Final report

Enhancing women’s roles in the household economy

Lal district (Ghor province) – Oxfam

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"Agar yak zahn bosawad bosha, tamum e harza famil bosawat ast, Agar yak man bosawat bosha, yak nafar ast"

"If one woman gets some knowledge, all the family will get it, if one man gets some knowledge, he will keep it for himself."

Afghan proverb
Acknowledgements

The research fieldwork was carried out between 19-29 November in Lal district and we would like to acknowledge the key role played by Oxfam teams in Kabul, Lal and also Panjab, in terms of planning and implementation. The research team would especially like to thank the Lal team who provided excellent logistics and for having share their extensive knowledge of the area and the population with us. A particular thanks to our drivers who spent many hours contending with difficult driving conditions through the snow and mud. Thank you to Mr Mohamed Salim Ghausi, Head of Oxfam in Hazaradjat, for his kindness, patience and cheerfulness. It was a real pleasure to spend eleven days with the Oxfam team.

The research team consulted numerous sources, including numerous community members in five villages, shopkeepers (Guezel and Lal Bazar) and other agencies. The research team would like to express their gratitude for the warm welcome they received, and for participant’s patience and willingness to share information and to respond to our many questions.
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Table of acronyms and abbreviations

**Groupe URD**: Groupe Urgence, rehabilitation, développement (stands for Emergency, rehabilitation, development)
- **RT**: Research team
- **LEPCO**: Leprosy Control Organization
- **IAM**: International Assistance Mission
- **KG**: kitchen garden
- **Ql**: Quintal
- **Afs**: Afghanis
- **AREU**: Afghan research and evaluation unit
- **Geres**: (Renewable energy and environment group)
Glossary

Arbab: Village headman usually appointed by the state (Rubin, 2002)
Zakat: Islamic religious tax, one of the five basic requirements (arkan or “pillars”) of Islam. Zakat is generally given to orphans, the poor, travelers, beggars, debtors, slaves. Zakat is payable, at different rates, on crops, harvests, herds, gold and silver, and merchandise.
Barak: felted woollen coats
Butha: dried soil collected in the mountains
Chale: woven blanket
Daya: Traditional mid-wife
Gelam: Sort of carpet
karz-e-asaan: Interest-free loan from family members
Mahram: Male relative who accompanies afghan women
Maska: traditional butter
Mir: Traditional lord of ruler, especially in Hazaradjat
Moss: Traditional yogurt
Naimenda:
Namad: felted woollen rugs
Purdha: A system of sex segregation, practiced especially by keeping women in seclusion.
Qrut: Dried cheese made by women for goat and cow milk.
Salaam: Advance payment on a fixed amount of agricultural production
Ser: Unit to measure the yields (Around 7 kg)
Shura: Assembly where male or female community members discuss a given issue.
Tandoor: Traditional oven to bake the bread and cook
Tchalma: Dried animal dung
Quital: Unit of weight equal to 100 kg.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Addressing food security and livelihoods issues is one of Hazarajat’s greatest needs. Despite the improving security situation and more stable political context, a large proportion of the population of the central highlands is still dependent on agriculture and remittances. Many areas are up to 50% food insecure even in good years, and there remains an ongoing drought. Overpopulation and over-farming is leading to environmental damage - soil erosion and lack of arable land is an increasing problem.

The vulnerability of Hazaras, traditionally an under-represented and poor group, has more than only food and income security repercussions. As it is linked closely to other strategic issues such as the ability of people to obtain some semblance of sustainable livelihood and to be able to have a healthy life, receive some basic education is essential for the stabilisation of a country which went through so many conflict and natural disasters.

In the 5 villages visited by the RT, many families are still experiencing food insecurity and find themselves caught in a vicious circle of asset depletion. Even if a long-term approach is relevant, a strategy that links development projects with emergency interventions is essential. In fact, unless families attain food security, income generation projects are unable to create any saving mechanisms. Even if certain activities do not generate “direct” income, they may well allow a household to delay selling their assets.

This study shows that a “pure” income generation project targeting women only does not appear to be relevant in the current situation since male and female roles remain firmly entrenched. Programmes targeting women should be careful not to upset the social balance. An integrated approach is desirable to ensure that men feel that they are involved in the process and that new activities undertaken by women directly benefit the household. As it remains difficult for many women to control the income they earn, most of the agricultural products and many goods are exchanged in kind. In a non monetary market, “income generation” should include “in kind income generation”.

This report underlines that the status of women varies significantly between villages and within one given village. Moreover, as discussed in this report, even if there are some general constraints which shape the main characteristics of livelihoods and women’s position in society, in reality a wide diversity exists amongst the different villages, households and female community. This diversity in between villages and in between women in a given village has to be taken into account in programme design.

Integrating a diverse range of activities in a single programme proposed to one community has several positive effects that can reinforce the programme’s impact on income generation. As farming is one of the two main sources of income for farmers, improving farming systems to cope with shocks does indeed make sense. Women are already significantly involved in farming activities. Programmes should focus on the overall improvement of women’s technical knowledge in this sector since there are few other income-generating activities for women within the village. Women are involved in livestock breeding and get several benefits from it. The drought resulted in a dramatic decrease in livestock. Programmes dedicated to livestock breeding should be developed. Handicraft activities should be developed where women are able to produce high quality handicraft. Otherwise, marketing the product will be a real obstacle.

Furthermore, allow women to access credit would be highly beneficial in order to increase household livelihood security and prevent them from taking out credits with high rates of interest.

Least but not last, one of the actual main limitations for women’s income generation is the low literacy rate and the lack of self-confidence. It seems essential that beyond the income generation programmes, Oxfam should continue to build women’s capacities and knowledge.
INTRODUCTION

Eastern Hazarajat is generally accepted as one of the poorest areas of Afghanistan. This mountainous area is characterised by its remoteness from markets, poor communications, its cold climate, and scarcity of good quality arable land.

The climate is indeed harsh and bitterly cold. Drought over the past four to five years has reduced yields from arable, range and mountain lands. Moreover, resources (land, capital, livestock, seed stocks and access to employment opportunities) on which households depend in order to build stable livelihoods have become severely depleted due to years of conflict and disruption. Apart from migration and sporadic local employment, opportunities in agriculture and livestock breeding are meagre.

Under the Hazarajat Rural Rehabilitation Programme, Oxfam GB provides funding for research in the sector of Women's Income Generation. The results of this research will be used to improve the design of the programmes aimed at facilitating income generation for women in the Hazarajat province. This applies to programmes implemented in the Panjao, Ashterlai, Waras and Lal districts.

The purpose of this report is to gather information on livelihoods in Lal district, with a special focus on women’s activities, in order to assist Oxfam in the design of future activities in this area.

Understanding women's roles, activities and decision-making powers requires a comprehensive view of men's roles and attitudes regarding gender issues as a whole. Therefore, the Research Team (RT) was composed of two women, and one man who focused on men’s activities and points of view. Interviewing men and women separately allowed the research team (RT) to have a wide picture of intra-household gender relations.

This study looks at women as a part of a given household and within the community. Women’s activities and strategies vary widely according to the welfare of the household, marital status, household composition, the level of education, individual personalities and numerous other factors.

Since the majority of women’s strategies are designed to serve the household’s interest, the RT met few women who have developed strategies for their own welfare or advantage.

The RT also focused on the range of manoeuvres that men are willing to allow women to undertake and develop new types of activities or strengthen some existing ones.

The first chapter of this report details the objectives of the study, as well as the methodology used by the research team. The second chapter provides background information on the district and lists the main constraints that households have to face. The third chapter provides information on the diversity of the livelihood and strategies encountered. The fourth chapter is dedicated to women’s roles, activities and duties. Finally, the fifth chapter offers some general recommendations and proposes different types of programmes.
1 Background

1.1 HAZARADJAT AND LAL DISTRICT

Hazaradjat is located in the Central Highlands of Afghanistan and is composed of Bamyan province, Ghor province, Uruzgan and Ghazni provinces and Wardak province. During spring, rivers swell as snow melt causes floods, erosion and sometimes landslides.

Hazaradjat is located in the mountainous central region of Afghanistan and is characterised by a series of very high mountains and narrow valleys. In Lal district, the climate is continental, and the risk of aridity and drought is high and has dramatic consequences, as was the case for the last drought (1999-2001). It is generally acknowledged that the region is one of the poorest in the country with some of the least productive agricultural lands.

Agricultural lands mainly consist of non-irrigated land on steep slopes. Yields are generally low and can decrease with landslides or flood. In addition to Hazaradjat’s geographical situation, ethnic factors contribute to the region’s sense of isolation as the population is mainly composed of Hazaras, a Shiite ethnic group.

1.2 MAINS CONSTRAINTS FOR LIVELIHOODS

Livelihoods in the area are composed of a complex network of activities centred on a core of irrigated and rain-fed land and livestock production. In an attempt to reduce the impact of the numerous risks and constraints threatening agricultural and livestock production, people have developed non-farm strategies, such as out-migration. As outlined in this report, most of the farming systems are not sustainable and are highly dependent on climate variations. More than 50% of the households are food insecure, even in good years. The selling of assets is widespread and forms one of the most common coping strategies.

The climate combined with the high altitude (the five selected villages are located at an altitude of 2,600-3,300m) result in very long and harsh winters (nearly six months of snow).

1.2.1 Climate and altitude

Lal district is subject to long and harsh winters. For nearly six months, roads and supply routes are cut off due to snow or mud. Some villages in the most remote areas have no access to outside supplies from the end of November until April. This long and cold winter has a number of consequences on community life.

1.2.1.1 High cash expenditure during winter time

This long winter is a critical time for people, particularly because they have to live off their stocks and earn little money during the winter months. Men may be jobless for several months on end, even if some find temporary employment removing snow or looking after livestock. Seasonal migration can be seen as a coping strategy to face these harsh living conditions. In some villages, young men leave the village in the hope of finding a job elsewhere. In Sahib-Ekthiar, many men go to Iran while in the other villages, most of the migrants generally stay within Afghanistan (Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kabul). The main reasons for these out-migrations are lack of food and work.

During autumn, cash expenditure is at a maximum in order to prepare for the winter season. Most of the villages are food insecure and most families have to buy wheat to feed their families until the next harvest. For instance, in Sahib-Ekhtiar, villagers have to buy 2000 ser of wheat per year (cost:
US$3,200, equivalent to 60 sheep) in order to fulfill the village’s food needs. The landless and widows are undoubtedly those who suffer the most from food insecurity.

One villager from Muskai village said:
"We work very hard for six months, we start before sunrise and we stop working late at night. Then, during winter we are jobless, the only thing we can do is sit in our home and wait for the spring. We spend all the money we have earned to buy food and for gasoil. We often have to sell several sheep, or a cow to buy more wheat. That is a tough time..."

Fuel requirements are also very high during winter to heat the houses and to cook bread and meals. During spring and summer, men and women spend many hours collecting Tchalma (animal dung) and butha (dried soil collected in the mountains) to be burned during winter.

To face their winter needs, many people are obliged to borrow money or to take loans. In all the villages visited, many households, and sometimes all of them, were indebted. Interest rates on loans range from 10% to over 50%. Villagers also told the research team that interest on loans for wool can reach 100%.

1.2.1.2 Poor health conditions
Due to the cold and a poor diet (vitamin and micro-nutrient deficiency), many people are sick during winter. Besides general illnesses (diarrhoea/gastroenteritis, typhoid, skin disease, kidney problems, goitre), some diseases are more related to the long cold season like respiratory diseases, pneumonia, tuberculosis, etc. Depending on the location of the village, accessing health care facilities during winter takes between one to six hours walk, and for surgical interventions Behsud and Kabul are often inaccessible during winter.

1.2.2 Few marketing opportunities
Winter conditions in Lal district, as in many other remote and mountainous areas in Afghanistan, often prevent communities from accessing basic facilities. Access to markets for selling or buying purposes differs from village to village (between 40 minutes and two hours to the nearest bazaar, and up to six hours to a major bazaar). Mobile shop services deliver basic products to the villagers even if they charge a bit more (up to 10% more than prices in the bazaar). Some of these traders also buy products from the villages to resell them in other villages or in the bazaar.

1.2.3 Lack of agricultural / irrigated land
The availability of arable and irrigated land differs a lot between the five villages and can also vary considerably within any given village. In Mushkei, Qash and Sahib-Ekhtiar most of the families are small landowners and the proportion of landless people varies between 12% and 50% of the total population. On the other hand, land tenure in Qhala-e-Kamron is much more heterogeneous, most of the land being owned by two or three big families (included a powerful mir).

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY
Under the Hazarajat Rural Rehabilitation Programme, Oxfam GB has secured funding for research in the area of Women’s Income Generation. The results of this research would then be utilized to improve the design programmes aimed at facilitating income earning for women in the Hazarajat province, these programmes would be piloted within the districts of Panjao, Ashterlai, Waras and Lal. Previous experience in the project area suggests it is possible to successfully organise women’s community based income generation projects within the focus communities. Previous programming
This study has suggested that husbands will support these activities, which will lead to increased incomes within households.

This study will focus on the following key question: "In a food insecurity context, what roles do women play within the household and what are the viable areas/types of work where women could generate income?"

This report will also focus on the potential use of natural resources in income generation.

This study has two main objectives:

- **Objective 1: Acquire a thorough understanding of women’s roles in the household economy**
  - Acquire a relevant historical understanding of the social, political, agricultural and technical changes affecting households and farmers, particularly women, over the past decades.
  - Understand the way(s) households manage their means of production and their resources in time and in space. Focus on the role of women throughout the year within the household economy. Compare present and past to enhance the main dynamics.
  - Study the diversity of present livelihood strategies within the studied family/social groups. Focus on women’s strategies in the household.
  - This assessment has also taken into account the different types of constraints (geographical, environmental, sociological, technical as well as the market opportunities) to highlight the main constraints which would have to be faced by Oxfam women’s programmes.

- **Objective 2: Identify activities to raise women’s incomes.**
  
  After a global overview of women’s roles in the household economy] and the identification of the main constraints, the research team (RT) has identified viable future methods to raise sustainable income for women in Hazarajat with practical advice.

That has been done by assessing the following elements:

- How the role of women in farming systems has changed over the past twenty years?
- What are the main differences between women’s statuses? What do these differences depend on?
- What are the main constraints facing women?
- What are the possible consequences of developing women’s initiatives (e.g. economic initiatives, associations, etc.)?
- What impact do these initiatives have on women’s activities and duties?
- What impact do these initiatives have on their relations with male members of the family?

2 **Overview of the methodology**

2.1 **Pre-mission preparation**

During this preparatory phase, the RT put their knowledge management process into motion, which included collecting and analysing existing information on Oxfam’s activities in Afghanistan and the project document.

- Review existing literature and documentation, and preparation of notes on Hazaradjat and women in Afghanistan.
- Review documents from other programmes dealing with women in different parts of the country.
- Preparation of research tools, questionnaires and checklists on the basis of the above information.
- Various meetings were held in Kabul to discuss the objectives, methods and some logistic problems.

2.2 **Different steps**

Step 1: Detailed assessment of the selected villages to get a precise picture of the farming systems and households strategies, focus on women (6 days)
1- Acquire a relevant historical understanding of the main dynamics in the area at social, political, agricultural and technical levels. Trying to understand how a system functions without examining its evolution over time makes little sense. Indeed analysing the past gives insight into the present and reinforces our capacity to predict the future. Gaining insight into how systems function and how they have evolved over time is particularly useful for assessing the conditions required for these systems to reproduce themselves and to assess the sustainability of the agriculture they are linked to. The method that we have used is based on the principle whereby the geographical diversity of the farming methods in an area is examined in order to reconstitute its historical evolution, and thus a series of situations at any one time can be compared in order to understand their historical development.

