

Research Study on IDPs in urban settings - Afghanistan



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Acronyms

ACF – Action Contre la Faim
AIHCR – Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission
AMI – Assistance Médicale Internationale
CSO - The Central Statistics Organization
DoRR – Department of Refugees and Repatriation
EVI – Extremely Vulnerable Individual
GIS – Geographic Information System
GoA – Government of Afghanistan
HH – Household
IDLG – Independent Directorate of Local Governance
IDP – Internally Displaced Person
IGA – Income Generating Activity
KIS – Kabul Informal Settlements
LAS – Land Allocation Scheme
MAIL – Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Livestock
MoD – Ministry of Defense
MoEc – Ministry of Economy
MoF – Ministry of Finance
MoLSAMD – Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, Martyrs and Disabled
MoRR – Ministry of Refugees and Repatriation
MRRD – Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development
MSF – Médecins Sans Frontières
MUDH – Ministry of Urban Development and Housing
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
NRC – Norwegian Refugee Council
NRVA – National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment
PA – Poverty Assessment
PSR – Poverty Status Report
OCHA – United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
TLO – The Liaison Office
UNHABITAT – United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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Executive Summary

Internal displacement, the rapid growth of urban areas and proliferation of informal settlements are in the spotlight of public policy debate in Afghanistan at present. This report describes the results of a joint World Bank-UNHCR study, “Research study on IDPs in urban settings”. Part of broader World Bank research on poverty in Afghanistan, the study focuses on IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) living in informal settlements in urban centers as a vulnerable segment of the population. The study discusses characteristics, livelihood strategies and vulnerabilities of households living in informal settlements in three urban centers in Afghanistan: Kabul, Kandahar and Herat.

Migration – either “voluntary” economic migration or “forced” due to conflict or natural disaster – has a long history in Afghanistan. For decades, Afghan households and/or individual household members have used mobility both as an “ex-post” coping mechanism for conflict and natural disaster, as well as to manage “ex-ante” risks associated with the rural economy.

Over 25 years of conflict has made Afghanistan one of the countries most affected by forced migration movements both from and within its borders. In the early 1990s, 7.5 million people were displaced: 3.2 million registered as refugees in Pakistan; 2.4 million in Iran; and approximately 2 million within Afghanistan’s borders. The end of Taliban rule in December 2001 triggered significant repatriation movements from neighboring countries. At the same time, conflict with international forces led to new internal displacement from Taliban strongholds.

The IDP population in the country is estimated at 416,593 persons / 68,151 families as of March 2011. These figures however do not capture IDPs who moved to urban centers, often informal settlements, whose numerical relevance, profile and vulnerabilities remain largely unknown. This study increases the available information on living conditions of displaced households in urban informal settlements.

The findings in this study are based on two data sources: (i) an ad-hoc small scale survey of IDPs in informal settlements conducted in summer 2010 and (ii) a nationally representative survey of Afghan households, the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) 2007/08. The ad-hoc IDPs survey provides both quantitative and qualitative information on backgrounds, profiles, vulnerabilities, needs and coping strategies of 450 displaced households living in informal settlements of major Afghan cities: Kabul, Herat and Kandahar. The NRVA, and in particular the urban subsample of poor households from the NRVA survey, provides a benchmark to compare the specific needs and vulnerabilities of displaced households living in informal settlements.

This study is not representative of the universe of IDPs living in informal settlements of Afghan cities, nevertheless, the comparative approach used in the analysis makes significant contributions to the debate. First, assessing IDPs’ vulnerability against those of urban poor households provides insight into the specific needs of IDPs in urban settings to better tailor policy responses. Second, the study complements the profiling of poverty and vulnerability in Afghanistan by focusing on a segment of the population not well captured by a nationally representative survey such the NRVA: IDPs living in informal settlements.

Analysis of migration histories shows that conflict and insecurity is the main *push factor* leading to displacement. IDPs reported almost unanimously that they fled their villages of origin mainly as a response to conflict. However, there was less consensus regarding the second and third causes of migration. Over a third of IDPs reported food insecurity, while unemployment and underemployment was the third most important reason.

Economic incentives, on the other hand, act as important *pull factors* towards urban centers. Over 90 percent of IDPs in the study came from a rural community of origin. This reflects the intersection of forced migration paths with urbanization in Afghanistan. Further, when asked about the choice of

an urban settlement compared to a rural area, aside from insecurity, over half noted either better economic opportunities, or the lack of available/arable land in areas of origin.

Interestingly, IDPs interviewed for this study reveal a preference for “non temporary” settlement patterns. Despite differences between the three cities - 70 percent of households have lived in their current informal sites for more than two years. In addition, more than 90 percent of IDPs reported plans to settle permanently in the city and – irrespective of the continuation of conflict - about 80 percent were unwilling to return to their communities of origin for reasons related to the lack of livelihood opportunities (unemployment, lack of land, food insecurity).

Economic and social integration of IDP households in an urban context is difficult due to their skills’ disadvantage. Even compared with the overall population of urban poor, IDP household heads have substantially lower literacy rates and formal levels of education. 80 percent of male IDP household heads are unable to read or write compared to “only” 64 percent of male heads of poor urban households. The education gap is even wider for women. Only one of 100 female heads or spouses in IDP households is literate versus one in three in poor urban households.

This strong educational disadvantage has a direct impact on labor market outcomes. Besides lacking formal education, IDPs also have limited skills to adapt to the urban economic environment. Prior to displacement almost all IDPs surveyed were engaged in agriculture or livestock production. But the lack of agricultural opportunities in urban areas led to a shift to construction and the other marginal occupations in the service sector. Of male IDPs, over half currently work in construction, while the urban poor work more evenly across all sectors of the economy with only 13 percent employed in construction jobs. This sectoral segregation of IDPs’ employment is symptomatic of a challenging integration process.

Similar disadvantages are further reflected in IDPs type of occupation and in earnings. The main jobs available to IDPs are low earning jobs on a daily/casual arrangement. In Kabul, 92 percent of the IDP workforce is casual daily labor while the majority of male poor household heads are self-employed. Taking IDPs’ reported average wages at face value, a daily laborer’s wage could only support above-poverty living for two individuals, against an average household size for IDPs of about nine members and a dependency ratio of two children per adult.

As a result of labor market disadvantages, IDP households rely on multiple income sources. Analysis of income sources together with the labor market profile of IDPs helps to better understand which IDP household types are relatively more vulnerable. In particular, newly displaced households are less likely to have other income sources, such as loans and credit, and therefore potentially more vulnerable and in need of external assistance. According to IDPs interviewed, the first two years of displacement are the hardest, with few reporting an improvement over their pre-displacement economic situation. Longer periods of settlement are usually linked with better economic conditions.

In addition to analyzing the main demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the IDPs, the study considered their specific livelihood needs to guide future assistance initiatives. IDPs were asked to assess the three most critical problems faced by their households. Over 60 percent noted unemployment /underemployment and housing, or, more broadly, “access to proper housing” (including access to water, electricity, sanitation, land and security of tenure). Access to food was the third most important problem. Interestingly, while employment is perceived as a priority irrespective of settlement duration, concerns related to housing increase with the duration of stay.

As expected, IDPs live in much more hazardous housing conditions than the urban poor. About 60 percent live in a tent, temporary shelter or shack, while the remaining mainly inhabit single family houses. Further, the share of those living in temporary housing is as high as 61 percent among those displaced/settled for more than 5 years. This confirms the persistence of barriers to proper housing. The unsafe nature of dwelling types is matched by the insecurity of tenure. 85 percent of IDPs do not have a deed (evidence of ownership or lease agreement) for their homes. 75 percent of urban poor households have a deed. Lack of tenure security is a distinguishing feature of informal settlements

which have developed over time due to poorly functioning land and housing markets, and insufficient planning for urban development and growth. The lack of formal property papers puts IDPs at constant risk of eviction. Moreover, insecurity of tenure hampers IDPs from building up assets and accessing credit, using their home for income generating activities and prevents investments in service provision.

IDPs have a much higher level of deprivation than the urban poor, with potential negative impacts on health outcomes. Over 70 percent of IDPs, compared to 18 percent of the urban poor, do not have access to electricity. Inadequate water and sanitation facilities, poor drainage and solid waste management and indoor pollution characterize living conditions in these settlements. Access to services is also a cause of tension between the host communities and the displaced. For example, IDPs in all three cities voiced their frustration over differences in their water access and that of longer-term residents.

The study's findings and analysis provide a starting point for discussions among actors directly and indirectly involved with management of problems related to displacement and urban informal settlements, including all levels of the Government, international institutions and stakeholders from civil society. In addition to increasing the economic and social information available on IDPs, the study identifies needs and vulnerabilities that make IDPs in informal settlements an extremely vulnerable segment of the population, even when compared to urban poor.

In conclusion, the study finds that a comprehensive and integrated approach to displacement in urban areas is needed. It is vital that sustainable solutions for IDPs in informal settlements are developed, not simply humanitarian interventions. Initiatives must acknowledge that irrespective of the continuation of conflict, almost all IDPs plan to settle permanently in the city, and therefore will require assistance in developing skill sets appropriate for urban areas. In addition, improved urban planning is necessary; for example, regularization (land tenure) and upgrading of informal settlements (access to services), as well as assisting IDPs living in hazardous or unsafe areas. Most essential, monitoring and coordination efforts must target the immediate food security and income needs of IDPs, especially in the initial phases of displacement when most vulnerable.

I. Introduction

1.1. Background and Objectives

a) Migration and Displacement in Afghanistan

Migration as a livelihood strategy has a long history in Afghanistan. Which is why, displacement in Afghanistan today needs to be considered within the broader context of its migration history, customs and recent developments. Afghan households and/or individual household members have used mobility both as a coping mechanism “ex-post” given decades of conflict, and as a strategy to manage “ex-ante” the risks associated with the rural economy.

First and foremost, more than 25 years of conflict and political instability resulted in large-scale forced migration movements both from and within Afghanistan.

The armed conflict triggered by the Communist coup in April 1978 and the Soviet invasion in 1979 led to the largest coerced movement of people in recent times¹. In the early 1990s, at the peak of the conflict, an estimated 7.5 million people were displaced: 3.2 million registered as refugees in Pakistan; 2.35 reported by the Iranian government; and an estimated 2 million displaced within Afghanistan’s borders². The Soviet withdrawal in 1989 and government focus in Iran and Pakistan on repatriation of Afghan refugees led to a first return of about 1.5 million refugees to Afghanistan. However, civil war among Mujaheddin factions (1992-1994), the subsequent emergence of the Taliban as a national force, and three successive years of drought prompted a second phase of internal displacement and forced migration movements to neighboring countries³. The collapse of the Taliban in December 2001 and appointment of a new Government triggered massive repatriation movements from neighboring countries. At the same time, the resumption of conflict between pro-government forces and insurgents has led to new instances of internal displacement in several parts of the country.⁴

According to UNHCR, over 5 million refugees have returned since 2002 increasing Afghanistan’s overall population by approximately 20 percent.⁵ The return of refugees was not equal across Afghanistan, with provinces in the Central, Eastern and North Eastern regions most affected. Further, under UNHCR’s voluntary return program most were assisted between 2002 and 2005, when security and expectations of successful reintegration were highest⁶.

“There are some worrying trends in internal displacement in Afghanistan. Displacement is becoming more protracted for many. For example, people currently displaced by conflict have not been able to return home after the end of local conflicts as quickly as they have in the past, and there is a risk that these IDP populations are becoming permanently displaced. [...] Growing insecurity is coinciding with drought and rising food and fuel prices in certain areas, and the combined effects are likely to be compounded during the winter months. This combination may result in more movement toward cities, placing greater demands on urban service providers and swelling the number of urban poor”.

Ewen Macleod, UNHCR Country Representative for Afghanistan, at a seminar on “Displacement and Security in Afghanistan” hosted by the Brookings Institution at the University of Bern on June 23, 2008.

¹ Harpviken, K.B. (2009), “Social Networks and Migration in Wartime Afghanistan” Houndmills, Palgrave, 2009.

² Knowles, M. (1992), “Afghanistan: Trends and prospects for refugee repatriation”, Washington DC: Refugee Policy Group.

³ Between 1996 and 1997, fighting continued to displace large numbers of people within Afghanistan: “many villagers were also forced out of their homes and herded into Kabul. The total number of internal displaced Afghans stood in the region of 1.2 million by mid-1997”. See UNHCR, (1997), “The State of the world’s refugees: A humanitarian agenda”. Oxford University Press: London.

⁴ See Box 2.

⁵ UNHCR Country Operations Profile, Afghanistan (2011). <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e486eb6>

⁶ According to official figures, 80% of the 4,502,867 returns recorded by UNHCR as of June 2010 occurred between 2002 and 2005. See UNHCR (2010), “Voluntary return leaflet”, BO Kabul, June 2010.

Not only has conflict had a direct role in shaping migration movements in Afghanistan, but its indirect effects are still largely in play today. The mostly rural Afghan population, who, before the war, lived on incomes from agriculture, suffered and still suffers from the massive destruction left behind by conflict. As described by the “Moving out of Poverty” qualitative study⁷, people suffered from the loss of assets, either directly or indirectly, as a result of conflict. The physical and social infrastructures which sustain a rural economy (e.g. irrigation structures, roads, markets, commercial networks) have not yet returned to their pre-conflict status. In this environment, the rural economy has been unable to absorb the population increase originated by repatriation flows. For many households struggling to resume their original livelihood strategies, migration for economic motives – often towards more economically dynamic urban centers – is the new manifestation of “forced migration”, i.e. indirectly caused by the enduring consequences of conflict.

Secondary migration movements reflect the significant difficulties many former displaced households face on returning to their pre-conflict livelihood arrangements. Many former refugee households successfully reintegrated drawing upon skills and capital accumulated during the period of exile in the neighboring countries⁸. However, several studies⁹ describe how the returnees who were unable to manage financially on returning to their places of origin, have decided to migrate within Afghanistan’s borders and cross paths with IDP households displaced from conflict-affected areas.

In addition to being conflict-induced, migration has also been a “coerced” strategy to cope with natural disasters¹⁰. The dry climate, rugged topography and reliance on rain fed agriculture make Afghanistan prone to drought. The past decade has seen several multi-year droughts, which further complicated the ‘normalization’ of economic activities in rural areas and “forced out” many households to urban centers for better economic opportunities¹¹.

Economic migration in Afghanistan also follows the migration trend from rural to urban areas that has shaped the growth of urban centers. Migration for economic motives, (whether seasonal, international or internal, permanent or temporary,) is part of the “ex ante” (and “voluntary”) diversification strategy relied upon by rural Afghan households. The recent Poverty Status Report¹² (PSR, 2010) reveals that seasonality has a major effect on rural livelihood strategies – in particular for poor households. That is, households have to diversify their income sources to overcome seasonal

“I used to live in Jalozai camp in Pakistan where I worked as a vehicle parts salesman. Upon returning to Tagab, I did not find a job.” Rohullah – PD 9, Kabul city.

“We used to be refugees in Iran; after we came back, we went to Ghor, where my family is originally from. Given that there was conflict there at that time, we left to come to Herat. [...] In our initial province we used to work on agricultural land. We were unemployed for 1-2 years when we first arrived here.” Ghulam Haidar – Minaret, Herat.

⁷ Altai (2006), “Moving out of Poverty: Understanding Freedom, Democracy and Growth from the Bottom-up”.

⁸ Altai (2006), “Integration of Returnees in the Afghan Labor Market”, Altai Consulting for UNHCR and ILO, Kabul.

⁹ UNHCR (2008) “National Profile of Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Afghanistan”; Schmeidl, S. (2009) “Repatriation to Afghanistan: durable solution or responsibility shifting? Forced Migration Review 33; Majidi, N. (2010), “A Study on the Coping Strategies of Return Refugees in Urban Settings”, Altai Consulting for the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), Afghanistan.

¹⁰ According to the official definition, natural disasters are internationally recognized as one of the causes of Internal Displacement (See Section 1.1b).

¹¹ During 1998-2002, Afghanistan experienced one of the worst and protracted droughts in decades, which initially affected the southern and western regions and then spread into the northeastern region. As the drought intensified, irrigation sources dried up and agricultural production declined. Large numbers of Kuchis abandoned their livestock-based livelihood due to continued drought and conflict, and ended up in IDP camps in south Afghanistan*. In 2008, most of Afghanistan experienced drought conditions due to low rainfall and winter snow, which affected crop yields in both rain-fed and irrigated regions. As a result, wheat production fell by an estimated 55 percent from the previous year, causing an acute food and grain shortage.

¹² Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Ministry of Economy, and the World Bank, Economic Policy and Poverty Sector. *Poverty Status in Afghanistan: A Profile Based on the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) 2007/08*. Kabul: July 2010. [online]:<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/AFGHANISTANEXTN/Resources/305984-1264608805475/6739619-1286210806756/AFPovertyReport.pdf>

fluctuations in agricultural output. Migration of households members for “economic reasons” and remittances are an important part of diversification of income. According to NRVA 2007/08¹³ data, one in four households living in rural areas has had at least one seasonal migrant over the past year, or (at least) one member who migrated for economic motives over the past five years or who has permanently moved away in search of better economic opportunities.

The enduring economic impact of conflict, the security situation still affecting many provinces as well as migration from rural to urban areas make it increasingly hard to distinguish between different migrant types. While the difference between voluntary migration and forced displacement is often subtle, the risks associated with each migration pattern make it important to maintain the theoretical distinction and analyze specific vulnerabilities¹⁴ of forced migrants. Such information will inform the Government and international institutions which assist displaced persons, one of the most vulnerable segments of the population.

b) Scope, Motivation and Objectives of the Report

This study investigates the characteristics, livelihood strategies and vulnerabilities of households living in informal settlements in three major urban centers in Afghanistan, with a specific focus on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Internal displacement, the rapid growth of urban centers and proliferation of informal settlements are interrelated issues in the spotlight of public policy debate in Afghanistan. The complex interplay of problems associated with these issues is well reflected in changes in the capital city. In the past 10 years, Kabul experienced a near two-fold increase of its population, from 1.78 million inhabitants in 1999 to 2.9 million in 2009¹⁵. The population increase was partly driven by rural-urban economic migration and partly by in-migration of IDPs and returnees - former refugees who were unable or unwilling to return to their place of origin. The influx of migrants to Kabul contributed to its economic growth after years of conflict when the capital was under-populated and economic activity limited. However, this increase in the population added to the existing challenges of urban development and increased the number of informal and illegal settlement sites. In Kabul, around 70 percent of the population is living in ‘informal’ settlements¹⁶. UNHCR identified 30 illegal occupation sites that are home to migrants, refugee returnees and IDPs living in poor conditions in tents, shacks or derelict buildings with constant threat of eviction.

