

**THE ATTITUDE OF FOOD-FOR-WORK
BENEFICIARIES TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION AND
IMPACTS OF FOOD-FOR-WORK PROGRAMME**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES,
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in Regional And Local Development Studies**

BIRUK ALEMAYEHU

**May 2001
Addis Ababa**

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

THE ATTITUDE OF FOOD-FOR-WORK
BENEFICIARIES TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACTS
OF FOOD-FOR-WORK PROGRAMME

By: BIRUK ALEMAYEHU

Approved By Board of Examiners

MEHERET AYENEW

Chairman, Graduate Committee

Dessalegn Rahmato

Advisor

Yared Amare.

Internal Examiner

Tadesse Dadi

External Examiner

Signature

Meheret Ayenew

Dessalegn Rahmato

Yared Amare

Tadesse Dadi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, I am highly indebted to my advisor Ato. Dessalegn Rahmato, the Managing Director of Forum for Social Studies, who spent much of his time in providing me with the necessary guidance and supervision at all levels of the study. Therefore, the largest part of the credit for the successful completion of this study goes to him.

I am also indebted to all staff in Food for the Hungry International-Ethiopia for their logistical, material, and moral supports. I am specially grateful to Mr. Thomas Stocker, Country Director of Food for the Hungry International-Ethiopia, for committing the organization to provide me the financial resource required to undertake this research in particular and to pursue the programme of study in general. Without his support this would not have been possible.

The co-operation and inputs of government officials at Wereda and Peasant Association levels also deserve great appreciation. Farmers in the study area who provided all the information necessary for the research without reservation also need great thanks.

I am also thankful to my family members and friends who have assisted me in various ways during the study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgement	i
List of Tables	iv
List of Appendix	vi
List of Figures	vi
List of Pictures	vi
Acronyms	vii
Abstract	viii
Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1. Background	1
1.1.1. Land Degradation and Trends in Food Production in Ethiopia.....	1
1.1.2. Food Aid to Ethiopia.....	3
1.1.3. The Beginning of Food-for-Work.....	6
1.1.4. Food for the Hungry International- Ethiopia.....	10
1.1.5. Project Implementation.....	13
1.2. Statement of the Problem	15
1.3. Objectives, Arguments, And Research Queries	16
1.3.1. Objectives of the Study.....	16
1.3.2. Central Arguments.....	17
1.3.3. Research Queries.....	18
1.4. Significance of the Study	18
1.5. Limitations of the Study	19
1.6. Organization of the Paper	20
Chapter Two: Literature Review	22

Chapter Three: Description of the Study Area

3.1. Location.....	33
3.2. The People.....	33
3.3. Topography and Climate.....	34
3.4. Land Allocation.....	36
3.5. Local Food Situation And Food Aid.....	36

Chapter Four

4.1. Methods of Data Collection.....	41
4.2. The Process of Data collection.....	46
4.3. Data Analysis.....	47

Chapter Five: Major Findings and Discussions

5.1. The Attitude of Beneficiaries Towards the Management of Food-For-Work.....	48
5.2. Beneficiaries' Perceptions Regarding the Impacts of FFW Initiated Soil Conservation Measures on Environment.....	61
5.3. The Impact of FFW Programme on Household Food Consumption and Assets.....	71
5.4. FFW Programme from A Gender Perspective.....	84
5.5. Future Sustainability of Soil Conservation Measures Undertaken Through FFW.....	90

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Implications for Future FFW

Planning and Programming.....	98
--------------------------------------	-----------

References

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Sample size and distribution

Table 2: Most important criterion to select beneficiaries

Table 3: People who set the beneficiary selection criterion

Table 4: Most important problem regarding beneficiary selection

Table 5: Most important problem regarding FFW payments

Table 6: Agreement or disagreement regarding the distribution of food as a form of payment

Table 7: FFW activities that are perceived to have most difficult work norms

Table 8: FFW activities that are perceived to have easiest work norms

Table 9: Perceptions regarding the appropriateness of the communal sites selected for soil conservation measures

Table 10: Reasons for not considering the communal soil conservation sites as appropriate

Table 11: Perceptions regarding the role of trees in decreasing soil erosion

Table 12: Perceptions regarding the role of trees in rehabilitating degraded lands

Table 13: Types of tree species planted by respondents since 1991

Table 14: Location of eucalyptus plantation

Table 15: Perceptions regarding the role of trees in increasing vegetative cover

Table 16: Perceptions regarding the role of hillside terraces in decreasing soil erosion

Table 17: Perceptions regarding the role of check dams in decreasing soil erosion

Table 18: Perceptions regarding the role of cut-off drains in decreasing soil erosion

Table 19: Perceptions regarding the role of micro-basins in decreasing soil erosion

Table 20: Conservation measures (biological and physical) beneficiaries prefer most

Table 21: Conservation structures (physical) beneficiaries prefer most

Table 22: Types of food consumed by people before and after the 1984/85 famine

Table 23: Perceptions regarding the owners of the trees on communal lands

Table 24: Most important reason for not raising tree seedlings since 1991

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Summary of the major accomplishments in soil conservation and afforestation

Appendix 2: A- Location of the study area in the regional administrative map

B- Location of the sample PAs in the Wereda

Appendix 3: Questionnaire used in the household survey

Appendix 4: Checklist used to frame focus group discussions

Appendix 5: List of key informants

Appendix 6: List of the existing work norms

Appendix 7: List of the revised work norm

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Time-line of local food situation

Figure 2: Changes in the number of meals per day in local people's perception

Figure 3: Types of assets sold before and after the 1984/85 emergency period

Figure 4: Types of assets lost and recovered during post-1984/85 FFW period

LIST OF PICTURES ILLUSTRATING THE DIFFERENT CONSERVATION STRUCTURES

Picture 1: Hillside terrace

Picture 2: Soil/stone bund

Picture 3: Micro-basin

Picture 4: Fanya-Juu

Picture 5: Check-dam (constructed by wood)

Picture 6: Cut-off drain

ACRONYMS

CFW	Cash-for-Work
DA	Development Agent
EGS	Employment Generation Scheme
EBSN	Employment Based Safety Net
FFW	Food-for-Work
FHI (E)	Food for the Hungry International (Ethiopia)
KAT	<i>Kemabata, Alaba, and Tembaro</i>
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MT	Metric Tone
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
KA	Kebele Administration
PA	Peasant Association
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRC	Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SNNPR	Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WFP	World Food Programme

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this paper is to study the attitude of beneficiaries towards the management issues in FFW and the impacts of FFW initiated soil conservation measures on environment. It is also the aim of this paper to analyze the factors that determine the future sustainability of FFW initiated soil conservation activities. The study is based on a survey of 180 heads of households who were randomly selected from Alaba Wereda. In addition, focus group discussions and key informant interviews were also conducted with beneficiaries, Wereda officials, PA leaders, and staff from the implementing agency to get an in-depth insight on those issues that are not adequately addressed in the survey method. Secondary data sources such as CSA reports, project documents and annual reports produced by the implementing agency were also reviewed. The study brought together ideas from direct beneficiaries, implementing agency, government officials, and other stakeholders. It is a descriptive and evaluative study, and both the descriptive statistical methods and qualitative analysis were employed in the study as methodological tools.

The following are the major findings of the study: 1) FFW beneficiaries have not taken part in decision-making process at different levels in FFW programming, and hence generally they have negative attitude towards management issues in FFW; 2) Beneficiaries preferred biological soil conservation measures to the physical measures as the former have a more direct and short-term economic benefits than the latter. As a result, the biological and physical soil conservation measures were not well-integrated to bring about a sustainable impact on environment; 3) Due to restrictive customs and traditions in the study area, and due to the lack of commitment of the FFW programme to address women's needs, gender issues were not well-addressed in the FFW programme.

Therefore, an important lesson drawn from this study is that beneficiaries should be involved in the decision-making process at all levels in FFW programming, and adequate emphasis has to be given to the promotion of conservation knowledge and practice, and to gender issues in order to maximize the environmental impacts of the FFW initiated soil conservation programme, and to ensure the future sustainability of soil conservation activities undertaken through FFW. The study also attempts to draw additional insights in the use of food as an effective tool for achieving the much aspired environmental rehabilitation objective, and as an effective tool for reducing food aid dependency and achieving self-sufficiency.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

1.1.1. Land Degradation and Trends in Food Production in Ethiopia

Stahl (1992) indicated that population growth in Ethiopia in the 20th century, enhanced by the partial control of epidemics, morbidity, and mortality, has given a new dimension to the human pressure on land. According to Stahl, the human population pressure on land, given the negligible scope for further expansion of cropland has led to destructive land use practices such as over-cultivation, cultivation of steep slopes, improper use of forests for construction and fuel wood, and overgrazing of range lands and hillsides to meet the requirements of both the human and domestic animal population. The improper land use practices supported by inadequate and erratic rainfall have resulted in environmental degradation, drought, and eventually famine.

Alemneh (1990) also shares the idea that improper land use practices such as deforestation, intensive cultivation, and overgrazing, coupled with population pressure and the political and economic forces that are directly related to the farming system have exerted enormous pressure on the ecosystem. These factors have resulted in soil loss, a substantial loss of vegetative cover, which have severely reduced soil fertility and crop yields. Although a direct causal relationship between topsoil erosion and famine is difficult to establish, Alemneh argued, it is apparent that such massive erosion finally leads to the eventual collapse of the ecological support system, particularly in times of drought, resulting in widespread famine.

The peasant farming system that ends in famine in Ethiopia is better summarized in a World Bank study done by Newcombe (1984): (1) the rate of forest harvest for fuel, construction, and other needs exceeded supply causing deforestation; (2) because of the deforestation or the removal of tree cover, people increasingly relied on dung and crop residue for fuel; (3) hence, organic materials such as cow dung that were traditionally used as organic fertilizers started to be used for other purposes, and (4) soil organic content needed for production disappeared, and soil fertility decreased. These situations led to the final stage of massive starvation and migration of the rural people to urban areas.

Because of the continued problems of land degradation in Ethiopia, the land's capacity to produce food has significantly reduced, and because of this the country experienced food shortage, and decline in the production and availability of food. The statements by Webb *et al* explain more the trends in the production of food in Ethiopia:

Although most cereal production is located in the higher-potential regions, both national level cereal production and resultant food availability have followed a downward trend since the 1960s. Per capita cereal production has been declining by an average of 4 kilogram per year. The decline has not been smooth and uninterrupted for the entire period. Certain years such as 1975 and 1979 saw large increases in cereal production...The decline has also not been smooth across all regions... There is, therefore, variety within the country in terms of production variability and co-variability. Nevertheless, **the overall production trend has been markedly negative** (Webb *et al* 1992: 60). [Emphasis added]

Studies of the per capita cereal availability and food availability thus show a decline through the 1990s. "Cereal availability per capita has been declining at an average of 3.3 kilogram per year, while per capita availability of all foods (cereals plus pulses and roots) has been declining by 2.7 kilogram per year (Webb *et al* 1992: 60).

1.1.2. Food Aid to Ethiopia

Owing to the environmental mismanagement described above, Ethiopia has not been in a position to feed its own population over the last 3 decades despite the fact that 85% of its population has been and is engaged in the agricultural sector. The recent DPPC (2001) reports shows that in January 2000 the number of people affected by food shortage in Ethiopia was 8.1 million. During the year 2000 the food shortage problem was further aggravated by the failure of the *Belg* rains resulting in an increase of relief beneficiaries to 10.5 million by July 2000.

The total food assistance submitted for donor consideration for the year 2000, according to DPPC (2001), was 1,298,936 MT. This shows the level of the food deficiency the country has been and is facing. The most recent DPPC (2001) information on food security prospect reports that the food assistance for 2001 is estimated to be 639,246 MT out of which 545,349 MT is grain, 54,539 MT is oil, and 39,313 MT is supplementary food for severely affected people (children, lactating mothers, and the elderly). The recurrent famines and the resulting food shortages the country has faced has been beyond the country's means to cope and as a result the Ethiopian governments have been forced to appeal for foreign assistance to meet the increasing annual structural deficit of food. The responses of donor communities to the Ethiopian

governments' appeals consisted mainly of food resource for emergency relief and for environmental rehabilitation programmes. In response to both the environmental degradation and recurrent food deficit, the role of food aid has become apparent, and as indicated by Yosef (2001) Ethiopia has received a large volume of food resource donated to the underdeveloped countries since the 1970's. Yosef has briefly described the trend in food aid flow to Ethiopia:

...almost 11.2 million metric tons of food aid has flowed in from 1976 to 1998. This makes Ethiopia a large recipient of food aid in Africa... there has been a rising trend in the level of food aid shipments to Ethiopia: the level rose from an average of 63,000 tons over the period 1976-77 to around 230,000 tons during the period 1983-84, equivalent to an annual rate of increase over 20 per cent per annum. This reflects not only an increase in food aid dependency but also an increase in the share of food aid in the total availability. In 1985, the situation was transformed by the huge volume of food aid reaching up to 26 per cent of the domestic production (Yosef 2001:23).

Since 1985 there have been marked variations in the volume of aid delivered to the country depending on the extent of food supplied from domestic sources. In this regard, Clay stated the following:

The annual volume of cereal aid has ranged from 200,000 metric tons to about 1.2 million metric tons or between 3.5% and 26% as a proportion of total domestic food grain production over the 1985-1996 period. Even in average years, the volume of cereal food aid in a given region can account for 25% or more of the total marketed supply of grain, and up to 50% in drought years (Clay *et al* 1998:3).

“Food aid [the use of food aid] in Ethiopia has historically taken two forms: free distribution (FD), which falls under the category ‘emergency’ distribution and food-for-work (FFW)” (Yosef 2001:25). As Yosef indicated, the objective of free relief is to protect livelihoods of households faced with shocks and the provision of assistance for selected vulnerable households without a work requirement. “Those eligible [for free relief] include: persons who are over 60 years old without assistance; the infirm; lactating and pregnant women and young children who cannot be supported by their close relatives” (DPPC 1995:25).

Regarding FFW, Yosef (2001) indicated that FFW projects are presumed to function as welfare safety nets for poor communities in food insecure areas and represent a transition between emergency relief and the achievement of long term development objectives. According to Yosef, the Ethiopia’s official food policy states that no able-bodied person should receive food aid without working on community development projects in return. Rather than distributing free food aid to those in need, the concept of food-for-work prescribes that able-bodied people work for a food wage.

Generally, emergency relief food aid is programmed annually depending on the assessment of the number of people who are vulnerable to famine, and it is aimed at saving the lives of people who are exposed to famine, whereas FFW is considered as a regular development programme aimed at addressing the problems of environmental degradation, and to some extent bridging the gap in local food production and supply.

1.1.3. The Beginning of Food-For-Work

A WFP study on the impact of WFP ETH 2488 food aid in Ethiopia (Year not specified) stated that the offer of food in return for farm labour was common in Ethiopia before the revolution of 1974, and payment in grain persists as a private arrangement for hired labour on some small holdings. However, the study indicated that institutional FFW schemes are relatively new phenomena which started during the food crises of the early 1970s.

The role of food resource in many NGO interventions has shifted from serving immediate food needs to its use in rehabilitation and to its use for the development of sustainable resources. In the latter two stages, FFW has been used for environmental rehabilitation activities and the construction of a variety of infrastructures, some contributing directly to food security, and others contributing indirectly or in the long term.

...the usual association with food use for development is food-for-work. Two variations exist. In the first variation, employment is the primary goal. Food for work allows for the non-charitable distribution of food in exchange for an honest of days of work...In the second variation of food for work, the food is used as a wage good to achieve certain infrastructure improvements (CFGB 1991:10).

In Ethiopia food aid has been used for many years to promote public works through FFW. Successive drought crises have emphasized the need for soil conservation and reforestation. In the proceedings of the Workshop on FFW in Ethiopia conducted by the Office of the National Committee for Central Planning (1986), it was indicated that from 1973-75, the Ministry of

Agriculture carried out FFW conservation programmes in five projects in *Wello*, *Tigrai*, and *Harerghe* with the support of some 25,000 MT of wheat and sorghum from the United Nations World Food Programme. The projects were basically demonstration and pilot exercises in reforestation and in the rehabilitation and protection of agricultural lands.

In the same proceedings of the Workshop on FFW in Ethiopia conducted by the Office of the National Committee for Central Planning it was also explained that in 1975-76 MoA/WFP consolidated FFW activities into two separate projects for terracing and reforestation and the protection and rehabilitation of agricultural lands and supported them with a further 85,000 MT of wheat and vegetable oil. In 1980, the two projects were consolidated into one four-year project for the rehabilitation of forest, agricultural and grazing lands, supported by 145,000 MT of wheat and edible oil at a total WFP cost of US\$48 million.

The workshop proceeding also explained that in 1980, the rate of activity of the consolidated project was doubled and the commodities were distributed in two years instead of four. In 1982, the project was expanded once again, WFP committing 250,000 MT for three years. In addition to the original drought-stricken zones in *Tigrai*, *Wello*, and *Harerghe*, WFP FFW projects gradually expanded in to other erosion-prone and chronically food deficit areas of *Gojjam*, *Gondar*, *Shewa*, *Gamo Gofa*, and *Sidamo*.

Between 1980 and 1989, donors allocated more than 1 million tons of food aid to the FFW programmes which gradually expanded to the different parts of the country:

...from 1980-89 the total food contribution from WFP, Australia, Canada, and other donors to FFW development projects in Ethiopia has exceeded 1 million tons. The [then] government of Ethiopia has consistently met its budget share of these projects and has contributed 45% of the above project budgets, primarily to cover operational costs (ONCCP 1986:6).

The FFW principle has thus become established in conservation activities in Ethiopia. It has been applied both to famine relief and long term development. And Ethiopia's FFW programmes in soil and water conservation, reforestation, road and dam construction have become one of the largest programmes in Africa.

In addition to the use of food aid as a relief handout and as a wage in FFW, the use of food aid in Ethiopia in drought affected areas has also taken other forms. EGS (Employment Generation Scheme) and EBSN (Employment Based Safety Net) are the two important forms that have been widely known. As a background, therefore, it would be important to note the key differences between EGS, EBSN, and FFW.

Kay Sharp in her extensive study regarding food aid targeting in Ethiopia has tried to make a distinction between FFW/CFW, EGS, and EBSN:

An EGS is a work scheme transferring relief resources to vulnerable groups in areas and periods of emergency, which is to be implemented only when an emergency relief need has been officially recognized, and only for the duration of the emergency. FFW or CFW are work schemes transferring regular (non-emergency) resources. The location, initiation and duration of the work do not depend on an emergency declaration

(though they are most often located in chronically food insecure and/or disaster prone areas). They may or may not be specially targeted at the household level. Both types of projects can be seen as components of an EBSN. The basic idea of an EBSN is a network of varied and independent labour intensive project which, by providing employment of last resort, can prevent the poor and vulnerable falling through into destitution, either because of disasters or chronic problems (Sharp 1997: 25).

However, regardless of this distinction at the policy level, there is a considerable confusion about these terms which do not match the intention of the policy. The concept of EGS in the policy emphasises on the advance preparation of off-the-shelf-projects, which should be consistent with the longer-term development plans, and the key role of government line departments in planning and management of the projects. However, the policy does not exclude NGOs from implementing EGS in co-operation with line departments and local government. FFW and EGS are often confused and sometimes used interchangeably.

The essential difference of EGS from FFW, as noted by Sharp (1997), is the parallel provision for free or gratuitous relief for vulnerable groups in households with out able-bodied labour. This feature is rarely found with regular FFW. However, "...when an emergency relief need is declared in an area where there is an on-going FFW programme, the FFW programme can function temporarily as EGS..." (Sharp 1997:26) by targeting the same people (fully or partially), and by increasing the scale of its operation.

From the total amount of food aid flow to Ethiopia, a substantial portion has been used for environmental rehabilitation activities through FFW projects. “During the period of 1995-96, [for example] FFW accounted for 60% of the total food aid distributions by programmes...” (Clay *et al* 1998:4). The FFW programmes have been implemented in Ethiopia largely by NGOs intervening in the natural resources management, and by the Ministry of Agriculture.

1.1.4. Food for the Hungry International

According to FHI-Ethiopia’s 1998 Quarterly Monitoring and Evaluation Report (1998), Food for the Hungry International (FHI) is an organization of Christian motivation committed to working with poor people to overcome hunger and poverty through integrated self-development and, where necessary, relief programming. The report also states that FHI seeks to help those in need regardless of race, religion, or political persuasion. According to the same report, Food for the Hungry International-Ethiopia (FHI-E) is a member of the FHI umbrella net work linking together several partner agencies, and FHI’s partner offices are located in Canada, Korea, Japan, UK, and USA.

In one of FHI-Ethiopia’s pamphlets (Publication year not specified), it is indicated that the organization is a legally registered NGO that has been at work in Ethiopia for more than a decade. The pamphlet states that the organization began working in Ethiopia in 1974, working through partner organizations to deliver emergency food aid to famine victims. Ten years later, in 1984, the organization became fully established in Ethiopia, in order to fully undertake relief

and rehabilitation activities in response to the severe drought and ensuing famine, which had again overwhelmed the country.

The Monitoring and Evaluation Quarterly Report of FHI-Ethiopia briefly discusses the beginning of organization's relief operations in *Alaba* Wereda:

FHI-Ethiopia first entered *Alaba* in May 1985 at the request of the then Ethiopian Government's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), to assist in the emergency famine situation in the area. The organisation launched its operations in *Alaba* in 1985 following the 1984/85 drought effect. It began its work with emergency relief food aid distributions. Various humanitarian donations such as food, clothes and medication donated by several churches from the international community were supplied to farmers desperate for assistance. The main components of the [relief] program included the establishment of feeding centres, free food distribution, provision of medical supplies, and distribution of clothing. The primary goal during this time was to save lives by meeting the immediate physical needs of the people... (FHI Quarterly Report 1998:7)

Once the immediate relief needs of the *Alaba* people were met, the quarterly report indicated that the focus of the organization moved from relief to rehabilitation towards the end of 1986. The organisation realised that in order to prevent dependency on free distributions, farmers had to work before receiving any assistance. Upon evaluation of the needs of the people, the organisation decided to implement an oxen and seed replacement program to encourage farmers to cultivate their lands and begin supporting themselves once again.

