

SIAPAC SEPETMBER 2017









Contents

Acknowledgements	2
Acronyms	3
AcknowledgementsAcronyms	2
Overview of the LIFT Programme's SLLC Activities	10
Methods and Approach	10
Logframe Questions	
Household Engagement in Transactions	
Household Registration of Transactions	
Renting and Sharecropping and Registering Transactions	15
Types of Registered Transactions	
Processing of Registering Transactions	16
Awareness	16
Reasons for Registering a Transaction	16
Process Measures	16
Satisfaction with Process	18
Land Renting and Sharecropping Behaviours, Use of the New Form for Renting, and Microfinance	19
Land Renting and Sharecropping Behaviours	19
Microfinance and Savings	23



Acknowledgements

This research was commissioned by LIFT but has been conducted by an independent consultancy and does not necessarily represent the views of LIFT

This material has been funded by UKaid from the UK government; however, the views expressed do not necessarily reflect the UK government's official policies



Acronyms

CSA Central Statistical Agency (of the Government of Ethiopia)

CSS Customer Satisfaction Survey

DAI Development Associates International

DFID Department for International Development

EETSP External Evaluation Technical Service Provider

FHH Female-Headed Household
FLLC First Level Land Certification

ITSP Internal Technical Service Provider

KLAC Kebele Land Administration Committee

LIFT Land Investment for Transformation

M&E Monitoring and Evaluation

MHH Male-Headed Household

MTR Mid-Term Review

na not applicable

NRTS Non-Registered Transaction Survey
RLAS Rural Land Administrative Services

SLLC Second Level Land Certification

SNNP Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
SPSS Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

TOR Terms of Reference

UK United Kingdom

WLAO Woreda Land Administration Office



Executive Summary

Overview

This report presents findings from a survey of 210 customers who had registered at least one land transaction following Second Level Land Certification (SLLC). It also includes the presentation of indicative data from a survey of 90 households that had carried out a land transaction but who had not registered it with any land authority.

The identification of customers and non-registered transaction 'customers' came from a listing of the entire population of ten kebele in ten woreda in the LIFT Programme area where RLAS services are most advanced and were therefore in a position to process land transactions involving SLLC certificates. These covered woreda in both Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) Regional State, and Tigray Regional State. All of these kebele required full listing because of the need to identify a denominator of non-registered transactions and registered transactions with a numerator of registered transactions. Over 8600 households were listed, from which lists of customers and non-registered transaction 'customers' were derived, and random samples drawn for interview.

The Listing Survey allowed the calculation, using best available data, of the proportion of all transactions registered over the total number of all transactions to inform Outcome Indicator 1A: 'Percentage of land transactions which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme reached woreda in which RLAS is operational', as well as Outcome Indicator 1B: 'Percentage of land transactions made by female-headed households which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme reached woreda in which RLAS is operational'.

The Customer Satisfaction Survey allowed the calculation of Outcome Indicator 5 'Percentage of households who registered a formal transaction who are satisfied with land administration services in certified woreda disaggregated by gender'. The figure was provided for customer households overall, and findings for maleheaded and female-headed households.

Methods

A two-stage process was employed to interview customers:

- Based on LIFT Programme identification of RLAS-operational woreda and based on the need to ensure
 that sufficient households would be found for listing and interview as customers, hold discussions with
 Woreda Land Administration Office (WLAO) personnel to identify kebele where full listing could take
 place¹. For every occupied household in these kebele, a Listing Questionnaire was administered.
- From the list of households who had registered at least one land transaction, and from the list of
 households who had undertaken a land transaction but who had not registered the transaction, separate
 samples were drawn giving each household listed an equal probability of being interviewed. For each
 selected household, relevant sections of a combined Customer Satisfaction Survey/Non-Registered
 Transaction Survey Questionnaire were administered.

The Listing Questionnaire and the CSS/NRTS Questionnaire were designed in consultation with the full LIFT team, following a review of a range of secondary materials of relevance to informing the questions in the questionnaires². The tools were circulated to the EETSP in advance of training. A Concept Note and thereafter a Survey Concept were also prepared and submitted to the EETSP for the survey.

Training, pre-testing, piloting and a management team retreat to review pilot results all preceded field data collection. The questionnaire was translated into Amharic in an early version prior to training, updated during training, and translated into Oromifa and Tigrinya prior to finalisation in all four languages (including English). Hand held devices were used to collect data. Each data collection team was headed by a supervisor, who was overseen by a quality control officer.

¹ Of the 10 identified, 3 had to be replaced after extensive listing found only a handful of customers (2 in SNNP and 1 in Tigray). Further discussions were therefore held by the field teams with local stakeholders to identify alternative kebele where sufficient cases could be found.

² An Indicator Tracking Report was prepared by the LIFT M&E Team to inform each Logframe indicator. At the time that the report was finalised (February 2017), the indicator of relevance here was Outcome Indicator 5. An extensive review of the literature, along with bibliographical references, are included in that report. LIFT Programme (2017). 2016 Indicator Tracking Report, prepared by the LIFT Programme M&E Team of DAI for DFID/Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.



Findings of Relevance to LIFT Programme Logframe

The following finding is specifically relevant to measuring an indicator in the LIFT Programme Logframe:

Outcome Indicator 1A: Percentage of land transactions which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme woreda in which RLAS is operational

Outcome Indicator 1B: Percentage of land transactions made by female-headed households which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme woreda in which RLAS is operational

1A: Percentage formally registered: 32.1%

1B: Percentage FHH formally registered: 29.6% (MHH 32.7%)

The figures are derived from a census of households in ten kebele in ten woreda in the LIFT Programme area where RLAS services are most advanced. The figures are therefore representative of this particular situation and represents the best alternative for collecting these data. All households were listed in each of the ten kebele, and households divided into three categories: 1) households with transactions registered; 2) households with transactions but none registered; and 3) households without any transactions. The number of transactions registered formed the numerator, while the number of transactions formed the denominator (unregistered transactions in both 'registered' and 'non-registered' households plus the total number of registered transactions).

The likelihood of registering a transaction did not vary statistically across FHH and MHH.

Outcome Indicator 5: Percentage of households who registered a formal transaction who are satisfied with land administration services in certified woredas disaggregated by gender

Households Overall: 87.7%

FHH: too small to calculate percentage, but of 31 respondents, 26 were either 'strongly' or 'somewhat' satisfied

MHH: 88.2%

Calculation based on reading the indicator as 'disaggregated by gender of household head'. Statement to populate indicator came after a series of attitudinal statements, and read as follows: "overall, I am satisfied with the land services I have received in relation to registering this formal transaction". Unfortunately, the number of female-headed households was too small to calculate an accurate percentage, but the numerical findings are consistent with the overall household average. Figures combine 'strongly agree' and 'somewhat agree'.