The decision to highlight the experience of IDPs in urban informal settlements was motivated by the existing knowledge gap. During consultations with stakeholders in summer 2010, there were differing views regarding the vulnerability of IDPs in informal settlements, as well as the appropriate political and institutional responses to internal displacement.

This report has three main objectives.

First, to increase awareness of the difficulties of displacement and living conditions in informal settlements. Deterioration of security throughout the country coupled with increasing pressure on

¹³ National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) survey data. See Section 1.2.b.

¹⁴ In particular, based on the economics literature on migration, one would expect economic migrant to be relatively better off with respect to forced migrants in that the former tend to be “self-selected” groups of the rural population (for example in terms of skills, education, age...) who invest in migration expecting a positive economic return from such a choice. On the other hand, forced migrants are precluded such rational choice as conflict or insecurity compel them to leave just to preserve their own safety, irrespectively of whether they perceive positive economic returns from migration itself.

¹⁵ Central Statistics Office (CSO), Population figures, 2008/2009 Statistical Yearbook. According to a World Bank Policy Note, “Kabul’s population is expected to grow at a rate of 5% [...] out of which 20% will be migrants. By these estimates, the city’s population will reach 5.13 million by 2015”. See The World Bank (2005), Kabul Urban Policy Notes Series N. 3.

¹⁶ See Box 1 for a discussion of informal settlements’ definition.

resources in rural areas has reduced the viability of IDP reintegration at the place of origin. For sustainable solutions, it is important policy makers and practitioners understand the characteristics of displacement and can identify any specific needs and vulnerabilities of IDPs¹⁷. Therefore, the analysis distinguishes between different phases of displacement and highlights specific vulnerabilities to better understand possible “durable solutions”.

Second, this study contributes to ongoing analytical activities on understanding and profiling poverty in Afghanistan. In collaboration with the GoA and MoEc, the World Bank recently released a Poverty Status Report and is currently undertaking the first Poverty Assessment (PA) for Afghanistan¹⁸. The principal data source for the PA is the 2007/08 National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA), a nationally representative multi-scope household survey¹⁹. The NRVA is an excellent and high quality data source to understand the characteristics of the settled population, but - similar to other nationally representative household surveys - fails to provide a full picture of displaced or recently settled populations (especially informal settlements). This study complements the profiling of poverty and vulnerability in urban areas, adding insights into the needs of internally displaced households. In particular, understanding if, how and possibly why livelihood and coping strategies of some of the most mobile and possibly vulnerable segments of the population living in informal settlements differ from those of other poor will inform how safety net programs, or any pro-poor social intervention, should be tailored to better target their needs.

Third, this study provides a basis for discussion among all actors – departments within the Government of Afghanistan, international institutions and stakeholders from the civil society – *directly or indirectly involved with displacement in urban informal settlements.* While limited in its scope and coverage, this study guides as much as possible a coordinated approach to social policy interventions targeted towards addressing the specific short and long-term needs and as well as future research on the topic.

Box 1: Definition of informal settlement

Definitions for informal settlements vary greatly between agencies. Most (UN, NGO, donor community) differentiate between unplanned, informal and illegal settlements. In this terminology, unplanned refers to areas falling outside of the municipality master plan; informal refers to areas where construction is erratic and spontaneous; and illegal indicates land that is source of dispute, either because land is privately owned or public property of the government.

This report follows the broader definition of informal settlements adopted by UNHABITAT, which encompasses both unplanned and illegally occupied areas. Informal urban settlements are areas of a municipality where most residents lack formal legal deeds for their property. These areas are characterized by the lack of legal recognition by the municipality and other government bodies of the residents’ right of occupancy, and inadequate public services, such as education, health care, public markets, roads and drainage, water supply, sanitation, waste management and electricity services.

The growth of informal settlements in Afghan cities arose from the limited absorption capacity of major urban areas and the lack of affordable formal settlement solutions for many city dwellers, including migrants and IDP families^(a). The typical urban management of a formal area follows four steps: (i) planning, (ii) services and infrastructure delivery, (iii) building and (iv) occupation. In informal settlements, the process is reversed. Occupation and building is followed – in rare cases – by service and infrastructure delivery and finally planning by the municipality and urban development agencies, for example through upgrading. So long as planned areas in cities are rationed, urban growth will coincide with the increase of informal and unplanned settlements. Approximately 60-70 percent of urban areas in Afghanistan developed informally and require some form of regularization.

Notes: (a) For a relevant discussion of how rapid urban growth can lead to slums’ development see for example UNHABITAT (2003) “The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements”. <http://www.unhabitat.org/pmss/listItemDetails.aspx?publicationID=1156>

¹⁷ For a discussion, see IASC (2010), “IASC framework on durable solutions for internally displaced persons”, The Brookings Institution – University of Bern project on Internal Displacement.

¹⁸ See Footnote 3.

¹⁹ See Section 1.2.b.

c) Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

According to the official definition, “*Internally Displaced Persons are persons or groups who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or human-made made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border*” (UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, 1998)²⁰.

However, as increasingly acknowledged, the dividing line between forced and voluntary migration is blurred. This is especially the case for Afghanistan, where conflict and insecurity, worsening rural livelihoods and rapid population growth “force” people to leave in search of both safety and economic opportunities.²¹

Security conditions in Afghanistan continue to force people to leave their communities of origin. At the same time, as in other developing countries, there is a growing trend of rural-urban migration whereby households and individual migrants settle in urban centers in search of better opportunities. Given such migration patterns, economic (“voluntary” migration) and displacement-induced (forced migration) motives often mix or overlap making it difficult to target assistance interventions²². The situation is further complicated by the fact that IDPs, once arrived at their destination in urban areas, tend to set up home in informal settlements thereby blending with the mass of urban poor and competing with them for access to assistance, shelter, land, water and sanitation, food and livelihood opportunities²³.

²⁰ Natural disasters have been subsequently added among the causes of internal displacement in the aftermath of the 2004 Tsunami. More specifically, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) supported the development of “Operational Guidelines on Human Rights and Natural Disasters” (June 2006) which extends the Guiding Principles to victims of natural disasters.

²¹ Interesting in this respect Koser’s study where the inherent complexity of distinguishing various motives of migration in Afghanistan is referred to as the “migration-displacement nexus”. Koser, K. (2009): “*The Migration-Displacement Nexus in Afghanistan*”, Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement.

²² While becoming displaced within one’s own country does not confer special legal status (differently from the case of refugees), IDPs - because of their specific situation, needs and vulnerability - are entitled to special protection and assistance under the Guiding Principles by the authorities of their country of citizenship. See Christensen and Harild (2009): “*Forced Displacement – the Development Challenge*”, Conflict, Crime & Violence Issue Note, The World Bank.

In the context of Afghanistan, effective delivery of assistance is limited largely due to the lack of access, by humanitarian agencies, to several IDP locations. Access to land, livelihoods, education and health care are also outstanding IDP needs with particular reference to Extremely Vulnerable Families. In April 2008, a National IDP Task Force was established as an offshoot to the Protection Cluster to build a framework for a coordinated response to IDP needs. This coordination body is co-chaired by UNHCR and MoRR with the participation of UN humanitarian agencies, NGOs and interested government and donor representatives. The main objectives of the National IDP Task Force are to develop a comprehensive and coordinated understanding of the number, profile, location and protection and assistance needs of IDPs; and to coordinate responses with the objective of providing sustainable and durable solutions. While UNHCR emphasis is on conflict-induced displacement, the protection of those displaced by natural disasters also remains within the purview of the organization and the IDP Task Force.

²³ From an operational perspective, it is often very difficult, and politically not viable, to identify and specifically target IDP groups in urban settings. Unlike IDPs in rural camps, or protracted IDP caseloads in camp / settlements, urban IDPs are not always formally separated from their urban environment and other longer-term residents. As such, they are often less ‘visible’ and recognizable. Furthermore, no criteria exist to know and determine when displacement formally ends.

Box 2: Internal Displacement in Afghanistan

In 2001, there were approximately 1.2 million internally displaced Afghans throughout the country and over 5 million refugees living abroad, mainly in neighboring Iran and Pakistan. The majority of these refugees and IDPs returned spontaneously to their place of origin following the fall of the Taliban^(a). Many vulnerable families were assisted by UNHCR. In recent years however, the return and reintegration of former refugees and IDPs to their areas of origin has become increasingly difficult and many have settled - more or less permanently – in major urban or semi-urban areas, blending with the mass of urban poor. In the past 10 years, Kabul experienced a near two-fold increase of its population, which went from 1.78 million inhabitants in 1999 to 2.9 million in 2009. Other cities such as Kandahar, Herat and Khost follow similar patterns.

According to the latest figures from UNHCR^(b), there are 416,593 internally displaced persons in Afghanistan. Of these, 117,011 persons (28 percent) were displaced prior to December 31, 2002 and are referred to as IDPs in protracted displacement. They live in camp-like settlements in the South, West and South-West. The remaining 72 percent are newly displaced families (an estimated 299,582 individuals have been displaced since December 31, 2002) and former refugees, displaced on their return to Afghanistan and now living in spontaneous camps in the East.

Between June 2009 and March 2011, the number of conflict-induced IDPs was estimated at 212,744 persons. This figure does *not* include IDP families and small groups scattered in urban and semi-urban locations whose systematic accounting is problematic, nor does it include groups in the southern provinces of Afghanistan, due to recent armed offensives. Overall, 50 percent of the IDPs are located in identifiable urban and semi-urban locations and live in groups; 30 percent are in accessible rural and dispersed areas; and 20 percent in formal camps and camp-like settlements^(c).

Displacement Figures, by Region as of March 31, 2011

Region	Families	Males	Females	Individuals
North	6,234	19,805	19,029	38,834
South	26,955	89,100	85,606	174,707
Southeast	1,778	5,366	5,156	10,522
East	13,084	41,545	39,916	81,461
West	18,492	51,725	49,697	101,422
Central	1,579	4,832	4,642	9,474
Central Highlands	29	88	85	173
Totals	68,151	212,462	204,130	416,593

Source: UNHCR, 2011

Notes: (a) UNHCR (2008), *National Profile of IDPs in Afghanistan*, December 2008

(b) UNHCR (2011), *Statistical Summary of Internal Displacement in Afghanistan*, March 2011

(c) UNHCR (2010), *Internally Displaced Persons – IDPs leaflet*, prepared by UNHCR BO Kabul, October 2010

1.2. Data and Methodological Issues

The findings in this study are based on: (i) an ad-hoc small scale survey of IDPs in informal settlements conducted in summer 2010 and (ii) a nationally representative survey of Afghan households, the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) 2007/08²⁴.

a) IDP Survey

The fieldwork collected specific qualitative and quantitative information on IDPs for ‘synthetic’ analysis of the background, profile, vulnerabilities, needs and coping strategies of displaced people living in informal settlements. Budget and information constraints limited the scope of the survey, which is not meant to be representative of the universe of urban IDPs in informal settlements in Afghanistan.

Triangulation of statistics on (i) forced displacement flows (both protracted caseload and more recent ones); (ii) the size of the urban center; and (iii) the relative significance of informal settlements; as well as consideration of security concerns identified three cities: **Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar**. This selection ensured balanced geographical coverage between the Center, West and Southern regions, as well as representation of different ethnicities, displacement histories, population profiles, urban settlement and integration patterns.

In each of these cities, three locations/informal settlements were further identified for the final sample selection and implementation of the household surveys (see Table 1). In each city, the choice of sites was guided by key informant²⁵ interviews during the inception phase of the study and based on locally available IDP listings (see Box3 for further details).

Table 1: Areas selected for the sample

No.	City	Location
1	Kabul	Nasaji Bagrami
2		Kabul Nandari
3		Pole Charkhi
4	Herat	Shaidayee
5		Nawabad
6		Minaret
7	Kandahar	Loya Wiala
8		Haji Arab
9		Mirwais Mina

²⁴ As previously mentioned, the NRVA 07/08 household survey is the primary data source used for the current official definition of the poverty line in Afghanistan and for the Poverty Assessment analysis.

²⁵ A total of 20 key informant interviews were conducted throughout all the phases of the project to inform the methodology (pre-field work), assist the teams locally during the field work, and provide input on data analysis (post fieldwork). The list of key informant interviews includes meetings with representatives from UNHCR, OCHA, UNHABITAT, Solidarités, Médecins sans Frontières (MSF), Assistance Médicale Internationale (AMI), Action Contre la Faim (ACF), UMCOR, MoRR, and USAID, at the national and sub-national levels.

Box 3: Information on cities and locations surveyed.

Kabul. The selection of locations included in the sample benefited from the ongoing efforts of Kabul DoRR (Department of Refugees and Repatriation) and UNHCR Sub Office Kabul (SOK) which has identified 30 “Kabul Informal Settlements” (KIS). Undertaking a census-like survey in each settlement, the KIS profiling objective is to (i) identify and verify the different categories of inhabitants such as returned refugees, IDPs and other vulnerable populations; (ii) assess basic facilities and social services; and (iii) make recommendations for further interventions, advocacy and provision of possible assistance for durable solutions. As a first step, a mapping exercise of the informal settlements was carried out by UNHCR SOK team in partnership with DoRR Kabul in early 2010, which identified 30 informal settlements (KIS sites) in Kabul City and surrounding areas, with more than 13,500 individual dwellers. For each of the 30 sites, this mapping exercise provided aggregated information on location, number of resident families and individuals, as well as data on ethnicity and duration of displacement. Using the KIS locations framework, the research team chose 3 locations based on the following criteria: population estimates (a minimum of 150 individuals); place of origin (to ensure variation in migration histories and possibly motives); and duration of displacement (to include both protracted and recently displaced individuals). The Pul-e-Charki location included in the sample presents peculiar features in that it is home of a group of IDPs who have attained some form of progress in identifying land in a sector of the city where they have been able to achieve some degree of integration with their immediate neighbours.

Herat. IDP and informal settlement listings are not currently available in Herat. Working with local UNHCR and DoRR officials, and given the protracted IDPs caseload, the team identified both official and unofficial areas of IDP settlement. There are currently three camp-like IDP settlements: Maslakh (3,440 families), Shaidayee (2,188 families), and Minaret (581 families). Of almost 9,000 known IDP families in Herat, about 6,500 families live in these three settlements. The remaining IDPs live close to the city, in areas such as Nawabad, Gozara, Shendan and Kohsan. Of the three main settlements, Shaidayee and Minaret capture different durations of displacement and distance from the economic center. The third location – Nawabad – provides information on ‘non camp-like settlements’ with ‘less visible’ IDP families.

Kandahar. IDP and informal settlement listings are not available in Kandahar at present. Location selection for the survey relied on a recent study by the Brookings Bern Project on International Displacement and expertise of The Liaison Office (TLO)⁽¹⁾ and local UNHABITAT officials. TLO is a research organization with a strong local network and knowledge base in the South. According to these sources, about 80 percent of IDPs in Kandahar-city reside in Loya Wiala and arrived in different phases since 1992. Populations living in Zhari Dasht camp, as well as conflict-induced IDPs from the neighboring provinces of Helmand, Uruzgan and Zabul have moved to Loya Wiala since 2006. The population in Haji Arab, at the very south of Kandahar city, has a similar settlement pattern with less ‘visible’ IDPs living amongst the local population. Mirwais Mina is a large area at the western edge of Kandahar city where most IDPs live in mud houses similar to those of Kandahar residents; a small number live in tents. Most of the IDPs in Mirwais Mina are from the Panjwayi, Zhari, Arghandab and Maywand districts of Kandahar province. Another settlement, Shin Ghazi Baba, is located southeast of Kandahar city. Comprised largely of Kuchi nomads who lost their herds due to recent drought, it is the one of the only local areas where IDPs live in tents.

Selection of Loya Wiala (home to most of Kandahar city’s IDPs), Haji Arab, and Mirwais Mina included different parts of the city, areas of origin, timing of displacement and settlement patterns. The locations are fairly representative of the Kandahar city overall IDP population.

Notes: (1) *Beyond the blanket: towards more effective protection for IDPs in southern Afghanistan.* Brookings Bern Project on Internal Displacement in collaboration with The Liaison Office (TLO), May 2010.

In each urban area a team of five interviewers completed 150 surveys, for a total of 450 interviews across the three urban centers. The five interviewers, led by a team leader, spent three days in each location for a total of nine days in each city. The teams first met with local leaders and elders to introduce the project and team members, and better understand the distribution of IDPs in each area, thereby ensuring that the survey was representative of the resident population. Households were chosen based on a random-then-purposive sampling methodology. Every day, the team started from a set point in the community (mosque or school) and interviewed every third

household on its trajectory. Filter questions built into the questionnaire verified that households interviewed were IDPs as per the research team’s criteria (conflict or disaster induced), and lived in the selected area.

The quantitative survey²⁶ was piloted during a 3-day training session in Kabul and tested in Charahi Qambar (an district of Kabul) which is home to a large population of IDPs and other migrants of various ethnicity and provinces of origin. As people in Charahi Qambar have often been visited by different organizations for surveys and interviews, it was a good location for pilot survey purposes. Each interviewer led 3 interviews for the pilot test for a total of 36 test surveys.

Table 2: Breakdown of household interviews by city and location

No.	City	No. Interviews	Location	No. Interviews
1	Kabul	154	Nasaji Bagrami	52
2			Kabul Nandari	52
3			Pole Charkhi	50
4	Herat	150	Shaidayee	50
5			Nawabad	51
6			Minaret	49
7	Kandahar	149	Loya Wiala	50
8			Haji Arab	49
9			Mirwais Mina	49
Total		452	Total	452

The first page of the questionnaire consisted of observation and filter questions to ensure sampling of IDP families only, excluding other migrants or non-IDP residents of the informal settlements from the study. Each interviewer presented the research to the head of household selected and held an informal discussion to assess whether the person fell within the category of conflict-induced or natural disaster-induced displaced. If not, the interviewer would go to the next house on the map. The priority was to interview heads of households only (male or female) as the person likely most knowledgeable about matters such as monthly income and expenditure. Given that some of the male heads of household were at work, the second target within a given household was household head’s spouse²⁷. Interviews were conducted at different times during the day to maximize interviews with household heads and avoid over-representing unemployed heads of households²⁸.

The quantitative survey was supplemented by qualitative and in-depth research into the relevant human stories of IDP populations, through key informant interviews and case studies. These case studies were held with male and female IDP household representatives based on an open-ended set of questions and guidelines, and lasted about an hour per respondent. In female interviews, other women from the family or neighboring houses often joined the conversation, allowing for additional crosschecks and additional qualitative detail. A set of case study transcripts is provided in Annex 1.