FHI-Ethiopia became more organised and hired professional staff to manage rehabilitation efforts, and target communities were able to rebuild their lives. During the rehabilitation stage, however, emphasis was not given to encourage community participation in the planning and designing of projects. No baseline information was collected on the livelihoods of people targeted by the project.

The development phase of FHI-Ethiopia is briefly described below by the organization's pamphlet (Publication year not specified):

After the relief and rehabilitation phases, FHI-Ethiopia moved into development centred projects, emphasising the need to protect local communities and environment from the possibility of future disasters in the area. The top priority in *Alaba* [during the development phase] in addition to food aid was to address the problem of environmental degradation by working in different fields of interventions such as reforestation, soil and water conservation, agricultural extension, and potable water resource development. FHI-Ethiopia worked with local people in *Alaba* to address the negative effects of soil erosion, lack of potable water, and poor health conditions.

During the development phase, therefore, the organisation's focus was alleviating the long term problem of soil erosion by training and helping farmers to build conservation structures and plant trees. Therefore, since the 1980s, the organisation has been intervening in relief, rehabilitation, and long-term development, by working with poor people to improve their food security. After many years of interventions in the natural resources management,

agricultural extension, health, water supply and sanitation in *Alaba* Wereda, FHI-Ethiopia phased out of the area towards the end of 1996.

1.1.5. Project Implementation

In the *Alaba* project document (1994), the overall goal of FHI-Ethiopia's *Alaba* Integrated Rural Development Project was to improve household food security in the project target area. Five interrelated programs were indicated in the document to reach the overall goal of enhanced food security: soil conservation, reforestation, agricultural extension, health, and potable water supply programs. The soil conservation and reforestation components of the project were aimed at maintaining the natural resource base, whereas the agricultural program was designed to increase agricultural production and productivity, and thereby increasing household income. The health and water supply components were aimed at improving the general health and nutritional status of the community that would result in increased food utilization.

With the view that local food security can be enhanced especially through strategically focused interventions in environmental rehabilitation, FHI-Ethiopia gave more emphasis to the efforts in soil conservation and afforestation. A large-scale soil conservation and afforestation programme was, therefore, launched in March 1986. The programme was initiated to combat the serious soil erosion problems in *Alaba*. FFW was used to motivate and mobilize local people to participate in the construction of soil conservation structures, seedling production, and tree planting.

In each of the communal sites where FHI-Ethiopia has carried out conservation programmes, the soil was degraded by heavy erosion and deforestation. As a result, productivity was low, causing severe food shortage and famine. To restore soil fertility and enhance productivity, the project embarked on building conservation structures and planting trees.

The reforestation program involved, tree planting in community plots and hillsides, farmers' homesteads, around schools, and mosques. One big nursery (4.5 hectare) was established, in a local place called *Hantame*, to produce tree seedling. A total of 7,060,000 tree seedlings were produced between 1986 and 1991, and 6,450,000 seedlings were transported and distributed to individuals, schools, mosques, and communal sites (See Appendix 1). The tree seedlings (mainly eucalyptus) were planted in 244 hectares of both individual and communal lands over 7 years (See also Appendix 1). As reported by FHI staff, it was as a result of these activities that tree planting (especially eucalyptus) became popular among farmers in *Alaba*.

In the soil conservation component, the project has focused on building conservation structures to slow down erosion. The major activities in the conservation part were farm and hillside terracing, construction of soil and stone bunds, closure fencing, and the construction of micro basins and cut off drains. The main accomplishments in soil conservation between 1986 and 1991 were the construction of 2,523 km of hillside terracing, 2,829 km of soil/stone bunds, 412 hectare of area closure, and 378 km of check dams, and 62 km feeder roads (See Appendix 1).

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Regarding the FFW activities in Ethiopia, Stahl (1992) stated that with the support of WFP, bilateral donors, and NGOs, the MoA in the 1980s ran FFW activities in nine regions in Ethiopia, involving some 800,000 persons and food subsidies of more than 100,000 tonnes per annum. According to Stahl, the FFW programme launched in Ethiopia during the 1980s was the second biggest one of its kind in the world. Stahl further noted:

In the 1980s, with people mobilized for work through the PAs, more than 1 million km of soil and stone bunds were constructed on agricultural land, close to half a million kilometers of hillside terraces were built, 80,000 hectares of hillsides closed off and 300,000 hectares afforested (Stahl 1992:286).

However, regardless of all the physical achievements in environmental rehabilitation, soil erosion continues to be the major environmental problem in most parts of the country. One of the major reasons for the lack of sustained management of the soil conservation measures undertaken through FFW by the beneficiaries is the fact that beneficiaries are not part of the decision-making process in the implementation of FFW. The planning processes do not consult with local people in need identification and prioritization, and do not fairly involve all stakeholders, including community-based organizations, in the planning process.

Another important issue, as stressed by the UNRISD (1989), is the fact that food aid assisted environmental rehabilitation projects fail to integrate gender concerns into their programming:

The participation of women in natural resource management interventions is so limited and this has negatively affected the sustainability of natural resource management activities. Therefore, the environmental problem must now be defined not just in terms of the defense of the environment against human use, but how natural resource can best be managed and exploited creatively for people's benefit, to optimize their usefulness to the present generation and to maintain and enhance their ability to sustain future ones (UNRISD 1989:26).

Yet, beneficiaries have not developed a sense of ownership over environmental rehabilitation activities implemented using food resource, and food aid that has been channelled through FFW has not been used effectively and efficiently in a manner that would bring about sustained natural resource management.

1.3. OBJECTIVES, HYPOTHESES, AND RESEARCH QUERIES

1.3.1. Objectives of the Study

The main objectives of the study are:

1. To study the attitude of FFW beneficiaries towards management issues in FFW programme.
2. To assess the perceptions of beneficiaries regarding the impacts of FFW initiated soil conservation activities on environment.
3. To analyze the future sustainability of FFW initiated soil conservation measures.

1.3.2. Arguments/Hypotheses

1. Beneficiaries have negative attitude towards administrative issues in FFW as the decision-making process does not involve them, and this exerts a negative impact on the future sustainability of FFW initiated environmental rehabilitation programmes.
2. Beneficiaries prefer biological soil conservation measures to the physical soil conservation measures as the former offer short-term and more direct benefits than the latter which have long-term impact on environment. However, biological measures alone will not bring a sustainable impact on environment unless integrated with the physical soil conservation measures.
3. Due to restrictive customs and traditional beliefs in the study area, and due to low level of FFW programme commitment to integrate gender, women's participation in FFW programming is so limited.

Therefore, the future sustainability of FFW initiated soil conservation activities is not ensured unless adequate emphasis is given to the increased involvement of beneficiaries at different levels in FFW programming, to the promotion of conservation knowledge and practice, and to gender issues.

1.3.3. Research Queries

The following are some of the important questions that the study will attempt to address:

1. Are the beneficiaries part of the decision-making process in FFW programming? Who decides on beneficiary selection, site selection, payments, etc?
2. What are the perceptions of beneficiaries regarding the impacts of FFW initiated soil conservation measures on environment?
3. Which types of soil conservation activities do beneficiaries prefer? And why?
4. How do beneficiaries perceive the impacts of FFW programme on household economy?
5. To what extent women participate in decision making, and resource utilization in FFW?
6. To what extent FFW programmes are gender sensitive? To what extent the FFW programmes alleviated rural women's hardships?
7. How do women perceive the impacts of FFW programme?
8. Would FFW initiated soil conservation activities sustain in the future? Are there community self-initiatives after the phasing out of FFW?
9. What are the factors that determine the future sustainability of soil conservation measures undertaken through FFW?

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The assessment and analysis of the factors affecting the sustainability of environmental rehabilitation activities will contribute a lot to the available stock of knowledge on natural resource management. The study will help to know the current situations in FFW

programming, and will help to learn more about how to better design and implement FFW programmes. It will help on how to plan FFW projects in a way that is meaningful and appropriate to local communities, and to those who donate their food and financial resources.

Therefore, the study will make a substantial contribution to the ongoing environmental rehabilitation programmes that use FFW. The lessons learned from this study will be integrated into future FFW programming.

1.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. There is a possibility for FFW commodity supplies to cause a disincentive to the local production of grain in the study area. Disincentives could be manifested in labour, price, or policy. Labour disincentives occur when employment on FFW activities reduces the availability of farm labour below requirements. Price disincentives occur when the supply of FFW commodities cause prices of grain and oil in the local markets to fall, which in turn discourages production. Policy disincentive occurs when the FFW supplies cause the government to reduce the priority accorded, and resources allotted to food production in the project area. These issues have not been addressed in this study as they need an in-depth and independent study exclusively focused on these matters.

The issue of the extent to which FFW created psychological dependency on food aid among the beneficiaries also needs an in-depth study focussed on this issue. Therefore, given the limitations regarding time and resources, this study did not address the issues related to

disincentive effects of FFW on local production, and the dependency effects of FFW programme.

2. Data collection was done very carefully to avoid unnecessary expectations from the community, which would negatively affect the quality of information obtained from respondents. However, people's expectations of continuing FFW might have influenced their responses about FHI's FFW programme, and thus the negative aspects of the FFW programme might not have been fully expressed due to their strong concern for keeping good relationships with FHI-Ethiopia so that they can continue benefiting from the programme.
3. There were time constraints since the study was intended to be completed within the available time frame. As a result, the time especially for focus group discussions was short. The time schedule was tight, and the study could not take more time for the discussion in the focus groups. Therefore, sensitive issues such as gender might not have been well discussed as desired.

1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE PAPER

The paper starts with a general background in Chapter One, which discusses the reasons why Ethiopia resorted to, and heavily depended on, foreign food assistance and the different types of food aid programmes in Ethiopia. The background also describes the agency that has been taking the lead in environmental rehabilitation in the study area, and the major activities

undertaken by the implementing agency through FFW. The rest of Chapter One is devoted to the description of statement of the problem, objectives and research queries, significance of the study, and limitations of the study.

Review of the relevant literature is presented in Chapter Two of the paper. Chapter Three provides the context of this study's discussion, focusing on the socio-economic and environmental overview of the study area. Chapter Four discusses the methods and process of data collection, and how the data were analysed. Analysis of the major findings and discussions are presented in Chapter Five. Then, the closing section, Chapter Six, contains the conclusions and implications of the study findings for future FFW programming, monitoring and evaluation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. THE PARADOX OF FOOD AID

Ethiopia has identified environmental degradation as the most serious problem, and has been taking the lead in the use of food aid for environmental rehabilitation activities by paying peasants with food. However, there has been an endless debate regarding the use of food aid among scholars. There are many who argue in favour of the use of food aid in underdeveloped countries, and yet there are large number of scholars arguing against the use of food aid.

Dessalegn (1990) discussed the ideas of the proponents of food aid as follows:

...According to its proponents [the proponents of food aid], food aid has a positive effect on the development effort of recipient countries for the following reasons: 1) it will help remove food as a constraint on economic growth; 2) it will substitute for commercial food imports, thus saving the country concerned scarce foreign exchange; 3) it can be used to build up food stocks for use in emergencies, or in lean years; 4) if properly administered, food aid will be of greater benefit to the less privileged classes, who otherwise would suffer most in a crisis; food aid, in other words, involves an element of economic justice; and 5) project food aid, for example food provided through food-for-work programmes, will help build up much needed infrastructure in the recipient countries, as has been done in a number of Asian nations (Dessalegn 1990:63).

“Couched in such purely economic terms, the arguments sound convincing. However, food aid, like any other form of aid, takes place within a given political environment...” (Dessalegn 1990:63), and according to Dessalegn food aid is based on certain relationships between the donor and recipient communities, and this aspect of the problem is often "glossed over" in the standard literature.

For those arguing against the use of food aid, like Ruttan, food assistance is not a long-term solution for food shortage:

...there is also general agreement that the long-run answer to food shortage in the poor countries must be sought in expanded food production in the poor countries themselves, and in employment and income distribution policies which provide sufficient incomes for the poor to be able to buy enough food. There is sufficient concern about the possible harmful effects of food aid on domestic food production that many economists recommend less or no food aid (other than, perhaps, for emergencies) even in case where nutritional and other human needs are strongest (Ruttan 1993: 99).

According to Ruttan (1993), market price effects depend on several factors like the magnitude of the aid provided in relation to total domestic production, the level of additional demand created through the food aid, changes in relevant crop and input prices, and so on. Thus, as Ruttan emphasized, any significant price declines caused by food aid must be taken seriously. Ruttan (1993) also argues that even where food aid does not have a significant disincentive effect on food prices, it could still have a significant disincentive effect on the overall

agricultural policies of the recipient government. This, according to Ruttan, might be reflected in a number of ways such as in relative neglect of agriculture with regard to other sectors, in continuation of policies which do not provide adequate support and encouragement to farmers, in an unwillingness to take politically difficult steps such as land reform, weakening a recipient government's interest in providing efficient prices or funding for research for the food and agriculture sector, lowering market prices for foods and thereby decreasing food producers' income and incentives, and creating tastes for imported foods such as wheat and rice that are expensive or impossible to produce locally and thus creating dependency on food imports.

The disincentive argument in short is that the increase in food supplies provided by food aid depresses prices received by farmers and causes or supports inadequate agricultural policies in the recipient countries, which together leads to decrease in local food production. According to ADC (1982), though there has not been a conclusive victory or defeat by any of the parties in the controversy, the majority seem to have been favoring the use of food aid for developmental purposes in the developing countries. "The advocates of this line [favoring food aid] of argument reflect a wide spectrum of political and social viewpoints, and range from conservatives to liberals, to leftists" (ADC 1982:12).

2.2. FOOD RESOURCE TARGETING

Food resource targeting is currently an urgent issue for many reasons as explained by Kay Sharp (1997) who conducted an extensive study in food aid targeting in Ethiopia. As Sharp noted, the Ethiopian government's policy commitment to reduce food aid dependency and

cutting free distributions wherever possible combined with shrinking international availability of food aid made it important that the limited quantities of food expected for the future would be effectively concentrated on those who needed it most.

Sharp discusses three main reasons for properly targeting food resources:

...Firstly, for humanitarian reasons the really needy should be assisted, and the less needy do not benefit unfairly. Secondly, for resource and efficiency reasons scarce resources should be used in such a way that they have the greatest impact on the problem to be addressed. And, thirdly, for development reasons the dependency and economic disincentive effects of food aid (at all levels from the household to the national) are minimized (Sharp 1997:3).

Sharp (1997) also described the common types of errors committed during beneficiary selection. According to her, errors and inaccuracies in targeting are basically of two types- errors of exclusion (that is excluding some of the intended beneficiaries), and errors of inclusion (that is including some people who are not in the target group). In many literatures related to the problems of food aid targeting, political power is the machinery used by those who have the political power to benefit some people at the expense of others.

Political problems comprise all the obstacles arising from conflicting interests over the selection process, and competition for a scarce and valuable resource. People excluded from the distribution of benefits are likely to try to resist or manipulate the selection. A different kind of political problem is the opportunity for corruption by those who control

the choice of beneficiary areas, groups, or individuals. A third is that better-off people who pay for a programme but receive no benefit may use political pressure to cancel or change it. In all such conflicts, the relatively poor and vulnerable who are usually the intended beneficiaries are, almost by definition, the least powerful and the most likely to lose (Sharp 1997:5).

The other set of problem regarding beneficiary selection is technical. According to Sharp (1997), one constant difficulty is setting a cut-off point for selection. What ever kind of selection criteria are used, this is likely to be difficult. The cut-off may be seen as arbitrary and unfair, thus causing resistance to the system; and it may miss genuinely needy or vulnerable people who fall just the wrong side of the line, thus weakening the programme's impact. The poverty-trap of fixed cut-off points in selection criteria is another very common problem as the World Bank noted:

All means-tested social assistance programmes create poverty traps, i.e. situations where the loss benefit is equal or greater than any increase in income from another source. One example of this dilemma is the British welfare system, where entitlement is measured according to income: if a beneficiary's income rises above the cut-off point (e.g. if s/he gets a better paid job), the loss of benefits may leave him or her poorer so that there is an incentive for people to remain dependent on welfare rather than working to raise their own incomes (World Bank 1996:19).

An Ethiopian example of the above logic is using ownership of assets (especially oxen) as a criterion for selection in food aid programmes. In cases where the ownership of one ox

disqualifies people from aid, an incentive can be created for people to sell their ox and remain dependent on aid, rather than investing in their own economic independence.

Many literatures have been reviewed regarding food aid targeting and it seems that the issue is very sensitive and so far there has not been a consent regarding the specific criteria or indicators that should be universally applied to select the neediest people. But many seem to agree with the use of a more objective indicators such as nutritional status of children.

...a choice must be made of the selection factors [indicators or criteria] which will be used to identify which areas, groups, or individuals fall within the definition of the target group. The range of option here depends partly on the choice of channel and level, but can include measurements of nutritional status or trend, food balance sheet figures...(Sharp 1997:6)

2.3. PEOPLES PARTICIPATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL REHABILITATION

As Yeraswok (1990) discussed, popular participation is a recurrent theme in discussions on rural development. It emerged as a counter-strategy to efforts to modernize the countryside under large scale, commercial, and mechanized enterprises, which often pushed away the local population. At the most general level the “participatory approach” calls for rural people to be active participants in efforts to develop their communities in beneficial ways. The literature on peoples participation is very thick and has produced a number of definitions and classifications of the concept “participation”. As Stahl (1992) stated the concept of participation can be seen as a goal in itself if the emphasis is on democratic values, or as an instrument in project implementation, if the emphasis is on efficiency. It can focus on contributions to public work

schemes, on sensitizing people about development alternatives, on people's involvement in decision making processes as well as on their control over resources.

Pearse and Stiefel (1979) noted that UNRISD's research programme on popular participation in the 1970s focused on participation as a question of power, defining the concept as the organized efforts to increase control over resources and relative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those excluded from such control. This type of definition of participation, according to Pearse and Stiefel, is sometimes avoided since it raises questions about the distribution of power and appropriation of resources in a society.

Pearse and Stiefel (1979) further noted that among donor agencies and national authorities a more favoured approach is to view popular participation as a vehicle for more efficient project implementation at the local level.

Nevertheless, in all these conceptualizations, the state, in one form or another, whether the central government, the ministry of agriculture, or the district commissioner, is in opposition to the people. These conceptualizations are reductionist to the extent that they ignore social differentiation (Pearse and Stiefel 1979:292)

Since environmental degradation and rehabilitation issues have emerged in the international development debate, the issue of the relationship between popular participation and environment has come to the fore. This relationship is complicated and varies according to such factors as ecological zones, degree of demographic pressure, options for off-farm employment and land tenure systems.

Salih and Shibru (1999) explained that the period between 1974 and 1989 had generally been a period of action, when huge conservation activities were undertaken. For example, between 1976 and 1985, it has been estimated that 600,000 kilometers of soil and stone bunds on crop land and some 500,000 kilometers of terraces on hillsides were constructed. In addition, 500 million seedlings were planted for reforestation purposes and 80,000 hectares of hillsides were closed for regeneration.

However, according to Shawl Consult's draft proposal for conservation strategy (1989), many of these conservation measures have been found to have had no impact on the land degradation process in the country, since the physical conservation works deteriorated due to lack of maintenance and the results of the afforestation and closed areas were disappointing because of poor care, illegal cutting as well as deliberate large scale destruction

Salih and Shibru also share the same concern:

It is no wonder, therefore, that as late as 1991, the government was planning to embark upon a National Programme for the Conservation and Development of forest, wildlife, soil and water resources. While an uninterruptedly increasing economic development could have acted as a major means of arresting such degradation, inappropriate socio-economic policies which were applied particularly in the period between 1974 and 1991 exacerbated the problem (Salih and Shibru 1999:24).

2.4. TECHNIAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES IN SOIL CONSERVATION

The numerous technical problems affecting rehabilitation activities have been described and analyzed by Stahl:

Terracing encroaches on the area available for cultivation and provides favourite hiding places for rodents. Terracing may also bring sub-soil to the surface and thereby reduce crop yields. Most closures lack well articulated management plans. In the closed hillsides, species with low palatability and nutritional values tend to become dominant, while fodder grasses are further reduced if the hillsides are planted with trees. In addition, the transfer of grazing pressure from the closed areas to the nearby hillsides means that the latter suffer doubly...

... The survival rate of tree seedlings is reportedly around 40 per cent. The reasons for this low success rate are that planted species and provenance are not always suitable for local ecological conditions (such as altitude, temperature and soil depth), and that labour for the necessary forest management (thinning, for instance) is insufficient once the plantations have been established. The land assigned to afforestation projects, moreover, is often too marginal to support mature trees (Stahl 1992:287).

As Webb and Braun (1994) emphasized, FFW is not just about providing work, it is also about putting labour to useful effect. The long term impact of FFW depends on the technical value of a project and on its use to local communities. Two of the factors most widely blamed for failed projects are poor technical design and implementation, and low community involvement in project selection and subsequent maintenance. On the technical side, design problems may

result from a conflict between relief and development objectives. Most FFW activities in Ethiopia were initiated in response to crises, both food crises and those of an environmental nature (linked closely to the former). Thus projects have often been organized in an atmosphere of urgency, with limited assessment of community needs or of the technical validity of projects. Also many agencies have limited management capacities for rapid expansion into the field of public work.

