



Climate-Smart Agriculture

Enhancing Resilient Agricultural Systems, Landscapes, and Livelihoods in Ethiopia and Beyond

Kiros Meles Hadgu, Badege Bishaw, Miyuki Iiyama, Emiru Birhane,
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ISBN: 978-9966-108-24-1

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Published by:

World Agroforestry (ICRAF)
United Nations Avenue
PO Box 30677, GPO 00100
Nairobi, Kenya

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Suggested citation:

Climate-Smart Agriculture: Enhancing Resilient Agricultural Systems, Landscapes, and Livelihoods in Ethiopia and Beyond. 2019. Kiros Meles Hadgu, Badege Bishaw, Miyuki Iiyama, Emiru Birhane, Aklilu Negussie, Caryn M. Davis, and Bryan Bernart, Editors. World Agroforestry (ICRAF), Nairobi, Kenya.

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Cover photo: Central Tigray region landscape, Northern Ethiopia. Photo credit: Aklilu Negussie Mekuria.

Graphic design: Caryn M. Davis, Cascadia Editing, Philomath, Oregon, USA. Email: cascadia.editing@gmail.com

16. Constraining the Constraints: Factors Affecting Farmers' Investment in Climate-Smart Land Management

Zenebe Adimassu*

Summary

Increased agricultural productivity and food security in Ethiopia are highly dependent on the status of the natural resource base and how natural resources are managed. Available evidence suggests that climate change coupled with land degradation expressed in the forms of soil erosion and nutrient depletion, among others, present threats to food security and the sustainability of agricultural production in Ethiopia. Reversing land degradation on one hand while improving land productivity on the other lies at the heart of the broader imperative for sustainable agricultural production under smallholder agriculture. Despite decreasing land productivity, increasing land degradation, and climatic and socioeconomic changes (e.g., population growth), farmers' widespread adoption of climate-smart land management (CSLM) technologies, practices, and investments is limited. This chapter discusses several key biophysical, social, economic, and policy constraints that affect farmers' investments in the adoption of CSLM technologies and practices. These constraints are classified into three broad categories: capacity to invest (e.g., landholding, labor, finance, and physical capital); incentives to invest (e.g., net and relative returns, risks, discount rate, and biophysical factors); and external factors (e.g., technology, extension services, land policy, political instability, and infrastructure programs) to better contribute to guiding and facilitating a design of informed policies. Finally, the chapter concludes that there is a need for co-investments from multilevel stakeholders in order to achieve the objectives of CSLM in Ethiopia. These actions will, therefore, enhance agricultural production and food security of smallholders while contributing to the climate change adaptation and mitigation agenda.

Keywords: constraints, land management, investments, stakeholders, determinants

16.1 Introduction

Most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) depend on the natural resources base for their food, social, and environmental security (Shiferaw and Holden 2001). Because of different human-caused and natural disasters, many countries in SSA are increasingly experiencing the impacts of climate change, which severely affect agricultural production, and consequently, food and nutrition security (Reij and Smaling 2008). Available evidence further suggests that land degradation in the form of soil erosion and nutrient depletion presents an increasing threat to the productivity and sustainability of agricultural production in SSA (Lal 1985, Lal and Singh 1995, Reij and Smaling 2008).

The impacts of land degradation, coupled with climate change, on agricultural production and livelihoods are especially severe in Ethiopia, whose agriculture sector is dominated by rainfed, resource-constrained smallholder systems (Shiferaw and Holden 2000, Descheemaeker et al. 2006, Kassie et al. 2008). Smallholder farmers in Ethiopia are, therefore, urged to take immediate actions to reverse the threats of land degradation and adapt to climate change in order to improve land productivity, which lies at the heart of the broader imperative for sustainable agricultural production (Barrett et al. 2006). In addressing land degradation and climate change challenges, governmental and non-governmental agencies have so far invested substantial resources in promoting sustainable land management practices (Adimassu et al. 2018). These practices, considered climate-smart land management (CSLM) practices, have been expected to contribute to rehabilitating degraded lands; ensuring sustainable and increased agricultural production (Nyssen et al. 2000);

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mitigating climate change impacts; ensuring economic growth; and reducing poverty (Deininger and Ali 2008). Unfortunately, however, the capacity of Ethiopia's farmers to adopt CSLM has been generally limited over the past decades (Reardon and Vosti 1995, Reardon et al. 1996, Adimassu et al. 2012).