2- Acquire a geographical and agro-ecological knowledge of the area;
What are the main characteristics of the network of villages situated in the area?
How are the different sub eco-systems organised?
Where are the main locations for trade?

3- Assess the ways in which people manage their means of production and resources in time and in space in the different villages
Acquire a relevant historical understanding of what has affected the farming system and the farming communities at social, political, agricultural and technical levels. Identify the potential changes brought in by the recent development of the local economy: the impact on social and technical practices, the social/economical implications and farmer strategies at individual, household and collective levels.
☐ What are the main upheavals that have been experienced by the community?
☐ Identify the social practices and mechanisms that influence livelihood strategies, particularly those of women.
☐ In the current situation how do women allocate their time to the different activities they are involved in?
☐ What kind of activities could be relevant regarding their availability and types of organisation within the household or at the community level?

The survey was based on a ‘survey checklist’ common to all villages. Ideally the survey would be totally open to allow villagers to express themselves more freely, but some questions will have to be closed in the interest of efficiency. Statements must be validated with observation of the real situation in the village, for example by carrying out transects. A whole series of observations will be made and discussed with farmers to cross check the assumptions.

Step 2 Identify activities to increase women’s income generation activities (5 days)
Based on a comprehensive view of women’s roles at present within the household economy, research will provide ideas for income generation for either individuals or groups and investigate non traditional trade opportunities for women. The research team will make sure that the proposed activities are relevant to the context and sustainable.

2.3 FIELD WORK

2.3.1 Generalities
☐ Field visits were undertaken according to the recommendations of the Kabul and Lal Oxfam teams, taking into account security and access issues. During the field visits, meetings were held with the chief of the village ("arbabs) and households (men and women). A variety of both individual and group meetings were organised.
☐ In Lal, the RT met all the different NGOs (IAM, Afghan Aid, Shoada, LEPCO)
A midway meeting was organised in the Lal Oxfam office to ensure that observations, preliminary conclusions and recommendations were shared and discussed with the Oxfam team. This process allowed the RT to confirm or discredit some findings and ideas, and to identify certain key points that required further clarification.

Lastly, a final presentation took place at the end of the field mission to discuss the proposals put forward by the RT.

2.3.2 Structure of the interviews

In all the villages visited, Oxfam team introduced the research team and explained the purpose of the visit (to increase knowledge about the household economy and women’s roles and activities). The research team spent one day in every village. Due to bad road conditions (snow and mud) and security constraints which required the research team to return to Lal office before nightfall, each visit lasted between four and seven hours per village.

The research was carried out by a team of three members of Groupe URD: one French team leader (female) with some basic knowledge of dari, one French agronomist (female) with previous experience in gender research in Afghanistan, one French agronomist (male) who has conducted previous livelihood studies in Badakshan. They were accompanied by three members of Oxfam staff: Mr Mohamed Salim Ghausi (Head of Oxfam in Hazaradjat), the Oxfam gender officer and the Head of Oxfam Lal Office.

The research team divided up into three groups.

- **Team A**: The Groupe URD team leader and Mr Mohamed Salim Ghausi interviewed the male chief of shura to gather general information about the village: historical patterns, main constraints, main coping strategies in the villages, marketing opportunities, migration patterns, land tenure, assets, livestock, access to water.
- **Team B**: The female agronomist and Oxfam gender officer (a Hazara woman from Panjao, Lal area) interviewed women. In most cases, interviews were conducted with the head of the female shura in the morning and with one or two women during the afternoon. Interviews focused on women’s activities, women’s roles and duties and banned activities. Decision-making powers within the household were also discussed, as well as existing women income generation activities.
- **Team C**: The third team was composed of the male agronomist and his counterpart (the head of the Oxfam’s Lal office). They usually began by interviewing members of the male shura in order to gather information on farming systems, crop production, livestock production, non-farm activities, source of income and the main expenses and prices. Women’s activities and decision-making powers were also discussed during these interviews.

2.4 LIMITATIONS

The main difficulty encountered by the RT regarding the organisation of the field work was arranging for the field research to fit into a tight timeframe due to a wide range of constraints, including access (climate, security, logistics) and programme demands.

This type of survey, carried out in the framework of a situation assessment, is clearly inadequate to quantify the studied phenomena. Indeed, quantification is generally considered to be a guarantee of scientific authenticity. Recent research on complex systems has shown that it is not always possible to quantify and, what is more, that understanding how these systems function depends on ensuring that information gathered is coherent and on establishing causal or corresponding relationships between the characteristics of the system, in order to provide a synthetic representation in the form of a pattern or functioning model. The qualitative approach has been favoured in order to get a comprehensive understanding of the women’s situation in the studied villages.
3 VILLAGE’S SELECTION

3.1 THE SELECTED VILLAGES

The research team looked for diversity in the field site selection. Oxfam proposed to carry out the interviews in five villages where Oxfam has created shura. Having ensured that these villages were representative of the diversity of the villages where Oxfam intends to implement new programmes, the research team agreed on this proposed sample.

The five selected villages were:

- Sahib-Ekhtiar
- Muskai
- Qash
- Djela-Guirak → replaced by Qhala-e-Kamron
- Sia Sang → replaced by Naw-Gholi

As both Djela-Guirak and Sia Sang were not accessible by road, Oxfam team proposed two other villages where Oxfam also implements projects. These two villages were Qhala-e-Kamron to replace Djela Guirak (two hours walk away) and Naw-Gholi to replace Sia-Sang.

3.2 MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VILLAGES

Table 1: (see next page)
### Table 1: Main characteristics of the villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muskai</th>
<th>Sahib-Ekthiar</th>
<th>Qash</th>
<th>Qhala-e-Kamron</th>
<th>Naw-Gholy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of households</strong></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distance to the bazaar</strong></td>
<td>2h walk (Lal Bazar)</td>
<td>2h walk (Garmao bazaar)</td>
<td>Lal (6h)</td>
<td>Danewaow (40h on foot)</td>
<td>Lal (5h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area of irrigated land</strong></td>
<td>160 jerib</td>
<td>Irrigated land: 20 jerib</td>
<td>Irrigated land: 25 jerib</td>
<td>Irrigated land: 30 jerib</td>
<td>Irrigated land: 25 jeribs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area of rainfed land (used as pastures)</strong></td>
<td>25 jerib</td>
<td>Rainfed fields: 250 jerib</td>
<td>Rainfed fields: 300 jerib</td>
<td>Rainfed fields: 1000 jerib</td>
<td>Rainfed fields: 200 jeribs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Landless</strong></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Livestock</strong></td>
<td>120 cows (including 50 ox)</td>
<td>140 small livestock</td>
<td>40 cattle (including 14 pairs of oxen)</td>
<td>500 small livestock</td>
<td>15 cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300-400 small livestock</td>
<td>5-10 donkeys</td>
<td>130 small livestock</td>
<td>60 cows</td>
<td>90 small livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specific constraints</strong></td>
<td>Lack of land</td>
<td>Lots of people are leaving the village (10 families have left in the last year)</td>
<td>Very high altitude</td>
<td>Land tenure: 1 or 2 big landlords, the rest is shared by the small landowners</td>
<td>Very far from the bazaar (particularly difficult to reach the bazaar during winter time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of water</td>
<td>Steep-sided valley: little sun and lack of irrigated land</td>
<td>High levels of indebtedness — extremely difficult to access credit</td>
<td>Women’s relationships is highly marked by inequality (the Naimenda is very powerful)</td>
<td>Limited irrigated land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Few market opportunities</td>
<td>Distance to the bazaar and to the main road</td>
<td>Difficult access to seeds and agricultural inputs</td>
<td>Difficult access to seeds and agricultural inputs</td>
<td>High level of indebtedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td>1/ Remittance</td>
<td>1/ Remittance</td>
<td>1/ Livestock and agriculture</td>
<td>1/ Labour outside the village</td>
<td>1/ Remittance, daily labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2/ Livestock</td>
<td>2/ Livestock</td>
<td>2/ Various daily labour</td>
<td>2/ Livestock</td>
<td>2/ Livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3/ Handicraft</td>
<td>3/ Wood selling (poplar, willow)</td>
<td>3/ Handicraft</td>
<td>3/ Agriculture</td>
<td>2/ Livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Processing activities</strong></td>
<td>Yogurt, butter, qurt, quilim, Other wool handicraft sold to local traders</td>
<td>Yogurt, butter, qurt, quilim, Other wool handicraft sold to local traders</td>
<td>Dried onions, yogurt, butter, qurt, quilim, carpets, “bahrak”; socks, gloves</td>
<td>Yogurt, butter, qurt, quilim, Other wool handicraft sold to local traders</td>
<td>Qurt, maska, wool handicraft sold to local traders or in the bazaar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NB: 2 families are very big landowners and have most of the livestock.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes, Livestock, Handicraft (carpets, gelam, namad, scarves, embroidery, boiled wool: “Baharak”), wool</td>
<td>Qrut, wood, livestock, Potatoes. One landowner sells part of the apple production from his orchard</td>
<td>Wheat, Qrut, Livestock Women have not sold any carpets or gelam for the past two years because of a lack of wool</td>
<td>Embroidery, wool handicraft, Qrut, livestock, Wool Embroidery, wool handicraft within the village or with the neighbouring villages</td>
<td>Livestock, Qrut, eggs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities of landless</td>
<td>Activities of landless</td>
<td>Activities of landless</td>
<td>Activities of landless</td>
<td>Activities of landless</td>
<td>Activities of landless</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
<td>Agricultural labourer</td>
<td>Daily labour</td>
<td>Daily labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-migration to Kabul and Iran</td>
<td>Out-migration</td>
<td>Tenants (farmers</td>
<td>Sharecroppers</td>
<td>Women gather bushes in the mountains</td>
<td>Sharecropping (receive 25% of the harvest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run small business (mobile shop keepers)</td>
<td>Women gather bushes in the mountains</td>
<td>Run small business</td>
<td>Forged marriage</td>
<td>Women gather bushes in the mountains</td>
<td>Out-migration to Kabul, Herat, Mazar, Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s issues</td>
<td>Women’s issues</td>
<td>Women’s issues</td>
<td>Women’s issues</td>
<td>Women’s issues</td>
<td>Women’s issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are involved in discussions but cannot make decisions</td>
<td>Women are involved in discussions and decision making, and can handle up to 10 ser of qrut / 1 sheep</td>
<td>Women are involved in discussions and decision making, and can handle up to 10 ser of qrut / 1 sheep</td>
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<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>Potential</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villagers possess handicraft skills Possible to plant non fruit trees</td>
<td>Good soil quality Very good access to water Enough forage for livestock Marketing opportunities via traders who come to the village every week Interest in vegetable and fruit tree production</td>
<td>Land availability to increase livestock production Increasing rainfed alfalfa would help decrease the cost of livestock production Villagers possess handicraft skills: especially embroidery, jewellery (fashionable string necklace) Marketing opportunities via traders who come to the village every week Interest in vegetable and fruit tree production</td>
<td>Lower altitude than many other villages Reasonable access to water Interest in vegetable and fruit tree production</td>
<td>Vegetables: Oxfam has already planned one KG for the village Fruit tree production could be developed Close-knit community that is keen to improve their situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 Farming Systems, Livelihoods and Households

4.1 Diversity and Evolutions of the Farming Systems

4.1.1 A view of the farming systems

Farmers have two main objectives: to provide enough food for household members (which may imply selling surplus produce) and to produce enough forage to feed the livestock. Animal breeding relies heavily on agriculture (production of straw, clover, peas, barley, Alfa Alfa and grass collected in the fallows or other grazing lands).

4.1.1.1 The process of intensification

In the villages visited by the RT, rain-fed fields represent more than 50% of the arable land (60-85% in Qhala-e-Kamron.)

Crop diversification on the irrigated fields

Wheat is generally sown on roughly half of irrigated plots. On the other half, farmers either cultivate Persian clover, local peas, barley or potatoes. Every year they alternate wheat with another crop. Farmers mainly use local varieties and the average yields are around 15 Ql/ha.

Large landlords generally manage to grow some Alfa Alfa on their irrigated land (6-7 years per crop). Farmers tend to spread animal manure on irrigated land to maintain soil structure and fertility. The use of chemical inputs is quite recent in the area and still uncommon. Only the richest landowners are able to afford fertilisers.

Rain-fed fields: wheat, fallow and Alfa Alfa

Farmers sew wheat on half of their rain-fed fields and let the other half lie fallow, and thus rotate each year. The average yield of wheat on rain-fed fields are around 7 ql/ha. Neither manure nor fertilisers are brought on rain-fed fields. Fallow and animal dung (when animals are allowed to graze on the rain-fed fields) are the only way to maintain the soil fertility.

4.1.1.2 The numerous advantages of animal breeding

The most common animals are sheep, goats, cows, ox, donkeys, horses and poultry. From May to November, animals are gathered up and sent to graze in the mountains. As the pastures tend to surround the villages, the animals are brought back to the village for the night.

During winter, from November to April animals stay in the stables. Animal dung is collected by women who produce tchalma (disc of dung) which are then used as fuel.

Cows: meat, milk and labour force

Cows are raised for milk. One cow can have one calf per year and produce 500l of milk per year with a maximum of 3.5l/day. Women are in charge of processing milk into yogurt (moss), butter (maska) and dry cheese (qrut).

Some households have no livestock as they can not afford to provide enough forage for them. On average, one cow will eat the equivalent to 5,000-8,000 afs per winter depending on the quality of the forage. Oxen are even more expensive to feed, particularly during the ploughing season as they...
receive extra food (peas, flour). Roughly 50% of the households have no oxen and either have to use donkeys or rent a pair of oxen for ploughing.

Sheep and goats: milk, meat and wool
Most households own small livestock (sheep and goats) as production costs are five times lower than for cows. Sheep provide more benefits, such as milk (processed into dairy products), meat and wool. Wool can be sold or processed into balls and then used to weave carpets, gelam or to make namad and clothes.

4.1.1.3 In kind exchange
If agricultural and livestock production succeeds in fulfilling the household’s needs, part of the production is usually exchanged for different goods (tools, clothes, factory-made carpets, dishes, etc.). Farmers either exchange their products with local traders passing through the village or in the bazaar.

The traditional farming system
The above figure describes the traditional farming system. Links between cropping activities, agriculture and animal breeding are clearly shown and one can see how much raising livestock depends on agriculture. For most households, this type of farming system does not produce any surplus and the slightest problem can threaten the balance of the farming system as a whole.
4.1.2 The main constraints of the current farming system

4.1.2.1 Asset depletion, indebtedness and migration

As people are using the main (ex) coping strategies to face structural constraints, they do not have efficient strategies to face a problem unless they sell off their assets or leave for cities where their living conditions are likely to deteriorate further still.

Isok, a farmer from Qhala-e-Kamron owns four jerib of irrigated land, fifteen jerib of rainfed fields and fifteen jerib of grazing land. The household is composed of twelve people. According to him, only himself and his son are able to work in the field (he argues that the work carried out by women is not ‘real work’).

Isok explained what he was obliged to do in order to feed his family last winter: “I sold five small livestock including two females, one donkey, two bulls and 28kg of qurat and all my stock of balls of wool, which amounted to 20kg while I only produce 7kg per year. Besides that, my son and I worked for two months as daily labourers during the harvest as well as in the bazaar”.

