



**RANDOMIZED IMPACT EVALUATION OF  
AFGHANISTAN'S NATIONAL SOLIDARITY  
PROGRAMME (NSP)**

# **Baseline Survey Report**

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Andrew Beath  
Fotini Christia  
Ruben Enikolopov



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## Introduction

The randomized impact evaluation of the Phase-II of the National Solidarity Programme (NSP-II) is a multi-year study designed to quantify changes - across a broad range of indicators and throughout the life-cycle of program implementation - in 250 ‘treatment villages’ mobilized by NSP and to compare these changes to those observed in 250 ‘control villages’ not participating in NSP. In so doing, the evaluation will provide a rigorous and disaggregated assessment of the impacts of NSP on economic outcomes and the structure of governance and institutions at different stages of program implementation. It is hoped that this information will be of use to the Government of Afghanistan, donors, and to civil society in providing an evidence basis for future decisions concerning NSP.

## Design

The evaluation methodology and instruments were developed under the supervision of the advisory team and following consultations with donor representatives, Facilitating Partners (FPs), and NSP senior management. The evaluation structure was designed with the following goals: to accommodate the security and logistical constraints faced by implementing agencies; to build capacity within the Government of Afghanistan with respect to the design and implementation of rigorous impact evaluations; to provide evidence-based recommendations on ways in which the process of NSP implementation might be refined; and to provide estimates of program impact that are statistically unbiased, computationally transparent, and easily replicable by external researchers.

In reflection of the dual function of NSP to both build representative structures of governance and improve access to services and increase economic activity, the core outcomes of interest for the study fall into two groups: (1) Social and Economic Outcomes and (2) Governance and Institutions.<sup>1</sup> Table 57 below summarizes the core outcome indicators:

**Table 1: Summary of Core Outcome Indicators**

<b>Social &amp; Economic Outcomes</b>	<b>Governance &amp; Institutions</b>
<b>Consumption</b>	<b>Governance Structures &amp; Activities of Elites</b>
<b>Production</b>	<b>Participation of Women in Governance</b>
<b>Assets</b>	<b>Dispute Incidence</b>
<b>Capital Markets</b>	<b>Interpersonal Trust</b>
<b>Access to Infrastructure</b>	<b>Political Participation</b>
<b>Access to Services</b>	<b>Attitude towards Governance Structures</b>

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<sup>1</sup> In addition, the study seeks to estimate the average impact of introduced variation in the method of CDC elections and in the procedure by which projects are selected for NSP financing. The impact of this variation will be assessed both in terms of the core outcome indicators and program-specific variables, such as the composition of the CDC, the type of project selected, the legitimacy of the selected project, and contributions by villagers to the project. For purposes of conciseness, the program-specific variables used to evaluate the impact of variation in the sub-treatment interventions (STIs) are not discussed in this paper. Readers interested in learning more about the STIs are instead referred to the Methodology & Hypotheses paper last revised on April 13, 2008, and a report of the results of CDC election monitoring exercise, last revised on July 23, 2008. Both reports are publicly available for download at: <http://web.mit.edu/cfotini/www/NSP-IE/papers.html>

Questions pertaining to economic outcomes include: (i) What is the impact of NSP on access to essential services and infrastructure?; (ii) What is the impact of NSP on the average and variation in the level of consumption and assets?; (iii) What is the impact of NSP on the level and diversification of village-level production, agriculture, and other economic activities?; and (iv) What is the impact of NSP on the incidence and function of borrowing. Questions pertaining to institutions and governance include: (i) What is the impact of NSP on structures and perceptions of local governance?; (ii) What is the impact of NSP on the participation of women on governance?; and (iii) What is the impact of NSP on interpersonal trust and political participation? It is expected that further questions of interest will be added to reflect the specific interests of stakeholders.

Data for the evaluation is to be provided by three rounds of household and focus group surveys, beginning with a ‘baseline survey’ conducted in August and September of 2007, followed by a ‘first follow-up survey’ in spring 2009 after partial completion of program activities, and concluded by a ‘second follow-up survey’ in fall 2009 and spring 2010 after the completion of NSP-funded projects in treatment villages.

## **Methodology**

The methodology of the evaluation is structured around a comparison, over a two- to three-year period, of changes in outcomes of interest between 250 ‘treatment villages’ and 250 ‘control villages’. The 500 treatment and control villages are located within 10 districts in Balkh, Baghlan, Daykundi, Ghor, Herat, and Nangarhar provinces. The 10 districts were selected based on size, security conditions, the consent of the assigned FP, and the constraint that no villages in the district had previously received NSP activities. The 10 districts provide what is considered to be a representative sample of Afghanistan’s geographic, ethnic, and economic diversity.

Within each of the 10 evaluation districts, 50 ‘evaluation villages’ were selected by the assigned FP, with the understanding that 25 of the 50 villages would be randomly selected for participation in NSP and that the remaining 25 villages would form the control group and not receive NSP until following the completion of the evaluation. Within each evaluation district, the evaluation team used existing data to form 25 ‘matched village pairs’, grouping villages with similar pre-treatment characteristics. A computer algorithm was then used to randomly select one of each matched village pair to receive NSP.

Estimates of the impact of NSP will be based upon a comparison of changes in outcomes of interest from the baseline and the follow-up surveys between the treatment and control groups. As the 500 villages in the evaluation sample were randomly assigned to either the treatment or control groups, the pre-NSP characteristics of villages selected to receive NSP are, on average, identical to outcomes of interest in those villages not selected to not receive NSP. Accordingly, should any differences in the average level of outcomes of interest arise between the 250 treatment villages and the 250 control villages, it can be assured that those differences reflect the impact of NSP and not any differences in starting conditions between the treatment and control villages.

## **Baseline Survey Instruments**

The baseline survey was conducted during August and September of 2007 and consisted of the administration of four separate survey instruments: a male household questionnaire, a male focus group questionnaire, a female focus group questionnaire, and a female individual questionnaire administered to participants in the female focus group. These four instruments were administered in each of the 500 treatment and control villages selected for inclusion in the evaluation. The baseline instruments are described in more detail below:



### ***Male Household Questionnaire***

The male household questionnaire collected information on household consumption, production, assets, debt as well as attitudes towards the village's existing leadership; community trust; household political participation; attitudes towards women; and preferences for village projects. The questionnaire was designed to survey 10 randomly-selected male heads-of-household in each sample village. The total number of male head-of-household questionnaires administered during the baseline survey was 4,895 across the 500 sample villages.

### ***Male Focus Group Questionnaire***

The male focus group questionnaire was designed to collect information about the village infrastructure and availability of services, local price levels, as well as elite perceptions of village trust, community needs, and preferences for community projects. The questionnaire was administered to a group of men who were village leaders and/or members of the village council. Where the village had a functional village council, enumerators were instructed to request the participation of all of the regular members of the body in the focus group. In cases where the village shared a village council with a neighboring village, enumerators were instructed to request the involvement of all members residing in the sample village and proximate areas. If no village council existed in the sample village, enumerators were instructed to convene a meeting of the village headman and other local power-holders residing in the village. The total number of individuals which participated in the 500 male focus groups during the baseline survey was 5,334.

### ***Female Focus Group Questionnaire***

The female focus group questionnaire covers similar issues to the male focus group questionnaire but also some specific questions pertaining to women's role in the community, participation in income generating activities and their agency in determining how to spend the income generated by these activities. Given the sensitivities involved in interviewing women in rural Afghanistan, female enumerators conducting the focus groups and subsequent interviews were given discretion to decide the most appropriate means of selecting participants. The total number of individuals which participated in the female focus groups during the baseline survey was 3,670 in 496 villages.

### ***Female Individual Questionnaire***

The female individual questionnaire was administered to the same participants as the female focus group but was conducted on a one-to-one basis. The questionnaire collected information concerning consumption; attitudes towards the local and government authorities; village trust; and preferences for village projects. The female individual questionnaire was administered to 3,398 women in 496 villages.

## **Results of the Baseline Survey**

During August and September of 2007, the baseline survey was administered in the 500 treatment and control villages. In each village, 10 randomly-selected male heads-of-households were surveyed, a focus group questionnaire was administered to leaders of the village and/or members of the village council, a focus group questionnaire was administered to females from the leading families of the village, and each of the female focus group participants were interviewed individually. In total, nearly 13,000 people were interviewed during the baseline survey. Although the baseline survey is, by definition, unable to provide information concerning the impact of NSP, a number of interesting findings were obtained from the survey and these are described below under the relevant sectional headings.

### ***General Characteristics of Villages and Respondents***

The collected information pertaining to village characteristics demonstrate that the 10 districts in which the baseline survey was conducted differ significantly in terms of the size of villages, level of migration, vehicular access, main and secondary languages spoken, and in the prices of various commodities, such as rice and tea. Villages across the ten districts appear to be relatively similar, however, on the basis of household size, the number of households per dwelling, and in terms of the price of basic household items such as wheat, wheat flour, fertilizer, fuel, livestock, and labor.

The characteristics of respondents also demonstrate substantial within-district variation in some respects and a lack of such variation in others. The median ages and demographic structure of respondents is relatively constant across districts, for instance, as is the demographic structure of the households of respondents and the type of dwellings. In other respects, such as the frequency by which respondents speak a second language, the educational attainment of respondents and their ability to read a basic phrase or perform a basic calculation, as well as the self-reported level of happiness of respondents, the differences between districts are substantial and reported in detail in the main body of this report.

Male focus group participants are, on average, five years older than male household respondents, who are in turn three years older on average than female respondents. The survey finds that male household respondents are generally happy, and while female respondents are on-balance happy, the incidence of extreme unhappiness is equal to that of extreme happiness. The educational attainment of respondents is generally low, extremely so in the case of female respondents. While respondents in the vast majority of districts are linguistically homogenous, a significant minority of villages in three districts (Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Gulran) contained respondents that spoke different mother tongues. In general, male focus group participants provided a good cross-section of experienced, new, and non-members of village shura or jirga.

### ***Economic Indicators***

Despite some notable district-level variation, discussed in more detail in the main part of this report, the overall sample of villages feature individuals with low financial means, and limited access to electricity and water. The average surveyed household has very few assets and is in debt, with a considerable subsample of households borrowing money just to meet their basic food needs. This section provides an overview of the economic characteristics of the sample including data on production, consumption, assets, economic shocks, debt as well as perceptions of the present economic situation and future plans.

Across the sample, agriculture is the predominant means of generating income. 49 percent of male household respondents and 48 percent of male focus group respondents consider farming to be their main income. Animal husbandry is the largest source of secondary income for villages, while sources of tertiary income are diversified across the sample. Overall, 97 percent of villages report a source of secondary income and 73 percent of villages a source of tertiary income. Of the female respondents interviewed for the sample, 63 percent reported no involvement in income-generating activities. In the cases where women worked, control over income earned through their activities was limited, resting with their husband or family; less than a quarter reported they had full autonomy over their income.

In terms of agricultural production, wheat is the predominant crop grown across almost all districts. Overall, 76 percent of respondents report having access to agricultural land, either as farmers, owners, or sharecroppers. Only 39 percent of farmers across the sample reported cultivating crops during the most recent season. Very few farmers in the snow-affected districts of Daulina, Khost Wa Firing, or Sang Takht cultivate during winter, while winter cultivation is relatively common in the warmer districts of Balkh, Gulran, Hisarak, and Sherzad. Farmers mostly grow crops for home consumption, with only 15 percent reporting they sold a portion of

their crop following the most recent harvest. The sale of crops was relatively rare across the sample, with only 15 percent of farmers doing so. The median revenues earned by farmers for selling crops varied substantially both within and across districts. Nearly 70 percent reported that their produce was sold at a market, rather than to a middleman, with the location of markets varying from district-to-district. In the limited cases when produce was sold to a middleman, the middlemen usually either originated from the same village or from the district centers. The proportion of farmers who reported they did not have a choice as to whom they sold their produce was relatively low across the sample. In the instances where such constraints were faced, the most common reason cited was the lack of other buyers in the village, although a handful of respondents reported that they were constrained by the terms of a loan repayment or had been compelled to sell to a particular individual.

The type of consumption to which the average household in our sample resorts is a direct reflection of its limited financial resources. Expenditures on food are reported across the board, with the median household spending \$60 a month on food. 60 percent of households spent money on clothing or transportation in that same period. Only a small fraction of respondents spent money on goods that are not bare necessities, such as phone charges or vehicle fuel. Spending on education was relatively rare, covering just 10 percent of households. Spending on social and religious obligations demonstrated significant variation both within and between districts. Although only 7 percent of households reported spending on weddings, for instance, those that did face such expenses bore a substantial price. Notably, more than 97 percent of households claimed to have spent money on medical treatment or medicine in the past year, with a median expenditure across the sample of \$70. The high medical expenses are a reflection of the rough living conditions that plague these areas.

In terms of assets, 85 percent of respondents stated their household owned either livestock or poultry, assets that also serve as means of production. Though the vast majority of respondents own a watch or radio (84% and 75% respectively), almost no one owned "big ticket" electrical items, such as generators, refrigerators, or televisions, a predictable outcome given the shortage of electricity in the areas covered. An exception was cell phones, owned by 17 percent of surveyed households. As far as means of transport are concerned, only a quarter of households own a motorbike and 2 percent a car. Among agricultural implements, approximately a quarter of households across our sample claimed to own a plow and a wheelbarrow, and less than one percent own a tractor. There were notable gender effects to asset ownership. On average, 60 percent of female respondents claimed to own livestock or poultry as compared to 30 percent who reported ownership of land and 12 percent who claimed to own jewelry. Women very rarely reported having full autonomy over the use or the income generated by these assets, which were most commonly acquired through dowry or inheritance and were rarely purchased by the respondent herself.

Of the different forms of economic shocks that households faced in the past year, food price inflation was the most common, affecting 86 percent of households across the sample. More than a fifth of male household respondents reported that, in the past year, they always or usually faced difficulty in meeting the food needs of the household, while 45 percent reported they rarely or never faced such difficulties. A fall in agricultural output was also a commonly reported problem, affecting 73 percent of households overall. Deterioration in drinking water quantity or quality concerned 65 percent of respondents. Relatively few households reported that a household member had lost employment (5 percent) or experienced a reduction in salary (6 percent), but 81 percent of respondents did report the household had been adversely affected by illness. The incidence of conflict or problems arising from an influx of returning refugees were rare problems, as were cases of theft of property.

Data from the baseline survey indicates that villagers in the evaluation districts face acute levels of poverty. The average household income for the sample is estimated to be \$139 per month, varying from \$81 per month in Adraskan in Herat to \$233 in Sherzad in Nangarhar. To supplement income, 48 percent of respondents reported borrowing money from sources outside the household. The mean value of loans was \$779, although again there was wide variance at the district level, from \$282 in Daulina in Ghor to \$1,487 in Hisarak in Nangarhar. 45 percent of respondents indicate that the primary purpose of the loan was to purchase food, while 29 percent indicated that the money had been used to payment for medical treatment or purchase medicine. As such, it appears that loans are generally taken smooth consumption following economic shocks, rather than for investment. More than half of loans have no specific repayment period associated with them and the incidence of interest charges is reported by a mere 5 percent of borrowers.

Though the overall economic situation is dire, over the past year it appeared to have remained largely static, with no sizable improving or deteriorating trends. On average, respondents suggested that there was no notable change in the economic condition of their household in the past year, with women generally being more positive than men in their assessment of how living conditions in the village had changed. Regardless of which group was being asked, the local leadership was much more likely to be credited for a positive change than blamed for a negative one, particularly among female respondents. As expected, the respondents' limited means preclude them from elaborate future plans. Apart from a desire to visit the provincial capital, or to make a pilgrimage to Mecca (expressed by over a half and over a third of respondents respectively), few people (16% or fewer) plan to spend money on any consumer goods, be it a cell phone, TV, car or motorcycle. The main exception seems to be a desire to improve their dwelling in the next year, with 43 percent of respondents expressing intent to take steps towards that goal.

### ***Access to Services***

Respondents in the evaluation districts face limited access to services. Over 80 percent of households reported drawing water from unsafe water sources, such as unprotected springs, shallow open wells, or reservoirs. The time that household members, usually young girls in many parts of Afghanistan, spend collecting water was reported by the vast majority of male household as well as female respondents (over 90 percent) to takes less than an hour.

Only 14 percent of households reported having access to electricity, although there is significant variation in access between districts - in Balkh and Khost Wa Firing in Baghlan, approximately 35 percent of households had access to electricity, compared to only 2 percent in the districts of Adraskan and Gulran in Herat and Daulina in Ghor. Of the 14 percent of male household respondents who reported having access to electricity, the most common source is micro-hydropower plants (63 percent), followed by the national electrical grid (24 percent), and diesel generators (11 percent). Sources of electricity vary significantly between districts. Whereas, 95 percent of electricity users in Balkh draw their power from the national grid, only two other respondents across the full sample claim to do so. For households that had access to electricity in the past month, most had electricity on nearly all days of the month. The number of hours a day, however, varied: 32 percent report having access of less than 5 hours on average over the past month, while 11 percent reported having between 21 and 24 hours of electricity daily. Overwhelmingly, male household and male focus group respondents believed that their household's access to electricity had not changed over the past year, with approximately 90 percent of respondents reporting no change.

Access to health care was also found to be limited, with around 89 percent of respondents reporting that there was no community health worker available to treat illnesses of people in the

village. In the aggregate, nearly half of respondents reported that, when persons in the village fall ill, they are taken to a clinic for treatment. Roughly one in five of the respondents reported that treatment by a doctor is most common, and a similar number of people stated that treatment at a hospital predominates. Across the full sample, approximately 10 percent of respondents reported that there is no source of medical treatment for people in the village who fall ill. Across the full sample, 12 - 19 percent of respondents reported that such a health worker was available to treat men in the village and 9 - 17 percent of respondents claimed that a health worker was available, either within the village or to travel to the village, at any time of the day or night. Female doctors or midwives appear to be rarely available across the villages in the sample, with 85 percent of female respondents reporting that no female doctor or midwife was available. When asked whether they would take a sick daughter to a male doctor in the event that a female doctor or nurse was not available, 74 percent responded in the affirmative. Medical treatment is most commonly administered in the district center, with only 4 percent reporting it would be provided in the village. Overall, a little more than half of the female respondents reported that they or another female in their household had fallen ill in the past month. Of those respondents who did report that an illness had occurred, 57 percent reported that the person with the illness or injury had received treatment. Female respondents who reported that they or another female in the household had fallen ill or been injured and had not been treated most commonly explained that this was due to the high cost of treatment (32 percent), or the fact that the location of treatment was too far away (25 percent).

Overall, 43 percent of male focus groups and 49 percent of female focus groups reported their village has a boys, girls, or mixed school. Unsurprisingly, villages across the sample were less likely to have a girls' school than either a mixed or boys' school. 86 percent of female focus groups and 90 percent of male focus groups reported that their village contained no school which teaches girls exclusively and 88 percent reported that their village did not have any female teachers. Female respondents who reported that some of their children do not attend school cited the lack of a school close to the village as the main reason (72 percent of respondents). When asked to consider whether the number of children from the village attending school had increased, decreased, or stayed the same relative to last year, 69 percent of male household respondents reported an increase, while 29 percent reported that it had stayed the same. Increases in school attendance were most frequently attributed to the parents of the children concerned (50 percent), followed by actions of the village leaders (34 percent). Just 7 percent of respondents felt that actions of the central government were behind the increase in school attendance and only 4 percent cited the work of non-governmental organizations. Similarly, both male focus group and female respondents perceived an increase in the amount of boys attending school over the past year. Overall, 75 percent of male focus group respondents and 63 percent of female respondents reported an increase, while 28 percent of male focus group respondents and 28 percent of female respondents reported no change. A lesser proportion of both male focus group and female respondents perceived that girls' school attendance had increased, with 57 percent of male focus group respondents and 51 percent of female respondents reporting such. 38 percent of male focus group respondents and 43 percent of female respondents reported that they had observed no change. In accordance with the answers provided by male household respondents, male focus group respondents share the credit for increases in boys' and girls' school attendance between parents (43 percent) and the village leadership (41 percent). 54 percent of female respondents reporting a positive change in the number of girls from the village attending school attribute the change to village leaders, while 27 percent credit the parents of the girls themselves.

95 percent of male focus group and female respondents reported that there are no vocational trainings offered in their communities. According to male focus group and female respondents, over 70 percent of the courses offered are reading and writing courses, with the remaining being

roughly evenly split among courses in handicrafts, carpet weaving, or carpentry. In villages where no literacy courses are offered, 86 percent of male respondents and 91 percent of female respondents stated that women could participate in vocational trainings if they were to be offered in their village. Male focus group and female respondents who did not believe women would be able to participate in vocational trainings, if they were offered in the village stated that it was because women simply did not have the time to participate in them (50 percent and 36 percent respectively). Following a lack of time, the opposition of husbands or other male family members was the next most commonly cited response (19 percent and 30 percent respectively). 46 percent of male respondents and 76 percent of female respondents stated that they would be willing to attend a vocational training course in the next year. Literacy courses were the most preferred course (42 percent of respondents), followed by carpet weaving (22 percent) and a handicrafts course (20 percent).

### ***Governance and Institutions***

In most districts, the leading role in making decisions on behalf of the community is played by village heads and tribal elders, who also play the leading role in making rules and resolving disputes. Across the sample, 74 percent of male household respondents that there is no one who is responsible for providing emergency assistance to villagers, while a similar proportion had difficulty citing any authority responsible for providing loans to villagers, or sponsoring developing projects in the village. When asked which authority is most responsible for providing protection to the village, a plurality of respondents replied that the government is most responsible. A high degree of variation was observed in regard to the authority responsible for managing the village's water resources. In Khost Wa Firing, Balkh and Chisht-e Sharif, the most popular answer among male head of household respondents was *meerab*, while in Sherzad, Sang Takht, and Daulina, village elders were reported as being responsible for managing the village water resources by a plurality of respondents.

The overwhelming majority of villages in the sample either have their own village council or share a council with another village. Within the sample of male household respondents, 70 percent reported that their village has its own council, 16 percent that it has a shared council with neighboring village(s), with only 14 percent reporting that their village does not have a council. Councils appear to be relatively rare in Balkh, where 33 percent of male household respondents and 38 percent of male focus group respondents reported that their village neither has its own council nor shares a council with another village. Male household and female respondents were asked whether they or a family member had attended the past meeting and 35 percent of male household respondents and 47 percent of female respondents said that this was so. Across the ten districts, 21 percent of male household respondents and 49 percent of female respondents reported that they or a member of their household were members of the village council.

Results from the baseline survey indicate that women have a limited role in village governance, but that this does not generally reflect the preferences of villagers. Although 71 percent of female respondents stated that they were generally happy with the work of the local village council or village leaders, 92 percent responded that the council or village leaders had done nothing for women within the past year and 91 percent responded that there was no formal role by which women could participate in the village council. When female interviewees were asked if they believed women should be allowed to be participate in the council, 70 percent of women interviewed stated that they believed that women should be granted membership and 86 percent stated the believed women should have a separate female council. When male head-of-household interviewees were asked the same questions, only 43 percent stated that they believed women should be allowed to fully participate, but 85 percent expressed support for a separate female council.



The main work village councils or local leadership appears to be dispute resolution, although 32 percent of male household respondents, 41 percent of female respondents, and 23 percent of male focus group respondents reported that their council or leaders did nothing of importance in the past year. A comparatively small 23 percent of male focus group respondents reported that their council or leaders did nothing of importance in the past year, while 40 percent reported dispute mediation as the primary activity and a further 24 percent cited development projects as the main work in the past year. When asked about the work that they would prefer the council or leaders to do in the coming year, male household respondents were split between drinking water, health and educational projects, electricity, roads and bridges, and irrigation. The answers of male focus group respondents followed a similar pattern, whereas the female respondents were much more likely to support works that were aimed at improving access to drinking water. Overall, the majority of respondents expressed satisfaction with performance of village council or local leadership and seemed reasonably confident that village leaders act in the interest of the villagers. Female respondents were more critical, with 36 percent of respondents in Daulina and 31 percent in Sherzad reporting that the village leaders do not act in the interest of the villagers. Among the actions that caused dissatisfaction of the respondents the most important were dispute mediation and corruption.

Civil disputes appear to be relatively common in the villages in the sample, with 61 percent of male household respondents and 50 percent of male focus group respondents reporting that there was at least one dispute in the village during the past year. Across the ten districts, Farsi and Sherzad seem to have the most frequent incidence of disputes, whereas Balkh and Gulran tend to have much fewer. Approximately 85 percent of male household and male focus group respondents claimed that disputes in their village were successfully resolved, with villages headmen and tribal leaders being the most frequently cited authorities providing dispute mediation. When asked whether the views of women are ever considered during dispute resolution 50 percent of female respondents reported that it is never the case, and only 7 percent said that the views of women are always considered.

### ***Economic, Social, and Political Development***

Male household respondents were found to have a high degree of knowledge of political structures and personalities and high self-reported level of political involvement. For instance, 98 percent of male household respondents correctly identified the President of Afghanistan and 51 percent could correctly name one or more of their province's Member of Parliament. Across the full sample, 89 percent of male household respondents claimed to have voted in the 2005 parliamentary election and 91 percent claimed to have voted in the 2004 presidential election. 88 percent of male household respondents said they would vote in the next parliamentary election and 91 percent said they would vote in the next presidential election. Radio is the main source of news and information for the majority of respondents, accounting for 74 percent of male household respondents, 42 percent of female respondents, and 73 percent of male focus group respondents.

When compared to a range of different authorities and institutional actors, male household respondents reported that they hold tribal elders in the highest regard, with 92 percent of respondents claiming that they usually take actions that in accordance with the interests of all villagers. Respondents also seemed to hold the President and agents of the central government in relatively high regard as well, with only 20 percent and 22 percent of respondents respectively reported that these authorities only acted in their own interests. The village council was also held in high regard, with 67 percent of respondents saying that its members acted in the interests of all, while commanders fared the worst of the various institutional actors, with 51 percent of respondents saying they acted only in their own interests.

Across the full sample, very few respondents reported that taxes are usually paid by people in the village. When asked whether taxes should be paid by people in the village, 39 percent of male household respondents and 47 percent of male focus group respondents replied in the affirmative. In response to a question about whom taxes should be paid to, 87 percent of male household respondents and 83 percent of male focus group respondents stated that taxes should be paid to the central government, rather than other entities such as provincial governors, district administrators, or village councils. The rate of taxation that respondents thought most appropriate was relatively low, however, with a median of 3 percent in the male household sample and 2 percent in the male focus group sample.

Prior to the initiation of the National Solidarity Programme (NSP), villages in the evaluation sample seemed to be poorly served by other projects, with only 4 percent of villages having a development project in operation. Projects tend to cover a wide range of areas, with projects pertaining to drinking water, roads and bridges, and agriculture all being mentioned, but seem to be mainly sponsored by NGOs, with only a fraction of respondents saying that projects in their village are sponsored by the central government. Interestingly, 47 percent of male household respondents, 10 percent of female respondents, and 60 percent of male focus group respondents claimed to have heard of the National Solidarity Programme (NSP), even though no NSP activities had yet been commenced in the evaluation districts. There was significant variance between districts, however. In Sherzad in Nangarhar, over 80 percent of respondents claimed to have heard of NSP, while in the remote districts of Gulran in Herat and Sang Takht in Daykundi, less than 20 percent had heard of NSP.

In order to inform whether sub-projects implemented by NSP are reflective of the preferences of villagers, the baseline survey sought to obtain detailed information concerning which types of sub-projects respondents felt were most needed by the village. The results indicate that male heads-of-household and female respondents believe that clean drinking water facilities are of primary importance, followed by schools, and health facilities. Projects focused on irrigation and roads and bridges were of high importance to male respondents, both at the household and focus group level, but were of lesser importance to female respondents. Interestingly, only 10 percent of male focus group respondents, 6 percent of male household respondents, and 7 percent of female respondents considered electricity to be the highest priority project. Other projects, such as training courses, provision of agricultural seeds, machinery, or livestock, were rarely cited as priorities by respondents. Female respondents were also asked which type of projects would most benefit the women of the village, in response to which, female respondents cited mainly vocational training courses or income-generating activities in areas such as carpet weaving, handicrafts, and needlecraft.

In response to a question as to whether they would be willing to entrust a fellow villager to collect money for them, 84 percent of male household respondents, 69 percent of female respondents, and 90 percent of male focus group respondents replied in the affirmative. Respondents were next asked whether they had ever entrusted a fellow villager with money. Across the sample, 50 percent of male household respondents, 28 percent of female respondents and 66 percent of male focus group respondents reported they had done this. When asked whether people in their village generally help one another, 91 percent of male household respondents, 81 percent of female respondents, and 93 percent of male focus group respondents said that they thought villagers generally did. Finally, villagers were asked whether they believed people in their village work better together in small groups compared to working together as a village. Overall, 52 percent of male household respondents, 62 percent of female respondents, and 85 percent of male focus group respondents contended that cooperation was indeed better among smaller groups.

Women appear to have relatively little decision-making authority in the villages surveyed across the ten districts, particularly in regard to questions with a financial dimension attached to them. In decisions pertaining to the purchase of food or the taking out of loans, for instance, very few women reported that they are even consulted prior to a decision being made. Female respondents were more likely to report that they are consulted in regard to questions pertaining to the marriage or education of their children, but such respondents were still firmly in the minority across the sample. Women in Sang Takht and Hisarak appear to have a much greater degree of involvement in decision-making than in other districts, with women in Adraskan, Farsi, and Sherzad having relatively little. Overall, the most common reason women leave their house is to collect water, wood, or scrap, with 68 percent of respondents across the sample reporting that they had done this in the past month. Across the ten districts, just over a quarter of respondents reported that they regularly leave the house without company, with 27 percent reporting that a young child is their common company when leaving the house and 21 percent reporting that their husband usually accompanies them. Women in Sang Takht were by far the most likely to say they regularly leave their house without company, while women in Adraskan, Farsi, and Sherzad were the least likely. Female respondents were also asked whether they wear a burqa (*chadori*) when walking outside the home. 19 percent of women indicated they wear neither a scarf nor a burqa, 30 percent indicated they wear a scarf only, 14 percent said they sometimes wear a burqa, and 37 percent claimed they usually or always wear a burqa. Relatively few women in Sang Takht indicated they wear either a burqa or a scarf, while almost all respondents in Balkh indicated they do so. 79 percent of female respondents indicated that it is common for women in their village to socialize with women outside of their family, with respondents in Daulina, Farsi, and Sherzad being relatively less likely to report this and respondents in Balkh and Sang Takht being relatively more likely.

## Challenges Faced

Due to severe weather conditions and longer-than-anticipated mobilization schedules, CDC elections and sub-project selection procedures were delayed in a number of districts. As a result, the monitoring of the sub-treatment interventions, and the collection of the re-interview data to be used to verify the baseline survey data, spanned a longer time period than originally anticipated, with the collection of re-interview data completed only in May 2008.

In addition, the processing of the baseline survey data was delayed significantly due to pressures imposed on the Vulnerability Analysis Unit (VAU) by the parallel administration of the 2007-08 National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA), with the baseline survey dataset only being provided to the evaluation team in early 2008 and only then in a raw and un-cleaned state. A data entry team was subsequently recruited to clean the baseline survey dataset, with the evaluation team coding the dataset and providing preliminary findings in the interim.

The evaluation team received the cleaned baseline survey dataset from the data entry team in late-May 2008, and the re-interview dataset in early June. The delay in obtaining the latter has stemmed primarily from delays in NSP mobilization in three of the evaluation districts and the decision to save on resources by combining CDC election monitoring with the administration of the baseline re-interviews.

In order to ensure accurate collection and expeditious processing of the NSP follow-up surveys, the Trust Fund for Statistical Capacity Building (TFSCB) and Institutional Development Facility (IDF) of the World Bank has provided VAU with \$535,000 in capacity building funding to purchase data processing equipment and rationalize their capacity for survey design and administration. It is intended that VAU's participation in the NSP evaluation, and a related evaluation of the National Emergency Rural Access Project (NERAP), will build capacities

necessary to allow VAU to design and implement rigorous evaluations of development programs for the Government of Afghanistan and the donor community.

## **Next Steps**

As of November 2008, CDC elections and sub-project selection procedures have been completed in the 10 evaluation districts. The evaluation team plans to undertake the first follow-up survey occurring in accessible districts in January 2009, with a second follow-up survey to be conducted in the fall of 2009. In early December 2008, members of the evaluation team plan to hold a workshop in Kabul with representatives of the Government of Afghanistan, Facilitating Partners (FPs), World Bank, and other stakeholders to finalize and reach consensus on the set of outcome indicators on which NSP will be evaluated.

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# **RANDOMIZED IMPACT EVALUATION OF AFGHANISTAN'S NATIONAL SOLIDARITY PROGRAMME (NSP)**

## **BASELINE SURVEY REPORT<sup>§</sup>**

**Andrew Beath<sup>\*</sup>**

**Fotini Christia<sup>†</sup>**

**Ruben Enikolopov<sup>‡</sup>**

**December 13, 2008**

## **I. Introduction**

The National Solidarity Programme (NSP) is a community-driven development (CDD) initiative in Afghanistan which creates directly-elected Community Development Councils (CDCs) and disburses grants for development projects proposed by CDCs. The economic, institutional, and social impacts of NSP are being assessed by a randomized impact evaluation which compares changes in outcomes of interest between 250 'treatment villages' mobilized by NSP and 250 'control villages' not participating in NSP.<sup>2</sup> Data for the evaluation is to be provided by three rounds of household and focus group surveys, beginning with a 'baseline survey' conducted in August and September of 2007, followed by a 'first follow-up survey' in fall 2008 and spring 2009 after partial completion of program activities, and concluded by a 'second follow-up survey' in fall 2009 and spring 2010 after the completion of NSP-funded projects in treatment villages. To the extent feasible, enumerators administering follow-up surveys will re-interview the same individuals sampled during the baseline survey, providing a rich panel dataset.

The purpose of this report is to describe pertinent methodological considerations and present summary statistics from the baseline survey.<sup>3</sup> The survey was conducted during August and September of 2007 and consisted of the administration of four separate survey instruments – a male head-of-household questionnaire, a male focus group questionnaire, a female focus group questionnaire, and a female individual questionnaire administered to participants in the female focus group – in each of the 500 treatment and control villages selected for inclusion in the

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<sup>\*</sup> Consultant, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) / Ph.D. Student, Department of Government, Harvard University ([beath@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:beath@fas.harvard.edu))

<sup>†</sup> Consultant, FAO / Assistant Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology ([cfotini@mit.edu](mailto:cfotini@mit.edu))

<sup>‡</sup> Consultant, FAO / Assistant Professor, New Economic School ([renikolopov@nes.ru](mailto:renikolopov@nes.ru))

<sup>2</sup> The 500 villages selected for inclusion in the evaluation are located in 10 districts in the provinces of Baghlan, Balkh, Daykundi, Ghor, Herat, and Nangarhar. Figure 1 below provides a physical overview of the districts in which the evaluation is being conducted.

<sup>3</sup> This report was preceded by a report on the methodology and hypotheses of the evaluation, last revised on April 13, 2008, and a report of the results of CDC election monitoring exercise, last revised on July 23, 2008. Both reports are available for download at: <http://web.mit.edu/cfotini/www/NSP-IE/papers.html>

evaluation. Data collected during the baseline survey spanned 4,895 male heads-of-households, 489 male focus groups, 493 female focus groups, and 3,515 individual female respondents.

The report is divided into 7 sections: Section II describes background information on NSP, local governance structures in Afghanistan, and the study; Section III provides a brief overview of how districts and villages were selected for inclusion in the evaluation; Section IV discusses the survey instruments and provides information concerning the sampling of individual respondents and focus groups; Section V presents summary statistics from the baseline survey for the core indicators will follow; Section VI presents the results of the re-interview procedure which was used to assess the veracity of the baseline data; and Section VII concludes.

## II. Background

The following sections provide background information to the research project, detailing the treatment (II.1 – National Solidarity Programme [NSP]), the existing structures for local governance in rural Afghanistan, and a broad overview of the study.

### II.1. National Solidarity Programme (NSP)

Inspired by the success of community-driven development (CDD) programs in other post-conflict environments, NSP was launched in June 2003 to build representative institutions for local governance and to alleviate poverty through improving access of rural villages to infrastructure and training.<sup>4</sup> In participating villages, NSP mandates the creation of a Community Development Council (CDC) through a secret-ballot election, which is then accorded responsibility for proposing projects to the NSP office. Provided the proposals meet basic guidelines, NSP disburses block grants - up to a combined value of \$200 per household and a community maximum of \$60,000 – for project implementation.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 1: Projects Financed by NSP by Sector - January 20, 2008**

<b>Agriculture</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>Power</b>	<b>4,972</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>4,312</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>Public Buildings</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Emergency Response</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>Rural Development</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>2%</b>
<b>Health</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>Transport</b>	<b>7,146</b>	<b>22%</b>
<b>Irrigation</b>	<b>5,179</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>Water Supply and Sanitation</b>	<b>7,873</b>	<b>24%</b>
<b>Livelihood</b>	<b>2,154</b>	<b>7%</b>			

Source: (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan: Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD), 2008)

Financing for NSP is provided by World Bank grants, the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF), the Japanese Social Development Fund, and a variety of bilateral donors. The program is executed by Afghanistan's Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD), with program implementation undertaken by 26 international and domestic NGOs, known as Facilitating Partners (FPs). FPs are awarded contracts to 'mobilize' communities in districts, which are assigned to FPs through competitive bidding.

NSP implementation in participating communities is generally structured around a project cycle comprising five phases, with a collective duration of between two and three years:

- **Phase I:** FP assigned to the district contacts selected villages to provide information about the policies and procedures of NSP. Leaders in participating villages are asked to consent to the implementation of NSP in their village;

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<sup>4</sup> (Chandran, Esteves, Fall, Fan, Ladd, & Sun, 2006; National Solidarity Programme, 2006). The NSP is known in Dari as *Hanbastagi Milli* and in Pashtu as *Milli Pawastoon* and was preceded by a smaller program implemented by UN-HABITAT between 1995 and 2001 which facilitated the formation of urban "community forums" that initiated "small-scale self-initiative projects that addressed urgent urban community infrastructure maintenance and protection needs" (Affolter, Noori, Sawayz, & Shrestha, 2006). For background on CDD programs and an evaluation of their effectiveness as a vehicle for delivering development assistance, see (World Bank Operations Evaluation Department, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> In order to be eligible for participation, villages must contain at least 25 families, although villages with less than 25 families may opt to participate in NSP in cooperation with neighboring villages, provided that the total number of families is 25 or more. In this case, the combined villages will elect a single CDC (National Solidarity Programme, 2006).

- **Phase II:** FP facilitates secret-ballot, universal-suffrage election to establish the Community Development Council (CDC). These elections, and the registration process which proceeds them, must be conducted free of electioneering and campaigning.<sup>6</sup> Following the election, a CDC president, deputy president, secretary, and treasurer are elected by CDC;
- **Phase III:** CDC consults with members of the community to compile a list of priority projects in a Community Development Plan (CDP), a number of which are selected by the CDC to submit to NSP for funding.<sup>7</sup> FPs are expected to provide technical assistance where necessary to help CDCs prepare the CDP, develop project proposals, and to help CDC members develop skills in accounting, procurement, contract management;<sup>8</sup>
- **Phase IV:** Upon approval, block grants are disbursed to villages to cover the purchase of materials and services. CDC undertakes project implementation and reports to the community on progress and use of funds, with FPs and NSP staff monitoring the project completion process;
- **Phase V:** Program partners assess the technical quality of completed projects and document lessons learned.

On March 31, 2007, the first phase of NSP concluded, at which stage 17,200 villages in 279 of Afghanistan's 398 districts had participated in the program, at a total cost of \$441 million. There is no precise estimate of the total number of villages in Afghanistan, but the NSP office has expressed its intention to mobilize an additional 17,450 villages. Presently, phase two of NSP is proceeding with an interim goal of mobilizing 4,300 new villages over the course of 2 years. 2,000 of these are located in 'on-going' districts (which contain villages previously mobilized) and 2,300 are located in 74 'new' districts (which do not contain any villages mobilized by NSP). Due to funding limitations facing the NSP program, the number of villages to be mobilized in 'new' districts is capped at 40.

## II.2. Structures of Local Governance in Rural Afghanistan

Afghanistan's numerous past conflicts and frequent regime changes have endowed the country with diverse and overlapping structures of rural governance. Prior to 1973, traditional power structures governed rural villages with scant interference from a weak central government.<sup>9</sup> However, since then, numerous attempts have been made by the state to extend power and

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<sup>6</sup> The intent of this is to prevent the elections from fomenting division or "division or elitist usurpation of election results" (Affolter, Noori, Sawayz, & Shrestha, 2006). According to the NSP Operational Manual, "[p]rohibition of candidature and electioneering is critical to reduce the likelihood of elite capture and intimidation" (Affolter, Noori, Sawayz, & Shrestha, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Project proposals which are eligible for funding under the NSP span the following areas: transportation infrastructure (roads, bridges, culverts), irrigation infrastructure (canals, small check dams), water supply and sanitation (drinking water wells, standpipes), power (micro-hydropower, solar panels, diesel generators), public buildings (schools, health clinics, public baths), training (vocational education, literacy). Subproject proposals are approved provided they are on the list of eligible sub-projects, are proposed by a CDC and endorsed through a community-wide consultation process, provide equitable access, are technically and financially sound, include an operation and maintenance plan, are funded by the community up to a level exceeding 10 percent of the total cost, and are supported by a commitment to transparency by the CDC (National Solidarity Programme, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> (Kakar, 2005)

<sup>9</sup> (Kakar, 2005)

ideology from Kabul deep into the provinces, each bestowing their own legacy on rural governance.<sup>10</sup>

Kakar (2005) provides a thorough overview of the galaxy of Afghan local powerholders. Traditionally, *Malik* or *Arbabs* (‘village headmen’), who are generally wealthy landowners, have served as the main interlocutor between village and government, also solving community disputes. Where land is distributed particularly unequally, large landowners (known as *Khan* or *Zamindar*) may also possess significant *de facto* power on account of their economic wealth. In villages where water resources are of particular economic significance, a *Meerab* is appointed to manage the local water supply and irrigation systems. Reflecting the role of Islam, religious leaders (known as a *Mullah* or *Ulema*) are bestowed authority and are commonly called upon to adjudicate disputes. Local powerholders and elders are generally brought together in a pan-village council, known as a *jirga* in Pashtun regions and a *shura* elsewhere. Such councils ordinarily only meet following the development of a problem, such as a land dispute or a breakdown in intra-communal relations, or to perform funeral or wedding ceremonies, or receive important guests.<sup>11</sup>

The civil and political turmoil that has consumed Afghanistan over the past generation has predictably left its mark on structures of rural governance. Land reforms undertaken by communist administrations in the 1970s and 1980s commonly resulted in the appointment of a new *Malik* or *Arbab* and a reshuffling of village hierarchies.<sup>12</sup> These appointments were, however, undermined by the insurgency which developed following the Soviet invasion in 1979. Rural communities opposed to the Soviets appointed local *mujabedeens* as commanders, who were charged with organizing and arming ‘cadres of village soldiers who would fight under their command.’<sup>13</sup> Substantial financial resources and materiel were channeled to commanders, enhancing their political standing considerably. Following the conclusion of the civil war in 1996, the ascendant Taliban regime complicated the governance structure further by installing new commanders.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the superimposition of these structures of governance, traditional local institutions are considered to remain dominant in many areas and are to some extent, threatened by NSP; as a result they have at times posed active resistance to program implementation.<sup>15</sup>

### II.3. Overview of Study

The study seeks to examine the impact of the NSP program on the quality of governance and institutions and on measures of social and economic welfare.<sup>16</sup> The empirical strategy is to

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<sup>10</sup> (Kakar, 2005)

<sup>11</sup> (Affolter, Noori, Sawayz, & Shrestha, 2006; Kakar, 2005)

<sup>12</sup> (Kakar, 2005)

<sup>13</sup> (Affolter, Noori, Sawayz, & Shrestha, 2006)

<sup>14</sup> (Kakar, 2005)

<sup>15</sup> As recounted by (Kakar, 2005), some local power-holders have occasionally publicly opposed NSP, claiming that it is a *Khalqi* (Communist Party) program or is intended to convert people to Christianity. A number of FPs have, upon attempting to implement NSP, been presented by local authorities with a list of leaders to compose the CDC. FPs mostly resisted such interference and where elections were held, FPs reported that those elected to the CDC often did not include people on such lists. In some cases, local power-holders who failed to gain office refused to accept the results of CDC elections, and in at least one case, resorted to violence in protest. Such problems have generally been resolved with recourse to regional office holders, such as district authorities, or by holding a second CDC election. Some FPs have also mollified concerns of power-holders by defining the function of CDCs in terms of project delivery, rather than general local governance (Kakar, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> See Table 57 below for a summary of core outcome indicators

compare the average change in outcomes of interest in a ‘treatment group’ of 250 villages which receive NSP with the average change in outcomes of interest in a ‘control group’ of equal size which do not receive NSP until after the conclusion of the study.<sup>17</sup> Within the sample, villages were assigned randomly to the treatment or control group using a procedure discussed in Appendix II below.<sup>18</sup> In addition, the study seeks to examine the impact of the two alternative CDC election methods and project selection procedures on both the aforementioned set of indicators and others specific to the program.<sup>19</sup> The assignment of these two ‘sub-treatment interventions’ was done randomly and independently, facilitating the estimation of both individual and interaction effects.

From the population of 74 ‘new’ NSP districts which had not received NSP prior to the summer of 2007, 10 districts across 6 provinces in Afghanistan were selected to form the sample. The districts, displayed in Figure 1 below, are: Adraskan (Herat); Balkh (Balkh); Chisht-e Sharif (Herat); Daulina (Ghor); Farsi (Herat); Gulran (Herat); Hisarak (Nangarhar); Khost Wa Firing (Baghlan); Sang Takht (Daykundi); and Sherzad (Nangarhar). In each of the 10 districts, 50 villages were selected by participating FPs for inclusion in the study.<sup>20</sup> In the 500 villages selected for inclusion in the study, a panel dataset of randomly selected male heads of household, as well as focus groups with local male and female community leaders, is to be constructed. Two follow-up surveys are planned, which will attempt to re-interview the same individuals surveyed during the baseline survey.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ethical concerns with randomization, particularly of social programs, are sometimes raised. However, when programs such as the NSP face resource constraints that restrict the number of villages that can be mobilized at any given time, randomization may in fact be the fairest means of determining program participation as the probability of any village receiving the program is equalized.

<sup>18</sup> The opportunity to randomly assign NSP within the sample was provided for by financial constraints, discussed above, which limited the number of villages which could be mobilized by NSP to 40 in each of the 74 ‘new’ districts. However, this empirical strategy also restricted the population of districts from which the sample districts could be selected to those districts among the 74 ‘new’ districts which had a minimum of 65 villages.

<sup>19</sup> The two ‘sub-treatment interventions’ have already been executed and a comprehensive set of monitoring data has been collected concerning their implementation. For more on the respective datasets and reports, please refer to the evaluation website at: <http://web.mit.edu/cfotini/www/NSP-IE/>

<sup>20</sup> The methods for selecting sample districts and villages are described in detail in Section III below.

<sup>21</sup> Methods of data collection are described in detail in Section 0 and Appendix I below.



### III. Sample<sup>22</sup>

The selection of the sample for the study proceeded in two stages. First, 10 districts were selected from the approximately 398 districts in Afghanistan to be included in the study. Secondly, 50 villages were selected from the list of villages in each of the 10 sample districts. The procedure for making selecting the districts and the villages is described below.

#### *Selection of Sample Districts*

The selection of districts was guided by three main considerations: (1) 'New' NSP Districts; (2) Security; and (3) Minimum of 65 Villages. Each of these considerations is described in turn:

1. **'New' NSP Districts:** In order to facilitate an experimental design, sample districts were selected exclusively from the 74 'new' districts where NSP had not commenced prior to March 31, 2007. In these 74 'new' districts, financial constraints at the commencement of NSP-II limited the number of villages that could be mobilized by NSP to 40. Due to the fact that the number of villages in districts often exceeds 40, the limitation on NSP activities in new districts implied that allocation of the program would be rationed through some mechanism.<sup>23</sup> This, and the lack of any reliable data sources to assess the relative needs of villages within villages, facilitated the opportunity to introduce a randomized mechanism for assigning the program within some of the 74 'new' NSP districts.
2. **Security:** During the time of the planning of the baseline survey, security conditions in many parts of Afghanistan were deteriorating. Reducing the security risk to those involved in primary data collection was thus a paramount consideration in selecting sample districts for the study. Security concerns eliminated 34 of the 74 'new' NSP districts from consideration for inclusion in the baseline survey.<sup>24</sup>
3. **Minimum of 65 Villages:** The procedures for the study devised by the evaluation team requested that FPs operating in sample districts select one group of 50 villages for inclusion in the impact evaluation (of which 25 would be randomly selected for participation in NSP) and another group of 15 villages which would be excluded from the evaluation, but to which could be guaranteed participation in NSP. Accordingly, only districts with 65 villages or more were eligible for inclusion in the evaluation - of the 74 'new' NSP districts, 23 districts met this criterion.

The evaluation team identified 11 'new' NSP districts which were deemed safe for survey activities and which were deemed, with reasonable certainty, to contain at least 65 villages. Of these 11 districts, one was not contracted to a FP at the latter planning stages for the NSP baseline survey. Thus, the three criteria employed effectively selected the 10 sample districts, which are shown in Figure 1 below.

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<sup>22</sup> This section summarizes a more detailed discussion presented in Section IV.1 of the Hypotheses & Methodology Paper available at: <http://web.mit.edu/cfotini/www/NSP-IE>

<sup>23</sup> According to the village listing provided to the authors by the Central Statistics Office (CSO), the mean number of villages in the 74 'new' NSP districts is 80.

<sup>24</sup> The security situation of each of the 74 'new' NSP districts was assessed by management of the Vulnerability Analysis Unit (VAU), which was contracted to implement the baseline survey for the study and which has unparalleled experience in conducting households surveys in Afghanistan through the administration of the 2003, 2005, and 2007-08 National Risk and Vulnerability Assessments (NRVA). In addition, FPs provided additional information on the security of districts for which they were contracted.

**Figure 1: Ten Sample Districts**



Note: Boundaries of 10 sample districts are marked in red; provincial boundaries in pink; major rivers in light blue; district capitals with small blue stars; and Kabul with a large black star

The 10 districts provide a reasonably balanced sample of Afghanistan's ethnic and geographic diversity, subject to the constraints imposed by current security conditions. The 10 districts cover the western (Adraskan, Farsi, and Gulran), central highlands (Chist-e Sharif, Daulina, and Sang Takht), northern (Balkh), north-eastern (Khost Wa Firing), and eastern (Hisarak and Sherzad) regions, leaving southern Afghanistan as the only major region not included in the sample. The 10 districts also provide a reasonably representative sample of Afghanistan's ethno-linguistic diversity, with five predominantly Tajik districts (Adraskan, Chist-e Sharif, Gulran, Daulina, and Khost Wa Firing), four predominantly Pashtun districts (Balkh, Farsi, Hisarak, and Sherzad), and one predominantly Hazara district (Sang Takht). Balkh and Gulran also contain significant numbers of Uzbek and Turkmen minorities, respectively.

FPs assigned to work in the 10 sample districts provide for a mix of small and large, international and Afghan NGOs that reflects the diversity of FPs contracted to implement NSP across Afghanistan. Seven different FPs are contracted to mobilize communities in the 10 sample districts. Three of the districts (Balkh, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing) are contracted to People-in-Need (PiN), a Czech NGO. Two of the districts (Gulran and Sherzad) are contracted to the International Rescue Committee (IRC), an NGO head-quartered in the United States. Adraskan district is contracted to NPO/RRAA, an Afghan NGO; Chist-e Sharif to InterCooperation, a Pakistani NGO; Daulina district to AfghanAid, a UK-based NGO; Farsi district to Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (CHA), an Afghan NGO; and Sang Takht district is contracted to Oxfam UK.

### ***Selection of Sample Villages***

In each of the 10 sample districts, the FP contracted to that district was given responsibility for selecting the 50 sample villages to be included in the evaluation, with the understanding that the evaluation team would randomly select 25 of the 50 sample villages for NSP participation. This approach was adopted to ensure that the procedures of the evaluation didn't impose unnecessary logistical costs or complications for participating FPs. It was also motivated by the assumption that allowing FPs to select the sample villages would minimize the probability of sample villages being ineligible for participation in NSP due to small size, or which, for security, political, or other reasons, would otherwise create problems if surveyed and/or mobilized by NSP.

Lists of villages for which the evaluation team possessed the necessary data were provided to the participating FPs, who were given a number of weeks to make the selection.<sup>25</sup> In addition to the 50 sample villages, FPs selected 15 additional 'priority' villages in the district for participation in NSP. This was done in order to meet political or humanitarian imperatives dictating the prioritization of particular villages for NSP without jeopardizing the integrity of the empirical strategy for inference. The only constraint that was imposed on the selection of these 15 'priority' villages was that none of them appear in the list of 50 'sample' villages. In order to prevent contamination of the control group, the evaluation team took all feasible steps to ensure that the 15 'priority' villages did not overlap with the 25 NSP sample villages and, where GPS coordinates were available, were located a significantly far distance away from them.

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<sup>25</sup> The evaluation team constrained the villages which could be selected for inclusion in the sample to those villages for which the evaluation team possessed GPS coordinates and demographic and infrastructure data.



## IV. Overview of Baseline Survey Instruments and Sampling Procedures

The baseline survey consisted of four different instruments, two of which were individually conducted while the remaining two were focus-group based. The questionnaires, described in more detail below, were administered to both men and women in the 500 sample communities. Detailed breakdown of the number of observations by district and type of treatment assignment for each questionnaire can be found in Appendix III.

### IV.1. Male Household Questionnaire

The male household questionnaire collects information on household consumption, production, assets, debt as well as attitudes towards the village's existing leadership; community trust; household political participation; attitudes towards women; and preferences for village projects. The questionnaire was designed to survey 10 randomly-selected male heads-of-household in each sample village. In order to select participants, enumerators were instructed, upon arrival in a sample village, to ascertain the total number of dwellings, and from this, calculate a sampling interval,  $k$ , by dividing the number of dwellings in the village by 10. Enumerators were then asked to select an arbitrary starting point and, from this, to skip  $k$  dwellings before approaching a dwelling and inviting the resident male head-of household to participate in the survey. No monetary inducement was offered to participate and subjects were free to decline to participate in the interview if they so desired.

Enumerators were instructed to repeat this procedure until a total of 10 male head-of-household questionnaires had been administered in the village. This systematic sampling approach was chosen due to the absence of a list of households from which a sampling frame could be constructed, the relative simplicity of the procedure, and the fact that the procedure offers a random selection in the absence of any expected periodicity which might otherwise bias the sample. In some of the small villages interviewers could not locate ten heads-of-households or were not able to complete 10 interviews during the time available. As a result, the total number of male head-of-household questionnaires administered during the baseline survey was 4,895 across the 500 sample villages.

### IV.2. Male Focus Group Questionnaire

The male focus group questionnaire is designed to collect information about the village infrastructure and availability of services, local price levels, as well as elite perceptions of village trust, community needs, and preferences for community projects. The questionnaire was administered to a group of men who were village leaders and/or members of the local *shura* or *jirga*. The number of people in the group in most cases was between 6 and 10, although in several cases it was as low as 2 and as high as 16. Where the village had a functional *shura* or *jirga*, enumerators were instructed to request the participation of all of the regular members of the body in the focus group. In cases where the village shared a *shura* or *jirga* with a neighboring village, enumerators were instructed to request the involvement of all members residing in the sample village and proximate areas. If no *shura* or *jirga* existed in the sample village, enumerators were instructed to convene a meeting of the village headman and other local power-holders residing in the village such as the controller of the local water canal (*Mirab* or *Khadadar*), the major landowners (*Khan*, *Zamindar*, *Beg*, *Sardar*, *Nawab*, or *Arbab*), the religious leaders (*Ulema*, *Mullah*, *Mullavi*, *Talib*, *Qazi*, *Mukhi*, *Mukhiyana*), commander (*Qumandan* or *Mujahed*), and local tribal elders ('White Beards'). The participants were in turn asked during the focus group whether any important village leaders were not participating in the focus group and, if so, why they were not participating. The total number of individuals which participated in the 500 male focus groups during the baseline survey was 5,334.

### **IV.3. Female Focus Group Questionnaire**

The female focus group questionnaire covers similar issues to the male focus group questionnaire but also some specific questions pertaining to women and their role in the community as that is defined by their involvement in income generating activities, their agency in determining how to spend the income generated by these activities, as well as their assets—be it land, livestock, or jewelry. Given the sensitivities involved in interviewing women in rural Afghanistan, female enumerators conducting the focus groups and subsequent interviews were given discretion to decide the most appropriate means of selecting participants. The questionnaire was administered to a group of women who tended to overwhelmingly be wives or other relatives of the village leaders and/or members of the local *shura*. The number of women in the group in most cases was between 6 and 10, although in several cases it was as low as 2 and as high as 15. Since our project is highly concerned with political participation, we expect these women to be the most likely to hold political posts after the introduction of the NSP and they therefore constitute the women we were interested in sampling. The total number of individuals which participated in the female focus groups during the baseline survey was 3,670 in 496 villages.

### **IV.4. Female Individual Questionnaire**

The female individual questionnaire was administered to the same participants as the female focus group but was conducted on a one-to-one basis. The questionnaire collected information concerning consumption; attitudes towards the local and government authorities; village trust; and preferences for village projects. The Female Individual Questionnaire was administered to 3,398 women in 496 villages.



## V. Results of Baseline Survey

The results of the baseline survey for the randomized impact evaluation of the NSP program are presented below, aggregated at both the sample and district level. The chapter is divided into 5 sections: Section V.1 presents summary statistics of questions pertaining to the general characteristics of villages and respondents included among the 500 villages included in the evaluation; Section 0 presents summary statistics relating to economic outcomes, such as production, agriculture, consumption levels, assets, debt and borrowing, and perceptions of the economic situation; Section 0 presents results of questions seeking to address the access of respondents to services and infrastructure, including drinking water, electricity, healthcare, education, and vocational training; Section 0 summarizes responses relating to governance and institutions, spanning structures of local governance, the structure and work of customary village councils (*shura* / *jirga*), and community disputes and mechanisms for dispute resolution; and Section 0 covers indicators relating to economic, social and political development, such as political awareness and opinion, development projects, trust, and gender.

### V.1. General Characteristics

The following section provides general information concerning the characteristics of the sample of respondents and villages. The section is split into two parts: (1) Village Characteristics and (2) Respondent Characteristics. Short summaries of each section are provided below, with more detailed descriptions and a full set of graphs of aggregate statistics and district-level variation in the separate sections.

**Village Characteristics:** The information presented in the part on village characteristics demonstrate that the 10 districts in which the baseline survey was conducted differ significantly in terms of the size of villages, level of migration, vehicular access, main and secondary languages spoken, and in the prices of various commodities, such as rice and tea. Villages across the ten districts appear to be relatively similar, however, on the basis of household size, the number of households per dwelling, the number of mosques per village, and in terms of the price of items such as wheat, wheat flour, fertilizer, fuel, livestock, and labor. The characteristics of respondents also demonstrate substantial within-district variation in some respects and a lack of such variation in others. The median ages and demographic structure of respondents is relatively constant across districts, for instance, as is the demographic structure of the households of respondents and the type of dwellings. In other respects, such as the frequency by which respondents speak a second language, the educational attainment of respondents and their ability to read a basic phrase or perform a basic calculation, as well as the self-reported level of happiness of respondents, the differences between districts are more substantial.

According to information provided by male household respondents, villages in Adraskan and Sherzad are the most populous, with villages in Sang Takht having the lowest number of households. The responses of male household respondents on the number of households in the village are not identical to those of male focus group respondents. For instance, according to male household respondents, the median village contains 80 households, whereas according to male focus group respondents, the median village contains 100 households.<sup>26</sup> Estimates of total village populations were relatively proportional to those of the number of households in the

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<sup>26</sup> This is probably due to the fact that male focus group participants are usually village leaders or other people of influence in the village and thus have different level of knowledge about the population of the village.

village, with exceptions for Farsi, where households have only 4 members on average, and for Hisarak, where households have 11 members on average. On average, each dwelling contained approximately one-and-a-half households. Of the 10 sample districts, Chisht-e Sharif and Hisarak experienced a sizeable level of in-migration in the past year, while Daulina and Farsi experienced significant levels of out-migration. The median village in Daulina, for instance, lost 5 households in the past year, while the median village in Chisht-e Sharif gained 6 households. Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Farsi, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht are found to be almost exclusively Dari-speaking, while Hisarak and Sherzad districts of Nangarhar are exclusively Pashto-speaking. Balkh is a predominantly Pashto-speaking district, with a substantial minority of villages in which Dari is the main language, while in Farsi district, the situation is reversed. Villages in Balkh and Gulran are the most likely to have a second language spoken within the village, although Chisht-e Sharif also contains 11 villages in which Pashto is spoken. Villages in Sherzad have, on average, the highest number of mosques, while villages in Sang Takht have the fewest number of mosques. Vehicular access varies widely across the 10 districts. Villages in Sherzad and Chisht-e Sharif are the most accessible year-round, while villages in Daulina, Farsi, and Sang Takht are the least. Prices for wheat and wheat flour are significantly higher in Daulina than in other districts, but are relatively constant across the rest of the sample.

**Figure 2: Ten Sample Districts**



Note: Boundaries of 10 sample districts are marked in red; provincial boundaries in pink; major rivers in light blue; district capitals with small blue stars; and Kabul with a large black star

**Respondent Characteristics:** Male focus group participants are, on average, five years older than male household respondents, who are in turn three years older on average than female respondents. The survey finds that male household respondents are generally happy and, while female respondents are on-balance happy, the incidence of extreme unhappiness is equal to that of extreme happiness. Men in the districts of Balkh, Daulina, Farsi, and Khost Wa Firing appear to be especially happy, while those in Adraskan, Hisarak, and Sang Takht are less happy. Female

respondents in Adraskan, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing are the happiest, while women in Chisht-e Sharif and Farsi most frequently report levels of extreme unhappiness. The educational attainment of respondents was generally low, extremely so in the case of female respondents. Of the 10 sample districts, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht had the highest level of educational attainment, although only in Khost Wa Firing (Baghlan) have the majority of male respondents been educated in formal non-religious schools. Levels of literacy among men were found to be highest in Farsi, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht districts, with Gulran reporting the highest level of female literacy. Male respondents were most frequently able to complete a simple calculation in Gulran and Farsi districts, with women in Chisht-e Sharif demonstrating the highest literacy. The number of male household respondents that claimed to have made a pilgrimage to Mecca was quite low, although nearly a quarter of male household respondents in Sherzad, 14 percent of respondents in Farsi, and 11 percent in Daulina claimed to have done so. While respondents in the vast majority of districts are linguistically homogenous, a significant minority of villages in Balkh (Balkh), Chisht-e Sharif (Herat), and Gulran (Herat) contained respondents that spoke different mother tongues. The median size of households is largest in Hisarak and Sherzad in Nangarhar province, but relatively constant across the rest of the sample. In total, a little less than half of household members are under the age of 15. In general, male focus group participants provided a good cross-section of experienced, new, and non-members of village shura or jirga. In Sang Takht, however, focus groups were predominantly composed of persons not serving on the village council, while focus groups in Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, and Sherzad contained a high proportion of council members with 5 or more years of experience.

### ***Village Characteristics***

According to male heads-of-household, the mean number of households living in villages is 104. As might be expected, the median number of households per village is lower at 80 households, indicating that the distribution is skewed to the right. The distribution of households per village appears to be particularly unequal in Chisht-e Sharif district in Herat, where the mean level of estimated households per village in some 50 households higher than the median level. Chisht-e Sharif district also has the largest estimate of village size in the sample (900 households). There is significant variation in village population within the sample, with the district of Sang Takht in Daykundi province having only 42 households per village, on average, compared to 154 villages in the Heart province of Adraskan. Table 2 below provides summary statistics for the estimates of village size provided by male household respondents, listing the mean (Avg.), minimum value (Min.), 1<sup>st</sup> quartile (1<sup>st</sup> Q), median (Med.), 3<sup>rd</sup> Quartile (3<sup>rd</sup> Q), and maximum value (Max.) for each district and the entire sample. Figure 3 provides a visual representation of the mean and median of the number of households per village in each district, with the solid bars representing the mean and the horizontal markers representing median values.

**Table 2: Households per Village - Male Household Respondents**

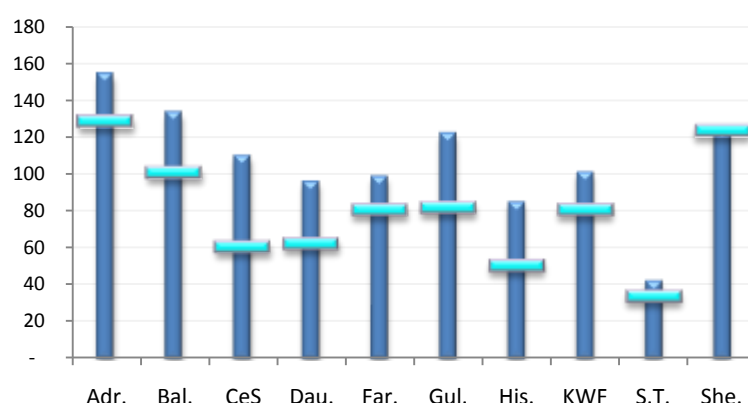
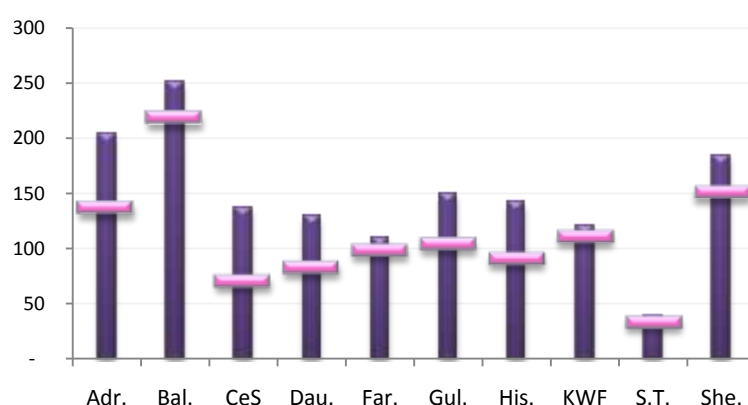
District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	154	20	69	128	200	430
Balkh	133	22	50	100	154	600
Chisht-e Sharif	110	14	30	60	100	900
Daulina	96	10	46	62	109	600
Farsi	99	14	38	80	138	290
Gulran	122	20	56	81	154	350
Hisarak	85	8	40	50	138	325
Khost Wa Firing	101	30	49	80	147	260
Sang Takht	42	8	22	34	56	190
Sherzad	124	20	70	123	160	405
Total	106	8	40	80	145	900

There was a surprising degree of difference between the estimates of the number of households in the village provided by male household interviewees and the answers provided by participants in the male focus group. According to the information provided by male focus group respondents, the mean number of households per village is 146 and the median is 100. The large degree of within- and between-district variation observed in male household estimates was also present in the male focus group estimates, although Balkh district in Balkh province replaced Adraskan in Herat as the most populous district in the sample, with a mean level of households per village of 251 and a median of 217. Sang Takht district in Daykundi province remained the least populous district in the sample, with a mean of 39 households and a median of 33 households. As with the male household estimates, Chisht-e Sharif had the highest level of variation in village size and the largest village, which was estimated to contain 1,533 households. Table 3 and Figure 4 present a summary of the estimates.

**Table 3: Households per Village - Male Focus Group**

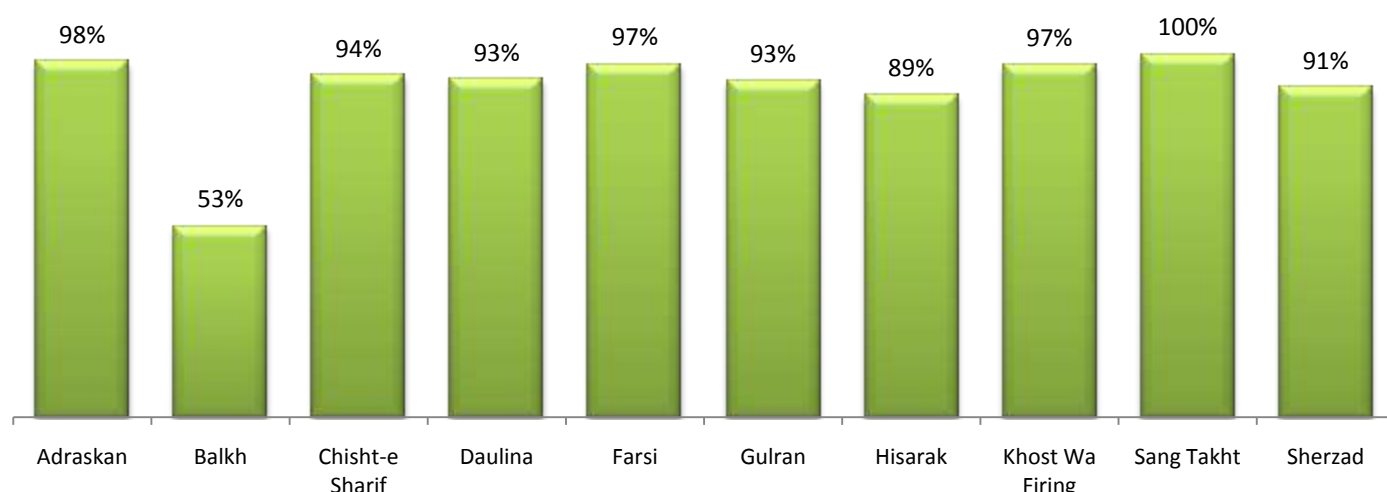
District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	205	25	84	136	250	800
Balkh	251	37	100	217	310	1,000
Chisht-e Sharif	137	15	39	70	130	1,533
Daulina	128	12	60	82	125	1,200
Farsi	110	16	59	98	150	324
Gulran	149	18	70	104	200	494
Hisarak	141	18	37	90	198	572
Khost Wa Firing	120	26	61	110	149	491
Sang Takht	39	6	22	33	52	98
Sherzad	184	22	76	150	231	838
Total	146	6	50	100	188	1,533

This discrepancy between the estimates of households per village provided by male household respondents and those provided by male focus group respondents are most pronounced in the case of Balkh district, where the the median number of households per village is 53 percent of that provided by male focus group respondents (Figure 5). In other cases, estimates provided by male focus group respondents were generally higher than those provided by male household respondents, but only by relatively small margins. The most logical explanation for this discrepancy is that village residents interviewed for the male household interview do not have an accurate perception of the size of their village. Another potential explanation is that male focus group respondents, but not male household respondents, perceived that the information collected by enumerators would be used to allocate a project or other benefit, the value of which

**Figure 3: Average Households per Village – Male Household****Figure 4: Average Households per Village – Male Focus Group**

would be proportional to the size of the village, and accordingly deliberately overestimated the number of households in the village in order to exact an enhanced benefit for the village.

**Figure 5: Ratio of Median Number of Households per Village as Estimated by Male Focus Group Respondents and by Male Household Respondents**

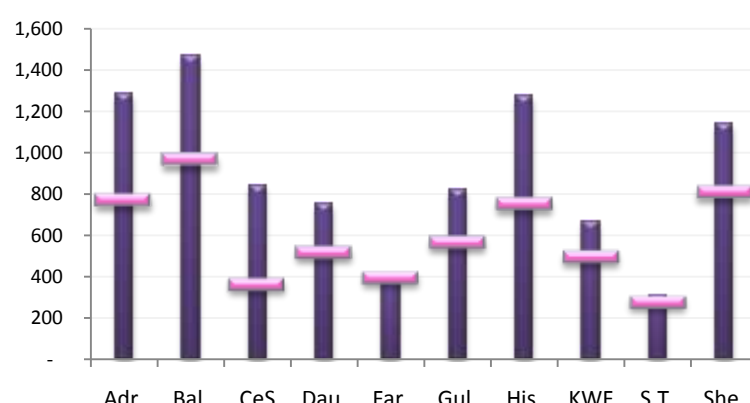


Village population estimates, provided by male focus groups, were approximately proportional to estimates of the number of households per village. Balkh district was reported to have the highest mean and median population, 1,468 and 961 persons respectively, followed closely by Adraskan in Herat, Hisarak and Sherzad districts in Nangarhar province. Sang Takht district had the lowest estimated population, with a mean of 304 and a median of 280 persons. The mean and median estimates of village population differed most pronouncedly in Chisht-e Sharif, although Hisarak reported the largest village in the sample, with 9,000 inhabitants. The smallest village in the sample, with just 70 inhabitants, is in Sang Takht district. Table 4 and Figure 6 below provide summary statistics for the estimates provided by male focus group respondents.

**Table 4: Village Population**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	1,283	200	388	767	1,461	8,644
Balkh	1,468	200	518	961	1,473	7,000
Chisht-e Sharif	842	92	208	365	866	7,878
Daulina	752	89	338	517	746	8,000
Farsi	405	60	189	397	549	858
Gulran	820	180	400	565	1,000	2,722
Hisarak	1,274	114	408	749	1,235	9,000
Khost Wa Firing	666	150	316	496	783	3,655
Sang Takht	304	70	162	280	418	650
Sherzad	1,136	150	588	806	1,200	5,750
Total	1,283	70	388	767	1,461	9,000

**Figure 6: Average Village Population**



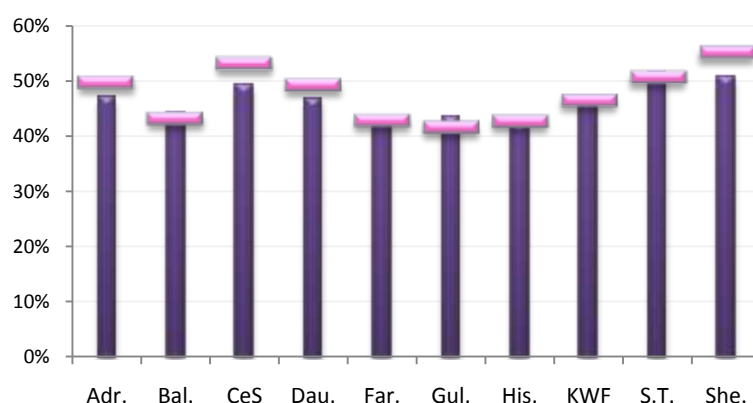
Information on the demographic structure of sample villages is provided by male focus group respondents was used to calculate the proportion of the population under the age of 15 in each district. Across the whole sample of 500 villages, 47 percent of the population was aged less than 15. Substantial variation within districts was present, however, with one village in Hisarak and another in Balkh reporting that 85 percent of the village population was below 15 years old and another village in Balkh reporting that just 13 percent of the population was similarly aged. The variation between districts was not as sizeable, however. Of the 10 districts, Sang Takht had the

highest proportion, with 52 percent of the total population below 15 years old, while Hisarak had the lowest proportion, with 42 percent of the total population below 15 years old.

**Table 5: Percent of Village Population Under 15**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	47%	18%	34%	50%	59%	68%
Balkh	44%	13%	34%	43%	53%	85%
Chisht-e Sharif	49%	25%	40%	53%	60%	67%
Daulina	47%	22%	35%	49%	58%	72%
Farsi	43%	17%	37%	43%	50%	72%
Gulran	44%	20%	36%	42%	53%	79%
Hisarak	42%	14%	33%	43%	51%	85%
Khost Wa Firing	47%	20%	38%	46%	56%	83%
Sang Takht	52%	21%	44%	51%	60%	72%
Sherzad	51%	18%	43%	55%	59%	71%
Total	47%	13%	38%	47%	57%	85%

**Figure 7: Average Percent of Village Population Under 15**

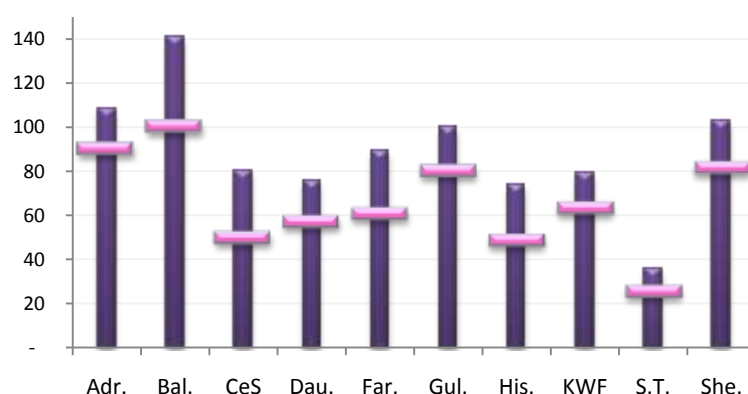


The number of dwellings per village varies in close proportion to the number of households per village. According to estimates provided by male focus group participants, Balkh has the highest average number of dwellings per village, with a mean of 141 dwellings and a median of 100 dwellings, and Sang Takht has the lowest, with a mean of 36 dwellings and a median of 60 dwellings. The largest number of dwellings in a village, 1,200, is recorded in Farsi district in Herat, while the smallest village, as measured by the number of dwellings, is found in Sang Takht.

**Table 6: Dwellings per Village**

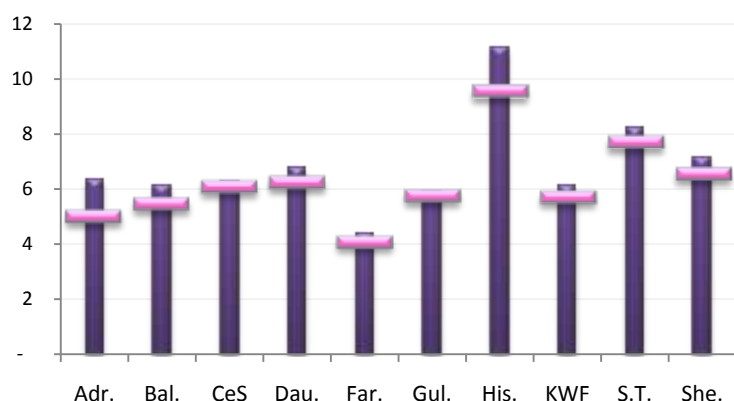
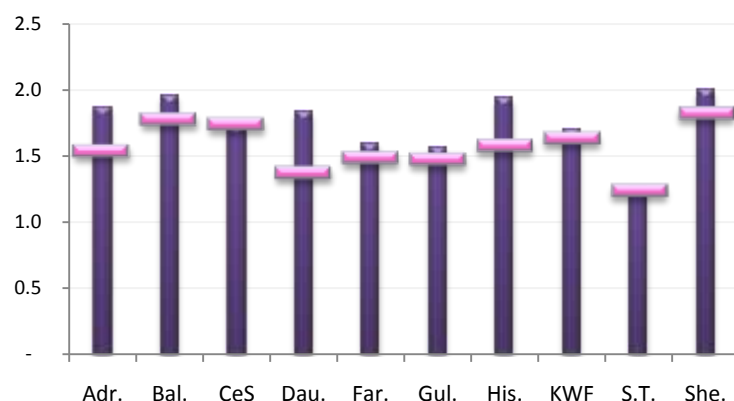
District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	109	20	50	90	150	300
Balkh	141	21	50	100	179	750
Chisht-e Sharif	80	8	20	50	78	739
Daulina	76	11	38	57	83	619
Farsi	89	9	43	61	91	1,200
Gulran	100	10	50	80	147	336
Hisarak	74	8	30	49	108	300
Khost Wa Firing	79	17	35	63	100	260
Sang Takht	36	7	16	26	44	253
Sherzad	103	11	42	81	141	500
Total	89	7	34	60	100	1,200

**Figure 8: Average Dwellings per Village**



Overall, the number of persons per household and the number of households per dwelling appears to be relatively constant across the sample districts, with a couple of exceptions. Households appear to be particularly large in Hisarak, where households have a mean of 11 members, and small in Farsi, where households have a mean of 4 members. Figure 9 provides a graphical representation of the median and mean levels of population per household and Figure 10 provides a graphical representation of the median (horizontal markers) and mean (solid bars) levels of the number of households per dwelling.

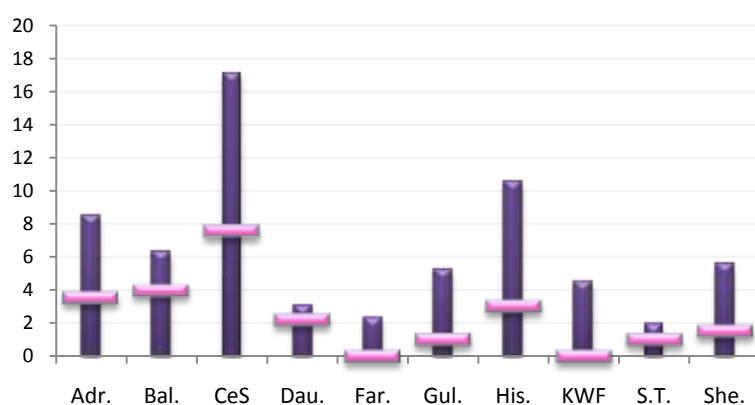


**Figure 9: Average Population per Household****Figure 10: Average Households per Dwelling**

Male focus group participants were also requested to provide information concerning the number of households that had moved in and out of the village in the past year. Across the whole sample, the median village experienced an influx of two households into the village, although variation both within and between districts was quite significant. Villages in Chisht-e Sharif district in Herat, for instance, had a median level of in-migration of 8 households, whereas the median level of in-migration for villages in Farsi district in Herat and Khost Wa Firing district in Baghlan province was 0. Similarly, one village in Hisarak reported an influx of 250 households in the past year.

**Table 7: Number of Households Moving into Village**

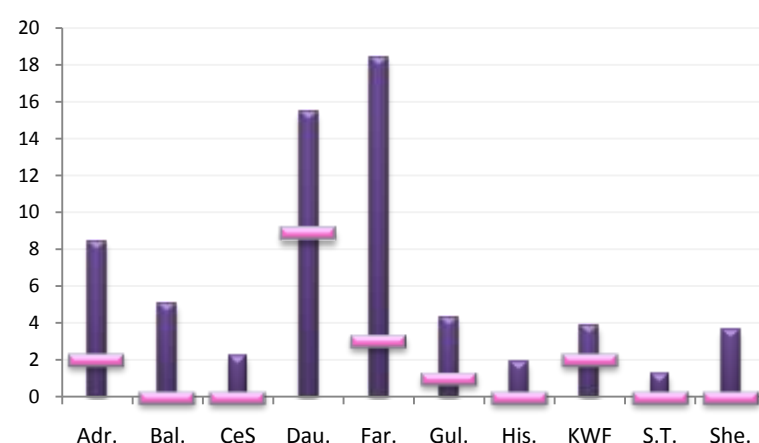
District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	8	0	0	4	10	60
Balkh	6	0	0	4	8	40
Chisht-e Sharif	17	0	4	8	18	150
Daulina	3	0	0	2	4	14
Farsi	2	0	0	0	4	13
Gulran	5	0	0	1	5	80
Hisarak	10	0	0	3	10	250
Khost Wa Firing	4	0	0	0	2	96
Sang Takht	2	0	0	1	2	20
Sherzad	6	0	0	2	6	68
Total	6	0	0	2	6	250

**Figure 11: Average Number of Households Moving into Village**

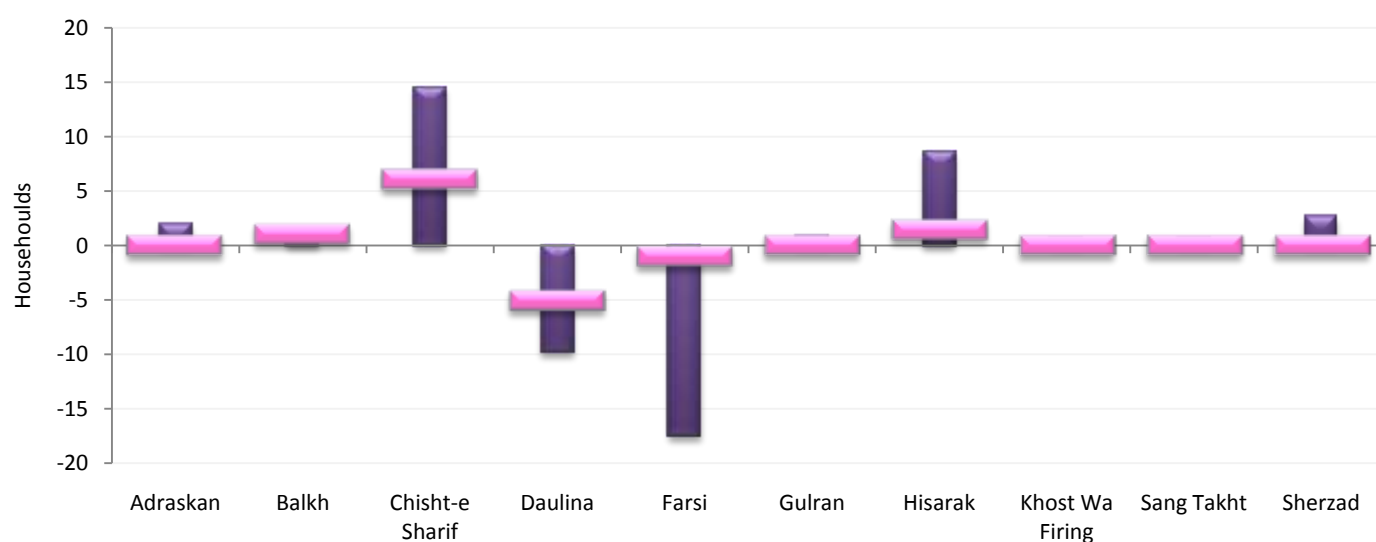
The level of out-migration also differed significant within and between districts. Villages in Daulina district in Ghor province had the highest median level of out-migration, at 9 households, although Farsi had the highest mean level of out-migration, at 18 households. The largest case of out-migration was reported in Farsi, where one village claimed to have lost 600 households during the past year.

**Table 8: Number of Households Moving out of Village**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	8	0	0	2	10	100
Balkh	5	0	0	0	3	80
Chisht-e Sharif	2	0	0	0	2	25
Daulina	15	0	2	9	18	119
Farsi	18	0	0	3	10	600
Gulran	4	0	0	1	5	30
Hisarak	2	0	0	0	0	41
Khost Wa Firing	4	0	0	2	5	25
Sang Takht	1	0	0	0	2	12
Sherzad	4	0	0	0	2	60
Total	6	0	0	1	6	600

**Figure 12: Average Number of Households Moving out of Village**

Information concerning in- and out-migration is combined to produce estimates of net migration for each village. Overall, Adraskan, Balkh, Gulran, Khost Wa Firing, Sang Takht, and Sherzad appear to have minimal levels of net migration, whereas Chisht-e Sharif and Hisarak had significant levels of positive net migration in the past year, whereas Daulina and Farsi had relatively significant levels of negative net migration, however. As is shown in Figure 13 below, the mean levels (depicted by solid bars) of net migration for Farsi and Hisarak are skewed by outlying values. In both districts, the median level of net migration was of the order of 1 household per village.

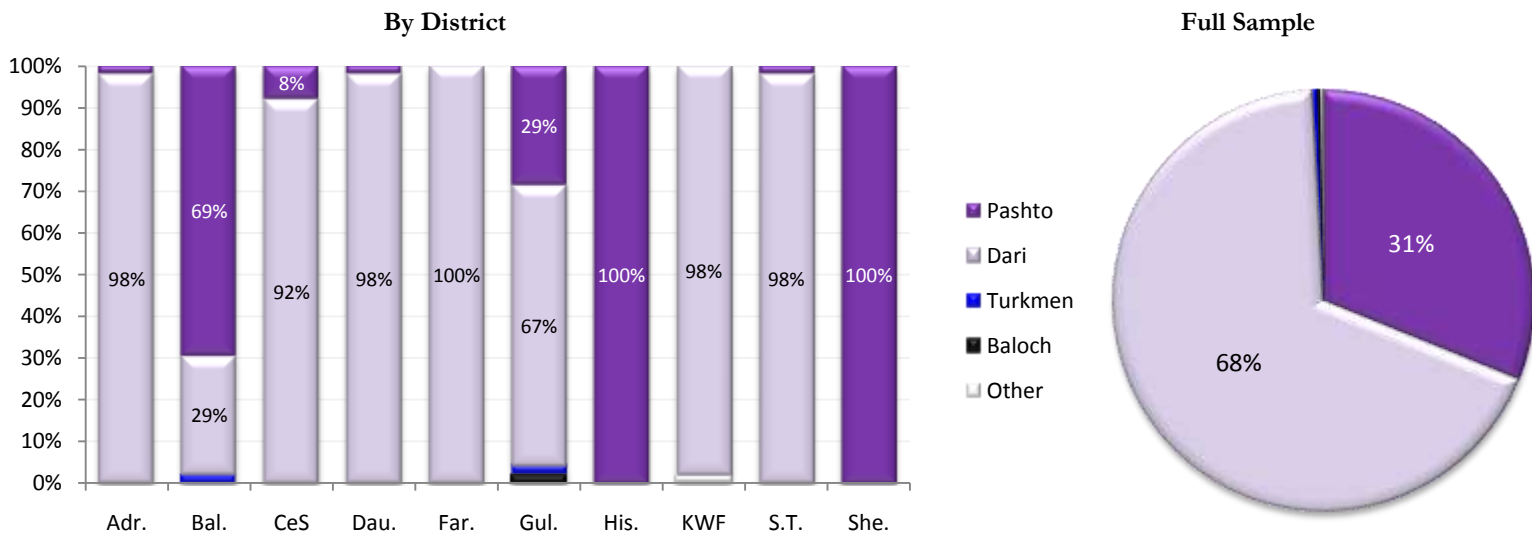
**Figure 13: Net Migration, by District**

Information was collected from male focus group respondents on the main language spoken in the village. In six of the ten districts – Adraskan (Herat), Chisht-e Sharif (Herat), Daulina (Ghor), Farsi (Herat), Khost Wa Firing (Baghlan), and Sang Takht (Daykundi) – Dari is the main language spoken in all or almost all of the villages. In Hisarak and Sherzad districts of the Nangarhar, all of the villages reported that Pashto is the main language spoken. Gulran district in Herat and Balkh district in Balkh showed significant levels of linguistic fragmentation. Gulran, for instance, is split between 67 percent of predominantly Dari-speaking villages and 29 percent of predominantly Pashto-speaking villages, while Balkh is divided between 29 percent of villages in which Dari is predominantly spoken and 69 percent of villages in which Pashto is spoken. Balkh and Gulran also have a small number of villages where the predominant language is Turkmen, Baloch, or another language. Overall, 68 percent of the villages in the sample have



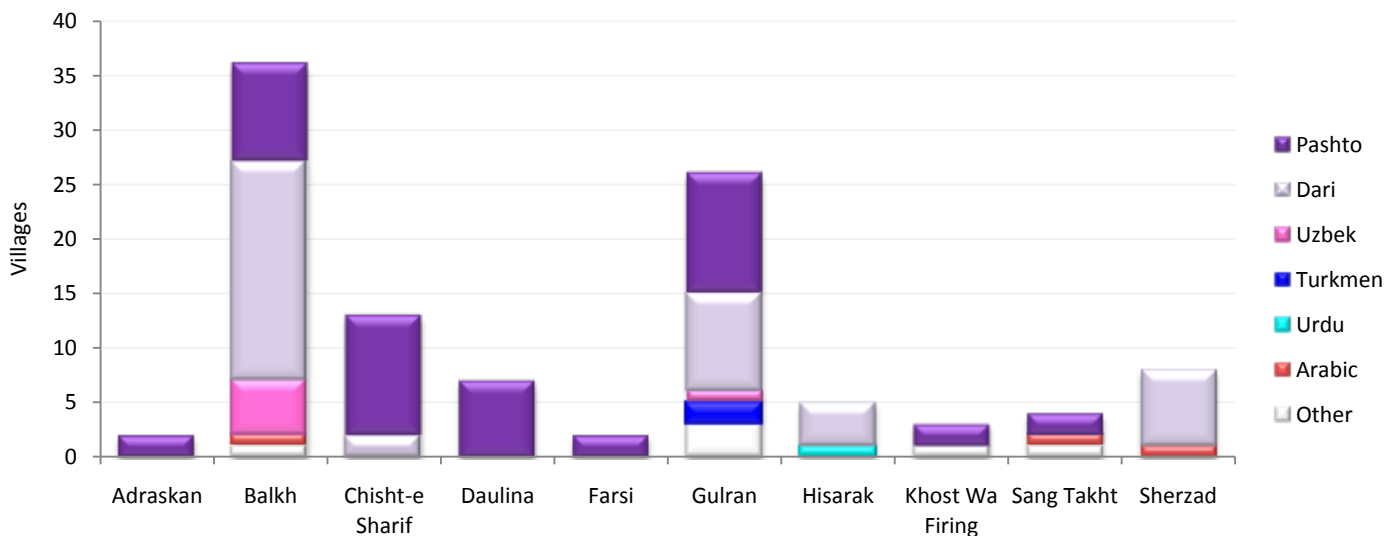
Dari as their predominant language, while 31 percent have Pashto. The column graph in the left of Figure 14 below depicts the languages spoken in each district, while the pie graph to the right shows the breakdown for the entire sample.

**Figure 14: Main Language Spoken in Village**



In a relatively large number of villages in the sample, another language is spoken. Unsurprisingly given the linguistic diversity of the two districts, cases of bilingual villages are most numerous in Balkh and Gulran. In Balkh, Dari is the most common second language spoken in a village, followed by Pashto and Uzbek. Gulran is evenly split between villages with Dari as a second language and villages with Pashto as a second language, although respondents also report cases where Uzbek, Turkmen, or another language is spoken. In addition, 11 villages in Chisht-e Sharif and 7 villages in Daulina report that Pashto is spoken, in addition to Dari, in the village, and 7 villages in Sherzad report that Dari is spoken, in addition to Pashto, in the village.

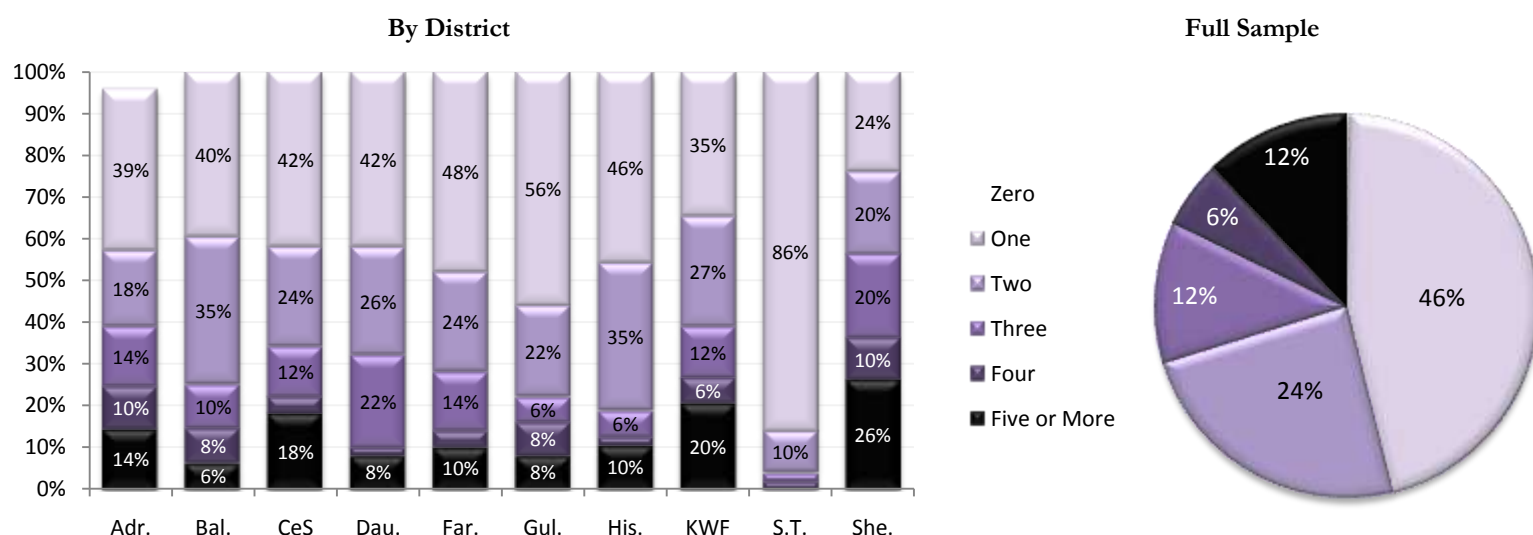
**Figure 15: Other Languages Spoken in Villages, by District and Language**



All but a tiny proportion of villages in the sample report having at least one mosque. Across the whole sample, 47 percent of the villages have one mosque, 24 percent have two, 12 percent have three, 6 percent have four and 12 percent have five or more mosques. The column chart in the left of Figure 16 below indicates that there is relatively little variation between districts in the number of mosques per village, with the exceptions of Sang Takht, where only 14 percent of

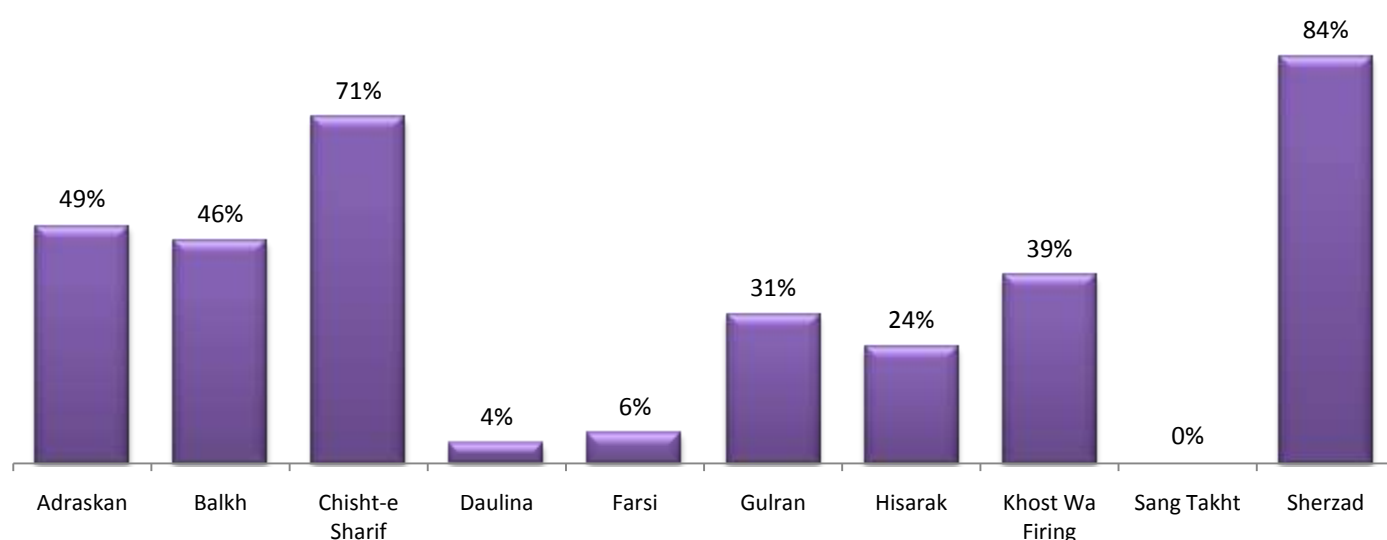
villages have more than one mosque, and Sherzad, where 76 percent of villages have more than one mosque.

**Figure 16: Number of Mosques in Village**



Year-round vehicular access is critical to enabling access to services and markets. Within the sample of 500 villages, such access is far from universal, however, with only 36 percent of male focus group respondents asserting that their village is accessible to vehicles throughout the year. Given the wide geographic coverage of the sample, there is predictable variation between districts in vehicular access. Daulina, Farsi, and Sang Takht districts are particularly inaccessible, with 4 percent, 6 percent, and 0 percent of villages, respectively, reporting year-round vehicle access. The inaccessibility of these three districts has much to do with the high elevation of these districts. On the other hand, access for villages in Chisht-e Sharif and Sherzad was relatively high, with 71 percent and 84 percent of villages, respectively, reported year-round vehicular access. Sherzad is relatively low lying, which accounts for its accessibility, while many of the districts surveyed in Chisht-e Sharif straddle the Hari Rud river valley, along which roads are in relatively good condition and cleared with some regularity during winter.

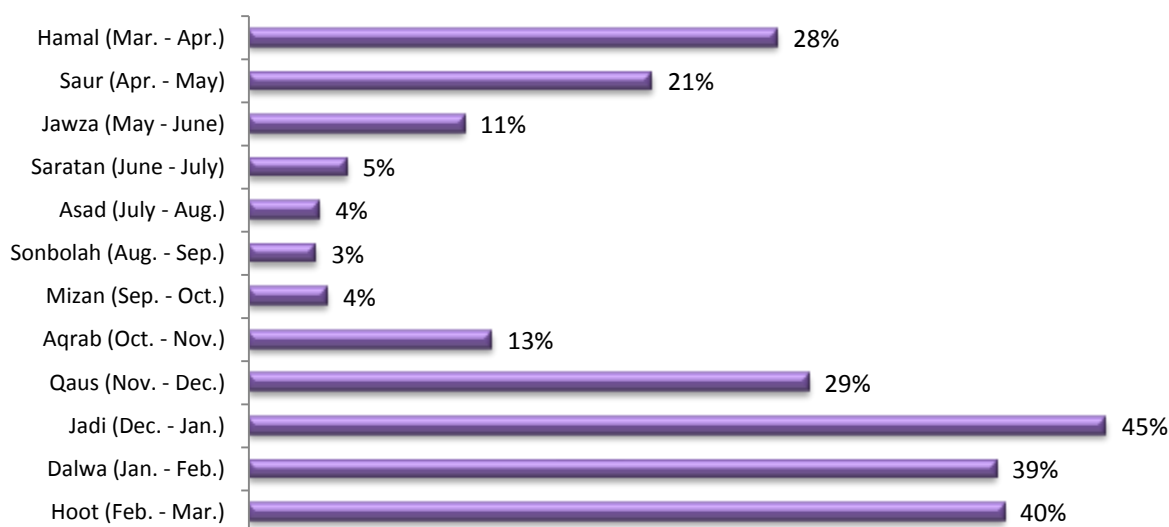
**Figure 17: Percent of Villages with Year-Round Vehicular Access, by District**



Across the full sample, access is predictably poor during the height of winter in December and January, with 45 percent of villages in the sample losing vehicular access during the period.

Access is also limited in the surrounding fall, winter, and spring months and only in the summer months between June and October does the number of villages without vehicular access fall into single digits.

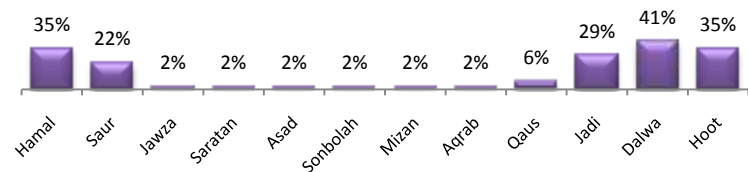
**Figure 18: Percent of Villages without Vehicular Access, by Month**



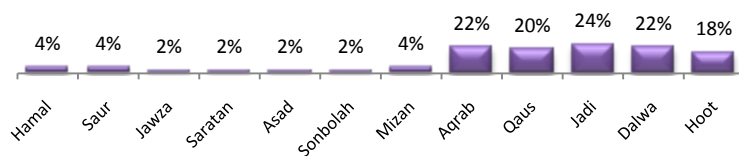
The district breakdown of vehicular access by month is provided in Figure 19 below. Daulina and Khost Wa Firing appear to the worst year-round access conditions, as even at the height of the summer, 10 percent of villages in Daulina and 6 percent of villages in Khost Wa Firing remain inaccessible. Meanwhile, although villages in Sang Takht appear to enjoy relatively good access during the summer months, winter conditions block access completely to the villages in the district during the winter. Villages in Daulina are also cut off during the winter months.

**Figure 19: Percent of Villages without Vehicular Access, by District and Month**

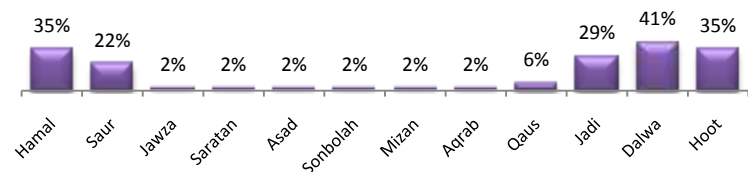
**Adraskan**



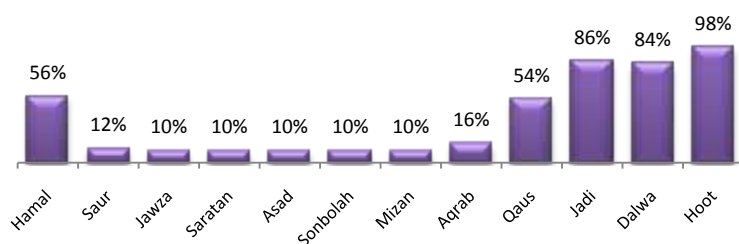
**Balkh**



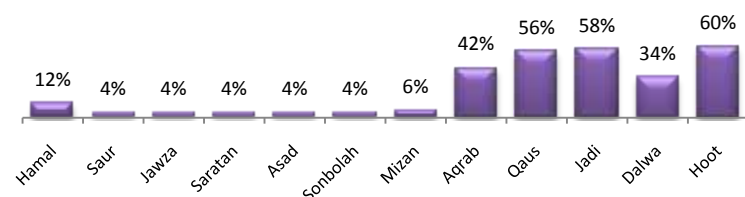
**Chisht-e Sharif**



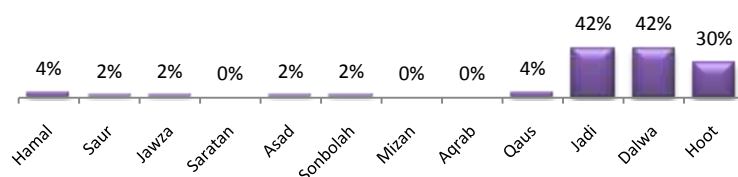
**Daulina**



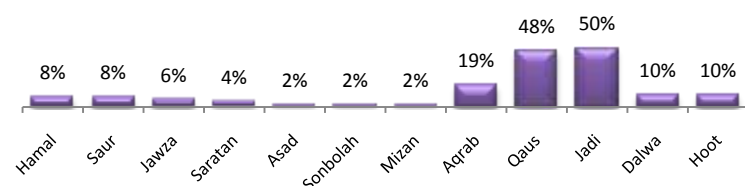
Farsi



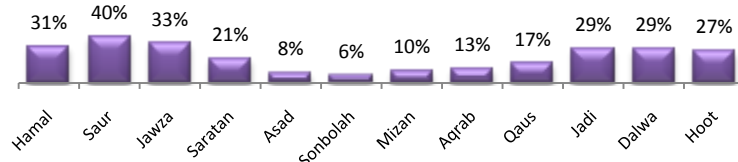
Gulran



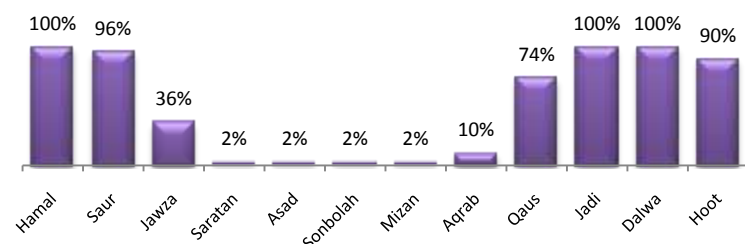
Hisarak



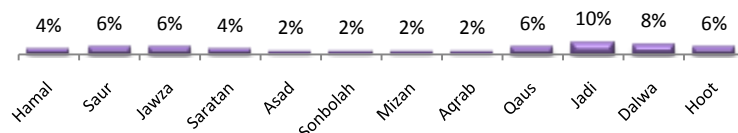
Khost Wa Firing



Sang Takht



Sherzad



In order to ascertain information on village price levels, male focus group participants were asked questions pertaining to the cost of food staples, fertilizers, heating materials and fuel, as well as the prices of livestock and the average daily wage for skilled and unskilled labor. The information collected indicates that the average price of 1 kilogram of domestic and imported wheat is relatively consistent across districts, with a median level of \$0.26 for domestic wheat and \$0.30 for imported wheat across the sample. The highest prices for wheat are reported in Daulina, with the median price for domestic wheat at \$0.40 and for imported wheat at \$0.44, while the lowest prices are reported in Balkh, with the median price for domestic wheat at \$0.20 and for imported wheat at \$0.26. Only in Daulina district does there appear to be significant levels of variation between villages in the price of wheat, which can be seen by comparing the differences between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile prices in Table 9 below. The median price across the sample for a kilogram of domestic wheat flour is \$0.30, with the price of imported wheat flour being a little higher at \$0.34. Daulina is again the most expensive place to purchase either the domestic or imported products.

**Table 9: Price of Wheat and Wheat Flour, by District**

District	Wheat (1 kilogram)						Wheat Flour (1 kilogram)					
	Domestic <sup>27</sup>			Imported			Domestic <sup>28</sup>			Imported		
	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.
Adraskan	\$0.24	<b>\$0.26</b>	\$0.28	\$0.26	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.32	\$0.26	<b>\$0.26</b>	\$0.30	\$0.28	<b>\$0.31</b>	\$0.34
Balkh	\$0.20	<b>\$0.20</b>	\$0.24	\$0.24	<b>\$0.26</b>	\$0.29	\$0.22	<b>\$0.26</b>	\$0.31	\$0.30	<b>\$0.36</b>	\$0.40
Chisht-e Sharif	\$0.24	<b>\$0.26</b>	\$0.30	\$0.30	<b>\$0.32</b>	\$0.38	\$0.28	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.40	\$0.37	<b>\$0.40</b>	\$0.46
Daulina	\$0.26	<b>\$0.40</b>	\$0.44	\$0.33	<b>\$0.44</b>	\$0.44	\$0.30	<b>\$0.40</b>	\$0.44	\$0.36	<b>\$0.40</b>	\$0.44
Farsi	\$0.26	<b>\$0.28</b>	\$0.30	\$0.30	<b>\$0.32</b>	\$0.34	\$0.26	<b>\$0.28</b>	\$0.31	\$0.32	<b>\$0.36</b>	\$0.37
Gulran	\$0.20	<b>\$0.20</b>	\$0.24	\$0.22	<b>\$0.25</b>	\$0.30	\$0.29	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.31	\$0.30	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.32
Hisarak	\$0.24	<b>\$0.26</b>	\$0.32	\$0.28	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.37	\$0.24	<b>\$0.27</b>	\$0.32	\$0.28	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.38
Khost Wa Firing	\$0.24	<b>\$0.26</b>	\$0.29	\$0.28	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.32	\$0.28	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.34	\$0.35	<b>\$0.38</b>	\$0.40
Sang Takht	\$0.28	<b>\$0.28</b>	\$0.30	\$0.30	<b>\$0.34</b>	\$0.40	\$0.28	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.30	\$0.34	<b>\$0.38</b>	\$0.40
Sherzad	\$0.22	<b>\$0.24</b>	\$0.26	\$0.28	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.32	\$0.26	<b>\$0.30</b>	\$0.32	\$0.30	<b>\$0.32</b>	\$0.34
Total	<b>\$0.24</b>	<b>\$0.26</b>	<b>\$0.30</b>	<b>\$0.28</b>	<b>\$0.30</b>	<b>\$0.34</b>	<b>\$0.28</b>	<b>\$0.30</b>	<b>\$0.32</b>	<b>\$0.30</b>	<b>\$0.34</b>	<b>\$0.40</b>

The variation between districts in the price of rice and tea are much more significant than that observed for wheat and wheat flour. The median price of domestic rice varies, for instance, from \$0.40 in Hisarak to \$1.00 in Gulran district of Heart, with the median price of imported rice ranging from \$0.44 in Hisarak to \$1.20 in Chisht-e Sharif.<sup>29</sup> Across the whole sample, the median price of domestic rice is \$0.50 and the median price of imported rice is \$0.70. The price of tea, the Afghan beverage of choice, also varies appreciably. Respondents in Balkh reported a median price of \$1.20 per kilogram of tea, whereas those in Adraskan contended they paid a median price of \$4.00 per kilogram. Across the whole sample, the median price is \$3.00 per kilogram.

**Table 10: Price of Rice and Tea, by District**

District	Rice (1 kilogram)						Tea (1 kilogram)		
	Domestic			Imported					
	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.
Adraskan	\$0.50	<b>\$0.80</b>	\$1.00	\$0.50	<b>\$0.60</b>	\$1.00	\$3.50	<b>\$4.00</b>	\$4.00
Balkh	\$0.50	<b>\$0.60</b>	\$0.60	\$1.00	<b>\$1.04</b>	\$1.10	\$1.20	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.40
Chisht-e Sharif	\$0.50	<b>\$0.60</b>	\$0.70	\$0.80	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.20	\$2.00	<b>\$2.00</b>	\$2.40
Daulina	\$0.50	<b>\$0.50</b>	\$0.70	\$0.56	<b>\$0.90</b>	\$1.00	\$2.40	<b>\$2.60</b>	\$3.00
Farsi	\$0.50	<b>\$0.50</b>	\$0.60	\$0.65	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.00	\$2.80	<b>\$3.20</b>	\$4.00
Gulran	\$0.60	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.00	\$0.50	<b>\$0.50</b>	\$1.20	\$3.00	<b>\$3.60</b>	\$3.60
Hisarak	\$0.38	<b>\$0.40</b>	\$0.42	\$0.40	<b>\$0.44</b>	\$0.48	\$3.00	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$4.00
Khost Wa Firing	\$0.50	<b>\$0.56</b>	\$0.60	\$0.60	<b>\$0.64</b>	\$0.80	\$2.00	<b>\$2.40</b>	\$3.00
Sang Takht	\$0.44	<b>\$0.70</b>	\$0.75	\$0.44	<b>\$0.50</b>	\$0.56	\$2.63	<b>\$2.80</b>	\$3.00
Sherzad	\$0.40	<b>\$0.41</b>	\$0.42	\$0.42	<b>\$0.46</b>	\$1.20	\$3.00	<b>\$3.20</b>	\$3.60
Total	<b>\$0.44</b>	<b>\$0.50</b>	<b>\$0.60</b>	<b>\$0.50</b>	<b>\$0.70</b>	<b>\$1.00</b>	<b>\$2.40</b>	<b>\$3.00</b>	<b>\$3.60</b>

Across the full sample, respondents reported paying a median price of \$1.20 for a kilogram of gas, \$1.00 for a liter of kerosene, \$0.90 for a liter of diesel fuel, and \$1.20 for a liter of petrol. Variation within and between districts appears to be not particularly significant, although respondents in Balkh did report paying significantly less for kerosene, diesel, and petrol than

<sup>27</sup> Prices refer to those reported after the harvest

<sup>28</sup> Prices refer to those reported after the harvest

<sup>29</sup> In Adraskan and Sang Takht the reported average price of imported rice is slightly lower than the price of domestic rice, but the difference is not statistically significant.

counterparts in other districts. This is presumably accountable to the proximity of the district to the population and transportation center of Mazar-e Sharif.

**Table 11: Price of Fuel, by District**

	Gas (1 kilogram)			Kerosene (1 liter)			Diesel (1 liter)			Petrol (1 liter)		
	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.
Adraskan	\$1.00	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.00	\$0.90	<b>\$0.90</b>	\$1.00	\$0.70	<b>\$0.80</b>	\$0.90	\$1.10	<b>\$1.10</b>	\$1.20
Balkh	\$1.20	<b>\$1.30</b>	\$1.40	\$0.66	<b>\$0.66</b>	\$0.70	\$0.64	<b>\$0.64</b>	\$0.68	\$0.90	<b>\$0.92</b>	\$1.00
Chisht-e Sharif	\$1.00	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.20	\$0.90	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.00	\$0.80	<b>\$0.80</b>	\$0.90	\$1.10	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.20
Daulina	\$1.20	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.20	\$0.82	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.10	\$0.80	<b>\$1.10</b>	\$1.10	\$1.20	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.20
Farsi	\$1.00	<b>\$1.10</b>	\$1.20	\$1.00	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.10	\$0.85	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.20	\$1.00	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.20
Gulran	\$1.00	<b>\$1.10</b>	\$1.20	\$0.90	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.10	\$0.70	<b>\$0.70</b>	\$0.80	\$0.96	<b>\$1.10</b>	\$1.10
Hisarak	\$1.40	<b>\$1.60</b>	\$1.60	\$1.00	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.40	\$0.90	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.20	\$1.20	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.40
Khost Wa Firing	\$1.40	<b>\$1.40</b>	\$1.60	\$1.00	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.20	\$1.00	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.20	\$1.20	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.40
Sang Takht	\$1.40	<b>\$1.40</b>	\$1.60	\$0.97	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.00	\$0.93	<b>\$1.00</b>	\$1.00	\$1.20	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.40
Sherzad	\$1.20	<b>\$1.38</b>	\$1.40	\$0.80	<b>\$0.90</b>	\$1.00	\$0.80	<b>\$0.90</b>	\$1.00	\$1.13	<b>\$1.20</b>	\$1.20
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1.16</b>	<b>\$1.20</b>	<b>\$1.40</b>	<b>\$0.90</b>	<b>\$1.00</b>	<b>\$1.00</b>	<b>\$0.74</b>	<b>\$0.90</b>	<b>\$1.00</b>	<b>\$1.00</b>	<b>\$1.20</b>	<b>\$1.20</b>

Information collected on the price of fertilizers indicates that ammonium phosphate is more expensive than urea, be it local or imported. The median prices of 50 kilograms ammonium phosphate, local urea and imported urea are \$24.00, \$16.00, and \$16.00 respectively. Median prices of 50 kilograms of ammonium phosphate vary from \$15.40 in Gulran to \$30.00 in Sang Takht; from \$12.00 in Adraskan, Gulran, and Sherzad to \$20.00 in Daulina in terms of domestic urea, and from \$12.00 in Balkh to \$20.00 in Daulina in terms of imported urea.