Webb and Braun noted that projects describe results only in terms of their physical achievements:

...projects list their achievements in terms of the length of roads built or how many millions of trees have been planted, but the quality and sustainability of such assets have rarely been assessed in detail. For example, the Dinki road project achieved much in a short period of time- 680 kilometers of rural roads were created through 2 million workdays of labour, mostly during the first half of 1987. But it was later found out that more work was required to arrange for proper water control for less maintenance, in some places reconstruction of basically wrong alignments (Webb and Braun 1994:112).

Webb and Braun (1994) argue that most large labour-intensive projects in Ethiopia have only basic participatory and technical planning. Vallee's (1989) evaluation of 24 projects in Hararghe concurs, noting particularly a lack of adequate planning and predictions of food payment needs. Vallee concludes that without good planning a technical project involving food-for-work leads to total confusion.

2.5. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN FFW

Economic and cultural factors in different countries result in widely varying involvement of women in FFW. According to the workshop proceedings of the Office of the National Committee for Central Planning (1986), in the FFW programme in Bangladesh, it is recorded that fully 95% of labourers were able-bodied males between the ages of 16 and 54 years. By contrast, in Lesotho it is women who have formed the overwhelming proportion of workers, and one clear reason is the absence of men who take employment in neighboring South Africa. "In Ethiopia the proportion of women in the MoA FFW project averages some 30%" (ONCCP 1986:6).

According to the same ONCCP (1986) workshop proceeding report, officially there are no differential rates of payment between males and females, but in the socio-economic survey conducted by Yeraswork and Solomon (1985), one-third of female respondents claimed that they were always paid a lower rate than men. Clearly this is something which needs looking into. In Bangladesh, according to the ONCCP (1986) workshop proceedings, the requirement for men and women to perform equal 'earth moving' tasks have been looked upon as discriminatory, and in the mid-1970s attempt was made to introduce different work norms for women and men: for the same daily payment of 2.8 kg of wheat, men were expected to move 70 cubic feet of earth and women 50 cubic feet.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA

3.1. LOCATION

Alaba Wereda is located in the *Kembata-Alaba-and-Tembaro* zone, in the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region. The Wereda is situated along the *Sheshemane* to *Soddo* road about 315 kilometers from Addis Ababa. The Wereda's capital is known as *Kulito*. Currently, there are 84 Peasant Associations in the Wereda, and 2 KAs, namely *Tuka* and *Hantezo* were selected for this study. Please see the location of the sample KAs in the Wereda Map in Appendix 2.

3.2. THE PEOPLE

The people in *Alaba* are dominantly dependent on traditional subsistence agriculture with crop cultivation and animal husbandry. In 1994, the total population of the Wereda was 187,034, of which 93,194 were male and 93,840 were female (CSA 1996: 13). Around 53% of the Wereda population belongs to the *Alaba* ethnic group, whereas the remaining are the *Amharas*, *Gurages*, *Kembatas*, *Hadiyas*, *Wollayitas*, and others (CSA 1996: 137). Islam is the community's predominant religion. About 94% (175,517) of the people are Muslims and the rest are Orthodox, Protestants, Catholics, and others (CSA 1996: 224). The most widely spoken language is *Alabigna* with 100,767 speakers who constitute nearly 54% of the total population in

the Wereda, followed by *Siltigna* (33%), and *Kembatigna* (6%). The rest (7%) *speak Amarigna, Hadiyigna, Wolaytigna, Sodogna, Oromigna*, and others (CSA 1996: 179).

Most of the area is inhabited by subsistence farmers who also raise livestock. Elderly people in *Alaba* explained that the *Alaba* people were pastoral in the past before they started sedentary farming. In the eastern part of the Wereda, however, some people are still semi-nomadic, moving their livestock in search of grazing land during dry spells. The average household size in the study area is reported to be 5.3 (CSA 1996), whereas the results of the household survey (2001) indicate that the average farmland holding size is about 1.06 hectare per household. Unique to *Alaba*, is the influence of their religious leader called *Sheik Imām*. The *Sheik* (A Muslim local religious leader) has been a key figure in community meetings and he is reputed to have the managerial skills required to coordinate community development activities, and charismatic power in local leadership and conflict resolution.

3.3. TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Data obtained from *Alaba* Wereda Agriculture office indicates that the total estimated area of the Wereda is about 77,188 hectares out of which approximately 65% is characterized by plains, 32% is characterized by gentle slopes and the remaining 3% is covered with rugged mountains. The *Alaba* Wereda soil conservation expert explained to the writer that though the landscape is suitable for crop production, the soil is very degraded from heavy erosion. The soil conservation expert identified the soil as loose and sandy loam, which can be easily washed

away by rain and run-off. In some areas, the expert added, the soil seals during rains and does not allow water filtration. Soil depth is generally shallow and requires fertilizer use.

According to the experts in the *Alaba* Wereda MoA office, the Wereda is heavily deforested which further degrades the land's productivity. Currently there is very little vegetation cover. The data obtained from the *Alaba* Wereda MoA office indicate that only about 4% of the total area of the Wereda is covered with forest, 68% is covered with cereal and non-cereal crops, 11% is grazing land, and the remaining is valley, rolling hillside, and non-arable land. The newly planted eucalyptus trees dominate the tree species found in the area, while other trees such as *Graveilia Robusta* and acacia trees are also found scattered on non-arable land. During the field work it was observed that crop fields and side slopes are literally bare due to serious soil erosion in many parts of the Wereda.

The data from Wereda MoA also indicates that the elevation of the area ranges from 1,700 to 2,250 meters above sea level. Malaria and other parasitic diseases are prevalent throughout the area. The average temperature of the area is 23.4 degree Celsius and average annual rainfall is 970mm. The erratic distribution of rainfall has contributed a lot to the severe soil erosion. Only one major river, the *Bilate*, serves the entire Wereda, and the water table is in places over 100 meters deep. *Belg* (Short rain/season from February/March to June/July) is expected between April and May, and *Kiremt* (Main rain/season from June/July to September/October) is expected between June and September. Maize is the main crop grown, while *Teff* and sorghum are also grown but to a limited extent. In addition, *Chat* (mildly narcotic shrub grown as a cash crop) and red pepper are grown extensively as a cash crop.

3.4. LAND ALLOCATION

Elderly people in *Alaba* told the writer that during the imperial reign, the majority of the population was land-less tenants. More than 90% of the total rural land was owned and utilized by non-*Alaban* absentee land lords. On average, each tenant peasant was virtually forced to work for 12 hours on his landlord's farm. The peasants could rent and pay tax for the plots they worked and lived on. The *Sheik* himself was a land-less tenant.

In 1974, the *Derg* government came into power and land was taken over by the state and redistributed to farmers. Land no longer belongs to individuals. A person who is above 18 is supposed to be registered in Peasant Associations, and after registration he is entitled to land use rights not exceeding ten hectares. Land is divided into three categories; farm land, grazing land and forest land. Each household is required to pay land use tax. The change of land tenure system, according to the elderly people in *Alaba*, contributed significantly to the deforestation and degradation of the natural environment. Since the *Derg* regime, farmers did not feel responsible to conserve land that does not actually belong to them.

3.5. LOCAL FOOD SITUATION AND FOOD AID

In *Alaba*, there has been indiscriminate deforestation to meet the needs of both human and livestock population since the 1980s. As a result of the gradual deterioration of the natural environment, soil erosion, and erratic rainfall, the *Alaba* community fell victim to famine. The shortage of rainfall in *Alaba* in 1982/83 created a severe drought in the area. In 1983/84 the rainfall continued to be irregular and caused another complete crop failure. The crops failed for

three consecutive years (1982-1984) in many KAs in the Wereda. Towards the middle of 1984, the drought became severe, and many people began to die of starvation (It was not possible to obtain the exact number of people died of starvation). With the lack of adequate vegetation for grazing, cattle began to die. The 1984/85 famine was the most severe of any drought that had occurred in the past in the area. Many people were forced to migrate to *Kulito* and other towns to look for relief support and medication. The drought in *Alaba* in the mid-1980s was a sign of a larger, longer-term problem. Once densely forested and lush, the landscape in the *Alaba* had become severely degraded due to erosion caused by the steady deforestation of the land since the 1980's.

To understand the food situation in *Alaba*, one should look at different types of food shortages that have been experienced by local people: seasonal and acute food shortages. Seasonal food shortage may appear in certain periods of time even in a normal year. It does not usually lead to a large scale loss in assets and human lives. On the other hand, acute food shortage is distinguished from the seasonal one by the severity of the problem and its non-seasonal nature. It often occurs as a result of food stress over an extended period of time and may lead to a large-scale loss in assets and human lives unless appropriate and timely measures are taken to mitigate its effects.

In the following sections, firstly we will describe the nature of seasonal food shortage in the study area, and secondly discuss the experience of acute food shortage during the emergency period of 1984/85. In addition, we will overview food aid programmes implemented during the

emergency period as well as the post-emergency period.

Seasonal Food Shortage

Communities in *Alaba* area experience seasonal food shortages even in the year with normal rains. About four months from October to January are considered as a good season in which major crops such as maize and sorghum are harvested and thus people enjoy relative food abundance. Food reserves gradually decline from February to the period of May to August which is considered a “hungry season” with a very low level of food availability for most of the households in the communities. During this period, people cope with food shortages by reducing the number of meals per day and the amount of food consumption per meal. The most common diet during this period are roasted and boiled grains (beans, maize, sorghum, wheat, etc.). Local food situation significantly improves in September as fresh maize becomes available for household consumption.

Acute Food Shortage

Key informants in *Alaba* explained that the 1984/85 famine is the only experience of acute food shortage in the last 15 years for the people in *Alaba*. Almost all the population in the area faced extremely difficult conditions during the famine that affected almost 8 million people across the country. According to the focus groups interviewed in the communities, the rain failed during the major cropping season of 1983 and the food shortage became very critical by February 1984. The drought became even severe in 1984.

The communities continued to face the crisis without any external assistance until August 1985 when FHI-Ethiopia launched an emergency relief operation. During this period (February 1984

- August 1985), many people, especially children and aged people lost their lives. According to the focus groups, in *Tuka* (a sample KA) almost 75% of the total households lost one or more household members while in *Hantezo* (another sample KA) 25 to 30 % of the total households were in similar conditions during the period.

Emergency Relief And Free Food Distributions

According to the FHI-Ethiopia's pamphlet (Year not specified), FHI-Ethiopia first entered *Alaba* in 1985 in response to the 1984/85 drought and famine. Although there were no official documents that have recorded the exact number of individuals affected by the famine, a rough estimate of 120,000 local people in 40 KAs were officially registered to receive provisions of relief food and other types of relief assistance from the organisation.

In *Tuka* and *Hantezo*, the sample communities of this study, free food distribution began in August 1985 and continued for three months. Every household in the communities received 25 to 50 kilograms of grains, mainly wheat, for their monthly consumption depending on the family size. According to the focus groups, though the death toll significantly decreased after the FHI-Ethiopia's relief operation started, people's lives were still in danger during this period.

Rehabilitation And Development Programs Through FFW

Along with the rehabilitation programme, FHI-Ethiopia first started a FFW programme to construct access roads and ponds in the project area, and later on started soil conservation and afforestation activities. In sampled KAs, the FFW programme was implemented for six years continuously from early 1986 through late 1991. However, the FFW programme in other target

areas of the project continued until September 1996. The standard food wage was 3 kilograms of grain and 120 grams of oil based on the recommendation of Ministry of Agriculture. In practice, each FFW participant received 100 kilograms of grain and 4 litres of oil after 33 days of work.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In the following sections, the key processes and methods employed in this study for the data collection and analysis will be briefly described.

4.1. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The nature of the study necessitated the use of both the conventional (or quantitative) and participatory (or qualitative) data collection techniques. The main data collection methods employed in this study were: household survey, focus group interview, key informant interview, direct observation, and some other PRA tools such as timelines and participatory mapping. In addition to the primary data, secondary data sources were also consulted. CSA reports, FHI reports, and other socio-economic data were collected from the Alaba Wereda council and MoA office. Other literatures relevant to the topic were also reviewed.

4.1.1. Household Survey

The conventional household survey was the primary data collection method used to collect quantitative information. A questionnaire was designed and administered by trained enumerators. Please see the questionnaire used to collect primary data from respondents in Appendix 3.

Survey population: The FFW activities of FHI-Ethiopia in *Alaba* Wereda were carried out in 4 KAs, namely, 1. *Aymele* (538 households) 2. *Tuka* (353 households) 3. *Hantezo* (904 households), and 4. *Rekame* (496 households). According to the CSA 1994 report there are 2,291 households in these 4 KAs (CSA 1994:291-292). These households are, therefore, considered as the survey population in this study.

Units of Analysis: The units of analysis from which information is collected are heads of households in this study. Heads of households were interviewed to solicit information representing every member of the household. A household in this case is defined as a group of persons who are dependent on one person for their living; they may or may not dwell in the same housing unit, and may or may not have common arrangements for meals.

Sampling Technique: At the beginning two KAs, namely *Tuka* and *Hantezo*, were selected through a **purposive sampling** technique. These 2 KAs were selected based on 2 criteria. Firstly, the two KAs are the areas where most of the FFW activities of the project were implemented. Secondly, the two KAs represent the 2 agro-ecological zones covered by the FFW project: *Tuka* being a *Kolla* (Lowland with an altitude of <1,500 meters) and dry area, and *Hantezo* being a *Woyna-Dega* (Mid-highland with an altitude of 1,500-2,500) and relatively wet area. After identifying the two KAs together with the Wereda council, the actual respondents were selected using the **systematic random sampling** (with a random start) technique based on the sampling frames.

The list of all household heads in each KA was considered as the **sampling frame**. The **sampling interval** was calculated for each of the KA, i.e. 5 for *Tuka* (353- total households in the KA- divided by 65- the allocated sample size for the KA) and 8 for *Hantezo* (904- total households in the KA- divided by 115- the allocated sample size for the KA). The first household in each KA was randomly taken (by selecting a random number between 1 and 10), and then every 5th and 8th elements (sampling intervals) were selected from the sampling frame of *Tuka* and *Hantezo* respectively until required the number of sample size was fulfilled.

Sample Size: A total of 180 beneficiaries were assumed to be adequate for the study. This sample size is about 8% of the survey population (i.e. 2,291 households). The reasons for deciding on this sample size are: 1) the homogeneity of the population in terms of lifestyle, language, culture, religion, and income, 2) short period of time allocated for the study and limited financial resources available. To make the allocation of the total sample size into 2 sample KAs a little bit proportional, 115 households (the larger proportion) were taken from *Hantezo*, which has the greater number of households, and 65 households were taken from *Tuka* which has smaller number of households.

Table 1: Sample Size and Distribution

KA	Total Population			Sample Size	No. of households	No. of communal sites
	Male	Female	Both Sexes			
1. <i>Tuka</i>	830	337	1,667	65	353	3
2. <i>Hantezo</i>	1,940	2,069	4,009	115	904	5
Total	2,770	2,406	5,676	<u>180</u>	<u>1,257</u>	8

In order to take gender issues into account, 45 respondents (15 from *Tuka* and 30 from *Hantezo*) were selected from women beneficiaries (about 25% of the total respondents). It was initially planned to include even more women (around 50% of the sample size) in to the sample. But because of the problem of getting women-headed households in the survey area, the representation of women in the sample has become less than that of male beneficiaries. The women selected were not actually heads of households. Though they were not heads of households, they were interviewed to include their views in the survey. The focus group discussions conducted with women, however, enabled to obtain more insights from women beneficiaries.

4.1.2. Qualitative Data Collection Methods

Qualitative assessment methods, using the PRA tools, were also important tools in the study. The qualitative assessment added useful depth and perspective in understanding issues that can not be obtained from the quantitative survey.

Focus Group Interview

The focus group interview was the most important qualitative data collection method used in this study. Considering that there may be different views about FFW programme according to gender differences, the study included female groups in each community in addition to the male groups. Therefore, there were two focus group discussions (one male and one female group) both in *Tuka* and *Hantezo* (sample KAs). Each focus group was originally planned to have only 6 to 10 people. But in practice, though the study team started working with about 10 people, the number of focus group participants increased up to 20 as the exercise continued.

A checklist (See Appendix 4) was used to provide a framework within which the focus group facilitators/interviewers, who can speak the local language (*Alabigna*), conducted discussions to explore in-depth perceptions of the participants. A note taker recorded interview data as the interview process went on and the data were reviewed by the facilitator/interviewer after each focus group interview for assessing the quality of data.

Key Informant Interview

Individuals knowledgeable about the local situation were identified and interviewed individually. The key informants interviewed in the study area were development agents, soil conservation experts, crop protection experts, elderly people, members of the executive committee of the Wereda Council, and local religious leaders. Please see Appendix 5 for the complete list of all individuals who have participated in the key informant interview.

Direct Observation

Direct observations were done by the research team members for cross checking data that were generated through the survey method and focus group interviews.

Timelines And Trend Analysis

Focus group participants were asked to construct chronologies of major events related to food aid programmes in the community with approximate dates that took place in or around their community. Also, assisted by the research team, they produced diagrams representing historical changes and trends of variables that are relevant to this study (e.g. food shortage period, migration, asset disposal/creation, environmental changes, etc.).

Participatory Environmental Mapping

Focus group participants produced maps representing KAs and present of environmental outlooks in the area. Produced maps were used as tools for activating focus group interview process. Contents of discussions and/or participant's comments during PRA exercises were recorded in field notes.

4.2. THE PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION

4.2.1. Preliminary Data Collection

From January 01 to 05, 2001, a preliminary visit was made to FHI-Ethiopia co-ordination office in Addis Ababa. During this time, secondary data sources pertaining to the study area (such as annual reports, project evaluation reports, mid term reviews, etc.) were reviewed, and

discussions were held with the head office programmes department staff regarding the current situations in *Alaba* project area.

4.2.2. Main Data Collection

Before the beginning of the actual data collection, the designed questionnaire was pre-tested among 15 FFW beneficiaries randomly selected from the sample KAs. This was done on the 13th of February 2001. The results of the pretest helped to review and rewrite some of the questions. After revising the questionnaire, the final version of the questionnaire was duplicated. The recruitment and training of enumerators, which took 3 consecutive days from 14–16 February 2001, was also an important part of the data collection process. After an intensive class orientation, the enumerators practiced the final version of the questionnaire at the field. The actual data collection was started in the 18th of February 2001 and ended in the 27th of February 2001. The overall data collection process was smooth except that it was interrupted on weekly market days where all the rural people visit the town of *Kulito*.

4.3. DATA ANALYSIS

The process of data entry began immediately after the fieldwork was completed. The quantitative data were immediately entered into computer, and some of the qualitative data were coded. All the data recorded in data sheets and field notes were typed first and then sorted according to the topic/theme and the type of focus group. This was followed by the application of descriptive statistical analysis. SPSS for Windows (Version 9.0) was used to analyze the raw data.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAJOR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

As stated earlier, the focus of the study is on the following issues: 1) the attitude of beneficiaries towards the management of FFW, 2) perceptions of beneficiaries regarding the impact of FFW programme on environment, and 3) issues regarding the sustainability of FFW initiated soil conservation measures. Therefore, in this section key findings regarding the above issues will be presented and discussed.

5.1. THE ATTITUDE OF BENEFICIARIES TOWARDS THE MANAGEMENT OF FOOD-FOR-WORK

5.1.1. Household Targeting

In order to effectively use the limited food resources available and to reach the intended beneficiaries a strong consideration of targeting is required in chronically food insecure areas such as *Alaba*. According to Webb Braun (1994), FFW is a self-targeting intervention from which the wealthy voluntarily exclude themselves. This holds true when people are in a better economic condition, and when they have alternative sources of income. In the study area due to deep-rooted poverty and food insecurity all households seek to benefit from FFW as it is almost the only off-farm employment available in the locality, and therefore, looking in to the issue of targeting is very relevant.

The majority of respondents (66%) share the idea that the general approach of beneficiary selection criterion adopted in the FFW programme undertaken by FHI-Ethiopia in *Alaba* during the 1986–1991 period was prioritization on the basis of the poorest of the poor, though the interpretation of the criterion and the actual selection process was quite flexible and subjective. About 12% of the respondents have said that there were no clear selection criteria.

Table 2: Most important criterion to select beneficiaries

	Frequency	Percent
Poorest of the poor	119	66.1
Political commitment	11	6.1
Ownership of asset	8	4.4
Land holding size	6	3.3
Size of the family	9	5.0
No clear selection criteria	21	11.7
I don't know	5	2.8
Others	1	.6
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

When asked who had set the selection criterion, 37% of the respondents have said that it was set by the leaders at the Wereda level (before 1991), and 46% have said that the selection criterion was set by the then KA leaders. The current KA leaders in *Alaba* have explained to the writer that the then KA leaders were given beneficiary selection criteria by the government and that they were supposed to implement accordingly. Therefore, it can be said that beneficiaries did not participate while the selection criterion was set. The role of beneficiaries in setting

selection criteria was not visible. Similarly, the role of FHI-Ethiopia's *Alaba* project staff in setting selection criterion and in beneficiary selection was very limited. Only 13% of the respondents have indicated that FHI-Ethiopia's *Alaba* project staff had set the selection criterion.

Table 3: People who set the beneficiary selection criterion

	Frequency	Percent
KA leaders	82	45.6
Project staff	23	12.8
Wereda administration	66	36.7
Others	9	5.0
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

The data obtained from *Alaba* Wereda MoA office indicated that there were a total of 1,077 households in *Tuka* and *Hantezo* in 1991. The total population of the 2 KAs was around 5,923. From the total population in the 2 KAs, 3,257 (or 55%) participated in FFW in 1991. From those who participated in FFW, 879 (or 27%) were women.