There are many complex and interrelated issues that contribute to the current limited investment in CSLM in Ethiopia (Pender and Kerr 1998, Deressa et al. 2008, Bryan et al. 2009, Reardon and Vosti 1995, Reardon et al. 1996). There have been several studies which attempted to identify major factors affecting farmers' capacity for investments in CSLM (e.g., Adimassu et al. 2015, Adimassu et al. 2012, Amsalu and De Graaff 2006, De Graaff et al. 2008, Kassie et al. 2008, Shiferaw and Holden 2000). The identified factors included the characteristics of households (e.g., gender, education, experience, etc.), characteristics of plots (e.g., size, slope, fertility condition, etc.), and policies and institutional support (e.g., land tenure, access to training, etc.). However, the results were often inconsistent, while much evidence remains undocumented.

Concrete evidence is needed to guide and facilitate a design of informed policies. This chapter attempts to present a comprehensive synthesis of evidence on the factors that affect farmers' investments in CSLM practices in Ethiopia by reviewing study reports and other sources. This chapter proposes to classify these factors into three major categories: incentive to invest, capacity to invest, and external factors (Figure 16.1), which could enhance adoption of CSLM technologies and practices in Ethiopia.

16.2 Incentives to Invest in Climate-Smart Land Management

For farm households to invest in CSLM, they need to have incentives, such as economic benefits from the investment. Incentives, specific to the households' investment, depend on net returns/profitability of investments, relative returns, riskiness, the households-specific discount rate, and the biophysical environment (Reardon and Vosti 1995, Reardon et al. 1996, Clay et al. 1998), which will be reviewed and discussed respectively.

16.2.1 Net returns

Net return is one of the most important factors governing investments in land management technologies (Pampel and van Es 1977, Ervin and Ervin 1982). If the costs of land management practices exceed the short- and long-term benefits, then farmers have no incentive to adopt the

technologies (Camboni and Napier 1994, Cary 1994). Net return of a given investment depends on the yield and input requirements per unit of output and the prices of inputs and outputs. Leaving aside the question of capacity constraints, the better the net return of a potential investment in land management technology, the greater the probability of farmers to invest in the technology (Adimassu et al. 2018, Adimassu et al. 2012). As farmers in Ethiopia are sensitive to net returns, they implicitly compare the expected costs and benefits and then invest in options that offer the highest net returns, either in terms of income or reduced risk (Shiferaw et al. 2007, Zainab and Folmer 2000). Moreover, farmers' decisions to invest in land management are affected by the (perceived) profitability of a technology (Napier 1991, Napier et al. 1998, Kelly et al. 2003, Langyintuo and Dogbe 2005, Crook and Decker 2006, Diagana 2007, Getnet 2008). This is substantiated by studies in Tanzania and Ethiopia on adoption and continuous use of stone terraces, which revealed that farmers' investments are highly influenced by the (perceived) profitability of the technologies (Tenge et al. 2004, Amsalu and De Graaff 2006, De Graaff et al. 2008).

16.2.2 Relative returns

Farmers may consider investing in a technology (relative to alternative farm and non-farm investments) when the investment is likely to be profitable, although it may not be sufficiently attractive to motivate them to invest. Some studies reported that the availability of off-farm income has negative impacts on farmers' investments in land management technologies (Pender and Kerr 1998, Shiferaw and Holden 1998, Mbagal-Semgalawe and Folmer 2000, Gebremedhin and Swinton 2003, Holden et al. 2004, Tenge et al. 2004, Amsalu and De Graaff 2006, Mduma 2007). The studies argued that the negative impacts of off-farm activities on investment in land management technologies are because of two reasons. The first reason is that available off-farm activities provide opportunities for household workers to choose to allocate their family labor toward off-farm activities, where it fetches higher returns than on-farm land management. The second reason is that off-farm employment often directly overlaps with the slack season, when land-management activities are undertaken, and this reduces the labor available for land-management practices. However, the result of this variable (relative return) is not consistent. For example, there are conditions in which off-farm earnings are reinvested in land management technologies (Reardon and Kelly 1989, Clay and Reardon 1995, Clay et al. 1995, Kelly et al. 1995). The cash generated from off-farm income can be used to

