held independent trainings for the partners as follow-up of the researcher-led trainings. He has also jointly led analysis workshops and has developed considerable competence in communication both with partners and villagers. Other NCA staffs have also been involved in the process, particularly in the first workshop, and have been involved in the translation of the data. They have thus become aware of many of the issues covered in the survey. There was also a short workshop held for NCA staff toward the end of the survey period, where they were presented with the methodology and some main findings which they could discuss in relation to their own experiences in Dai Kundi, as well as the planned survey in Faryab. Because of the relevance of the process to their work as program coordinators, both in planning and monitoring development initiatives together with partners, it is recommended that more of the program staff be directly involved in the Faryab survey.

Competence of partners

The survey has involved partners in several different ways, and to different degrees. Some have been involved only in the introductory workshop, while others have taken part in all of the fieldwork and workshops throughout the survey (See Appendix 2 for a list of partners attending each of the workshops). The first workshop was an introductory workshop, where the idea of the survey was introduced and NCA identified those partners which were best suited to be active participants in the field survey. The workshop included 9 partners (ca. 40 participants), out of which 4 partners became active in the field research. Each of the four teams had 5-7 members, of which 2-3 were women. Some of the members of the teams, however, kept changing, so only some of the team members have followed the entire process. It was also clear that the quality of data improved substantially from the first and second rounds to the final round of research, due both to experience and the analysis exercises in between. The core partners who followed the research from beginning to end represent a valuable resource for future NCA activities, as they now comprise a cadre of experienced field surveyors which can be used for training other staff in their own and other organizations in conducting qualitative studies in connection with their work.

It was clear that one of the key activities in increasing the competence of the partners was participation in the analysis workshops. By discussing the findings together with other partners, villagers and researchers, they progressed from a mere question-asking and answering exercise, to one where they question the underlying reasons behind the answers. They were critical in considering the answers, connected data which

otherwise had been considered separately, and lifted their perspectives to a higher level, allowing for comparison between groups and areas, and constructive discussions with other team members of different professional backgrounds. In particular, the partners became increasingly curious about the complexity of the communities they work with, and quite proficient in pursuing issues with questions of 'why'. Also, and quite importantly, including the villagers in the analysis workshop in a participatory process allowed the partners to see the villagers as partners in development rather than merely as beneficiaries. The partners were able to interact with the villagers in a completely different way than they normally did as deliverers of resources. They learned to reflect on their own roles in a constructive way without feeling threatened (this was particularly evident in the discussions concerning the shortfalls of reaching the poor with development initiatives). After the final round of research in the last two villages, the partners in fact held an analysis workshop of their own together with selected villagers, after which they presented their findings at NCA. It was clear that they were both proud of their process, felt they had really improved their interviewing skills in the last round, as well as their ability to ask the 'why' questions so important in analysis. They are now confident in their skills and eager to contribute to such activities in the future.

When asked what they themselves had learned from taking part in the survey they made the following points:

- 1) This study was very different than surveys which they had conducted in the past. In the past we often spoke only with one group, and thought that they represented the village. This study, however, was participatory, we collected data through discussions with different groups (wealth and gender) and this gave more reliable data, and a much better picture of the communities.
- 2) This survey was a good guide for future strategies because we know more about certain issues that we did not know about before. It was also positive because it included activities already implemented, and we were able to learn about how effective these have been, to evaluate them and give direction for the future.
- 3) Since it is participatory, we are able to see the benefit of different groups.
- 4) Such an exercise is necessary for all donors and NGOs before starting an activity to know what we learned from such a study (i.e. about target group etc.)
- 5) We learned specifically about existing conflicts in the area which we did not know about before.
- 6) We learned that there are some sensitive issues, but we also learned how to approach these.
- 7) Now we (as implementers) have a full picture of the districts, so if there is a problem we will know why.
- 8) Before we were planning without knowing how to approach the right beneficiaries, but now we've got a good planning tool.
- 9) This is a good tool to let the women be heard because in this survey everyone had the chance to sit down and tell. This is not usually the case.
- 10) It is also possible to evaluate our activities through the tool of this survey, in a different way than we have done in the past. It allows us to continuously adjust our activities as they are progressing.

Competence-building of the villagers/

This type of exercise was new to the majority of villagers; whereas the Shura have likely had some experience in meetings and interviews in connection with the NSP process, systematic discussions with many different groups in the village was quite new. Also, none of the villagers spoken with have ever participated in an analysis workshop before, where they have been asked to actively work with data from their own village and reconsider their villages from different perspectives. In the analysis workshop, one villager said that he thought he had known his village before, but now he sees everything differently. Another said that he now understands that the partners are interested in development, not only in giving gifts (!). It was also interesting that those who were skeptical at the beginning of the workshop and were not completely open in providing reliable information on, for example, levels of poverty, turned suit and became those who were most engaged and open in discussions of power and development processes in the communities. The partners told that the villagers were very satisfied with the interviewing process, since they were able to say their needs themselves. They know now that their needs are known, and that at some point they should benefit. The analysis workshop also gave the villagers the opportunity to see the potential of using such an analysis as a tool in community planning, one of the main responsibilities of the NSP Shuras. This is where the real potential of this method lies, by making such a survey participatory, NCA not only learns about the communities for the better implementation of its activities, but it in fact supports local institutions in developing the skills to analyze and plan for more equitable community development.

KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Since this study was both broad and detailed, looking at both specific and cross-cutting issues, there are a multitude of findings that will be useful to NCA at various levels. Some of these findings have already been discussed in the specific sections of this report. Below we try to capture some of the key findings and lessons learned and make recommendations which we feel could be particularly relevant to NCA and its partners in improving development activities in Dai Kundi, and contribute to better planning and evaluation of activities in other areas as well.

Lessons learned concerning difference within the communities, and the identification of vulnerable groups

- 1) By choosing a methodology which focused on detailed interviews with many different groups in the community, we were able to uncover a **great diversity both within the villages, and between villages concerning access to land and pasture, land and labor relations, size of holdings, level of migration, number of returnees, number and types of women headed households, access to education and labor opportunities, level of remittances etc.** This being the case, it followed that the mix of existing and potential livelihood strategies in each village, for each group of villagers, also varied greatly. One can therefore not assume that an activity found useful for, for example, poor farmers in one village will have the same affect on poor farmers in another village, who are facing completely different constraints. **Without a clear strategy of how to properly describe the composition of the communities and capture the complexity of their existing and potential livelihood strategies, partners will not be able to identify appropriate initiatives which will reach the women, men and children who are most vulnerable.**
- 2) **Vulnerability is also diverse and difficult to capture, and requires not only the identification of individuals, or individual households, but the understanding of wider trends in the community over a longer period of time.** In the study villages, for example, conflict resulting from political changes in leadership and as well as drought have affected not only individual households, but the power and economic relations between them. For example, small landowners with no irrigation water can turn into sharecroppers on the land of others, borrow money from landlords, migrating, mortgage their land and migrate, sell their daughters to pay debts – all of these affect the way in which people relate to each other. **Development initiatives will likewise affect relations between households, i.e. the provision of irrigation water will likely affect the demand for and availability of labor, and partners need to be aware of the affect of even small activities on wider community power relations.**
- 3) Also, **vulnerability can be hidden** – a household that seems to be coping in some ways, could in reality be on the brink of collapsing, or moving into a more vulnerable position. Indicators for vulnerability need to be defined in a more composite manner, and in close collaboration with the villagers, and could include changes in livelihood strategies, levels and types of debt, level of remittances, and whole-family migration, but also community-wide

indicators such as changes in labor relations in the village and changes in market prices, which could indicate when conditions in the village as a whole are worsening, or improving. **It is therefore not enough to identify and target the poorest of the poor, but also those who are vulnerable to dropping from, for example, the middle to the poor group. This likely requires activities and analysis at a broader, community level.**

Livelihood Strategies

- 4) **Labor migration in Dai Kundi is complex, as it reflects for some families a long-term livelihood strategy, and for others a short term coping strategy when faced with food insecurity.** Whole-family migration usually represents a movement of last resort for small landowners, who are forced into debt, returnees can have difficulties readjusting to the communities, and immigrants can represent either a welcome labor force, or competition over resources. It is easier to track the dynamics of migration for landowning families, however, than for the landless poor, who can disappear from the community and re-enter without a trace, making them invisible in terms of community planning. **Gaining a better picture of labor migration and whole-family migration, of both landowners and the landless, will help partners to better understand an important dimension of vulnerability in these villages.**

- 5) **In terms of agriculture-based livelihood strategies, the study confirmed that agriculture and animal husbandry continue to be important livelihoods in the study villages.** In general, there is a need for improving production in terms of achieving higher yields on the limited land, or opening new or abandoned land through the expansion of irrigation, introducing improved varieties appropriate to the area, and improving processing and marketing opportunities etc. By linking the analysis, however, more directly to the food security situation of the villagers, it became clear in this study that the **agricultural and animal husbandry activities would need to be designed differently for different groups, in order for the activities to have a more direct impact on food security.** This is because while they may face similar technical challenges, they may face completely different constraints in gaining access to the resources they need to meet these challenges.