Findings of Relevance to LIFT Programme Implementation

The following findings should be considered for LIFT implementation purposes covering SLLC locations which are also providing improved RLAS services:

Registration of Land Transactions

- 32.1% of all transactions since SLLC took place in the sampled areas had been formally registered. The figures were 32.7% for MHH and 29.6% for FHH, with the difference not statistically significant.
- 31.4% of all households who had engaged in a transaction had registered a transaction, with the figure much higher in SNNP (35.9%) than Tigray (25%). There was no variation across male and female headed households or across poor and non-poor households in terms of likelihood of registering a transaction.
- While half of all households were 'non-poor', this was largely due to better off households in Tigray, where 55.2% of households listed were noted as 'the food rich'. The comparative figure for SNNP was only 29.3%. The likelihood of being involved in a transaction did not vary across poor and non-poor households. However, *registration* of a transaction was more likely for non-poor than poor households.
- 19.1% of all households engaged in transactions were female-headed. There was no variation in likelihood of registration across male- and female-headed households.
- 17.3% of all households had engaged in a transaction, with the figure much higher in SNNP (20.9%) than Tigray (13.9%).



Households Engaged in Transactions

- 389 transactions were submitted for registration by the 210 interviewed households.
- 85.2% of all households who had registered a transaction were male-headed.
- 13.3% of households who had registered a transaction had at least one member with a physical or mental disability. 12.4% had at least one member who had been ill at least three months over the past twelve.
- Some 60% of those who had registered a transaction were categorised as 'non-poor' by enumerators.
- Key reasons for registering transactions included 'knew required by law', 'to ensure formalisation of land use rights', 'avoid loss of land use rights', and 'the law regulates this type of transaction'.
- When asked how they learned about the need to register transactions, the KLAC was most commonly
 mentioned, followed by 'during social events', 'other kebele official', 'learned from neighbour', and
 'learned from family members'.
- A very high 85.2% learned during the SLLC process.
- 45.3% of all transactions involved renting, with the figure much higher for SNNP (62.7%) compared to Tigray (at only 19.1%). In Tigray, 59.5% of all transactions involved inheritance.
- The nature of transactions did not vary significantly across poor and non-poor households, save renting in and sharecropping in which was more common for non-poor households than poor households.
- For renting, the majority of those who registered rental transactions had used the New Land Rental Agreement. A key reason for doing so was to avoid risks associated with renting without a clear written agreement.

Process of Registration

- Most respondents submitted their application for a transaction to the Kebele Land Administration Committee (KLAC) or other kebele official. One-third had gone to one location and were thereafter referred to a second location, with almost 60% of respondents in Tigray referred to the WLAO, compared to only 6.3% in SNNP.
- Almost half of the respondents went to a land authority more than once to begin the process of registering a transaction, with one-quarter of those in Tigray having to go four or more times.
- In cases where a wife and husband both appeared on an SLLC certificate, in 13.3% of all cases the wife went to the land authority to register but was told that her husband had to be there as well; in 86.7% of all situations this was not the case.
- Only 28.6% of respondents reported that their transactions had been completed and the revised certificate received, ranging from 47.6% completed in Tigray to only 15.9% in SNNP. In part this may be due to the transaction not requiring a revised certificate (e.g., renting, sharecropping), but some of those who engaged in other transactions (e.g., inheritance) reported that they had not yet received their certificates.
- Only half were informed of how long the transaction process might take.
- For those households where at least one transaction was registered, 14.8% had engaged in another transaction but did not register it. However, 21 of the 31 cases were sharecropping, and many of these appeared to be among family members.
- The following reflects the percentage who 'strongly agree' and 'somewhat agree' with the statements, in these cases associated with the process of registration of transactions.
 - "It was clear from the beginning who we were supposed to take our certificate to register this transaction". 88.6%
 - o "We knew which types of transactions needed to be registered and which did not". 72.4%
 - "We are well aware of who in this kebele are involved in dealing with registering land transactions".
 86.2%
 - o "We were well informed of how to deal with land transactions through the media". 40.4%
 - o "I was treated with respect by those I interacted with". 90.5%
 - o "When I went there it took a great deal of time for them to work out what to do". 27.1%



- "When I went there it was not at all clear what I was supposed to do, and people were not helping me". 20.5%
- o "My request for a transaction was handled professionally by the persons I interacted with". 89.6%
- [If male took the transaction for registration] "Our household decided that it would be better for a
 male to take the application for a transaction to the land authorities because he would be more likely
 to be listened to, compared to a female household member". 17.1%
- o "I had to go back so many times to find out what was going on, and that was very frustrating". 22.9%
- o "No one seemed to be in charge, it was so confusing trying to find anything out". 17.7%
- "I was kept well informed of what was going on after I submitted the request for registering the transaction". 71.9%
- o "I was told accurately how long it would take for this transaction to be processed". 50%

Land Renting and Sharecropping Behaviours and Microfinance

- 17.7% of all households had rented in land since the arrival of SLLC, with the figure much higher in SNNP (21.1%) than in Tigray (10.6%). 12.3% had rented out land, with the figure also much higher in SNNP (16.8%) than in Tigray (2.8%).
 - Among those who had registered at least one transaction, a much higher 33.3% had rented in land.
 Similarly, a higher 17.6% had rented out land.
 - Of the 37 respondents who had rented out land, 25 had used the New Rental Agreement Form (and 12 had not). 24 of the 25 had done so because they felt that the Form helped reduce risk. The majority of land rented out was rented out to friends and neighbours, with only 6 of 37 cases involving renting out to non-family/non-neighbours.
 - For those who had rented in, in 53 of the 70 cases they used the New Rental Agreement Form (and 17 had not).
- Sharecropping, on the other hand, was far more common in Tigray than SNNP, while levels of sharecropping were higher than levels of renting. 26.2% sharecropped in land (47.3% Tigray, 16.2% SNNP), and 18.2% sharecropped out land (23.6% Tigray, 15.6% SNNP).
 - Those who had registered at least one transaction were equally likely to be involved in sharecropping, with 13.3% noting that they had sharecropped out land, and 29.5% sharecropping in land. 11 of the 38 cases of sharecropping out involved the use of the New Rental Agreement Form, as did a higher 28 out of 62 in the cases of sharecropping in.
- Households engaged in land renting were significantly more likely to have registered a transaction, consistent with the high proportion of all transactions involving applying for rented land. However, the opposite was true for sharecropping, where registration was less likely in households engaged in sharecropping.
- Male-headed households were significantly more likely to have rented in land than female-headed households (25.5% versus 9.7%), which also applied to sharecropping in land (42% versus 7.2%).
 Renting out land and especially sharecropping out land was far more common for female than male headed households (56.1% FHH, 18.2% MHH for sharecropping, 23.2% FHH, 14.7% MHH for renting).
- 10.1% of all households had sought credit or agricultural insurance since obtaining SLLC. An additional 13% had opened a savings account. Of the respondents that had tried to secure credit since SLLC took place, only 25% had used the SLLC certificate as a guarantee to secure credit (total of 5 households).
- All 210 interviewees were asked whether they were aware of the need for SLLC certificates to be current, with any transactions recorded, before the certificate could be used to secure individual credit. 35.7% of the respondents noted that they were aware of this. Of these 75 respondents, 34 noted that they considered just then when registering the transaction (and 41 did not).
- When asked whether this requirement for individual credit would encourage them to register any transaction, respondents were ambivalent, with half saying yes, some 40% saying no, and 12.9% saying 'do not know'.