When the RT asked: “Did you have a good harvest that year?”, Isko replied: “Yes, we had very good yields this year”. Isok barely manages to survive in combining on-farm and off-farm activities.

When the RT asked him about his strategies during bad years, he said: “I will try to increase my activities as labour work for others. If I cannot find any work, I will try to find credit with a low interest rate. Otherwise I will have to sell animals...and then if that’s still not enough, I will have to send my land.”

Finding labour work is not always easy and accessing a credit with a reasonable interest rate is often quite difficult. If his yield is not excellent in the coming year, Isok will have to sell off his assets and might also have to sell his land.

4.1.2.2 News needs, new ways of life

Moreover, due to the process of globalisation and weakened controls at the Afghan borders, produce from abroad is entering Afghanistan. Conversely, Iran has set up trade barriers that have severely curtailed the ability of Afghan producers to access this neighbouring lucrative market. Farmers are always in competition with producers in Pakistan and Iran.

The RT spent many hours in the Lal bazaar discussing prices and market chains with the shopkeepers. Two main elements should be highlighted:

- Farmer production does not always meet market requirements (in terms of quality, price, quantity). For instance, shopkeepers generally select the carpets they buy from the villages on the basis of quality. They know that a high quality carpet can be easily sold for a good price in Kabul. Some of them do not take the risk of buying poor quality carpets as they know that it might be difficult to sell them.

- Shopkeepers also receive produce from abroad, supplying the consumer with new consumer items (Iranian industrial carpets, jewellery from Pakistan, Iranian blankets) which are replacing the traditional handicraft products, such as carpets, gelam, barak).

In order to improve livelihoods in Lal district, the first necessity is to stop the asset depletion process which is causing farming systems to collapse in a downwards spiral. Increasing incomes is a tough challenge in an area where constraints are certainly more numerous than opportunities. However it is possible to provide support for certain existing initiatives and new activities could be developed. In the following section we propose an overview of the possible areas and sectors of intervention. The following chapter will focus on women’s roles.
4.1.3 *Actual factors of stress for the farming system and the consequences*

Before the war and the drought, rural households sought to maintain asset bases and ensure food security by diversifying into farming and some external work (remittance incomes) and through depletion of non-essential assets.

We have described the traditional farming system with emphasis on the fact that agricultural activities are threatened by numerous risks and that factors of stress often call into question the sustainability of the farming systems.

Years of war and drought pushed households from non-essential asset depletion into essential asset depletion that has had several consequences on food security. Levels of debt have increased and this has led to losses of land, through mortgaging and high levels of indebtedness. It remains difficult to give exact data on the level of debt burden; however we can argue that most households have to face this problem and remain food insecure.

Furthermore, on the top of the aforementioned constraints farmers are at present having to face new types of difficulties and adapt their strategies.

**Conjectural constraints, such as political upheaval or climate changes, are temporary but can severely disrupt the fine balance of a farming system.** Their impact varies according to the intensity of the stress factor and its duration.

In the five villages, the RT identified four main conjectural constraints.

- **Drought:** as rain-fed fields are really important in these villages, lack of rain has dramatic impacts
  In some villages, like in Qash, rain-fed fields represent 85% of the overall land. During dry years, yields are nil or almost nil, and resulting in a drop of 60% of the total production. In this case, production from irrigated land is not sufficient to meet the community’s food needs and people have to increase their non-farm activities. Lack of rain also has a direct impact on the production of forage for animals, often resulting in high levels of animal mortality. In some cases, farmers are often forced to sell off some of their animals in order to be able to feed the rest of the herd.

- **Animal disease** (diarrhoea, anthrax, skin disease, stomach troubles, etc.) can also strongly affect animal breeding (and thus all animal by-products).

- **Years of war and insecurity have had dramatic consequences.** Besides the fact that many men have been killed during the war, which has reduced household labour capacities, large amounts of private land have been confiscated by commanders. Communities were forced to give or kill their animals for the moujahidines, and in some villages (like in Qash for instance) community assets have decreased dramatically.

- **Marriage**
  The marriage of a son can also be a highly stressful time for the groom’s family. Expenses can reach between afs 3-500,000.

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Furthermore, on the top of the aforementioned constraints farmers are at present having to face new types of difficulties and adapt their strategies.
4.2 DIVERSE COPING STRATEGIES

4.2.1 Dealing with shocks...

4.2.1.1 New needs require more expenditure

Since the end of the war and the Taliban regime, new products have appeared in the bazaar and in people’s life. These new products have created new needs and new expenses: medicines, gas, radios, and factory-made carpets. Many households (in most cases people who became used to this new way of life in Iranian cities) are selling their essential items to purchase non-essential items. Moreover, these new items generally have to be bought with cash. Since farmers have a limited access to cash (they exchange most of their products), they tend to sell off a sheep or a goat in the bazaar to fulfil their cash needs.

4.2.1.2 Lack of land

Since the end of the war and the Taliban regime, the population has increased significantly. In many villages, communities have to face a lack of land as families grow. Access to water, both for agricultural and human consumption, and access to land have become a major challenge.

In Sahib Ekthiar the average size of rainfed fields is less than 0.15 ha per household. Farmers are progressively replacing wheat by clover or potatoes. These strategies are based on intensification and are particularly relevant in high-risk environments or where food and cash is lacking. Oxfam supports this process in implementing Kitchen Garden programmes in the villages. As this initiative only started last year, it is too early to evaluate their impact. Also difficult access to fertilisers, the short cropping season, the risk of frost and a lack of skills in vegetable production are limitations that need to be taken into account. Other villages have reduced the fallow period for their rainfed fields. Some farmers crop wheat several years running, even if the yields decrease from 7 to 2 quintal² / ha. Other farmers are supported by Oxfam to crop improved Alfâ-Affa in their rainfed fields. Twenty years ago, wheat was grown on 50% of the rainfed fields and the other half was left to lie fallow. Nowadays, only one third of the rainfed fields lies fallow. The remaining two thirds are used every year and fertility is not maintained (no fertiliser, no animal manure, only legumes provide azotes to the soil. Arboriculture, another strategy to intensify the farming system, is emerging in certain villages. Apple trees for high-altitude villages, apricot trees, almond trees and mulberry trees for lower altitudes. Most of the production is meant for home consumption or sold to the villages nearby.

4.2.2 A view of the main coping strategies

Landed and landless people have developed different kinds of coping strategies.

4.2.2.1 Daily wage labour

All the landless people work on each other’s land. Large landowners depend on extra agricultural labour for ploughing, harvesting and grass cutting. When there are no opportunities for agricultural work, landless people can also find some temporary work in bazaars (mason, porter...). As the RT carried out mainly qualitative interviews, it is therefore difficult to give precise data on what proportion of household income comes from daily wage labour. However, we estimate an average of US$2-3 per day, depending on the type of work, the season and the employer. For the landless households (between 10-50% of the population in the studied villages), daily wage labour is the only source of income.

Landless women often collect bushes, or animal dung to make "tchalma". Most of the production is used in the home but some can also be sold in case of urgent cash needs.

² Quital: unit of weight equal to 100 kg.
2.2.2 Access to credit

In order to purchase food or other essential goods, people take out loans with very high rates of interest. Some households are heavily in debt and have no other option than selling off their productive assets. Most of the landless households and some landed households have to deal with a debt burden and are generally obliged to sell off their productive assets in order to be able to feed their family. Repayment is often postponed and access to credit is increasingly difficult and expensive.

The interest rates vary a lot regarding the types of credit:
- The preferred option for many farmers is an interest-free loan from family members, known as karz-e-asaan. Repayment arrangements are more flexible.
- Cash loans are available from a variety of different sources, including relatives, and shopkeepers and traders. Generally, the interest rate imposed on cash loans by shopkeepers and traders decreases the larger the amount borrowed.
- The system known as salaam is an advance payment on a fixed amount of agricultural production. The resource poor typically sell their entire crop prior to the harvest in return for an advance payment. According to the RT interviews, this type of credit is not very common in the villages.

In the villages visited by the RT, interest rates fluctuate between 0% for karz-e-asaan to 100% for salaam.
- Cash and commodity credits are by far the most common in the area. Shopkeepers and traders generally give low value commodities or food items on credit (mainly oil or bags of wheat or agricultural inputs, such as fertiliser), allowing farmers to delay the payment for goods until the next harvest. The gain on the market price for these goods varies depending on the value and the type of item, the facility of supply for this item, the season and duration of the loan and the relationship between the lender and borrower. Under this system, farmers pay usually twice the market price for commodities from shopkeepers and traders (100% of interest).

Some families are more restricted by their social networks or their reputation of being too poor to be able to reimburse the borrowed money. Family members and relatives are the preferred source for credit as they usually offer free loans and are much more flexible on the time period for repayment.

Whereas before the war, coping strategies were mainly adopted to deal with conjectural problems or stress, nowadays these coping strategies have become part of the day-to-day strategies. Working in other villages has become a common solution for communities trying to cope with insufficient land, such as Muskai or Sahib Ekthiar. Since there are few working opportunities within Lal district, many men are leaving the district in search of work.

Some families resort to credit in order to purchase enough food for winter. As interest can sometimes reach 50% or 100% (generally for wheat credit), for many families credit leads to debt burden. To pay off their debts, families are often forced to sell off their assets. Asset depletion is one of the main reasons for high levels of definitive out migration: in 2004, ten families have left Sahib Ekthiar to Kabul, Herat or Mazar. In Naw Ghomi, one farmer explained: “Yesterday, in a neighbouring village (Dakane-e-Pkhil), a whole family left for Kabul. The man was born in this village, they had 7 or 8 children, 1 jerib of irrigated land and 3 or 4 jeribs of rainfed fields. They lost everything during the war and the drought. They took some credit and were unable to reimburse. Before they left they sold all their assets to pay the journey to Kabul. I do not know what they will do in Kabul, maybe for one or two months one of their relative will put them up for some time but after...”

2.2.3 Selling off assets

Selling off assets is the most dangerous strategy and unfortunately highly widespread. When a household is unable to cover its needs with the above two coping strategies (daily worker and access to credit), farmers generally sell off their assets. As unnecessary goods are very rare, households have little choice but to sell breeder animals, food reserve or even land.

Selling off assets is a high-risky and extremely damaging strategy as households rarely recover and are thrown into a vicious circle.
4.2.2.4 Out migration

The last strategy is out migration. As households are generally unable to meet their food needs, strategies for reducing household consumption have increased. In Saheb-Ekthiar for instance, the RT was told that in 2004 ten families had left the village for good because they had lost everything during the years of drought. It involves the splitting of households into constituent families (where households are multi-family units) and increase of winter out-migration. One landless woman argued: "Every winter my husband leaves the village to go to Kabul or Herat. He comes back at spring time, generally with some small money (afs3,000) but at least he saved some bread for the rest of the family because he did not eat with us."

These landless families generally move to more fertile areas or migrate to big cities where conditions can become worse: Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kabul.
5 WOMEN'S LIFE

5.1 WOMEN’S WORK AND ROLES

Men and women have different views and representation of women’s activities. When men are asked to describe women’s activities, they hardly ever mention all the activities related to the household (baking bread, cooking, taking care of the children, etc.) and often mention that women have a lot of free time. They generally undermine women’s roles in the household economy. As explained above, women’s activities are numerous and they are often overloaded with work.

As a general rule, women are responsible for the housework duties, childcare and education, animal husbandry activities and handicraft production as well as much of the agricultural work (except ploughing). Women’s roles vary among the villages but mainly with respect to women’s decision-making powers (this aspect will be covered in the following section).

- Regarding housework activities, women are in charge of cooking, baking bread, cleaning the house, washing the clothes, taking care of children, repairing clothes and welcoming guests.
- Regarding livestock-related activities, women are involved throughout the year in the different activities. They may be in charge of animal breeding, milking and spinning wool.
- Regarding selling activities, women are generally allowed to sell some products (qrut, yogurt, eggs) in their village or to traders who come to the villages. In some cases (although this varies according to the villages and the household) women are allowed to go to the nearest bazaar to sell their qrut and purchase other goods.
- Additionally, the women in some households are in charge of sewing clothes and jewellery for the rest of the family. Also, the youngest women do embroidery and make new jewellery like strings of plastic pearls.
- Others activities concerning livestock, handicraft and agricultural work are seasonal. They are mentioned in the following table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>On farm activities</th>
<th>Handicraft activities</th>
<th>Free time (average)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>During winter, men and women share the activities related to animal breeding, as men spend their days at home. Nevertheless, when there is no male family member in a given household (widows, absence due to the winter out migration) women are in charge of animal feeding, watering, and of the litter cleaning (twice a day).</td>
<td>During winter, women have more free time to carry out handicraft activities. They can sew barak (felted woollen coats), chale (woven blanket) and namad (felted woollen rugs). Some of them do also carpet weaving (2-4 women together).</td>
<td>3-6h/day</td>
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<td>February</td>
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<tr>
<td>March</td>
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<td>As soon as the temperature rises, women carry out handicraft activities outside (e.g. gelom woven woollen bags and carpets require a big loom (&gt;5m of length). They can also produce barak and namad. Men are involved in crushing the wool in hot water and women spread out the wool and dry it.</td>
<td>1-3h/day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>During spring season, women are fully in charge of the livestock (women are generally taking care of the calves or lambs. When there is sufficient milk, they produce dairy products like yoghurt, butter and qrut. Women are involved in all agricultural activities except ploughing and planting. They participate in irrigation, in preparing the soil before sowing.</td>
<td>In summer and especially during harvesting time, women do not have time for wool handicraft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>In June and July, activities related to animal husbandry are similar to those undertaken by women during spring time. Moreover, women go to the surrounding mountains to collect grass for animal feed (twice a day) They also take part in sheep shearing. Women are responsible for making tchalma (animal dung used as fuel). Shepherding is often carried out by young boys and girls in return for food and clothes (rarely cash) but also by some of the poorest women (widows, landless). In terms of cropping activities, women are mainly responsible for: weeding and cropping vegetables. Women also collect herbs in mountains like cumin and other medicinal plants and sell part of them to traders who visit the village.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
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<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Animal husbandry: same activities as during spring and summer time. Women take part in the harvest and are responsible for gathering straw into bundles, winnowing, cleaning, drying and storing the seeds in wool bags.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September</td>
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<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Animal husbandry: same activities as during spring and summer time. Women take part with the men in the potato harvest. Some of them are also involved in drying and crushing onions.</td>
<td>During autumn, women are responsible for cleaning, drying, carding and spinning the wool. With these balls of wool, many women knit socks and gloves.</td>
<td>1-3h/day</td>
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<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td></td>
<td>As above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td></td>
<td>3-6h/day</td>
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Women’s role in the decision making processes inside and outside the household depends on different factors which affect women’s position in the household as compared to men and their involvement in household activities. The household activities described in the following section are mainly focused on selling and purchasing as these two activities are of great importance for income generation programmes.

These factors, partly mentioned in an AREU report about gender roles in agriculture\(^1\), include:

- Women’s status (bride, mother in law, widow and young girl)
- Struggle between tradition and modernity
- Household composition
- Landed or landless household
- Wealth of household
- Women’s involvement in NGO programmes (literacy course, women’s group)
- Relationship between women in their village
- Knowledge of agricultural activities (Kitchen garden cultivation, vaccination of livestock).