For example, some larger landowners explained that agriculture was more important to them than animal husbandry, due to limited pasture, and thus they were more interested in improving cereal and tree crops, for both food production and sale. Sharecroppers, however, who were seriously food insecure, need other options as well. Animals and animal products were often important for their food security, both in terms of being a protein source, and as income sources, providing wool for own use and for sale, male lambs and dried yogurt for sale. Animal production for the landless, however, can be problematic, as they may not have access to pasture for grazing and fodder collection. Primary agricultural and livestock activities are thus not necessarily appropriate for reaching such groups; other income-generating activities are likely to be more important. This would require more emphasis on the production of quality products, which could very well be the processing of

agricultural products, and the creation of and access to markets. **It is thus only by focusing specifically on the needs and strategies of the food insecure that partners can discover their actual needs and constraints of investing in agriculture and livestock.** This does not mean that partners should focus exclusively on the poor, as there are certainly advantages for the community as a whole in up-scaling agricultural activities, including providing labor opportunities to the landless. Rather, that **it should not be taken for granted that those activities in which the better-off are interested and able to invest in are appropriate or even interesting to more vulnerable farmers.**

Resource conflicts

6. **Resource conflicts over land and water are common between households, and particularly between families,** and although the villagers referred these conflicts to the Shura or village elders in the first instance, it was very common that cases were referred further to the district governor's office for mitigation, since they held the formal authority to make binding decisions. Conflicts also arose as the result of development activities, for example, the placement of an intake or reservoir, or the planned distribution of water in an irrigation scheme. While partners have experienced conflicts in their interaction with villagers, they seem ill-equipped to deal with them in a constructive manner. **Partners need to be much more aware of the ownership and user rights of land and water resources from the beginning of their discussions with the villagers in order to be able to ensure that the activities are both feasible, and will come to benefit the more vulnerable households which may have limited rights or access to resources at the onset of a program.**
7. Pasture is an important but often scarce resource in the study villages, particularly as a result of the drought. User-rights to pasture differ between the villages, as does the total amount of pasture available for grazing. Where pasture is limited, it has often been divided among the landowners, and use by others is restricted to grazing in the summer. Villages which border on federally owned land have additional access to this as pasture, however they can experience conflicts with neighboring villages over this access. Unlike other areas of Afghanistan, there are no nomads in this area which are using the federally owned pastures. **Since access to pasture is such an important part of animal husbandry, partners need to be aware of which villagers have access, and the types of conflicts which may emerge over the use of pasture.**

Decision-making and power relations

8. **The villagers interviewed said that the introduction of NSP Shuras has not been particularly problematic in this area.** The warlords are less active in most villages here, and there was no tradition of a strong group in their earlier village system which clashes with the establishment of a representative village body. The elders continue to have the consultative role they have played throughout the last 25 years, with their influence filling the voids during the transitions in formal political power.

Nevertheless, power relations in the villages were found to be skewed, with the Shura clearly representing the more powerful and better off, the result being that development initiatives were not necessarily reaching vulnerable groups as intended. Partners need to have a clear strategy of how to work together with Shura to promote processes which give voice and resources to the more vulnerable in the community, and decentralize some of the decision-making power. This would contribute to building the competence of the Shura in promoting equitable development in their communities.

9. **In terms of women's participation in decision-making, both the women and men interviewed expressed that while women do have increasing influence in decision-making, this is still very limited, particularly at the community level, and is often indirect in the form of consultation.** Some of the villages, however, have formed mixed Shura, or women's CDC, and reported good experiences with these. Both men and women's groups stressed the need for increased women's education and ability to earn an income to improve their decision-making power. There is apparently a large potential in this area for women being more actively involved in decision making on most community issues. **Partners can take advantage of the ability of women in this area to take part directly in discussions both on their own and together with men, for example, through promoting the formation of sub-project CDCs where women are the main focus group, and including them in more strategic community development discussions.**

Livelihood Study and Competence building

10. For NCA staff, and particularly program staff, participating in this study jointly with partners has played an important role in both better understanding the communities in which their local partners are working, as well as developing a common understanding of community development issues with their partners. This can thus serve to improve communication between program staff and partners, both in the design and monitoring of project activities. It can also serve as base to define more appropriate indicators for measuring the impact of activities on different members of the communities.
11. For partners, participation in this study offered the chance to learn how to analyze the communities in a more holistic manner, and better understand how the needs of the different interests in the communities can be both heard and addressed to improve the impact of project activities. Through participatory methods, they learned how to be curious, more self-critical, and communicate on a more equal level with the community members. They also gained experience on how they as separate implementing partners can work together in analysis, drawing on each partners' strengths and learning how they can link to have a greater impact in the communities.
12. For community members, this study offered the opportunity, particularly for less visible groups, to discuss issues on which they are not usually directly consulted. Since they were also involved in the analysis of the data, it gave them the opportunity to see how they might analyze their village in a different

way, and allowed them to discuss their concerns and ideas around equity, impact, and community planning in a broader sense. By discussing the findings in detail, and trying to understand issues underlying the challenges identified, the discussions moved to more strategic development issues, for example the potential role of smallholder organizations in addressing the particular challenges of agriculture in remote areas, and a more concerted effort at addressing women's decision-making power in the communities. .

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Sampling Statistics from each village

	Bagh ⁸		Chaprasak		Ghaf		Alqan		Ghuchan		Kuja Chasht		Sherma		Tagab		Sarqul		Arwas	
Total village population (including migrants)	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
			900-1000		4000		2360		1130		1000		1000		1458		2310		950	
Size of General Focus Group	25	Nil	36	36	45	22	12	12	7	8	100	44	13	12	70	78	48	30	36	25
Size of rich focus group	8	6		7	8	7	7	7	7	8	4	6	8	6	8	8	32	22	15	14
Size of medium focus group	8	7	7	9	10	7	7	7	7	8	23	25	9	8	8	8	36	22	15	14
Size of poor focus group	7	8	7	6	12	12	7	7	10	7	40	65	9	8	9	8	42	23	12	20
Sharecropper focus group	5	Nil	5		Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	8	Nil	24	Nil	7	Nil	8	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Returnees	30	0	Nil	10	0	Nil	30	0	5	0	9	0	10	0	14	0	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Widows	Nil	Nil	Nil	6	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Landless	Nil	Nil	7	7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	12	Nil	6	6	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Landowners	Nil	Nil	7	7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil			Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

M=men, W=women

⁸ Data on size of general groups yet to be confirmed

Appendix 2: Crops for sale and consumption, Ghuchan Village

Village: GHUCHAN **Organization:** CCA

No	Groups Sale and consumption	Rich group (male)		Medium group (male)		Poor group (male)		Rich group (female)		Medium group (female)		Poor group (female)	
		S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C
	1	Wheat	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•
2	Barely	√	√	•	√	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√
3	Corn	√	√	•	√	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√
4	Alfalfa	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
5	Lentil	√	√	•	√	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√
6	Peas	√	√	•	√	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√
7	Chick pea	√	√	•	√	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√
8	Beans	√	√	•	√	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√
9	Carrot	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
10	Turnip	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
11	Potato	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
12	Onion	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
13	Leek	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
14	Poppy	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•
15	Almond	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	√	•	√	•	√
16	Apple	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
17	Grape	•	√	√	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
18	Melon	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
19	Watermelon	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
20	Pumpkin	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√