²⁶ See Annex 2.

²⁷ In very rare instances (18 cases overall), interviewers accepted speaking with the oldest son if he was held responsible for the household and income generating activities.

²⁸ The interviewers’ shifts started early in the morning (at 6am) and continued until later in the afternoon, upon return from daily labor tasks (at 5pm).



Photo 1: Pilot test, Charahi Qambar, Kabul.

b) NRVA

The NRVA 2007/08 is a comprehensive multi-topic household survey that spans topics such as food consumption, demography, housing infrastructure, assets and credit, agriculture and livestock, migration, and child and maternal health. The 2007/08 survey collects data on a sample of 20,576 households in 2,572 communities. The salient feature of this data is its coverage; the data was collected from all 34 provinces over an entire year. The data is representative at the analytical domain level (or the stratum). In total, there are 46 domains: 34 domains for rural or small urban populations in each of each the 34 provinces, 11 urban domains for the 11 provinces with the highest urban populations; and one domain for Kuchi populations²⁹.

For this study, the IDP sample was compared to a sub-sample of the NRVA (1,119 households) representing the urban poor population. According to the official definition of poverty, a household is defined as poor³⁰ if the total value of per capita consumption is less than the poverty line which – following the cost of basic needs approach (CBN) – was set at 1,253 Afghani per person per month³¹.

²⁹ For further details on the NRVA survey, see CSO-EC (2010), *National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment 2007/08 – A profile of Afghanistan*. [online] <http://nrva.cso.gov.af/NRVA%202007-08%20Report.pdf>

³⁰ If a household is defined as poor, all individuals in that same household are considered poor.

³¹ The average value of the poverty line for urban areas is 1,776 Afghani per person. The poverty line represents the typical cost of attaining 2,100 calories per person per day and of meeting some basic nonfood needs, in terms of fall 2007 prices from urban areas of central Afghanistan. The poverty line reflects regional differences in the cost of living, and also accounts for inflation over the time of the survey. For a detailed description of the methodology adopted to define the poverty line see CSO – World Bank (2011), *Setting the official Poverty Line for Afghanistan*, Mimeo.

II. A Profile of IDPs in Informal Settlements

This section describes the sample of urban IDPs in terms of their socio-demographic, economic, migration and displacement profile. The profile is done by city (Kabul, Herat, Kandahar) to account for the specific characteristics of settlements in each location. The description of the urban IDPs also captures the length of stay in the current location in order to identify specific settlement patterns.

As previously mentioned, an important contribution of this study is to benchmark its findings on urban poor coming with those of the (nationally representative) 2007/08 NRVA household survey. This comparison helps identify specific characteristics – if any – that distinguish IDPs from other vulnerable segments of the population, namely the urban poor.

2.1. Displacement Patterns

Motives of displacement:

The sample for this study was selected following the official definition of IDPs and thereby filters respondents according to whether their households were *forced* to leave their previous residence for reasons related to persecution/conflict or as a result of natural disaster³². In addition, the survey was designed to investigate migration motives by asking respondents to rank the three most important reasons that led to displacement³³.

As expected, conflict and insecurity is the first migration motive, as reported by 86.5 percent of the population. More limited consensus emerges regarding the second and third causes of displacement. The most widely noted secondary reason was food insecurity (reported by 33.9 percent of people interviewed) while labor market problems (unemployment and underemployment) were frequently the third most important reason for migration (43.7 percent).

Economic incentives - besides acting as secondary *push factors* – have a prominent role in shaping resettlement trajectories, acting as *pull factors* towards urban centers. Over 90 percent of the IDPs covered in this study came from a rural community of origin³⁴ which reveals the overlap of forced migration with more general urbanization in Afghanistan.

When asked about the reasons that led to the choice of an urban settlement³⁵ – versus moving to another rural area – 81 percent of respondents noted “growing insecurity in rural areas”, 54 percent reported “better economic/employment opportunities”, and 51 percent the “lack of available/arable land” (See Table 3).

³² The filtering of sample households was implemented via a preliminary informal discussion between the primary respondent and the interviewer (See Section 1.2.a).

³³ More specifically, Question 31 asks “what are the 3 most important reasons that forced you to leave your last home and community of residence?”. See Annex 2 for details on pre-coded answers.

³⁴ The corresponding figures for the 3 cities are: Kabul, 82 percent; Herat, 98 percent; Kandahar, 97 percent.

³⁵ More specifically, Question 30 asks “If you used to live in a rural area, what were the reasons that led you to come to an urban area rather than move to a rural area?”, leaving respondents the possibility to provide multiple answers (see Annex 2). For simplicity we focus on the first 3 most frequently reported motives.

Interestingly, precarious living conditions in rural areas (in terms of security and access to land) matter more for settlers in Kabul and Kandahar, while in Herat, the perceived economic advantages of urban areas (compared to rural ones) are more significant.

Respondents were also asked to identify the main reason for choosing the current city of settlement. As shown in Table 4, and consistent with previous findings, security considerations drive the choice of settlement location in each city, in particular in Kandahar. Other reasons such as improved services and economic opportunities are relevant for Kabul; in Herat the presence of relatives is the most important pull factor for IDPs.

Table 3: Main reasons for urbanization, by city of settlement.

<i>“What were the reasons that led you to come to an urban area rather than move to (another) rural area?”</i>	Kabul	Herat	Kandahar	Total
<i>Growing insecurity in rural areas</i>	65.13	84.67	94.67	81.42
<i>Better economic/employment opportunities</i>	28.95	84.00	49.33	53.98
<i>Lack of available/arable land</i>	60.53	57.33	36.00	51.33

Note: Question allows for multiple answers; the table shows only responses given by more than 50% of respondents. Sample restricted to HH previously living in rural areas (92% of the original sample).

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

Table 4: Pull factors, by city of settlement

<i>“What was the main reason you came to the city where you live now?”</i>	Kabul	Herat	Kandahar	Total
Geographic proximity	0	0.67	0.67	0.44
Presence of relatives	4.61	22.67	0	9.07
Ethnic ties	4.61	0.67	4.67	3.32
Better security situation	50	56.67	83.33	63.27
Better economic/employment opportunities	17.11	6.67	8.67	10.84
Better access to services	19.08	11.33	1.33	10.62
Assistance being given in this location	1.97	0.67	1.33	1.33
Other	2.63	0.67	0	1.11

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

Duration of displacement:

Of the IDPs interviewed for this study, 24 percent were forced to leave their homes and communities of origin in Afghanistan prior to 31 December 2002 (protracted caseload) and 76 percent since 2002 (newly displaced). Only 3 percent of the sample reported to have lived in a location different from the one of origin since displacement, i.e. the duration of displacement equals the duration of settlement in the city in which they are living³⁶.

However, a closer look at broader displacement histories revealed that about 26 percent of the sample are former refugees who became IDPs after having returned to their pre-exile residence, (mainly with the end of the Taliban regime in 2001,) and subsequently left their place of origin again³⁷.

³⁶ Mobility within the current city boundaries is much higher and affects 27 percent of the sample which reported to have changed home at least once since initial settlement in the city.

³⁷ The highest numbers of secondary displaced were located in Kabul, where half of the IDP population consists of displaced returnees. The Kandahar sample represents one third (32.8%) of secondary displaced persons, while Herat contains 3.3% of displaced returnees.

Throughout the analysis, we further refined the classification considering the following categories of displacement duration: (i) less than 1 year; (ii) between 1 and 2 years; (iii) between 2 and 5 years, and (iv) more than 5 years (See Table 5).

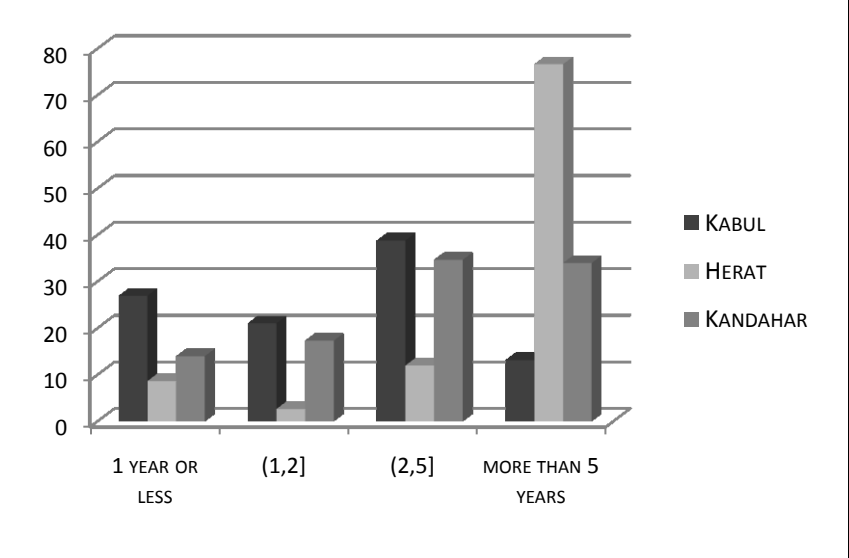
Table 5: Distribution of the sample by duration of displacement

<i>Duration of displacement/settlement</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1 year or less	17
(1,2]	14
(2,5]	29
more than 5 years	41

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

The duration of displacement (settlement) varies between the three cities considered, reflecting different in-migration patterns and histories. As shown in Figure 1, IDPs surveyed in Kabul tend to have settled more recently compared to IDPs in Herat or Kandahar. The proportion of IDPs surveyed in Kabul displaced for less than 1 year is about 27 percent, compared to 9 and 14 percent of IDPs surveyed in Herat and Kandahar, respectively. At the same time, only 13 percent of Kabul’s IDPs have been settled for more than 5 years, versus 77 percent in Herat and 34 percent in Kandahar.

Figure 1: Distribution of IDPs sample by location and length of settlement



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

2.2. Socio - Demographic Profile

Household composition:

IDP households on average have 9 family members, slightly more than poor urban households in the NRVA sample, whose average size is of 8 members. The difference in average is not reflected in the composition of the median household (see Table 6)³⁸. Poor urban households and IDPs have the same household composition, with a high number of dependent children over adults which constitutes a clear vulnerability factor in terms of livelihood needs and strategies.

Table 6: Household composition

	Mean value		Median value	
	Urban Poor	IDP	Urban Poor	IDP
male adults (over 18)	1.5	1.9	1	1
male children (under 18)	2.5	2.8	2	2
female adults (over 18)	1.5	1.9	1	1
female children (under 18)	2.6	2.5	2	2
Total Household size	8.2	9.2	8	8

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08

Extremely Vulnerable Individuals (EVIs):

For consistency across operations, and in line with international standards, UNHCR developed guidelines regarding "Extremely Vulnerable Individuals" (EVIs) which set out standardized criteria for the identification and assistance of various categories of EVIs of concern to UNHCR (namely IDPs and refugee returnees).

The UNHCR EVI guidance defines extremely vulnerable as people who may be in a life threatening situation, unable to help themselves, lacking family and community support or suffering from physical or mental trauma.³⁹

There are broadly three categories of vulnerable individuals according to this definition:

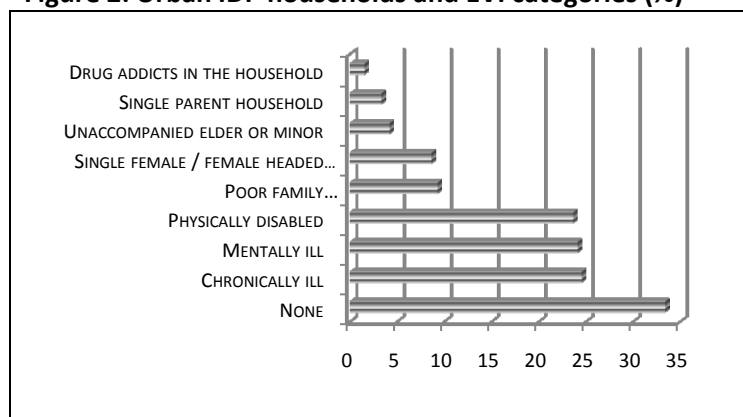
- i. *Physical vulnerability:* Persons who may be handicapped, blind, chronically ill or drug addicted.
- ii. *Psychological and mental vulnerability:* This includes survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, torture or traumatic stress. Mentally vulnerable persons include those who suffer from a mental illness.
- iii. *Social vulnerability:* Persons who do not have the support of their family or community. Generally they are very poor, without assets and cannot help themselves.

³⁸ Households in Kandahar tend to be bigger, with an average of 10.65 and median of 10 members. When looking at differences in household size by length of stay, households settled for more than two years on average have one more dependent.

³⁹ In practical terms, these categories encompass 11 types of EVI cases: single females, single parents, unaccompanied elderly, unaccompanied minors, physically disabled, mentally ill, chronically ill, poor families (5 or more dependents without any livelihood strategy), drug addicts, medical cases, and special cases.

Among the sample population of IDPs, only 33.4 percent were not within the UNHCR EVI guidelines (See Figure 2). The majority had significant physical, mental, and social vulnerabilities, of which the most frequent was health related (chronically ill, mentally ill, physically disabled), followed by those lacking support of family or community members (poor families, female-headed households, single parent households, drug addicts).

Figure 2: Urban IDP households and EVI categories (%)



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

Table 7: EVI categories by urban area (%)

EVI category	Kabul	Herat	Kandahar
Single female / female headed household	3.3	7.3	15.3
Single parent household	1.3	4.7	4.0
Unaccompanied elder or minor	2.6	4.7	5.3
Physically disabled	28.3	23.3	19.3
Mentally ill	25.0	30.7	16.7
Chronically ill	51.3	18.7	3.3
Poor family (5 dependents or more and no livelihood strategy)	22.4	0.7	4.7
Drug addicts in the household	4.6	-	-
None	23.0	32.7	44.7

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

Although there is no clear pattern in terms of EVI category by duration of settlement, key differences exist between the three cities in the study. IDP households surveyed in Kabul, in particular, are more likely to fall in EVI categories (Table 7). Higher concentration of vulnerable households could be a direct consequence of the self-selection of IDPs who choose to locate in Kabul because of better access to services in the capital (See Table 4).



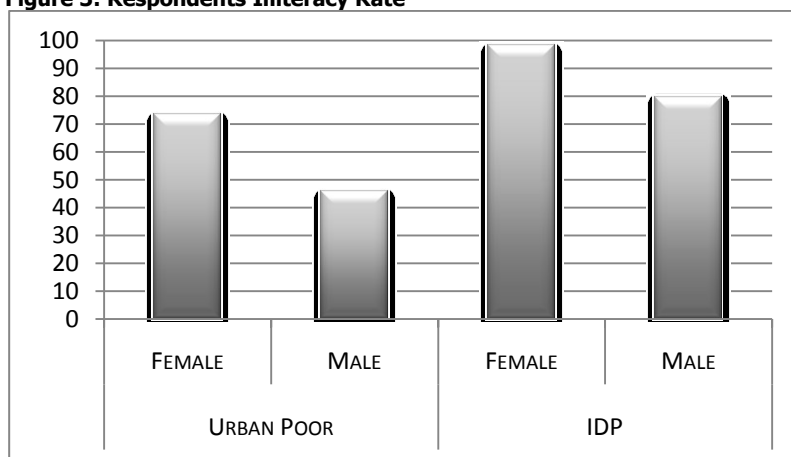
Photo 2: Female-headed household, Shaidayee, Herat

Respondent level of education:

The questionnaire was targeted to household heads (irrespective of gender) or, in the absence of the former, to spouses of the household head⁴⁰. In analysis of the education level – and in comparison with NRVA subsample⁴¹ – we maintain the gender breakdown. As highlighted in the Poverty Status Report⁴², the distribution of human capital endowment in the Afghan population has significant gender disparities.

As shown in Figure 3, education levels among IDPs confirm this general trend. 98.6 percent of female respondents are illiterate compared to 80 percent of males. It is important to stress that the share of illiterate IDPs in this study is substantially higher than the comparable figure for poor individuals from the NRVA-urban poor subsample. Among the urban poor, illiterates are 88.31 percent of the female subsample and 64.48 percent of the male subsample. When compared to IDPs, urban poor families also report higher education achievements. Of male respondents, only 7 percent of IDPs report primary education completion, versus 9 percent of male household heads in poor urban households. Differences are even stronger for levels of education above primary, with 26 percent of urban poor reporting more than primary education compared to 7 percent of IDPs.

Figure 3: Respondents Illiteracy Rate



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

⁴⁰ Female household heads are only 8.3 percent of the IDP sample.

⁴¹ The relevant benchmark for assessing the characteristics of IDP survey respondents' has been identified limiting NRVA sample to heads or spouses of urban poor households.

⁴² See Footnote 7.

2.3. Economic Profile

Employment profile.

As seen in Section 2.1, prior to displacement 92 percent of the IDPs surveyed lived in rural areas, where they were mainly engaged in agriculture. Focusing on the male workforce alone, 67 percent worked in agriculture or livestock production, 17 percent in construction and about 5 percent were either inactive or unemployed (Table 8). For female respondents, inactivity in the formal labor market (i.e. working outside the home) was as high as 70 percent, while 22 percent of women worked in the residual “other services” sector (carpet weaving, embroidery/tailoring, handicrafts etc), and about 6 percent in agriculture.

When settled in urban areas, the lack of agricultural opportunities caused a shift towards construction and services as the main activity sector. This radical shift for former rural dwellers newly moved to urban locations reflects a challenging integration process characterized by the need to adjust quickly from a skill set which has little currency in urban settings. Of male IDPs, 50.6 percent is currently employed in construction; 12 percent in “other services”; 9 percent in retail trade; and 5 percent in “transportation and communication”. Interestingly, the share of inactive female respondents remained constant before and after displacement, while unemployment increased for male workers, from 4.75 to 13.77 percent⁴³.