### 5.2 WOMEN’S MARITAL STATUS AND CAPACITY TO GENERATE INCOME

A woman’s status (marital, economic) evolves during her lifetime and has a strong influence on the type of activities she might be involved in. Young girls for example, especially when they reach a marriageable age generally lack room for manoeuvre and have less freedom than their mothers. Most of the women’s responsibilities lie at the household level and here they have stronger decision-making powers than for other tasks. The eldest women participate more easily in discussions and sometimes are able to make decisions. They are often the ones in charge of the women’s shura and have more freedom to move outside the village. They are responsible for distributing household chores amongst the younger women in the household. For instance, in Qash, the eldest women of the household are responsible for bargaining over the price of qrut with the local traders. She is also in charge of selecting which goods will be exchanged for the qrut. Furthermore, although women have to ask men before selling or buying expensive goods (> 10-20 afs), widows are much freer than married women.

Traditionally, women have to adhere to the strict rules of the purdha which are based on religious and traditional values and describe how Afghan women need to conduct themselves. Whether women are allowed to move within the village or in the surrounding areas will have a high impact on the degree of involvement of women in agricultural and livestock activities. Their capacity to move around depends on many factors, such as age, marital status and how ‘open-minded’ the males of the household are. Before women reach the age of marriage (12-16 years old), if they are widows or ‘old enough’, they are generally free to move around. The young women are generally free to move alone within their villages. They are generally accompanied by a mahram (a male member of the family) to go to the bazaar or to visit relatives in another village.

Shi’a people adopt a more flexible interpretation of the strict purdha and give more freedom to women than the Sunni people. Women are allowed to sit with men, eat in the same room and discuss issues with them. Few women wear the chadri or the burqa and they are allowed to gather to discuss. Tradition is often used as an excuse when men want to forbid women from doing something for another reason. In most cases when women are needed for housework, traditional rules are toned down.

Young girls and brides are not allowed to buy or purchase goods in bazaars unless they are accompanied by a male family member. Nevertheless some families who spent some time in Iran or in Kabul seem to have different opinions towards girls’ and women’s decision-making powers. The research team met some girls and women exchanging jewellery, balls of wool and dairy products in the Lal bazaar. This group of women walked from a remote village (Djela Guirak) to exchange qrut for different goods. Moreover, there has been an increase in girls selling products made by women in

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cases where girls' schools have been built in the close vicinity of markets. For instance, the head of the women's shura of Qhala-e-Kamron often sends her daughter to sell chickens in the bazaar nearby her school in return for food or home utensils. This woman is freer than other women from this village as her husband works and lives in Kabul.

It is worth bearing in mind that the majority of women have difficult access to markets and are not allowed to exchange or sell goods or foodstuffs above 10 sers of qrut or 400 afs. When men were asked what was the reason for these limits, they often argued that women are unable to handle higher amounts of money because they are not good enough at counting and do not know the right prices of what they are likely to sell and buy. However, widows and older women often handle larger amounts of money either because they have no other choice (the widows) or because they are considered to be better skilled and trusted. However the RT believes that in the Lal district, male members of the family are open-minded enough to change their point of view if they think that women are skilled enough to manage more money.

5.2.1 The household composition

The types of activities carried out by women are determined by household composition, their expertise and availability and these factors have to be taken into account in the programme design. The number of women within the household, their status and how open-minded the men are have a direct impact on women’s capacity to make decisions relating to selling and purchasing activities.

The number of people in a given household and notably the ratio between women, men and young children or babies strongly influences the type of activities women can undertake as well as their frequency. Women are generally sent to the fields if the male labour force within the household is not sufficient.

Also, the presence of a male adult at home affects the level of women’s decision-making powers. The chief of the women’s shura at Qhala-e-Kamron said: “When my eldest son (20 years old) is at home and if I need to sell one namad, he will sell it at a very low price in the bazaar and he will keep the money for himself.” Women at the head of a household, either permanently (widows) or temporary (migration of the men) often have a major role in managing agricultural and livestock activities. If they are not able to achieve all the tasks by themselves they can also employ labourers. In Qhala-e-Kamron, the wife of one of the biggest landowners told the RT that, since her husband works in Kabul, she was in charge of the employment and payment of the three labourers working on her husband’s fields. As mentioned in the women’s activities calendar, a lack of male workers increases women’s involvement in agricultural activities. Thus, the fact that as increasingly more men leave the villages during winter to work in Iran or other areas women have less free time and fewer opportunities to develop non-farm activities, such as handicraft. As a result, household composition has to be considered in women’s programmes if they are to be sustainable. For example, some girls in the village of Muskai are unable to attend Oxfam’s winter schools because they are required to help their mother collecting water and taking care of the animals while their brothers work outside of the village and their father is either sick or too old to work.

5.2.2 Landed or landless household

Whether the family is landed or landless will have a direct impact on women’s daily activities. The same applies for livestock possession and indeed to some extent any other assets. Differences between landed and landless households regarding women’s decision-making powers are also linked to wealth and the level of education.

Landless women can work as employees or servants. They are generally paid in kind (wheat, potatoes, qrut or tchalma). In some cases they may be employed as cleaners or cooks by the richest women. They can also be asked to collect water, firewood or grass. This kind of work does not require any specific and technical skills.
Nevertheless, generally landless women do not work on other people’s land unless they are helping their husband in his work as a sharecropper. To develop income generation activities for women, especially for the more vulnerable women like the landless, NGOs need to bear in mind that most women are used to receive in kind incomes.

In Qhala-e-Kamron, a landless woman explained that she always helped her husband make decisions regarding selling livestock or migration. In many cases, the wife of a landlord is generally not involved in the decision making regarding selling animals, as it does not threaten the household economy (assuming they have many animals).

In the richest households, women’s empowerment depends almost entirely on their mentality and on their character. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that during a women’s shura, the landless women were considered by other women to be more involved in the household’s decision-making process than other women. Most of the landless have few animals and have to gather milk and fuel outside the household.

The poorest women can sometimes access livestock by taking one or a few animals on loan. They generally borrow a female to have access to milk and produce qrut and other dairy products.

5.2.3 Wealth

In most cases, the poorest women are the more involved in agricultural activities than the wealthier women. According to many men and women interviewed, women are currently more involved in agriculture than in the past because of the consequences of the 25 years of wars and the drought. Some households that used to hire agricultural labourers in the past are unable to do so today because the household has become impoverished. Women, who used to stay at home when the household could afford to hire the extra labour force, are nowadays involved in agricultural work as a means of decreasing the overall cost of production.

5.2.4 Women’s support mechanism within the village

The village history (old or new village) and the village composition (same families for many generations or recent arrival of new families from other villages or district) will have a high impact on the support mechanisms existing among women.

In general, women have some internal systems of solidarity. For example in many cases, they lend food or even sometimes goods to each other. Generally the richest women provide milk or wheat to other women; this is linked to the Islamic azakat principle. They also provide food credit when families are facing food shortages or when they have to feed unexpected guest.

Support mechanisms within the villages depend on the sense of harmony that exists between women. For instance in Qash, women are very close to each other and are apparently on good terms. This is almost certainly due to the fact that this village is quite old and most of the women have known each other since childhood.

In Muskai, the situation is quite different. Even though women work together for certain activities or tasks (weaving carpets or gelam), they seem less close-knit than in Qash.

Finally, in Qhala-e-Kamron, women again seem to be less close-knit than in Qash, for instance. This might be due to the fact that, as the village is quite recent, women have come from different villages and districts. 40% of the women interviewed arrived from Dai Kundi during the war, 10 years ago. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, there are pronounced differences between the various wealth statuses in this village. Thus women’s relationships are marked by power relations. For instance, the chief of the female shura is one of the wealthier women of Qhala-e-Kamron. She regularly practices azakat

\footnote{\textit{shura}: women gathered together by NGOs.}
with the poorest woman, as a means of strengthening her authority within the female community, and to some extent, throughout the community as a whole.

5.2.5 **The impact of NGO projects**

Programmes implemented by NGOs can also affect women’s activities and, in turn, women’s decision-making powers. In the villages the RT visited, Oxfam was the only NGO implementing programmes.

A year ago, Oxfam created women’s shura to create a space for women to gather, discuss their problems and access training. Through this shura Oxfam female staff provide health and hygiene education training. Women are taught how to keep the house clean, to clean themselves and their children on a regular basis. Women are also made aware of certain behaviour they can adopt to improve the hygiene of the village and the water resources. When asked about the impact of these programmes, men generally expressed their satisfaction and stated that they had observed real improvements in the hygiene and health conditions of the family, in particular for babies and infants. It is important to note that men consider this improvement as new and worthwhile.

Oxfam also trained “daya”\(^5\) in basic health education (including maternity and delivery). These women were chosen from among the poorest women in the village (widows or landless). They do not receive payment in cash but generally receive some in-kind payment (oil, wheat, butter, etc.)

In some villages in Ghor province, Oxfam trained a group of women as basic veterinary workers (BVW). As far as the RT is aware, this programme appears to be very successful as the trained women visit the villages in their area to vaccinate livestock. They charge 3 afs per vaccine. Part of this fee is covers the cost of the vaccines (Dutch committee) and part is paid to the BVW.

Improving the literacy rate is really important for the overall female condition in Afghanistan. Literacy programmes are long-term programmes and do not produce any immediate visible outputs but merit the support of the government, UN agencies and NGOs. On several occasions, the research team was told by many people (Oxfam female and male staff, shopkeepers in the bazaar) that the greatest need for the generation of young women’s is literacy courses. It is only educated women who have a chance of obtaining non-farm employment (teachers, NGO workers, etc.).

5.2.6 **Knowledge and skills**

When men were asked “What type of knowledge do women have?” most of them argued that women have no knowledge as they are not educated.

Women generally know how to take care of the livestock and process animal products. Dairy produce, such as qurt and eggs are products which can be easily sold by women. They can sell them in small quantities without necessarily having to inform their husband. Up to a certain amount (generally 1.5kg of qurt), women are allowed to keep the money or spend it as they chose.

Women know how to carry out many agricultural tasks. Except for ploughing and sowing, women in the villages we visited are involved in various agricultural tasks. Unlike men who can work outside the village, women are not supposed to leave the village territory and agriculture is one of their main activities. Women’s tasks and skills are not valued by most of the men. NGOs through CM should emphasise the value and the importance of women’s activities.

New types of knowledge, such as basic veterinary skills (as mentioned earlier) or arboriculture would most probably improve women’s position in society and increase men’s respect for women within the community as a whole, as well as their decision-making powers. As mentioned earlier, literacy courses remain a priority in terms of improving the status of women. If women were able to read, write and

\(^5\) Traditional midwife
% of boys and girls 6 - 13 years old not enrolled

- Cost of schooling
- Marriage during school age
- Security concerns / unsafe inappropriate journey to school
- Not allowed to enrol by school
- Not allowed to enrol by family
- Poor health / disability
- Went as far in school as they need to learn useful skills / education not a priority
- Didn't like school / wasn't learning anything
- Works at home or nearby
- School too far away / no school to enrol in
2nd Reason for Non-enrolment - BDK

- Cost of schooling
- Marriage during school age
- Security concerns / unsafe inappropriate journey to school
- Not allowed to enrol by school
- Not allowed to enrol by family
- Poor health / disability
- Went as far in school as they need to learn useful skills / education not a priority
- Didn’t like school / wasn’t learning anything
- Works at home or nearby
- School too far away / no school to enrol in

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Note: The percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.
2nd Reason for Non-enrolment - KBL

- KBL

100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%

Girls
Boys
Total by Province

Cost of schooling
Marriage during school age
Security concerns / unsafe inappropriate journey to school
Not allowed to enrol by school
Not allowed to enrol by family
Poor health / disability
Went as far in school as they need to learn useful skills / education not a priority
Didn't like school / wasn't learning anything
Works at home or nearby
School too far away / no school to enrol in
count, they would be able to read the labels on agricultural inputs, for instance. Knowing how to count would enable them to read banknotes. Thus, we can imagine that they would have greater decision-making powers as they play a visible role within the household’s economy.

It is worth bearing in mind some practical barriers which might prevent women from increasing their knowledge. Young women with babies and young children are often already overloaded with work most of the year. Many women expressed their worries that the new types of activities proposed by the NGOs might increase their work. Time constraints would certainly impinge upon their availability to take part in training schemes.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSITIONS

6.1 MAIN FINDINGS

1. A “pure” income generation project targeting women only does not appear to be relevant in the current situation since male and female roles remain firmly entrenched. Programmes targeting women should be careful not to upset the social balance. An integrated approach is desirable to ensure that men feel that they are involved in the process and that new activities undertaken by women directly benefit the household. However the involvement of women in some activities might increase the overall welfare of the household, reduce food insecurity and the depletion of assets, and strengthen the value placed on women’s activities and position in society.

2. It is still difficult for many women to control the income they earn, since social mores dictate that women should not handle more than 400 or 500 afs at a time, and women are not always able to buy and sell goods in the bazaar.

3. Many families are still experiencing food insecurity and find themselves caught in a vicious circle of asset depletion. Even if a long-term approach is relevant, a strategy that links development projects with emergency interventions is essential.

4. Most of the agricultural products and many goods are exchanged in kind. In a non monetary market, “income” should be taken to include “in kind income”. Unless families attain food security, income generation projects are unable to create any saving mechanisms. In this report, the term “income” includes cash and in kind incomes.

5. The status of women varies significantly between villages and within one given village. This diversity has to be taken into account in programme design. For instance, the poorest women generally have more freedom, as poverty obliges men to allow women to work. Wealthier women tend to be more involved in handicraft than their poorer counterparts who do not have access to wool and do not possess the necessary skills.

6. Men generally undervalue women’s skills and undermine the role they play in the household economy. Many men consider that women are not overloaded with work even if they are certainly busier than men throughout the year.

7. Projects that do not generate any direct income on a short-term basis are unlikely to be accepted by men and women, as they may well create an increase of work.

8. Women work together easily within the household as the product of their work benefits the entire household. On the other hand, women are often reluctant to work in a group (at the shura level).

9. One of the actual main limitations for women’s income generation is the low literacy rate and the lack of self-confidence. It seems essential that beyond the income generation programmes, Oxfam
should continue to build women’s capacities and knowledge. However, training programmes must be practical and should aim to have at least a short-term impact on the household, if they are to be effective.

10. Even if certain activities do not generate “direct” income, they may well allow a household to delay selling their assets. For instance, when a woman weaves a carpet which is then kept for the household, the household budget is not obliged to spend money on a fabric-made Iranian carpet.

11. Increasing women’s income generation means increasing women’s daily activities and this could have a negative impact on young girl’s schooling. If women are too busy, they may keep their daughters at home to help them in their daily duties instead of sending them to school.

6.2 **GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS**

6.2.1 **Developing an inclusive approach**

As women’s and men’s roles are intermingled, common programmes should be designed to cover men’s and women’s work. No income generation programme can be implemented without men acknowledgement and involvement.

6.2.2 **Integrated programmes**

Integrating a diverse range of activities in a single programme proposed to one community has several positive effects that can reinforce the programme’s impact on income generation.

- **Firstly**, integrating activities allows the project to meet the diverse needs of individual households and of communities as a whole.
- **Secondly**, it ensures that different activities complement each other. For example, the distribution of improved alfalfa seeds can support an increased number of livestock created by the sheep bank project. An increase in the number of sheep will lead to a higher production of wool. With this extra wool, women will be able to produce more woollen handicrafts. Similarly, the rehabilitation of a road by a CFW programme in order to improve market access can complement income-generating projects by opening up marketing possibilities on the one hand, and providing households with more opportunities to purchase the items they need (including a greater diversity of food).
- **Finally**, integrating women’s activities in a community development approach can help create an environment in which community members are encouraged to take initiatives, building their confidence and enhancing women’s position within the community. This can reinforce the impact of project activities and help create synergy.