Appendix 3: Crops for sale and consumption, Bagh Village

Village: BAGH **Organization:** GRSP

No	Groups Sale and consumption	Rich group (male)		Medium group (male)		Poor group (male)		Rich group (female)		Medium group (female)		Poor group (female)	
		S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C
	1	Wheat	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•
2	Barely	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
3	Corn	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
4	Alfalfa	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
5	Lentil	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
6	Peas	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
7	Chick pea	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
8	Beans	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
9	Carrot	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
10	Turnip	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√
11	Potato	√	√	√	•	√	√	•	√	√	•	√	√
12	Onion	√	√	√	•	√	√	•	√	√	•	√	√
13	Leek	•	√	•	•	√	√	•	√	√	•	√	•
14	Poppy	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•
15	Almond	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•
16	Apple	•	√	√	•	√	•	•	√	•	•	√	√
17	Grape	•	√	√	•	√	•	•	√	•	•	√	√
18	Melon	•	√	√	•	√	•	•	√	•	•	√	√
19	Watermelon	•	√	√	•	√	•	•	√	•	•	√	√
20	Pumpkin	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	√	•	•	•	√

Table 1: Crops grown for sale and for consumption

Appendix 4: Villagers ranking of the impact (by percentage) of development initiatives on the different wealth groups

	Activities	Bagh			Kuja Chasht				Sarqul				Ghaf				Ghuchan				
		Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P
1	Construction of latrines	ACF NPO/RRAA	30	50	20	NPO/RRAA	30	50	20					NPO/RRAA	10	65	25	NPO/RRAA	25	35	40
2	Road rehabilitation	GRSP CoAR	25	45	40	DHSA				GRSP	20	40	40	GRSP CCA							
3	School construction	GRSP	25	35	40									DHSA CCA	33	33	34	GRSP	33	33	34
4	Water reservoirs	NPO/RRAA	25	25	50	NPO/RRAA	40	30	30					NPO/RRAA GRSP	20	30	50	NPO/RRAA GRSP	20	30	50
5	Hand pump insulation on wells	NPO/RRAA	35	40	25	NPO/RRAA	35	40	25					NPO/RRAA	20	40	40	NPO/RRAA	20	40	40
6	Construction of aqueduct													CoAR	50	30	20				
7	Sheep distribution	CoAR	60	20	20	CoAR	60	20	20	CoAR	100	0	0	CoAR CCA	0	20	80	CoAR CCA	0	20	80
8	Literacy program	GRSP	10	30	60	JACK DHSA	33	33	34	H GRSP	20	40	40	CCA	10	30	60	CCA	10	30	60
9	Veterinary program	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	40	20	40	CoAR	40	40	20
10	Agriculture program	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	60	30	10					CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR			
11	Teacher training	GRSP	30	60	10					GRSP	30	60	10	GRSP	30	60	10	DHSA	33	33	34
12	CDC establishment	OXFAM	55	30	15	OXFAM	55	30	15	OXFAM	55	30	10	OXFAM	55	30	10	OXFAM	55	30	10
13	Health Education	GRSP	20	20	60	NPO/RRAA	15	60	25	GRSP	20	20	60	NPO/RRAA	20	60	20	NPO/RRAA	20	40	40
14	Micro credit																	CCA	5	35	60
15	Well construction	ACF	60	20	20	ACF	60	30	10									ACF	60	30	10
16	Reconstruction of school s																				
17	Construction of cistern for drinking water	NPO/RRAA	30	30	40									CoAR NPO/RRAA	10	30	60	NPO/RRAA	30	10	60
18	Hygiene Promotion	NPO/RRAA	30	40	60	NPO/RRAA	30	40	60					NPO/RRAA	40	50	10	NPO/RRAA	40	40	20
19	ICDP																				
20	Gleem weaving																				

R=Rich, M=Medium, P=Poor

Appendix 4 (cont).: Villagers ranking of the impact (by percentage) of development initiatives on the different wealth groups

	Activities	Sherma			Alqan				Arwas				Chaprasak			Tagab					
		Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P	Organization	R	M	P
1	Construction of latrines	NPO/RRAA	20	40	40	NPO/RRAA	33	33	34	NPO/RRAA	20	40	40	ACF NPO/RRAA	20	40	40	ACF NPO/RRAA	20	40	40
2	Road rehabilitation	DHSA	33	33	34					GRSP CoAR	80	10	10	GRSP CoAR				GRSP			
3	School construction	DHSA	33	33	34	DHSA	33	33	34												
4	Water reservoirs	NPO/RRAA	50	40	10	NPO/RRAA				NPO/RRAA	20	30	50	NPO/RRAA GRSP	20	20	60	NPO/RRAA	30	30	40
5	Hand pump insulation on wells	NPO/RRAA	30	40	30	NPO/RRAA	30	40	30	NPO/RRAA	30	40	30	NPO/RRAA	35	45	20	NPO/RRAA	25	35	40
6	Construction of aqueduct																				
7	Sheep distribution	CoAR CCA		20	80	CoAR CCA		20	80	CoAR	60	20	20	CoAR- CCA			100	CoAR	60	20	20
8	Literacy program	CCA	10	30	60	CCA	10	30	60	DHSA	33	33	34	DHSA	33	33	34	GRSP HF	30	40	30
9	Veterinary program	CoAR	40	40	20	CoAR	40	40	20	CoAR	50	30	20	CoAR	40	40	20	CoAR	40	40	20
10	Agriculture program	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	60	30	10	CoAR	60	30	10
11	Teacher training	DHSA	33	33	34	DHSA	33	33	34					DHSA	33	33	34	DHSA	25	35	40
12	CDC establishment	OXFAM	55	30	15	OXFAM	55	30	15	OXFAM	55	30	15	OXFAM	55	30	15	OXFAM	55	30	15
13	Health Education	NPO/RRAA	20	40	40	ACF	33	33	34	NPO/RRAA	20	40	40	NPO/RRAA	25	35	40	GRSP	20	20	60
14	Micro credit																				
15	Well construction					ACF	60	30	10									ACF	60	30	10
16	Reconstruction of schools													GRSP	33	33	34				
17	Construction of cisterns for drinking water									NPO/RRAA	20	40	40								
18	Hygiene promotion	NPO/RRAA	10	40	40	NPO/RRAA	20	40	40	NPO/RRAA	10	50	40	NPO/RRAA	20	10	70	NPO/RRAA	33	34	40
19	ICDP					NPO/RRAA	20	40	40												
20	Gleem weaving					JACK	20	30	50												

R=Rich, M=Medium, P=Poor

Appendix 5: Livelihood Study Activities (مطالعه فعالیت های امرار معشیت)

Sept 2005	Introductory Workshop with NCA partners (ورکشاپ مقدماتی همراه با موسسات همکار) Question guide development (انکشاف رهنمایی سوالات) 2-day follow-up workshop for survey teams in Kabul (ورکشاپ پی گیری برای تیم های سروی در کابل) 1 day workshop in Dai Kundi for local teams (ورکشاپ برای تیم های سروی در دای کندی)
Sept/Oct 2005	First round of fieldwork – 4 villages (مرحله اول کار ساحه _در چهار قریه) Translation of data (ترجمه مواد)
February 2006	Data Analysis workshop with team leaders (تحلیل معلومات ورکشاپ با رهبران تیم ها)
April 2006	Dai Kundi workshop – second round preparation (ورکشاپ دای کندی- دور دوم آمادگی)
May 2006	Second round fieldwork (دور دوم کار ساحه)
May 2006	Analysis workshop in Kabul with 2 members of each team (of first four villages) (تحلیل ورکشاپ در کابل با دو نماینده از هر تیم هر چهار قریه) Translation of data (ترجمه معلومات)
July/August 2006	Production of Village Profile drafts (تهیه و ترتیب مسوده معلومات عمده قریه)
Oct/Nov 2006	Analysis workshop in Dai Kundi (ورکشاپ تحلیلی در دایکندی)
March 2007	Workshop NCA staff and partners – Kabul (ورکشاپ همراه با کارمندان و موسسات همکار در کابل)
March-June 2007	Last round of data collection (2 villages) (دور آخر جمع آوری معلومات) Translation of data (ترجمه معلومات) Analysis workshop (تحلیل ورکشاپ) Final report preparation (تهیه راپور آخری)

Appendix 6: List of partners in the Workshops

Workshop 1-Kabul:

31 participants from NCA, ADA, CoAR, NPO/RRAA, FG, GRSP, CAWC, CCA, JACK, GWO, HF and MRRD

Workshop 2:

4 participants from CCA, JACK, CoAR and NPO/RRAA

Workshop 3-Dai Kundi:

17 participants from CCA, JACK, CoAR and NPO/RRAA

Workshop 4:

8 participants from NPO/RRAA, CoAR, Jack, CCA and GRSP

Workshop 5:

20 participants from NCA, NPO/RRAA, CoAR, CCA and GRSP

Workshop 6-Kabul:

6 participants from NPO/RRAA, CCA and GRSP

Appendix 7: Question Guide for General Information

Village Profile Guide (رهنمائی معلوماتی قریه)
Checklist for General Information
(لست جمع آوری معلومات عمومی)

Date:	تاریخ
Village:	قریه
Interviewer:	مصاحبه کننده
Recorder:	نویسنده
Type of group/individual interviewed:	نوع گروپ و افراد مصاحبه شده
Size of group:	تعداد اعضای گروپ

(Describe the village in general – where it is located, its most distinguishable characteristics so that it can be compared with other villages)

(معلومات عمومی راجع به قریه – موقعیت قریه – مشخصات قابل تشخیص تا با دیگر قریه ها مقایسه گردد.)