Table 8: Comparison of sector of activity before and after displacement (%)

	Before displacement		Current - IDPs		Urban Poor	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Agriculture/ livestock	6.09	67.06	-	3.29	11.1	4.6
Mining & Quarrying	-	0.3	-	0.3	-	-
Construction	-	16.91	-	50.6	-	12.8
Manufacturing	-	0.59	-	2.69	4.1	2.3
Transportat., communic.	-	2.37	-	5.39	-	6.4
Wholesale trade	-	0.59	-	1.2	-	1.3
Retail trade	0.87	3.56	-	8.98	3.2	26.2
Health	-	-	-	-	0.3	1.0
Education	0.87	0.59	0.88	0.9	1.3	2.7
Other services	21.74	2.67	28.95	11.98	2.5	14.4
Public admin/gov't	-	0.59	0.88	0.9	0.6	11.9
None/Unemployed	70.43	4.75	69.3	13.77	76.8	16.4

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08

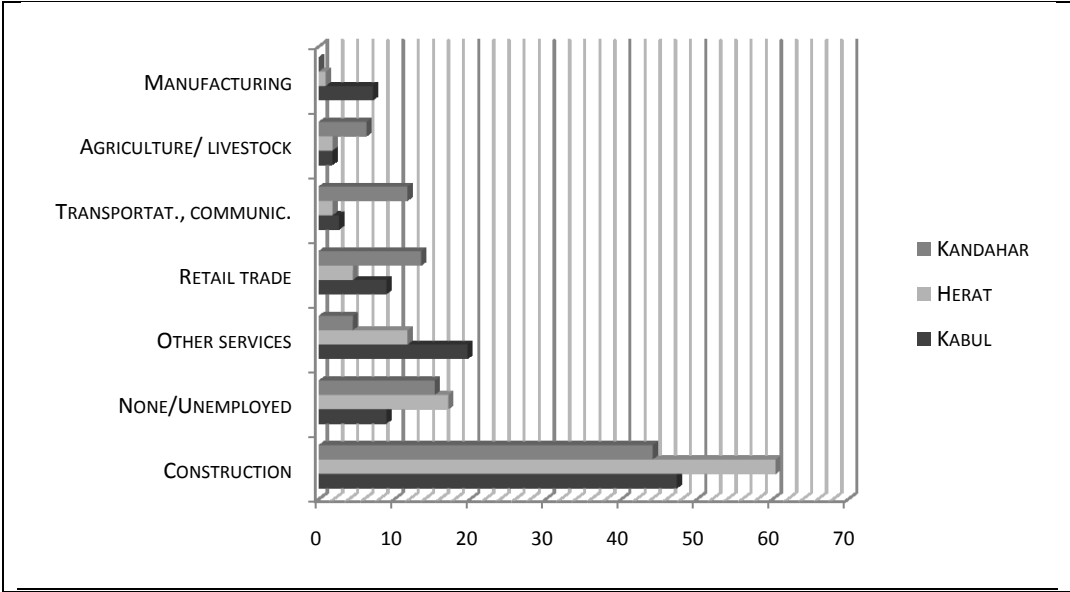
Table 8 reports the sector of activities of the urban poor covered in the NRVA survey. Two major differences emerge. First, IDPs (both male and female) have a lower probability of unemployment/inactivity, possibly linked to the necessity to work to make ends meet. Second, sectors of activity are more heterogeneous for urban poor men, i.e. the urban poor work across all sectors. Unlike IDPs, only 12.8 percent of male heads of urban poor households are engaged in

⁴³ While the survey instrument for the IDP study does not allow for distinguishing between inactivity and unemployment – which are grouped together in a single category – it is reasonable to associate figures for female mainly to inactivity and those for males to unemployment. As discussed in the Poverty Status Report, female participation to the labor market is very limited and unemployment tends to affect mainly male workers.

construction compared to 50.6 percent of IDPs. The majority of male urban poor work in retail trade (26.2 percent), other services (14.4 percent), and most noticeably in public sector jobs (11.9 percent versus 0.6 percent of IDPs).

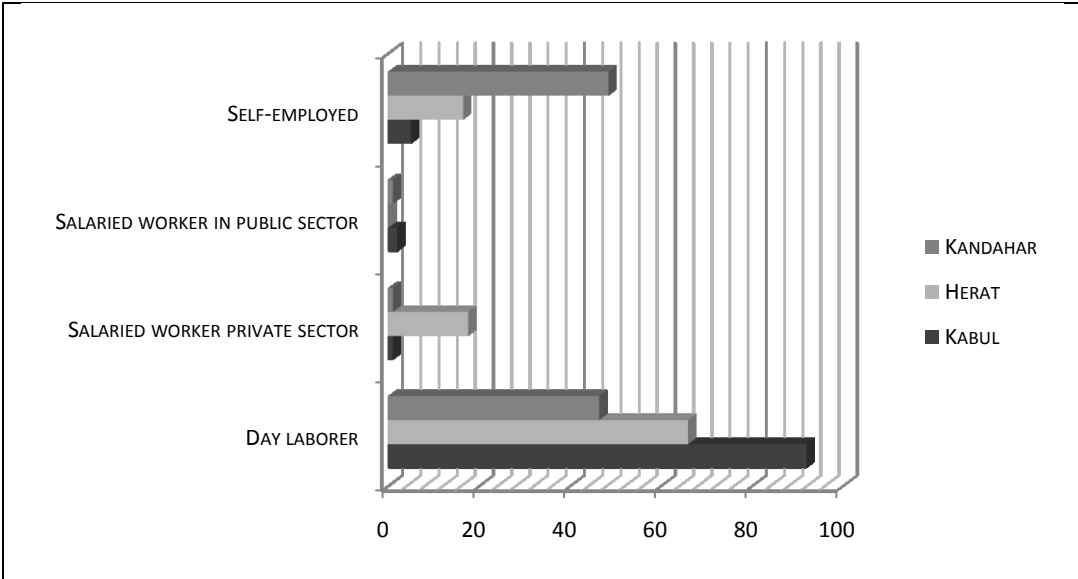
The analysis further reveals differences in IDPs sectors of activity between the three cities covered in the study⁴⁴. First of all, as shown in Figure 4, unemployment among male respondents is much higher in Herat or Kandahar, than Kabul (17, 15 and 9 percent, respectively). Secondly, in Kabul and Kandahar employment is more equally spread across sectors.

Figure 4: Current sector of activity, by city (male respondents only)



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

Figure 5: Occupation, by city (male respondents only)



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

⁴⁴ No significant difference in sectors of employment was found looking at different duration of settlement.

Table 9: Occupation, comparison with NRVA sample (male respondents only)

	IDP	Urban Poor
Day laborer	68.4	24.5
Salaried worker private sector	6.25	8.61
Salaried worker in public sector	1.04*	16.56
Self-employed	23.26	49.34
unpaid family worker	1.04*	0.88

Note: (*) Sample limited to 3 observations

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08

Differences in sectors of employment are reflected in the type of occupation.

Casual daily labor is the most common occupation, especially in Kabul, where it involves 92 percent of the workforce (see Figure 5). In Kandahar, where the share of employment in retail trade, transport and agriculture is higher, IDP male workers are almost equally subdivided between daily labor (46 percent) and self-employment (48 percent).

In addition, information on the occupations of male IDP workers from the three cities was compared to that of the male urban poor from NRVA. As shown in Table 9, while most IDP male workers are daily laborers, poor male household heads are more likely to be self-employed. This again reflects sectoral biases, e.g. the demand for day labor in construction.

Occupation is strongly associated with average (nominal) monthly wages (Table 10). Self-employed workers on average earn the highest wages and, in particular, their average premium over daily laborers – the main occupation of IDPs – is 33 percent⁴⁵. Assuming no other income source than the main earner’s wage, results reported in Table 10 imply that on average a daily laborer’s wage could support above poverty living for no more than two individuals; a salary in the private sector could support a household with 3 members, and self-employed earnings about 4 individuals.

Table 10: Average (nominal) monthly wage, by occupation

	Average full sample
Day laborer	5,642
Salaried worker private sector	6,111
Self-employed	8,373

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

To investigate determinants of wage differentials we estimated a regression model in which IDP’s monthly wages depend on workers’ characteristics (gender and literacy), city of residence, duration of settlement, sector of employment and occupation. Results of the model are presented in Table 11. Male workers’ wage premium over females is from 90 to 75 percent. This reveals women’s vulnerability in the labor market. Illiteracy is also a factor which negatively affects earnings potential. Remarkably, the coefficient loses significance when the sector of employment and occupation (specifications 3 and 4) are controlled for. This suggests that the education level is a potentially important factor in determining the choice of the economic activity. Similarly, keeping other

⁴⁵ Salaried workers in the public sector have been excluded from the wage analysis due to the limited sample size.

characteristics constant, wage differentials between cities disappear if controlling for characteristics of employment.

Table 11: Wage regression model, dependent variable (log) Monthly Wage

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Male	0.907*** (0.000)	0.912*** (0.000)	0.797*** (0.000)	0.746*** (0.000)
Illiterate	-0.229*** (0.009)	-0.177** (0.045)	-0.144 (0.105)	-0.132 (0.142)
Herat ^(a)	0.181** (0.029)	0.031 (0.740)	0.004 (0.963)	-0.046 (0.637)
Kandahar ^(a)	0.385*** (0.000)	0.298*** (0.001)	0.230** (0.010)	0.154 (0.116)
Length of stay (1,2] ^(b)		-0.000 (0.997)	0.018 (0.884)	0.035 (0.782)
Length of stay (2,5] ^(b)		0.196* (0.077)	0.153 (0.169)	0.143 (0.198)
Length of stay > 5 years ^(b)		0.309*** (0.005)	0.262** (0.016)	0.254** (0.021)
Trade (wholesale, retail) ^(c)			-0.084 (0.443)	-0.223* (0.092)
Manufacturing ^(c)			-0.591*** (0.004)	-0.632*** (0.002)
Agriculture ^(c)			-0.158 (0.129)	-0.228** (0.039)
Transport and Communications ^(c)			0.108 (0.561)	0.066 (0.723)
Other Services ^(c)			0.194 (0.194)	0.084 (0.612)
Other (Education, Public Administration and Government) ^(c)			0.068 (0.816)	-0.058 (0.853)
Salaried worker (private sector) ^(d)				0.129 (0.352)
Salaried worker (public sector) ^(d)				0.072 (0.817)
Self-employed ^(d)				0.205* (0.059)
Observations	312	312	312	312
R-squared	0.255	0.283	0.313	0.322

Note: p-values in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. All model specifications include a constant term. Omitted categories (a) Kabul; (b) less than 1 year; (c) construction; (d) daily laborer.

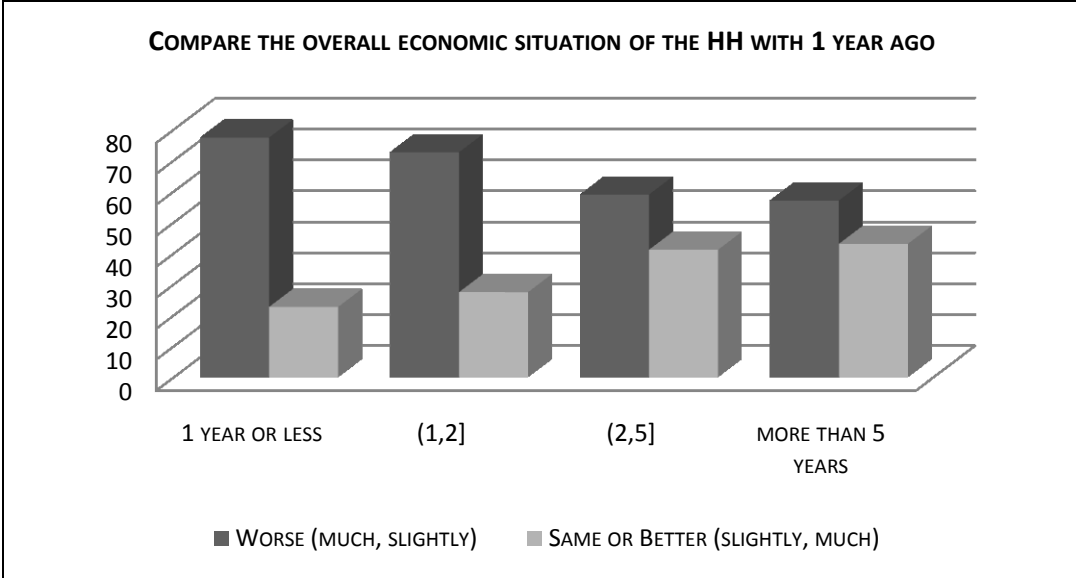
Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

An intriguing finding is the premium for longer periods of settlement. This result is open to multiple and overlapping considerations. Over time IDPs could learn the skills necessary in an urban

economic context. Longer settlement could increase IDPs’ social capital (in terms of social networks and knowledge of the socio-economic context) and therefore access to better quality jobs. Another possibility is that those vulnerable households unable to adapt to the new urban socio-economic environment have left over time, and that therefore IDPs residing for longer periods are a successful subsample of those originally settled (self-selection bias). Regression analysis also confirms the results of Table 10, that there is a significant wage premium for self-employed workers over daily laborers.

To further investigate progressive integration of IDPs over time, we analyzed the self-assessed evaluation of households’ economic situation compared to the previous year, by duration of stay (Figure 6). As clear from the graph, the first two years of displacement are perceived the hardest by IDPs. Only 23 percent of newly settled IDPs (for one year or less) report an improvement (or no deterioration) over their pre-displacement economic situation. Similar results also hold for IDPs settled for 1 to 2 years. At the same time, longer periods of settlement are linked with improvement in economic conditions.

Figure 6: Self assessment of household's economic condition over past year, by duration of settlement



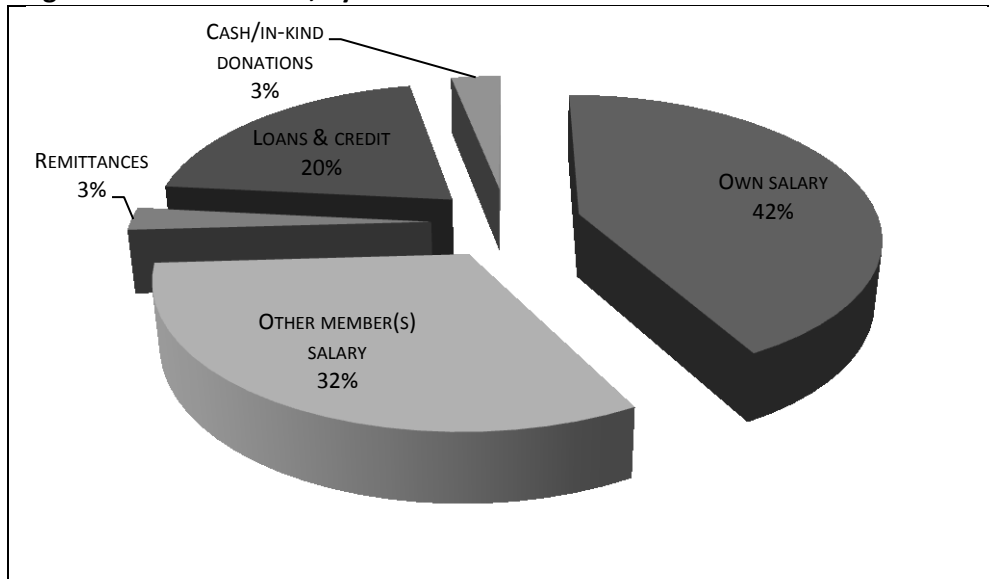
Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

Sources of income.

Employment patterns by respondent provide a partial image of the overall household income. In Afghanistan, as in many other countries with similar levels of development, households tend to diversify their livelihood strategies and sources of income. As illustrated in Figure 7, IDP households first rely on household head labor income (42 percent of total income); then – in decreasing order – on labor income of other household members⁴⁶ (32 percent); on loans (from relatives and friends) and credit from shopkeepers (20 percent); and finally almost equally on cash/in-kind donations and remittances (3 percent).

⁴⁶ On average, IDP households have only 1.61 active members.

Figure 7: Income shares, by source



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

Analysis of income sources together with the labor market profile of IDPs helps to better understand which IDP household types are relatively more vulnerable. Given how critical labor income is in IDPs' livelihood strategies, households with inactive or unemployed adults, households whose primary income earner is a female, households with fewer economically active members, households with illiterate workers are all considered by and large vulnerable. Moreover, newly displaced households – besides possibly lacking adequate skills to take advantage of urban labor market opportunities – are also less likely to have other income sources, such as loans and credit, and therefore are potentially more vulnerable and in need of external assistance.

Household Expenditure.

In analysis of poverty and vulnerability, consumption is usually preferred to income as a measure of welfare. This is because consumption figures are considered less affected by measurement error issues and consumption tends to fluctuate less than income over time (consumption smoothing) therefore a better indicator of living standards⁴⁷.

On average, IDP households' monthly expenditure is 11,124 Afghani, slightly less than the average household expenditure from the NRVA sample of urban poor adjusted to 2010 prices (13,057 Afghani per month). Such difference implies that – on average – urban poor households can provide for “above poverty” living for one more household member than IDP households.

Consistent with their vulnerability status, IDP households' main consumption item, food, represents 60 percent of total monthly expenditure⁴⁸. This is 4.5 percentage points higher than the average food share to total monthly consumption of poor NRVA urban households.

⁴⁷ See CSO – World Bank (2011), *Setting the official Poverty Line for Afghanistan*, Mimeo.

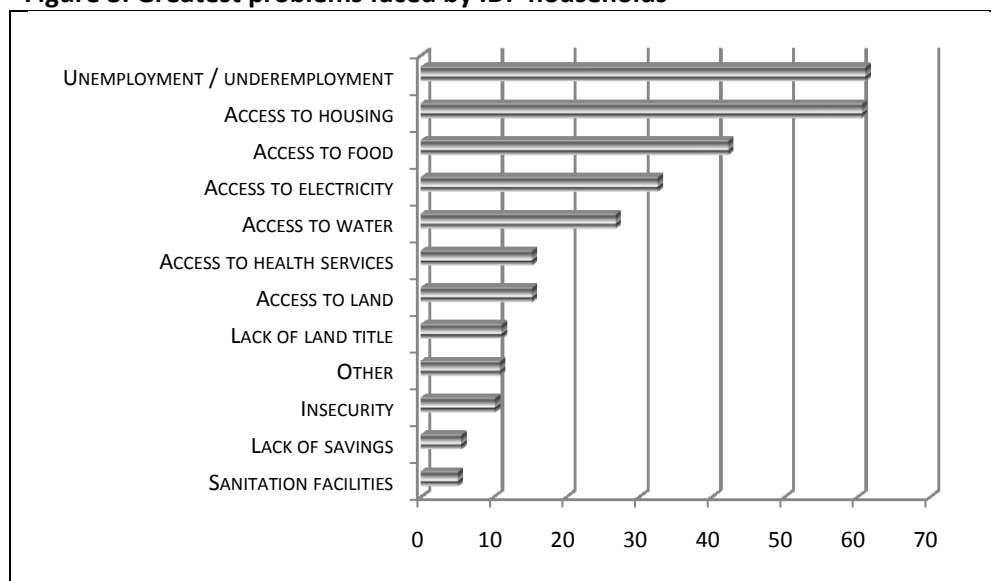
⁴⁸ For the remaining part, IDP households' monthly consumption is composed of health expenditure (16 percent), non food items (9 percent), transportations (7 percent), rent and utilities (5 percent) and education (3 percent).