6.2.3 **Valuing women’s activities**

As discussed earlier in this report, men do not really value women’s activities as in most cases they do not see the income (mainly indirect) that they bring to the household. The RT is convinced that to enhance women’s place in the household, community and country, a gradual raising awareness programme for both men and women could be carried out by Oxfam. Both male and female staff should be involved. During the research, the head of Oxfam in Hazaradjat had some informal discussions with men to try to make them realise the value of women’s work. As far as the RT understood, some of the men present began to reconsider their opinions and acknowledged that women are actually important for the household economy.

Efforts to raise awareness could take place within the shura meetings, during health and hygiene education courses or even when Oxfam male staff is implementing diverse programmes.
Changing people’s mentality is a long-term process. However the relative freedom of women in Hazardjat offers some encouragement for those interested in taking up this particular challenge.

6.2.4 Understanding and taking into account diversity

As discussed in this report, even if there are some general constraints which shape the main characteristics of livelihoods and women’s position in society, in reality a wide diversity exists amongst the different villages, households and female community. In many instances Oxfam staff told the RT that all the villages were the same or quite similar. It is not easy for people who have been living and working in the same area for years to distinguish these differences and it is even more difficult to take them into account in programme implementation. However the RT felt that the team expressed real curiosity about having a better understanding of this diversity. It would be useful to dedicate more time to diagnosis and assessment in order to have a clear view of the main strategies, dynamics and a clearer picture of this diversity. As it will be explained in the next section, some programmes are appropriated for a certain ‘type’ of village but are not relevant for other villages. For instance, it would not make sense to implement carpet-weaving programmes in Naw-Gholi as women do not have the appropriate skills. This village has other comparative advantages which could be supported (vegetable production, increasing livestock, etc.). Understanding intra-village diversity is also important in order to propose appropriate project to the right women. For instance, in Qhal-e-Kamron it would not make sense to involve the wife of the mir in the sheep bank as the mir has more than 120 animals. However, an alternative solution would be to help her improve the quality of the carpets she weaves (as she has access to wool).

In designing projects targeting women, it is also important to pay attention to the period when women are the more available. For instance projects that are demanding in time should be carried out during winter.

6.2.5 Increase practical knowledge

The household is seen as being women’s domain, and consequently, they are perceived to have restricted knowledge in other fields. This study shows the different skills and knowledge that women do actually possess. Opportunities for women to improve their practical skills and to be considered as an ‘economic agent’ within the household should be identified and supported.

The training of the BVW implemented by Oxfam in 2005 seems to be a successful programme, as animal health is a real challenge in this area and the women trainees are able to visit the different villages by themselves. However, as these programmes are, until now, only reserved for literate women, this vocational training has little impact in remote areas.

Horticulture and arboriculture vocational training might be an interesting option in this region, and vocational training in general might provide an opportunity to improve the literacy rate. Women are more likely to become involved in the literacy course if they can see a direct impact on their everyday lives. For example women could be taught how to count in the objective of enabling them to handle money (recognising one note from another). They could be taught how to read so that they can understand the instructions on the labels of agricultural inputs or bag of seeds.

6.2.6 Giving women the choice between projects at the household level and community-based project

In Afghanistan, the most important social level for a woman is most definitely the household. Within the household women are used to sharing work and duties and developing some specific skills. Even if they do not always get on well with each other there is a certain level of trust between them. Whatever they produce and sell, women will use the income for the household. Many projects in Afghanistan
have tried to base income generation projects around groups of women (shura, women’s groups...). Quite frequently as soon as the group is involved in the production of goods, problems occur within the group. For example if women weave a carpet together and sell it, one woman might argue that she has worked more than the others and should receive more income. Another might argue that she is the one who shared her skills with the others. On the contrary if the carpet is woven by women who belong to the same household, they will use the money for the same purpose.

However, in some villages where the female community is close knit (e.g in Qash), community-based programmes can be proposed.

6.2.7 Increasing links in between villages

In Lal district, Oxfam works with five focus shura and five ‘secondary’ shura. As far as the RT can see, Oxfam’s work is highly appreciated by the population. It would be relevant to start working with groups of villages in order to increase the impact of Oxfam’s programme on living conditions. Some villages already have close links and women are used to sharing activities or exchanging products. For instance, when developing KG in the villages, Oxfam could encourage women to combine add their produce with the goods of women from neighbouring villages in order to send it to the nearest bazaar to be sold (a means of decreasing transport costs). If Oxfam decides to set up greenhouses in the area, it might be relevant to train women on the use and management of a greenhouse. After a year, these women could train the women from neighbouring villages on green houses management

Undoubtedly, there are many links to be created between the villages, and what is required now is an appraisal from Oxfam staff firstly in order to assess in which villages would it be most appropriate and secondly to hear the women’s point of view.

Men are also used to working together in the fields. These existing links should be utilised by Oxfam in order to amplify the effects of their programmes. Moreover an increase in the general wealth in Lal district will lead to an increase in purchasing power which will support the income generation process.

6.3 Proposed solutions

The proposed solutions are based on 4 main pillars

- Promoting women’s roles in agriculture
- Developing livestock breeding
- Supporting the handicraft activities
- Proposing credit to women

6.3.1 Promoting women’s roles in agriculture

Most of the households are food insecure, and their main objective is to provide enough food for the family throughout the year without endangering the farming system. Income generation cannot be considered as a saving process, as inevitably all the potential new income will be used to purchase food and fuel.

As farming is one of the two main sources of income for farmers, improving farming systems to cope with shocks does indeed make sense. Nevertheless we have to take into account the main constraints.

- Rainfed field (insecure production) account for more than 50% of the agricultural land.
- The long winter season (and subsequent short cropping season) means that many crops cannot be grown.

More generally, regarding the farming activities, one should keep in mind that it would be necessary to:
Improving crop production on irrigated land involves high value crops or the improvement of the existing system.

Wheat yields are generally below 15qx/ha and are limited by rust and smut. It may be worthwhile to see whether these yields can be bolstered with improved wheat varieties. However improved varieties require fertilisers. At present, few farmers have access to fertiliser, nor do they have the cash to purchase it. These programmes are thus quite difficult to implement in the current context. Only the wealthiest farmers could benefit from such programmes.

Developing new high value crops in greenhouses (e.g. vegetables such as cauliflower, cabbage, carrots) might be an interesting option for small landowners, if they subsequently succeed in generating any profit from these vegetables. The main problem here is the market opportunities, as some villages are 5h walk away from the nearest bazaar (Qash and Naw-Gholi). In the given environment, vegetable programmes are more appropriate for improving food and nutrition security.

Women are already significantly involved in farming activities. Programmes should focus on the overall improvement of women’s technical knowledge in this sector since there are few other income-generating activities for women within the village. As mentioned previously, the value of these skills and activities should be highlighted to male members of the community. Among the possible farming activities, the RT would like to emphasize the ones which might be the more efficient.

6.3.1.1 Kitchen garden programmes
As stated earlier, there are numerous constraints that limit opportunities for increasing the agricultural production (e.g. poor market access, short cropping season, lack of inputs and seeds, knowledge, etc.). As the cropping season is short (3-4 months) and temperatures low (there is a risk of frost until May), greenhouses would be very appropriate.

A passive solar greenhouse
A passive solar greenhouse is designed to trap enough solar radiation for photosynthesis and to provide the interior climatic conditions required for growing vegetables all year round. When outside temperatures are low, heat is stored during the day in the ground and walls and released during the night in the greenhouse. During winter, the greenhouse traps enough energy during the day to ensure that the vegetables do not freeze overnight. Greenhouses are highly appropriate for Hazaradjat since they will allow people to grow vegetables throughout the year, even in winter, which will improve food security and might also generate incomes or prevent asset depletion. Greenhouses can have three main functions: extending the summer season, winter vegetable production and seedling production in spring. The use of greenhouses has many advantages:

a. It allows long development cycle vegetables to finish their cycle;

b. It allows the production of vegetables during winter, and villagers may also be able to sell part of the production. Since fresh vegetables are very expensive during winter, using a greenhouse to produce fresh vegetables during the peak of winter might be beneficial in economic terms.

c. As the cropping season is very short, using a greenhouse to produce seedlings to be transplanted outside as soon as possible, allows beneficiaries to grow vegetables that could not be grown outside. In Hazardajat, cabbage, cauliflower, carrots, turnips, radishes and lettuce could be easily grown.
According to Geres\(^6\), a greenhouse project would be highly appropriate given the constraints villages have to face in Hazaradjat (i.e. climate, food insecurity, poor access to the market to purchase vegetables). Geres has already built greenhouses in partnership with MADERA in Behsud district.

At least two years are required before a greenhouse is up and running efficiently. In some villages (e.g. Qash, Sahib-ektihiar, Naw-Gholi) collective greenhouses could be tested; in others like Mushkei or Qhala-Kamron private greenhouses may be more appropriate. Initially, it is advisable to start the project with innovative and dynamic farmers.

**Oxfam’s role**

**Some technical elements**

Greenhouses of 2x4x8m or 2x5x10m can be built with the assistance of Geres. Either wood or metallic tubes can be used for the structure; mud bricks are used for the two double walls on the sides. The gap between the inner and outer wall is filled with insulating material, such as straw, wild bushes, animal dung or dried grass. Then, a polyethylene sheet is used to cover the side facing the south. Roughly US$50-60 are needed to buy the plastic for a greenhouse. If the greenhouse is well maintained, the same plastic can be kept for 3 or 4 years. Taking all the material and labour costs into account the cost for one greenhouse is roughly US$1,200. If the communities provide the bricks and/or wood, as well as labour, costs can be reduced by 50%.

Construction cost should be shared with the community: for instance Oxfam could provide the technical advice to build the greenhouse and the plastic, and the community could provide the labour, the bricks and the wood for the structure. This has to be negotiated with the communities (what kind of material could they easily provide? When, who?...)

In order to ensure sustainability, it would be advisable for Oxfam to work in partnership with one or two shopkeepers in the nearest bazaar (Lal, Garmao or Gezel). The shopkeepers would be in charge of buying the appropriate plastic from Kabul and making it available in the bazaar.

Once the greenhouse is build and functioning, Oxfam needs to train communities in greenhouse cultivation methods and maintenance of the greenhouse. Oxfam will also be in charge of developing networks for the supply of seeds, tools, polythene (building partnerships with shopkeepers in the bazaar). Careful follow up of the maintenance of the greenhouse and of the cultivation methods should be carried out by Oxfam.

This practical advice should provide a good opportunity for women to learn to read and write, to improve numeracy levels, to understand the health benefits of vegetables and how to prepare them throughout the year.

Moreover, new skills could be taught to women. For instance, cooking lessons (to push people to try new types of vegetables), advice on nutrition (how to preserve the nutrients when cooking vegetables) should be integrated in KG programmes.

**6.3.1.2 Arboriculture**

The planting of fruit and non-fruit trees is an urgent need in this area. First, they provide wood for construction purposes and fuel, and secondly they play a major role in controlling erosion. In Sahib Ektihiar, Mushkei and Now Gholi, communities plant and sell out indigenous poplars. These trees are well adapted to the area and grow quickly. They are generally planted next to sources of water and are used to stabilise riverbanks and protect irrigation channels. The area has suffered from severe deforestation and wood is thus a good source of income. The trunk of a poplar tree of 20cm in diameter is sold for 400 afs/metre in the bazaar.

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\(^6\) Geres (Renewable energy and environment group) is an NGO promoting passive solar energies in building greenhouses in Afghanistan. If Oxfam is interested in passive solar, they should contact the Geres to ask for a feasibility study for greenhouses in the targeted villages.
Cultivation of fruit trees should also be supported. In some villages (Sahib-Ekthiar, Mushkei, Sia-Sang) fruit trees have been planted (apple and apricot trees). The seedlings were brought by men from Behsud or Ghazni. In most cases production could increase if people had more knowledge regarding fruit production. Up to 3,000-3,100 metres altitude, fruit trees can be planted around the fields, along paths or even within the village (in between houses).

Oxfam could provide:
- Practical training regarding arboriculture: pruning, grafting, disease control, protecting seedling from the animals.
- Seedlings (apple, apricot, in the lower villages mulberry and almond trees). Fruit trees could be either planted on private land, on the sides of paths or around their houses for the landless women (as long as there is an easy access to water).
- Follow up women’s activities during the first years to make sure than women have the right knowledge and know-how.

6.3.2 Develop animal husbandry

On the rainfed fields, areas let to fallow have decreased from 50% to 33% in exchange for increased alfalfa and clover cultivation. Livestock breeding is increasing as this is the main source of cash and exchange for farmers. For villages with sufficient grazing land to access forage, supporting livestock breeding by improving fodder crop production may well be an interesting option. Oxfam has already distributed improved alfalfa to some villages and the quantity of alfalfa seed distributions could be increased. Moreover, by increasing the quantity of Alfalfa in the forage given to livestock during winter, this would reduce the amounts of thistle and dried grass needed. As it is the women’s responsibility to cut grass, this in turn might reduce some of their workload in the summer.

Animal husbandry would benefit from animal health programmes by helping reduce animal mortality rates.

Women process milk into different dairy products and process sheep’s wool into different handicraft items (clothes, carpet, gelam, namad). At present, many women are unable to carry out handicraft activities as they neither have enough wool nor the cash to purchase it. Additionally handicraft products are in competition with Iranian and Pakistani manufactured goods, and traders will only buy high quality handicraft items. Quality is undoubtedly a major stake.

We previously mention the need to strengthen women’s self-confidence by raising gender awareness as well as increasing women literacy’s skills. However the RT is not sure that this should be given as a specific course. As mentioned earlier, the RT thinks that it might be more relevant and efficient to combine the increase of knowledge with practical activities. Moreover, the RT proposes a portfolio of activities which could be relevant in the area, for some women in certain villages. As we mentioned earlier the diversity between the different villages and within each village is very high. Oxfam staff needs to develop a thorough understanding of this diversity before commencing any of the following activities. This has to be based on in-depth discussions with the communities, and men’s and women’s views have to be taken into account. In a given village, Oxfam can give a choice of between 3-5 projects and every woman or household should choose the projects which are most relevant and helpful for them.

6.3.2.1 Sheep bank

As it is explained in this report, women are involved in livestock breeding and get several benefits from it. The drought resulted in a dramatic decrease in livestock. At present people are resolving their problems by selling their livestock in order to pay their debts and buy food for winter. By selling their ewes, people are thus unable to increase their flocks. Since dairy products, especially qurum is one of the few things that women can sell or exchange, they could directly benefit from increasing their livestock. When women were asked which animal interested them the most in terms of income generation, they always mentioned sheep because they provide the household with diverse products as wool, milk, meat and dung. Moreover the hardiness of sheep is really appropriate in such an agro-ecological environment. Many women said that if they had more sheep they would be able to
increase the quantity of dairy product (especially qurt) and wool handcraft. They also mention that increasing livestock is also a way to secure their livelihoods and prevent the depletion of assets.

A ‘sheep bank’ project could help women to increase their livestock according to the following process:

Oxfam provides one ewe per woman. All the women who receive a ewe commit to keeping the animal and its lambs for two to three years until they get another breeding ewe (18 months). The first ewe that they get from ‘Oxfam’s ewe’ has to be given back to Oxfam at the age of 15 months. This ewe will be redistributed to other women in the same village if needed or to another village. For a sheep bank project, it seems difficult to have shorter-term projects since women need to have lambs and a breeding ewe before giving one back to Oxfam.