Most respondents (75%) had serious concerns regarding the selection process. The actual selection procedure started at the KA level where KA leaders were responsible for selecting and forwarding the list of beneficiaries to the Wereda administration and through them to the project. However, many complaints, as indicated both in the household survey and key informant interview, have been raised regarding unfair treatments in the course of beneficiary selection.

Table 4: Most important problem regarding beneficiary selection

	Frequency	Percent
Neediest households were not given priority	59	32.8
All households didn't have equal chance to participate	26	14.4
Women didn't equally participate with men	14	7.8
KA leaders were given more opportunities	33	18.3
Others	4	2.2
No problems regarding beneficiary Selection	44	24.4
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

The most important problem reported by respondents regarding beneficiary selection is that the neediest people were not properly targeted by the FFW intervention. Details of the problems regarding targeting were explained by the key informants whom the writer met at the *Alaba* Wereda MoA office and Wereda council. The *Alaba* Wereda council vice chairman explained that the then KA leaders and Wereda officials were responsible for deciding who should participate in FFW. According to the vice chairman of the Wereda, the then KA leaders and their bosses at the Wereda level were accountable for the government rather than the community, and they were inefficient, corrupt, and undemocratic. Moreover, as the food aid was considered as something provided from outside the community, the vice chairman added, there was no feeling of ownership, and the poor and most needy were neglected.

5.1.2. FFW Payments

According to Kay Sharp (1997), who studied food aid targeting in Ethiopia, food payments to individual workers are calculated in 'man-days' of work, which are the units in which work

norms have been established by the MoA and WFP. Food payments are made according to achievement of work target, on the basis of the number of man-days in the work norm. This allows considerable flexibility in the timing of work activities. A target may be achieved quickly by working consecutive days, or slowly by working less regular days and/or hours.

Sharp's (1997) study also indicated that the existing FFW payment standard of 3 kilogram grain and 120 gram oil per day per person was set by WFP 20 years ago, based on nutritional requirements for an average family of 6 persons.

Results of the survey show that the average annual number of days spent by households on FFW activities in 1991 was 73 days. This indicates the lack of alternative employment for households seeking food, and how FFW is an important source of employment and income. The average kilogram of grain received by households from FFW in 1991 was 231.5, and the average litre of edible oil received by households from FFW in 1991 was 11.03.

For the majority of respondents wheat is quite acceptable since it has a longer shelf life than maize, and can be sold to bring more food when exchanged for maize. The FFW oil is also an accepted commodity though not necessarily for household consumption. Oil has an excellent resale value in *Alaba*. It is most often sold and the cash is used to buy other households necessities. Therefore, the commodity mix is considered by most beneficiaries to be appropriate except sometimes the payment is done separately- first wheat and then the oil later on- due to the lack of commodities. Though the commodity mix is seen as appropriate to the needs of the beneficiaries, beneficiaries have said that it is not totally consistent with their own food preferences.

When asked whether beneficiaries had any problem regarding payments, 69% of the respondents said that they had faced problems.

Table 5: Most important problem regarding FFW payments

	Frequency	Percent
Payments were not made on time	79	43.9
The quantity of food ration was small	18	10.0
The quality of food ration was low	14	7.8
Some non-working individuals got ration	5	2.8
KA leaders took part of the payments & used for other purpose	3	1.7
Women were paid less than men	1	.6
Others	5	2.8
There was no problem	55	30.6
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

The most important problem identified regarding payments is the untimely arrival and distribution of food. Delay in payments has been a serious concern among beneficiaries. Payments have been delayed sometimes for up to 2-3 months until the commodities arrived. This has apparently resulted in the unhappiness on the part of the FFW participants. According to FHI-Ethiopia programmes department staff, delay in payments was due to the fact that food allocations to the project were not made proportionately to the stipulated ration scale. This led to an early exhaustion of under-allocated foodstuffs.

In addition, during the discussion with the key informants, many informants raised the question as to why FFW participants could not receive their monthly food payments at their work sites rather than going to the project compound which is located near *Kulito* (Wereda capital). When

asked whether beneficiaries agree or disagree with the distribution of food as a payment, around 72% of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the distribution of food as a form of payment, whereas 17% strongly disagreed or disagreed, and the rest were indifferent.

Table 6: Agreement or disagreement regarding the distribution of food as a form of payment

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	34	18.8
Agree	97	53.6
Indifferent	18	9.9
Disagree	25	13.8
Strongly disagree	6	3.9
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

The main reason given by respondents for supporting food provision as a payment is the fact that the area is chronically food deficit, and since local food supply is in short and prices of grain are unstable, they felt that they will incur transaction costs to buy food from other areas if they were paid in cash. Those that did not agree with the distribution of food ration suggested both payments in cash and in kind- 14% suggested cash payment, 1.7% suggested payment in kind in the form of agricultural inputs, training and education. During the focus group discussions, however, participants suggested the use of both food and cash depending up on the availability of food in local markets.

The FFW rations can be sold in the range of 4 - 8 Birr (depending on the local food supply situations) while the average local unskilled wage rate is only 4 Birr. Thus, FFW is a better deal than Cash-for-Work. This questions the appropriateness of adopting Cash-for-Work unless the

cash payment is higher than the wage for unskilled labour. Participants of the focus group discussion tended to be highly hesitant regarding the appropriateness of Cash-for-Work. The concerns expressed included the increased possibility of cash misallocation or misappropriation and the possible shortage of food for purchase. Cash system was explained to be more liable to cause corruption than the food commodity.

Like the participants of focus group discussion, some key informants suggested the use of both food and cash depending on the local food situations. According to these key informants, food should be provided in times when food is in short supply in the local markets, and cash should be paid in times of good harvest since the crop from own farm can adequately feed households.

5.1.3. Food Utilization

In *Alaba*, the food obtained from FFW is either consumed at household or sold in the local markets. According to the results of the household survey, the proportion of oil sold was more than the proportion of grain sold. The results of the household survey indicated that from the average kilogram of grain (i.e. 231.5 kg.) received by households from FFW in 1991, on average approximately 11.7% was sold in the local markets. Whereas, from the average liter of edible oil received by household from FFW in 1991 (i.e. 11.03 liter), on average approximately 63% was sold in local markets. The proportion of oil sold was more than the proportion of grain.

One major reason given by beneficiaries for selling more oil than grain is the attractive prices offered by traders. The reason for selling grain was partly because of people's preference of maize over wheat, and partly due to the fact that the proceedings from the sale of wheat enables beneficiaries to buy more maize as the price of maize is much cheaper than that of wheat.

5.1.4. Work Norms

For more than 20 years, soil and water conservation measures and small infrastructure works have been implemented through out the country using the existing work norms. According to MoA and WFP (2000) workshop proceeding on the revision of soil and water conservation work norms in Ethiopia, currently there are 26 activities having standard work norms (See Appendix 6).

“...These work norms were established since the inception of Project ETH 2488 ‘Rehabilitation and Development of Rural Lands’ in 1980...” (MoA and WFP 2000:1). According to MoA and WFP, some of these work norms are unrealistic, i.e. over or underestimated, unclear, and interpreted in different ways by different regions, causing confusion in reporting. MoA and WFP (2000) further noted that new technologies identified as potentially useful under Ethiopian conditions are being penalized because of specific work norms for their implementation.

These norms have been widely used by WFP and NGOs. Though the norms have been the milestone for the implementation of conservation and infrastructure activities in the country,

differences in climatic, physical, and social conditions found in the country were not taken in to account when the work norms were first developed. Uniform work norms have been used regardless of the differences and this has resulted in the dissatisfaction of FFW beneficiaries. It has been indicated frequently by beneficiaries that the work norms do not adequately reflect the actual work input required for different activities in different places. The same work norms have been applied all over the nation regardless of differences in weather, nature of the work, and other area specific differences.

Beneficiaries have categorized literally all of the conservation activities they have carried out as having work norms difficult to fulfill; hillside terracing being the most difficult one to fulfill followed by the construction of check dams and cut-off drains.

Table 7: FFW activities that are perceived to have most difficult work norms

	Frequency	Percent
Hillside terraces	62	34.3
Soil/stone bunds	19	10.5
Check dams	41	22.7
Cut off drains	37	20.4
I don't know	16	8.8
Others	5	2.8
Total	180	99.4

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

Hillside terracing measure refers to the normal hillside terrace construction, usually suitable for medium to slightly low rainfall area, without collection trench, and provided with a stone riser.

According to the beneficiaries, the norm for this activity is underestimated because there are many activities involved in this measure. The activities include cut and fill of the terrace area, collection of stones for working site, light shaping of sides of some stones with sledgehammer for better stability and merging, excavation of foundation, placement and building of stone riser, small stone ties every 5 meter, and leveling of top of terrace with an “A-frame”. According to the respondents, these are very tiresome physical activities with unreasonable payments. In addition, respondents have also expressed that the construction of terracing at different altitudes requires different inputs. Terracing on higher slopes is much harder work than on lower slopes.

The soil conservation activities identified to have the easiest work norms to fulfil were seedling production and tree planting.

Table 8: FFW activities that are perceived to have easiest work norms

	Frequency	Percent
Hillside terraces	3	1.7
Soil/stone bunds	5	2.8
Check dams	7	3.9
Micro basins	8	4.4
Cut off drains	4	2.2
Tree planting	57	31.5
Seedling production	58	32.0
I don't know	11	6.7
Others [None of them]	27	14.9
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

According to the proceedings of the workshop organized by MoA and WFP (2000) on the revision of the soil and water conservation work norms, there has been continued discussion on the need to upgrade and improve the existing work norms in the last several years. Though the need for the revision of the work norms emanated from the realization of the importance to improve quality standards and effectiveness of the various soil and water conservation measures, the revision will also address some of the issues raised by respondents.

After revising the existing and long served conservation work norms, and after preparing a set of minimum technical standards for each of the existing conservation measures, MoA and WFP, with the participation of concerned stakeholders at zonal and regional level, re-established new work norms for each of the soil conservation activities in Ethiopia (See Appendix 7), and submitted their proposal to the concerned government offices. The modified work norms will be applied after the endorsement of the proposal by the concerned government officials.

5.1.5. Site Selection

The basic idea behind the conservation planning is that selected soil conservation measures should be based on technical aspects and peoples immediate needs in order to make the conservation community-based and sustainable. Therefore, the site selection process should, in principle, integrate the views of the land users and conservationists so that the interests of both the land users and the conservationists are satisfied at the same time.

Degraded lands or marginal lands affected by serious soil erosion problems are usually communal or abandoned lands utilized for grazing and/or for the collection of fuel wood. The improvement or reclamation of such lands is often beyond the capability of a single or group of farmers. Respondents were asked whether the sites selected for conservation measures were appropriate or not. The majority of respondents (nearly 53%) said that the sites are not appropriate for conservation.

Table 9: Perceptions regarding the appropriateness of the communal sites selected for soil conservation measures

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	67	37.2
No	95	52.8
I don't know	18	10.0
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

From the data in the above table, one can learn the fact that beneficiaries were not adequately consulted at the beginning of the planning stage, and the interests of the majority of beneficiaries were not accommodated during the site selection process. The most frequently given reason for not considering the sites as appropriate for conservation measures, among those who have said that the sites are not appropriate, is the fact that the sites were communal grazing lands before the soil conservation activities started.

Table 10: Reasons for not considering the communal soil conservation sites as appropriate

	Frequency	Percent
The sites were communal grazing lands	48	50.5
The sites were farmlands	7	7.5
The sites are not priority areas	19	20
The sites were sacred places	2	2
Others	19	20
Total	95	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

Another issue regarding site selection was the fact that the sites were not priority areas.

5.2. BENEFICIARIES' PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE IMPACTS OF FFW INITIATED SOIL CONSERVATION MEASURES ON ENVIRONMENT

It is the view of the writer and many respondents that the FFW project implemented by FHI-Ethiopia in *Alaba* Wereda has contributed a lot to the environmental rehabilitation efforts in the area. The site visits and meetings with community members provided positive indicators of the successes of some of the soil conservation efforts.

5.2.1. Biological Soil Conservation Measures

The biological soil conservation efforts of the FFW programme are perceived by the beneficiaries to be successful in the promotion of tree species, especially eucalyptus. However,

the promotion of fodder species and multi-purpose tree species has been invisible. Despite the fact that the biological measures have not included the promotion of fodder and tree species that have multi-purposes, many respondents have said that the trees planted on communal lands have reduced soil erosion.

Table 11: Do you think the trees planted on communal lands decreased soil erosion?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	123	68.3
No	38	21.1
I don't know	19	10.6
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

It is also the perception of the large portion of respondents that the trees planted in communal lands played a role in rehabilitating degraded lands.

Table 12: Do you think the trees planted on communal lands rehabilitated degraded lands?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	85	47.2
No	66	36.7
I don't know	29	16.1
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

Due to reasons of fast growth and economic preference, eucalyptus plantation dominates the biological soil conservation activities. From 127 respondents who have planted trees since 1991, 74% planted eucalyptus.

Table 13: Types of tree species planted by respondents since 1991

	Frequency	Percent
Eucalyptus	94	74.0
<i>Graveilia Robusta</i>	12	9.4
Acacia	9	7.0
Lucerne	4	3.3
Multi purpose tree species	2	1.6
Others	6	4.7
Total	127	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

In several cases it was observed that eucalyptus plantation is expanding to farmlands because it grows fastest and produces wood which has excellent value as fuel wood or construction timber. Eucalyptus can be harvested and sold in local markets in as little as 3 years after planting. Moreover, it can re-sprout from the same root up to 4 times.

From those who have planted eucalyptus since 1991, 61% planted at the edge of their farmland.

Table 14: If you planted eucalyptus, where did you plant?

	Frequency	Percent
Inside the farmland	10	11
At the edge of the farmland	57	61
On grazing land	8	9
On waste land	13	13
Others	6	6
Total	94	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

The majority of respondents (about 76%) are well aware of the negative impacts of planting eucalyptus inside or close to farmlands. The most important negative impact of planting eucalyptus in a close proximity to farmlands, according to the respondents, is the fact that eucalyptus trees draw soil nutrients from crops.

However, in spite of the fact that they are aware of the disadvantages of eucalyptus, they have been planting close to farmlands, and even in some cases inside the farmlands because of the economic values farmers attach to eucalyptus. Respondents have pointed out that communal lands have been protected from run-off and erosion through tree planting measures. Micro-climatic changes such as improved vegetation cover, return of wildlife and bees to their habitats have been reported by the respondents. But when asked if there has been any improvement regarding the timeliness of rain, respondents reported that no improvements have been observed in the recent KAs.

Table 15: Do you think the trees planted on communal lands increased vegetative cover?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	136	75.6
No	24	13.3
I don't know	20	11.1
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

Another tree species sporadically grown in the area is *Graveilia Robusta*. This species, although not fast growing, is economically usable as fuel wood and as construction timber. The advantage of this tree species is that it allows the growth of undergrowth and is nitrogen-fixing. But only very few farmers have planted this species inside or close to farmlands. The multi-purpose tree species were also rarely grown in the area, whereas there is a serious shortage of fodder for livestock in the Wereda.

Due to its economic value, many households in *Alaba* reserve eucalyptus for sale, and use animal dung for fuel wood. This has negatively affected the traditional practice of putting animal dung in farmlands to improve soil fertility. In this regard, FHI-Ethiopia's *Alaba* project did not really make any attempt to develop alternatives for fuel- for example, fuel efficient stoves, or bio-gas technology - and introducing them to the local population.

By and large, tree planting helped in maintaining fire wood supply, making available construction material, and to some extent minimizing soil erosion by water. This will reduce the human pressure on natural vegetation.

5.2.2. Physical Soil Conservation Measures

It was observed in the field both in *Tuka* and *Hantezo* that many physical structures were built in the FFW catchment areas. But most of the structures were built alone with out parallel activities of tree planting and thus the structures have become unstable, and hence as perceived by the beneficiaries (See Table 16 below), the structures could not arrest soil erosion in the hillsides. Moreover, as a result of the lack of regular maintenance and follow-up, the structures in most places were taken away by run-off.

Table 16:Do you think the hillside terraces on communal lands decreased soil erosion?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	41	22.8
No	104	57.8
I don't know	35	19.4
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

Table 17: Do you think the check dams decreased soil erosion?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	72	40.0
No	91	50.6
I don't know	17	9.4
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

Those physical structures that were established along with biological soil conservation measures have become stable and remarkably arrested soil erosion. This has been the case only in few sites.

A cut-off drain constructed to control run-off coming from the uplands in *Hantezo* was not supported by check dams to arrest erosion. Therefore, the structure caused gully formation down stream. In both sample KAs, the majority of beneficiaries (64%) have reported that cut-off drains constructed on communal lands did not meaningfully reduce soil erosion and arrest run-off.

Table 18: Do you think the cut-off drains decreased soil erosion?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	49	27.2
No	116	64.4
I don't know	15	8.3
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

A physical soil conservation structure perceived by 43% of respondents to have reduced soil erosion is the micro-basin construction.

Table 19: Do you think the micro-basins decreased soil erosion?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	78	43.3
No	74	41.1
I don't know	28	15.6
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

The *Alaba* Wereda MoA soil conservation expert explained to the writer that generally the quality of the various soil conservation structures and infrastructures are acceptable except that the quality of workmanship of some of the structures are poor. According to the soil conservation expert, such poor workmanship could negatively affect the rehabilitation effort by increasing soil erosion. Regarding the negative impact of the structures, only 7% of the respondents reported that the structures have negative impact as the structures resulted in the flooding of their farmlands, whereas 89% have said that the structures have no negative impact, the rest did not have any idea about the negative impact of the structures.

Beneficiaries have appreciated the role played by FFW in connecting previously inaccessible areas through feeder roads. The feeder road network has provided the KAs access to the main road, and to neighboring KAs.

5.2.3. Beneficiaries Preferences of the Different Conservation Measures

The results of the survey show that beneficiaries have their own values and preferences regarding the types of conservation measures. The data in Table 20 below indicate that beneficiaries prefer biological soil conservation measures to the physical ones. There are two main reasons for this: firstly, the work norms of the biological conservation measures are relatively easier to fulfil than the work norms for the physical conservation measures; and secondly, biological conservation measures, especially tree planting, offer direct and immediate benefits compared to the physical structures which take long period of time to impact on soil erosion, and hence on agricultural production and income.

The data in Table 20 below supplements the above argument. Respondents were asked to identify the most important conservation activity (be it physical or biological) that they prefer most, and accordingly they identified tree planting.

Table 20: Conservation measures (biological and physical) beneficiaries prefer most

	Frequency	Percent
Soil/stone bund construction	20	11
Hillside terracing	25	14
Check dam construction	12	7
Tree planting	94	52
Cut-off drain construction	6	3
Micro-basin construction	14	8
None of them	5	3
I don't know	4	2
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

From among the physical soil conservation structures, respondents were asked to choose the one structure which they prefer most. Accordingly, micro-basin is identified as the most preferred physical soil conservation measure by 50% of the respondents. This is partly due to the fact that beneficiaries consider the work norms for the construction of micro-basin to be easier to fulfill compared to other physical conservation structures.

Table 21: Conservation structures (physical) beneficiaries prefer most

	Frequency	Percent
Soil/stone bunds on contours	8	4
Hillside terraces	14	8
Check dams in gullies	10	6
Cut-off drains	12	7
Micro-basins	90	50
None of them	10	6
I don't know	19	11
Others	17	8
Total	180	100

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

Soil or stone bunds are activities that were preferred by the lowest number of respondents. This is partly due to the fact that in the area people believe that soil bunds breed rats and other crop damaging animals. Check dams are also not preferred since they are de-stabilized and collapse during heavy over-flooding.

5.3. THE IMPACT OF FFW PROGRAMME ON HOUSEHOLD FOOD

CONSUMPTION AND ASSETS

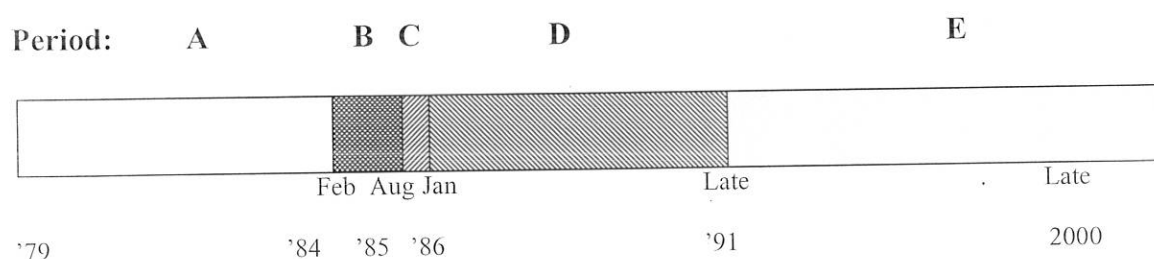
5.3.1. Household Food Consumption

The food provided both through FFW and emergency relief in the *Alaba* communities have brought changes in the amount of food consumed and in their food habits. The changes have been both in terms of amount as well as quality. Though this is not the primary focus of this study, it is important to analyse the impact of food aid on household economy as this could **affect the household food security situations**, and the household food security situations have a direct influence over the utilisation and **management of the natural resources**.

Many respondents agreed that FFW payments contributed a lot to the ability of beneficiaries to feed their families. Poor farmers, dependent youth and other members of the community were able to support themselves by the food supply from FFW programme. A woman beneficiary at *Hantezo* told the writer : “...*had there not been FFW activities in our localities, our option would have been to migrate to Kembata, or Ajje areas to work...*” During the focus group discussion with women, participants have said that the food provided through FFW has enabled a sustained settlement of the majority of population in their respective areas in the period when the area experienced acute food shortage. FFW has helped the community members to bridge the period of food deficit and escape starvation.