**Table 12: Price of Fertilizer, by District**

	Ammonium Phosphate (50 kilogram)			Imported Urea (50 kilogram)			Domestic Urea (50 kilogram)		
	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.
Adraskan	\$20.00	<b>\$22.00</b>	\$24.00	\$13.00	<b>\$14.00</b>	\$16.00	\$12.00	<b>\$12.00</b>	\$15.00
Balkh	\$12.10	<b>\$22.20</b>	\$24.00	\$11.60	<b>\$12.00</b>	\$12.60	\$12.20	<b>\$12.40</b>	\$13.00
Chisht-e Sharif	\$20.00	<b>\$24.00</b>	\$24.00	\$15.00	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$16.00	\$15.25	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$16.00
Daulina	\$20.00	<b>\$24.00</b>	\$30.00	\$18.00	<b>\$20.00</b>	\$24.00	\$18.00	<b>\$20.00</b>	\$30.50
Farsi	\$14.00	<b>\$17.00</b>	\$20.00	\$12.00	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$18.00	\$10.50	<b>\$14.00</b>	\$17.50
Gulran	\$13.00	<b>\$15.40</b>	\$18.00	\$12.00	<b>\$13.70</b>	\$14.00	\$12.00	<b>\$12.00</b>	\$13.75
Hisarak	\$24.00	<b>\$26.50</b>	\$32.00	\$16.00	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$20.00	\$16.00	<b>\$20.00</b>	\$20.50
Khost Wa Firing	\$16.00	<b>\$20.00</b>	\$24.50	\$15.00	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$16.20	\$15.00	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$17.00
Sang Takht	\$24.00	<b>\$30.00</b>	\$32.00	\$16.00	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$17.00	\$16.00	<b>\$16.00</b>	\$17.00
Sherzad	\$24.00	<b>\$24.00</b>	\$26.00	\$12.00	<b>\$13.00</b>	\$16.75	\$12.00	<b>\$12.00</b>	\$12.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$18.00</b>	<b>\$24.00</b>	<b>\$26.00</b>	<b>\$13.00</b>	<b>\$16.00</b>	<b>\$17.00</b>	<b>\$12.50</b>	<b>\$16.00</b>	<b>\$17.90</b>

Persons wishing to purchase a sheep in one of the 10 sample districts would pay a median price of \$60, with the most expensive prices being paid in Hisarak (\$89) and the cheapest prices being paid in Daulina (\$40). Goats are slightly cheaper, with a median price of \$44. Prices are most expensive in Farsi, Hisarak, and Sherzad (\$60) and cheapest in Daulina (\$36). The median price paid for a day of labor, either unskilled or farm labor, is \$3.00 across the full sample. Unskilled labor is cheapest in Gulran (\$2.40) and most expensive in Khost Wa Firing (\$4.00). Farm labor is cheapest in Farsi (\$2.80) and most expensive in Hisarak (\$5.00).

**Table 13: Price of Farm Animals and Labor, by District**

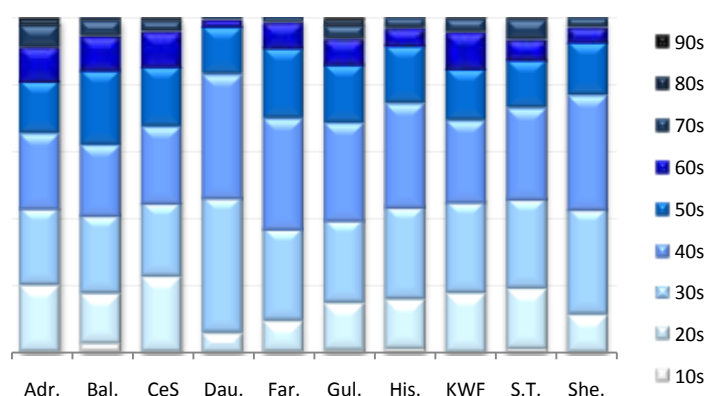
	Sheep (1 year-old, male)			Goat (1 year-old, male)			Labor (1 day)			Farm Labor (1 day)		
	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.
Adraskan	\$40	<b>\$44</b>	\$60	\$40	<b>\$46</b>	\$50	\$3.00	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.40	\$3.00	<b>\$4.00</b>	\$4.00
Balkh	\$60	<b>\$60</b>	\$80	\$37	<b>\$40</b>	\$50	\$3.00	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.70	\$3.60	<b>\$4.00</b>	\$5.00
Chisht-e Sharif	\$50	<b>\$60</b>	\$80	\$40	<b>\$50</b>	\$50	\$2.00	<b>\$2.40</b>	\$3.00	\$2.00	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.00
Daulina	\$37	<b>\$40</b>	\$50	\$26	<b>\$36</b>	\$40	\$2.40	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.00	\$2.40	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.00
Farsi	\$58	<b>\$60</b>	\$80	\$50	<b>\$60</b>	\$86	\$2.60	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$4.00	\$2.40	<b>\$2.80</b>	\$4.80
Gulran	\$60	<b>\$60</b>	\$80	\$40	<b>\$40</b>	\$49	\$2.00	<b>\$2.40</b>	\$3.00	\$2.00	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.00
Hisarak	\$80	<b>\$89</b>	\$90	\$50	<b>\$60</b>	\$70	\$3.00	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$4.00	\$3.00	<b>\$5.00</b>	\$6.00
Khost Wa Firing	\$64	<b>\$70</b>	\$76	\$40	<b>\$40</b>	\$50	\$3.60	<b>\$4.00</b>	\$4.00	\$3.60	<b>\$4.00</b>	\$4.00
Sang Takht	\$40	<b>\$40</b>	\$40	\$24	<b>\$30</b>	\$30	\$2.40	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.35	\$3.00	<b>\$3.10</b>	\$4.00
Sherzad	\$70	<b>\$80</b>	\$80	\$50	<b>\$60</b>	\$70	\$3.00	<b>\$3.00</b>	\$3.15	\$4.00	<b>\$4.00</b>	\$5.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$40</b>	<b>\$60</b>	<b>\$70</b>	<b>\$36</b>	<b>\$44</b>	<b>\$50</b>	<b>\$2.70</b>	<b>\$3.00</b>	<b>\$3.30</b>	<b>\$3.00</b>	<b>\$3.00</b>	<b>\$4.00</b>

### Respondent Characteristics

The median age for male head-of-household respondents across the sample is 40, with limited variation in the median age between districts. While Table 14 below presents summary statistics for the age of male household respondents, Figure 20 presents a graphical representation of the distribution of ages across the sample. Of the 10 districts, the sample of male household respondents in Daulina district in Ghor is distinguished by the relatively high proportion of interviewees in their 30s and 40s and the relatively low proportion of interviewees in their 20s. Among the other districts, the variation in the distribution of the ages of respondents appears to be relatively minimal.

**Table 14: Age of Male Household Respondents**

District	Obs.	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.	Max.
Adraskan	486	43	16	30	40	54	94
Balkh	479	43	10	32	43	54	88
Chisht-e Sharif	494	43	10	30	41	53	90
Daulina	495	41	16	36	40	46	71
Farsi	490	43	11	35	43	50	79
Gulran	494	44	10	34	42	51	96
Hisarak	480	41	14	33	40	50	85
Khost Wa Firing	493	43	16	32	40	52	97
Sang Takht	490	42	14	30	40	50	90
Sherzad	482	42	19	35	40	48	85
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,883</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>97</b>

**Figure 20: Distribution of Ages of Male Household Resp.**

The median age of participants in the female focus group is 37, three years younger than that of participants in the male household interviews. There is wider distribution between districts in the ages of participants, however, with median ages ranging from 32 years in Farsi to 40 years in Balkh, Hisarak, and Sherzad. The main outlier in the between-district distribution of respondent ages appears in Sherzad, which has a larger number of respondents in their 30s and 40s than other districts.



**Table 15: Age of Female Focus Group Respondents**

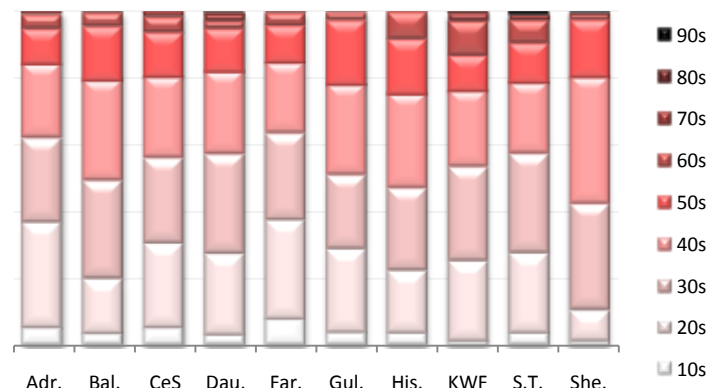
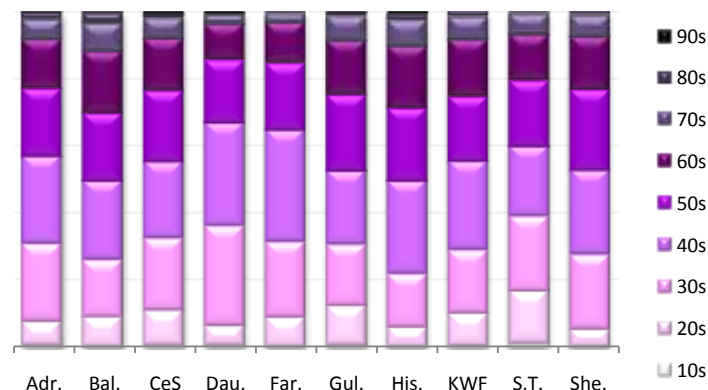
District	Obs.	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	353	35	16	25	32	43	85
Balkh	301	39	17	30	40	48	80
Chisht-e Sharif	392	37	16	26	36	45	80
Daulina	337	37	18	28	37	45	94
Farsi	293	35	16	25	32	43	70
Gulran	352	37	18	26	38	45	70
Hisarak	313	39	17	30	40	49	73
Khost Wa Firing	338	40	16	29	39	49	88
Sang Takht	338	37	16	28	35	45	95
Sherzad	326	41	17	35	40	48	95
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,349</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>95</b>

The median age for male focus group respondents is 45, five years older than that of participants in the male household interviews.<sup>30</sup> Variation in the median age of respondents is relatively significant, varying from 41 years in Daulina to 50 years in Balkh and Hisarak. The distribution of ages of respondents appears to be relatively uniform across districts, however, though with Daulina and Farsi showing a slightly higher proportion of respondents in their 30s and 40s than other districts.

**Table 16: Age of Male Focus Group Respondents**

District	Obs.	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	418	46	19	35	45	55	90
Balkh	378	50	20	39	50	60	96
Chisht-e Sharif	403	47	18	35	46	56	97
Daulina	402	44	18	35	41	51	95
Farsi	359	45	20	35	45	50	95
Gulran	424	47	18	35	47	59	92
Hisarak	366	49	20	40	50	60	98
Khost Wa Firing	427	48	18	36.5	45	60	85
Sang Takht	383	45	16	32	45	55	85
Sherzad	407	48	20	38	46	57	85
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,967</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>98</b>

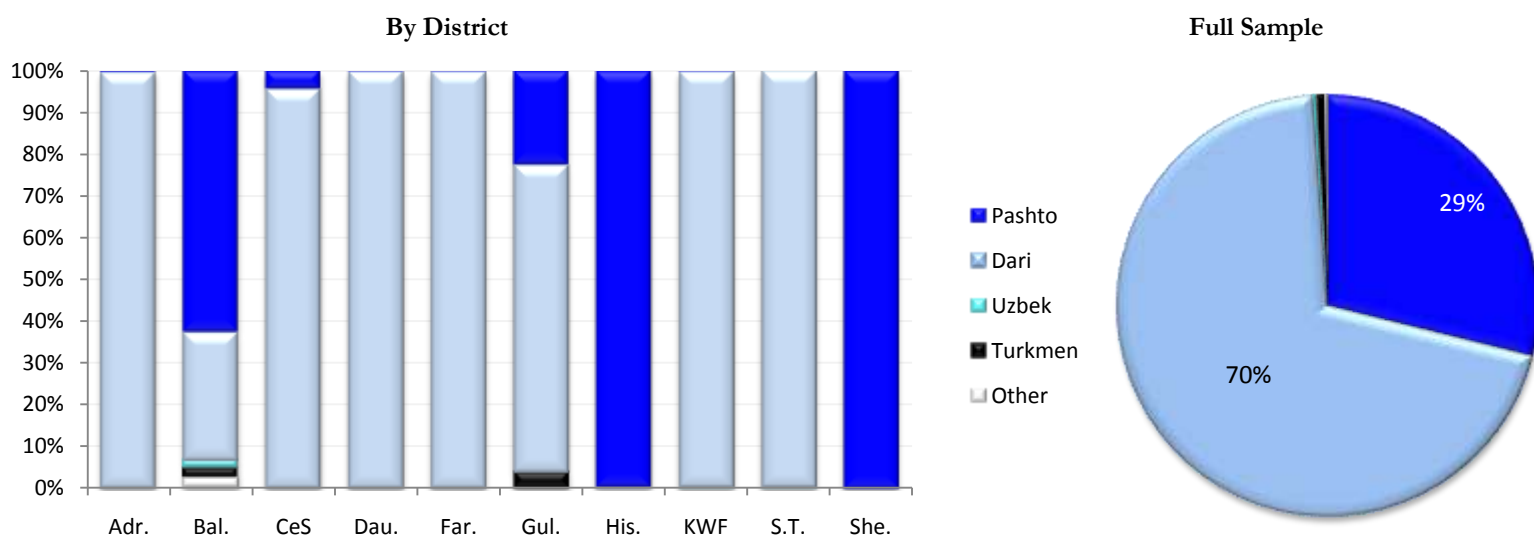
Both male household and male focus group interviewees were requested to provide information concerning their primary language. The results of these questions aligned closely with the observations made with respect to Figure 14 above. That is, respondents in Adraskan (Herat), Chisht-e Sharif (Herat), Daulina (Ghor), Farsi (Herat), Khost Wa Firing (Baghlan), and Sang Takht (Daykundi) are either all or almost all Dari-speaking and respondents in Hisarak and Sherzad districts in Nangarhar province are exclusively Pashto-speaking. Balkh and Gulran are linguistically diverse, with Balkh being split between 31 percent of Dari-speakers and 64 percent of Pashto-speakers and Gulran being split between 74 percent of Dari-speakers and 22 percent of Pashto-speakers. The sample of respondents in Balkh and Gulran also contain a small number of persons that speak Uzbek, Turkmen, or another language as their mother tongue.

**Figure 21: Distribution of Ages of Female Respondents****Figure 22: Distribution of Ages of Male Focus Group Resp.**

<sup>30</sup> Enumerators were instructed to seek participation in the male focus group from village council members, tribal elders, and other members of the village leadership structure. As many of the people holding these positions are relatively old, it is unsurprising that the average age of male focus group respondents is significantly higher than that of male household respondents.

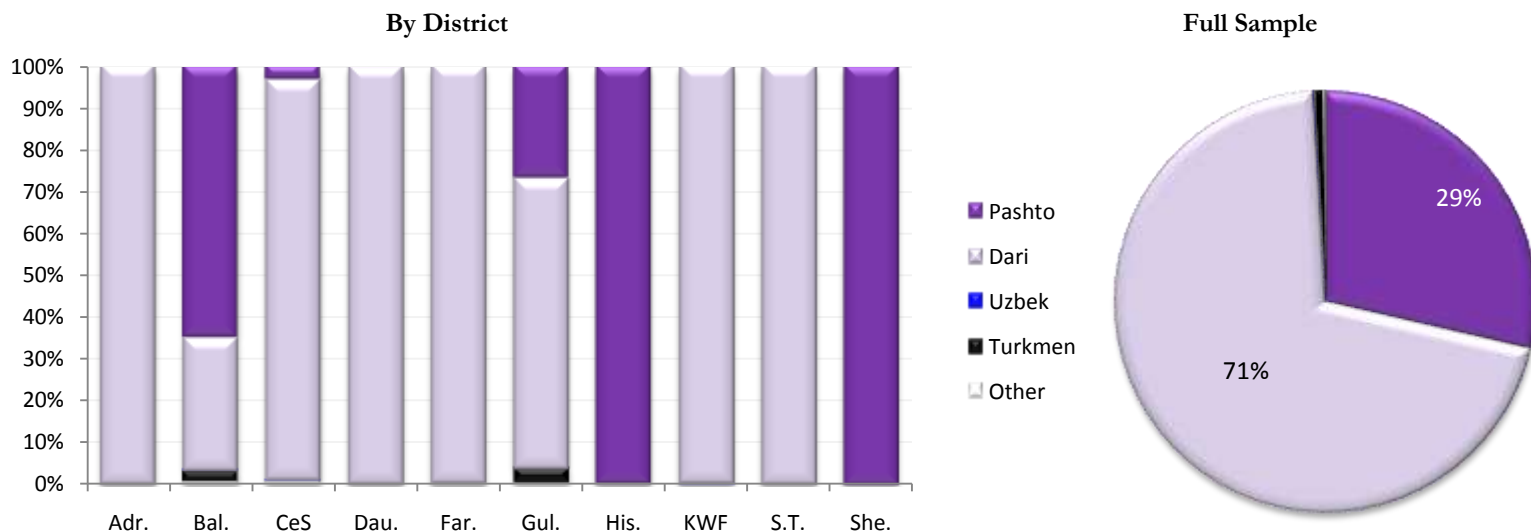


**Figure 23: Mother Tongue of Male Household Respondents**



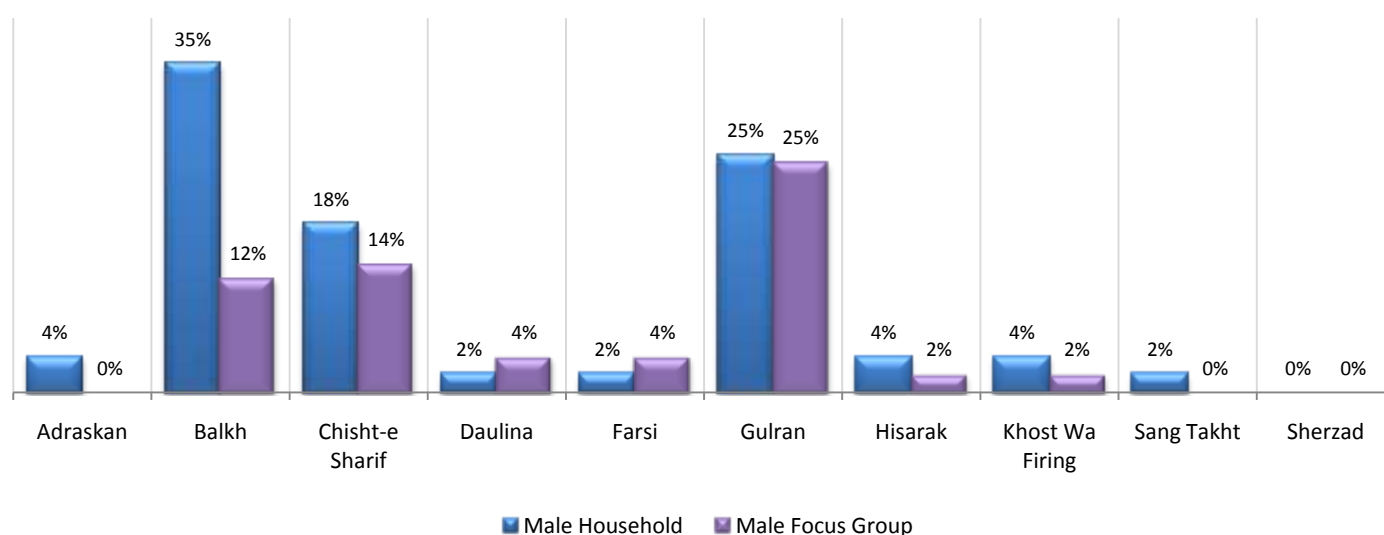
The pattern of languages spoken by male focus group respondents is almost identical to the male household counterparts. Perhaps the only noticeable difference is that the proportion of male focus group respondents in Chisht-e Sharif that speak Pashto as their mother tongue (3 percent) is slightly smaller than the proportion of male household respondents that do so (4 percent). In addition, the proportion of male focus group respondents in Balkh that speak a mother tongue other than Dari or Pashto (3 percent) is less than the proportion of male household respondents that do so (5 percent).

**Figure 24: Mother Tongue of Male Focus Group Respondents**



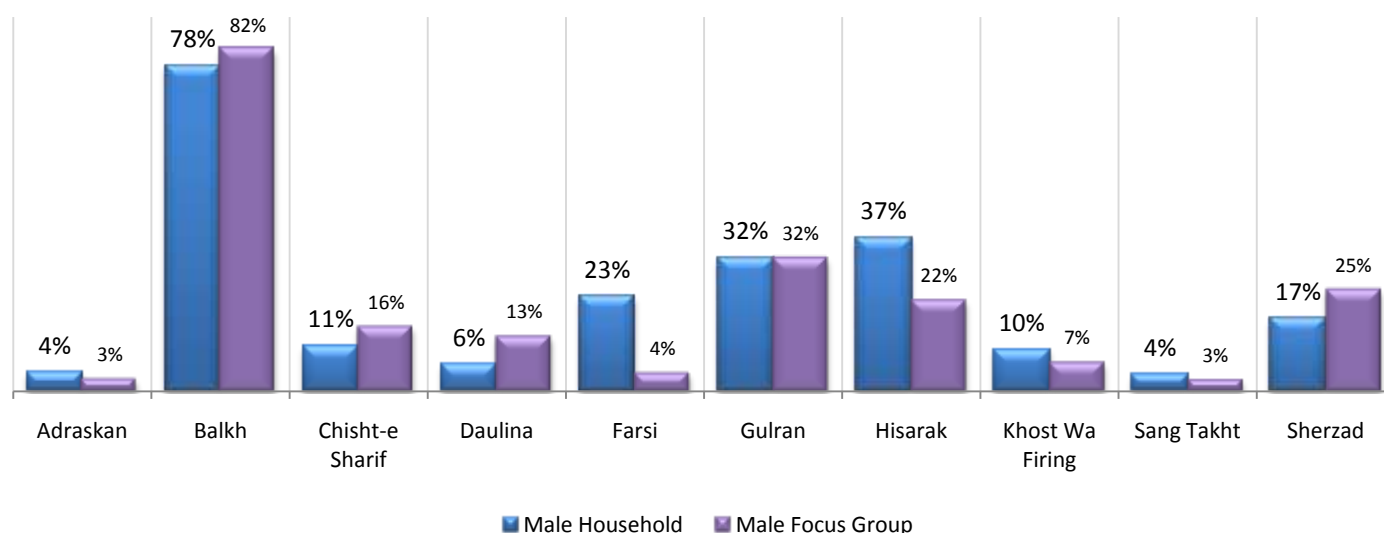
Information on the mother-tongue of respondents was used to calculate the proportion of villages where at least some of the male household and male focus group respondents speak a different mother tongue. As shown in Figure 25 below, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Gulran all appear to have significant levels of within-village linguistic fragmentation. Interestingly, the sample of male household respondents in villages in Balkh district was much more linguistically fragmented than the sample of male focus group respondents, potentially indicating that village elites in Balkh do not always fully represent the linguistic or ethnic diversity of the village.

**Figure 25: Within-Village Linguistic Fragmentation of Sample, by District and Respondent Type**



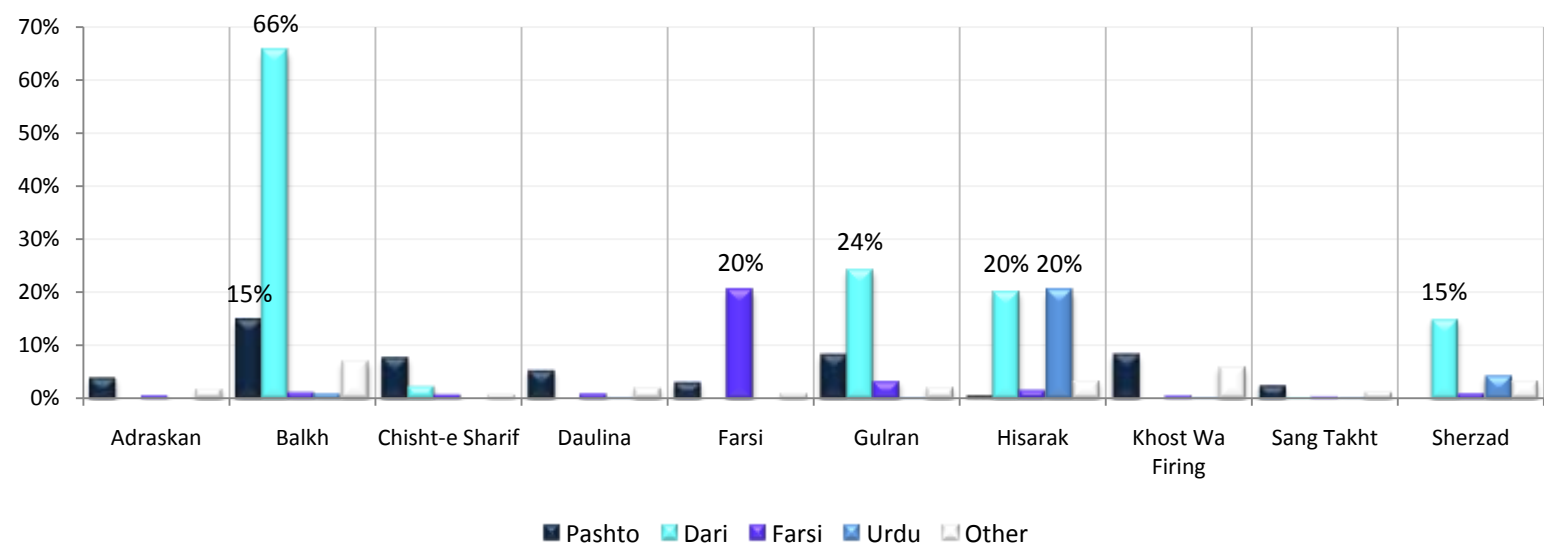
Questions were also asked of the ability of male household and focus group respondents to speak a language other than their mother tongue. Such capability was found to be especially common in Balkh district, with 78 percent of male household respondents and 82 percent of male focus group respondents claiming knowledge of a second language. Significant numbers of respondents in Farsi, Gulran, Hisarak, and Sherzad also claimed an ability to speak a second language.

**Figure 26: Percent of Respondents Claiming to Speak a Second Language, by District and Respondent Type**



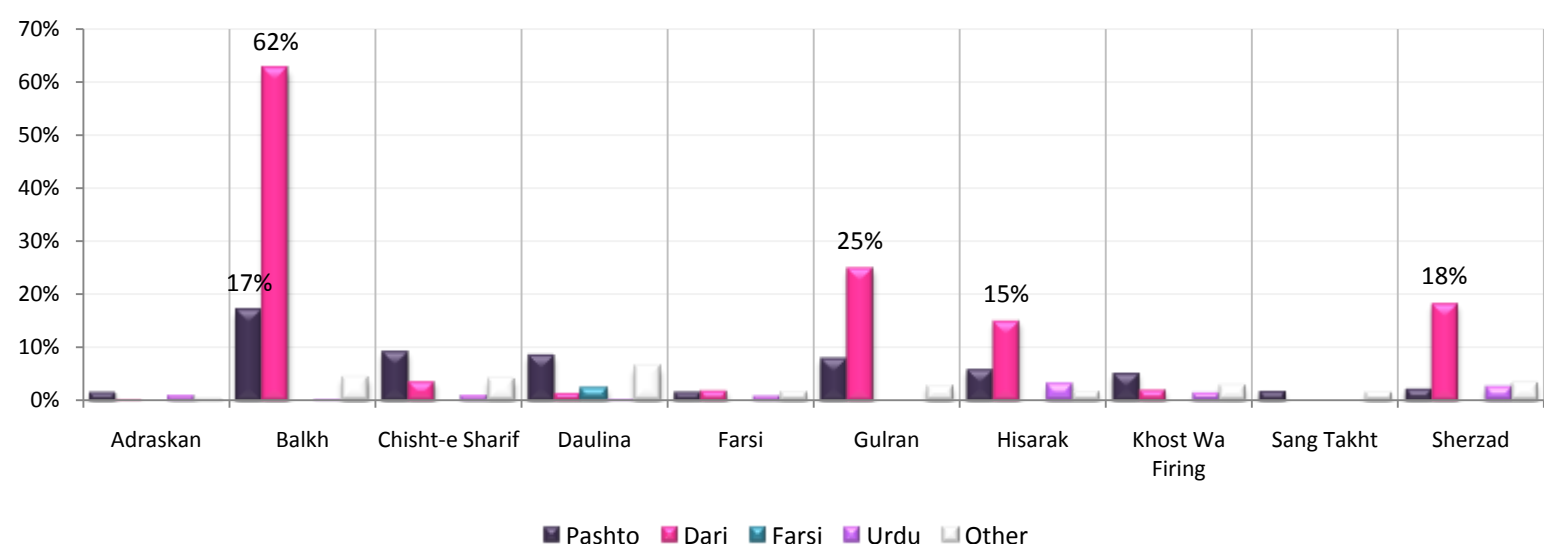
In cases where male household respondents did speak a second language, Dari was by far the most commonly known language. Approximately 66 percent of male household respondents in Balkh claimed knowledge of Dari as a second language, whereas 24 percent of male household respondents in Gulran, 20 percent of respondents in Hisarak, and 15 percent of respondents in Sherzad did so. Appropriately enough, 20 percent of male household respondents in Farsi claimed knowledge of the Farsi language (of which Dari is a dialect), while 20 percent of male household respondents in Hisarak claimed knowledge of Urdu, and 15 percent of respondents in Balkh claimed knowledge of Pashto.

**Figure 27: Percent of Male Household Respondents Speaking Second Language, by District and Language**



Male focus group respondents were found to speak similar second languages to their male household counterparts. 62 percent of respondents in Balkh claimed knowledge of Dari as a second language, with 17 percent claiming to speak Pashto as a second language. As with male household respondents, significant numbers of male focus group respondents in Gulran, Hisarak, and Sherzad claimed knowledge of Dari. A noticeable difference between the two samples, however, is observed in the very few male focus group respondents in Farsi and Hisarak that claimed to speak either Farsi or Urdu, respectively. As these languages would have been learned by respondents during time spent in Iran or Pakistan, the discrepancy between the proportions of male household and male focus group respondents that speak these languages could possibly demonstrate a difference in time spent abroad between the two samples.

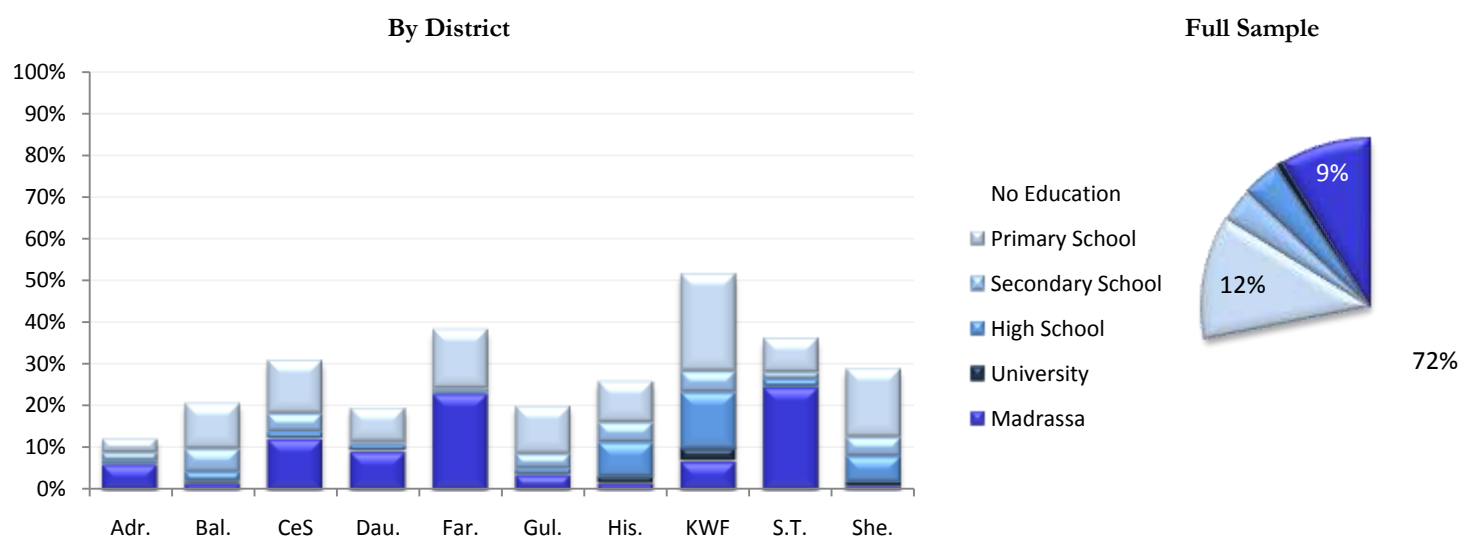
**Figure 28: Percent of Male Focus Group Respondents Speaking Second Language, by District and Language**



Across the full sample, 72 percent of male household respondents claim to have had no form of education in their life, with 12 percent of respondents claiming they had received at least some primary school education, and 9 percent of respondents claiming some education at a *Madrassa* or religious school. As depicted in Figure 29 below, the differences between districts are stark. Respondents in Khost Wa Firing are the best educated, with over 50 percent of respondents having gained some form of education and 12 percent having been educated to the high school

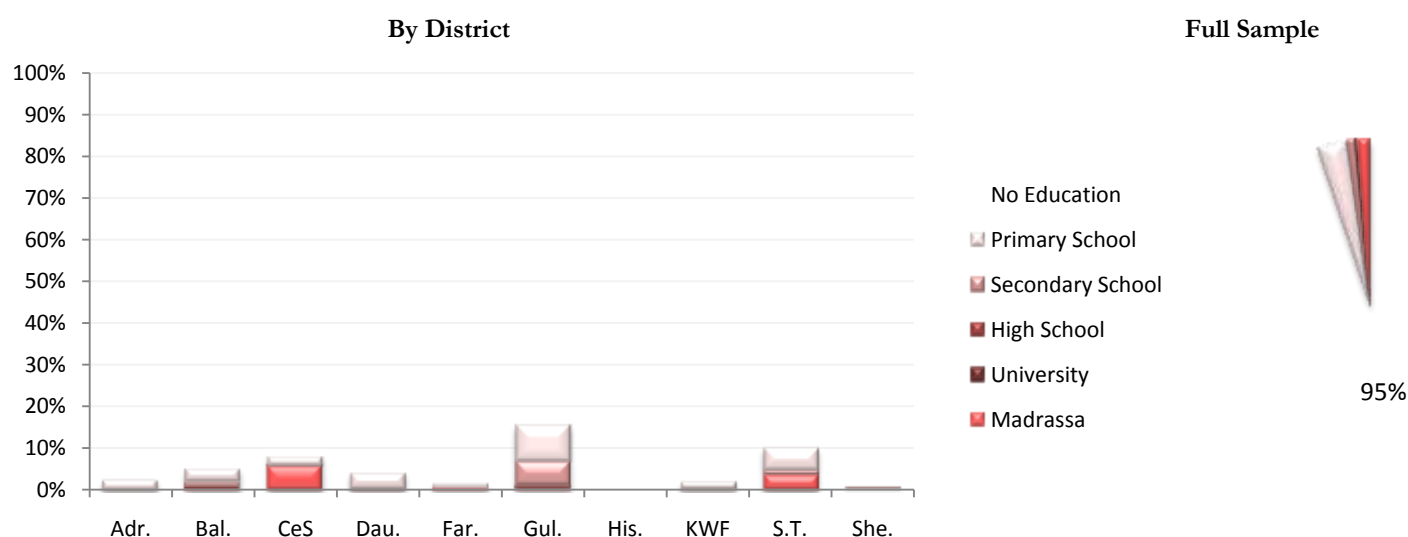
level. Respondents in Adraskan, on the other hand, were the least educated, with only 11 percent having gained a form of education.

**Figure 29: Educational Attainment of Male Household Respondents**



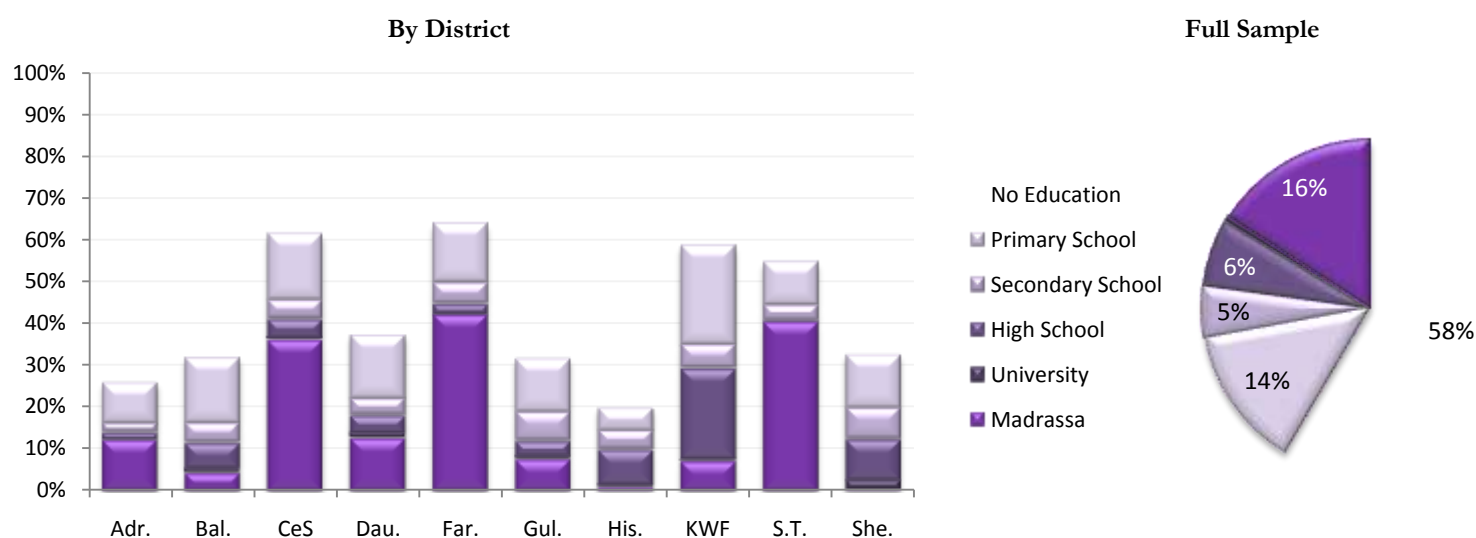
Unsurprisingly, the educational attainment of female respondents was extremely minimal, with only 5 percent claiming some form of education. Female respondents in Gulran were the best educated, followed by Sang Takht and Chisht-e Sharif.

**Figure 30: Educational Attainment of Female Respondents**



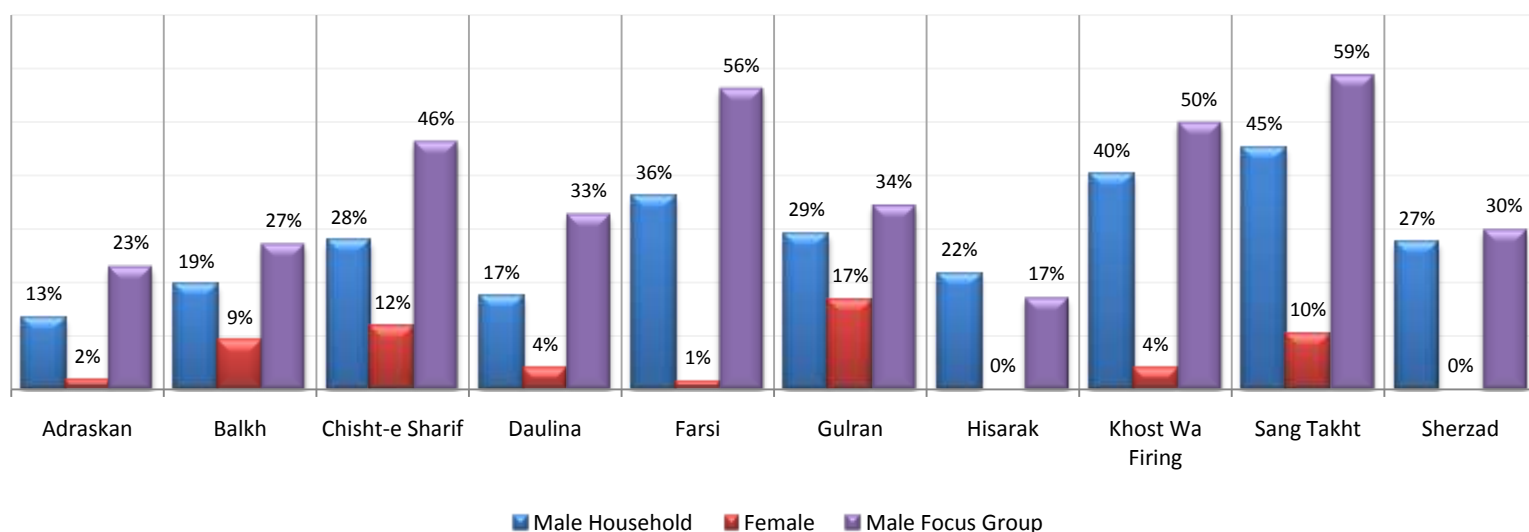
Of the three groups of respondents, the male focus group was the best educated, with 42 percent of respondents claiming to have some form of education. Religious education was the most popular form of education, with 16 percent of respondents, followed by primary education, with 14 percent of respondents. Male focus group respondents in Farsi had the highest level of exposure to education, followed by Sang Takht, and Chisht-e Sharif. Khost Wa Firing, however, had the highest level of exposure to non-religious forms of education. Hisarak had the lowest level of exposure to education, followed by Adraskan.

**Figure 31: Educational Attainment of Male Focus Group Respondents**



The efficacy of respondent's education was tested by enumerators through the application of a "literacy test", whereby respondents were asked to read a simple phrase in the local language. Male elites were the most likely to read the phrase correctly, with 37% of respondents, followed by 28% of male head of household respondents, and 5% of women. There exists substantial variation between districts, with 45 percent of male household respondents in Sang Takht performing the test correctly, compared to 13 percent of male household respondents in Adraskan. Male focus group respondents in Sang Takht also scored highest, while male focus group respondents in Hisarak recorded the lowest result. Among female respondents, Gulran had the highest score, with 17 percent of respondents passing the test, while no women in Hisarak or Sherzad passed.

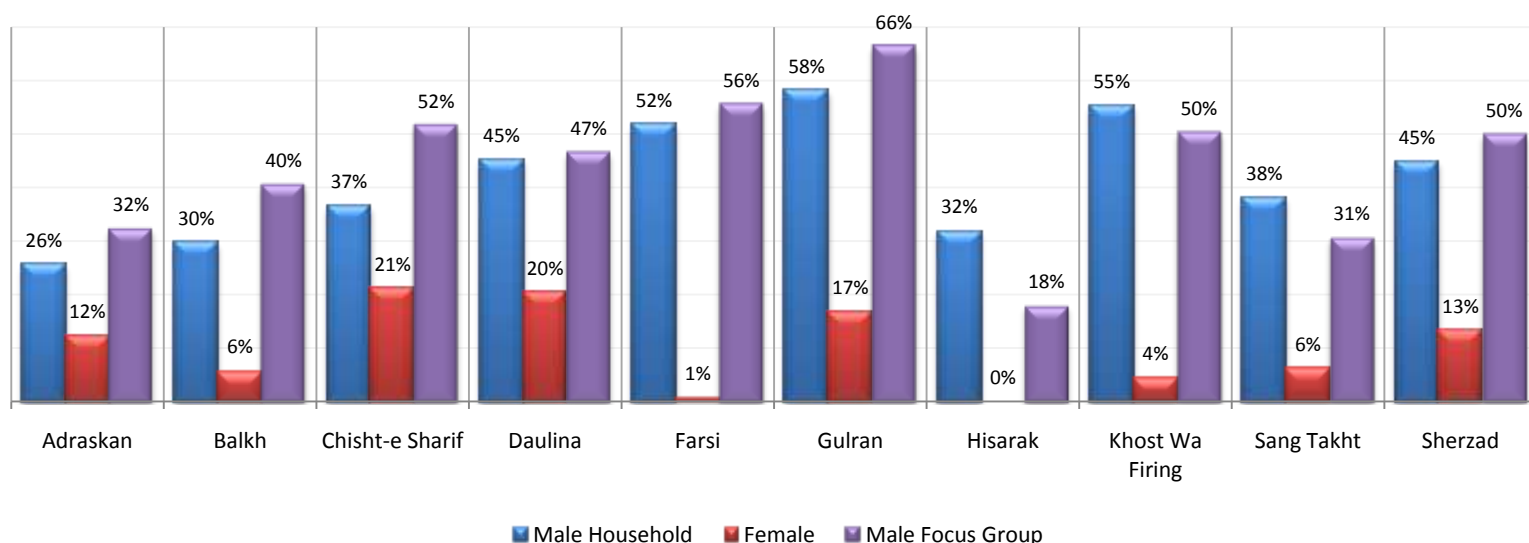
**Figure 32: Ability of Participants to Read Simple Phrase, by District and Respondent Type**



In addition to testing literacy, enumerators also tested respondents ability to perform a basic calculation (five times six, in the case of male household and female respondents). Overall, 42 percent of male household respondents, 10 percent of female respondents, and 44 percent of male focus group respondents were able to complete the calculation successfully. As with the literacy test, substantial variation was present between districts. Male household respondents in Gulran scored highest, with 58 percent of them completing the calculation correctly, while those in Adraskan scored lowest, with just 26 percent of respondents getting it right. Male focus group

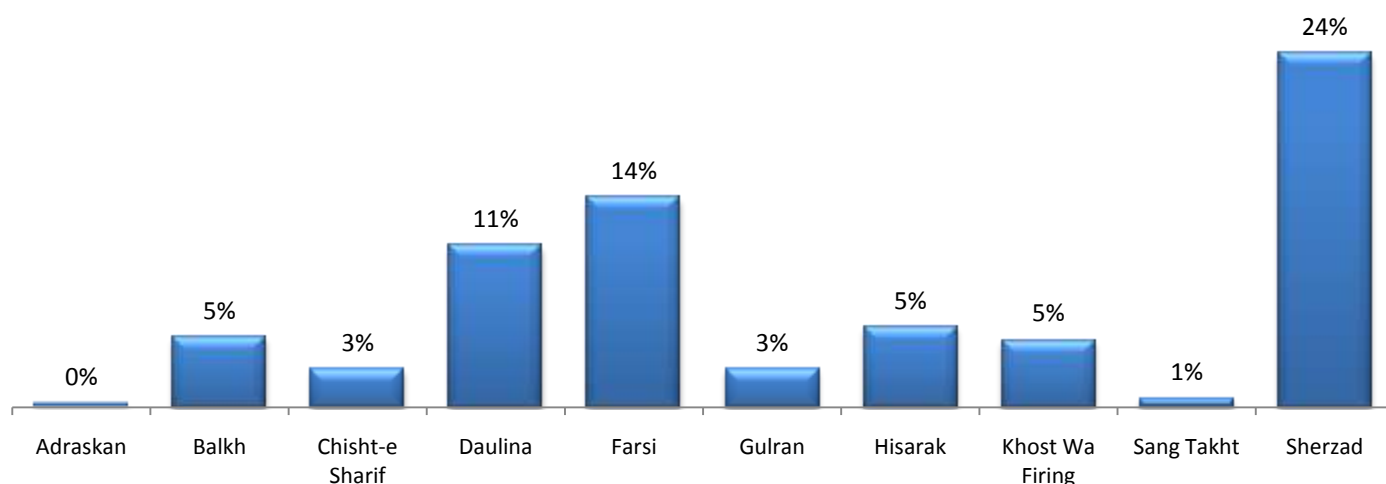
respondents in Gulran also scored highest, at 66 percent, with those in Hisarak scoring lowest, at 18 percent. Among female respondents, respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (21 percent) did best and those in Hisarak (0 percent) did worst.

**Figure 33: Ability of Participants to Perform a Simple Calculation, by District and Respondent Type**



The number of male household respondents who claimed to have made a pilgrimage to Mecca was relatively low, at 7 percent. Variation between districts was high, however, with 24 percent of respondents in Sherzad claiming to have made the pilgrimage, followed by Farsi at 14 percent and Daulina at 11 percent. Only 1 percent of respondents in Sang Takht and just a single respondent in Adraskan had completed the Haj.

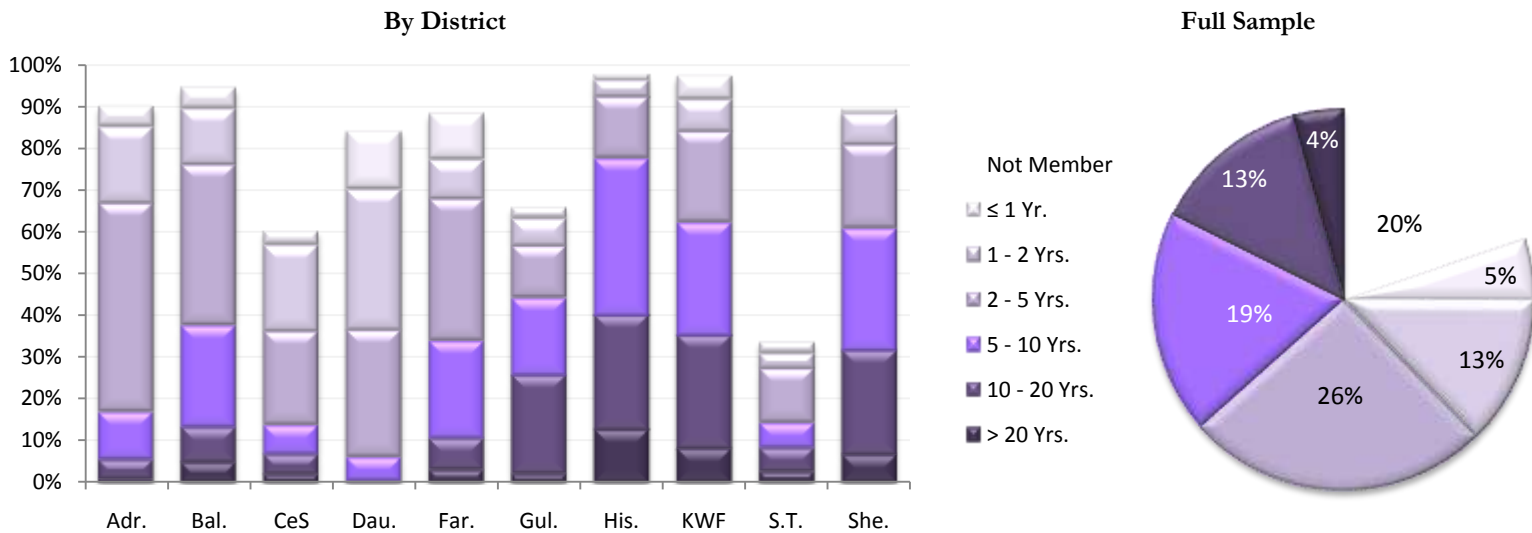
**Figure 34: Percent of Male Household Respondents that have made Pilgrimage to Mecca, by District**



As noted in Section IV.2 above, the purpose of the male focus group was to bring together senior members of the village leadership. As will be detailed further in Section 0 below, a key institution in local governance in Afghanistan is the *shura* or *jirga*, which functions as a form of customary village council. Figure 35 presents a graphical representation of the tenure of male focus group members on the village *shura* or *jirga*. Across the full sample, 20 percent of male focus group respondents were not a member of any form of village or pan-village *shura* or *jirga*. The number of such respondents was particularly high in Sang Takht district, where 66 percent of male focus group respondents were not part of the council. Chisht-e Sharif and Gulran also

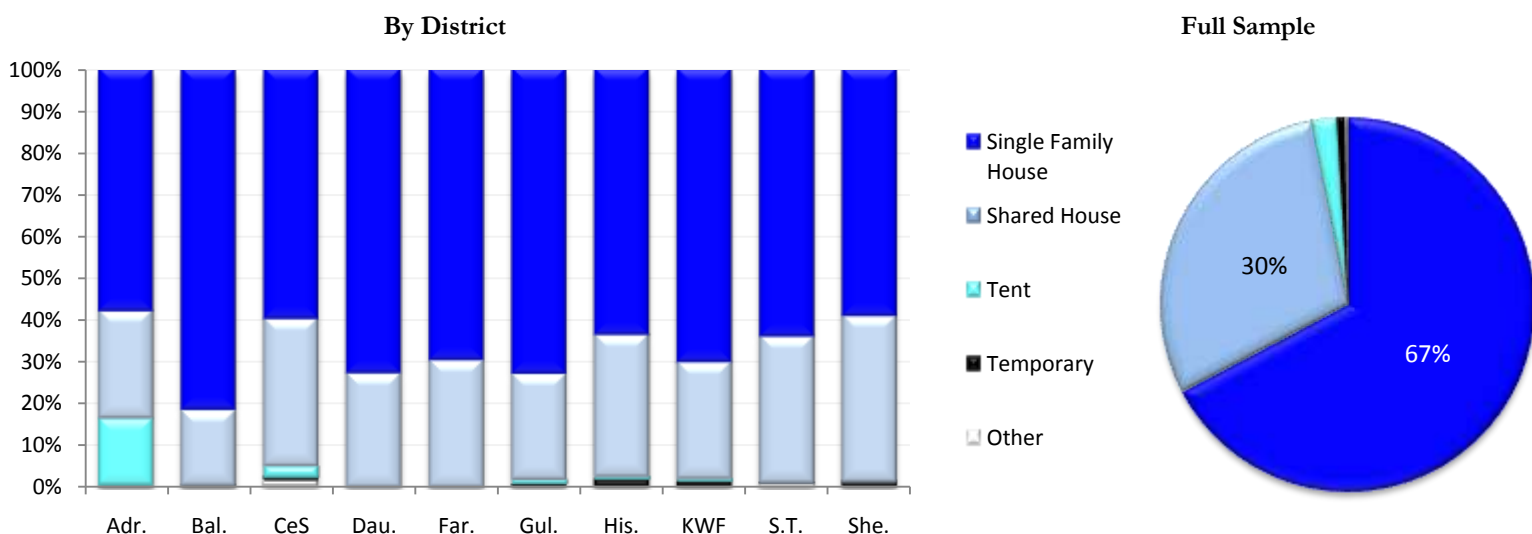
reported high numbers of respondents not affiliated with the council, at 40 percent and 34 percent respectively. Just 17 percent of male focus group participants had been members of a *shura* or *jirga* for 10 years or more, indicating that such councils appear to have relatively high turnover. Male focus groups conducted in Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, and Sherzad were generally the most experienced, with 77 percent, 62 percent, and 61 percent of respondents respectively having served on the council for 5 or more years.

**Figure 35: Council Membership of Male Focus Group Members**



Approximately two-thirds of male household respondents inhabit a single-family house, with a further 30 percent inhabiting a shared house. Between district variation was relatively minimal, although a significantly higher number of respondents in Adraskan (16 percent) are housed in tents rather than fixed dwellings. A greater number of respondents in Balkh (82 percent) inhabit single-family dwellings as compared to counterparts in other sample districts.

**Figure 36: Physical Description of Dwelling of Male Household Respondents**



Female respondents were less likely than male household respondents to inhabit a single-family dwelling, with just 56 percent of female respondents claiming to inhabit such a dwelling and 39 percent of respondents sharing a dwelling with other households. Variation between districts was relatively limited, although higher-than-average proportions of respondents inhabiting tents or temporary structures was observed in Adraskan and Chisht-e Sharif.



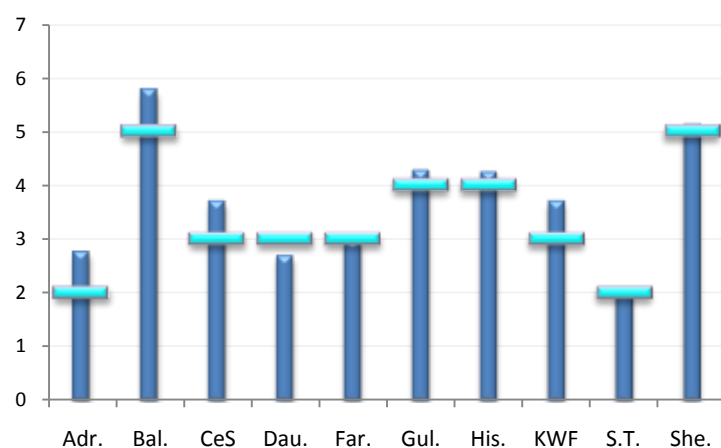
**Figure 37: Physical Description of Dwelling of Female Respondents**



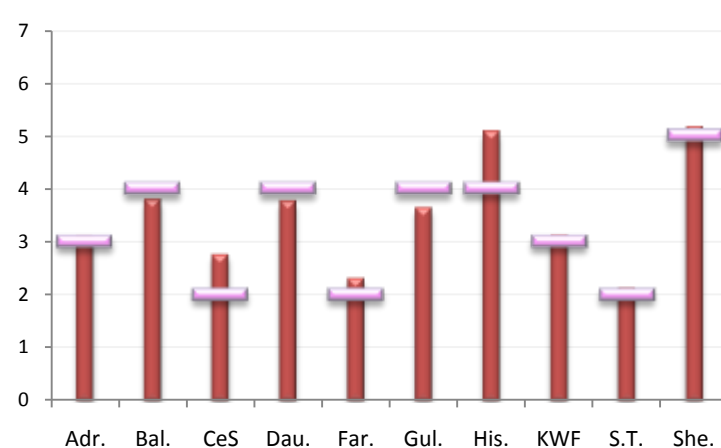
Figure 38 below plots the mean and median number of rooms per dwelling for each of the 10 districts, based on information collected from male household and female respondents. Dwellings of male households are smallest in Adraskan and Sang Takht, with a median of only two rooms per dwelling, and largest in Balkh and Sherzad, with a median of five rooms per dwelling. Dwellings of female respondents are smallest in Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, and Sang Takht, with a median of two rooms per dwelling, and largest in Sherzad, with a median of five rooms per dwelling.

**Figure 38: Number of Rooms in Dwelling, by District and Respondent Type**

**Male Household**



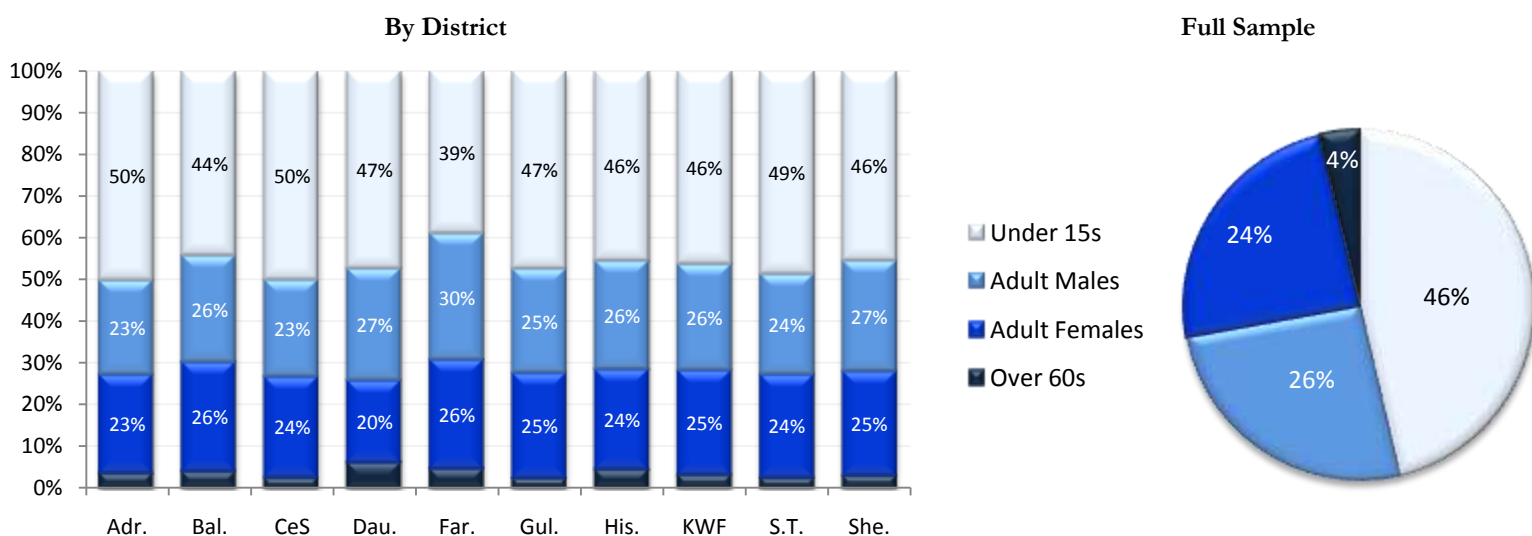
**Female**



Information collected from male household respondents provides a breakdown of the demographic structure of households. Across the full sample, 46 percent of household members are under 15, 26 percent are males aged between 15 and 60, 24 percent are females aged between 15 and 60, and 4 percent are over the age of 50. The demographic structure of households is relatively constant across districts, although the gender balance of adult household members is especially skewed in Daulina and Farsi, where women outnumber men by seven and four percentage points respectively. The proportion of under-15s in the household is also relatively low in Farsi, at 39 percent.

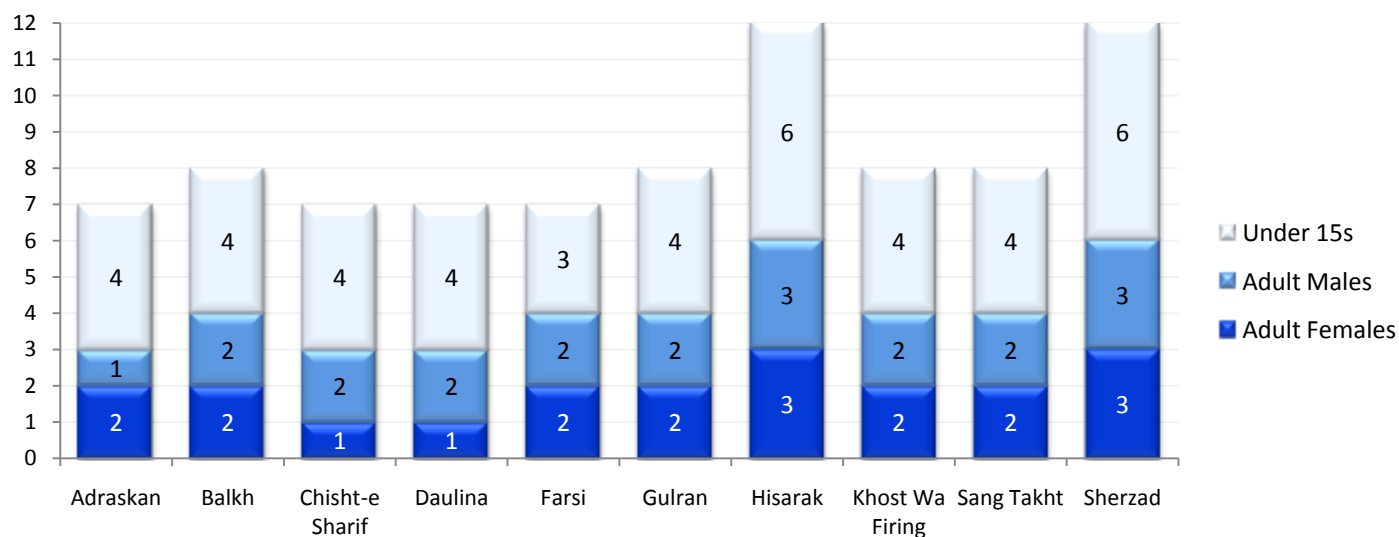


**Figure 39: Household Demographics**



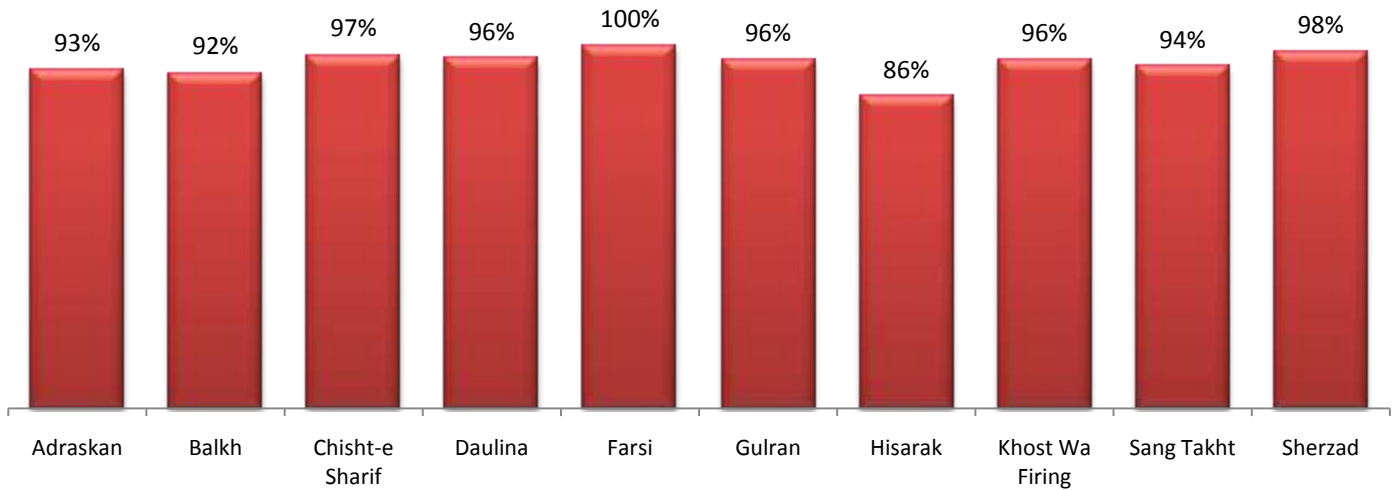
The median size of households is largest in Hisarak and Sherzad, at 12 members. Households are smallest in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, and Farsi, which have median levels of 7 members. Figure 40 displays column charts displaying the median size and composition of households in the 10 districts.

**Figure 40: Median Household Size and Composition, by District**



Approximately 95 percent of female respondents are married. Female respondents in Hisarak had the lowest rate of marriage, at 86 percent, while almost all female respondents in Farsi are married.

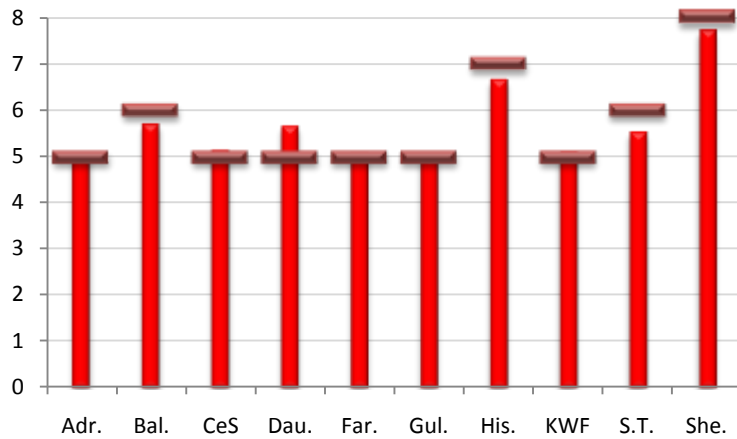
**Figure 41: Percent of Female Respondents Currently Married**



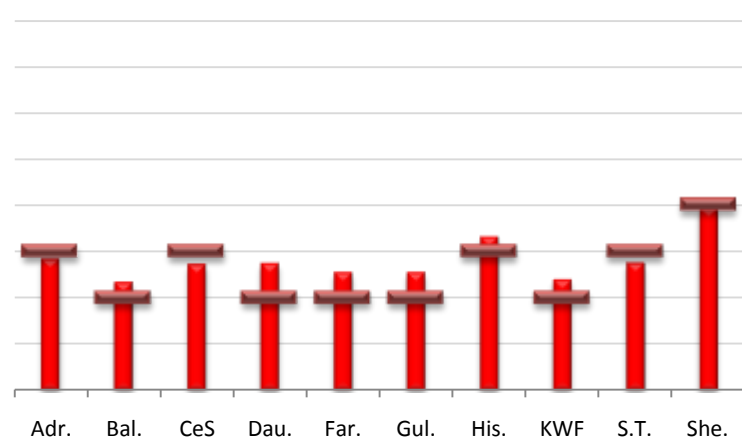
Across the full sample, female respondents have a median of 6 children, 3 of which are between 5 and 15 years of age. Female respondents in Sherzad have the highest number of children at 7, while female respondents in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing have the lowest, at 5.

**Figure 42: Number of Children, by District and Demographic**

All Children



School-Age Children (5 – 15)



The median number of children aged between 5 and 15 is relatively constant across the districts, with female respondents in Balkh, Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing having a median of 2 school-age children, female respondents in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Hisarak, and Sang Takht having 3, and female respondents in Sherzad having 4.

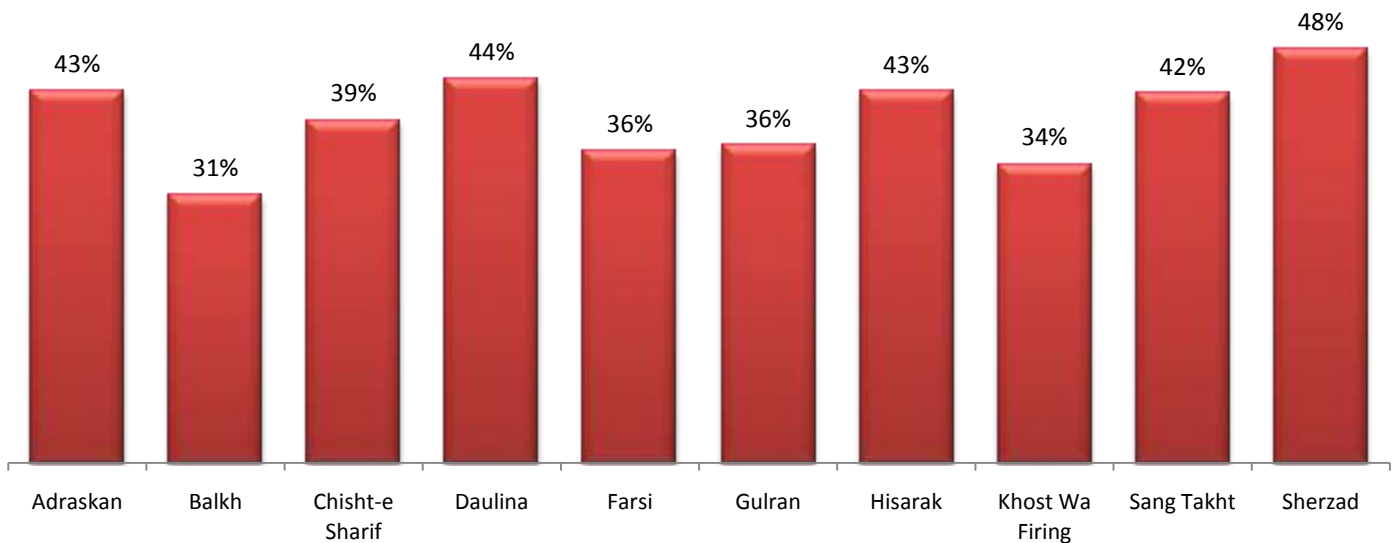
**Table 17: Number of Children of Female Respondents**

District	Obs.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Adraskan	341	5.0	5	2.7	0	12
Balkh	273	5.5	6	2.6	0	12
Chisht-e Sharif	365	5.0	5	2.5	0	12
Daulina	326	5.7	6	2.5	1	13
Farsi	284	5.0	5	2.6	0	11
Gulran	325	4.8	5	2.7	0	12
Hisarak	264	6.8	7	2.7	1	12
Khost Wa Firing	308	5.2	5	2.5	1	12
Sang Takht	308	5.4	5	2.8	0	14
Sherzad	326	7.6	8	2.9	0	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,120</b>	<b>5.6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>14</b>

**Table 18: Number of Children Aged Above 5 and Under 15**

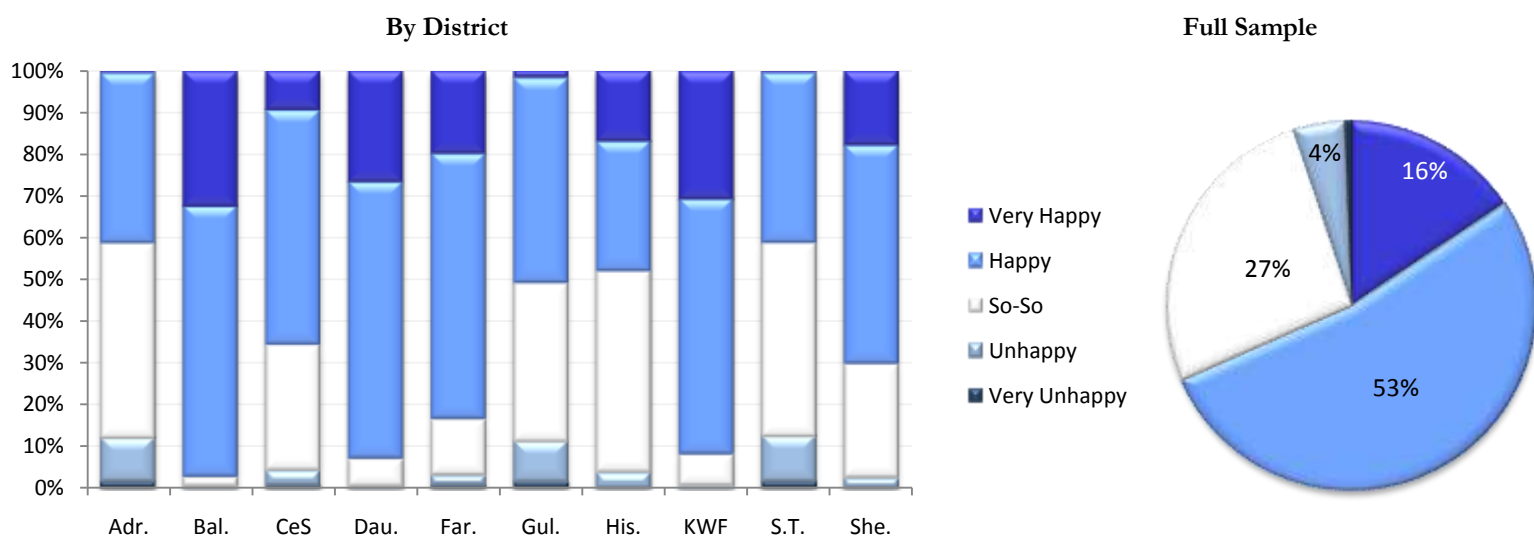
District	Obs.	Mean	Median	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Adraskan	273	2.7	3	1.5	0	8
Balkh	210	2.2	2	1.2	0	6
Chisht-e Sharif	274	2.7	3	1.3	0	7
Daulina	310	2.8	2	1.5	0	9
Farsi	200	2.5	2	1.3	0	9
Gulran	269	2.2	2	1.6	0	10
Hisarak	232	3.3	3	1.5	1	9
Khost Wa Firing	232	2.3	2	1.4	0	8
Sang Takht	281	2.6	3	1.5	0	8
Sherzad	323	3.7	4	1.6	0	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,604</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>10</b>

Across the full sample, 40 percent of the children of female respondents are aged between 5 and 15. Sherzad has the highest proportion of children (48 percent) in this age bracket, while Balkh has the lowest proportion (31 percent).

**Figure 43: Percentage of Children between Ages of 5 and 15, by District**

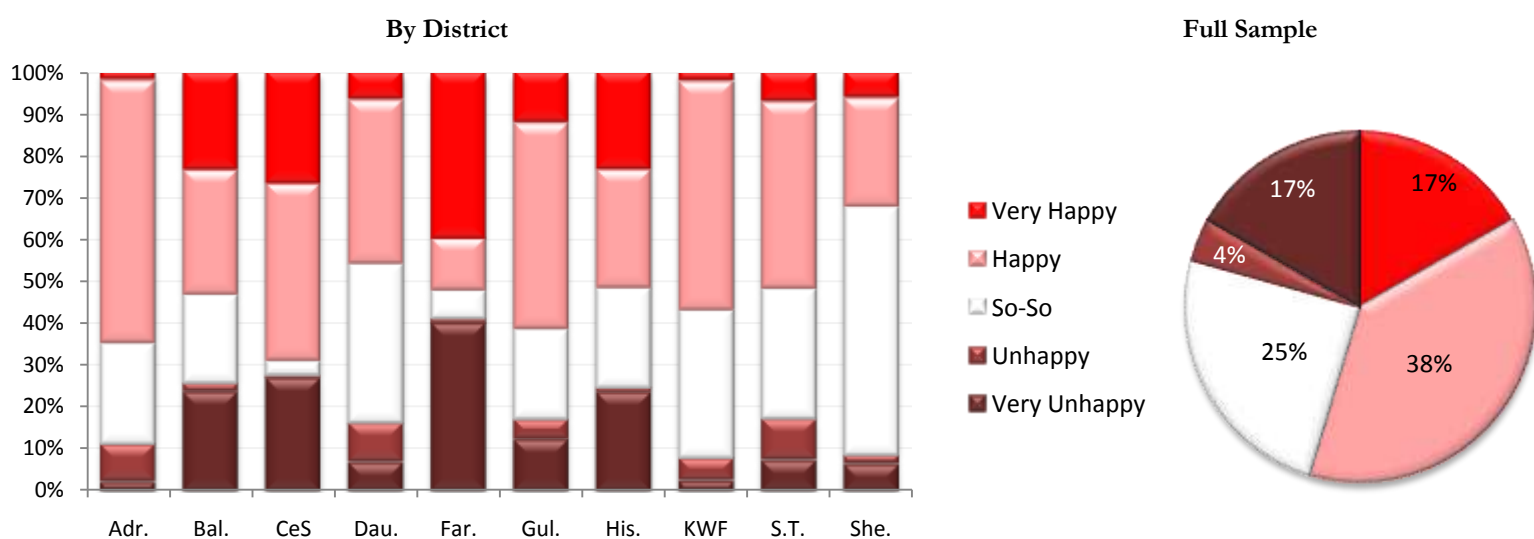
At the end of each questionnaire, male household and female respondents were asked how happy they were: very happy, happy, neither happy nor sad, unhappy, or very unhappy. In response, 16 percent of male household respondents reported they were very happy, 53 percent that they were happy, 27 percent that they were neither happy nor sad, 4 percent that they were unhappy, and less than 1 percent that they were very unhappy. Male household respondents in Balkh, Daulina and Khost Wa Firing districts were generally the happiest, while those in Adraskan, Gulran, and Sang Takht were the least happy.

**Figure 44: Happiness of Male Household Respondents**



Female respondents, in general, appeared to be less happy than their male household counterparts. While a higher proportion of female (17 percent) than male households respondents reported that they were very happy, the number of female respondents who reported they were very unhappy was equally high, also at 17 percent. 38 percent of female respondents reported that they were simply happy, 25 percent reported they were neither happy nor sad, and 4 percent reported they were simply unhappy. Female respondents in Adraskan, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing appeared to be among the happiest of respondents in the 10 districts, with women in Farsi district reporting a state of extreme unhappiness with the greatest frequency. A high proportion of women in Chisht-e Sharif also reported they were very unhappy, although Chisht-e Sharif also recorded the highest proportion of any district where female respondents reported they were either very happy or happy.

**Figure 45: Happiness of Female Respondents**



## V.2. Economy

The following section provides an overview of the economic characteristics of the sample and is divided into the following ten sections: (1) Production; (2) Agriculture; (3) Agricultural Markets; (4) Consumption; (5) Household Assets; (6) Female-Owned Assets; (7) Economic Shocks; (8) Debt and Borrowing; (9) Perceptions of Economic Situation; and (10) Future Plans. Short summaries of each section are provided below, with more detailed descriptions and a full set of graphs of aggregate statistics and district-level variation in the separate sections.

**Production:** Across the sample, agriculture is the predominant means of generating income. 49 percent of male household respondents and 48 percent of male focus group respondents consider farming to be their main income, with an additional 14 percent and 9 percent of male household and male focus group respondents occupied primarily by sharecropping. 83 percent of female respondents claim to have no occupation, although there is significant variation between districts, with 61 percent of women in Adraskan and 33 percent of women in Daulina occupied by carpet weaving. Agricultural activities serve as the primary income source for 62 percent of villages, with Daulina, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht being the most concentrated in agriculture, and Adraskan and Sherzad the least. Animal husbandry is the largest source of secondary income for villages, while sources of tertiary income are diversified across the sample. Overall, 97 percent of villages report a source of secondary income and 73 percent of villages a source of tertiary income. Sources of income reported by male household respondents mirror the answers of male focus groups. Over three-quarters of households in Balkh, Daulina, Gulran, and Sang Takht report receiving income from agriculture, while just 17 percent of households in Sherzad do so. 23 percent of households in Hisarak and 59 percent of households in Sherzad report receiving income from activities related to poppy cultivation. Median incomes in Sherzad are the highest in the sample, followed by Hisarak, while Adraskan has the lowest median income levels. Income inequality appears to be highest in Balkh and Hisarak districts and lowest in Adraskan. Of the female respondents interviewed for the sample, 63 percent reported no involvement in income-generating activities. Female economic participation was especially low in Farsi and Khost Wa Firing, but was high in Sang Takht and Sherzad. Women in Sang Takht work especially long hours, but are mainly involved in activities which produce income in-kind. Overall, female control over income earned through their activities was limited, with less than a quarter reporting they had full autonomy over their income. Financial autonomy was highest in Sang Takht and Gulran districts, while in Adraskan and Farsi, over half of women earning income stated control of their earnings rested completely with their husband or other family members.

**Agriculture:** Wheat is the predominant crop grown across all districts except Sherzad, where respondents reported significant levels of poppy cultivation. In Balkh, a significant minority of villages reported that corn or cotton was the major crop under cultivation, with corn and poppy being cultivated by a significant minority of villages in Hisarak. Overall, 76 percent of respondents report having access to agricultural land, either as farmers, owners, or sharecroppers, with respondents in Daulina reporting the highest level of access to agricultural land (95 percent) and respondents in Adraskan reporting the lowest (38 percent). Farmers in Gulran own the most land, some 6.6 hectares on average, while those in Adraskan own the least, just 0.9 hectares. Farmers in Daulina are the most diversified in terms of summer cropage, with 90 percent of farmers in the district cultivating three or more crops during the summer season, while farmers in Gulran are the least diversified, with 70 percent growing just one crop. Only 39 percent of farmers across the sample reported cultivating crops during the most recent sample. Very few farmers in the snow-affected districts of Daulina, Khost Wa Firing, or Sang Takht cultivate during winter, while winter cultivation is relatively common in the warmer districts of Balkh, Gulran, Hisarak, and Sherzad. The proportion of farmers forced to leave a portion of

their land fallow was highest in Adraskan, Hisarak, and Sang Takht, with the most commonly cited reason for doing so being a lack of water for irrigating crops. The sale of crops was relatively rare across the sample, with only 15 percent of farmers doing so. In Sherzad, however, some 77 percent of farmers sell crops, commonly poppy, tomatoes, other fruit or vegetables, or corn. The median revenues earned by farmers for selling crops varied from \$100 in Farsi to \$520 in Sherzad. Inequality in farming earnings appears to be significant both within and between districts. Farmers earning at the 25th percentile in Sherzad, for instance, make considerably greater revenues (\$340) than farmers earning at the 75th percentile in Chisht-e Sharif (\$240), Daulina (\$200), Farsi (\$140), Khost Wa Firing (\$300), and Sang Takht (\$300). Inequality within districts is greatest in Gulran, Hisarak, and Sherzad, and lowest in Farsi. Agricultural producers across the sample more commonly sell crops at a market than to individual buyers and most respondents selling produce to individual buyers report that they were not compelled to sell produce to a particular individual. Indeed, in half of cases where producers could not choose who to sell their produce to, this was only due to a lack of other buyers in the village, rather than due to compulsion or other reasons.

**Agricultural Markets:** Primarily, farmers grow crops for home consumption, with only 15 percent reporting they sold a portion of their crop following the most recent harvest. Sherzad was a notable exception, however, with two-thirds of farmers surveyed reporting that they had sold crops. Poppy was the predominant crop sold by farmers in Hisarak and Sherzad and accounted for 25 percent of marketed crops reported by farmers across the sample. In addition, appreciable quantities of wheat, corn, tomato, and other fruits and vegetables are sold by farmers in Sherzad, Hisarak, Adraskan, Balkh, and Chisht-e Sharif. Unsurprisingly, farmers in the two districts in which poppy is cultivated in significant quantities, Hisarak and Sherzad, reported the highest average incomes, although such averages appeared to be skewed by extremely high returns accruing to a small number of producers. In addition to Hisarak and Sherzad, agricultural producers in Adraskan, Balkh, and Gulran also reported relatively high median returns, with farmers in Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, and Farsi reporting the lowest median earnings. Nearly seven out of ten buyers reported that their produce was sold at a market, rather than to a middleman, although producers in Hisarak were somewhat of an outlier, with two-thirds selling to middlemen. The location of markets varied from district-to-district, although when produce was sold to a middleman, the middlemen usually either originated from the same village or from the district centers. In Balkh and Chisht-e Sharif, middlemen were most commonly shopkeepers, while in Hisarak and Sherzad, they were more commonly traders or smugglers. The proportion of farmers who reported they did not have a choice as to who they sold their produce to was relatively low across the sample, although 47 percent of farmers in Daulina and 43 percent of farmers in Farsi reported a lack of choice. The most common reason for this was the lack of other buyers in the village, although a handful of respondents reported that they had been constrained by the terms of a loan repayment or had been compelled to sell to a particular individual.

**Consumption:** Almost all households reported spending money on food during the past month, while six out of ten households reported expenditures on clothing and transport fees. Spending on vehicle fuel, phone charges, or taxes was much less common across the sample. The median household reported spending \$60 a month on food. Food expenditures were, on average, highest in Hisarak, Sang Takht, and Sherzad, and lowest in Daulina. Spending on clothing and shoes was highest in Hisarak and Sherzad, with median expenditures of \$14 and \$16 respectively, but relatively minimal in Adraskan, Daulina, and Gulran. Spending on vehicle fuel was rare in all districts except in Daulina and Farsi, where median monthly expenditures of \$4 and \$6 were reported. Expenditures on transportation fees, which obviously substitute for vehicle fuel, were highest in Hisarak and Sherzad, both of which recorded median levels of \$20. Sherzad was the only district where more than 50 percent of households reported spending money on phone

charges in the past month, although the median spending was only \$3. More than 97 percent of households claimed to have spent money on medical treatment or medicine in the past year, with a median expenditure across the sample of \$70. Levels of spending were highest in Hisarak and Sherzad, with median annual expenditures of \$225 and \$162 respectively, and lowest in Daulina and Farsi, where median annual expenditures were \$26 and \$30 respectively. Spending on education was relatively rare, covering just 10 percent of households. Sang Takht was the only district where more than 50 percent of households reported education spending, with an annual median expenditure of \$10. Spending on house construction and repair was rare, but costly for the 30 percent of households that reported such expenditures. Farsi reported the highest incidence of spending on home improvements, but Chisht-e Sharif had the highest mean expenditures, at \$239. Spending on vehicle maintenance and interest charges was rare, with just 5 percent and 3 percent of households across the sample reporting such expenditures. Spending on social and religious obligations demonstrated significant variation both within and between districts. Although only 7 percent of households reported spending on weddings, for instance, those that did face such expenses bore a substantial price. In Hisarak, for instance, the mean expenditure on weddings was \$501 annually, even though just 22 percent of households reported spending money on them. Charitable contributions were the most commonly observed form of social and religious obligation for which households reported expenditures, with 52 percent of households reporting them. Households in Sang Takht reported an average contribution of \$100 annually. Annualized and totaled, expenditures were found to be highest on average in Hisarak (\$3,131 / year), followed by Sherzad (\$2,536 / year). Daulina had the lowest average level of expenditures (\$740 / year), followed by Adraskan (\$1,304).

**Household Assets:** Ownership of vehicles was found to be relatively limited across the sample: 24 percent of households own a motorbike, 9 percent owned a bike, 2 percent own a car, and less than 1 percent own a truck. Motorbike ownership is most common in Daulina (67 percent) and Farsi (68 percent), bicycles are most commonly owned in Balkh (52 percent), and cars and trucks are most numerous in Sherzad (9.0 and 1.2 percent, respectively). Among agricultural implements, a quarter of households across the sample claimed to own a plow, 23 percent own a wheelbarrow, and less than one percent own a tractor. Plows are most commonly owned in the districts of Farsi (58 percent), Khost Wa Firing (52 percent), and Daulina (49 percent), but are eschewed in Adraskan (8 percent), Balkh (5 percent), and Gulran (2 percent). Tractors, meanwhile, are most commonly found in Balkh (2.6 percent) and Gulran (2.4 percent). Basic household items, such as radios, chronometers, are owned in high numbers across the sample, with three-quarters of households possessing a radio (ranging from 93 percent in Hisarak to 51 percent in Adraskan) and 84 percent a watch or clock (varying from 98 percent in Sherzad to 56 percent in Adraskan). Other "big ticket" electrical items, such as generators, refrigerators, or televisions, are encountered very rarely. 17 percent of households reported ownership of a mobile phone, although ownership rates varied substantially, ranging from 59 percent in Sherzad to just 2 percent in Daulina, Gulran, and Sang Takht. 85 percent of respondents stated their household owned either livestock or poultry. Ownership rates are highest in Sherzad, where 98 percent own an animal, and lowest in Chisht-e Sharif, where only two-thirds do. Of the different types of animals, cows are particularly popular in Sherzad (98 percent), but less so in Gulran (39 percent). Khost Wa Firing has the highest incidence of horse ownership (36 percent) and Adraskan the lowest (0 percent). Ownership rates of donkeys vary from 90 percent in Daulina and Gulran and 50 percent in Khost Wa Firing, goats from 93 percent in Daulina to 29 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, sheep from 90 percent in Farsi to 10 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, and poultry from 44 percent in Chisht-e Sharif to 99 percent in Sherzad.

**Female-Owned Assets:** 30 percent of female respondents claimed to own land, varying from 4 percent of respondents in Adraskan to 91 percent in Daulina. Land was most commonly acquired through dowry (52 percent), followed by inheritance (31 percent). Women very rarely

reported having full autonomy over the use of income generated by the land or the independent authority to sell the land. Women in Sang Takht reported the highest level of independent authority, with 29 percent of female respondents reporting they were free to use income from the land as they wished and 24 percent reporting they were free to sell the land without consulting their husband or other family members. Six out of every ten female respondents reported ownership of livestock or poultry, with a high of 91 percent in Sherzad and a low of 17 percent in Adraskan. As with land, the animals were most commonly acquired through dowry (57 percent), with an additional 16 percent reporting that the animals had been inherited, and a further 16 percent reported they had been purchased by the respondent. The authority of the women to use income generated by the animals or to sell them was generally limited, but not to as great an extent as with land. Female authority in this respect was highest in Balkh, where 64 percent reported decisions concerning the use of earnings could be made autonomously. A relatively small proportion of female respondents - 12 percent across the sample - reported owning jewelry. Rates of jewelry ownership are highest in Sherzad (39 percent) and lowest in Adraskan and Sang Takht (2 percent). Jewelry was overwhelmingly acquired through dowry (72 percent), but again is rarely under the full ownership of women, with just 16 percent of jewelry-owning respondents reporting they could make an autonomous decision to sell the jewelry.

**Economic Shocks:** 22 percent of male household respondents reported that, in the past year, they always or usually faced difficulty in meeting the food needs of the household, while 45 percent reported they rarely or never faced such difficulties. Respondents in Hisarak were the most likely to report they always or usually faced difficulties in meeting food needs of the household, while respondents in Daulina were the least likely. Of the different forms of economic shocks that households faced in the past year, food price inflation was the most common, affecting 86 percent of households across the sample, ranging from 72 percent in Adraskan to 97 percent of households in Chisht-e Sharif. Curiously, a relatively high proportion - 42 percent - also reported that their household had been adversely affected by a fall in prices for agricultural produce, with 85 percent of households in Hisarak, 66 percent of households in Sherzad, and 49 percent of households in Daulina reporting the incidence of such. A fall in agricultural output was also a commonly reported problem, particularly in Hisarak (98 percent) and Balkh (86 percent), and affecting 73 percent of households overall. A deterioration in drinking water quantity or quality concerned 65 percent of respondents and was an especially acute problem in Hisarak (97 percent) and Sang Takht (89 percent), but much less so in Khost Wa Firing (25 percent). Relatively few households reported that a household member had lost employment (5 percent) or experienced a reduction in salary (6 percent), but 81 percent of respondents did report the household had been adversely affected by illness. All but three percent of households in Chisht-e Sharif reported that an illness of a family member had occurred in the past year, while the incidence of illness appeared to be lowest in Farsi, at 73 percent. The incidence of conflict or problems arising from an influx of returning refugees were relatively rare problems, except in Farsi, where 27 percent of respondents reported incidents of insecurity or violence, and Chisht-e Sharif, where 14 percent affirmed that the household had been adversely affected by returning refugees. Cases of theft of the property of respondents were also rare, occurring with greatest frequency in Adraskan (21 percent) in the case of the loss of livestock and in Gulran (15 percent) in the case of other forms of property.

**Debt and Borrowing:** Across the ten districts in the sample, 48 percent of male household respondents surveyed and 41 percent of female respondents surveyed reported that their household had taken a loan in the past year. The highest rates of borrowing were observed in Chisht-e Sharif, where 87 percent of male household respondents and 69 percent of female respondents reported that a member of the household had borrowed funds in the past 12 months, with the lowest in Balkh, where 31 percent of male household respondents and 15 percent of female respondents asserting the household had taken a loan. Loans were generally



taken to meet essential needs, with 45 percent of loans being taken to purchase food and a further 28 percent being taken to meet medical costs. The proportion of loans taken to meet food needs was highest in Sang Takht (65 percent) and lowest in Sherzad (25 percent), while loans taken to meet medical needs ranged from 41 percent in Hisarak to 17 percent in Khost Wa Firing. Just a quarter of loans were taken in-kind and all but three percent of loans are expected to be paid back in cash. The median value of loans, \$400 across the full sample, varied from \$1,000 in Hisarak to \$200 in Daulina. More than half of loans have no specific repayment period associated with them. Of those that do, 26 percent must be repaid in less than 3 months, 32 percent between 3 and 6 months, 35 percent between 7 and 12 months, and 7 percent in a period longer than 12 months. Respondents in Daulina borrowed much less, on average, than counterparts in other districts, and had the highest level of repayment, with 41 percent of respondents claiming to have repaid more than 80 percent of their loan. The proportion of respondents who claimed to have repaid more than 20 percent of their loan was lowest in Gulran, at just 14 percent of borrowing respondents. Borrowers in Hisarak, which had the highest average loans, seemed to be having particular difficulty in repaying their loans, with just 5 percent of respondents claiming to have repaid more than 40 percent of their debt. The incidence of interest charges is reported very infrequently, with just 5 percent of borrowers reporting to pay interest. The highest proportion of borrowers reporting to pay interest was found in Sherzad (14 percent), followed by Sang Takht (13 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (12 percent). Mean effective interest rates on all loans varied from 2.6 percent in Khost Wa Firing to 0 percent in Daulina and Hisarak. When asked who they would borrow from should the need arise, more than half of male household respondents (51 percent) reported they would not or could not borrow money. This response was particularly common in Balkh (88 percent) and Sherzad (75 percent), but much less so in Chisht-e Sharif (18 percent) and Sang Takht (22 percent). Among those who couldn't or wouldn't borrow, the lack of a local lender was the mostly commonly cited reason, accounting for 44 percent of responses overall, followed by cultural, religious, or personal objections (18 percent), the existence of an outstanding loan (16 percent), and a lack of collateral (15 percent).

**Perceptions of Economic Situation:** When asked about their household conditions relative to last year, an average of 20 percent of male head of household respondents suggested that their conditions improved, 14 percent said that they deteriorated. Respondents in Sherzad saw the greatest degree of improvement in their household's economic position, while male household respondents in Adraskan were the most likely to say the situation had worsened. Generally, women were more positive than men in their assessment of how living conditions in the village had changed during the past year: 37 percent of female respondents felt that they had improved and 18 percent perceived that they had deteriorated. Female respondents in Khost Wa Firing and Sherzad were the most likely to have a positive assessment of changes in the economic situation of the village, while women in Adraskan and Hisarak were the most likely to report that things were worse than last year. Male focus group respondents perceiving that the economic situation in their village deteriorated over the past year outnumbered those who saw an improvement by 31 percent to 26 percent. The proportion of respondents seeing an improvement significantly outnumbered those perceiving a worsening in Sherzad, Farsi, and Hisarak, while those in Chisht-e Sharif, Gulran, and Sang Takht were most likely to report a deterioration. Across the three groups of respondents, central and sub-national governments received relatively equal levels of credit regardless of whether a positive or negative change was observed. Male household respondents were, however, more likely to report than male focus group respondents to report that actions of the central government had been responsible for the change, while male focus group respondents were more likely than female respondents. Regardless of which group was being asked, the local leadership was much more likely to be credited for a positive change than blamed for a negative one, particularly among female respondents. Another interesting feature as that although less than a quarter of female respondents reported that changes were caused by

fate or divine will, approximately a half of male focus group respondents ascribed such changes to super-natural entities.

**Future Plans:** Over a half of respondents indicate an intention to visit the provincial capital in the coming year, while over a third indicate an intent to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The proportion of respondents who plan to trade produce, either within or beyond the village, is relatively small, however, at 9 percent and 11 percent respectively. A fifth of respondents indicated intent to purchase land for agricultural use and 13 percent considered they would purchase a form of agricultural machinery in the coming year. A relatively high proportion of respondents – 43 percent – indicated that they would take steps to improve their dwelling in the next 12 months, although only 11 percent thought that they would purchase land for a house. Intentions to engage in consumer goods purchases were observed with rarity across the sample, with just 16 percent of respondents reporting an intention to purchase a mobile phone, 7 percent a television, and 14 percent a car or motorcycle.

### ***Production***

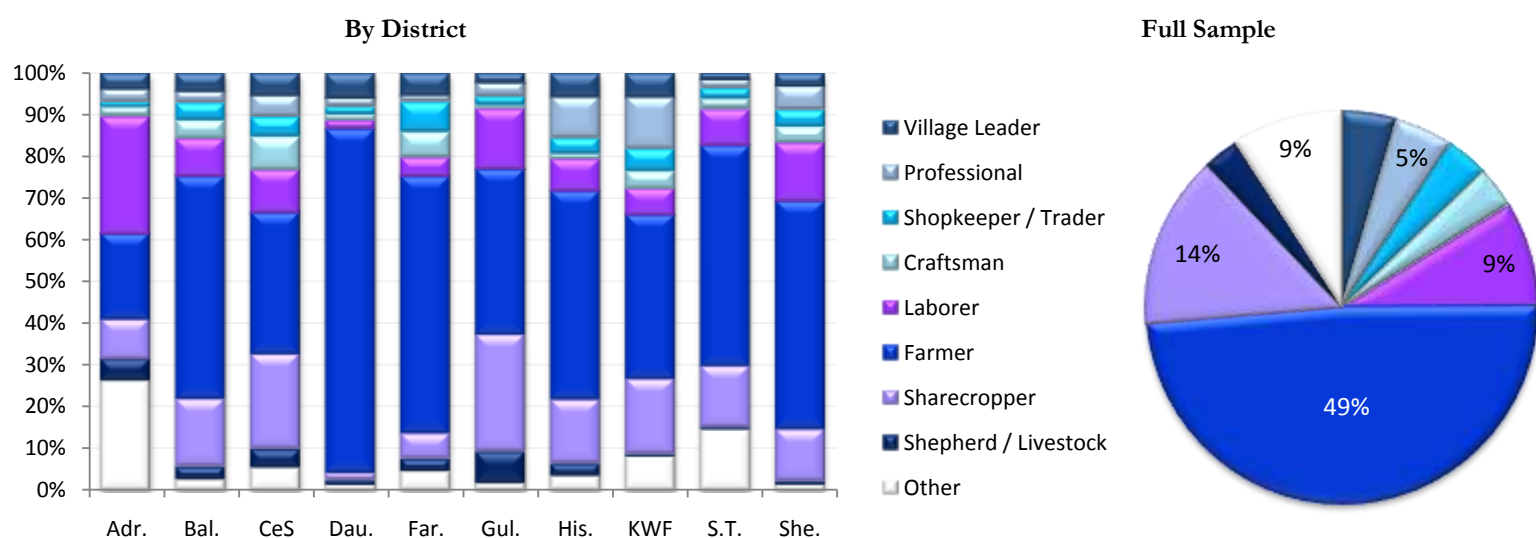
The following section presents aggregate and district-level summaries of information collected from male household, male focus group, and female respondents concerning the structure and function of production activities. Male focus group, male household, and female respondents were all asked to report their primary occupation, male focus group respondents were asked to report the primary, secondary, and tertiary sources of income for villagers, and male household respondents were asked to report types, levels, and seasonality of primary, secondary, and tertiary income sources over the past 12 months. Female respondents, meanwhile, were asked whether or not they were engaged in income-generating activities and, if so, whether the earnings from the activity accrued to the household in cash or kind, how many hours on average they worked, and who in their family retained control over the earnings of their activities. Summary statistics concerning aggregate outcomes, as well as between- and within-district variation, are presented below.

The work of male household respondents is concentrated in farming.<sup>31</sup> Overall, 49 percent of respondents cite farmer as their occupation, with the number of farmers being especially high in Daulina, with 82 percent of respondents. Sharecropping is the next most popular occupation, covering 14 percent of male household respondents, and occupying some 27 percent of respondents in Gulran. Of the 10 districts, respondents in Adraskan are the least involved in agricultural activities, with only 31 percent of respondents claiming farming or sharecropping as their main activity. Laborers make up 9 percent of male household respondents and are comparatively numerous in Adraskan, with 28 percent of respondents in the district citing it as their main occupation. Professionals, such as school teachers, civil servants, policemen, and NGO workers, make up 5 percent of respondents, while 4 percent claim work as a form of village leader, such as *malik*, *arbab*, or *shura* leader, is their main occupation. Shopkeepers and traders make up 4 percent of respondents and craftsmen, such as carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths, make up a further 3 percent. Shepherds or persons engaged in animal husbandry comprise 3 percent of respondents. Other occupations account for 9 percent of the total.

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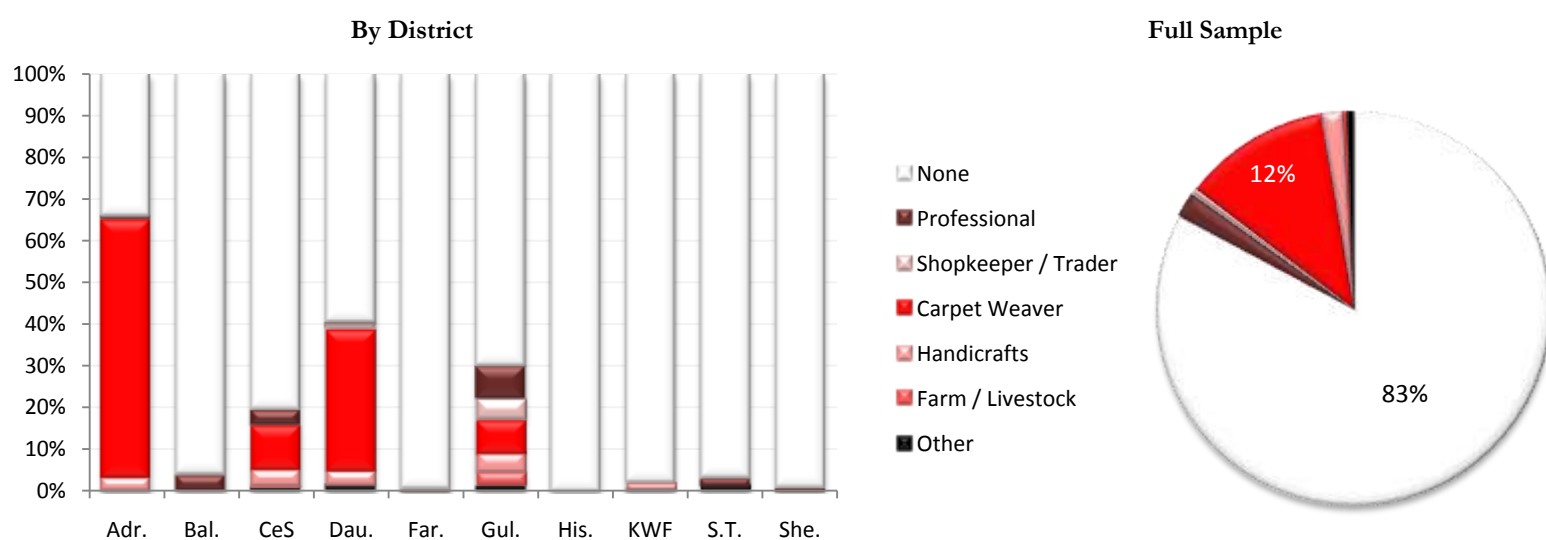
<sup>31</sup> A distinction is made in the survey between persons who farm their own land, which are referred to as “farmers”, and those who farm other people’s land, which are referred to as “sharecroppers”.

**Figure 46: Occupations of Male Heads-of-Household**



Only 17 percent of female respondents considered that they had a profession, with the rest working as housewives without a source of personal income. Of those female respondents who do possess an occupation, most work as carpet weavers, with 12 percent of the total female respondents holding such an occupation. The number of female carpet weavers is especially high in Adraskan, Daulina, and Chisht-e Sharif, where 61 percent, 33 percent, and 11 percent of female respondents, respectively, cite it as their main occupation.

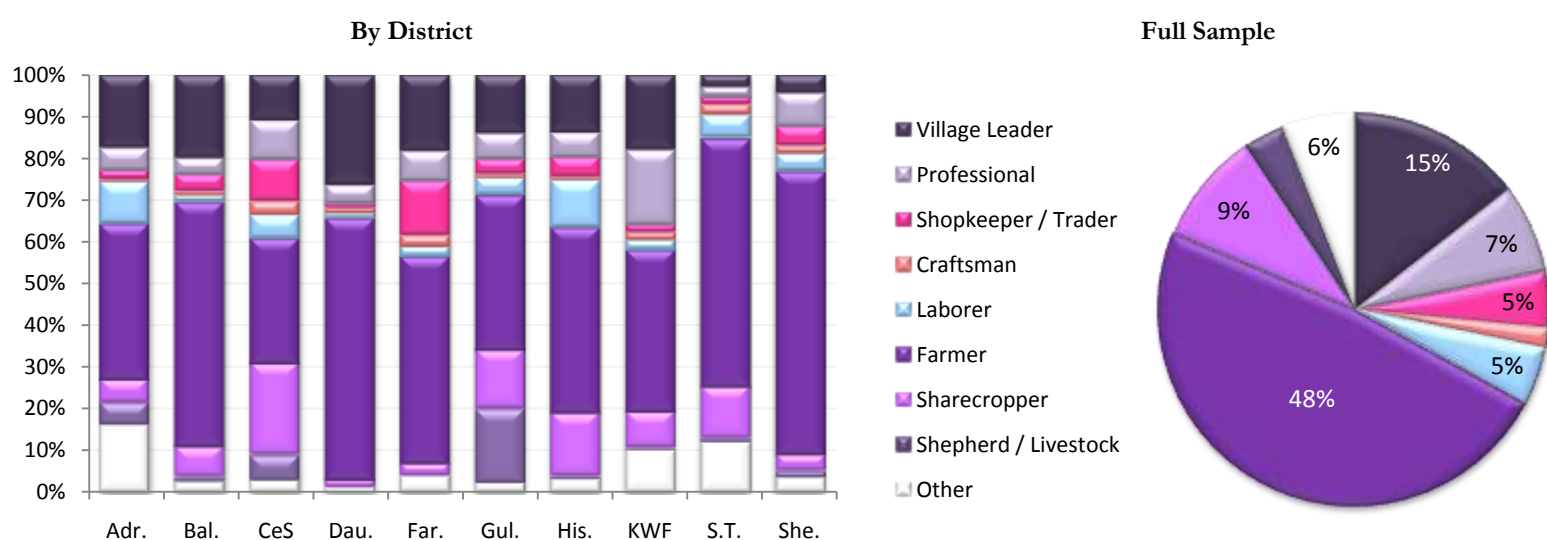
**Figure 47: Occupations of Female Participants**



As with male household respondents, nearly half of male focus group respondents cite their primary occupation as farming. Farmers are relatively numerous in Sherzad and Daulina, where 67 percent and 62 percent of male focus group respondents are farmers. On the other end of the spectrum, just 37 percent of respondents in Gulran and 38 percent of respondents in Adraskan are farmers. Compared to male household respondents, a smaller proportion of male focus group participants work as sharecroppers, comprising 9 percent of the total. Male focus group respondents working as sharecroppers are most common in Chisht-e Sharif, with some 22 percent of respondents there so occupied. Interestingly, male focus group respondents in Adraskan are more involved than their male household counterparts in agricultural activities, with 43 percent working as farmers or sharecroppers, compared to 31 percent for male household respondents. 15 percent of male focus group respondents cited their primary income

as a form of village leader. Such male focus group participants were most commonly found in Daulina, where they comprised 26 percent of the total, and are least common in Sang Takht and Sherzad, where only 3 and 4 percent of respondents respectively claim their main occupation as a form of village leader. Professionals accounted for 7 percent of the total overall and were relatively numerous in Khost Wa Firing, with 18 percent. 5 percent of male focus group respondents work as shopkeepers or traders, with 13 percent of respondents in Farsi holding such an occupation. Among all male focus group respondents, 3 percent work as shepherds or otherwise draw income from animal production, with only 2 percent working as craftsmen. Occupations other than those listed above comprise the remaining 6 percent of male focus group respondents.

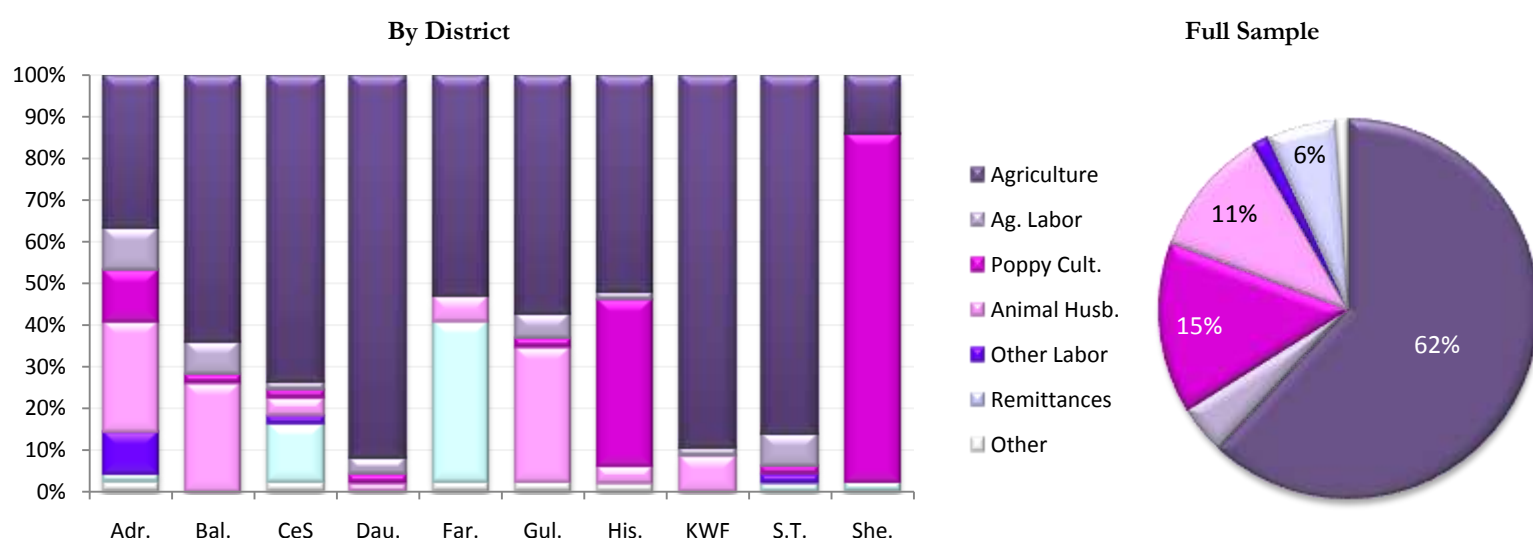
**Figure 48: Occupations of Male Focus Group Respondents**



Information on the primary, secondary, and tertiary sources of village income was sought from male focus group respondents. As could be anticipated based on the occupations of male household and focus group respondents, agriculture was overwhelming the primary source of income for villages in the sample, with 62 percent of male focus groups asserting that most of the village income came from such activities. Daulina and Khost Wa Firing had the highest proportion of villages for which agriculture was the primary income source, at 92 percent and 90 percent respectively, while Adraskan and Sherzad had the lowest proportion, with 37 percent and 14 percent of villages respectively reporting agriculture as the primary income source for the village. Following agriculture, activities related to the cultivation of poppy, an illicit crop in Afghanistan, accounted for the primary income source in 15 percent of villages in the sample. Villages reliant on poppy cultivation were heavily concentrated, however, in Hisarak and Sherzad districts, where 40 percent and 84 percent of villages respectively reported it as their primary income source. 12 percent of villages in Adraskan also listed poppy cultivation as the primary source of income for villagers, but in no other district did more than a single village list it as their primary income source. Income sources relating to animal husbandry predominated in 11 percent of villages across the sample. Animal husbandry is particularly popular in Gulran, Adraskan, and Balkh, where 33 percent, 27 percent, and 26 percent of villages respectively listed it as their primary income source. In 6 percent of villages across the sample, remittances from family members working inside or outside Afghanistan serve as the primary source of income. The number of villages dependents upon remittances are particularly numerous in Farsi and Chisht-e Sharif districts, with 26 percent and 39 percent of villages listing it as their primary income source, but were a negligible source of income in other districts. Villages dependent upon agricultural labor for their primary source of income comprised 4 percent of the sample, with a handful of villages in Adraskan, Balkh, and Sang Takht reporting it as their primary source

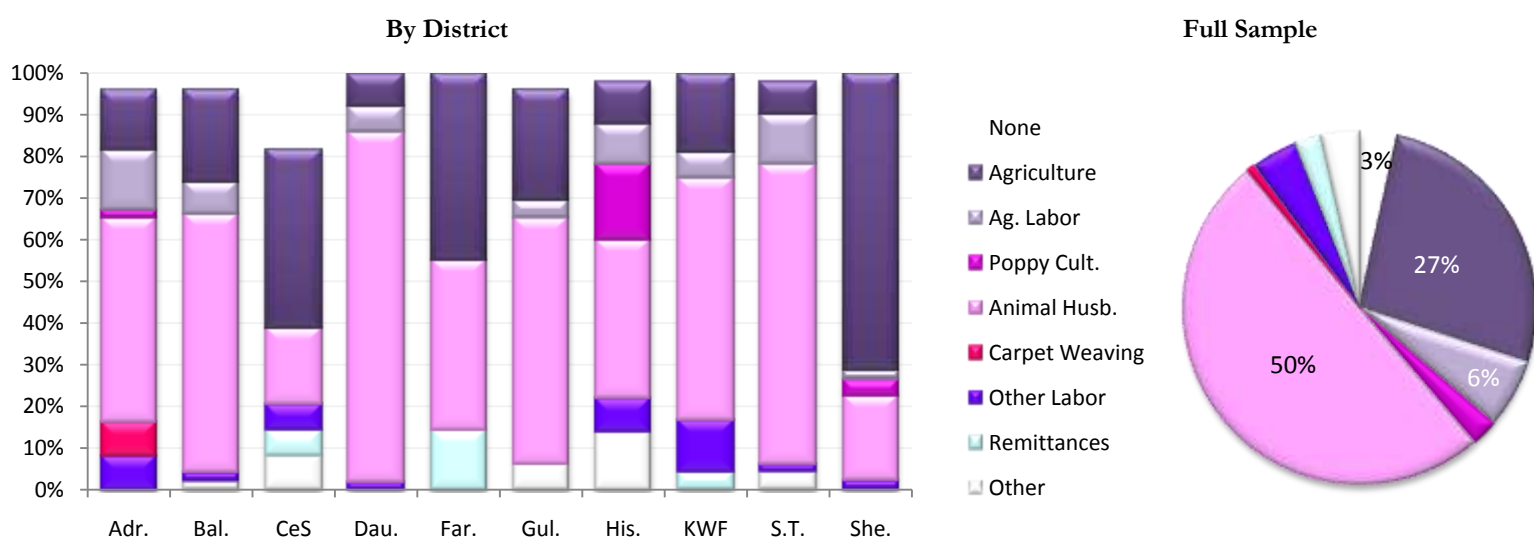
of village income. Forms of non-agricultural labor were relatively minimal source of primary income for villages, accounting for only 1 percent of the full sample of villages, and only in Adraskan did more than one village in the district report it as their primary source of income.