- Awareness of the New Land Rental Agreement largely came from KLAC members.
- The following reflects the percentage who 'strongly agree' and 'somewhat agree' with the statements, in these cases associated with the process of registration of transactions.
 - "Having land rental agreement forms for renting out land has reduced the risks associated with renting out land to family members". 94.2%
 - "Having land rental agreement forms for sharecropping out land has reduced the risks associated with sharecropping out land to family members". 90.9%
 - "Having land rental agreement forms for renting out land has reduced the risks associated with renting out land to non-family members". 96.6%
 - "Having land rental agreement forms for sharecropping out land has reduced the risks associated with sharecropping out land to non-family members". 93.4%
 - "With Land Rental Agreements for either renting or sharecropping out land, women are even more likely to be taken advantage of by renters/sharecroppers". 22.3%
 - "With Land Rental Agreements for either renting or sharecropping out land, disputes are less likely".
 95.7%
 - "Even with these Land Rental Agreements, the fact remains that some activities are too minor or not profitable enough to require such a written agreement". 14.3%
 - "With these Land Rental Agreements, I am concerned that it is more likely that we'll be taxed more on land under these agreements". 18.1%

Non-Registered Transactions

As noted above, only 90 interviews were conducted with those households who had engaged in transactions but who did not register any of these transactions. Findings should therefore be treated as indicative. Where percentages are included, the number of respondents giving the response is also included.

- The 90 households had undertaken 147 transactions since SLLC.
- The pattern of the nature of transactions differed somewhat from those who registered transactions, with non-registered transaction households more likely to have been involved in sharecropping. The figures for non-registered transaction households were 31.1% sharecropping in, 28.9% sharecropping out, 22.2% renting in, and 8.9% renting out.
- When asked why the transaction was not registered, 'was with the family, so no need to register' and 'lack of information on how to proceed with registration' were most commonly mentioned, followed by 'did not know needed to do so', and 'did not feel any risk in transaction, so no need to register'.
- When asked about the key challenge in registering a transaction, half noted 'lack of information'. Not surprisingly, when asked what land authorities should do to ensure proper registration of transactions, 'provide more information' was most commonly mentioned (by 8 out of 10 respondents). Other responses included 'make it possible to do so in village', and 'make process simple'.
- Of the non-registered transactions, only a few included a written agreement between the two parties.
- Non-registered transaction respondents were equally likely to know that individual credit could only be secured if the SLLC certificate was up to date, including any transactions. Half had heard that certain transactions needed to be registered, including the types of transactions they had undertaken.

Conclusions

The constraints around registration do not appear to be overwhelming, with findings rather suggesting that accurate information, clear instructions and efficient processing would improve the situation significantly.

One-third of transactions had been registered, with renting a key motivating factor in registering the transaction, aimed at reducing risk. Transactions that took place within families (e.g., sharecropping, but not inheritance) were less likely to be seen to warrant registration, in part because there was little perceived risk, or because their transaction was not felt to be relevant to registration. Evidence from the 90 households who did not register transactions would suggest that lack of information on what required registration and what did not was a key factor limiting registration, coupled with confusing information on what transactions did *not* warrant registration. Within-family transactions around sharecropping and some renting, with low perceived risk, were



often not perceived to be relevant for registration (at least at the time that the transaction took place). This would suggest that households link the need for registering transactions with concerns about risks associated with the particular transactions.

Having said this, findings also suggest that better and more sustained information on the need for land registration would yield higher levels of registration, whatever the level of risk. It was rather a matter of understanding the rules.

Patterns of land use and the seeming value arising from a transaction did not appear to be a key determinant of why some transactions were registered and others were not. Rather, the emphasis was on the level of risk. In this respect, land rental agreements were highly valued.

Respondents were overwhelmingly positive about their experience in the registration process, despite multiple visits and the lack of timely feedback from the land authorities. This suggests high levels of current goodwill.

Little evidence emerged of differences across male- and female-headed households, but regional variation was considerable, and non-poor households tended to be more likely to register transactions compared to poor households.

The dramatic differences between the two regions, coupled with the high proportion of non-poor households engaged in transactions, suggests that a larger survey covering all four regions is warranted once the number of customers expands, and the population of customers becomes more diverse (in terms of poverty status, type of transaction, and geography, coupled with sufficient numbers of female-headed households engaged in transactions). It is expected that these criteria should be met by this time in 2018, allowing for an expanded survey of both customers and non-registered transaction customers, and in establishing updated figures for Outcome Indicator 1 that could then be accurately compared in 2020.



Introduction

This report presents findings from a listing exercise of more than 8600 households and a survey of 210 customers who had registered at least one land transaction following Second Level Land Certification (SLLC). It also includes the presentation of indicative data from a survey of 90 households that had carried out a land transaction but had not registered it (or them) with any land authority.

The identification of customers and non-registered transaction 'customers' came from a listing of the entire population of ten kebele in ten woreda in the LIFT Programme Area where RLAS services are most advanced and were therefore in a position to process land transactions involving SLLC certificates. These covered woreda in both Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) Regional State and Tigray Regional State. All of these kebele required full listing because of the need to identify a denominator of non-registered transactions and registered transactions with a numerator of registered transactions. Over 8600 households were listed, from which lists of customers and non-registered transaction 'customers' were derived, and random samples drawn for interview.

The Listing Survey allowed the calculation, using best available data, of the proportion of all transactions registered over the total number of all transactions to inform Outcome Indicator 1A: 'Percentage of land transactions which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme reached woreda in which RLAS is operational', as well as Outcome Indicator 1B: 'Percentage of land transactions made by female-headed households which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme reached woreda in which RLAS is operational'.