- 1) History of the Village (تاریخچه قریه)
 - a. When was it established? (تاریخ تاسیس قریه)
 - b. Where did the villagers come from? (ساکنین قریه از کجا آمده اند؟)
 - c. What have been the major events in the village over the last 30 years and how did they affect the village? (Drought? Migration to and from the village? Animal disease? War? etc.) (واقعات و یا تغییرات مهم طی سی (30) سال اخیر در قریه کدام ها اند و اثرات آنها چه بوده است؟ (خشکسالی؟ مهاجرت به خارج از قریه و یا از دیگر قریه جات بدخل قریه؟ امراض حیوانات؟ جنگ؟ وغیره)
 - d. When did migration start, and why did people migrate? What kind of families migrated? Have some families returned? Why? Have there been any difficulties in the village when migrants return, or when outsiders move to the village? Explain.
مهاجرت چه وقت شروع شد؟ چرا مردم مهاجر شدند؟ کدام نوع فامیل ها مهاجر شدند؟ آیا یک تعداد آنها برگشتند- چرا؟ آیا کدام مشکل در قریه بوجود آمد و قتیکه مهاجرین برگشتند و یا مردم که قبلاً مسکونین این قریه نبودند، به این قریه آمدند؟
- 2) Demographic information: (معلومات در مورد احصائیه)
 - a. Total population (نفوس مجموعی قریه)
 - b. Total number of households living in the village? Living outside the village (migrants) (تعداد مجموعی خانواده ها موجود در قریه و تعداد مجموعی خانواده ها بیرون از (مهاجرین) قریه که به این قریه مربوط هستند؟)
 - i. number of returnees households (تعداد خانواده های عودت کننده)

- ii. number of migrants (تعداد خانواده های مهاجر). Where did they migrate to? (به کجا مهاجر شدند؟)
- c. Number of female headed households number of widowed households, number of disabled (تعداد خانواده های که رئیس فامیل آن زن است و تعداد خانواده های که بیوه سرپرستی آنرا دارد و تعداد معیوبین در قریه)
- d. Ethnic composition (ترکیب قومی)
- 3) Wealth and food security (مصنوعیت ثروت "دارائی" و مواد غذایی)
- a. What percentage: What is the number of the households falling into different wealth groups (well-off, medium and poor)? (چند فیصد و چه تعداد از خانواده ها در ردیف گروههای مختلف به اساس ثروت قرار میگیرند؟ (ثروتمند، متوسط، غریب) {
- b. What are the local criteria for each of the wealth groups? (معیار های محلی برای تعیین گروه ها از نگاه ثروت چی میباشد؟)
- c. What is the composition of the wealth groups? i.e. how many of the poor are landowners (and how much land do they have), how many are sharecroppers? (چه چیز ها ساختار ثروت شمرده میشود؟ چه تعداد غریب ها زمیندار هستند؟ (چقدر زمین دارند؟) چه تعداد شرکاء در محصولات دیگران هستند؟)
- 4) Local infrastructure and government institutions: (زیر بنا های محلی و ادارات دولتی)
- a. How many and what type of schools are in the village? (در قریه چند باب مکتب و چه نوع میباشد؟) (Make a table like we did in the workshop with school information) (یک چوکات برای مکاتب بسازید قسمیکه ما در ورکشاپ ساختیم.)
- b. Do villagers attend schools outside the village? Where? How far? (آیا افراد قریه خارج از قریه به مکتب میروند؟ به کجا؟ مسافه آن چقدر است؟)
- c. How many girls/boys are enrolled in each school? What is the trend in enrollment? What are the constraints for attending school for boys? for girls? (تعداد پسران و دختران در هر مکتب به چند میرسد؟ (شرایط لازمی بخاطر شمولیت در مکتب چی است؟) موانع شمولیت دختران و پسران در مکاتب را جداگانه واضح سازید.)
- d. How many teachers (male and female) exist in the village? What is their background? (تعداد معلمین (ذکور، اناث) موجود در قریه، سویه تحصیلی و تجربه آنها؟)
- e. Is there a health center/clinic in the area? How far? Who is it staffed by? Do villagers visit the health center? Who, how often, and for what reasons? Do health workers visit the village? (آیا در ساحه کدام مرکز و یا کلینیک صحتی موجود است؟ فاصله آن از قریه چقدر است: کارمندان آن از طرف کدام مرجع استخدام شده اند؟ آیا مردم قریه به کلینیک مراجعه میکنند؟ کی، چند بار و عوامل مراجعه چی است؟ آیا کارمندان صحتی از قریه دیدن میکنند؟)

- f. How many and what kinds of health workers are based in the village? What kind of education or training do they have? با } تعداد کارمندان صحتی در قریه
خصوصیات مسلکی (درجه تحصیل و تجربه آنها) را واضح سازید؟ {
- g. What type of major diseases and health problems exist in the area? Are these increasing or decreasing? Why or why not?? کدام نوع امراض و مشکلات صحتی
بیشتر در منطقه موجود است؟ آیا زیاد میشود و یا کم میشود، چرا زیاد میشود و چرا کم میشود؟
(
- h. What other government services are available in the village? Agricultural or livestock extension worker? Others? (در قریه دیگر کدام نوع خدمات حکومتی موجود
است؟ کارمندان توسعه بخش زراعت و مالداري و غیره)
- i. Which markets are important to the villagers and how far are they from the village? کدام مارکیت ها (بازار ها) برای مردم قریه مهم است و فاصله آن از قریه به چه
اندازه است؟ (
- 5) Land issues (مسائل زمین)
- a. Total number/percent of landless, no/% which are FHH (تعداد مجموعی و فیصدی
افراد بی زمین به چه اندازه است و چند فیصد آنها را خانم های تشکیل میدهند که مسئولیت خانواده
را به دوش دارند؟)
- b. Total number/percent of sharecroppers, no/% which are FHH (تعداد مجموعی و
فیصدی افرادی که در حاصلات زراعتی باهم شریک هستند (دهاقین) و چند فیصد آنها را خانم های
تشکیل میدهند که مسئولیت خانواده ها را به دوش دارند؟)
- c. Number/percent of landowners, no/% which are FHH (تعداد مجموعی و فیصدی
افراد زمیندار به چه اندازه است و چند فیصد آنها را خانم های تشکیل میدهند که مسئولیت خانواده
ها را به دوش دارند؟)
- d. Degree to which landowners are from outside the village? (تعداد زمیندارانیکه
خارج از قریه هستند؟)
- e. Land use (Create a village map): { استفاده از زمین (نقشه قریه را ترسیم نمایند) }
i. What is the total area of the village (including forests and pastures) }
مساحت مجموعی قریه؟ (با شمول جنگلات و چراگاه ها) {
ii. How much arable land is there in the village? (چه اندازه زمین قریه قابلیت
کشت را دارا است؟)
iii. What percentage of the arable land of the village is cultivated? What %
is irrigated and what % is rain fed? (چه اندازه از زمین قابل کشت قریه، کاشته شده
است؟ چند فیصد آن آبی و چند فیصد آن للمی میباشد؟)
iv. What percentage is common land? What is its use? Pasture? Forest?
چند Is a pasture land owned, or can anyone use it? What are the rules
of its use? (چند فیصد زمین قریه ملکیت عامه است؟ برای چی از آن استفاده می شود؟)