**Figure 49: Primary Source of Village Income Reported by Male Focus Group**



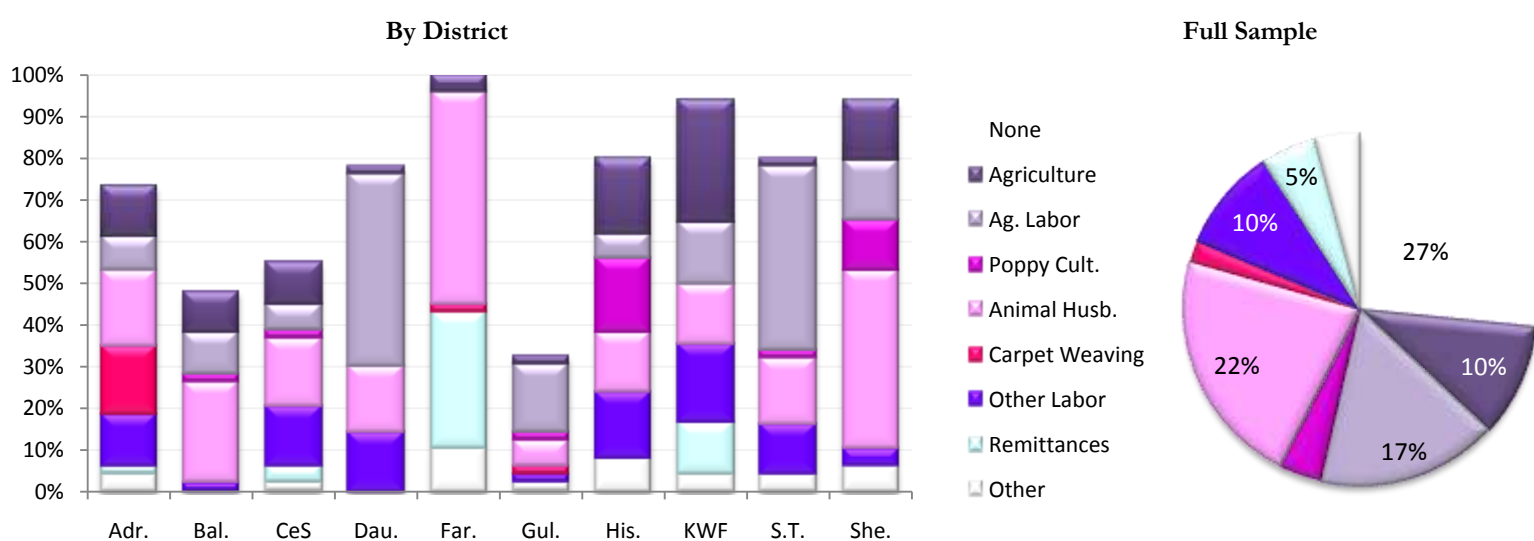
50 percent of villages list their secondary source of income as animal husbandry. Animal husbandry was a popular source of secondary income in Daulina, Sang Takht, and Balkh districts, with 84 percent, 72 percent and 62 percent of villages respectively. Agriculture served as the source of secondary income in 27 percent of villages, with Sherzad having the largest proportion at 71 percent. Following agriculture, agricultural labor accounted for the secondary source of income in 6 percent of villages, followed by other forms of labor at 4 percent. Poppy cultivation served as a secondary source of income in 2 percent of villages, most of those villages are in Hisarak. Villages with remittances as their secondary income source accounted for 2 percent of the overall total. 3 percent of villages in the sample lacked any form of secondary income source, many of which are in Chisht-e Sharif, where 18 percent of villages reported no secondary income source. On average, 34 percent of respondent's income arose from second income sources, varying from 26 percent in Sang Takht to 40 percent in Khost wa Firing. The average income returned by the secondary source was \$50 across the sample, ranging from \$32 in Adraskan to \$66 in Sang Takht.

**Figure 50: Secondary Source of Village Income Reported by Male Focus Group**



73 percent of villages reported a tertiary income source. Across the sample, tertiary income sources were more diversified than primary or secondary income sources, with the most numerous source of tertiary income – animal husbandry – accounting for only 22 percent of the sample. Agricultural labor was the next most common source of tertiary income, at 17 percent of the sample, followed by agriculture and non-agricultural forms of labor at 10 percent. Remittances, which were a frequently-cited source of tertiary income in Farsi district, served as the tertiary income source in 5 percent of villages across the sample. Poppy cultivation provided the tertiary source of income in 4 percent of villages and carpet weaving in 2 percent. Income sources of villages in Farsi appeared particularly well diversified, with all villages surveyed reporting a tertiary income source. On the other hand, only 33 percent of villages in Gulran and 48 percent of villages in Chisht-e Sharif listed a tertiary income source.

**Figure 51: Tertiary Source of Village Income Reported by Male Focus Group**



Consistent with the information provided by male focus group respondents on the sources of income for villagers, the major source of income for male household respondents came from



agriculture, with 47 percent of reported monthly income coming from this source.<sup>32</sup> Agriculture was the predominant source of income for respondents in Balkh, Gulran, Daulina, and Sang Takht, with 69 percent, 64 percent, 60 percent, and 60 percent of income in these districts originating from agricultural activities. Activities relating to animal husbandry accounted for 15 percent of the monthly income reported by male household respondents, with respondents in Daulina (30 percent), Gulran (24 percent), Sang Takht (20 percent), and Adraskan (20 percent) reporting a greater proportion of income from such activities than respondents in other districts. Income from activities related to poppy cultivation covered 11 percent of the total reported income. In Hisarak and Sherzad districts, poppy cultivation accounted for 24 percent and 34 percent of the total reported monthly incomes in the district. Following poppy cultivation, small business or trade was the most numerous source of reported income, accounting for six percent of the total. Remittances provided 5 percent of monthly income across the sample, with such forms of income being particularly important in Farsi and Khost Wa Firing districts, where 29 percent and 12 percent of income respectively. Handicraft production accounted for 4 percent of income across the sample, peaking at 13 percent in Adraskan, with sources other than those listed above covering the remaining 12 percent.

**Figure 52: Sources of Monthly Income Reported by Male Household Respondents**

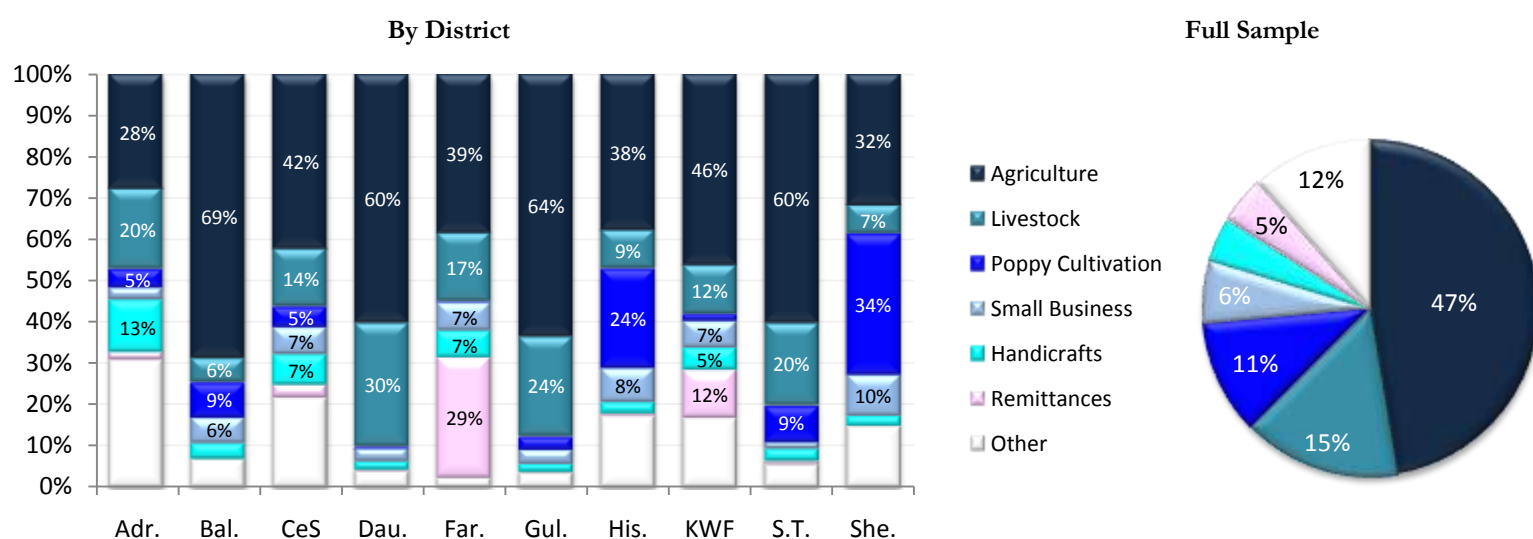
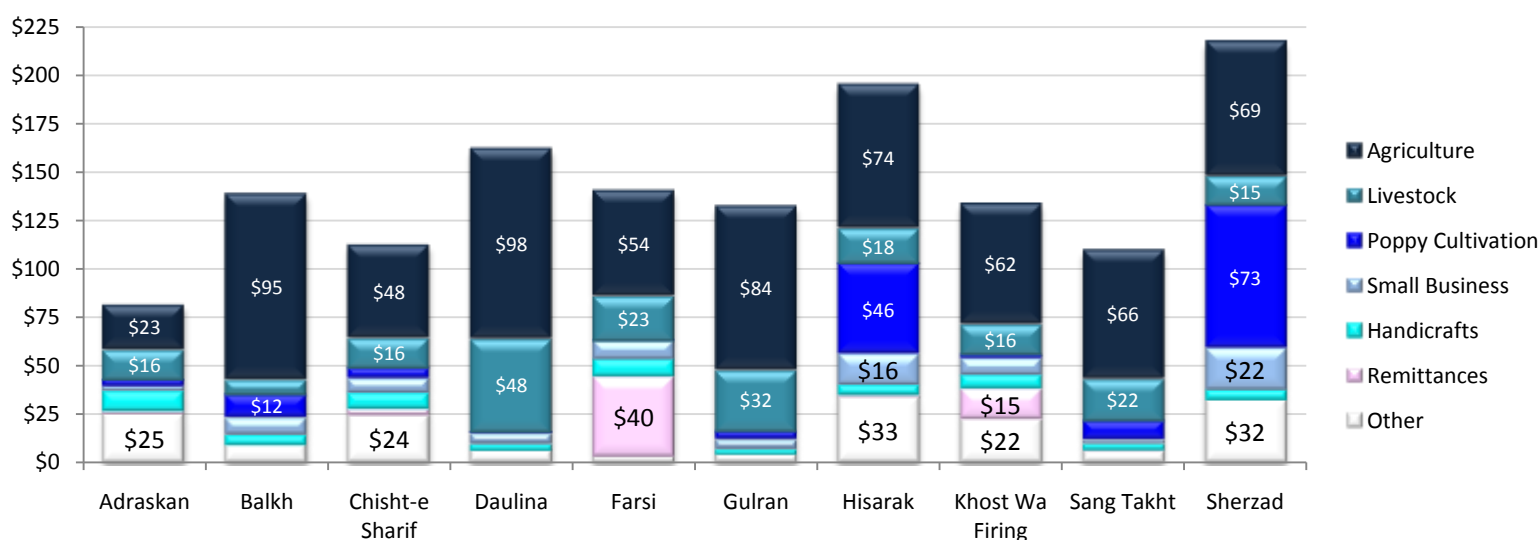


Figure 53 below presents a graphical representation of estimates of the mean levels for each of the major income sources, broken down by district. Income from agriculture was highest in Daulina at \$98 per month, followed by Balkh at \$95 per month, and Gulran at \$84 per month, and lowest in Adraskan at \$23 per month. Male household respondents in Daulina also reported the highest levels of income from animal husbandry, at \$48. Activities related to poppy cultivation provided an average of \$73 per respondent in Sherzad, \$46 in Hisarak, and \$12 in Balkh, but were negligible providers of income in other districts. On average, remittances provided respondents in Farsi with \$40 in income per month and \$15 to respondents in Khost Wa Firing.

<sup>32</sup> Estimates of the total income for male household respondents were obtained from a tabulation of the three main income sources reported by each respondent. Incomes attributed to each category were then divided by the total income for the sample and for each district to obtain the estimates presented in Figure 52 below.

**Figure 53: Levels and Sources of Monthly Income Reported by Male Household Respondents, by District**



Estimates of the proportion of male household respondents who reported the various income categories as one of their three main sources of income are depicted in Figure 54 below. The proportion of households drawing income from agriculture was found to be especially high in Daulina, where 86 percent of households reported agriculture as one of their three sources, followed by Sang Takht at 80 percent, and Gulran at 77 percent. In contrast, only 36 percent of respondents in Adraskan and 17 percent of respondents in Sherzad reported income from agriculture. A large number of households in Sherzad, some 59 percent, and a significant minority of households in Hisarak, 23 percent, reported some income from poppy cultivation in the past month, and a third of households in Farsi reported receiving income from remittances over the past month.

**Figure 54: Percent of Households Reporting Income from Different Income Categories, by District**

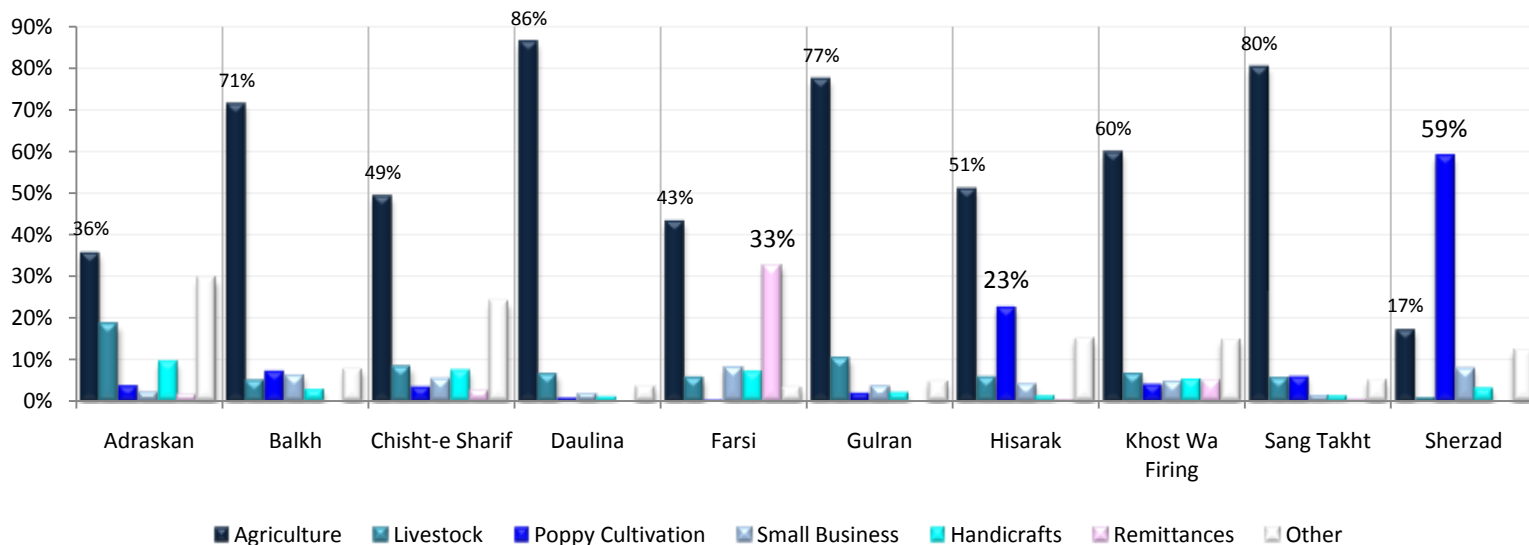
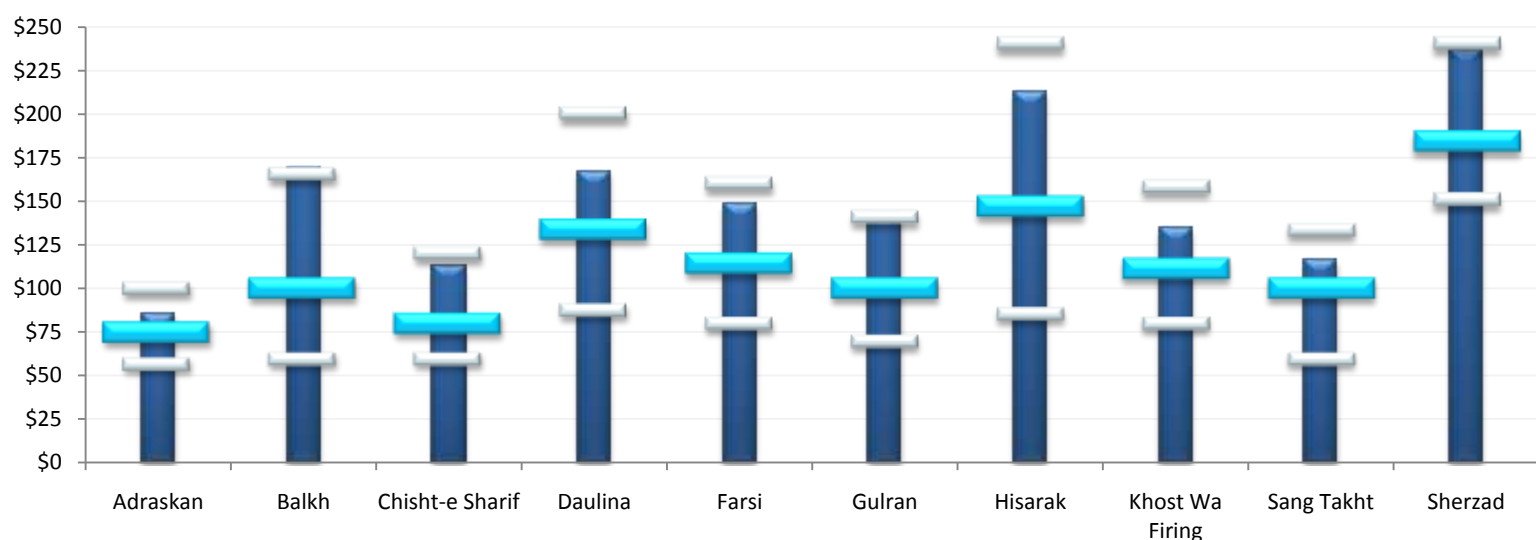


Figure 55 presents a graphical representation of the mean (dark blue column), median (light blue horizontal marker), 1<sup>st</sup> quartile (lower white horizontal marker), and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile (upper white horizontal marker) of total monthly income for each district. Sherzad had the highest level of median income, at \$183 per month, followed by Hisarak at \$146 per month. Male household respondents in Adraskan had the lowest median level of income, at \$75 per month, followed by respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, at \$80 per month. The 10 sample districts demonstrate significant



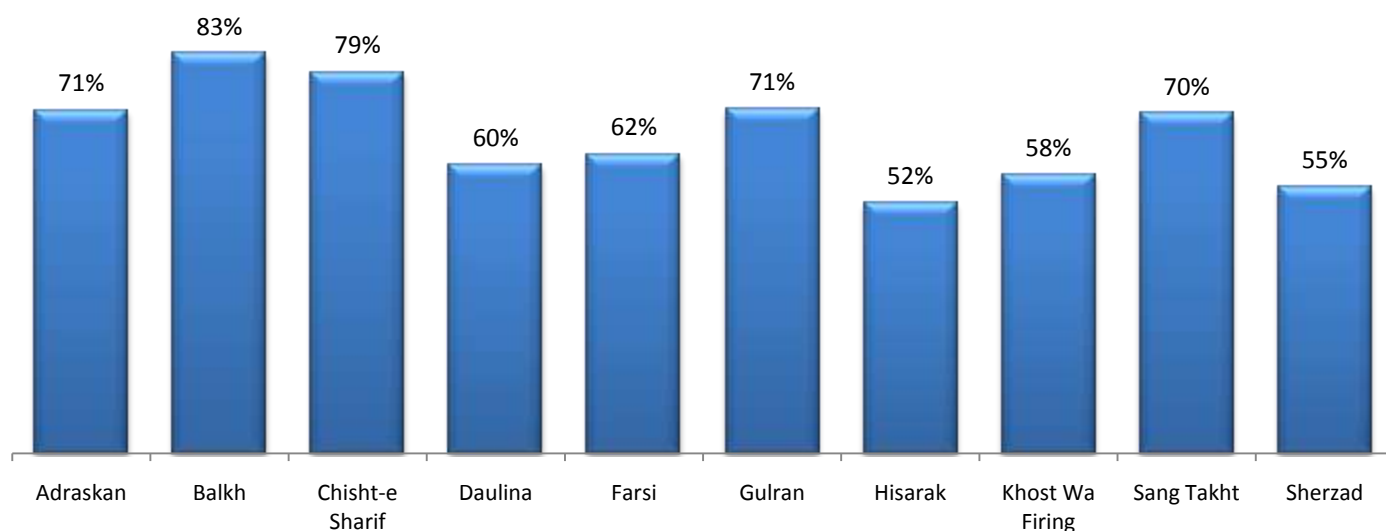
diversity in the level of inequality. Incomes appear to be skewed in Balkh, where the mean level of income exceeds the median level by \$69, followed by Hisarak, where the mean income is \$67 above the median, and in Sherzad, where the mean is \$54 above the median. Inequality as measured by the inter-quartile range – the difference between the income of the respondent at the 25<sup>th</sup> percentile and that of the respondent at the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile, however, is significantly greater in Hisarak than in any other district, at \$155, or 106 percent of the median value. Inter-quartile ranges are also high in Balkh, with a range is \$105 or 105 percent of the median, in Farsi, with a range of \$80 or 70 percent of the median, and in Sherzad, with a range of \$90 or 49 percent of the median. In contrast, inequality appears to be relatively compressed in Adraskan, where the inter-quartile range is \$43 or 57 percent of the median value.

**Figure 55: Average Levels and Distribution of Monthly Income, by District**



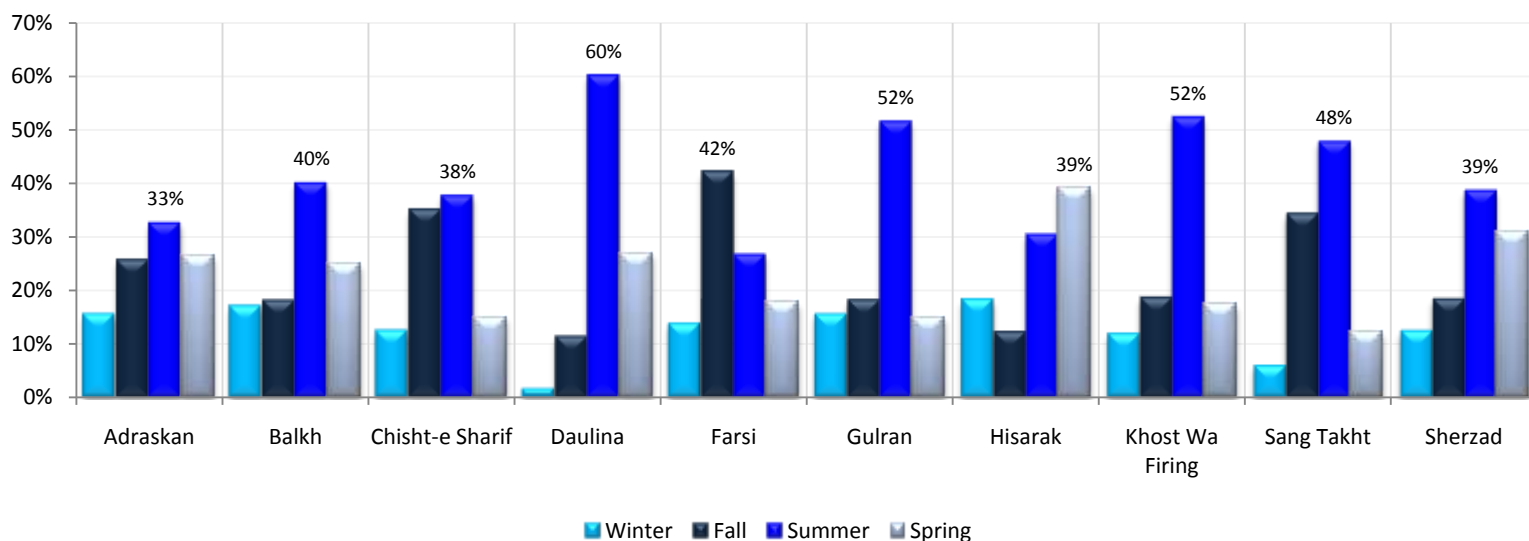
Information on household incomes was used to calculate the percent of the respondent's total income arising from the primary income source, which gives an indication of the level of diversification of income sources. District averages of these estimates are presented in Figure 56 below. Income sources of respondents in Balkh and Chisht-e Sharif are the most concentrated, with 83 percent and 79 percent of total income respectively arising from the primary income source. In comparison, respondents in Hisarak and Sherzad are the best diversified, with 52 percent and 55 percent of income respectively arising from the primary source.

**Figure 56: Percent of Total Annual Income Arising from Primary Income Source, by District**



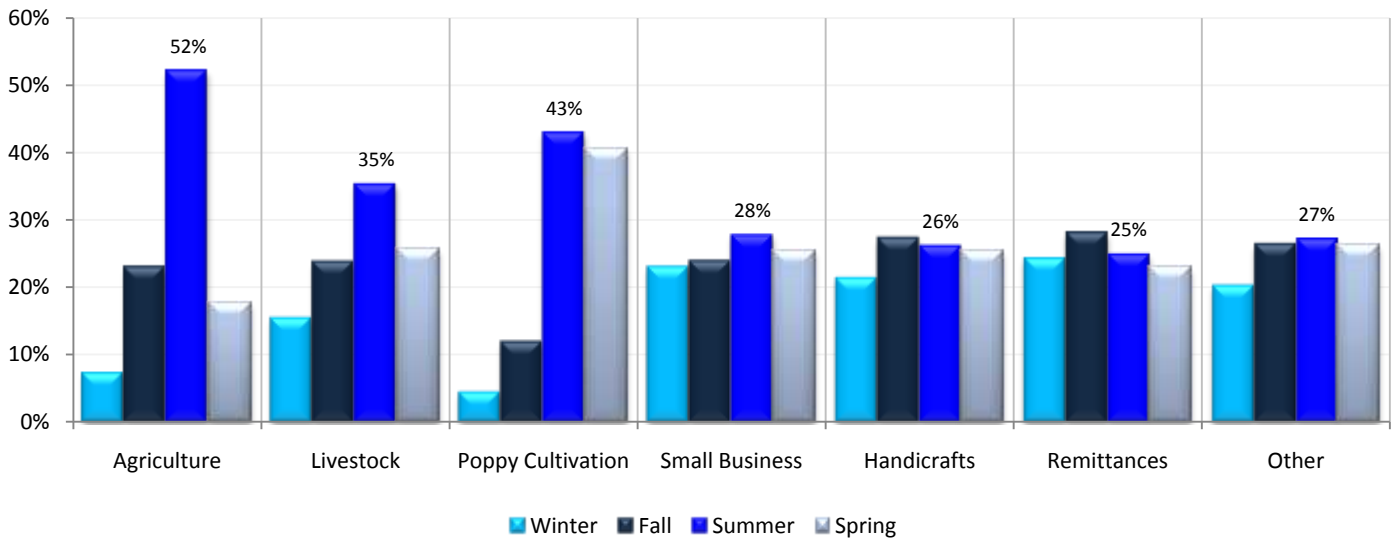
Income sources across the sample are concentrated in the summer, but with a significant degree of variation between districts. In Daulina, for instance, 60 percent of income is earned in the summer, while in Farsi, only 27 percent of income is earned during the summer, with the plurality of income coming in the fall.

**Figure 57: Seasonality of Income, by District**



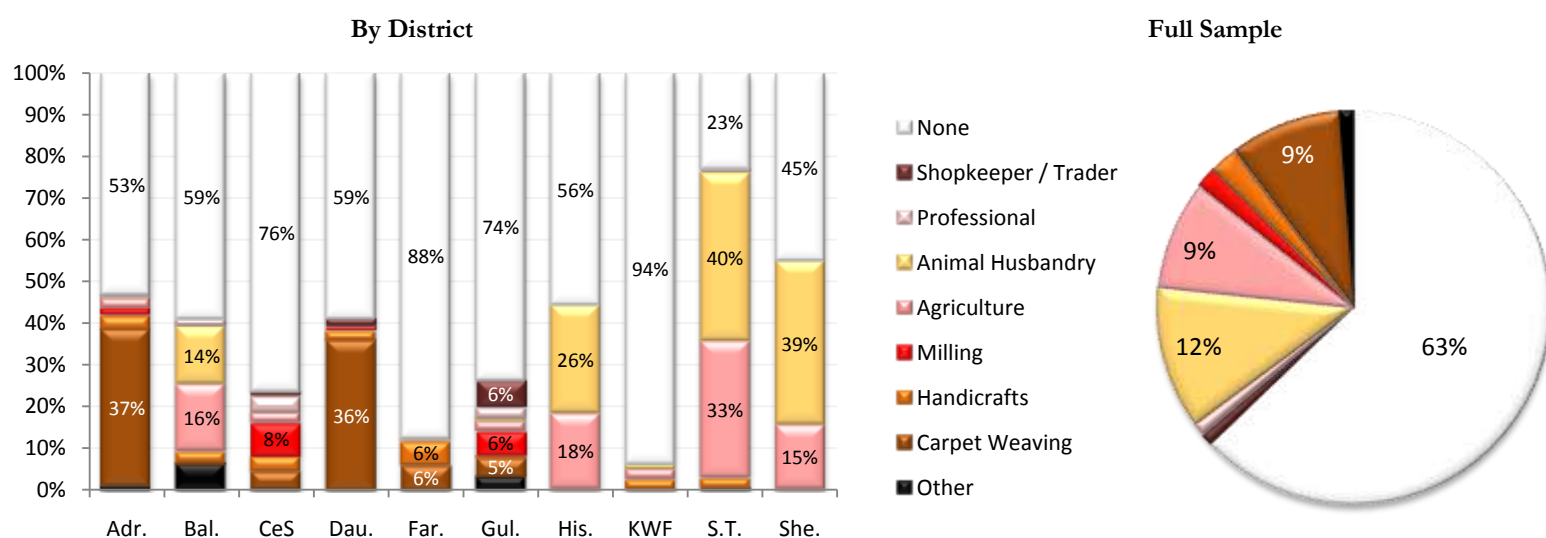
The differences between districts in the seasonality of income reflect differences in the sources of income that predominate. As Figure 59 below demonstrates, income earned from small businesses, handicrafts, and remittances is earned more or less equally year-round. Income from agriculture is heavily concentrated in the summer, with 52 percent of such income arising in summer. Income from animal husbandry is slightly less so, with 35 percent of income coming in summer. Income from poppy cultivation, meanwhile, is concentrated in the summer and spring, with 43 percent of income coming in summer and 41 percent in spring.

**Figure 58: Seasonality of Income, by Source**



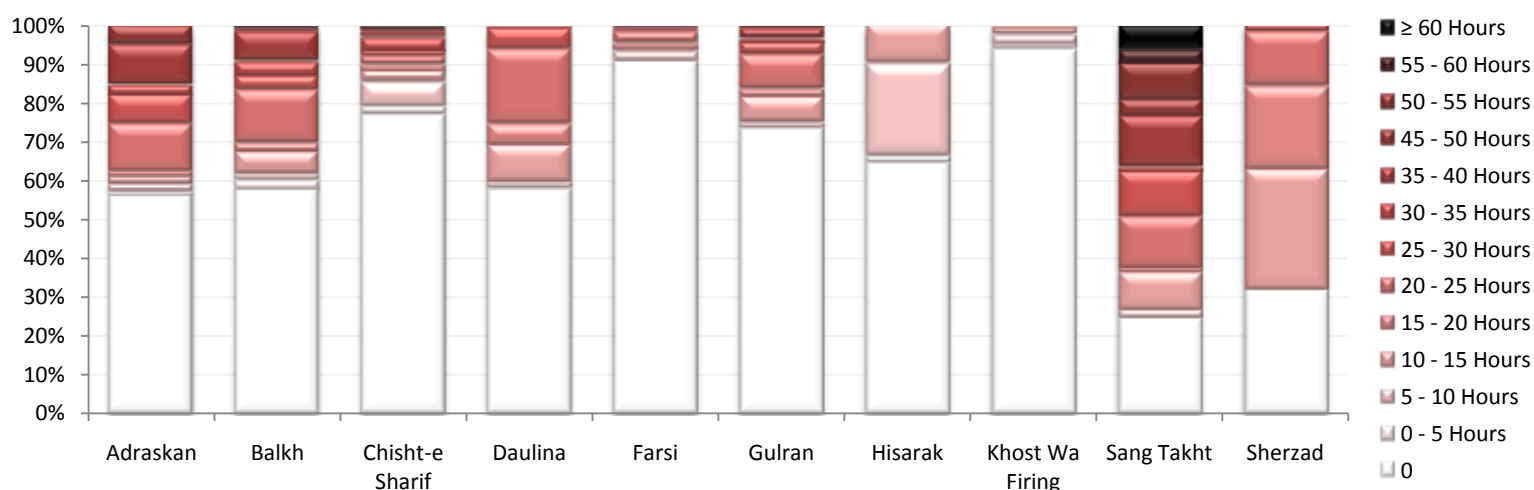
As represented in Figure 59 below, 63 percent of female respondents are not engaged at all in activities that generate income for the household. The level of female economic participation was found to be lowest in Khost Wa Firing, where 94 percent of female respondents are not engaged in any income generating activities, followed by Farsi, where the corresponding figure is 88 percent. Economic participation is highest in Sang Takht district, where only 77 percent of female respondents claimed to be involved in an income generating activity of some kind, followed by Sherzad, with 55 percent. Across the full sample, animal husbandry was the most common income generating activity in which female respondents were engaged in, accounting for 12 percent of total respondents. Animal husbandry is an especially common activity for women to be involved in Sang Takht, where 40 percent of female respondents participate, and Sherzad, where 39 percent participate. Carpet weaving is the next most common activity for women to be involved in, accounting for 9 percent of the total. Female respondents in Adraskan and Daulina are most commonly involved in this activity, with 37 percent of female respondents in Adraskan and 36 percent of female respondents in Daulina participating. Across the full sample, 9 percent of female respondents are engaged in agricultural activities. The highest participation of women in agriculture was observed in Sang Takht district, where 33 percent of women claimed to earn income from such activities. A relatively small number of respondents claimed to earn income from other activities, such as milling, handicrafts, small business, trade, or professions.

**Figure 59: Income-Generating Activities Performed by Female Respondents**



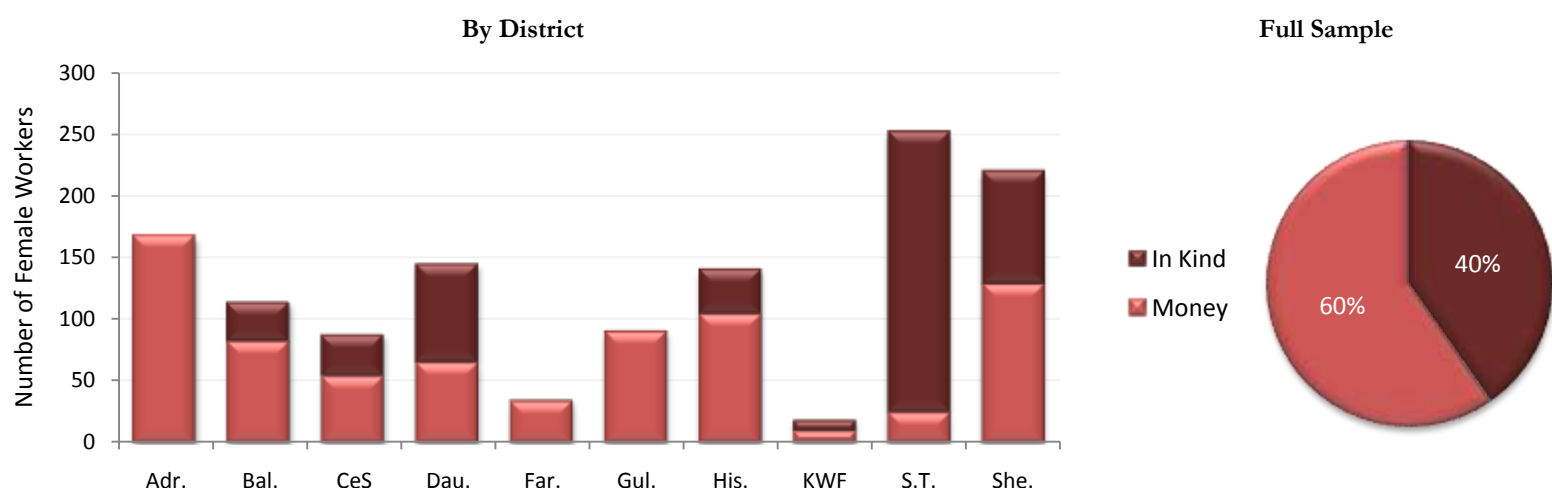
A breakdown of the number of hours per week during which female respondents are engaged in income-generating activities is presented in Figure 60 below. The graph clearly shows that female respondents in Sang Takht work, on average, many more hours per week than counterparts in other districts. While the proportion of women engaged in income-generating activities in Sherzad is relatively high, the number of hours worked by women is relatively small, with 76 percent of women engaged in income-generating activities working 20 hours a week or less. In comparison, only 18 percent of female respondents in Sang Takht engaged in income-generating activities worked 20 or fewer hours per week.

**Figure 60: Average Number of Hours of Worked by Female Respondents, by District**



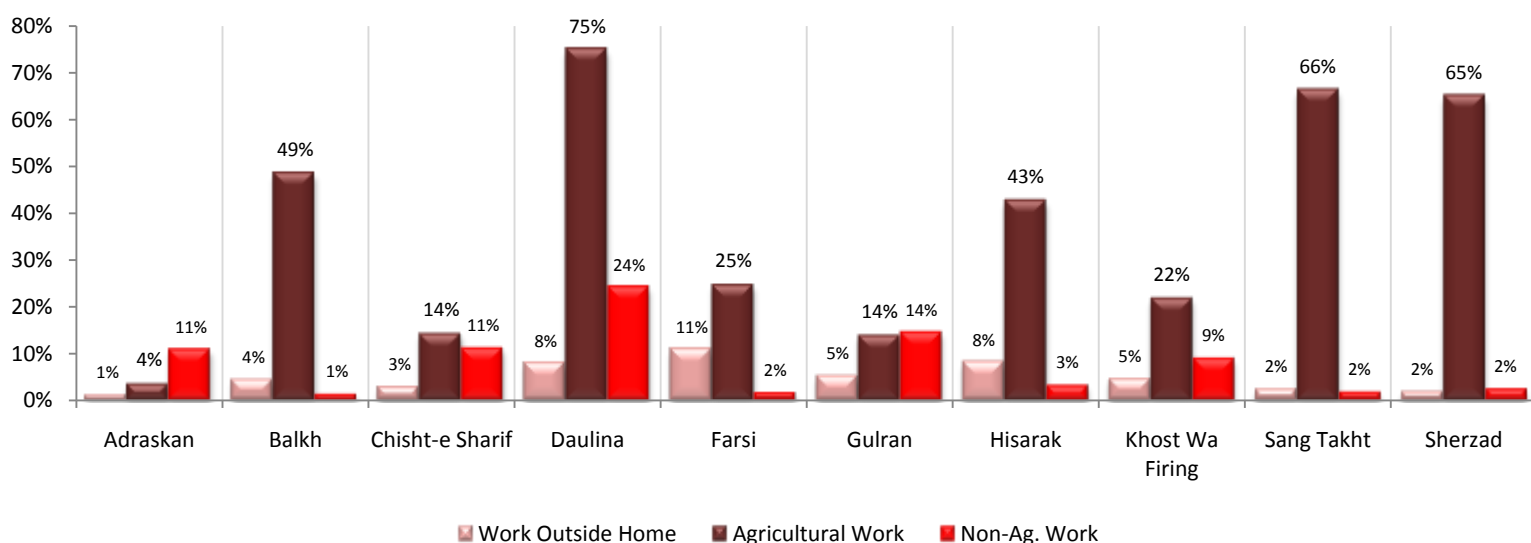
Income-generating activities in which female respondents are engaged are split 6 – 4 between activities in which cash income is earned and activities in which in-kind income is earned. The type of return varies largely by district, however, with activities in which female respondents in Sang Takht are involved almost exclusively generating income in-kind while activities in which female respondents in Adraskan, Farsi, and Gulran are involved, generating income exclusively in cash.

**Figure 61: Nature of Earnings of Income-Generating Activities Performed by Female Respondents**



Aside from the questions about participation in income-generating activities, female respondents were also asked whether, in the past 30 days, they had performed agricultural work for the household, non-agricultural work for the household, or any form of work for a non-household member. Across the full sample, 37 percent of women reported performing duties related to agriculture or livestock, 8 percent reported performing non-agricultural work, such as shop-keeping, tailoring, carpet weaving, or handicraft production, while just 5% reported working for someone who is not a family member. Daulina had the highest level of participation of women in agricultural activities, with 75 percent of female respondents reporting such involvement, followed by Sang Takht at 66 percent, and Sherzad at 65 percent. The level of participation of female respondents in non-agricultural activities is also highest in Daulina, at 24 percent, followed by Gulran, at 14 percent. Women in Farsi are the most likely to have worked for a non-household member in the past 30 days, with 11 percent of female respondents reporting such activity.

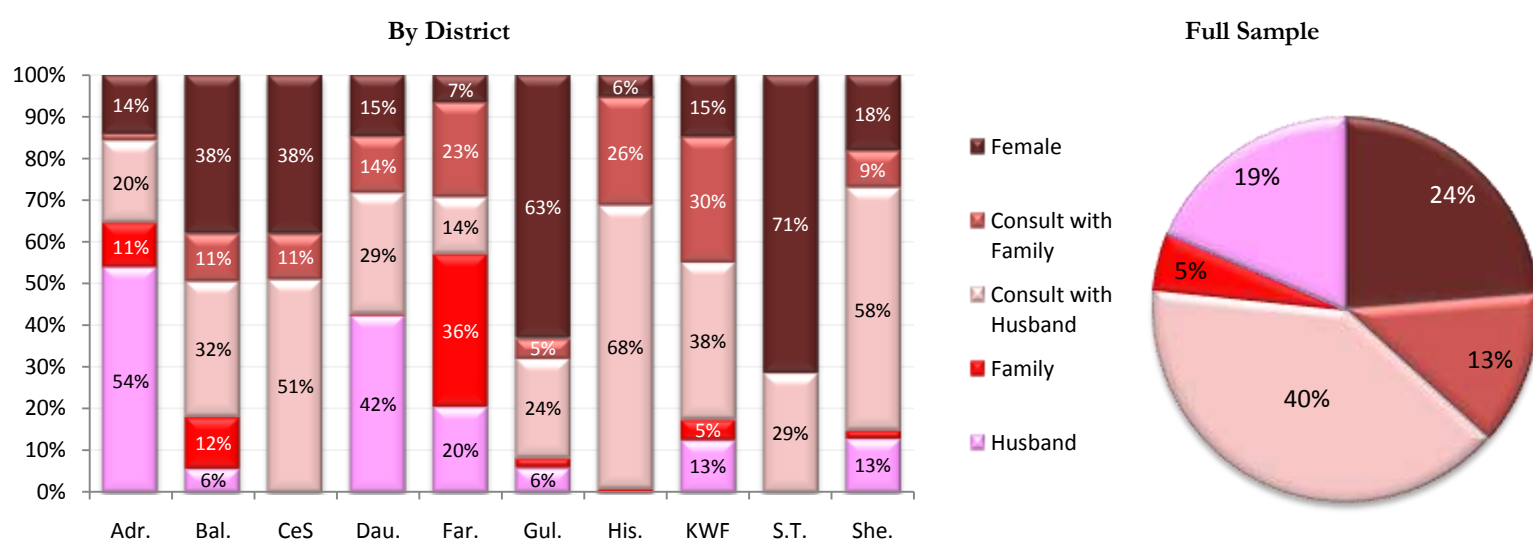
**Figure 62: Percent of Female Respondents Engaged in Economic Activity, by District and Type of Activity**



Women engaged in income-generating activities were asked about who in the household makes the decision of how the income is spent. Only 24 percent of female respondents reported that they have autonomy over how the money is spent, although a clear majority of women in Sang Takht (71 percent) and Gulran (63 percent) claim to have the authority to decide how money they earn is spent without interference from other family members. By way of contrast, only 6

percent of women in Hisarak and 7 percent of women in Farsi claimed to have such authority. Commonly, the decision of how to spend the money is made in consultation with the husband (40 percent) or with other family members (14 percent). In Chisht-e Sharif (51 percent), Hisarak (68 percent), and Sherzad (58 percent), a majority of women reported that the decision is made in consultation with men. 5 percent of female respondents reported that other family members would make the decision of how the money is spent, without consultation with them. This arrangement was relatively common in Farsi, where 36 percent of respondents reported that family members would have full control over the decision. 19 percent of female respondents reported that their husband alone would make the decision. In Adraskan, 54 percent of respondents reported that their husbands alone would make the decision of how their income is spent, while 42 percent of women reported the same.

**Figure 63: Control over Income Generated by Female Respondents**



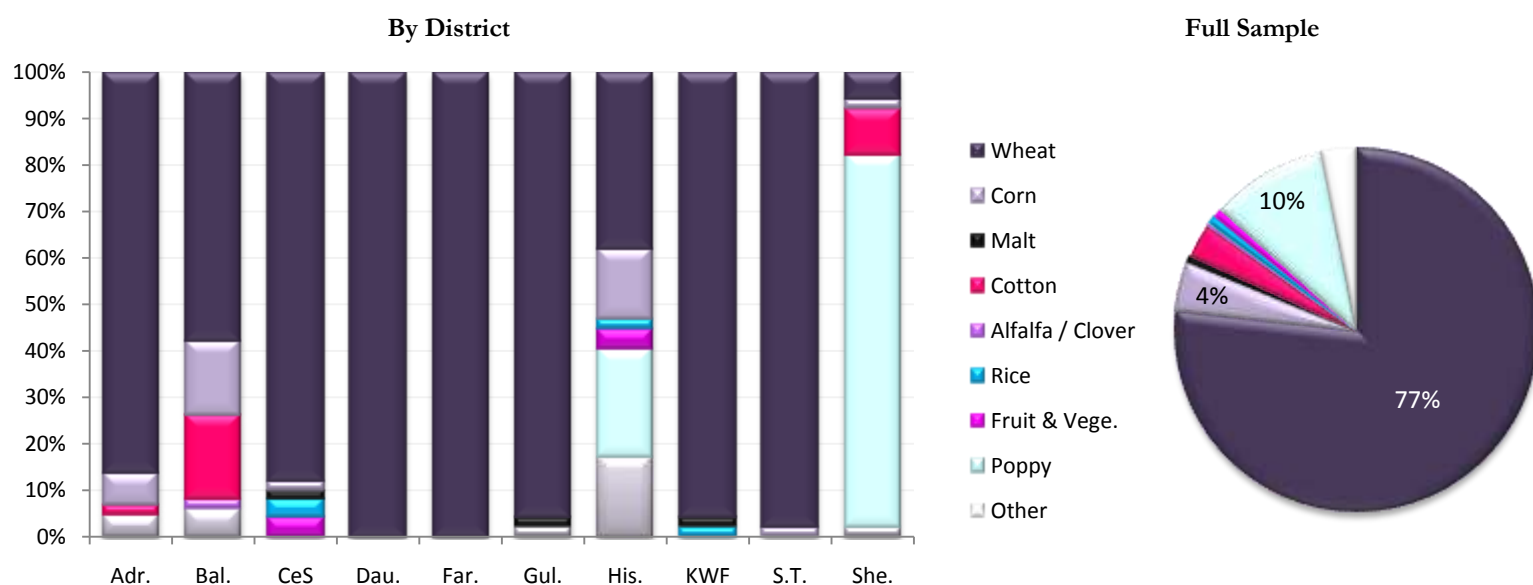
## Agriculture

A variety of questions relating to agricultural cultivation were administered to male focus group and male household respondents. Male focus group respondents were asked to report the primary, secondary, and tertiary crop grown in their village and, for each crop, the price at which that crop was sold following the most recent harvest. Male household respondents were asked whether they had access to agricultural land, either as a farmer, owner, or sharecropper, the amount of land that they had access to, and whether they had engaged in various contracting arrangements relating to that land over the past 12 months. Male household respondents who had access to land were asked to report whether they had cultivated crops in the most recent summer and winter cultivation seasons and, if they had, what the primary, secondary, and tertiary crops were. Among male household respondents engaged in farming, information was also gathered concerning the source of water for irrigating crops in summer and winter and how much land had been left fallow and, if any, the reason for leaving the land fallow. Aggregate and district-level indicators relating to each of these questions is presented in the section below.

According to the responses of male focus group respondents, in 77 percent of villages across the sample, wheat is the primary crop. In Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht, all or almost all villages cultivate wheat as their primary crop. Only in Balkh, Hisarak, and Sherzad is the proportion of villages that cultivate wheat less than 85 percent. During the time at which the baseline survey was administered, poppy was the primary crop grown in 80 percent of villages in Sherzad district and 23 percent of villages in Hisarak district. In Balkh district, corn is grown in 16 percent of villages and in Hisarak, corn is grown in 15 percent of villages. Cotton,

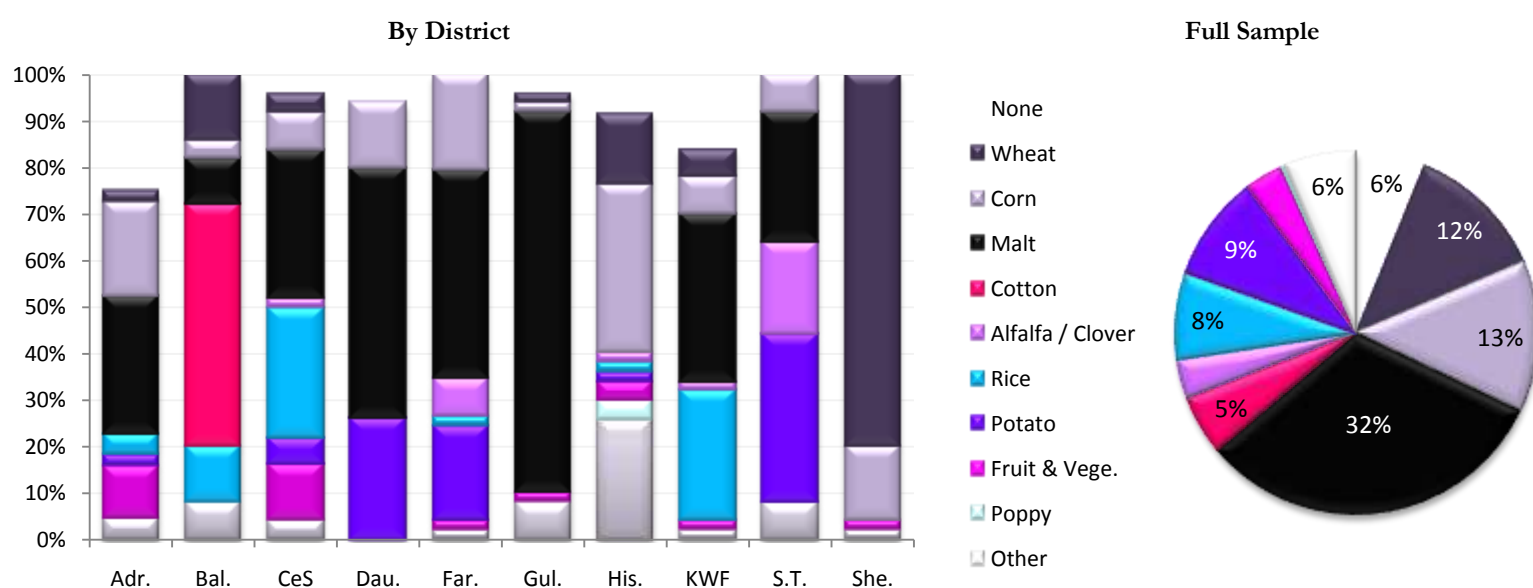
the only other crop grown in appreciable numbers in any of the 10 districts, is grown as the primary crop in 18 percent of villages in Balkh and in 10 percent of villages in Sherzad district.

**Figure 64: Primary Village Crop as Reported by Male Focus Group**



In 94 percent of villages, male focus group respondents reported that a secondary crop was grown. The number of villages in which a second crop is not cultivated is especially high in Adraskan, with 25 percent of villages, and in Khost Wa Firing, with 16 percent of villages. Across the full sample, malt is the most common secondary crop (32 percent), followed by corn (13 percent), wheat (12 percent), potato (9 percent), rice (8 percent), and cotton (5 percent). Malt is especially important as a secondary crop in Gulran, wheat in Sherzad, cotton in Balkh, and rice in Chisht-e Sharif and Khost Wa Firing.

**Figure 65: Secondary Village Crop as Reported by Male Focus Group**

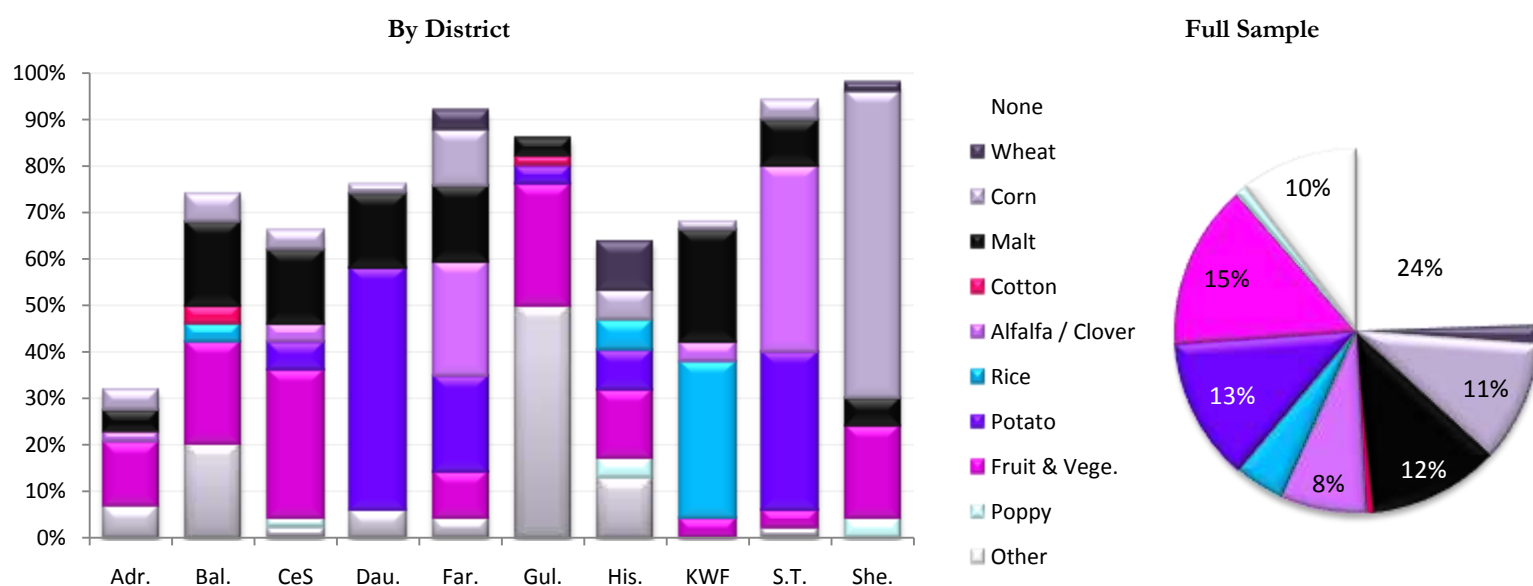


76 percent of focus groups across the sample reported that a tertiary crop was cultivated by people in their village. Adraskan had the lowest level of tertiary crop cultivation, with 68 percent of villages reporting that no tertiary crop exists. In Chisht-e Sharif, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing, over 30 percent of villages also had no tertiary crop. Across the sample, the tertiary crops



are relatively diversified. Fruit and vegetables (other than potatoes) are the most popular, accounting for 15 percent of the total, followed by potatoes at 13 percent, malt at 12 percent, and corn at 11 percent.

**Figure 66: Tertiary Village Crop as Reported by Male Focus Group**



The price per kilogram earned for the primary crop differs significantly between districts based on whether poppy is cultivated in that district or not. For example, the median price earned for crops in Sherzad is \$100 per kilogram, but ranges only between \$0.20 and \$0.40 per kilogram in the other 9 districts. The stark difference between the unit price of poppy and other kilograms is made clear in Table 20. Whereas poppy commands a median price of \$100 per kilogram, rice, the next costliest crop, has a median price of \$0.51 per kilogram.

**Table 19: Price per Kilogram for Primary Crops, by District**

District	Obs.	Mean	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Median	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.
Adraskan	35	\$0.26	\$0.24	\$0.26	\$0.28
Balkh	49	\$0.28	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.30
Chisht-e Sharif	50	\$0.28	\$0.24	\$0.24	\$0.28
Daulina	50	\$0.36	\$0.30	\$0.40	\$0.40
Farsi	49	\$0.28	\$0.26	\$0.30	\$0.30
Gulran	50	\$0.20	\$0.19	\$0.20	\$0.20
Hisarak	49	\$42.62	\$0.26	\$0.40	\$100.00
Khost Wa Firing	50	\$0.27	\$0.24	\$0.26	\$0.28
Sang Takht	49	\$0.29	\$0.28	\$0.28	\$0.30
Sherzad	50	\$92.66	\$82.50	\$100.00	\$100.00

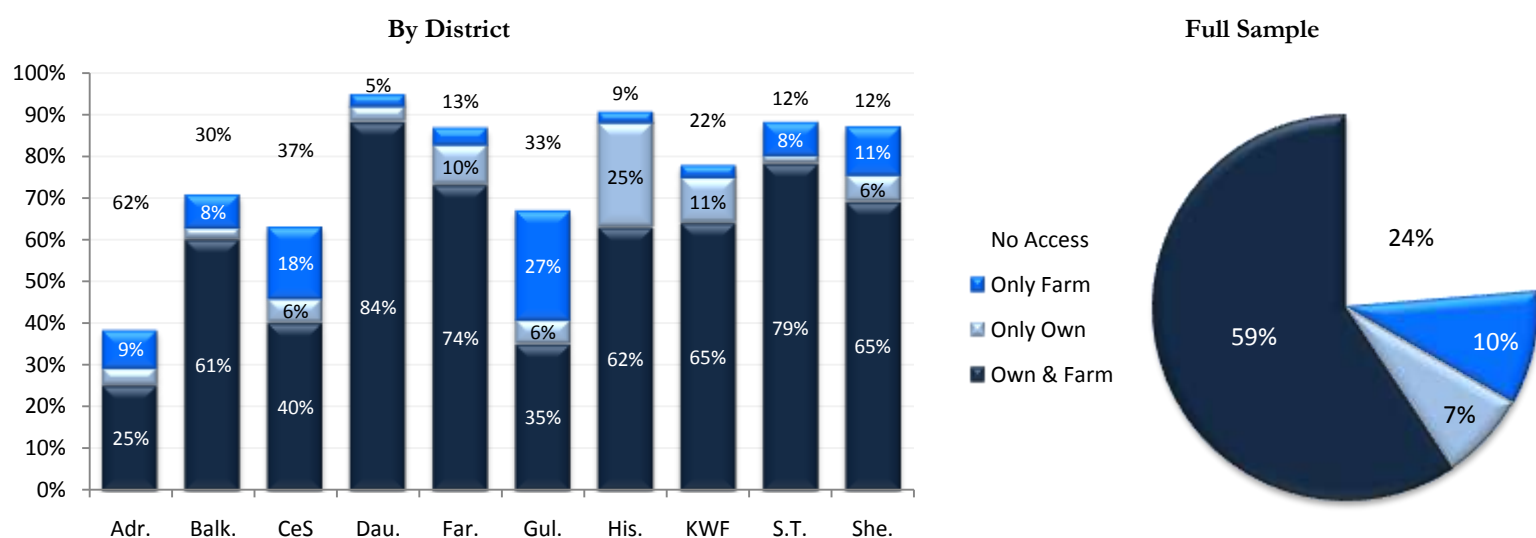
**Table 20: Price per Kilogram by Crop Type**

District	Obs.	Mean	1 <sup>st</sup> Q.	Median	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q.
Poppy	58	\$98.24	\$90.00	\$100.00	\$120.00
Rice	64	\$0.47	\$0.39	\$0.51	\$0.60
Cotton	37	\$0.51	\$0.40	\$0.50	\$0.60
Wheat	431	\$0.27	\$0.20	\$0.26	\$0.30
Potato	108	\$0.26	\$0.16	\$0.24	\$0.34
Fruit & Veges.	81	\$0.29	\$0.10	\$0.20	\$0.30
Malt	214	\$0.23	\$0.18	\$0.20	\$0.26
Corn	135	\$0.22	\$0.16	\$0.20	\$0.24
Alfalfa / Clover	40	\$0.17	\$0.12	\$0.14	\$0.18

As displayed in Figure 67 below, three-quarters of male household respondents across the sample have access to land, either as an owner, farmer, or sharecropper. 59 percent of male household respondents farm their own land, 10 percent engage in sharecropping land owned by another person, and 7 percent own agricultural land, but do not farm it. The lowest levels of access to agricultural land occur in Adraskan, where only 38 percent of male household respondents have access, and Gulran, where 66 percent have access. Respondents in Daulina have the highest average level of access to agricultural land, which just 5 percent of respondents in the district claiming to lack access either as an owner, farmer, or sharecropper. Daulina also has the largest proportion of respondents who own agricultural land, at 87 percent. Adraskan has the lowest proportion of respondents who own agricultural land, at 29 percent.

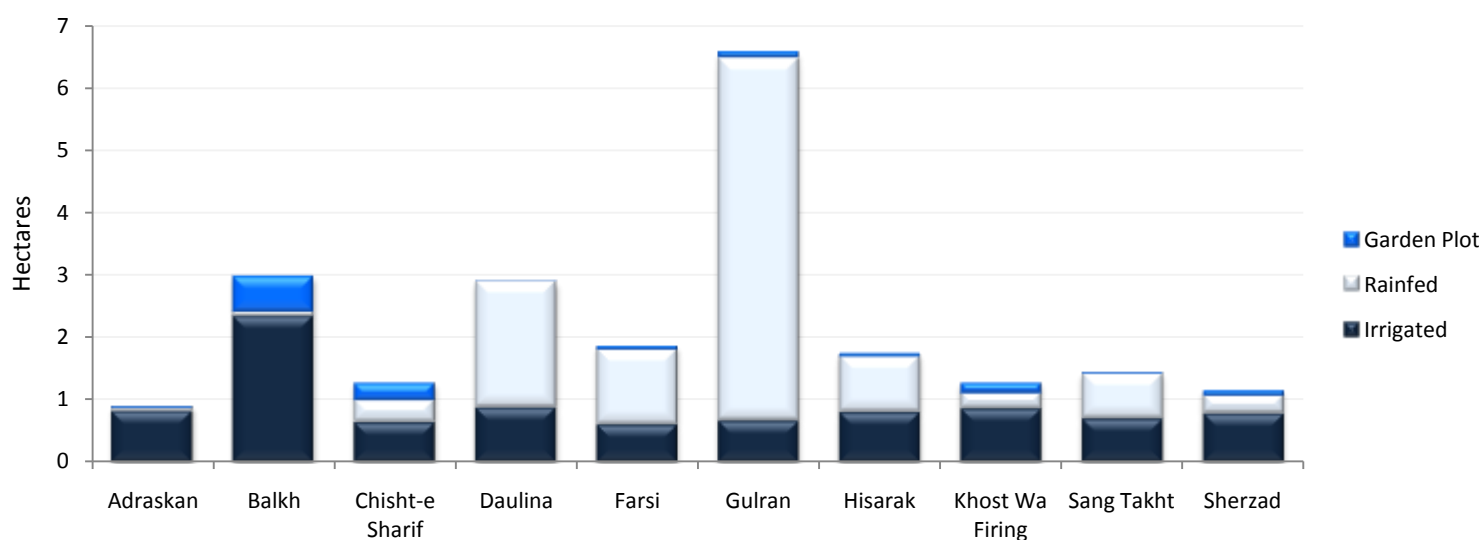


**Figure 67: Access to Land of Male Household Respondents**



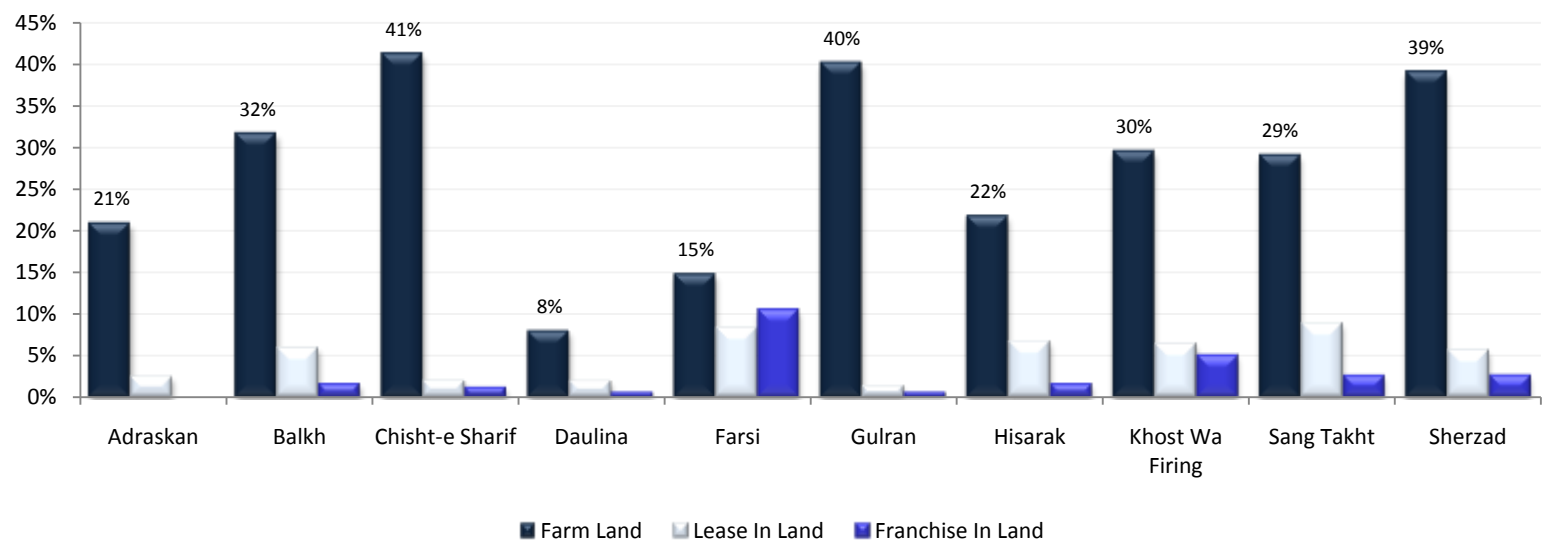
The size of land owned by landowning respondents varies significantly across districts. Respondents in Gulran own the largest amount of land, averaging 6.6 hectares, while landowning respondents in Adraskan own the least, averaging just 0.9 hectares. There also exists variation between districts in the type of land that is owned. In Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, Hisarak, and Sang Takht, land is most rainfed, while in Adraskan, Balkh, Khost Wa Firing, and Sherzad, land is mostly irrigated.

**Figure 68: Average Hectares Accessed by Male Household Respondents, by District and Type of Land**



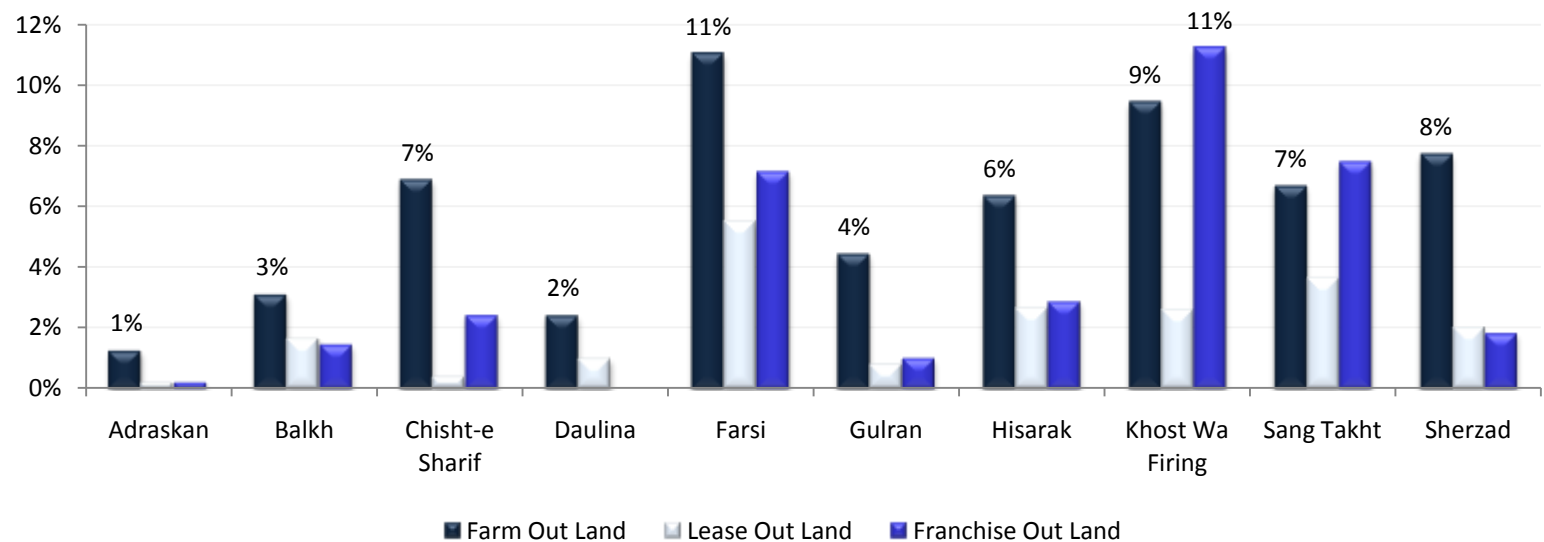
Across the full sample, 28 percent of male respondents farmed land during the past harvest season. The proportion of respondents who farmed land was particularly high in Chisht-e Sharif (41 percent), Gulran (40 percent), and Sherzad (39 percent), and surprisingly low in Daulina (8 percent). The proportion of respondents who leased-in or franchised-in land to farm was quite low across the sample, at 5 percent and 3 percent respectively. Only in Farsi district did the proportion of respondents engaging in such activities approach 10 percent.

**Figure 69: Percent of Male Household Respondents Directly Engaged in Farming Activities, by District and Type of Contracting Arrangement**



The incidence of land-owners contracting out land to be farmed appears to be low, with just 6 percent of respondents across the sample farming out land, just 2 percent leasing out land, and just 4 percent franchising-out land. Respondents in Farsi reported the highest incidence of farming and leasing out land, with 11 percent and 6 percent of respondents respectively claiming to have done so during the past year, while the incidence of franchising-out land was highest in Khost Wa Firing, at 11 percent.

**Figure 70: Percent of Male Household Respondents Subcontracting Farming Activities, by District and Type of Contracting Arrangement**



Responses from male household interviewees concerning the type of crops grown in summer mirrored those of male focus group participants. Across the full sample, wheat was cited as the primary summer crop by 58 percent of respondents, with corn being the second most popular

primary summer crop, at 15 percent.<sup>33</sup> Fruit and vegetables were the most common secondary and tertiary summer crops, at 29 percent and 50 percent of respondents respectively. Among crops grown in winter, 75 percent of male household respondents cited corn as the primary crop. The most commonly cited secondary winter crop was wheat, accounting for 49 percent of respondents. Wheat was also the most commonly cited tertiary winter crop, at 66 percent.

**Figure 71: Crops Grown in Summer and Winter – Male Household Respondents**

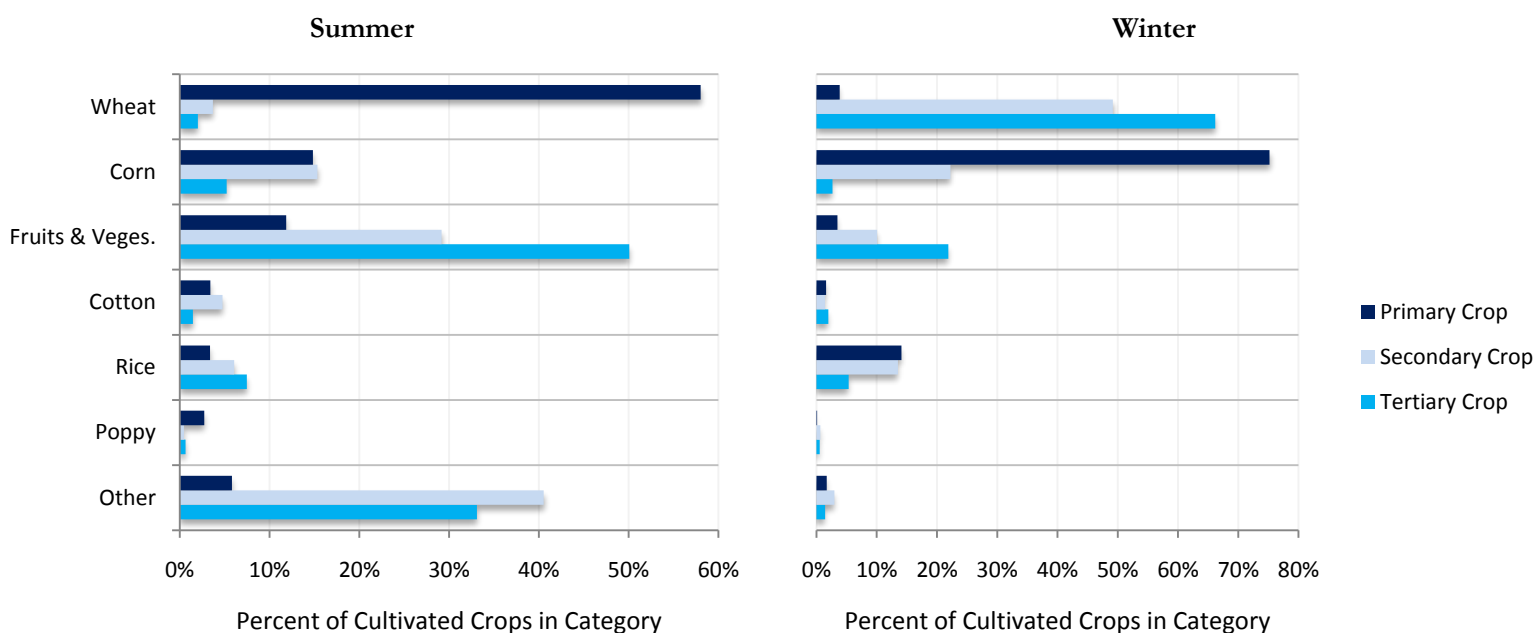
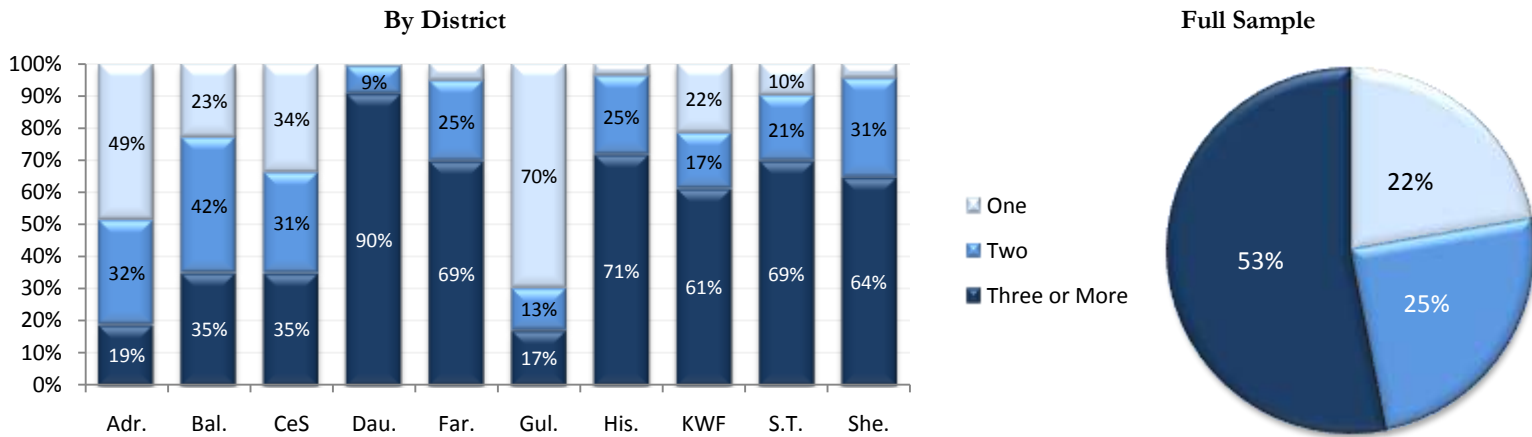


Figure 72 provides a graphical representation of the number of summer crops grown by male household respondents engaged in agricultural cultivation. Across the full sample, 22 percent of respondents cultivated just one crop during the summer harvest season, 25 percent of respondents cultivated two crops, and 53 percent of respondents cultivated three or more crops. Farmers in Daulina appeared to have the most diversified set of crops under cultivation, with 90 percent of respondents with agricultural land under cultivation claiming to grow three or more crops. In contrast, farmers in Gulran are the least well-diversified, with 70 percent of farmers growing just one crop during the summer.

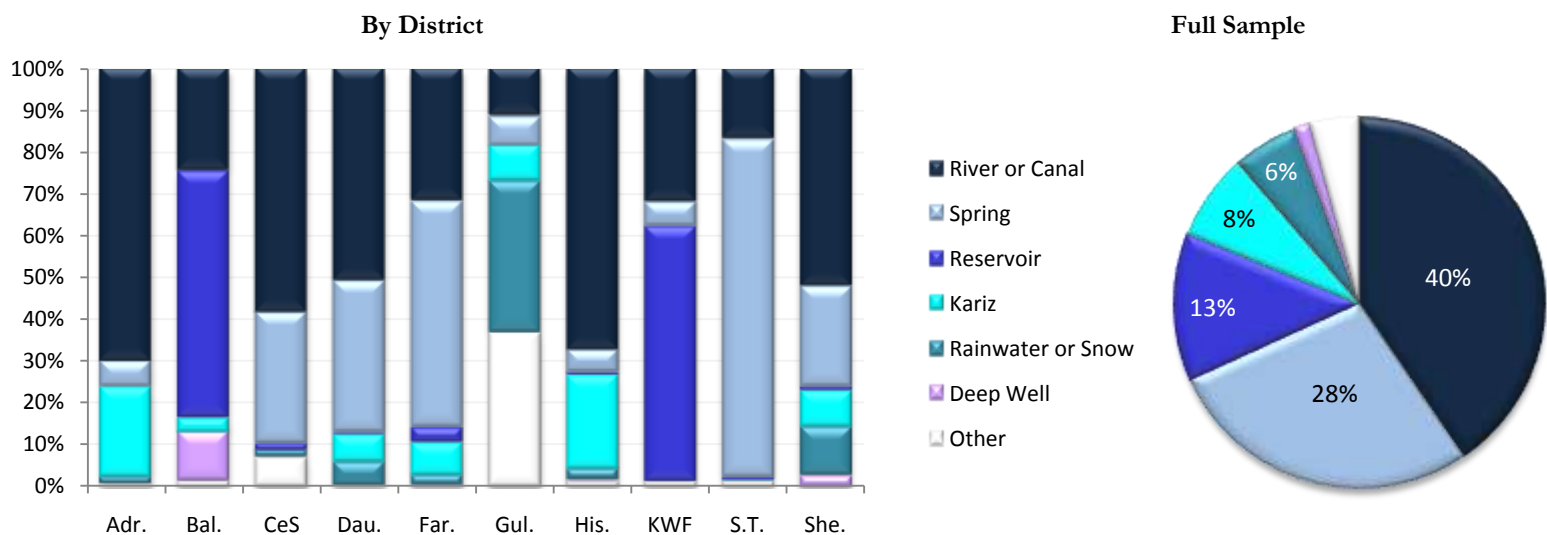
<sup>33</sup> In determining which cultivated crops served as the primary, secondary, or tertiary crops, respondents were asked to consider the amount of land dedicated to the cultivation of each.

**Figure 72: Number of Crops Grown in Summer**



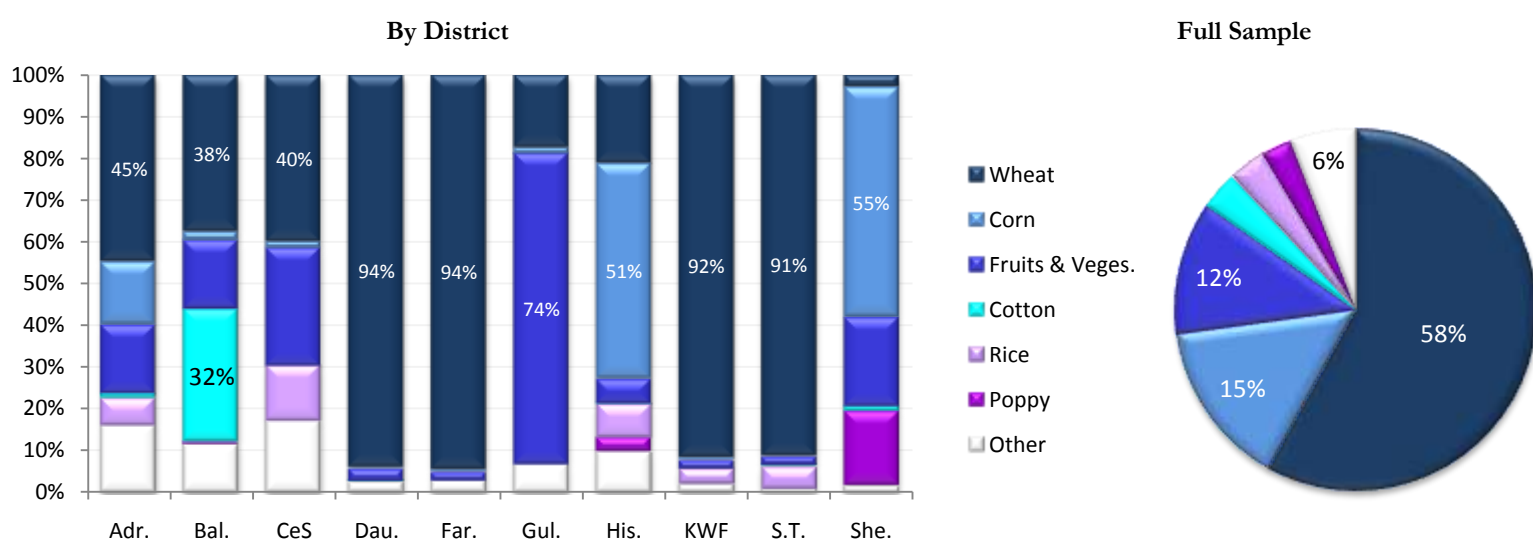
The predominant source of irrigation for farmers during summer comes from rivers or canals. 40 percent of farmers across the sample report a reliance upon this source. The next most commonly cited source was spring water, accounting for 28 percent of responses, followed by reservoirs, at 13 percent. 8 percent of respondents cited a *kariz*, an ancient Persian irrigation technique by which a sloping tunnel brings water from underground source beneath hills to dry plains, as their main irrigation source. Rainwater served as the main irrigation source for 6 percent of farming respondents, while deep wells provided irrigation to just 1 percent. There is a relatively large degree of between district variation in irrigation sources, which is unsurprising given the diverse topographic and climatic settings covered by the sample. Farmers in Adraskan and Hisarak reported the greatest degree of reliance upon rivers or canals for irrigation, with 70 percent and 67 percent of respondents doing so in each district. Spring water was overwhelmingly the most commonly cited source of irrigation in Sang Takht and Farsi, at 81 percent and 54 percent respectively. Reservoirs were the predominant source of irrigation in Balkh and Khost Wa Firing, while *kariz* systems were relatively popular in Adraskan and Hisarak, with 22 percent of farming respondents in each district reporting such systems as their main source. Rainwater was scarcely mentioned as a major source of irrigation in summer in all districts except Gulran and Sherzad, where 36 percent and 12 percent of respondents cited it as the most common source. Likewise, the use of deep wells for irrigation appears to be extremely rare across the sample, although some 12 percent of respondents in Balkh cited their use.

**Figure 73: Main Source of Irrigation during Summer**



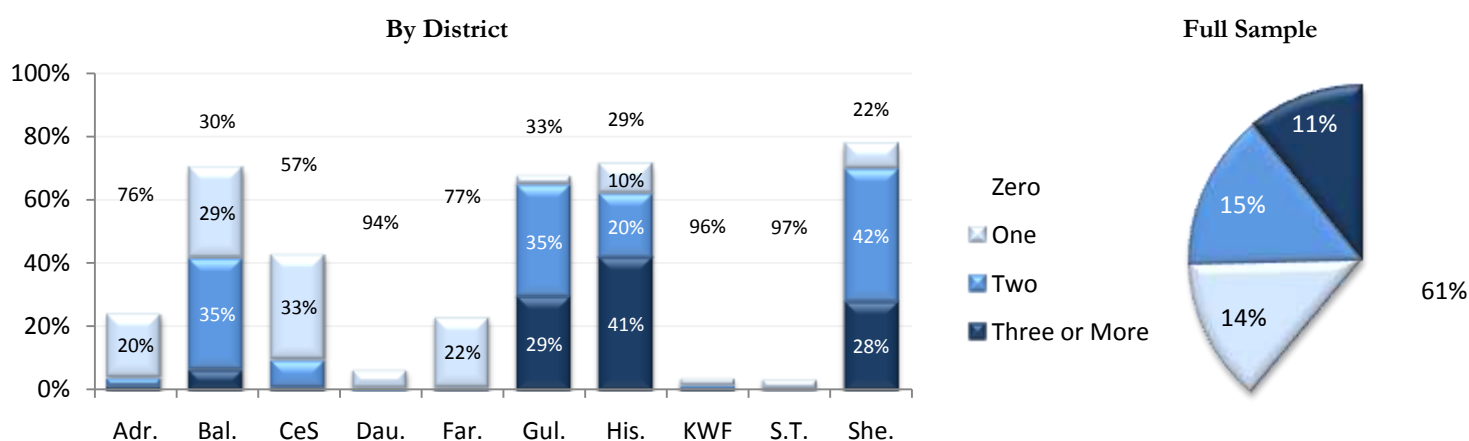
Although wheat is the predominant primary summer across the full sample, variation between districts is significant. While between 91 and 94 percent of farmers in Daulina, Farsi, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht cite wheat as the crop that consumes the most land during the summer cultivation season, farmers in Adraskan, Balkh, and Chisht-e Sharif are much less dependent on the cereal, with between 38 and 45 percent of farmers citing it as the primary summer crop. Corn is most heavily cultivated by farmers in Hisarak and Sherzad, with 51 percent and 55 percent of farmer respondents allocating more land to it than any other crop. Farmers in Gulran, on the other hand, are relatively dependent on fruit and vegetable crops, with three-quarters of them citing such as the primary summer crop. Cotton is rarely cited as a primary summer crop, except in Balkh, where 32 percent of farming respondents did so. Likewise, very few farmers claimed to allocate most of their land to poppy, except in Sherzad, where 18 percent of farmers claimed the illicit crop occupied more of their land during the summer cultivation season than any other crop.

**Figure 74: Primary Summer Crop**



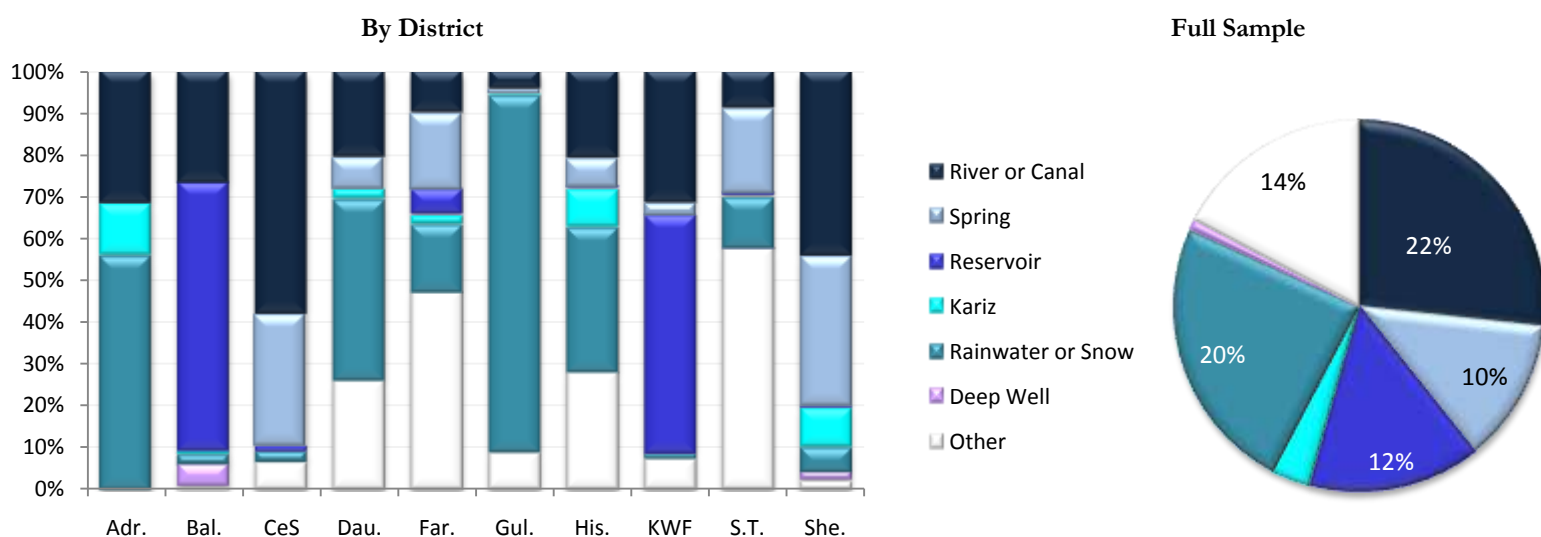
Of male household respondents who farmed at least one crop during the most recent summer cultivation season, only 39 percent grew one or more crops during the most recent winter cultivation season. The incidence of cultivation during winter was highest in Balkh, Gulran, Hisarak, and Sherzad, where between 67 and 78 percent of respondents grow crops during winter, and lowest in Daulina, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht, where 6 percent or less of farmers grow crops during winter. Farmers in Hisarak grow the highest number of crops in winter, with 41 percent of farming respondents growing three or more crops during the season. Gulran and Sherzad similarly have large number of farmers growing three or more crops during winter, with 29 percent and 28 percent of farming respondents respectively doing so.

**Figure 75: Number of Crops Grown in Winter by Male Household Respondents Growing Crops in Summer**



Sources of irrigation for crops grown in winter was relatively diversified, with 22 percent of respondents engaged in winter cultivation claiming rivers or canals provided most of their water, 10 percent citing a reliance on spring water, 12 percent on reservoirs, and 20 percent on rainwater or snow. Farmers in Adraskan and Gulran cited the greatest degree of dependence on rainwater or snow for irrigation in winter, while, in Balkh and Khost Wa Firing rely mostly on reservoirs to provide irrigation during winter.

**Figure 76: Main Source of Irrigation during Winter**



Of farmers who cultivate crops during winter, an overwhelming proportion in Adraskan, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Gulran, and Hisarak cultivate wheat as their primary crop. 57 percent of farmers in Sang Takht devote more land to the cultivation of fruit and vegetables than any other crop during winter, while 53 percent of farmers in Sherzad similarly cite poppy as their primary winter crop.

**Figure 77: Primary Winter Crop**

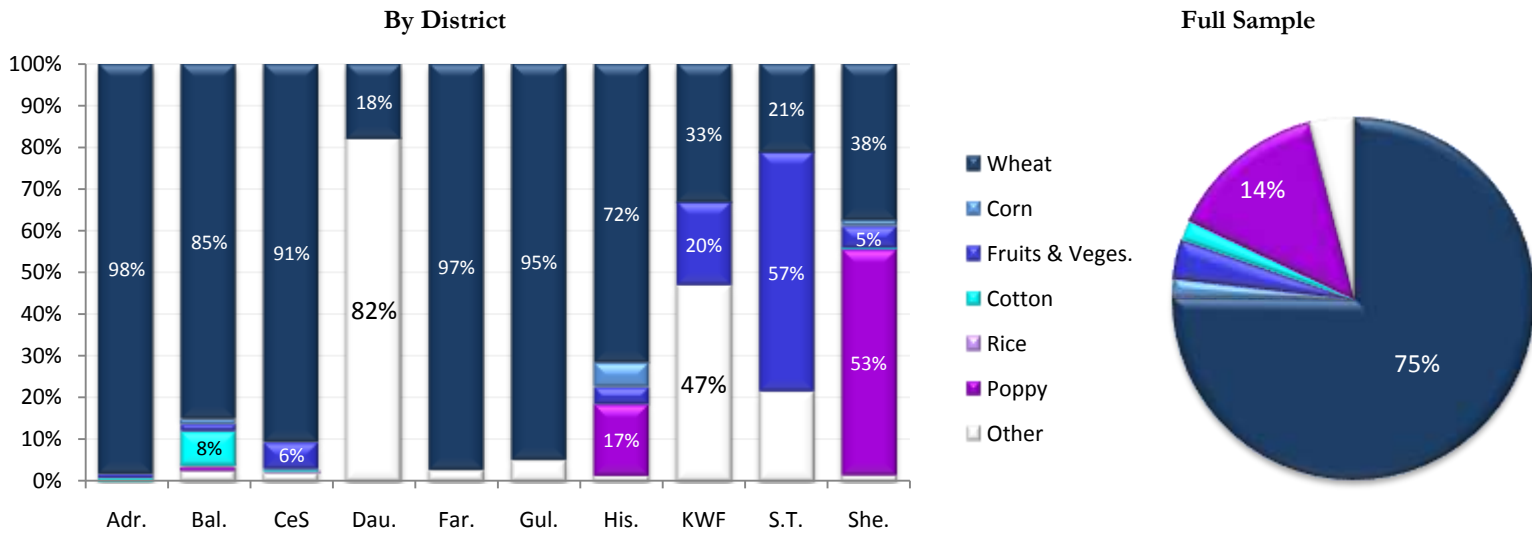
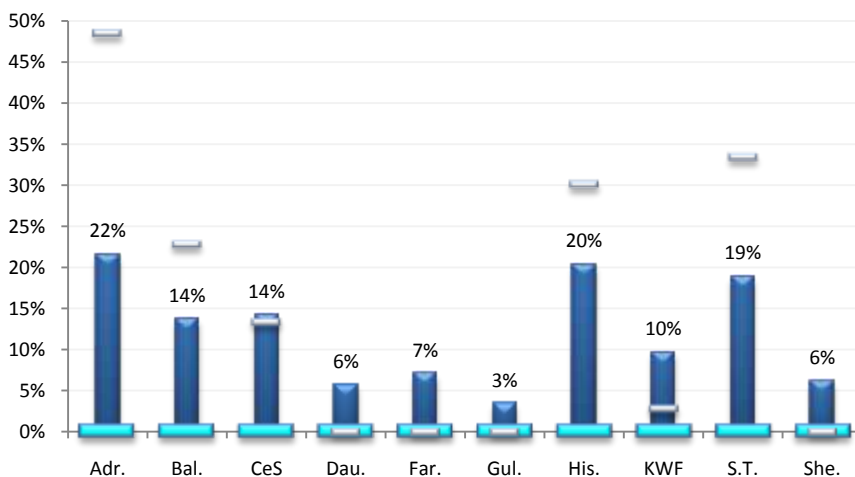
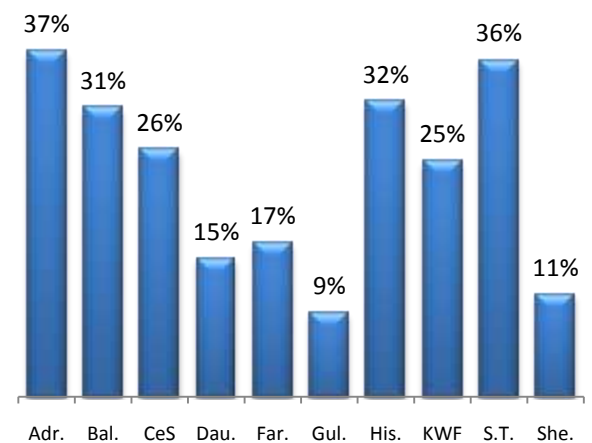


Figure 78 below presents a graphical representation of summary statistics relating to land that was left fallow by farmers in each district during the most recent cultivation season, while Figure 79 graphs the proportion of farmers in each district that left at least some land fallow.<sup>34</sup> The incidence of land being left fallow is greatest in Adraskan, Hisarak, and Sang Takht, where 37 percent, 32 percent, and 36 percent of respondents left at least some land fallow, and lowest in Daulina, Gulran, and Sherzad, where the corresponding figures were 15 percent, 9 percent, and 11 percent respectively. The mean proportion of land left fallow by farmers in Adraskan, Hisarak, and Sang Takht was 22 percent, 20 percent, and 19 percent respectively, although in no district did the median value exceed zero. Among farmers that were forced to leave a portion of their land fallow, farmers in Adraskan appeared to be the most severely affected, with a quarter of farmers leaving 48 percent or more of their land fallow.

**Figure 78: Land Left Fallow in Recent Growing Season**



**Figure 79: Percent of Farmers with Fallow Land**

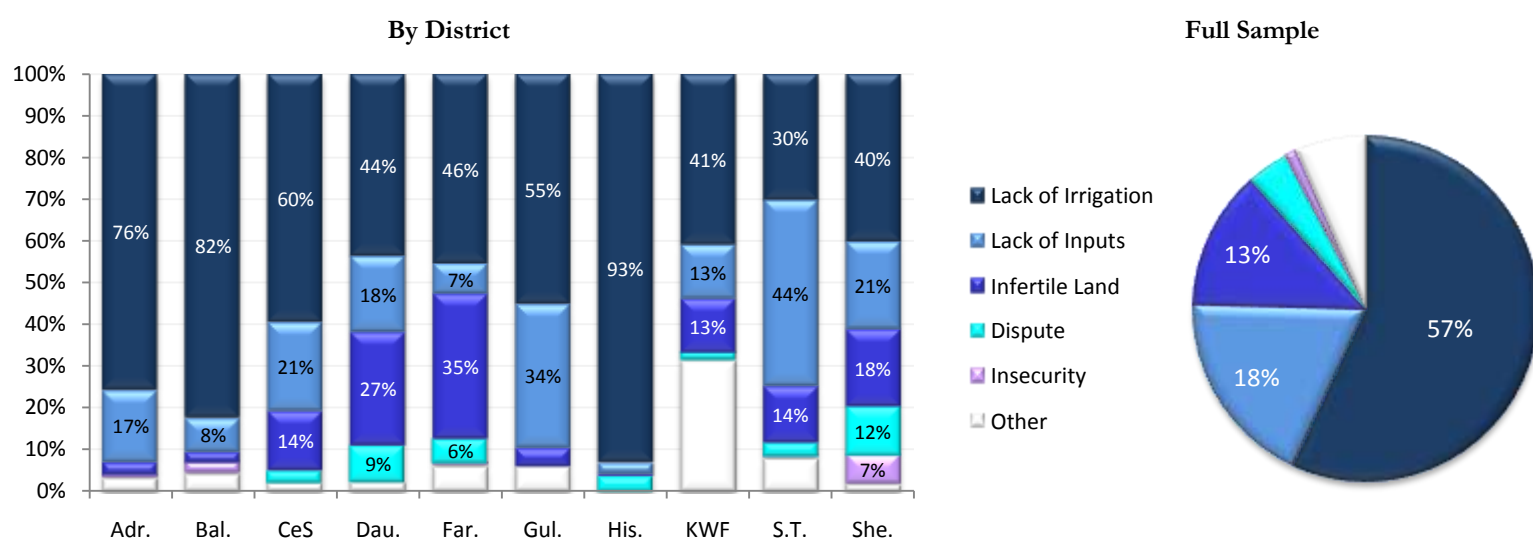


<sup>34</sup> In Figure 78, dark blue columns represent average values, turquoise horizontal markers represent median values, while the white horizontal markers represent the 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile.



Of those farmers forced to leave a portion of their land fallow, 57 percent cited a lack of irrigation as the main reason, with 18 percent citing a lack of inputs such as seeds, 13 percent citing infertility of the land, 4 percent mentioning that a dispute over land ownership was the main reason, and 1 percent ascribing it to insecurity. A lack of sufficient water for irrigating crops was the problem most frequently cited in Hisarak, while farmers with fallow land in Sang Takht were the least likely of any in the 10 districts to cite it as the main problem. A lack of agricultural inputs, rather, was the most commonly cited reason for non-cultivation of land in Sang Takht, where it accounted for 44 percent of responses. A lack of agricultural inputs also was relatively commonly cited in Gulran, where 34 percent of respondents mentioned it as the main problem preventing cultivation. In Farsi, infertile land was cited as the cause of non-cultivation by 35 percent of respondents, with the reason also appearing with relatively high frequency in Daulina. The prevention of cultivation of land due to dispute over land ownerships was most commonly observed in Daulina and Sherzad, where 9 percent and 12 percent of respondents respectively reported as the main reason preventing cultivation. Insecurity was very rarely cited as a reason preventing cultivation of land, with a partial exception in Sherzad, where 7 percent of respondents cited it.

**Figure 80: Reason for Leaving Land Fallow**



### ***Agricultural Markets***

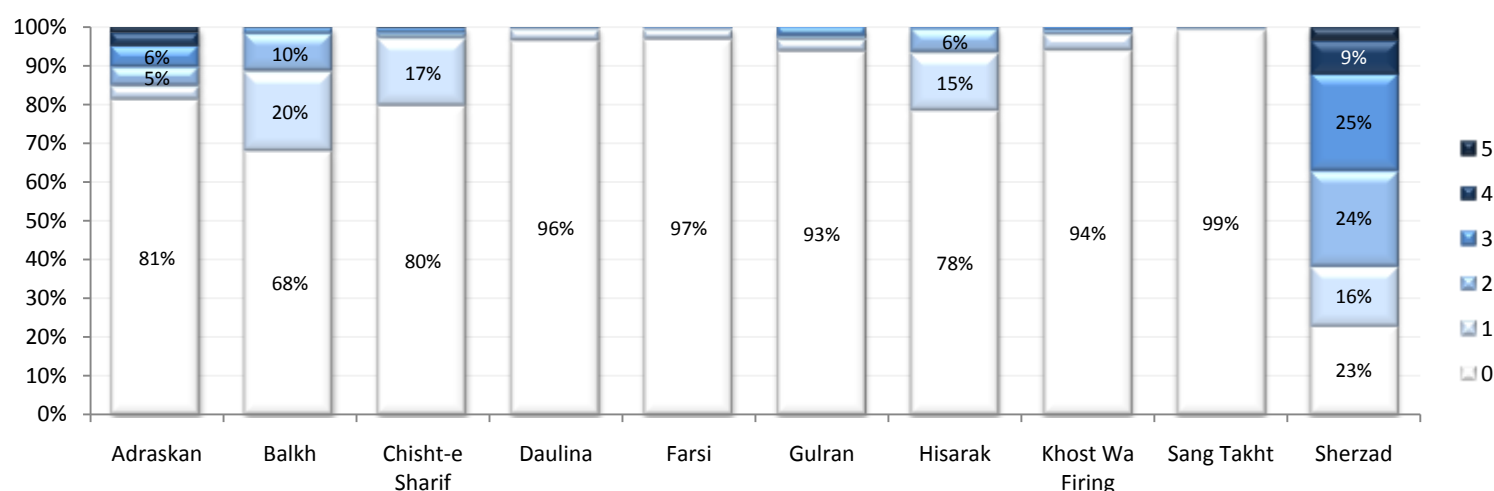
The following section presents aggregate and district-level information relating to the structure of markets for agricultural produce in the 10 sample districts. Male household respondents who engaged in the cultivation of produce in the 10 sample districts were asked to report whether or not they had sold produce following the most recent harvest. Those that had sold crops, where asked to report information concerning the number of crops sold, the type of crops sold, how much was earned from the sale of produce, whether the produce was sold at a market or to a middleman, and, in the case of the former, where the market was located, or, in the case of the latter, the occupation and origin of the middleman.

In general, farmers in the sample grow crops primarily for home consumption, with only 15 percent selling a portion of their harvest during the past season. In Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht, especially, very few farmers sold a portion of their produce. On in Sherzad did a majority of farmers sell produce, with 67 percent of respondents selling one or more of their crops under cultivation and 37 percent of farmers selling three or more crops. The sale of agricultural produce was also relatively high in Adraskan, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and



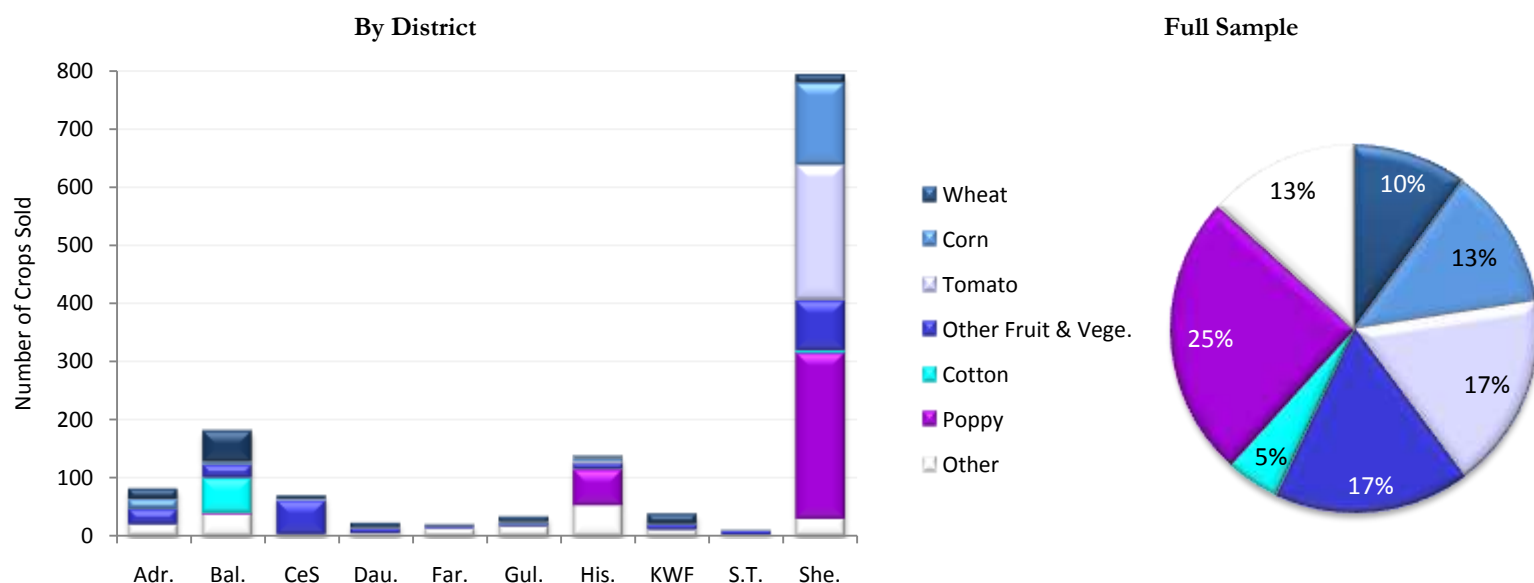
Hisarak, where 19 percent, 32 percent, 20 percent, and 22 percent of respondents respectively claimed to have sold produce.

**Figure 81: Number of Types of Crops Sold by of Landowners in Recent Harvest, by District**



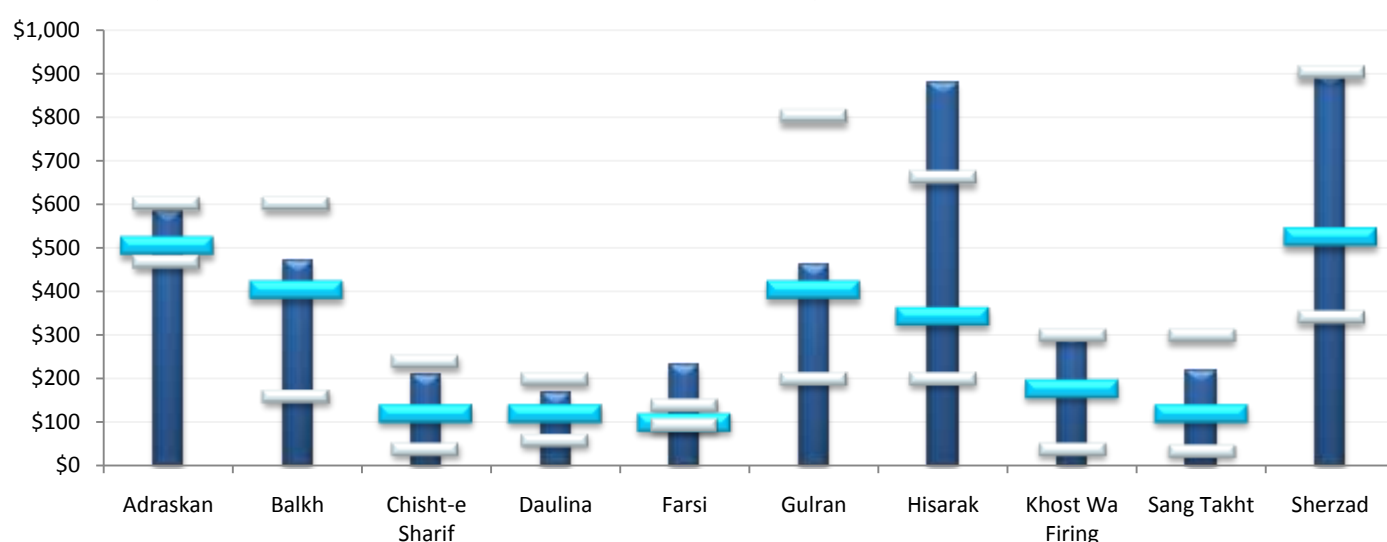
Poppy was the crop most frequently sold by farmers across the sample, although as show in Figure 82 below, it was only sold in appreciable numbers in Hisarak and Sherzad. Overall, poppy accounted for a quarter of crops sold by respondents, with tomato and other fruits and vegetables accounting for 17 percent; corn for 13 percent; wheat for 10 percent; and cotton for 5 percent. In Balkh district, cotton was the type of agricultural produce most commonly sold by respondents, while other fruit and vegetables was the most commonly sold product in Chisht-e Sharif. Interestingly, agricultural producers in Sherzad sold appreciable numbers of corn, tomato, and other fruit and vegetables, in addition to poppy, potentially indicating that the trade in poppy has stimulated agricultural trade generally.

**Figure 82: Type of Crops Sold following Recent Harvest**



District-level summary statistics pertaining to the amount of revenue earned by male household respondents from selling agricultural produce are displayed in Figure 83 below.<sup>35</sup> Farmers in the two districts in which poppy is cultivated and sold, Hisarak and Sherzad, reported the highest mean revenues from trade in agricultural products, although median levels of revenues in the two districts are not appreciably different from those in Adraskan, Balkh, Gulran and Hisarak, indicating that the benefits from the trade in poppy are concentrated in a relatively small number of producers. Inequality in revenues from agricultural trade, as measured by the differences between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartiles, is greatest in Gulran (\$600), Hisarak (\$440), and Sherzad (\$560), and lowest in Farsi, where the inter-quartile range stands at only \$45. Of the 10 districts, agricultural producers in Sherzad and Adraskan record the highest median revenues, \$520 and \$500 respectively, while the lowest median incomes from agricultural trade are reported in Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Farsi, and Sang Takht, where farmers report incomes of \$120, \$120, \$100, and \$120 respectively.

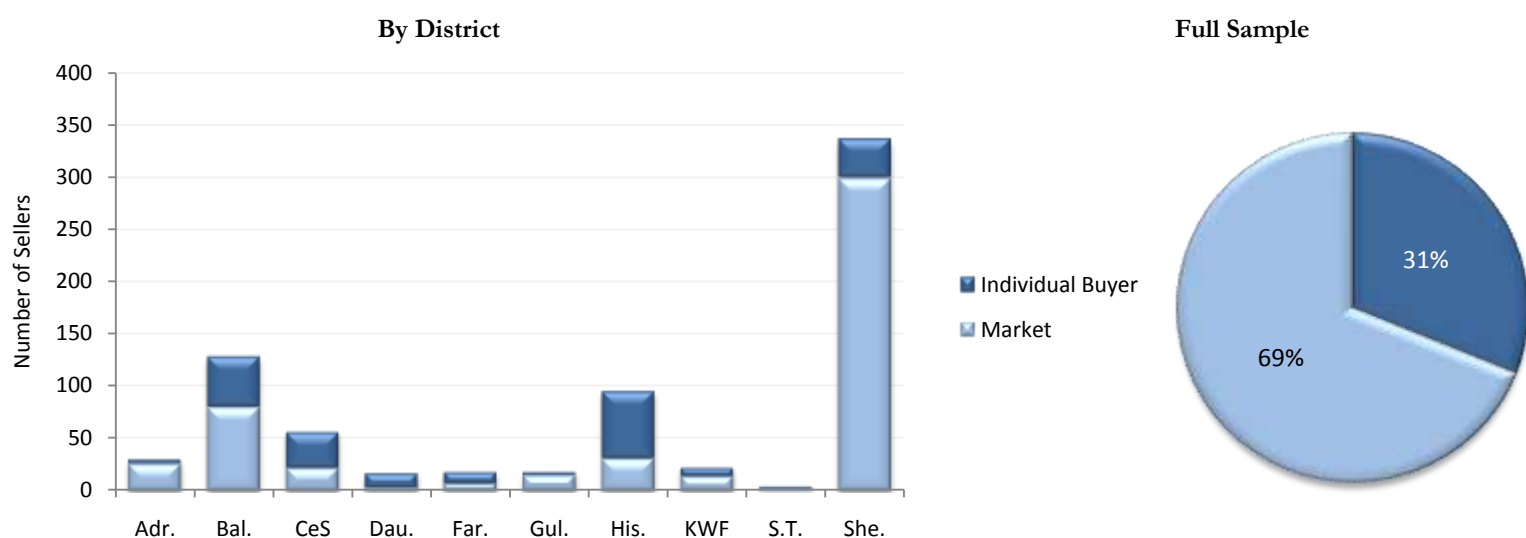
**Figure 83: Distribution of Revenue Earned from Selling Crops in Recent Harvest, by District**



Among male household respondents who sold produce following the most recent harvest, the vast majority did so at the market, with only 31 percent of respondents contending that they had sold most of their produce to an individual purchaser. Interestingly considering that agricultural production in Sherzad is dominated by an illicit crop, 89 percent of respondents in the district reported that their products were mostly sold in an open market. In Hisarak, by contrast, 67 percent of respondents reported that their produce was sold to an individual purchaser. In Balkh, the other district where agricultural trade was significant among male household respondents, 63 percent of respondents sold most of their produce at the market.

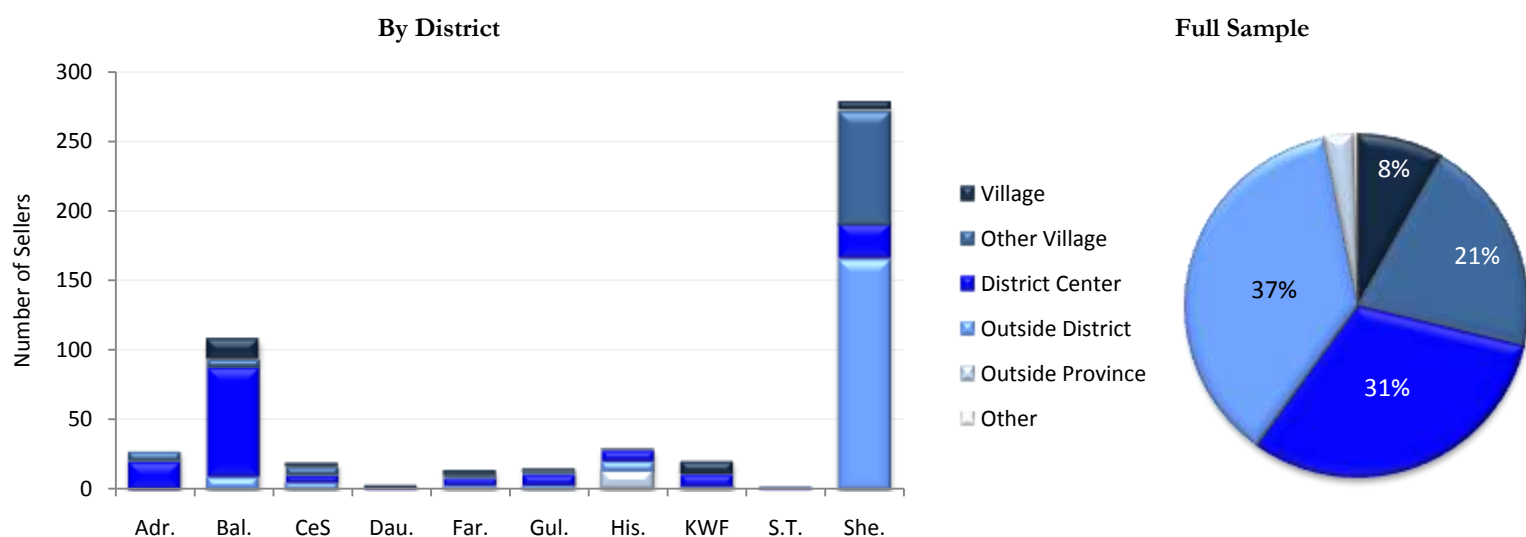
<sup>35</sup> Dark blue columns represent average values, turquoise horizontal markers represent median values, while the lower white horizontal markers represent the 1<sup>st</sup> quartile and the upper white horizontal markers represent the 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile.