III. Vulnerability Assessment of Urban IDPs

In addition to describing the main demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the IDPs, Section II illustrates important similarities as well as specific vulnerabilities of IDPs with respect to the broader urban poor population. In this section, while maintaining whenever possible the comparison of IDPs with urban poor, the vulnerabilities of IDPs are considered in detail to better gauge their assistance needs. The analysis in this section is based on IDPs’ self-assessment of major livelihood needs, mainly focusing on issues related to IDPs settlement and welfare (housing and access to services, availability of safety nets and food security).

When IDP respondents were asked to assess the (three) most important problems faced by their households, about 61 percent of the sample identified issues related to unemployment /underemployment and housing (Figure 8). However, looking more carefully at the results reported in Figure 8, almost all other self-assessed problems could be related to housing and classified in a broader “access to proper housing” category (access to water, electricity, sanitation, land and security of tenure). Access to food is the third most critical self-reported problem, reported by 42 percent of IDPs. Interestingly, while problems related to employment remain a priority irrespective of settlement duration, concerns related to the “access to proper housing” become more pressing the longer the duration of stay. At the same time food insecurity tends to decline.⁴⁹

Figure 8: Greatest problems faced by IDP households



Note: The “Other” category groups residual concerns, none of which is reported as a major concern by more than 5% of the sample.

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

⁴⁹ As an example, the share of households reporting access to housing as one of the three most important problems increases from 61 percent among families settled for 1 year or less to 67 percent among those residing for more than 5 years. Similar trends are also reported for access to electricity (from 16 to 35 percent), access to land (from 8 to 17.2 percent) and sanitation (from 3 to 8 percent). The only exception to this trend relates to access to water which is reported as one of the three major problems by 45 percent of families settled for 1 year or less and by 23 percent of those residing for more than 5 years.

3.1. Housing Arrangements

As expected in the survey design which focused on informal settlements, IDPs live in much more hazardous housing conditions than the broader category of urban poor.

As shown in Table 12, about 60 percent live in a tent, temporary shelter or shack, while the remaining mainly inhabit single family houses. Interestingly, while the share of IDPs living in tents (the most precarious housing arrangement) decreases over time, the share of those still living in temporary housing conditions (temporary shelter, shack, camp) is as high as 61 percent among those displaced/settled for more than 5 years confirming the prominence and persistence of barriers to access to proper housing irrespective of the duration of displacement. Significant differences also emerge between the three cities in the study. In Kabul, IDPs rely on temporary housing arrangements the most (92 percent of which a third live in tents). In Kandahar, the housing conditions of IDPs surveyed are much less precarious, with 73 percent of the sample living in single family houses⁵⁰.

First we lived in tents, then we started building mud houses in this area. It was all deserts before, although it was government land. They could take it back any time. But in the past, when they have tried, we have defended ourselves. Last year, people from the municipality visited and we had a serious dispute with them over this land. They came in with their bulldozers but we started throwing stones at the soldiers and the policemen. We defended ourselves, and they have not been back since. They left and got scared. –

Hanifa, 25-year-old mother of 4, originally from Daikundi and living in a mud house in Shaidayee.

The unsafe nature of dwelling types is paralleled by the informal nature of housing occupancy⁵¹ and by the widespread insecurity of tenure. 85 percent of IDPs do not have a deed (evidence of ownership or lease agreement) for their homes. This is the reverse of the urban poor households of whom 75 percent have a deed for their homes. Lack of tenure security can be considered as a distinguishing feature of informal settlements which have developed over time due to poorly functioning land and housing markets, and insufficient

“People live in (an) unplanned, informal area, without any deeds – what they need first and foremost is to be given a paper or deed allowing them to be where they are. Most people live under tents, around which they have built walls. They do not pay anything, neither to landlords nor to the government (as this is government land). This has been the situation for the past 8-10 years, they have all arrived during the Karzai era. Some came previously during the time of the Taliban, but they are a minority.

- Wulus Mohammad, Local leader, Haji Arab, Kandahar

planning for urban development and growth (see Box 1). The lack of formal property papers puts IDPs at constant risk of eviction. Moreover, insecurity of tenure hampers IDPs from building up assets and accessing credit, using their home for income generating activities and prevents investments in service provision⁵².

Regularization of informal settlements is a top priority on the agenda of some of Afghanistan’s urban municipalities and the donor community. For example, UNHABITAT – partnering with the municipality of Kandahar– set up activities to improve land security in one of the areas in this study –

⁵⁰ Significant differences also emerge between the three cities in the study. Kabul is the location where IDPs rely on temporary housing arrangements the most (92 percent of which 33.55 percent live in tents). In Kandahar, on the contrary, housing conditions of IDPs surveyed are much less precarious, with 73 percent of the sample living in single family houses. The presence of social support networks is a key element helping IDPs from rural areas in Kandahar to establish in the city. When asked how they found their current dwelling, most of the Kandahar IDP population said they received the help of their relatives.

⁵¹ 53 percent of IDPs built their own shelters, without any outside assistance; 23 percent accessed to their dwelling through friends and relatives, and only 21 percent through the market, either renting their house (12 percent) or purchasing it (9 percent). However, the share of households relying on relatives and friends’ support declines over time, from 31 percent of households settled for less than one year, to only 9 percent of those residing for more than 5 years.

⁵² The issue of the right to land in informal settlements is also increasingly associated with situations of social tensions and confrontation.

namely District 9 of Kandahar, Loya Wiala (see Box 4). Similar initiatives are yet to develop in other municipalities; Kandahar remains the main pilot example of a possible approach to regularization.

Table 12: Dwelling characteristics, by sample and duration of settlement

	Duration of displacement/settlement					
	NRVA urban poor	IDPs	1 year or less	(1,2]	(2,5]	more than 5 years
Single family house	49	35	36	32	43	30
Part of a shared house	45	4	5	5	6	1
Separate Apartment	-	0	-	-	1	1
Tent		14	20	11	22	8
Temporary shelter/shack/camp	5	46	39	47	28	61
Other	1	1	-	5	1	-

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08

Box 4: Regularization of informal settlements: UNHABITAT Experiences from Kandahar

Since 2002, UNHABITAT has developed an integrated, community-based approach to improve the living conditions of low-income families living in informal settlements in Kandahar city. In particular, this project aims at assisting families' transition from *de facto* to *de jure* tenure security, by subsidizing formal land acquisitions and assisting them through the registration process.

UNHABITAT is piloting this approach in Kandahar's District 9 (Loya Wiala) where, with the cooperation of the Independent Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG), a census recording property details (location, ownership, occupancy details and property characteristics) was completed. This was done to obtain necessary information to be able to offer households the possibility to acquire title for their property over time at a subsidized price of 35 Afghanis a month per square meter, against an estimated monthly rental value of 350 Afghanis per square meter. The money is given to the government, and households receive their land title (so long as there has not been a land dispute previously recorded).

UNHABITAT's approach of incremental regularization of informal settlements is based on an agreement between the community and the local and central governments and aims to strengthen local governance through an effective city-community partnership to achieve improved living conditions and security of tenure. Overall, UNHABITAT works through specific channels of authority, both from the top down (mayor, district manager, gozar) and from the bottom up (urban community development councils and community participation).

Source : UNHABITAT presentation at the Landlessness and Land Tenure Task Force, June 2010.



Photo 3: House under construction, Pole Charkhi informal settlement (Kabul)

3.2. Infrastructures and Services

Access to services like safe water, sanitation and electricity, together with the quality of housing, are an important dimension of wellbeing. While, throughout Afghanistan, access to basic services is low, the development of informal settlements outside any appropriate urban planning master plan of service provision has further exacerbated the level of deprivation of their inhabitants.

As illustrated in Table 13, as many as 72 percent of IDPs in our study – compared to only 18 percent of the urban poor – do not have any access to electricity. The situation in terms of access to water and sanitation is by no means better, and again points towards a much higher level of deprivation of IDPs compared to the broader category of urban poor, with potential negative impacts on health outcomes (see Table 14 and Table 15). The inadequate water and sanitation facilities, poor drainage and solid waste management and indoor pollution which characterize living conditions in these settlements are likely to contribute to acute respiratory diseases, diarrhea and to a wide array of other infectious diseases, especially for the most vulnerable segments of the population such as children and the elderly.⁵³

Issues related to access to services are also very often a cause of tension between the host communities and the displaced. As an example, IDPs in all the three cities voiced their frustration over differences in their water access and that of longer-term residents.

“Our biggest problem is water access. Every day there is a tanker coming here: we get water from their plastic jericans or oilcans for which we have to pay. Each family is limited to 5/6 cans – not enough, just the minimum. Our neighbors do not allow us to get water from pipes, or hand pumps and wells in the homes. We are not allowed to reach out to them.” Leader of the group of IDPs from Helmand, Nasaji Bagrami, Kabul

“We used to have a good access to water, but it is no longer sufficient as a few of the pumps have gone dry. We are now about 20-30 families to use 1 pump. There might be altogether here 30 pumps for 1,500 or more families. Children, who are sent to get water, often fight over water at the pumps.” Barakatullah, Local leader, Shaidayee, Herat

“There is not enough water: only one hand pump for a few families. In some areas of Nawabad they have wells within their compound. Other homes benefited from pipe system; but those who do not have enough money, like us, cannot afford to pay 5000 Afghani a month to the government for this water. So longer-term residents have access to water within their homes – either pipe or well – they have benefited from the planning of the government there. But IDPs do not benefit from this and have to go outside to use a hand pump. There is a clear divide between our groups and our rights.” Gul Ahmad Khan, Local leader, Nawabad, Herat

⁵³ Montgomery and Hewett (2004), *Urban Poverty and Health in Developing Countries: Household and Neighborhood Effects*, Policy Research Division Working Paper nr 184. Population Council.

Table 13: Access to electricity, by sample and city

	NRVA Urban poor	IDP	Kabul	Herat	Kandahar
Public electricity	79	23	1	32	35
Personal generator	3	5	15	-	1
No electricity	18	72	84	68	64

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08

Table 14: Access to water, by sample and city

	NRVA Urban poor	IDP	Kabul	Herat	Kandahar
Public well	1	5	1	1	11
Well inside compound	17	17	9	25	15
Public hand pump	22	38	33	71	9
Hand pump inside compound	23	13	7	1	30
Spring water	0	1	-	-	3
Municipal pipe scheme	22	4	10	1	-
Pipe scheme to the house	1	1	3	-	-
River / lake / canal	5	3	-	-	8
Water tank	4	17	26	-	23
Other	4	4	11	-	-

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08

Table 15: Access to sanitation, by sample and city

	NRVA Urban poor	IDP	Kabul	Herat	Kandahar
None / open field / bush	1	27	28	24	27
Area in compound but no pit	7	17	39	1	9
Traditional covered latrine	85	56	32	75	62
Flush latrine	7	1	-	-	2

Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08



Photo 4: Girls fetching water, Kabul Nandari, Kabul

3.3. Food Security

Satisfying household food needs is one of the most pressing challenges for poor people, in particular poor people living in urban areas who are more vulnerable to food price shocks.⁵⁴

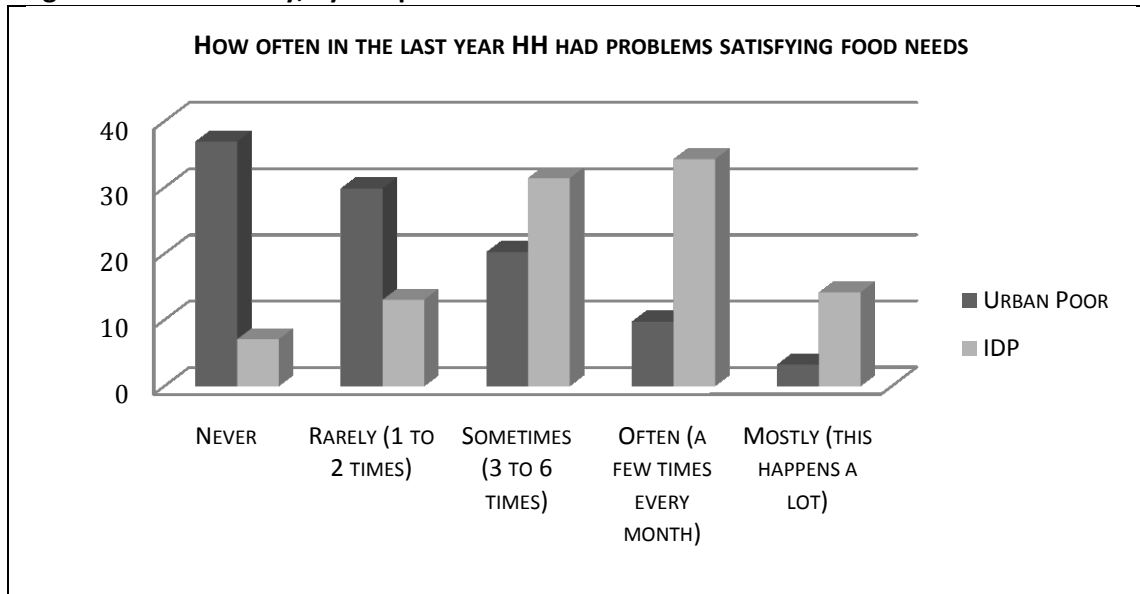
Similar to urban poor, 89.38 percent of the IDPs surveyed – when asked to report about shocks incurred by their household during previous year – noted “unusually high increase in food prices”. The majority had coped by reducing the quantity and the quality of their food/diet with a potential detrimental impact on health outcomes, labor productivity and (children) cognitive development.

Despite similar vulnerability to price shocks, the food security of IDPs is much worse than that of urban poor households from the NRVA sample (Figure 9). Focusing only on extreme outcomes, only 7 percent of IDPs report to have never had problems in satisfying household’s food needs compared to 37 percent of urban poor. In addition, 14 percent of IDPs are mostly food insecure i.e. cannot satisfy food needs several times every month versus three percent of urban poor.

While there could be several possible explanations for such striking differences in vulnerability to food insecurity – *in primis* claiming IDPs are “poorer” than urban poor –access to credit and the role of informal safety nets merits separate discussion. As in other developing countries, access to credit in Afghanistan is mostly informal and dependent on the existence of social networks i.e. a direct or indirect relationship between the borrower and lender. Credit from a shopkeeper who does not know the borrower, where they live or does not have enough information to assess trustworthiness and the likelihood of repayment is unimaginable. Similarly, the absence of well-functioning formal safety net systems means that vulnerable households must rely on social networks for assistance in case of necessity.

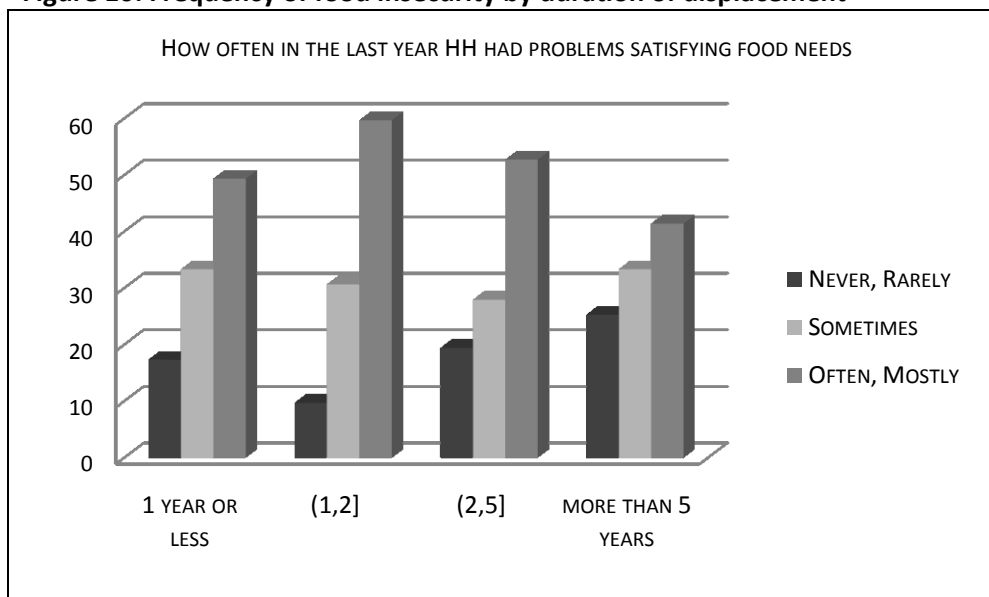
⁵⁴ See D’Souza and Jolliffe (2010), Rising Food Prices and Coping Strategies: Household level Evidence from Afghanistan, World Bank working paper.

Figure 9: Food security, by sample



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey, NRVA 2007/08

Figure 10: Frequency of food insecurity by duration of displacement



Source: Authors calculation, IDP survey.

The loss of social capital with displacement has a negative impact on the resilience of IDPs, and their ability to manage risks and reduce the effects of shocks via the support of social networks. This is possibly why IDPs have a higher degree of food insecurity of IDPs than the urban poor. Figure 10 shows a significant decrease in IDPs’ food insecurity over time and may reflect – besides improved economic conditions due to better integration in the urban labor market – a restored ability to access traditional, network-based risk management and coping strategies.

IV. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

This study attempts to unbundle some of the issues associated with internal displacement and urban growth analyzing the profile and vulnerabilities of IDPs living in informal settlements. While limited in its scope and coverage, this study contributes in several dimensions to the ongoing debate.

*“khisht e ki yak bar az Dewar bejai shud baz
jor namishawad”*
*“when a brick is displaced from its place, it is very
difficult to place it correctly again”*
Afghan proverb

First, results from this analysis show the challenges and limits of a purely humanitarian approach to displacement in urban areas.

While conflict is the main driving factor leading households to abandon their communities of origin, the choice of settling in urban centers is strongly motivated by economic considerations, with households seeking better employment and services. Conflict and insecurity not only continue to threaten personal security in some Afghan provinces, but conflict and insecurity – over a 30 year time span - has disrupted the rural livelihoods of many segments of the Afghan population who now seek alternatives in urban centers to rebuild their own future. Efforts to clearly disentangle *forced vs economic* motives for migration and to match each migrant to his/her appropriate “legal framework” are not likely to produce significant progress towards a sustainable solution to the challenges posed by the growth of informal settlements in urban centers.