The Customer Satisfaction Survey allowed the calculation of Outcome Indicator 5 'Percentage of households who registered a formal transaction who are satisfied with land administration services in certified woreda disaggregated by gender'. The figure was provided for customer households overall, and findings for maleheaded and female-headed households.

Overview of the LIFT Programme's SLLC Activities

Second level land certification (SLLC) involves public meetings and information dissemination followed by direct engagement with land holders. The SLLC process uses orthophoto imagery to produce high resolution maps on which landholders, assisted by trained field teams, identify their parcel boundaries in the field in the presence of their neighbours, Kebele Land Administration Committee (KLAC) members, and village elders. This results in 'crowd-sourced' boundaries. Thereafter these data are computerised at the *woreda* level by the LIFT technical support teams. After verification, these data are further processed and approved for inclusion on a register of land rights. Hard copy certificates demonstrating the parcel boundaries, occupancy and land rights are printed and made available to landholders.

LIFT-supported SLLC is taking place in 140 *woredas* across the four highland regional states of Tigray, Amhara, Oromia and Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP). All rural *kebeles* in each *woreda* will complete the certification process by the time LIFT has completed its responsibilities³. SLLC takes an average of 37 weeks to complete a *woreda*. As of the end of August 2017 approximately 5.7 million parcels had been demarcated, 4.2 million certificates had been approved by Woreda Land Offices, and 3 million certificates had been collected with support from the LIFT Programme.

Methods and Approach

An abbreviated questionnaire was employed for the Listing Survey. This Listing Survey was employed to calculate the numerator and denominator for registered transactions compared to all transactions, and also to establish the percentage of all households who had engaged in any transaction, registered or not. It was also used as an opportunity to obtain basic socio-demographic information.

A separate questionnaire was developed to be administered to customers who had registered at least one transaction, with sections shared with (and one section separate for) those who had engaged in transactions but who had not registered the transaction.

Because of the need to inform Outcome Indicator 1, it was not sufficient to obtain lists of customers and conduct interviews. Rather, a mechanism was required to establish the total number of households that had engaged

³ Unless political, social or other factors make this impractical, in which case work is suspended until the matter is resolved.



in transactions, compared to the total population of all households in a defined area. While it was originally hoped that enumeration area data would be made available from which to sample, no enumeration area maps were available from the census conducted a decade ago. Further, it quickly became evident that the proportion of all households who had engaged in transactions since SLLC had taken place was a relatively small number, and that listing at enumeration area level would not yield sufficient numbers of households for effective estimates. Rather, a system needed to be found to list sufficient households to yield sufficient numbers of households engaged in transactions, and then registering transactions, to be able to pull a sample. The problem of insufficient numbers of transactions meant that it would either be necessary to list entire woredas, at enormous cost and over a considerable period of time or identify kebele where upon completion sufficient numbers of transactions would be found.

To do this, the teams asked WLAOs to identify those kebele where they felt that most transactions would have taken place, to ensure that Outcome 1 could be populated. Of the ten kebele identified, three proved to be poor choices; in one case, only a single household was found that had engaged in a transaction after listing the entire kebele. All three were substituted.

In the end, over 8600 households were listed and enumerated as per the Listing Questionnaire. From this, an equal probability sample was pulled of 210 customers for interview, with a probability proportionate to population allowing the data to be analysed without data weighting. An additional 90 'customers' who did not register their transactions were also interviewed and asked questions around why they had not registered their transaction(s). This sample was too small to be representative of the population of non-registered 'customers', and the findings are therefore indicative. Once the population of customers, and 'transactors', is large enough, a larger sample survey can be conducted to yield updated data for outcome indicators 1 and 5.

Training, pre-testing, piloting and a management team retreat to review pilot results all preceded field data collection. The questionnaire was translated into Amharic in an early version prior to training, updated during training, and translated into Tigrinya prior to finalisation in three languages (including English) relevant for SNNP and Tigray.

Each field team comprised 1 Field Supervisor, 4 Enumerators, and 1 Driver. Two Quality Control Officers supervised the field teams. Each data collection team was headed by a Supervisor, with the four SNNP teams supported and overseen by one Quality Control Officer and the two Tigray teams overseen and supported by the other Quality Control Officer. Every questionnaire was checked, by the Enumerator her/himself and by the Supervisor, before spot checking by the Quality Control Officer.

Data were collected on tablets, and cases loaded onto a server in Addis Ababa. The management of that database was handled by the Data Manager from Abcon. Data cleaning took place during entry, and final cleaning took place using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

Analysis of the quantitative data was conducted by the ITSP using SPSS. This analysis has informed this report.

The dataset and the associated codebook have been made available to the EETSP for further analysis to inform the Theory of Change and Impact Assessment.

The qualitative comparability of the surveyed kebele with the LIFT Programme kebele was considered by using the baseline survey from 2015. Key measures reflect similarities between households in the baseline and the households in the selected kebele in the Listing Survey and the CSS/NRTS Survey, with the exception of poverty rankings:

- Mean number of parcels: Tigray 4.73 baseline, 4.47 listing survey; SNNP 2.30 baseline; 2.38 listing survey.
- Poor versus non-poor: Tigray 83.1% poor baseline, 52.6% poor listing survey; SNNP 78.5% poor baseline, 64% poor listing survey.
- Gender of household head: Tigray 77.9% male baseline, 82.7% listing survey; SNNP 79.2% baseline, 79.7% listing survey.
- Main source of income (for baseline for adults on average, for CSS respondent's assessment of household overall; percent refers to 'production, use, and sale of food crops and livestock'): Tigray 86.6% baseline, 81% CSS survey; SNNP 73.2% baseline, 74.6% CSS survey.



Logframe Questions

Introduction

The Listing Questionnaire responded to Outcome Indicator 1, while the CSS/NRTS Questionnaire responded to Outcome Indicator 5. This section elaborates the key findings noted in the executive summary above, repeated here:

Outcome Indicator 1A: Percentage of land transactions which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme woreda in which RLAS is operational

Outcome Indicator 1B: Percentage of land transactions made by female-headed households which are formally registered in RLAS in Programme woreda in which RLAS is operational

1A: Percentage formally registered: 32.1%

1B: Percentage FHH formally registered: 29.6% (MHH 32.7%)

Outcome Indicator 5: Percentage of households who registered a formal transaction who are satisfied with land administration services in certified woredas disaggregated by gender

Households Overall: 87.7%

FHH: too small to calculate percentage, but of 31 respondents, 26 were either 'strongly' or 'somewhat' satisfied.