**Figure 84: Number of Producers Selling Produce and Selling Arrangement**



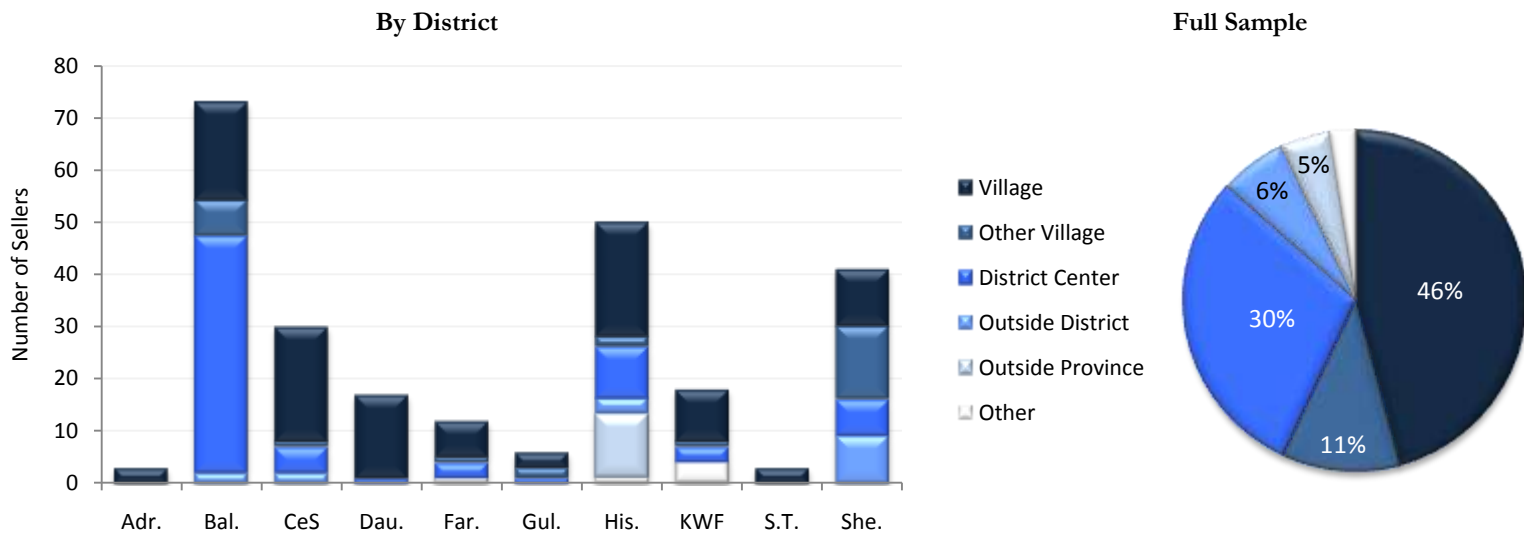
Among agricultural producers who sold produce at a market, 37 percent did so at a market located outside the district, 31 percent did so at a market located in the district center, 21 percent did so at a market located in another village in the district, while just 8 percent of respondents sold produce at a market located in their village. However, substantial variation was observed between the two main districts in which farmers sold produce at markets: Balkh and Sherzad. In Balkh, for instance, 72 percent of those who sold produce at a market reported that the market was located at the district center, while in Sherzad, 59 percent reported that the market was located outside the district.

**Figure 85: Location of Market Where Majority of Produce Was Sold**



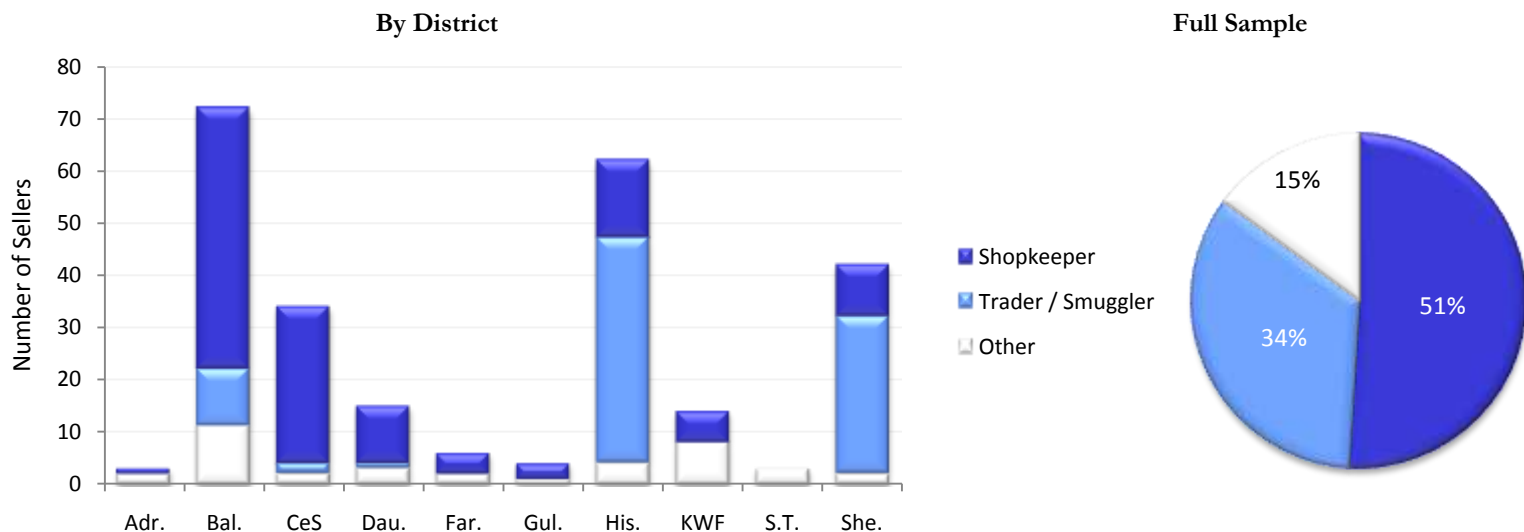
Among agricultural producers who sold products to an individual buyer, 46 percent of respondents reported that the buyer was a fellow villager, 11 percent reported that the buyer lived in another village in the district, 30 percent reported that the buyer originated from the district center, 6 percent reported that the buyer was from outside the district but from the same province, while just 5 percent reported that the buyer came from outside the province.

**Figure 86: Origin of Individual Buyer**



Respondents who reported selling produce to an individual buyer were asked to report the occupation of the individual buyer. Across the full sample, 51 percent reported that most of their produce was sold to a shopkeeper, with 34 percent stating that produce had been sold to a trader or smuggler. Variation between the three districts in which producers sold crops to individual buyers was evident, however, with 69 percent of respondents in Balkh reporting that produce was sold to a shopkeeper, while 69 percent of respondents in Hisarak and 59 percent of respondents in Sherzad selling most of their produce to traders or smugglers.

**Figure 87: Occupation of Individual Buyer**



Respondents who reported selling produce to an individual buyer were also asked whether they had a choice in who they sold their crops to. Figure 88 below reports the results of the question. The incidence of agricultural producers who didn't believe they could access a free market for their produce was highest in Daulina and Farsi district, with 47 percent and 43 percent of respondents respectively reporting such, while all respondents in Adraskan, Gulran, and Sang Takht believed they had a choice in who they sold their produce to. In Balkh, Hisarak, and Sherzad, where the sale of agricultural produce to individual buyers was relatively common, only 10 percent, 6 percent, and 16 percent of respondents did not feel they had a free choice in selecting a purchaser for their products.

**Figure 88: Percentage of Sellers without Access to Free Market for Produce, by District**

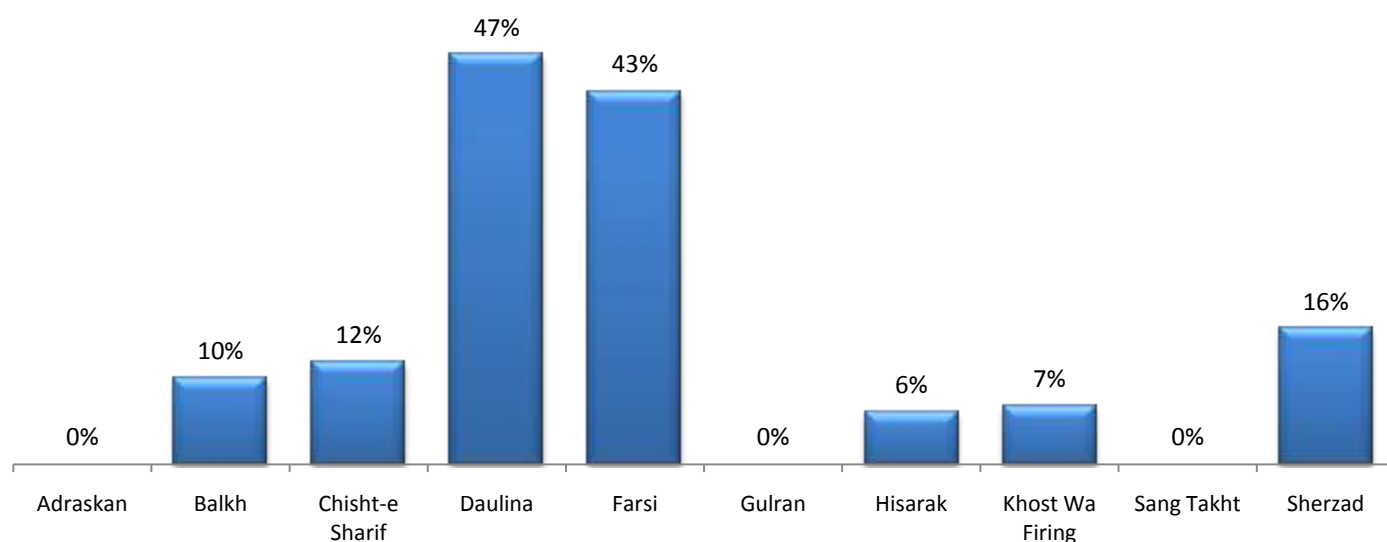
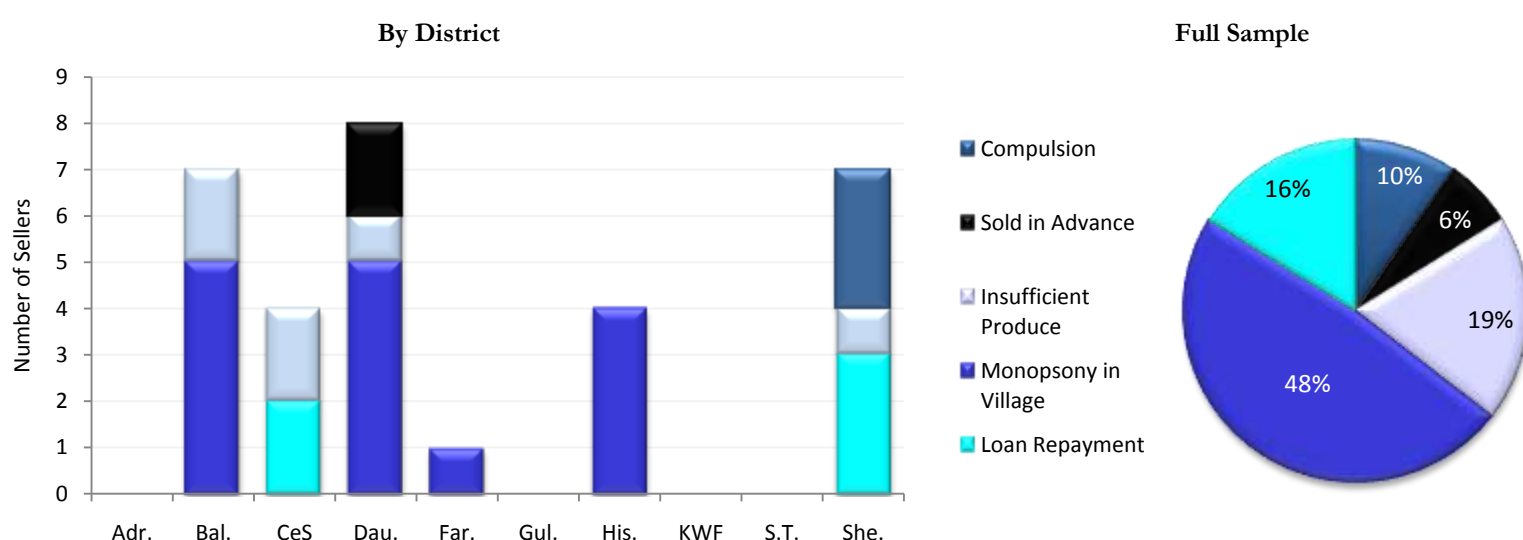


Figure 89 depicts the reasons why some agricultural producers felt they did not have a choice in who they sold their products to. The most commonly cited reason, which accounted for all four respondents in Hisarak, five out of seven respondents in Balkh, and five out of eight respondents in Daulina, was that there was only one seller in the village. The next most commonly cited reason, mentioned by two out of seven respondents in Sherzad, two out of four respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, and a single respondent each in Daulina and Sherzad was that they had produced an amount of produce insufficient to attract additional buyers. Two respondents in Balkh and three respondents in Sherzad cited a prior commitment to repaying a loan as the main reason why they lacked a choice in buyers. Three respondents in Sherzad reported that they had been coerced into selling produce to a particular individual, while two respondents in Daulina stated that they lacked access to a free market for their products because they had entered into a prior arrangement to sell their produce to a particular individual.

**Figure 89: Reason for Inability to Access Free Market for Produce**



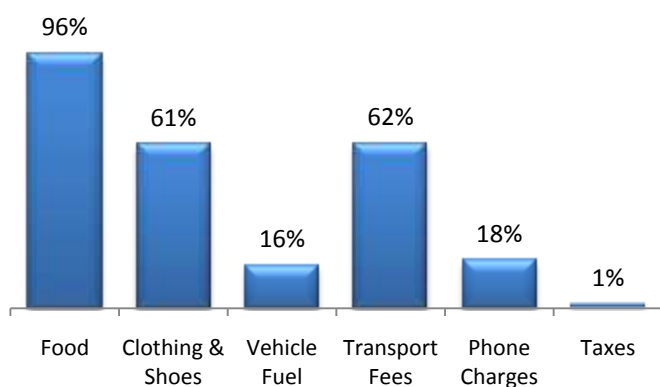
### **Consumption**

The male household questionnaire contained a section on monthly and annual expenditures on various items. Male household respondents were asked to estimate how much had been spent in the past month on food, clothing and shoes, vehicle fuel, transport fees, phone charges, and on

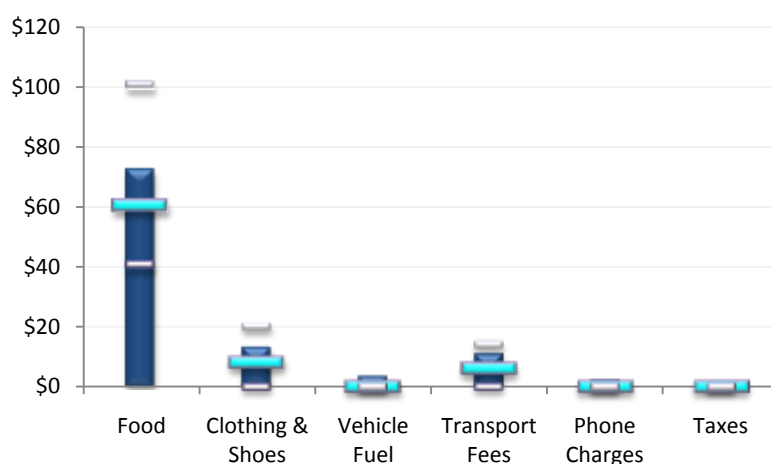
taxes, and how much they spent on the past 12 months on domestic items, such as medical expenses, education, house construction, vehicle repair, and interest on borrowed funds, and on social and religious obligations, such as weddings, funerals, charitable contributions, festivals, and the Hajj. The following section presents summary statistics relating to these expenses, beginning with an examination of aggregate and district-level statistics relating to monthly expenditures, followed by annual expenditures on domestic items, and then annual expenditures on social and religious obligations. The section concludes by exploring within- and between-district variation in annualized expenditures.

As depicted in Figure 90 below, 96 percent of respondents across the sample reported spending money during the past month on food, with 61 percent reporting expenditures on clothing and shoes, 16 percent on vehicle fuel, 62 percent on transportation fees, 18 percent on phone charges, and 1 percent on taxes. Figure 91 depicts summary statistics for monthly expenditure across the sample.<sup>36</sup> The median monthly expenditure on food was \$60, with substantial variation across the sample, with the 1<sup>st</sup> quartile at \$40 and the 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile at \$100. As is to be expected given the small proportion of households reporting such expenses, the 1<sup>st</sup> quartile, median, and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile expenditures on vehicle fuel, phone charges, and taxes were zero. For clothing and shoes, the median expenditure was \$8, with a 1<sup>st</sup> quartile at \$0 and a 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile at \$20. For transportation fees, the median expenditure was \$6, with a 1<sup>st</sup> quartile at \$0 and a 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile at \$14.

**Figure 90: Percentage of Households Reporting Monthly Expenditures on Various Items**



**Figure 91: Monthly Expenditure on Various Items**

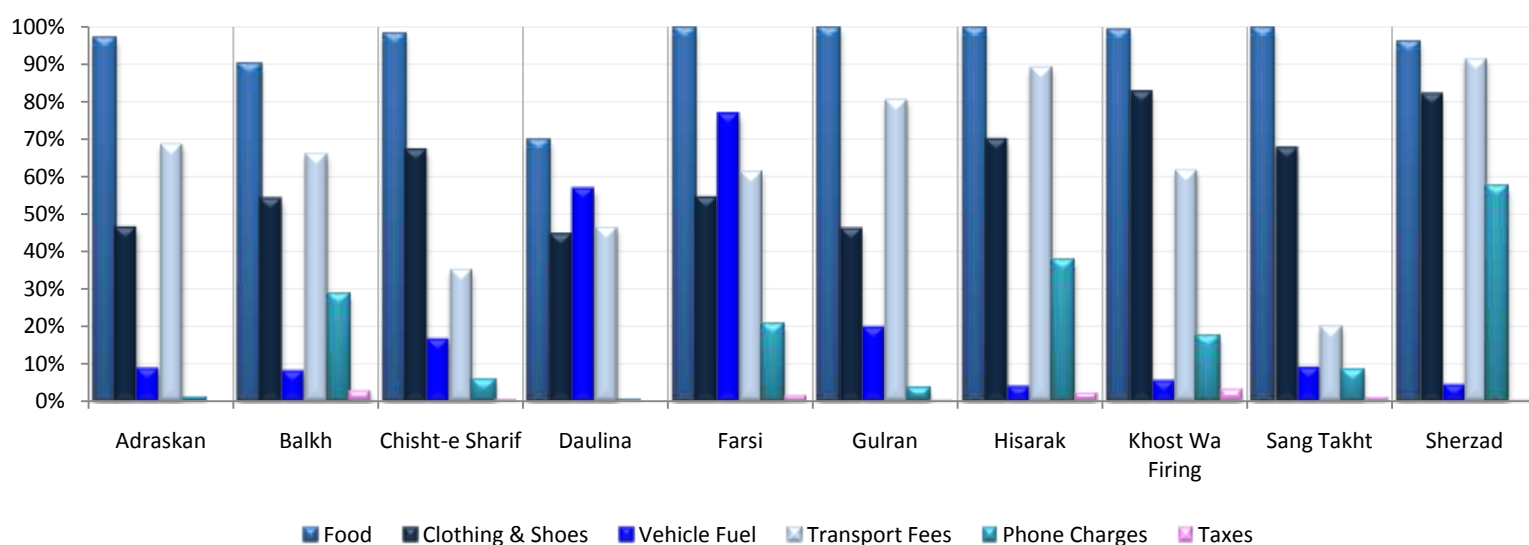


In all districts except Daulina, more than 90 percent of households reported spending money on food during the past month. In Daulina, however, just 70 percent of households reporting monthly food expenditures, indicating a relatively high proportion of households that are able to meet their food needs through subsistence agriculture. The incidence of expenditures on clothing and shoes were relatively constant across the sample, ranging from 45 percent in Daulina and 46 percent in Gulran to 82 percent in Khost Wa Firing and Sherzad, while the incidence of spending on vehicle fuel varied more significantly, from lows of 4 percent in Hisarak and Sherzad to a high of 77 percent in Farsi. The incidence of expenditure on transportation fees also varied greatly, from a low of 20 percent in Sang Takht to a high of 91 percent in Sherzad.

<sup>36</sup> Dark blue columns represent average values, turquoise horizontal markers represent median values, while the lower white horizontal markers represent the 1<sup>st</sup> quartile and the upper white horizontal markers represent the 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile.

Between district variation in the incidence of phone charges was also observed, ranging from 0 percent of respondents in Daulina to 57 percent of respondents in Sherzad.

**Figure 92: Percentage of Households Reporting Monthly Expenditure on Various Items, by District**

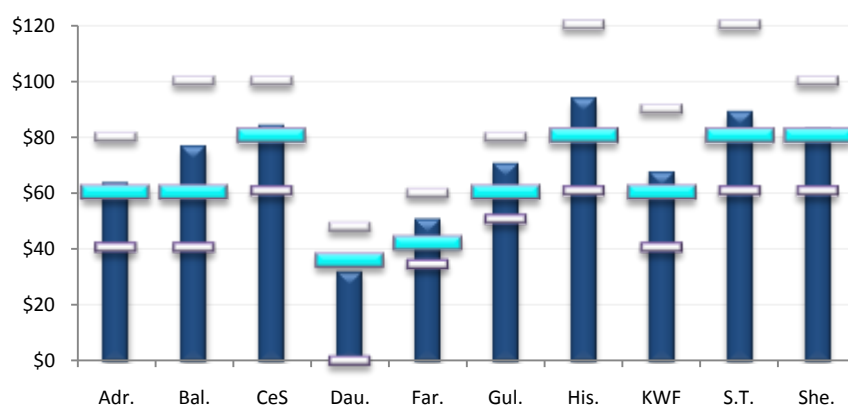


Median monthly expenditures on food were lowest in Daulina (\$36) and Farsi (\$42) and highest in Chisht-e Sharif (\$80), Hisarak (\$80), Sang Takht (\$80), and Sherzad (\$80). Inequality in food expenditures as measured by the inter-quartile range varied from a low of \$26 in Farsi to a high of \$70 in Khost Wa Firing. In Hisarak and Sang Takht, 25 percent of households reported spending \$120 or more on food, with 25 percent of households in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Sherzad spending \$100 or more.

**Table 21: Monthly Expenditure on Food**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	499	\$60	\$63	\$31	\$190
Balkh	500	\$60	\$76	\$50	\$180
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$80	\$84	\$40	\$198
Daulina	500	\$36	\$32	\$27	\$160
Farsi	499	\$42	\$51	\$27	\$190
Gulran	500	\$60	\$70	\$33	\$180
Hisarak	492	\$80	\$93	\$41	\$180
Khost Wa Firing	500	\$60	\$67	\$38	\$198
Sang Takht	495	\$80	\$88	\$40	\$180
Sherzad	493	\$80	\$82	\$40	\$200
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,978</b>	<b>\$60</b>	<b>\$71</b>	<b>\$41</b>	<b>\$200</b>

**Figure 93: Monthly Expenditure on Food**



Median monthly expenditures on clothing and shoes were lowest in Adraskan (\$0), Daulina (\$0), and Gulran (\$0) and highest in Hisarak (\$14) and Sherzad (\$16). Inter-quartile ranges varied from a high of \$26 observed in Sherzad to a low of \$10 observed in Farsi and Gulran. 25 percent of respondents in Sherzad reported spending \$30 or more on clothing and shoes, while 25 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing reported spending \$20 or more.



**Table 22: Monthly Expenditure on Clothing and Shoes**

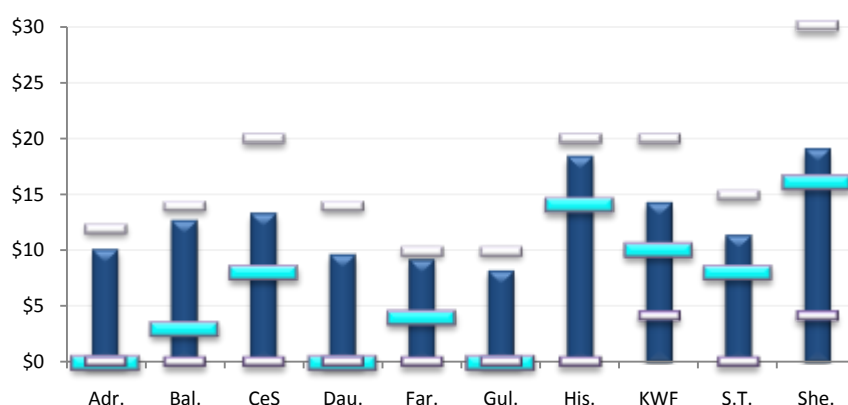
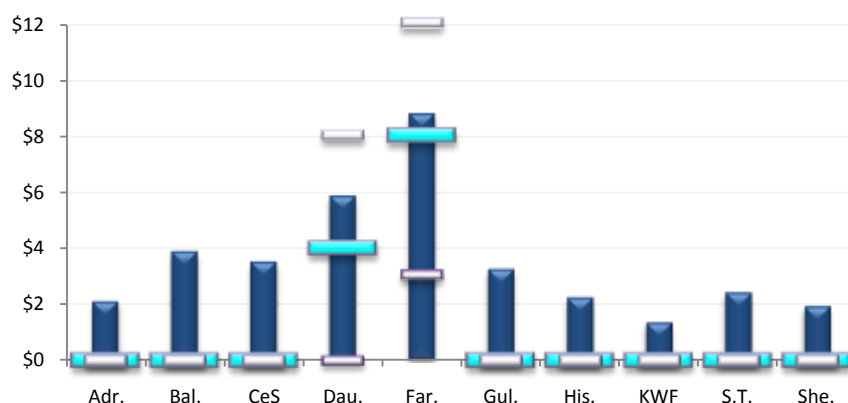
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	499	\$0	\$10	\$19	\$150
Balkh	500	\$3	\$13	\$25	\$180
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$8	\$13	\$20	\$180
Daulina	500	\$0	\$10	\$17	\$142
Farsi	499	\$4	\$9	\$18	\$160
Gulran	500	\$0	\$8	\$16	\$180
Hisarak	492	\$14	\$18	\$26	\$180
Khost Wa Firing	500	\$10	\$14	\$16	\$140
Sang Takht	495	\$8	\$11	\$17	\$140
Sherzad	493	\$16	\$19	\$20	\$180
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,978</b>	<b>\$6</b>	<b>\$13</b>	<b>\$20</b>	<b>\$180</b>

Median monthly expenditures on vehicle fuel were zero in all districts except Daulina and Farsi, which recorded levels of \$4 and \$8 respectively. The difference is mainly due to the high level of vehicle ownership in Daulina and Farsi, where 67 percent and 69 percent of respondents respectively report owning a motorbike. For instance, households that report having one car or motorbike have average fuel expenses of \$12.20, relative to an average of \$0.78 for households that do not own either. 25 percent of respondents in Farsi reported spending \$12 or more on transportation in the past month, while 25 percent of respondents in Daulina reported spending \$8 or more.

**Table 23: Monthly Expenditure on Vehicle Fuel**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	499	\$0	\$2	\$11	\$160
Balkh	500	\$0	\$4	\$18	\$160
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$4	\$13	\$180
Daulina	500	\$4	\$6	\$9	\$100
Farsi	499	\$8	\$9	\$10	\$140
Gulran	500	\$0	\$3	\$9	\$80
Hisarak	492	\$0	\$2	\$15	\$180
Khost Wa Firing	500	\$0	\$1	\$7	\$100
Sang Takht	495	\$0	\$2	\$10	\$100
Sherzad	493	\$0	\$2	\$11	\$100
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,978</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$4</b>	<b>\$12</b>	<b>\$180</b>

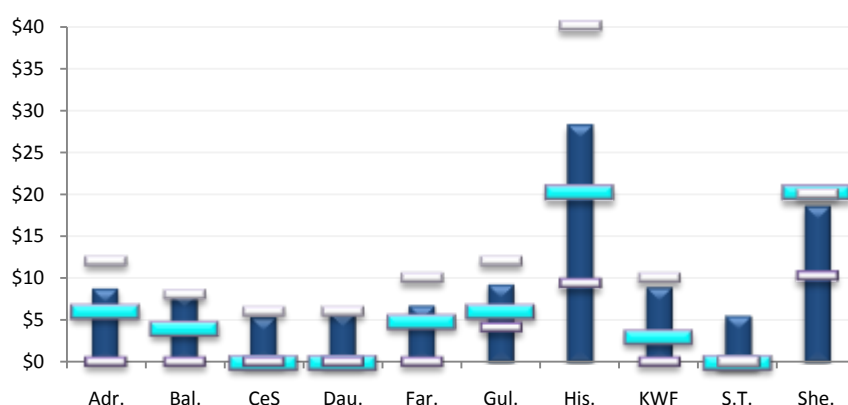
Transportation expenditures are relatively common in the Nangarhar districts of Hisarak and Sherzad, where 89 percent and 91 percent of respondents respectively reported spending money on transportation fees in the past month. Hisarak and Sherzad also reported the highest median level expenditures on transport fees, both at \$20, and the highest mean level of expenditures, at \$28 and \$19 respectively. Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, and Sang Takht all recorded zero median monthly expenditure on transportation fees, while respondents in Adraskan, Balkh, Farsi, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing reported median monthly expenditures between \$3 and \$6. Inequality was greatest in Hisarak, where 25 percent of respondents spent \$40 or more on transportation fees in the past month.

**Figure 94: Monthly Expenditure on Clothing and Shoes****Figure 95: Monthly Expenditure on Vehicle Fuel**



**Table 24: Monthly Expenditure on Transport Fees**

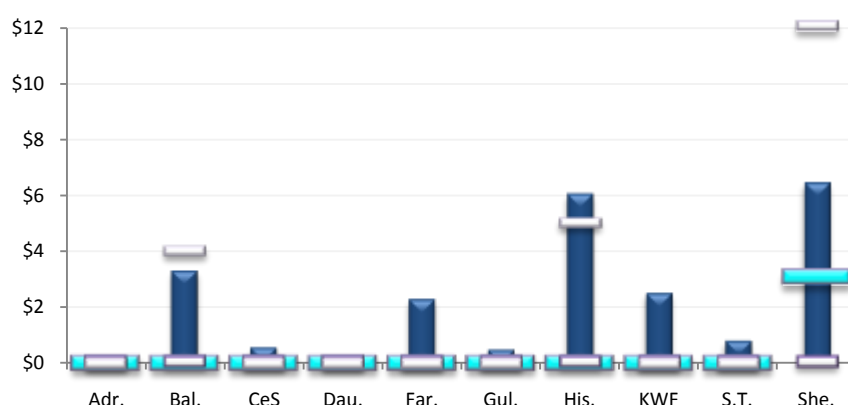
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	499	\$6	\$9	\$12	\$140
Balkh	500	\$4	\$8	\$17	\$180
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$5	\$15	\$180
Daulina	500	\$0	\$6	\$11	\$70
Farsi	499	\$5	\$7	\$11	\$130
Gulran	500	\$6	\$9	\$11	\$100
Hisarak	492	\$20	\$28	\$30	\$180
Khost Wa Firing	500	\$3	\$9	\$19	\$180
Sang Takht	495	\$0	\$6	\$21	\$190
Sherzad	493	\$20	\$19	\$14	\$140
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,978</b>	<b>\$5</b>	<b>\$11</b>	<b>\$18</b>	<b>\$190</b>

**Figure 96: Monthly Expenditure on Transport Fees**

The median and mean monthly expenditure on phone charges, such as purchasing credit for mobile phones, as median by either median or mean levels, was minimal in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Gulran, and Sang Takht. Balkh, Farsi, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing also reported zero median monthly expenditures, although mean expenditures ranged between \$2 in Farsi and \$6 in Hisarak. Sherzad was the only district to report a non-zero level of median monthly expenditures on phone charges, at \$3, meaning more than half of households in the district spend at least \$3 on phone charges. Balkh, Hisarak, and Sherzad were the only districts to report any difference in phone expenditures between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartiles. In all three districts, the person at the 25<sup>th</sup> percentile of phone expenditures spent \$0, while those at the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile spent \$4, \$5, and \$12 respectively. Unsurprisingly, the mean monthly telephone expenses of households that report owning a mobile phone (\$11.08) are much higher than those that do not own one (\$0.52).

**Table 25: Monthly Expenditure on Phone Charges**

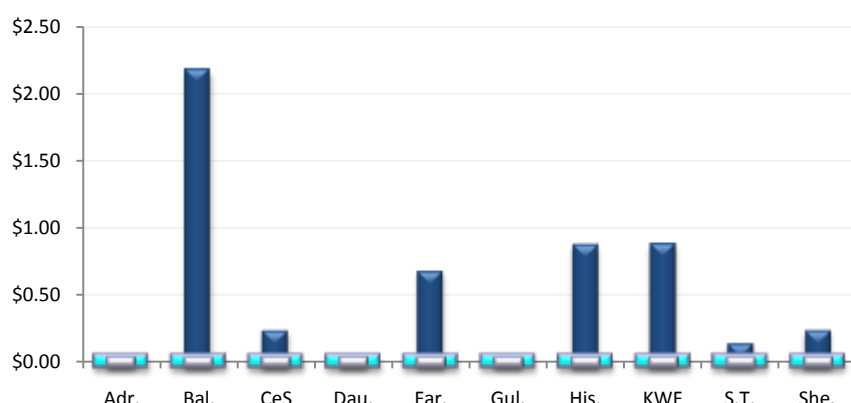
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	499	\$0	\$0	\$2	\$20
Balkh	500	\$0	\$3	\$10	\$120
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$1	\$3	\$46
Daulina	500	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$10
Farsi	499	\$0	\$2	\$5	\$26
Gulran	500	\$0	\$0	\$4	\$60
Hisarak	492	\$0	\$6	\$17	\$160
Khost Wa Firing	500	\$0	\$2	\$7	\$80
Sang Takht	495	\$0	\$1	\$4	\$40
Sherzad	493	\$3	\$6	\$8	\$50
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,978</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$2</b>	<b>\$8</b>	<b>\$160</b>

**Figure 97: Monthly Expenditure on Phone Charges**

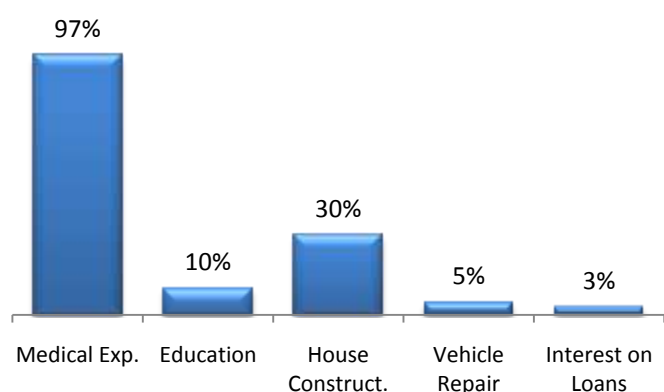
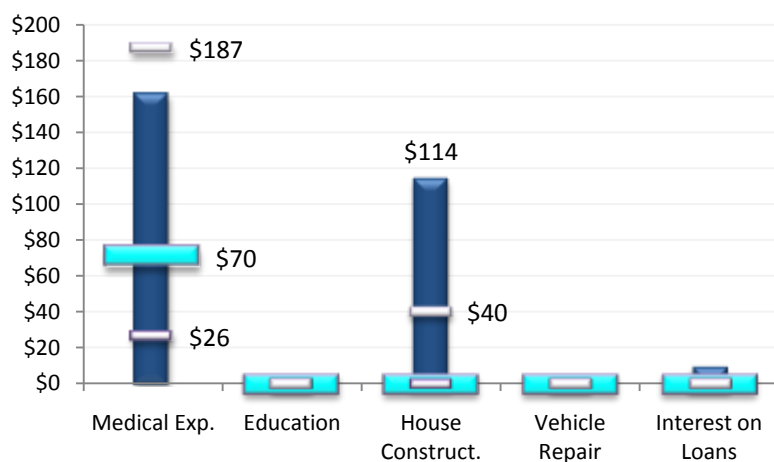
In none of the ten districts did 25 percent or more of respondents report spending money on taxes or contributions to political officials in the past month. Only in Balkh, Farsi, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing were the mean level of monthly expenditures on taxes above a quarter of a dollar. Balkh had the highest mean level of monthly expenditures, at \$2.18, although only 3 percent of respondents in the district reported non-zero expenditures on taxes. Respondents in Farsi, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing reported mean tax expenditures of \$0.68, \$0.88, and \$0.89 respectively, although the incidence of households spending money on taxes in the past was only 1 percent, 2 percent, and 3 percent respectively.

**Table 26: Monthly Expenditure on Taxes**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	499	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.09	\$0
Balkh	500	\$0.00	\$2.18	\$15.50	\$120
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0.00	\$0.24	\$4.56	\$100
Daulina	500	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.09	\$0
Farsi	499	\$0.00	\$0.68	\$7.90	\$120
Gulran	500	\$0.00	\$0.01	\$0.20	\$4
Hisarak	492	\$0.00	\$0.88	\$9.43	\$120
Khost Wa Firing	500	\$0.00	\$0.89	\$9.34	\$180
Sang Takht	495	\$0.00	\$0.15	\$2.03	\$40
Sherzad	493	\$0.00	\$0.24	\$5.40	\$120
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,978</b>	<b>\$0.00</b>	<b>\$0.53</b>	<b>\$7.33</b>	<b>\$180</b>

**Figure 98: Monthly Expenditure on Taxes**

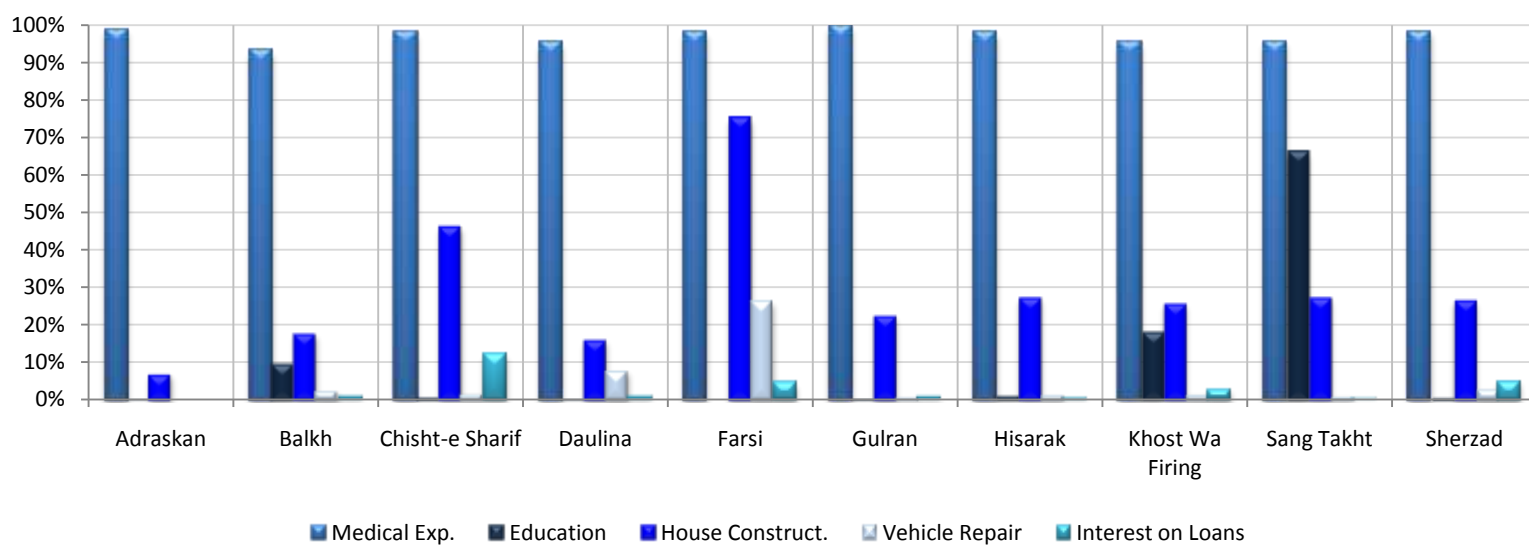
Apart from the basic monthly expenses, male household respondents were also asked to report annual expenditures on a variety of domestic items, such as medical expenses, education, house construction, vehicle repair, and interest on borrowed funds. Respondents rarely reported expenditures on education, vehicle repair, or interest, with just 10 percent, 5 percent, or 3 percent of respondents doing so. On the other hand, 30 percent of respondents reported expenditures on house construction or repair, and 97 percent of respondents reported expenditures on medicine or medical treatment. The median annual household expenditure on medical treatment and medicine stood at \$70. A high level of variation was observed across the sample, however, with 25 percent of respondents reporting expenditures of \$187 or more and 25 percent of respondents reporting expenditures of \$26 or less. For construction or repair of family homes, 25 percent of the sample reported spending \$40 or more. The mean level of expenditure on house construction or repair across the sample was \$114, indicating that a small number of respondents spent a relatively large amount of money on the item during the past year.

**Figure 99: Percentage of Households Reporting Annual Expenditures on Domestic Items****Figure 100: Annual Expenditure on Domestic Items**

The incidence of expenditure on medical treatment or medicine did not vary greatly across the sample, with the lowest district-level proportion of respondents reporting such expenses observed in Balkh (93 percent), while in Gulran, virtually all respondents reported that the household had faced medical expenditures during the past year. A very small of respondents reported the incidence of expenses on education in the past year in seven of the ten districts. In Sang Takht, however, 66 percent of respondents reported that the household had spent money on educating children in the past year. In Khost Wa Firing and Balkh, the corresponding figures were lower, but still significant, at 18 percent and 10 percent respectively. Significant variation

between districts was observed in the incidence of expenditures on house construction and repair, with just 7 percent of households in Adraskan reporting such expenses, while 75 percent of respondents in Farsi did so. The number of respondents reporting expenditures on vehicle repair was negligible in all districts except Farsi and Daulina, where 26 percent and 8 percent of respondents respectively reported the expense. Finally, the number of households claiming to have spent at least some money on repaying loans during the past year was low across all of the sample – only in Chisht-e Sharif (12 percent), Sherzad (5 percent), Farsi (4 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (3 percent), did the proportion of respondents reporting such expenses exceed 1 percent.

**Figure 101: Percent of Households Reporting Annual Expenditure on Domestic Items, by District**



The highest median annual household expenditure on medical treatment and medicine was observed in Hisarak (\$225), followed by Sherzad (\$162), Chisht-e Sharif (\$140), and Adraskan (\$120). Median expenditures were lowest in Daulina (\$26), Farsi (\$30), and Khost Wa Firing (\$38). The within-district inequality of medical expenditures was greatest in Hisarak, where 25 percent of households reported medical expenditures of \$700 or more in the past year and another 25 percent of households reported expenditures of \$70 or less. By contrast, the difference in medical expenditures between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartiles was a mere \$22 in Daulina and \$30 in Farsi. The maximum level of expenditure on medical treatment and medicine exceeded \$1,000 in all districts, except Daulina (\$320) and Farsi (\$780). Across the sample, the highest level of medical expenditure observed was \$1,400, reported by respondents in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Hisarak, and Sang Takht.

**Table 27: Annual Expenditure on Medical Treatment**

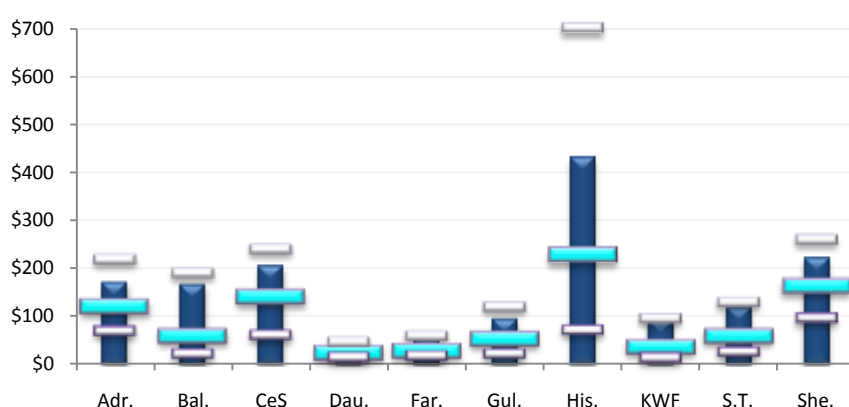
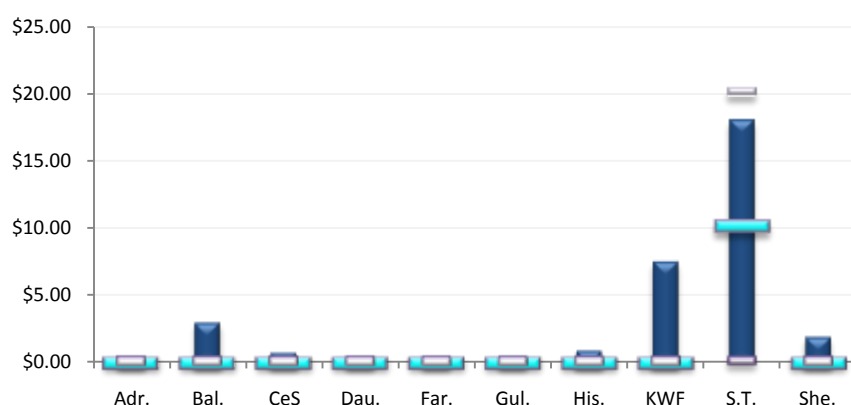
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$120	\$172	\$167	\$1,220
Balkh	450	\$60	\$167	\$265	\$1,400
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$140	\$206	\$229	\$1,400
Daulina	423	\$26	\$37	\$37	\$320
Farsi	497	\$30	\$52	\$74	\$780
Gulran	498	\$54	\$96	\$122	\$1,040
Hisarak	486	\$225	\$430	\$434	\$1,400
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$38	\$95	\$164	\$1,240
Sang Takht	490	\$60	\$120	\$176	\$1,400
Sherzad	481	\$162	\$223	\$209	\$1,200
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$70</b>	<b>\$161</b>	<b>\$242</b>	<b>\$1,400</b>

Reported expenditure on education was negligible in all districts, except Khost Wa Firing and Sang Takht. In Khost Wa Firing, only 18 percent of respondents reported expenditure on education, but those the expenditures that were reported were quite sizeable, with one respondent reporting spending \$500 in the past year on education, the maximum for the sample. In Sang Takht, where two-thirds of households reported education expenses, the median education expense was \$10, with 25 percent of households facing expenditures of \$20 or more.

**Table 28: Annual Expenditure on Educational Fees**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$0	\$1	\$20
Balkh	450	\$0	\$3	\$19	\$240
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$1	\$10	\$200
Daulina	423	\$0	\$0	\$2	\$40
Farsi	497	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Gulran	498	\$0	\$0	\$2	\$30
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$1	\$14	\$300
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$7	\$41	\$500
Sang Takht	490	\$10	\$18	\$27	\$240
Sherzad	481	\$0	\$2	\$28	\$480
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$3</b>	<b>\$20</b>	<b>\$500</b>

30 percent of male household respondents reported expenditures on house construction or repair over the past 12 months. The incidence of such expenses varied significantly with the district, however, with three-quarters of households in Farsi reporting such expenses, followed by Chisht-e Sharif (46 percent), Hisarak (27 percent), Sang Takht (27 percent), Sherzad (27 percent), Khost Wa Firing (26 percent), Balkh (18 percent), Daulina (16 percent), and Adraskan (7 percent). As is to be expected, the variation within districts in the amount of expenditure on house construction and repair was very high, with a handful of households in Adraskan, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, Sang Takht, and Sherzad reporting expenditures of \$2,000. The variation in expenditures in Chisht-e Sharif appeared to be particularly high, for while 54 percent of households reported spending no money at all on home construction or repair, 25 percent of households reported spending \$225 or more. Interestingly, while the incidence of expenditures on house construction was highest in Farsi, the mean level of expenditures in the district (\$74) was appreciably lower than that in Balkh (\$117), Chisht-e Sharif (\$239), Hisarak (\$209), Khost Wa Firing (\$139), and Sherzad (\$138), indicating that the distribution of expenditures on house construction in Farsi was more compressed than in other districts.

**Figure 102: Annual Expenditure on Medical Treatment****Figure 103: Annual Expenditure on Educational Fees**

**Table 29: Annual Expenditure on House Construction**

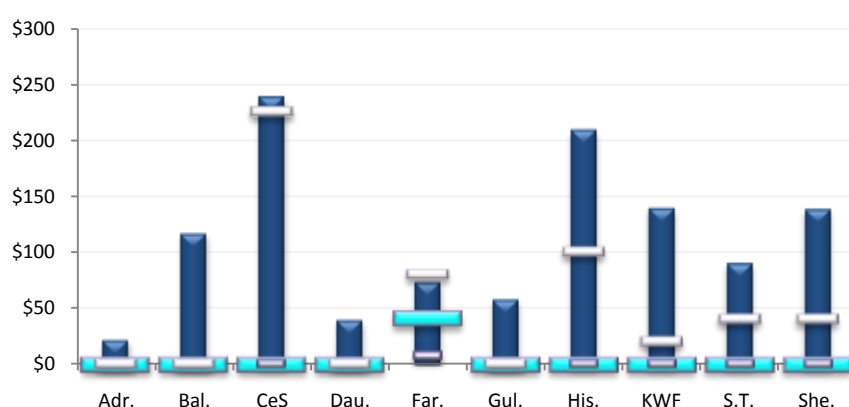
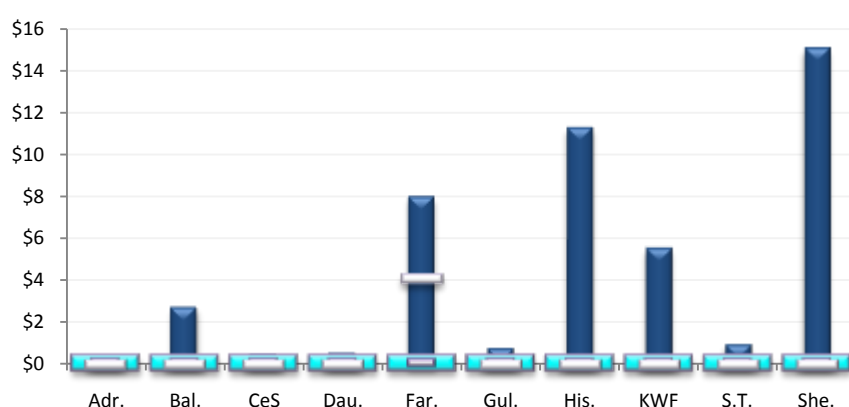
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$22	\$136	\$2,000
Balkh	450	\$0	\$117	\$360	\$2,000
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$239	\$448	\$2,000
Daulina	423	\$0	\$40	\$129	\$1,200
Farsi	497	\$40	\$74	\$142	\$2,000
Gulran	498	\$0	\$58	\$191	\$1,800
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$209	\$490	\$2,000
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$139	\$390	\$2,000
Sang Takht	490	\$0	\$91	\$252	\$2,000
Sherzad	481	\$0	\$138	\$345	\$2,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$114</b>	<b>\$324</b>	<b>\$2,000</b>

Vehicle maintenance was not a common expenditure across the sample, with only 5 percent of respondents reporting that the household had spent money on such during the past year. In Farsi, 26 percent of respondents reported vehicle maintenance expenditures and in Daulina, 8 percent of respondents reported them. In all other districts, the proportion was 3 percent or less. The highest mean annual household expenditure was observed in Sherzad (\$15), followed by Hisarak (\$11), Farsi (\$8), and Khost Wa Firing (\$6). The largest annual expenditure on vehicle maintenance, \$2,000, was recorded Hisarak.

**Table 30: Annual Expenditure on Vehicle Maintenance**

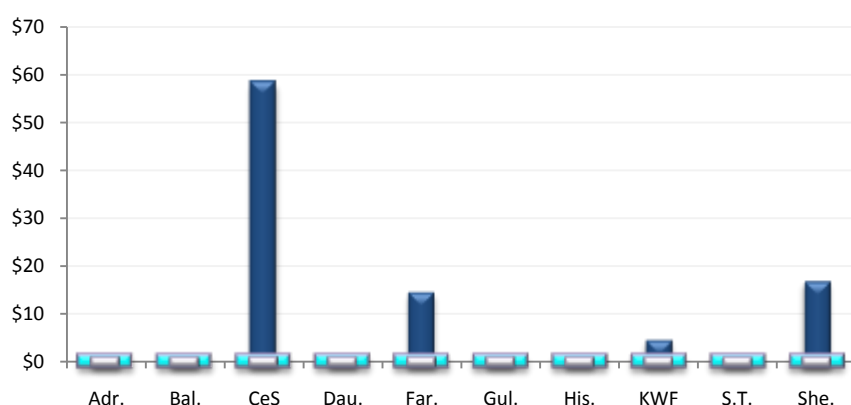
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Balkh	450	\$0	\$3	\$25	\$400
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$0	\$6	\$120
Daulina	423	\$0	\$1	\$3	\$60
Farsi	497	\$0	\$8	\$19	\$260
Gulran	498	\$0	\$1	\$12	\$220
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$11	\$123	\$2,000
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$6	\$67	\$1,100
Sang Takht	490	\$0	\$1	\$11	\$160
Sherzad	481	\$0	\$15	\$131	\$1,600
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$5</b>	<b>\$62</b>	<b>\$2,000</b>

Only 3 percent of respondents across the sample reported expenditures on interest payments in the past year. The incidence of interest payments were highest in Chisht-e Sharif, with 12 percent of respondents, followed by Sherzad at 5 percent, Farsi at 4 percent, and Khost Wa Firing at 3 percent. The mean levels of interest payments in these four districts were skewed upwards by excessive interest payments paid by a small number of respondents, which peaked at \$4,000 in Chisht-e Sharif, \$1,000 in Farsi, \$1,000 in Khost Wa Firing, and \$4,000 in Sherzad.

**Figure 104: Annual Expenditure on House Construction****Figure 105: Annual Expenditure on Vehicle Maintenance**

**Table 31: Annual Expenditure on Interest or Fees**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Balkh	450	\$0	\$0	\$5	\$100
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$58	\$299	\$4,000
Daulina	423	\$0	\$0	\$5	\$100
Farsi	497	\$0	\$15	\$96	\$1,000
Gulran	498	\$0	\$2	\$27	\$600
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$0	\$1	\$10
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$5	\$53	\$1,000
Sang Takht	490	\$0	\$1	\$13	\$280
Sherzad	481	\$0	\$17	\$190	\$4,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$10</b>	<b>\$121</b>	<b>\$4,000</b>

**Figure 106: Annual Expenditure on Interest or Fees on Loans**

In addition to domestic items, such as medical expenses and money spent on house construction or repair, male household respondents were also asked to estimate expenditures by the household on social and religious obligations, such as weddings, funerals, festivals, charity, and Haj, during the past 12 months. Across the full sample, 7 percent of respondents reported non-zero expenditures on weddings, 6 percent reported expenditures on funerals, 16 percent on festivals, 52 percent on charity, with only a handful of respondents having spent money on pilgrimages to Mecca. As charitable contributions was the only one of the five categories of social obligations for which more than half of respondents, charitable contributions was the only category with a non-zero median value across the sample, at \$2. The mean levels of weddings, funerals, festivals, charitable contributions, and Haj were \$208, \$24, \$9, \$45, and \$18 respectively.

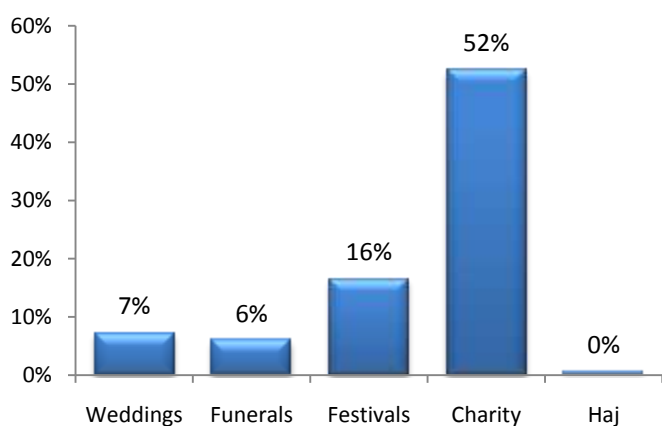
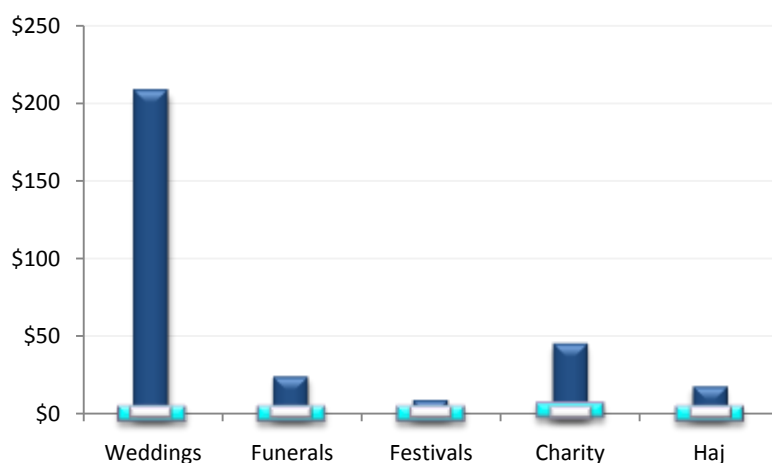
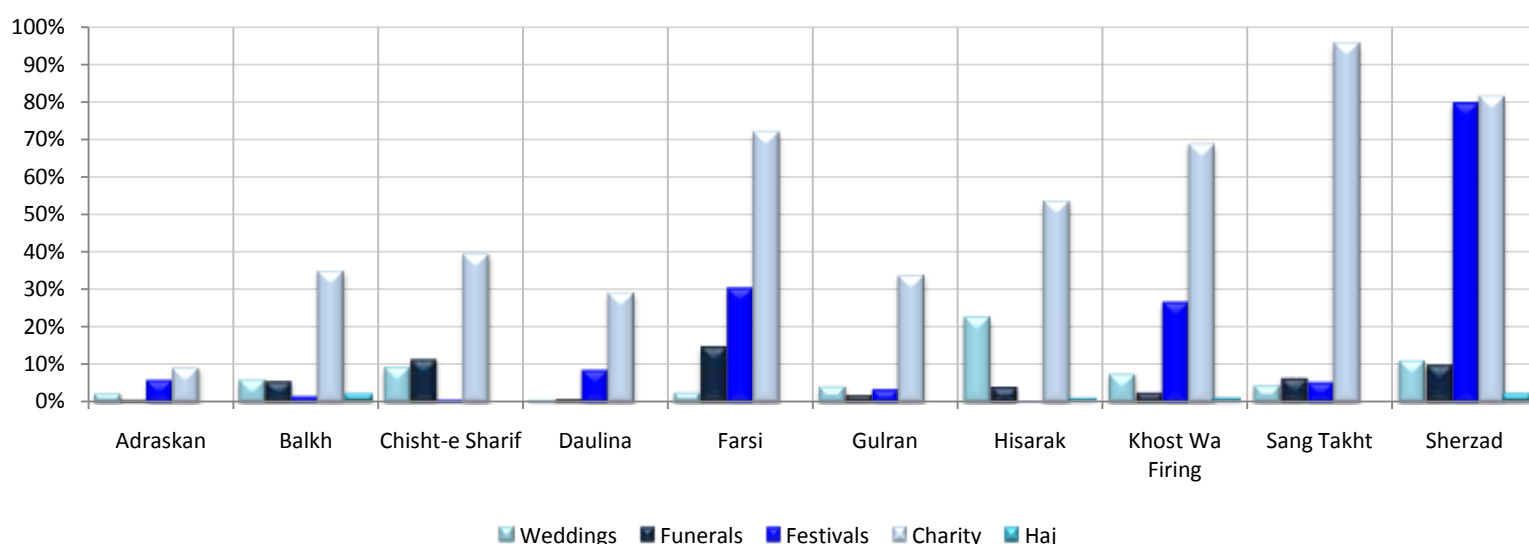
**Figure 107: Percentage of Households Reporting Annual Expenditures on Social Obligations****Figure 108: Annual Expenditure on Social Obligations**

Figure 109 plots the incidence of expenditures on social and religious obligations, by district. Expenditures on weddings were most commonly observed in Hisarak, where 22 percent of households reported non-zero spending on weddings during the past 12 months, followed by Sherzad (11 percent), and Chisht-e Sharif (9 percent). Spending on weddings was relatively rare in Farsi (3 percent), Adraskan (2 percent), and Daulina (1 percent). Funeral expenses, meanwhile, were most commonly observed in Farsi, where 14 percent of respondents reported that their households had spent money for such purposes in the past year, followed by Chisht-e Sharif (11 percent), and Sherzad (10 percent). As with weddings, very few households in Adraskan (1 percent) and Daulina (1 percent) reported expenditures on funerals. Significant variation between districts was observed in the proportion of households reporting expenditures on festivals during the past year. In Sherzad, 80 percent of households reported such spending, followed by Farsi (31



percent) and Khost Wa Firing (27 percent), whereas very few households in Hisarak (0 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (1 percent), and Balkh (2 percent) spent money on festivals during the past 12 months. The incidence of charitable contributions also varied greatly between districts. 96 percent of households in Sang Takht reported expenditures on charity, followed by Sherzad (81 percent), Farsi (72 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (69 percent), while just 9 percent of households in Adraskan claimed to have made a charitable contribution during the past year. Across the sample, very few households spent money on a pilgrimage to Mecca over the past 12 months. The incidence of such expenses were highest in Balkh and Sherzad, both at 2 percent, while no households in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, or Sang Takht reported spending money on the Haj.

**Figure 109: Percent of Households Reporting Annual Expenditure on Social Obligations, by District**



Culturally, weddings are of great importance and a cause for community celebration. In Afghanistan, they are infamous for the high cost they entail. This makes them, on average, the second highest item in terms of annual expenditure after food, despite the fact that 92 percent of respondents report zero expenditure on weddings. In all 10 districts, at least one respondent reported spending \$6,000 during the past year on a wedding, introducing considerable skew into the distribution, as is demonstrated by the difference between mean and median values in Table 32 and Figure 109. Significant variation was also observed between districts in expenditures on weddings. Hisarak has the highest incidence of wedding expenditures and the highest mean, at \$501, followed by Khost Wa Firing at \$359 and Sherzad at \$354. In Daulina, where just 1 percent of respondents reported spending money on weddings during the past year, mean expenditure was \$18, while in Adraskan, where two percent of respondents reported wedding expenditures, the mean level is \$80.

**Table 32: Annual Expenditure on Weddings**

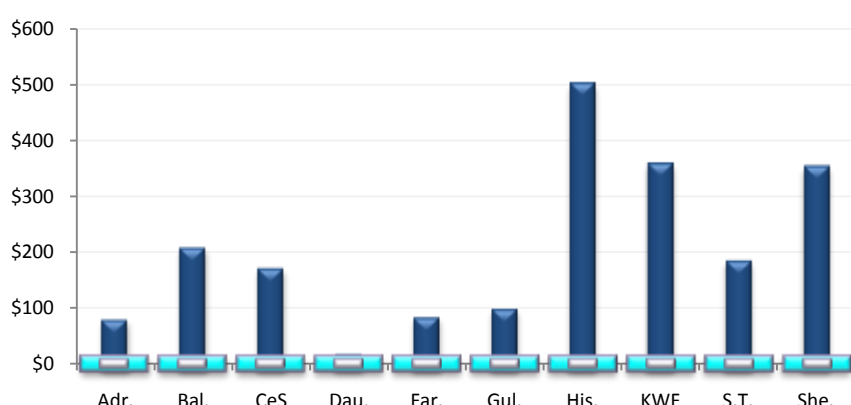
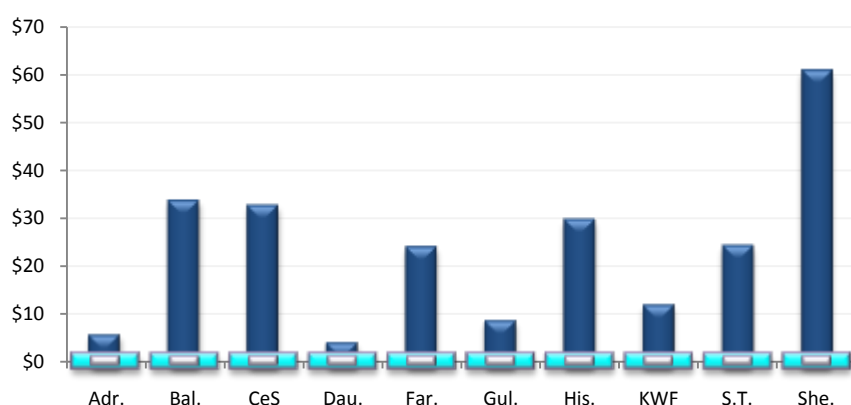
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$80	\$624	\$6,000
Balkh	450	\$0	\$208	\$945	\$6,000
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$171	\$788	\$6,000
Daulina	423	\$0	\$18	\$302	\$6,000
Farsi	497	\$0	\$84	\$638	\$6,000
Gulran	498	\$0	\$100	\$616	\$6,000
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$501	\$1,166	\$6,000
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$359	\$1,345	\$6,000
Sang Takht	490	\$0	\$185	\$907	\$6,000
Sherzad	481	\$0	\$354	\$1,153	\$6,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$207</b>	<b>\$913</b>	<b>\$6,000</b>

Significant variation also exists within and between districts with respect to expenditures on weddings. While very few respondents in any districts reported funeral expenses – Farsi had the maximum incidence of such expenses, at 14 percent – at least one respondent in each district claimed to have spent \$1,000 on a funeral during the past year. The resulting skewness in the distribution is apparent in Figure 111 below. Sherzad, where 10 percent of respondents reported funeral expenses, had the highest mean, at \$61, followed by Balkh at \$34, Chisht-e Sharif at \$33, and Hisarak at \$30. In Adraskan and Daulina, the mean expenditure on weddings was \$4 and \$6 respectively.

**Table 33: Annual Expenditure on Funerals**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$6	\$72	\$1,000
Balkh	450	\$0	\$34	\$166	\$1,000
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$33	\$140	\$1,000
Daulina	423	\$0	\$4	\$57	\$1,000
Farsi	497	\$0	\$24	\$108	\$1,000
Gulran	498	\$0	\$9	\$84	\$1,000
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$30	\$162	\$1,000
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$12	\$97	\$1,000
Sang Takht	490	\$0	\$24	\$128	\$1,000
Sherzad	481	\$0	\$61	\$227	\$1,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$24</b>	<b>\$135</b>	<b>\$1,000</b>

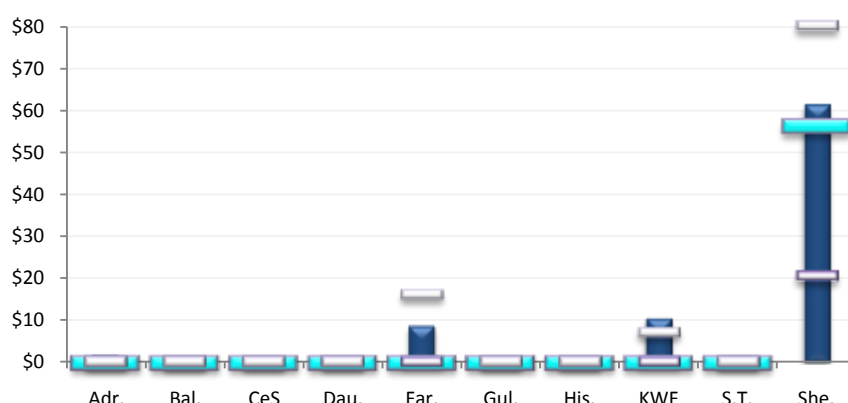
Festivals were a common source of expenditure in Sherzad district, where more than 80 percent of households reported the expense. In no other district, however, did the proportion of households spending money on festivals exceed 31 percent. Accordingly, Sherzad was the only district where the median expenditure on festivals exceeded zero – median expenditures on festivals in Sherzad was \$56. 25 percent of households in Sherzad reported spending \$80 or more on festivals in the past year, while another 25 percent of households reported spending \$20 or less. In Farsi, which had the second highest incidence of festival expenditures, 25 percent of respondents reported spending \$16 or more on festivals and in Khost Wa Firing, where 27 percent of households reported festival expenditures, 25 percent of households reported spending \$7 or more. The mean level of expenditures on weddings was below \$2 in the other seven districts. The maximum level of expenditure on weddings was \$400, observed in Sherzad.

**Figure 110: Annual Expenditure on Weddings****Figure 111: Annual Expenditure on Funerals**



**Table 34: Annual Expenditure on Festivals**

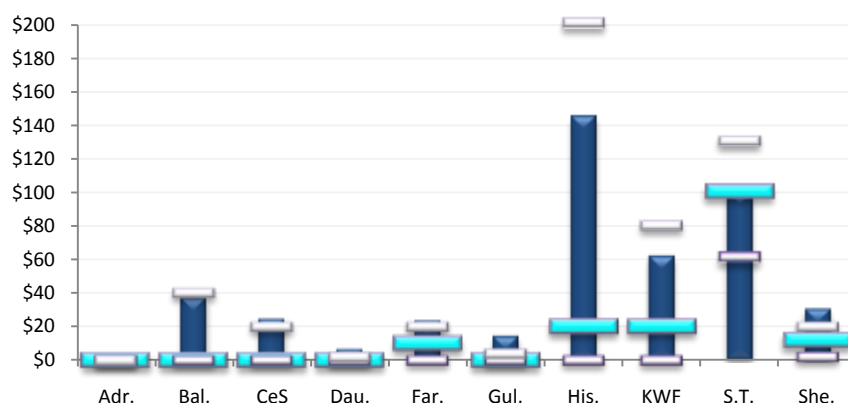
District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$2	\$8	\$80
Balkh	450	\$0	\$1	\$13	\$200
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$1	\$9	\$200
Daulina	423	\$0	\$1	\$7	\$100
Farsi	497	\$0	\$9	\$16	\$100
Gulran	498	\$0	\$1	\$11	\$200
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$0	\$2	\$40
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$10	\$24	\$200
Sang Takht	490	\$0	\$1	\$11	\$200
Sherzad	481	\$56	\$61	\$60	\$400
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$9</b>	<b>\$29</b>	<b>\$400</b>

**Figure 112: Annual Expenditure on Festivals**

The highest median level of charitable contributions was observed in Sang Takht, where 96 percent of households made a charitable contribution in the past year, and half of all respondents contributed \$100 or more. The median level of charitable contributions was much lower in the other nine districts, with Sang Takht being followed by Hisarak and Khost Wa Firing at \$20, Sherzad at \$12, and Farsi at \$10. While charitable contributions were relatively evenly distributed across the sample of respondents in Sang Takht, they were markedly uneven in Hisarak, where 25 percent of the population reported giving \$200 or more to charity in the past year. The highest charitable contribution was \$800, observed in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Gulran, Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, Sang Takht, and Sherzad. Respondents in Adraskan and Daulina, however, spent relatively little on charity, with mean levels of \$2 and \$6 respectively.

**Table 35: Annual Expenditure on Charity**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$2	\$15	\$300
Balkh	450	\$0	\$37	\$99	\$800
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$24	\$85	\$800
Daulina	423	\$0	\$6	\$30	\$500
Farsi	497	\$10	\$23	\$46	\$440
Gulran	498	\$0	\$14	\$59	\$800
Hisarak	486	\$20	\$145	\$239	\$800
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$20	\$62	\$105	\$800
Sang Takht	490	\$100	\$100	\$73	\$800
Sherzad	481	\$12	\$31	\$89	\$800
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$2</b>	<b>\$45</b>	<b>\$112</b>	<b>\$800</b>

**Figure 113: Annual Expenditure on Charity**

While very few households spent money on a pilgrimage to Mecca over the past 12 months, the amount of money spent on the Hajj by those households that did send a member for the pilgrimage was extremely high. One respondent in Balkh, for instance, reported that his household had spent \$10,000 during the past year, while the maximum values for Khost Wa Firing and Sherzad were \$6,000 and \$4,400 respectively. The mean level of expenditure on Hajj-related expenditures was highest in Sherzad, at \$76, followed by Balkh (\$59), and Khost Wa Firing (\$37). In Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, and Sang Takht, no respondents interviewed reported that their household had spent money on the Hajj during the past year.

**Table 36: Annual Expenditure on Hajj**

District	Obs.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	460	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Balkh	450	\$0	\$59	\$559	\$10,000
Chisht-e Sharif	500	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Daulina	423	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Farsi	497	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Gulran	498	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Hisarak	486	\$0	\$8	\$106	\$1,600
Khost Wa Firing	455	\$0	\$37	\$460	\$6,000
Sang Takht	490	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Sherzad	481	\$0	\$76	\$548	\$4,400
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,740</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$18</b>	<b>\$287</b>	<b>\$10,000</b>

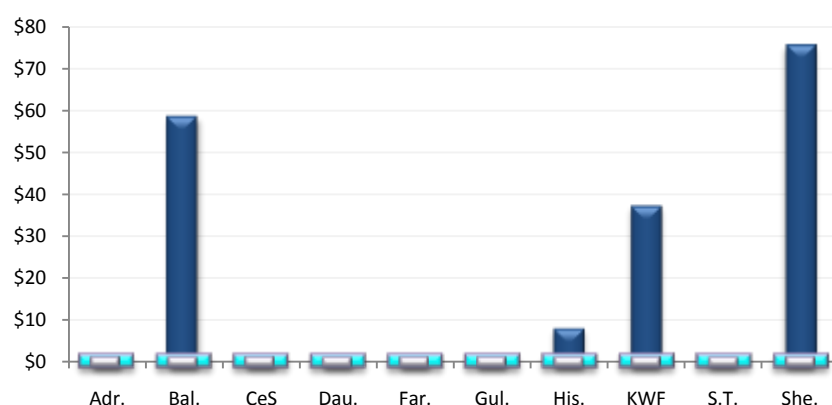
**Figure 114: Annual Expenditure on Hajj**

Figure 115 plots the distribution of annualized household expenditures by district.<sup>37</sup> Median and mean household expenditures are greatest in Hisarak, at \$2,643 and \$3,131 respectively, followed by Sherzad, at \$2,062 and \$2,536 respectively. Daulina has the lowest levels of mean and median expenditures, at \$579 and \$740, followed by Adraskan (median: \$1,104, mean: \$1,304) and Gulran (median: \$1,112, mean: \$1,380). The variation in annualized household expenditures is greatest in Hisarak, where 25 percent of respondents report expenditures of \$3,918 or above, and 25 percent of respondents report expenditures of \$1,460 or below. Within-district variation in annualized household expenditures is smallest in Daulina, where the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartiles stand at \$331 and \$970 respectively, followed by Adraskan, with 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartiles at \$824 and \$1,478 respectively.

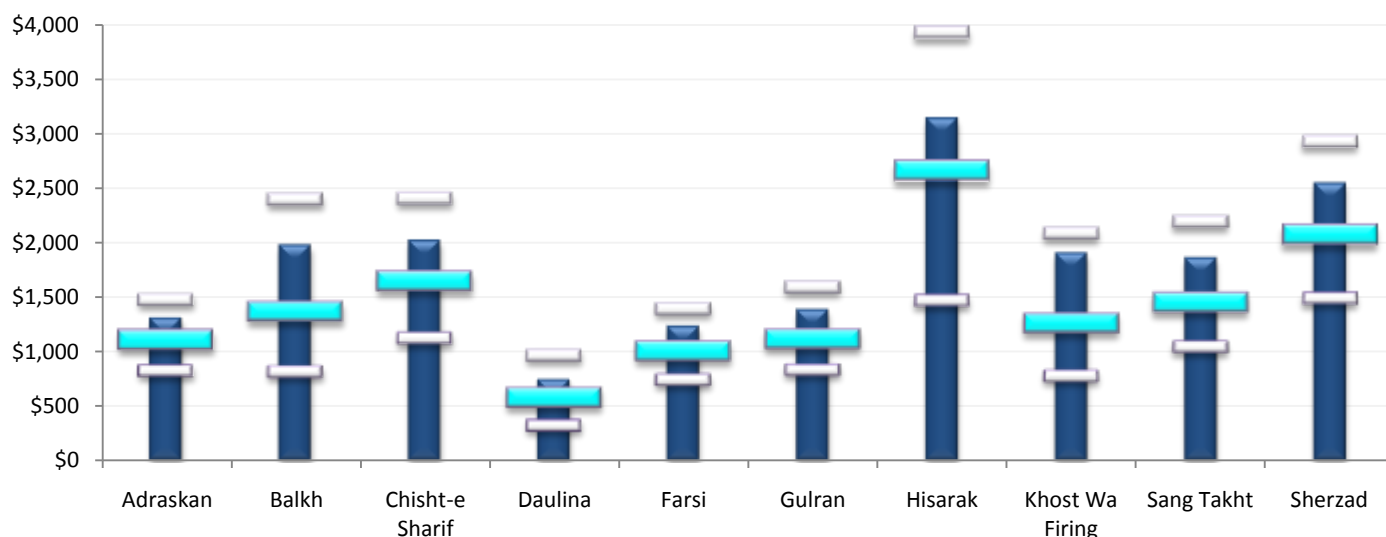
**Figure 115: Distribution of Annualized Household Expenditures, by District**

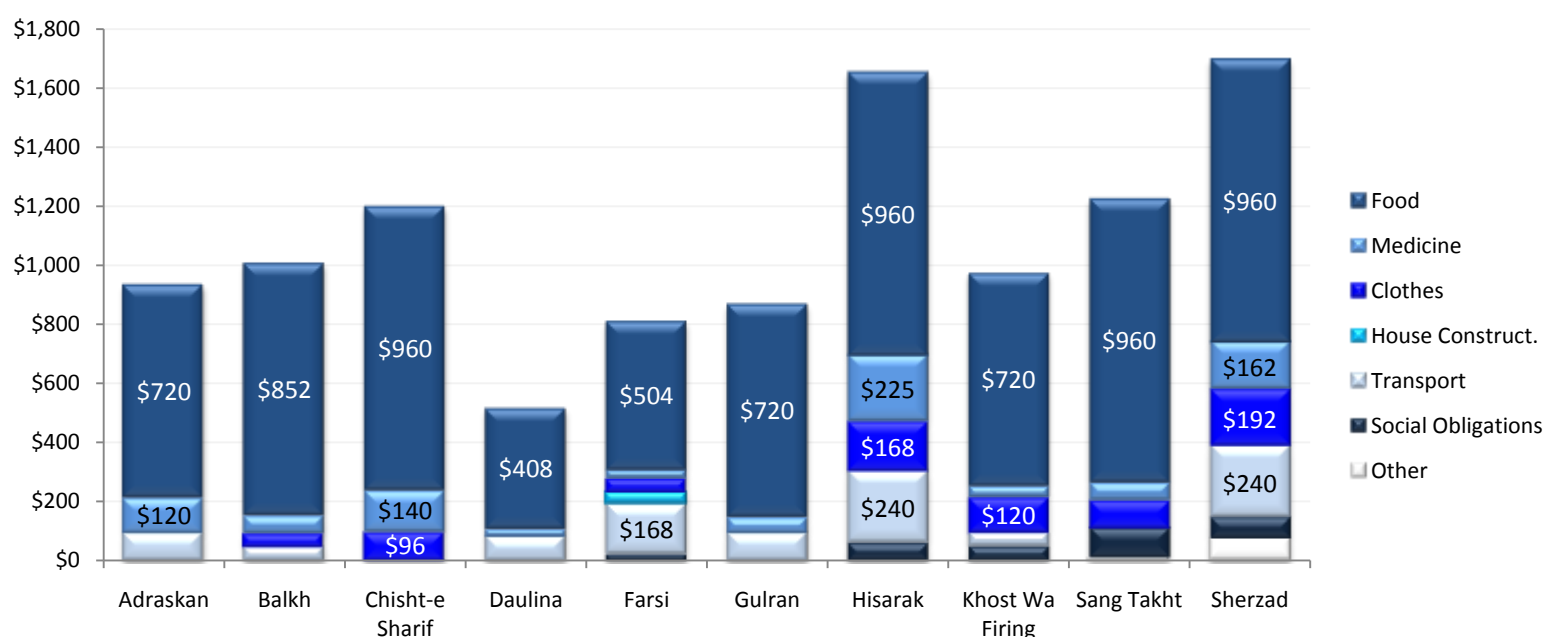
Figure 116 plots median levels for the different expenditure categories for which respondents were requested to provide estimates.<sup>38</sup> The graph demonstrates the large differences in median

<sup>37</sup> Monthly expenditures are multiple by 12 to obtain the annualized values and are then summed with expenditures reported in annual terms to obtain the total values.

<sup>38</sup> Note that, whereas Figure 115 plots the median levels of total household expenditures for each respondent, Figure 116 plots the summation of the median levels of the individual expenditure categories for each

expenditures between districts. Even among food expenditures, the amount spent by the median respondent on food in Daulina, \$408, is less than half that spent by the median respondent in Chisht-e Sharif, Hisarak, and Sherzad (\$960). Even greater differences are observed between median respondents in different districts on expenditures such as house construction, clothing and shoes, and transportation.

**Figure 116: Median Levels of Annualized Household Expenditures, by District**



The share of total expenditures spent on different categories is presented in Figure 117 below. Across the full sample, food accounts for 47 percent of all expenditures, social obligations for 17 percent, transport fees, vehicle fuel, and car maintenance for 10 percent, medical expenses for 9 percent, clothing and shoes for 8 percent, and house construction and repair for 6 percent. The proportion of expenditure devoted to food varies from 36 percent in Hisarak to 61 percent in Gulran. Social obligations, meanwhile, occupy the highest share of expenses in Khost Wa Firing (25 percent), and the smallest share in Daulina (4 percent). As a share of overall expenditure, transport costs are relatively important in Daulina, where they account for 20 percent of total expenditures, and relatively less important in Chisht-e Sharif and Sang Takht, where they account for only 5 percent of expenses. Expenditures on medical treatment and medicine consume the highest proportion of total expenditures in Hisarak (14 percent) and Adraskan (13 percent), and the smallest in Farsi (4 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (4 percent). The share of total expenditures spent on clothing is relatively constant across the sample, varying from a high of 16 percent in Daulina to a low of 7 percent in Gulran. Expenditures on house construction and repair vary from 12 percent of total expenditures in Chisht-e Sharif to 2 percent of total expenditures in Adraskan.

respondent. As such, some differences are apparent in the median levels of total expenditures reported in the two graphs.

**Figure 117: Composition of Total Expenditures**

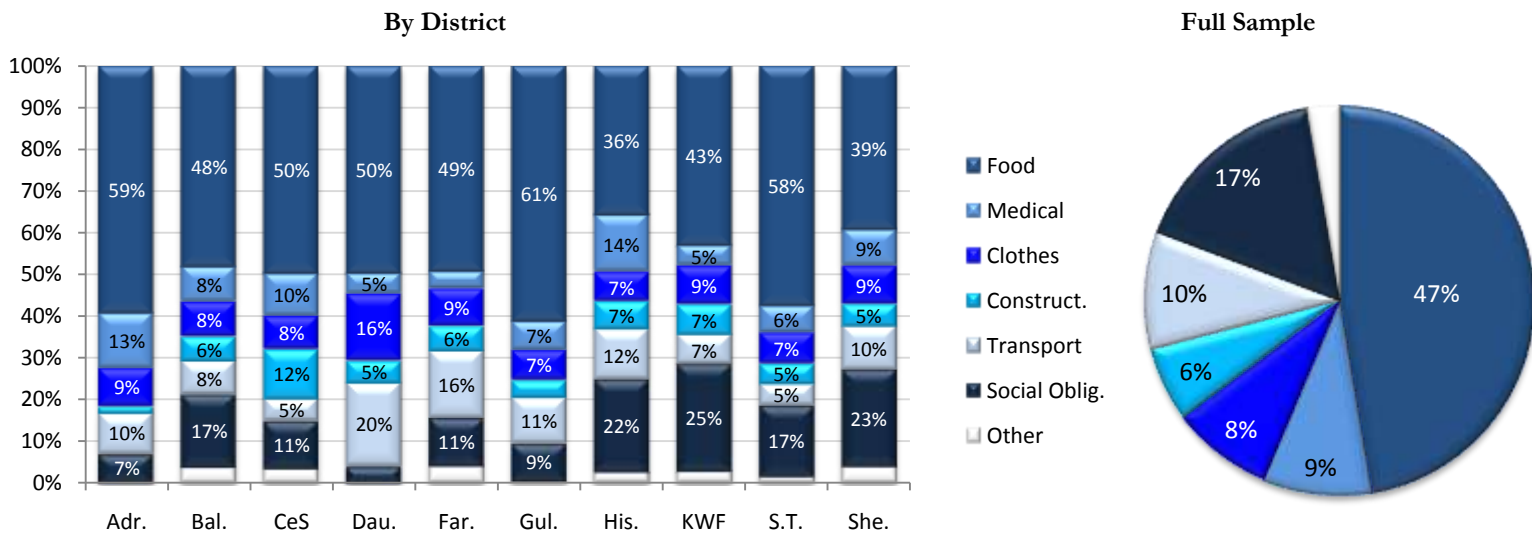
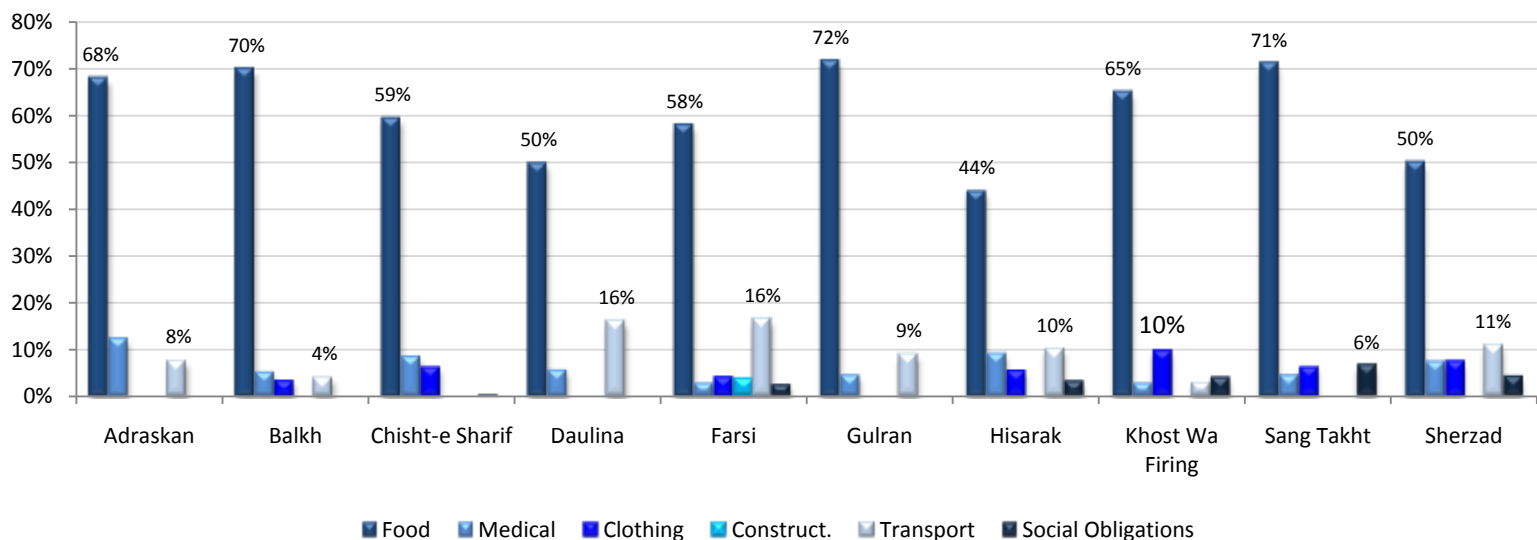


Figure 118 plots the share of annualized household expenditures contributed by the major expenditure categories for the median respondent in each district. According to this measure, the median household in Hisarak, Sherzad, and Daulina allocates the smallest proportion of its overall expenditure to food, at 44 percent, 50 percent, and 50 percent respectively. Median households in Adraskan spend the greatest share of their expenditure on medical treatment and medicine, at 12 percent, followed by Hisarak at 9 percent, and Chisht-e Sharif at 8 percent. Clothing and shoes are relatively more important for the median household in Khost Wa Firing, accounting for 10 percent of expenditures, while construction expenses account for a high of 4 percent of total expenditures in Farsi. Transportation accounts for 16 percent of total expenditure in Daulina and Farsi, while the share of expenditure allocated by the median household to social obligations peaks at 6 percent in Sang Takht.

**Figure 118: Median Share of Total Annualized Household Expenditures, by District and Category**



### **Household Assets**

In addition to consumption, economic well-being is also reflected in the ownership of assets. Accordingly, male household respondents were asked about their ownership of various vehicles, domestic items such as television sets and mobile phones, as well as different types of livestock. This section examines ownership of vehicles first, presenting aggregates for the sample as well as

district-level breakdowns, followed by a presentation of the relevant statistics relating to ownership of domestic items, and concludes with coverage of ownership of livestock, where statistics are presented relating not only to the frequency of livestock ownership, but also to the mean, median, and distribution of animals owned by respondents in the 10 sample districts.

Across the full sample, ownership of vehicles was relatively limited. A mere 2.3 percent of respondents own a car, while 0.4 percent of respondents own trucks. Ownership of bikes was surprisingly rare, with only 9 percent of households owning them, a fact probably attributable to the long distances and topographical variation that exist between villages across most of the sample. Ownership of motorbikes was more common, however, with nearly a quarter of respondents claiming that the household owned one. Among basic agricultural implements, a quarter of respondents claimed ownership of a plow, while 23 percent said that the household was in possession of a wheelbarrow. Despite the importance of agriculture in the villages across the sample, ownership of tractors was quite rare, with just 0.7 percent of respondents claiming that their household owned one.

**Figure 119: Ownership of Vehicles**

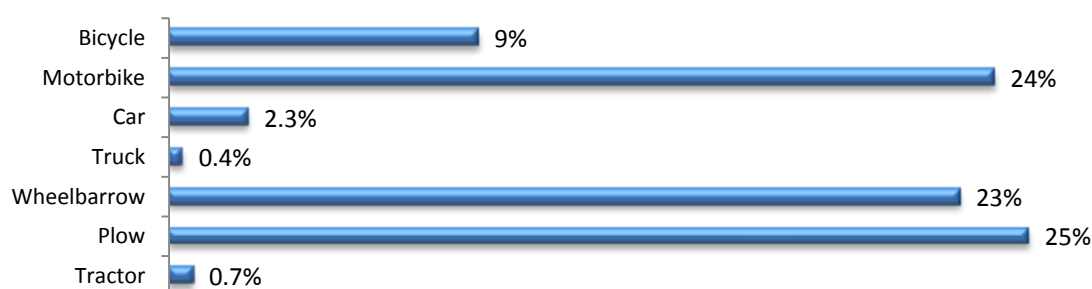
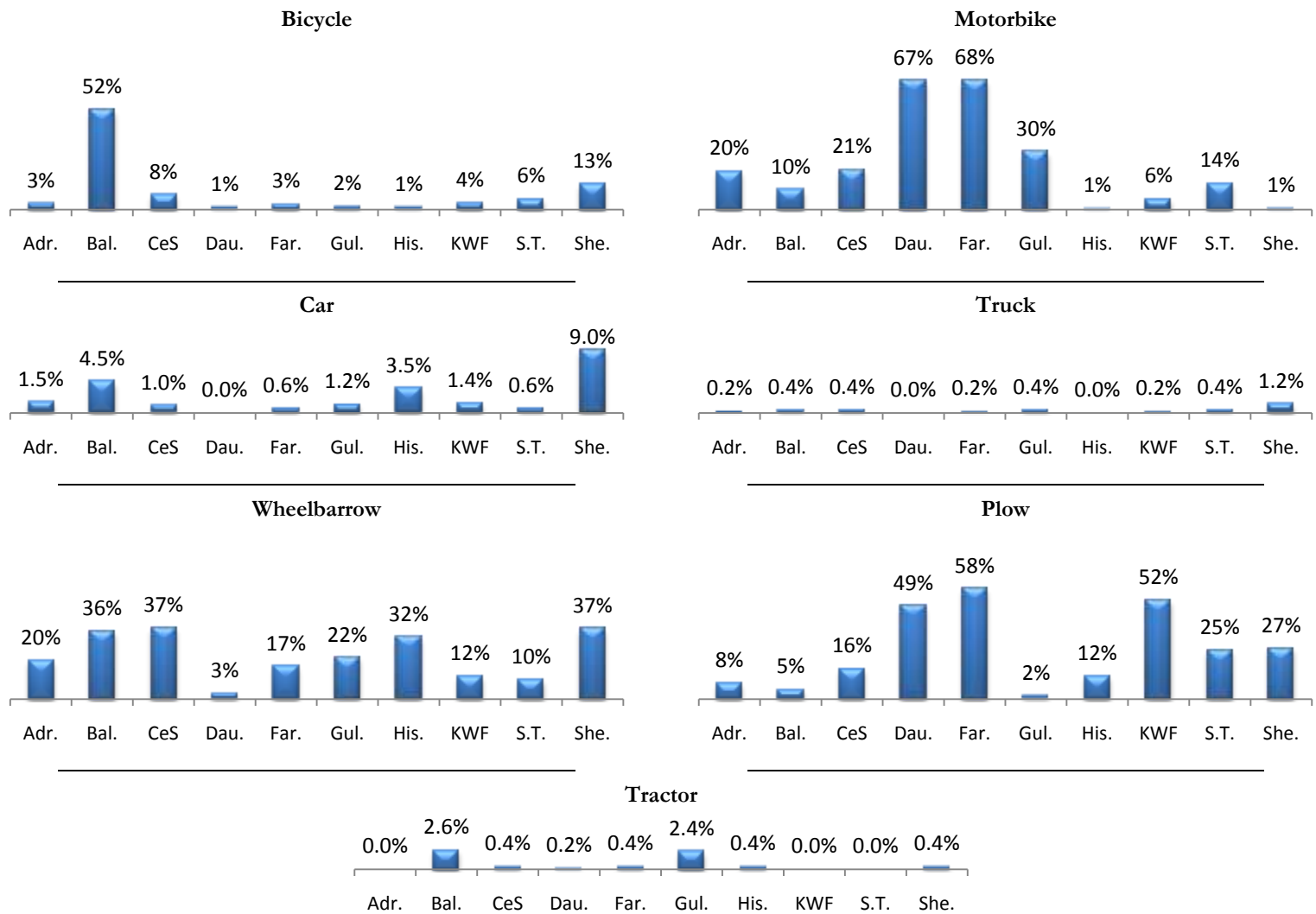


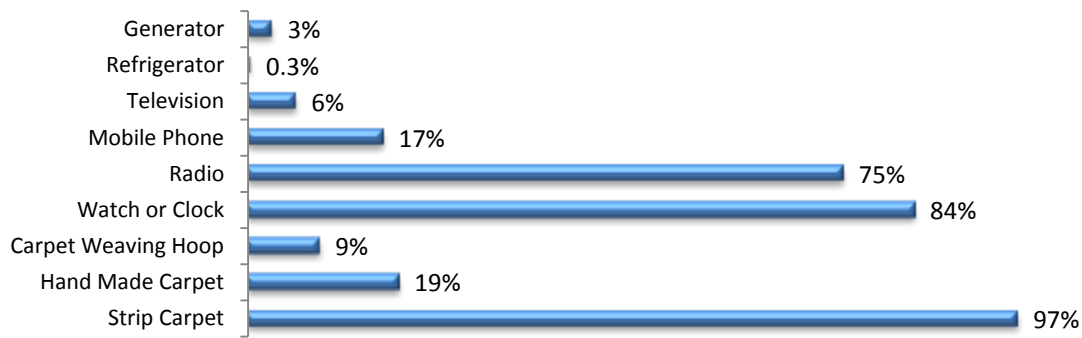
Figure 120 below presents district-level information concerning vehicle ownership. For all vehicles and agricultural implements except trucks, substantial variation in ownership rates is evident between districts. Bicycle ownership is very rare, for instance, in all districts except Balkh, a populous district dominated by flat plains and where distances between villages are relatively small. 52 percent of respondents in Balkh claimed the household owned a bicycle, with Sherzad reporting the next highest incidence of bicycle ownership, at 13 percent. The between-district variation in motorcycle ownership was also sizeable, with 67 percent of respondents in Daulina and 68 percent of respondents in Farsi, but just 1 percent of respondents in Hisarak and Sherzad, claiming that their household was in possession of one. In contrast, ownership of cars was highest in Sherzad, where 5 percent of households reported owning one, followed by Balkh at 5 percent. Car ownership was found to be extremely rare in Adraskan (1 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (1 percent), Daulina (0 percent), Farsi (1 percent), Gulran (1 percent), Khost Wa Firing (1 percent), and Sang Takht (1 percent). Ownership of agricultural implements, such as wheelbarrows and plows, also varied greatly between districts. Ownership of wheelbarrows was highest in Balkh (36 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (37 percent), and Sherzad (37 percent), and lowest in Daulina (3 percent). Ownership of plows peaked in Farsi (58 percent), followed by Khost Wa Firing (52 percent), and Daulina (49 percent), falling to 5 percent in Balkh and 2 percent in Gulran. Offsetting the low level of plow ownership, tractors were most commonly found among households in Balkh (2.6 percent) and Gulran (2.4 percent), but were very rarely found elsewhere. Ownership of trucks was rare everywhere, with Sherzad have the highest level of ownership at a mere 1.2 percent.

**Figure 120: Ownership of Vehicles, by District**



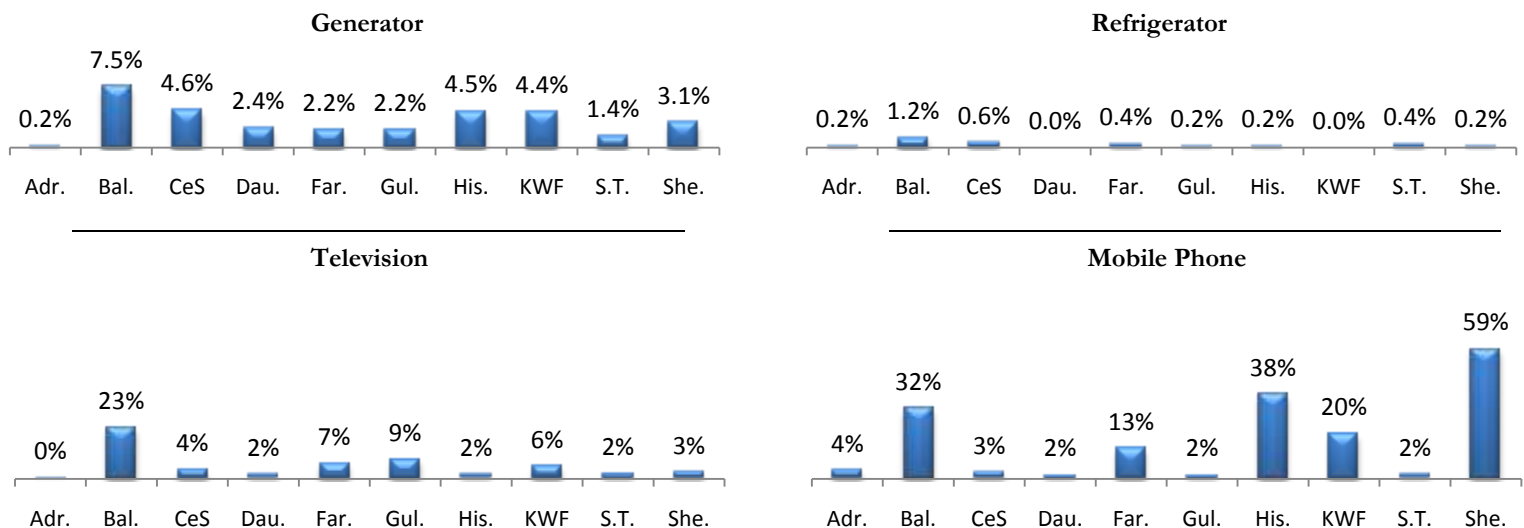
Basic household items, such as radios and chronometers, are owned with relatively high frequency, with 75 percent of respondents claiming to own a radio and 84 percent claiming ownership of a watch or clock. Big ticket electrical items were owned with much less frequency. Only 3 percent of households own a generator, 0.3 percent of respondents own a refrigerator, 6 percent own a television, and 17 percent own a mobile phone. Potentially the most important Afghan household item, taking precedence over furniture, is a carpet. Strip carpet ownership appears to be practically universal among respondents (97 percent) protecting from the cold and creating a space within the household to function and socialize. Ownership of hand-made carpets was much lower, however, at 19 percent, and just 9 percent believed the household to be in possession of a hoop necessary to weave new carpets.

**Figure 121: Ownership of Household Items**

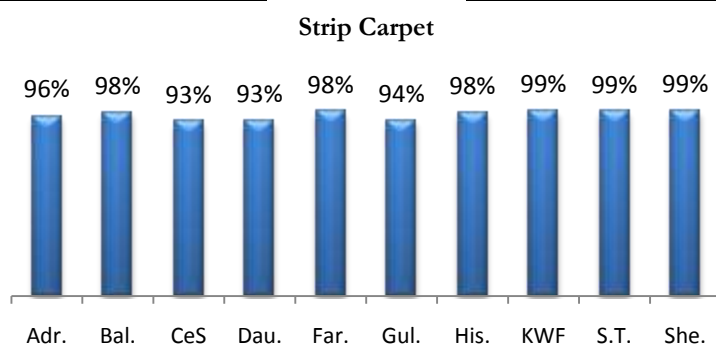
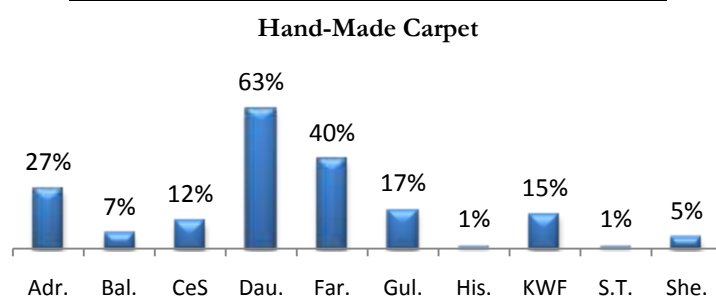
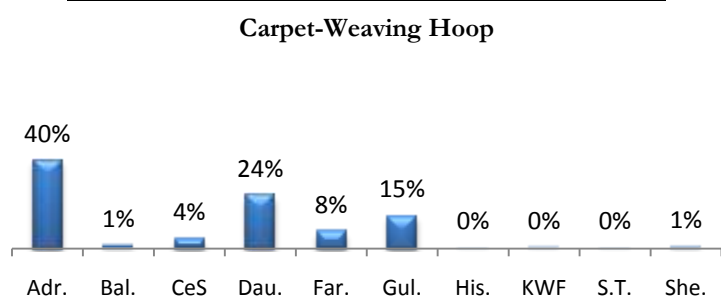
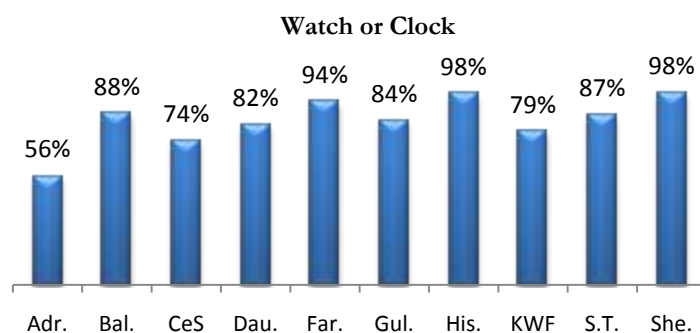
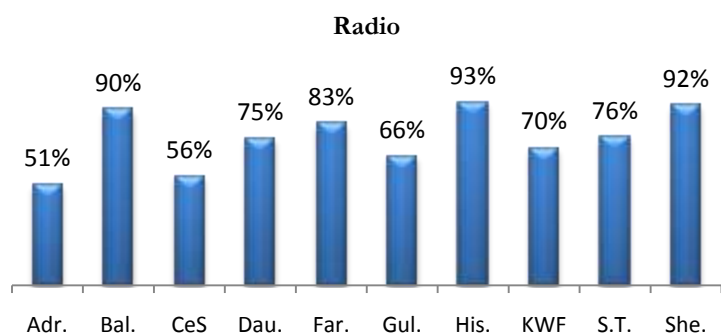


Variation between districts in the frequency of ownership of household items is presented in Figure 122 below. Generators are owned by 7.5 percent of households in Balkh, 4.6 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, 4.5 percent in Hisarak, and 4.4 percent in Khost Wa Firing but are very rarely found in Adraskan (0.2 percent) or Sang Takht (1.4 percent). Refrigerator ownership is negligible almost everywhere, peaking at 1.2 percent in Balkh. Televisions were rarely found across many of the sample, although 23 percent of respondents in Balkh claimed to own one. The frequency of mobile phone ownership was found to be highest in Sherzad (59 percent), followed by Hisarak (38 percent), and Balkh (32 percent). Mobile phone ownership was found to be much rare in Adraskan (4 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (3 percent), Daulina (2 percent), Gulran (2 percent), and Sang Takht (2 percent). Radio ownership, meanwhile, peaked at 93 percent in Hisarak, followed by 92 percent in Sherzad and 90 percent in Balkh, but fell to lows of 51 percent in Adraskan, 56 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, and 66 percent in Gulran. Almost universal of watches or clocks was observed in Hisarak (98 percent) and Sherzad (98 percent), although just over half of respondents in Adraskan (56 percent) reported that the household owned such. As anticipated given the relatively high rates with which women are involved in carpet weaving activities in Adraskan (37 percent) and Daulina (36 percent), ownership of carpet-weaving hoops is highest in these two districts with 40 percent and 24 percent of households reporting their ownership. As one might expected, there appears to be a district-level correlation between ownership of carpet-weaving hoops and hand-made carpets, with the highest levels of hand-made carpet ownership being observed in Daulina (63 percent), Farsi (40%) and Adraskan (27%).

**Figure 122: Ownership of Household Items, by District**

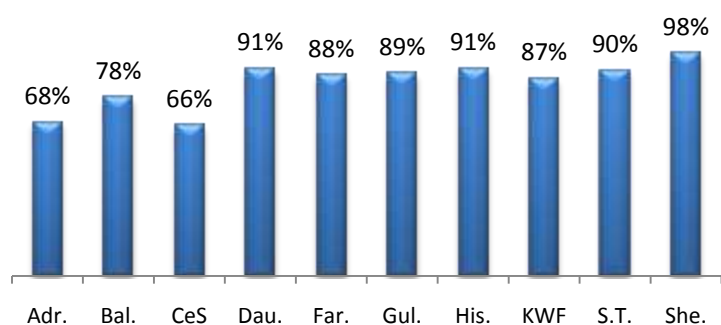






Ownership of livestock and/or poultry is high in rural Afghanistan, with 85 percent of respondents stating that their household possesses one or the other. Sherzad has the highest frequency of livestock and poultry ownership, at 98 percent, while Adraskan and Chisht-e Sharif have the lowest, at 68 percent and 66 percent respectively. Across the sample, 76 percent of households own poultry, three-quarters own one or more cows, 69 percent own a donkey, 64 percent a goat, 59 percent a sheep, 10 percent a horse, with just 1 percent owning a camel.

**Figure 123: Ownership of Livestock, by District**



**Figure 124: Ownership of Livestock, by Animal**

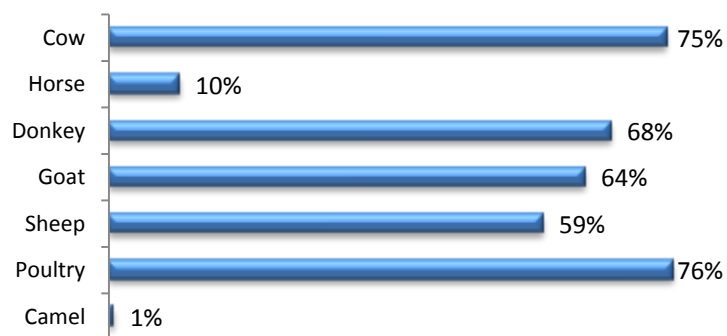
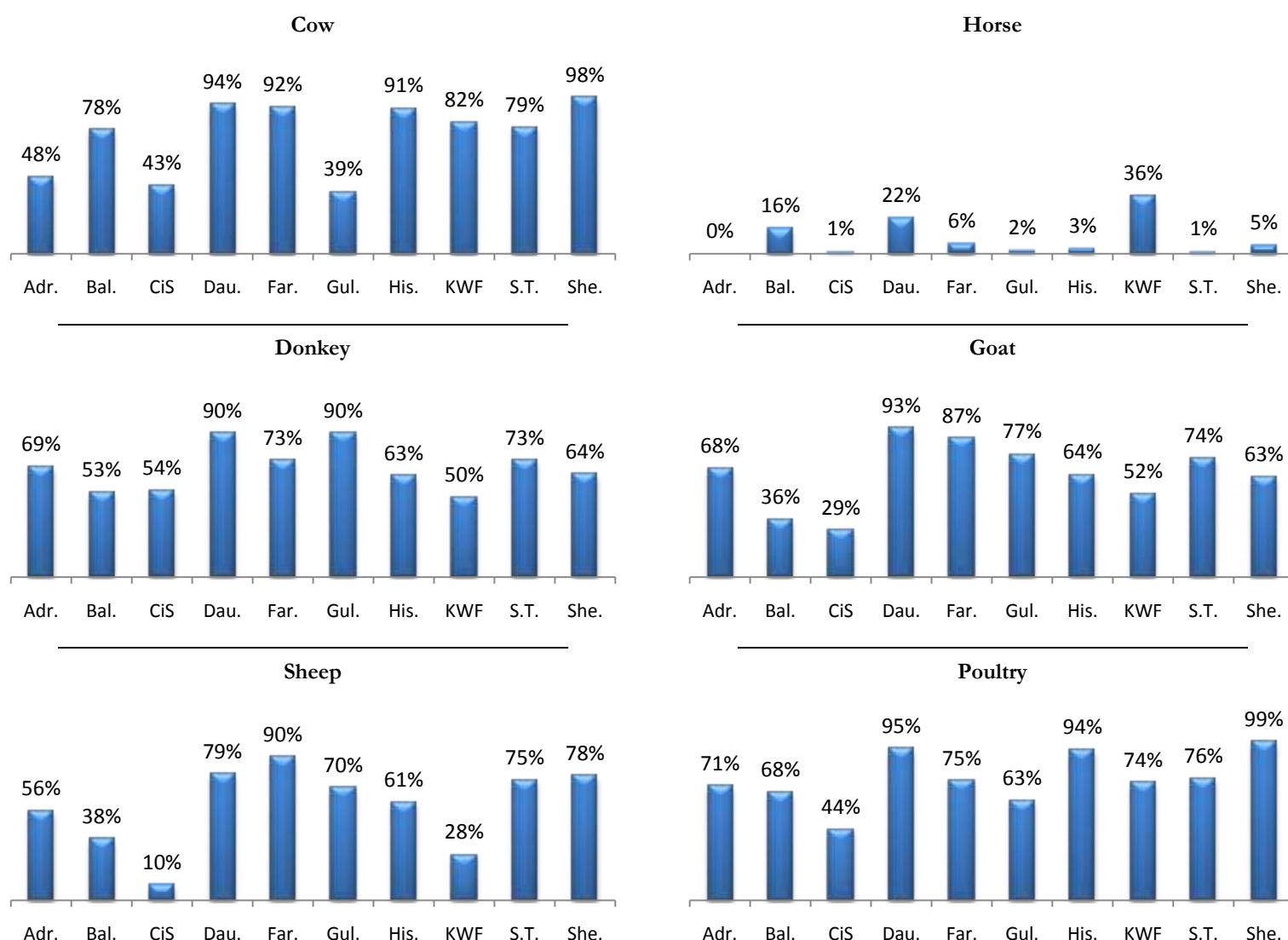


Figure 125 below displays the ownership of livestock and poultry, broken down by district and type of animal. Ownership of cows is highest in Sherzad (98 percent), Daulina (94 percent), and Farsi (92 percent) and lowest in Gulran (39 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (43 percent), and Adraskan



(48 percent) Horses are owned in sizeable numbers only in Khost Wa Firing (36 percent), Daulina (22 percent), and Balkh (16 percent), with all other districts reporting ownership of 6 percent or fewer respondents. Nine-out-of-ten respondents in Daulina and Gulran claim to own donkeys, while Khost Wa Firing (50 percent), Balkh (53 percent), and Chisht-e Sharif (54 percent) have the lowest levels of ownership. Large variation between districts is apparent in the ownership of goats, peaking at 93 percent in Daulina and falling to 29 percent in Chisht-e Sharif. Likewise, the frequency of sheep ownership varies greatly, ranging from a low of 10 percent in Chisht-e Sharif to a high of 90 percent in Farsi. Chisht-e Sharif also reports the lowest incidence of poultry ownership, at 44 percent of respondents, while all but 1 percent of respondents in Sherzad claim to own at least one chicken. Camels are owned with great rarity across the sample, with the highest level of ownership being recorded in Daulina, at 2.0 percent, followed by Sherzad at 1.5 percent.