چراگاه ها ملکیت شخصی کسی است

و یا هر کسی میتواند از آن استفاده نماید. مقررات استفاده از چراگاه ها چه است؟

- v. Who has access and control over the common land? Do you have to own irrigated land to have access to pasture land? Is What resources do they harvest from common lands (medicinal plants, fuel wood, animal fodder, timber, building materials, edible plants, mushroom, honey etc?), and are they sold or for home use? آیا { کنترل و دسترسی به ملکیت عامه را کی دارد؟ } زمین زراعتی آبی باعث این میگردد تا با چراگاه ها همه دسترسی پیدا نماید. از ملکیت عامه چی بدست می آورند؟ (بته های دارویی، چوب سوخت، تغذیه حیوانات، چوب تعمیرات، مواد ساختمانی، نهال های مثمر، سماروغ، عسل و غیره) آیا به فروش میرسند و یا برای خانه از آن استفاده میکنند؟ {
- vi. What have been the trends in land cultivation? Increasing? Decreasing? (مردم به کشت کدام نوع محصولات How? زراعتی تمایل دارند؟ کاهش یافته است؟ کی ها بالای زمین های جدید دسترسی دارند؟ چگونه؟
- vii. Have there been conflicts over access to and control over irrigated land? pasture land? Common land? What types of conflicts? Between whom? How and by whom have these been managed (institutional arrangements)? Give examples. { آیا منازعه بخاطر دسترسی و کنترل بالای زمین زراعتی آبی، چراگاه ها و یا ملکیت عامه بوده است؟ کدام نوع منازعه؟ میان کی ها؟ چگونه و توسط کی آنها تنظیم و حل شده است (توسط ادارات؟) { مثال بدهید. }
- viii. Have there been conflicts between villages over irrigated, pasture or common land? Describe them in detail, and how they were managed or solved, or not. آیا در قریه بالای زمین زراعتی آبی، چراگاه ها و ملکیت عامه منازعه وجود دارد؟ تشریح نمایید. چگونه حل میگردد و یا حل نمیگردد
- ix. To what extent do women inherit or own land? As widows? As daughters with or without brothers? (اندازه زمین شخصی و یا موروثی زنها تا کدام اندازه است در صورتیکه زن بیوه باشد؟ دختر با برادر و دختر بدون برادر باشد؟)

6) Water issues (مسائل آب)

- a. Describe the drinking water situation with respect to the sources, uses and constraints (see water survey) وضعیت آب آشامیدنی را از نقطه نظر منابع، استفاده و ممانعت آن تشریح نمایند (به قسمت سروی آب مراجعه نمایند)
- b. Describe in detail the traditional irrigation system (sources and uses, maybe draw a sketch of the water system in the village). What institution is responsible for decisions of access to and control over water? Who has access to and control over irrigation water? { سیستم آبیاری محلی را مفصلاً تشریح نمایند. (منابع و استفاده) کدام اداره مسئولیت تصمیم گیری، دسترسی و کنترل آب را دارد؟ دسترسی و کنترل به آب آبیاری زمین را کی دارد؟ }
- c. How does water availability during different seasons affect different people's access to irrigation? (میسر بودن آب در فصل های مختلف سال بالای قشر های مختلف مردم که به آبیاری دسترسی دارند، چه تأثیر دارد؟)

- d. Is water a constraint for the development of new land? If yes, why? (آیا آب مانع انکشاف برای زمین های جدید است؟ اگر است، چرا؟)
- e. Have there been conflicts in the village over access to and control over water? What types of conflicts? Between whom? How and by whom have these been managed (institutional arrangements)? (آیا در قریه منازعه بالای دسترسی و کنترل آب موجود بوده است؟ کدام نوع منازعات؟ میان کی ها؟ چطور و توسط کی تنظیم و حل شده است (توسط ادارات؟))
- f. Have there been conflicts between villages over water? Describe and explain. (آیا در بین قریه منازعه بالای آب موجود است؟ چه نوع است؟ تشریح نمایند.)
- g. What are the solutions for the existing irrigation water problems? (راه حل برای مشکلات موجود آب برای آبیاری چی میباشد؟)
- 7) Livestock Activities (فعالیت ها در بخش مالداری)
- i. How important are livestock activities in the village as compared to cultivation? (اشتغال در بخش مالداری در قریه بمقایسه زراعت چه اهمیت دارد؟)
- ii. What is the total number of livestock in the village and what are their common diseases? (تعداد مجموعی حیوانات موجود در قریه و امراض معمول آن؟)
- iii. To what extent have new breeds been introduced in the village? Who has had access to these animals? (نسل جدید حیوانات در قریه به کدام اندازه رایج (گرددیده است؟ دسترسی به همچو حیوانات را کی دارد؟)
- 8) Decision-making in the village (تصمیم گیری در قریه)
- a. Who are the most powerful/influential people and institutions in the village? Has this changed over the past 20 – 30 years? In what ways? (پر قدرت ترین و با نفوذ ترین مردم و ادارات در قریه کدام ها اند؟ آیا در 20 الی 30 سال گذشته تغییر کرده است؟ چطور؟)
- b. Has the village been a part (covered by NSP) of the NSP? What activities has it initiated through this program? Is there a CDC in the village? How does it relate to the Shura? How did they decide which activities would be implemented? (آیا قریه بخش (تحت پوشش برنامه همبستگی ملی) از برنامه همبستگی ملی است؟ کدام فعالیت ها تحت این پروگرام صورت گرفته است؟ آیا در قریه شورای انکشافی مردمی موجود است و این چه طور به شورا ارتباط میگیرد. طریقه تصمیم گیری آنها برای تطبیق پروگرام چطور است؟)
- c. Is there a women's Shura in the village? (آیا کدام شورای زنان در قریه موجود است؟)
- i. If not, were women involved in decisions on the use of resources in some other way? (در صورتیکه شورای زنان موجود نباشد، آیا زنان به نحوی دیگر در تصمیم گیری استفاده از منابع دخیل بوده اند؟)

- ii. If there is a women's Shura, what issues are discussed in the Shura and what types of decisions are made? (در صورت موجودیت شورای زنان کدام مسایل زیر بحث قرار گرفته است و کدام نوع تصمیم گرفته شده است؟)
 - iii. What is the relationship between the women and men's Shura? How do they interact? Share and exchange of information? Have they ever disagreed on issues? How was this resolved? (روابط بین شورا های مردان و زنان چگونه است؟ آنها با یکدیگر چگونه ارتباط و تبادل نظر و شریک کردن معلومات ها؟ آیا آنها روی موضوعات اختلاف نظر داشته اند؟ چگونه حل و فصل گردیده است؟)
 - iv. What other local institutions exist in the village (religious, ethnic, cultural) and what are their roles and responsibilities? (در قریه کدام نوع ادارات محلی دیگر موجود است؟ (مذهبی، قومی و فرهنگی؟) وظایف و مسئولیت های شان چه است؟)
- 9) Development initiatives: (ابتکارات انکشافی)
- a. Which NCA partners have been working with the village? Which activities have they initiated? (کدام پارتنر های در قریه فعالیت دارند؟ کدام نوع فعالیت ها را روی دست گرفته اند؟)
 - b. What other development activities have been initiated in the village (by organizations other than NCA partners)? (کدام نوع فعالیت های انکشافی دیگر در قریه صورت گرفته است؟ (توسط مؤسسات دیگر بدون پارتنر های))
 - c. Who were the target groups for these activities? How many of the villagers of the different groups were involved in the activities (Number/Percent). Has there been evidence of non-targeted villagers starting up activities on their own, or demanding to be included? (کی ها از این نوع فعالیت های مستفید شده اند؟ به چه تعداد از گروه های مختلف قریه در این فعالیت ها سهمیم بوده اند؟) (تعداد / فیصدی) آیا شواهدی در دست است که مردمان خارج از هدف کاری در قریه فعالیت ها را خود شان روی دست گرفته باشند و یا خواستار شمولیت در همچو فعالیت ها را کرده باشند؟ {
 - d. What was the intended impact of these activities on the livelihoods of the different villagers, i.e. rich, medium, poor, women, widows, returnees etc? (تأثیرات همچو فعالیت ها بالای سطح زندگی افراد قریه مثلاً ثروتمند، متوسط، غریب، زن ها، بیوه ها
 - e. What was the actual impact have of these activities actually had on the livelihoods of different types of households, i.e. rich, medium, poor, women, widows, returnees, etc? Give examples! (اثرات حقیقی همچو فعالیت ها بالای سطح زندگی خانواده های مختلف بطور مثال ثروتمند، متوسط، غریب، زن ها، بیوه ها و یا برگشت کنندگان چه بوده است؟ مثال دهید.)
 - i. Have new livelihood strategies developed? New income sources? More efficient use of resources, labor? More children sent to school? Better health? Better housing? More consumption goods? Are villagers better able to cope in