In order to make the study time and context specific, the time-line of local food situation was constructed based on the information obtained from focus groups participants. The time-line shown in Figure 1 below was used as an important reference during the focus group discussions with informants.

Figure 1: Time-line of Local Food Situation



Period A - pre-84/85 emergency period: This is the period before the 84/85 famine. The people experienced only seasonal food shortages during this period.

Period B - 84/85 emergency period before relief food aid arrived: This period began in February 1984 - the month the local people perceive as the starting point of the acute food shortage - and continued until August 1985 when the FHI-Ethiopia's relief food aid began. Local people perceive this period as the most serious famine period.

Period C - 84/85 emergency period with relief food aid: This period is identical with the duration of FHI-Ethiopia's relief food aid programme implemented from August to December 1985. Though the situation improved due to the arrival of relief assistance, the people thought their lives were still in danger during this period.

Period D - post-emergency period with FFW: This period is identical with the duration of FHI-Ethiopia's FFW programme implemented from January 1986 to late 1991. In a view of the local people, they were no more in the crisis when this period began. They also see the period as the one in which they could recover from the 84/85 situation to the pre-84/85 situation (period A).

Period E - period after FFW completed to present: This period is from late 1991 to late 2000. The people think that their situation in this period is worse than the latter part of the period D because FFW food is not available any more.

As briefly described in Section 3 of this paper, both *Tuka* and *Hantezo* communities have about seven years experience of food aid from 1985 to 1991. Situations changed significantly over the seven-year period, and hence the type of food aid implemented in the communities did shift from relief food distribution to the FFW programmes with long-term development objectives.

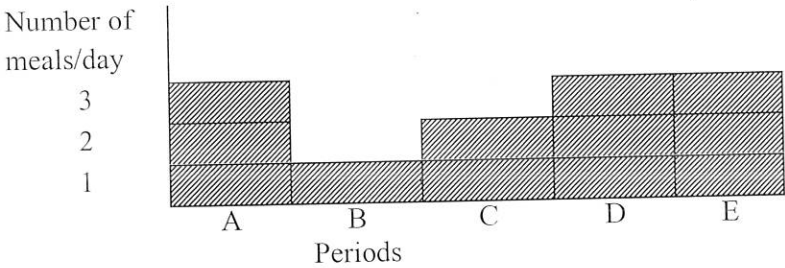
When a household is put under definite food shortage, it is known that there are at least three major responses to the problem in terms of household food consumption: 1) reducing the amount of food consumed per meal; 2) reducing the number of meals per day; and 3) diversifying the type of food by incorporating items not normally consumed. The focus groups conducted in *Tuka* and *Hantezo* revealed that the first two responses were commonly observed in both communities during the 1984/85 emergency period while the third response was only seen in the former community during the same period.

In the following sections, we will briefly look at the impact of food provided through FFW on household food situations in the sample KAs (*Tuka* and *Hantezo*) focusing particularly on two specific things: 1) the number of meals per day, and 2) the types of food consumed.

1. Number of meals per day

According to the focus groups interviewed in *Tuka* and *Hantezo*, food provided through both relief distribution during the 1984/85 emergency period and FFW which started in 1986 contributed to the increase in the number of meals per day in local households. Figure 2 below represents the local people’s perception of changes in the average number of meals per day among the majority of households in their communities. As the food shortage became very serious due to the 1984/85 drought, the number of meals per day decreased from 3 in the pre-84/85 emergency period to 1 in the 1984/85 emergency period before relief food aid arrived. In fact, at the high point of the crisis, the people often could not eat any food at all for more than three to four days. Relief food arrived in the communities enabled people to start eating twice a day.

Figure 2: Changes in the number of meals per day in local people’s perceptions



- Period A - pre-84/85 emergency period
- Period B - 84/85 emergency period before relief food aid arrived
- Period C - 84/85 emergency period with relief food aid
- Period D - post-emergency period with FFW
- Period E - period after FFW completed to present

Throughout the 1984/85 emergency period with relief food aid, because nobody was sure about when the situation would improve, each household tried to save as much food as possible through maintaining a low level of daily food consumption. All the food distributed to each household (25-50Kg/month depending on the family size) was consumed in the household and no food was taken to the market for sale during this period. All the focus groups participants emphatically said that if the relief food aid had not arrived in the communities, none of them would have survived the crisis.

After the beginning of FFW, the people were able to eat three times a day again as they did in the pre-84/85 period. It is difficult to assess in a strict sense the significance of food aid contribution to the number of meals per day or the level of household food consumption during this period because local agricultural production also increased from 1986 as climatic conditions improved. However, as far as the period of January to October 1986 is concerned, it seems to be very significant because there was no major harvest in the communities until October that year.

2. Types of Food Consumed

Over the periods from pre-84/85 emergency to late 2000, there were changes not only in the number of meals per day as discussed in the above section, but also in the type of food that people ate.

In the case of Tuka:

As shown in the table below, the focus groups in *Tuka* indicated *Enjera*, *Torosho*, roasted grains, kale and milk as major components of their diet during the pre-84/85 period. This is a typical diet of local people in a “good” year. *Torosho*, bread locally made from maize flour, is the major staple in *Alaba*. *Enjera* on the other hand is considered to be a food with higher prestige, especially if it is made from flour with higher proportion of *Teff*, the most expensive grain in the locality (and in the country). In a year with better food availability, people eat these staples with kale and milk. Roasted and boiled grains are commonly consumed as light snacks in “good” years like those in the pre-84/85 period.

Table 22: Types of food consumed

Types of Food	<i>T u k a</i>					<i>Hant ezo</i>				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
1. <i>Enjera</i>	X			X		X			X	X
2. <i>Torosho</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. <i>Kocho</i>		X								
4. Roasted grains	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5. Wheat bread		X	X	X				X	X	
6. Kale	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
7. Milk	X			X		X			X	X

Period A - pre-84/85 emergency period
Period B - 84/85 emergency period before relief food aid arrived
Period C - 84/85 emergency period with relief food aid
Period D - post-emergency period with FFW
Period E - period after FFW completed to present

The normal diet people used to eat before 1984/85 changed dramatically as food shortage became serious in 84/85 (before relief food aid started). *Enjera* and milk were dropped from their diet in the emergency period. Instead, *Kocho* and wheat bread were added to a list of the major components of their diet. Though *Kocho*, one type of bread made from starch and fibre of false banana roots, is a staple food in the neighbouring *Kembata* area, people in *Alaba* rarely eat it unless there is no alternative. Also, wheat bread has never been a major food for rural-based people in *Alaba* except in the emergency period and post-emergency period with FFW in which wheat was extensively distributed in the area through the food aid. Due to the serious food shortage in the locality, *Tuka* people were forced to rely on these foods obtained from outside areas and the *Kulito* town.

After 1984/85, the situation improved due to the relief food aid and people did not have to rely on *Kocho* which was supplied from the *Kembata* area. People continued to eat wheat bread because of the extensive distribution of wheat through food aid. It should be noted that milk was not part of their major diet during the 1984/85 emergency period. According to the focus groups, this is mainly because many households in the community were forced to sell milking cows as well as other types of livestock during 1984/85 in order to get income for purchasing food.

Then, after FFW started in *Tuka*, people became able to have *Enjera* and milk again as major components of their diet as in the pre-84/85 period. Having *Enjera* and milk back again in diet indicates that people somehow recovered from the crisis by then. However, after FFW ended in

1991, *Enjera* and milk were dropped again from their diet because, according to the focus groups, the situation after 1991 (FFW ended) was worse off than the period between 1986 and 1991 where FFW inputs were available, and this has really caused a serious imbalance in household nutrition.

In the case of Hantezo:

As indicated in the Table 24 above, the focus groups in *Hantezo* listed *Enjera*, *Torosh*o, toasted grains, kale and milk as major components of their diet during the pre-emergency period. These are exactly same as the ones listed by the focus groups in *Tuka* as major diet for the same period.

As was seen in *Tuka*, *Enjera* and milk were also dropped from the diet of people in *Hantezo* during the emergency period. However, unlike the people in *Tuka* who had to rely on *Kocho* and wheat bread due to the serious shortage of crops they usually eat, the people in *Hantezo* somehow managed to cope with the situation without relying on such unusual types of food though they had to decrease the amount of daily household food consumption significantly as stated in the section above.

After relief food aid started in 1984/85, the people in *Hantezo* ate wheat bread for the first time in addition to *Torosh*o, roasted grains and kale as wheat grains became available in the community through the free distribution by FHI/E. Though the local food situation improved much in this period, as was in *Tuka*, it was only after the beginning of FFW that people in

Hantezo could afford to have *Enjera* and milk as major components of their diet. Unlike the people in *Tuka* who dropped *Enjera* and milk from major components of their diet after FFW ended in 1991, the same diet is maintained during the same period among the people in *Hantezo*.

5.3.2. Household Assets

As food reserves depleted during the 84/85 emergency period before relief started, households in *Tuka* and *Hantezo* sold various types of assets extensively to generate income for getting food for survival. The food aid provided through both relief and FFW seems to have made a moderate impact on the protection of household assets during 84/85 and a great impact on their recovery in the post-84/85 period with FFW.

1. Protection of Household Assets From Distress Sales

The degree of food aid contribution to the protection of household assets seems to vary considerably between *Tuka* and *Hantezo*. Focus groups in *Tuka* see that the food aid arrived too late to protect their assets. They had been forced to sell most of household's assets in 1984/85 before FHI-Ethiopia's relief operation was started in August in the same year. Focus groups in *Hantezo* see the issue differently. Though they had also lost a lot of assets in 1984/85 before relief food aid started, they could protect their assets from further distress sale of assets after the relief food distribution started.

Figure 3 below shows the results of focus group interviews on the sale of assets practised in the communities over different periods of time. In the *Alaba* society it is common to sell different types of animals even in normal years. Such normal sales of assets were practised in both *Tuka* and *Hantezo* during the pre-84/85 emergency period.

Figure 3: Types of assets sold over the period from A to C

Type of Asset Sold	Tuka			Hantezo		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Sheep	Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets		Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets	
2. Goats	Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets		Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets	
3. Cows	Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets		Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets	
4. Oxen	Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets		Normal sale of assets	Distress sale of assets	
5. Household utensils		Distress sale of assets			Distress sale of assets	
6. Jewelry		Distress sale of assets				
7. Clothes		Distress sale of assets			Distress sale of assets	
8. Farm implements		Distress sale of assets				
9. Wood from demolished houses		Distress sale of assets				

Normal sale of assets

Distress sale of assets

Period A - pre-84/85 emergency period
Period B - 84/85 emergency period before relief food aid arrived
Period C - 84/85 emergency period with relief food aid

As shown in Figure 3 above, during the emergency period, no major asset sales took place in both *Tuka* and *Hantezo*. As mentioned above, there were different reasons to this. In the case of *Tuka*, this was because most of the assets had been sold by the time the relief operation began. On the other hand, in the case of *Hantezo*, this was because the relief food allowed local households to protect their assets from further distress sale of assets. Therefore, in terms of the

protection of assets, the food aid implemented by FHI-Ethiopia made significant impact in the case of *Hantezo*, but almost no impact in the case of *Tuka*.

During the emergency period (84/85) however, the nature of the asset sale became completely different. Due to the serious food shortages, households in the communities (especially in *Tuka*) were forced to sell not only animals but also other types of assets including various household utensils, jewellery, clothes, and farm implements. Furthermore, many households in *Tuka* demolished their houses and sold wood as fuel and building materials at the high point of the crisis. Traditionally, the sale of these non-livestock assets is considered to be a taboo in the society and only practised at times of serious economic crisis.

Though households in both *Tuka* and *Hantezo* were engaged in the distress sale of household assets during 84/85 before relief started, differences in the variety and magnitude of assets sold between the two communities should be noted. While all the items mentioned above, including even wood from demolished houses were sold extensively in *Tuka*, only some household utensils and clothes were sold in *Hantezo*.

According to the key informants who were contacted for the supplementary data collection, the above differences are attributed to the following key differences in the local food system between the two communities:

i. Crop diversification

Hantezo has greater diversity of crop types grown in the community than *Tuka*. Farmers in *Tuka*, since the community is located in a lowland area, only grow lowland crops such as maize and sorghum. On the other hand, farmers in *Hantezo*, since it is located in a mid-highland area, grow *Teff*, wheat and barely in addition to maize and sorghum. Because of the greater crop diversification, the local food system was less sensitive to adverse agro-climatic conditions caused by the pro-longed drought from 1983 to 1985 in the *Alaba* area.

ii. Livestock holding

Hantezo has a large number of livestock assets than *Tuka*. This is closely associated with the fact that the former is richer in both communal and individual grazing lands than the latter. The difference in livestock asset holding allowed the former to protect other types of assets but led the latter to lose most of their assets during the high time of the crisis.

iii. Productivity of farmland

The productivity of farmland is also better in *Hantezo* than *Tuka*. Due to long-term, heavy soil erosion, the level of land degradation, represented in the depth of top soil for example, is much greater in the latter than the former, which has affected the yields of major crops more severely in the latter than the former.

iv. Food stocking practice

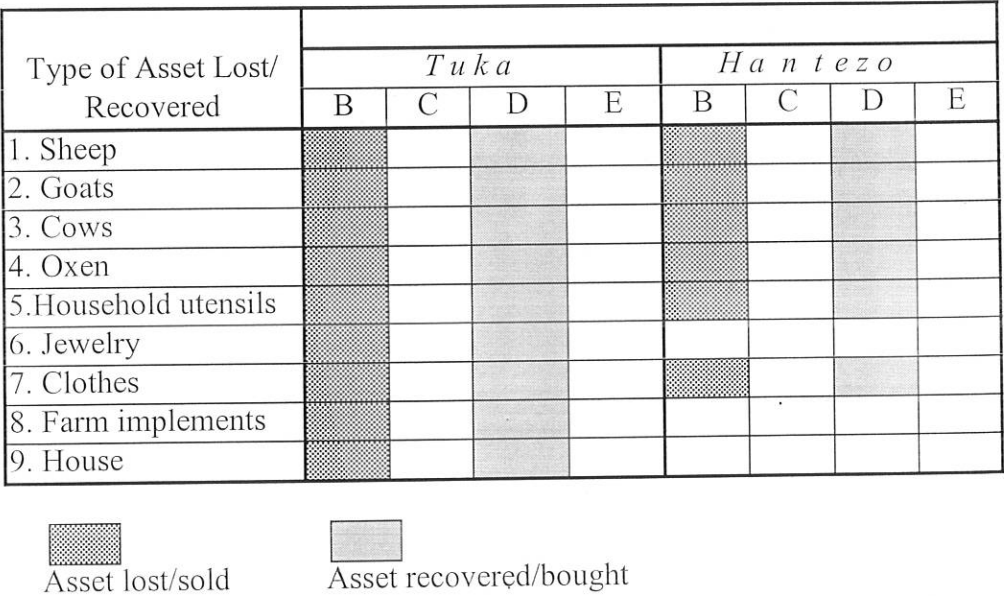
Another contributing factor raised by the key informants is the difference in the practice of food stocking at the household level. In general, households in *Hantezo* maintain higher level

of food stock throughout the year than those in *Tuka*. This may have allowed people in *Hantezo* to better cope with the crop failure at least in the early part of the stress period. According to the key informants, the difference should be attributed to the fact that households in *Tuka*, due to its proximity to *Kulito* town, have better access to the market for selling their crops and are more exposed to cash economy than those in *Hantezo*.

5.3.3. Recovery of Household Assets in the Post-Emergency Period

The food aid implemented through FFW during the post-emergency period is appreciated greatly by the people in *Tuka* and *Hantezo* as a major contributor of the recovery of household assets. The figure below indicates types of assets lost and recovered over different periods of time. One thing that should be noted in the figure below is that households in the two communities bought all of those types of assets back during the period when FFW programmes were implemented in the communities (1986-1991).

Figure 4: Type of assets lost/recovered over the period from B to D



Period A - pre-84/85 emergency period
Period B - 84/85 emergency period before relief food aid arrived
Period C - 84/85 emergency period with relief food aid
Period D - post-emergency period with FFW
Period E - period after FFW completed to present

It is difficult in this study to do a quantitative assessment of the food aid contribution to the asset recovery that took place during the time FFW was implemented (1986-1991) in the communities. However, the focus groups interviewed had strong view that it was the FFW programme that enabled them to earn enough incomes to recover their assets that were once lost through the distress sales during the emergency period (1984/85) before relief food aid started.

5.4. FFW PROGRAMME FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

5.4.1. Women's Participation in FFW

As it is common in most parts of Ethiopia, the *Alaba* community is patriarchal, and women do not have the freedom to participate actively in community development activities and to assume responsibilities in the community. Several customs and traditions in *Alaba* have been harmful to the well being of women. It has been a common practice for young women, for example, to marry at a young age. In addition to early marriage, female circumcision has been one of the most harmful traditional practices women are forced to undergo.

It was explained by the key informants during the fieldwork that women in *Alaba* are mainly involved in the management of their homes, in fetching water and firewood, looking after children, preparing food, and in the cultivation of their fields.

Due to the restrictive customs and traditional beliefs in *Alaba*, it is difficult to get the genuine participation of women in development activities, including FFW, and to gain their ideas in the design and planning of development projects. During the focus group discussion with women, the participants were asked to explain the reasons for not participating in FFW. The main reason given by the participants is that due to cultural constraints, and due to the routine reproductive household activities, they were not able to participate in FFW. From one household, only one person was given the opportunity to participate in FFW with the objective of providing equal chance to all households in the KAs. This limit to only one participant per family was also mentioned as a reason for women not to participate in FFW. Some women also raised the issue of the inappropriateness of FFW tools for women, and some said that they consider FFW activities to be the work of men only.

In principle, FHI-Ethiopia acknowledges the importance of gender equity, especially in terms of access to and control over resources and overall decision-making power, whereby the full potential of women is realized to achieve development goals in a sustainable manner. But from practical point of view, less emphasis has been put on integrating gender concerns into FFW programming.

Therefore, the level of the FFW programme commitment to integrate gender in development and management decisions was low. Both the project staff and community members were not really aware of the larger role that should go to women in the natural resources management. The FFW component of FHI-Ethiopia's *Alaba* integrated rural development programme was designed with a traditional assumption of targeting a 'household' as a social unit with inadequate emphasis to gender considerations, and as a result the FFW intervention of FHI-Ethiopia did not succeed in meeting the needs of women in *Alaba*.

5.4.2. Decision Making Role of Women in FFW

At community level, men take a major role in decision making. To some extent woman heads of household, though rarely exist as the society is largely polygamous, have opportunities to attend community meetings, but they normally do not express themselves in public. Other women have only limited opportunities to discuss about community problems with their husbands at home, but no opportunity to participate in decision making.

During the data collection, one community meeting was observed in *Hantezo* in order to study the level of participation and decision making roles of men and women. The meeting was called by the KA leaders. The participants were about 80 men and 10 women. Women did not actively participate in the discussion and decisions were made without consulting women who kept quiet.

According to the women who participated in the focus group interview, there are many factors that make difficult women's involvement in making decisions in those matters that affect them. Culture is the most important one. Many people, including women themselves, believe that women should not speak in public. This contributes difficult background for women to participate in decision-making in the community. Lack of education and lack of awareness were also raised as reasons to prevent women's participation in community decision-making. According to some informants, men do not have any opposing ideas to women's participation in community affairs, but they have no intention to make it possible either.

The gender decision-making roles at household level are also similar. Women reported that the decision on whether women should participate in FFW or not was almost exclusively taken by their husbands. The only matters which wives can decide alone are issues related to vegetable production (decision on the types of vegetables to grow and place to grow vegetables), and selling of butter and eggs. Other matters should be discussed with their husbands and if there is disagreement between the two parties, the final decision is made by the husband.

5.4.3. Gender Differentiated Perceptions

In order to see whether there are differences in perception among female and male beneficiaries regarding the effects of FFW interventions, similar issues were raised to both female and male focus groups (See Appendix 4). According the information obtained from the focus group discussions, the effects of FFW intervention in the natural resource management have been perceived differently by men and women. For example, differences in perception regarding the

effects of tree planting around homestead were the following:

Labour: Participants of the women's group explained that labour for fuel wood collection, which is normally women's task, was decreased due to the increased number of trees around homestead, while the men's group said that though labour for tree planting, which is largely men's responsibility, was increased it's an advantage for them that trees planted stabilized the ecosystem and increased soil fertility.

Time: The women's group pointed out that the time for fuel wood collection was decreased, because of the increased availability of fuel wood around homestead, and the female beneficiaries became able to spend more time for other household activities. But the men's group perceived no significant changes in the availability of time except some changes in time allocation.

Resource: Women emphasized that the increased number of trees around the homestead increased households access to tree products that can be used for various purposes in the household, and the sale of trees increased household income. Whereas men explained that the products of homestead tree planting have been used for construction purposes. But beyond that they have said that increased number of trees in degraded hillsides contributed to soil protection and rehabilitation of the degraded lands. At the same time wild life is saved due to improved vegetation cover.

Culture: Women indicated that decrease of labour and time for fuel wood collection brought them more time for family and other social interactions and this improved relationships among family members and neighbours. On the other hand, men explained that the trees enabled poor farmers to build their own houses who under normal circumstances can not build house. Men have also indicated that the trees served various social and cultural purposes such as funerals, weddings, etc. However, there was an example of a negative effect of the tree plantation that some community members more often quarreled with their neighbor (s) because of the conflict in individual plantation site borders.