MHH: 88.2%

Outcome Indicator 1

As noted above, Outcome Indicator 1 was divided into two components, one for the population overall, and separately for female-headed households.

The measurement of this indicator required a listing of the full population of households in a specified geographical area. As explained under 'methods' above, the relatively low number of transactions required that sufficient numbers of interviewees be identified (that is, customers who had registered transactions) to inform Outcome Indicator 5. Ideally it would have been best to list the entire woreda, but the cost implications of doing so made this activity prohibitive. Further, the timeline for the mid-term review made such a listing impractical, even if it was possible financially. For these reasons, in the 10 LIFT woreda with the longest functioning RLAS services, woreda land officials were asked to identify which kebele in their woreda likely had the highest number of transactions (*not* registered transactions, rather simply transactions). Field listings that took place thereafter found that 7 of the 10 kebele indeed had customers, while 3 did not, requiring the listing of 3 additional kebele where sufficient numbers were found. The findings from this survey of customers are therefore representative of the kebele where listings have taken place and can be seen as indicative findings for the woredas overall⁴.

The numerator and denominator refer to the number of *transactions* registered, rather than the number of households, as households may have engaged in more than one transaction. Information was also obtained on the number of households engaged in transactions and, of that, the proportion of households who had registered at least one transaction. Findings are summarised in the following figures:

⁴ As the number of customers grows significantly between 2017 and 2018, and as the number of woreda offering RLAS services grows, a second survey with a larger sample size is recommended. Further, this survey can rely on updated census data, allowing the selection and listing of households at enumeration area level across all kebele in each of the RLAS service providing woreda. This will yield an updated, and accurate, finding for Outcome Indicator 1 (A and B), and will also yield a larger sample size for both customers who registered transactions and customers who did not register transactions.



Non-Poor

50.0 40.0 32.1 32.7 29.6 30.2 33.8 25.8 20.0 10.0

Figure 1: Registration Overall, By Gender of Household Head, By Region, and by Poverty Status

* Registration of transactions significantly higher for SNNP than Tigray, for non-poor than poor; no variation across gender of household head.

Tigray

SNNP

Poor

FHH

While propensity to register varied across region and poverty status, the key finding here for the Logframe was no variation across male versus female headed households in terms of likelihood of registering a transaction (chi-square insignificant at the .1 level; 1.357, p=.244). This also held when considering the number of transactions registered, which also did not vary across male and female headed households (chi-square insignificant at the .1 level; 1.462, p=.227).

In terms of the *types* of transactions registered, a question was asked to the 210 customers who came from households that had registered at least one transaction. Findings by type of transaction are indicated in the following figure:

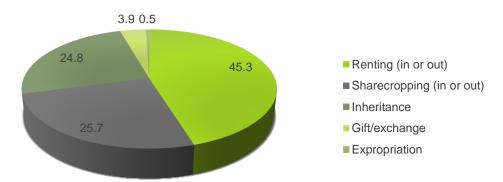


Figure 2: Types of Transactions Registered

By far the most common registered transactions related to renting (at almost half of all transactions) and sharecropping (over one-quarter). In over 90% of all cases of a registered transaction, the parcel involved was devoted to dryland agriculture, with only 6.7% referring to an irrigated parcel. A high 85.2% had heard about the need for registration during the SLLC process. While the numbers are small for female-headed households, patterns were similar to male-headed households.

Outcome Indicator 5

0.0

Overall

MHH

Outcome Indicator 5 focuses on customer satisfaction for those who registered a transaction, and therefore engaged with land authorities. 210 customers were interviewed, interviewing those who directly engaged with the land authorities in the case of a particular transaction.

The specific question relevant to this indicator was an attitudinal scale statement that followed a series of more specific statements. While the indicator refers to 'by gender', the number of female-headed households in the sample of 210 was such that percentages on the agreement scale could not be provided. However, the relevant numbers are included in the table below:



Figure 3: Outcome 5 Attitudinal Scale Statement

Desmanas		Merged		
Responses	;	#	9/	6
"Overall, I am satisfied with the land services I have received in relation to registering this formal transaction"				
Strongly agree	1	15	54	1.8
Somewhat agree	6	9	32	2.9
Somewhat disagree	1	5	7.	.1
Strongly disagree	1	1	5.	.2
"Overall, I am satisfied with the land services I have received in relation to registering	MHH		FHH	
this formal transaction" (by gender of household head)	#	%	#	%
Strongly agree	98	54.7	17	na
Somewhat agree	60	33.5	9	na
Somewhat disagree	13	7.3	2	na
Strongly disagree	8	4.5	3	na

Combining 'strongly agree' and 'somewhat agree', and 87.7% of customers were satisfied with the services provided. Other attitudinal scale statements that helped inform an understanding of the responses to this measure are summarised in the following figure. Here the percentage of customers who give a 'positive' response is tallied, meaning that for negative statements the two 'disagree' responses are combined into one 'positive' statement, while for positive statements, the two 'agree' responses are combined.

Each column title refers to the core aspect of the attitudinal statement:

100.0 90.5 89.6 88.6 86.1 86.2 90.0 78.1 0.08 72.4 71.9 71.5 70.0 60.0 50.0 50.0 40.0 30.0 20.0 10.0 0.0 Respected Efficient Professional Know Who in Clarity Accurate Info Aware Aware Informed Not Transaction on Timing Process Kebele Frustrated Need Register

Figure 4: Attitudinal Scale Statement: % 'Positive' Responses

Findings with the various, more specific attitudinal scale statements are consistent with the overall finding on level of positive attitudes about their customer experience. Respondents did note that media channels were not commonly used to inform them on land issues, including which transactions required registration nor what channels to use, while 75.7% disagreed with the statement (asked of those who had a male take the transaction in for registration) "our household decided that it would be better for a male to take the application for a transaction to the land authorities because he would be more likely to be listened to, compared to a female household member".

Household Engagement in Transactions

Introduction

This section covers the household engagement in registered transactions, and how this differed across types of households.



Household Registration of Transactions

A total of 8607 households were enumerated in the ten kebele in the ten woreda in the survey. Of these, 90% held land, and were therefore eligible for interview. 17.3% of land holding households eligible for interview were engaged in land transactions since SLLC (13.9% Tigray, 20.9% SNNP).

Of these 17.3% of all households, 31.4% had registered at least one of these transactions (25% Tigray, 35.9% SNNP). Tallying up the total number of transactions by all households involved in transactions, including both registered and unregistered transactions, and 32.1% of all transactions conducted following SLLC had been registered (30.2% Tigray, 33.8% SNNP).

