



Exploring Gender Roles in Agriculture activities: a case of Afghanistan

Journal:	<i>Journal of Gender Studies</i>
Manuscript ID:	CJGS-2011-0082
Manuscript Type:	Research Articles
Keywords:	Gender, Agriculture, Division of labour, Decision making, Afghanistan

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Exploring Gender Roles in Agriculture activities: a case of Afghanistan

Introduction

For technologies targeted to improve the gender equity to be successful especially in conservative patriarchal societies like Afghanistan, it is necessary to have knowledge of gender roles in different income generating activities. In such societies, gender equity is more towards men who are generally recognized as the head of family and has major role in decision making within the family. They are equally involved in the productive, reproductive and community activities. Women, who play a major role in the household economy, have limited economic options and less access to social services. Lower educational attainment coupled with social norms like practice of pardah¹ and proscriptions against interactions between the sexes outside the mahrammat (acceptable male guardians such as father, brother son and any other male with whom women may not marry), that restrict mobility, confine women to a limited range of employment opportunities and low wages. As reported by Grace (2004) many are largely confined to their homes. Therefore women remain in disadvantaged position compared to men. Also there is growing evidence that gender plays important role in economic growth, poverty reduction and development effectiveness.

To help them to get out of the misery it is required to make them more visible in the productive work. That could only be possible if we fully understand the mechanism of gender roles prevailing in the society and the extent to which different men and women are able to access different livelihood opportunities. Then only intended technology interventions can be successful in improving their livelihoods.

International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA) is currently implementing a project “Rehabilitation of agricultural livelihoods of women in marginal and post conflict areas of Afghanistan: Participatory Research, dissemination and adoption of

¹ Pardah is a social norm in which women are allowed to talk with men only from behind a curtain/separation.

improved dairy goat production systems” with National Agricultural Research System (NARS), NGOs and Ministries in Baghlan and Nangarhar provinces of Afghanistan. The programme's objective is to provide poor rural households, especially women, with the skills, knowledge and initial inputs they require in order to engage in profitable dairy goat production to increase their income and improve the nutritional status of the family. The programme is disseminating technological packages that include improved local goat breeds, management, nutrition, and health components. Core women groups and women development communicators in dairy goat production are established and being trained. Women are exposed to improved dairy-goat production technologies through a variety of communication approaches (women households are approached through the husband or through the elder in the household). The programme is expected to improve (directly or indirectly) the nutrition, livelihoods and income of more than 1,000 participating households.

An exercise to explore the gender division of labour in crop and livestock production activities and off-farm activities in Afghanistan was done by ICARDA in the beginning of this project implementation. Results obtained from this exercise constitute the basis of this paper. This exploration was carried out with the following objectives.

1. To understand the division of labour in carrying out different activities in agriculture and animal husbandry.
2. To study the extent of involvement of gender in on and off farm activities, hired labour and decision making.

Gender background in Afghanistan Society

Knowledge on the Afghan society is essential to better understand the gender roles in different on and off-farm activities. Afghanistan is a patriarchal male dominated conservative society and consistent in its attitudes toward the underlying principles of gender. Afghanistan is a signatory to both the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination*

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against Women and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and has ratified the latter. Yet, recent political developments have further eroded the overall situation of women in Afghanistan in terms of mobility and access to services. The concept and practice of pardah, seclusion and veiling includes an insistence on separate spaces for men and women and proscriptions against interactions between the sexes outside the mahrammat (acceptable male guardians such as father, brother son and any other male with whom women may not marry). Women are allowed only to go to village elder home which is acceptable for men and community. These restrictions severely limit women's activities, including access to education and employment outside the home. Family's social position depends on the public behavior of its female members, is a guiding reality in Afghan society². Old women and widows take part in activities related to agriculture and grazing animals. In most rural settings, girls have little access to education both for cultural and infrastructural reasons. Lower educational attainment coupled with social norms that restrict mobility confine women to a limited range of employment opportunities and low wages. Women often have no surnames and are barely counted during national census. This may mean that they can easily be ignored from any future development plans further worsening the situation.

Farming systems in Afghanistan

Agriculture is the main source of national incomes as more than 85 % of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood. Only about 12 % of the country's total land is arable, with three percent under forest cover, about 46 % under permanent pastures, and the rest (39 %) being mountains. About half of the 12 % cultivable area is irrigated, while the other half is arid or rainfed. Wheat is the main food crop, accounting for more than three quarters of food grain production.