**Figure 125: Percent of Animal-Owning Household Who Own Specific Livestock, by District**



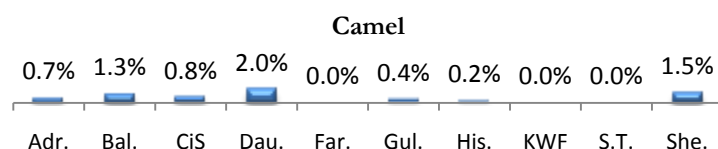
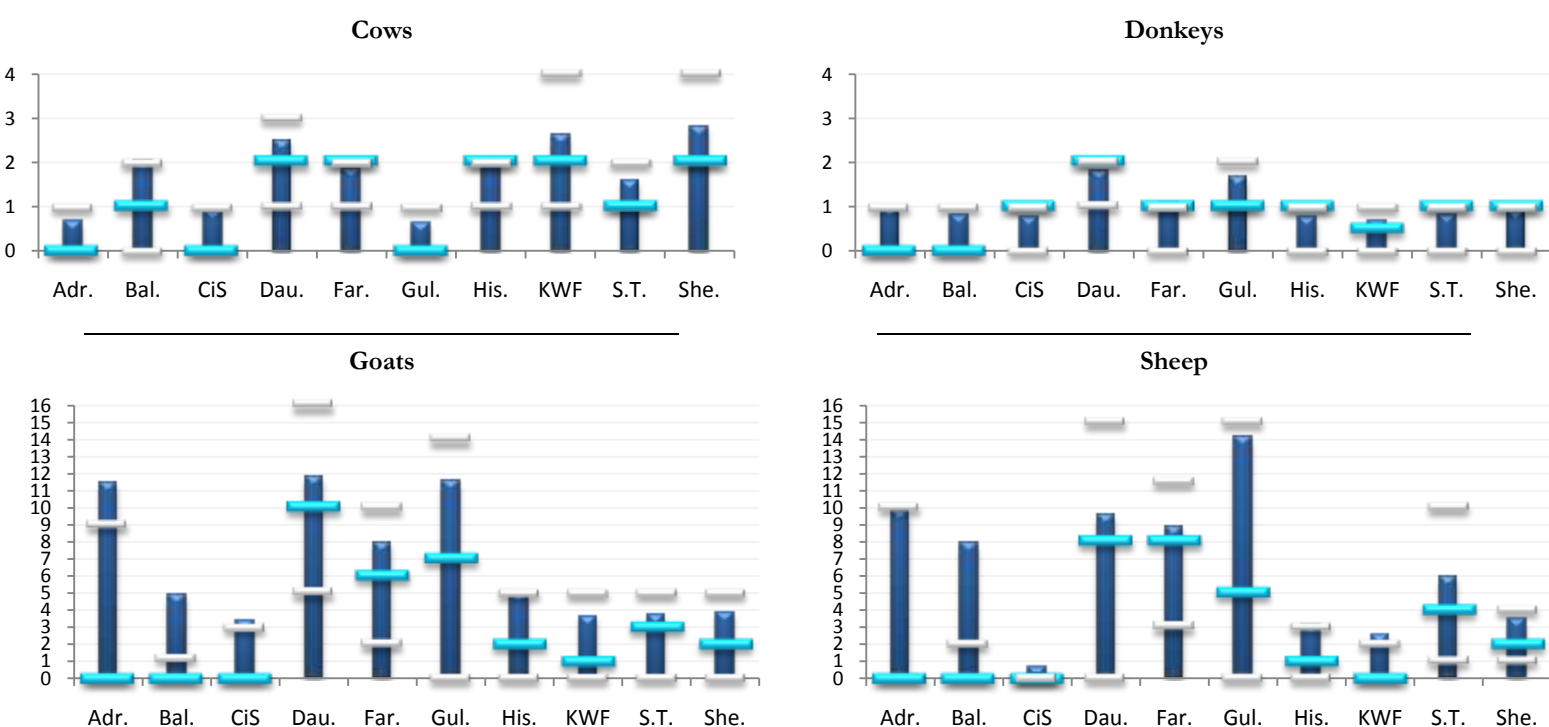
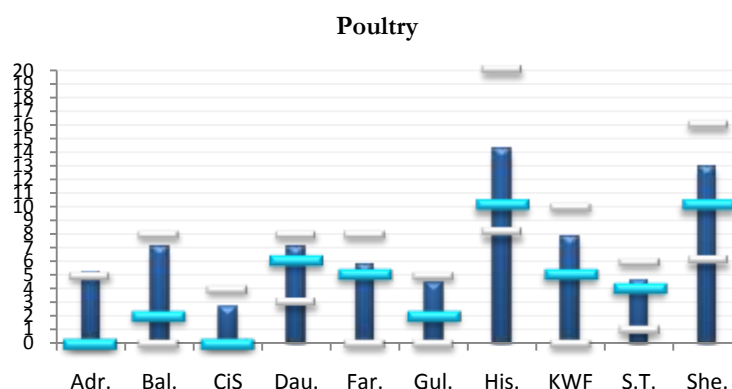


Figure 126 plots the mean, median, and 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile levels of ownership of different animals, broken down by district. Daulina, Farsi, Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, and Sherzad have the highest median levels of cow ownership, at 2 animals each, while the median respondent in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, and Gulran does not own any cows. Inequality in cow ownership is greatest in Khost Wa Firing, where 25 percent of respondents own 4 or more cows and another 25 percent of respondents own either one or zero cows. The median level of donkey ownership is greatest in Daulina, at 2 donkeys, and lowest in Adraskan and Balkh, where the median respondent is without a donkey. Median goat ownership peaks in Daulina, at 10 goats, while the median respondents in Adraskan, Balkh, and Chisht-e Sharif are completely devoid of goats. Inequality in goat ownership is particularly striking in Daulina and Gulran. In Daulina, 25 percent of respondents own 16 or more goats, while a further 25 percent of the population own 5 or less. Similarly, in Gulran, 25 percent of the population own 14 or more goats, while the bottom 25 percent do not own any. The highest median level of sheep ownership is found in Daulina and Farsi, each at 8 sheep, although Gulran reports a much higher mean level of sheep (14 in Gulran, compared to 10 in Daulina and 9 in Farsi) and therefore possesses greater inequality in sheep ownership. Median respondents lack sheep completely in Adraskan, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Khost Wa Firing. Median poultry ownership peaks at 10 in Hisarak and Sherzad, along with inequality in poultry ownership (the most fortunate 25 percent of respondents in Hisarak own 20 or more chickens, while the least fortunate quartile own 8 or less). Unfortunately for median respondents in Adraskan and Chisht-e Sharif, they are without any chickens.

**Figure 126: Number of Livestock Owned by Household, by District**



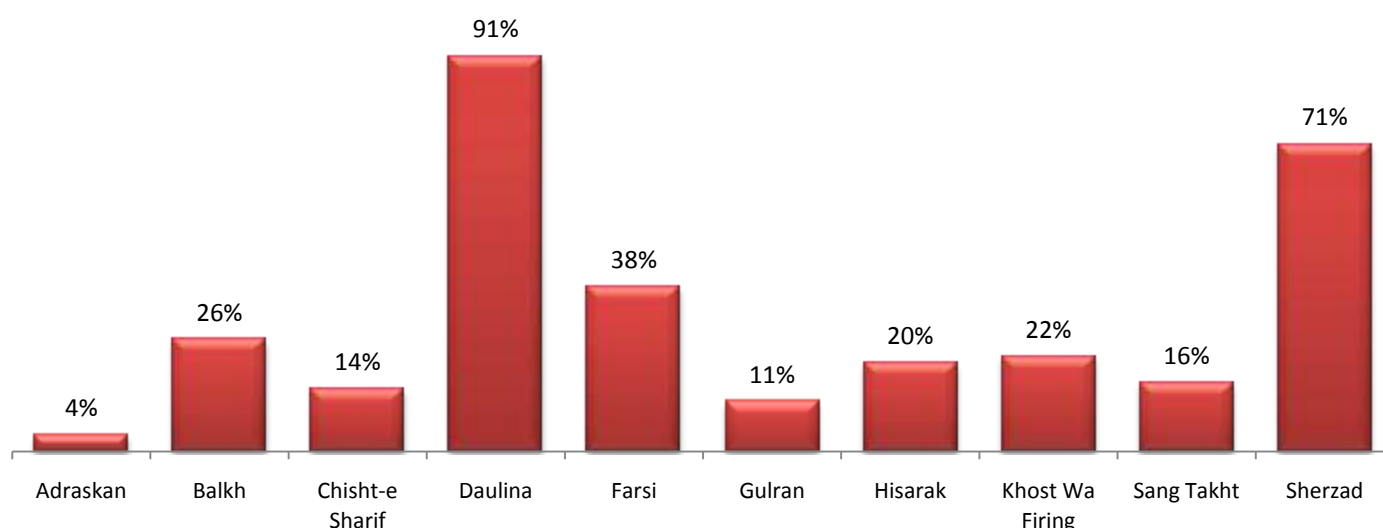


### ***Female-Owned Assets***

Although the broad set of questions on assets was directed to male household respondents, there were several asset-related questions that were posed to the female participants. Women were asked whether they owned any land, livestock and/or poultry, and/or jewelry and, if so, how the property was acquired, and whether they have the authority to sell the property or spend income related to it. The following section presents aggregate and district-level descriptions of the responses to these questions.

Women were first asked whether they owned any land. Across the full sample, 30 percent of female respondents claimed that they owned land, although there were notable regional variations. 91 percent of respondents in Daulina and 71 percent of respondents in Sherzad, for instance, claimed to be landowners, compared to just 4 percent in Adraskan and 11 percent in Gulran.

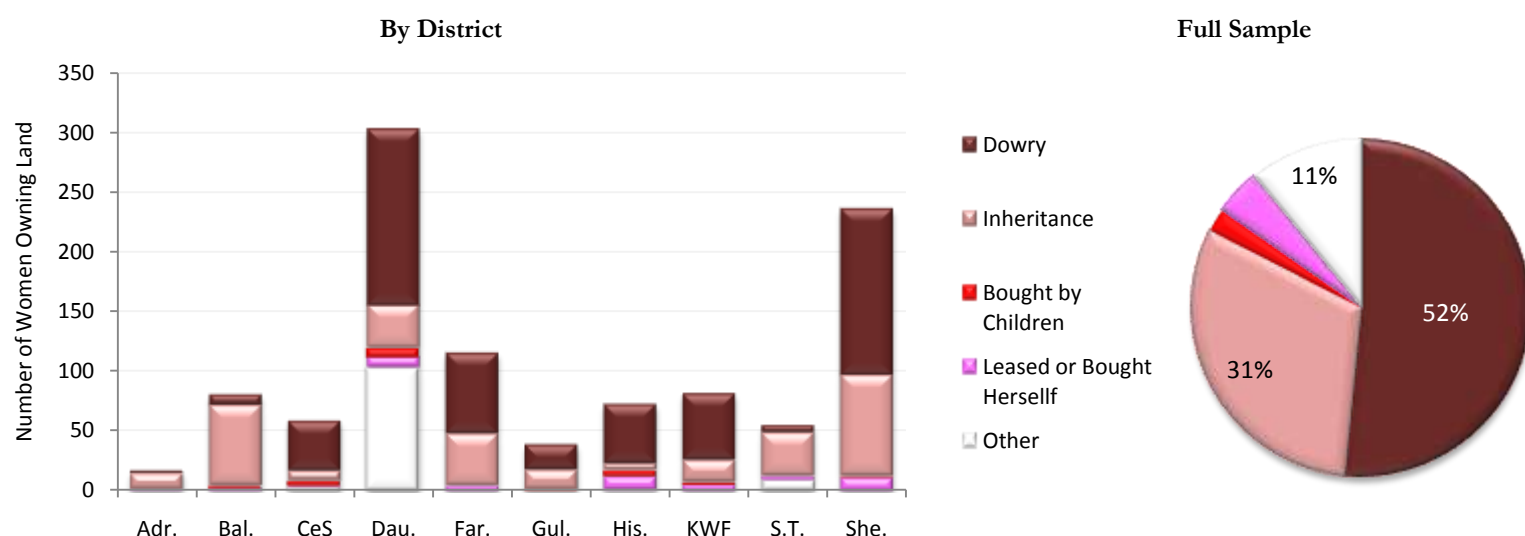
**Figure 127: Ownership of Land by Women, by District**



Female landowners were next asked how they came to acquire the land. Across the full sample, 52 percent of female landowners had received the land from their husband or husband's family as dowry, 31 percent had inherited it from their family, while just 4 percent had purchased or leased in themselves. A fair amount of variation exists between districts in the form of land acquisition. 72 percent of female landowners in Chisht-e Sharif and 69 percent of female landowners in Hisarak and Khost Wa Firing, for instance, acquired land through dowry, whereas only 11 percent of female landowners in Balkh and Sang Takht, and 13 percent of female landowners in Adraskan, acquired their land through this method. Inheritance was the most

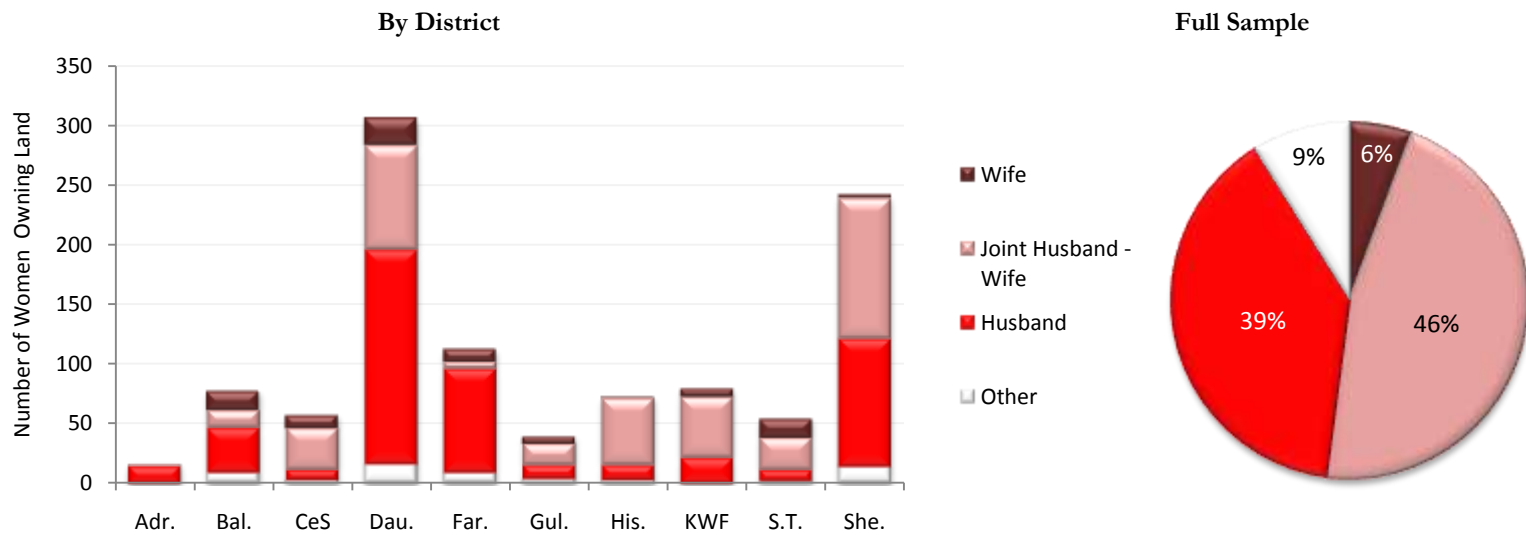
common form of land acquisition in Adraskan (81 percent), Balkh (84 percent), and Sang Takht (67 percent). The percentage of female landowners who acquired land through purchasing or leasing it themselves was restricted to single digits in all districts except Hisarak, where 15 percent of female landowners reported acquiring land through this mechanism.

**Figure 128: Method of Land Acquisition by Women**



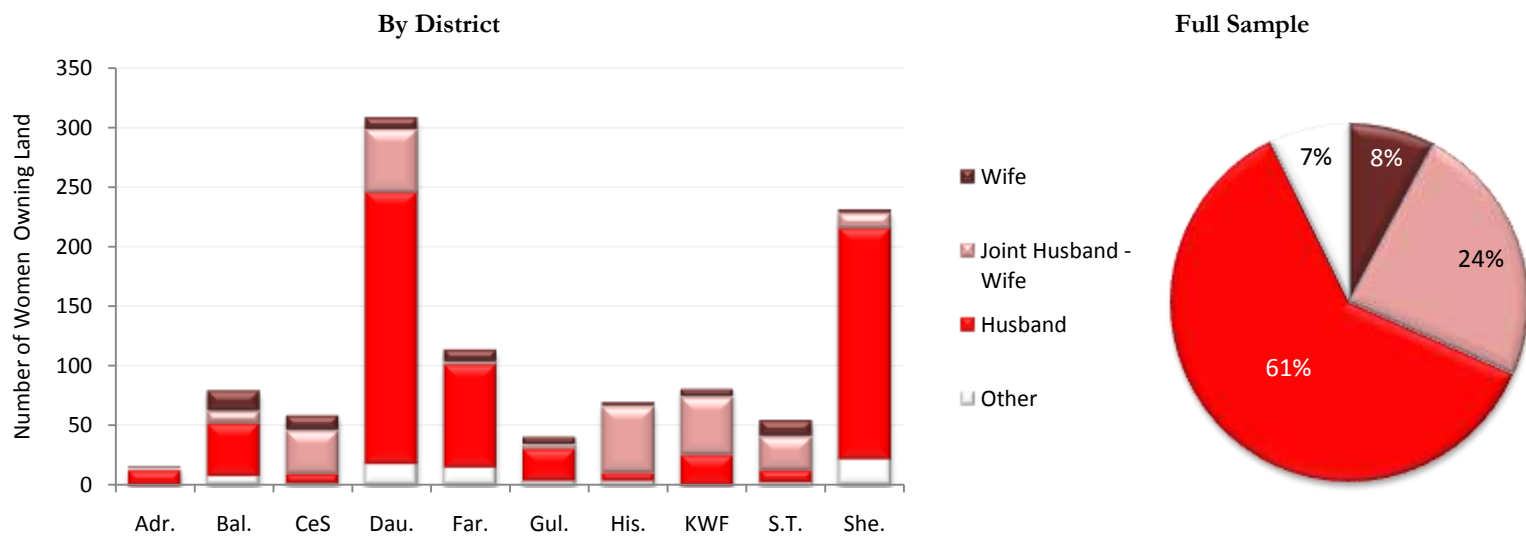
Decisions on how to spend the income generated by land owned by women are rarely made independently by women, with only 6 percent of female landowners across the sample reporting that they hold such authority. Women in Sang Takht were the most likely to be able to independently make decisions of how to use income generated by the land, with 29 percent of women in the district reporting such, while no women in Adraskan reported that they could do that. 46 percent of female landowning respondents, a plurality, reported that decisions on how to use income generated by land they used were made jointly by them and their husband, while in most of the remaining cases, the decision is usually made by the husband or by the husband in consultation with other members of the household (39 percent). In Adraskan and Farsi, husbands were disproportionately mentioned as the sole arbiters, with 88 percent and 77 percent of women respectively reporting this. In Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, and Chisht-e Sharif, on the other hand, a large majority of women (77 percent, 64 percent, and 60 percent) contend that decisions over the use of income from land they own is made jointly by their husbands and them.

**Figure 129: Authority over Income Generated by Land Owned by Women**



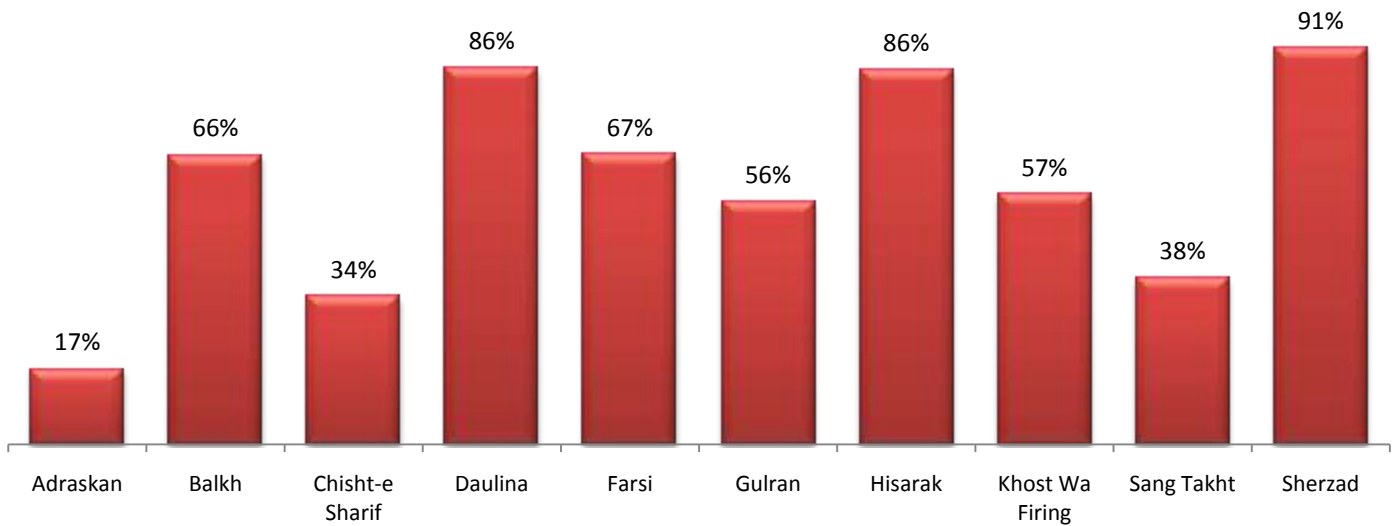
Women are consulted less frequently when it comes to the sale of land they purport to own. Across the full sample, 61 percent of female landowners report that their husband either decides alone or in consultation with other members of the family, but without her input. The proportion is especially high in Adraskan (87 percent) and Sherzad (83 percent), but is very low in Hisarak (10 percent) and Chisht-e Sharif (14 percent). The incidence of women being able to decide to sell land by themselves was slightly higher than the incidence of women being able to decide how to spend land income by themselves, but still low at 8 percent. Again, women in Sang Takht were more likely than counterparts in other districts to report they could sell land autonomously (24 percent), followed by Balkh (22 percent) and Chisht-e Sharif (21 percent). 24 percent of female landowning respondents reported that decisions over land sales would be made jointly by the husband and wife, at times involving other members of the family. Hisarak, Chisht-e Sharif, and Khost Wa Firing had the highest incidence of such joint-decisions, at 80 percent, 62 percent, and 60 percent respectively.

**Figure 130: Authority to Sell Land Owned by Women**



Across the full sample, 59 percent of women reported owning livestock or poultry. Variation between districts is appreciable, with 91 percent of female respondents owning livestock in Sherzad compared to 17 percent in Adraskan.

**Figure 131: Percent of Female Respondents Owning Livestock or Poultry, by District**

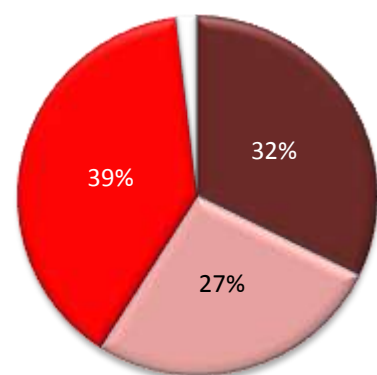
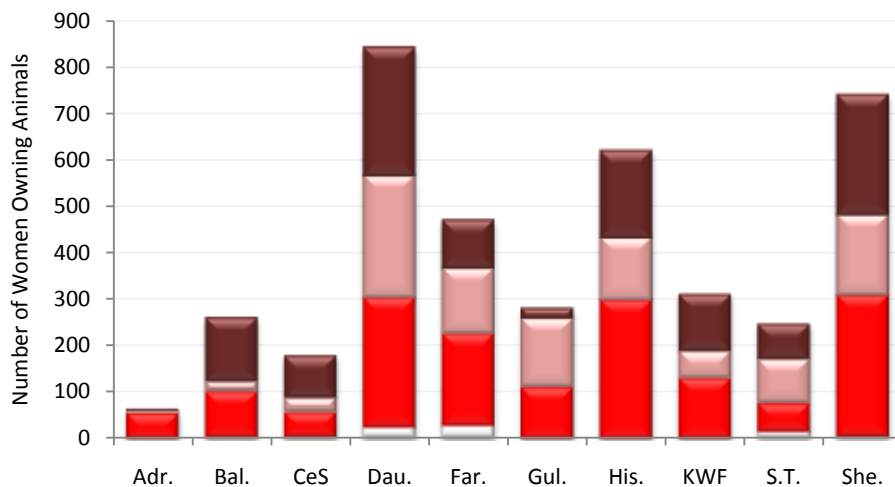


Across the full sample, 34 percent of women have hens and roosters, 8 percent of women have other types of chickens, 26 percent have goats and sheep, and 31 percent have cows. Female animal-owning respondents in Adraskan were mostly likely to own poultry (85 percent), those in Balkh owned cows in 53 percent of cases, cows also dominate in Chisht-e Sharif (51 percent), while animal-owning female respondents in Daulina were relatively evenly split between cows (33 percent), goats or sheep (31 percent), and poultry (33 percent), respondents in Farsi most commonly owned poultry (42 percent), goats and/or sheep predominated in Gulran (52 percent), poultry was on top in Hisarak (52 percent), while respondents in Khost Wa Firing were relatively evenly split between poultry (41 percent) and cows (40 percent), respondents in Sang Takht most frequently own sheep and/or goats (38 percent), while those in Sherzad prefer poultry (40 percent).

**Figure 132: Type of Livestock and Poultry Owned by Women**

By District

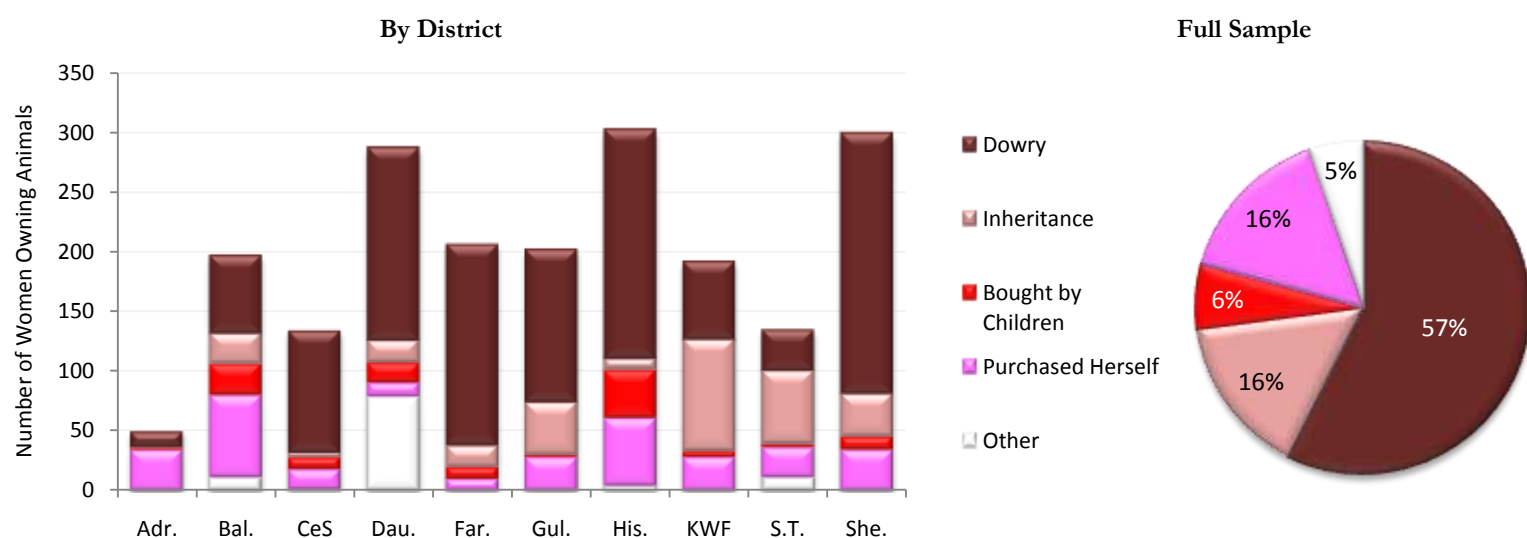
Full Sample



Female respondents most frequently acquired livestock and/or poultry through dowry (57 percent), followed by inheritance (16 percent), autonomous purchase (16 percent), and purchase by children (6 percent). The incidence of animal acquisition through dowry is most frequent in Farsi (82 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (76 percent), and Sherzad (73 percent) and least frequent in Adraskan (26 percent). Inheritance is the common method of livestock acquisition in Khost Wa Firing (48 percent), but is comparatively rare in Hisarak (3 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (3 percent),

and Adraskan (2 percent). 68 percent of livestock-owning women in Adraskan claim to have purchased the animals themselves, the highest for any of the 10 sample districts, while just 4 percent of women in Daulina and 5 percent in Farsi claimed to have done so. Cases where livestock and/or poultry owned by female respondents was purchased by children were most frequently found in Balkh (13 percent) and Hisarak (13 percent) and rarest in Gulran (1 percent).

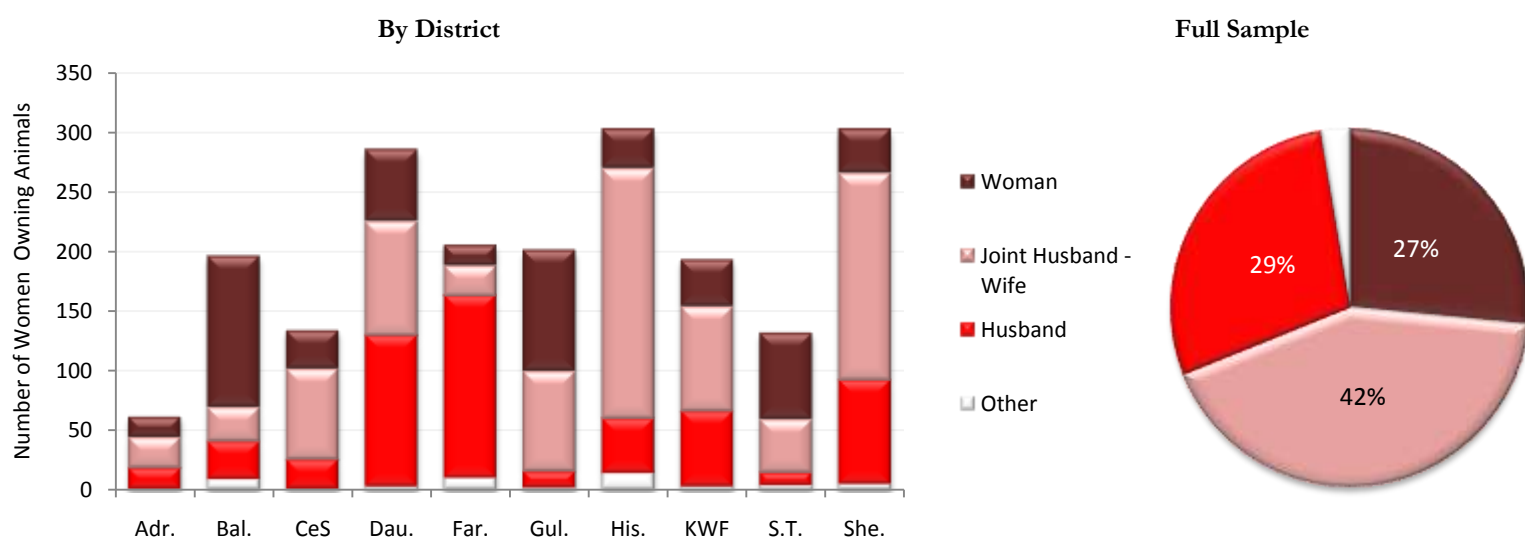
**Figure 133: Method of Acquisition of Livestock and Poultry by Women**



Although the produce of livestock and/or poultry is often used for domestic consumption, excess can be used by the family to generate income. In cases where livestock and/or poultry is owned by female respondents, those female respondents have full authority to decide what to do with this income 27 percent of the time. Female authority in this respect is highest in Balkh, where 64 percent of livestock-owning female respondents claim to be able to make decisions autonomously regarding use of income earned by livestock they own, and lowest in Farsi, where just 8 percent of women claim such responsibility. In the plurality of cases (42 percent), however, women decide in consultation with their men as to how to spend the generated income. This form of joint decision-making is most common in Hisarak (69 percent) and least common in Balkh (15 percent) and Farsi (13 percent). In 29 percent of cases, the husband decides on his own or with other men from the household. 74 percent of female respondents in Farsi report that their husband or other men in the household hold all the authority in this respect, a high for the sample, while just 7 percent of respondents in Gulran and 8 percent of respondents in Sang Takht report a similar situation.

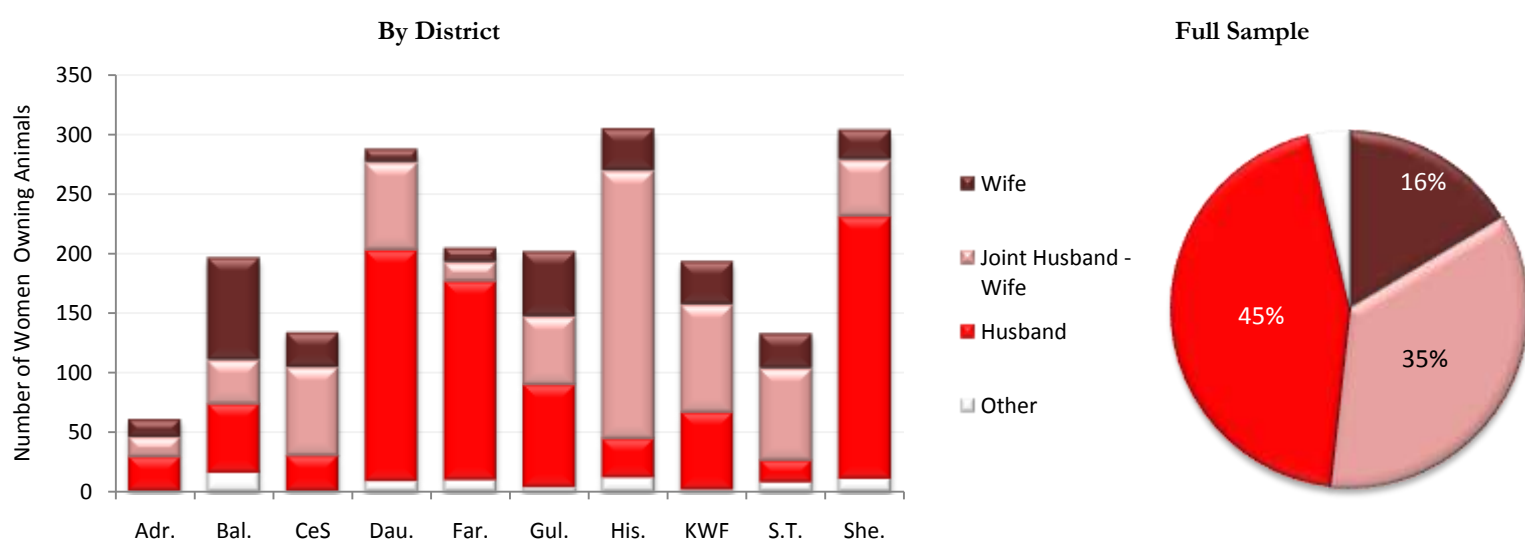


**Figure 134: Authority over Use of Earnings of Livestock and Poultry Owned by Women**



Since the livestock was largely bought for the women by others, women do not have full control over it and rarely hold the full authority concerning decisions to sell the livestock. 45 percent of livestock-owning female respondents report that the husband would make such a decision alone or with other men in the household, peaking at 81 percent of respondents in Farsi and falling to a low of 11 percent in Hisarak and 14 percent in Sang Takht. Decisions concerning the sale of livestock owned by women are made jointly by the husband and wife in 35 percent of cases. Joint decision-making is especially common in Hisarak (74 percent), but rare in Farsi (8 percent). It is relatively uncommon for women to hold full authority regarding the sale of livestock and/or poultry purportedly owned by them, with just 16 percent of respondents indicating that this is the case. Of the ten districts, it is most common for women in Balkh to hold this authority (43 percent) and least common in Daulina (4 percent) and Farsi (6 percent).

**Figure 135: Authority to Sell of Livestock Owned by Women**

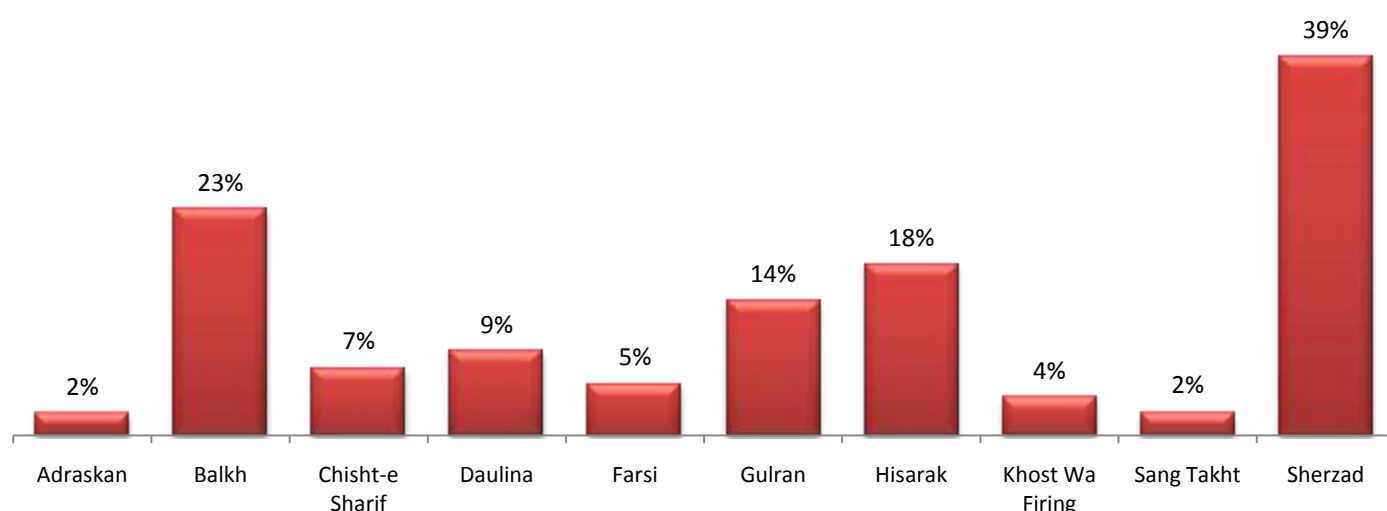


The possibilities for income generating activity for rural Afghan women are quite limited. Jewelry, usually gold and usually given to women at their time of marriage, is often perceived as a safety net, something a woman could sell in times of need. Indeed, the level of poverty across the ten sample districts is signaled by the low level of jewelry ownership. Among our 3,373 female respondents, only 12 percent claimed to own jewelry. Significant variation exists between districts and is generally correlated with the overall economic situation of the district. Female



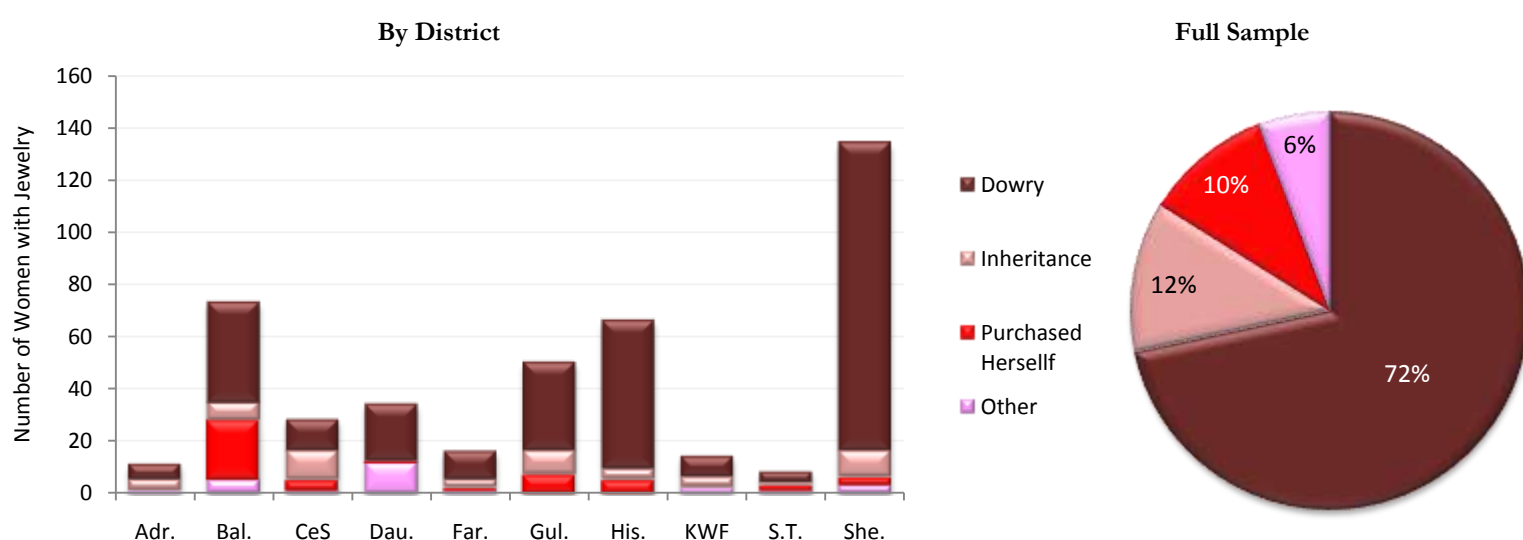
respondents in Balkh and Sherzad, two of the wealthiest districts in the sample, reported the highest levels of jewelry ownership, at 23 percent and 39 percent respectively. At the other end of the spectrum, just 2 percent of female respondents in Adraskan, 4 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, and 2 percent of respondents in Sang Takht claimed to own jewelry.

**Figure 136: Ownership of Jewelry by Women**



The vast majority of women who own jewelry stated that they received it as dowry from their husband or husband's family, accounting for 72 percent of respondents. The proportion of jewelry-owning women claiming to have received it as dowry peaked in Hisarak (86 percent) and Sherzad (88 percent) and bottomed out at 43 percent in Chisht-e Sharif. 12 percent of respondents across the sample claimed that they had inherited their jewelry. Jewelry was most frequently inherited in Chisht-e Sharif (39 percent) and Adraskan (36 percent), while no women reported acquiring jewelry in this manner in Daulina. Only one-out-of-ten female respondents who owned jewelry claimed to have purchased it themselves. 30 percent of women in Balkh and 25 percent of women in Sang Takht made the jewelry purchases themselves, while no women in Adraskan reported this to be the case.

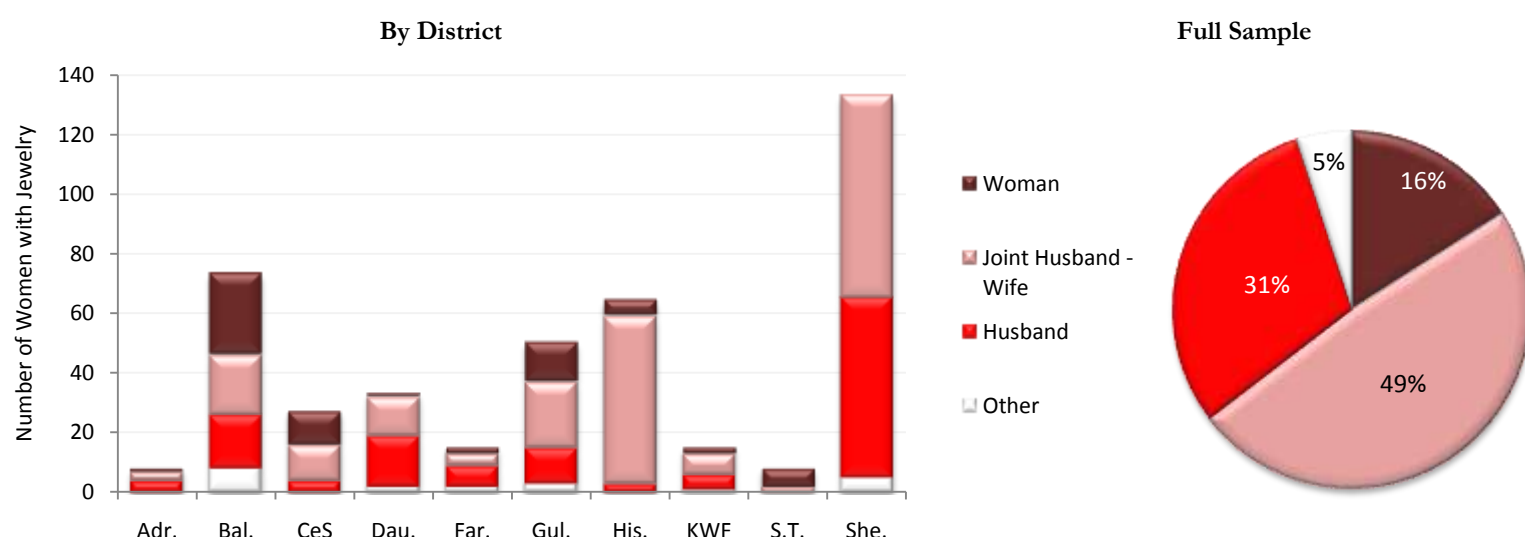
**Figure 137: Method of Acquisition of Jewelry by Women**



As with other types of property, women rarely have full authority to sell jewelry, with only 16 percent of female respondents reporting they believed they had the authority to sell the jewelry

without consulting with their husband or other members of the family. Women in Sang Takht were most likely to hold such authority (75 percent), while, in Sherzad, not a single female respondent believed they could make an autonomous decision to sell their jewelry. 49 percent of respondents across the sample thought the decision would be made jointly with the husband. Joint decision-making was again most common in Hisarak (88 percent) and least common in Balkh (27 percent) and Sang Takht (25 percent). 31 percent of female respondents across the sample asserted that the decision to sell the jewelry would be made by the husband or by the husband in consultation with other men in the household. Cases of the husband holding the full authority to sell jewelry owned by women were most frequently reported in Adraskan (50 percent), Daulina (52 percent), and Farsi (47 percent) and were least frequently reported in Sang Takht, where not a single women reported this to be the case.

**Figure 138: Authority to Sell Jewelry Owned by Women**

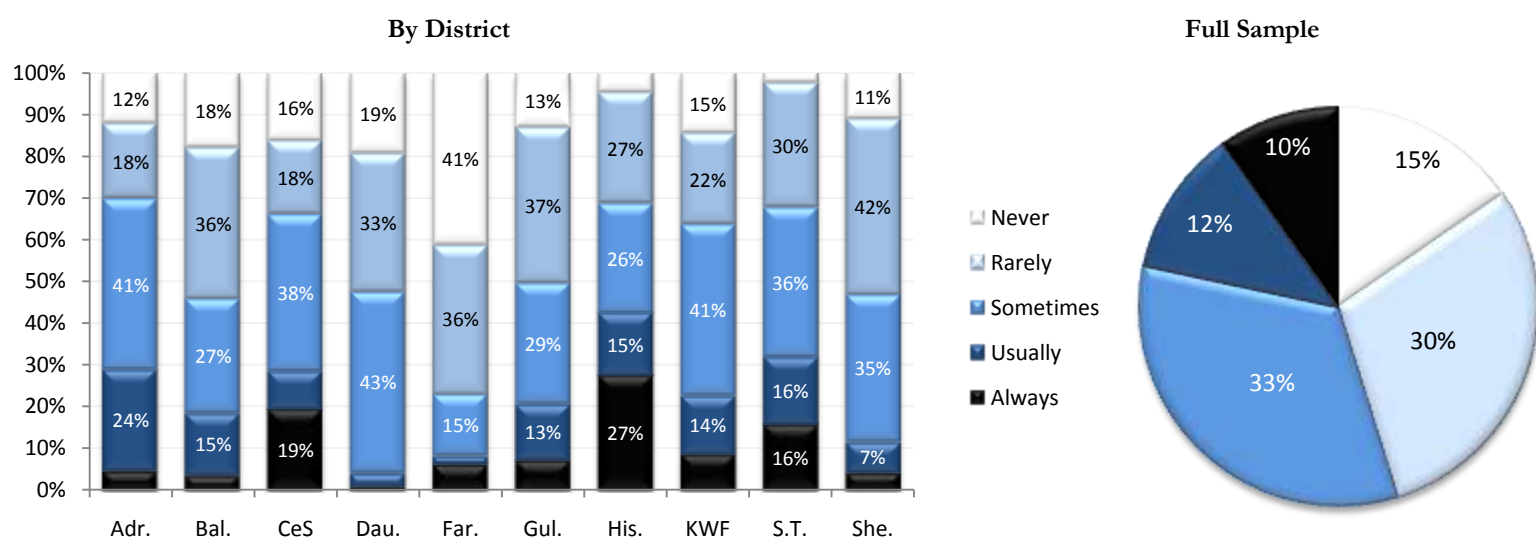


### ***Economic Shocks***

To assess the vulnerability of households in the sample districts, male household respondents were asked to report whether, in the past 12 months, the household had been exposed to a series of economic shocks. Male household respondents were also asked to assess the frequency with which they had difficulty satisfying the food needs of the household over the past 12 months. The following section reports the results of these questions at both the aggregate and district-level.

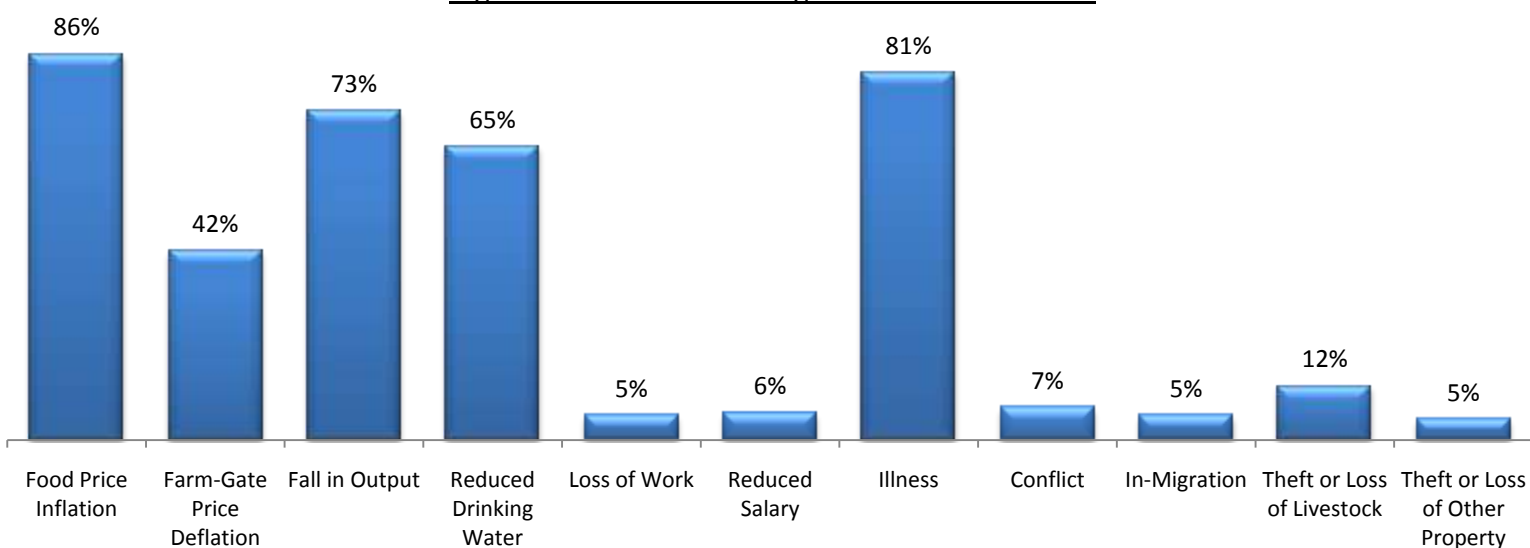
Across the full sample, 10 percent of male household respondents reported that they always faced difficulty in meeting the food needs of the household, 12 percent reported they usually faced such difficult, 33 percent reported that they sometimes faced difficulty, 30 percent reported they rarely had difficulty, and 15 percent responded that they never had any difficulty in providing for the household's food needs. Despite the relative prosperity of the district as assessed by other indicators such as average levels of consumption, respondents in Hisarak were most likely to report that they always or usually faced difficulties in meeting the food needs of the household. Similarly, despite the relative poverty of Daulina as measured by other indicators, respondents in the district were the least likely to report they always or usually faced difficulty in meeting the food needs of the household, with just 4 percent of respondents doing so. At the other end of the spectrum, respondents in Adraskan were the least likely to report that they never or rarely faced difficulties in meeting the food needs of the household, with 30 percent of respondents doing so, while some 77 percent of respondents in Farsi, the maximum across the ten districts, responded in a similar fashion.

**Figure 139: Frequency of Problems in Meeting Household Food Needs**



To further assess vulnerability, male household respondents were asked to assess whether their household had been affected by a series of shocks in the past year. Of those listed and across the sample, food price inflation was the most commonly experienced shock, with 86 percent of households being affected by it, followed by illness of a family member, which affected 81 percent of households. 73 percent of male household respondents considered that the household had experienced a fall in agricultural output over the past year, 65 percent reported a reduction in the quality or quantity of drinking water, while 42 percent report that the household had been adversely affected by a fall in prices received for agricultural produce. The proportion of households adversely affected by a theft or loss of livestock, a theft or loss of other property, conflict, return of refugees, a reduction in salary of a household member, or the loss of work of a household member was, however, relatively small.

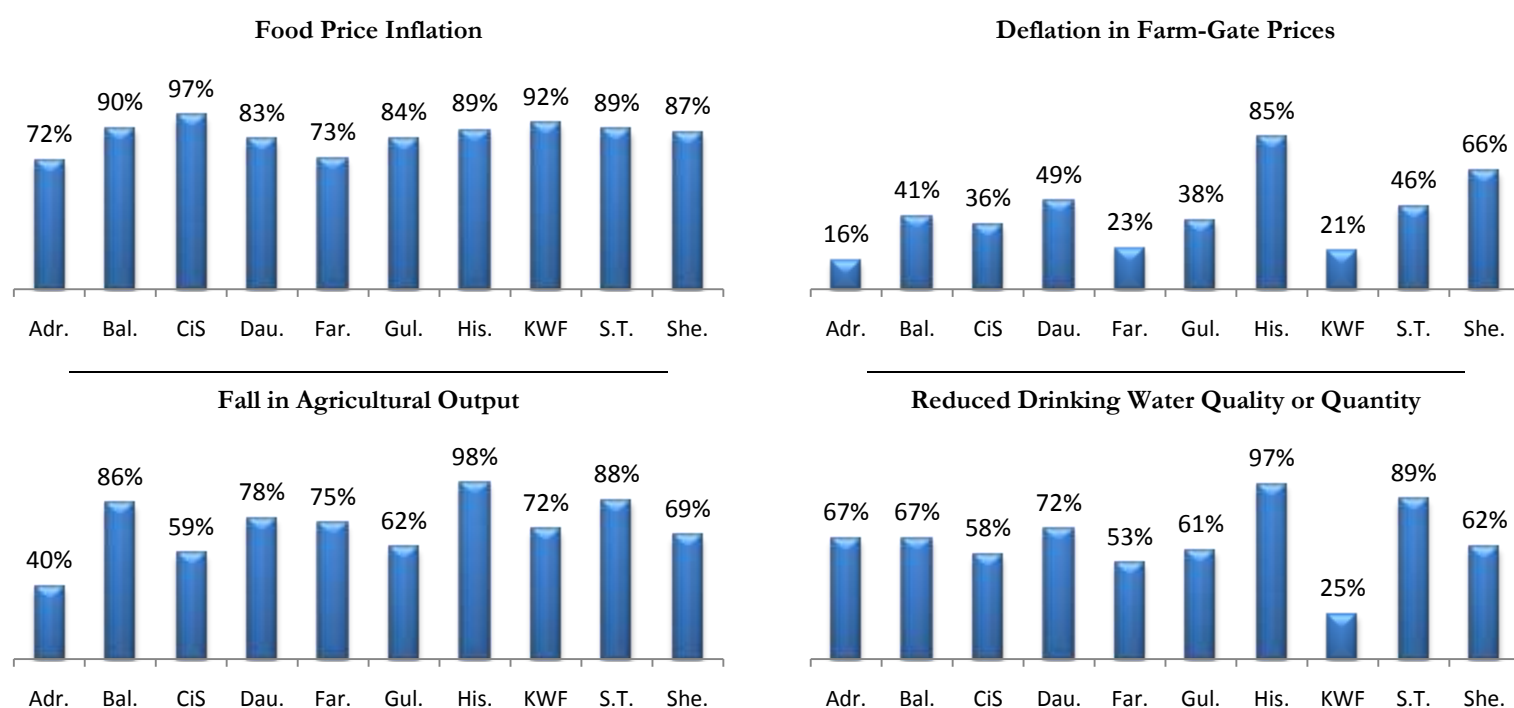
**Figure 140: Incidence of Negative Economic Shocks**



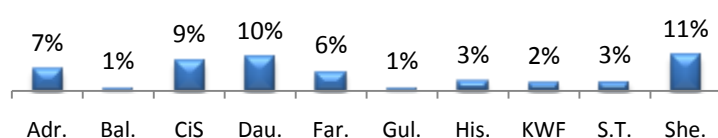
The incidence of food price inflation was high across all districts, with households in Chisht-e Sharif reporting it with the greatest frequency (97 percent) and households in Adraskan and Farsi reporting it with the least frequency (72 percent and 73 percent respectively). The incidence of households being adversely affected by deflation in prices received for agricultural produce displayed much greater variation between districts, with 85 percent of respondents in Hisarak reporting such compared to just 16 percent of respondents in Adraskan, 23 percent in Farsi, and

21 percent in Khost Wa Firing. Falls in agricultural output were reported by all but 2 percent of households in Hisarak, by 88 percent of households in Sang Takht and 86 percent of households in Balkh, while only 40 percent of households in Adraskan reported being adversely affected by such. Respondents in Hisarak and Sang Takht claiming to have been adversely affected by deteriorations in drinking water quality or quantity were similarly high, at 97 percent and 89 percent respectively, with only a quarter of respondents in Sang Takht complaining of similar problems. Across all districts, the proportion of households claiming to have been adversely impacted by the loss of employment by a household member or a reduction in the salary of a household member was low, with peaks of 11 percent and 19 percent respectively observed, both in Sherzad. The proportion of respondents claiming that a family member had fallen sick in the past 12 months was high everywhere, with a low of 72 percent in Adraskan and a high of 97 percent in Chisht-e Sharif. Of the ten districts, respondents in Farsi seem to face the greatest difficulties arising from incidents of violence or threats to security, with 27 percent of respondents reporting their household had been adversely affected by such in the past year. 17 percent of households in Sherzad and 13 percent of households in Daulina reported similar problems. Few households across the sample reported problems stemming from an influx of returning refugees, with the highest such problems being observed in Chisht-e Sharif (14 percent). Incidents of theft or other forms of loss, either of livestock or of land or property, were also relatively rarely reported. Respondents in Adraskan were the most severely affected by theft or loss of livestock (21 percent), followed by Sherzad (18 percent), Daulina (17 percent), and Farsi (16 percent). Incidents of theft or loss of land or other property were most frequently reported by respondents in Gulran (15 percent), followed by Daulina (7 percent) and Sherzad (7 percent).

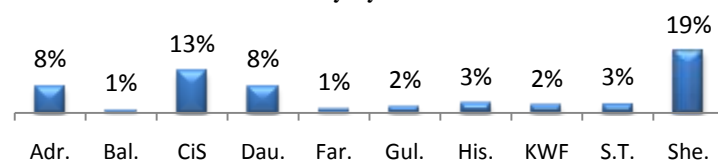
**Figure 141: Incidence of Negative Economic Shocks, by District**



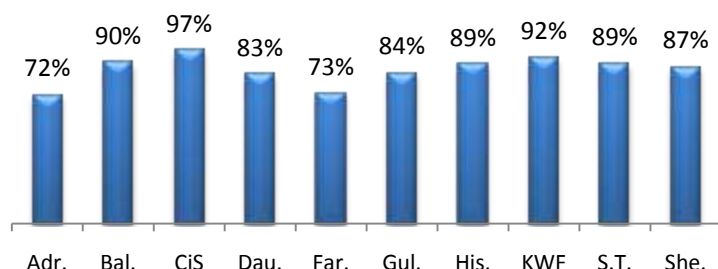
**Loss of Employment by Household Member**



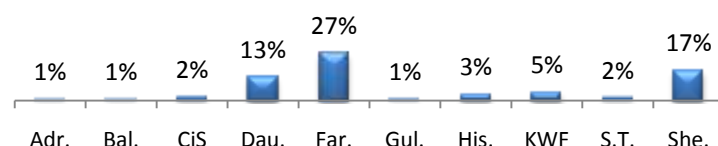
**Reduction in Salary by Household Member**



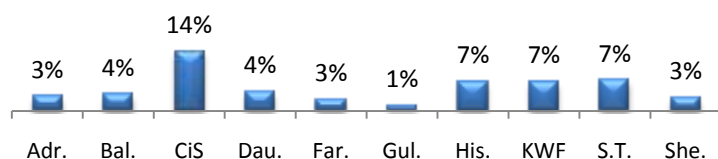
**Illness of Household Member**



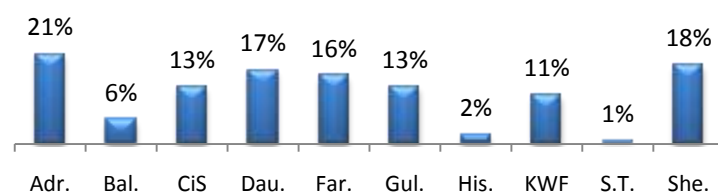
**Insecurity or Violence**



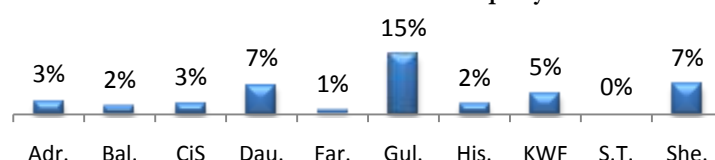
**Influx of Returning Refugees**



**Theft or Loss of Livestock**



**Theft or Loss of Other Property**



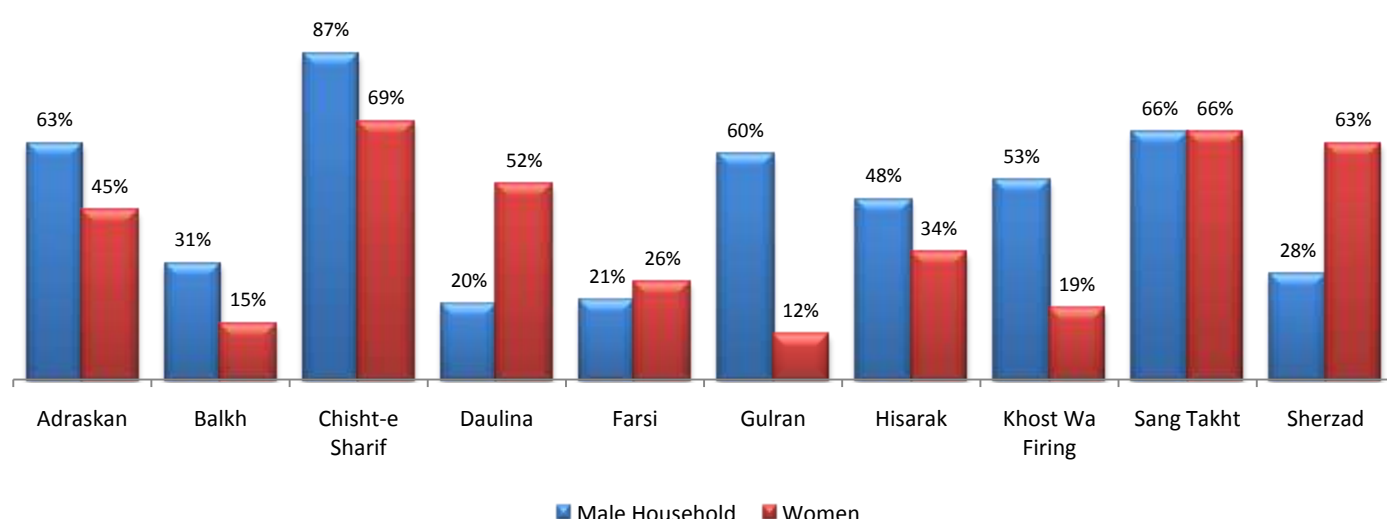
## Debt and Borrowing

To gain further insight into the structure of village economies across the sample, male household respondents and female respondents were asked whether a member of the household had taken a loan, whether in money or in-kind, during the past 12 months. Male household respondents who had taken a loan were then asked to report the purpose(s) of the loan, whether the loan was taken in cash or in kind, whether it would be repaid in cash or in kind, the value of primary loan, the duration in which the loan would have to be repaid, the origin and occupation of the lender, the value of any repayments made, and the level of interest assessed on the loan. Male household respondents who reported they faced a need to borrow funds but could not access them were asked to report why they could not borrow money. Finally, all male household respondents were asked who they would borrow from should they face a need to borrow funds. In addition, male focus group respondents were asked to report whether or not it was common for persons lending money to people in the village to charge interest and, if so, the interest rate that was usually assessed on loans. The following section presents aggregate and district-level information describing the responses to these questions.

Across the ten districts in the sample, 48 percent of male household respondents surveyed and 41 percent of female respondents surveyed reported that their household had taken a loan in the past year. The highest rates of borrowing were observed in Chisht-e Sharif, where 87 percent of

male household respondents and 69 percent of female respondents reported that a member of the household had borrowed funds in the past 12 months, and in Sang Takht, where 66 percent of both male household and female respondents reported that a member of the household had borrowed money. The lowest incidence of borrowing was observed in Balkh, where 31 percent of male household respondents and 15 percent of female respondents asserting the household had taken a loan, and in Farsi, where the corresponding figures were 21 percent for male household respondents and 26 percent for female respondents. A curious divergence in the responses of male household and female respondents occurred in Daulina, Gulran, and Sherzad: in Daulina, only 20 percent of male household respondents thought the household had taken a loan, whereas 52 percent of female respondents thought they had; in Gulran, borrowing rates were 60 percent for male household respondents and 12 percent for female respondents; whereas 28 percent of male respondents in Sherzad, but 63 percent of female respondents believed the household to have taken a loan in the past year.

**Figure 142: Percent of Households that Borrowed Money in Past Year**

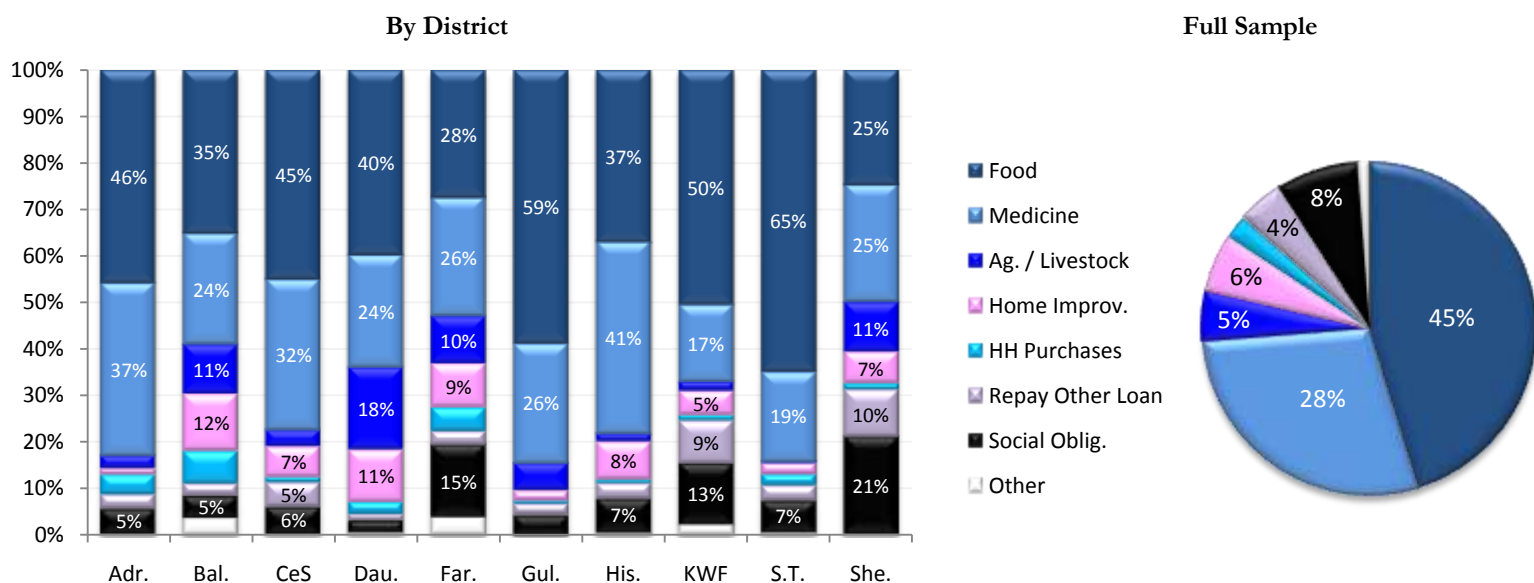


Across the sample, male household respondents claimed that loans generally seem to be taken to meet essential needs in 45 percent of cases, loans were taken to purchase food, while medical costs accounted for a further 28 percent of the reasons why respondents took loans in the past year. The proportion of households taking loans to meet food needs was highest in Sang Takht (65 percent) and Gulran (59 percent), where relatively high numbers of male household respondents (66 percent and 60 percent respectively) reported taking loans in the past year, and lowest in Sherzad (25 percent) and Farsi (28 percent), where relatively few male household respondents (28 percent and 21 percent respectively) reported that loans had been taken. Loans taken to meet medical needs predominated in Hisarak (41 percent) and accounted for 37 percent of respondents in Adraskan. In contrast, medical reasons account for just 17 percent of the reasons why loans were taken in Khost Wa Firing and 19 percent of reasons in Sang Takht. Following food and medicine, the next most frequent reason cited for borrowing was to meet costs associated with social obligations, such as weddings and charitable contributions. The proportion of loans taken to meet social obligations was highest in Sherzad, at 21 percent, but accounted for just 3 percent of loans in Daulina and 4 percent in Gulran. Home construction or repair accounted for 6 percent of reasons cited for borrowing across the sample, being most frequently cited in Balkh (12 percent) and Daulina (11 percent) and least frequently cited in Adraskan (1 percent), Gulran (2 percent), and Sang Takht (2 percent). The purchase of agricultural machinery or livestock accounted for 5 percent of responses across the sample, peaking at 18 percent in Daulina. 4 percent of respondents across the sample reported that they had taken the loan to repay an existing loan, with the proportion peaking in Balkh (12 percent)



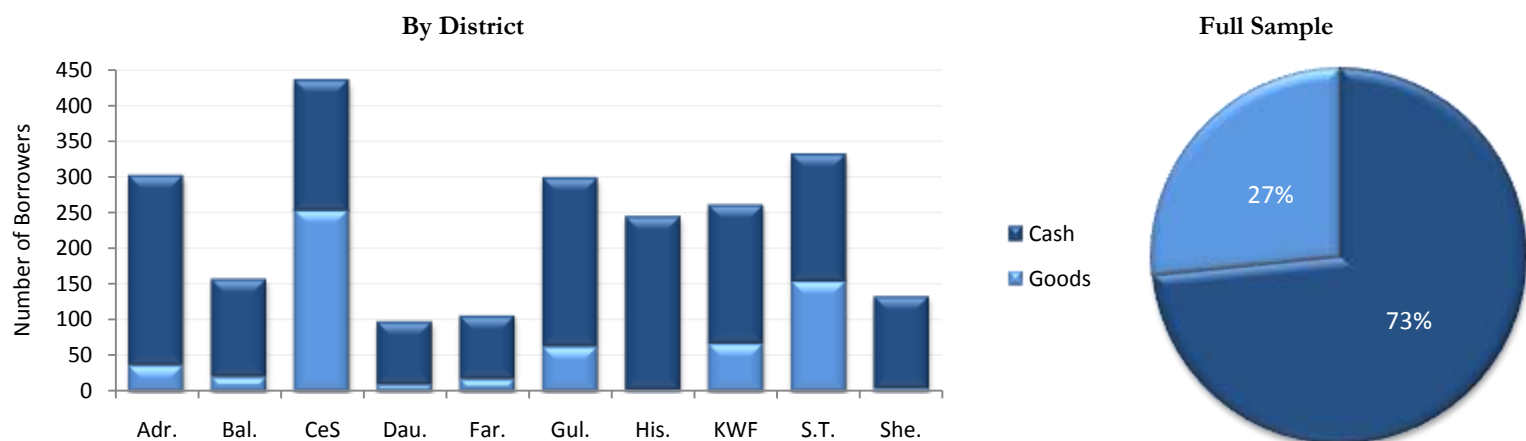
and Daulina (11 percent). Just 2 percent of respondents across the sample claimed the purpose of the loan was to purchase household items, with more a greater proportion respondents reporting such in Balkh (7 percent) than in any other district.

**Figure 143: Purpose of Loan**



73 percent of male household respondents reported that the loan had been taken in cash. The proportion of loans taken in kind was highest in Chisht-e Sharif, at 57 percent, while almost all borrowing respondents in Sherzad (96 percent) and Hisarak (99 percent) took loans in cash.

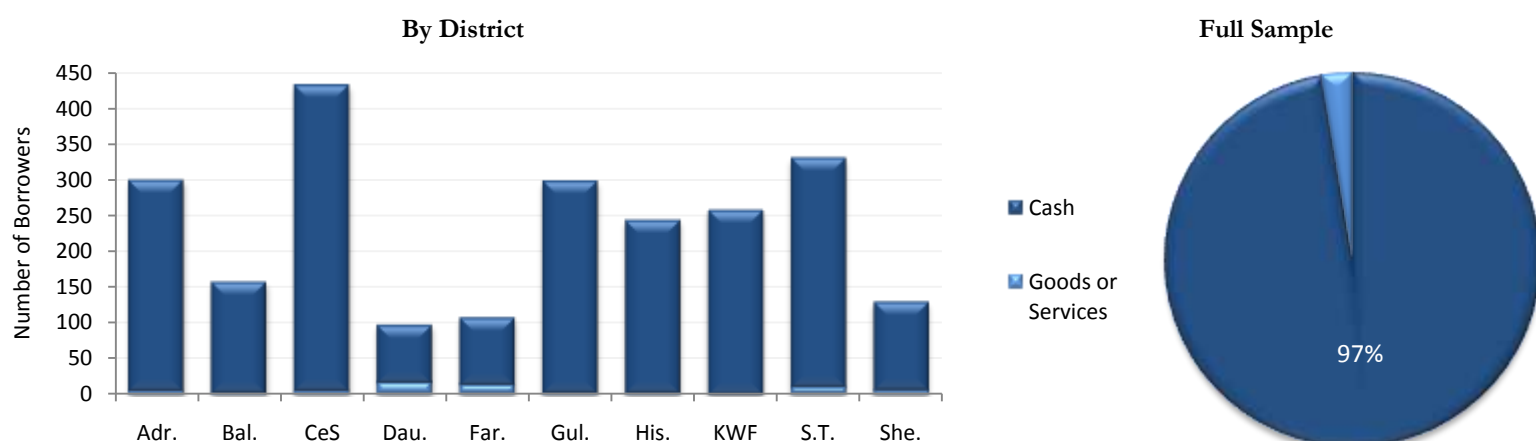
**Figure 144: Type of Loan**



In 97 percent of cases, respondents reported that loans are expected to be repaid in cash. Only in Daulina, Farsi, and Sang Takht did the number of respondents reporting that loans were to be repaid in kind reach double digits, although the proportion of such answers was small in each district (16 percent, 12 percent, and 3 percent, respectively).



**Figure 145: Method of Repayment**

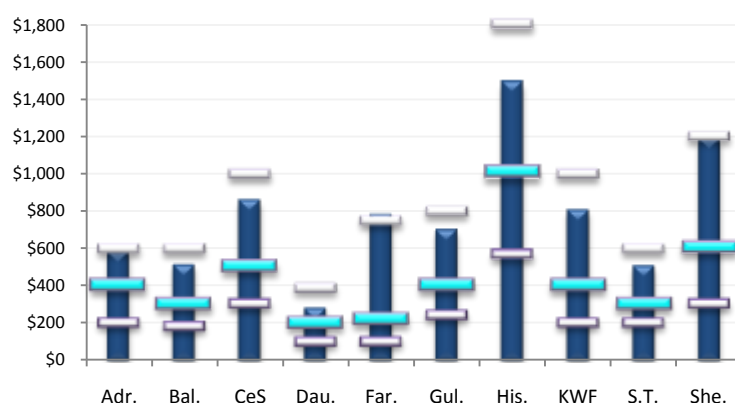


The amount of money borrowed by respondents was sizeable, with a median value of \$400 and a mean of \$780. The median and mean value of loans was highest in Hisarak (\$1,000 and \$1,487, respectively), followed by Sherzad (\$600 and \$1,537), and lowest in Daulina (\$200 and \$282, respectively). In Hisarak, 25 percent of borrowers reported that their primary outstanding loan was valued at \$1,800 or more, and 75 percent had taken out loans of \$600 or more. In contrast, the 25 percent of most heavily-indebted borrowing respondents in Daulina had loans of only \$400 or more, while the 75 percent most heavily-indebted had loans of just \$100 or more. The largest loan across the sample was observed in Chisht-e Sharif (\$18,000), followed by Hisarak (\$11,400), and Farsi (\$10,000). Notably, Adraskan, Gulran, and Sang Takht all had relatively high levels of reported borrowing, but relatively small loans on average, suggesting that though many people are in debt in these districts, they only take small-sized loans. Another important feature of the data is that the mean loan size is always significantly greater than the median loan size, reflecting the fact that in each district there is a small number of people taking very big loans.

**Table 37: Value of Primary Outstanding Loan**

District	Obs.	Min.	Med.	Mean	S. D.	Max.
Adraskan	307	\$56	\$400	\$583	\$820	\$9,000
Balkh	156	\$18	\$300	\$513	\$572	\$3,000
Chisht-e Sharif	435	\$20	\$500	\$856	\$1,262	\$18,000
Daulina	101	\$40	\$200	\$282	\$321	\$2,000
Farsi	107	\$30	\$220	\$778	\$1,504	\$10,000
Gulran	301	\$20	\$400	\$699	\$816	\$6,000
Hisarak	245	\$60	\$1,000	\$1,487	\$1,527	\$11,400
Khost Wa Firing	263	\$10	\$400	\$804	\$1,050	\$7,000
Sang Takht	332	\$24	\$300	\$507	\$658	\$6,600
Sherzad	137	\$30	\$600	\$1,184	\$1,537	\$9,800
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,384</b>	<b>\$10</b>	<b>\$400</b>	<b>\$780</b>	<b>\$1,111</b>	<b>\$18,000</b>

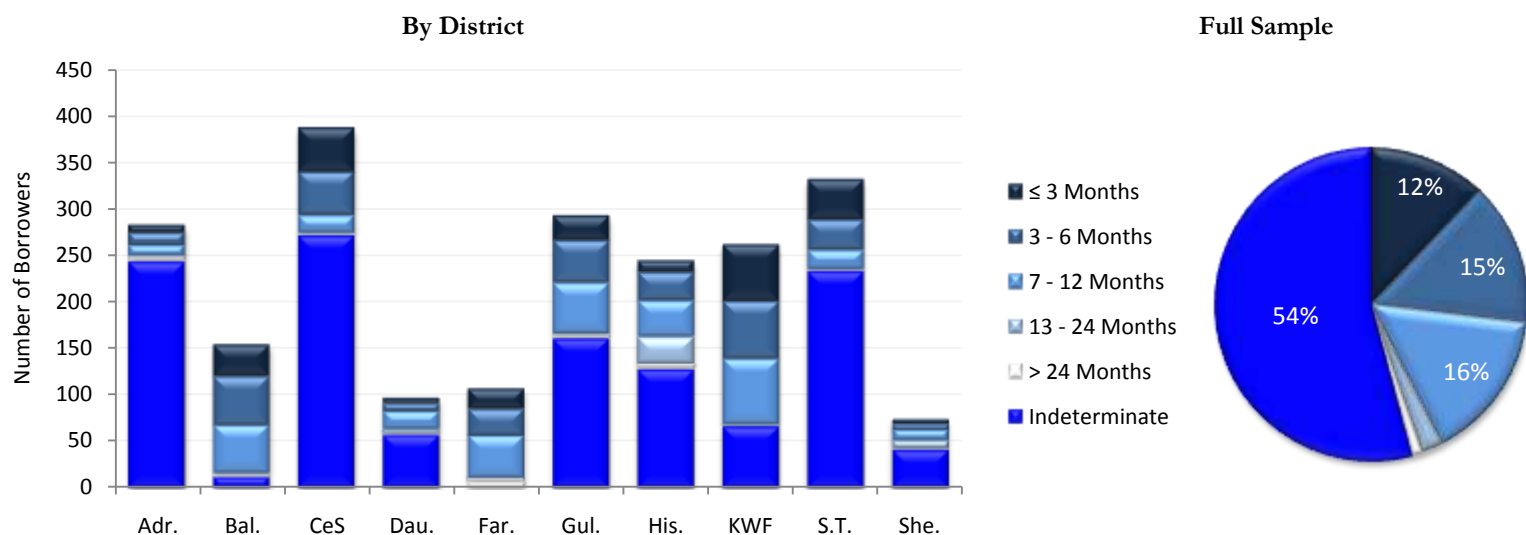
**Figure 146: Value of Primary Outstanding Loan**



In 54 percent of cases, the period during which the loan is to be repaid is indeterminate. Loans with repayment windows of between 7 and 12 months were reported by 16 percent of respondents, with 3 - 6 month loans being reported by 15 percent, and loans of less than 3 months reported with 12 percent frequency. Only in a small fraction of cases were repayment periods of more than 12 months reported. Borrowers in Adraskan seemed to have the greatest amount of flexibility with regard to their repayment schedule, as 86 percent of borrowers in the district reported there was no set time during which they had to repay the loan. This contrasted quite sharply with Farsi, where no borrowers reported they had such an arrangement with the lender. Balkh and Khost Wa Firing reported the highest incidence of short-term loans, with 22

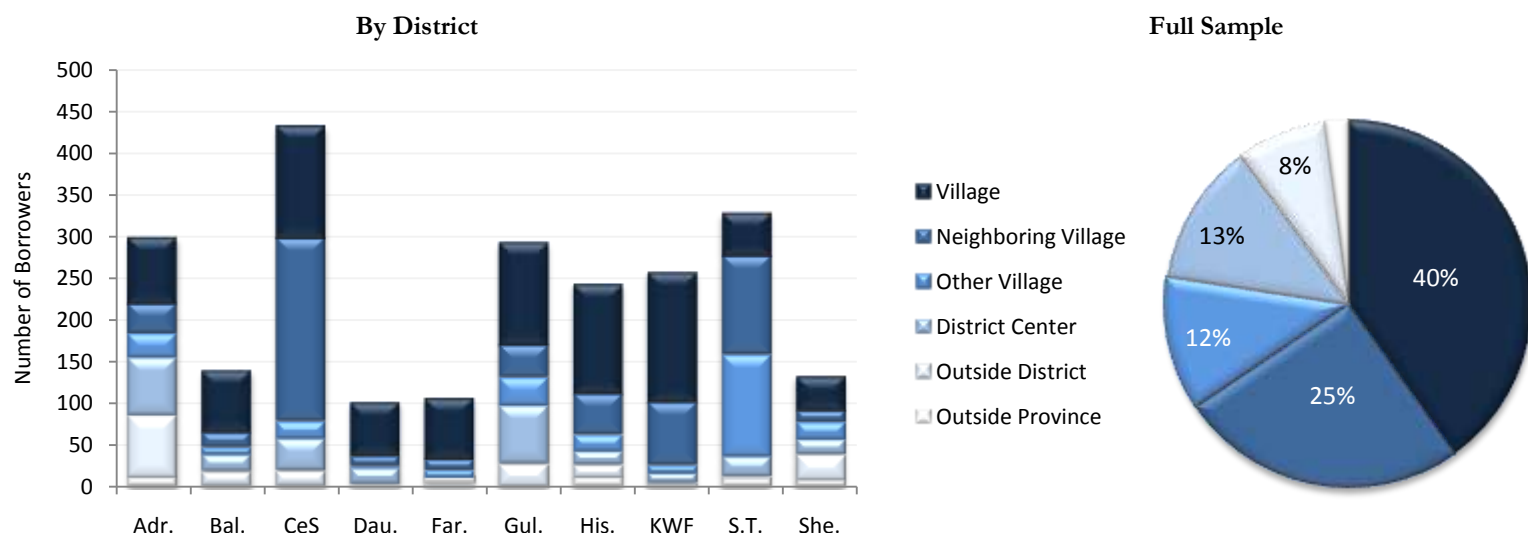
percent and 23 percent of respondents respectively reporting that their loans had to be repaid in less than 3 months.

**Figure 147: Period of Repayment**



In all but 10 percent of cases, lenders originate from the same district as the borrower, with Khost Wa Firing having the lowest such incidence (2 percent) and Adraskan (28 percent) and Sherzad (29 percent) having the highest such incidence. Cases where lenders originated from the same village as the borrower (40 percent) or a neighboring village (25 percent) are quite common, particularly so in Khost Wa Firing (90 percent of lenders originate from the same or a neighboring village), Chisht-e Sharif (82 percent), and Farsi (81 percent). Only in Sherzad (42 percent) and Adraskan (39 percent) did more than half of borrowers report that lenders did not originate from their village or a village neighboring their village.

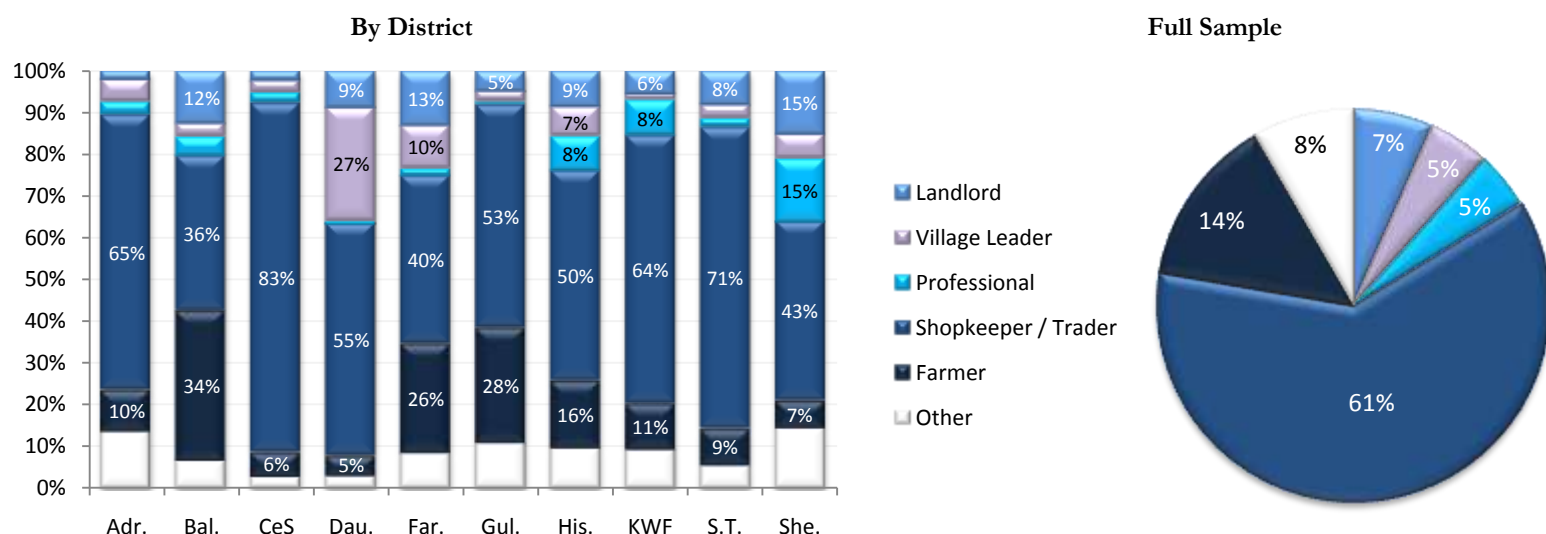
**Figure 148: Origin of Lender**



Surprisingly, professional moneylenders appear to have a limited role in lending money to respondents in the sample. Rather, lending appears to occur much more informally, with 61 percent of respondents claiming that they borrowed their main loan from a shopkeeper. The next most common occupation of lenders was farmer (14 percent), followed by landlord (7 percent), village lender (5 percent), or a professional, such as a teacher or civil servant (5 percent). Shopkeepers appear to play a particularly important role in lending funds in Chisht-e

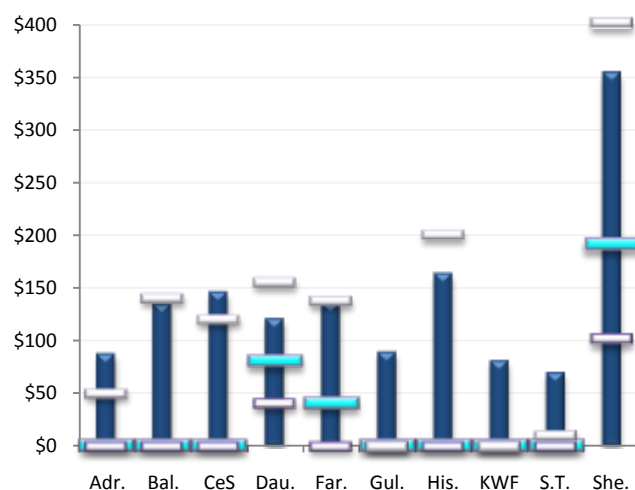
Sharif (83 percent), while their role is more limited in Balkh (36 percent) and Farsi (40 percent). Farmers are most frequently relied upon for loans in Balkh (34 percent) and Gulran (28 percent), while village leaders are relatively frequent lenders in Daulina (27 percent), landlords in Sherzad (15 percent), and professionals in Sherzad (15 percent).

**Figure 149: Occupation of Lender**

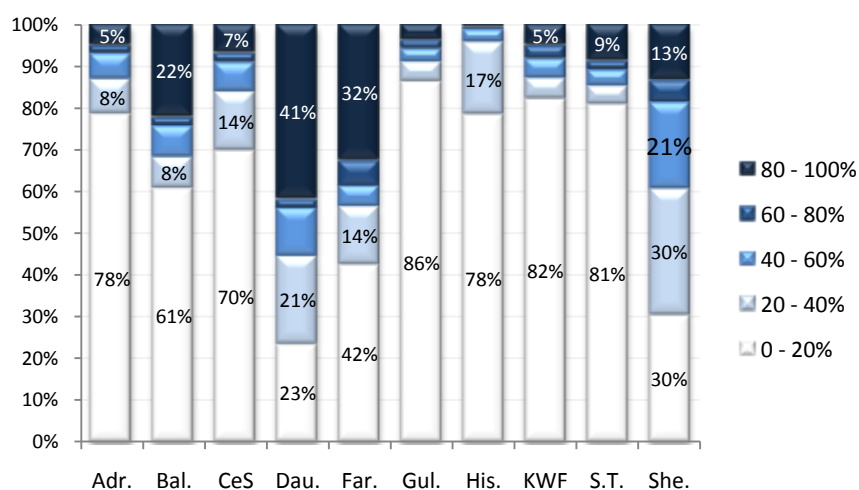


Respondents in Daulina borrowed much less, on average, than counterparts in other districts, and had the highest level of repayment, with 41 percent of respondents claiming to have repaid more than 80 percent of the loan and just 23 percent claiming to not have repaid less than 20 percent of the loan. The proportion of respondents who claimed to have repaid more than 20 percent of their loan was lowest in Gulran, at just 14 percent of borrowing respondents, followed by Khost Wa Firing (18 percent), and Sang Takht (19 percent). Borrowers in Hisarak, which had the highest average loans, seemed to be having particular difficulty in repaying their loans, with just 5 percent of respondents claiming to have repaid more than 40 percent of their debt. In contrast, borrowers in Sherzad, which had the second highest average loan level, seemed to be doing relatively well in repaying their loans, with 40 percent of respondents having repaid 40 percent or more of their debt.

**Figure 150: Value of Repayments To-Date**



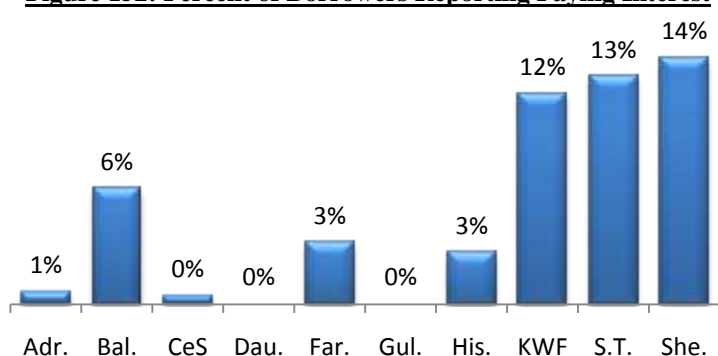
**Figure 151: Proportion of Loan Repaid**



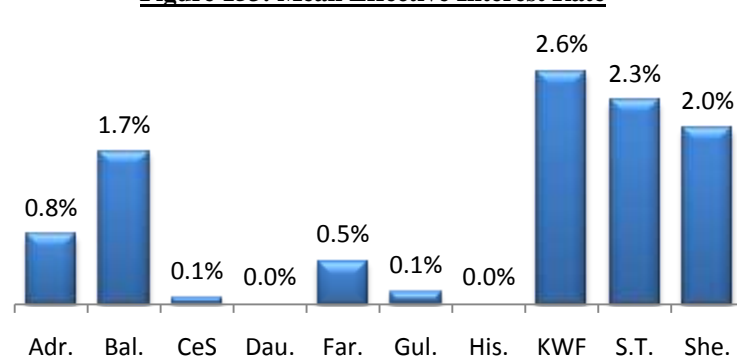
Interest is forbidden under *Shari'a* and it was therefore relatively unsurprising that very few respondents – only 5 percent across the sample – claimed that interest charges were being

applied to their loans. Interest was relatively common in the districts of Sherzad, where 14 percent of borrowers report that they would be responsible for paying interest on top of the repayment of the principal, Sang Takht (13 percent), Khost Wa Firing (12 percent), and Balkh (6 percent).<sup>39</sup> In order to provide a return on loaned funds, interest is sometimes disguised by moneylenders in the form of flat charges and other fees. For this reason, borrowers were also asked to report the total amount of money they would have repaid when the loan had been fully repaid, providing for a mechanism to assess the effective interest rate on loaned funds. The estimated effective interest rates, charted in Figure 153 below, are correlated with the proportion of respondents who reported actual interest being applied to their loans. Borrowers in Khost Wa Firing experience the highest effective interest rate, at 2.6 percent, followed by borrowers in Sang Takht (2.3 percent), Sherzad (2.0 percent), and Balkh (1.7 percent). Interestingly, although 3 percent of borrowers in Hisarak reported the incidence of interest charges on their loans, the mean effective interest rate was 0 percent.

**Figure 152: Percent of Borrowers Reporting Paying Interest**



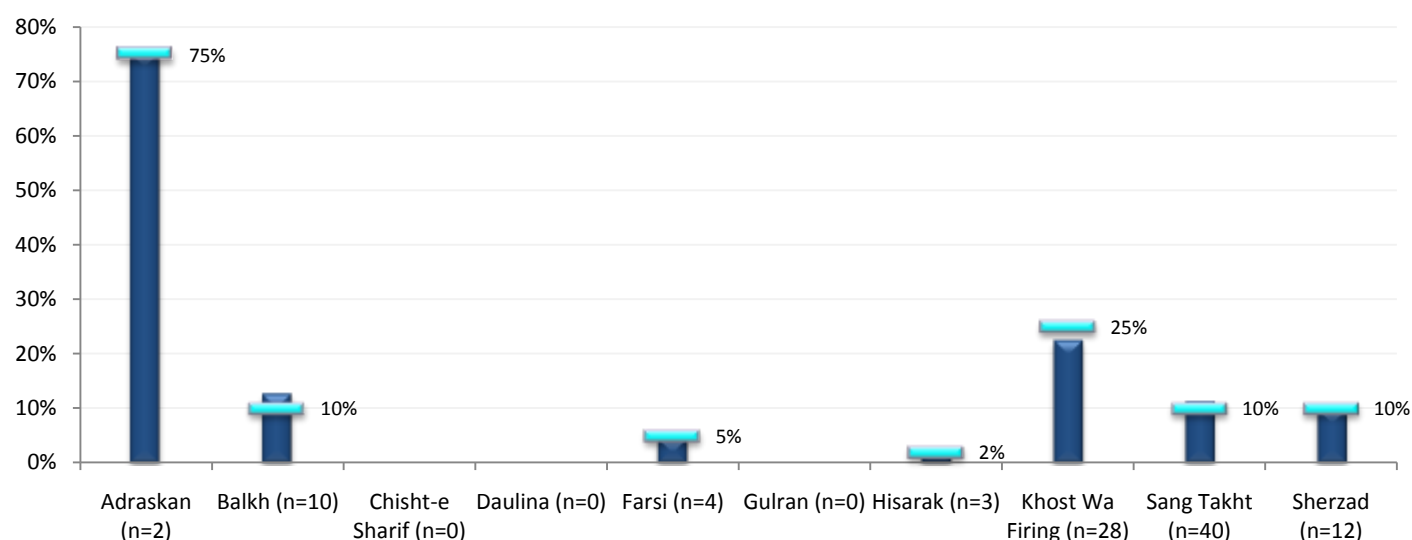
**Figure 153: Mean Effective Interest Rate**



For those borrowers who claim to pay interest, the mean rate is 15 percent. The highest interest rate reported by borrowers in the sample was 75 percent, reported by two borrowers in Adraskan, while the lowest was 2 percent, reported by 3 respondents in Hisarak. Borrowers in Khost Wa Firing reported a median interest rate of 25 percent, while those in Sang Takht, Sherzad, and Balkh paid a median rate of 10 percent. Borrowers in Farsi who paid interest were assessed an interest of 5 percent on average.

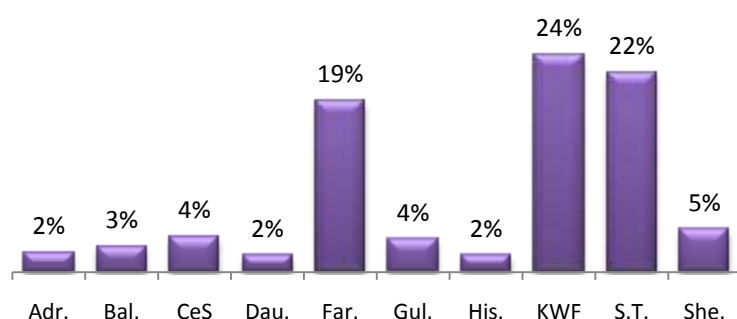
<sup>39</sup> People who report paying interest on their loans are not concentrated in any particular villages with only five villages in which majority of people report paying interest on their loans (Ghulam Khail in Sherzad, Zarif Khail in Hesarak, Gow Margi in Khost Wa Firing, Shinya in Sang Takht, and Hesarak in Balkh).

**Figure 154: Rate Assessed on Interest-Bearing Loans, by District**

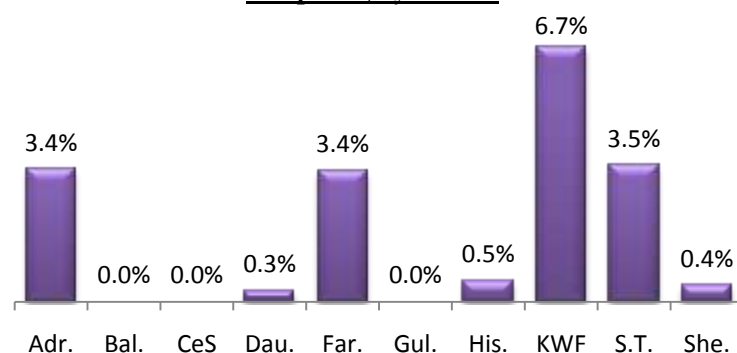


The responses of the male focus group respondents also confirm that it is very unusual for interest to be paid on loans, with 90 percent of respondents asserting that interest is regularly applied to loans given to people in their village. Substantial variation between districts was observed, however, with 24 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, 22 percent of respondents in Sang Takht, 19 percent of respondents in Farsi, but just 2 percent of respondents in Adraskan, Daulina, and Hisarak asserting that the assessment of interest on loans was common. To assess the effective interest rate on loans, male focus group respondents were also asked to report how much a borrower would pay once they had fully repaid a \$200 loan. The resulting estimates indicate that, according to male focus group respondents, Khost Wa Firing has the highest effective interest rates on loans, at 6.7 percent, followed by Sang Takht at 3.5 percent, and Adraskan and Farsi at 3.4 percent. Male focus group respondents contend that very little or no interest is applied to loans in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Gulran, Hisarak, and Sherzad.

**Figure 155: Percent of Male Shura Respondents Reporting Incidence of Interest is Common, by District**

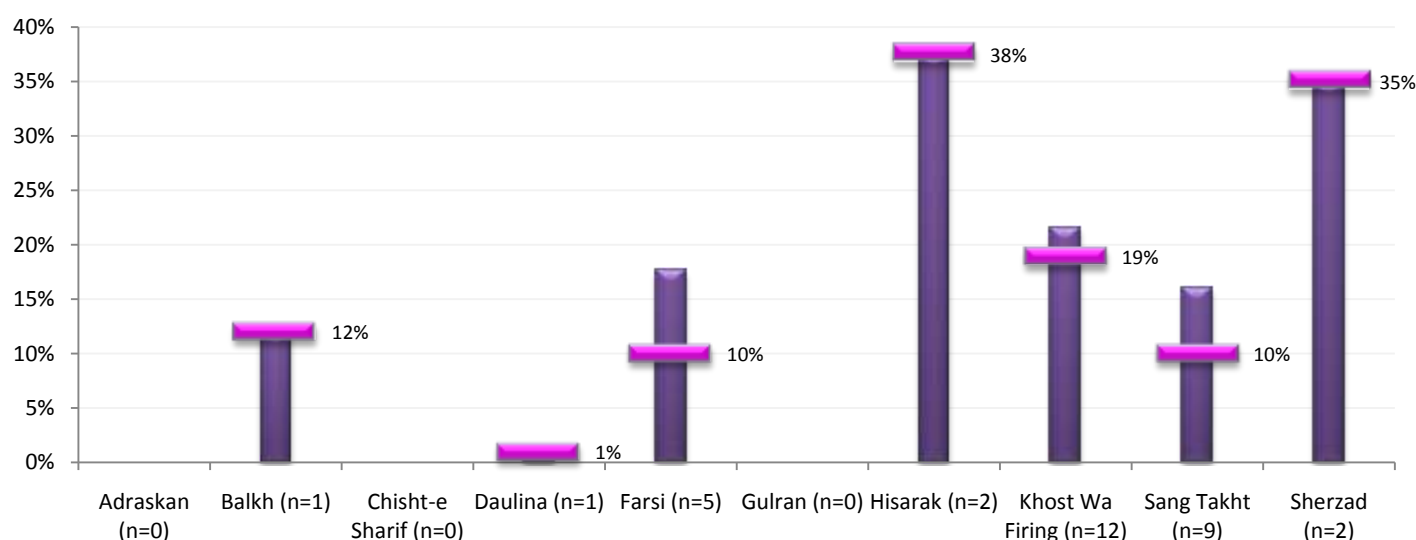


**Figure 156: Mean Effective Interest Rate Reported by Male Shura Recipients, by District**



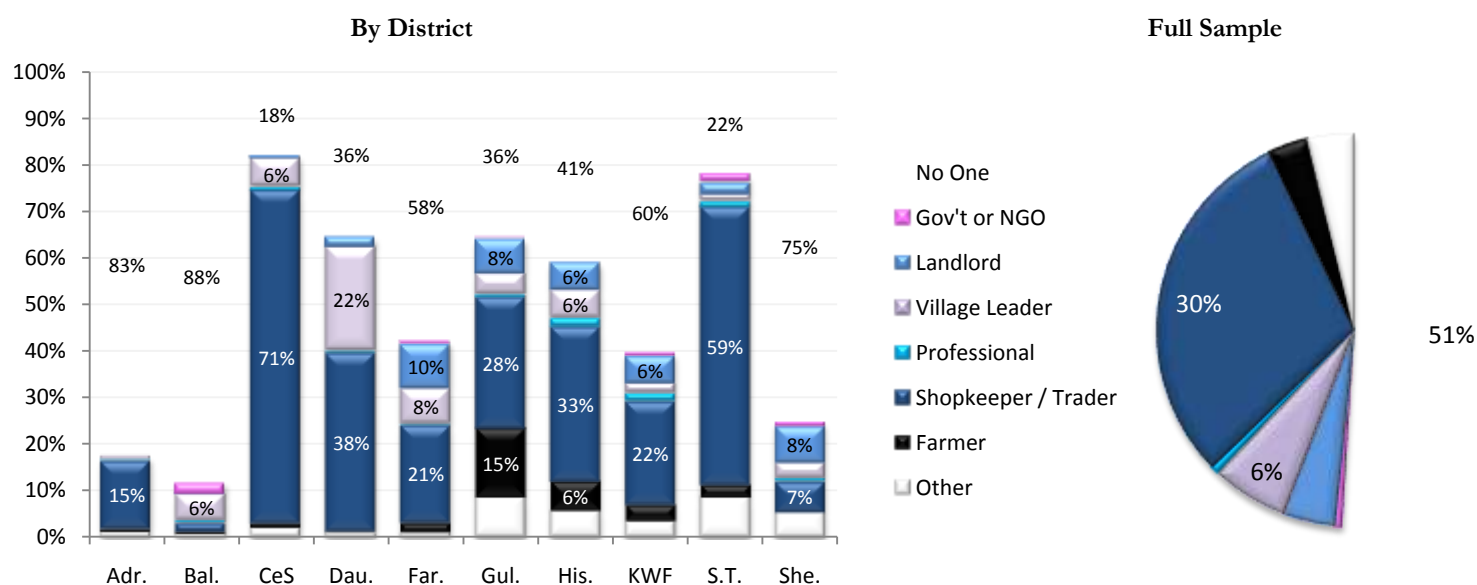
In cases where male focus group respondents indicated that interest was applied on loans provided to people in the village, they were also asked to report the rate of interest commonly applied. The number of respondents in Hisarak and Sherzad reporting the incidence of interest was very small, but both districts had the highest reported interest rates, at 38 percent and 35 percent respectively. According to male focus group respondents in Khost Wa Firing who believe interest is commonly applied to loans given to people in their village, the median interest rate is 19 percent, while in Balkh it stands at 12 percent, and 10 percent in Farsi and Sang Takht.

**Figure 157: Rate Assessed on Interest-Bearing Loans, by District**



All male household respondents were asked to consider, should they need to secure a loan in future, who they would obtain that loan from. Among all respondents across the ten districts, 51 percent of respondents reported that they would not be able to obtain the loan. The incidence of respondents who asserted they would not or could not get a loan was highest in Balkh (88 percent), Adraskan (83 percent), and Sherzad (75 percent), and lowest in Chisht-e Sharif (18 percent) and Sang Takht (22 percent). Among those who could get a loan, the most common response by far was that a shopkeeper or trader would provide the loan. Respondents in Chisht-e Sharif and Sang Takht claimed to be the most reliant upon shopkeepers or traders for loans, with 71 percent and 59 percent of respondents claiming the loan would be provided by one of these people.

**Figure 158: Primary Source for Loans in Future**

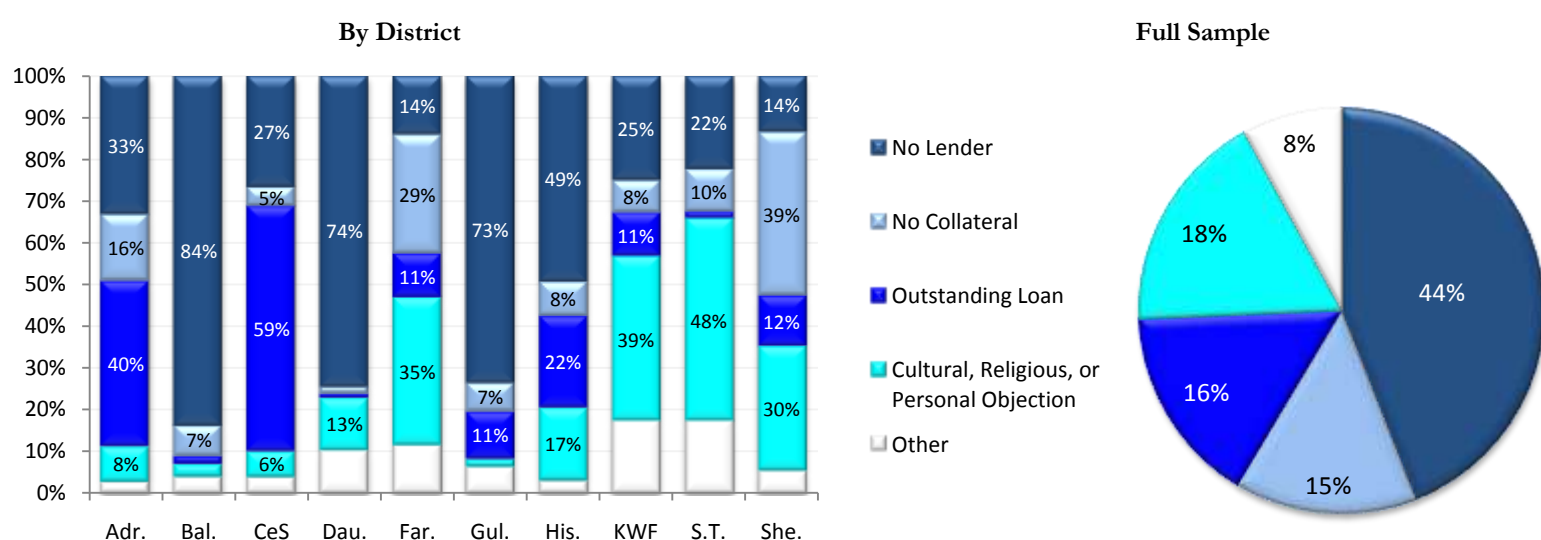


Male household respondents who responded that they would not or could not get a loan were asked to assess the reasons why they this was so. Across the full sample, 44 percent of respondents reported that there was no one to borrow from, a response that was particularly common in Balkh (84 percent), Daulina (74 percent), and Gulran (73 percent), but relatively rare in Farsi (14 percent). 15 percent of male household respondents who would not or could not get



a loan cited a lack of collateral as the main reason prevented them from doing so. Across the ten districts, respondents in Sherzad (39 percent) and Farsi (29 percent) were most likely to cite this as the main problem. Perhaps unsurprising given the relatively high number of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif who claimed to have an outstanding loan, the most commonly cited reason why respondents in Chisht-e Sharif would not or could not get a loan was the existence of an outstanding loan (59 percent). Across the full sample, 16 percent of respondents cited this as the reason why they would not or could not borrow money. After the absence of a lender, the most common reason cited by respondents across the sample for not being able to borrow funds was cultural, religious, or personal objections. Such a response was particularly frequent (48 percent) among the relatively small number of respondents in Sang Takht who stated they would not or could not get a loan, but was also recorded in significant numbers in Khost Wa Firing (39 percent) and Farsi (35 percent). In contrast, only 3 percent of respondents in Balkh and 2 percent of respondents in Gulran who would not or could not get a loan cited this as the main reason why.

**Figure 159: Reason for Inability to Borrow Funds**



### ***Perceptions of Economic Situation***

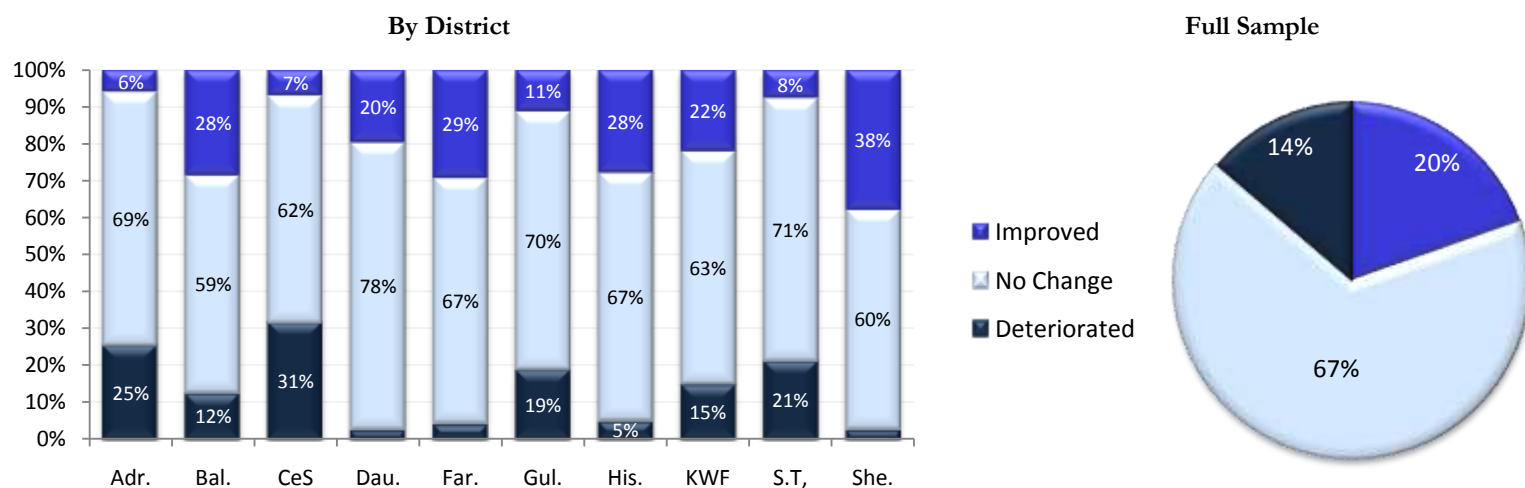
Respondents in each of the three categories were asked to assess whether the economic situation of their household, in the case of male household respondents, or of their village, in the case of male focus group and female respondents, had improved, deteriorated, or stayed the same. Respondents who believed that the economic situation had changed, either for better or worse, were then asked which person or institution was most responsible for causing the change. The results of these questions, both across the full sample and the ten districts, are presented in the section below.

When asked about their household conditions relative to last year, an average of 20 percent of male head of household respondents suggested that their conditions improved, 14 percent said that they deteriorated, with the remaining 66 percent asserting that that the economic situation of their household had not changed at all over the past year. Respondents in Sherzad saw the greatest degree of improvement in their household's economic position, with 38 percent reporting a positive change relative to last year and just 2 percent reporting deterioration, perceptions possibly brought on by the level of poppy cultivation in the district at the time the survey was administered. A significant excess of respondents reporting a positive year-on-year economic change over those respondents reporting a negative change was also observed in the districts of Farsi (25 percent), Hisarak (23 percent), Daulina (17 percent), and Balkh (16 percent).



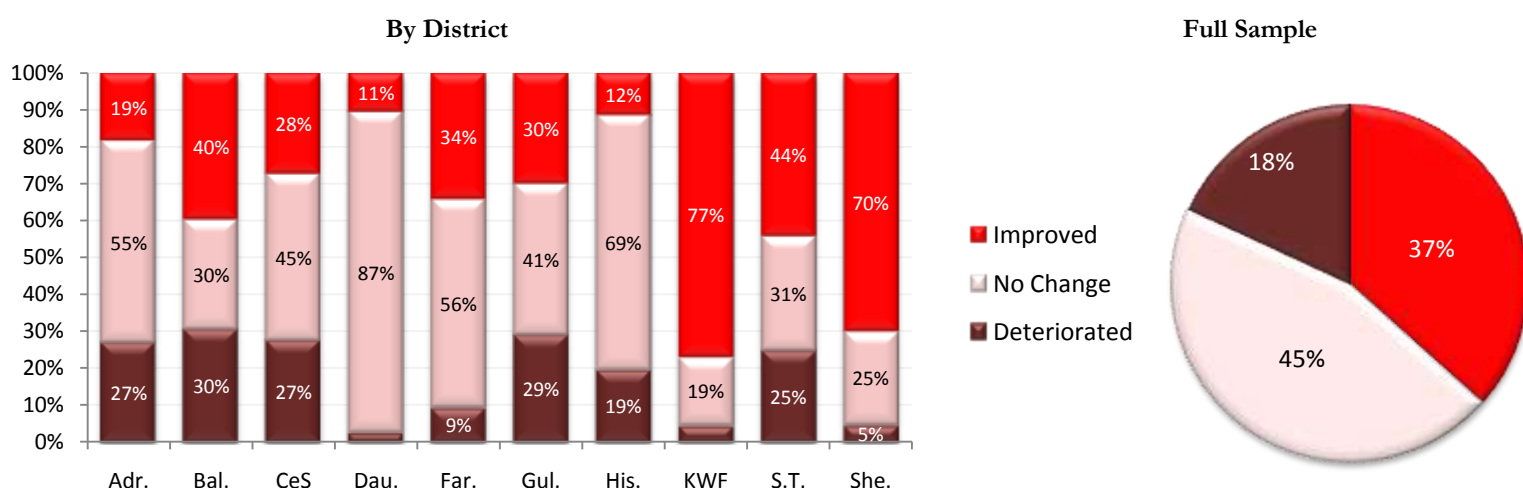
On the other hand, the proportion of respondents in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, and Sang Takht reporting an improvement in their economic situation were outnumbered by those reporting a deterioration – 6 percent versus 25 percent in Adraskan, 7 percent versus 31 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, and 8 percent versus 21 percent in Sang Takht. In Gulran, respondents perceiving a deterioration (19 percent) slightly outnumbered those perceiving an improvement (11 percent), while in Khost Wa Firing, the reverse was true, with 22 percent of respondents perceiving an improvement and 15 percent perceiving a deterioration.

**Figure 160: Change in Household Economic Situation – Male Household**



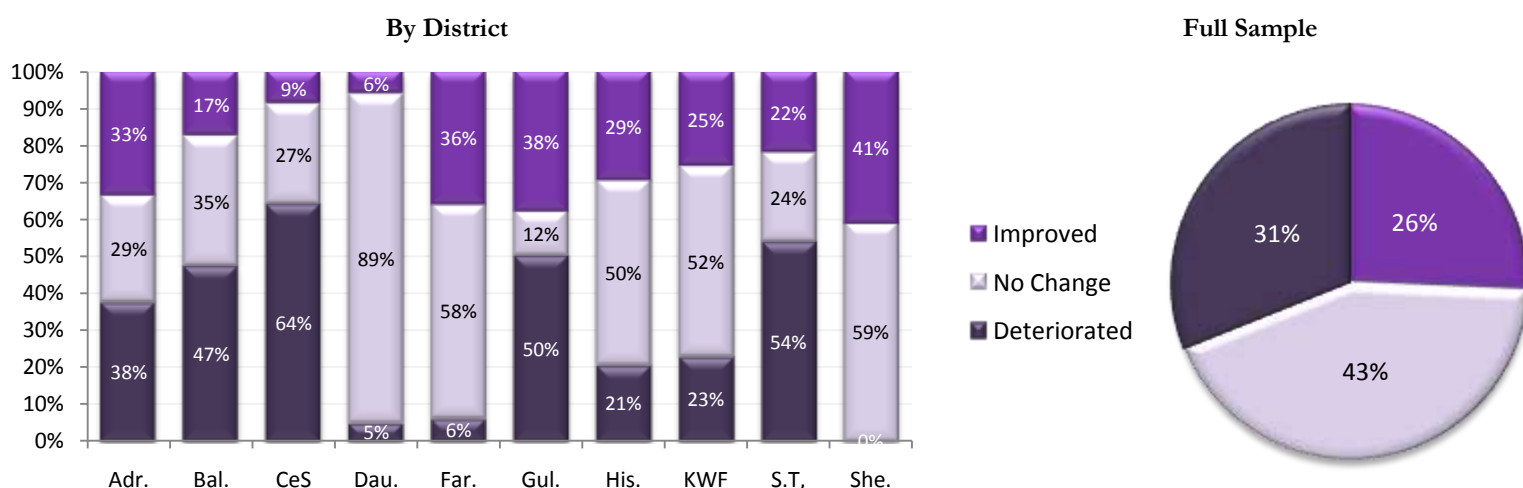
Generally, women were more positive than men in their assessment of how living conditions in the village had changed during the past year: 37 percent of female respondents felt that they had improved, 18 percent perceived that they had deteriorated, and 45 percent stated that conditions had largely remained the same. Female respondents in Khost Wa Firing and Sherzad were the most likely to have a positive assessment of changes in the economic situation of the village, with 77 percent and 70 percent of respondents in each district reporting an improvement over conditions last year. The balance of female respondents in Balkh (10 percent), Daulina (8 percent) also reported a positive change, in common with their male household counterparts. Similarly, more female respondents in Adraskan (8 percent) perceived that village conditions had deteriorated. In contrast to the responses of male household interviewees, however, the proportion of female respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (1 percent), Gulran (1 percent), and Sang Takht (19 percent) that believed conditions had improved outnumbered those who perceived they had deteriorated. Interestingly, although male household respondents in Hisarak predominantly perceived an improvement, female respondents on balance considered living conditions in the village had worsened, by a margin of 7 percent.