The constraints of this project are the following:

- Firstly, the village needs enough grazing land to provide forage for the livestock.
- Secondly, women should have enough time to cut supplementary grass in the mountains to feed their sheep.
- Then, Oxfam needs to carry out a close follow up of the project to make sure that women are keeping their animals.

One farmer from Qash village: “We need more or less 40 ser of fodder per winter to feed one sheep (1.5kg/day) we mix grass, thistle and alfa-alfa, 1/3 of each. Thistle is a real problem for us because we have to crush it otherwise our animals refuse to eat it. It hurts our cattle and us too. If we had more alfa-alfa we could increase the part of alfa-alfa in the fodder as it is more nutritive and put less thistle in. In this case 30 ser per winter should be enough. Alfa-alfa is very good for our animals they become fat quicker.”

Increasing numbers of livestock should be supported by an improvement in animal feeding. As suggested earlier, an additional programme to distribute improved Alfa-alfa seeds to men could a) support the increased numbers of livestock and b) increase women’s free time since smaller amounts of grass would be needed. Moreover Alfa-alfa protects the steel hillsides from erosion and improves soil fertility. As explained in the next paragraph, improving animal health would support any programme aiming at increasing livestock.

6.3.2.2 Expand the training of BVW and animal health programmes

In July 2005 Oxfam trained women BVW (Basic veterinary workers) in Lal district. This programme has the dual advantage of focusing on women’s income generation as well as animal health improvement. However, only literate women from Lal ‘city’ or the neighbouring villages were involved in this programme. Even if this programme is quite recent, the initial results seem quite encouraging as women are going to villages (without Mahram) to vaccinate the animals. They keep part of the fee for the vaccine as payment and give a certain percentage to Oxfam who provided them with the vaccines. When we asked men whether having a woman vaccinating their animals was a problem for them, the majority said that it was not an issue as long as the vet has the right know-how.

These programme should be amplified and target illiterate women too. Basic literacy and numeracy skills could be transmitted to the trainees.

Regarding livestock breeding, one of the main challenges is an overall improvement of animal feeding and sanitation for dairy products. Some training about basic knowledge in animal care could complete the existing training given to the BVW. For instance, it could be interesting to teach women to build slatted floor to facilitate litter cleaning. On one hand it will improve animal health conditions, and on the other hand, it would decrease the number of hours spent by women cleaning the stables and free some time for other activities.

6.3.2.3 Chicken bank

The advantage of chicken banks is that chickens have a high reproductive rate which provides a ready source of cash, they are not too demanding in term of fodder and they produce eggs. Chicken banks

7 White sheep should be preferred as their wool is the most expensive.
might be more appropriate for poor or landless women than sheep banks. Chickens can spend the day outside and be brought inside during the night. There are few constraints in terms of breeding and caring for them is not time-consuming. However the biggest limitation is Newcastle disease which can decimate a group of hens in few days.

Oxfam could train women in the basics of poultry farming (disease control, feeding advice) and provide vaccinations to women. For instance six hens could be given to a woman who will keep them for a six-month period. After six months, six hens are given back to Oxfam to be redistributed to other women. Since the majority of landless families face a major lack of food, the main risk is that the distributed chicken are exchanged against foodstuff. Chicken and eggs are quite easy to sell or to exchange within the village or in the bazaar and could provide direct income generation. On the other hand, part of the production (meat and eggs) will certainly be used for the family’s own consumption and will have a positive impact on the nutrition (protein supply).

6.3.3 Support the production of quality handicraft

As stated earlier, handicraft activities have decreased for two reasons: the effects of the drought and the massive importation of factory-made carpets from Iran. Many households spend money buying Iranian carpets instead of weaving them because wool is expensive and requires cash.

6.3.3.1 Untreated wool bank

In all the villages visited, women argued that before the drought they were able to generate a certain amount of incomes from wool handicraft. Given that flocks have decreased as a result of the drought, the price of balls of wool increased significantly and women can no longer afford to buy wool from the bazaar. Undoubtedly, there is a market opportunity for balls of wool as they can be quite expensive:

- Lambs wool: 150-180 afs/kg
- White: 120-140 afs/kg
- Beige: 100-120 afs/kg
- Black or coloured: 60-70 afs/kg

Some women spin wool manually, whereas others use a spinning wheel which allows them to double their productivity. Balls of wool are either sold to local traders or to shopkeepers in the bazaar. Some of the wool is then sold locally and the rest is send to Kabul where prices can increase by 30%. Spinning wool does not require particular skills (except learning how to use the spinning wheel) and can be done when women have free time.

Most of the women met said that if they had money they would buy ‘untreated wool’ to process it (cleaning, drying…) and then spin it. Since they did not have enough money and limited access to the bazaar, they are unable to do so. The wool bank project would be most adapted to landless women as it does not require any particular skills, and only wool and spinning wheels in terms of assets. Oxfam could provide untreated wool purchased in the bazaar in large quantities. Actually, Oxfam should try to provide white wool as it is the more expensive one. This wool could be delivered to women’s houses in May or June when prices are low (just after the shearing). A certain number of kilos of wool could be given to a woman (to be determined), who will then process the wool into balls of wall. Balls of wool could either be sold in the market or used to weave carpets or gelam.

6.3.3.2 Handicraft material cooperative

Many women state that they could produce more handicrafts if they had access to the required materials or tools. In some villages where the female community is close knit, a handicraft material cooperative could be set up.

Oxfam will for instance provide the shura with the following: balls of wool, different types of needles, spinning wheels, vertical looms for gelam and carpet weaving, cloth for embroidery, plastic pearls, etc. When needed, women could borrow equipment and material from the shura and use it to produce
handicraft (embroidery, carpets, etc.). After they have sold their products they could reimburse the wool borrowed. The main limitations of this project is that it might generate conflict or jealousy amongst the women if one uses more material than the others, or uses it for a longer time. Furthermore, if the quality of a gelam or carpet is not impeccable, women might be unable to sell it and hence incapable of reimbursing the quantity of wool they borrowed.

Fashionable handicraft products such as strings of pearls or penjabi embroidery are quite easy to sell to local traders. In Qash for instance, women make a variety of different types of handicraft items and sell them to the local traders.

6.3.4 Provide access to credit

As was discussed earlier, the lack of cash flow and exchangeable goods (foodstuffs, handicraft) often pushes households into a vicious circle of credit and indebtedness. To allow women to access credit would be highly beneficial in order to increase household livelihood security and prevent them from taking out credits with high rates of interest. As most of the poor households are food insecure, the risks entailed in providing credit is the low rate of repayment. This is the reason why small amounts should be preferred to large amounts of credit since they are easier to reimburse.

A cash grant programme could allow women to obtain the initial outlay of money when starting a new activity. According their skills, know-how and assets, women could use this money to buy tools (for agriculture or handicraft), seeds, chicken, livestock inputs and materials for handicraft. Before receiving a credit, women should explain their objectives and strategies to Oxfam staff and agree to reimburse the amount of money before a certain period of time agreed by Oxfam and the woman in question. It is suggested that cash grants should not exceed 2 000 Afs/woman. A group of women should be selected within the village to receive the first cash grant. No subsequent credit will be provided until all the women in the first group have reimbursed Oxfam. The success of cash grants programmes and reimbursement rates usually depend upon a certain degree of social pressure.

Cash grants programmes would have two main interests:
- First, if women succeed in handling the money themselves (an issue which should be explained and negotiated with men), it will increase their empowerment within the household as they become 'real' economic agents.
- Secondly, with this credit, women will be able to take advantage of their personal skills, to define a plan to generate income (with the help of Oxfam staff) and implement this plan. This might also increase their self-confidence and value their roles in the eyes of men.

However, cash grant programmes have three main limits:
- Since landless households are quite mobile, landless woman who have received credits may move to other villages before they reimburse the sum to Oxfam. In this case it would be difficult to extend the cash grant to other women in the village.
- If a woman is unable to reimburse and this blocks the expansion of this project to other women, it might generate conflict within the village (between women and households).
- The money might be taken and used by the men of the household for other purposes.

6.3.5 Opportunities to explore...

6.3.5.1 Common bakery

During summer, women are extremely busy working in the fields and cutting grass. Baking bread is time-consuming (1½h per day) and requires collecting firewood. Oxfam could try to implement a common bakery in some villages. Women could make the dough at home and then bring it to the common bakery to be baked by another woman. The baker could be a landless woman; she would provide the firewood. She could either be paid in kind at the end of the month by the women using the common bakery or by taking 25% of the bread she bakes. This project has various advantages:
Firstly, in a period where women are really busy, it would decrease women’s workload and allow them to carry out other activities (spinning wool, taking care of the chickens, and work in the greenhouses...).

Having one common bakery reduces the village’s fuel expenses.

Lastly, if the village is close to a bazaar, part of the bread could be sold in the bazaar.

Two main limits/constraints could prevent the success of this project:
First, making bread is a ‘true’ woman’s activity and in some villages, a woman who does not bake her own bread would be looked down upon.

The common bakery could only function between May and September when there is no need to heat the house given that during winter the tandoor is used to bake the bread, cook and heat the house.

Oxfam could propose this idea, build the common bakery and test it in a village over a few months. It is advisable to chose a village close to a bazaar to allow villagers to sell the extra bread there.

6.3.5.2 Micro-credit programmes

Micro-credit is not always the most appropriate solution for all poor people. Some people are so poor that they are unable to generate income from the loan they take. In Afghanistan many aid agencies have offered loans to poor poppy farmers whom they hoped would try to cultivate alternative crops. In many cases it did not work as people did not generate sufficient income to take the risk of stopping poppy cultivation. The poorest have a number of constraints - fewer sources of income, poor health and education - which prevents them from investing the loan in a high-return activity. Under these circumstances it would make much more sense to provide grants along with training or material to start an activity. Grants are an appropriate tool for the poorest that are not able to use credit to increase their income.

The RT believes that micro-credit programmes are not appropriate at present in the visited villages. However, it would require more research in order to fully ascertain whether micro-credit programmes could work.

Credit to groups of women

As discussed earlier, allowing women’s groups to handle common money or carry out productive activities are likely to fail since women are more used to sharing tasks and income within their respective households. However, in villages where women are closely linked and where the community of women is quite homogenous (like Qash for instance), this can be tried out.

Credit to face conjectural expenses

Credit for life-cycle or religious ceremonies such as funerals, wedding or the chite celebration (Cheragh Gul) when every family has to slaughter a lamb, could allow the poorest women (widows, landless) to cover these expenses without selling their assets. They could keep their assets which would help them reimburse the credit. Additional research should be carried out to assess the impact of credit and indebtedness on women.

Self-help groups?

‘Self Help Groups’ is a model of credit provision used extensively in India, that places at least equal emphasis on empowerment as income generation.

When the SHG model was discussed with women, most of them said that even if the concept was interesting they were unable to save 10 afs per week. Besides in a non monetary market, access to cash can be difficult for women.

In a few years time, if women succeed in generating income, they might be able to set up a SHG. Women shura could be a possible mechanism for SHG, but as far as the RT can see, it seems too early to start such a process in the villages in question.
A brief description of the SHG
Each member has to bring 10, 20 or 30 Afghanis to the weekly SHG meeting. The money collected is given to a woman, chosen by the women of the SHG. This woman is supposed to use this money for an income-generating activity. The woman who received the money has to reimburse the amount borrowed + half of the benefits.
REFERENCE LIST OF DOCUMENTS CONSULTED

- www.hazarajat.com
Proposal for Women’s Income Generation Research

Lal district (Ghor province) – OXFAM

Written by Peggy PASCAL, Groupe ERD, Kabul office
Addressing food security and livelihoods issues is one of Hazarajat’s greatest needs. Despite the improving security situation and more stable political context, a large proportion of the population of the central highlands is still dependent on agriculture and remittances. Many areas are up to 50% food insecure even in good years, and there remains an ongoing drought. Overpopulation and over-farming is leading to environmental damage - soil erosion and lack of arable land is an increasing problem.

1 Background

The vulnerability of Hazaras, traditionally an under-represented and poor group, has more than only food and income security repercussions. As it is linked closely to other strategic issues such as. The ability of people to obtain some semblance of sustainable livelihood and to be able to have a healthy life, receive some basic education is essential for the stabilisation of a country which went through so many conflict and natural disasters.

Under the Hazarajat Rural Rehabilitation Programme, Oxfam GB has secured funding for research in the area of Women’s Income Generation. The results of this research would then be utilized to improve the design programmes aimed at facilitating income earning for women in the Hazarajat province, these programmes would be piloted within the districts of Panjao, Asherlai, Waras and Lal. Previous experience in the project area suggests it is possible to successfully organise women’s community based income generation projects within the focus communities. Previous programming has suggested that husbands will support these activities, which will lead to increased incomes within households. It is clear that that women will not be able to provide a full income for their families, but that at least they will be able to earn a modest income which contributes to the overall welfare of their family.

2 Groupe URD’s presentation

2.1 A BRIEF PRESENTATION OF GROUPE URD IN GENERAL

Groupe URD (Emergency Rehabilitation Development) was founded in 1993 with the aim of improving our understanding of the complexity of emergency contexts and developing new operational procedures. Groupe URD functions as a non-profit research, evaluation and training institute. Its activities are based on a ‘learning cycle’: field learning through research and evaluation, capitalising lessons learned, development of tools and methods, dissemination of these lessons and tools through training, publications and conferences.

Groupe URD’s core team is composed of nine members of various nationalities, from Africa, the Americas and Europe, and covers a range of disciplines, such as Agronomy, International Humanitarian Law, Medicine, Nutrition and Management. It is complemented by senior expert consultants.

Evaluations: Groupe URD regularly carries out several major evaluations for donors, UN agencies and NGOs covering a diversity of contexts in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe/Caucasus.

Research and publications: Groupe URD runs several research programmes, including the Quality Project, the Global Study on Participation and the “War in cities, Cities at war” project. All research results are published in well-known specialised publications and are widely diffused.

Development of methods and tools for humanitarian practitioners: on the basis of its research and evaluations, Groupe URD has specialised in the development of methods and tools.
specifically designed for humanitarian practitioners, such as the Quality COMPAS (see below) and the Practitioner Handbook on Participation in Crisis Situations (ALNAP).

**Training:** In order to re-inject the lessons learnt in the field back into the humanitarian sector, Groupe URD conducts over 130 days of training per year for international, national and local NGOs, UN agencies, bilateral donors, and in various universities. *Groupe URD’s web site presents all these activities and publications ([www.urd.org](http://www.urd.org)).*

### 2.2 ACTIVITIES IN AFGHANISTAN

Groupe URD has opened a permanent office in Kabul in January 2005, but its experience in the country dates back to several years, through the following activities:

**Research**
- July-Aug 2002: Field mission, Global study on Participation in Humanitarian Action, ALNAP
- Jan 2005-Jan 2007: LRRD Project (Linking Relief Rehabilitation and development), EC. The main objectives of the project are the following:
  - Continue the evaluation and lessons learning process in the period of transition from emergency to rehabilitation and development;
  - Carry out applied research in rural and urban settings in specific fields (including food and economic security, health, housing and habitat) with a focus on key issues as identified during the lesson learning process;
  - Contribute to the capacity building efforts of the relevant AIA ministries and Afghan NGOs through training.