Therefore, the effects of FFW intervention was perceived and appreciated by men and women differently. While men appreciated both the short-term and long-term effects of FFW intervention, women tended to appreciate only the short-term and immediate benefits obtained from FFW. Women are not well aware of the long-term effects of the programme. This is an indication of the fact that women's participation in the natural resource management is minimal.

During the discussions with women in focus groups, it was pointed out that efforts to adequately address gender issues in FFW programming were not made except that the planting of trees at homestead has remarkably reduced the long hours spent by women to fetch fuel wood. Another important contribution of FFW to women is the fact that community nursery activities economically assisted women since largely women provide the labour at the nurseries. According to the focus group discussions, men do not have a positive attitude towards the important roles women can play in natural resource management, and this has

negatively affected the benefits that women could have enjoyed from development interventions.

In principle, FHI-Ethiopia acknowledges the importance of gender equity, especially in terms of access to and control over resources and overall decision-making power, whereby the full potential of women is realized to achieve development goals in a sustainable manner. But from practical point of view, less emphasis has been put on integrating gender concerns into FFW programming.

5.5. FUTURE SUSTAINABILITY OF SOIL CONSERVATION MEASURES UNDERTAKEN THROUGH FFW

5.5.1. Perceptions Regarding the Sustainability of Soil Conservation Measures

During the focus group discussion with male beneficiaries in *Hantezo*, participants openly expressed their feelings regarding the future sustainability of soil conservation measures undertaken through FFW. All agreed that FHI-Ethiopia's *Alaba* project was very useful to all concerned. When they were asked whether the FFW activities of FHI-Ethiopia *Alaba* project did solve the basic environmental problems of the area, all participants agreed that things are gradually improving. They said that villagers have started to understand the values of the different environmental rehabilitation activities implemented by the project.

Another question posed was *“Has there been any change of attitude towards trees and forests among people?”* It was felt that many farmers value trees largely for fuel wood and construction. The importance of trees was largely associated with the short-term benefits that trees can generate rather than the long-term impacts on environment. For instance, only very few mentioned that trees are important for erosion control, moisture retention, and the restoration of a balanced ecosystem. As one participant stated, *“Earlier some KA chairmen refused to allow even a little of their land to be reserved for reforestation. But now as the KA leaders have seen the economic benefits of trees (especially eucalyptus), they are now coming forward despite the extreme shortage of farm and pasture land in the area”*.

When asked whether the FFW activities will sustain in the future, the majority shared the feeling that the activities will not be sustainable. The main reason given was the fact that most people in the area still feel that the soil conservation activities (especially communally planted trees) do not belong to them, and hence they do not care for the conservation measures. The data obtained from the household survey supplements the ideas of the participants of focus group discussion. In response to the question *“To whom do you think the communal forests in your vicinity belong?”*, 53% of the respondents in the household survey said that the forests belong either to the Wereda MoA office, the Wereda council, or FHI, and 42% of the respondents said that they are the owners of the forests. The rest said that they do not know to whom the forests actually belong.

Table 23: To whom do you think the trees on communal lands belong

	Frequency	Percentage
Wereda MoA	28	16
Wereda council	41	23
FHI	25	14
Belong to us	76	42
I don't know	10	5
Total	180	100

Source: Household Survey, 2001

In addition to the lack of sense of ownership by beneficiaries, the participants also explained that beneficiaries have low awareness regarding soil conservation or environmental rehabilitation.

Regarding the physical soil conservation structures, most of the participants said that many conservation structures that were built using FFW have been destroyed mainly because of the lack of proper protection for the structures. They have also said that the quality of workmanship of some of the structures was poor and hence the structures were taken away by run-off. They also added that the focus of many people is on tree planting because of immediate benefits, and no attention has been given to the physical soil conservation structures.

FFW beneficiaries are well aware that FFW is designed to conserve and improve their land assets and support them in supplying food, but they are quite clear that they are entitled to the food payment as a wage for work they have carried out. This brings us to a crucial question:

“Would any of these individuals or communities carry out the same works without a food payment?”

This question was raised during the discussions, and the majority said that since the closing of the FHI FFW project, no one in the community volunteered to construct new conservation structures either in private or communal lands. One of the participants said *“ FFW is the only way to terrace and re-forest eroding hillsides, and develop and maintain local feeder roads, and food is a good form of incentive. Without FFW, we will not have incentives to work.”*

Another particular concern raised in the focus group discussion in *Hantezo* was regarding the maintenance of structures created by FFW. A key question raised was *“Should maintenance of conservation structures be paid on a FFW basis?”* Most of the respondents said “Yes”. The participants emphasized that in *Alaba* where there is chronic food shortage, it is not possible to think of soil conservation, particularly on communal lands, with out FFW. *“Has the project reached its objective?”* One of the *Sheiks* replied, *“Not until all degraded lands in the area have been restored”*. Representatives of government agencies have also requested that FHI should continue in the area for some time in view of the many environmental issues that still remain unmet.

5.5.2. Conservation Knowledge And Practice

During the household survey, attempts were made to assess to what extent the FFW programming tried to raise the awareness of beneficiaries regarding soil conservation despite accomplishing the physical targets set for the fiscal years. Attempts were also made to see to

what extent the FFW programming put emphasis on skill transfer through training, education, sensitization, and demonstration, and to what extent beneficiaries have taken their own initiative to adopt techniques learned from FHI-Ethiopia in their own plots independent of FHI's assistance.

Regarding awareness on soil conservation, male beneficiaries are very well aware of the causes and consequences of soil erosion and land degradation, and the importance of planting tree seedlings and constructing physical soil conservation structures to arrest soil erosion. In focus group discussions, male participants expressed their worries regarding the continuous process of land degradation resulting from erosion, over grazing, and over cultivation. They are aware of the direct casual relationships between ecological deterioration, the decrease in soil fertility, and the resultant decrease in food production.

From the results of the household survey and from the review of the available secondary sources of information, it can be concluded that the FFW programming did not give adequate emphasis to the promotion of the practice of soil conservation among the targeted beneficiaries. The main focus was meeting the required physical targets set for each fiscal year. When asked whether they have participated in any training in soil conservation organized by the project in 1991, out of 180 respondents only 23 (i.e. 13%) said "Yes", whereas 87% of the respondents said "No". Again when asked whether respondents have visited any demonstration plot established by the project in the same year, only 5% said "Yes".

As regards to the practice of soil conservation or related activities in private lands, virtually all beneficiaries did not practice soil conservation or related activities on their individual plots after the phase out of the FFW programme in 1991 except planting eucalyptus. When asked whether respondents raised tree seedlings individually after FFW ended in 1991, only 12% of the respondents said “Yes”.

Most of the reasons given by respondents for not raising tree seedlings are related to the lack of skills and inputs that could have been alleviated by the project. The most important reason for not raising tree seedlings after 1991 were the lack of technical know-how followed by the lack of inputs such as tools and seeds. Moreover, from the total respondents 89% said that they have noticed soil erosion on their individual lands. But only 18% said that they have actually used soil conservation method on their private holdings, with contour ploughing being the most commonly used conservation method.

Table 24: The most important reason for not raising tree seedlings since 1991

	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of awareness regarding conservation	9	5
Lack of technical know-how	68	38
Shortage of land	16	9
Lack of inputs (tools, seed, etc.)	45	25
Shortage of water	28	15
Lack of labour force	7	4
Others	7	4
Total	180	100.0

Source: Household Survey, 2001.

By and large, in spite of the raised awareness on soil conservation and environmental rehabilitation among farmers, they did not show any interest in continuing the soil conservation activities after the phase out of FFW from the area largely due to the lack of the necessary skills and technical and material assistance.

5.5.3. Community Forests

As stated earlier, FHI-Ethiopia developed 244 hectares of communal forests in the sample KAs, and 500 hectares in the project target area in general. Though most community forests were planted during the earlier years of the FFW project, the forests were handed over to the KA administration and to the Wereda MoA office, together with one big community nursery in *Hantame* KA, after 1991. Around 500 hectares of community wood lots were handed over to communities to be independently managed. The writer has frequently raised his concerns over the community's lack of preparedness to manage such a huge community wood lot and a big nursery. The *Alaba* Wereda soil conservation expert explained that neither the community nor their office did have the required resources and preparedness to continue the operations of both the forests and the nursery. Thus, during the creation of community forests and nursery, the responsibilities of the communities, local MoA office, and other local stakeholders do not seem to have been defined from the beginning.

Therefore, most of the community forests, including the biggest community forest in a local place called *Rekame*, are facing serious management problems. The communal plantations were not established with the initial commitments of the beneficiaries. At the same time, communities have not exercised collaboration and co-operation with all stakeholders in the

management of their forest resources and they have not yet built their capacities to protect and manage their forests.

When handing over the trees to local communities, there was inadequate focus on developing target communities' technical and managerial abilities to manage the forests and products from the beginning of program development. The handing over process of community forests was only carefully discussed towards the completion of the project rather than at the planning and initial stages of the project. As a result, even after the forests were handed over to the community, people were under the impression that it was FHI-Ethiopia's responsibility to take care and oversee the utilisation of the forest resource. During implementation, the project technical staff did not incorporate the practice of sensitising the community to sustainable development and self-reliance principles in to their routine activities.

Thus, when FHI decided to phase-out operationally, the communities were not prepared to assume management of a large natural resource. The community had become heavily dependent on FFW and many were not willing to continue activities without receiving payment. Many problems would have been avoided had the capacity building and empowerment processes gradually been fostered. The major complaint expressed by focus group participants was that they do not feel they have the capacity to manage a huge forest resource. They do not feel they had the manpower, coordination nor the commitment of all community members to use the forest resource for the benefit of the whole community.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE FFW PLANNING AND PROGRAMMING

In this closing section conclusions and implications of the findings discussed in the above section for future FFW programming, monitoring and evaluation will be presented. The aim is to raise some critical issues that FHI-Ethiopia and other relief and development agencies undertaking FFW need to address as they seek better ways to implement food aid programmes in order to improve food security through interventions in the natural resource management.

1. FFW Management Issues

- The majority of respondents have agreed that there were errors in targeting the neediest people. The poorest people were not well-targeted based on prior knowledge and understanding of local conditions. This was mainly due to the lack of involvement of the direct beneficiaries during the selection process and systematic monitoring of targeting during implementation. Therefore, implementing agencies should systematically monitor the operation of the targeting system, and the match between the actual beneficiaries and intended target group. Orientation in the general principles and purposes of targeting is also needed for people at Wereda and KA levels.

- ❑ Beneficiary selection criteria were fixed by KA and Wereda leaders without consulting the direct beneficiaries. However, detailed criteria should be developed locally within the community based on agreed general principles to allow flexibility and adjustments to respond to the changing local conditions. Therefore, in a participatory manner, beneficiaries themselves should figure out the criteria for selecting beneficiaries. Wealth ranking, one of the PRA tools, can best serve the purpose of identifying the poorest people.

- ❑ FFW provides the only off-farm employment opportunity in the study area, and FFW rations account for the largest part of household income from non-agricultural sources. Beneficiaries identified the delay in food payment as a critical problem. The main causes of the problem are inadequate planning and projection of the food requirement, under-allocation of food stuffs, and logistical bottlenecks. Therefore, food projections should be based on information collection and analysis, and food allocations to projects should be made proportionately to the requested amount. Moreover, the food allocated to the projects should be transported and stored ahead of time.

- ❑ With the exception of tree planting and seedling production, literally all the conservation activities were considered by beneficiaries to have work norms difficult to fulfil. MoA and WFP have recently re-established new work norms for each of the soil conservation and infrastructure activities after reviewing the technical and agro-climatic problems related to work norms in different regions of the country. According to WFP and MoA, the new work norms are better than the previous ones. The modified work norms will be officially used after their endorsement by the concerned government bodies.

However, the work norm revision should be a continuous process, and regular upgrading and improvements should be undertaken every few years to make sure that the FFW benefits are in line with the changing climatic and socio-economic conditions. In addition to considering climatic, soil, and topographic conditions, the work norm revision should take in to account social issues such as gender. Women in the study area have expressed their concerns regarding the establishment of the same work norms for men and women. According to them though the daily payments remain the same, the activities required to be accomplished should vary.

- As to whether people prefer food earnings or cash earnings, the majority of respondents preferred the provision of food to cash payment. The fixed rate of earnings in food, according to respondents, protects people from a constantly changing prices of grain in local markets. Those agreed with food provision also held the view that cash is more subject to misuse or corruption since it is easier to handle than bulk of food. For the minority who preferred cash payment, cash provides a rapid means for different kinds of purchase, and it also avoids the danger of delays in payment as it is the case with food due to logistical problems.

Generally, both beneficiaries and local government representatives are hesitant of the total replacement of the Cash-for-Work for FFW. Some beneficiaries in focus group discussions suggested the use of both cash and food at different times- cash in times of good harvest and food in times of food shortage. This needs an in-depth study. If a Cash-for-Work option

is to be pursued, it should be done on a pilot basis before a full-scale implementation in such chronically food insecure areas as *Alaba*. As a general proposition, however, both food payments and cash payments can be regarded as alternative; it seems that we have the beginning of an argument here for “Food-and-Cash for Work”, and this matter deserves serious consideration for future FFW planning and programming.

2. Impacts and Sustainability

- Though the role played by trees (especially eucalyptus) in decreasing soil erosion is appreciated by farmers, eucalyptus is not the best choice for all locations from environmental point of view since it draws water and nutrients from the soil. In order to maximize the environmental impact of the afforestation programme, the plantation of eucalyptus should be restricted to waste lands and areas not suitable for cultivation. The expansion of eucalyptus plantations into farmlands is a critical issue that needs immediate attention. Therefore, through training and counseling farmers should be sensitized to the use of eucalyptus only in appropriate places, while the promotion of other species, such as *Graveilia Robusta*, can be promoted for wider use.

- Beneficiaries prefer biological soil conservation measures to the physical measures as the former have more direct economic implications and work norms of the former are relatively easier. In a situation of acute food shortage, people are more concerned with immediate benefits than with longer-term benefits to their environment. Biological measures alone,

however, will not bring the desired environmental impact unless supported by or integrated with the physical measures. Therefore, there should be awareness raising in the concept of integrated soil conservation with special focus on the sustainability of physical structures. The structures can be sustainable when the perceived value by the beneficiaries are positive.

- ❑ Socio-economic studies of FFW in Ethiopia (ONCCP 1986) indicate that foreign food aid has not changed local dietary patterns to any significant degree. Similarly, in the study area though there were changes in the amount and types of food consumed by households due to food aid interventions, it is less likely that food aid will promote a long-term change in diet or food habit. The key to long-term change in food habit seems to depend not in the effect of food aid but in the price and availability of the major cereal crops grown in the area. Dietary patterns are not always changeable, and it is possible that when the relationship of price and supply of the major cereal crops in the area becomes widespread and lasted over several years, a change in diet would result. But what is observed in the study area is not really a change in food habit but an economic response to the relative availability of wheat.
- ❑ The FFW programme in *Alaba* gave little attention to the promotion of conservation knowledge and practice through training, demonstration, and sensitization. The programme did not ensure that real and lasting skill transfer took place so that people are empowered to undertake conservation activities for themselves. Therefore, new FFW initiatives should incorporate training and education as a major component to ensure adequate maintenance and management of activities after the completion of the programme.

- Most beneficiaries did not consider the communal sites selected for conservation measures as appropriate. The main reason given was the fact that the sites were grazing lands. Thus, it can be said that during the site selection, attention was paid almost only to the technical aspects, and sociological aspects were not considered adequately. During the planning stage emphasis was not given to considering the interests of the land users. At the planning stage, therefore, an agreement should be reached among farmers on problems of common interest regarding land use. In addition to the technical considerations, the site selection process should integrate the views of the land users and their interests.

- Regarding communal plantations and nursery, it is felt that people are at the moment aware of the advantages of communal plantations. But they seriously lack technical know-how, resources, and incentives to manage the resources. They also lack a sense of ownership. Moreover, the responsibilities and tasks of the communities in communal asset management were not determined before handing over community forests. Therefore, the roles, responsibilities, and benefits of beneficiaries should be clearly defined from the onset in the management of communal forests. The involvement of local leaders and other local decision-making or influential bodies is essential in the management of community assets to ensure a sustained use of community forests. The technical advise, follow-up, and resource back-up should be the responsibility of concerned government offices after the project phase out.

Similarly, future nursery sites should be developed with more initial focus on community involvement, and community benefits from nursery products. Implementing agencies should also focus on the decentralization of nursery work, encouraging individuals or groups of farmers to produce their own seedlings (in their own garden plots) for sale to others in their area.

4. Phase-Out Strategy

- ❑ Implementing agencies are expected to develop a strategy for phasing over from target area during the designing or inception of a project. However, FHI-Ethiopia's planning of project phase out from *Alaba* and beginning work towards this process started towards the end of the project life span. As a result, communities are now facing several problems in managing community assets after the project phased out. It would have been much easier to manage for the community if the planning had begun much earlier towards this goal.

Some key lessons learned from this process, and from other constraints in *Alaba* project are discussed below:

- Project phase out, and the steps leading to it, should be planned from project inception. This should include the empowerment of the target community so that:
(a) there is minimal dependence on outside resource for on-going activities and inputs, (b) the community has a genuine sense of ownership of and responsibility for all project outputs, and (c) over time the community develops the necessary management skills to take over programmes when the NGO leaves the area.

Therefore, plans should be set to hand-over all project outputs to adjacent communities at the earliest possible stage

- Community institution building is the key to phase out. It is the process of building the capacity of grassroots structures to identify their problems and mobilize resources to bring about social and economic changes. In the context in which FHI-Ethiopia worked, such grassroots structures include Peasant Associations, Service Cooperatives and other informal associations such as *Iqub* (a rotating savings association), and *Iddir* (a mutual help association centered on funerals). Therefore, development projects should build the capacity of these grassroots structures by providing training and strengthening linkages among themselves and with other parties outside their community before the phase out.
- While planning for phase out, project resources should be gradually decreased and the share of community resources should gradually increase. The use of food aid in FFW in *Alaba* did not show a substantial scaling down over the project life span. Little planning or preparation was done on how to scale down FFW inputs over time. In principle, project resources should gradually diminish giving way for more community funded activities. Therefore, through a more careful and strategic usage of FFW commodities, community participation and resource sharing should be encouraged.

5. Gender Issues

- ❑ In the study area, women did not have equal access to FFW resources as their male counterparts. This is mainly due to the fact that FHI-Ethiopia did not develop operational strategy to encourage women's participation in the natural resources management in general and in FFW in particular. Moreover, there is a very low awareness regarding gender issues in the area. Women assumed that men are responsible for activities related to environmental rehabilitation. Therefore, it is recommended that implementing agencies design clear strategy that will lead to equal access to FFW resources and opportunities to men and women. It is also recommended that gender awareness raising is incorporated into FFW programming as a long-term strategy.

- ❑ Though a significant number of women participated in FFW programme, their input was only in terms of labour. Most of them did not participate in training and sensitization regarding environmental management. As a result, they are not well aware of the long-term benefits of the environmental rehabilitation programme beyond the short-term benefits generated from participation in FFW. Therefore, at the early stage of the programme, education and sensitization should be the major strategy to raise the awareness of women regarding issues related to environment. Awareness raising regarding programme objectives and possible impacts should also be focused.

6. Monitoring and Evaluation

- ☐ FHI-Ethiopia did not have an effective system for FFW monitoring and evaluation.

Findings of the study show that there was a significant difference between the two sampled communities in the level of food security both in the crisis and post-crisis periods. However, these communities were given the same level of food assistance for the same period from 1985 to 1991. If there had been an effective monitoring system in place for assessing changes in food security in each community, and if it had been well integrated with the programme management, there would have been some differences in the type of activities implemented and food assistance provided to the communities.

This experience suggests the need for integrating monitoring and evaluation system in to the on-going food aid programmes so that the effects and impacts of the programmes and changes in food security within the community will be constantly monitored and periodically evaluated. This integration allows programme strategies and activities to be constantly adjusted to changing food security situations in the household and in the community. Key indicators for monitoring and evaluating FFW programmes should be identified with the community.

- ☐ No baseline data were collected regarding the socio-economic situations existing in the project area before or at least after the beginning FFW. This has hampered the process of assessing the impacts of the programme. Therefore, before the beginning of new FFW

projects, implementing agencies should ensure the availability of the appropriate baseline data against which project progress can be measured and periodically monitored.

7. FFW in Post-Crisis Recovery

- As shown in the case of the sampled communities, a short-term relief intervention is not often adequate enough to enable drought victims to return to normal lives even climatic conditions significantly improve after the crisis. Therefore, the role of FFW in post-crisis recovery should be well recognised by all the stakeholders of the food aid programme. Respondents in the two sampled communities very much appreciated the role of FFW programmes in their post-crisis recovery. In the post-crisis period, first, the people had to regain their health, second, invest in the next harvest, and third, gradually restock the household with productive and other types of assets. The FFW programmes implemented in the communities during the post-crisis period greatly contributed to this recovery process through functioning as an effective means of transferring income to households severely affected by the drought.

8. Reducing Sensitivity to the Stress Affecting Food Security

- This study suggests that the level of community's sensitivity to a stress affecting local food security may be attributed to different contributing factors that may be unique to each specific context. Though further study is required to deepen our understanding, in the case of the sampled communities, four such factors were identified as the most important ones:

1) crop diversification, 2) livestock holding, 3) farmland productivity; and 4) food stocking practice. If the goal of a food aid programme is to enhance the long-term food security of the beneficiary community, it is crucial to identify such key factors at the beginning and take them into consideration when designing a programme so that they are properly addressed by the programme and, as a result, the community's sensitivity to future stresses will be reduced.