**Figure 161: Change in Village Economic Situation – Female Respondents**



Male focus group respondents perceiving that the economic situation in their village deteriorated over the past year outnumbered those who saw an improvement by 31 percent to 26 percent. The proportion of respondents seeing an improvement significantly outnumbered those perceiving a worsening in Sherzad (41 percent to 0 percent), Farsi (36 percent to 6 percent), and Hisarak (29 percent to 21 percent). Male focus group respondents in Chisht-e Sharif were the most likely to report a deterioration in the economic situation of the village over the past year, where 64 percent of respondents perceived a worsening compared to just 9 percent who perceived an improvement, followed by Sang Takht (54 percent to 22 percent), Gulran (50 percent to 38 percent), and Balkh (47 percent compared to 17 percent). In Adraskan, opinions of male focus group respondents on whether the village situation had improved, stayed the same, or deteriorated were relatively polarized, with 33 percent reporting a positive change, 29 percent reporting no change, and 38 percent reporting a negative change. In Daulina, on the other hand, very few respondents saw either an improvement (6 percent) or a worsening (6 percent) in the situation of their village, with the vast majority (89 percent) reporting no change. In Khost Wa Firing, a slight majority of respondents (52 percent) reported no change in the situation of the village, with the proportion of respondents reporting an improvement (25 percent) only slightly topping the proportion of respondents reporting a deterioration (23 percent).

**Figure 162: Change in Village Economic Situation – Male Focus Group**



Across the sample of male household respondents that reported a change in the situation of the household over the past year, the proportion asserting that action or inaction by the central

government was responsible for causing that change was relatively high regardless of whether a positive or negative change was observed, at 31 percent and 30 percent of respondents respectively. Only 2 percent of male household respondents who claimed their household's economic situation had improved ascribed the change to actions of sub-national government, such as district administrators or provincial governors, whereas 4 percent of those who claimed their household's economic situation had deteriorated thought sub-national government was responsible for the worsening. Interestingly, the proportion ascribing a change to actions or inaction of the village *shura* or local leaders deviated sharply, based on whether the respondent considered their situation had improved or deteriorated. 25 percent of respondents reporting an improvement, for instance, ascribed the change to village leaders, while just 4 percent of respondents reporting a deterioration similarly ascribed the change. The proportion of respondents ascribing changes to actions or inaction of non-governmental organizations was extremely low in both cases.

**Figure 163: Attribution of Change in Household Situation by Male Household Respondents**



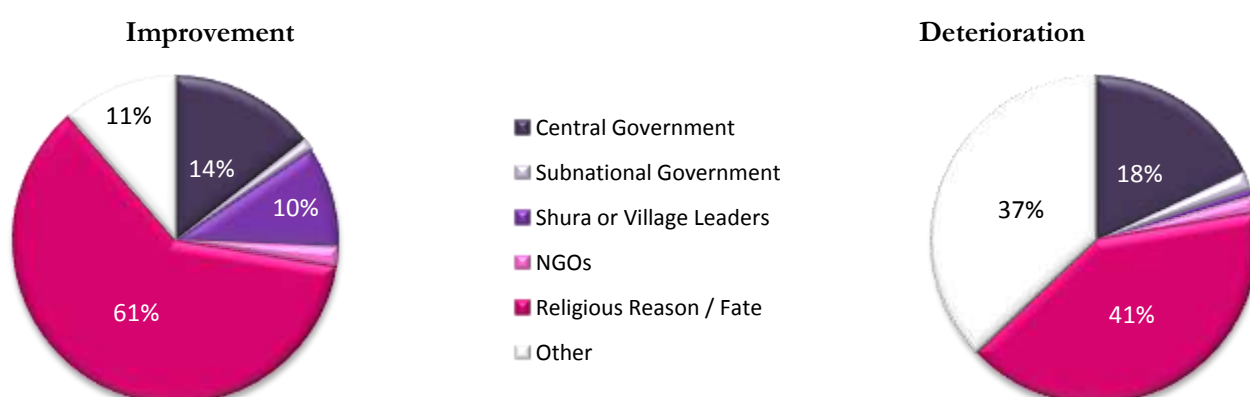
As with male household respondents, the proportion of female household respondents ascribing responsibility for changes to central or sub-national government did not change greatly depending on whether a positive or negative change was reported. 8 percent of respondents reported that central government was most responsible in the case of a positive change, with 5 percent similarly ascribing responsibility in the case of a negative change. Sub-national governance entities were considered to be responsible by 4 percent of female respondents reporting that the village situation had improved and by 9 percent of respondents who felt it had deteriorated over the past year. In common with male household respondents, female respondents were much more likely to ascribe responsibility for a change to the village *shura* or village leaders when they reported a positive change. A whopping 57 percent of female respondents who thought the village situation had improved over the past year considered that local leaders were most responsible for that change, compared to just 13 percent of female respondents who held local leaders responsible in the event of a worsening of the village situation. The work of non-governmental organizations was cited by 4 percent of female respondents as being responsible for positive changes that had occurred in the village over the past year, but were not mentioned by any respondents who perceived negative changes. In cases of both improvements and deteriorations, 23 percent of female respondents ascribed the change to fate or the will of a divine authority.

**Figure 164: Attribution of Change in Village Situation by Women**



The main difference observed between the responses of male focus group and female respondents was that a much higher proportion of male focus group respondents felt that the primary responsibility for the change lay with fate or the will of a divine authority. Male focus group respondents more frequently ascribed positive changes to super-natural forces, with 61 percent of respondents reporting improvements in the village situation to fate or the will of a divine authority and 41 percent of those reporting a deterioration doing so. As one might expect given that most male focus groups included representatives of the village *shura* or local leadership, only a tiny fraction of male focus group respondents who reported deterioration in the situation of the village ascribed that change to actions of local leaders. However, the proportion of male focus group respondents who reported that a positive change observed in the village situation was caused by actions of the village leadership was relatively small too, at 10 percent. The central government was the institution most frequently cited as being responsible for effecting changes, although as with male household and female respondents, limited differences were observed based on whether a positive or negative change was reported: 14 percent of respondents mentioned central government as holding primary responsibility for a positive change and 18 percent of respondents mentioned it in the event of a negative change. Actions or inaction by sub-national government institutions or non-governmental organizations were rarely mentioned as being responsible for either positive or negative changes.

**Figure 165: Attribution of Change in Village Situation by Male Shura**



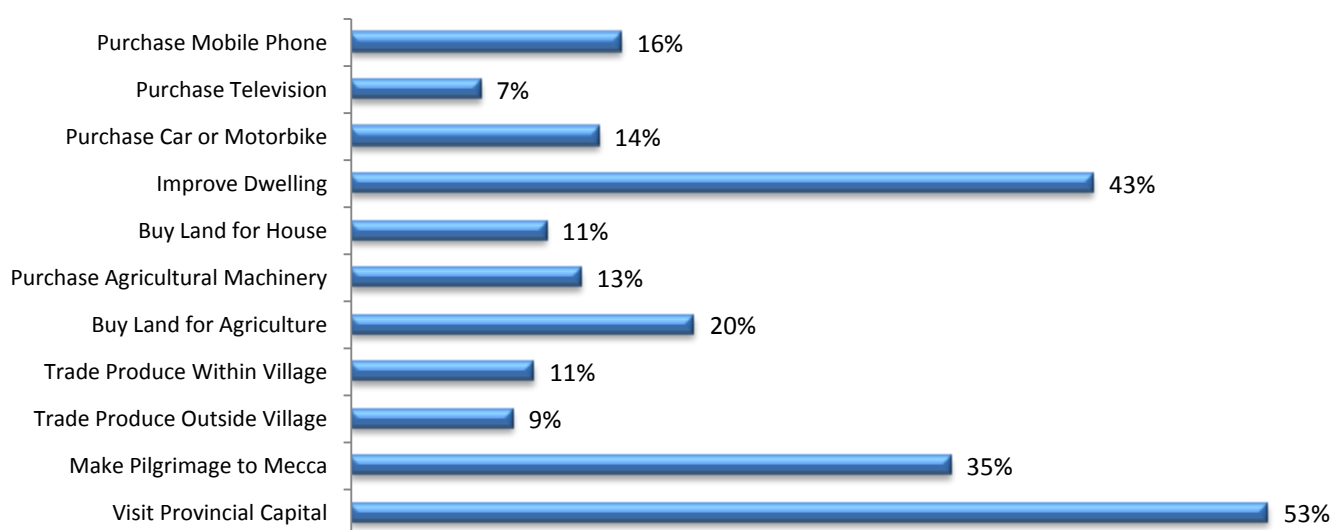
### Future Plans

In order to assess the confidence of economic actors across the sample, male household respondents were asked whether they had any plans to undertake activities such as purchasing household items, land, or agricultural tools or engaging in economic activities or long-distance trade in the coming year. Overall, respondents were quite reserved in their expectations, an

observation consistent with the harsh realities and financial constraints facing most villagers in Afghanistan. Variation between districts was significant in a number of cases, however. The section below presents information concerning future purchases both in the aggregate and between districts.

Figure 166 below plots the percentage of male household respondents across the sample who plan to purchase specific items or undertake activities next year. Over a half of respondents indicate an intention to visit the provincial capital in the coming year, while over a third indicate intent to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The proportion of respondents who plan to trade produce, either within or beyond the village, is relatively small, however, at 9 percent and 11 percent respectively. A fifth of respondents indicated intent to purchase land for agricultural use and 13 percent considered they would purchase a form of agricultural machinery in the coming year. A relatively high proportion of respondents – 43 percent – indicated that they would take steps to improve their dwelling in the next 12 months, although only 11 percent thought that they would purchase land for a house. Intentions to engage in consumer goods purchases were observed with rarity across the sample, with just 16 percent of respondents reporting an intention to purchase a mobile phone, 7 percent a television, and 14 percent a car or motorcycle.

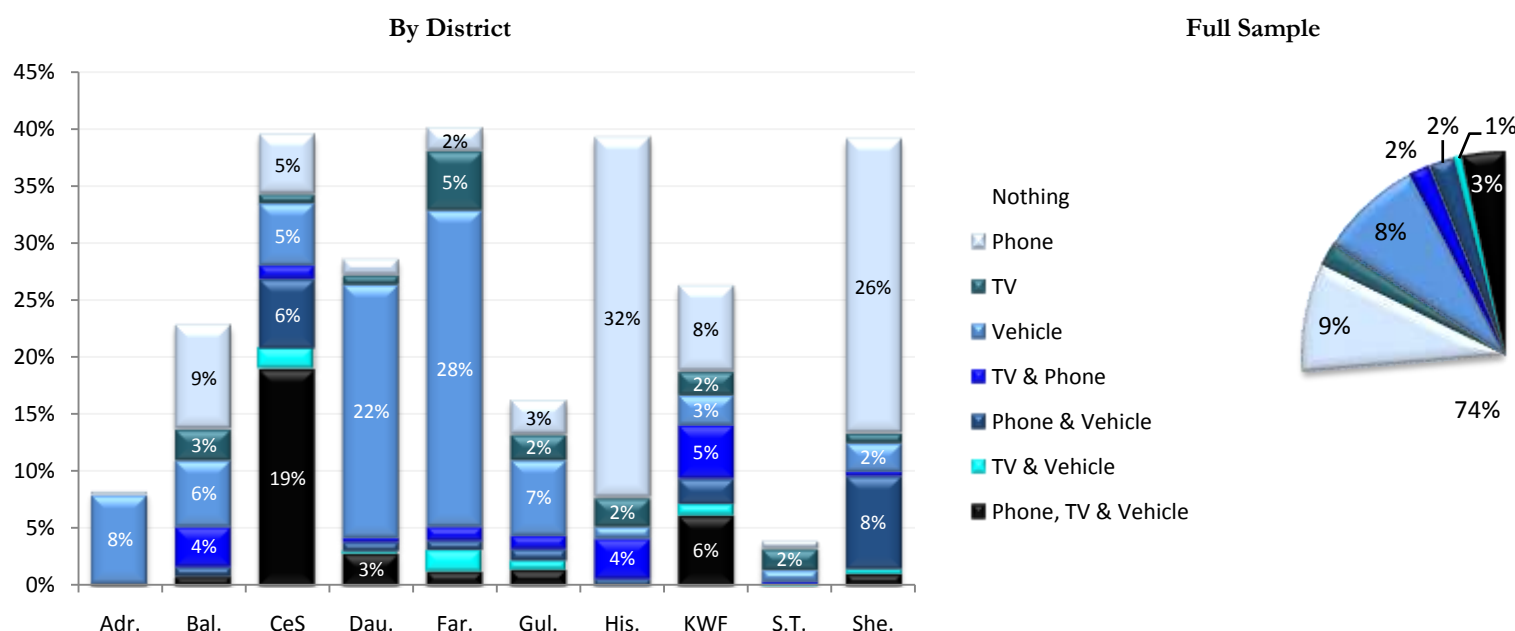
**Figure 166: Percent of Male Household Respondents with Plans to Purchase Specific Items or Undertake Activities Next Year**



As shown in Figure 167 below, just over a quarter of respondents across the sample believed that they would purchase a mobile phone, television, or vehicle in the coming year. The proportion of respondents who announced an intention to engage in such purchases was smallest in Sang Takht, where just 4 percent of respondents did so, and Adraskan, where 8 percent of respondents did so, but rose to 39 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, 40 percent in Farsi, 39 percent in Hisarak and Sherzad. Of those respondents who intended to purchase consumer goods in the coming year, 33 percent thought they would just purchase a phone, 7 percent just a television set, 31 percent just a vehicle, 6 percent a television and a phone, 8 percent a phone and a vehicle, 2 percent a vehicle and a phone, while 12 percent considered that they would buy a phone, television set, and a vehicle in the coming year. Respondents in Chisht-e Sharif seemed to be most optimistic about their level of purchasing power in the coming year, with a full 19 percent of respondents asserting that they would purchase a phone, television, and a vehicle in the coming year and a further 6 percent asserting they would purchase a phone and a vehicle. Purchases of vehicles were most commonly signaled by respondents in Chisht-e Sharif and Farsi, where 32 percent of respondents believed they would buy one in the coming year, followed by Daulina, where 26 percent of respondents said so. In contrast, only 2 percent of respondents in

Hisarak and 1 percent of respondents in Sang Takht thought they would buy a vehicle in the next 12 months. Across the sample, television sets were not a common focus of consumer zeal, although 23 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, 14 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, and 10 percent of respondents in Farsi stated that they buy one in the coming year. The proportion of respondents announcing an intention to purchase a mobile phone peaked at 36 percent in Hisarak, followed by Sherzad with 35 percent, and Chisht-e Sharif at 31 percent. In comparison, a mere 0.4 percent of respondents in Adraskan and 0.8 percent of respondents in Sang Takht said they would purchase a phone within the next 12 months.

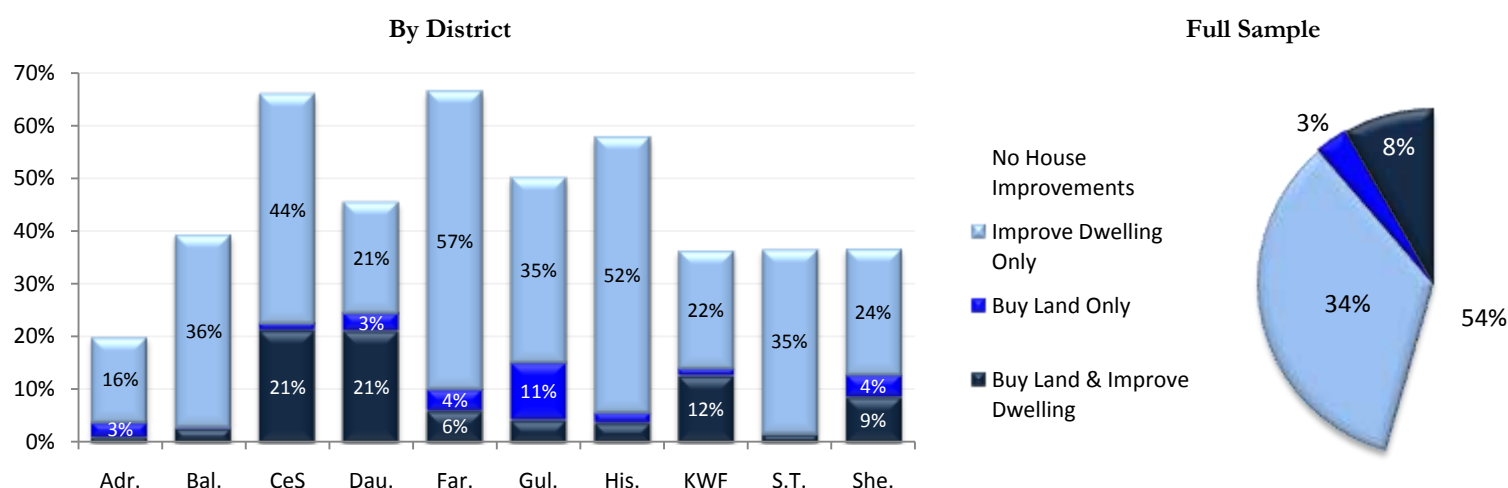
**Figure 167: Percent of Male Household Respondents Who Plan to Make Consumer Goods Purchases Next Year**



The proportion of respondents who plan to make improvements on their dwelling, either through purchasing new land for a house or making improvements on the existing dwelling, is plotted in Figure 168 below. A total of 46 percent of respondents across the sample announced an intention to improve their dwelling in some manner, with 75 percent of those asserting that the improvements would come through improvements on an existing dwelling, 7 percent through the purchase of land, and 18 percent through the purchase of land and the improvement of the dwelling. The proportion of respondents announcing an intention to either improve their existing dwelling or purchase land for a new dwelling was highest in Farsi (67 percent) and Chisht-e Sharif (66 percent) and lowest in Adraskan (20 percent). An intention to purchase land was most frequently observed in Daulina (24 percent of respondents) and Chisht-e Sharif (22 percent) and most rarely observed in Adraskan (4 percent), Balkh (3 percent), and Sang Takht (2 percent). Announcements of intentions to improve dwellings, either new or existing, were most common in Chisht-e Sharif (65 percent) and Farsi (62 percent) and rarest in Adraskan (17 percent). The proportion of respondents believing that they would both purchase land and undertake an improvement of the dwelling peaked at 21 percent in both Chisht-e Sharif and Daulina.

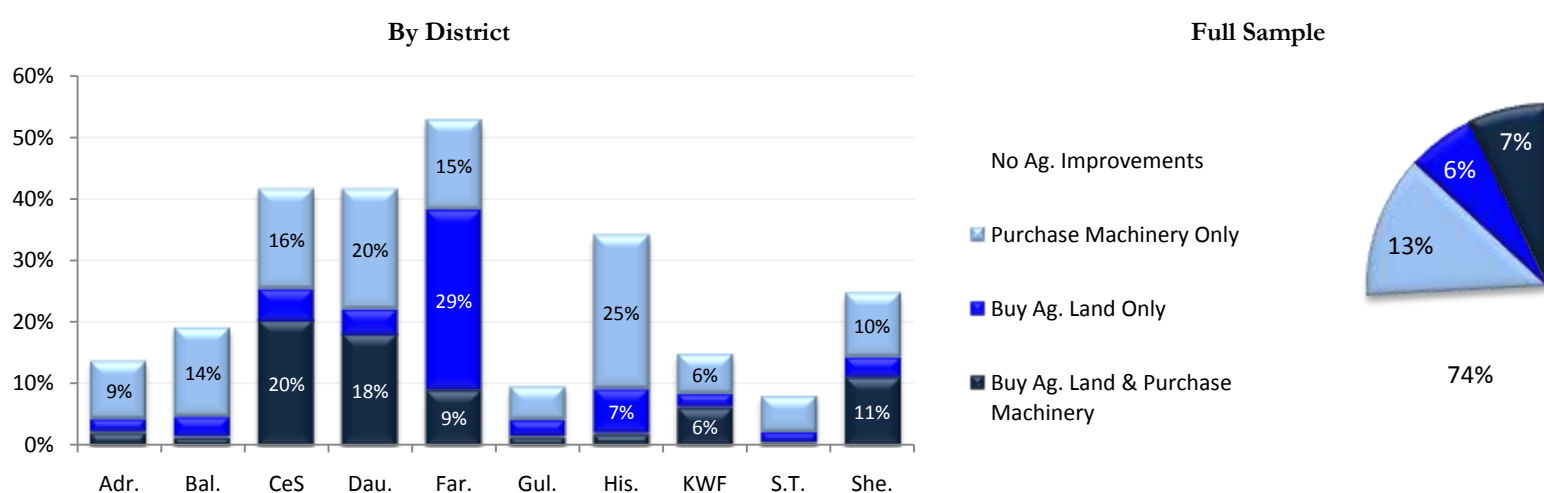


**Figure 168: Percent of Male Household Respondents Who Plan to Make Improvements on Dwelling Next Year**



As displayed in Figure 169 below, 26 percent of male household respondents have an intention to make agricultural improvements in the coming year. For approximately half of the respondents who do intend to make agricultural improvements, these improvements consist only of the purchase of machinery, with 24 percent of such respondents being made up of those who intend to purchase agricultural land only, and the remaining 27 percent being those who intend to purchase both agricultural machinery and agricultural land. Respondents in Farsi were the most likely to report an intention to undertake agricultural improvements, with 53 percent of respondents in the district announcing such an intention, followed by Chisht-e Sharif (41 percent) and Daulina (41 percent), while those in Adraskan (14 percent), Gulran (9 percent), and Sang Takht (8 percent) were the least likely. Farsi recorded the highest proportion of respondents who intend to purchase agricultural land, at 38 percent, while Sang Takht had the lowest at 2 percent. Daulina and Chisht-e Sharif, however, recorded the highest proportions of respondents who intend to purchase agricultural machinery, at 37 percent and 36 percent, respectively, with Gulran and Sang Takht reporting the lowest, at 7 percent and 6 percent respectively.

**Figure 169: Percent of Male Household Respondents Who Plan to Make Agricultural Improvements Next Year**



A small proportion of respondents across the sample (14 percent) announced that they intended to engage in trade next year. Of those who did, 46 percent considered that the trade would be both with persons inside and outside the village, 32 percent contended it would just be with persons in the village, and 23 percent thought it would be just with persons outside the village.



Daulina, Hisarak, and Sherzad reported the highest proportion of respondents who believed they would engage in trade next year, with 22 percent, 22 percent, and 21 percent of respondents respectively, while Balkh and Sang Takht had the lowest, each with 2 percent. The proportion of respondents stating they would engage in trade with people within the village was highest in Hisarak (17 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (16 percent), and Daulina (16 percent) and lowest in Balkh (1 percent) and Sang Takht (1 percent). The proportion of respondents expressing an intention to trade with persons outside the village was highest in Hisarak (17 percent), Daulina (16 percent), and Sherzad (15 percent) and lowest in Balkh (1 percent).

**Figure 170: Percent of Male Household Respondents Who Plan to Engage in Trade Next Year**

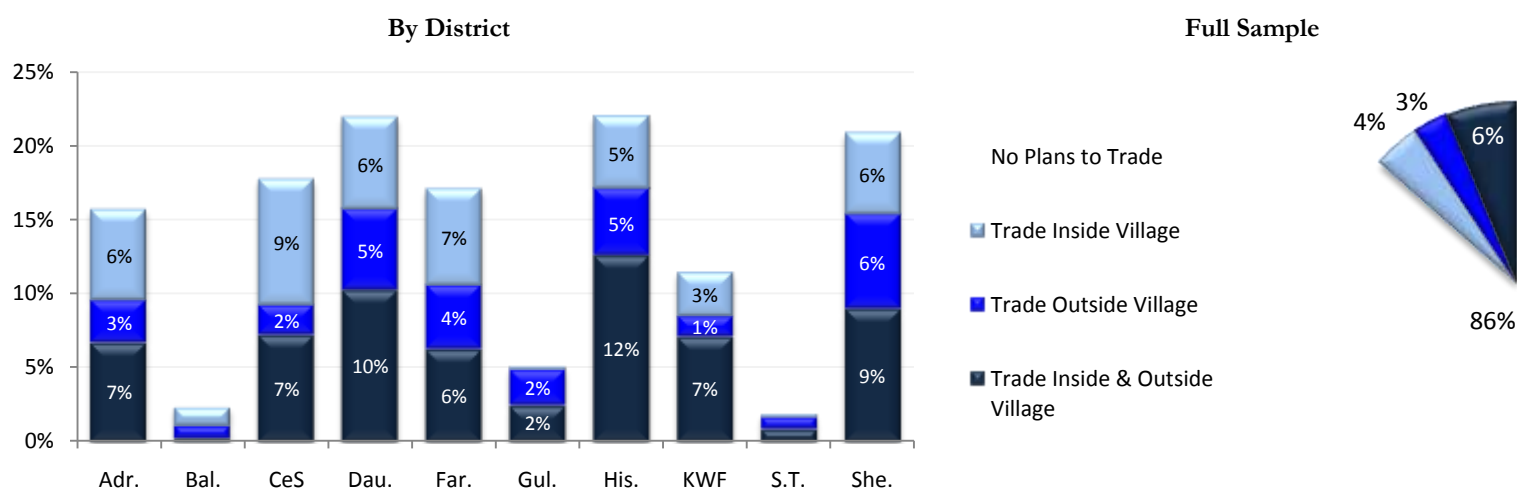
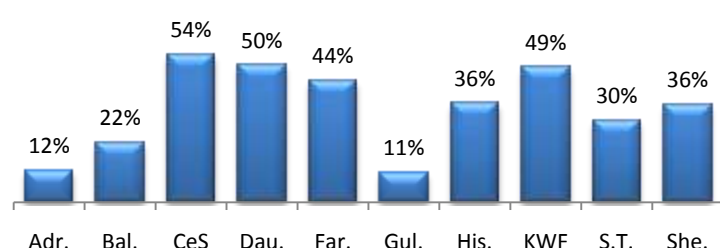
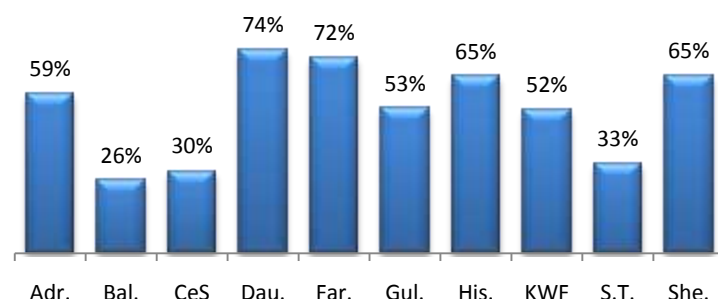


Figure 171 below plots the proportion of respondents per district that expressed an intention to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca in the coming year, while Figure 172 plots the proportion who plan to visit the provincial center. Respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, and Khost Wa Firing were the most likely to report they would undertake the Hajj in the coming year, with 54 percent, 50 percent, and 49 percent of respondents doing so, while respondents in Adraskan and Gulran were the least likely, at 12 percent and 11 percent respectively. The results of the question about whether respondents would visit the provincial center in the coming year were very curious, with respondents in Balkh district, with a district center which lies only a short half-an-hour drive from the provincial center of Mazar-e Sharif, being the least likely to report they would travel to the provincial center (26 percent). In contrast, respondents in Daulina and Farsi, which are two of the most remote districts in terms of the difficulty in reaching the provincial center, reported the highest proportion of respondents who stated they would make such a trip (74 percent and 72 percent respectively).

**Figure 171: Percent of Male Household Respondents with Plans to Undertake Pilgrimage Next Year, by District**



**Figure 172: Percent of Male Household Respondents with Plans to Visit Provincial Center Next Year, by District**



### V.3. Access to Services

The following section provides an overview of the access of respondents to critical services and infrastructure and is divided into the following five sections: (1) Drinking Water; (2) Electricity and Fuel; (3) Healthcare; (4) Education; and (5) Vocational Training. Short summaries of each section are provided below, with more detailed descriptions and a full set of graphs of aggregate statistics and district-level variation in the separate sections.

**Drinking Water:** Although there is great diversity in the types of sources from which villagers in rural Afghanistan draw drinking water, these types can be divided into two categories: (1) Protected Sources, which comprise hand pumps, deep wells, protected springs, pipe schemes, or water tankers, and are generally considered to provide a healthier source of water; and (2) Unprotected Sources, which encompass shallow open wells, unprotected springs, rivers, canals, lakes, ponds or forms of drainage. The majority of male household respondents report an unprotected source as the primary source of water in their household, with only a total of 20 percent of the male household respondents stating that they draw water from a protected source (7 percent from a pipe scheme, protected spring, bored well or other source and 13 percent from a hand pump). These responses on primary water sources are also largely confirmed by female respondents. Only in very rare cases is there is a payment or fee associated with water access. The time that household members, usually young girls in many parts of Afghanistan, spend collecting water was reported by the vast majority of male household as well as female respondents (over 90 percent) to takes less than an hour. An equally high percentage of male household and female respondents stated that water is collected more than once a day.

**Electricity and Fuel:** More than 80 percent of respondents in our sample, as suggested by male household and male focus group participants, have no access to electricity. Although electricity is a scarce resource across the sample, there was some regional variation. Adraskan, Daulina, and Gulran report the least access (2 percent) and Balkh and Khost Wa Firing report the highest levels of access (over 30 percent). Of the 14 percent of male household respondents who reported having access to electricity, the most common source is micro-hydropower plants (63 percent), followed by the national electrical grid (24 percent), and diesel generators (11 percent). Sources of electricity vary significantly between districts. Whereas, 95 percent of electricity users in Balkh draw their power from the national grid, only two other respondents across the full sample claim to do so. Over half of non-grid electricity using respondents (54 percent) reported that the generator was owned by the whole village, while others reported that the generator was jointly owned with other households (21 percent), and a smaller number reporting that the generator was exclusively owned by the household (13 percent).

For households that had access to electricity in the past month, most had electricity on nearly all days of the month. The number of hours a day, however, varied: 32 percent report having access of less than 5 hours on average over the past month; 27 percent report having an average of between 5 and 8 hours of electricity each day; 28 percent report access of between 9 and 12 hours; 2 percent of between 13 and 16 hours, 1 percent of between 17 and 20 hours, and 11 percent of between 21 and 24 hours of electricity daily. Regardless of the electricity source, over 80 percent of male household and male focus group respondents reported that the majority of households in the village with electricity paid for it. Overwhelmingly, male household and male focus group respondents believed that their household's access to electricity had not changed over the past year, with approximately 90 percent of respondents reporting no change. For heating during the winter months, the most common fuel cited by male household respondents was firewood (46 percent), followed by straw, ping, or manure (33 percent), and grass (18 percent).

**Healthcare:** In the aggregate, nearly half of respondents reported that, when persons in the village fall ill, they are taken to a clinic for treatment. Roughly one in five of the respondents reported that treatment by a doctor is most common, and a similar number of people stated that treatment at a hospital predominates. Across the full sample, approximately 10 percent of respondents reported that there is no source of medical treatment for people in the village who fall ill. All three respondent groups were asked to report whether there is a health worker available to provide medical treatment to men and women in the village at any time of the day or night. Across the full sample, 12 - 19 percent of respondents reported that such a health worker was available to treat men in the village and 9 - 17 percent of respondents claimed that a health worker was available, either within the village or to travel to the village, at any time of the day or night. Female doctors or midwives appear to be rarely available across the villages in the sample, with 85 percent of female respondents reporting that no female doctor or midwife was available. When asked whether they would take a sick daughter to a male doctor in the event that a female doctor or nurse was not available, 74 percent responded in the affirmative. Medical treatment is most commonly administered in the district center (55 percent of male household respondents) as opposed to the provincial center (20 percent of male household respondents). 8 percent of villagers reported it is provided in another village in the district, and 7 percent reported it would be provided in a major city, such as Kabul, Jalalabad, Mazar-e Sharif, or Herat, with only 4 percent reporting it would be provided in the village. Locations of treatment varied significantly between districts.

Overall, a little more than half of the female respondents (52 percent) reported that they or another female in their household had fallen ill in the past month. Of those respondents who did report that an illness had occurred, 57 percent reported that the person with the illness or injury had received treatment. Female respondents who reported that they or another female in the household had fallen ill or been injured and had not been treated was because the cost of treatment was too high (32 percent), the location of treatment was too far (25 percent), or there was no available transport to the location of treatment (7 percent); lack of a health worker (8 percent), low quality of the available treatment (11 percent), or lack of seriousness of illness for treatment to be sought (11 percent).

**Education:** Overall, 43 percent of male focus groups and 49 percent of female focus groups reported their village has a boys, girls, or mixed school. Unsurprisingly, villages across the sample were less likely to have a girls' school than either a mixed or boys' school. 86 percent of female focus groups and 90 percent of male focus groups reported that their village contained no school which teaches girls exclusively and 88 percent reported that their village did not have any female teachers. Male and female focus group respondents were asked to report the main source of education for boys and girls in the village. Across all the sample districts, 35 percent of female respondents claimed that a school within the village educated most of the boys in the village, 41 percent responded that boys were mostly taught by schools outside the village, 14 percent reported that education is provided mostly at a mosque or *madrassa*. Similarly, two-thirds of male focus group respondents stated they believed that school was the predominant form of education for boys in their village, 7 percent mentioned other village institutions, 16 percent claimed religious education predominated.

Female respondents who reported that some of their children do not attend school cited the lack of a school close to the village as the main reason (72 percent of respondents). In terms of future plans 79 percent of male household respondents expressed an intention to send both a son and a daughter to school in the next year. When asked to consider whether the number of children from the village attending school had increased, decreased, or stayed the same relative to last year, 69 percent of male household respondents reported an increase, 29 percent reported that it had stayed the same. Increases in school attendance were most frequently attributed to the

parents of the children concerned (50 percent), followed by actions of the village leaders (34 percent). Just 7 percent of respondents felt that actions of the central government were behind the increase in school attendance and only 4 percent cited the work of non-governmental organizations. Similarly, both male focus group and female respondents perceived an increase in the amount of boys attending school over the past year. Overall, 75 percent of male focus group respondents and 63 percent of female respondents reported an increase, while 28 percent of male focus group respondents and 28 percent of female respondents reported no change. A lesser proportion of both male focus group and female respondents perceived that girls' school attendance had increased, with 57 percent of male focus group respondents and 51 percent of female respondents reporting such. 38 percent of male focus group respondents and 43 percent of female respondents reported that they had observed no change. In accordance with the answers provided by male household respondents, male focus group respondents share the credit for increases in boys' and girls' school attendance between parents (43 percent) and the village leadership (41 percent). 54 percent of female respondents reporting a positive change in the number of girls from the village attending school attribute the change to village leaders, while 27 percent credit the parents of the girls themselves.

**Vocational Training:** 95 percent of male focus group and female respondents reported that there are no vocational trainings offered in their communities. According to male focus group and female respondents, over 70 percent of the courses offered are reading and writing courses, with the remaining being roughly evenly split among courses in handicrafts, carpet weaving, or carpentry. According to male focus group respondents, just 12 percent of courses exclusively involve men, 69 percent are exclusively tailored to women, while 19 percent involve both men and women. Female respondents, however, are not aware of any courses that exclusively teach men, contending that 74 percent of courses involve women exclusively, while 26 percent teach both men and women. In villages where no literacy courses are offered, 86 percent of male respondents and 91 percent of female respondents stated that women could participate in vocational trainings if they were to be offered in their village. Male focus group and female respondents who did not believe women would be able to participate in vocational trainings, if they were offered in the village stated that it was because women simply did not have the time to participate in them (50 percent and 36 percent respectively). Following a lack of time, the opposition of husbands or other male family members was the next most commonly cited response (19 percent and 30 percent respectively). 46 percent of male respondents and 76 percent of female respondents stated that they would be willing to attend a vocational training course in the next year. Literacy courses were the most preferred course (42 percent of respondents), followed by carpet weaving (22 percent) and a handicrafts course (20 percent).

### ***Drinking Water***

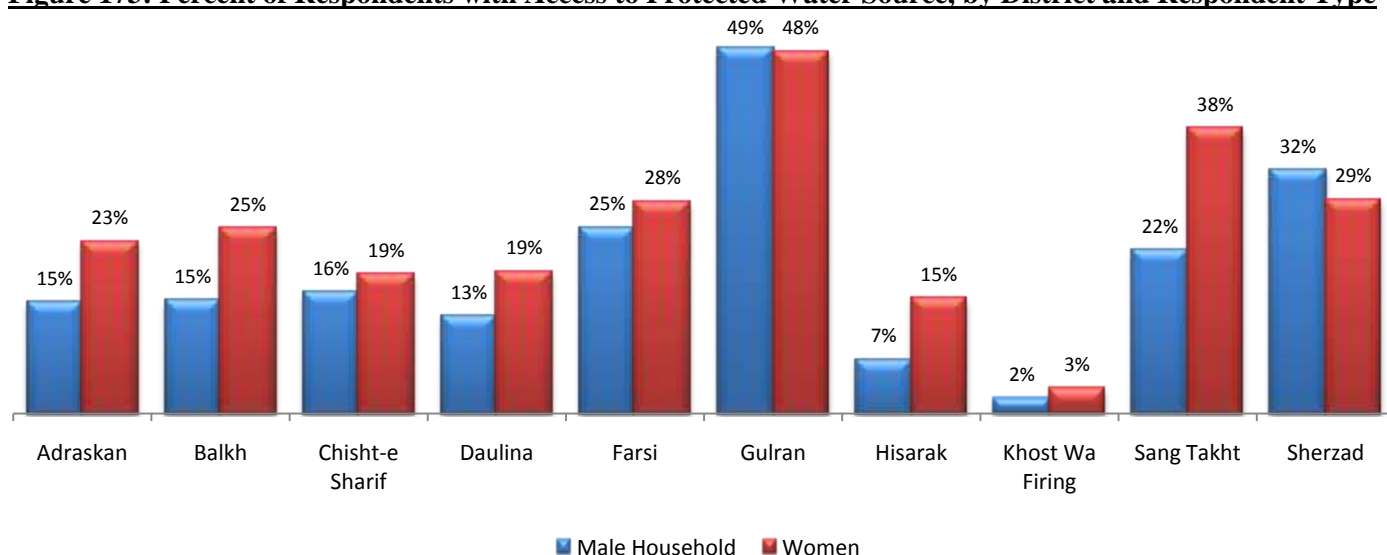
While people in most of the world take drinking water for granted, such can certainly not be said for the residents of many parts of rural Afghanistan, where clean and safe drinking water is a prized commodity and predominant among the wishes of many.<sup>40</sup> The following section describes and presents statistics concerning the access of villagers in the sample to sources of drinking water and the characteristics of those sources. Specifically, information is presented concerning the proportion of respondents who have access to a protected source of drinking water, the main sources for drawing water, the amount of money charged to collect water, the amount of time involved in collecting water, and the frequency of water collection.

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<sup>40</sup> See the section on "Projects" in Part V.5 for information concerning the preferences of respondents concerning development projects.

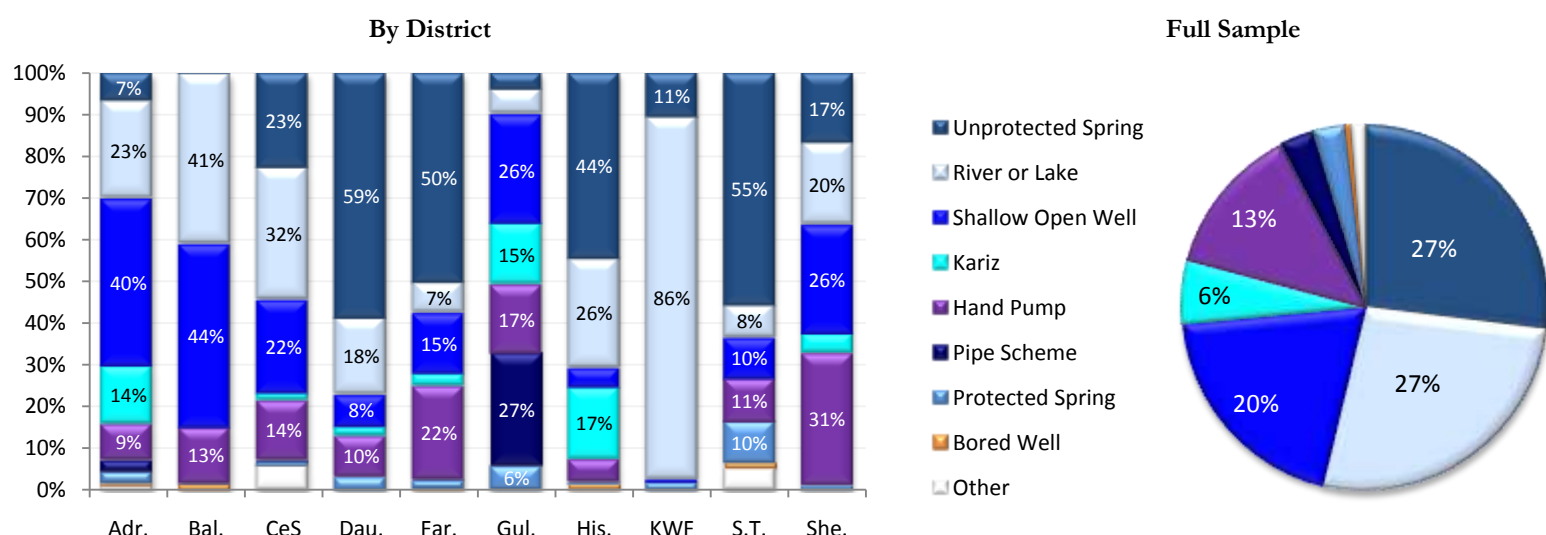
Although there is great diversity in the types of sources from which villagers in rural Afghanistan draw drinking water, these types can be divided into two categories: protected and unprotected. Protected sources, which comprise hand pumps, bored deep wells, protected springs, pipe schemes, or water tankers, are generally considered to provide a healthier source of water than unprotected sources, which encompass shallow open wells, unprotected springs, *arhad* (wheel well), *kariz* (canal from underground spring), *kanda*, *navaz*, rivers, canals, lakes, ponds or forms of drainage. Male household respondents were asked to report the source from which their household usually collected water, while female respondents were asked to report the primary source of drinking water for people in the village. From this information, the proportion of respondents who use protected water sources was collected for each district. As is shown in Figure 173 below, nearly half of male household and female respondents accessed water from a protected source in Gulran, the highest of any of the ten sample districts. In contrast, just 2 percent of male household and 3 percent of female respondents in Khost Wa Firing reported drawing water from a protected water source.

**Figure 173: Percent of Respondents with Access to Protected Water Source, by District and Respondent Type**



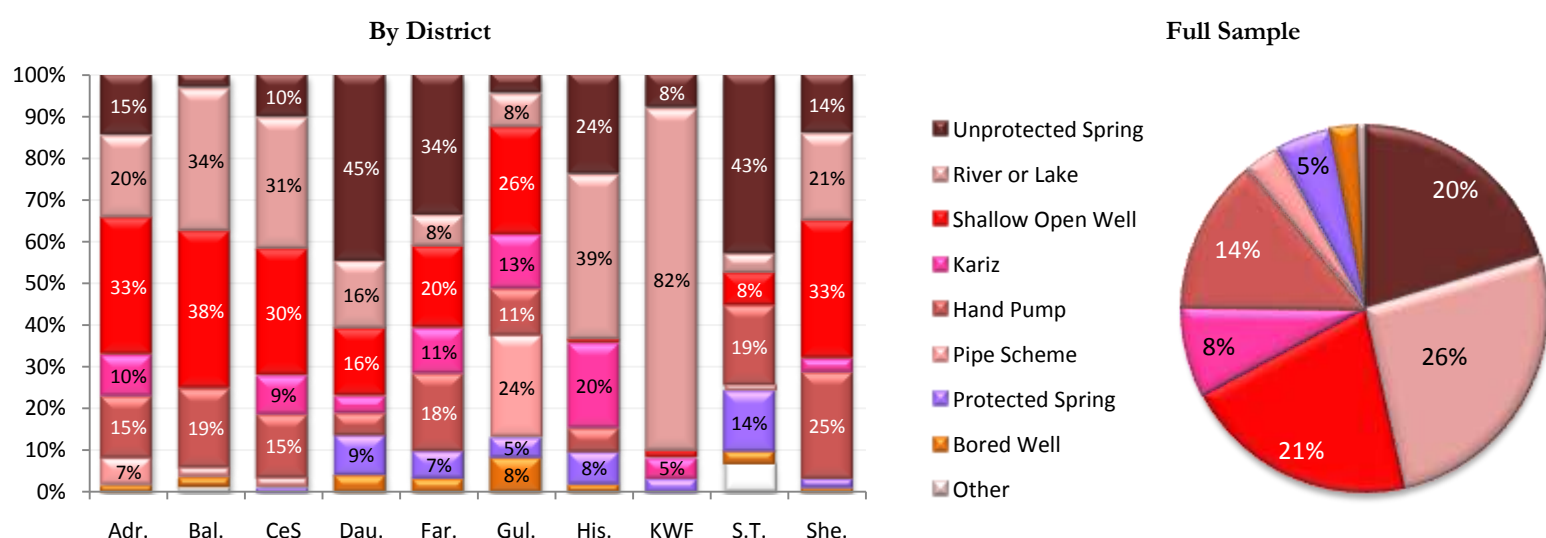
Aggregate and district-level summaries of the primary sources of drinking water reported by male household respondents are presented in Figure 174 below. Across the ten districts, water sources are relatively diversified, with 27 percent of respondents drawing their water from an unprotected spring, 27 percent from a river or lake, 20 percent from a shallow open well, 13 percent from a hand pump, 6 percent from a *kariz*, and 7 percent from a pipe scheme, protected spring, bored well or other source. As is to be expected given the large geographical variation in the sample, there is great diversity between districts in the water sources that are relied upon. Villagers in Adraskan rely most frequently on shallow open wells (40 percent) and lakes and rivers (23 percent); those in Balkh on shallow open wells (44 percent) and rivers and lakes (41 percent); those in Chisht-e Sharif mainly on rivers and lakes (32 percent), unprotected springs (23 percent), and shallow open wells (22 percent); those in Daulina on unprotected springs (59 percent); those in Farsi on unprotected springs (50 percent) and hand pumps (22 percent); those in Gulran on pipe schemes (27 percent) and shallow open wells (26 percent); those in Hisarak on unprotected springs (44 percent) and rivers or lakes (26 percent); those in Khost Wa Firing almost exclusively on rivers or lakes (86 percent), those in Sang Takht on unprotected springs (55 percent), and those in Sherzad on pipe schemes (31 percent) and shallow open wells (26 percent).

**Figure 174: Primary Water Source for Households of Male Household Respondents**



The responses of female respondents concerning the primary sources of drinking water for the majority of respondents in village do not differ significantly from those of male household respondents concerning the primary source of drinking water for their family, either in the aggregate or district level. The most appreciable difference at the aggregate level is that a smaller proportion of female respondents report that water is taken from an unprotected spring (20 percent of female responses, compared to 27 percent of male household responses), which is made up for by slightly higher proportions reporting that water is collected from a *kariz* or from protected springs. At the district level, responses of female respondents are mostly consistent with those of their male household counterparts. Appreciable differences between the two samples are only noticed in the proportion of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Farsi, Hisarak, and Sang Takht who report water is drawn from an unprotected spring and in the proportion of respondents in Hisarak who report a river or lake as the primary source.

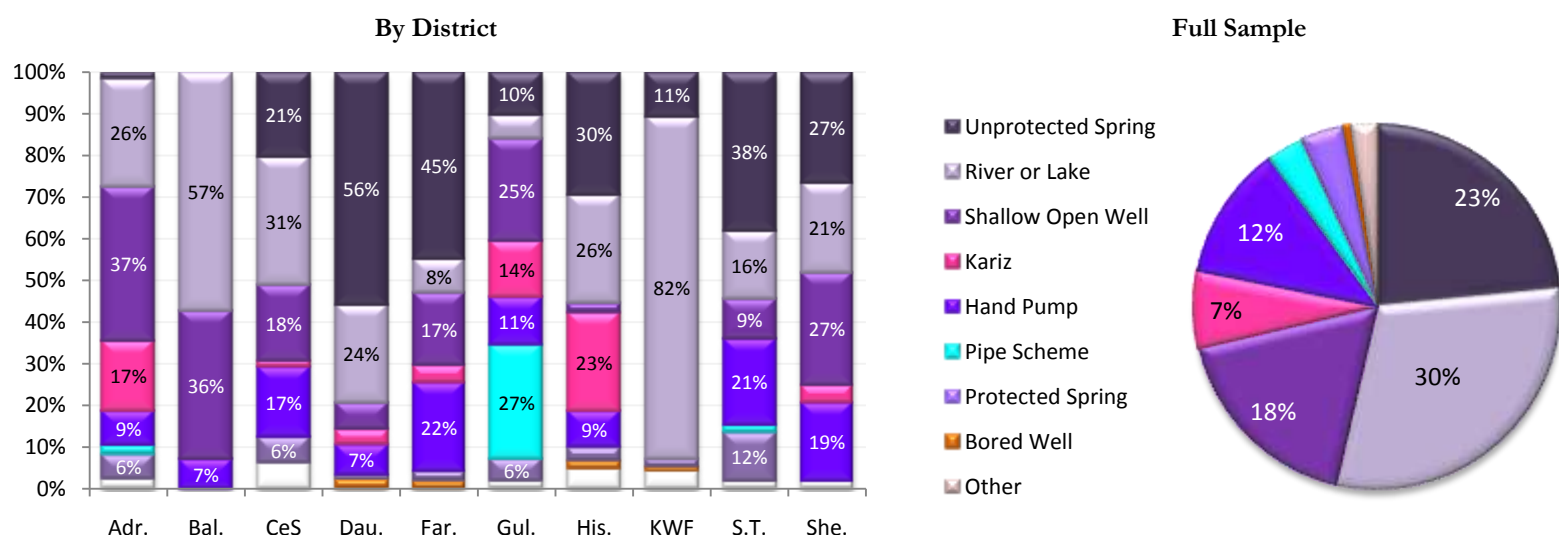
**Figure 175: Primary Water Source for Villagers - Female Respondents**



The primary water sources cited by male focus group respondents are also not significantly different from those cited by male household or female respondents. In the aggregate, the proportion of male focus group respondents citing unprotected springs as the primary source of drinking water for villagers (23 percent) is midway between the proportion of male household and female respondents citing such. Male focus group respondents were more likely than male

household or female respondents to state that water is primarily drawn from a river or lake, with 30 percent of male focus group respondents doing so, and were less likely to identify a shallow open well as the main source. Responses at the district level were largely comparable to those of male household and female respondents, with the most appreciable difference occurring in Sang Takht, where just 38 percent of male focus group respondents, compared to 43 percent of female respondents and 55 percent of male household respondents, cited unprotected spring as the primary source of drinking water.

**Figure 176: Primary Water Source for Villagers - Male Focus Group Respondents**

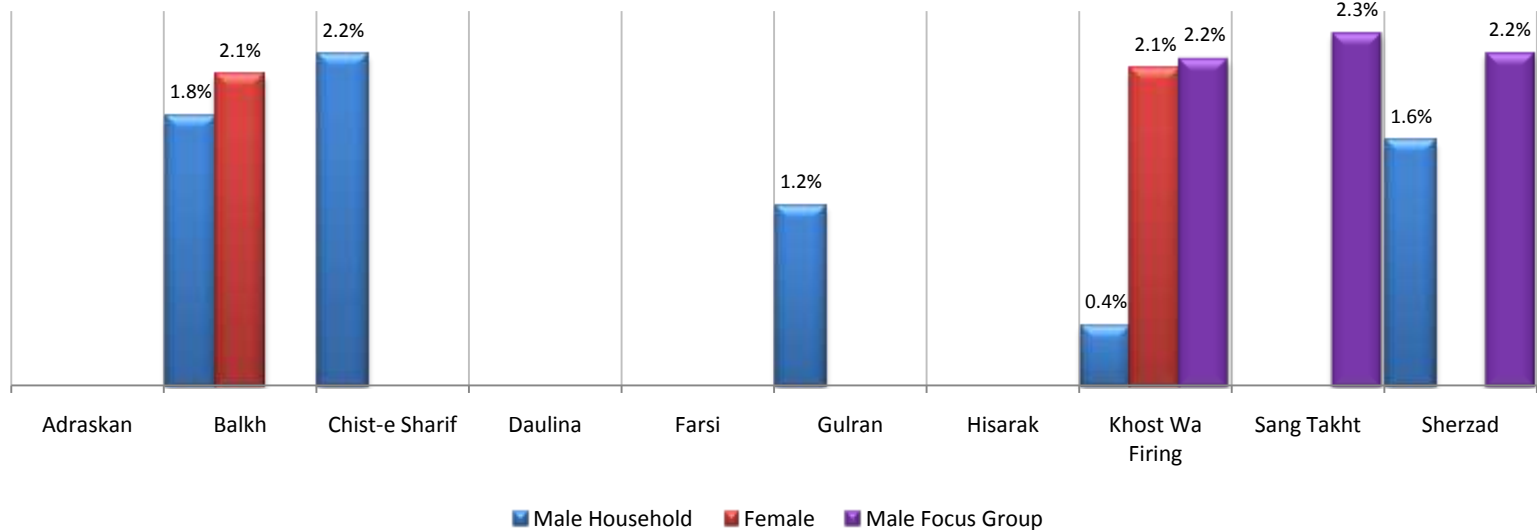


Respondents across the three samples were asked whether they regularly paid money to receive water. Overwhelmingly, respondents replied in the negative. In Adraskan, Daulina, Farsi, and Hisarak, not a single respondent reported that payment for drinking water was common.<sup>41</sup> In Balkh, just 1.8 percent of male household respondents and 2.1 percent of female respondents reported paying for water. In Chisht-e Sharif and Gulran, 2.2 percent and 1.2 percent of male household respondents respectively, but no female or male focus group respondents, reported paying for water. Khost Wa Firing was the only district where at least some respondents from each of the three samples reported paying for water – 0.4 percent of male household respondents, 2.1 percent of female respondents, and 2.2 percent of male focus group respondents in the district reported doing so. In Sang Takht, only male focus group respondents (2.3 percent) reported that payment for drinking water was common, while in Sherzad, 1.6 percent of male household respondents and 2.2 percent of male focus group respondents did so.

<sup>41</sup> Villages in which at least two male household respondents claim that they pay for water include: Sada Khail and Bashi Banda in Sherzad; Kham Khati in Khost Wa Firing; Ghonda Sufla and Nowarid Chaman Boka in Balkh; Qara Bagh Markaiz in Gulran; and Khuja Berahna, Asfaraz and Sar Sima in Chisht-e Sharif.

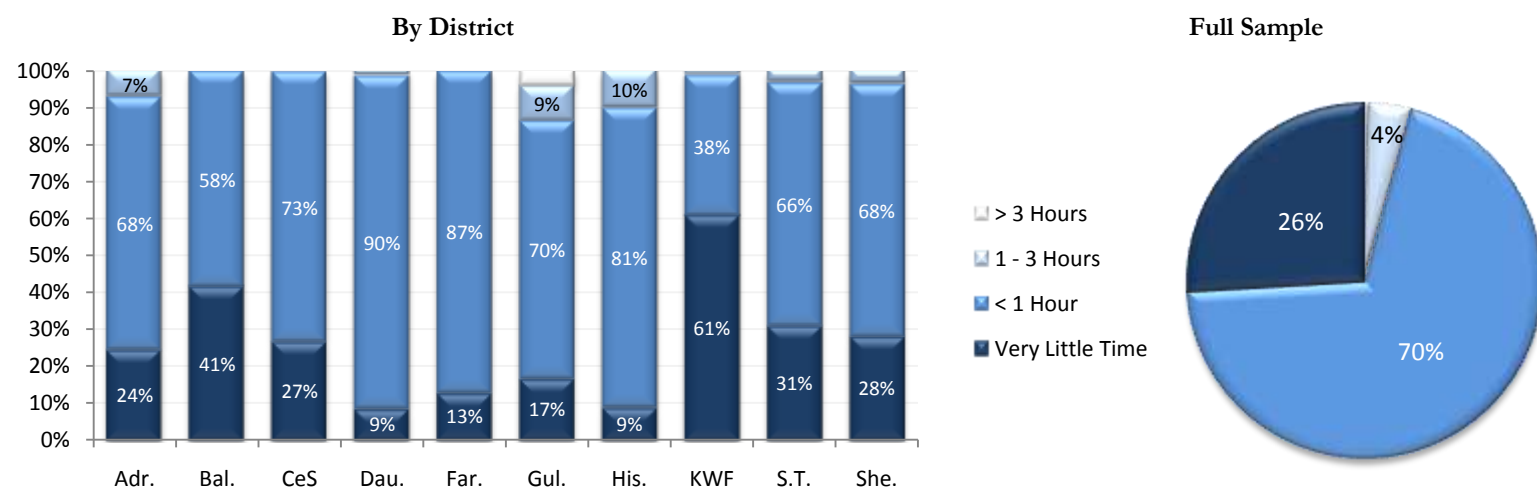


**Figure 177: Percent of Respondents Paying for Water, by District and Respondent Type**



The time that household members, usually young girls in many parts of Afghanistan, spend collecting water was reported to be minimal by the vast majority of male household respondents. 70 percent of respondents, for instance, reported that it took members of the household less than an hour to walk to the water source, collect water, and return, while a further 26 percent stated that the amount of time spent was very small due to the fact that the water source was located either adjacent to the house or within the compound. Only 4 percent of male household respondents reported that family members took more than an hour to collect water and return. Collecting water seemed to take the most amount of time in Adraskan, Gulran, and Hisarak, where 8 percent, 13 percent, and 10 percent of respondents respectively reported that the round-trip to collect water took over one hour. According to the responses of male household respondents, households in Balkh and Khost Wa Firing have the most convenient access to water sources, with 41 percent and 61 percent of respondents respectively reporting that it took a negligible amount of time to collect water and return to the dwelling.

**Figure 178: Time Spent Collecting Water as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Estimates by female household respondents of the average amount of time taken by villagers to collect water slightly exceeded the amount of time that male household respondents estimate that it takes their family members to collect water. Overall, 91 percent of female respondents reported that it takes people in the village less than an hour to collect water and return to their dwelling, with 9 percent estimating that it takes on average between 1 and 3 hours, and 1 percent

estimating that it takes over 3 hour on average. Female respondents in Sang Takht were more likely than counterparts in other districts to report that water collection took over 1 hour, with 20 percent of respondents doing so, followed by respondents in Gulran (16 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (15 percent), and Adraskan (13 percent). In contrast with male household responses, female respondents in Sherzad were the most likely to report that the amount of time involved in water collection was negligible, with 34 percent of respondents doing so. Following them, 31 percent of respondents in Farsi, 29 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, and 29 percent of respondents in Adraskan similarly reported that water sources in the village were located so close to the dwellings of the village that villagers had to spend very little time in walking to the water source, collecting the water, and returning.

**Figure 179: Time Spent Collecting Water as Reported by Female Respondents**

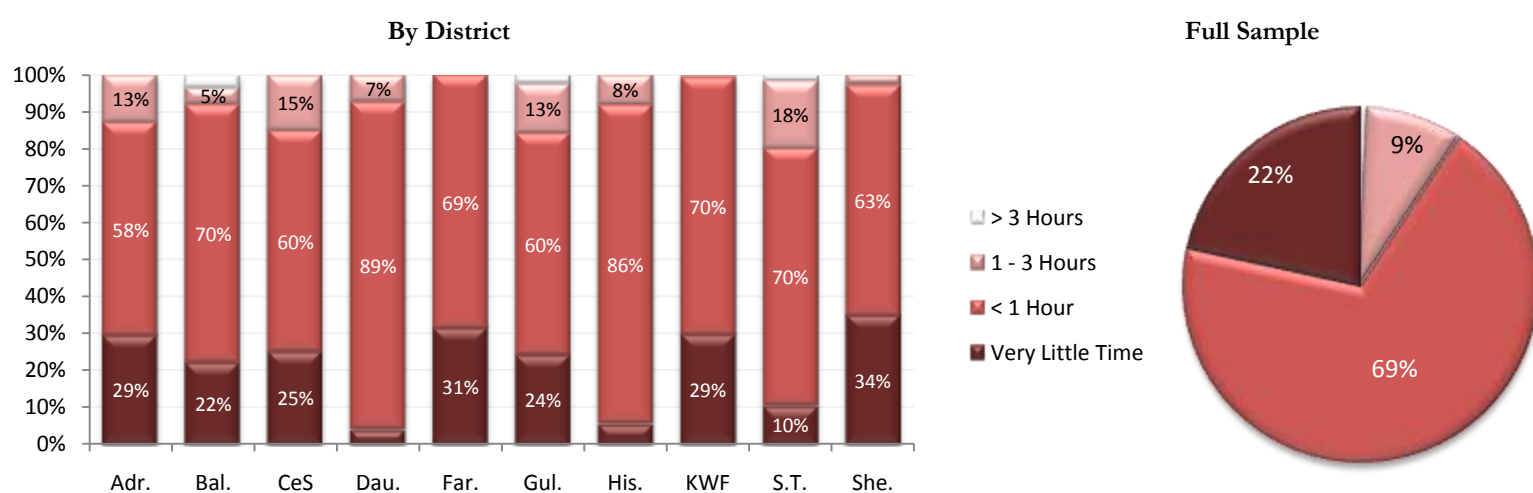
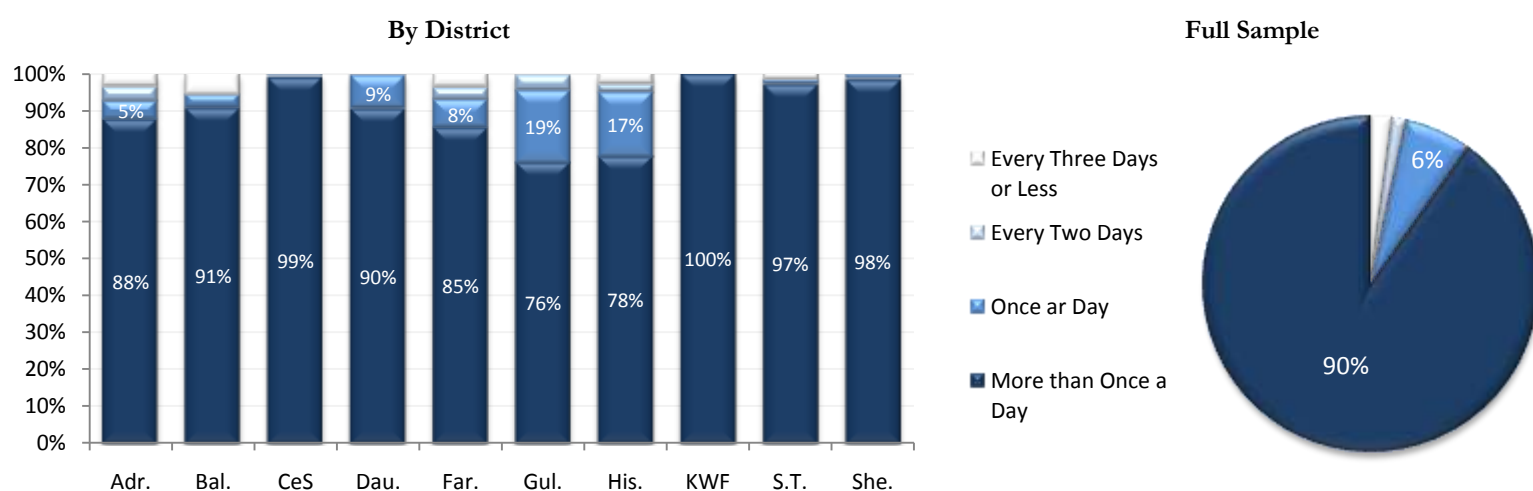


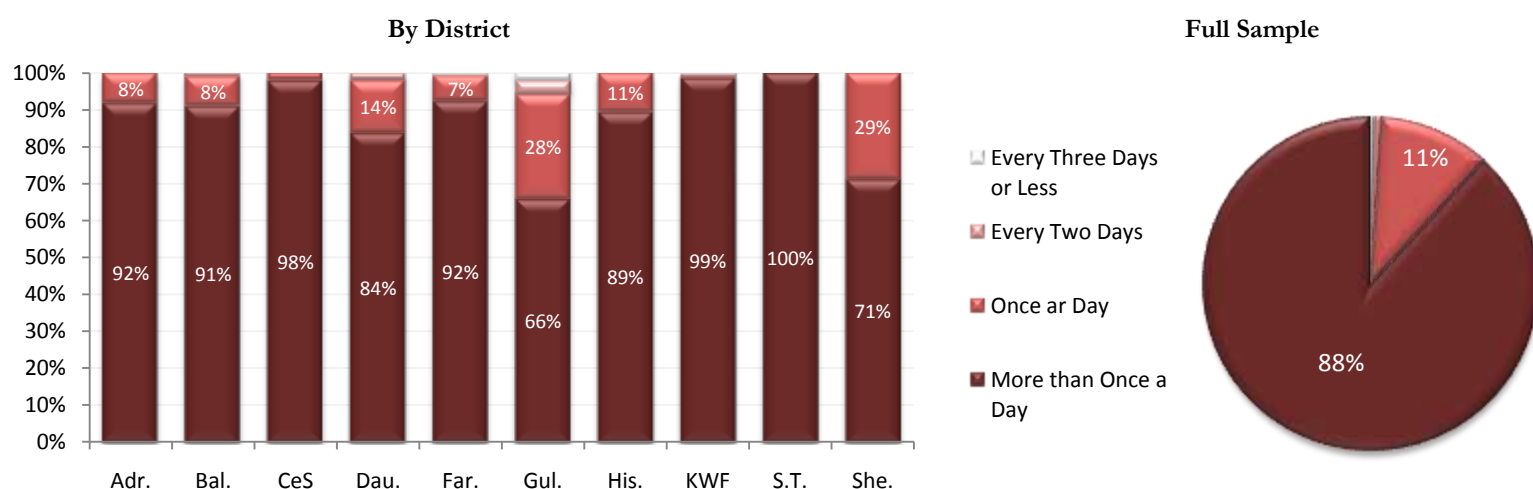
Figure 180 below plots information provided by male household respondents concerning the frequency of water collection. 90 percent of male household respondents across the sample reported that water is usually collected more than once a day, 6 percent reported that it is collected once a day or less, and just 4 percent claiming that household members collect water less than once a day on average. Household respondents in Khost Wa Firing (100 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (99 percent), and Sherzad (98 percent) reported the greatest frequency of collection, while the greatest proportion of respondents reporting water collection took place once a day or less frequently was observed in Gulran (24 percent), Hisarak (22 percent), and Adraskan (12 percent).

**Figure 180: Frequency of Water Collection as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Across the sample, the responses of female respondents concerning the frequency of water collection were generally consistent with those of male household respondents, with 88 percent of respondents reporting water collection took place more than once a day, 11 percent reporting that it took place just once a day, and 1 percent of respondents reporting that it took place less frequently than once a day. Respondents in Sang Takht (100 percent), Khost Wa Firing (99 percent), and Chisht-e Sharif (98 percent) reported the most frequent incidence of water collection, while their counterparts in Gulran (34 percent) and Sherzad (29 percent) reported the highest proportion of cases where water collection, on average among households in the village, took place once a day or less frequently.

**Figure 181: Frequency of Water Collection as Reported by Female Respondents**



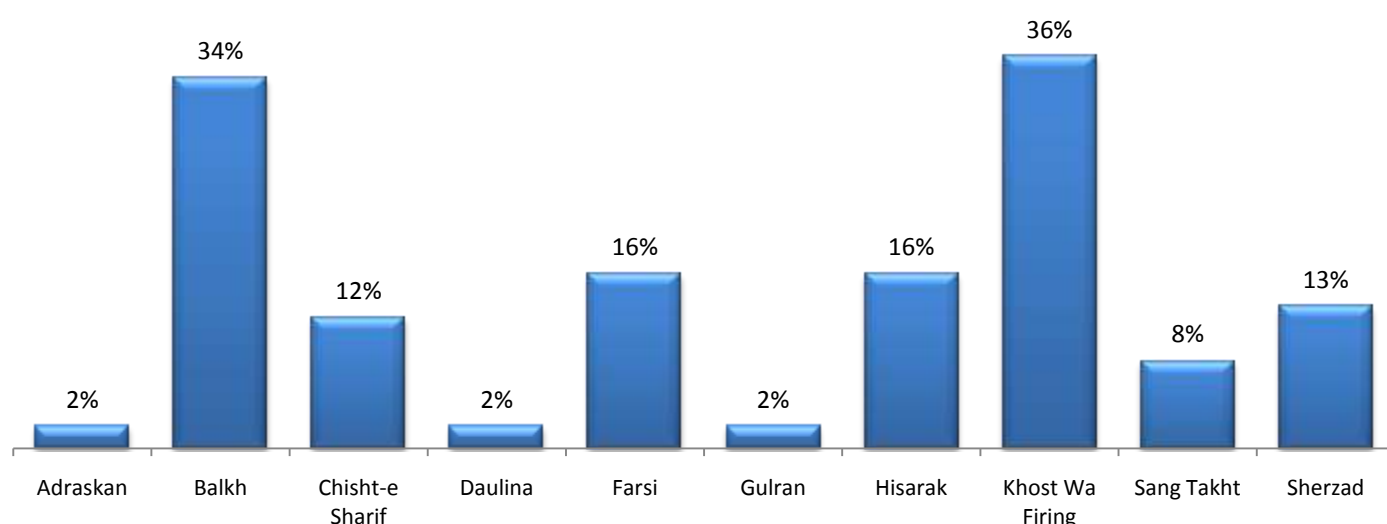
### ***Electricity and Fuel***

Male household respondents were asked whether or not their household had enjoyed access to electricity in the past year. Those that had were then asked what the source of the electricity was, who owns the source of electricity, how many days of electricity the household had enjoyed in the past 30 days, and how many hours of electricity the household experienced, on average, during the past 30 days. Male household respondents who reported having access to electricity in their home were also asked whether they paid for electricity and, if so, how much they paid for electricity last month. All households, whether they had electricity or not, were asked whether their household's access to electricity had improved, decreased, or stayed the same over the past year, and if access had changed, who was responsible for that change. In order to provide a broader picture on electricity access across the village, male focus group respondents were also asked to provide information on the number of households in the village that had electricity and, if so, the main source of electricity for most of the households in the village, the ownership of that source, and the amount of money paid for electricity by households during the past month. Male focus group respondents were also asked whether they believed the access of households in the village to electricity had improved, deteriorated, or stayed the same and, in the event of a change, who was most responsible for that change. The following section summarizes the responses of male household and male focus group respondents to these questions.

Figure 182 below plots the proportion of male household respondents in each district who reported that their household used electricity sometime in the past year. Across the full sample, just 14 percent of respondents reported they had used electricity. Electricity access was highest in Khost Wa Firing and Balkh, where 36 percent and 34 percent of respondents respectively reported electricity usage in the past year. At the other end of the spectrum, just 2 percent of

households in Adraskan, Daulina, and Gulran claimed that their household had used electricity in the past year.

**Figure 182: Percent of Male Household Respondents with Access to Electricity, by District**

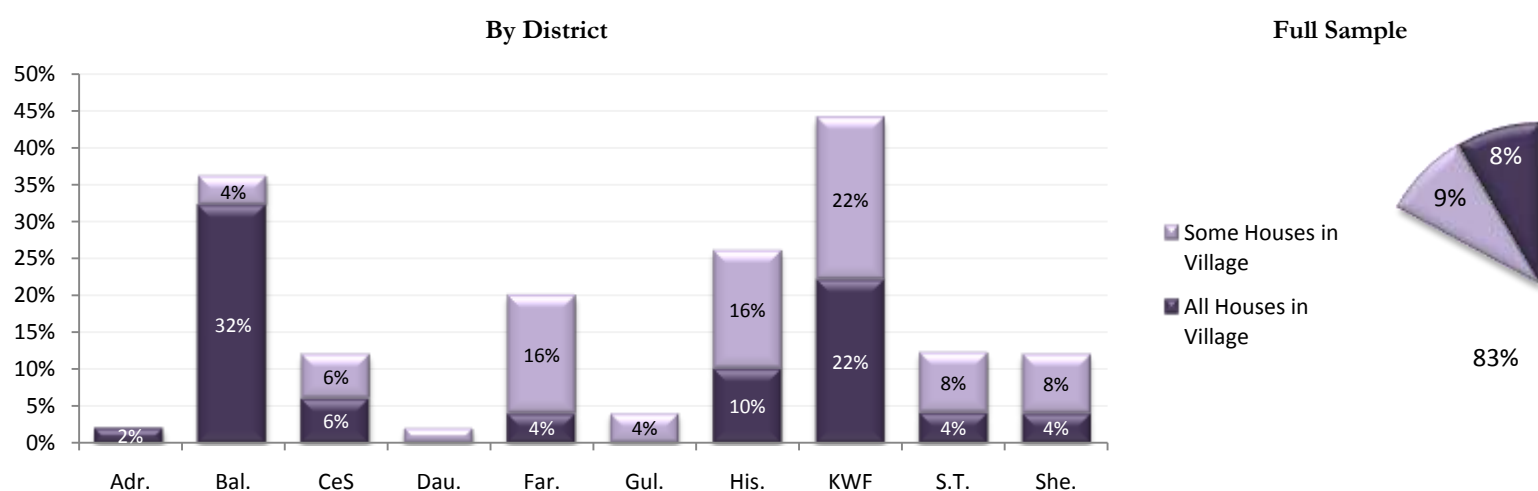


The levels of access to electricity reported by male focus group respondents differed very little from those reported by male household respondents. Across the full sample, 83 percent of male focus groups reported that no one in the village had access to electricity, 9 percent reported some of the houses in the village had electricity, while in just 8 percent of villages did a majority of focus group participants claim that all the houses in the village had electricity.<sup>42</sup> The proportion of villages in the district where all households had access to electricity was highest in Balkh, with male focus groups in 16 out of 50 villages sampled reporting that all households in the village had electricity. In a further 2 villages in Balkh, some but not all of the households in the village had access to electricity, while in the remaining 32 villages, no households had electricity. Khost Wa Firing, however, had the highest number of villages where at least some of the households in the village had electricity, with 11 male focus groups reporting that some of the households in the village had access and a further 11 male focus groups reporting that all households in the village had electricity. In concordance with the answers of male household respondents, the lowest levels of electricity access were reported in Adraskan, Daulina, and Gulran.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> As with a number of other focus group indicators, responses were tabulated at the focus group level. That is, rather than tallying the number of individual respondents who reported a particular answer, the answer supported by the majority of respondents in the focus group was determined, with the majority responses in each focus group then being tabulated to yield the district and sample aggregates.

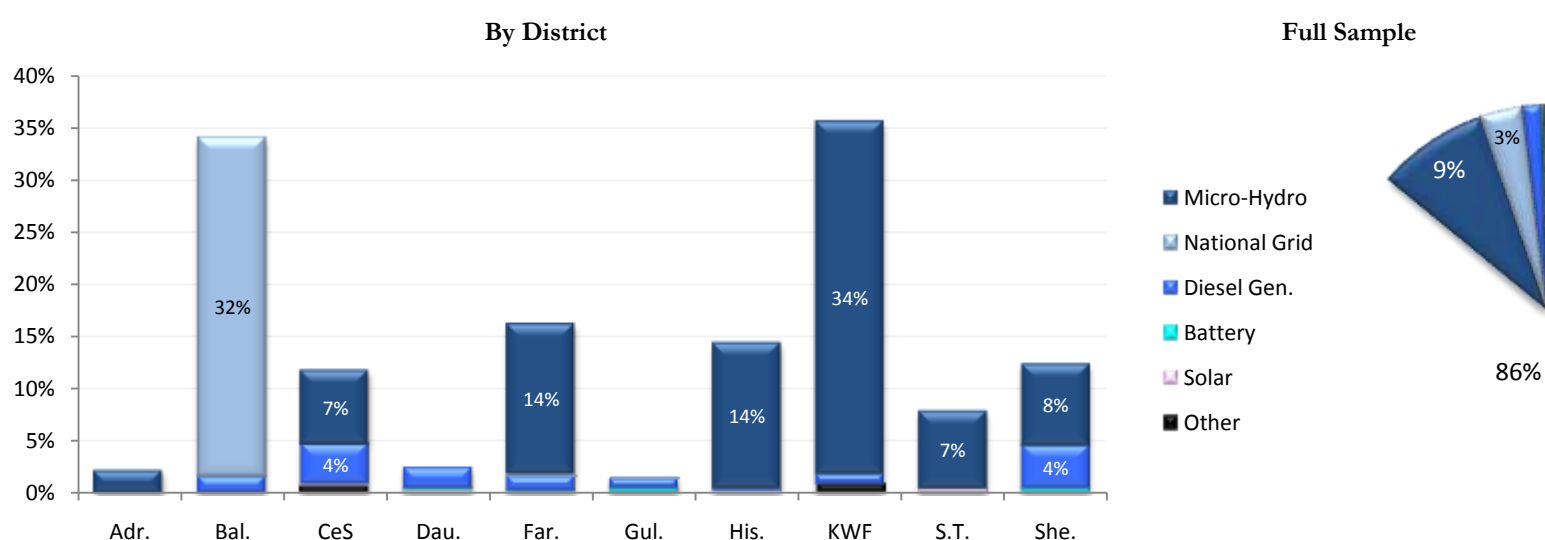
<sup>43</sup> In Adraskan, one male focus group reported that all households in the village had electricity; in Daulina, one male focus group reported that some of the households in the village had electricity; while in Gulran, two male focus groups reported that some of the households in the village had electricity.

**Figure 183: Access to Electricity as Reported by Male Focus Group**



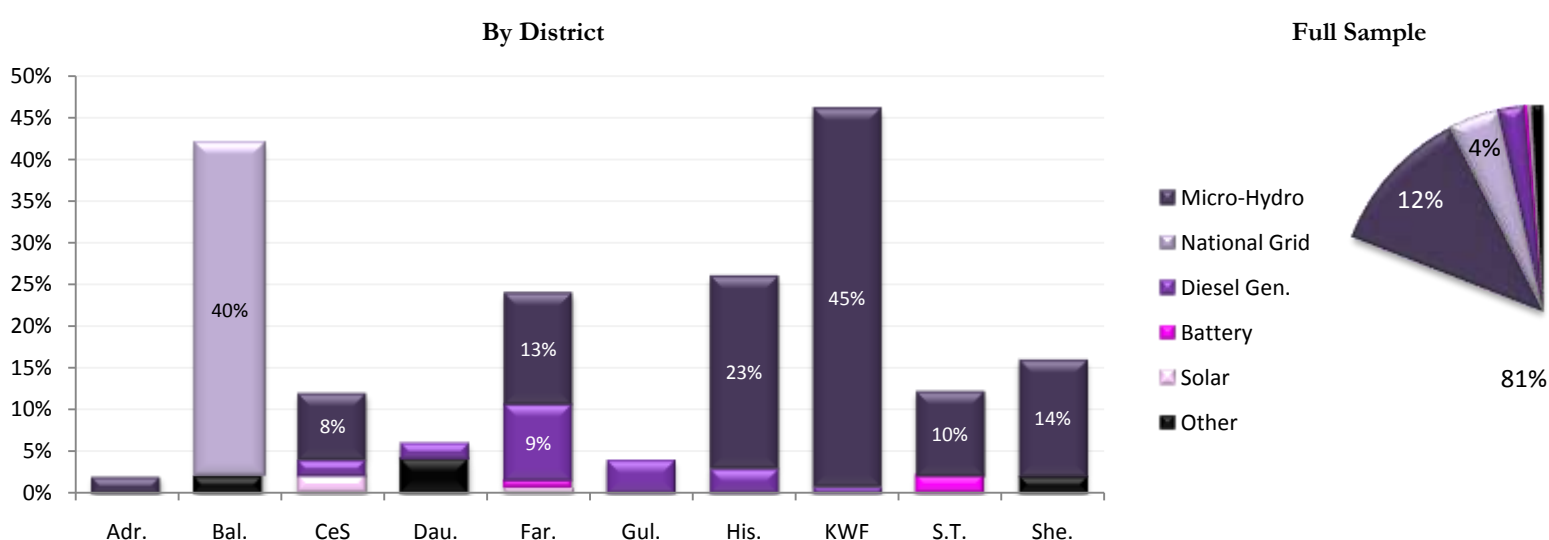
Of the 14 percent of male household respondents who reported having access to electricity, the most common source is micro-hydro plants, which serves as the main source for 63 percent of respondents with electricity, followed by the national electrical grid, accounting for 24 percent of electricity users, and diesel generators (11 percent). Among respondents in the sample, electricity is relatively rarely drawn from other sources such as batteries or solar panels, which each account for 1 percent of users. Sources of electricity vary significantly between districts. Whereas, 95 percent of electricity users in Balkh draw their power from the national grid, only two other respondents across the full sample claim to do so. Of other districts where electricity use is above 2 percent, users in Chisht-e Sharif are split between micro-hydro sources (62 percent) and diesel generators (31 percent), users in Farsi draw mostly on micro-hydro (89 percent), as do respondents with electricity in Hisarak (97 percent), Khost Wa Firing (95 percent), and Sang Takht (95 percent). Like in Chisht-e Sharif, electricity users in Sherzad draw both on micro-hydro sources (64 percent) and diesel generators (33 percent).

**Figure 184: Sources of Electricity as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Responses of male focus groups concerning the predominant source of electricity for persons in the district mirrored those of male household respondents. Across the full sample, 61 percent of respondents considered that electricity for villagers came predominantly from micro-hydro sources, 21 percent believed it comes from a national grid, 11 percent from a diesel generator, with battery, solar panels, or other forms of electricity generation being very rarely cited as predominant sources for people in the village.<sup>44</sup>

**Figure 185: Access to and Sources of Electricity as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**

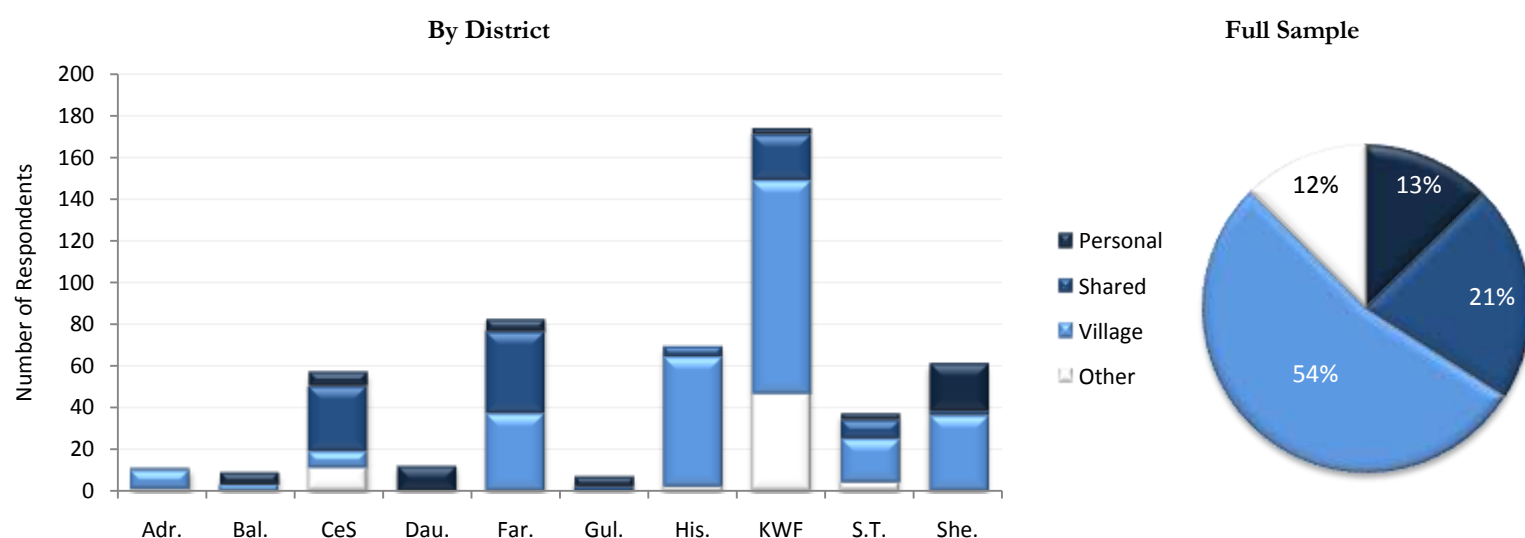


Household respondents who draw electricity from sources other than the national grid were asked to report whether the generator was owned by the household, shared with other

<sup>44</sup> District level responses concerning the form of the primary electricity source were closely aligned with male household respondents, with the only significant differences between the two samples occurring in Farsi, where 38 percent of male focus group respondents but only 9 percent of male household respondents contended that diesel generators were the primary sources, and in Sherzad, where 33 percent of male household respondents reported diesel generators as their main source of electricity and no male focus group respondents did so.

households, or was the property of the whole village. Over half of non-grid electricity using respondents (54 percent) reported that the generator was owned by the whole village, 21 percent reported that the generator was jointly owned with other households, and just 13 percent reported that the generator was exclusively owned by the household. Notable variation was observed in the structure of generator ownership between districts. Whereas 82 percent of generators in Adraskan and 90 percent of generators in Hisarak are owned by the whole village, approximately half of generators in Chisht-e Sharif (54 percent) and Farsi (48 percent) are shared between households. Balkh, Daulina, and Gulran, which all have relatively low levels of generator ownership, report the highest incidence of privately owned generators, at 67 percent, 100 percent, and 71 percent of generators respectively. Of the five districts where the proportion of respondents drawing electricity from generators exceeds ten percent, Sherzad has the highest level of private generator ownership, at 38 percent.

**Figure 186: Ownership of Non-Grid Electricity Sources as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



As with other variables, the responses of male focus group respondents concerning the ownership of generators are similar to those of male household respondents. Across the full sample, 41 percent of male focus group respondents report that generators are owned by the whole village, 24 percent report that generators are jointly owned by multiple households, and 25 percent of respondents report that generators are privately owned. In Farsi, Sang Takht, and Sherzad districts, a much greater proportion of male focus group respondents than male household respondents report that generators are privately owned.<sup>45</sup> In Farsi, generators were considered to be privately owned in five of eleven villages with generators, while in Sang Takht five of six generators were, and in Sherzad, four of generators were.

<sup>45</sup> This may be due to the fact that male focus group and male household respondents are drawn from different socio-economic groups, with male focus group respondents being more affluent and thus more likely to privately own a generator.



**Figure 187: Ownership of Non-Grid Electricity Sources as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**

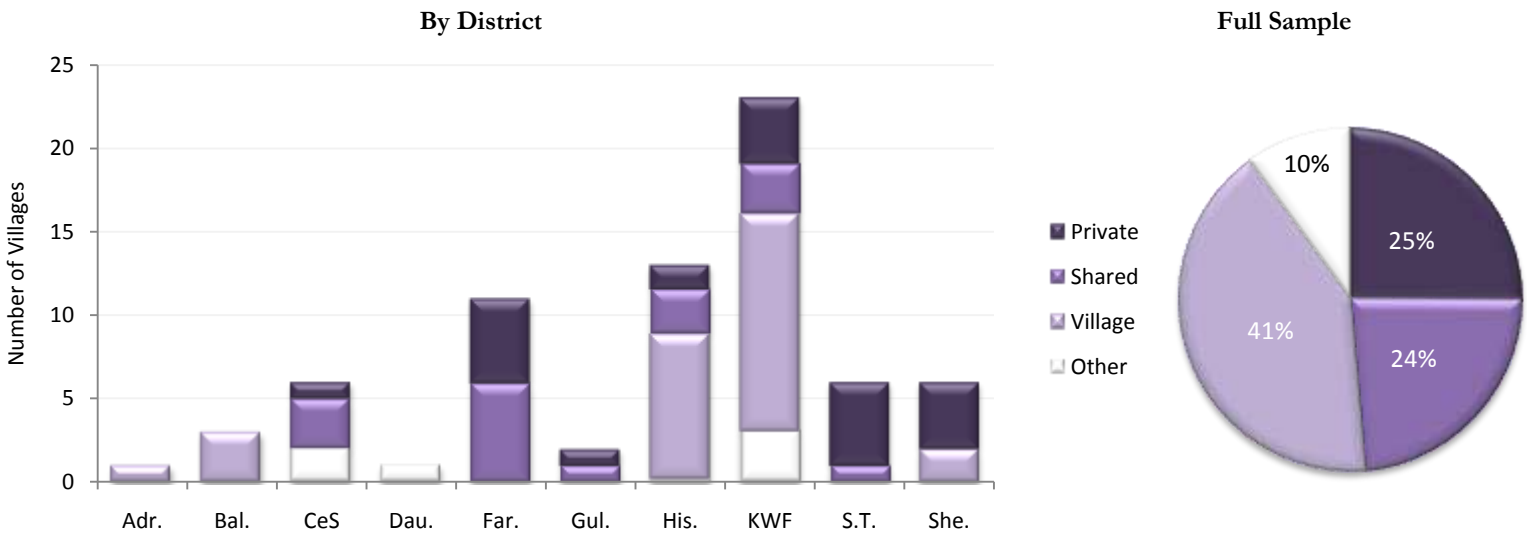
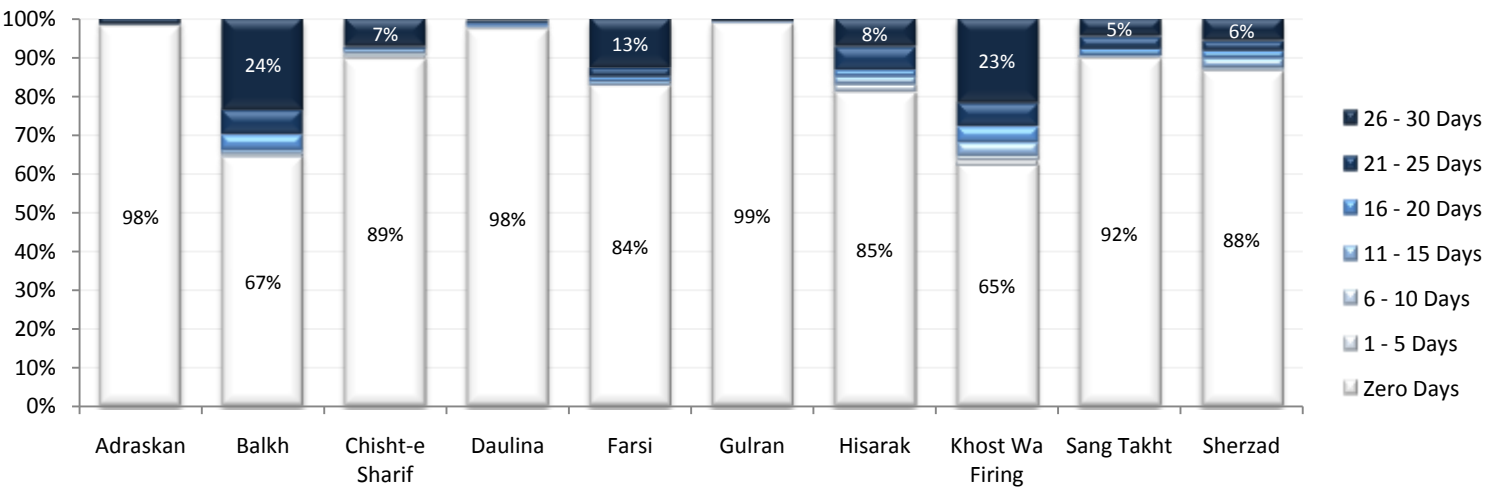


Figure 188 below plots the number of days of electricity enjoyed by male household respondents. What the graph demonstrates is that, for households that had access to electricity in the past month, most had electricity on nearly all days of the month. In Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, and Khost Wa Firing, 65 percent, 69 percent, 73 percent, and 57 percent of households with electricity claimed to have between 26 and 30 days of electricity over the past month. Across the seven districts where more than 2 percent of households reported having access to electricity in the past year, the frequency of electricity usage among those with access to electricity was lowest in Hisarak, and Sherzad, where 31 percent and 38 percent of electricity-using respondents respectively reported that they enjoyed 20 days or less of electricity. Across the full sample of those who had access to electricity in the past month, 57 percent enjoyed between 26 and 30 days of access, 18 percent between 21 and 25 days, 11 percent between 16 and 20 days, 8 percent between 11 and 15 days, 4 percent between 6 and 10 days, and 2 percent between 1 and 5 days.

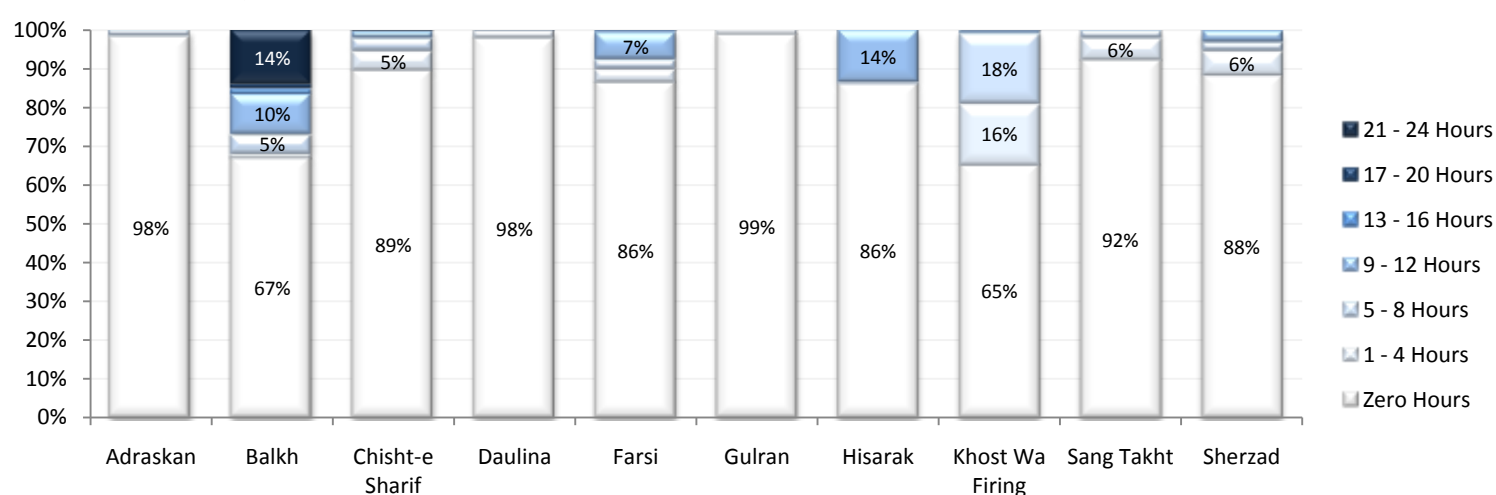
**Figure 188: Days of Electricity Received by Male Household Respondents, by District**



Of those households across the ten districts that report they had access to electricity in the past month, a plurality, 32 percent report having access of less than 5 hours on average over the past month, 27 percent report having an average of between 5 and 8 hours of electricity each day, 28 percent report access of between 9 and 12 hours, 2 percent of between 13 and 16 hours, 1 percent of between 17 and 20 hours, and 11 percent of between 21 and 24 hours of electricity

daily. Respondents in Balkh, who draw electricity mainly from the national grid, report the most regular supply of electricity users across the 10 districts, with 42 percent reporting having electricity between 21 and 24 hours daily. In Khost Wa Firing, which has electricity access levels similar to that of Balkh but draws its power predominantly from micro-hydro sources, only 3 percent of electricity users report having more than 8 hours of electricity each day in the past month, with 51 percent having between 5 and 8 hours of electricity each day, and 46 percent of users stating they experienced less than 5 hours of electricity each day. Among the other districts where more than 2 percent of households have access to electricity, users in Hisarak and Farsi, who also draw mainly from micro-hydro sources, enjoyed the most regular access to electricity, with 97 percent and 52 percent respectively reporting they enjoyed between 9 and 12 hours daily. In contrast, 21 percent of electricity users in Chisht-e Sharif, 3 percent in Sang Takht, and 28 percent in Sherzad reported that their electricity usage regularly exceeded 8 hours per day in the past month.

**Figure 189: Hours of Electricity Received by Male Household Respondents, by District**



Regardless of the source of electricity, 89 percent of male household respondents reported that their household pays for its electricity and 84 percent of male focus group respondents reported that the majority of households in the village with electricity paid for it. All or almost all male household respondents who claimed to have access to electricity in the districts of Adraskan, Balkh, Gulran, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht reported that they had to pay for it. In Chisht-e Sharif, however, 32 percent of male household respondents claimed that their electricity was free, as did a quarter of electricity users in Daulina and Farsi, 9 percent of users in Hisarak, and 27 percent of users in Sherzad. Curiously, there was significant divergence between the opinions of male household and male focus group respondents in Gulran, with 100 percent of male household respondents but just 33 percent of male focus group respondents claiming that electricity had to be paid for.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> A potential explanation is that this discrepancy is due to a difference in perceptions caused by the different socio-economic groups from which the two respondent groups are drawn, with male focus group respondents being more likely to own private generators and thus much less likely to have to pay for electricity.

**Figure 190: Incidence of Electricity Charges, by District and Respondent Type**

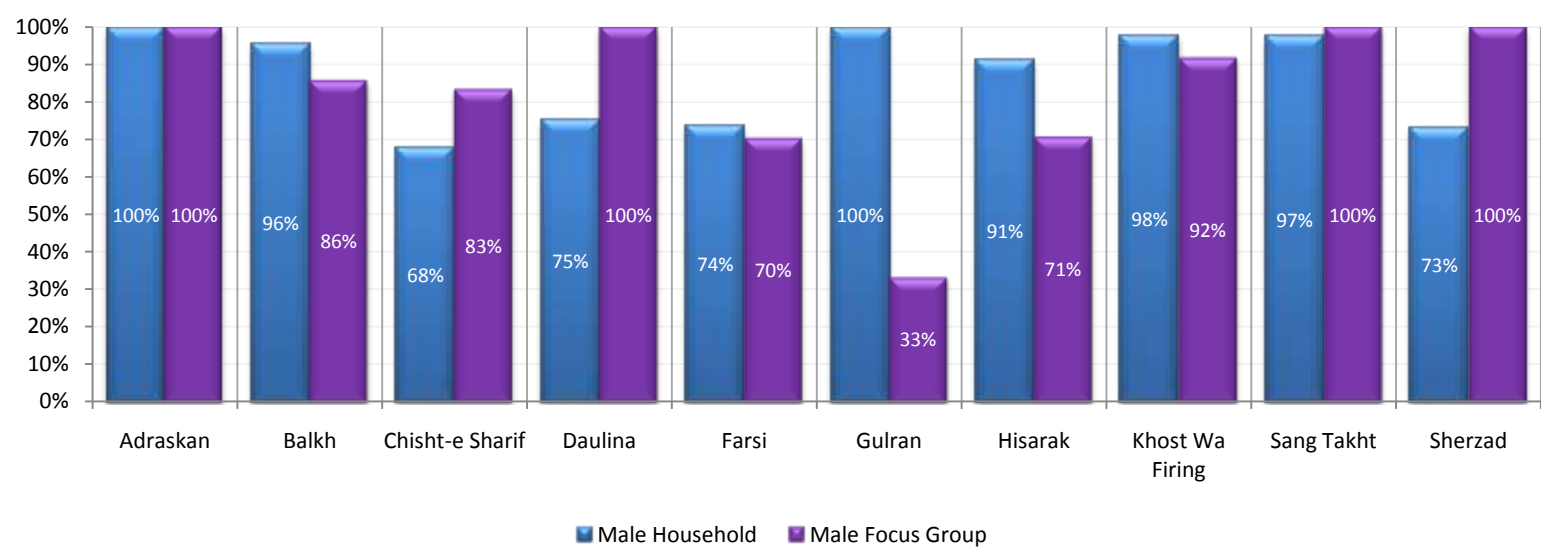


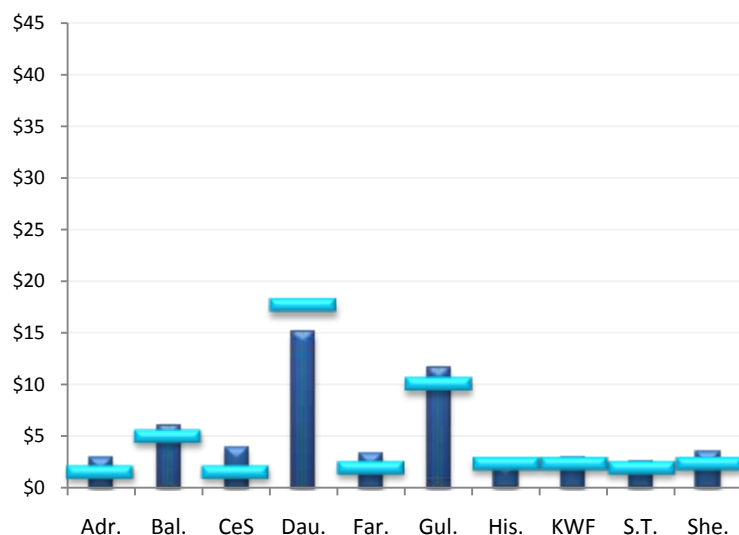
Figure 191 below plots the median, mean, 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile levels of electricity charges for each district, with information provided by male household and male focus group respondents.<sup>47</sup> Electricity charges demonstrated limited variation within districts. In Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, Sang Takht, and Sherzad, the median user pays around \$2 per month for electricity. In Balkh, Daulina, and Gulran, electricity appears to be significantly higher. Users in Balkh, where electricity access is considerably more regular than in other districts, the median monthly cost of electricity was \$5 according to male household respondents and \$6 according to male focus group respondents. Respondents in Daulina reported the highest electricity charges on average, although there was significant disagreement between male household and male focus group respondents on exactly how much was paid by users, with male household respondents reporting a median of \$18 and male focus group respondents reporting a median of \$42.<sup>48</sup> In Gulran, median monthly charges were \$10 per household according to male household respondents and \$12 according to male focus group respondents.

<sup>47</sup> Dark blue and dark purple columns represent average values and turquoise or pink horizontal markers represent median values.

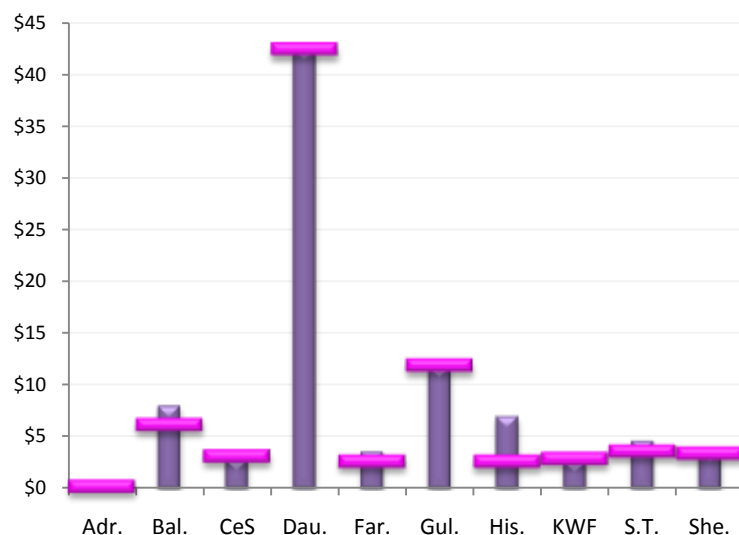
<sup>48</sup> One possible explanation for this is that male focus group respondents, being more affluent than male household respondents, consume more electricity and therefore are more likely to report an inflated cost of operating a diesel generator or other power source for which there is no fixed charge.

**Figure 191: Monthly Electricity Charges, by District and Respondent Type**

**Male Household**



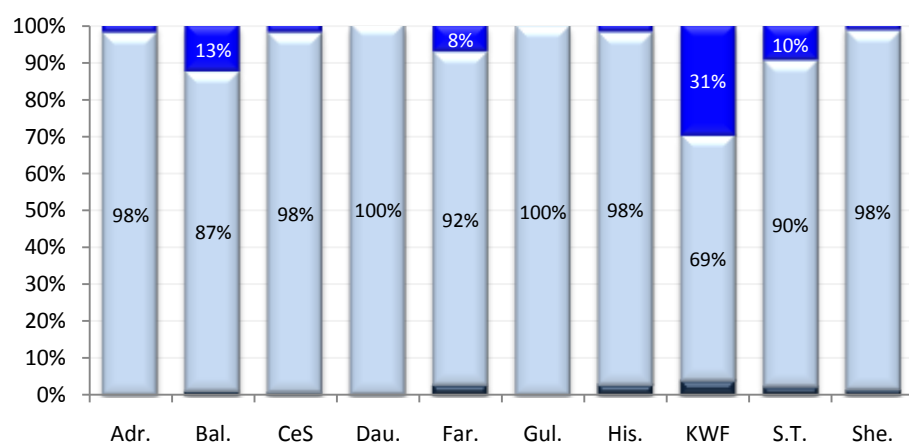
**Male Focus Group**



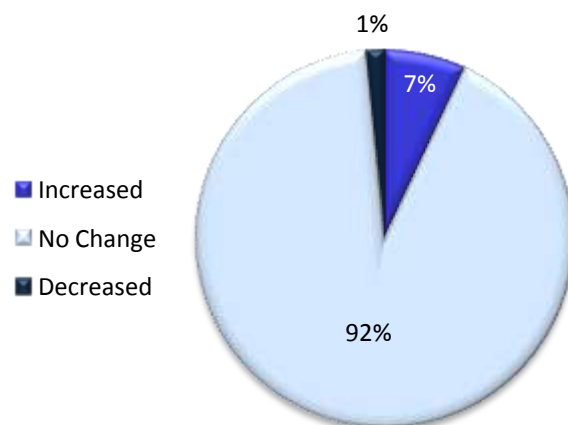
Overwhelmingly, male household respondents believed that their household's access to electricity had not changed over the past year, with 92 percent of respondents reporting no change, 7 percent reporting an improvement, and 1 percent reported that their household's access had decreased. 31 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, however, saw an improvement in their household's access to electricity over the past year, indicating that the construction of micro-hydro power plants which provide electricity to 34 percent of respondents interviewed occurred relatively recently. In Balkh, where 34 percent of households have access to electricity, 13 percent of households reported a year-on-year increase in their electricity access, while in Farsi, where 16 percent of households have access to electricity, 8 percent reported an improvement on the year before. Curiously, although only 8 percent of respondents in Sang Takht have access to electricity, 10 percent reported an improvement compared to the situation a year ago.

**Figure 192: Change in Access to Electricity as Perceived by Male Household Respondents**

**By District**



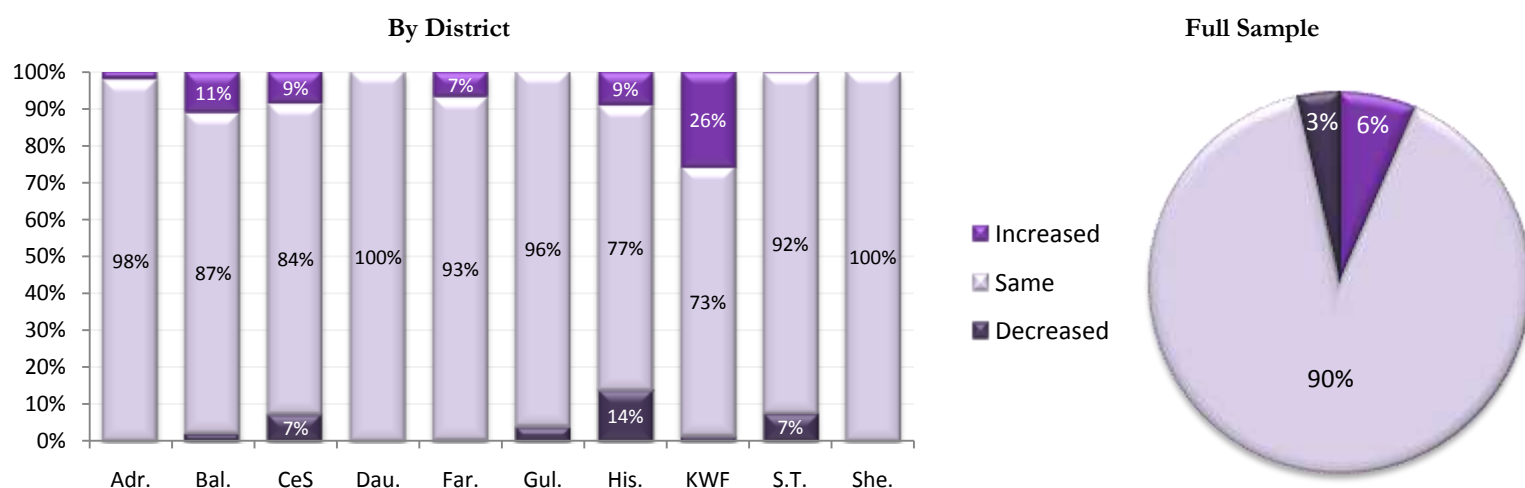
**Full Sample**



The assessment provided by male focus group respondents on the year-on-year change in access of people in the village to electricity was qualitatively similar to that provided by male household respondents. Across the full sample, 90 percent of respondents saw no change, 6 percent saw an improvement, and 3 percent saw a deterioration. As with the male household interviews, respondents in Khost Wa Firing were most likely to report a positive change, with 26 percent

claiming that access of people in their village to electricity had improved compared to last year. Positive changes were also reported by a significant number of respondents in Balkh (11 percent), Farsi (7 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (9 percent), and Hisarak (9 percent), although the latter two statistics are counter-balanced by the 7 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif and 14 percent of respondents in Hisarak who reported a decrease in electricity access for people in their village. Interesting in light of the responses provided by male household respondents in Sang Takht, 7 percent of male focus group respondents in Sang Takht considered that villagers had less access to electricity than they did a year ago, with 0 percent reporting an improvement.

**Figure 193: Change in Access to Electricity as Perceived by Male Focus Group Respondents**



Respondents who reported a change in electricity access over the past year were asked to report which entity or institution – central government, provincial governors, district administrators, village leaders or shura, or non-governmental organizations – was most responsible for effecting the change. A summary of the responses of male household interviewees is presented in Figure 195 below. Of male household respondents who reported an improvement in electricity access, 60 percent thought that actions of the village leadership was responsible for the change, with 13 percent giving credit to the central government, three percent to sub-national government, and 24 percent to other actors or events. As was the case with overall economic changes, while male household respondents commonly credited their village leadership for positive developments, they held their village leadership responsible for negative developments with relative infrequency – just 21 percent of respondents reported that a perceived deterioration in electricity access had been caused by actions of the village leadership. Rather, central government was the entity most commonly blamed for reductions in electricity access, accounting for 24 percent of responses. 8 percent of respondents claimed that actions of sub-national government were responsible for reductions in electricity access, while responsibility was attributed to other entities or events 39 percent of the time. Interestingly, while non-governmental organizations never received credit for positive changes in electricity access, 8 percent of respondents thought they were most responsible for a perceived deterioration in electricity access.

**Figure 194: Attribution of Change in Electricity Access by Male Household Respondents**



As with male household respondents, male focus group respondents commonly ascribed responsibility for an improvement changes in electricity access to the village leadership, with 71 percent of respondents doing so. Actions of the central government were cited as being the cause of the improvement by 7 percent of respondents, sub-national government actors by 4 percent, and other entities or events by 18 percent. Unsurprisingly, village leadership was very rarely held responsible by male focus group respondents for a worsening in the electricity access of people in the village, accounting for just 7 percent of responses overall.<sup>49</sup> The most commonly entity cited by those respondents who perceived a reduction in electricity access was the central government at 22 percent of respondents. 6 percent of male focus group respondents perceiving a worsening in electricity access for people in the village cited sub-national government actors as being the entity most responsible, while 65 percent attributed responsibility to another entity or event.

**Figure 195: Attribution of Change in Electricity Access by Male Focus Group Respondents**

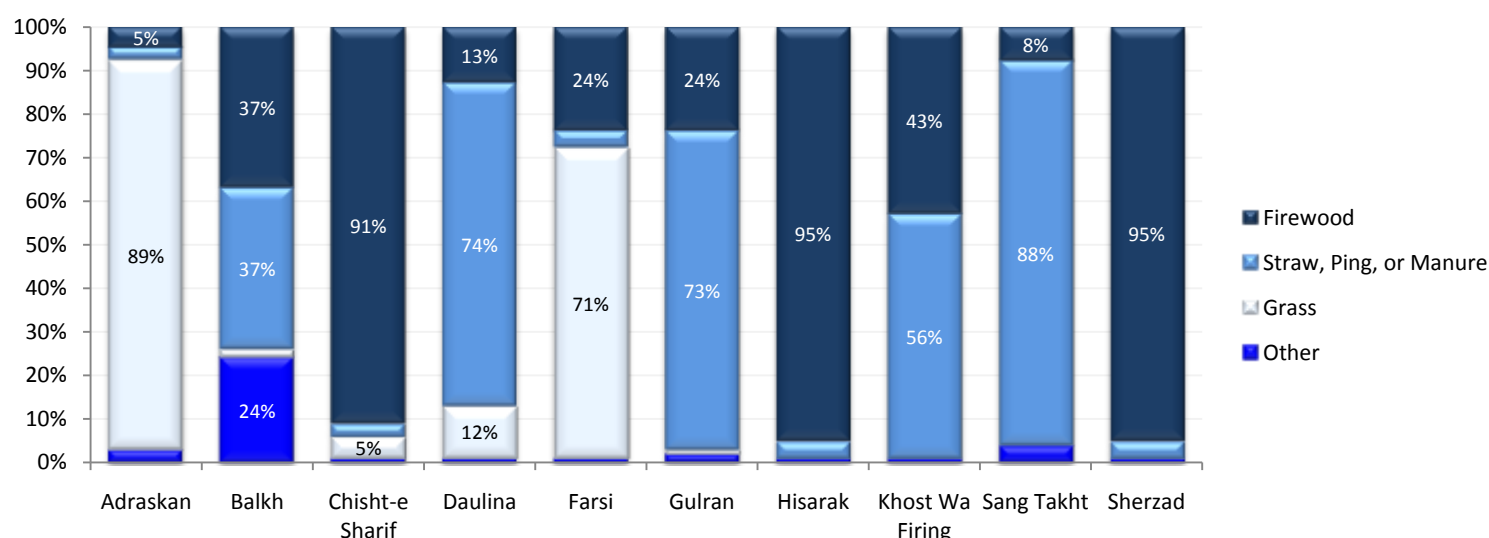


For heating during the winter months, the most common fuel cited by male household respondents was firewood (46 percent), followed by straw, ping, or manure (33 percent), and grass (18 percent). In Adraskan and Farsi, the overwhelming majority of households (89 percent and 71 percent respectively) burn grass for heating during the winter months, while in Chisht-e Sharif, Hisarak, and Sherzad firewood is the most common fuel, accounting for 91 percent, 95

<sup>49</sup> Across the full sample, of the 10 male focus group respondents attributed responsibility for a worsening of electricity access to the village leadership, 9 respondents were in Sang Takht, where just 33 percent of male focus group participants were members of the village shura that traditionally functions as the primary body for village governance.

percent, and 95 percent of respondents respectively. In Daulina, Gulran, and Sang Takht, the majority of respondents burn straw, ping, or manure (74 percent, 73 percent, and 88 percent), while in Balkh and Khost Wa Firing, heating sources are split between firewood and straw, ping and manure.