**Evaluation**
- Nov-Dec 2004: Final evaluation of the second DACAAR EC-funded consortium
- Aug 2003: Quality project in Afghanistan Mission 3 (Multi-sectoral iterative evaluation process)
- Jun 2003, Evaluation of the Euronaid assistance in food security and food aid in Afghanistan, mainly through NGO partners.
- Jan-Feb 2003: Quality project in Afghanistan Mission 2
- July-Aug 2002: Quality project in Afghanistan – Mission 1
- May 2000, Evaluation of DG1 ‘‘Aid for Uprooted People in ALA region’’ – General Desk Study and Field Mission in Afghanistan and its relations with the global aid system in Afghanistan, including ECHO.

**Technical Support / Tool development**
- Guidelines on "Integrating Nutrition in Food Security and livelihoods programmes in Afghanistan".
- Nov 2001, Agricultural recovery preparedness mission for Afghanistan: for FAO/TCOR and preparation of programmes for submission to ECHO.
- 2000, Preparation of various methodological tools on integrated mine action in rural areas (with case studies in Afghanistan) for ICRC. Design/launch ICRC mine awareness programmes in Afghanistan

**Training sessions**
May 2005; First training sessions on farming system analysis in Kabul Faculty of Agriculture

July 2005, training on the Quality Compas for WFP staff in Kabul

August 2005 Training on the Quality Compas for SOLIDARITES

Publications on Afghanistan


Oct. 2004, Villes en guerres, guerres en ville (the Kabul case), Grunewald, Levron (Groupe URD), Pratiques humanitaires en questions, Karthala


Nov. 2002, Ethic of use of ready to use therapeutic foods, Ch Dufour, Groupe URD, Field exchange, Nov 2002, Issue 17


2000, Mine action in Afghanistan, Groupe URD

2000 The Agro-Rehabilitation in Afghanistan. Regreening the desert, Groupe URD

2000, The situation of Afghan uprooted people in may 2000, Groupe URD

3 Groupe URD’s proposition

3.1 ISSUES AT STAKE
This study will focus on the following key question: “In a context of post conflict and in food insecurity context what are the roles played by women within the household, what could be the viable areas/types of work in which women could generate income?”

A special focus should be made on the use of natural resources which might be utilised in income generation.

3.2 METHODOLOGY PROPOSED
This study has two main objectives:

Objective 1: Acquire a thorough understanding of women’s roles in farming systems.
- Acquire a relevant historical understanding of the social, political, agricultural and technical changes affecting households and farmers, particularly women, over the past decades.
- Understand the way(s) households manage their means of production and their resources in time and in space. Focus on the role of women throughout the year within the household economy. Compare present and past to enhance the main dynamics.
• Study the diversity of present livelihood strategies within the studied family/social groups. Focus on women’s strategies in the household.
• This assessment will take into account the different types of constraints (geographical, environmental, sociological, technical as well as the market opportunities) to highlight the main constraints which would have to be faced by OXFAM women’s programs.

Objective 2: Identify activities to raise women’s incomes.
After a global overview of women’s roles in the livelihood and the identification of the main constraints, the proposed team will identify viable future methods to raise sustainable incomes for women in Hazarajat with practical advices. That will be done in assessing the following elements:

• How has the role of women in farming systems changed over the past twenty years?
• What are the main differences between women status? What do these differences depend on?
• What are the main constraints facing women?
• What are the possible consequences of developing women’s initiatives (e.g. economic initiatives, associations, etc.)?
• Impact on women’s other activities and duties
• Impact on their relations with male members of the family

3.3 Overview of the Proposed Strategy and Methodology

Step 1: Analysis of agrarian systems and selection of the villages to studied (4 days)
In terms of methodology, Step 1 applies to both Studies, with Study 1 focusing on the men’s point of view and Study 2 on women’s opinions.

1- Acquire a relevant historical understanding of the main dynamics in the area at social, political, agricultural and technical levels. Trying to understand how a system functions without considering how it has changed over time is no simple matter. Indeed analysing the past gives insight into the present and reinforces our capacity to predict the future. Gaining insight into how systems function and how they have evolved over time is particularly useful for assessing the conditions required for these systems to reproduce themselves and to assess the sustainability of the agriculture they are linked to. The method that we would like to use is based on a principle which consists of optimising the geographical diversity of the farming methods of the area to reconstitute their historical evolution, and to use the synchrony of situations in order to understand their historical development.

2- Acquire a first geographical and agro-ecological knowledge of the area: What are the main characteristics of the network of villages situated in the area? How are the different sub eco-systems organised? Where are the main locations for exchange?

The methodological foundations of the research work will comprise systemic analysis, theory of agrarian systems and land tenure surveys. Indeed, in order to understand the agrarian system in an integrated way, the researcher will turn to different disciplines: history, sociology, geography, economic networks, markets organisations, etc.

Step 2: Detailed assessment of the selected villages to get a precise picture of the farming systems and households strategies, focus on women (4 days)

Assess the ways people manage their means of production and resources in time and in space in the different villages
Acquire a relevant historical understanding of what has affected the farming system and the farming communities at social, political, agricultural and technical levels. Identify the potential changes brought in by the recent development of livelihood: the impact on social and technical practices, the
social/economical implications and farmer strategies at individual, household and collective levels. What are the main upheavals that have been experienced by the community? Identify the social practices and mechanisms that influence livelihood strategies, particularly those of women.

In the current situation how do women allocate their time to the different activities they are involved in? What kind of activities could be relevant regarding their availability and types of organisation within the household or at the community level?

The survey will be based on “survey checklist” common to all villages. Ideally the survey would be totally open to allow villagers to express themselves more freely, but some questions will have to be closed in the interest of efficiency. Statements must be validated with observation of the real situation in the village, for example when carrying out transects. A whole series of observations will be made and discussed with farmers to cross check the assumptions.

NB: This type of survey, carried out in the framework of a situation assessment, is clearly inadequate to quantify the studied phenomena. Indeed, quantification is generally considered to be a guarantee of scientific authenticity. Recent research on complex systems has shown that it is not always possible to quantify and, what is more, that understanding how these systems function depends on ensuring that information gathered is coherent and on establishing causal or corresponding relationships between the characteristics of the system, in order to provide a synthetic representation in the form of a pattern or functioning model.

Step 3: Identify activities to increase women’s incomes generation activities (5 days)
Based on a comprehensive view of the present women’s roles within the household economy, research will provide ideas for income generation for either individuals or groups and investigate non-traditional trade opportunities for women. The research team will make sure that the proposed activities are relevant to the context and sustainable.

3.4 IMPLEMENTATION TIMEFRAME

The difficulty is to organise this mission within a timeframe which will take into account a wide set of constraints: access constraints (climatic, security, logistics), programme demands. The following timeframe has been developed:

3.4.1 Pre-mission preparation

This preparatory phase enables for the knowledge management process to be put in motion, including collecting and analysing the existing information on the Consortium’ activities in Afghanistan and the project document. It will comprise:

- Review of the existing literature and documentation and preparation of synthesis notes on various themes and problems;
- Preparation of data collection and analysis tools;
- Information provided in advance to the field teams concerning the status of the mission preparation;
- Dissemination of the mission’s Terms of References and of the methodological notes to all stakeholders in order to establish the dialogue with them as soon as possible.
3.4.2 During the field mission:

- Field visits to be undertaken according the OXFAM team recommendation taking into account the security and access. During the field visits, meetings with households (mens and women) agency staff, local authorities and other key informants will take place;
- End of mission “wrap-up” and organisation of a “mini-seminar” in Kabul for feed-back and reactions. The mini-seminar will ensure that observations, preliminary conclusions and recommendations are shared and discussed with OXFAM team. This process will allow for the results of each mission to be confirmed or disconfirmed, for possible errors or bias to be identified, and for key points that will require further clarification to be highlighted.
- Post-mission activities:
  - Preparation of a draft report with the assistance of a native English speaking editor specialised in reviewing documents related to humanitarian action;
  - Circulation of the draft report within the OXFAM team to stimulate reactions;
  - Finalisation of the mission report and transmission to the DACAAR Consortium who will transmit it to the EC delegation in Kabul
  - Organise a final presentation

3.4.3 During the whole process:

- Ensure that the OXFAM Kabul office and field actors all receive the required information;
- Ensure that contact is kept on a permanent basis on security.

3.5 The proposed team

The team will be composed of two women, both agronomist and with a relevant experience in Afghanistan.

Team leader: Peggy Pascal is an agronomist with experience in arid Africa and dry farming systems in both East and West Africa and one year experience in Afghanistan where she has been involved in different research processes.
She has worked extensively in Northern Mali. She is also learning Dari language in order to better communicate with population members, notably women.

Cecile Duchet is also an agronomist with several months of experience in Afghanistan. She is currently involved in a research project on women incomes generation in Badakhshan (where she is working for Afghan Aid). She has a very good and updated understanding of the afghan gender context. She is able to understand and speak dari quite well.
Annex 1: CV’s of the proposed team

Peggy PASCAL
Groupe URD Agronomist

Date of birth: 17/03/1976
Nationality: French

Qualifications: systemic analyses of agrarian systems, team management, technical and financial proposal writing, three-year involvement in rural development and environmental projects, fluent English speaking, currently learning Dari, good writing skills (6 reports, 2 papers), teaching experience, good computer knowledge.

Education

2004: Degree in tropical agronomy and Master of science «tropical development» (CNEARC: Centre National d’Etudes Agronomiques en Régions Chaudes – Montpellier- France)
2001: Masters in Management of the agro-pastoral and forestry systems in tropical areas, Université de Paris XII
2000: Bachelor’s degree in rural engineering (Université de Lyon)
1997: First Certificate of English (Oxford University)
1996: Degree of History and Geography (Université de Lyon)
1994: Baccalauréat (Economy and social sciences)

Work experience

Jan 2005 – July 2005: Groupe URD, Coordinator of the LRRD project in Kabul, Afghanistan, strong involvement in the rural sector and in research projects.

Nov-Dec 2004: Groupe URD, Evaluation of the second DACAAR consortium in Afghanistan (in charge of the rural development sector)

2004: Groupe URD, co-writing a book about Groupe URD’s research and evaluation work in Afghanistan, Organisation of Groupe URD’s Second Autumn School on Humanitarian Aid

2003: 5 months in the Timbuktu region for the NGO “Veterinarians without borders”: Analysis of the socio-spatial changes since the ecological and political crises. 30 years of NGO’s interventions: what impact, what current needs? What links between emergency and development? (report): “Crisis, agrarian changes, and development perspectives in the Timbuktu region (Northern Mali). From targeted relief to collective development?”

2003: Southern Morocco: Agrarian study in oasis systems

Collaboration to the report: Study of four oases in the Tata region, CNEARC, 2003

2002: 5 months in Kenya: Agrarian study on the agricultural borders of the Kakamega protected forest: What place for people-forest relations in a high population density situation? ICRAF (International Centre for Research in Agroforestry)
Agrarian development on the borders of the Kakamega protected forest -Western Kenya:- a development under surveillance?

- 2001: 5 months in Kenya: Rainfall simulation campaign. ICRAF
- Influences of different land use on soil erodibility. Study on simulated rainfall in Western Kenya

- 2000: 5 months in Burkina-Faso (Association for the promotion of sustainable development): Surveys with women's groups about the impacts of droughts, project design.
- Bush death? The desertification process in the Nayala province (Burkina-Faso)

- 1999: 2 months in the Central African Republic
6 months in Cadres Sans Frontière Afrique (Lyon): in charge of information and communication
- Reflexion about the development and the different forms of aid ⇒ Impasses and promises ‘franco-african’ territory

Publications, lectures and teaching

- March 2003: Lecture in SAGERT workshop, and publication: «Understanding conflicts around the uses of forest products: contributions of history and of the geography of agricultural exploitation modes on the borders of the Kakamega protected forest (Western Kenya)», proceedings of the SAGERT workshop, April 2003

- 2003: Teaching in various agronomy schools

- Mars 2004: Conference in Agropolis (Montpellier): “Crisis and agrarian transformation in the Timbuktu region (Northern Mali)”

- Autumn 2004: "Agriculture around the protected forest of Kakamega (Western Kenya); development under tight surveillance" in Cahiers de l'agriculture et du développement
**Work plan and meetings**

- **Saturday 19 Nov:** Arrival in Lal, meetings with staff to discuss Oxfam programs in Lal district, agriculture and livestock-related activities, handicraft opportunities. A meeting was also held with Oxfam’s female community to discuss women issues.
- **Sunday 20 Nov:** Interviews in sahib-Ekthyar
- **Monday 21 Nov:** Interviews in Mushkei and meeting with Afghan Aid
- **Tuesday 22 Nov:** Interviews in Kosht
- **Wednesday 23 Nov:** Interviews in Qala-e-Kemron (instead of Djela-Guirak village which was not accessible)
- **Thursday 24 Nov:** Meeting with the Lal team, interviews in the Lal bazaar and meetings with Lepco, IAM.
- **Friday 25 Nov:** Writing the report
- **Saturday 26 Nov:** Writing the report
- **Sunday 27 Nov:** Interviews in Naw-Gholi
- **Monday 28 Nov:** Writing the report - Interviews in the Lal Bazar
- **Tuesday 29 Nov:** Flight to Kabul
- **4 December:** Presentation of the findings to Oxfam in Kabul
Field notes and Annexes