(آیا روش جدید؟ Which villagers? In what ways?)
معیشت زندگی ساخته شده است؟ منابع جدید عواید؟ استفاده متمرکزتر از منابع ،
کارگر؟ رفتن تعداد کثیر اطفال به مکاتب؟ صحت بهتر؟ خانه های بهتر؟ استفاده
بیشتر مواد؟ آیا مردمان قریه حالا در شرایط دشوار به شکل خوبتر حل مشکل
کرده میتوانند؟ کدام مردمان قریه ؟ چطور؟)

ii. Have the initiatives changed power relations in the village? In what ways? Have women in particular been able to increase their decision-making power in the household? In the community? (آیا این ابتکارات ارتباطات قدرت را در قریه تغییر داده است؟ به کدام شکل؟ آیا زنها بالخصوص توانمندی اتخاذ بیشتر تصمیم در خانواده های خویش ؟ و یا در جامعه را دارند؟)

iii. What were the problems encountered in initiating new activities? Were some of the assumptions of how the activities would impact different groups unrealistic? In what ways? Have there been any cultural/religious constraints to the suggested activities? (مشکلات اصلی بخاطر ابتکار فعالیت های جدید چه بوده است؟ آیا یک تعداد از تصورات این بوده که فعالیت های جدید تأثیرات غیر واقعی را بالای گروه های مختلف خواهد داشت؟ چطور؟ آیا کدام موانع کلتوری / مذهبی بخاطر فعالیت های پیشنهاد شده وجود داشته؟)

f. How might the existing activities be improved to better contribute to increased livelihood security for the different households? (چطور فعالیت های موجود بخاطر سهم گرفتن در ازدیاد معیشت زندگی برای خانواده های مختلف بهتر ساخته شود؟)

g. What new initiatives would they suggest which they feel would contribute to livelihood security? (آنها کدام ابتکارات جدید را بخاطر حفاظت معیشت زندگی پیشنهاد میکنند؟)

h. How might the decision-making power of women be further improved in the household and the community? (قدرت تصمیم گیری زنان در خانواده و جامعه چطور امکان دارد که تقویه شود؟)

Appendix 8: Question Guide for Specific Information

Village Profile Guide (رهنمائی معلوماتی قریه)

Checklist for Specific Information

(لست جمع آوری معلومات مشخص)

(For interviewing wealth groups, female headed households/widows, sharecroppers, landowners, returnees, migrants, etc)

(جهت مصاحبه همراي گروپ ها به اثاث ثروت و دارائي، خانم سرپرست خانه، بيوه، شرکاء محصولات (دهاقين)، زمينداران، بازگشت کننده گان و مهاجرين ايکه از ديگر قريه جات آمده اند، وغيره)

Date:	تاريخ
Village:	قريه
Interviewer:	مصاحبه کننده
Recorder:	نويسنده
Type of focus group interviewed:	مصاحبه با گروپ مورد نظر (هدف)
Size of group:	تعداد اعضاء گروپ

- 1) Wealth and food security (ثروت و مصنونيت مواد غذائي)
 - a. Do their families have enough food to eat throughout the year? What times of the year do they have too little to eat? Why? (آيا شما غذاي كافي براي خوردن يك سال داريد؟ کدام وقت سال کمتر غذا براي خوردن داريد؟ چرا؟)
 - b. How many months a year do they have sufficient food from their own production? (محصولات خود تان غذاي چند ماه سال را تکافو مي کند؟)
 - c. How many months a year do they purchase food? (چند ماه از سال را غذا خريداري ميکنيد؟)
 - d. How do they cope in difficult times? (با شرايط دشوار چطور حل مشکل ميکنيد؟)
 - e. What are the different sources of food items (by %) (markets inside the village, markets outside the village, assistance from NGOs, gifts, relatives, own production, other (specify))
{ منابع مختلف مواد غذائي چي است (توسط فيصدي) (بازار هاي داخل قريه، بازار هاي بيرون قريه ، کمک های مؤسسات غير دولتي ، تحفه ، خويشاوندان، محصولات خود شان ، وغيره) (مشخص سازيد) }
- 2) Land issues (مسائيل زمين)
 - a. Have there been conflicts over access to and control over land? What types of conflicts? Between whom? How and by whom have these been managed (institutional arrangements)? Give specific examples. (You may have to ask a smaller group or knowledgeable informant If this is too sensitive for a group) { آيا منازعه بخاطر دسترسي و كنترول بالاي زمين بوده است؟ کدام نوع منازعه؟ ميان كي ها؟ چطور و توسط كي آنها تنظيم و حل شده است (توسط ادارات)؟ } مثال مشخص بدهيد. در مورد معلومات از يك گروپ خورد معلومات بدست بياوريد در صورتيکه مطرح نمودن موضوع در گروپ حساس باشد.

- b. Have women in the village inherited or own land? As widows? As daughters? How many? What are the constraints to women inheriting land in the village? What are the possibilities? Are women able to complain if they feel they have been denied their land rights? To whom? ? آیا زنها در قریه زمین موروثی دارند و یا زمین شخصی؟ مانند بیوه ها؟ دختران با برادر و یا بدون برادر زندگی میکنند؟ چقدر؟ کدام ممانعت ها در قریه برای خانم ها بخاطر کسب زمین موروثی موجود است؟ کدام امکانات برای کسب زمین موروثی برای خانم ها موجود است؟ آیا خانم ها قادر به شکایت (عرض کردن به مرجع ذیصلاح) هستند در صورتیکه از حق شان محروم گردند.
- 3) Water Issues
- a. What are the local perceptions of safe water? What are the local perceptions of unsafe water? آگاهی مردم محل در مورد آب صحتی و غیر صحتی چه است؟
- b. List the sources of water, whether they are unsafe or safe, and what the water from each source is used for. How far is each source from the village? لست منابع آب صحتی و غیر صحتی، موارد استفاده از آب های مذکور و فاصله هر منبع از قریه چقدر است؟
- c. In which months of the year are there adequate drinking water? Irrigation water? در کدام ماه های سال مقدار کافی آب های صحتی و آب زراعتی موجود است؟
- d. In which months is there insufficient drinking water? Irrigation water? در کدام ماه های سال کمبود آب های صحتی و زراعتی موجود است؟
- e. When water becomes scarce, how do you cope? Where do you get water from? How much of your land do you irrigate when water is scarce? در ایام کم آبی چطور مجادله مینمائید؟ از کجا آب بدست میآورید؟ چقدر زمین را آبیاری مینمائید؟
- f. Draw a timeline for the past ten years – which years have had good water supply, and which have had less water supply? What were the reasons? گراف بارندگی ده سال قبلی را رسم نموده که در آن سال های خوب آبی و سال های کم آبی را نشان داده و عوامل آنرا تشریح نمائید.
- g. Who has access to the different water sources? Can anyone have access, or is it dependent on, for example, land ownership? How does this differ according to the source? Can immigrants have access? Returnees? Laborers? Sharecroppers? Widows? کی ها به منابع آبی مختلف دسترسی دارد؟ آیا همه گی دسترسی دارد؟ دارد یا این دسترسی مربوط میشود به: طور مثال مربوط میگردد به ملکیت روی زمین. ملکیت روی زمین چه مغایرت دارد با ملکیت روی منابع آبی؟ آیا مهاجرین، بازگشت کننده گان، مزدوران، شریکان در کشت، بیوه ها دسترسی به منابع آبی دارند؟
- h. Have there been any conflicts over access to or control over water? Describe how and when the conflict started, who was involved, how they are trying to solve it. If the conflict was solved, explain how it was solved and by whom, and what were the terms of agreement. If the conflict is still being resolved, explain why. Who are the stronger and weaker parties of water conflicts? Are there certain groups that are at a disadvantage? (If this question is difficult to ask in a group, sit with one or two knowledgeable

آیا کدام منازعه در (informants and have a discussion around conflict over water). مورد دستیابی و کنترل روی منابع آبی بوجود آمده. در صورت موجودیت آن تشریح نمائید: چه نوع منازعه و چه وقت منازعه شروع گردید. اگر منازعه حل گردید، چطور حل گردید؟ توسط کی حل گردید؟ مواد قرارداد چه بود؟ اگر مسئله هنوز حل نگردیده، تشریح نمائید چرا؟ کدام جناح در منازعه قوی و کدام جناح ضعیف است. آیا گروه های وجود دارند که از مزایا منابع آبی بهره نگیرند؟ اگر این سوال را نمی توان از یک گروه پرسید، میتوان آنرا با یک یا دو نفر که در موضوع آگاهی دارند و در مسایل حل منازعات آب رول دارند، صحبت برقرار نمود.