**Figure 196: Source of Heating Fuel in Winter, by District**



## Healthcare

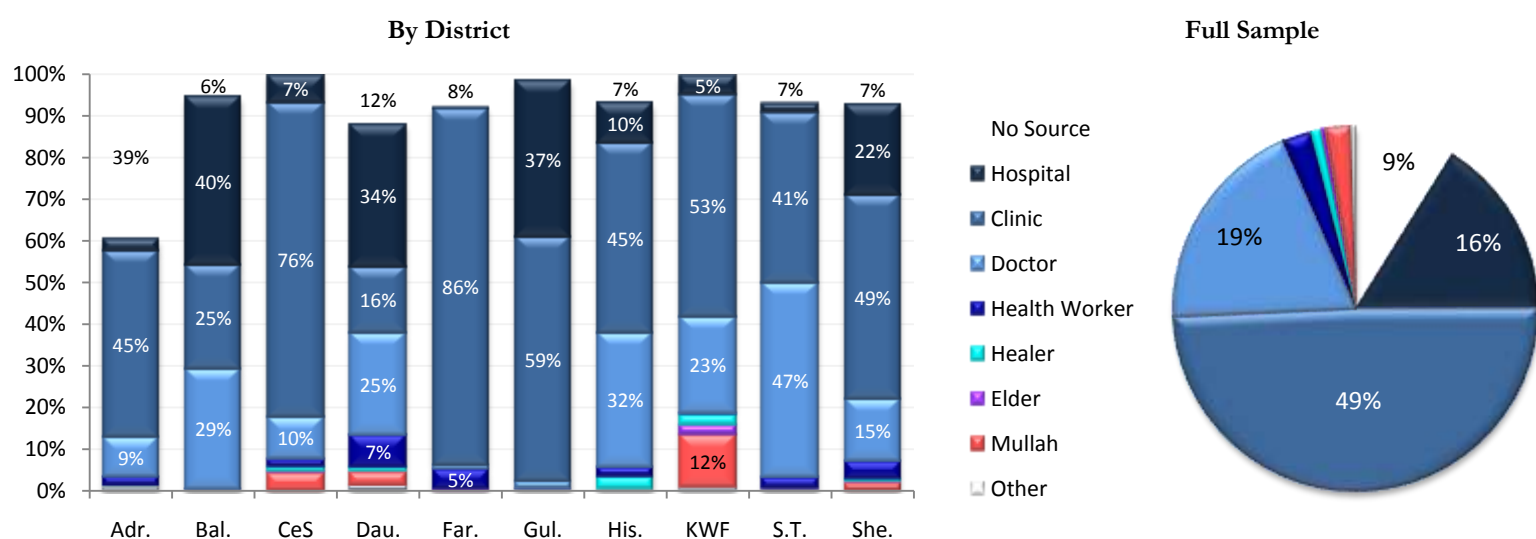
In order to obtain information about the access of respondents to healthcare, questions were asked about the types, locations, and costs of sources of medical treatment to which recourse was sought in the event of an accident or illness. Male household respondents were specifically asked to whom a villager that is ill and in need of treatment would be taken for treatment and where that person or facility is located; whether there is a community health worker that is available at all times of the day or night to assist ill male and female villagers; whether the access of people in the village to healthcare had improved, stayed the same, or worsened, and, if it had changed, which entity or institution was most responsible for effecting that change. In the focus group setting, female respondents were asked to report the main source of treatment to which they would take a sick relative; whether community health workers were constantly available to administer treatment to men and women in the village; whether there was a female nurse or midwife in the village or a neighboring village; whether, if there was no female nurse or doctor available, they would be willing to take their daughter to a male doctor; and whether the access of people in the village to healthcare had improved, stayed the same, or worsened, and, if it had changed, which entity or institution was most responsible for effecting that change. In the individual setting, female respondents were asked whether a female member of the household had fallen ill or been injured in the past 30 days and, if so, whether the illness had been treated. If the illness had not been treated, female respondents were asked to report the main reason why in the illness or injury had not been treated. Male focus group respondents, meanwhile, were simply asked to report the main source of treatment for people in the village facing an illness or injury and whether community health workers are available around-the-clock to treat male and female villagers.

Nearly half of male household respondents reported that when persons in the village fall ill they are taken to a clinic for treatment, with a further 19 percent reporting that treatment by a doctor is most common, 16 percent reporting that treatment at a hospital predominates, and 3 percent claiming that treatment would be provided by a community health worker. Just 3 percent of respondents across the sample reported that persons not trained in modern medicine, such as



healers, elders, or mullahs, are the persons commonly called upon to administer medical treatment to people in the village that fall ill. Across the full sample, 9 percent of respondents reported that there is no source of medical treatment for people in the village who fall ill. In Adraskan, 39 percent of respondents reported that sick people in the village had no source of treatment, while in Daulina, 12 percent of respondents did so. In Chisht-e Sharif and Khost Wa Firing, only 1 (0 percent) and 2 respondents (0 percent) respectively reported there is no source of treatment for people in their village. Clinics were the most common source of treatment cited by respondents in Adraskan (45 percent of total respondents), Chisht-e Sharif (76 percent), Farsi (86 percent), Gulran (59 percent), Hisarak (45 percent), Khost Wa Firing 953 percent), and Sherzad (49 percent). Only in Sang Takht did a plurality of respondents (47 percent) cite doctors as the predominant source of treatment, although more than a quarter of respondents in Hisarak (32 percent), Balkh (29 percent), and Daulina (25 percent) also cited them. In Balkh, hospital was the most commonly cited source of treatment (40 percent), although respondents in Gulran (37 percent) and Daulina (34 percent) provided the same response with relative frequency. Of the customary sources of treatment, mullahs were cited by 12 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, 4 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, and 3 percent of respondents in Daulina as the primary source to which villagers would turn when in need of medical treatment.

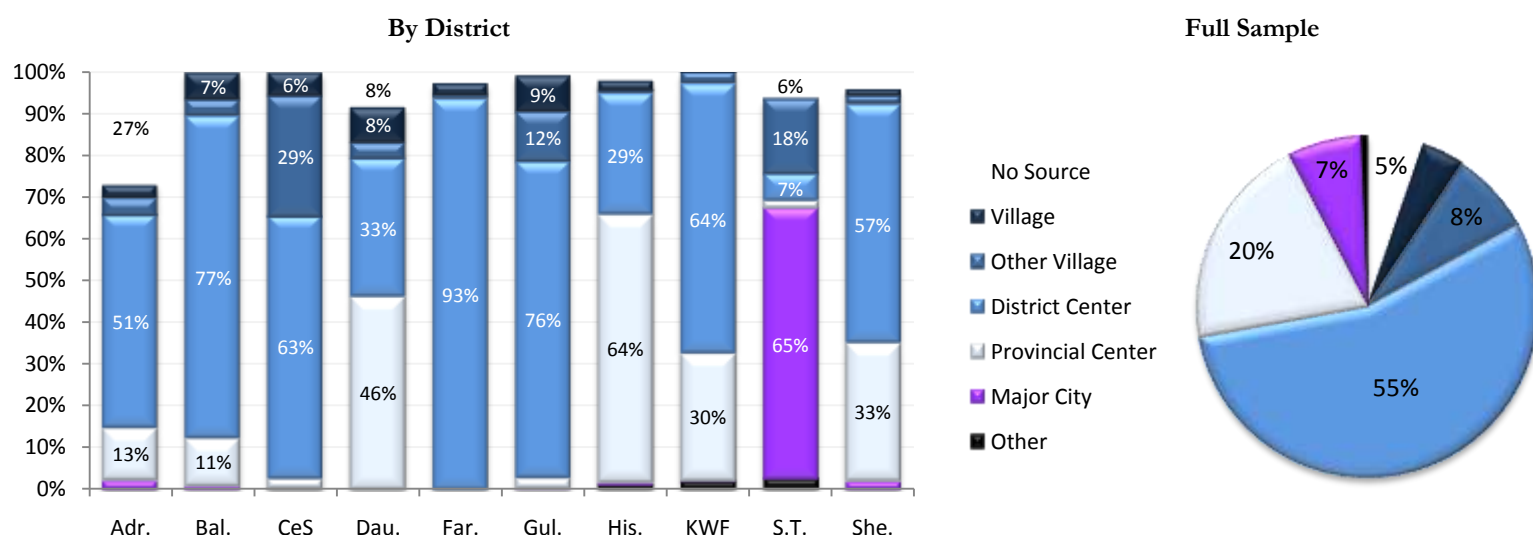
**Figure 197: Primary Source of Medical Treatment Cited by Male Household Respondents**



Medical treatment is most commonly administered in the district center, according to 55 percent of male household respondents. 20 percent of respondents reported that treatment is usually provided in the provincial center, while 4 percent reported it would be provided in the village, 8 percent of villagers reported it is provided in another village in the district, and 7 percent reported it would be provided in a major city, such as Kabul, Jalalabad, Mazar-e Sharif, or Herat. Locations of treatment varied significantly between districts. A majority of respondents in Farsi (93 percent), Balkh (77 percent), Gulran (76 percent), Khost Wa Firing (64 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (63 percent), Sherzad (57 percent), and Adraskan (51 percent) reported that treatment was commonly administered in the district center, while just 7 percent of respondents in Sang Takht, 29 percent of respondents in Hisarak, and 33 percent of respondents in Daulina believed the same. In Sang Takht, Kabul was the most frequently cited location of treatment, reported by 65 percent of respondents, while in Hisarak, the provincial center of Nangarhar was mentioned most frequently (64 percent). The Ghor provincial center of Chaghcharan was cited as the regular location of treatment by 46 percent of respondents in Daulina, with the respective provincial centers of Pul-e Khumri and Jalalabad being cited by 30 percent and 33 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing and Sherzad respectively. 29 percent of respondents in Chisht-e

Sharif, 12 percent of respondents in Gulran, and 18 percent of respondents in Sang Takht claimed that treatment would most frequently provided in another village in the district.

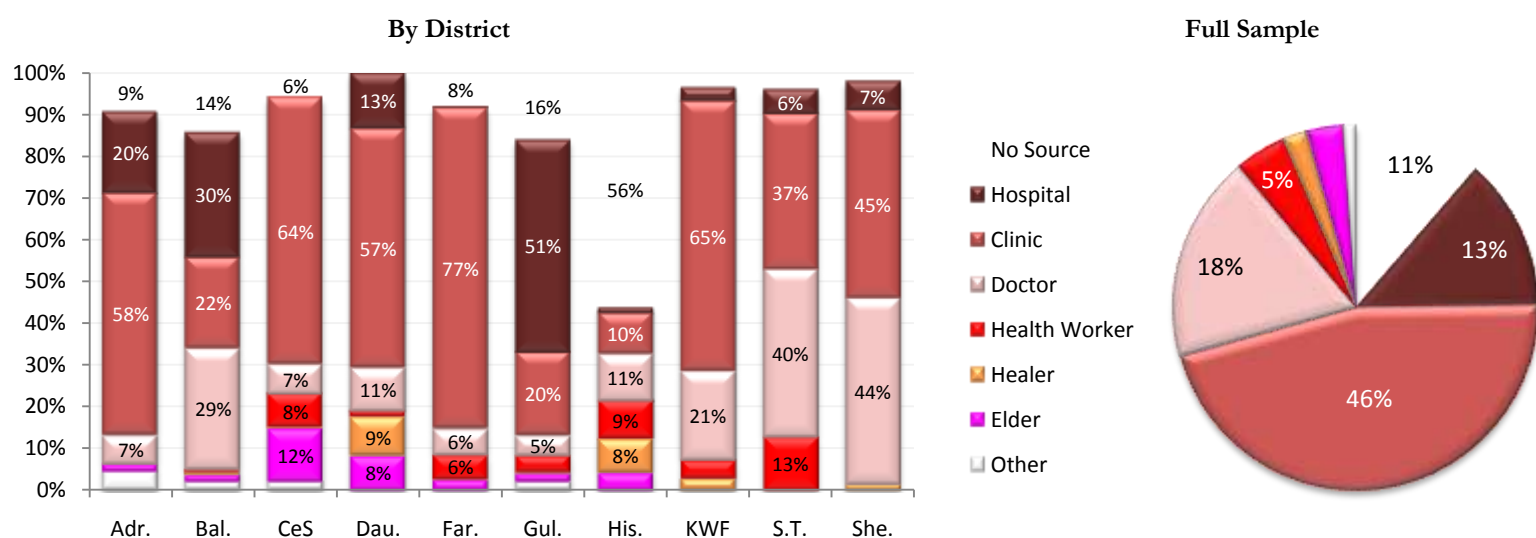
**Figure 198: Primary Location of Medical Treatment Cited by Male Household Respondents**



In the aggregate, the answers provided by female respondents concerning the main source of treatment for sick villagers were qualitatively similar to those provided by male household respondents, with 46 percent of respondents reporting that clinic was the primary source of treatment, 18 percent reporting that a doctor was the usual recourse, 13 percent reporting a hospital, 5 percent mentioning a community health worker, and another 5 percent claiming that non-medical specialists, such as healers or elders, were the people villagers most commonly turned to when in need of medical attention. Overall, a slightly higher proportion of female respondents (11 percent) than male respondents (9 percent) responded that people in the village lacked any source of medical treatment.<sup>50</sup> Significant differences in the frequency by which respondents mentioned that there was no source of treatment were observed between male household and female respondents in Adraskan, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi and Hisarak. Curiously, in Adraskan, 39 percent of male respondents, but just 9 percent of female respondents, claimed there was no source of treatment. In Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, and Hisarak, the proportion of female respondents reporting a lack of treatment sources is significantly higher than the proportion of male respondents. In Hisarak, the difference is the most extreme, with 56 percent of female respondents compared to just 7 percent of male respondents. Clinics were cited as the predominant sources of treatment by a majority of respondents in Adraskan (58 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (64 percent), Daulina (57 percent), Farsi (77 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (65 percent). In Balkh, the answers of female respondents were split between hospitals (30 percent), clinics (22 percent), and doctors (29 percent), while in Gulran, in stark contrast to the responses of male household interviewees, hospitals were cited as the predominant source of treatment by a majority of female respondents (51 percent). In Hisarak, responses of the 44 percent of female respondents who reported people in their village could access medical treatment were split between clinics (10 percent), doctors (11 percent), community health workers (9 percent), and healers (8 percent), while those in Sang Takht and Sherzad were almost evenly split between clinics and doctors.

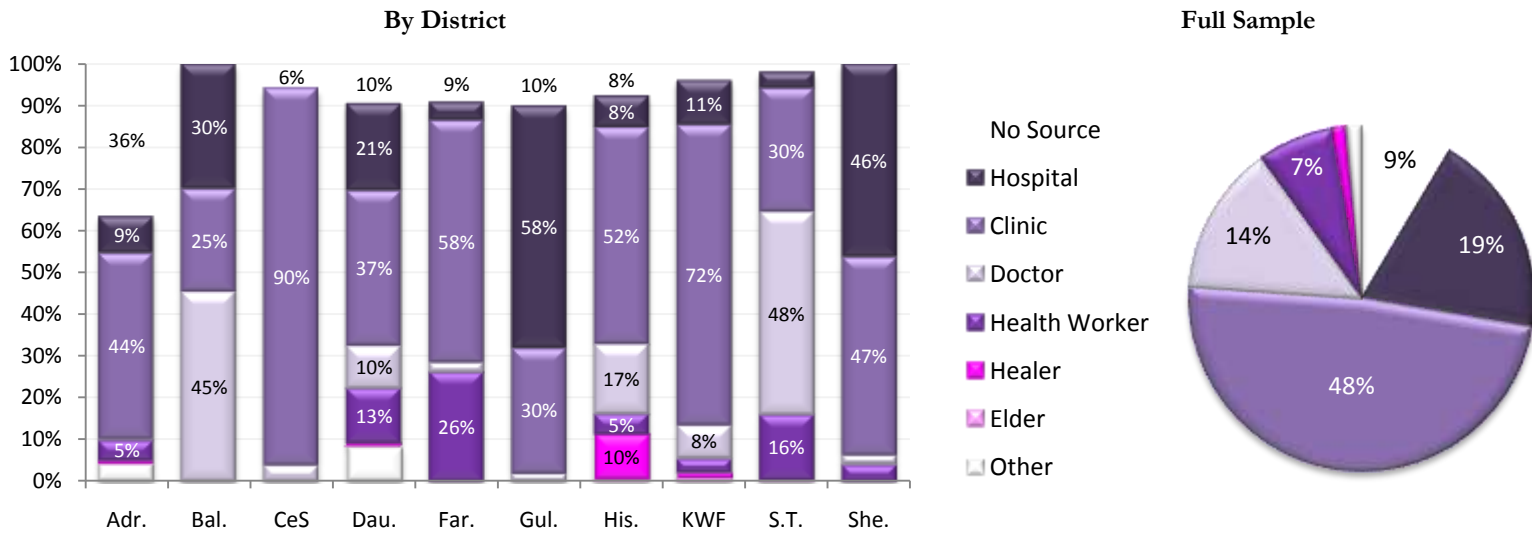
<sup>50</sup> This could be due to the fact that there is a general lack of female health-workers in the ten districts and that women are sometimes unwilling to be treated by a male health professional.

**Figure 199: Primary Source of Medical Treatment Cited by Female Respondents**



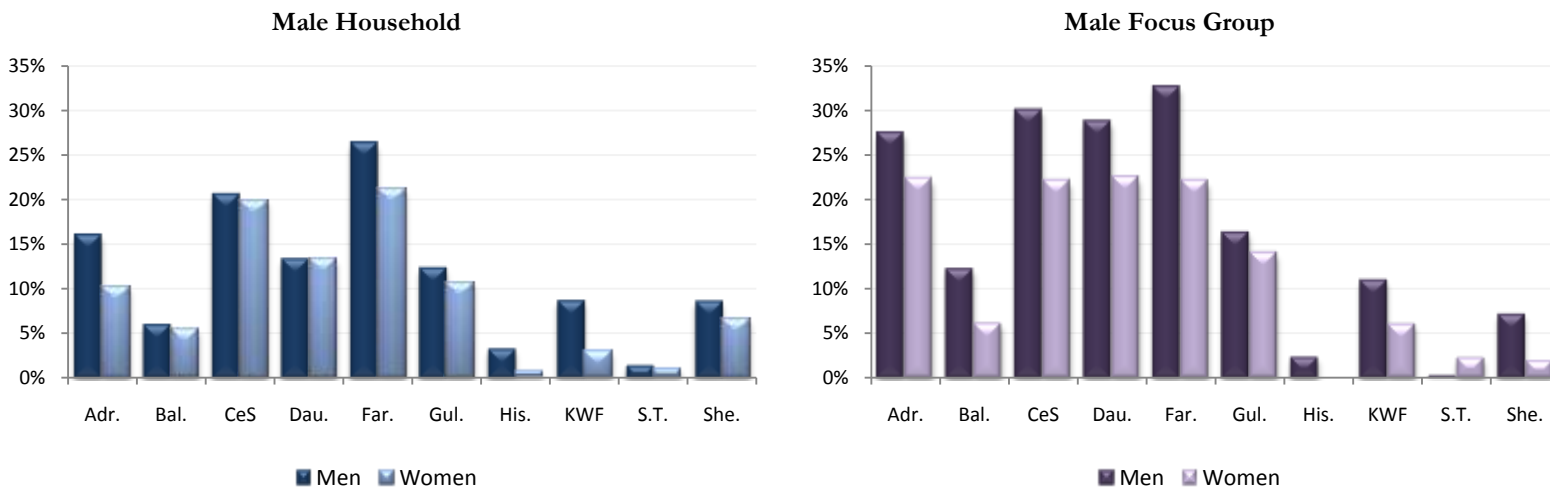
Again, responses of male focus group participants concerning the question of the main source of medical treatment for people in the village were not qualitatively different in the aggregate from those of male household respondents or female respondents. 48 percent of male focus group respondents cited clinics as the main source of treatment for people in the village, 19 percent mentioned hospitals, 14 percent doctors, 7 percent health workers, with just 1 percent of respondents claiming that medical treatment is most commonly provided by healers or elders. 9 percent of respondents across the sample reported that people in their village have no source of medical treatment. In common with male household respondents, male focus group respondents in Adraskan were the most likely to report that people had no source of treatment, with 36 percent of respondents doing so. 6 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, 10 percent of respondents in Daulina, 9 percent of respondents in Farsi, 10 percent of respondents in Gulran, and 8 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing similarly responded that there was no person or facility available to people in their village for medical treatment. Majorities of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (90 percent), Farsi (58 percent), Hisarak (52 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (72 percent) considered that clinics were the most common recourse for medical treatment, while a majority of respondents in Adraskan who thought that a source of medical treatment exists for people in the village made the same response. As with female respondents, male focus group respondents in Balkh split their answers between hospitals (30 percent), clinics (25 percent), and doctors (45 percent), while responses in Daulina were also mixed between hospitals (21 percent), clinics (37 percent), doctors (10 percent), and community health workers (13 percent). In Sang Takht, clinics accounted for 30 percent of responses and doctors 48 percent, while an almost even number of respondents in Sherzad cited hospitals (46 percent) and clinics (47 percent). The proportion of male household respondents citing non-specialist treatment sources was negligible in all districts except Hisarak, where 10 percent of respondents reported that villagers in need of medical treatment would usually turn to traditional healers.

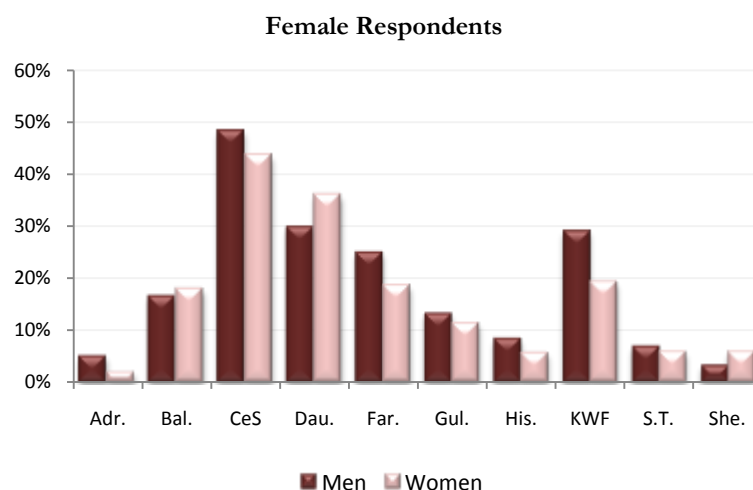
**Figure 200: Primary Source of Medical Treatment Cited by Male Focus Group Respondents**



All three respondent groups were asked to report whether there is a health worker available to provide medical treatment to men and women in the village at any time of the day or night. Across the full sample, 12 percent of male household respondents, 19 percent of female respondents, and 17 percent of male focus group respondents reported such a health worker was available to treat men in the village. To treat women in the village, 9 percent of male household, 17 percent of female, and 12 percent of male focus group respondents claimed that a health worker was available, either within the village or to travel to the village, at any time of the day or night. According to the responses of male household and male focus group respondents, villages in Farsi were the most likely to have community health workers available, with 26 percent of male household respondents and 33 percent of male focus group respondents claiming that a health worker was available to treat men and 21 percent of male household respondents and 22 percent of male focus group respondents claiming that a health worker is available to treat women. According to the responses of female respondents, however, villages in Chisht-e Sharif are the best served, with 48 percent of respondents claiming that a health worker is available to treat men and 44 percent claiming a health worker is available to treat women. Across all three respondent groups, however, only a tiny proportion of respondents in Hisarak, Sang Takht, and Sherzad reported that a health worker is available to treat either men or women.

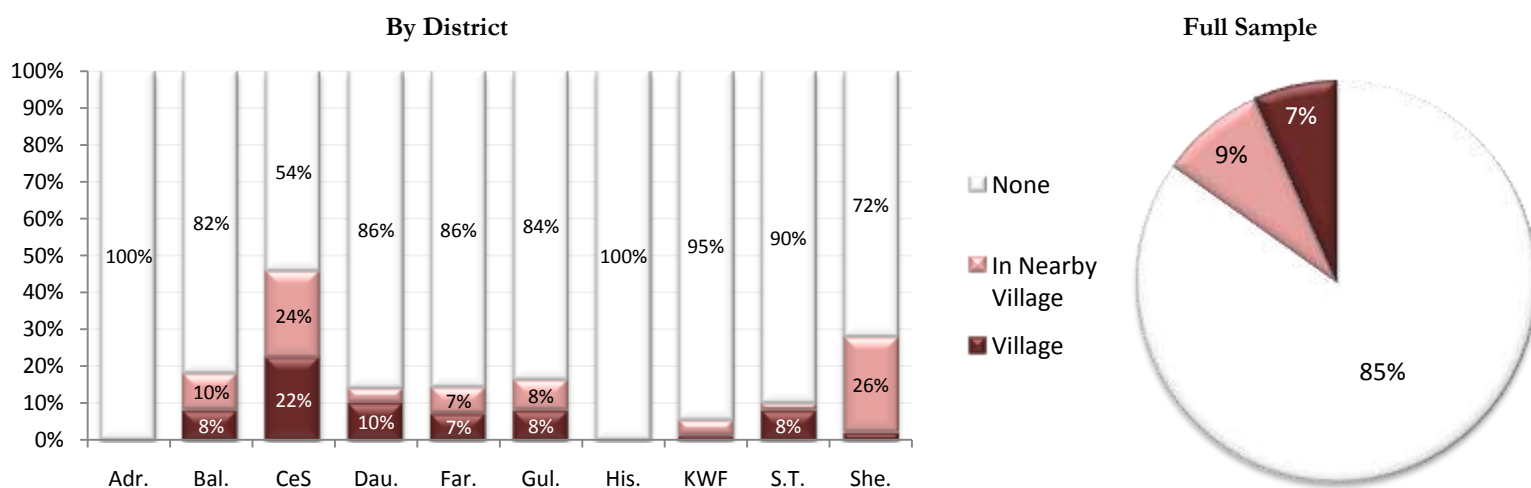
**Figure 201: Availability of Community Health Workers, by District, Patient Type, and Respondent Type**





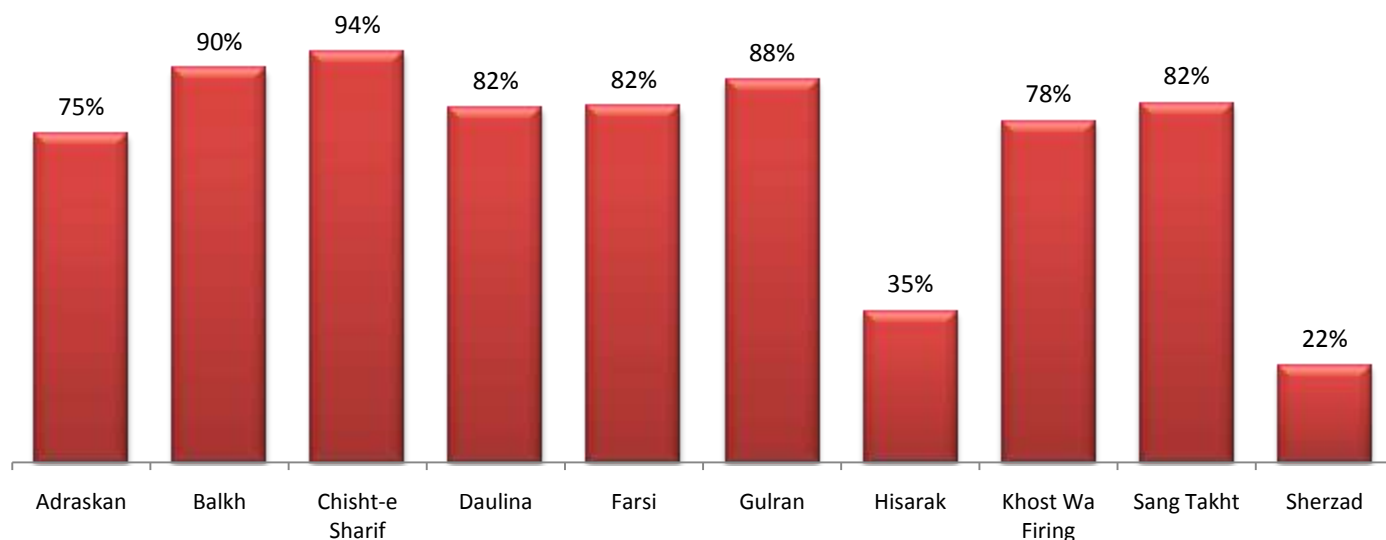
Female doctors or midwives appear to be rarely available across the villages in the sample: 85 percent of female respondents reported that no female doctor or midwife was available, 9 percent reported that there is a female doctor or midwife available in a nearby village, and 7 percent reported that there is a female doctor or midwife living in their village. The availability of female doctor and midwives is highest in Chisht-e Sharif, with 24 percent of female respondents reporting that a female doctor or midwife is available in a nearby village and a further 22 percent reporting that one lives in the village. Sherzad also had a relatively high number of female doctors or midwives, with 26 percent reporting that one is available in a village nearby and a further 2 percent reporting that one lives in their village. In Adraskan and Hisarak, no respondents reported that a female doctor or midwife lived in their village or a neighboring village.

**Figure 202: Availability of Female Doctor or Nurse**



To assess the role of cultural beliefs in restricting access to healthcare for women, female respondents were asked whether they would take a sick daughter to a male doctor in the event that a female doctor or nurse was not available. In total, 74 percent of respondents reported they would allow their daughter to be seen by a male doctor, although there was substantial regional variation. In Chisht-e Sharif, Balkh, and Gulran, the willingness of female respondents to allow their daughters to be seen by a male doctor was highest, at 94 percent, 90 percent, and 88 percent respectively. In Hisarak and Sherzad (both of which are located in Nangarhar province), however, a mere 35 percent and 22 percent of female respondents respectively stated that they would be willing to allow a sick daughter to be treated by a male doctor in the event a female doctor or nurse was not available.

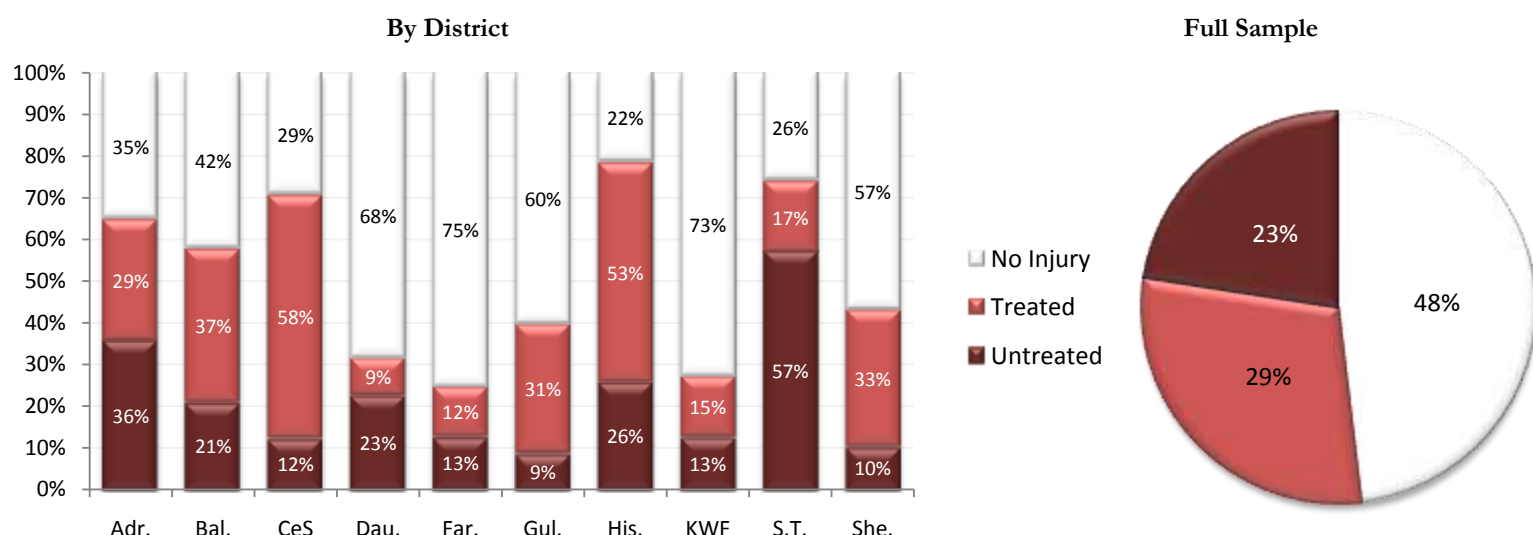
**Figure 203: Percentage of Female Respondents Willing to Take Daughter to Male Doctor, by District**



In the individual setting, female respondents were asked to report whether they or another female in the household had fallen ill and been injured during the past 30 days and, if they had, whether the person with the illness or injury received treatment. Overall, a little more than half of the female respondents (52 percent) reported that they or another female in their household had fallen ill in the past month. Of those respondents who did report that an illness had occurred, 57 percent reported that the person with the illness or injury had received treatment. Female respondents in Hisarak (78 percent), Sang Takht (74 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (71 percent) and Adraskan (65 percent) reported the highest incidence of female illness or injury, while those in Daulina (32 percent), Farsi (25 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (27 percent) reported the lowest. The rate at which female illnesses or injuries are treated appears to be highest in Chisht-e Sharif, where 83 percent of respondents reporting a female illness or injury reported that the woman affected had received treatment, while Daulina and Sang Takht reported the lowest rates of treatment of female illness or injuries, with just 29 percent and 23 percent of female respondents reporting illnesses respectively reporting that the ill or injured female family member had received treatment. In Sang Takht, 57 percent of female respondents reported that they or another woman in their household had fallen ill or been injured in the past month and had not received treatment for the ailment.



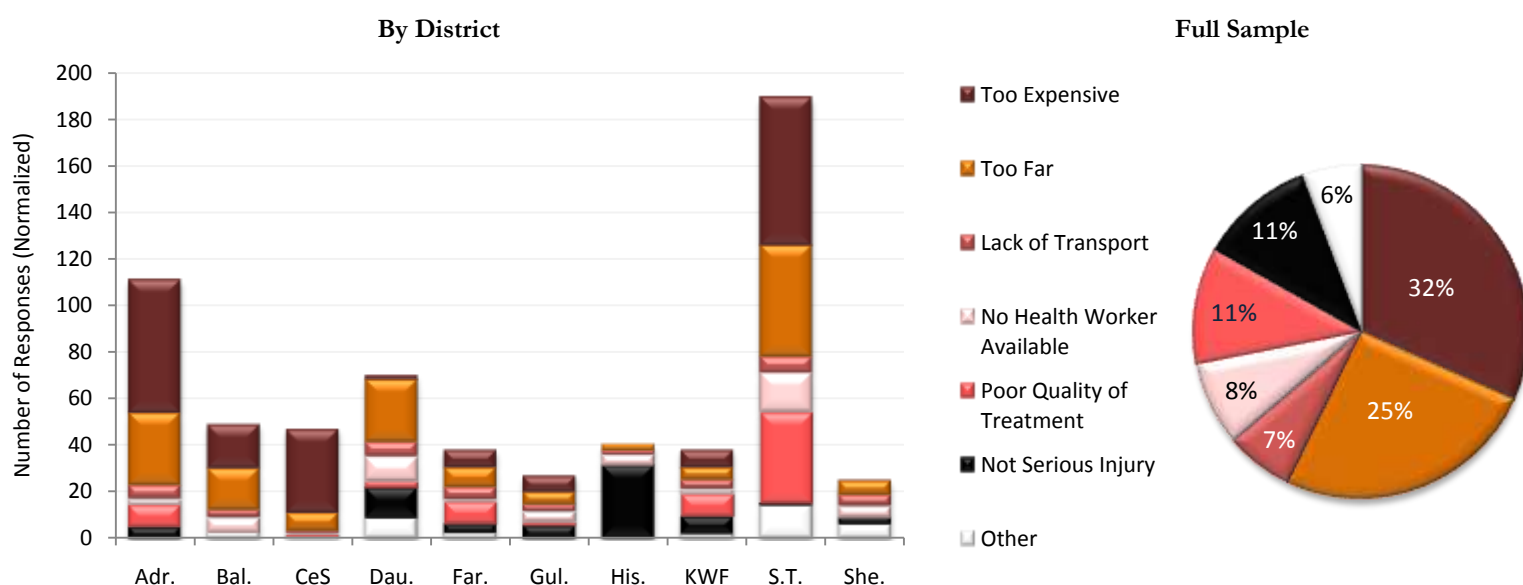
**Figure 204: Percentage of Female Respondents Reporting that Female Member of Household Suffered Illness during Past Month and Incidence of Treatment**



Female respondents who reported that they or another female in the household had fallen ill or been injured and had not been treated were asked why treatment had not been administered. Across the full sample, 32 percent of respondents believed that the main reason treatment was not administered was the cost of treatment was too high, 25 percent contended that the location of treatment was too far away, 7 percent pointed to a lack of available transport to the location of treatment, 8 percent said that there was no health worker available, 11 percent that the quality of the available treatment was poor, while a further 11 percent reported that the illness or injury was not serious enough for treatment to be sought. For female respondents in Adraskan, the cost of treatment was the most commonly cited reason for non-treatment (52 percent), followed by the distance to the location of treatment (28 percent). In Balkh, 39 percent of respondents cited the cost of treatment and 37 percent the distance to the location of treatment. In Chisht-e Sharif, the cost of treatment predominated (77 percent), while in Daulina, the distance involved was the most common problem (39 percent). Respondents in Farsi were more or less evenly split between the cost of treatment (20 percent), the distance to the location of treatment (23 percent), and the poor quality of available sources (25 percent). In Gulran, the cost of treatment (26 percent) and the non-seriousness of the ailment (21 percent) were mentioned most frequently. In Hisarak, 77 percent of respondents reported that the ailment was not serious enough for treatment to be sought, while in Khost Wa Firing, respondents were split between the cost of treatment (20 percent), the poor quality of available sources (25 percent), and the non-seriousness of the ailment (20 percent). Among respondents in Sang Takht, the cost of treatment was most frequently mentioned (34 percent), followed by the distance to the location of treatment (25 percent), and poor quality of available sources (20 percent). Respondents in Sherzad most frequently cited the distance to the point of treatment (25 percent), followed by a lack of transport options (19 percent) and the non-availability of a community health worker (19 percent).

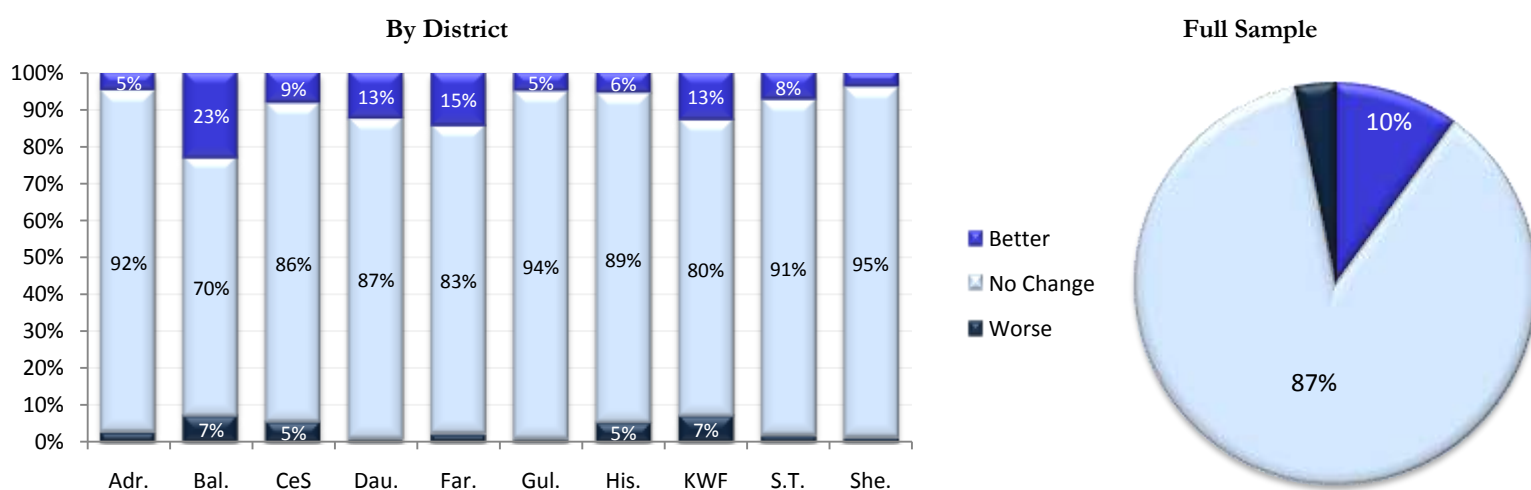


**Figure 205: Reason for Non-Treatment of Female Illness**



When asked whether they believed the access of people in the village to medical treatment had improved, stayed the same, or worsened compared to the same time last year, 87 percent of male household respondents replied that they perceived no change, while 10 percent of respondents saw an improvement, and 3 percent a deterioration in access. Respondents in Balkh were the most likely among those in the male household sample to reported an improvement in access, with 23 percent doing so, followed by Farsi at 15 percent and Daulina at 13 percent. Only in Balkh (7 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (5 percent), Hisarak (5 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (7 percent) did more than 2 percent of male household respondents report a deterioration in the access of villagers to medical treatment.

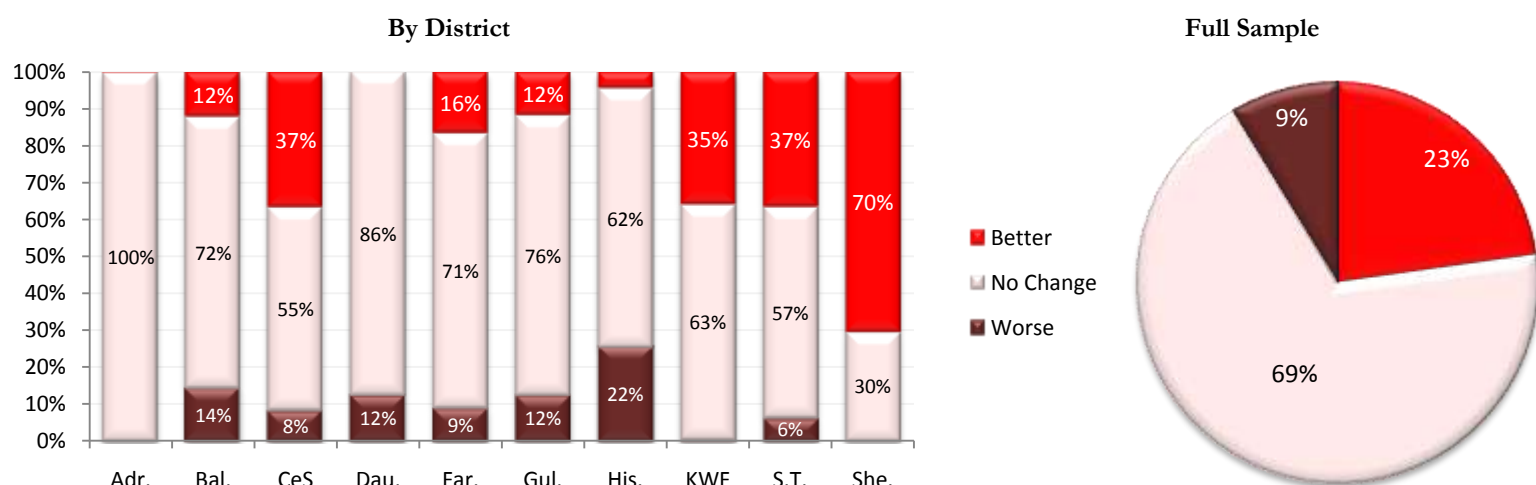
**Figure 206: Change in Access to Healthcare as Perceived by Male Household Respondents**



Female respondents generally had more polarized views than their male household counterparts as to whether the access of villagers to healthcare had improved over the last year. 23 percent of female respondents claimed access had improved, 10 percent claimed it had deteriorated, and 69 percent saw no change. Female respondents in Sherzad were by far the most likely to report an improvement in healthcare access over the year before, with 70 percent of them doing so. Over a third of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (37 percent), Khost Wa Firing (35 percent), and Sang Takht (37 percent) also perceived a positive change over the year before. Female respondents in

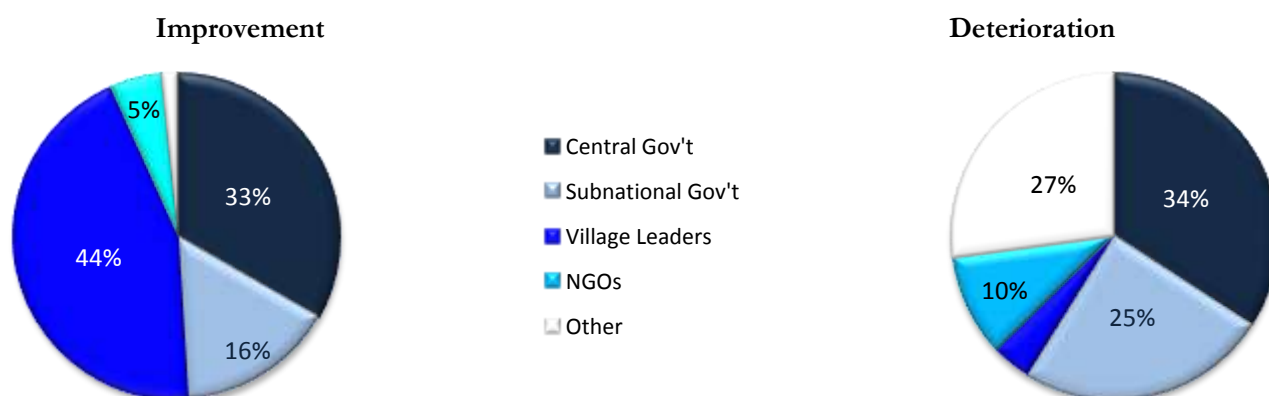
Hisarak and Balkh were the most likely to report a deterioration in access to medical treatment, with 22 percent and 14 percent respectively doing so.

**Figure 207: Change in Access to Electricity as Perceived by Female Respondents**



Among male household respondents that did report a change, 33 percent of respondents in the event of a positive change and 34 percent of respondents in the event of a negative change thought that actions by the central government were most responsible for the change. Entities of sub-national governance, such as provincial governors or district administrators, were more likely to receive the blame for a deterioration in access (25 percent) than for an improvement in access (16 percent). Following the pattern observed with similar questions pertaining to other forms of service access, actions of village leaders were much more frequently cited as being responsible for positive changes (44 percent) than were blamed for a reduction in access to medical treatment (4 percent). Interestingly, non-governmental organizations were blamed for negative developments (10 percent) at about twice the rate they were credited for positive developments (5 percent).

**Figure 208: Attribution of Change in Healthcare Access by Male Household Respondents**



Female respondents gave credit to the central government for positive changes in healthcare access and blamed it for negative developments in roughly equal proportions (16 percent and 14 percent respectively), although at about half the rate done so by male household respondents. As with male household respondents, entities of sub-national governance were much more frequently blamed for a deterioration in access (29 percent) than credited for an improvement in access (9 percent), while village leaders were more frequently credited for effecting an improvement in access (62 percent) than blamed for a deterioration in access (14 percent). Non-governmental organizations were seen as being primarily responsible for effecting changes by 7

percent of female respondents who perceived an improvement and 8 percent of respondents who perceived a deterioration.

**Figure 209: Attribution of Change in Healthcare Access by Female Respondents**



## Education

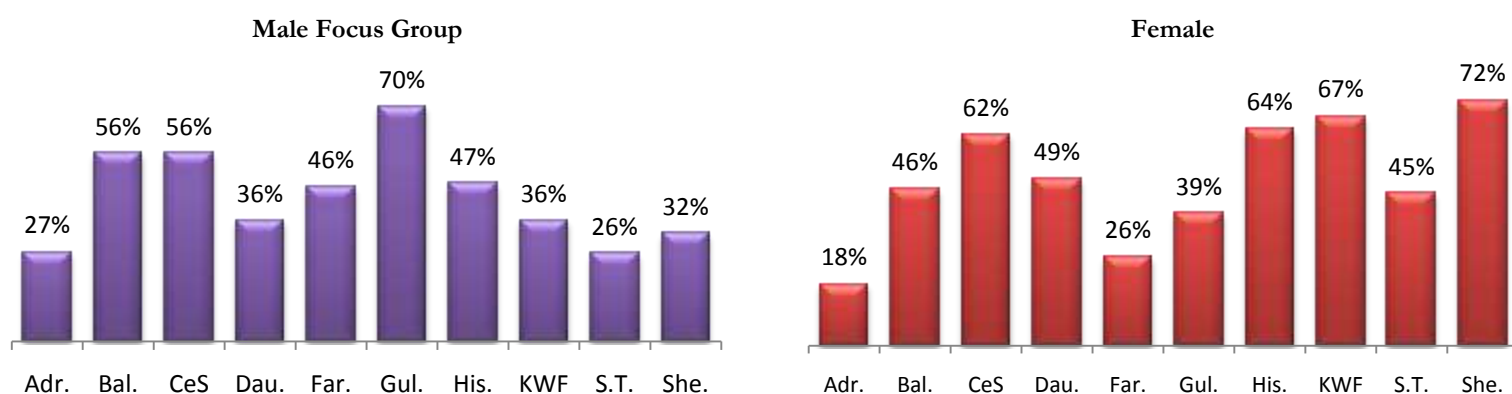
The following section presents information relating to the access of children in the ten sample districts to education. Access to education was assessed by a series of questions administered to male household, male focus group, and female respondents. Male household respondents were asked the following questions: whether the number of children from the village going to school had increased, decreased, or stayed the same and, in the event of a change, which institution or entity they believed was most responsible; whether they planned to send any of their sons or daughters to school next year; and whether girls from the village are allowed to go to school; and in the event that they aren't, why this is so. Female respondents were asked about the number and type of schools in the village, whether there are any female teachers in the village, how boys and girls from the village are educated, whether girls from the village should be educated, and whether the number of boys and girls from the village that attend school had increased relative to last year, and who was responsible for this change, if any. Male focus group respondents were asked about the number of schools in the village, the type of schools in the village, how boys and girls in the village are educated, whether girls in the village should be educated, whether the number of boys and girls from the village going to school had increased, decreased, or stayed the same, and who was responsible for the change, if any. The responses to these questions are presented below in sample aggregate and district-level form.

Male focus group and female respondents were asked whether their village contained any mixed schools that boys and girls could attend, any schools exclusively for boys, or any schools exclusively for girls. Figure 210 below presents, for each district, the estimated percentage of villages with a school of any type, be it a boys, girls, or mixed school. As the same questions were administered to the male focus group and to female respondents in the focus group setting, summaries of the responses of both sets of respondents are presented. There is a surprising degree of discordance between the responses of the two respondent groups.<sup>51</sup> Overall, 43

<sup>51</sup> A possible explanation for this is that female respondents, due to their general lack of involvement in decisions concerning education, are not fully aware of the number of schools in the village. On the other hand, female respondents may be deliberately under-estimating the number of girls' or mixed schools in the village – where most of the disagreement arises – in order to emphasize the lack of access among girls in the village to education.

percent of male focus groups report and 49 percent of female focus groups reported their village has a school of some description.<sup>52</sup> In Gulran, however, respondents frequently disagreed whether or not there was a school in the village, with 70 percent of male focus groups but just 39 percent of female focus groups reporting that their village had a school. In Sherzad, the situation was reversed, with 32 percent of male focus groups believing the village had a school, compared to 72 percent of female focus groups. Averages across both samples indicate that the villages in Adraskan are the least likely of any in the ten sample districts to have schools, while villages in Chisht-e Sharif are most likely.

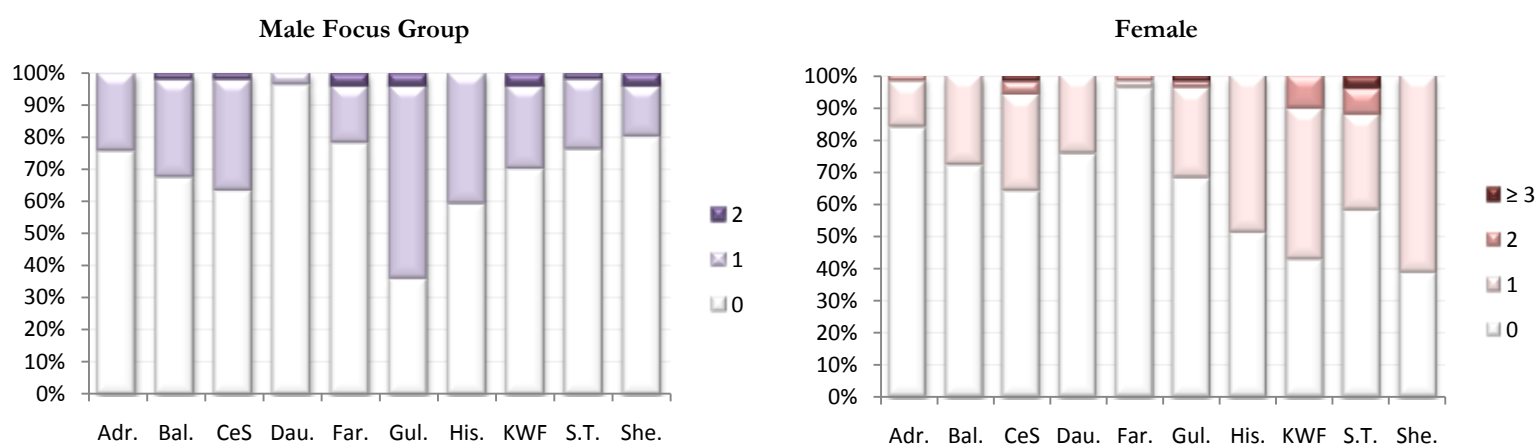
**Figure 210: Percentage of Villages with School (Any Type), by District and Respondent Type**



65 percent of female respondents and 70 percent of male focus group respondents claimed their village contains no mixed schools, with 31 percent of female respondents and 28 percent of male focus group respondents claiming their village contained a single mixed school, and 4 percent of female respondents and 2 percent of male focus group respondents asserting there are two or more mixed schools in the village. A graphical summary of the responses for each district and each respondent group is presented in Figure 211 below. Considerable deviation at the district level is apparent. The lowest incidence of mixed schools reported by male focus groups occurred in Daulina where just two of the 50 male focus groups claimed their village had a mixed school. In the female focus group held in Daulina, however, a majority of the respondents in 12 out of 49 female focus groups believed their village had a mixed school. In Sherzad, meanwhile, 30 out of 49 female focus groups claimed the village had a mixed school, while just 10 out of 50 male focus groups did so.

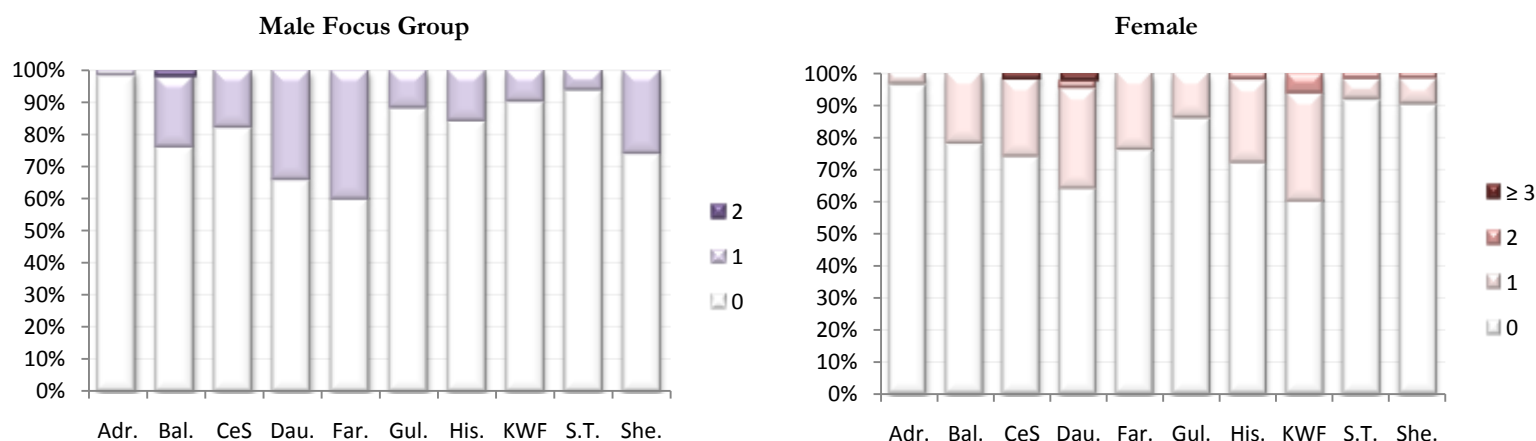
<sup>52</sup> Responses were tabulated at the focus group level, with majority responses in each focus group then being tabulated to yield the district and sample aggregates.

**Figure 211: Number of Mixed Schools, by District and Respondent Type**



Across the full sample, boys' schools appear to be less common than mixed schools, with 79 percent of female focus groups and 81 percent of male focus groups asserting that there was no school in their village that exclusively teaches boys. 19 percent of both male and female focus groups believed their village had a single school for boys, while 1 percent of female focus groups and a negligible proportion of female focus groups believed their village has two or more boys' schools. Less discordance in the responses of male and female focus groups was observed with respect to assessments of the existence of boys' schools compared to mixed schools. In both samples, for instance, villages in Adraskan were reported to have the fewest number of boys' schools, with just 1 out of 49 male focus groups and 2 out of 48 female focus groups claiming that their village had such a school. At the opposite end of the spectrum, female respondents in Khost Wa Firing were the most likely to report their village contained a boys' school, with 19 out of 48 focus groups doing so, while among the men, respondents in Farsi most frequently asserted their village contained a boys' school, with 20 out of 50 focus groups doing so.

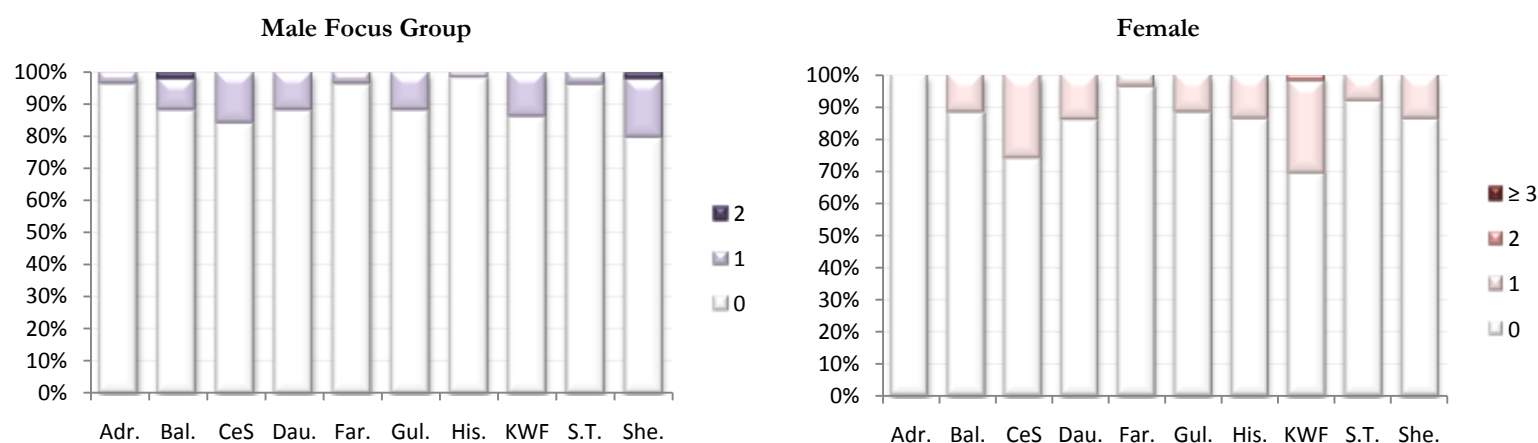
**Figure 212: Number of Boys Schools, by District and Respondent Type**



Unsurprisingly, villages across the sample were less likely to have a girls' school than either a mixed or boys' school. 86 percent of female focus groups and 90 percent of male focus groups reported that their village contained no school which teaches girls exclusively, with 14 percent of female focus groups and 10 percent of male focus groups reported that their village has at least one school for girls. In Adraskan, in no female focus groups did a majority of respondents believe their village contained a school for girls (2 out of the 50 male focus groups in Adraskan stated that they believed the village did have one). Among male focus groups, the existence of girls' schools were most commonly reported in Sherzad, followed by Chisht-e Sharif and Khost

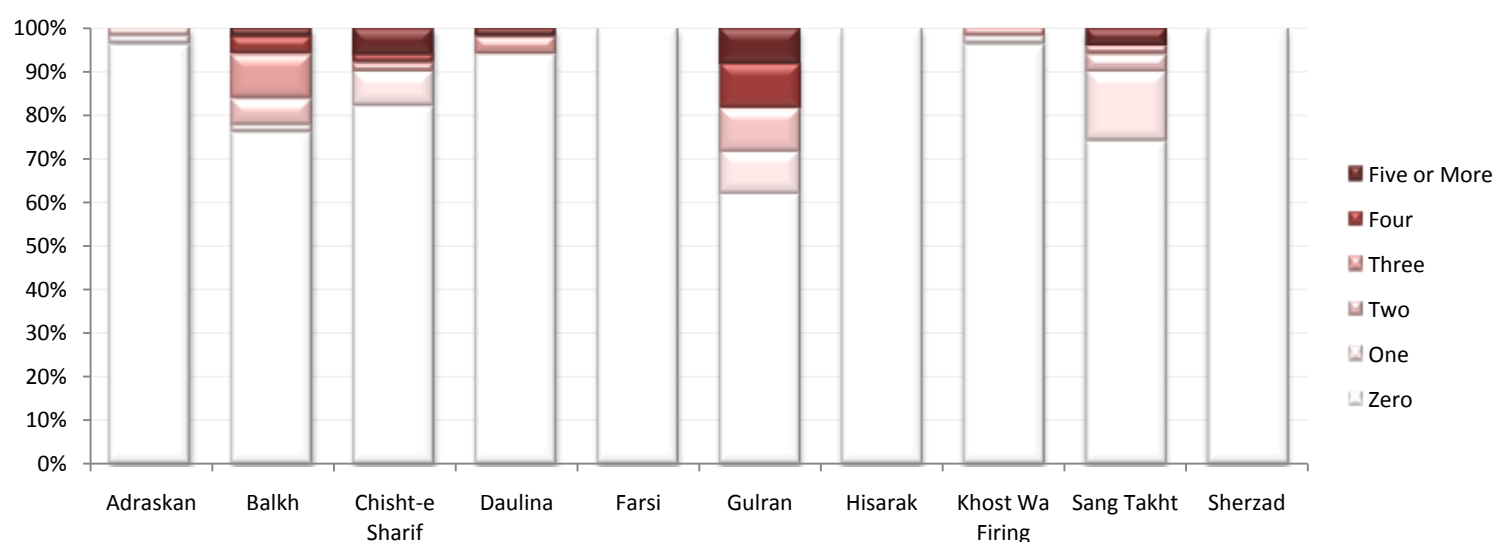
Wa Firing. Among female focus groups, girls' schools were most commonly reported in Khost Wa Firing, followed by Chisht-e Sharif.

**Figure 213: Number of Girls Schools, by District and Respondent Type**



Relatively few respondents reported that one or more female teachers lived in their village. Across the full sample, 88 percent reported that their village had not a single female teacher, while 4 percent reported their village had one, 2 percent reported their village had two, 2 percent reported their village had three, 2 percent reported their village had four, and 2 percent reported their village five or more. In none of the female focus groups held in Farsi, Hisarak, and Sherzad did a majority of participants claim their village had one or more female teachers, while participants do so in less than three focus groups in Adraskan, Daulina, and Khost Wa Firing. In Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Gulran, and Sang Takht, female teachers appear to be more common, however, with 24 percent of female focus groups in Balkh, 18 percent of female focus groups in Chisht-e Sharif, 38 percent of female focus groups in Gulran, and 26 percent of female focus groups in Sang Takht claiming their village has at least one female teacher.

**Figure 214: Number of Female Teachers in Village, by District**

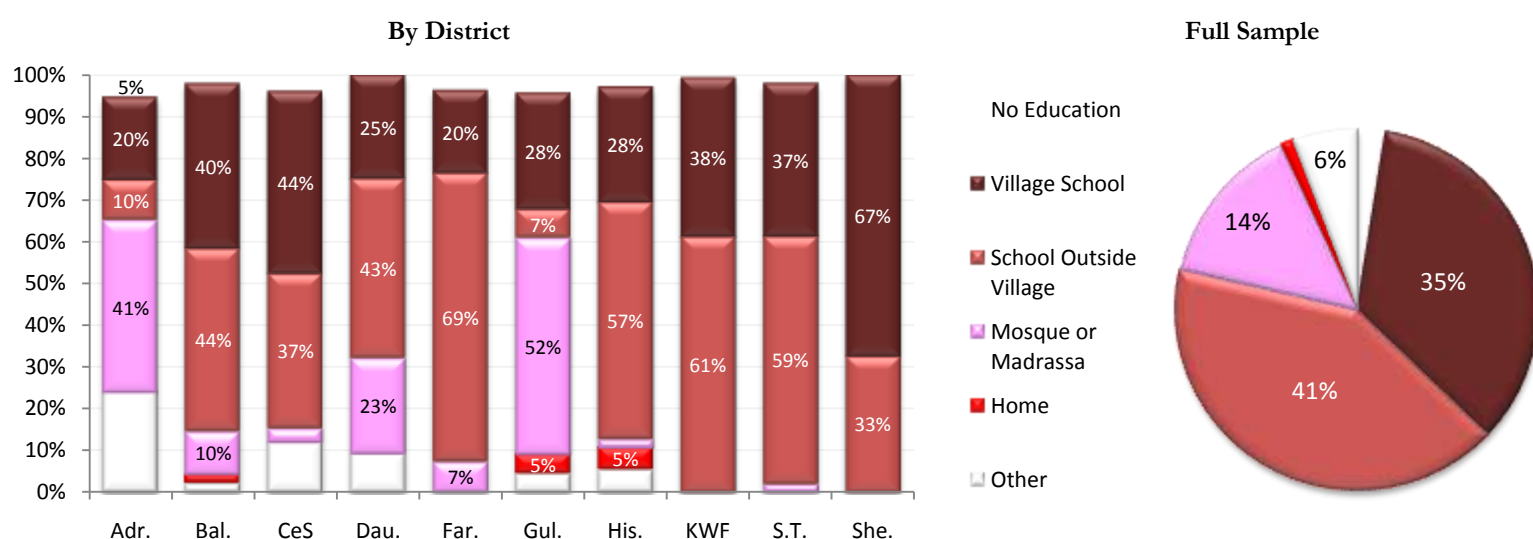


Male and female focus group respondents were asked to report the main source of education for boys and girls in the village. Across all the sample districts, 35 percent of female respondents claimed that a school within the village educated most of the boys in the village, 41 percent responded that boys were mostly taught by schools outside the village, 14 percent reported that education is provided mostly at a mosque or *madrassa*, and a further 1 percent claimed that boys



were educated mostly at home. 3 percent of female respondents stated they believed that boys in their village had no source of education. Only in Sherzad did a majority of respondents (67 percent) report that most of the boys from the village receive their education at a village school, although a plurality (44 percent) of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif saw village schools as the predominant means of education for boys. In Balkh, Farsi, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht, a plurality of respondents claimed that boys were usually educated at schools outside the village, while in Adraskan and Gulran, religious education, provided at a mosque or *madrassa*, was the predominant source of education for boys cited. Female respondents in Daulina (23 percent) and Balkh (10 percent) also cited religious institutions as the predominant source of education for boys. Home schooling was only mentioned in significant numbers in Gulran and Hisarak, where 5 percent of respondents in each district cited it as the way that boys in the village are commonly educated.

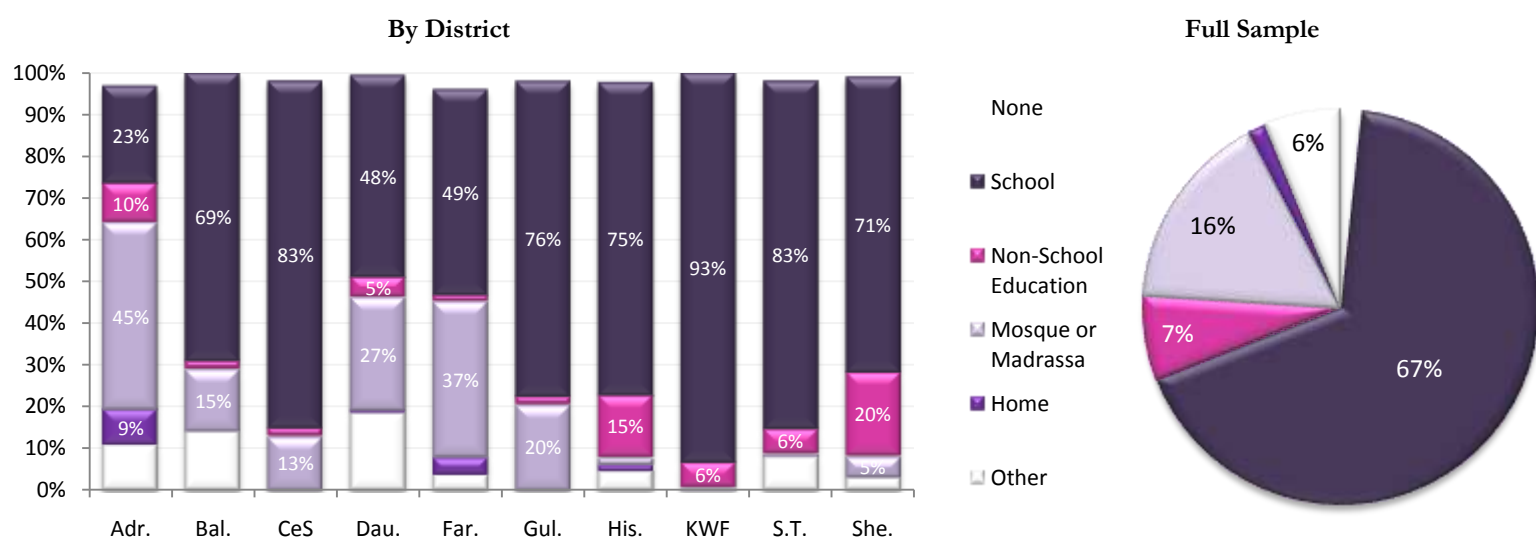
**Figure 215: Source of Education for Boys in Village as Reported by Female Respondents**



Unlike the answer choices available to enumerators administering the female focus group questionnaire, the male focus group questionnaire did not make a distinction between whether children are predominantly educated at a school within the village or at a school outside the village. In addition, the male focus group questionnaire offered the option of education being provided by other village institutions, such as tribal elders, an answer option which was not provided to enumerators administering female focus groups. Despite these differences, however, the responses of male focus group participants were generally similar to those of female respondents. Across the full sample, two-thirds of male focus group respondents stated they believed that school was the predominant form of education for boys in their village, 7 percent mentioned other village institutions, 16 percent claimed religious education predominated, while 1 percent stated that they believed most of the children in their village to be home-schooled. Only two percent claimed that children in their village had no source of education. In all districts except Adraskan, Daulina, and Farsi, a clear majority of respondents cited schools, either inside or outside the village, as the main source of education for boys in the village. In Adraskan, a plurality of respondents (45 percent) cited the village mosque or *madrassa*, as the main source from which boys in the village received their education. In Daulina and Farsi, the number of respondents claiming that boys were mainly educated by religious institutions was high (27 percent and 37 percent), but outnumbered by respondents citing schools as the predominant source of education for boys (48 percent and 49 percent respectively). Other village institutions or entities, such as village elders, were cited by relatively large numbers of respondents in Sherzad (20 percent), Hisarak (15 percent), and Adraskan (10 percent).

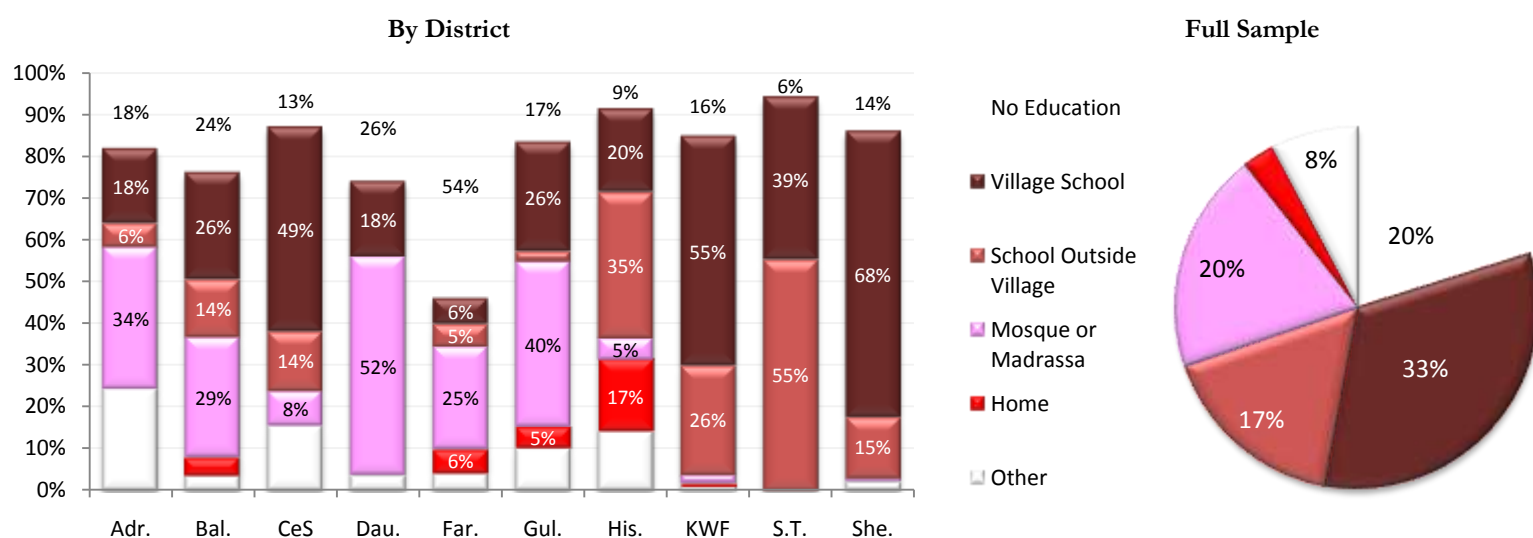


**Figure 216: Source of Education for Boys in Village as Reported by Male Focus Group**



When asked about the main source of education for girls in the village, 20 percent of female respondents reported girls received no form of education. Respondents in Farsi, in which female respondents rarely reported the existence of female or mixed schools or the presence of a female teacher in the village, were particularly likely to claim that girls in the village had no means of education, with 54 percent of respondents doing so. A quarter of female respondents in Balkh and Daulina provided a similar response, while just 6 percent of female respondents in Sang Takht claimed that girls in their village had no way of being educated. Overall, 33 percent of female respondents claimed that girls from their village were educated in a village school, 17 percent in a school outside the village, 20 percent at a mosque or *madrassa*, and 3 percent mentioned that girls in the village were most home-schooled. In Sherzad and Khost Wa Firing, respondents most frequently reported that girls are educated at a school in the village (68 percent and 58 percent respectively), but was very rare in Farsi (6 percent). Cases of girls traveling to a school outside the village are most common in Sang Takht (65 percent) and Hisarak (35 percent), but are rare in Adraskan (6 percent) and Farsi (5 percent). Religious schooling, provided at a mosque or *madrassa*, was regularly cited as the predominant means of education for girls by respondents in Adraskan (34 percent), Daulina (52 percent), and Gulran (40 percent), but appears very rare in Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing and Sherzad. In all districts except Farsi (6 percent), Gulran (5 percent), and Hisarak (17 percent), the proportion of respondents claiming that a majority of girls in the village are home-schooled was less than 5 percent.

**Figure 217: Source of Education for Girls in Village as Reported by Female Respondents**



The most striking difference between the responses of male focus group and female respondents concerning the sources of education for girls in the village is the proportion which claimed there is no such source. While 20 percent of female respondents claimed that girls in the village are not educated, just 8 percent of male focus group respondents saw it that way. Among the ten districts, male focus group respondents in Daulina were most likely to report that girls in the village are not educated (19 percent), while those in Sang Takht are the least likely (2 percent). The proportion of male focus group respondents reporting that girls in the village are usually educated in mosques or *madrassas* (25 percent) is higher than the proportion of female respondents (20 percent). Among the other options, 51 percent of male focus group respondents perceive that girls in the village are commonly educated in schools, 8 percent cite other non-school institutions, while 3 percent mention home-schooling. In Chisht-e Sharif (75 percent), Gulran (78 percent), Khost Wa Firing (76 percent), Sang Takht (87 percent), and Sherzad (60 percent), a clear majority of male focus group respondents cited schools as the means by which girls are educated. In Farsi, Daulina, and Adraskan, religious institutions are the most frequently cited means by which girls are educated, accounting for 83 percent, 51 percent, and 41 percent of respondents respectively, while very few respondents in Hisarak, Sang Takht, or Sherzad cite mosques or *madrassas* as the predominant source of education for girls in the village.<sup>53</sup> Non-school institutions are relatively frequently cited as the main means by which girls are educated in Sherzad (28 percent), Hisarak (21 percent), Adraskan (12 percent), and Daulina (9 percent), while home-schooling is mentioned with relative frequency in Adraskan (8 percent), Balkh (5 percent), Daulina (5 percent), and Hisarak (7 percent).

<sup>53</sup> The sharp difference between the proportions of male focus group and female respondents in Farsi who claimed that girls in the village are not educated appears to be accounted for by the difference in the proportions of the respondent groups who see attendance at mosques or *madrassas* as a form of education.

**Figure 218: Source of Education for Girls in Village as Reported by Male Focus Group**

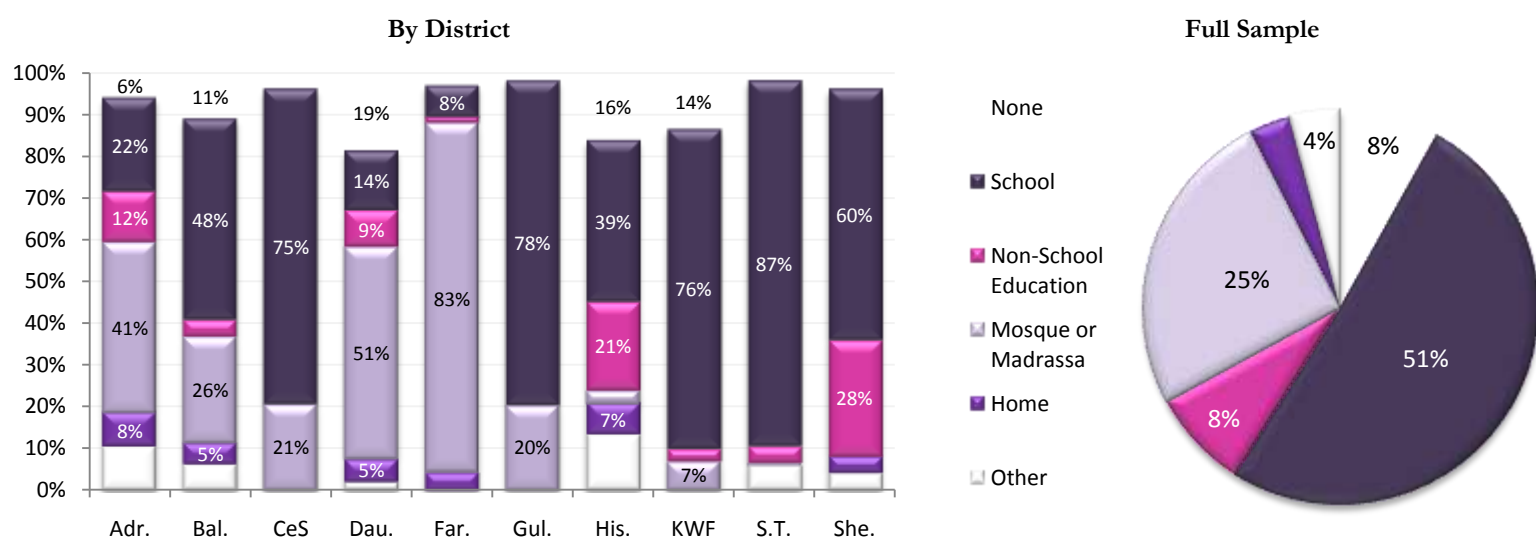
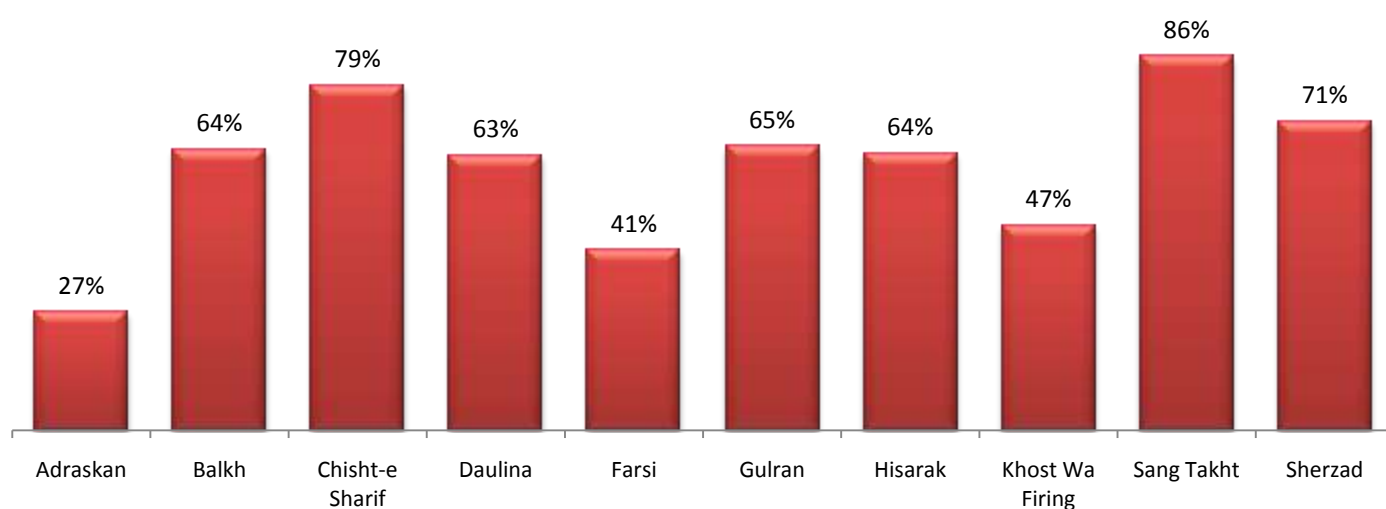


Figure 219 plots the proportion of female respondents in each district who report that all of their school-age sons and daughters attend school. Across the full sample, just 40 percent of households have all of their children attending school. Attendance is lowest in Adraskan, Farsi, and Khost Wa Firing, where 27 percent, 41 percent, and 47 percent of female respondents report that all of their school-age children attend school, and highest in Sang Takht and Chisht-e Sharif, where the corresponding statistics are 86 percent and 79 percent respectively.

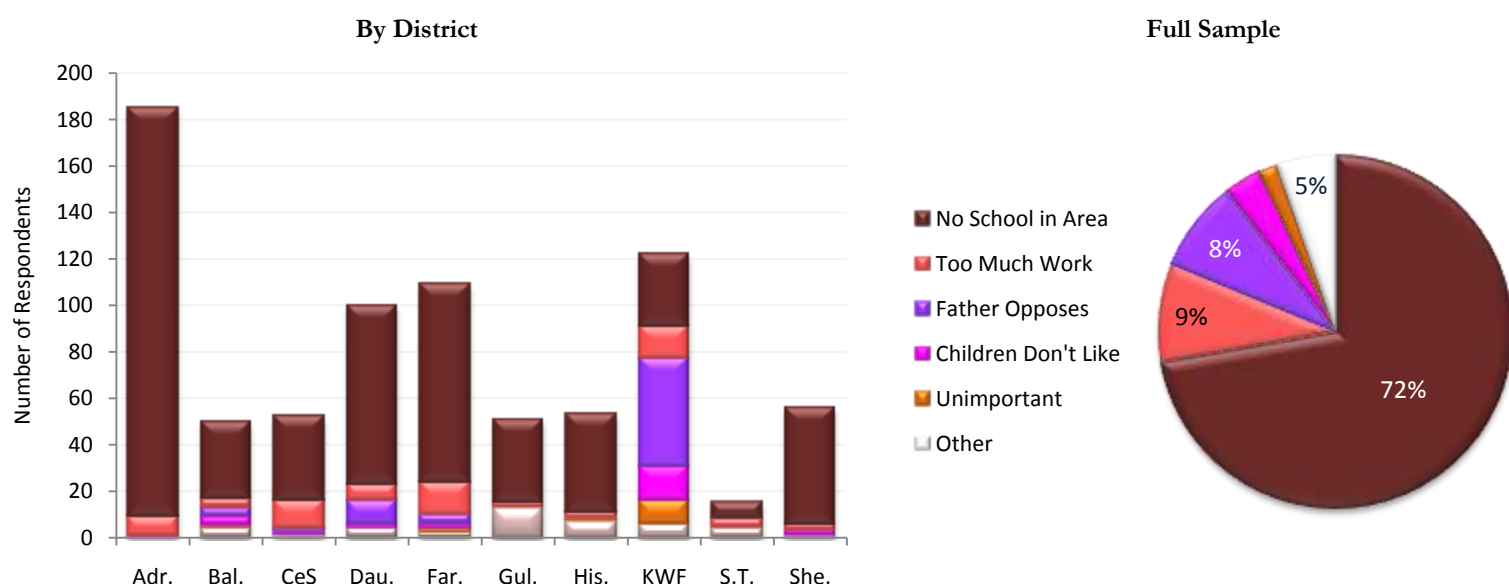
**Figure 219: Percentage of Families with All Children in School, by District**



Female respondents who reported that some of their children do not attend school were asked what the main reason for this was. The reasons are depicted in Figure 220 below. The lack of a school close to the village was cited as the main reason by 72 percent of respondents and was mentioned with particular frequency by respondents in Adraskan (95 percent), Balkh (66 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (69 percent), Daulina (77 percent), Farsi (78 percent), Gulran (71 percent), Hisarak (79 percent), and Sherzad (89 percent). Respondents in Khost Wa Firing, meanwhile, most frequently cited the opposition of the male household head as the reason why their children were not being educated (38 percent), followed by the distance between the village and the nearest school (25 percent). Relatively few respondents in Sang Takht claimed that one or more of their school-age children are not being educated. Among those that did, 47 percent claimed the main reason was the lack of a school proximate to the village, while 27 percent said

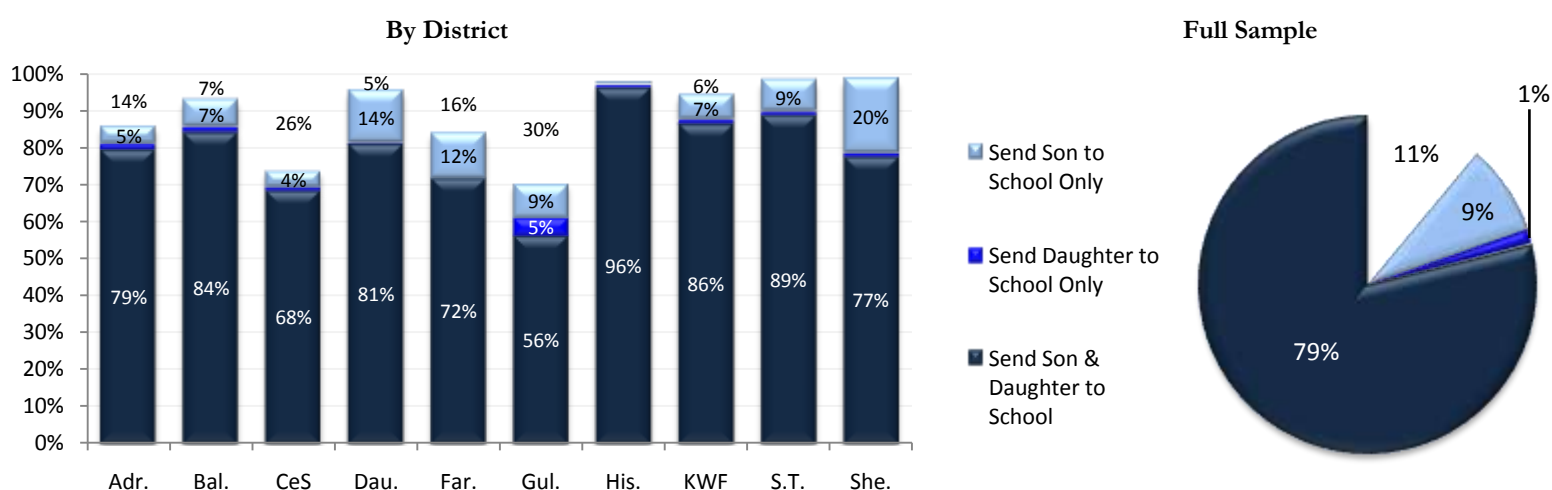
that their children were required for work, while a further 27 percent cited another reason. 23 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif and 13 percent of respondents in Farsi also cited the volume of work as the main reason children were held back from attending school.

**Figure 220: Reason for Non-Education of Sons or Daughters**



Male household respondents were asked whether they planned to send a son or daughter to school in the next year. Across the full sample, 79 percent of respondents expressed an intention to send both a son and a daughter to school, 9 percent expressed an intention to send a son to school, 1 percent expressed an intention to send just a daughter to school, while the remaining 11 percent had no intention to send either a son or a daughter to school. The proportion of respondents with no intention to send any children to school was highest in Gulran, at 30 percent, and Chisht-e Sharif, at 26 percent. On the other hand, only 2 percent of respondents in Sang Takht and Sherzad and 3 percent of respondents in Sherzad stated that they did not have any intention to send children to school in the coming year.

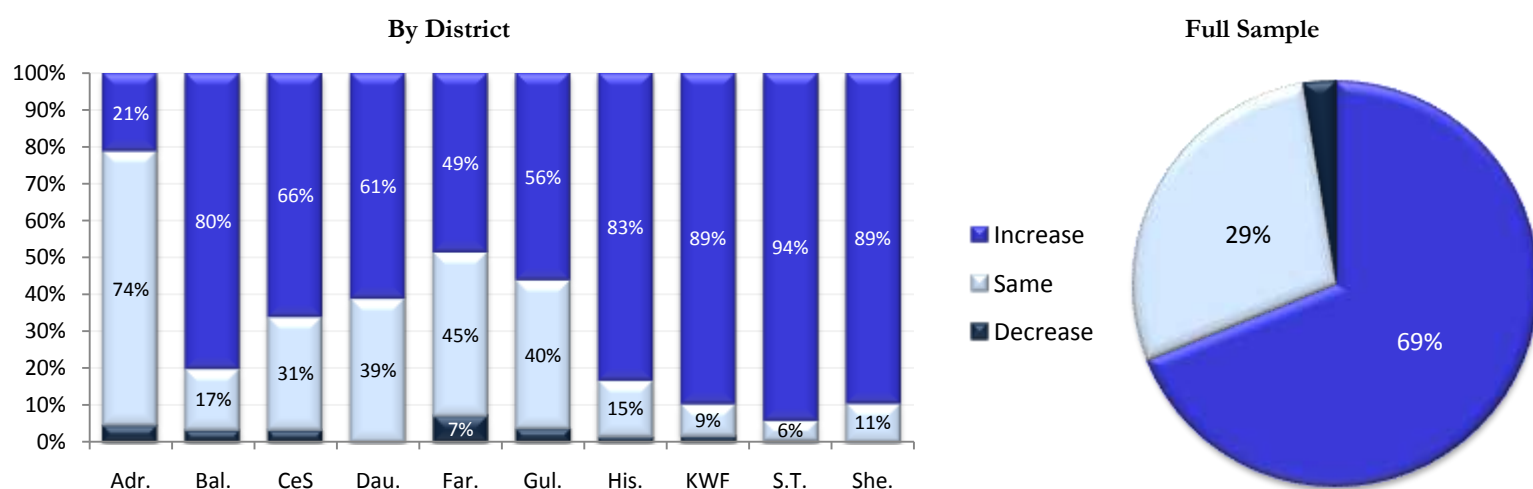
**Figure 221: Percent of Male Household Respondents Who Plan to Send Children to School Next Year**



Male household respondents were asked to consider whether the number of children from the village attending school had increased, decreased, or stayed the same relative to last year. Across the full sample, 69 percent of respondents reported that the number of children going to school had increased, 29 percent reported that it had stayed the same, and 3 percent reported that it had

decreased. There was a noticeable variation across districts in answers to this question, with the proportion of respondents reporting an increase varying from 94 percent in Sang Takht and 89 percent in Sherzad and Khost Wa Firing to just 21 percent in Adraskan. In Farsi, 7 percent of respondents reported that the number of children from the village attending school had decreased, although in no other district did more than 4 percent of respondents report such.

**Figure 222: Change in School Attendance Perceived by Male Household Respondents**



Respondents reporting a change in the number of children attending school were asked to report the institution or entity that they felt was most responsible for causing the change. Increases in school attendance were most frequently attributed to the parents of the children concerned (50 percent), followed by actions of the village leaders (34 percent). Just 7 percent of respondents felt that actions of the central government were behind the increase in school attendance and only 4 percent cited the work of non-governmental organizations. Among respondents who perceived a decrease in school attendance, 22 percent believed that economic conditions were the cause of the change by forcing parents to hold their children back from school to complete the household. 13 percent of respondents perceiving a decrease in school attendance claimed that actions of the central government were responsible, while a further 10 percent blamed entities of sub-national governance.<sup>54</sup> Interestingly, no respondents at all blamed the village leadership for the decrease, while only 1 respondent each blamed non-governmental organizations or parents for the change.

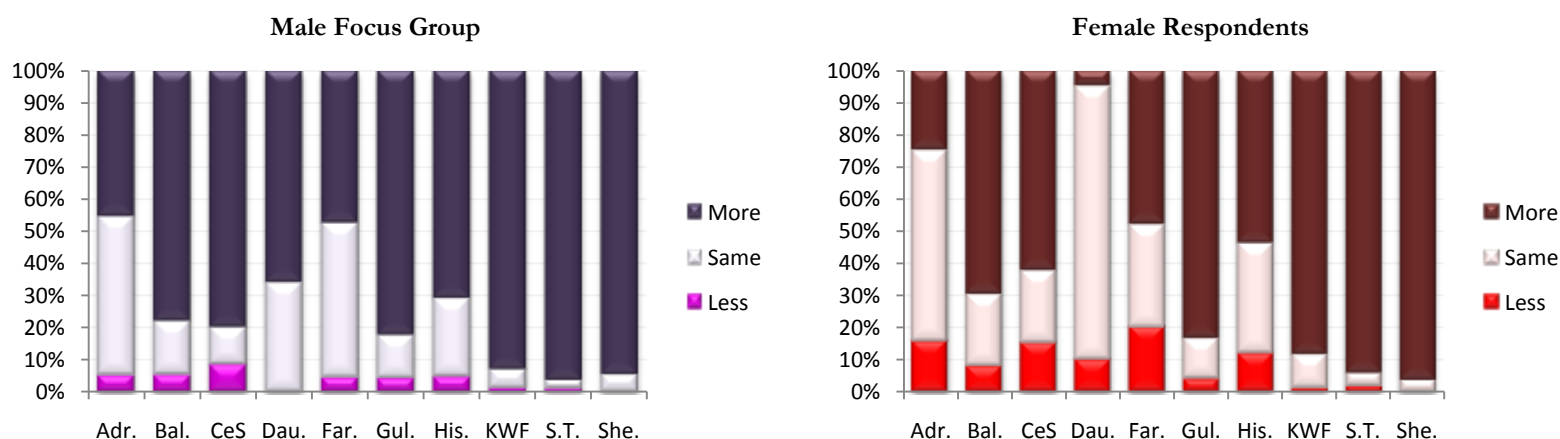
<sup>54</sup> Half of these responses were accounted for by 6 respondents in Gulran, who cited the provincial governor as being responsible for the decrease.

**Figure 223: Attribution of Change in School Attendance - Male Household Respondents**



In contrast to male household respondents, male focus group respondents and female respondents were given the opportunity to differentiate between changes in the school attendance of boys and that of girls. Both male focus group and female respondents perceived an increase in the amount of boys attending school over the past year. Overall, 75 percent of male focus group respondents and 63 percent of female respondents reported an increase, 28 percent of male focus group respondents and 28 percent of female respondents reported no change, and 3 percent of male focus group respondents and 9 percent of female respondents reported a decrease. Male focus group and female respondents in Khost Wa Firing, Sang Takht, and Sherzad were the most likely to report an increase in boys' school attendance, with 93 percent, 96 percent, and 94 percent of male focus group respondents and 88 percent, 94 percent, and 96 percent of female respondents doing so. Respondents in Adraskan were the least likely to report such an increase, with just 45 percent of male focus group respondents and 25 percent of female respondents in Adraskan claiming school attendance had risen. The proportion of male focus group respondents reporting an increase was also low in Farsi, at 48 percent, and the proportion of female focus group respondents reporting an increase was low in Daulina, at 5 percent. 8 percent of male focus group respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, and 5 percent of male focus group respondents each in Adraskan, Balkh, and Hisarak reported a decrease in boys' school attendance over the past year. Among female respondents, reports of decreases in boys' school attendance were relatively high in Farsi (20 percent), Adraskan (16 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (15 percent), Hisarak (12 percent), Daulina (10 percent), and Balkh (8 percent).

**Figure 224: Perceived Change in Boys' School Attendance, by District and Respondent Type**

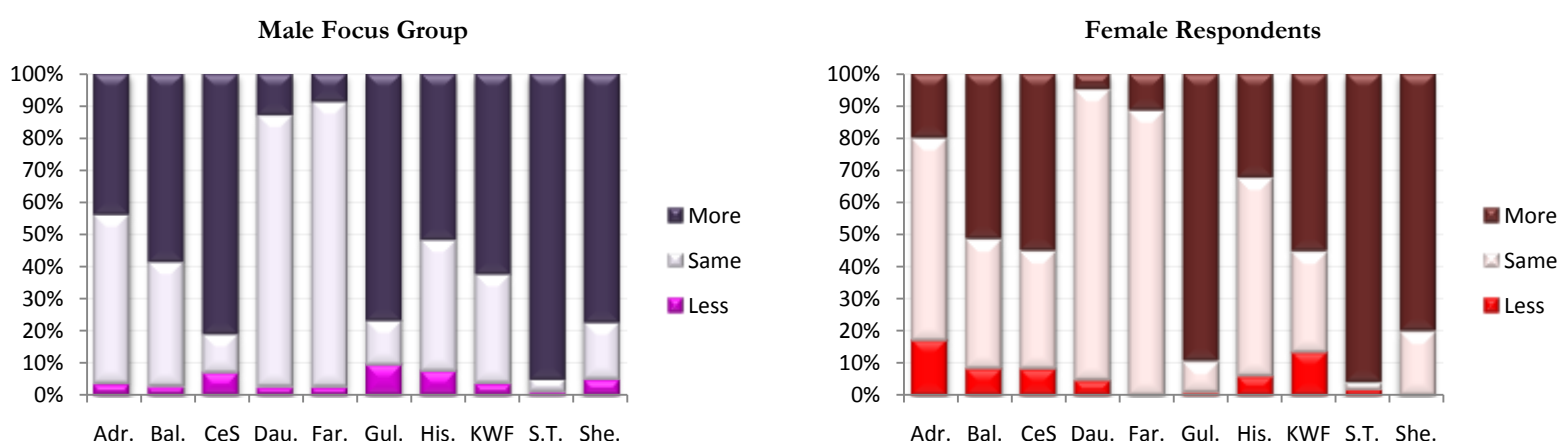


A lesser proportion of both male focus group and female respondents perceived that girls' school attendance had increased, with 57 percent of male focus group respondents and 51 percent of female respondents reporting such. 38 percent of male focus group respondents and



43 percent of female respondents reported that they had observed no change, while 4 percent of male focus group respondents and 6 percent of female respondents believed that it had decreased. At the district level, male focus group and female respondents were relatively closely aligned in their perceptions of changes in girls' school attendance. Respondents in Daulina and Farsi, for instance, were the least likely to report an increase in the number of girls going to school, with just 13 percent of male focus group respondents and 5 percent of female respondents in Daulina and 9 percent of male focus group respondents and 12 percent of female respondents in Farsi perceiving an increase. According to male focus group respondents, Chisht-e Sharif (81 percent), Gulran (77 percent), and Sang Takht (95 percent) witnessed the most universal increases in girls' school attendance, while among female respondents, Gulran (89 percent), Sang Takht (96 percent), and Sherzad (80 percent) were the highest. The highest proportion of male focus group respondents reporting a decrease in the numbers of girls going to school was found in Gulran (9 percent), followed by Chisht-e Sharif (7 percent) and Hisarak (7 percent), while among the sample of female respondents, Adraskan (17 percent), Khost Wa Firing (13 percent), Balkh (8 percent), and Chisht-e Sharif (8 percent) had the highest rate of reports of decreases in female school attendance.

**Figure 225: Perceived Change in Female School Attendance, by District and Respondent Type**



In accordance with the answers provided by male household respondents, male focus group respondents share the credit for increases in boys' school attendance between parents (43 percent) and the village leadership (41 percent). Central and sub-national government receives the credit for increases in the numbers by which boys are attending school with relative rarity (3 percent and 2 percent, respectively), but is frequently blamed for drops in school attendance (19 percent and 14 percent).<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> In total, 17 male focus group respondents – all in Chisht-e Sharif – laid blame for drops in boys' school attendance on entities of sub-national governance. 8 of these respondents blamed district administrators, while 9 of them blamed the provincial governor. Of the 23 respondents who blamed central government for decreases in boys' school attendance, 14 were in Hisarak and 9 in Gulran.



**Figure 226: Attribution of Change in Boys' School Attendance - Male Focus Group Respondents**



Interestingly, female respondents gave credit to the village leadership for increases in boys' school attendance with greater frequency than their male focus group counterparts. Overall, 55 percent of female respondents stated that they believe the village leadership is more responsible for increasing boys' school attendance, with a further 28 percent citing the role of parents. Actions of central government and sub-national government were cited by 4 percent and 1 percent of respondents, respectively. When respondents who perceived a decrease in boys' school attendance were asked who or what they felt was most responsible for causing such, 27 percent of respondents cited economic conditions, 18 percent cited the parents, 11 percent mentioned the actions or attitude of village leaders, and 9 percent claimed central government was primarily responsible for the decrease. Actions of sub-national government were not mentioned at all by respondents.

**Figure 227: Attribution of Change in Boys' School Attendance - Female Respondents**



Attribution by male focus group respondents for increases in girls' school attendance was most frequently given to the parents (55 percent), followed by actions of the village leadership (36 percent), while central and sub-national governments were accorded credit with considerable rarity (2 percent and 2 percent, respectively). When those male focus group participants who claimed that the numbers of girls from the village attending school had decreased were asked who was most responsible, 22 percent pointed the blame at the central government, 11 percent at sub-national government, and 12 percent at the village leadership.<sup>56</sup> A further 4 percent

<sup>56</sup> As with the change in boys' school attendance, 17 male focus group respondents blamed sub-national government for the drop in girls' school attendance and all of these were in Chisht-e Sharif. Of the 17, 8 blamed the district administrator and 9 blamed the provincial governor.

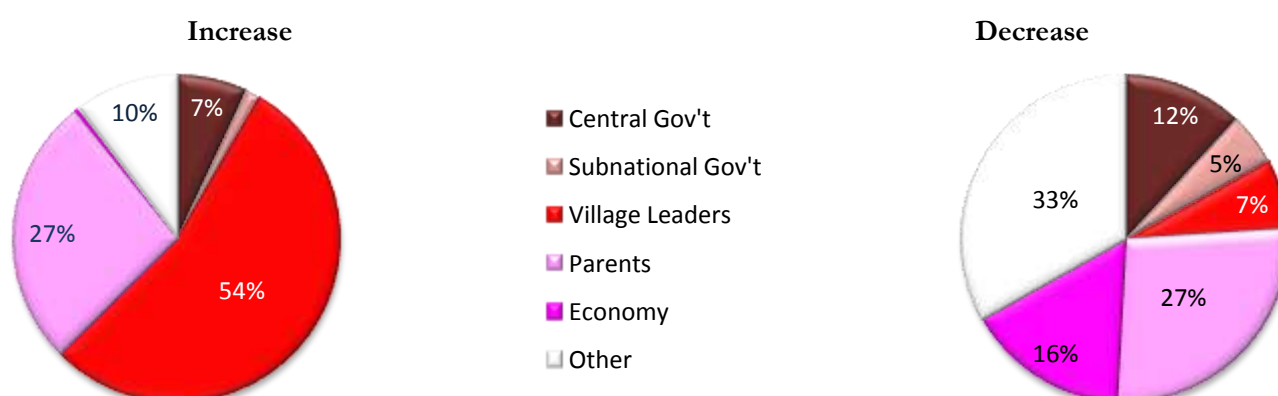
blamed economic conditions and 2 percent claimed that parents were most responsible for the dip in attendance.

**Figure 228: Attribution of Change in Girls' School Attendance - Male Focus Group Respondents**



As with increases in boys' school attendance, more than half of female respondents reporting a positive change in the number of girls from the village attending school (54 percent) credit the change to village leaders. 7 percent claim that actions of the central government effected the increase, 2 percent cited the work of sub-national government, while 27 percent credit the parents of the girls themselves, and less than one percent believed an improvement in economic conditions was most responsible. Compared to decreases in boys' school attendance, female respondents more frequently blamed parents (27 percent) and less frequently cited economic conditions (16 percent). Unsurprisingly, village leaders are rarely cited as being responsible for perceived decreases in girls' school attendance (12 percent), while central government (12 percent) and sub-national government (5 percent) are mentioned occasionally.<sup>57</sup>

**Figure 229: Attribution of Change in Girls' School Attendance - Female Respondents**

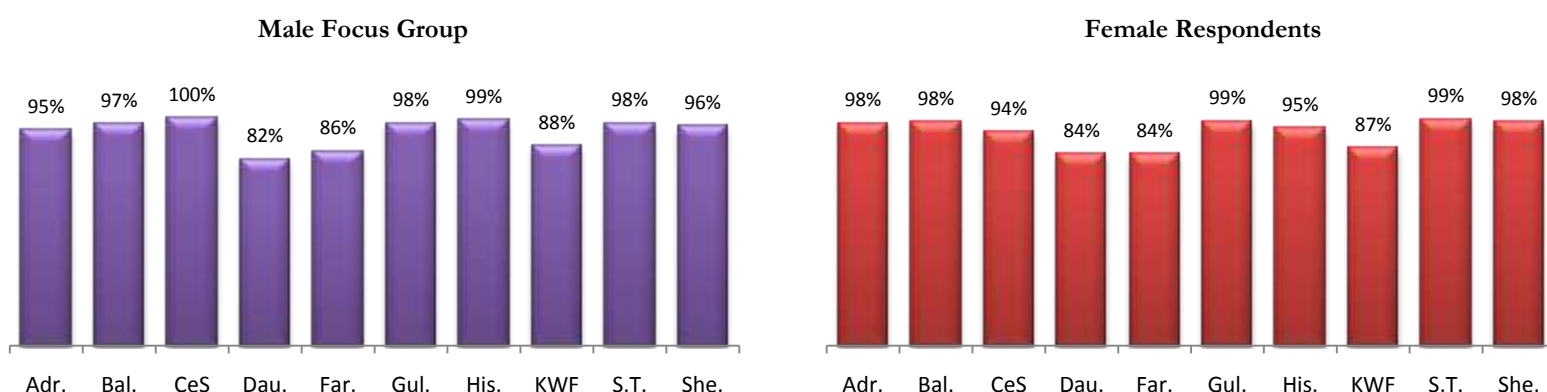


Female and male focus group respondents were asked if girls should be allowed to go to school. 96 percent of male focus group respondents and 97 percent of female respondents agreed that they should be allowed to go to school. The proportion of respondents asserting girls should not be allowed to go to school was found to be highest in Daulina, where 18 percent of male focus group respondents and 16 percent of female respondents contended that they shouldn't, Farsi, where 14 percent of male focus group respondents and 16 percent of female respondents did so,

<sup>57</sup> 9 female respondents – all in Chisht-e Sharif - laid blame for drops in boys' school attendance on entities of sub-national governance, all of which blamed the Heart provincial governor.

and Khost Wa Firing, where 12 percent of male focus group respondents and 13 percent of female respondents oppose girls' education. In all other districts, 94 percent or more of male focus group and female respondents believe that girls should attend school.

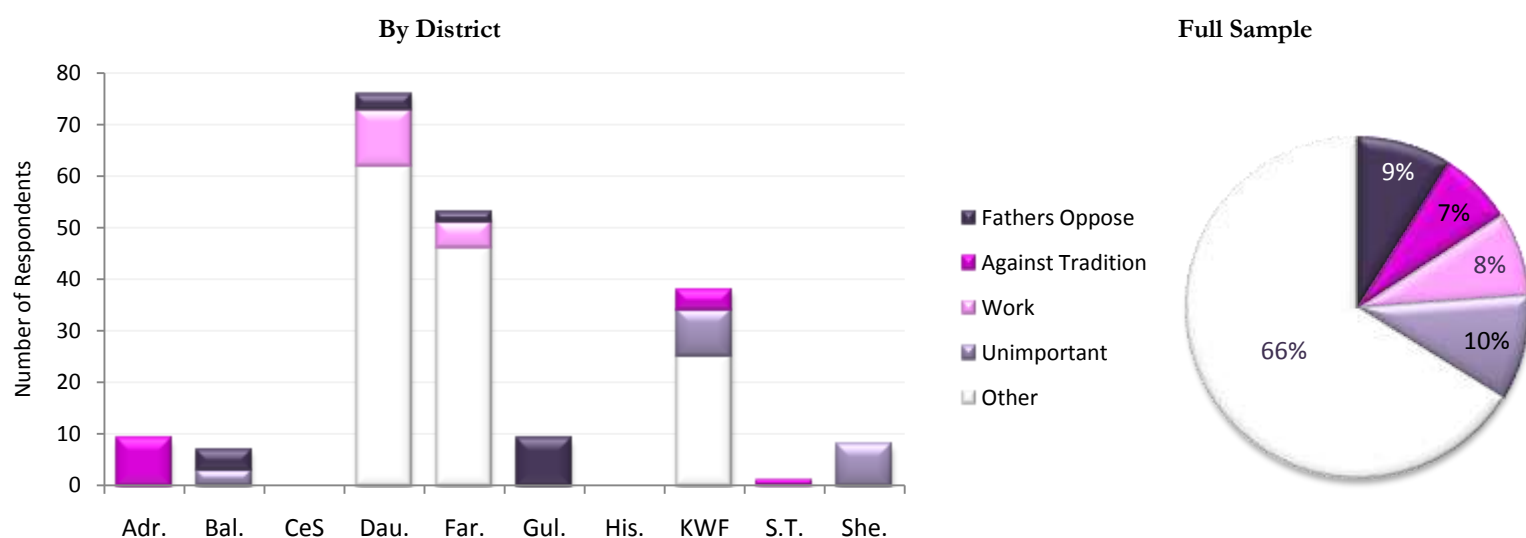
**Figure 230: Percentage of Respondents that Believe Girls Should Attend School, by District and Respondent Type**



Respondents who expressed the belief that girls should not attend school were asked why they held this belief. Among male focus group respondents, two-thirds expressed a response that was not among those anticipated in the list of commonly expected answers provided on the questionnaire sheet given to enumerators.<sup>58</sup> 10 percent of male focus group respondents cited the unimportance of school as the primary reason for their opposition, 8 percent cited the opposition of girls' fathers, 8 percent said that girls were needed for housework and other chores, while 7 percent expressed the opinion that the education of girls contravened tradition or principles of Islam. Respondents in Adraskan opposing girls' schooling all cited the belief that it contravenes tradition or principles of Islam as the reason for their opposition. In Gulran, meanwhile, opposition stemmed from the opposition of girls' fathers, while in Sherzad, respondents universally cited the irrelevance of school. Responses in other districts were mixed, with 14 percent of respondents in Daulina mentioning work commitments as the reason for their opposition and 23 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing claiming that school is irrelevant for girls.

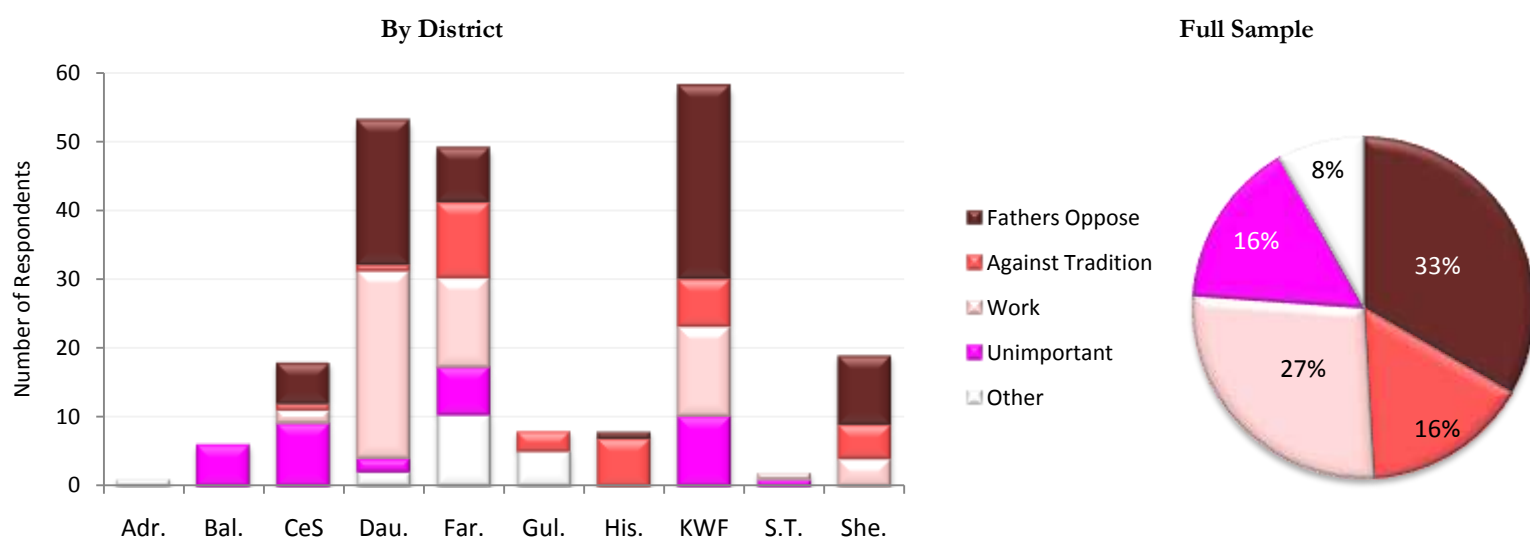
<sup>58</sup> Enumerators were asked to manually write-in responses that were not among those provided on the questionnaire sheets. These responses will be tabulated and presented in a later version of this paper.

**Figure 231: Reasons Cited by Male Focus Group Respondents Why Girls Should Not Go to School**



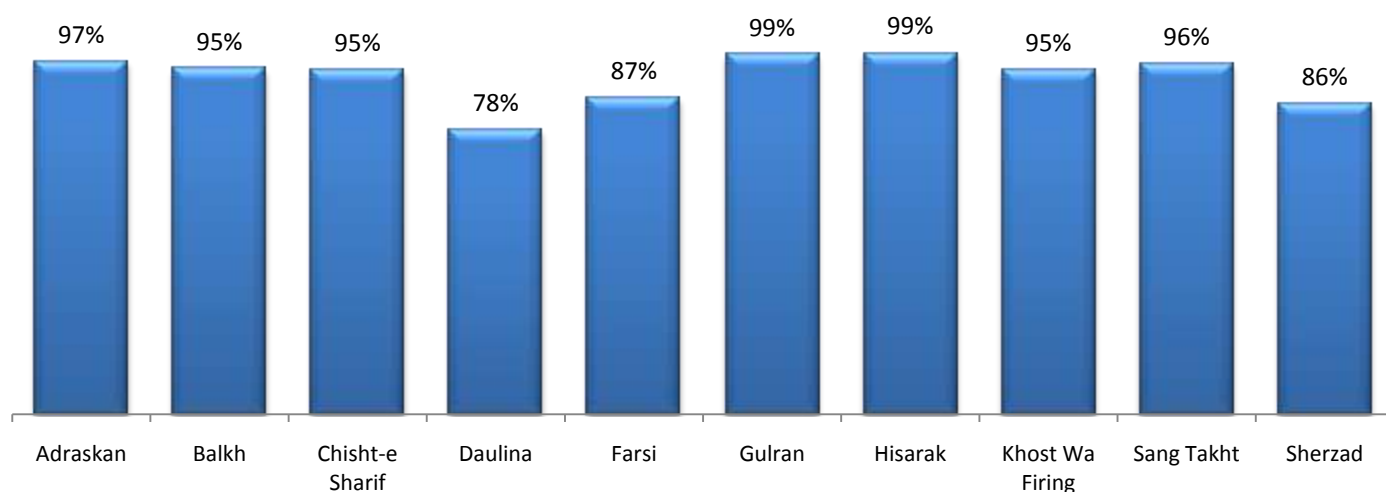
When asked why they believed girls should not attend school, a third of female respondents responded by referring to the opposition of fathers to the education of their female children. This response was heard with particular frequency in Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Khost Wa Firing, and Sherzad, where 33 percent, 40 percent, 48 percent, and 33 percent of respondents respectively cited male opposition as the reason for their opposition. The second most frequent reason for opposition to female education was work-related, with 27 percent of female respondents mentioning it when asked why they did not agree that girls should go to school. This response was particularly numerous in Daulina, where 51 percent of respondents mentioned it. 16 percent of female respondents claimed they believed girls should not go to school because school is unimportant for girls. Although the number of female respondents in Balkh expressing opposition to girls schooling was relatively small, all of them cited the irrelevance of education as the reason for their opposition. In addition, 50 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif claimed that school was unimportant for girls and for that reason girls should not attend school. A further 16 percent of female respondents claimed their opinion was informed by a belief that the education of girls ran contrary to tradition or principles of Islam. This was response was particularly numerous in Hisarak, where it accounted for seven of the eight respondents who claimed to oppose girls education, and in Farsi, where it accounted for 22 percent of the 49 respondents opposed to girls schooling.