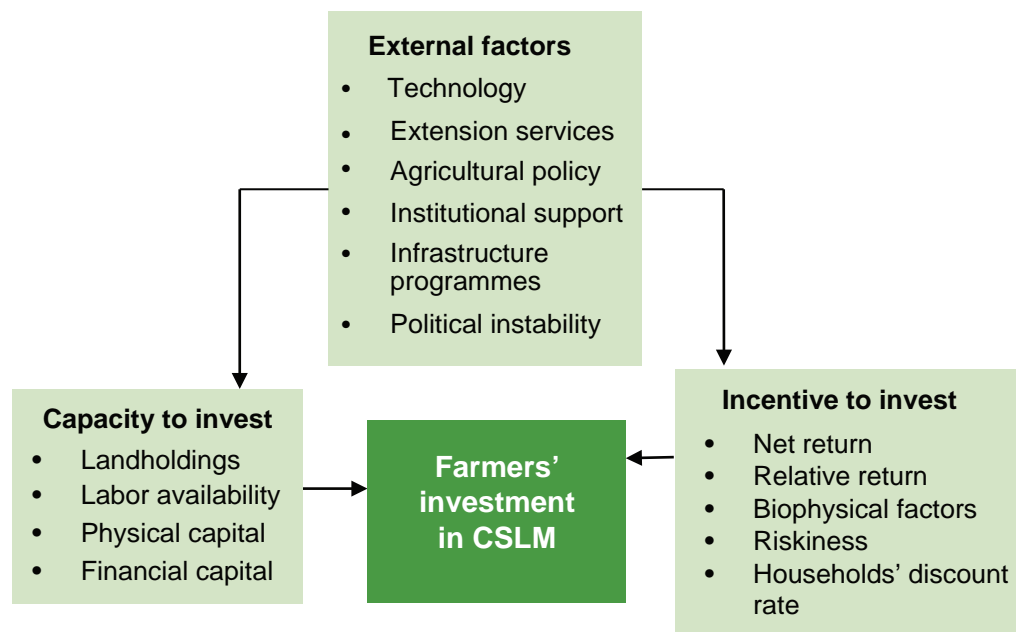


Figure 16.1 Schematic presentation of the key factors affecting farmers' investment in climate-smart land management (CSLM). (Adapted from Reardon et al. 1996.)

purchase chemical fertilizer and improved seeds as well as agricultural tools, which could be used for land preparation and other land management practices.

16.2.3 Riskiness

Another important factor affecting farmers' incentives to invest in land management is risk. Agricultural production under smallholder farming systems involves risk and uncertainty in SSA in general, and in Ethiopia in particular. Investments in CSLM become risky and incentives decline if farmers are not sure that they will be able to get full benefits by recovering their investment costs. Some studies showed that investment in CSLM can significantly reduce production risks caused, for example, by rainfall variability in SSA (Reijntjes et al. 1992, Alföldi et al. 2002, Scialabba and Hattam 2002, Mäder et al. 2002) and in Ethiopia (Hengsdijk et al. 2005, Shiferaw and Holden 1998). However, there are circumstances in which some interventions may increase risks (Shiferaw and Holden 1998). Such risks may arise from price and yield variability and land tenure security (Scialabba and Hattam 2002, Shiferaw et al. 2007).

(i) Price variability

The market for agricultural inputs and outputs in Ethiopia is poorly developed and contributes to an unfavorable relationship between input and output prices in the country (Aune and Bationo 2008). As the prices of agricultural products are unknown at the time of planning, they create uncertainties in the price and availability of inputs.

Uncertainty in output market outlets also plagued several promising technologies in Africa (Kelly et al. 1995, Abdoulaye and Sanders 2006). Moreover, prices of inputs and outputs are influenced by demand and supply of inputs and outputs (Hill et al. 2006) as well as by limited access to market and market information (Markelova et al. 2009, Tang 2009).