More than 90 percent of IDPs in this study reported plans to settle permanently in the city and – irrespective of the continuation of conflict - about 80 percent were unwilling to return to their communities of origin for reasons related to the lack of livelihood opportunities (unemployment, lack of land, food insecurity). In this sense, humanitarian assistance to help IDP families in their immediate needs after conflict induced displacement must be accompanied by longer-term developmental interventions which promote integration of those families who state the intention of settling permanently in their current locations.

Second, results from this analysis point towards the need for an integrated and comprehensive developmental approach to displacement in urban areas.

A “durable solution” to displacement in urban areas is considered achieved when needs specifically linked to displacement no longer exist. In this respect, this study identifies access to proper housing as an enduring condition of deprivation which requires a comprehensive public policy initiative. Urban development in Afghanistan should be underpinned by adequate planning to ensure access to essential services and a minimum standard of living. Such plans should provide for the regularization (upgrading) or relocation of informal settlements to mitigate uncontrolled growth of slums whose inhabitants remain on the margins of society in unsafe and impoverished conditions.

Clarity of policy and action is a prerequisite to finding just and practicable solutions to the challenges of unplanned urbanization and its relationship with poverty and vulnerability. To this end, an appropriate legislative and administrative framework should include dialogue and collaboration between all the relevant stakeholders, starting from all the Ministries potentially involved in the process - including the Ministry of Refugees and Repatriation (MoRR) as well as the Ministries of

Urban Development and Housing (MUDH), Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD), Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSAMD), Agriculture (MAIL), Defence (MoD) and Finance (MoF) –international organizations as well as the civil society - communities and their representatives, local NGOs and the media.

To this end, the Government could appoint national and provincial level task forces to initiate dialogue between the Government, municipality and communities living in the poorest informal urban areas to discuss their immediate needs and how to improve living conditions, including relocation where the land occupied is unsuitable for permanent settlement. Such task forces could take advantage of the decennial experience of the Government of Afghanistan and several municipalities in designing and implementing participatory urban development projects targeted at improving living standards and opportunities of inhabitants of informal settlements.

Any policy intervention must acknowledge the rights of all urban dwellers to security of tenure, public services and participation in local development projects. One suggestion is “guided land subdivisions” (i.e. *land offered for sale with a variety of levels of infrastructure to accommodate families with different income levels*) managed by the Government and in viable locations to increase the supply of land for allocation to low-income families. Another option could be for the Government to endorse, develop and scale up - after an appropriate evaluation of UNHABITAT’s project costs and benefits - the settlement upgrading and regularization piloted by UNHABITAT in Kandahar and Lashkar Gah.

Third, this study identifies specific areas of intervention to assist immediate needs linked to the conditions of urban IDPs and to the specific phases of their displacement.

This study identifies the first two years of settlement as the most critical in terms of the ability of displaced households to provide for their livelihood.

Several factors – specific to displacement conditions – could explain such vulnerability. First, the skill set of IDPs prevents them from immediately integrating into an urban labor market. IDPs come from rural areas, have limited experience outside agriculture and have extremely high rates of illiteracy compared to other poor segments of the urban population. As a result, IDPs’ employment opportunities are - at least initially - confined to poor quality daily labor with obvious negative impacts on household budgets and economic wellbeing. In particular, the limited earning opportunities and lack of social networks to manage risk and the negative impact of shocks make the first year of displacement particularly precarious with vulnerability to food insecurity.

The severity of such condition suggests the need to monitor the development of informal settlements and strengthen the efforts to rigorously assess the needs of the communities on a timely basis. Again, the active collaboration of all relevant stakeholders in the Government, international organizations and civil society must be sought to define a common set of criteria used in the process of profiling households living in informal settlements and in providing targeted assistance in the first years of displacement.

Annex 1. Case Studies

A. Kabul Case Studies

Case study 1 – Nasaji Bagrami, Kabul

Date of interview: August 4, 2010
Address: Sare Tapeh, Karte Naw, Bagrami
Name of interviewee: Jalaluddin
Gender: Male
Age: 24
Marital status: Married
Education level: Illiterate
Ethnicity: Pashtun
Place of prior residence (Province / village): Kandahar, Jiri
Place of origin (Province/village): Helmand, Gereshg
Returned refugee? No
Number of household members: 3 Male 2 Female 5 Total
Number of children under 5: 1
Number of children between 5-18: 2

Jalaluddin arrived in Kabul with his family 1 year ago. He had temporarily lived in Kandahar before that, for a period of 6 months. He is originally from Helmand, an area he left due to conflict 1.5 year ago. He decided to move to Kabul because of the security situation. He had first tried to stay closer to home, but with insecurity spreading in the South, he chose to relocate to the safest place he knew – the capital city.

He lives in a mud home with a tent nearby. The most pressing challenge his household faces at the moment is the fact that last year's harsh winter conditions have left them weary about the upcoming winter. They do not know how to cope with the upcoming winter months, if they turn out to be severe.

"In Helmand, I used to work in agriculture and livestock production; I have no other skills. I now work as a daily worker and make at most 3,000 Afghanis a month⁵⁵. I will work in any sector, whether construction or in people's home as a guard or servant; I go to the *falaqa* (i.e. a meeting place on the street for daily work) and take on whatever unskilled job."

"I am the only person in my household to work as my children are all still too young. Our household expenses reach 17,000 Afghanis a month: 80 percent is spent on food, 10 percent on education and 10 percent on transportation. I have no savings. Instead, I am indebted, having borrowed 40,000 Afghanis in the past year from relatives in Helmand."

The area where he lives is mostly populated by his relatives. They all have a blood affiliation or are from the same areas. They get along well. Some families arrived from Tagab, but "they are still Pashtuns. We don't let people from other areas such as Badakhshan to come settle here – we will not allow anyone else but our own join in here."

⁵⁵ Jalaluddin's monthly wage allows each households member to live with only 600 Afghanis per month, which approximately corresponds to just 30% of the per capita urban poverty line (adjusted to July 2010 prices).

In the past, there have been a few fights over access to water. There is not enough water in this area, a central problem for their community.

On the more positive side, he mentions that he is satisfied with his local leader whom he finds active and very cooperative. This has been especially true during food distributions, as they all received their share, and did not in any way feel cheated. Anything that happens here goes through the leader. In addition, one businessman from the Coca Cola company has given them soft drinks, which they sell to generate an income for food.

Initially, they all lived in tents; now they are for the most part busy putting together the structures of their future homes. After a year, they are still lacking such elements as roofs and other materials and working to find money to pay for these.

The most important needs are shelter and water – they have to buy water, whereas he considers it should be free. “Most of us buy bread and dip it in water at night to eat with tea.” There is no electricity. “There is a clinic and a doctor nearby but it is overcrowded, and the doctors are never there, they send nurses or others who don’t know enough to cure us. So they give us tablets but we don’t know if it’s any good. If there are more serious illnesses we have to go in the city.”

They plan to go home if the situation calms down. “If they provide us with opportunities here and it is calmer there, we’d rather stay here.”

Case study 2 – Nandari, Kabul

Date of interview: August 7, 2010

Address: Kabul nandari

Name of interviewee: Dur Mohammad

Gender: Male

Age: 32

Marital status: Married

Education level: Illiterate

Ethnicity: Tajik

Place of prior residence (Province / village): same

Place of origin (Province/village): Kunduz, Khanabad district

Returned refugee? No

Number of household members: 3 Male 4 Female 7 Total

Number of children under 5: 2

Number of children between 5-18: 3

Dur Mohammad is originally from Kunduz, where he was born – he still goes back once a year, to visit family and relatives and friends, or for weddings and social events. He came to Nandari, Kabul, with his family due to a severe drought back home. He is very happy to have moved here and with his life: he has built a house for himself after first living in a tent.

It has been 4 years now since he settled in this area of Kabul. He has had two children since he arrived. The ones who are older do not go to school because they are girls and he believes that they do not need to attend school. He has papers for his children but does not want to send them to school because that would be an added expense that he cannot incur at the moment.

Some days he works selling vegetables on the market; other days, he works in construction. He used to live in a rural area and worked in the agricultural fields, so he has no skill he can properly use in Kabul. He is the only active working member of his household. He makes at most 4,000 Afghanis a

month, which he spends almost entirely on food for his family. About 70 percent will go for food and 20 percent education and 10 percent transportation. There is no such thing as savings in his family but at least he does not need loans either. “Right now we’re doing well because it is the summer; but we are worried of the winter”.

“Here we live with people from Kunduz, Shamali/Parwan, Nangarhar, Farah, Laghman, who have moved for reasons of conflict but mostly because of natural disasters – so we have gone through the same tough experiences and we all help each other out. We are closer to the people of Kunduz naturally. The situation is very good in this area; the police are posted on all areas around and we have never had any problems.”

“GTZ has helped us with plastic boots, charcoal, soap, and other goods from Germany. From other local NGO we have also received flour, oil, sugar, and tea. Most of the other help – non-food items such as clothes, blankets, quilts, were given to all of us – except for tents that were given to only 50 percent of the people.”

“The most difficult periods are the winter, we don't receive enough help and assistance although we have asked for it through our leaders. The problem that we have had recurrently and recently is the coming of individuals who have told us we would have to leave after Ramadan. This is a big concern for us.”

“There is no real access to water – we have to walk 20 minutes and there is always a line.”

“I want to stay here forever, I have no intention to go back. I am just waiting to see what solution the government will find for us. I have regular contacts and I know there would be no land or work for me to go back to in Kunduz.”

Case study 3 – PD9, Pole Charkhi area, Kabul

Date of interview: August 8, 2010
Address: Pole Charki PD 9
Name of interviewee: Mohammad Esaq
Gender: Male
Age: 35
Marital status: Married
Education level: Literate. Studied up to grade 8.
Ethnicity: Pashtun
Place of prior residence (Province / village): None
Place of origin (Province/village): Kapisa, Tagab, Shakud village
Returned refugee? No
Number of household members: 5 Male 3 Female 8 Total
Number of children under 5: 4
Number of children between 5-18: 2

Mohammad Esaq was born and lived in Tagab before moving to Kabul 4 years ago. Every 4 months, he goes back to Tagab as his family still owns a small land there and also to visit his relatives. They still receive about 1,000 Afghanis a month from the rent of this land but they cannot grow anything on it as it is not arable.

In Tagab, he used to work on his land, next to which he had some tailoring activities. The two sources of income gave him a good balance and monthly revenue: about 10-11,000 Afghanis a month, most of which was from tailoring. His economic situation has downgraded since he has moved to Kabul.

“Here I work on the street and sell vegetables on a Karachi during the day. I can only make about 3,000 Afghanis a month; while our household spends 8,000 Afghanis. I am the only one to work. The remaining has to be loans: we have borrowed about 80,000 Afghanis from relatives and friends in this past year / year and a half.” Their expenses are split between: 90 percent food, 5 percent transportation, 5 percent education for his 2 children who have the age of going to school.

“We have come here because of war – but I am not happy here because we are far from our relatives. We are here because we have no other choice. We live in a tent, which we bought from someone else, but I am working to build a home – it’s half-way done.” He lives in this area besides other families from Kapisa, Nangarhar, Laghman and Kunar. Each of these families is from the same community and they have come here as a group – for example 5 or 6 families would typically travel and arrive together. All of them state having moved because of war; and have managed to keep a cordial relationship amongst each other. “If there are problems, they are related to money and we manage to find ways to find loans. Then problems start when we have to pay back the loans, and when we realize we have gotten increasingly indebted...”

Overall, their social situation is good: they all abide by their community leader who they consider active, distributing assistance and food aid, especially during winter months. But the rest of the time, he is very busy. The most important for them is that security is very good and they feel calm.

The main problems, Mohammad Esaq reports, are under employment, lack of income, lack of housing/shelter, and access to land. “I wish I could make a use of my skill. Right now I work about 10 days a month – the remaining 20 days are very difficult. To fix this problem, I would need 40,000 Afghanis to buy a tailoring shop and materials so that I can use my skill; it would allow me to triple my revenue.”

“We have access to potable water from the well; relatively good access to food, although not of good quality, but enough in terms of quantity for all of us. There is no electricity. Health services are available but they are not free. We will live under a tent, it will take as long as it takes for me to find the money to build a house. There is good access to education for our children.”

“In the future, I want to stay here mainly because it will be better for our children: better education and better access to services. I have lost whatever I had in Tagab. I lost my shop, which was my main income source. The land we have is small and cannot make for more than 1,000 Afghanis a month. So we will stay here no matter what.”

B. Kandahar Case Studies

Case study 4 – Loya Wiala, Kandahar

Date of interview: August 5, 2010
Address: Haji Sardar Mhd Masjed
Name of interviewee: Abdul Baqi
Gender: Male
Age: 31
Marital status: Married
Education level: Illiterate
Ethnicity: Pashtun
Place of prior residence (Province / village): Kandahar, Shawalikut, Loya Kila (Big village)
Place of origin (Province/village): Same
Returned refugee? Yes
Number of household members: 4 Male 4 Female 8 Total
Number of children under 5: 1
Number of children between 5-18: 5

Abdul Baqi is originally from Kandahar, Shawalikut district, but lost all contacts or access to information about the situation in his village. He left with his family because of conflict: every day was a new fight. These were fights between the Taliban, the government and foreign military forces. "At night our children had a difficult time sleeping; we could not live there peacefully. I have now lived here for 8 years and have no intention to go back."

Abdul Baqi has not returned to Loya Kila, nor does he intend to do so. His entire family and all other relatives have left. Some have arrived here, in Loya Wiala, others have go to Moghor district in Ghazni. "The location depended on empty places we had heard about – we had no original plan, we just improvised based on what people told us."

He chose Kandahar because he thought the security would be much better there, in the city, and that he and his household would live peacefully. Although that has been achieved, his aim of improving their living standards has not materialized. Not having a home of his own, he rents rooms for 1,000 Afghanis a month, near the mountains and with no access to electricity.

His past migration history includes living as a refugee in Quetta, Pakistan, where he was working on agricultural land. He returned to Shawalikut in Kandahar 10 years ago. Only once did he move again to come to the city. "Before, whether in Pakistan or in Shawalikut, I always worked on other people's lands. It would happen from time to time that we would lack water for agricultural use, but I was assured a daily source of income in cash or in kind, as I benefited from animals for milk, dairy, and food. Now I earn 6,000 Afghanis per month that is on average 200 Afghanis a day. You can see for yourself that, at home right now, I have just bought a few eggs and some water; and that's it for lunch".

"I spend about 9,000 Afghanis /month on household needs. We manage to make a living this way – I do not exactly know how much of the money goes where, but I know that I have just enough to get by. There is no such thing as savings in our household. In addition, I take loans from shops – every month, at the end of the month, I pay past loans from the beginning of the month. I keep taking loans every month to pay the previous months' loan! So I do not think I will ever get out of paying loans! But in general it is not cash loans; I rather take food loans from stores."

“We are all living here as Pashtuns – but from different places. Here we live together with no problem, but mainly because we each stay busy on our side, no one interferes with others. There are no Farsi speaking people here. We are on good terms with our neighbors but we do not receive any special help from relatives or friends. Here I have just one friend who once lent me 4,000 Kaldar (about 2,500 Afghanis).”

A result of the common ethnicity and language is a common sense of security in the area, with little conflict or outside interference. “The Taliban live amongst us, but the police or other foreigners don’t come here to stir up conflict.”

They report not having ever received any assistance from the government nor from any other organization or private individual. The most difficult aspects of their lives are the lack of potable water, the lack of ownership of their homes, and the lack of electricity. As a coping mechanism, Mohammad Esaq’s strategy is to spend less on food and decrease the amount of food given to his children, in order to pay rent.

However, with all these economic difficulties and lack of access to utilities and services, Mohammad Esaq says “I do not plan to go home for three reasons: first, I have no land or home there; second, there are no schools for children, and third, security is still very bad from what I have here. I can get used to anything but not to war.”

Case study 5 – Haji Arab, Kandahar

Date of interview: August 8, 2010
Address: Area 2 of Haji Arab
Name of interviewee: Lala
Gender: Male
Age: 45
Marital status: Married
Education level: Grade 7
Ethnicity: Pashtun
Place of prior residence (Province / village): Kandahar, Jilrai, Sangzari village
Place of origin (Province/village): Same
Returned refugee? No
Number of household members: 5 Male 5 Female 10 Total
Number of children under 5: 4
Number of children between 5-18: 2

Lala is a 45-year old Pashtun man, originally from Kandahar’s Jirjai district. He still goes to bring back wheat and to check on the land his family still owns and rents there. They have not used the land for agricultural production for years; as the quality of the soil had decreased significantly due to the insecurity and their inability to maintain production. They have found a better alternative now: they rent the land, which means he goes back every once in a while to collect the money from the tenant.

His brother still lives in Jilrai, but he made the decision to leave: “I spent a lot of time trying to get out of insecure areas, moving my family from one place to another, until we finally were able to move my family to the city. There used to be a lot of fighting in Jirjai; I had to flee and leave our wheat production.”

“All I want now is a calm environment, mainly for our children who were too scared of the fighting. For that reason, I am happy to be living here. I also used to live in Quetta, Pakistan where I worked selling vegetables and fruits. Although I did not have a shop, I was just a street vendor with a cart, but I sold quite a lot every day. After the Taliban fell from power, I came back to Jirjai district – before moving again.”

The overall salary of his household is estimated at 14,000 Afghanis a month: 2,500 Afghanis of his own income from the bazaar, the rest from his sons, all from the construction sector. Some of this money is actually sent from Jilrai, from the lease of his land, but all that is earned is spent. He does not mind the lack of savings, as he is able to have a good living standard, and mainly a lot of peace and quiet. His situation is better here than his village of prior residence, and the most important is that he lives and sleeps peacefully.

Loans are not an issue for Lala, as they only occur as a very temporary fix, not enough to impose a burden on his family. “Yes, I have had to take loans from shops – we have had to buy food on credit, but as soon as we work we give them money back; these shops trust us because they know we work hard, so they know we will pay them back. Food on credit is our main coping mechanism.”

Lala considers it helpful that there are only two main tribes living in this area: the Barikzai (his tribe) and the Stanikzai. They show respect to each other as they are Pashtuns, and have no one else to rely on. “We are “forced” to get along, because no one else helps us – a neighbor is closer to me than my own brother, so I can rely on him more. My neighbor is right here next to me, unlike my brother who stayed behind.”

As a result, “The security is good here. The government and the Taliban circulate around there are no incidents of fighting that could disrupt our lives. We feel calm here in comparison to the area we left. We have never received any assistance in this area.”

“Our main problems are first economic (underemployment), then the lack of electricity, and the lack of water. We have water from the well to clean our clothes, inside our home, but we don't have any potable water. On the positive side, we have access to a local market, a clinic close by, housing (although we have to pay rent and do not own our house), and schools for our children. We plan to stay here!”