80.9% of all households in the Listing Survey households were male-headed (82.7% Tigray, 79.7% SNNP), compared to 19.1% female-headed. For *customer* households, that is, households that had registered at least one transaction, 86.9% in Tigray and 84.1% in SNNP (and 85.2% overall) were male-headed, with female-headed households slightly less likely to appear as customers compared to their presence in the population overall.

The baseline survey conducted in 2015 found that 6.8% of all LIFT Programme Area surveyed households had at least one member with a physical or mental disability, while 13.3% of households with customers in the CSS Survey had at least one member with a disability. The baseline survey found that 7.3% of all LIFT Programme Area surveyed households had at least one member with a chronic illness, compared to 12.4% for customer households. The baseline survey found that 17% of those in Tigray and 25.9% of those in SNNP had low food stocks, compared to 13.1% for Tigray and 24.6% for those in SNNP in the CSS Survey.

At household level, there was no difference between engagement in transactions and poverty status for the Listing Survey, at 16.7% for 'poor' and 17.9% for 'non-poor'. However, the *registration* of transactions did vary, with the figure significantly higher for non-poor (37.1%) than poor (25.8%) households. In part the difference appears to be due to the higher proportion of sharecropping arrangements among poorer households that were not seen to need to be registered, especially as the vast majority involved sharecropping among family members and friends. Non-poor households tended to be more likely to be involved in rental transactions that were felt to need more of a 'guarantee' of the agreement.

Renting and Sharecropping and Registering Transactions

Renting and sharecropping varied considerably across Tigray and SNNP, with 10.6% renting in land and 2.8% renting out land in Tigray, compared to 21.1% renting in and 16.8% renting out land in SNNP. For sharecropping in, the difference was even more pronounced, at 47.3% for Tigray and 16.2% for SNNP.

Those who had rented in or out land were significantly more likely to have registered a transaction, at 33.2% for households who had registered a transaction compared to only 17.6% for those who had not for renting in; for renting out, the comparable figures were 23.8% and 12.9%. For sharecropping, however, the opposite was the case, with those not registering transactions more likely to be engaged in sharecropping (sharecropping in 21.5% for households registering a transaction, compared to 41.7% for households that had not; for sharecropping out, the comparable figures were 13.8% versus 30.7%).

Non-poor households were also significantly more likely to be engaged in renting in than poor households. 26.2% of non-poor households had rented in land, compared to 11.7% of poor households. This did not hold for renting out, where poor households were more likely to rent out than non-poor households (10.2% for non-poor households, 13.9% for poor households). Similarly, female-headed households were more likely to have rented out land than male-headed households (23.2% compared to 14.7%, respectively). Renting in land, on the other hand, was more common for male-headed households (25.5%) than female-headed households (9.7%). The same pattern held for sharecropping, with female-headed households more likely to sharecrop out land (56.1% for FHH, 18.2% for MHH), and less likely to sharecrop in land (7.2% FHH, 42% MHH).

In SNNP, land renting was sufficiently common to measure use of the New Land Rental Agreement Form for renting. Fully 83.5% of all renting transactions were used in cases of registered land transactions involving renting. In the majority of these cases, the Agreement Form was used due to a desire to reduce the risk of renting transactions; this was not the case for sharecropping.



Types of Registered Transactions

The type of transaction registered varied considerably across region, as indicated in the following figure:

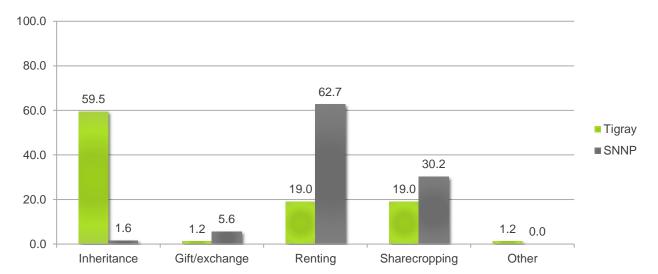


Figure 5: Type of Transaction Registered by Region

Renting was considerably more likely to form the majority of registered transactions in SNNP, compared to inheritance issues in Tigray. Transaction types could not be measured for female-headed households due to small numbers, but the pattern of responses did not differ from male-headed households.

Processing of Registering Transactions

Introduction

This section covers the process of engagement in registration of transactions, from awareness of the need to do to, so the reasons for doing so, to engagement in different stages in the process.

Awareness

A high 85.2% of all respondents learned about the need to register certain types of transactions during the SLLC process, ranging from 95.2% in Tigray to 78.6% in SNNP. The main sources of information (with multiple responses given) were noted as the Kebele Land Administration Committee (KLAC), at 71%, 'during social events' (31%), 'through other kebele officials' (30.5%), 'learned from neighbour' (25.7%), to 'learned from family member' (21.4%); this did not vary significant across regional state. Woreda officials were not commonly mentioned in either Tigray or SNNP, nor were media channels (at only 7.1%).

Reasons for Registering a Transaction

When asked why they had decided to register a transaction, almost half noted the legal requirement to do so, 21% noted the importance of formalising a use right, and 20% noted the importance of doing so to avoid losing use rights. Here again this did not vary considerably across regional state, although compliance with the law was somewhat more commonly mentioned in Tigray than in SNNP.

Process Measures

Almost half of the customers had to go to the land authority more than once to start the process of registering a transaction. In Tigray, 25.1% had to go four or more times to successfully start the process.

In most cases the male head led the process of registering a transaction (or female head for female-headed households), while in half of all cases this person was assisted by a second household member, usually the spouse.

In over 90% of all cases in Tigray and in 40% of all cases in SNNP, more than one official was involved in the transaction from the land authority.

A very high 60.7% of all those involved in transactions in Tigray had to go to a woreda land office to register the transaction, in 94.1% of these cases because they were referred to do so by the KLAC or other kebele official. For SNNP, the situation was dramatically different, as only 6.3% went to the woreda.



The following figure shows the low number of transactions that were registered, and updated certificates returned to the land holder:

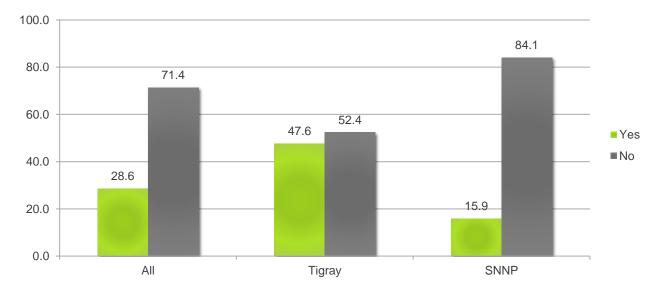


Figure 6: Transaction Registered and Revised Certificate Received

Only 15.9% of those in SNNP who had submitted a transaction to the land authorities had received the revised certificate showing the change. This was a much higher 47.6% in Tigray, but only gives an average of 28.6% received. The figure may in part arise due to the nature of the transactions, with rental and sharecropping arrangements handled by an agreed form rather than a revised certificate. However, the findings did not vary across renting/sharecropping and other transactions and would appear to mean that there is a lack of clarity on the process.