(ii) Yield variability

Crop yields in Ethiopia are generally low and highly variable (Harris and Kennedy 1999). Studies have clearly demonstrated that rainfall is the predominant factor influencing yield variability in the region (Singh and Byerlee 1990, Howard et al. 2003). The increase in extreme weather events, such as spells of high temperatures and droughts, also increases yield variability and reduces average yield (Tittonell et al. 2008, Sinebo 2005). Yield variability also affects the technology choices of farmers due to risk aversion (Graves et al. 2004). Because of this uncertainty, farmers in Ethiopia show logical reluctance to invest in potentially more productive and economically rewarding practices when the outcomes and returns seem so uncertain from year to year (Howard et al. 2003).

(iii) Land tenure security

Secure and transferable land rights have long been identified as key elements to bringing about higher levels of long-term investments (Gebremedhin and Swinton 2003, Deininger and Jin 2006). Most empirical studies indicated that security of tenure is important for long-term

investment and is positively correlated with long-term land management practices (Roth et al. 1994, Besley 1995, Gavian and Fafchamps 1996, Shiferaw and Holden 1998, Gebremedhin and Swinton 2001, Place and Otsuka 2002, Gebremedhin and Swinton 2003, Otsuka et al. 2003, Asrat et al. 2004, Kabubo-Mariara 2007, Nyangena 2008). Although insecurity in land tenure would be a disincentive for investment, paradoxically, it actually increases incentive because investment by itself can increase land security. In other words, investment is necessary to facilitate land security (Sjaastad and Bromley 1997). However, the role of land tenure security in SSA in providing incentives for land-related investment is inconsistent and complicated (Sjaastad and Bromley 1997, Place and Swallow 2000, Deininger and Jin 2006). Accordingly, land tenure security has no significant effect on investment in land management (e.g., Migot-Adholla et al. 1994, Migot-Adholla et al. 1991, Place and Hazell 1993, Pinckney and Kimuyu 1994, Place and Otsuka 2002, Gavian and Fafchamps 1996, Sjaastad and Bromley 1997, Brasselle et al. 2002). The mixed reports on land tenure security on investments in land management could be caused because of inconsistencies in methodologies and definitions of land tenure security used in the different studies (Kabubo-Mariara 2007).

16.2.4 The household-specific “discount rate”

The household-specific “discount rate” is the time value of money, and it reflects how future costs and benefits are weighed, relative to immediate costs and benefits (Pender 1996). Most land-management investments require heavy initial investments (either in cash or in-kind) although the benefits are delivered in many years in the future (Shiferaw et al. 2007). Investments in land management, for example, in agroforestry and terracing, typically have delayed pay-offs, and a household with a high discount rate might be less inclined to make this type of investment (Gardner and Barrows 1985, Reardon et al. 1996). The capital budgeting analysis in Ethiopia suggests that returns from investment in stone terraces are highly sensitive to discount rate (Barrett et al. 2002). It is generally accepted that an individual's discount rate is influenced by a number of personal factors, such as wealth and income profiles, level of education, age, and state of health. Wealthier, healthier, younger and well-educated individuals have lower discount rates than their poorer, older, less healthy, and less educated counterparts (Lumley 1997, Shiferaw et al. 2007).

16.2.5 Biophysical environment

Through their effect on profitability and riskiness, biophysical factors, such as natural fertility of soils, rainfall,

topography, temperature, diseases, and pests determine the technical feasibility of investments. Among the biophysical factors, rainfall variability is the most important cause for year-to-year variability of crop production, and the high insecurity it produces may consequently affect farmers' willingness to invest in rain-fed agricultural activities (Shiferaw et al. 2007).

Studies in Ethiopia indicated that farmers with steep slope plots invest in land management techniques such as stone terraces (Pender and Kerr 1998, Shiferaw and Holden 1998, Bekele and Drake 2003, Asrat et al. 2004, Amsalu and De Graaff 2006). This can be attributed to the positive relationship between slope and levels of soil erosion severity. Plots perceived to have greater erosion severity receive more investment in land management. The soil fertility status of plots is also an important factor in land management investment. Farmers invest more in fertile plots than infertile ones (Bekele and Drake 2003). This could be attributed to marginal productivity loss due to erosion from plots with fertile topsoil, which is higher than that of plots with less fertile topsoil, and such plots are expected to yield a greater return as compared to infertile plots. Generally, areas with good soil fertility and relatively abundant rainfall may have good agricultural profits, which farmers then reinvest in land management (Gebremedhin and Swinton 2003, Joshi et al. 2005). In spite of this, some studies indicated that farmers invest more in infertile plots than in fertile ones (Amsalu and De Graaff 2006, Benin and Pender 2001) due to a lack of perception on the effects of soil erosion and soil nutrient depletion.