Case study 6 – Mirwais Mina, Kandahar

Date of interview: August 9, 2010

Address: Mirwais Mina, Saheye Darra

Name of interviewee: Suleimanshah

Gender: Male

Age: 28

Marital status: Married

Education level: Illiterate

Ethnicity: Pashtun

Place of prior residence (Province / village): Kandahar, Jirjai district, Badwan village

Place of origin (Province/village): Same

Returned refugee? No

Number of household members: 6 Male 8 Female 14Total

Number of children under 5: 2

Number of children between 5-18: 10

Suleimanshah is originally from Badwan village in Jirlai district of Kandahar. He has kept regular contacts with relatives there, and receives information from them. He even goes back to see his cousins who still lives there. His own brother visited the area recently but encountered some problems. He is now injured, at the hospital, and Suleimanshah had to collect money to pay for his medical expenses.

He has now recently decided not to go back. They left because of the conflict, and he realizes that the fighting is still an ongoing issue in Badwan. The Taliban had executed the police and army officers in the area in front of all the villages, so that they could bear witness to their punishment. The Taliban would also bother the villagers, whether at night or during the day. Their situation was well until his brother's incident. "Our economic situation is quite fragile and unfavorable now because of my brother's injury. You can see for yourself (and as observed by our team leader) my home situation is very temporary and of poor quality."

"I have never lived anywhere else – this is the first time I leave my home, I have never even been a refugee. I used to work on other people's lands before, in rural Badwan. I used to live off of it with a production of wheat, potatoes, and some vegetables. I would get some money as a salary and some from the food produced – I would get one fourth of the production. We used to divide it between the owner and myself. I never used to be jobless then – always active. Now I earn 3,000 AFA a month; but work is unstable or rarely secured on a daily basis. Today I tried going to find work, but there was nothing, so I came back. I usually work with the municipality emptying garbage along the street."

Overall, his family earns about 7,000 income per month as his brother also works (none of their children work) – but now he is injured and cannot work. So they had to take a lot of loans to cover the medical expenses and to make up for the lost income.

"We usually spend 12000 AFA if there are no incidents – because we are 14 in the home. In times of crisis, this amount is surely not enough. In this case, the doctors did a massive surgery on my brother's leg."

All the people living in this area are Pashtuns from different tribes – but they all get along. There is a very good relationship with the rest of the people and Suleimanshah often borrow money from them. The community leader also helps the needy: for example, he build a well from which he can distribute potable water. Now he is focusing on a project for a school in the area. As a result, he is very much appreciated. Apart from that, there is no assistance, only loans from private individuals, i.e. relative and friends, who suggested to help defray the medical costs for his brother.

Since they live in the hillside area, "Our main problems are the lack of water, the lack of schools nearby, and no electricity or clinic. We have to go to the city about 1.5 hour away from here."

"If it gets calmer I would like to go back home."

C. Herat Case Studies

Date of interview: August 6, 2010

Address: Shaidaiee, Herat

Name of interviewee: Hanifa

Gender: Female

Age: 25

Marital status: Married

Education level: Illiterate

Ethnicity: Hazara

Place of prior residence (Province / village): Khedir district, Daikundi province

Place of origin (Province/village): Same

Returned refugee? No

Number of household members: 1 Male 5 Female 6Total

Number of children under 5: 2

Number of children between 5-18: 2

Case study 7 – Shaidaiee, Herat – FEMALE headed household

This is a female-headed household. Hanifa lives in Shaidaiee, while her husband works in Iran. He is part of the irregular migration trend of Afghan workers going to Iran, for a period of a few months or up to a few years, to work in the construction sector and send back remittances to their families left behind in Afghanistan.

She is originally from Daikundi, an ethnic Hazara of about 25 years of age. She was born in Daikundi, in Khedir district, in the rural areas of the province, at the foot of the mountains. She never went to school and married there when she was 17. Her oldest daughter is 7 years old, and her youngest is about 6 months old (the other two are 3.5 and 2 years old). Her husband left a year ago when she was pregnant of their 4th child. Unfortunately, she says, “if only I had a boy, he could help me out around here”. They had never lived in exile, but her husband followed other men in the settlement who opted for finding work in Iran, as some of them already had connections. He went along.

Hanifa works too – she does a lot of embroidery and sells her products to her neighbors, making about 1,000 Afghanis a month. Her embroidery was on display in her house (the one room she lives in with her children). Since her children are young and she has no boys, she is the only one working, and she receives about 5,000 Afghanis a month of remittances from her husband – in installments, every 3-4 months. She spends it all and also as to take loans, about 3,000 Afghanis this month only, from her relatives. All in all she then spends about 9000 Afghanis a month – of which 6,000 will go into food, 1,000 Afghanis into medication, 500 Afghanis into transportation, 600 Afghanis education, and the rest gets spent on her embroidery.

She does not pay rent – but does not live in her own land or house. This is government land. There is no electricity here because it is not a planned government area.

She came to this city area from the rural area in Daikundi mainly because of the economic pull and job opportunities. She initially left because of drought and because of the lack of arable land. They could no longer do their job: they used to work for landowners and depended on them to take care of their animals and rent off parts of their land for vegetable and other cultivation. The drought destroyed all potential there so they came to Shaidaiee.

First they lived in tents, and then they started building this area. It was all deserts before, although it was government land. They could take it back any time. But in the past, when they have tried, we

have defended ourselves. Last year, people from the municipality visited and we had a serious dispute with them over this land. They came in with their bulldozers but we started throwing stones at the soldiers and the policemen. We defended ourselves, and they have not been back since. They left and got scared.

“We receive help from UNICEF during the winter, as I am a single female headed household. The last delivery included food (rice, oil, beans) and non-food items (blankets, quilts, and rugs). By far our biggest difficulty here is the lack of housing, electricity and water. The public hand pumps are here, quite close to our house, but a lot of them no longer work. The biggest shocks these past 12 months have been the high rises in food prices, severe winter conditions. Our own coping mechanisms have been to reduce the quantity and quality of food, decrease all our expenses, and have my husband migrate abroad for work.”

“Where else could we go now after 12, 13 years of living here? We have no plan to return home – there is no land there, no security, no income potential. Plus we no longer have any information on what goes on there. Our social networks are also gone. Even though this is not our land, we are living in better conditions than the area we had to live, I am happy here: Herat is a good place for us to live and raise children, our situation is rather good and I am satisfied.”

Case study 8 – Nawabad, Herat – Female interviewee: Spouse of the head of household

Date of interview: August 7, 2010

Address: Shaidaiee, Herat

Name of interviewee: Golbarg

Gender: Female

Age: 40

Marital status: Married

Education level: Illiterate

Ethnicity: Hazara

Place of prior residence (Province / village): Khedir district, Daikundi province

Place of origin (Province/village): Same

Returned refugee? No

Number of household members: 4 Male 5 Female 9Total

Number of children under 5: 2

Number of children between 5-18: 2

When Golbarg and her family left Badghis about 7 years ago, their decision was motivated by environmental factors: there had been severe floods in the area where they lived. She is now 40 years old, married, of the Timuri ethnic group and is illiterate. It was quite difficult to engage with her in a conversation and detailed interview given her lack of literacy and her inability to concentrate for the hour-long duration of the interview.

Her household counts 9 members: 5 children at home and 2 boys who have migrated elsewhere as they work throughout the year in another part of Herat province. “I decided it was time to send off my sons to work so that they could send us back some money on a regular basis”.

Golbarg has never lived in exile – her 2 sons are about 20 years old and they work with their uncle in a metal workshop close to the mountains. They left about a year ago. She contributes to the household income as well. She continues working from home, on what is called “*lahaf sazi*”, which is a type of bed sheet. She also cleans nuts for about 25 Afghanis a day. So all in all she will have an

income of about 1,000 Afghanis a month. Her sons send them about 2,000 Afghanis every month. They work and are not married, so they can send them money every month.

Altogether they will have about 10,500 Afghanis in expenses: 1,500 Afghanis for medicine, 1,500 Afghanis for transportation, 600 Afghanis for the girls' education, 1,000 Afghanis for electricity and 2,500 Afghanis rent. The rent and utilities amount to 2,500 Afghanis every month.

She is happy that she lives in a calm area, where she rents a proper house, and lives with her relatives in the same neighborhood. She changed homes about 6 times in the 7 years she has been living here, meaning roughly once a year; but she does not mind. She does not mind either not having a record of her rental agreement. "The person who lived here before us gave us the permission to live here, he collects money once a month for rent. We never had a deed, and in this case we are not even in direct contacts with the landlord. This is a sublet, an arrangement we have had for 2 years now. I do not mind it, it makes things simpler."

Case study 9 – Nawabad, Herat

Date of interview: August 7, 2010

Address: Nawabad

Name of interviewee: Imamuddin

Gender: Male

Age: 30

Marital status: Married

Education level: Illiterate

Ethnicity: Tajik

Place of prior residence (Province / village): Badghis, Ghadis district, Robat village

Place of origin (Province/village): Same

Returned refugee? No

Number of household members: 5 Male 7 Female 12 Total

Number of children under 5: 3

Number of children between 5-18: 1

Imamuddin and his family left Badghis in 2008, following the departure of other families and relatives from the same area and ethnic group. They decided it was best for them to move collectively to a safer and more stable area. They already had distant relatives in Nawabad who first welcomed them in their own homes, giving them the time to find an appropriate alternative, housing, employment and schools for their children. "We came here because we knew our relatives and friends were well establish and that they would guide us".

Imamuddin has never gone back to his village of Robad, in Ghadis district of Badghis. This is his first experience of migration and displacement: "I have never lived in exile nor lived anywhere else but my place of birth". He has learned to cope with his new life, although he is not completely satisfied with his house nor with his work. He is still struggling, two years after his arrival in Herat.

"We pay 2,000 Afghanis a month in rent for this house. But I am not happy with our situation because this home is not to my taste, it is not a permanent solution for us." The problem he finds with his home is the distance from a point of water, the lack of proper housing, elements he expected to have more readily access to when moving to an urban area.

Work-wise, Imamuddin used to be a metalworker in Badghis. "For now, I have my own small metalwork practice. I have at least 3,000 Afghanis income every month, if not more. I am busy everyday with work. Apart from me, 2 of my brothers also work with me in this shop; the overall

income the three of us is 10,000 Afghanis – of which 7,000 Afghanis is spent on food, and the rest on education (about 1,000 Afghanis) and other needs.”

His work keeps him and his brothers busy, every day, but does not provide enough for them to save money, improve their home or expand their shop. Instead, they are indebted, of about 100,000 Afghanistan. Imamuddin borrowed this sum from the micro-finance institution BRAC⁵⁶ and has to pay it back over a scheduled timeline. “I had taken these loans to start up a business, which I have done to some extent, but not according to my initial business plan, so a lot of this money was actually spent on food and other household needs, not on income generating activities.”

On the more positive side, Imamuddin feels that he has been able to integrate the community he now lives in. He says that all ethnicities are represented here, Pashtun and Hazaras alike, and that they all get along as neighbors. He does not report any specific tension between groups. However, he notes that the local leader does not sufficiently work to help them in times of need. But at least, “the security situation is good and we feel calm; so even if we have not received any external help, there is a feeling that we would never have had back home.”

The most pressing difficulties, he notes, are unemployment, as he was first unemployed for a year before starting this small shop. Second is the issue of land housing: “We initially lived under tents, and had no belongings as they had all been taken away by the Taliban. People around us – our own group of friends – gave us blankets and food when we arrived. Still, our most pressing issue today is not having access to our own land – the government should give us a piece of land so that we can build our own homes on it.” Last but not least, he complains of their poor access to water: “we have to go 500 meters away in order to get our water. We are doing all right in terms of food because our income allows it; we have electricity, schools, and clinics.

“Our future plan is to stay in this area, we do not plan to move again, but rather to do all we can to improve our life here.”

Case study 10 – Minaret, Herat

Date of interview: August 9, 2010

Address: Minaret

Name of interviewee: Ghulam Haidar

Gender: Male

Age: 50

Marital status: Married

Education level: Illiterate

Ethnicity: Hazara

Place of prior residence (Province / village): Ghor, Lal district, Gulgak village

Place of origin (Province/village): Same

Returned refugee? YES in Iran

Number of household members: 3 Male 5 Female 8 Total

Number of children under 5: 0

Number of children between 5-18: 2

“We came from Ghor province to Minaret in Herat; I have never been back; but other people in my family do go back because our friends live there. We initially left because of war and conflict but now

⁵⁶ The Bangladeshi NGO “Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee” is registered in Afghanistan since 2002.

the situation has resumed to normal in Lal, there are no specific security problems. But still we want to stay here, we do not intend to go back.”

“We used to be refugees in Iran; after a long period of exile, we came back to Afghanistan and went directly to Ghor. But soon, there was conflict there and we left to come to Herat.”

“We used to work on agricultural land. We were unemployed for a couple of years, or less, when we first arrived here. Then I found work in the construction sector but I fell from the top of a building, after a few months only, and since I have not been able to go back; so now I work in a shop, as a second best option. I earn about 3,000 Afghanis a month. But now we’re two working, together we make 6,000 Afghanis of which about 4,000 Afghanis is spent on food, 500 Afghanis on education, and the rest on other needs. No savings but luckily no loans either.”

“People from different ethnicities live here and are close, no social problems internal to our camp; just a real division between us and the people living around us in the city. They have access to everything; we do not have access to the same lifestyle or services. The security situation is very good; we are just minutes away from the city center, and have access to all sorts of employment opportunities; unfortunately because I am injured I cannot do much.”

“The biggest difficult is the lack of land, which should be resolved by the government as we all want the right to own our land.”

Annex 2. Quantitative Questionnaire (Household Survey)

Hello. My name is _____. I work for an independent consulting company working to understand the experience of displaced populations in Afghanistan.

More precisely, I would like to ask you questions about your socio-demographic and economic profile, your migration pattern, your process of local integration in your current place of residence and prospects of return to your area of origin. This questionnaire will stay confidential and your name and that of your family members or company will not be mentioned in our study if you don't wish to. Please let me know if you have any questions.

No.	Question	Answers										
ID	Questionnaire ID (To be completed by Team Leader)	_____										
A	Interviewer code	____										
B	Date of interview	____ August 2010										
C	Time interview started	____:____ 1=AM / 2=PM										
D	Time interview finished	____:____ 1=AM / 2=PM										
E	Urban area	1. Kabul 2. Herat 3. Kandahar										
F	District and sub-district	District _____ Name of area _____										
G	Location	Number: ____ (based on list, between 1 and 9)										
No.	Filter Questions	Answers										
H	For interviewer only Have a conversation with the respondent to check if they are an internally displaced person and household. Check whether they have been forced to move from their place of last residence to this present location.	1. Yes, the respondent has been forced to leave the place of last residence to come to this location due to persecution / conflict . 2. Yes, the respondent has been forced to leave the place of last residence to come to this location due to a natural disaster . 3. No, the respondent has not been forced to leave the place of last residence. Stop the interview										
I	For male respondents only Are you the head of your household? For female respondents Are you the head of your household or the spouse of the head of household?	1- Yes, I am the head of household 2- Yes, I am the spouse of the head of household 3- Other, Specify: _____										
J	Do you live in this urban area (where you are being interviewed) with your family?	1. Yes 2. No Stop the interview										
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE												
1.	Interviewee Name & Telephone Number	Name: _____ Phone Number: <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>0</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>	0									
0												
2.	Age	Do Not Prompt: One Answer _____										

3.	Gender	(Interviewer to record) 1. Male 2. Female	
4.	Place of birth	Do Not Prompt: One Answer 1. Afghanistan 2. Iran	3. Pakistan 4. Other / Specify: _____
5.	Marital status	Do Not Prompt: One Answer 1. Single 2. Engaged	3. Married 4. Divorced 5. Widow/Widower
6.	What is your ethnicity?	Prompt: One Answer 1. Pashto 2. Tajik 3. Hazara	4. Uzbek 5. Turkmen 6. Other: _____
7.	Province of origin in Afghanistan	Do Not Prompt: One Answer 1. Kabul 2. Kapisa 3. Parwan 4. Wardak 5. Logar 6. Ghazni 7. Paktia 8. Nangarhar 9. Laghman 10. Kunar 11. Badakhshan 12. Takhar 13. Baghlan 14. Kunduz 15. Samangan 16. Balkh 17. Jowzjan 18. Faryab 19. Badghis 20. Hirat 21. Nimroz 22. Farah 23. Helmand 24. Kandahar 25. Zabol 26. Uruzgan 27. Ghor 28. Bamyán 29. Paktika 30. Nuristan 31. SariPul 32. Khost 33. Panjshir 34. Daikundi	
8.	District of origin in Afghanistan Linked to Q. 7	Do Not Prompt: One Answer Name of District _____	
9.	Did your family live in an urban or rural area? Linked to Q. 7	Do Not Prompt: One answer 1. Urban area 2. Rural area	
10.	What is your level of education?	Prompt: One Answer 1- Illiterate 2- Literate (no schooling) 3- Primary school 4- Secondary school	5- High school 6- University 7- Other: Specify: _____
11.	How many people are living in your household? Including yourself.	Prompt: One Answer 1. Male Adults (over 18) 2. Female Adults (over 18) 3. Male Children (under 18) 4. Female Children (under 18) TOTAL = 1+2+3+4 =	
12.	Does one or more of these descriptions fit with the description of your household?	Prompt: Multiple Answers 1. Single female / female headed household 2. Single parent household	