- i. What solutions would you suggest for addressing irrigation water problems? کدام راه حل را برای حل مشکل آب زراعتی پیشنهاد مینمائید.

آب، صحت، نظافت: *Water health and hygiene*

- i. How is safe water stored? How is unsafe water stored? How might one make unsafe water safe?
آب های صحتی چطور ذخیره میشوند؟ آب های غیر صحتی چطور ذخیره شوند، چطور میتوان آب غیر صحتی را به صحتی تبدیل نمود.
- ii. What are the major diseases in the village and their causes? What traditional remedies do you (or did you) use to prevent and treat these diseases? Have you changed your practices over the years? Why and in what ways? مریضی های عمده قریه چه بوده و علت آن چه است. برای علاج کردن و جلوگیری نمودن امراض از چه طرق محلی استفاده نموده و یا استفاده مینمائید؟ آیا این روش خود را در طول سالین تغییر داده اید؟ اگر تغییر داده اید چطور و چرا؟
- iii. Do you know any diseases spread specifically by water? What traditional remedies do you use to prevent and treat these diseases? Have you changed these practices? Why and in what ways? آیا شما کدام مریضی را که علت شایع شدن آن آب باشد می شناسید؟ کدام روش و یا طریقه محلی را برای علاج و جلوگیری آن بکار میگیرید.
- iv. Describe where, when and how often you bathe (adults and children). Explain why you think it is important to bathe. Are there constraints to bathing as often as you would like to, or think you should? تشریح نمائید که بزرگ سالان و اطفال بعد از چقدر وقت و در کجا حمام مینمایند؟ ضمناً تشریح نمائید که چرا حمام گرفتن مهم و ضروری است. آیا کدام مشکلی در مواقع که شما میخواهید حمام نمائید وجود دارد؟ یا هر موقع که خواستید میتوانید حمام نمائید.
- v. Have they received any training in hygiene in the village? Who gave the training, and who was trained (how many, by age and gender). آیا آنها در مورد نظافت در قریه تعلیم دیده ان؟ کی تعلیم داده و کی تعلیم دیده (به چه تعداد با در نظر داشت سن و جنسیت)

بیت الخلا: *Latrines*

- i. Are there latrines in the village? When were they constructed? By whom? How many are there, and where are they located? (at the homes of people? At the school? Mosque?) بیت الخلا در قریه وجود دارد؟ چه وقت ساخته شده اند؟ کی (ساخته؟ چند باب و در کجا؟) در بین منازل، مکتب ها و یا در مساجد) موقعیت دارند؟

- ii. Who has access to the latrines? کی ها به بیت الخلا دسترسی دارند؟
- iii. What is the condition of the latrines? (here the interviewers need to go around and look at the latrines – asking, for example, to see the best, the worst, and the average) Are they kept clean? Is so, how have they been kept clean? If not, why not? How would one improve the condition? Who is responsible for keeping the latrines clean? (برای بیت الخلا در چه حالت قرار دارد؟) تشریح این مطلب مشاهد باید اطراف را نظاره نموده، بیت الخلا برا به خوب، خراب و متوسط ارزیابی نموده و ببیند که آنها پاک نگهداشته شده اند. اگر جواب مثبت بود، پرسش صورت گیرد که چطور آنها پاک نگهداشته شده اند. اگر جواب منفی باشد پرسش صورت گیرد که چرا پاک نیست؟ و چطور حالت آنرا میتوان تغییر داد.
- iv. What are the advantages of having the latrines? What are the disadvantages? How might the latrines be improved? کلام بیت الخلا موجود چه خوبی ها را دارد و کدام نواقص را دارد و چطور آنرا میتوان اصلاح نمود.
- v. Is there a need for more latrines in the village? Who should have them? Where should they be? قریه به عداد بیشتر بیت الخلا ضرورت دارد؟ برای کی اعمار گردد و در کجا اعمار گردد؟
- vi. What suggestions do you have for improving health and hygiene in the village? کدام نظر را جهت اصلاح صحت و نظافت قریه مینمائید.

Irrigation: آبیاری

- i. How does water availability during different seasons affect your access to irrigation? (مقدار آب در فصل های مختلف سال بالای آبیاری زمین های شما چه تأثیر دارد؟)
- ii. How much of your land is irrigated? (چه اندازه زمین شما آبیاری شده است؟)
- iii. Which crops are irrigated? (کدام محصولات آبیاری شده است؟)
- iv. What is the source of irrigation water? (منبع آب برای آبیاری چه است؟)
- v. Have there been conflicts over *access* to water in the village? What types of conflicts? Between whom? How and by whom have these been managed (institutional arrangements)? Give examples. { آیا منازعه بالای دسترسی به آب موجود بوده است؟ کدام نوع منازعات؟ میان کی ها؟ چطور و توسط کی تنظیم و حل شده است (توسط ادارات؟) }
- vi. Have there been conflicts over *control* over water? What types of conflicts? Between whom? How and by whom have these been managed (institutional arrangements)? Give examples. { آیا منازعه بالای کنترل آب موجود بوده است؟ کدام نوع منازعات؟ میان کی ها؟ چطور و توسط کی تنظیم و حل شده است (توسط ادارات؟) }
- vii. Have there been conflicts over water between villages? Describe and explain. Have they been solved? How?

- viii. What solutions would you suggest for the existing irrigation water problems? (راه حل برای مشکلات موجوده آب برای آبیاری چی میباشد؟)
- 4) Livelihood strategies (روش معیشت زندگی)
- a. Agricultural activities (فعالیت های زراعتی)
- i. Describe the cultivation systems (intercropping, rotation, land use). What are the main crops grown, in order of importance? Why have you chosen this order? (طریقه های کشت و زرع را شرح دهید (تخم دو نوع محصولات زراعتی را در یک زمین همزمان کشت کردن، تناوب زراعتی، موارد استفاده از زمین) محصولات عمده کاشته شده به اساس اهمیت آن چی است؟ چرا مورد انتخاب قرار گرفته؟)
- ii. Which cereal and horticultural crops are grown for sale? For own consumption? (fill in table from workshop – each group filling in their own group's production) (کدام محصولات حبوبات و باغداری برای فروش و کدام آن برای مصرف شخصی کاشت میشود؟) هر گروه جدول مانند جدول که در ورکشاپ استفاده شد، ساخته و درج جدول نماید.
- iii. Have the crops grown changed in recent years? Why or why not? What are your suggestions for new changes in crops for sale and consumption? (آیا کشت محصولات در سالهای اخیر تغییر کرده است؟ اگر کرده چرا؟ و اگر نکرده چرا؟ پیشنهاد شما برای تغییرات جدید محصولات برای فروش و مصارف شخصی چی است؟)
- iv. What are the sources of seeds for the two most important crops for cash? (Own collection, friends, neighbors, local markets, travelers, people with local experience (Agriculture and Horticulture) Are the seeds difficult to obtain? Why or why not? (منابع تهیه دو نوع نباتات تجارتي (جهت درآمد نقدی) کدام {جمع آوری خودی، رفقاء، همسایه ها، بازار های محلی، مسافرین، مردم با تجارب محلی؟} (زراعت و باغداری) آیا بدست آوردن تخم ها مشکلات دارد. چرا؟ یا مشکلات ندارد. چرا؟ ممانعت های شما برای بدست آوردن تخم ها چه است؟)
- v. What are the sources of seeds for the two most important crops for own consumption? Have these changed over the past 20 - 30 years? In what ways? Who in the village has specific knowledge on seed production, quality etc? (منبع دو نوع تخم عمده و مهم برای مصارف شخصی چی است؟ آیا در 20 الی 30 سال گذشته تغییرات کرده است؟ به کدام طریق؟ کی ها در قریه در مورد تهیه تخم ها دانش بخصوص دارند؟ از نگاه کیفیت و غیره ؟)
- vi. What are the sources of new planting material (grafting and seedlings) for each horticultural crop? (منبع مواد برای غرس کردن نباتات جدید (پیوند و تخم) برای هر نبات باغداری چی میباشد؟)
- vii. Do they use fertilizer? Manure? Why or why not? What are the sources of fertilizer and manure? Describe the use of fertilizer and manure for each important crop. (آیا کود کیمیاوی استفاده میشود یا کود حیوانی؟ اگر میشود، چرا؟ و اگر نمیشود، چرا؟ منبع کود کیمیاوی و حیوانی چی است؟ برای هر محصول مهم طرق استعمال آنرا تشریح کنید)