16.3 Capacities to Invest in Climate-Smart Land Management

Farmers' capacity to invest in land management depends on the household's landholdings, labor availability, and physical and financial capital (Reardon et al. 1996).

16.3.1 Landholdings

Land is the major source of wealth and livelihood in SSA. Quantity and quality of land affect the types and intensity of investments that are technically feasible and profitable. Mostly, it is hypothesized that farmers with large plots and farms are more capable of undertaking investments because they can spare part of their land for terracing, fallow, and trees, while still keeping large portions under cultivation (Hayes et al. 1997, Asrat et al. 2004, Smith 2004). In spite of this, empirical studies in Ethiopia showed mixed results. For example, small farms may have strong incentives for

intensification and land-enhancing investments because their owners depend more on these small landholdings (Kassie et al. 2008, Byiringiro and Reardon 1996). However, small farmers often face stiff constraints, for example, in obtaining credit and physical capital which could enhance investment in land management (Clay et al. 1995).

On the other hand, some empirical studies in Ethiopia suggest that farmers who hold large farms are more likely to invest in land management (Hayes et al. 1997, Asrat et al. 2004, Smith 2004, Tenge et al. 2004, Amsalu and De Graaff 2006, De Graaff et al. 2008). This could be attributed to farmers with large landholdings who take the risk of investing in land management, which then may help them survive crop failures due to drought, pests, hailstones, or excess rainfall (Nowak 1987, Reardon et al. 1996).

16.3.2 Labor availability

Labor availability, in terms of quantity and quality, is critically important in land management. The quantity aspect of labor is important when labor is considered as an input in labor-intensive land management activities, such as construction of stone terraces. Empirical studies in SSA, including in Ethiopia, showed that large family size and an economically active population have positive and significant effects on labor-intensive investments in land management practices (Pender and Kerr 1998, Mbagalawale and Folmer 2000, Gebremedhin and Swinton 2003, Bewket 2007).

16.3.3 Education/knowledge level and capability

The quality of labor, which includes the worker's education level and technical knowledge, is also important to the farmer's ability to make appropriate investment decisions (Smith 2004). Education level of households is also considered as a proxy influencing household head's capacity for understanding technical aspects related to land management (Jumbe and Angelsen 2007). Most studies indicated that higher education levels are associated with more access to information on land degradation problems and improved land management measures (Adimassu et al. 2015, Hagos and Holden 2006). Similarly, education of a household head leads to an increased ability to assess information, better understanding of new technologies, and strengthening of his/her analytical capabilities with new technologies (Swinton and Quiroz 2003). Studies also reported that education has a positive impact on investments in improved land-management technologies in SSA (McDowell and Sparts 1989, Abeygunawardena 1990, Mbagalawale and Folmer 2000).

16.3.4 Physical capital

Physical capital to invest in land-management practices includes infrastructure and other physical characteristics of plots. To adopt less erosive forms of land use in steeper plots, which are more susceptible to erosion, there is high incentive to invest in land management practices (Clay et al. 1998). The greater the land degradation in a village, the more likely resident farmers are to invest in land management (Clay et al. 1998, Gebremedhin and Swinton 2003). Empirical studies in Ethiopia also revealed that distance from homesteads to farmers' fields affects the type and intensity of land-management investment (Pender and Gebremedhin 2007, Pender et al. 2004, Gebremedhin and Swinton 2003). Because transportation options for transporting inputs to distant plots were lacking or limited, farmers were more likely to invest in land management practices (e.g., application of compost/farm yard manure) on plots closer to their residence (Clay et al. 1998, Nkonya et al. 2004, Nkonya et al. 2005).