	Check whether the interviewee belongs to any of the following category of population.	3. Unaccompanied elder or minor 4. Physically disabled 5. Mentally ill 6. Chronically ill 7. Poor family (5 dependants or more and no livelihood strategy) 8. Drug addicts in the household 9. None																			
13.	Have you ever lived in exile as a refugee?	Do not prompt: One Answer 1. Yes, in Iran 2. Yes, in Pakistan	3. Yes, elsewhere: _____ 4. No SKIP TO Q. 15																		
14.	When you returned to Afghanistan, did you go back to live in the same location where you lived before your exile?	Do not prompt: One Answer 1. Yes 2. No																			
H. ECONOMIC PROFILE																					
15.	What was your main occupation in your province of last residence (the place you left before coming to this location)? Do Not Prompt: One answer for each column	a) Activity sector 1. Agriculture / livestock 2. Mining / Quarrying 3. Road construction 4. Construction 5. Manufacturing 6. Transportation / Communication 7. Wholesale trade 8. Retail trade 9. Health 10. Education 11. Other services: Specify: _____ 12. Public administration / Government 13. NGO / Intl. organization 14. None / Unemployed	b) Position 1. Day Laborer 2. Salaried worker (private sector) 3. Salaried worker (public sector) 4. Self-employed 5. Employer 6. Unpaid family worker 7. None / unemployed																		
16.	What is your main occupation or source of income today ? What is the main job you have spent the most hours doing in the last 30 days? Do Not Prompt: One answer for each column	a) Activity sector 1. Agriculture / livestock 2. Mining / Quarrying 3. Road construction 4. Construction 5. Manufacturing 6. Transportation / Communication 7. Wholesale trade 8. Retail trade 9. Health 10. Education 11. Other services: Specify: _____ 12. Public administration / Government 13. NGO / Intl. organization 14. None / Unemployed	b) Position 1. Day Laborer 2. Salaried worker (private sector) 3. Salaried worker (public sector) 4. Self-employed 5. Employer 6. Unpaid family worker 7. None / unemployed																		
17.	What is your current monthly wage from your main source of occupation?	Do Not Prompt: One Answer _____ AFA																			
18.	Today, in your household, how many people contribute to the total monthly income ? Please estimate each of their average monthly contribution.	Prompt: One answer per gender/age category <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Number</th> <th>Monthly Income</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1. Male Adults (over 18)</td> <td></td> <td>AFA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Female Adults (over 18)</td> <td></td> <td>AFA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Male Children (under 18)</td> <td></td> <td>AFA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Female Children (under 18)</td> <td></td> <td>AFA</td> </tr> <tr> <td>TOTAL INCOME = 1+2+3+4 =</td> <td></td> <td>AFA</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>			Number	Monthly Income	1. Male Adults (over 18)		AFA	2. Female Adults (over 18)		AFA	3. Male Children (under 18)		AFA	4. Female Children (under 18)		AFA	TOTAL INCOME = 1+2+3+4 =		AFA
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4. Female Children (under 18)		AFA																			
TOTAL INCOME = 1+2+3+4 =		AFA																			

19.	What does your monthly household income consist of? Please record average percentage. Prompt: Multiple Answers		Amount	Percentage
		Your salary	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Other HH members' salary	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Remittances	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Loans and credits	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Cash & In-Kind Donations	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Sale of assets	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Other: _____	_____ AFA	_____ %
TOTAL		_____ AFA	_____ %	
20.	What are your household's average monthly expenditures today?	Do Not Prompt: One Answer _____ AFA		
21.	What percentage of your expenses is spent on the following types of goods? Prompt: Multiple Answers		Amount	Percentage
		Food	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Medical	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Transportation	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Education	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Non food / household items	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Rent/utilities (electricity, water)	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Assets	_____ AFA	_____ %
		Other: _____	_____ AFA	_____ %
TOTAL		_____ AFA	_____ %	
22.	How much does your household save on average every month? Please take the average from the past 12 months. Linked to Q. 18 and 20	Do Not Prompt: One Answer _____ AFA		
23.	How do you compare the overall economic situation of your household with 1 year ago?	Prompt: One Answer 1- Much worse 2- Slightly worse	3- Same 4- Slightly better 5- Much better	
III. MIGRATION/DISPLACEMENT HISTORY				
24.	When were you forced to move from your home/village/community to this city?	Do Not Prompt: One Answer 1. Before 31 December 2002 2. After 31 December 2002		
25.	How long have you been living in this city?	Do Not Prompt: One Answer		
		No. Years:	No. Months:	

26.	Where was the home and community you were forced to leave?	Do Not Prompt: One Answer	
		1. Same location as my location of origin in Afghanistan SKIP Q.30 2. Another location	
27.	In which province?	Do Not Prompt: One Answer	
		1. Kabul 2. Kapisa 3. Parwan 4. Wardak 5. Logar 6. Ghazni 7. Paktia 8. Nangarhar 9. Laghman 10. Kunar 11. Badakhshan 12. Takhar 13. Baghlan 14. Kunduz 15. Samangan 16. Balkh 17. Jowzjan	18. Faryab 19. Badghis 20. Hirat 21. Nimroz 22. Farah 23. Helmand 24. Kandahar 25. Zabol 26. Uruzgan 27. Ghor 28. Bamyan 29. Paktika 30. Nuristan 31. SariPul 32. Khost 33. Panjshir 34. Daikundi
28.	District of last residence in Afghanistan Linked to Q. 27	Do Not Prompt: One Answer	
		Name of District _____	
29.	Did you live in an urban or rural area? Linked to Q. 27	Do Not Prompt: One answer	
		1. Urban area SKIP to Q. 31 2. Rural area	
30.	If you used to live in a rural area, what were you're the reasons that led you to come to an urban area rather than move to a rural area?	Do not prompt: Multiple Answers	
		1- Growing insecurity in rural areas 2- Better economic / employment opportunities 3- Lack of available / arable land 4- Had lived in an urban area during exile 5- Lack of knowledge of agriculture / livestock/ farming 6- Other: Specify: _____	
31.	What were the 3 most important reasons that forced you to leave your last home and community of residence? RECORD UP TO 3 ANSWERS	Prompt: THREE Answers 1- Conflict / insecurity 2- Ethnic tensions 3- Food insecurity 4- Rising land prices 5- Increased rent 6- Land grabbing 7- Lack of land / housing	8- Natural disasters 9- Unemployment / lack of labor opportunities 10- Animals lost 11- Arable land not available 12- Pasture land not available 13- Lack of basic services 14- Other: Specify: _____
32.	What was the main reason you came to the city where you live in now?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		1- Geographic proximity 2- Presence of relatives/friends 3- Ethnic ties 4- Better security situation 5- Best economic / employment opportunities here 6- Best access to services here (health, education, food) 7- I had heard of assistance being given in this location 8- Other: Specify: _____	

33.	When you first arrived in this urban area, where did you live with your family?	<p>Prompt: One Answer</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Camp / Formal settlement 2. Formal urban area / at the house of relatives or friends 3. Formal urban area / rental house 4. Informal settlement / temporary shelter, tents, squatting 5. Informal settlement / at the house of relatives or friends 6. Informal settlement / rental house 7. Other, Specify: _____ 		
34.	Where do you live now with your family?	<p>Prompt: One Answer</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Same place as when I first arrived (previous answer) 2. Camp / Formal settlement 3. Formal urban area / at the house of relatives or friends 4. Formal urban area / rental house 5. Informal settlement / temporary shelter, tents, squatting 6. Informal settlement / at the house of relatives or friends 7. Informal settlement / rental house 8. Other, Specify: _____ 		
35.	Since you arrived in this urban area, how many times did you change the location of your home?	<p>Do not prompt: One Answer</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I have never changed my location since my return. 2. Yes, I have changed our household's location: _____ times 		
IV. DEGREE OF INTEGRATION				
36.	Since you settled in this urban area, have you received any assistance?	<p>Do not prompt: One Answer</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No SKIP to Q. 39 		
37.	If yes, from whom did you receive assistance?	<p>Prompt: Multiple Answers</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Government 2. International organization: Specify: _____ 3. Local/Afghan organization: Specify: _____ 4. Personal / Family support network 		
38.	If yes, which type of assistance did you receive?	<p>Prompt: Multiple Answers</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emergency assistance: Water, Food, Transportation 2. Shelter / Housing 3. Medical treatment 4. Financial Support 5. Information, Counseling, Legal Assistance 6. Training courses: Specify: _____ 7. Job placement 8. Business start-up grant 9. Education 10. Other / Specify: _____ 		
39.	<p>Currently, what are the 3 greatest problems your household faces?</p> <p>RECORD UP TO 3 ANSWERS</p>	<p>Prompt: THREE Answers</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Insecurity 2- Unemployment / underemployment 3- Lack of marketable skills 4- Lack of identity papers 5- Lack of education certificate 6- Lack of land title 7- Lack of savings 8- Access to food </td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11- Access to land 12- Access to electricity 13- Sanitation facilities 14- Access to health services 15- Lack of social network 16- Lack of local knowledge 17- Conflicts, fear of persecution 18- Social discrimination 19- Corruption 20- Other / Specify: _____ </td> </tr> </table>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Insecurity 2- Unemployment / underemployment 3- Lack of marketable skills 4- Lack of identity papers 5- Lack of education certificate 6- Lack of land title 7- Lack of savings 8- Access to food 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11- Access to land 12- Access to electricity 13- Sanitation facilities 14- Access to health services 15- Lack of social network 16- Lack of local knowledge 17- Conflicts, fear of persecution 18- Social discrimination 19- Corruption 20- Other / Specify: _____
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		9- Access to water 10- Access to housing	_____
40.	During the last 12 months, has your household been negatively affected by any of the following shocks? RECORD ALL THAT APPLY	Prompt: Multiple Answers 1- Unusually high increase in food prices 2- Loss of employment or income generating activity of HH member 3- Reduced salary of a household member 4- Bankruptcy of a family business 5- Serious illness / accident of working household member 6- Death of a working household member 7- Death of another household member 8- Insecurity / violence / theft 9- Loss of house / land 10- Loss of livestock 11- Reduced drinking water quantity / quality 12- Reduced agricultural water quantity 13- Unusually high level of crop pests and diseases 14- Unusually high level livestock prices 15- Reduced availability of grazing areas 16- Reduced availability of Kuchi migration routes 17- Earthquakes 18- Landslides / avalanches 19- Flooding 20- Frosts 21- Heavy rains preventing work 22- Severe winter conditions 23- Unusually high level of human disease 24- Large influx of returnees 25- Large increase in house rent 26- Eviction / forced to change housing 27- No external shocks SKIP to Q. 43 28- Other / Specify: _____	
41.	Did your household recover from this / these shocks?	Prompt: One Answer 1- Not recovered at all 2- Partially recovered 3- Completely recovered	
42.	What did your household do to cope with any of these shocks? RECORD ALL THAT APPLY	Prompt: Multiple Answers 1- Reduced quality of food / diet 2- Reduced quantity of food / diet 3- Decreased expenditures 4- Spent savings or investments 5- Loans from family / friends 6- Loans from employers / money lenders 7- Purchased food on credit from traders 8- Received help from other people in the community 9- Sold appliances, furniture, jewellery, doors, windows, roofs... 10- Sold income generating equipment 11- Rented out land 12- Sold house or land 13- Sold female reproductive livestock 14- Worked for food only 15- Worked on relief programmes from government/NGOs/International 16- Household member migrated within Afghanistan 17- Household member migrated abroad 18- Joined military	

		19- Increased child labour 20- Sold child brides (under 13) 21- Begging 22- No coping mechanism 23- Other / Specify: _____
43.	Do you plan to return to your home or previous community in the near future?	Do not prompt: One Answer 1- Yes SKIP to Q. 45 2- No
44.	If no, why do you not want to return? Indicate obstacles to return SKIP to Q. 46	Prompt: Multiple Answers 1- Conflict / insecurity 2- Food insecurity 3- Rising land prices 4- Increased rents 5- Land grabbing 6- Lack of land / housing 7- Natural disasters 8- Unemployment / lack of labor opportunities 9- Animals lost 10- Arable land not available 11- Pasture land not available 12- Lack of basic services (school, clinics, electricity, water...) Other, Specify: _____
45.	If yes, what is the main reason for this travel?	Do not prompt: One Answer 1- Work 2- Assets / money left behind 3- Housing / land left behind 4- Reunite with family, friends 5- Medical treatment 6- Social visit (wedding, funeral) 7- Education 8- Other: _____
46.	Do you plan to settle here in this city?	Do not prompt: One Answer 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
47.	Do you have information about the conditions in the community that you left to come here?	Do not prompt: One Answer 1. Yes 2. No
48.	Are conditions in the area you left conducive for return in safety and dignity?	Do not prompt: One Answer 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know
HOUSING SHELTER AND		
49.	What is your current housing arrangement? IT IS IMPORTANT IN THIS QUESTION TO DISTINGUISH A HOUSE FROM AN APARTMENT	Do not prompt: One Answer 1- We own a single family house 2- We own a single family apartment 3- We rent a single family house 4- We rent a single family apartment 5- We own a house that we share with other households 6- We own an apartment that we share with other households 7- We rent a house that we share with other households 8- We rent an apartment that we share with other households 9- We live in a camp dwelling 10- We live under a tent 11- We live in a temporary shelter / shack 12- Other / Specify: _____

50.	How did you find this dwelling?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		1- Built it ourselves – without any outside help 2- Built it ourselves – with outside help / assistance 3- Inherited 4- Purchased 5- Tenant 6- Relative 7- Friend owner 8- Abandoned home/building we are squatting 9- Other / Specify: _____	
51.	Do you have a deed (evidence of ownership or lease agreement) recorded anywhere for this house?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		1- No 2- Yes, in court / mazkan 3- Yes in local official records 4- Yes, elsewhere 5- Don't know	
52.	Do you pay rent to live in this dwelling?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		1- Yes 2- No SKIP to Q. 54	
53.	How much rent do you pay per month?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		_____ AFA	
54.	How long as your household been living in this dwelling?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		_____ Months	
55.	Do you have access to electricity in your house?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		1- Public electricity 2- Personal generator 3- No electricity	
56.	Do you have access to sanitation / toilet facilities in your location?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		1- None / open field / bush 2- Area in compound but no pit 3- Traditional covered latrine 4- Flush latrine 5- Shower 6- Other / Specify: _____	
57.	How would you rate the standard of the housing you live in today?	Prompt: One Answer	
		1- Very poor 2- Poor	3- Average 4- Good 5- Very good
58.	How does your current housing condition compare to the house you forcibly left?	Prompt: One Answer	
		1- Worse 2- Same 3- Better	
59.	What is the main assistance you would need to improve the standard / conditions of your dwelling?	Do not prompt: One Answer	
		1- More space / additional rooms 2- Proper door / window / roof 3- Better quality mud / cement 4- Latrine inside house /compound 5- Adequate piping / water system	

		6- A generator 7- A standard kitchen 8- Stairs leading to the house 9- Paved road leading to the house 10- None 11- Other: _____
60.	Interviewer Evaluation: Code general physical condition of this dwelling:	Multiple Answers 1- Permanent structure, all windows, all doors & non leaking roof condition (good condition) 2- Permanent structure, leaking roof, missing windows, doors or walls (incomplete or bad condition) 3- Tent (in good condition) 4- Tent (in bad condition) 5- Temporary structure (in good condition) 6- Temporary structure (in bad condition) 7- Good quality housing (in terms of light/dark, wet/dry etc.) 8- Poor quality housing (in terms of light/dark, wet/dry etc.) 9- Other, specify: _____
INFORMATION COUNSELING LEGAL ASSISTANCE		
61.	Since your arrival, have you ever had a dispute over the ownership of your dwelling and associated land?	Prompt: Multiple Answers 1- None SKIP to Q. 64 2- Yes, with municipality 3- Yes, with some ministry (including provincial office, police..) 4- Yes, with a private developer 5- Yes, with a private person claiming to be the owner 6- Yes, with a neighbor
62.	How have the dispute(s) been resolved?	Prompt: One Answer 1- Remain unresolved 2- Solved without any external help 3- Solved with help from community leader 4- Solved with help of the court 5- Solved with help of an organization 6- Other / Specify: _____
63.	Was the dispute or decision about the resolution recorded anywhere?	Prompt: One Answer 1- No 2- Yes in court 3- Yes in the local official records 4- Yes with a local organization 5- Other: Specify: _____ 6- Don't know
FOOD SECURITY		
64.	How often in the last year did you have problems satisfying the food needs of your household?	Prompt: One Answer 1. Never 2. Rarely (1 to 2 times) 3. Sometimes (3 to 6 times) 4. Often (a few times every month) 5. Mostly (this happens a lot)
65.	How often in the last year did you have to borrow money (loans) to pay for food purchases?	Prompt: One Answer _____ Number of times

66.	What is your main source of drinking water for your household?	Prompt: One Answer 1- Public well 2- Well inside compound 3- Public hand pump 4- Hand pump inside compound 5- Spring water	6- Municipal pipe scheme 7- Pipe scheme to the house 8- River / lake / canal 9- Pool / Howz 10- Water tank 11- Other:
67.	Do you have access to safe drinking water?	Prompt: One Answer 1- Yes, we boil water 2- Yes, free potable water 3- Yes, we buy potable water 4- No	
VI. HEALTH			
68.	Was any member of your household sick or injured in the last 4 weeks?	Do not prompt: One answer 1- Yes 2- No SKIP TO Q. 72	
69.	What was the main type of health provider that this household member used in the last 4 weeks?	Prompt: One answer 1. None SKIP TO Q. 71 2. Clinic / mobile clinic 3. Hospital 4. Traditional healer 5. Traditional birth attendant 6. Private doctor Other: _____	
70.	How many times did this household member use this main health service in the last 4 weeks?	Do not prompt: One Answer _____ _____ No. of times SKIP TO Q. 72	
71.	If someone from the household was sick or injured in the last 4 weeks, why did he or she not use any health services?	Prompt: Multiple answers 1- It was not a serious illness 2- Too expensive 3- Too far 4- No available services 5- Other: Specify _____	
VII. EDUCATION			
72.	Are your children enrolled in school?	Do not prompt: One answer 1- Yes, all my children (boys/girls) attend school SKIP TO Q. 74 2- Yes, only the boys attend school 3- Yes, some (but not all) of my children (boys/girls) attend school 4- No 5- I have no children / too young for school SKIP TO Q.76	
73.	What is the main reason that some or all of your children are not enrolled in school?	Do not prompt: One answer 1- Education rights not given to my children because we are IDPs 2- They did not attend classes because of conflict / insecurity 3- Too expensive 4- Family responsibilities 5- Employment / my child works 6- Health / disabilities 7- Schools are too far away 8- Poor quality of schools/ teaching staff 9- Lack of books / learning materials	

		10- No girl schools available nearby 11- Other: Specify: _____
74.	For your children that are enrolled, how would you rate their attendance at school?	Prompt: One Answer 1- Rare 2- Low 3- Average 4- High SKIP TO Q.76
75.	What is the main reason your children do not attend school regularly?	Prompt: One answer 1- Too expensive 2- Poor security 3- Family responsibilities 4- Employment / my child works 5- Health / disabilities 6- Schools are too far away 7- Poor quality of schools/ teaching staff 8- Lack of books / learning materials 9- No girls school in the vicinity of our home 10- Other: _____
FUTURE		
76.	Do you intend to stay or leave again?	Prompt: One Answer 1. I will stay in this location 2. I will go back to my previous home (place that I left to come here) 3. I will go back to my home / community of origin 4. I will move to another location in Afghanistan 5. I will move with my family abroad 6. I will move alone abroad – to my country of exile: _____ 7. I will move alone abroad – to another country: _____ 8. I have not decided yet