² "Afghanistan: A Country Study" published by the [Federal Research Division](#) of the Library of Congress.

Three farming systems are identified in Afghanistan: mixed crop-livestock, agro-pastoral and pastoral or nomadic systems. Resource poverty worsened by climate change (e.g. drought, low and erratic rainfall), have forced many people to rely largely on livestock rearing in mixed crop-livestock farming system. The potential social and economic contribution of livestock to agricultural development, household food security and income generation in Afghanistan is vast. Agricultural development, including livestock development, can have a profound influence on developing peace and stability in Afghanistan. The main livestock include cattle, goats, sheep, donkeys, poultry, horses and camels. The livestock holding per family has decreased sharply over the past years. Protracted war and continuous drought massively reduced the national livestock population in the country. There are 7.3 million goats with average holding size of 2.4 (FAO Livestock Census, 2003). One fourth of total goats in Afghanistan are in Herat, Helmand and Nuristan and the highest number of goats per family is in Nuristan (23.5 goats), followed by in Kunar (8.2) province which are in eastern Afghanistan. Goats in Nangarhar and Baghlan provinces account for 3.28 and 3.24 % of total goats in the country with 1.75 and 2.2 goats per family respectively (FAO Livestock Census, 2003).

Large and small ruminant livestock are largely maintained on grazing, some cultivated fodder, crop residues, and under special circumstances on some concentrates. The rangelands, uncultivated wastelands and cultivated fallow lands are the main grazing sources.

Methodology

Nangarhar and Baghlan provinces are purposively selected as the ICARDA's project on "Rehabilitating agricultural livelihoods for women" is being implemented now in these two provinces. Informal rapid appraisal was conducted for qualitative understanding of the farming systems. Focus group interviews were conducted in seven villages each in Dar-e-Noor (Suttan, Bakedai Kandi, Babur Khil Kandi, Janhan Khan Kandi, Bakhshi Kandi, Fatti

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khan Kandi and Saragalk villages) and Baghlan-e-Sannhati (Ghurbadian, Sarah Saya-e- Hatiq khan, Khalazai ah, Sallam Khil, Arabah, Mallang and Qull-e- Naw Abad villages) districts of Nangarhar and Baghlan provinces respectively. Each focus group included eight to ten key informants (farmers) from each village and two to three interdisciplinary scientists (with at least one women scientist). In this interview participants discussed ideas, issues, insights and experiences with facilitation of a moderator. The group dynamics helped to collect useful and detailed information on each topic. The main findings of each village group were written on charts with the help and endorsement of the participants of each group.

The approach used in pursuing gender-sensitive data collection in Afghanistan was very different compared to conventional approach. As women are not allowed to directly interact with male researchers, educated women coordinators, female facilitators and female activists were used to reach to target women key informants. All members of local communities and already established groups of women were consulted before initiating Focus group interviews. Issues covered included village characterization, gender division of labour in different crop and livestock related activities, hiring of labour, involvement in on and off farm activities and decision making. Percentage, charts, frequency distribution are used for analysing the data.

Results and discussion

Background information of villages surveyed

Background information on demographic, socio-economic characteristics of villages surveyed and farming systems available enables in understanding the environment under which men and women perform different on-farm and off-farm activities (Table 1). All men and women are illiterate in the villages surveyed. All villages in both the provinces contained both landed and landless families. The proportions of each differed from village to village but in general there were more landless than landed families. On an average 15-20 % households

were cultivating either on their own land or by leasing and almost of them were subsistence farmers. Irrigation facilities available are negligible to none and cultivation is mostly rainfed resulting in low productivity. Wheat, cotton maize, rice, melon, potato, vegetables are the crops cultivated in these villages. With limited land and water resources, male labour force tends to migrate to urban areas in search of livelihood. Landless labour maintained a few animals (Cow, sheep and goats) for their livelihood.

Gender division of labour

The results from this survey indicated that men participation was higher than women in livestock and crop related activities in both the provinces of Afghanistan. Though less than men participation, women participation was higher in livestock related activities compared to crop production activities which is similar to the results obtained in other studies conducted in the past by Taj (2007) and Grace (2004) in Pakistan and Afghanistan respectively. Almost equal participation of men and women in livestock related activities is seen in Baghlan while men have more responsibilities than women in Nangarhar.