16.3.5 Financial capital

Financial capital consists not only of cash, but also liquefiable assets, such as livestock and crop sales that can be used to finance an investment in land management. The main sources of cash for Ethiopian farmers include livestock and crop sales, off-farm activities, and credits (Pender and Gebremedhin 2007). Because it provides cash income, livestock husbandry, for example, is a boon to farm investments (Hayes et al. 1997). Like other factors, the effect of livestock on investment in land management is mixed. For example, some studies in Ethiopia indicated that large livestock size discourages investment in conservation practices (Amsalu and de Graaff 2006, De Graaff et al. 2008). Due to livestock's relative profitability, households may focus more on livestock than on crop production. By contrast, other studies reported that large livestock ownership is associated with greater use of land-management practices, which is likely because income generated from livestock products helps farmers to purchase agricultural inputs (Hayes et al. 1997, Pender and Gebremedhin 2007). Availability of credit is another financial factor that influences farmers' capacity for investing in land management. Research on the adoption of land-management technologies indicates that there is a positive relationship between adoption levels and the availability of credit in the region (Shiferaw and Holden 1998, Benin and Pender 2001, Pattanayak et al. 2003, Yirga 2007).

16.3.6 Collective action

Collective action is crucial for the success of land-management practices in Ethiopia (Adimassu et al. 2011). This

can be explained in two ways. First, most physical land-management practices, such as construction of stone bunds, soil bunds, and cut-off drains, require huge amounts of labor and cannot be implemented by individual farmers. Second, spatial interlinkages related to the flow of water and nutrients are inherent in watersheds. While conservation measures in the upstream may benefit downstream use, soil erosion in the upstream may harm downstream uses of both land and water. In both cases, collective action enhances farmers' capacities to invest in land management and enables fair distribution of costs and benefits from land management. Studies in the northern part of Ethiopia showed that collective action-based land management methods, including use of grazing lands, are effective and sustainable (Gebremedhin et al. 2004, Benin and Pender 2006). Similarly, collective actions in the Gununo watershed of the southern part of Ethiopia increased the effectiveness of land-management practices such as *fanya juu* and soil bunds (Mazengia and Mowo 2012). In the highlands of Kenya, collective actions also determined farmers' investments in land-management practices (Nyangena 2008).

16.4 External Factors

External factors are constraints that are beyond the control of farmers and are more relevant to policy and institutions. These factors affect investments in land management through their effect in influencing farmers' incentives and capacities to invest. External factors common to all households in a particular agro-climatic/policy context include lack of (appropriate) technologies, limited extension services, poor agricultural policies, weak institutional collaboration, poor infrastructure programs, and political instability (Reardon and Vosti 1995).

16.4.1 Lack of (appropriate) technologies

Technology development and transfer is essential for increasing productivity and enhancing land resources management (Reilly et al. 2000). Lack of (appropriate) technology on land management may limit farmers' investment in land management by reducing profitability and increasing riskiness of a particular investment (Vallaey et al. 1987). If it is difficult for farmers to obtain capital and dry season labor, for example, although the available land management technologies require these resources, then the technology may not be appropriate. Studies in Ethiopia reported that available technologies are not appropriate because they often fail to take proper account of biophysical, socioeconomic, and policy factors (Ehui and Poisson 1993, Crane and Traore 2005). Lack of access

to technologies is also another main constraint in SSA (Nederlof and Dangbegnon 2007).

16.4.2 Limited extension services

Extension services promote technology adoption and may also cut the cost of using new land-management technologies (Reardon 1996). Studies in Ethiopia revealed that farmers who have close access to extension services adopt more land-management technologies than do those with less or no access at all (Wale 2008, Barrett et al. 2002). The numbers of visits to farmers by extension agents also affected farmers' investment in land management positively and significantly (Clay and Reardon 1995, Benin and Pender 2001, Wale 2008). Unfortunately, there is very limited access to extension services and poor research-extension-farmer linkages in most SSA countries (Mowo et al. 2010).

16.4.3 Weak institutional support

The effectiveness of land management practices depends on how efficiently institutions can work together in providing technical support to farmers (Hoffmann et al. 2007). However, imperfect institutional arrangements; lack of transparency, accountability, and capacity; and limited access to information and networking, are the main features of most institutions in SSA countries, including Ethiopia (Ribot 2002).