To sum up, it is widely accepted that projects and programs can be sustained and can have lasting impact when people are empowered through information and resource control. When people are empowered they will determine the development goals and the means to achieve it. Meaningful participation and community capacity building are keys to empowerment and sustainability. Therefore, full participation of all the stakeholders should be sought at all levels of planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating FFW programmes to ensure full co-operation with project aims and outputs. Improved consultation between communities and project implementers should clearly be a high priority for future FFW programming. Close relationships must also be fostered from project inception with appropriate line ministries. All stakeholders must be made to realize from the outset of programmes that they are the OWNERS of the work that they do, not just recipients of hand outs from an NGO.

Finally, the field studies and periodic assessments conducted over the years regarding the implementation and impacts of FFW programmes in Ethiopia are inadequate, and still too many questions remain outstanding. Much is not known about the relative success or failure of the different FFW activities that have been undertaken in different parts of the country, not only in

conserving soil and water and planting new trees, but in achieving increased production on treated lands. Linked to this, there is still the need for more information on what FFW participants themselves think of the value of the various activities they are asked to undertake, beyond the immediate value to them of the food earning. Therefore, still more studies and inquiries in to these and other related issues are required to deepen our understanding of FFW programmes in Ethiopia.

REFERENCES

- Alemneh Dejene (1990). *Environment, Famine, and Politics in Ethiopia*, Lynne Rienner, Publishers.
- ADC (Agricultural Development Council) 1982). The Development Effectiveness of Aid in Africa (New York:1982), EJ Clay in ADC op. cit Iserman.
- CFGB (Canadian Foodgrains Bank) (1991). *Food Security Directions, Re-thinking Food Aid*, Addis Ababa.
- Clay, C., Daniel, M., and Debebe, H. (1998) *Food Aid Targeting in Ethiopia: A Study of Household Food Insecurity and Food Aid Distribution*, Working Paper 12, Grain Market Research Project, Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation, Addis Ababa.
- CSA (Central Statistical Authority) (1996). *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia, Results for SNNPR*, Vol. I: Part I, *Statistical Report on Population Size and Characteristics*, Addis Ababa.
- Dessalegn Rahmato (1990). "Food Aid and Food Dependency in Ethiopia", in *The Crisis of Development Strategies in Eastern Africa* (Eds.), Eshetu Chole, Mlay, W., Oyuhi, W., OSSREA Book Series.
- DPPC (Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission) (1995). *General guidelines for the implementation of the National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Management* (NPDPM), DPPC, Addis Ababa, July.
- _____ (2001). *Assistance Requirement for Emergency Relief, Recovery, Rehabilitation and Preparedness in 2001*, Addis Ababa, January 2001.
- _____ (2001). *Food Security Prospect in 2001*, Early Warning System Report, Addis Ababa, January (2001).
- FHI (Food for the Hungry International) (1998). *Quarterly Programme Monitoring and Evaluation Report*, Quarterly Report, Food the Hungry International-Ethiopia.
- FHI (Year not specified). "Bringing Hope to the Poor through Relief and Integrated Self-help Development Programmes", (Pamphlet).

- FHI (Food for the Hungry International) (1994). *Alaba Integrated Rural Development Project Document*, Project Proposal for the Year 1995-1997.
- MoA (Ministry of Agriculture) and WFP (World Food Programme) (2000). *Revision of the Soil And Water Conservation Work Norms*, Proceedings of the Workshop Held At Disaster Prevention And Preparedness Commission, Addis Ababa.
- Newcombe, K., (1984). *An Economic Justification for Rural Afforestation: The Case of Ethiopia*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- ONCCP (Office of the National Committee for Central Planning) (1986) *Workshop On Food-For-Work in Ethiopia*, Proceedings of the Workshop on FFW in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa
- Pears, A., and Stiefel, M. (1979). *Inquiry into Participation: a research approach*, Geneva: UNRISD.
- Ruttan, V.W. (1993). *Why Food Aid?* The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.
- Salih, M.A.M., and Shibru, T., (1999). *Environmental Planning, Policies and Politics in Eastern and Southern Africa*, Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern Africa.
- Sharp, K. (1997). *Targeting Food Aid in Ethiopia*, Consultancy Report for Save the Children Fund (UK), Addis Ababa.
- Shawl Consult (1989). *Draft Proposal for a Soil Conservation Strategy*.
- Stahl, M. (1992). "Environmental Rehabilitation in the Northern Ethiopia Highlands: Constraints to People's Participation", in *Grassroots Environmental Action, People's Participation in Sustainable Development*, Ghai, D., and Vivian, J.M. (Eds.) London and New York.
- UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) (1989). *Sustainable Development Through People's Participation in Resource Management: a research proposal*, Geneva
- Vallee, M. (1989). *Assessment of WFP Assistance in Harerghe Region*. A Report to World Food Programme, Addis Ababa.

- Webb, P., Braun, J., and Yohannes, Y. (1992). *Famine in Ethiopia: Policy Implications of Coping Failure at National and Household Levels*, Research Report 92.
- Webb, P., and Braun, J.V. (1994). *Famine and Food Security in Ethiopia*, Lessons for Africa, Wiley Publishers, Chichester, England.
- World Bank (1996). *Best Practices on Social Assistance and Poverty-Targeted programmes*, Poverty and Social Development Department, World Bank, Washington DC.
- Yeraswork Admassie and Solomon Gebre (1985). *Food-for-work in Ethiopia: A Socio-economic Survey*, IDR Research Report No.24, Addis Ababa.
- Yeraswork Admassie (1990). *Emerging Paradigms of Participatory Rural Development*, Uppsala: Department of Sociology, Uppsala University.
- Yosef Gebrehiwot. (2001) *Targeting Food Aid to the Rural Food Insecure: Evidence and Lessons from Ethiopia*, Working Paper Series No. 329, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands.

APPENDICES

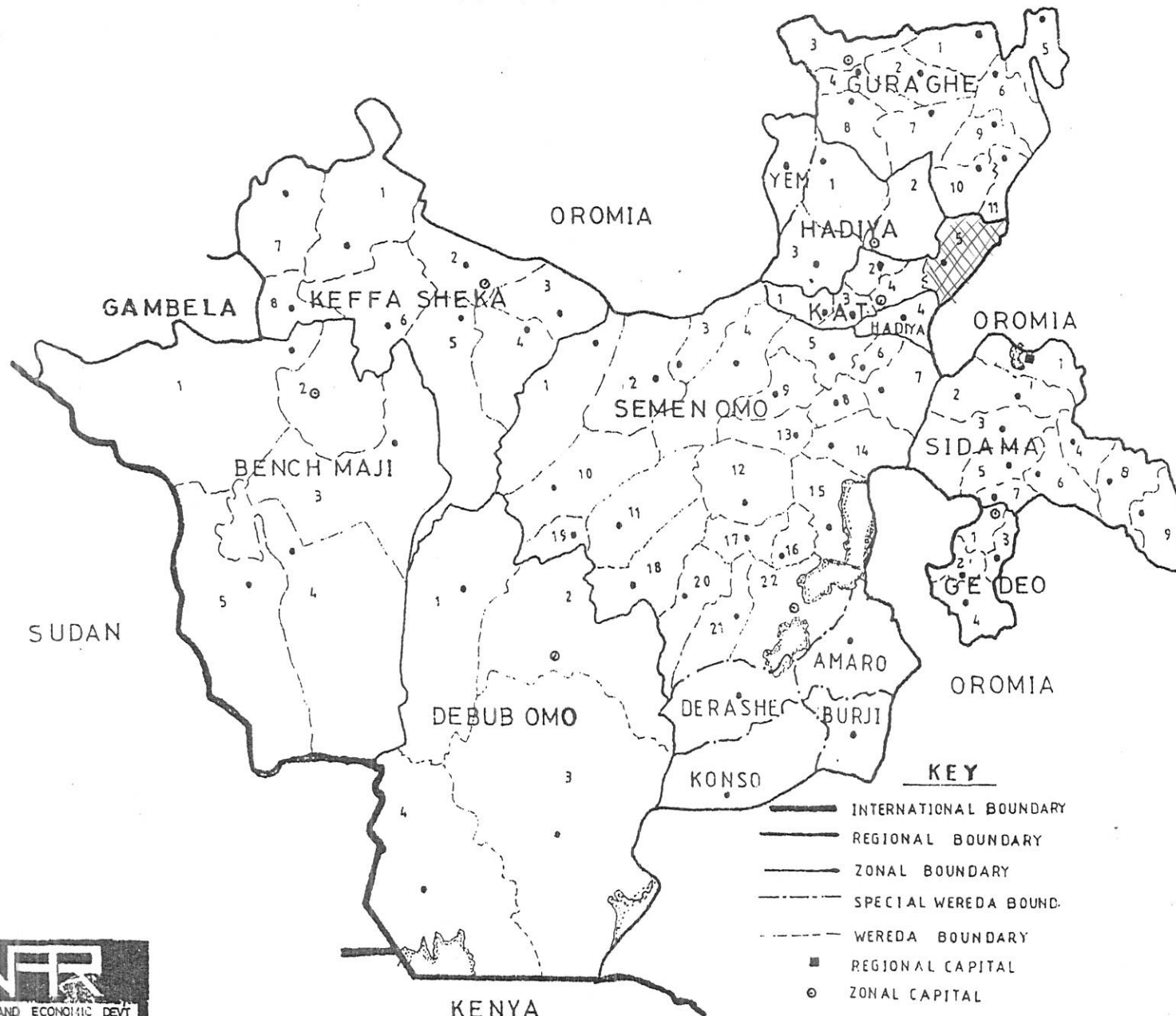
APPENDIX 1

Summary of the major accomplishments in soil conservation and afforestation in the sample PAs (1986 - 1991)

ACTIVITIES	UNIT	TOTAL TARGETS	YEARLY ACCOMPLISHMENTS						TOTAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS
			1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	
SOIL CONSERVATION									
Construction of Structures									
1. Checkdams	Km.	239.0	-	-	37.0	6.3	127.5	18.5	189.3
2. Soil/stone bunds	Km.	2,094.0	77.1	561.0	557.5	30.7	10.0	178.5	1,414.8
3. Hillside terraces	Km.	735.0	157.5	210.0	250.0	260.0	250.0	134.0	1,261.5
4. Cut off drains	Km.	120.0	-	-	-	301.0	0.3	52.5	353.8
5. Fanya Juu	Km.	39.0	-	-	-	4.5	-	11.0	15.5
6. Micro-basins	No.	300,000.0	30,000.0	30,000.0	752,636.0	358,728.5	669,500.0	364,000.0	2,204,864.5
7. Area closure	Ha.	256.0	-	13.2	6.6	-	117.0	69.5	206.3
8. Access roads	Km.	159.0	-	4.8	16.5	-	2.1	7.8	31.1
9. Farm terraces	Km.	230.0	-	-	-	-	-	57.5	57.5
			-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maintenance of Structures			-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1. Checkdams	Km.	65.0	-	-	6.6	6.9	18.5	17.4	49.4
2. Hillside terraces	Km.	56.0	-	-	-	-	27.0	17.4	44.4
3. Area closure	Ha.	70.0	-	-	31.2	-	32.0	26.1	89.2
4. Soil/stone bunds	Km.	20.0	-	-	-	0.5	8.0	-	8.5
5. Access roads	Km.	175.0	-	-	31.7	12.0	20.8	44.2	108.6
			-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AFFORESTATION			-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seedling production	No.	650,000	1,250,000.0	1,050,000.0	1,100,000.0	1,350,000.0	750,000.0	1,560,000.0	7,060,000.0
Seedling planting	Ha.	75	25.0	25.0	45.0	55.0	30.0	64.0	244.0
Seedling distribution	No.	456,000	1,187,500.0	987,500.0	987,500.0	1,212,500.0	675,000.0	1,400,000.0	6,450,000.0

Source: FHI-Ethiopia Annual Report, July 1997, Addis Ababa.

ADMINISTRATIVE MAP



SIDAMA ZONE

1. Avesse (Avesse)
2. Sheregeiso (Teku)
3. Daba (T. Aker)
4. Arbegona (Arbegona)
5. Alete Wendol (Wendol)
6. Hagere Selac (E. Selac)
7. Dara (Telatshela)
8. Bensa (Dye)
9. Arereza (Mejo)

GEDEO ZONE

1. Wenage (Wenage)
2. Tirgachefe (T. Chefe)
3. Bale (Bale)
4. Kechore (Chelelektu)

NORTH OMO ZONE

1. Lila/Konta (Amey)
2. Isara Tacha (Tacha)
3. Hareka Gena (Waka)
4. Lona Bessa (Bale)
5. Boloso Bera (Araha)
6. Dawot Gale (Boditi)
7. Dawot Woyde (Badesa)
8. Sodo Luria (Bodo)
9. Lindo Koyisha (Bele)
10. Kelekhora (Leba)
11. Gofa Suria (Savla)
12. Kucha (Selan Ber)
13. Ofra (Gecoba)
14. Bunbo Tebeja (Tebeja)
15. Boreda-Abaya (Berbir)
16. Chenchu Luria (Chenchu)
17. Dita Deranajo (Wacha)
18. Zala Obannale (Beto)
19. Basketo (Laska)
20. Kenba (Kenba)
21. Bonke (Gerese)
22. A/Kinch Luria (A. Kinch)

SOUTH OMO ZONE

1. Selungo (Hana)
2. Bakopazer (Jinka)
3. Baner (Yumi)
4. Geleb (Omorate)

HADIYA ZONE

1. Iogteb (Koraito)
2. Liru (Kosaina)
3. Goro (Gimbich)
4. Badexacho (Shone)

K. A. T. ZONE

1. Onshele (Tefi)
2. Anorche (Ang)
3. Achabira (E)
4. Jedida (Gare)
5. Alaba (Kulit)

GURAGHE ZONE

1. Gedebero (I)
2. E. Welene (Ag)
3. Goro (Welby)
4. Chene (Hedibi)
5. Sodo (Bue)
6. M. H. Mareko (B)
7. Gumer (Irekhit)
8. Enemorena (En)
9. Selti (Libet)
10. Duloche (Dalo)
11. Lanfare (Tota)

KEFFA-SHEKE

1. Gusha (Daba)
2. Gimbola (Ufa)
3. Menjewa (Adiata)
4. Tello (Falegessa)
5. Decha (Chiri)
6. Chena (Wacha)
7. Masba (Masba)
8. Teki (Tepi)

BENCH-MAJI

1. Sheko (Sheko)
2. Bench (Amze)
3. Melait (Bachuna)
4. Dizi (Tun)
5. Surma (Marder)

SPECIAL WORE

1. Yez (Sukoru)
2. Amaro (Sele)
3. Burji (Boyeen)
4. Derashe (Gidole)
5. Konso (Korste)

ABBREVIATION

- A. Kinch - A. K. K.
E. Welene - E. Welene
E. Selac - E. Selac
E. A. T. - E. A. T.
M. Mareko - M. Mareko
S. Aker - S. Aker
T. Chefe - T. Chefe
I. Gedebero - I. Gedebero

NB. Weredos and Spe. Weredos' Capitals are indicated in brackets

SCALE 1:2 000 000

Date July 1998



CAUTION
The delineation of all boundaries on this map are not Authoritative

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGNED TO STUDY THE ATTITUDE OF BENEFICIARIES TOWARDS FOOD-FOR-WORK PROGRAMME

REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

Enumerator's Name: _____
Name of the PA: _____

Date of Enumeration: _____
Serial Number: _____

I. PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD DATA

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Sex of the respondent 1. Male 2. Female..... | ☐ |
| 2. Age of the respondent..... | ☐ |
| 3. Marital status 1. Married 2. Not married 3. Divorced 4. Separated 5. Widowed..... | ☐ |
| 4. Educational status 1. Non-literate 2. Read & Write 3. Grades 01- 03 4. Grades 04 & above..... | ☐ |
| 5. Size of the family..... | ☐ |
| 6. Land holding size (ha)..... | ☐ |

II. ATTITUDE TOWARDS FFW ADMINISTRATION

/Beneficiary Selection/

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 7. Did you participate in any FFW related activities implemented by the project in 1991?..... | ☐ |
| 1. Yes 2. No | |
| 8. How long did you participate? (Number of days)..... | ☐ |
| 9. How many members of the rest of your family had participated in FFW in 1991?..... | ☐ |
| 10. How many women in your household had participated in FFW in 1991?..... | ☐ |
| 11. What was the most important criterion to select beneficiaries of FFW? (Only 1 response)..... | ☐ |
| 1. Poorest of the poor 5. Size of the family or number of dependents | |
| 2. Political commitment 6. There were no clear selection criteria | |
| 3. Ownership of assets 7. I don't know | |
| 4. Land holding size 8. Others (Specify) _____ | ☐ |
| 12. Who set this criterion?..... | ☐ |
| 1. PA leaders 2. The project staff 3. Wereda council 4. Others (Specify) _____ | ☐ |
| 13. Did you participate when the selection criterion was set?..... | ☐ |
| 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't remember | |
| 14. Do you think the selection criterion is appropriate?..... | ☐ |
| 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know | |
| 15. If no, why? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority) | |
| 1. _____ | |
| 2. _____ | ☐ |
| 16. Was there any problem regarding beneficiary selection?..... | ☐ |
| 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know | |
| 17. If yes, what do you think is the most important one? (Only 1 response)..... | ☐ |
| 1. The neediest households were not given priority | |
| 2. All households did not have equal chance to participate | |

3. *Women did not equally participate with men*
4. *PA leaders were given more opportunities*
5. *Others (Specify)* _____

/Payments/

18. How much grain did you receive from FFW in 1991 (Kg.).....
19. If you sold the grain, roughly how much percentage did you sell?.....
20. How much oil did you receive from FFW in 1991 (Lt.).....
21. If you sold the oil, roughly how much percentage did you sell?.....
22. How much grain did other members of your family receive from FFW in 1991? (Kg.).....
23. How much oil did other members of your family receive from FFW in 1991? (Lt.).....
24. Was there any problem regarding payments? [1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know].....
25. If yes, what do you think was the **most important** one? (Only 1 response).....
 1. Payments were not made on time 5. PA leaders took part of the payments & used for other purposes
 2. The quantity of food ration was small 6. Women were paid less than men
 3. The quality of ration was low 7. Others (Specify) _____
 4. Some non-working individuals got rations
26. Do you personally agree with the distribution of food ration as a form of payment?.....
 1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Indifferent 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree
27. If you agree, why? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)
 1. _____
 2. _____
28. If you don't agree, why? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)
 1. _____
 2. _____
29. If you don't agree, what alternative form of payment do you suggest?.....
 1. Cash payment 2. Payment in kind 3. Others (Specify) _____
30. If you suggest cash payment, what do you think should be the rate?.....
 1. Wage equivalent to the local rate for daily labourer
 2. Wage equivalent to the minimum government wage
 3. Cash equivalent to the food ration (as determined by the prices in local market)
 4. I have no idea
 5. Others (Specify) _____
31. If you suggest payment in kind, what kind of goods or services do you expect?

/Work norms/

32. Which FFW activities have work norms **easiest** to fulfil?.....
 1. Hillside terraces 4. Micro-basins 7. Seedling production
 2. Soil/stone bunds 5. Cut-off drains 8. I don't know
 3. Check dams 6. Tree planting 9. Others _____
33. Which FFW activities have work norms **most difficult** to fulfil?.....
 1. Hillside terraces 4. Micro-basins 7. Seedling production
 2. Soil/stone bunds 5. Cut-off drains 8. I don't know
 3. Check dams 6. Tree planting 9. Others _____
34. Was there any problem regarding work norms? [1. Yes 2. No (Go to no. 36) 3. I don't know].....
35. If yes, what do you think was the **most important** one? (Only 1 response)

/Site Selection/

36. Do you think the communal sites selected for soil conservation measures are appropriate?.....
 1. Yes (Go to no. 39) 2. No 3. I don't know

37. If no, how many sites do you think are not appropriate?.....
38. Why do you think these sites are not appropriate?.....
- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. The sites were communal grazing lands | 4. The sites are sacred places |
| 2. The sites were farm lands | 5. The sites are disputed areas b/n clans/tribes |
| 3. The sites are not priority areas | 6. Others (Specify) _____ |

III. PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE IMPACTS ON ENVIRONMENT

/Physical soil conservation/

39. Do you know about the soil conservation structures built on communal lands in your vicinity?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No (Go to no. 54)

(If yes, ask the following questions from question number 40 up to 58)

40. Do you think **hillside terraces** constructed on communal lands decreased soil erosion?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

41. Do you think the hillside terraces constructed on communal lands rehabilitated degraded lands?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

42. Do you think the **check dams** constructed on communal lands decreased soil erosion?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

43. Do you think the check dams constructed on communal lands rehabilitated degraded lands?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

44. Do you think the **micro-basins** constructed on communal lands decreased soil erosion?
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

45. Do you think the micro-basins constructed on communal lands rehabilitated degraded lands?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

46. Do you think the **soil/stone bunds** constructed on communal lands decreased soil erosion?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

47. Do you think the soil/stone bunds constructed on communal lands rehabilitated degraded lands?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

48. Do you think the **cut-off drains** constructed on communal lands decreased soil erosion?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

49. Do you think the cut-off drains constructed on communal lands rehabilitated degraded lands? ?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. I don't know

50. Do you think the above conservation structures have **negative impacts**?.....
- 1 Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

51. If yes, what do you think is the **most important** one?.....

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Soil erosion increased | 4. Structures housed crop damaging animals |
| 2. Vegetative cover decreased | 5. Others (Specify) _____ |
| 3. Structures resulted in the flooding | |

52. Which one of these conservation structures do you think has a relative **advantage**?

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Soil/stone bunds on contours | 5. Micro-basins |
| 2. Hillside terraces | 6. None of them |
| 3. Check dams in gullies | 7. I don't know |
| 4. Cut-off drains | 8. Others (Specify) _____ |

53. Why? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)
1. _____
2. _____

/Biological soil conservation/

54. Do you know about the trees planted on communal lands in your vicinity?.....
1. Yes 2. No (Go to no. 62)

(If yes, ask the following questions from question number 55 up to 61)

55. Do you think the trees planted on communal lands decreased **soil erosion**?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
56. Do you think the trees planted on communal lands increased **vegetative cover**?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
57. Do you think the trees planted on communal lands increased **fodder for livestock**?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
58. Do you think the timeliness of **rainfall** improved after these trees were planted?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
59. Do you think the trees planted on communal lands **rehabilitated** degraded lands?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
60. Do you think the trees planted on communal lands have **negative impact**?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't Know
61. If yes, what do you think is the **most important** one? ? (Only 1 response)

62. Do you have your own individual wood lot? [1. Yes 2. No]..... ☐
63. If yes, how many trees do you have currently?..... ☐
64. Do you think the trees planted at your homestead decreased **soil erosion**?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't Know?