Men, women, children and combination of these three are involved in different activities related to livestock and crop production. There are total 14 activities related to livestock production. Of these, eight activities are carried out within the premises of house of the household (putting up shelter, preparing feed, tethering, feeding, watering, cleaning shelter and animal and waste disposal), while six activities (Grazing/herding, gathering forage, buying animals, feeds, taking animal to market and selling products (eggs, meat etc.)) can be carried out only outside the house. Of the 17 activities related to producing crops, five are off-farm activities (buying seeds, fertilisers, and chemicals, marketing, selling products and other post harvest activities) and 12 are on-farm activities (land and seed preparation, pulling, transplanting, broadcasting, weeding, fertilisation, spraying, harvesting, threshing,

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hauling and cleaning). In most cases, children are associated with women in performing different crop and livestock production activities.

Livestock related activities

Cow, sheep, goat and buffalos are the commonly grown livestock in both the provinces.

Baghlan province: Overall in seven villages of Baghlan province, men (44 %) and women (43 %) shared the labour in carrying out livestock production activities almost equally. Men were exclusively responsible for buying feeds and while women were exclusively associated with tethering activity. All other activities were carried out by men along with women or children or both. Grazing, selling products, cleaning animal and watering were the activities with which children were associated. Men, women and children were involved in animal grazing, putting up shelter, preparing feed, watering and taking animals to market (Table 2). In Ghurbandian and Arabah villages, children were not involved in any of the livestock production activities. In different villages of Baghlan, both men and women together were doing 21 % of total activities.

Nangarhar province: Men were responsible for 52 % of labour in different livestock related activities while share of women was 39 % (Table 3). Men participation was more in the activities like buying animals, taking animal to market, putting up shelter and buying feeds. While women participation was more in waste disposal, cleaning shelter, tethering, cleaning animal and feeding. Grazing, watering, gathering forage and cleaning animal were the activities with which children are commonly associated. In Suttan and Saragalk villages none of the activities were carried out by both genders together and also children were not engaged in any of the livestock related activities. Both the genders together were carrying out 37 % of livestock production activities.

Overall in both the provinces gender division of labour was almost equal for men (48 %) and women (41 %) while children were performing 11 % of activities in animal husbandry. Both genders together were performing 30 % of livestock related activities. Fattori (2004) reported similar results indicating that women and children are the main tenders of animals-women are responsible for tethering, stable feeding and cleaning animals and boys take animals for grazing.

Crop related activities

Wheat, rice, cotton, maize, onion, potato, melon, barley, sesame, vegetables, clover and bean are the important crops grown in Baghlan and Nagarhar provinces.

Baghlan province: Over all in seven villages of Baghlan province, men shared 79 % of the labour in carrying out different crop production activities while women and children shared 12 % and 9 % of labour (Table 4). Only 7 % of activities were done by both the genders together. All the off-farm crop production activities were carried out by men exclusively except other post harvest activities where women were also engaged. Women were mainly associated in threshing, hauling and cleaning operations in all crops. Men, women and children were engaged in transplanting, seed preparation, harvesting, broadcasting and threshing operations. Children were not involved in any of the crop production activities in Khalazai ah village.

Nangarhar province: Over all in seven villages of Nangarhar province, men, women and children shared 82 %, 14 % and four % of labour in carrying out crop production activities (Table 5). Both the genders together did 16 % of crop production activities. Children were not involved in any of the crop production activities in Suttan and Bakshi Kandi villages. Men were exclusively responsible in buying fertilisers and chemicals, marketing, fertiliser application and other post harvest operations. Women associated in carrying activities like threshing, cleaning, hauling and selling products and by-products.

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Overall in both the provinces, men (80 %) shared maximum labour in carrying out crop related activities than women (13 %). Both genders were involved in 11 % of crop related activities. Most of the off-farm activities like buying fertilisers and chemicals, selling products and by-products, buying seeds, marketing and other post harvest activities were the responsibility of men. In some villages of both the provinces, children are not involved in any crop production related activities. Women are largely associated in threshing, hauling and cleaning. The types of agricultural activities in which women are involved are similar between the villages in Baghlan and Nangarhar provinces. Most of the livestock activities where women share responsibility are carried out inside the acceptable workspace of the compound.

Many factors seem to influence the gender division of labour. Prevailing social restrictions or stigmas limit the involvement of women in agriculture related activities and also it may partly depend on how strongly social stigmas around women and men's involvement in certain activities are, as well as how strongly individuals or households adhere to them. Grace (2004) in her study indicated that the richer the household, the less the women work on land. Family is considered poor if women work on land and thus there appears to be a stigma attached to women working on land.