The majority of respondents submitted their request for a transaction at kebele level, as shown in the following figure:

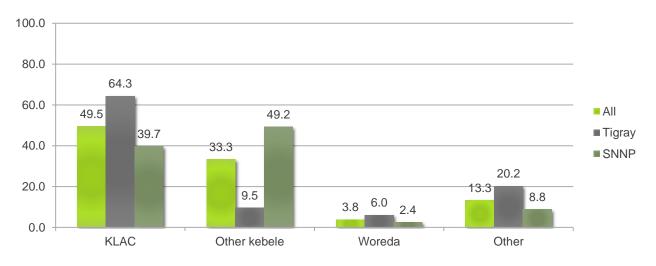


Figure 7: Where Submit Transaction Request

Two-thirds of the respondents in Tigray took their request to the KLAC, while those in SNNP tended to take their applications to other kebele officials or KLAC members. This doesn't mean that the applicants didn't try and submit elsewhere, as one-quarter did just this, normally within the kebele itself. Overall, the link to relevant kebele land authorities was felt to be clear, with almost 90% of customers agreeing with the statement "it was clear from the beginning who we were supposed to take our certificate to register this transaction".

Only half of the respondents were given information on how long the process was expected to take, ranging from 57.1% in Tigray to a lower 42.9% in SNNP. Over one-quarter were not sure what types of transactions required registration, although three-quarters argued that they were aware both which ones required registration and which ones did not. The media was not a common channel of information. Rather, the SLLC process and engagement with kebele authorities were most commonly mentioned.



Satisfaction with Process

As noted in the executive summary, 87.7% of respondents were satisfied with the process of registering a land transaction, holding across a wide range of situations (e.g., received revised certificate back, number of visits to land authorities, referring to woreda).

More specific findings are given in the following table. The attitudinal scale statements included both 'positive' and 'negative' comments to help avoid patterned responses:

Table 1: Attitudinal Scale Statements

	Merged		
Responses	#	%	
"It was clear from the beginning who we were supposed to take our certificate to registe	er this transaction"		
Strongly agree	113	53.8	
Somewhat agree	73	34.8	
Somewhat disagree	20	9.5	
Strongly disagree	4	1.9	
"We knew which types of transactions needed to be registered and which did not"			
Strongly agree	80	38.1	
Somewhat agree	72	34.3	
Somewhat disagree	42	20.0	
Strongly disagree	15	7.1	
"We are well aware of who in this kebele are involved in dealing with registering land tra	ansactions."		
Strongly agree	112	53.3	
Somewhat agree	69	32.9	
Somewhat disagree	24	11.4	
Strongly disagree	4	1.9	
"We were well informed of how to deal with land transactions through the media".			
Strongly agree	36	17.1	
Somewhat agree	49	23.3	
Somewhat disagree	50	23.8	
Strongly disagree	74	35.2	
Statements About Direct Interaction with Land Authorities			
"I was treated with respect by those I interacted with"			
Strongly agree	113	53.8	
Somewhat agree	77	36.7	
Somewhat disagree	14	6.7	
Strongly disagree	4	1.9	
"When I went there it took a great deal of time for them to work out what to do"			
Strongly agree	21	10.0	
Somewhat agree	36	17.1	
Somewhat disagree	51	24.3	
Strongly disagree	98	46.7	
"When I went there it was not at all clear what I was supposed to do, and people were r	not helping me"		
Strongly agree	12	5.7	
Somewhat agree	31	14.8	
Somewhat disagree	54	25.7	
Strongly disagree	111	52.9	
"My request for a transaction was handled professionally by the persons I interacted wit	th"		
Strongly agree	107	51.0	
Somewhat agree	81	38.6	
Somewhat disagree	14	6.7	
Strongly disagree	6	2.9	
"My request for a transaction was handled efficiently by the persons I interacted with"			
Strongly agree	103	49.0	
Somewhat agree	78	37.1	
Somewhat disagree	17	8.1	
Strongly disagree	10	4.8	



		Merged	
Responses	#	%	
[If male took the transaction for registration] "Our household decided that it would be be-			
for a transaction to the land authorities because he would be more likely to be listened	to, compared to a fe	male household	
member"			
Strongly agree	8	3.8	
Somewhat agree	28	13.3	
Somewhat disagree	36	17.1	
Strongly disagree	123	58.6	
Statements About the Period After Registration			
"I had to go back so many times to find out what was going on, and that was very frus	trating"		
Strongly agree	26	12.4	
Somewhat agree	22	10.5	
Somewhat disagree	27	12.9	
Strongly disagree	123	58.6	
Not applicable (did not go back)	9	4.3	
Do not know	3	1.4	
"No one seemed to be in charge, it was so confusing trying to find anything out"			
Strongly agree	10	4.8	
Somewhat agree	27	12.9	
Somewhat disagree	37	17.6	
Strongly disagree	127	60.5	
Not applicable (did not go back)	9	4.3	
"I was kept well informed of what was going on after I submitted the request for registering the transaction			
Strongly agree	64	30.5	
Somewhat agree	87	41.4	
Somewhat disagree	28	13.3	
Strongly disagree	24	11.4	
Not applicable (did not go back)	7	3.3	
"I was told accurately how long it would take for this transaction to be processed"			
Strongly agree	60	28.6	
Somewhat agree	45	21.4	
Somewhat disagree	43	20.5	
Strongly disagree	57	27.1	
Not applicable (did not go back)	5	2.4	

Findings point to high levels of satisfaction with the process of registering a transaction.

Land Renting and Sharecropping Behaviours, Use of the New Form for Renting, and Microfinance

Introduction

This section presents findings of specific interest to the M4P component of the LIFT Programme.

Land Renting and Sharecropping Behaviours

The EEU component of the LIFT Programme includes an effort to facilitate the formalisation of rental and sharecropping arrangements to ensure that agreed terms are honoured, and to reduce disputes. Land renting and sharecropping behaviours in the past year are summarised in the following figure:



80.0
40.0
40.0
20.0
All Tigray SNNP MHH FHH Poor Non-Poor

Figure 8: Land Renting and Sharecropping Behaviours in the Year Before the Survey

Overall, 17.7% of all households in the Listing Survey had rented in land in the year before the survey, 12.3% had rented out, 26.2% had sharecropped in, and 18.2% had sharecropped out. Patterns were considerably different across regions, with renting far more common in SNNP than in Tigray, where sharecropping dominated. Female-headed households were more likely to rent or sharecrop out than male-headed households, while renting in and sharecropping in were more common among non-poor than poor households.