- Table 2: Why and how to implement the proposed projects?
- Table 3: Strengths, weaknesses, consequences and impact of the proposed projects
- Table 4: Prioritization of the proposed activities per village
- Table 5: Prices of food stuff, main items and salaries
Table 2: Why and how to implement the proposed projects?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Difficulties for farmers</th>
<th>Oxfam’s role</th>
<th>Expected effects</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Kitchen Garden around houses | - No seeds  
- No fertilizer  
- Lack of knowledge | - Provide seeds  
- Improve women’s knowledge in gardening techniques (particularly about seed generation) | - Nutrition improvement  
- Improve women’s knowledge | Low income generation |
| Vegetables on irrigated land | - No seeds  
- No fertilizer  
- Lack of knowledge | - Improve women’s knowledge in gardening techniques (particularly about seed generation)  
- One part of the vegetables’ sell has to be kept to buy fertilizers | - Nutrition improvement  
- Improve women’s knowledge  
- Income generation | Only for households which have access to enough irrigated land  
Altitude may limit yields |
| Fruits trees | - No seeds  
- Lack of knowledge | - Provide seeds  
- Improve women’s knowledge in gardening techniques (particularly about seed generation) | - Nutrition improvement  
- Improved women’s knowledge  
- Income generation | Altitude may limit yields  
Plantation of non fruit trees should also be encouraged |
| Increase in forage production | - Lack of land  
- No seeds | - Provide alfalfa seeds for rainfed fields | - Increase production of forage  
- Increase the rainfed fields productivity (legumes improve soil fertility) | Rainfed fields are highly sensitive to drought |
| Sheep Bank | - Farmers experience difficulties in keeping animals, they sell them to buy food  
- Provide one ewe per woman  
- Make sure that the lambs (or ewes) are not sold during the first two years  
- After two years, women have 3 sheep (with 1 or 2 reproductive females). Women have to give one ewe back to Oxfam if they have two, or otherwise, as soon as they have a second female lamb. | - Increasing flocks  
- Increase the quantity of dairy products  
- Increase the quantity of wool  
- More handicrafts  
- Income generation | Women need time (and permission) to cut more grass.  
- Benefits will be seen after two years  
- Villages must have enough fodder resources  
- For the poorest women, it might be difficult to discourage them from selling the animal when they need cash to buy foodstuff. |
| Chicken bank | - Few chickens because of disease and depletion  
- Provide chickens for women  
- Train women to build small hen-house  
- Women must return the same number of chickens provided by Oxfam after 6 months.  
- Train women to prevent Newcastle disease  
- Vaccination programme (for all Afghanistan) | - Improve nutrition of the family (eggs, meat)  
- Income generation (eggs and meat) | Risk of disease (mainly Newcastle disease)  
- Chicken could be easily exchange against foodstuff |
| Untreated wool bank | - Since the drought, women do not have enough wool and have decreased their | - Provide wool for women  
- After a certain time (to be determined with women, between 6 months and 1 year), women must | - Income generation  
- Production for their own consumption | Lack of market  
- Handicraft items are likely to find a market if the quality is very high |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Solution</th>
<th>Benefits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Handicraft material cooperative** | - Women have poor access to several types of material                   | - Establish a list of the materials required by women and try to assess with the women the interest in the goods they would like to produce (Is it marketable? Is it fashionable?)  
   - Provide these materials through the women’s shura  
   - Women must return/reimburse the materials they have used (bawls of wool, cloth) | - Increase management quality and self-confidence  
   - Social pressure is useful to incite women to return/reimburse borrowed materials  
   - Relationship between women should be good as this project is based on trust and sharing common materials  
   - The leader of the women’s shura may misuse the collective assets or use it personally |
| **Cash grant**                   | - Poor access to cash for commencing activities                          | - Oxfam provides a limited amount of cash (less than 2,000 afs to facilitate the repayment) to women who have well-defined projects  
   - Oxfam can offer other credits only after the first women paid back | - Allows women to start an activity they believe in  
   - Social pressure encourages repayment  
   - Income generation (depends on the chosen activities)  
   - Poor access to market: income generation might be limited |
| **Community bakery**             | - Women are busy  
   - Fuel is expensive                                                     | - Develop community bakery during summer as the tandoor is not used to heat the house. Women can bring their flour to one house and pay the woman who bakes the bread in kind at the end of the month.  
   - Every month, women take turns to bake the bread  
   - Oxfam builds an adapted community bakery (CFW)                         | - More free time (about 1½ hours per day) for women to do other activities  
   - Relationship between women should be good as this project is based on trust and sharing common materials  
   - Appropriate for landless women  
   - It might be difficult for women to accept that someone else bakes their bread (as baking bread is viewed an essential part of women’s activities) |
### Table 3: Strengths, weaknesses, consequences and impact of the proposed projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Strengths</th>
<th>Weaknesses</th>
<th>Potential consequences on the households</th>
<th>Desired impacts, expected changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Kitchen Garden| - Capital requirements: If communities provide bricks and wood: US$400-600. Geres could provide a quotation.  
- Skills required: People need to be trained to manage the greenhouse and in vegetable production techniques. Cooking lessons should be also given to women for the new types of vegetables.  
- Access to the market: Depends on the village's position (cf. Table 1)  
- Transport requirements: Few (good quality of plastic should be purchased in Kabul)  
- Community’s attitude: Certainly very positive if women are trained and Oxfam (together with Geres) ensure a support. | - Sustainability may be an issue if the community is unable to save enough money to change the plastic (US$50) every 2 or 3 years.  
- Maintaining the greenhouse is the only way to ensure a good production throughout the year, for instance if the greenhouse is too humid, the entire production might freeze.  
- Technical training on agricultural techniques should be given to teach women how to renew their stocks of seeds from the harvest  
- Roles, responsibilities and profit sharing need to be clearly defined between women. | - Improve food diversity  
- For the communities located near the bazaar, part of the production could be sold and generate incomes. | - Improve the nutritional status  
- Increase women’s income generation  
- Ensure that women’s activities are valued  
- Give women a specific role in the agricultural production |
| Arboriculture  | - Capital requirements: To be defined in a feasibility study  
- Skills required: Practical training regarding arboriculture (pruning, grafting, disease control, protecting seedlings from animals).  
- Access to the market: Depends on the village's position (cf. Table 1)  
- Transport requirements: sampling, seeds and tools  
- Community’s attitude: In all the villages visited by the RT, the communities expressed their willingness to develop fruit production. | - Short duration of the cropping season might be an obstacle.  
- Land availability (fruit trees production is difficult for landless people)  
- Lack of knowledge in fruit trees production | - Improve food diversity  
- For the communities located near the bazaar, part of the production could be sold and generate incomes. | - Improve the nutritional status  
- Increase women’s income generation  
- Ensure women’s activities are valued  
- Give women a specific role in the agricultural production |
| Sheep Bank     | - Capital requirements: US$50-70 for a white ewe (at least 10 -15 sheep per village)  
- Skills required: Disease control  
- Access to the market: Oxfam provides the | - Women sell the ewe before the 18 months imposed by Oxfam  
- After the birth of the first ewe, the family refuses to give it back to Oxfam | - Reinforce production systems, coping strategies and secure access to credit | - Increasing flock sizes  
- Increase the quantity of dairy |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Transport requirements</th>
<th>Capital requirements</th>
<th>Skill required</th>
<th>Access to the market</th>
<th>Risk of disease</th>
<th>Income generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expand the training of BVW and animal health programme</td>
<td>Sheep, untreated wool</td>
<td>High skill requirement in disease control and animal husbandry</td>
<td>Disease control (mainly the capacity to recognise the symptoms of Newcastle disease and take decisions to avoid an epidemic), the chicken</td>
<td>Only literate women from Lal city or neighbouring villages are involved, few women could be involved in such a programme</td>
<td>Risk of disease (mainly Newcastle disease), Chickens might be sold prematurely</td>
<td>Women’s income generation for the BVW, improving animal health and reducing herd mortality rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicken bank</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>Price of chickens and the cost of vaccination</td>
<td>Disease control (mainly the capacity to recognise the symptoms of Newcastle disease and take decisions to avoid an epidemic)</td>
<td>Access to the market: Depends on the village’s position (cf. Table 1), the chicken</td>
<td>- Only literate women from Lal city or neighbouring villages are involved, few women could be involved in such a programme</td>
<td>- Women’s income generation for the BVW, improving animal health and reducing herd mortality rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untreated wool bank</td>
<td></td>
<td>40/50 afs/kg for untreated wool + spinning wheel</td>
<td>Disease control (mainly the capacity to recognise the symptoms of Newcastle disease and take decisions to avoid an epidemic), the chicken</td>
<td>- Only literate women from Lal city or neighbouring villages are involved, few women could be involved in such a programme</td>
<td>Risk of disease (mainly Newcastle disease), Chickens might be sold prematurely</td>
<td>Increase weaving skills, prevents asset depletion (e.g., buy Iranian factory)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Community’s attitude: Very positive, most of the women request this type of programme and insist on the numerous advantages of sheep breeding.

- Lack of grass /grazing land after large increases in herd numbers and overgrazing risks.

NB: In the villages visited, this is not a problem for now but a specific study on the impact of large increase in herd numbers should be conducted to assess the risks of overgrazing.

Transport requirements: Sheep

Community’s attitude: Women are really motivated to be part of this programme and men generally have a very positive opinion.

- Capital requirements: 40/50 afs/kg for untreated wool + spinning wheel
- Skills required: None, given the fact that most women already know how to spin.
- Transport requirements: For the remote

- Risk of disease (mainly Newcastle disease), Chickens might be sold prematurely.
- Only literate women from Lal city or neighbouring villages are involved, few women could be involved in such a programme

- Women’s income generation for the BVW, improving animal health and reducing herd mortality rates.

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- Women’s income generation for the BVW, improving animal health and reducing herd mortality rates.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material cooperative</th>
<th>Cash grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Villages the untreated wool given by Oxfam could be transported by donkey - Community's attitude: Very positive, in every village women said they do not have enough wool since the last drought. - Sustainability has to be assessed. On programme closure, how will families without livestock access untreated wool. - Lambs wool: 150-180 afs/kg - White colour: 120-140 afs/kg - Beige: 100-120 afs/kg - Black or coloured: 60-70 afs/kg</td>
<td>- Capital requirements: To be defined in each village regarding women's needs and wishes and the number of women - Skills required: Handicraft skills (to be assessed in every village - Access to the market: Handicraft might be sold to traders coming to the villages on a regular basis or in the nearest bazaar through the shopkeepers - Transport requirements: By foot for the small handicraft (necklaces and other jewellery or by donkey for carpets, gelam and namad) - Community's attitude: Many women require this. - The leader of the women's shura may misuse the collective assets or use them for their own personal use - Relationship between women should be good as this project is based on trust and sharing common materials. - Social pressure is useful to encourage women to replace borrowed materials - Only very good quality and fashionable handicraft will be sold easily - Women's income generation - Prevents asset depletion - Increase management quality and self-confidence - Facilitates access to means of production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Capital requirements: 2000 afs/ woman max. Skills required: basic knowledge in counting money (integrate literacy courses) - Access to the market: To be assessed, in terms of what kind of activities women would like to start Transport requirements: To be assessed in terms of what kind of activities women would like to start - Community's attitude: - Poor access to market: income generation might be limited - Income generation (depend on the chosen activities) - Allows women to start an activity they believe in - Reinforces women's self decision-making process - Social pressure encourages repayment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Prioritization of the proposed activities per village

In the following table we have prioritized the proposed activities per village regarding the information collected during the field mission. We would like to underline that this prioritization is based on few hours of interviews on the field and that much more assessment would be needed to decide what activities are the most appropriate and will have the greatest impact in the different villages.

The analysis of the household’s situation and women’s roles and the portfolio of activities proposed in this document can be used as a first step in understanding the diversity of needs inter and intra-villages. Specific studies should be carried out to assess the feasibility and the impact of the different activities. The choice should also be based on women’s wishes, point of views and interests.

The RT also believes that in every village Oxfam should propose a portfolio of activities. Among the proposed activities every woman should select individually which activities would be the most relevant for her.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>Muskai</th>
<th>Sahib-Ekthiar</th>
<th>Qash</th>
<th>Qhala-e-Kamron</th>
<th>Naw-Gholy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Potential</strong></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Sheep bank + increase of forage production</td>
<td>1. Sheep bank + increase of forage production</td>
<td>1. Sheep bank + increase of forage production</td>
<td>1. Sheep bank + increase forage production</td>
<td>1. KG+ arboriculture should be strengthened</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Wool bank and material cooperative</td>
<td>2. KG and arboriculture</td>
<td>2. Wool bank</td>
<td>2. Micro-credit programmes could be tested with the wealthier women</td>
<td>2. Sheep bank + Chicken bank both should be proposed to women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 5: Prices of food stuff, main items and salaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food products</th>
<th>Price (Lal, 2005): afs/kg/l</th>
<th>Evolution and comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil (vegetable oil)</td>
<td>40-70</td>
<td>Oil (in bazaar) is more expensive during winter. Women can exchange 1kg of oil against 1.75-2kg of qrut (depends on the season).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>In villages: 2 afs/piece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qrut</td>
<td>- in villages: 40-60</td>
<td>In 2003: 30 afs/kg, in 2004: 40-45 Afs/kg. Qrut is more expensive during autumn and cheaper in summer and winter. Prices also depend on the quality of the qrut (soft qrut is the cheapest, qrut made from sheep’s milk is the most expensive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrots</td>
<td>7-10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Rice                           | = 2 kg qrut/Kg of tea.  
=100-120 afs/kg. |                                                                                       |
| Mushrooms                      | 120 afs/kg (dried)           |                                                                                       |
| Imported jam                   | 120 afs/kg (cherry and carrots) | Jam from Iran / sold in small pots (250g)                                           |

### Handicraft’s products

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balls of treated wool (not coloured)</th>
<th>150-180 afs/kg</th>
<th>Women need 10kg of treated wool for one gelam (2m-4m).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120-140 afs/kg</td>
<td>They need 7kg of wool rope for carpet and 35kg of wool to weave one carpet (1.5m-2m).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100-120 afs/kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60-70 afs/kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>120 afs/kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>180 afs/kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untreated wool</td>
<td>40-50 afs/kg</td>
<td>With one lamb: 0.25 kg of wool. 1kg of white wool is also 2g of qrut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured wool (imported)</td>
<td>80 afs/kg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dying wool</td>
<td>700-800 afs/kg</td>
<td>Women need 1/8kg of red colouring for one carpet (1.5-3m).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastic pearls (for jewellery)</td>
<td>160 afs/kg</td>
<td>0.25kg for one necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strings of pearls made by women</td>
<td>100/ piece (400/kg of pearls)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namad</td>
<td>100-200 afs/kg of</td>
<td>One small namad (1.5m-1m) need 3kg of wool. Price = 300 to 600 afs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wool
- In bazaar: 200-300 afs/kg
  (depends of wool's quality, of design, of size).

1 large namad (6-7kg) = 140kg of wheat or 20kg of oil = 1000-1400 afs/piece.
The price depends also on the quality and the seller's negotiating capacities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loom Rent: 1000 Afs/month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local carpet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cost of production= 4000-5000 afs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Sold at = 10000-20000 afs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The production costs include dying (100 afs), the wool (&gt;3000 afs), the rent of loom (1000 Afs).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Wool socks |
| 20 afs/pair (in village) |
| Barak or Chale (cover in boiled wool) |
| 120 afs/m |
| Women need 2.5kg of wool for one small barak (1m-3m). |

| Gelam (Quilim) |
| 1500-2000 afs (price in the villages) |
| 3000 afs (sold in the bazaar) |

**Agricultural prices**

| Tenant farmer (6 months of spring and summer) |
| Labour cost: 25000 afs + clothes, shoes. |
| Daily labourer during winter (4-6 months) |
| Labour cost: 3000-4000 Afs |
| Male workers in Kabul, Herat or in others villages of Lal district. |
| Wheat |
| 7-10 afs/kg |
| Cow (>2 years old) |
| 15000-20000 afs |
| Before the drought 2000: 5000 afs |
| Sheep |
| 2000-3000 afs |
| Before the drought 2000: 500 afs |
| Goat |
| 1500-2000 afs |
| Kid |
| 800 afs (6 months) |
| Skin of animals |
| 90afs/piece |
| The skins are sold to businessmen to be sold outside the country |
| Wood |
| - during winter: 50 afs/kg |
| - during summer: 10 afs/kg |
| Vaccines |
| - for cows: 15 afs |
| - for goats and sheep: 3 afs |
| These vaccines are provided by Oxfam and 2/3 of the prices is given to the BBW trainees. |

**Other prices**

<p>| Shop rental in Lal bazaar |
| 27000 afs/year |
| In 2003: 18000 afs/year |
| Gaz |
| 60 afs/kg |
| Diesel |
| 43 afs/l |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fitted carpet from Iran</th>
<th>320-440 afs/m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wedding</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bride’s price (gala): 100,000-150,000 afs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cost of ceremony: 100,000-150,000 afs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Before 2000:</strong></td>
<td>&lt; 50,000 afs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transport</strong></td>
<td>By flying-coach: 2-4 afs/pers/km.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Migration to Iran</strong></td>
<td>By flying-coach: 2-4 afs/pers/km.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Income/day: 300 afs</td>
<td>The price depends on weather conditions and number of passengers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Smuggler to cross the border:</strong> 12,000 afs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transport costs:</strong> 40,000 afs (round trip)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cost of food and housing:</strong> 150 afs/day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total expenditure:</strong> 79,000 afs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>