Grace (2004) also reported in her study that increasing labour shortage inside the villages induced women involvement in agriculture. Though culture doesn't permit women to work on land, extreme poverty in rural areas also forces the women to work on land. If the men of the family do not own land or do not work as sharecroppers, it is highly unlikely that women will be working in agricultural land sharing labour with their men.

The marital status of women also affects the activities they may be involved in. Unmarried women, especially if near to the age of marriage, are less likely to be allowed to carry out agricultural tasks outside the house. However, women in female-headed households

on the other hand are likely to have more of a role in managing activities on land as well as livestock.

Social stigmas, age or stage of women (young, married and widow), shortage of labour and poverty of households influence the gender division of labour.

On and off-farm activities

In Afghanistan, women are not allowed to go out alone but are allowed to go to a village elder's home, which is acceptable for men and the community of the village. No women, except for elderly widows (usually those who have no male children), travel to the bazaar to sell or buy goods as women travelling to the bazaar is seen as culturally unacceptable. Men had to work hard as women are not allowed to move outside of their homestead unaccompanied. In some areas, old women, widows and children are engaged in on-farm activities with men.

Gender wise performance of off-farm and on-farm activities in Baghlan and Nangarhar provinces is shown in Table 6. On an average 94% of off-farm activities were carried out by men alone. Women alone didn't perform any off-farm crop production activities. However seven per cent of on-farm crop related activities were carried out by women alone indicating their negligible involvement.

Over all in livestock related activities, women (44%) participation was more in the activities that are carried out within the premises of house. Men carried out 62 % and 20 % of off and on-farm activities respectively.

Also when observed province wise, women participation was less in off-farm activities in both provinces and they participated only to the extent of 16 to 22 % in on-farm activities for the reasons related to social restrictions.

Overall, men were burdened more than women in carrying out off and on-farm activities in both crop and animal husbandry. Higher participation of women was seen in

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livestock related activities specifically inside the acceptable workspace of the compound. On an average, 77 % and 56 % of the off and on-farm activities respectively were carried out by men. Men along with women or children or both carried out 16 and 23 % of the off and on-farm activities respectively. Children involvement was very less in both off-farm and on-farm activities and they were mostly associated with either of genders in carrying out different activities.

Family and hired labour

Landless people sell their labour outside their village and up to 80 % of the households are landless in some villages. Most of the operations were carried out by family labour except some operations which warrants the use of hired labour. Overall 21 % labour was hired for carrying out different activities in animal and crop husbandry (Table 7). Hired males were involved mainly in cropping activities such as other post-harvest operations, weeding, pulling, fertilisation, broadcasting, harvesting, seed and land preparation; and in case of animal related activities, they are hired for putting up shelter, grazing, preparation of feed and selling different products. Females' involvement as hired is limited and when this happens they are hired for crop activities (range is 2 to 18 %) such as threshing, cleaning, hauling and transplanting operations while very less women labour (3 %) were hired for carrying out animal related activities such as preparation of feed, putting up shelter and grazing/herding. Old women and widows are mostly hired for different operations. Child labour was used for operations such as transplanting, broadcasting and other post harvest operations in crop related activities and for grazing animals. Women participation as hired labour was less in both the provinces.

Decision making

Men though discuss with women, the decision making is done by men only whether it is agriculture or livestock related activities or any other family decisions. Incomes are largely

controlled by men and decisions for the whole household are made entirely by men. During focus group interviews, it was indicated that incomes from goats are largely used by women and children for purchasing shoes and cloths. Grace (2005) in her study on *Who owns the farm?* Rural women access to land and livestock in Afghanistan reported that women appear to be able to sell the livestock produce and sometimes make decisions over how to use the income generated. In the patriarchal family system, particularly in Afghanistan, men are mostly involved in formal economic and social affairs and decision making processes in the community and their family. Men are not in favour of women owning property as it increases their role in decision making. Increasing women's income contribution in a male headed household or joint family will not always improve her position within the household in decision making. It will differ from household to household. Education is also perceived as increasing a person's ability to participate in decision-making at both the household and community level. Lower literacy levels of Afghan women also limit their role in decision making. These social and cultural restrictions limited women in taking up many agricultural and livestock activities and increased the burden on men.

Grace (2005) in her study also indicated that women in general do not own any property though Shari'a law and the Civil Code dictate that one third of property should be willed with the rest divided among the rightful heirs. Thus women cannot control any wealth and cannot have any role in decision making.