- viii. What are the major diseases for agricultural and horticultural crops? How have you dealt with them? (امراض عمده و مهم محصولات زراعتی و نباتاتی چی میباشد؟ و چطور با امراض مبارزه کنید؟)
- ix. In which crops are women involved, and in what ways (preparing the soil, planting, spreading manure/fertilizer, weeding, harvesting, marketing)? Who makes decisions over which crops are grown, which seeds are collected, when to plant, weed, water and harvest. Who controls food storage and consumption? Who controls income from the sale of produce? (Here you can in addition fill in the Gender Roles Forms for ONE group of women and ONE group of men -not all six groups!) { در کدام محصولات زنان دخیل اند و به کدام طریق (ساختن خاک، غرس کردن، پاشیدن کود کیمیایی و حیوانی، خیشاوه کردن، جمع آوری حاصلات، بازاریابی؟) برای کشت محصولات که کدام نوع محصول کشت گردیده، کی تصمیم میگیرد و کدام نوع تخم جمع آوری گردد، چی وقت غرس، خیشاوه، آبیاری و جمع آوری حاصلات صورت گیرد؟ کنترل ذخیره مواد غذایی و مصرف آن را کی دارد؟ عواید فروش محصولات را کی کنترل میکند؟ } یک فورمه نقش زن و مرد را در فورمه نقش های جنر صرف برای یک گروه زن ها و یک گروه مرد ها تکمیل نمائید نه به تمام 6 گروه متذکره.
- x. What are the main constraints in agricultural production for your group (i.e. seeds, fertilizer/manure, water, labor, credit, and marketing)? { برای گروه شما موانع عمده برای کشت زراعتی کدام ها اند؟ (مثل تخم های بذری، کود کیمیایی، آب، کارگر، بازاریابی) } { کرایت (قرضه) و
- xi. What do they see as the main potentials for improvement/investment in agricultural production for your group? (برای گروه شما از دیدگاه آنها عوامل با القوه بخاطر انکشاف سرمایه گذاری کدام ها اند؟)
- b. *Livestock activities* (فعالیت های بخش مالداري)
- i. How important are livestock for you as compared with cultivation? (از نظر شما، اهمیت مالداري بمقایسه با زراعت چی است؟)
- ii. What livestock do you have, in order of importance? Why are they in this order? (مالداري خویش را به ترتیب اهمیت آن توضیح کنید. دلیل اهمیت آن چیست؟)
- iii. How and by whom are the different livestock managed? What are the gendered roles and responsibilities for each animal? Can women inherit, buy and sell animals? Does this differ between female headed households and male headed households? { توسط کی انواع مختلف مالداري اداره میشود؟ نقش جنسیت (مرد / زن) و مسئولیت آنها در مورد هر حیوان چه است؟ آیا زنها حیوانات را به میراث میگیرند، خریداری و فروش کرده میتوانند؟ آیا برای زنیکه رئیس خانواده و مردیکه رئیس خانواده است، تفاوت موجود است؟ }
- iv. Which animal products are used by the household, and which are sold in the market? Who in the household processes the different animal products? (کدام نوع از محصولات حیوانی برای خانواده استفاده میگردد و کدام نوع در بازار بفروش میرسد؟ و مسئولیت مراحل مختلف تهیه و تولید محصولات حیوانی را در خانه کی بدوش دارد؟)

- v. To what extent have new breeds been introduced in the village? Who has had access to these animals? (نسل جدید حیوانات در قریه به کدام اندازه رایج گردیده است؟ دسترسی به همچو حیوانات را کی دارد؟)
- c. *Income* (عواید)
- i. What are your sources of agricultural income? Income from sale of agricultural Products/animals? Income from agricultural labor on fields of others? Sharecropping? (منبع عواید زراعتی شما کدام است؟ عواید از فروش (منابع عواید زراعتی و حیوانی؟ عواید مزدوران زراعتی از زمین دیگران؟ عواید شرکاء؟)
- ii. What are your sources of non-farm income? Salaried jobs? Labor migration outside the village, to urban areas? (منابع عواید غیر فارمی شما کدام ها اند؟ کار با معاش؟ مزدوران مهاجر در مناطق شهری بیرون از قریه ها؟)
- iii. What can one earn by doing different types of labor? Who has access to these labor markets? Men? Women? Refugees? Which skill has good income in the market? (عواید یک کارگر از انجام کارهای مختلف چقدر است؟ کی مارکیت خوب دارد؟ زن؟ مرد؟ مهاجر؟ کدام حرفه عاید خوب دارد؟)
- iv. How important is non-farm income to your households? How does this vary throughout the year? What is the level of income in different seasons of the year? (عواید غیر فارمی در خانواده شما چقدر اهمیت دارد؟ در طول سال سطح عواید این چطور تغییر میکند؟ معیار عواید در فصل های مختلف سال چند است؟)
- v. What is income used for in order of priority? (Food, education, health, social obligations, investments?). What would an increase in income be used for? (استفاده عواید به اساس الویت ها؟ (غذا، تعلیم و تربیه، صحت، کارهای اجتماعی، سرمایه گذاری؟) عواید اضافی برای چی مصرف میشود؟)
- vi. Who makes decisions on the use of income? Does this differ according to the source of income? (تصمیم گیرنده مصارف عواید کی است؟ آیا این نظر به منابع عواید فرق میکند؟)
- vii. **Specifically for returnees:** When and why did you move from the village? When did you return? Why did you return? Will you stay? What were your expectations before you came back? Did your experience live-up to your expectations? Why or why not? When you left, did have land that you left under the care of others? Did some family members stay in the village? Did all of them return? (بطور خاص برای دوباره عودت کننده ها: چه وقت و چرا شما از قریه برآمدید؟ چه وقت دوباره برگشتید؟ چرا برگشتید؟ آیا در قریه خواهید ماند؟ چه توقع داشتید قبل از اینکه به قریه برگردید؟ آیا توقع شما برآورده شد؟ اگر بلی، چطور؟ و اگر نخیر، چرا؟ و قتی که شما قریه را ترک کردید، آیا زمین شما تحت استفاده کسی دیگر بود؟ آیا کدام یک از اعضای فامیل شما در قریه ماند؟ آیا با تمام اعضای فامیل برگشتید؟)
- 5) Development initiatives: (ابتکارات انکشافی)

- a. What development activities have you been involved in? (شما در کدام فعالیت های انکشافی دخیل بوده اید؟)
- b. What was the impact of these activities on your livelihoods? (تأثیرات این فعالیت ها در امرار معیشت زندگی شما چی بوده است؟)
- c. Have you developed new livelihood strategies? New income sources? More efficient use of resources, labor? More children sent to school? Better health? Better housing? More consumption goods? Are you better able to cope in difficult times? In what ways? (آیا شما روش جدید معیشت زندگی را تهیه نموده اید؟ منبع جدید عواید؟ استفاده مؤثر از منابع، کارگر؟ رفتن تعداد زیاد اطفال به مکتب؟ صحت خوبتر؟ خانه های بهتر؟ استفاده بیشتر مواد؟ آیا شما در شرایط دشوار و مشکل راه حل بهتر پیدا کرده میتوانید؟ به کدام طریق؟)
- d. Have the initiatives changed power relations in the village? In what ways? Have women in particular been able to increase their decision-making power in the household? In the community? In which way? Give examples. (آیا ابتکارات روابط قدرت را در قریه تغییر داده است؟ به کدام طریق؟ آیا زنها بطور خاص قادر به ازدیاد قدرت تصمیم گیری در سطح خانواده و یا در جامعه هستند؟ به کدام طریق؟ واضح سازید.)
- e. How might the existing activities be improved to better contribute to increased livelihood security? (فعالیت های موجوده برای سهم گیری بهتر در پیشبرد و مصئونیت معیشت زندگی چطور باید اصلاح گردد؟)
- f. What new initiatives would they suggest which they feel would contribute to livelihood security? (کدام ابتکارات جدید به نظر شما برای مصئونیت معیشت زندگی باید پیشنهاد گردد؟)
- g. How might the decision-making power of women be further improved in the household and the community? (چطور امکان دارد که قدرت تصمیم گیری زنان را در خانواده و جامعه بیشتر تقویه شود؟)