While only 90 cases, those households who did not register transactions tended to be more likely to sharecrop land, although renting, while less common, was the next most common transaction. For sharecropping, there was felt to be no need to register a transaction, coupled with a lack of information on requirements.

Rental and sharecropping arrangements were checked against whether the particular household had engaged in a transaction, and whether that transaction had been registered or not (this excludes all non-transacting households):



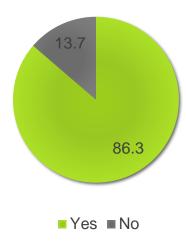
Figure 9: Renting and Sharecropping Arrangements by Land Registration

In all four situations, there were significant differences between households that registered transactions and those who did not. Renting was more commonly registered than not registered, while the opposite was the case for sharecropping.

Those households who had registered at least one transaction were asked whether they had used the New Standard Land Rental Contract, covering both the form for renting and the form for sharecropping. Unfortunately, the numbers were too small to allow breaking data down by region or other measures, so the findings here present percentage breakdown where possible, and numbers where necessary. Overall use of the land rental agreement for renting is summarised in the following figure:



Figure 10: Use of Land Rental Agreement for Rental Transaction



Almost all households engaged in land renting had used the New Standard Form. This held for all 16 cases of renting in Tigray Regional State, as it did for 66 of 79 cases in SNNP. For sharecropping, use of the New Standard Form was less common, at 36 out of 53 cases, but it did apply for 15 out of 16 cases in Tigray. The decision to register a rental transaction was at least in part due to a concern about the risk of not having an approved agreement, at 80%. Risk was less commonly noted for sharecropping, at 31 out of 54 cases, likely because most sharecropping arrangements were with family members.

Eight attitudinal scale statements were read to customers and they were asked to consider whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, and how strongly. These findings are reproduced in the table below:

Table 2: Attitudes Towards Use of Standard Contract Form

D	Mer	ged
Responses	#	
"Having Land Rental Agreement Forms for Renting out land has reduced the risks associmembers"	iated with renting o	ut land to family
Strongly agree	137	65.2
Somewhat agree	61	29.0
Somewhat disagree	3	1.4
Strongly disagree	0	0.0
Do not know	9	4.3
"Having Land Rental Agreement Forms for Sharecropping out land has reduced the ris out land to family members"	sks associated with	n sharecropping
Strongly agree	121	57.6
Somewhat agree	70	33.3
Somewhat disagree	6	2.9
Strongly disagree	2	1.0
Do not know	11	5.2
"Having Land Rental Agreement Forms for Renting out land has reduced the risks asso family members"	ciated with renting	out land to non-
Strongly agree	141	67.1
Somewhat agree	62	29.5
Somewhat disagree	1	0.5
Strongly disagree	0	0.0
Do not know	6	2.9
"Having Land Rental Agreement Forms for Sharecropping out land has reduced the ris out land to non-family members"	sks associated with	n sharecropping
Strongly agree	127	60.5
Somewhat agree	69	32.9
Somewhat disagree	4	1.9
Strongly disagree	0	0.0
Do not know	10	4.8



Decreases	Merged		
Responses	#	%	
"With Land Rental Agreements for either renting or sharecropping out land, women advantage of by renters/ sharecroppers"	"With Land Rental Agreements for either renting or sharecropping out land, women are even more likely to be taken advantage of by renters/ sharecroppers"		
Strongly agree	28	13.3	
Somewhat agree	19	9.0	
Somewhat disagree	41	19.5	
Strongly disagree	116	55.2	
Do not know	6	2.9	
"With Land Rental Agreements for either renting or sharecropping out land, disputes are	e less likely"		
Strongly agree	129	61.4	
Somewhat agree	72	34.3	
Somewhat disagree	3	1.4	
Strongly disagree	0	0.0	
Do not know	6	2.9	
"Even with these Land Rental Agreements, the fact remains that some activities are too minor or not profitable enough to require such a written agreement"			
Strongly agree	10	4.8	
Somewhat agree	20	9.5	
Somewhat disagree	25	11.9	
Strongly disagree	149	71.0	
Do not know	6	2.9	
"With these Land Rental Agreements, I am concerned that it is more likely that we'll be agreements"	e taxed more on la	and under these	
Strongly agree	14	6.7	
Somewhat agree	24	11.4	
Somewhat disagree	45	21.4	
Strongly disagree	113	53.8	
Do not know	14	6.7	

Consistent with the finding about risk, 94.2% of respondents agreed with the statement "having Land Rental Agreement Forms for renting out land has reduced the risks associated with renting out land to family members", and 96.6% agreed with the same statement referring to non-family members. Findings were similar for sharecropping, although agreement was less strong than for renting. Dispute avoidance was also felt to be an important outcome. While it was hypothesised that respondents may feel less strongly about this in the case of 'less profitable' land uses, this proved not to be the case, with 71% 'strongly disagreeing' and 11.9% 'somewhat disagreeing' with a statement the forms would not be necessary for less profitable land.

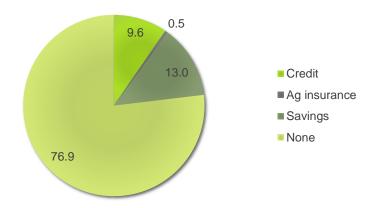
There were no patterns of variation in attitudinal scale statement responses and region, gender of household head, or poverty status.



Microfinance and Savings

Questions were included on access to micro-finance, and whether the SLLC certificate was used to secure credit. Access to finance is included in the following figure:

Figure 11: Access to Credit, Agricultural Credit, or Having a Savings Account



One quarter had accessed some form of finance since SLLC. For those who had accessed credit or agricultural insurance, only 5 of the 21 had used the SLLC certificate to secure the finance.

All customers were presented with the following statement: "Micro-finance organisations require that second level certificates are issued, and that any follow-on transactions are registered and therefore that the holding status of the parcel is current, before they can consider an application for an individual loan (that is, a household or individuals in the household). Are you aware of this?" One-third (35.7%) of the respondents were aware; the findings for non-registered transaction customers were the same (30%). Of these, 34 of the 75 households who were aware noted that they considered this when they decided to register a transaction. Given the above, respondents were asked whether the ability to use an SLLC certificate would make it more or less likely for them to access finance. Respondents were ambivalent in this regard, with half arguing that it would make things more likely, and half noting it would not make any difference, or would make them less likely to