Activities performed each day

Female roles stress motherhood, child socialization and family nurturing. Even among professional career women, family responsibilities remain a top priority. Thus women's self-perception of their roles, among the majority, urban and rural, contributes to the perpetuation of patriarchal values. A quick look at time-spent on different activities indicated that rural women are performing multiple roles in rural setup and hence, are over burdened. Preparing

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food, clothes, keeping the house clean, taking care of animals, milking animals, providing feed and water to animals are the major activities women perform in day to day life while men perform activities like taking animals for grazing, labour work in farm, off-farm activities like selling products, taking animals to market and buying necessary inputs for farm and for house.

Conclusions

Targeting income generating activities for women should begin with an assessment of those economic opportunities that have multiplier effects on the welfare of their immediate and extended families. Gender analysis revealed that women and men had different roles in agricultural and livestock activities. Women were relatively less involved in both crop and livestock farming activities compared to men in Afghanistan. Age, social stigmas, poverty and shortage of labour are influencing the gender division of labour and for taking up on and off farm activities. Women involvement was more in livestock than crop related activities. This indicates that any agricultural development program intending to involve women will be effective if it has large component of livestock related activities in Afghanistan.

Restrictions on women involvement in many income generating activities also increased the burden on men to put more efforts to earn the same monetary benefits which would have been otherwise possible with less efforts with women participation. In terms of access to and control over the agriculture-derived incomes and decision-making, males had more access and control over incomes and resources. It can be seen from these analyses that the society has lost half of its human resource in the most important income generation activities due to the cultural restrictions which prohibits free movement around. Gender equity should be the aim of any development program in Afghanistan. Programs should include and support women through understanding their different needs, interests, and roles as well as those of different men.

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For Peer Review Only

Table 1: Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of villages surveyed in Baghlan and Nangarhar provinces

Name of Village	District and Province	No. of households	Population	Literacy	Major occupation	Facilities available
1. Ghurbandian	Baghlan-e-sanhati, Baghlan	120	500	100 % illiterate	Majority landless and do labor outside village. Some cultivate crops (Wheat, cotton, onion and rice) and a few maintain animals (Cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood	One primary boys and girls school. Access to pond and well
2. Sarah Saye- e- Hattiq Khan	Baghlan-e-sanhati, Baghlan	61	NA*	100 % illiterate	70% families don't have land and do labour in farms. 20- 30 % people cultivate (vegetables, potato, onion, wheat, maize, cotton and melon) and a few maintain animals (Cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood	Pond and well
3. Khalazai ah	Baghlan-e-sanhati, Baghlan	40	400 Pashtun	100 % illiterate	Majority landless labour. Some cultivate crops like wheat, barley and sesame and a few maintain animals (Cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Pond and well

4. Sallam Khil	Baghlan-e-sanhati, Baghlan	70	450 Pashtun and Tajeik	100 % illiterate	Majority landless labour. Some cultivate crops like Cotton, wheat, bean and potato and a few maintain animals (Cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Pond
5. Arabah	Baghlan-e-sanhati, Baghlan	70	300	100 % illiterate	Majority landless labour. Some cultivate crops like wheat, rice, cotton, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Pond
6. Mallang	Baghlan-e-sanhati, Baghlan	NA	Pashtun	Low literacy level	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like wheat, rice, cotton, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	(National Solidarity Program) male community organization and pond
7. Qull-e- Naw Abad	Baghlan-e-sanhati, Baghlan	20	200 Pashtun	100 % illiterate	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like wheat, rice, cotton, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	(National Solidarity Program) male community organization and pond

8. Sheeram Kandi	Dar-e-Noor, Nangarhar	600	4800	100 % illiterate	10-15% have lease land the remaining are doing labour and selling wood. Wheat, maize, bean, rice, vegetables, onion and clover are cultivated and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep goat and buffalo) as livelihood.	Drinking water tap available
9. Bakedai Kandi	Dar-e-Noor, Nangarhar	160	1120	100 % illiterate	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like Wheat, maize, bean, rice, vegetables, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Drinking water tap available
10. Babur Khil Kandi	Dar-e-Noor, Nangarhar	350	2450	100 % illiterate	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like wheat, maize, bean, vegetables, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Drinking water tap available
11. Janhan Khan Kandi	Dar-e-Noor, Nangarhar	150	1050	100 % illiterate	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like wheat, maize, bean, vegetables, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their	Drinking water tap available

					livelihood.	
12. Bakhshi Kandi	Dar-e-Noor, Nangarhar	200	1200	100 % illiterate	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like wheat, maize, bean, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Drinking water tap available
13. Fatti khan Kandi	Dar-e-Noor, Nangarhar	420	2940	100 % illiterate	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like wheat, rice, cotton, onion and potato and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Drinking water tap available
14. Saragalk	Dar-e-Noor, Nangarhar	100	NA	100 % illiterate	Majority are landless and doing labour daily. Some cultivate crops like wheat, maize, bean, vegetables, onion and clover and a few maintain animals (cow, sheep and goat) as their livelihood.	Drinking water tap available