16.4.4 Poor infrastructure programmes

Mainly due to inadequate physical infrastructure, agricultural growth in SSA has been constrained by a number of factors, including inefficient agricultural output markets and input supply systems (Gunvant et al. 1987, Katungi et al. 2008). Most farmers in SSA have insufficient access to markets because agricultural outputs are either produced in remote areas or access roads are bad or non-existent (Lindner et al. 1992, Spencer 1996, Neill and Lee 2001). The quality and quantity of roads affect transaction costs, risks, and price fluctuations of farm products and non-farm activities. Transport and communication infrastructure determines the availability of information and access to markets as well as costs and returns of investments. By increasing output-to-input price ratios, better access to roads and markets can increase labor and/or capital intensity of investments on land management practices (Binswanger and McIntire 1987, Osbahr et al. 2008). Better access to roads and markets also promotes higher income per capita by providing greater economic opportunities to rural households who, in turn, invest in land management practices (Tiffen et al. 1994). On the contrary, poor infrastructure raises the price of inputs and

reduces agricultural outputs, which further diminishes the profitability of land management technologies (Shiferaw et al. 2007). A price increase in agricultural products may make certain land management interventions profitable or attractive to farmers. Accordingly, some studies reported a positive relationship between increases in prices of agricultural products and the adoption of land-management technologies (Shiferaw and Holden 2000, Lee 2005). Some studies, however, reported that better infrastructure could instead increase non-farm rather than farm opportunities, which may, thus, reduce intensities of land management technologies (Tschirley and Benfica 2001, Grothmann and Patt 2005).

16.4.5 Political instability

Political instability appears to be the most important obstacle to agricultural development (Muleya et al. 1987, Nwilene et al. 2008). Political instability can, thus, influence investments in land-management technologies in SSA, including in Ethiopia (Blackie 1987). Political instability interrupts input distribution and output marketing, and may lead farmers to keep their savings in liquid assets, such as jewels or livestock, rather than investing them in long-term land improvement activities (Nwilene et al. 2008).

16.4.6 Poor agricultural policies

Policy plays a pivotal role in land management practices by creating an enabling environment for investment in land management. Macro- and micro-policies directly and indirectly affect output and input prices and, therefore, net and relative returns on investments. Price and credit policies in Ethiopia are changing dramatically and frequently, and farmers do not know how to plan; thus, they shy away from on-farm investments (Baye 2017).

16.5 Conclusions

The principal part of this chapter is the documentation of key factors influencing farmers' investments in CSLM. The investment in CSLM by smallholder farmers is constrained by an array of biophysical, social, economic, institutional, and policy factors. In this chapter, the most important factors that affect farmers' investments in CSLM are grouped into three categories: incentives, capacities, and external factors. While we identify these factors that affect farmers' investments in CSLM, there are good lessons to be learned from Ethiopia, where CSLM practices are successful mainly in the Amhara and Tigray regions (Adimassu et al. 2018). Farmers are able to constrain these factors by enhancing their capacities to invest in CSLM and increase incentives

for the investments they make. The success behind these case studies is due to the fact that CSLM land practices are implemented using the landscape approach. The landscape approach employs collective action to constrain the three key factors that affect farmers' investments in CSLM. This implies that a landscape approach is crucial for the adoption of CSLM in Ethiopia. Due to differences in social, economic, cultural, and biophysical characteristics, however, the influence of these factors varies from place to place within in the country. This suggests that a blueprint (one-size-fits-all) approach of CSLM practiced in lowland areas of Ethiopia may not be useful in the highland areas. Based on local biophysical, social, cultural, and farmers' contexts, CSLM strategies should be designed and adapted at micro- and macro-levels.

Although this chapter reviews the key determinants of farmers' decisions to invest in CSLM, further meta-analysis and synthesis may be required to better understand the impacts of CSLM practices on farmers' livelihoods and the environment.

Acknowledgement

The author gratefully acknowledges the CGIAR Research Program on Water, Land and Ecosystems (WLE) and the Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research for funding this study. The author would also like to extend his thanks to the anonymous reviewers and editors for their invaluable comments and suggestions to improve the quality of this chapter.

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