IV. PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE SUSTAINABILITY OF FFW ACTIVITIES

65. Do you think the trees planted on communal lands will be properly managed and used in a sustainable manner in the future? [1. Yes (Go to no. 69) 2. No 3. I don't Know]..... ☐
66. If no, why? (Only one response- highest priority) ☐
1. There is no technical follow-up (re-plantation, weeding, cultivation, etc.)
2. Beneficiaries have low awareness regarding soil conservation & environmental rehabilitation
3. Beneficiaries give more emphasis to the short-term benefits than the long-term impact
4. There is no proper protection and hence the trees are illegally used and destroyed
5. Others (Specify) _____
67. What technical measures do you think should be taken to ensure the sustainable management of the forests? 1. _____
2. _____
68. What administrative measures do you think should be taken to ensure the sustainable management of the forests? 1. _____
2. _____
69. To whom do you think these trees planted on communal lands belong?..... ☐
1. To the PA leaders 5. To all members of the village
2. To the Wereda council 6. I don't know
3. To the Wereda Ministry of Agriculture office 7. Others (Specify) _____
4. To all members of the PA
70. Do you think the soil conservation structures on communal lands will be sustainable in the future? ☐
1 Yes (Go to no. 74) 2. No 3. I don't know
71. If no, why? (Only one response- highest priority)..... ☐
1. Poor quality of workmanship
2. The structures are destroyed because of the lack of protection
3. The structures are not regularly maintained
4. Others (Specify) _____

72. What technical measures do you think should be taken to ensure the sustainability of the structures?

1. _____
2. _____

73. What administrative measures do you think should be taken to ensure the sustainability of the structures?

1. _____
2. _____

74. Which soil conservation measure do you think has **short term** benefits?..... ☐

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Soil/stone bunds | 4. Cut-off drains | 7. None of them |
| 2. Hillside terraces | 5. Micro-basins | 8. I don't know |
| 3. Check dams | 6. Tree planting | 9. Others (Specify) _____ |

75. Which conservation or related activities do you **prefer most**?..... ☐

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Soil/stone bunds | 4. Cut-off drains | 7. None of them |
| 2. Hillside terraces | 5. Micro-basins | 8. I don't know |
| 3. Check dams | 6. Tree planting | 9. Others (Specify) _____ |

76. Why? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)

1. _____
2. _____

V. CONSERVATION KNOWLEDGE & PRACTICE

/Training, Demonstration, and Sensitization/

77. Did you participate in any training in soil conservation organized by the project?..... ☐

1. Yes 2. No (Go to 80) 3. I don't remember.

78. What important **skills** did you acquire? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)

1. _____
2. _____

79. What important **knowledge** did you acquire? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)

1. _____
2. _____

80. Did any other member of your family participate in soil conservation training organized by the project?..... ☐

1. Yes 2. No (Go to no. 83) 3. Don't remember

81. If yes to question no. 80, how many women participated in the training?..... ☐

82. If yes to question no. 80, how many men participated in the training?..... ☐

83. Did you visit demonstration sites regarding soil conservation established by the project?..... ☐

1. Yes 2. No (Go to no. 85) 3. I don't remember

84. If yes, what important **lessons** did you learn? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)

1. _____
2. _____

85. Did you participate in any workshop in environmental rehabilitation conducted by the project?..... ☐

1. Yes 2. No (Go to no. 87) 3. I don't remember....

86. If yes, what important **knowledge** did you acquire? (Max. of 2 responses in order of priority)

1. _____
2. _____

/Conservation Practice/

87. Did you raise tree seedlings individually after FFW ended in 1991?..... ☐

1. Yes 2. No (Go to no. 89) 3. Don't remember

88. If yes, how many seedlings did you raise?..... ☐

89. If no, what were the reasons for not raising?..... ☐
- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1. Lack of awareness regarding conservation | 5. Shortage of water |
| 2. Lack of technical know-how | 6. Lack of labour force |
| 3. Shortage of land | 7. Others (Specify) _____ |
| 4. Shortage of inputs (tools, seeds) | |
90. Did you plant tree seedlings individually on your holding after FFW ended in 1991?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No (Go to no. 97) 3. I don't remember
91. If yes, how many seedlings did you plant?..... ☐
92. From where did you get the seedlings?..... ☐
1. Raised the seedlings individually
2. Obtained from Ministry of Agriculture nurseries
3. Obtained from the project nursery handed over to the community
4. Obtained from individuals
5. Others (Specify) _____
93. Which tree species did you plant?..... ☐
- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Eucalyptus | 4. Lucerne |
| 2. Gravelia robusta | 5. Multi-purpose tree species |
| 3. Acacia | 6. Others (Specify) _____ |
94. If you planted eucalyptus, where did you plant?..... ☐
1. Inside the farmland 4. On waste land
2. At the edge of the farmland 5. (Specify) _____
3. On grazing land
95. Do you think there is any **disadvantage** in planting eucalyptus inside or close to farmlands?.... ☐
1. Yes 2. No (Go to 98) 3. Don't Know
96. If yes, what do you think is the **most important** one?..... ☐
1. Eucalyptus trees share soil nutrients from crops
2. Eucalyptus trees share water from crops
3. The crops can not get adequate sunshine
4. Others (Specify) _____
97. If no to question no. 90, what is the main reason for not planting?..... ☐
- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Lack of awareness regarding conservation | 5. Seedlings were not available |
| 2. Shortage of land | 6. Lack of labour force |
| 3. Shortage of water | 7. Lack of technical know-how |
| 4. Lack of incentive | 8. Others (Specify) _____ |
98. Do you think there is a problem of soil erosion on your individual land?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No (End of the Questionnaire) 3. I am not sure
99. If yes, did you use any soil conservation method to protect the soil from erosion?..... ☐
1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't remember
100. If you used soil conservation method, which method did you use?..... ☐
- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Contour ploughing | 5. Agro-forestry |
| 2. Constructing structures | 6. Planting fodder |
| 3. Tree planting | 7. Others (Specify) _____ |
| 4. Fallowing | |
101. If no to question no. 99, what are the reasons for not taking any soil conservation measure?.... ☐
- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Lack of awareness regarding conservation | 5. Lack of incentive for such activities |
| 2. Lack of technical know-how | 6. Shortage of land |
| 3. Lack of labour force | 7. Others (Specify) _____ |
| 4. Land is not my private property | |

===== * E**N**D** =====

APPENDIX 4

CHECKLISTS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

MEN'S FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

I. General Questions

1. What were the major events in the area regarding local food situation since 1984/85?
2. When and how long people in your community suffered from seasonal food shortage?
3. When and how long people in your community suffered from acute food shortage?
4. What were the consequences of acute food shortage? How did people cope up with the 1984/85 emergency period?
5. What were the major events in the area regarding food aid?
6. What was the role of food provided through emergency relief in saving the lives of victims of the 1984/85 famine?
7. What do you think are the major environmental problems in your community?
8. What do you think are the causes and consequences of these environmental problems?

II. Questions Related to FFW Payments

1. Do you think the commodity mix in FFW payment is appropriate?
2. Do you agree with the distribution of food as a form of payment?
3. If no, what alternative form of payment do you suggest?
4. Do you think it is appropriate to replace FFW with Cash-for-Work? If yes, why?
If no, why not?
5. Do you sell part or all of commodities obtained from FFW? If yes, why?

III. Questions Related to Biological and Physical Soil Conservation Measures

1. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of planting eucalyptus trees?
2. From the biological and physical soil conservation measures undertaken by FHI, which measures do you think are relatively successful? Why?
3. From the biological and physical soil conservation measures which one do you prefer? Why?

IV. Questions Related To The Effects Tree Planting

1. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to men regarding labour?
2. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to men regarding time?
3. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to men regarding resource?
4. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to men regarding culture?

V. Questions Related To The Sustainability Of Soil Conservation Measures

1. Do you think the soil conservation measures undertaken thorough FFW will be sustainable in the future? If no why?
2. Do you think the FFW activities of FHI-Ethiopia solved basic environmental problems?
3. Do you think people now understand the values of the different environmental rehabilitation activities?
4. Has there been any change of attitude towards trees and forests among the people?
5. Have any of you started to carry out soil conservation activities with out FFW? If no why?
6. Should maintenance of conservation structures be paid on a FFW basis?

WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

I. General Questions

1. What were the major events in the area regarding local food situation and food aid since 1984/85?
2. What do you think are the major environmental problems in your community?
3. What do you think are the causes and consequences of these environmental problems?
4. What social positions do women assume in your community in relation to men?

II. Questions Related To FFW Participation

1. To what extent did you participate in the design and implementation of FFW programme?
2. What are the factors that make difficult women's participation in FFW?
3. What are the factors that make difficult women's involvement in decision-making at the household level?
4. What are the factors that make difficult women's involvement in decision-making at the community level?
5. Who decided on whether a woman should participate in FFW or not?

III. Questions Related To Food Consumption

1. What were the changes brought about by the food provided through relief in the amount and types of food you consumed? Were there changes in the number of meals per day? Or types of food consumed?
2. What were the changes brought about by the food provided through FFW in the amount and types of food you consumed?

IV. Questions Related To Household Assets

1. What was the impact of food aid provided through relief on the protection of household assets from distress sales in the 1984/85 period?
2. What was the impact of food aid provided through FFW on the recovery of household assets in the post-1984/85 FFW period?
3. What household items were sold during 1984/85 famine before food aid arrived?
4. What household items were sold during 1984/85 famine after food aid arrived?

V. Questions Related to FFW Payments

1. Do you think the commodity mix in FFW payment is appropriate?
2. Do you agree with the distribution of food as a form of payment?
3. If no, what alternative form of payment do you suggest?
4. Do you think it is appropriate to replace FFW with Cash-for-Work? If yes, why?
If no, why not?
5. Do you sell part or all of commodities obtained from FFW? If yes, why?
6. Do you think the work norms for the different soil conservation activities take into account gender differences?
7. Do you think the FFW work norms should be the same for both men and women?

VI. Questions Related To The Effects Of Tree Planting

4. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to women regarding labour?
5. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to women regarding time?
6. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to women regarding resource?
7. What do you think are the effects of tree planting to women regarding culture?

APPENDIX 5

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS MET DURING THE FIELD WORK

<u>Name</u>	<u>Responsibility</u>
1. Ato. Ahmedin Mohammed	Vice Chairman of <i>Alaba</i> Wereda Council
2. Ato. Mohammed Ahmed	Head of the Alaba Wereda MoA office
3. Ato. Dereje Hailemeskel	Wereda MoA Soil Conservationist
4. Ato. Getachew Deribe	Wereda MoA Agronomist
5. Ato. Messay Kebede	FHI-Ethiopia staff in Alaba
6. Ato. Bedri Nuri	MoA Development Agent
7. Ato. Temam Nuri	PA leader
8. Ato. Ermias Habte	FHI-E Monitoring & Evaluation Officer
9. Ato. Hussien Sebro	PA leader
10. Ato. Amare Ayele	FFW Beneficiary
11. W/zo. Zuleyiha Bedru	Community Member
12. Mesele Fitsum	FHI-E Relief Coordinator

APPENDIX 6

List of the Existing Work Norms

No.	Activity	Existing Work Norms
I. SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION (PHYSICAL AND BIOLOGICAL)		
1	Soil bund construction	70 PD/KM
2	Stone bund construction	150 PD/KM
3	Fanya-Juu terrace construction	250 PD/KM
4	Planting on bunds	16 PD/KM
5	Bund maintenance	Not applicable (since 1994)
6	Hillside terracing	150 PD/KM
7	Cut-off drain construction	400 PD/KM
8	Water way construction (unpaved)	800 PD/KM
9	Bench terrace construction	450 PD/KM
10	Stone check-dam construction	1 PD/1 Linear Meter
11	Stone check-dam maintenance	1 PD/5 Linear Meter
12	Seedling production	10 PD/1000 Plants
13	Pitting	1 PD/20 Pits
14	Micro-basin construction	1 PD/20 MB
15	Seed collection	25 PD/KG
16	Seedling planting	15 PD/1000 Plants
17	Site guards (until December 2000)	4 PD/Ha./Year
II. WATER DEVELOPMENT		
18	Small farm dam construction	120,000 PD/ Dam
19	Pond construction	6,700 PD/Pond
20	Spring development	1,700 PD/Spring
21	Stream diversion weir	3,000 PD/Weir
III. INFRASTRUCTURE		
22	Road construction (Not surfaced)	2,000 PD/KM
23	Road maintenance	500 PD/KM
IV. SUPPLEMENTARY MEASURES		
24	Grass and legume seed production (mult. Center)	700 PD/Ha./Year
25	Fire line construction	Not applicable (former state forests)
26	Fire line clearing	Not applicable (former state forests)

Source: MoA and WFP, *Revision of the Soil And Water Conservation Work Norms*, Proceedings of the Workshop Held At Disaster Prevention And Preparedness Commission, August 2000, p. 32, Addis Ababa.

APPENDIX 7

List of the Revised Set of Work Norms

No.	Activity	Unit	Revised Norms
1	Soil bund	PD/KM	150 PD/KM
2	Stone bund	PD/KM	250 PD/KM
3	Fanya-Juu	PD/KM	200 PD/KM
4	Planting on bund	PD/KM	16 PD/KM
5	Hillside terracing	PD/KM	250 PD/KM
6	Cut-off drain construction	M ³ /PD	0.70 M ³ /PD
7	Grassed water way construction	M ³ /PD	1.0 M ³ /PD
8	Bench terrace construction	PD/KM	500 PD/KM
9	Stone check-dam construction	M ³ /PD	0.5 M ³ /PD
10	Stone check-dam maintenance	M ³ /PD	1.0 M ³ /PD
11	Seedling production	PD/1000 Seedling	15 PD/1000
12	Pitting	PD/Pits	1 PD/15 Pits
13	Micro-basin construction	PD/Micro-basins	1PD/5MB
14	Seed collection	PD/KG	20 PD/KG
15	Seedling planting	PD/Plants	1 PD/50 Plants
16	Site guarding	PD/Ha./Year	4 PD/Ha./Year
17	Small farm dam construction	M ³ /PD	0.4 M ³ /PD
18	Pond construction	M ³ /PD	0.5 M ³ /PD
19	Farm road construction	PD/KM	3000 PD/KM
20	Road maintenance/construction on <5% slope	PD/KM	500 PD/KM

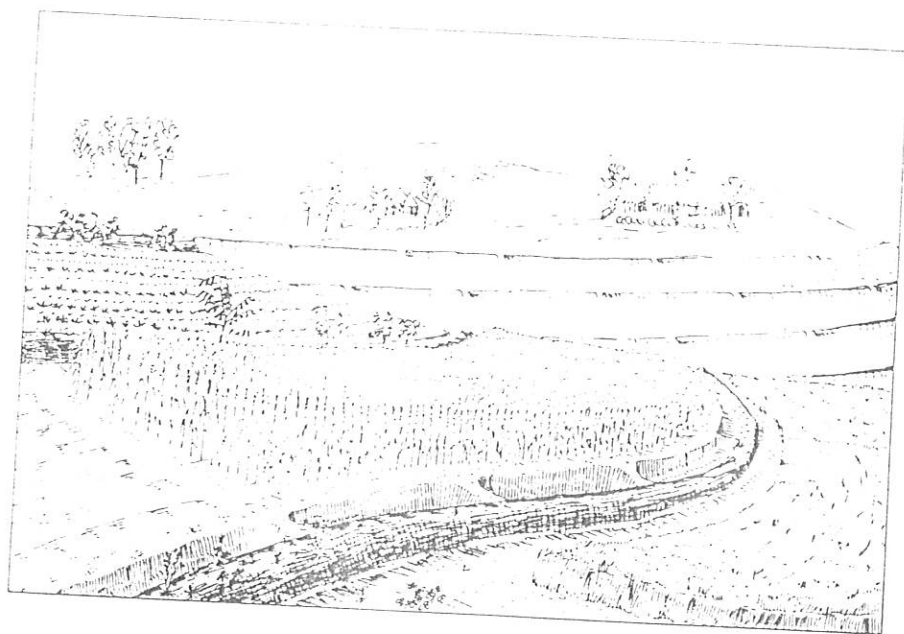
Source: MoA and WFP, *Revision of the Soil And Water Conservation Work Norms*,

Proceedings of the Workshop Held At Disaster Prevention And Preparedness

Commission, August 2000, p. 18, Addis Ababa.

PICTURES

Picture 1: Hillside terrace



Picture 2: Soil/stone bund

Picture 3: Micro-basin



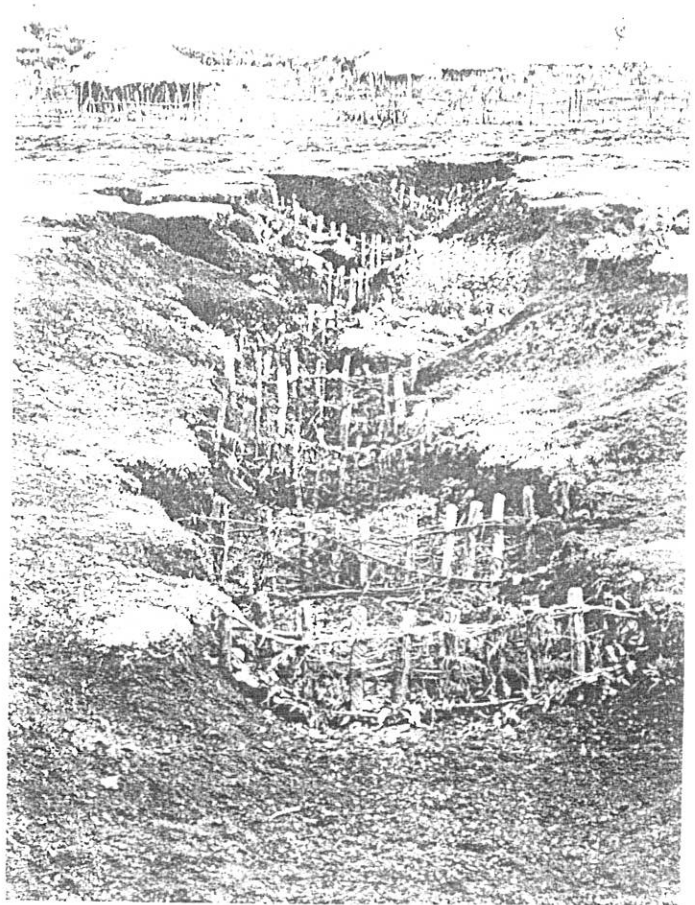
ገጽ ፩ ሠራተ ጸርዝ

Picture 4: Fanya-Juu

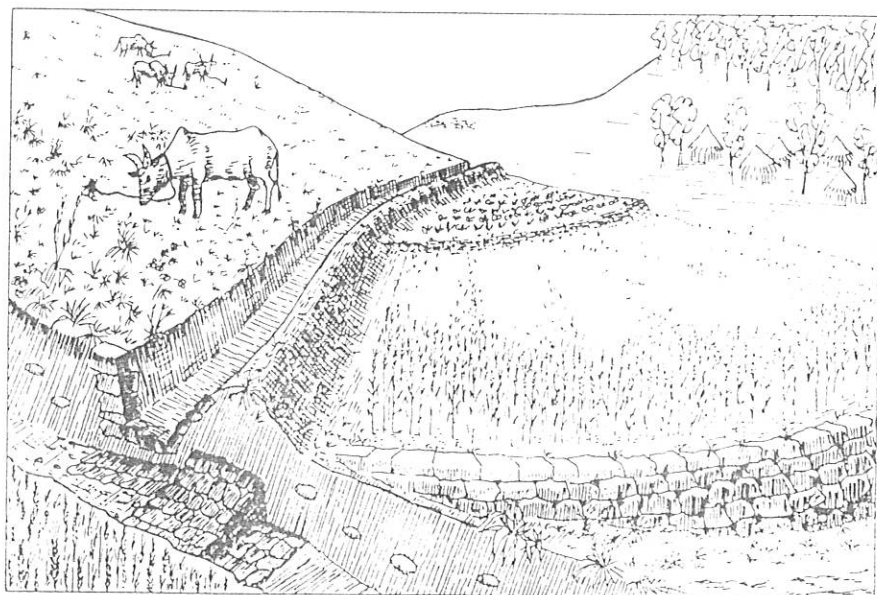


ዘቀዘቀ ፭፻፲፭

Picture 5: Check-dam
Constructed by
wood



በጭንቆ ላይ የተሰራ ህትር



Picture 6: Cut-off drain

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University, and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.



Biruk Alemayehu

May 2001

The thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Advisor



Dessalegn Rahmato

May 2001