*indicates data not available

Table 2: Gender division of labour in livestock related activities in Baghlan (in %)

Activity	Men	Women	Children
Putting up shelter	59	31	10
Preparing feed	68	22	10
Grazing/herding	47	16	37
Tethering	0	100	0
Feeding	33	67	0
Watering	22	56	22
Cleaning Shelter	13	68	19
Cleaning animal	14	59	27
Waste disposal	22	64	14
Gathering forage	54	33	13
Buying animal	87	13	0
Buying feeds	100	0	0
Taking animal to market	78	18	4
Selling products (eggs, meat, etc.)	21	50	29
Average of all activities	44	43	13

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Table 3: Gender division of labour in livestock related activities in Nangarhar (in %)

Activity	Men	Women	Children
Putting up shelter	88	12	0
Preparing feed	59	33	8
Grazing/herding	56	8	36
Tethering	29	71	0
Feeding	35	61	3
Watering	26	57	17
Cleaning Shelter	15	74	11
Cleaning animal	16	68	16
Waste disposal	17	83	0
Gathering forage	57	26	17
Buying animal	95	5	0
Buying feeds	86	14	0
Taking animal to market	92	8	0
Selling products (eggs, meat, etc.)	60	30	10
Average of all activities	52	39	9

Table 4: Gender division of labour in crop related activities in Baghlan (in %)

Activity	Men	Women	Children
Seed preparation	80	9	11
Land preparation	90	0	10
Pulling	90	0	10
Transplanting	53	21	26
Broadcasting	71	13	16
Weeding	88	12	0
Fertilization	92	4	4
Spraying	87	3	10
Harvesting	80	8	12
Threshing	36	52	12
Hauling	41	48	11
Cleaning	54	33	13
Other post-harvest	80	4	16
Marketing	100	0	0
Buying seeds	100	0	0
Buying fertilizers and chemicals	100	0	0
Selling products and by-products	100	0	0
Average of all activities	79	12	9

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Table 5: Gender division of labour in crop related activities in Nangarhar (in %)

Activity	Men	Women	Children
Seed preparation	86	14	0
Land preparation	88	12	0
Pulling	100	0	0
Collecting	65	21	14
Broadcasting	90	7	3
Weeding	54	26	20
Fertilization	100	0	0
Spraying	79	4	17
Harvesting	84	12	4
Threshing	62	35	3
Hauling	70	30	0
Cleaning	57	33	10
Other post-harvest	100	0	0
Marketing	100	0	0
Buying seeds	87	10	3
Buying fertilizers and chemicals	100	0	0
Selling products and by-products	71	29	0
Average of all activities	82	14	4

Table 6: Gender wise performance of Off-farm and on-farm activities

Gender	Baghlan (%)		Nangarhar (%)		Livestock** (%)		Crop (%)		All (%)	
	Off- farm	On- farm	Off- farm	On- farm	Off- farm	On- farm	Off- farm	On- farm	Off- farm	On- farm
Men	78	55	75	57	62	20	94	75	77	56
Women	4	22	1	16	5	44	0	7	3	19
Children	5	2	5	1	9	4	0	0	5	1
All*	13	21	18	26	24	32	6	19	16	23

* indicates different gender combinations (all three; men and women; men and children and women and children).

**off-farm livestock activities are those activities that can be carried out within the premises of house and on-farm activities include only those that can be carried out within the compound of house.

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Table 7: Family and hired labour participation in livestock and crop related activities (%)

Category	Family			Hired			Family	Hired	Total
	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children			
Livestock	44	40	11	5	0	0	95	5	100
Crop	52	9	3	28	4	4	64	36	100
Baghlan	45	25	8	17	3	3	77	23	100
Nangarhar	51	24	5	17	2	2	80	20	100
All	48	24	7	17	2	2	79	21	100