**Figure 232: Reasons Cited by Female Respondents Why Girls Should Not Go to School**



While male focus group and female respondents were asked whether they believed girls in their village should be allowed to go to school, male household respondents were asked whether girls in their village are actually allowed to go to school. Across the sample, 87 percent of respondents reported that girls in their village are allowed. Respondents in Daulina, Sherzad, and Farsi were the least likely to report that girls in their village can attend school, with 78 percent, 86 percent, and 87 percent of respondents respectively doing so, while in all other districts, 95 percent or more of respondents reported that girls do attend school in their village.

**Figure 233: Percent of Male Household Respondents Reporting Girls Attend School, by District**

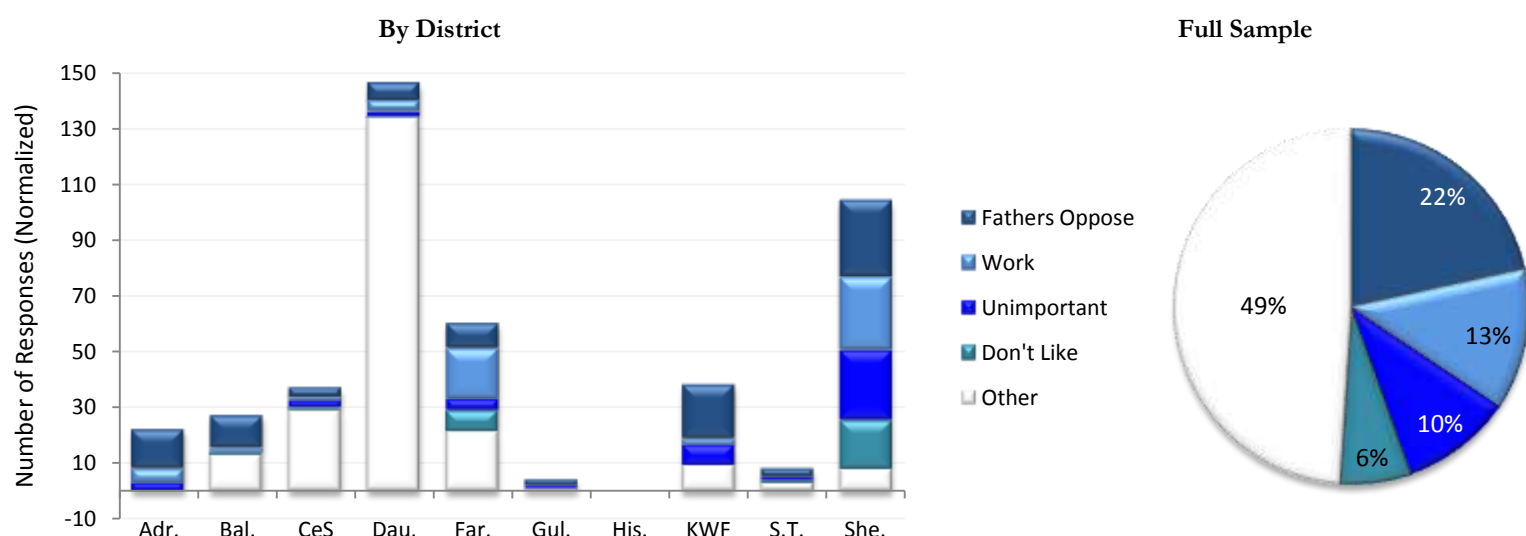


Male household respondents who claimed that girls could not attend school were asked to report the reasons why this was so. Across the full sample, 49 percent expressed a response that was not among those anticipated in the list of commonly expected answers provided on the questionnaire sheet given to enumerators.<sup>59</sup> Of those answer options listed on the questionnaire,

<sup>59</sup> Enumerators were asked to manually write-in responses that were not among those provided on the questionnaire sheets. These responses will be tabulated and presented in a later version of this paper.

the most frequently cited was that fathers oppose the education of their daughters, followed by work commitments (13 percent), the irrelevance of education for girls (10 percent), and the fact that girls themselves dislike school (6 percent). Responses in Chisht-e Sharif and Daulina were dominated by those other than those listed on the questionnaire sheets. In Sherzad, however, responses were almost evenly split between the opposition of fathers (26 percent), work commitments (25 percent), the unimportance of schooling (24 percent), and the opposition of the girls themselves (17 percent). Respondents in Adraskan and Khost Wa Firing which stated girls in their village could not attend school most frequently said this was due to the opposition of girls' fathers, accounting for 63 percent and 51 percent respectively.

**Figure 234: Reasons Cited by Male Household Respondents Why Girls Do Not Go to School**

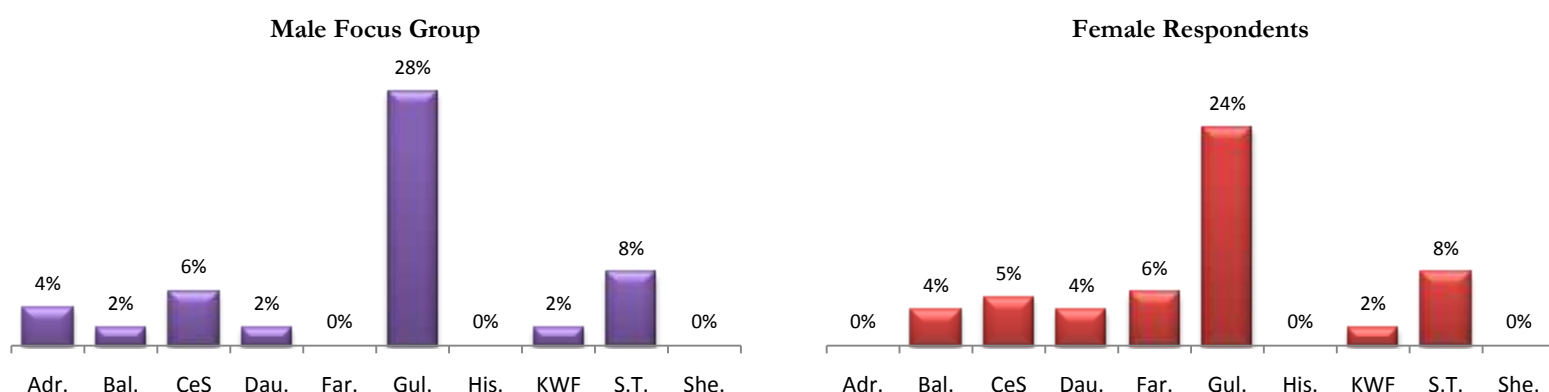


### ***Vocational Training***

The following section presents information related to vocational training courses. Male focus group and female respondents were asked whether there are any vocational training courses being run in the village and, if so, what the subjects of these courses are open to men, women, or both. In the event that women are not allowed to attend such courses, respondents were asked why this was so. If no courses were offered, respondents were asked whether women could attend them if there were offered and, if not, why not. Female respondents were asked whether they would attend a vocational training course, if offered, and which type of course they would be most interested in. Male household respondents were also asked whether they had any plans to attend a training course in the coming year. A graphical summary of the responses to these questions is presented below.

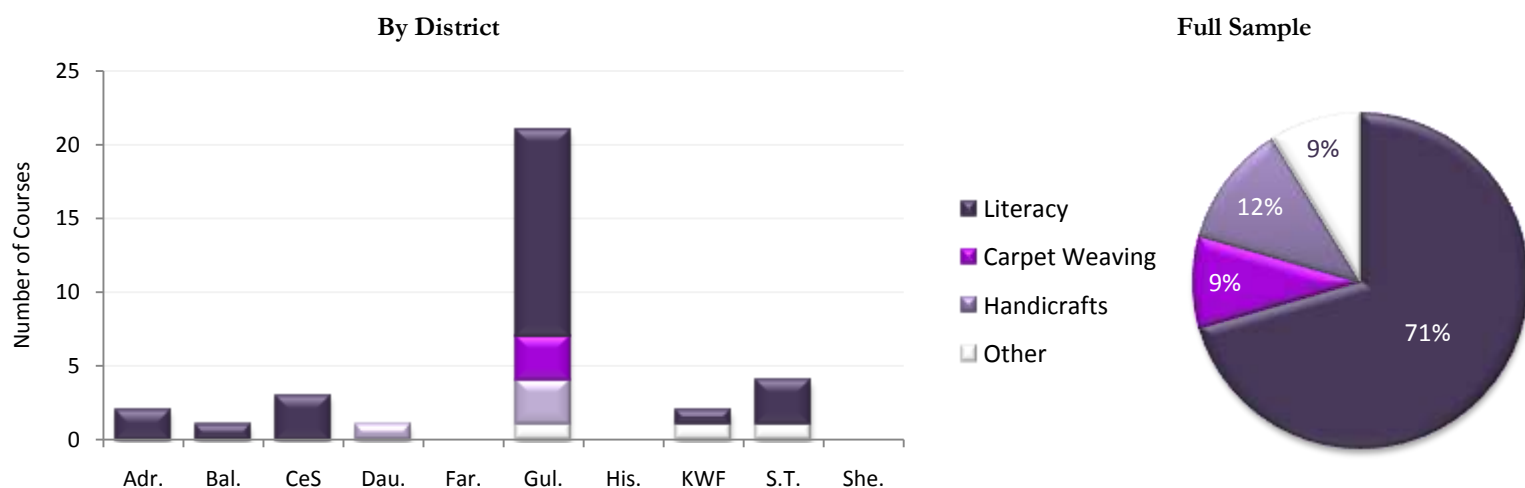
When asked if there are any vocational trainings taking place in the community, 95 percent of male focus group and female respondents replied in the negative. Across the ten districts, vocational courses appear to be most common in Gulran, where 28 percent of male focus group respondents and 24 percent of female respondents report that a course is currently being offered in their village, followed by Sang Takht, where 8 percent of male focus group and female respondents believe there to be a course. The proportion of male focus group or female respondents that are aware of courses being offered is below 6 percent in the other eight sample districts.

**Figure 235: Percentage of Villages with Vocational Training Courses, by District and Respondent Type**



According to male focus group respondents, 71 percent of the courses offered are reading and writing courses, 12 percent are courses in handicrafts, 9 percent teach carpet weaving, while 9 percent teach another subject. Courses taught in Adraskan, Balkh, and Chisht-e Sharif exclusively concern carpet weaving, while in Gulran, courses in literacy, carpet weaving, and handicrafts are taught. Courses other than literacy, handicrafts and carpet weaving are taught in Gulran, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht.

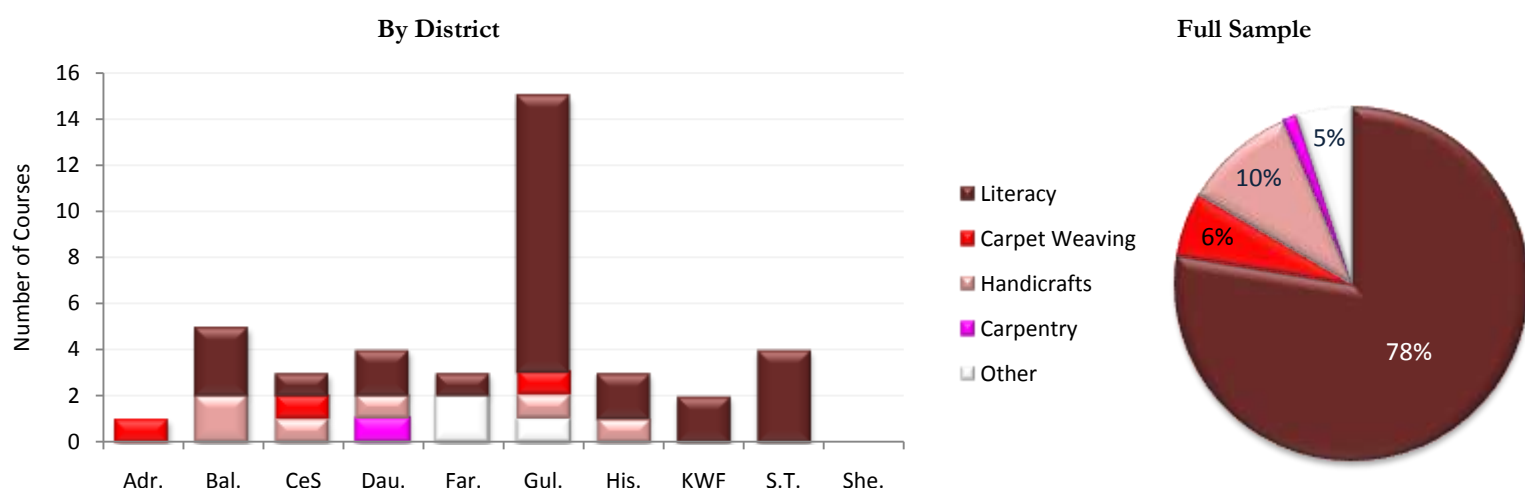
**Figure 236: Courses Offered in Village Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



According to female respondents, 78 percent of courses teach reading and writing, 10 percent teach handicrafts, 6 percent teach handicrafts, 1 percent teach carpentry, while 5 percent teach another subject. Courses in Adraskan teach carpet weaving exclusively; those in Balkh mix literacy and handicrafts; those in Chisht-e Sharif mix literacy, carpet weaving and handicrafts; in Farsi, courses in literacy and other subjects are taught; courses in Gulran mostly concern literacy, although a few carpet weaving and handicrafts courses are taught; in Hisarak, courses mix literacy and handicrafts, while in Khost Wa Firing and Sang Takht, courses are exclusively about literacy.

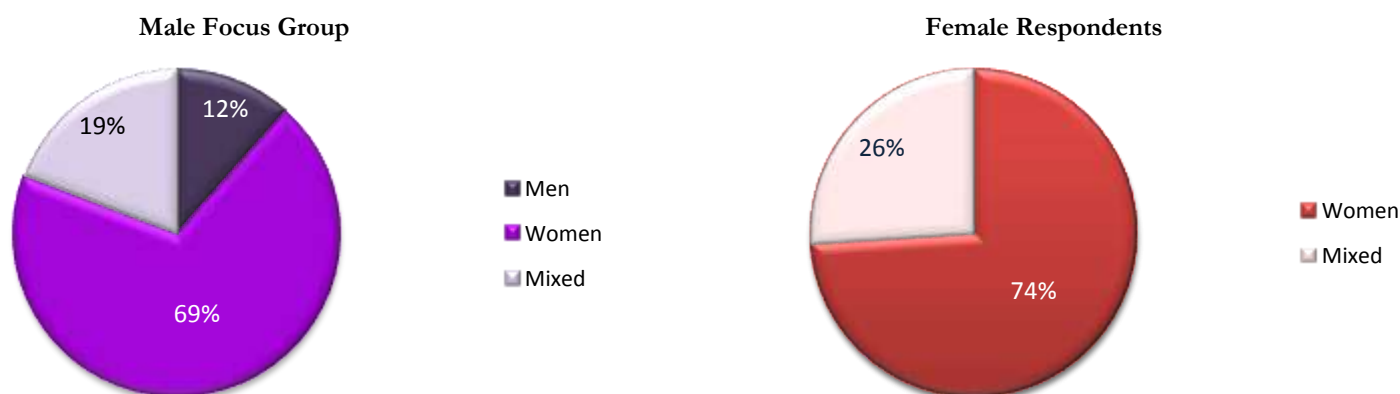


**Figure 237: Courses Offered in Village Reported by Female Respondents**



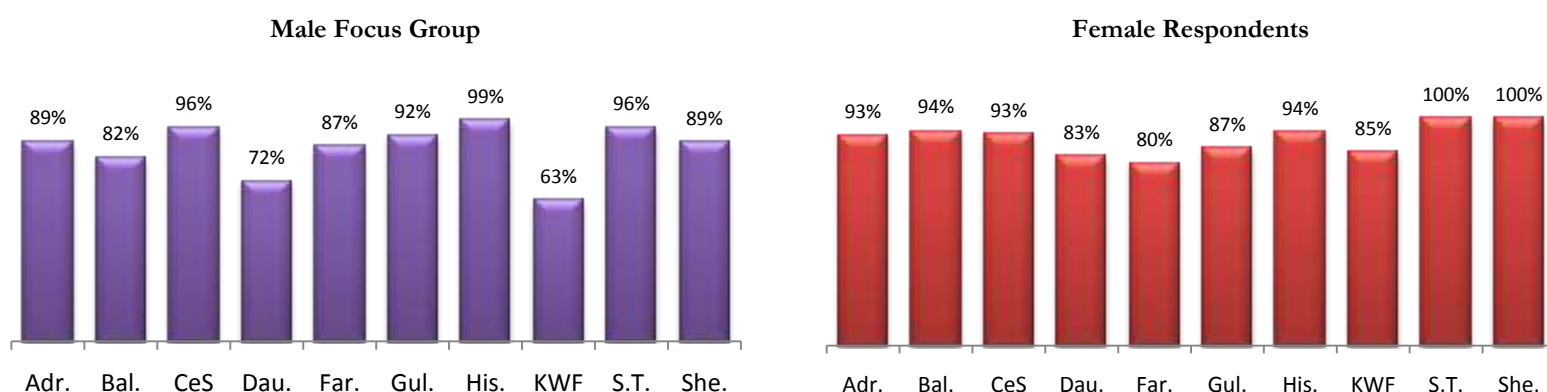
According to male focus group respondents, just 12 percent of courses exclusively involve men, 69 percent are exclusively tailored to women, while 19 percent involve both men and women. Female respondents, however, are not aware of any courses that exclusively teach men, contending that 74 percent of courses involve women exclusively, while 26 percent teach both men and women.

**Figure 238: Attendees of Courses, by Respondent Type**



In villages where no literacy courses are offered, 86 percent of male respondents and 91 percent of female respondents stated that women could participate in vocational trainings if they were to be offered in their village. Male focus group participants in Khost Wa Firing, Daulina, and Balkh appear to be the least open to female involvement in vocational training courses, with 37 percent, 28 percent, and 18 percent of respondents stating that women would not be able to attend the courses if they are offered. By way of contrast, 99 percent of male focus group respondents in Hisarak and 96 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif and Sang Takht believe that women would be able to attend the courses if offered in their village. The proportion of female respondents who believe women would be able to attend vocational trainings if offered in their village is lowest in Daulina (83 percent), Farsi (80 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (85 percent) and highest in Sang Takht (100 percent) and Sherzad (100 percent).

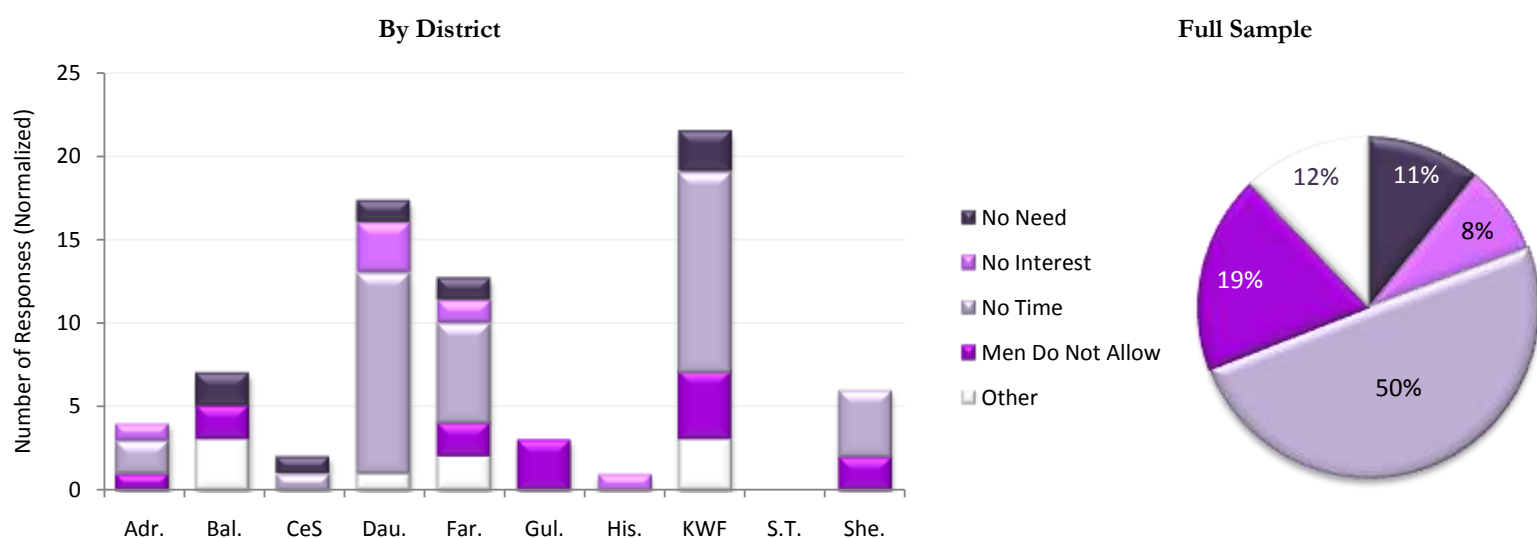
**Figure 239: Percent of Respondents Who Say Women Could Attend Courses, by District and Respondent Type**



Male focus group and female respondents who did not believe women would be able to participate in vocational trainings, if they were offered in the village, were asked why this was so.<sup>60</sup> Among male focus group respondents, 50 percent stated that it was because women simply did not have the time to participate in them. 69 percent of respondents in Daulina, 47 percent of respondents in Farsi, 56 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, and 67 percent of respondents in Sherzad cited a lack of time as the main reason women would not be able to participate. Following a lack of time, the opposition of husbands or other male family members was the next most commonly cited response, accounting for 19 percent of total responses. In Gulran, all of the three respondents who stated that women would not be able to attend vocational trainings stated that it was because of male opposition. Of the other reasons provided, 11 percent of male focus group respondents believe women would not attend such courses because there is no need for them, and a further 8 percent argued that women would have no interest in them.

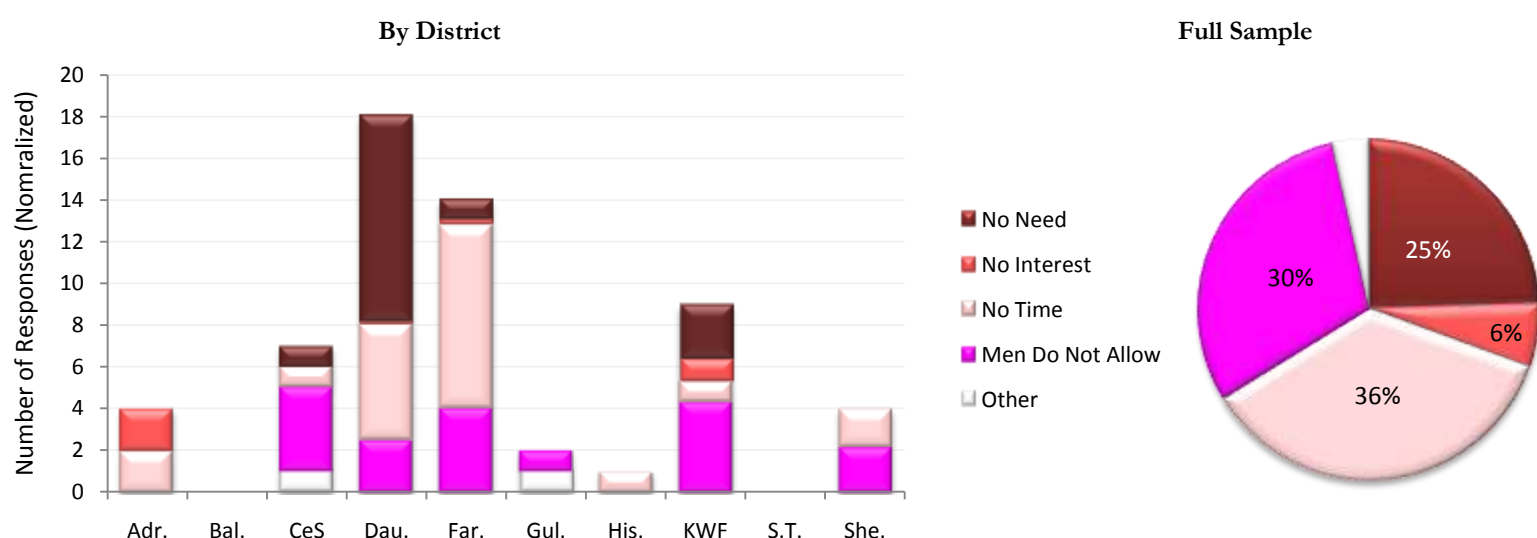
<sup>60</sup> This question, like a number of others, allowed respondents to provide multiple responses. In tabulating the responses, the number of responses provided by a particular individual was weighted by the inverse of the number of responses provided by that individual. For example, if a respondent mentioned a lack of need, a lack of interest, a lack of time, and male opposition as the reasons why women in their village would be prevented from attending vocational training courses, each of those reasons was assigned a weight of  $\frac{1}{4}$ . In contrast, if a respondent mentioned a lack of time only, that response was assigned a weight of one.

**Figure 240: Reasons Cited by Male Focus Group Respondents for Non-Participation of Women in Training Courses**



Female respondents more frequently saw male opposition as the main reason why women would not be able to attend vocational training courses, with 30 percent of female respondents mentioning it as the reason they could not attend. Male opposition was a common reason cited for potential female non-participation in Chisht-e Sharif (57 percent), Khost Wa Firing (48 percent), and Sherzad (54 percent). The most common reason cited by female respondents why women in the village would not be able to attend vocational trainings was a lack of time, however, which was mentioned by 36 percent of respondents. The response was particularly common in Farsi, where it accounted for 62 percent of responses. A lack of need for vocational training courses was cited by 25 percent of respondents across the sample and was most numerous in Daulina, accounting for 55 percent of responses given by female respondents in the district.

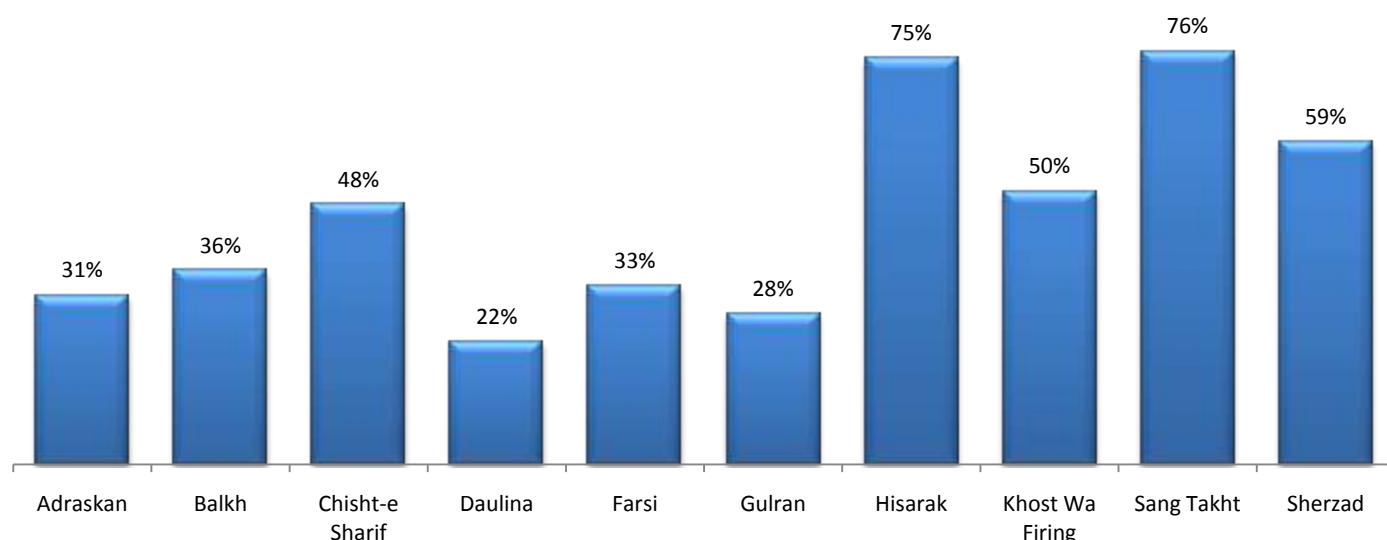
**Figure 241: Reasons Cited by Male Focus Group Respondents for Non-Participation of Women in Training Courses**



Male respondents were asked whether they planned to attend a vocational training course in the next year. Affirmative responses were surprisingly frequent given the low level in which vocational training courses are offered, especially to men, with 46 percent of respondents expressing an intention to attend such courses in the coming year. Planned attendance was highest in Hisarak and Sang Takht, at 75 percent and 76 percent of respondents respectively, and

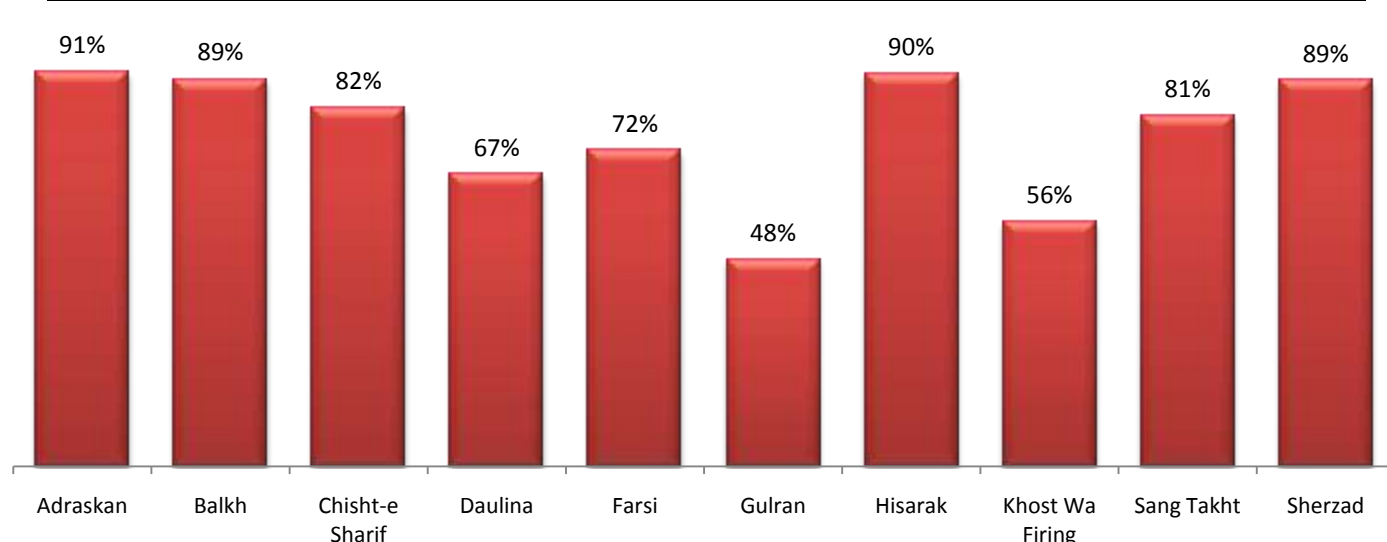
lowest in Daulina and Gulran, where just 22 percent and 28 percent of respondents expressed an intention to attend a course in the next year.

**Figure 242: Male Household Respondents Planning to Attend Vocational Training Course Next Year, by District**



Female respondents were asked whether they would be willing to attend a vocational training course if one was offered in their village. Overall, 76 percent of female respondents stated that they would be willing to attend a course. Curiously, female respondents in Gulran were the least likely to report that they would be willing to attend a course, even though such courses were far more common in Gulran than other districts. At the other end of the spectrum, respondents in Adraskan, Balkh, Hisarak, and Sherzad appeared to be the most eager to attend courses, with 91 percent, 89 percent, 90 percent, and 89 percent of respondents respectively reporting they'd be willing to attend a course.

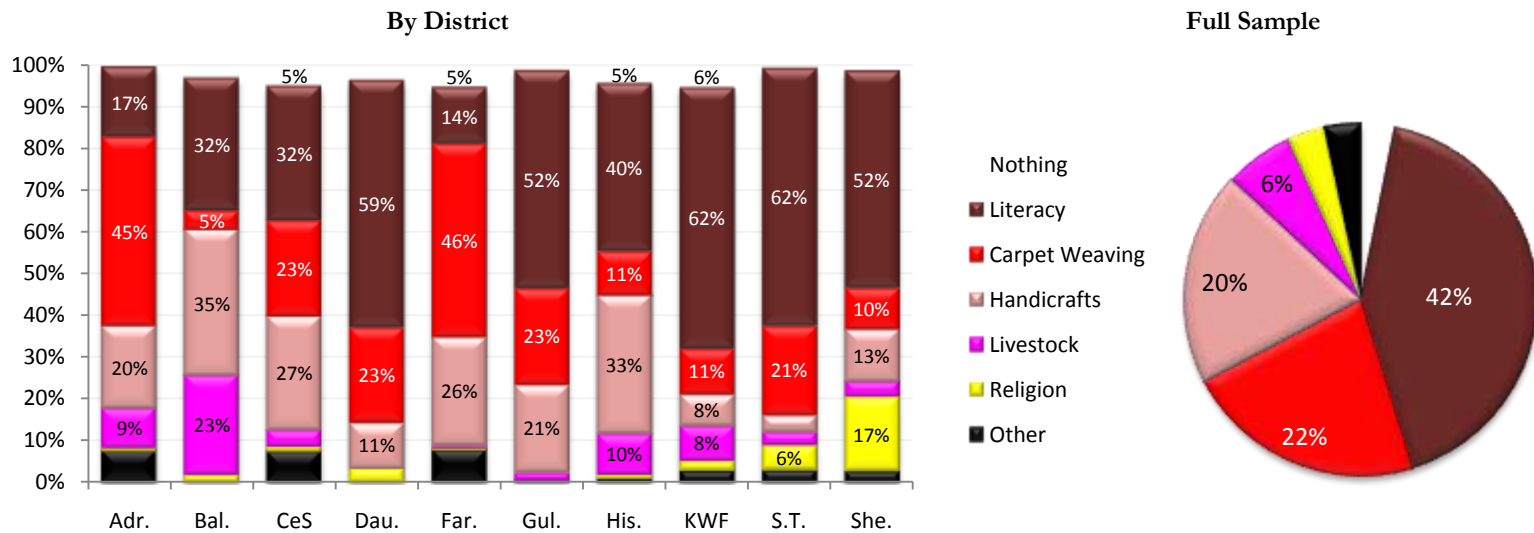
**Figure 243: Percentage of Female Respondents Willing to Attend Vocational Training Course, by District**



Regardless of whether or not they wished to attend a course, respondents were asked which type of course they would be most interested in attending. Literacy courses were the most preferred course of 42 percent of respondents and were especially favored among respondents in Khost Wa Firing (62 percent), Sang Takht (62 percent), Daulina (59 percent), and Sherzad (52 percent). Carpet weaving was the next most preferred course, accounting for 22 percent of overall responses, and peaking at 46 percent in Farsi and 45 percent in Adraskan. 20 percent of

respondents expressed a preference for handicrafts courses. These were especially preferred in Balkh (35 percent) and Hisarak (33 percent). Courses related to animal husbandry and livestock were preferred by 6 percent of respondents, with a large constituency in Balkh (23 percent) and Hisarak (10 percent). Courses on religion were demanded by only 3 percent of respondents, although 17 percent of respondents in Sherzad and 6 percent of respondents in Sang Takht preferred them over other types of vocational training courses.

**Figure 244: Reasons Cited by Male Focus Group Respondents for Non-Participation of Women in Training Courses**





## V.4. Governance and Institutions

The following section provides an overview of village governance and institutions and is divided into the following four sections: (1) Local Governance Structures; (2) Village Council; (3) Activities of Village Leadership; and (4) Disputes and Mediation. Short summaries of each section are provided below, with more detailed descriptions and a full set of graphs of aggregate statistics and district-level variation in the separate sections.

**Local Governance Structures:** In most districts, the leading role in making decisions on behalf of the community is played by village heads and tribal elders. The share of male household respondents that reported village heads and tribal elders as main decision makers is 24 percent and 34 percent respectively. In Sang Takht, and to lesser extent Balkh, the major landowner also plays important role as a decision maker in village. The share of male household respondents that reported a landowner as the main decision maker was 54 percent in Sang Takht and 25 percent in Balkh. Village heads and tribal elders play the leading role in making rules and resolving disputes in all districts. In Sang Takht, a significant proportion of respondents reported that no one is responsible for making rules in the village (28 percent of male household respondents, 29 percent of female respondents, and 48 percent of male focus group respondents). In most villages, no one is responsible for providing emergency assistance, with 74 percent of male household respondents reporting such. In Daulina, however, the share of respondents reporting a lack of emergency assistance was only 24 percent, with emergency loans provided by village heads, landowners, and agents of the government. As in the case of emergency assistance, in most villages no one is responsible for providing loans with Daulina again being an exception. In most districts, few respondents reported that there is an authority responsible for sponsoring developing projects in the village. When asked which authority is most responsible for providing protection to the village, a plurality of respondents replied that the government is most responsible, with the proportion of respondents providing this answer varying from 4 percent in Sherzad to 75 percent in Hisarak. There is notable variation in answers to the question as to who is responsible for managing the village's water resources. In Khost Wa Firing, Balkh and Chisht-e Sharif, the most popular answer among male head of household respondents was *meerab*, while in Sherzad, Sang Takht, and Daulina, village elders were reported as being responsible for managing the village water resources by a plurality of respondents.

**Village Council:** The overwhelming majority of villages in the sample either have their own village council or share a council with another village. Within the sample of male household respondents, 70 percent reported that their village has its own council, 16 percent that it has a shared council with neighboring village(s), with only 14 percent reporting that their village does not have a council. Councils appear to be relatively rare in Balkh, where 33 percent of male household respondents and 38 percent of male focus group respondents reported that their village neither has its own council nor shares a council with another village. The average number of village council members is nine, with little variation between districts, except Daulina, where the number goes up to thirteen and Sang Takht, where it goes down to five. When asked how many council meetings were held during the past year, male household respondents reported an average of 8, female respondents reported an average of 5, and male focus group respondents reported an average of 12. Respondents in Daulina reported the fewest number of meetings (three during the past year), whereas respondents in Sherzad reported an average of 19, the highest in the sample. The average number of people who attended the last council meeting varies from 9 in Hisarak to 15 in Chisht-e Sharif, with average being 11. Male household and female respondents were asked whether they or a family member had attended the past meeting and 35 percent of male household respondents and 47 percent of female respondents said that this was so. Across the ten districts, 21 percent of male household respondents and 49 percent of female respondents reported that they or a member of their household were members of the



village council. When asked about their plans to be engaged in village governance in the next year 50 percent of male household respondents reported that they plan to attend council meeting and influence decision making in the coming year, while another 10 percent expressed a plan to influence decision-making without participating in council meetings. According to 93 percent of female respondents and 87 percent of male focus group respondents, councils are exclusively male, with 7 percent of female respondents and 9 percent of male focus group respondents reporting that their village has a separate council for women. The districts were significant number of respondents reported having a separate female council include Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, and Gulran. Across the full sample, 43 percent of male household respondents, 71 percent of female respondents, and 39 percent of male focus group respondents said that they believed women should have membership in the village council, with respondent in Sang Takht being the most supportive of the idea. At the same time, the vast majority of respondents support the idea of women having a separate council, with 85 percent of male household respondents, 88 percent of female respondents, and 75 percent of male focus group respondents expressing support for the idea. When asked about the way members of the council are selected, 77 percent of male household respondents said that they are elected or selected by the people in the village and the same percentage of respondents reported that personal qualities – such as literacy, behavior, and wisdom – are an important consideration. The answers are broadly consistent with answers by female respondents and male focus group respondents. When asked about the way council members should be selected, a vast majority of respondents said that election by the people of the village and personal qualities should determine the membership.

**Activities of Village Leadership:** According to male household respondents, the main work of the village council or leadership in the past year was primarily dispute resolution, accounting for 44 percent of respondents, followed by works on development projects (18 percent). 32 percent of male household respondents reported the council or leaders did nothing at all. Among female respondents, 41 percent reported their council or leaders did nothing, while 23 percent cited dispute mediation and 27 percent development projects. A comparatively small 23 percent of male focus group respondents reported that their council or leaders did nothing of importance in the past year, while 40 percent reported dispute mediation as the primary activity and a further 24 percent cited development projects as the main work in the past year. Female respondents were asked what the village council or local leadership had done for women in the village during the past year, in response to which 92 percent reported that the council or leaders had done nothing aimed at helping women. Female respondents in Hisarak were most frequently able to identify work done by the council or leaders for women, with 30 percent of respondents doing so, most of which mentioned vocational training courses. When asked about the work that they would prefer the council or leaders to do in the coming year, male household respondents were split between drinking water, health and educational projects, electricity, roads and bridges, and irrigation. The answers of male focus group respondents followed similar pattern, whereas the female respondents were much more likely to support works that were aimed at improving access to drinking water. Overall, the majority of respondents expressed satisfaction with performance of village council or local leadership and seemed reasonably confident that village leaders act in the interest of the villagers. Female respondents were more critical, with 36 percent of respondents in Daulina and 31 percent in Sherzad reporting that the village leaders do not act in the interest of the villagers. Among the actions that caused dissatisfaction of the respondents the most important were dispute mediation and corruption.

**Community Disputes and Dispute Resolution:** Civil disputes appear to be relatively common in the villages in the sample, with 61 percent of male household respondents and 50 percent of male focus group respondents reporting that there was at least one dispute in the village during the past year. Across the ten districts, Farsi and Sherzad seem to have the most frequent incidence of disputes, whereas Balkh and Gulran tend to have much fewer. The average number

of disputes reported during the past year is 7, ranging from 2 in Daulina to 12 in Sherzad. Approximately 85 percent of male household and male focus group respondents claimed that disputes in their village were successfully resolved, with villages headmen and tribal leaders being the most frequently cited authorities providing dispute mediation. When asked whether the views of women are ever considered during dispute resolution 50 percent of female respondents reported that it is never the case, and only 7 percent said that the views of women are always considered.

### ***Local Governance Structures***

Male household respondents, female respondents, and male focus group respondents were asked a series of questions designed to ascertain the structure of village governance and institutions.<sup>61</sup> Respondents were first asked to report the name and title of the person or persons most responsible for making decisions on behalf of the village, followed by the name of the institutions or the titles of those that are ordinarily responsible for performing different functions, such as: resolving disputes among villagers; providing emergency assistance to villagers in the event of a food shortage; providing loans to villagers; sponsoring development projects in the village; protecting the village against attacks by insurgents or bandits; distributing irrigation water among farmers in the village; and for making rules and decisions for villagers. The following section presents information summarizing the responses to these questions at the aggregate and district-level.<sup>62</sup>

Figure 245 presents a graphical summary, at the sample aggregate and district-level, of the titles of persons cited by male household respondents as the main decision-makers for the village.<sup>63</sup> Tribal elders, customarily known as “whitebeards”, were the most figures cited most commonly as primary decision-makers for the village, accounting for 34 percent of responses across the sample, followed by village headmen, which accounted for 24 percent of responses. Landowners were the next most frequently cited decision-makers (14 percent), followed by village councils, known as *shura* or *jirga* (10 percent),<sup>64</sup> professionals (7 percent), and members of the clergy (6 percent). Official government officials were cited as major decision-makers for the village by only 1 percent of respondents. There was substantial variation between districts in the titles of persons or institutions cited as the main decision-maker for the village. According to male household respondents, the decision-making authority of village headmen is most significant in Gulran (54 percent), but is also sizeable in Daulina (36 percent), Sherzad (34 percent), and Balkh (33 percent), while being relatively minimal in Khost Wa Firing (4 percent) and Sang Takht (4

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<sup>61</sup> Female respondents were asked these questions in the individual setting.

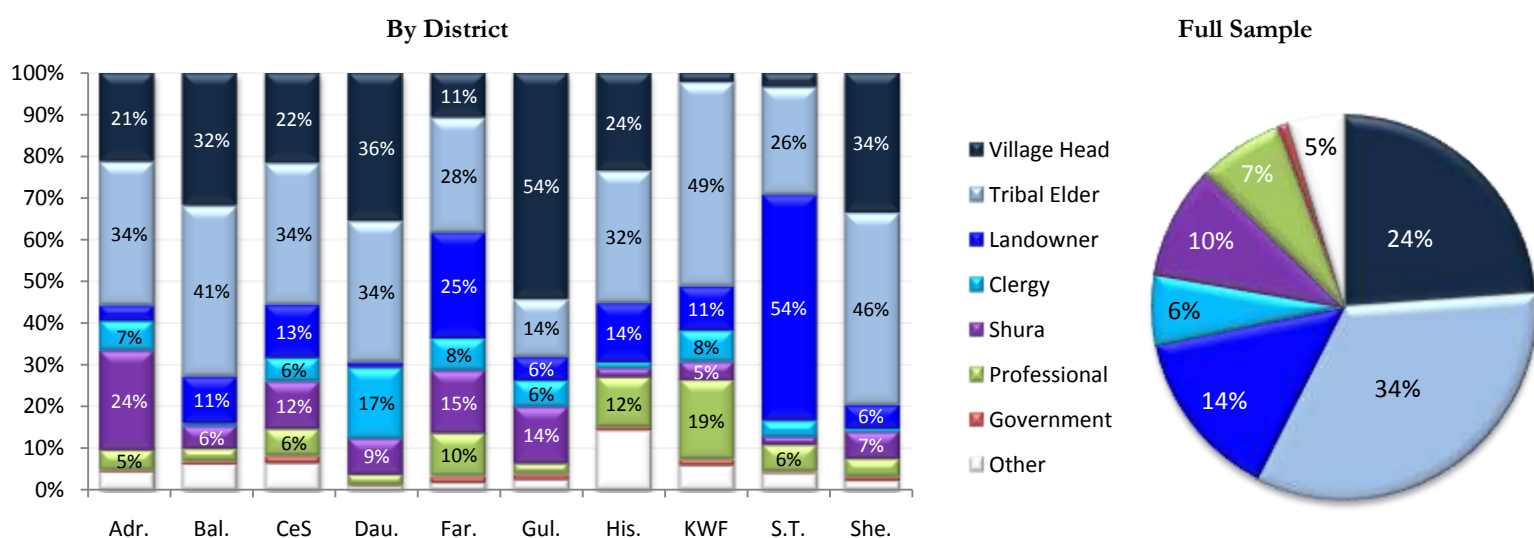
<sup>62</sup> With the exception of the answers of female respondents to questions concerning the titles of persons responsible for all functions except primary decision making, a maximum of three responses were permitted to each question. In tabulating responses to questions in this section which permitted multiple responses, the number of responses provided by a particular individual or focus group was weighted by the inverse of the number of responses provided by that individual. For example, if a respondent assessed that a tribal elder, a village leader, and a landowner were jointly responsible for making decisions for the village, each of those reasons was assigned a weight of 1/3. In contrast, if a respondent assessed that only a tribal elder was responsible for making decisions for the village, that response was assigned a weight of one.

<sup>63</sup> Enumerators coded the title names provided by respondents based on an “occupation code card” issued to them which contained a list of 100 different occupations, titles, and institutions. These occupations were in turn grouped to yield the eight title categories used in the figures in this section. The definitions of these categories are presented in Appendix [] below.

<sup>64</sup> The head of the village *shura* or *jirga* (council) is ordinarily the *arbab*, *malik*, *qariyadar*, or *khada dar* (various terms used for village head) of the village, but also includes *Raish Safid* (whitebeards), *Buzurg-e Qaum* (tribal elders), and other important people of the village.

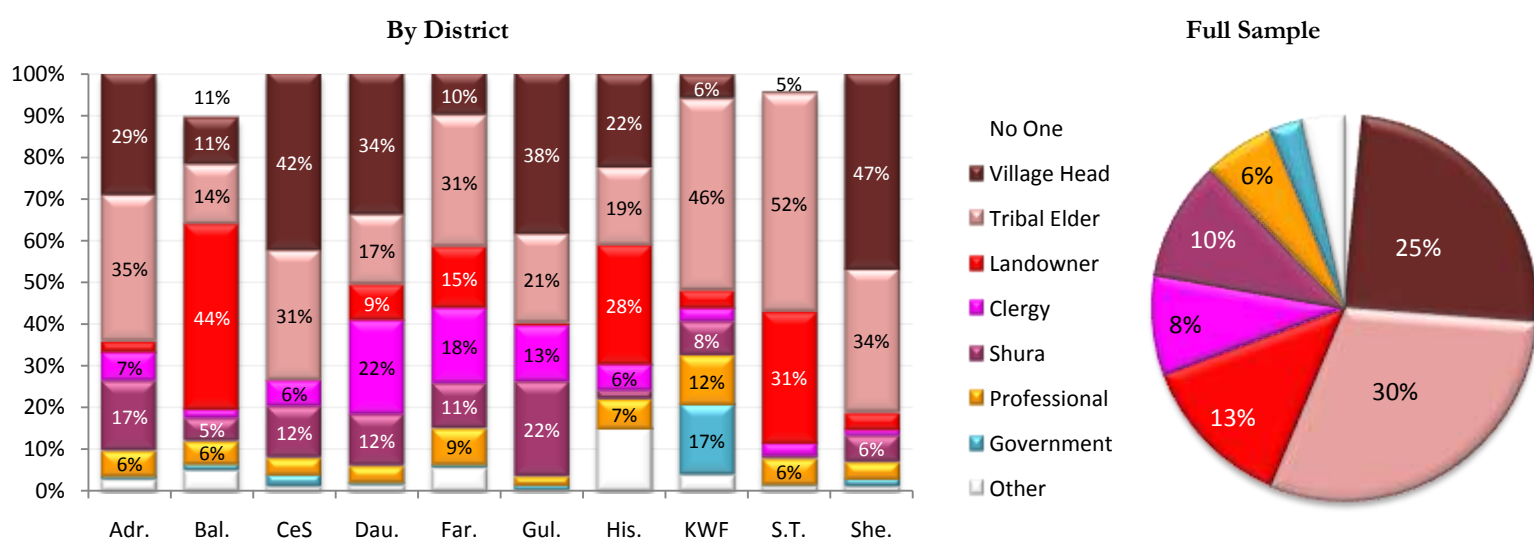
percent). Tribal elders have the most significant relative authority in Khost Wa Firing (49 percent) and Sherzad (46 percent) and are least important in Gulran (14 percent). Landowners play a major role in decision-making in Sang Takht, where 54 percent of respondents cite them as the primary decision-makers for the village, and Farsi, where 25 percent do so, but play a minimal role in decision-making in Daulina (1 percent) and Adraskan (4 percent). Clergy or other religious figures are most frequently cited as important decision-makers in Daulina (17 percent), while the role of the *shura* or *jirga* in village decision-making is relatively greatest in Adraskan (24 percent) and Farsi (15 percent) and least in Hisarak (2 percent) and Sang Takht (2 percent). Professionals and tradesmen are mentioned as key village decision-makers most commonly in Khost Wa Firing (19 percent) and Hisarak (12 percent).

**Figure 245: Main Decision-Maker for Village, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



In the aggregate, the titles of persons cited by female respondents as holding responsibility for village decision-making were qualitatively similar to those mentioned by male household respondents. At the district-level as well, the answers of the female respondents displayed a general level of similarity to those of male household respondents. Among the major differences, 11 percent of female respondents in Balkh claimed that their village has no decision-maker, a greater proportion of female respondents in Balkh identified a landowner as the key decision-maker (44 percent compared to 11 percent), a higher proportion of female respondents in Chisht-e Sharif cited the village head as the main decision-maker (44 percent compared to 22 percent), female respondents in Gulran were less likely to cite the village leader as the key decision-maker (39 percent compared to 54 percent), landowners were accorded a greater role in village governance in Hisarak (28 percent compared to 14 percent), female respondents in Khost Wa Firing saw a relatively large role for government officials in decision-making (17 percent), and a much higher proportion of female respondents in Sang Takht cited tribal elders as key village decision-makers (52 percent compared to 26 percent).

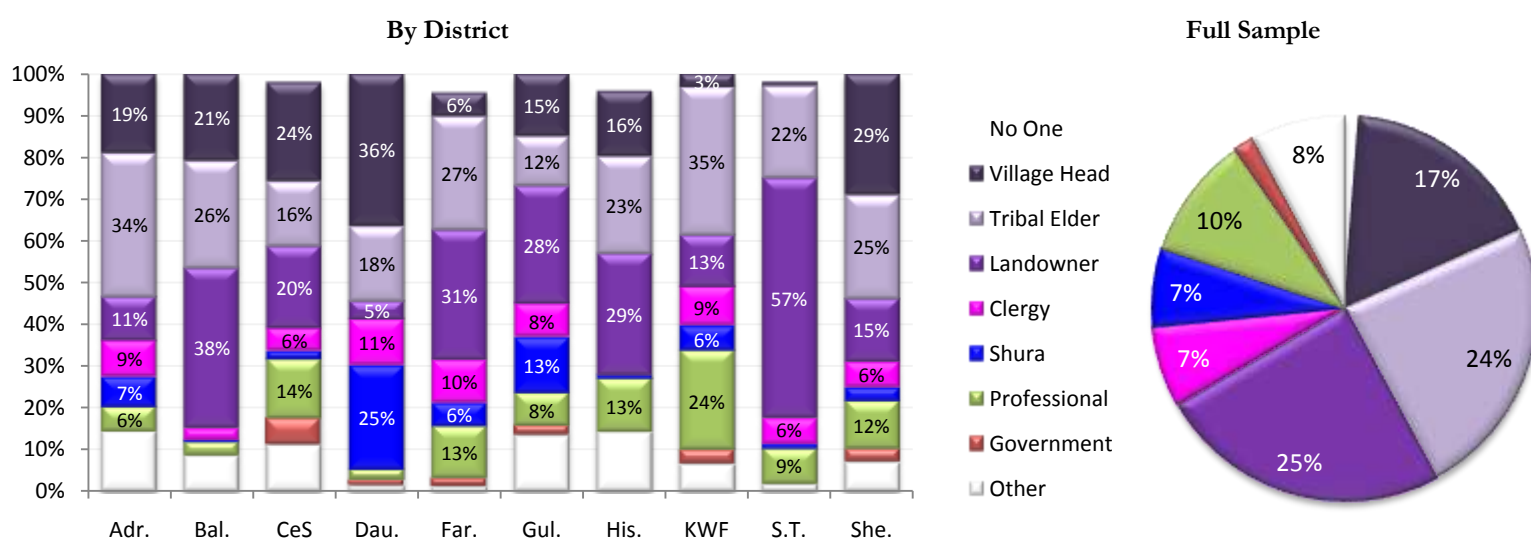
**Figure 246: Main Decision-Maker for Village, as Reported by Female Respondents**



Across the full sample, male focus group respondents were less likely than either male household or female respondents to cite village headmen or tribal elders as the main decision-makers for the village (17 percent and 24 percent of male focus group respondents did so, respectively), but

were more likely to identify landowners as key decision-makers (25 percent of male focus group respondent did so, compared to 14 percent of male household respondents and 13 percent of female respondents). Curiously, male focus group respondents were less likely to mention the *shura* or *jirga* (7 percent), or members thereof, than male household or female respondents and were more likely to cite persons engaged in a trade or professional occupations (10 percent). Among the key differences with responses provided by respondents from the other two samples, male focus group respondents in Balkh concurred with female respondents, but disagreed with male household respondents, concerning the role of landowners in decision-making, respondents in Chisht-e Sharif saw a lesser role for village headmen compared to male household respondents, those in Farsi were more likely than either male household or female respondents to see a role for landowners in decision-making (31 percent, compared to 25 percent and 15 percent), while the significance accorded village leaders by male focus group respondents in Gulran was much less than that accorded by male household or female respondents (15 percent compared to 54 percent or 39 percent), male focus group respondents in Hisarak cited landowners more frequently than male household respondents but in similar proportions to female respondents (29 percent, compared to 14 percent and 28 percent), a lesser role was seen by male focus group respondents in Khost Wa Firing for tribal elders (35 percent, compared to 25 percent and 31 percent), male focus group respondents in Sang Takht concurred with male household counterparts, but disagreed with female respondents, concerning the importance of landowners in decision-making (57 percent, compared to 54 percent and 31 percent), and male focus group respondents in Sherzad much less frequently cited village heads or tribal elders as the key-decision makers for the village.

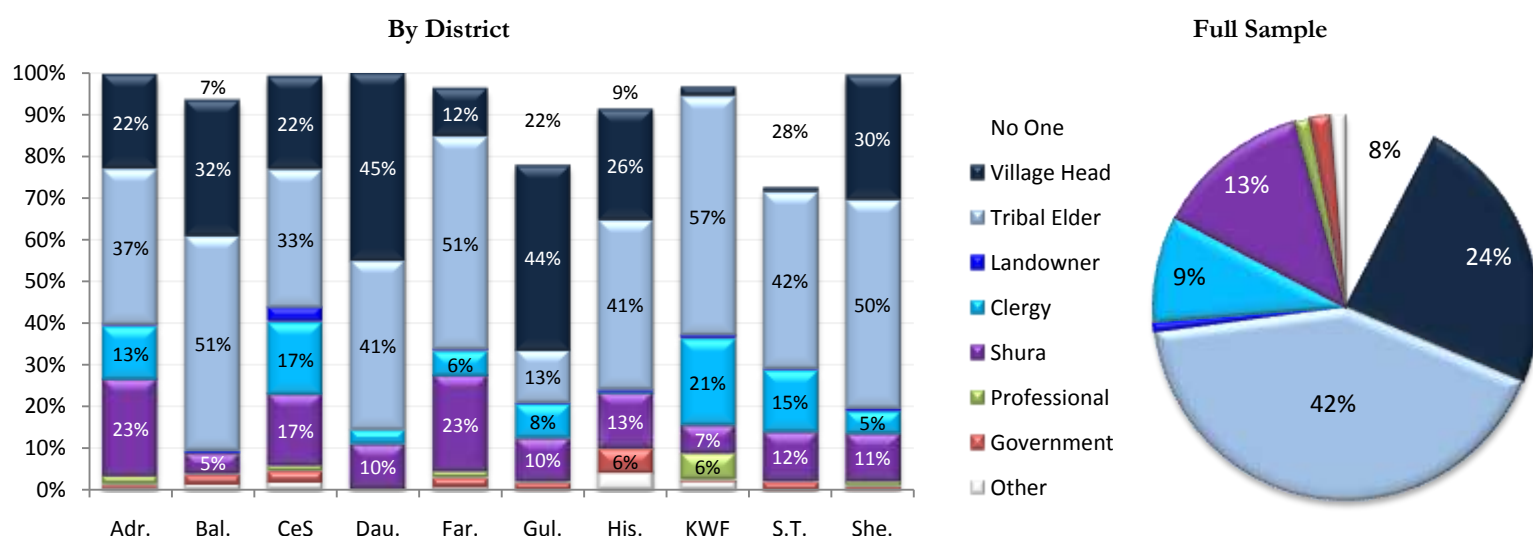
**Figure 247: Main Decision-Maker for Village, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



When asked which authority or authorities was most responsible for establishing rules for the village, 24 percent of male household respondents cited the village headman, 42 percent referred to the tribal elder, 1 percent mentioned a landowner or nobleman, 9 percent thought a member of the clergy was responsible, 13 percent mentioned the *shura* or *jirga* or a member thereof, 1 percent claimed a professional or tradesperson was most responsible, 2 percent expressed the opinion that the government or an agent thereof had the most responsibility, and 8 percent of respondents felt that no authority had responsibility to make rules for the village. Large variation was observed between districts in the authorities cited as key rule-makers. The proportion of respondents citing village headmen varied from 45 percent in Daulina and 44 percent in Gulran to 1 percent in Sang Takht, while the proportion of respondents mentioning tribal elders ranged from 57 percent in Khost Wa Firing to 13 percent in Gulran. Clergy or religious figures were cited by 21 percent in Khost Wa Firing, while responsibility was attributed to the *shura* or *jirga* or

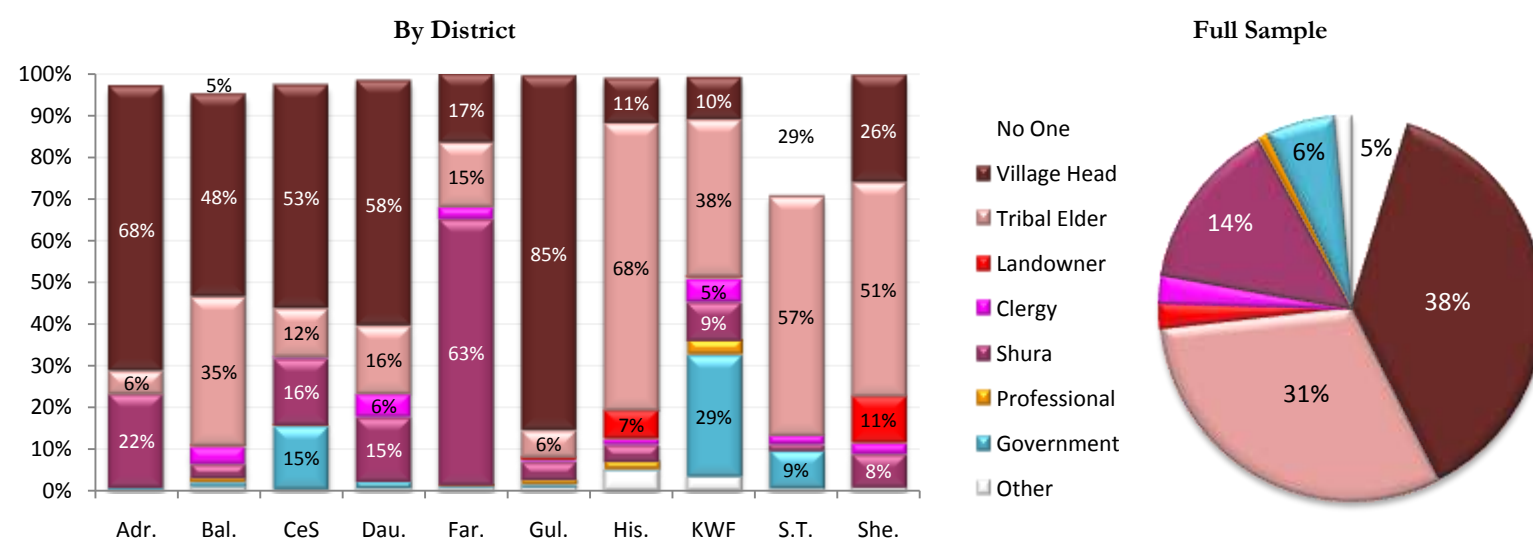
members thereof by 23 percent of respondents in Adraskan and Farsi. 28 percent of respondents in Sang Takht, 22 percent of respondents in Gulran, and 7 percent of respondents in Balkh considered that no one had responsibility to make rules for the village.

**Figure 248: Authority Responsible for Establishing Rules for Village, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Village headmen were the authority most commonly cited by female respondents as being most responsible for making rules for the village (38 percent), followed by tribal elders (31 percent), *shura* or *jirga* (14 percent), government or its agents (6 percent), landowners or noblemen (2 percent), clergy (2 percent), and professionals or tradesmen (1 percent). 5 percent of female respondents claimed that no one held such responsibility. The proportion of respondents citing village headmen varied from 85 percent in Gulran and 68 percent in Gulran to less than 1 percent in Sang Takht, tribal elders from 68 percent in Hisarak to 6 percent in Adraskan and Gulran, landowners or noblemen peaked at 11 percent in Sherzad, *shura* / *jirga* at 63 percent in Farsi and government at 29 percent in Khost Wa Firing.

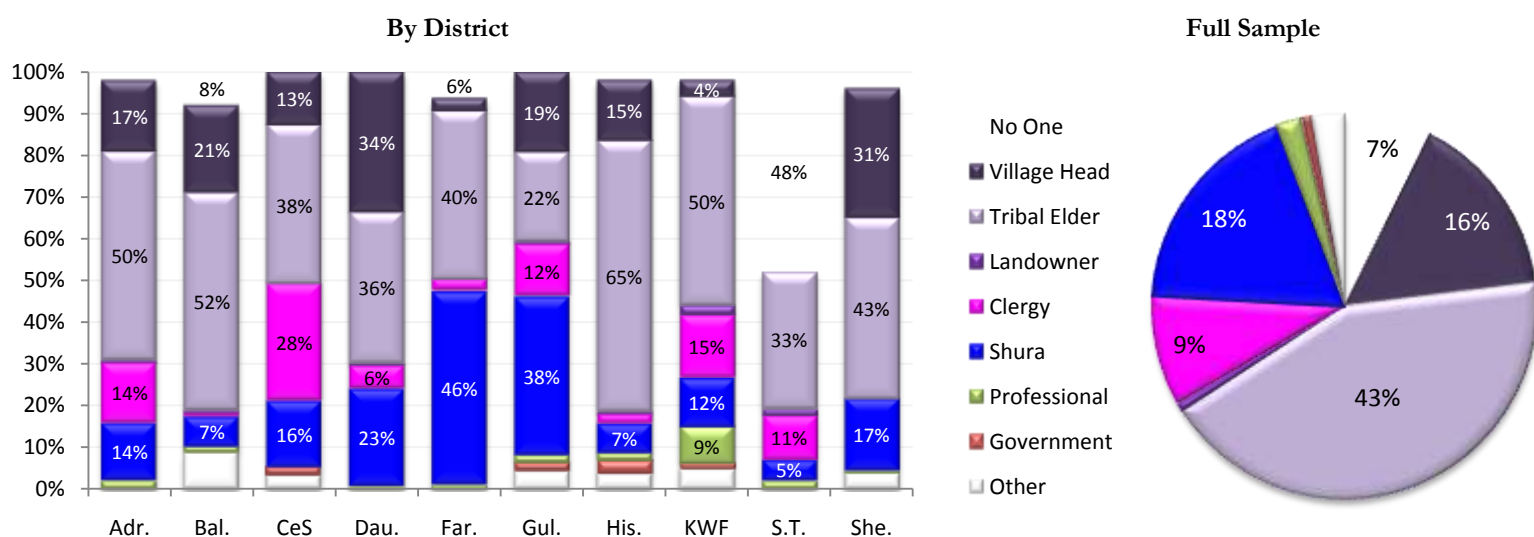
**Figure 249: Authority Responsible for Establishing Rules for Village, as Reported by Female Respondents**



As with male household respondents, male focus group respondents most frequently cited tribal elders as the authority responsible for establishing rules for the village (43 percent), followed by the *shura* or *jirga* (18 percent), clergy (9 percent), professional or tradesmen (2 percent), government (1 percent), and landowners or noblemen (1 percent), with 7 percent believing no

one holds such responsibility. The proportion of respondents citing village headmen varied from 34 percent in Daulina to less than 1 percent in Sang Takht, tribal elders from 65 percent in Hisarak to 22 percent in Gulran, clergy from 28 percent in Chisht-e Sharif to less than 1 percent in Sherzad, and *shura* or *jirga* from 46 percent in Farsi to 5 percent in Sang Takht. The proportion of respondents who stated that no authority is responsible for establishing rules for the village peaked at 48 percent in Sang Takht.

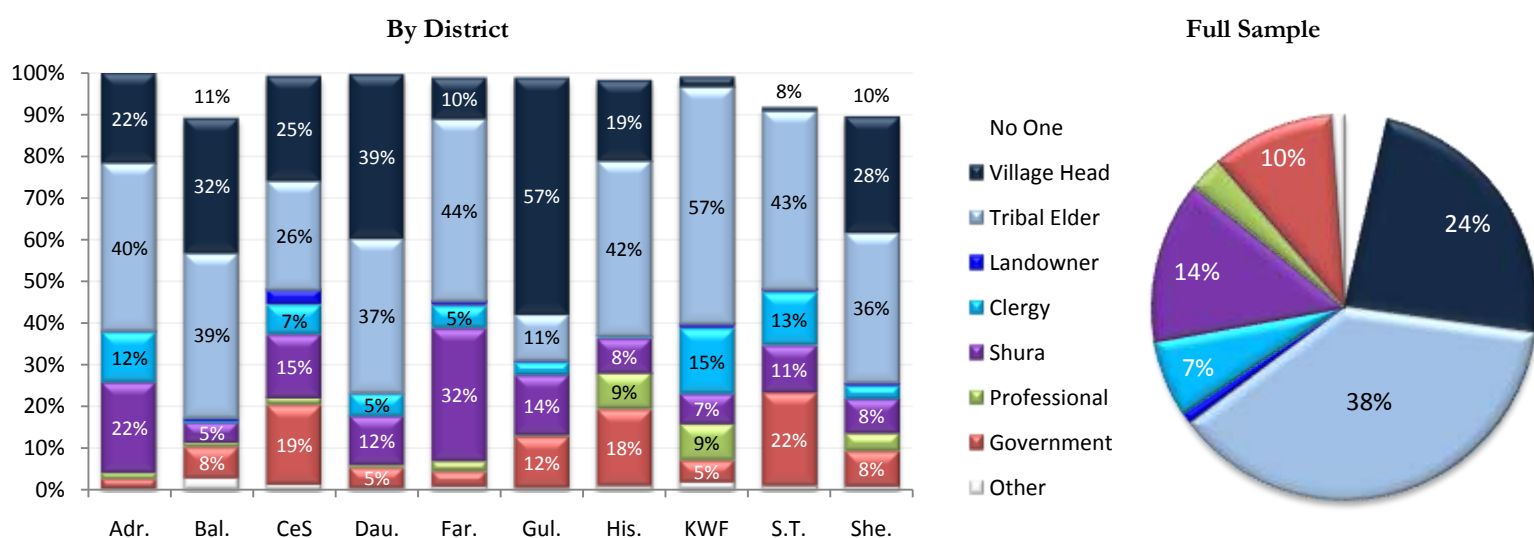
**Figure 250: Authority Responsible for Establishing Rules for Village, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



When asked which authority was commonly responsible for resolving civil disputes among villagers, tribal elders were the most frequently cited, accounting for 38 percent of responses across the sample, followed by village headmen (24 percent), *shura* or *jirga* (14 percent), government (10 percent), clergy or religious figures (7 percent), professional or tradesmen (3 percent), and landowners (3 percent). 4 percent of male household respondents claimed that no one in the village was responsible for resolving disputes. The proportion of respondents citing village headmen varied from 57 percent in Gulran to 1 percent in Sang Takht, tribal elders varied from 57 percent in Khost Wa Firing to 11 percent in Gulran, clergy peaked at 15 percent in Khost Wa Firing, *shura* varied from 32 percent in Farsi to 5 percent in Balkh, professional at 9 percent in Hisarak and Khost Wa Firing, and government at 22 percent in Sang Takht. The highest levels of respondents claiming no one is responsible for resolving disputes among villagers were observed in Balkh (11 percent), Sherzad (10 percent), and Sang Takht (8 percent).

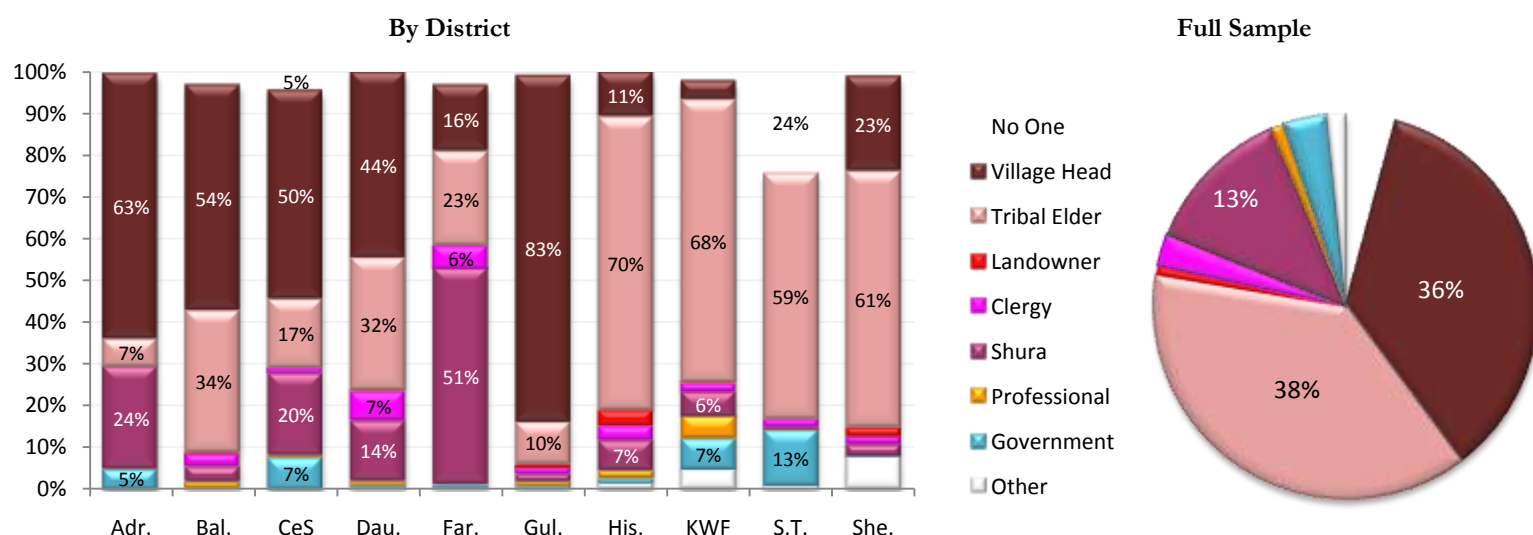


**Figure 251: Authority Responsible for Resolving Village Disputes, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Female respondents most frequently cited tribal elders as the main authority for resolving disputes among villagers (38 percent), followed by village headmen (36 percent), *shura* or *jirga* (13 percent), government (3 percent), clergy (3 percent), professionals or tradesmen (1 percent), and landowners (1 percent). 4 percent of female respondents claimed that no one held responsibility for resolving disputes between villagers. The proportion of respondents claiming that village headmen held primary responsibility for resolving disputes varied from 83 percent in Gulran to less than 1 percent in Sang Takht, tribal elders from 70 percent in Hisarak to 7 percent in Adraskan, while the proportion of respondents citing the *shura* or *jirga* or members thereof peaked at 51 percent in Farsi, with government peaking at 13 percent in Sang Takht.

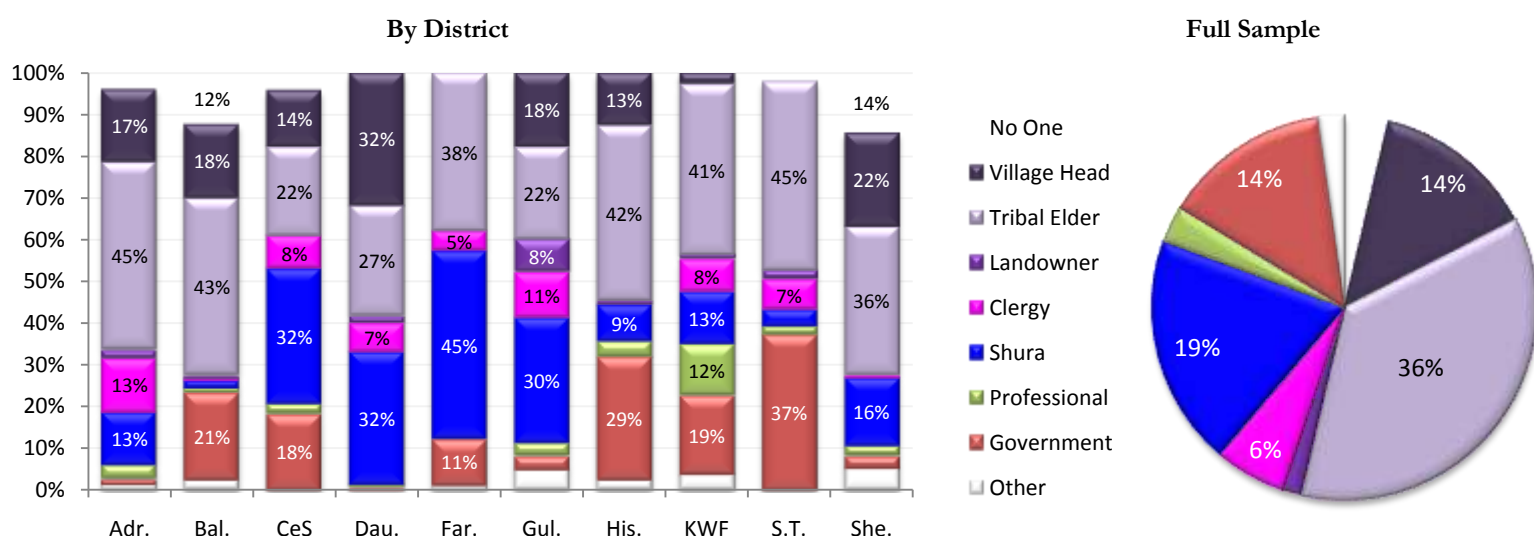
**Figure 252: Authority Responsible for Resolving Village Disputes, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Male focus group respondents cited tribal elders as the authority most commonly invoked for resolving disputes between villagers (36 percent), followed by the *shura* or *jirga* (19 percent), government or agents thereof (14 percent), village headmen (14 percent), clergy (6 percent), professionals or tradesmen (3 percent), and landowners (2 percent), with 4 percent expressing the opinion that no authority resolves disputes between villagers. The proportion of male focus group respondents citing village headmen as the leading authority for dispute resolution varied from 32 percent in Daulina to just a few respondents in Farsi and Sang Takht, tribal elders from 45 percent in Adraskan and Sang Takht to 22 percent in Chisht-e Sharif and Farsi, *shura* peaked

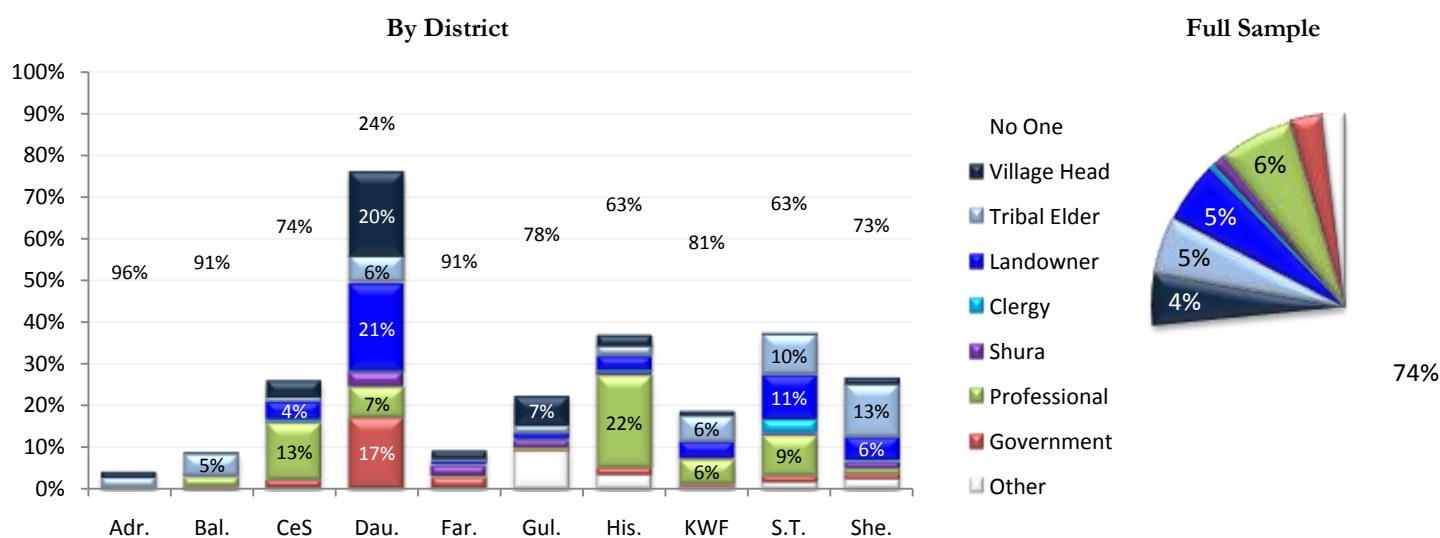
at 45 percent in Farsi, and government peaked at 37 percent in Sang Takht. 14 percent of male focus group respondents in Sherzad and 12 percent of respondents in Balkh claim that there is no authority to resolve disputes among villagers.

**Figure 253: Authority Responsible for Resolving Village Disputes, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



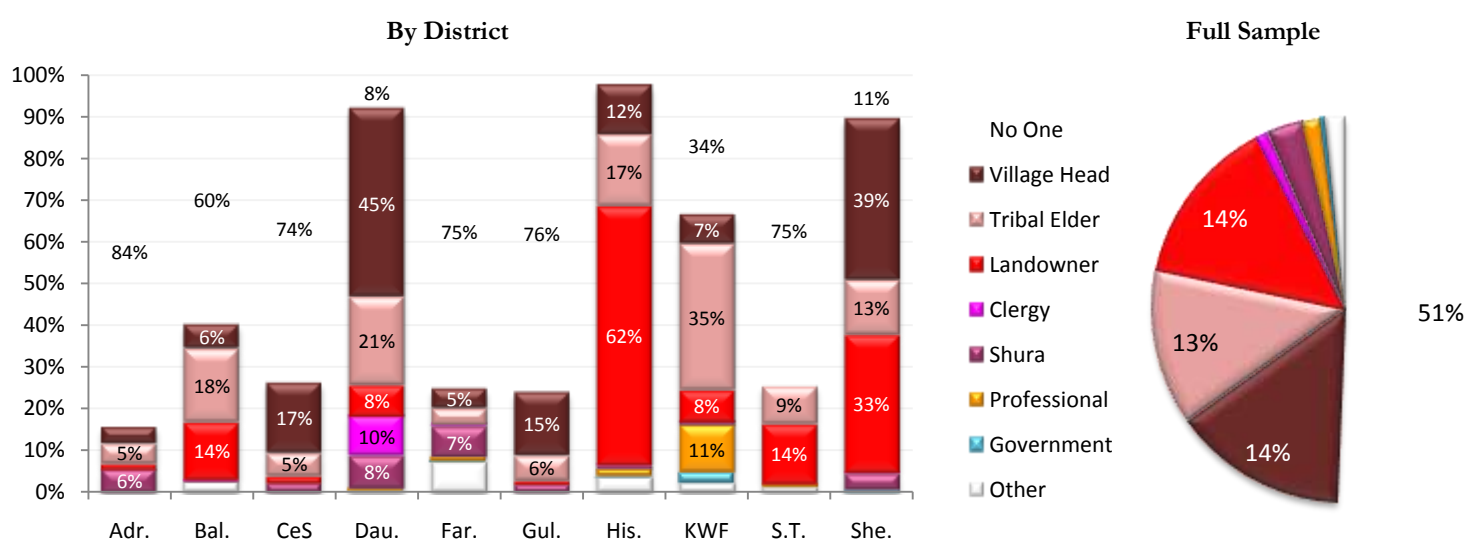
In response to a question about the authority which provides emergency assistance to villagers facing shortages of food or other essential items, 74 percent of male household respondents reported that there was no one in the village who did such, 6 percent mentioned a professional or tradesperson, 5 percent a landowner, 5 percent the tribal elders, 4 percent the village headman, 2 percent the government, with 1 percent citing the *shura* or *jirga*, and a further 1 percent mentioning a member of the clergy or other religious figure. The highest proportion of respondents reporting that no one in the village provided emergency assistance to villagers was found in Adraskan, Balkh, and Farsi, where 96 percent, 91 percent, and 91 percent respectively, while only 24 percent of male household respondents in Daulina could not identify anyone in the village who might provide emergency assistance in the event that a villager was in need of food or other assistance. Household respondents in Daulina that did believe there someone was available to provide such were split between village headmen (20 percent), landowners (21 percent), and the government or its agents (17 percent).

**Figure 254: Authority Responsible for Providing Emergency Assistance, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



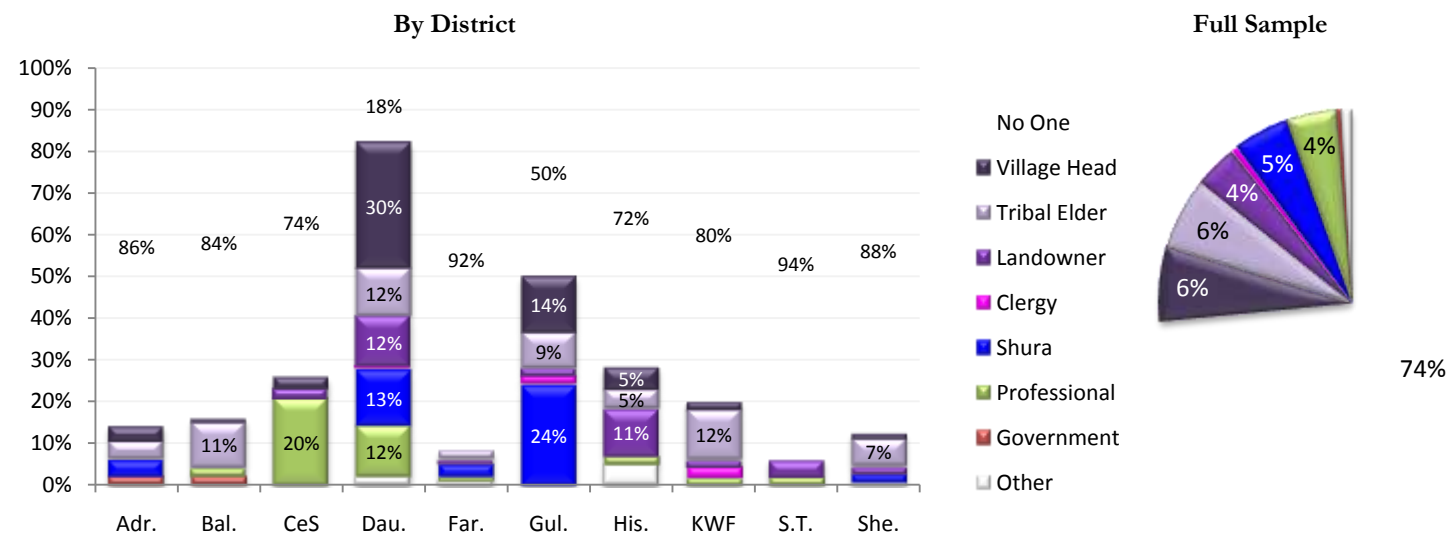
Interestingly, female respondents were able to name a person or institution responsible for providing emergency assistance to villagers with much greater frequency than male household or male focus group respondents. Overall, 51 percent of female respondents claimed they knew of no one who would provide emergency assistance to villagers, with 15 percent of respondents claiming that the village headman would do so, 14 percent citing a landowner, 13 percent the tribal elders, 3 percent the *shura* or *jirga* or a member thereof, 2 percent a professional or tradesmen, 1 percent a religious figure or member of the clergy, with less than 1 percent claiming the government provided such. Adraskan had the highest level of female respondents claiming that no one provides emergency assistance to villages, with 84 percent of respondents, while Hisarak had the lowest, at 2 percent.

**Figure 255: Authority Responsible for Providing Emergency Assistance, as Reported by Female Respondents**



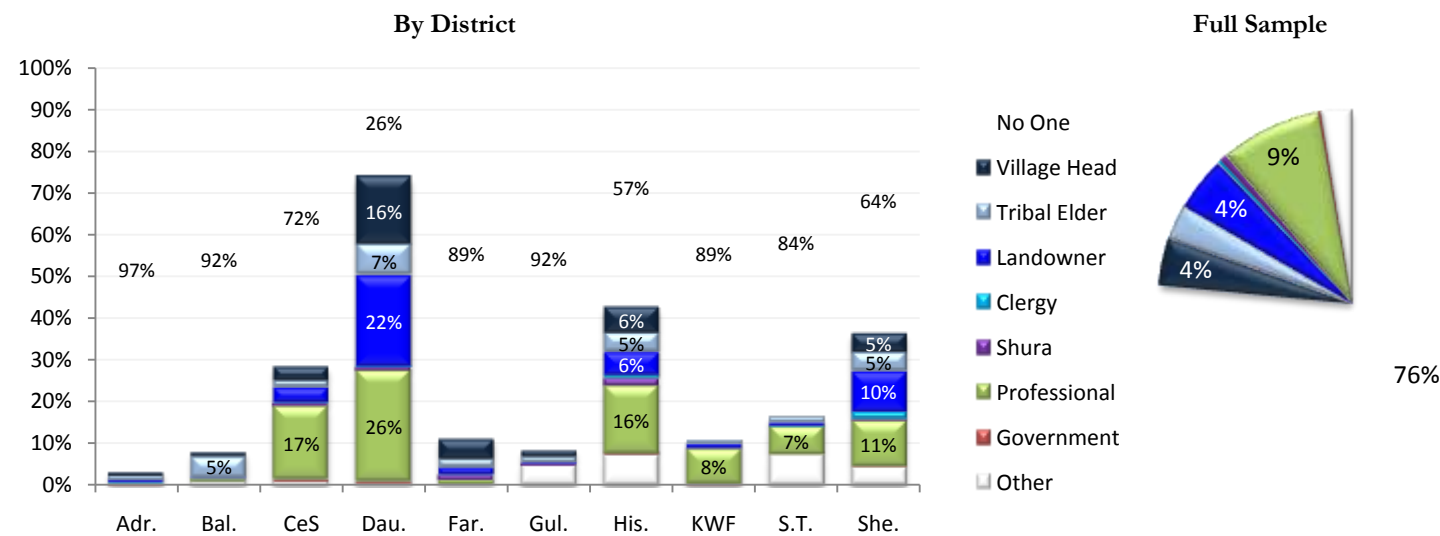
74 percent of male focus group respondents claimed that there is no one to provide assistance to villagers in the event of a critical shortage of food or other necessities, while 7 percent reported that the village headman held this responsibility, 6 percent claimed that it was common for tribal elders to fulfill this function, 5 percent cited members of the *shura* or *jirga*, 4 percent mentioned landowners or noblemen, 4 percent referred to professionals or noblemen, 1 percent cited members of the clergy, while less than 1 percent made mention of the government. Respondents in Farsi (92 percent) and Sang Takht (94 percent) most frequently failed to identify anyone who could provide emergency assistance to people in their village, while respondents in Daulina did so least frequently, with only 18 percent of respondents failing to identify a source of emergency assistance for villagers. Among respondents in Daulina, village headmen were the most commonly cited source of emergency assistance (31 percent), while 24 percent of respondents in Gulran cited the *shura* or *jirga* as the source of emergency assistance.

**Figure 256: Authority Responsible for Providing Emergency Assistance, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



Male household respondents were next asked to identify the authority that holds the responsibility for providing loans to villagers in non-emergency situations. Only 26 percent of respondents across the sample were able to do so, with a plurality of those who could citing professionals or tradesmen (9 percent), with village headmen and landowners being the next most commonly mentioned sources (4 percent), followed by tribal elders (3 percent), *shura* (1 percent), and clergy and the government (less than 1 percent). Male household respondents in Adraskan (97 percent) were the least able to identify a source of loans for villagers, while respondents in Daulina were the most able (26 percent). 26 percent of male household respondents in Daulina identified a professional or tradesperson as the main source of loans for non-emergency purposes, with 22 person citing a landowner or village nobleman, and 16 percent citing the village headman. In Hisarak, where 43 percent of male household respondents could identify a source of loans for people in their village, a professional or tradesman was also the commonly cited response, accounting for 16 percent of respondents in the district.

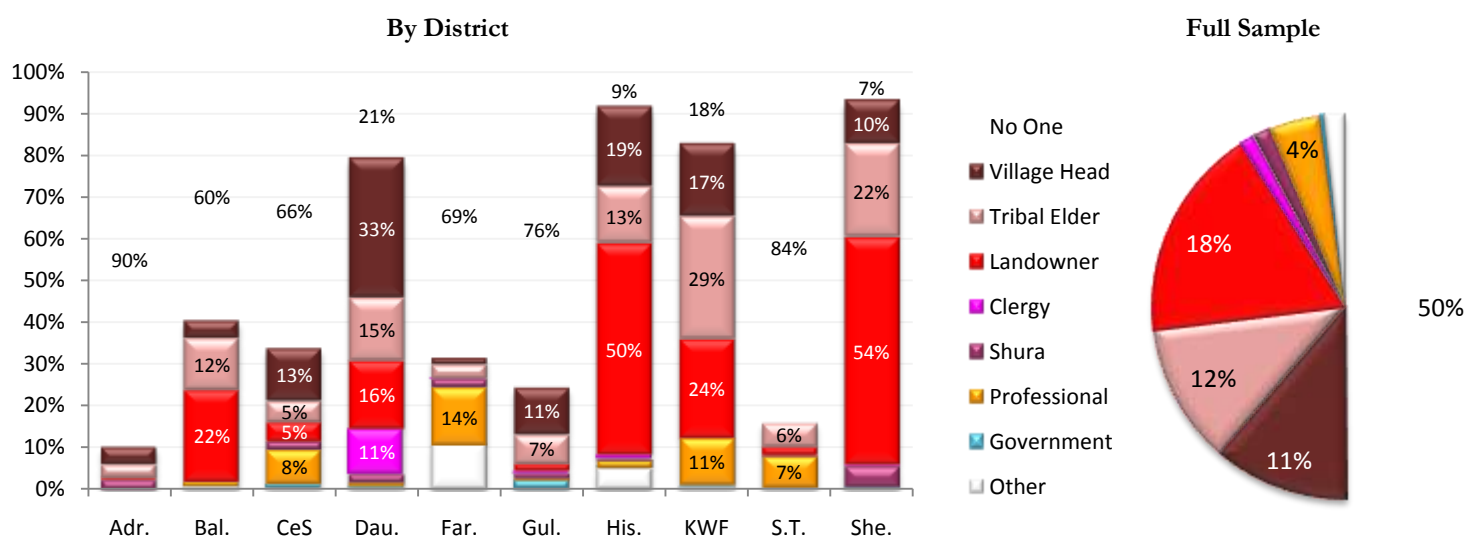
**Figure 257: Authority Responsible for Providing Loans, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



As was the case for the question regarding loans for emergency situations, female respondents much more identified a source for people in the village, with only 50 percent of female respondents reporting that there is no one to provide such loans, compared to 76 percent of male household respondents and 71 percent of male focus group respondents. Landowners and

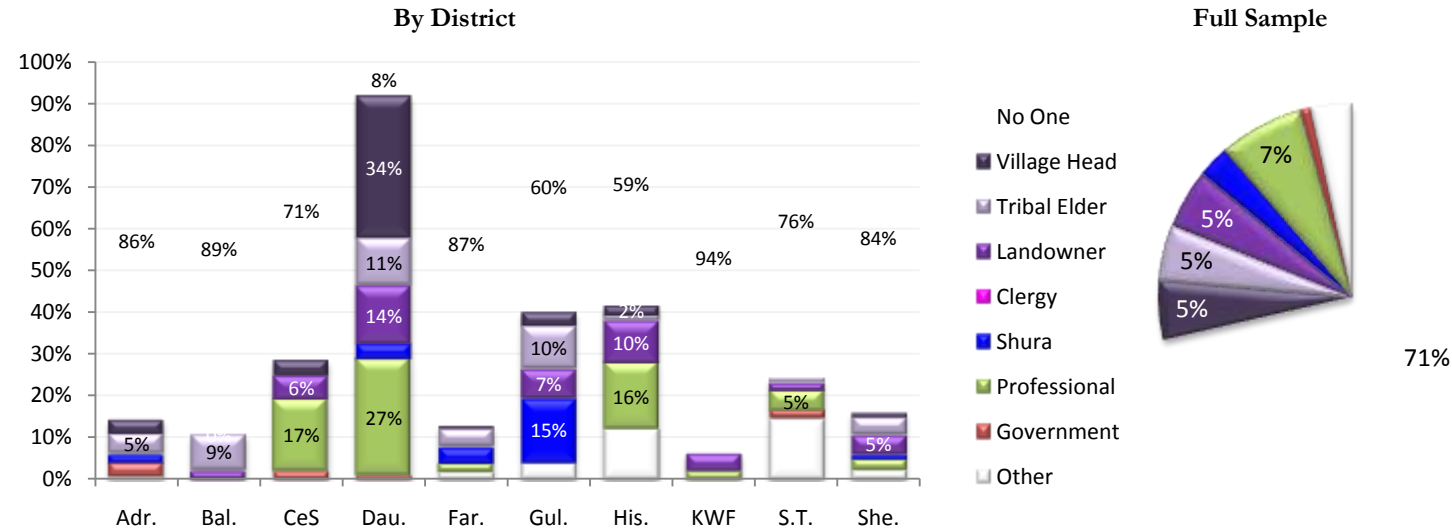
village noblemen were the most commonly cited source of loans (18 percent), followed by village headmen (12 percent), tribal elders (12 percent), and professionals or tradesmen (4 percent). Respondents in Sherzad (93 percent) Hisarak (91 percent), and Daulina (81 percent) most frequently were able to identify a source of loans, while respondents in Adraskan (10 percent), Sang Takht (16 percent), and Gulran (24 percent) were the least able. Respondents in Sherzad and Hisarak most frequently cited a landowner or village nobleman as the usual source of loans (54 percent and 50 percent, respectively), while respondents in Daulina were more likely to point to the village headman (33 percent).

**Figure 258: Authority Responsible for Providing Loans, as Reported by Female Respondents**



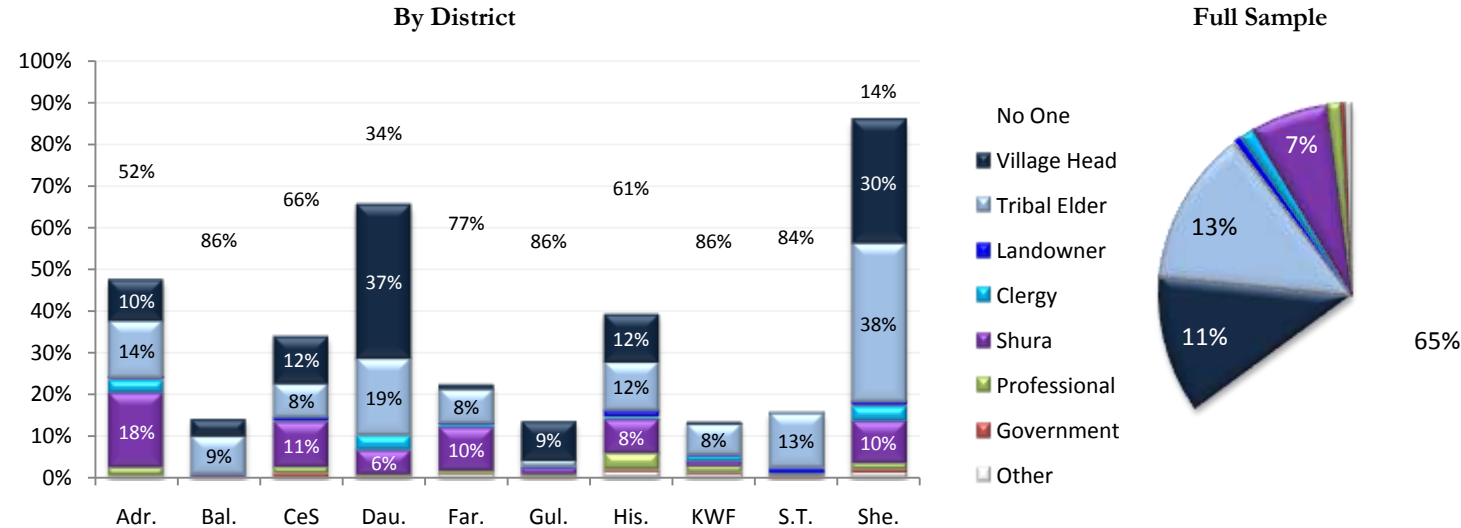
71 percent of male focus group respondents claimed that they knew of no one who could provide a loan to villagers in non-emergency situations. As with male household respondents, the proportion of respondents who could identify someone who could provide a loan to villagers was highest in Daulina (92 percent) and lowest in Khost Wa Firing (6 percent). Across the full sample, professionals and tradesmen were the most commonly cited source of loans, accounting for 7 percent of respondents, followed by village headmen (5 percent), tribal elders (5 percent), landowners or village noblemen (5 percent), and members of the village shura (3 percent). Respondents in Daulina most frequently cited village headmen as the primary source of loans (34 percent), with professionals or tradesmen coming in second (37 percent).

Figure 259: Authority Responsible for Providing Loans, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents



Respondents were also asked who they believed is responsible for generating development projects or cash-for-work activities. In response to this questions, 65 percent of male household respondents reported that there is no one who provides such services to the village. Of those who could identify someone, 13 percent mentioned a tribal elder, 12 percent cited the village headman, and 7 percent referred to the *shura* or *jirga* or a member thereof. Interestingly, a miniscule 0.3 percent of male household respondents answered that the central or sub-national government or a representative of such was responsible for providing development services to villagers. Across the ten districts, respondents in Sherzad proved the most capable of identifying a source of projects, with 86 percent doing so, followed by Daulina, where 66 percent of respondents identified someone who sponsors or promotes development in the village. By contrast, only 14 percent of respondents in Balkh, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing and 16 percent of respondents in Sang Takht claimed that there was someone or some entity responsible for providing development projects to the village. Respondents in Sherzad most frequently cited tribal elders as the source of projects (38 percent), followed by village headmen (30 percent), while those in Daulina cited village headmen most frequently (37 percent).

Figure 260: Authority Responsible for Sponsoring Projects, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents

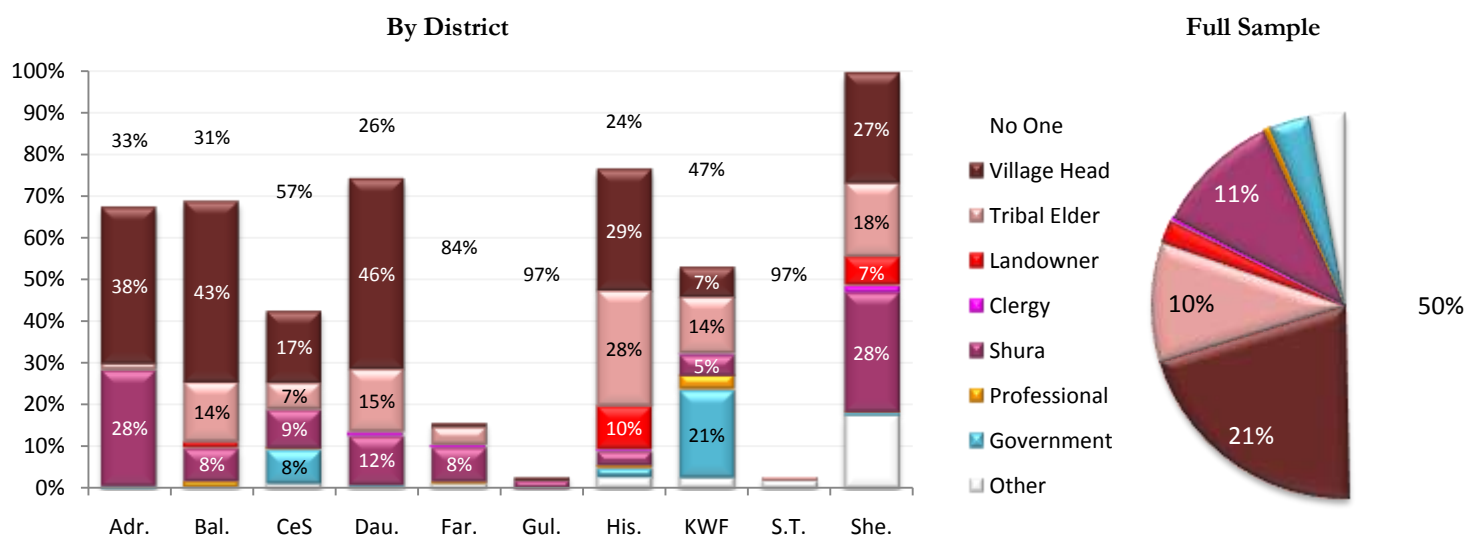


Half of female respondents across the sample were able to identify a source of development projects for the village, 15 percentage points more than male household respondents and 6



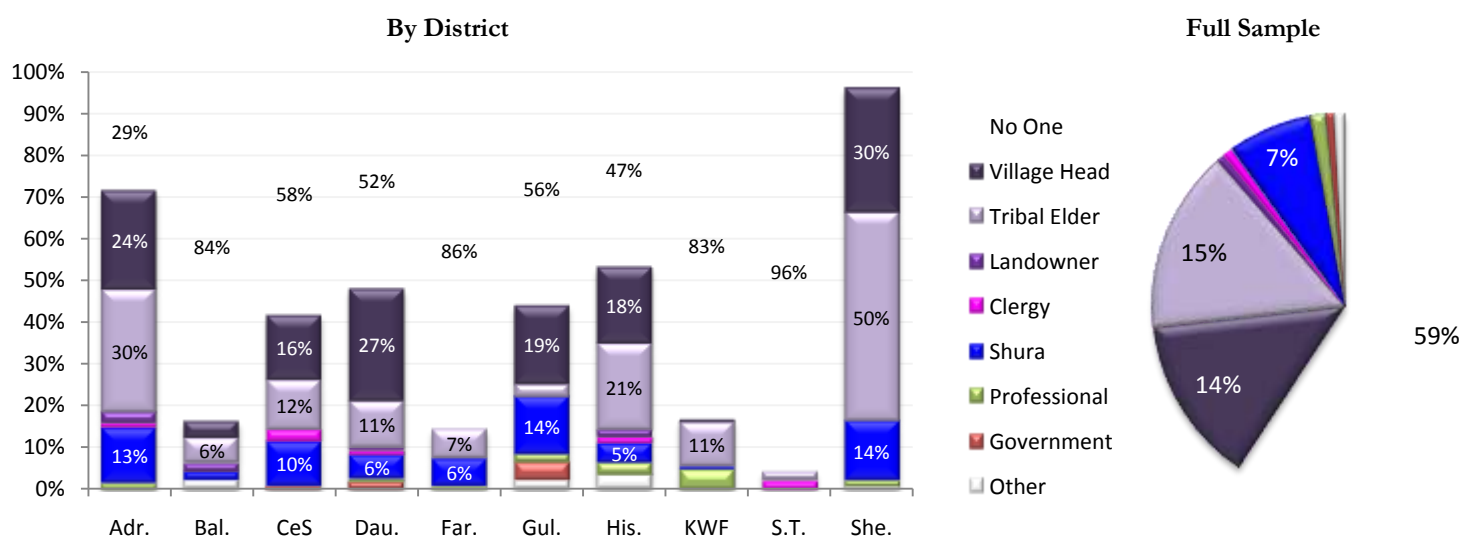
percentage points more than male focus group respondents. Respondents in Sherzad were most frequently able to cite someone or some entity (99 percent), with respondents in Gulran and Sang Takht being the least able (97 percent). Across the sample, respondents most frequently cited the village headman (22 percent) as the progenitor of development projects, followed by the *shura* or *jirga* or members thereof, tribal elders (10 percent), and the government (3 percent)

**Figure 261: Authority Responsible for Sponsoring Projects, as Reported by Female Respondents**



59 percent of male focus group respondents were able to think of someone or some entity which provides some form of development assistance to the village. Tribal elders were the most frequently cited institution (15 percent), followed by village headmen (14 percent), and the *shura* or *jirga* (7 percent). As with female respondents, male focus group respondents in Sherzad were most frequently able to identify a source of projects (4 percent), while respondents in Sang Takht were the least able (4 percent).

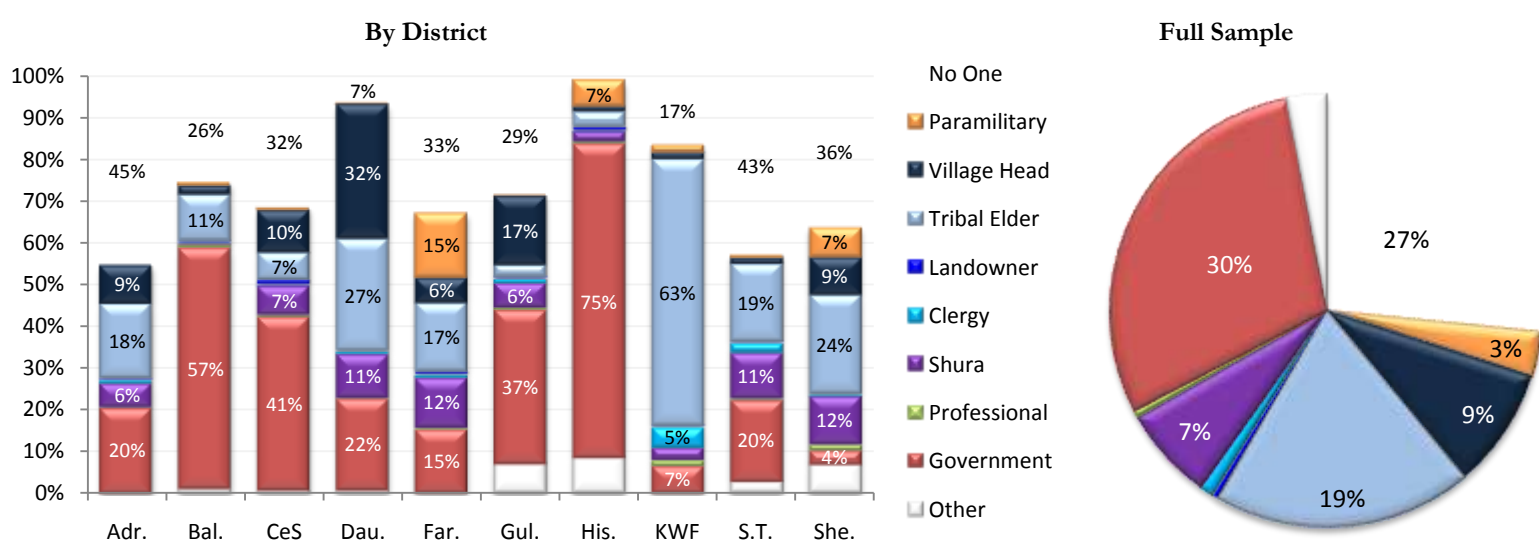
**Figure 262: Authority Responsible for Sponsoring Projects, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**





In response to a question about who would protect the village against war or invasion by insurgents, 30 percent of respondents replied that the government or agents thereof would do so, followed by 19 percent who mentioned the tribal elders, 9 percent who cited the village headman, 7 percent who referred to the *shura* or *jirga* or members thereof, and 3 percent claimed that the protection of the village is the responsibility of a commander or other paramilitary.<sup>65</sup> 27 percent of male households could not think of anyone who would protect the village against invasion or attack. Variation was apparent between districts in the proportion of respondents that could identify a person or entity who could provide protection to the village in the event of attack, with only 55 percent of respondents in Adraskan and 57 percent of respondents in Sang Takht being able to do so, compared to 99 percent in Hisarak. Likewise, the persons or authorities responsible for protecting the village differed greatly between districts. In Hisarak, for example, 75 percent of respondents cited government forces as responsible for village protection, whereas in neighboring Sherzad, only 4 percent of respondents did so. In Khost Wa Firing, meanwhile, 63 percent of respondents identified the tribal elders as the authority most responsible for protecting the village.

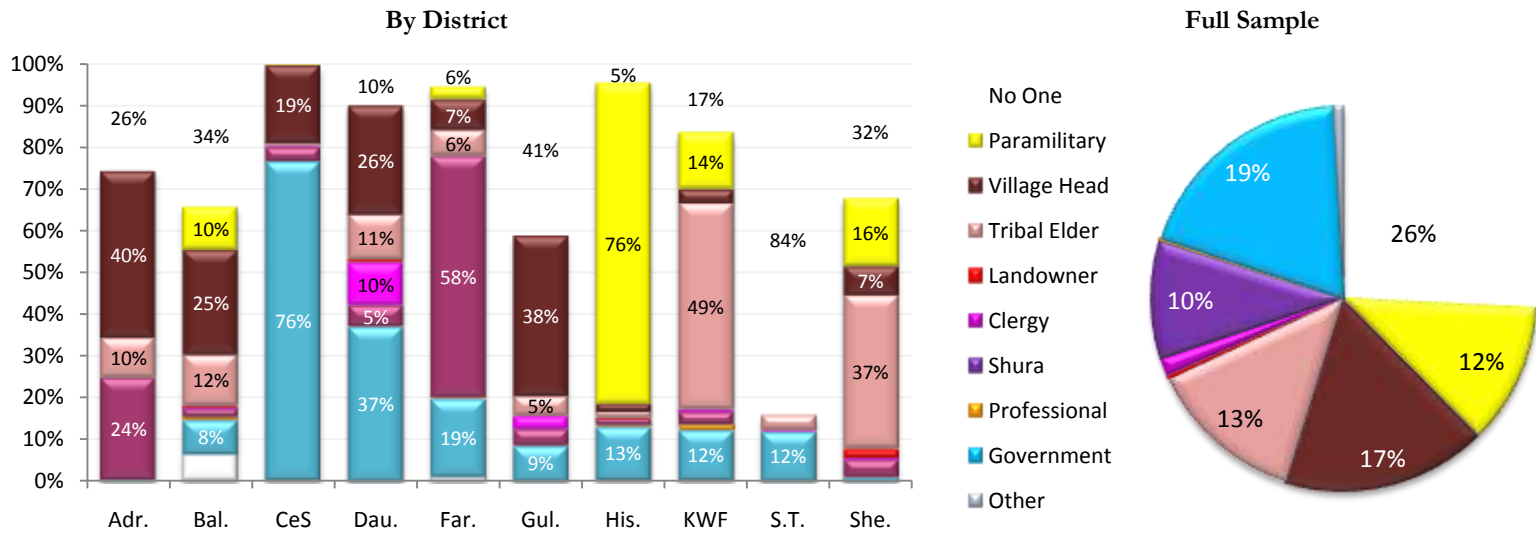
**Figure 263: Authority Responsible for Protecting Village, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Compared to their male household counterparts, female respondents were less likely to cite the government or its agents as holding responsibility for protecting the village, with just 19 percent of female respondents doing so, and were more likely to cite the village leaders (17 percent) and commanders or other paramilitaries (12 percent). 26 percent of female respondents could not identify any authority holding responsibility for providing physical protection to the village, with district aggregates varying from 84 percent in Sang Takht to less than 1 percent in Chisht-e Sharif. As with male household respondents, variation between districts in the responses provided was quite significant. For example, 76 percent of respondents in Hisarak claimed a commander or other paramilitary was responsible for protection of the village, while 2 percent or less of respondents in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Gulran, and Sang Takht did so. Similarly, 76 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, but only a single respondent in Adraskan, claimed the government was primarily responsible for protecting the village from outside attacks.

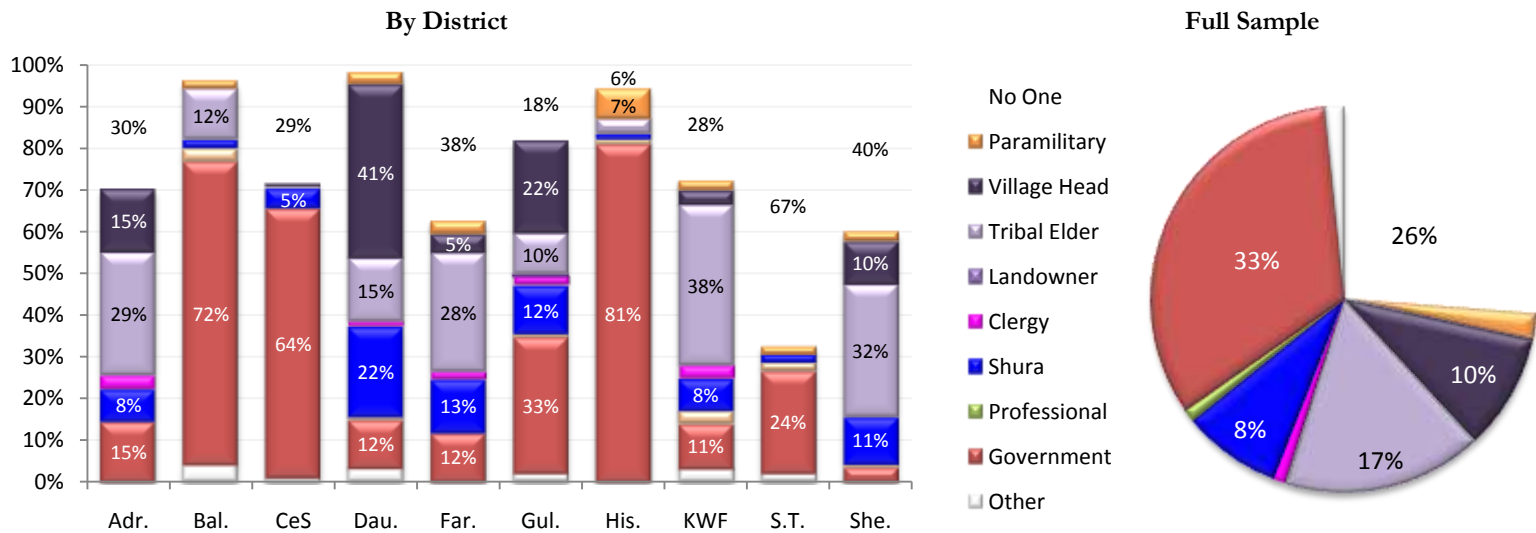
<sup>65</sup> Whereas occupational categories used to aggregate responses for previous questions in this section put the occupations of *qumandan*, *mujahed*, and *jihadi* in the “Other” category, a separate category of “Paramilitary” is created for responses to the question regarding who protects the village against war or invasion by insurgents.

**Figure 264: Authority Responsible for Protecting Village, as Reported by Female Respondents**



The responses of male focus group respondents concerning the authority responsible for protecting the village were qualitatively similar to those provided by male household respondents. 33 percent of respondents cited government or its agents as being responsible, followed by tribal elders (17 percent), village headmen (10 percent), the *shura* or *jirga* (8 percent), and commanders or other paramilitaries (2 percent). 26 percent of male focus group respondents could not identify a source of physical protection for the village, with district aggregates varying from 2 percent in Daulina to 67 percent in Sang Takht.

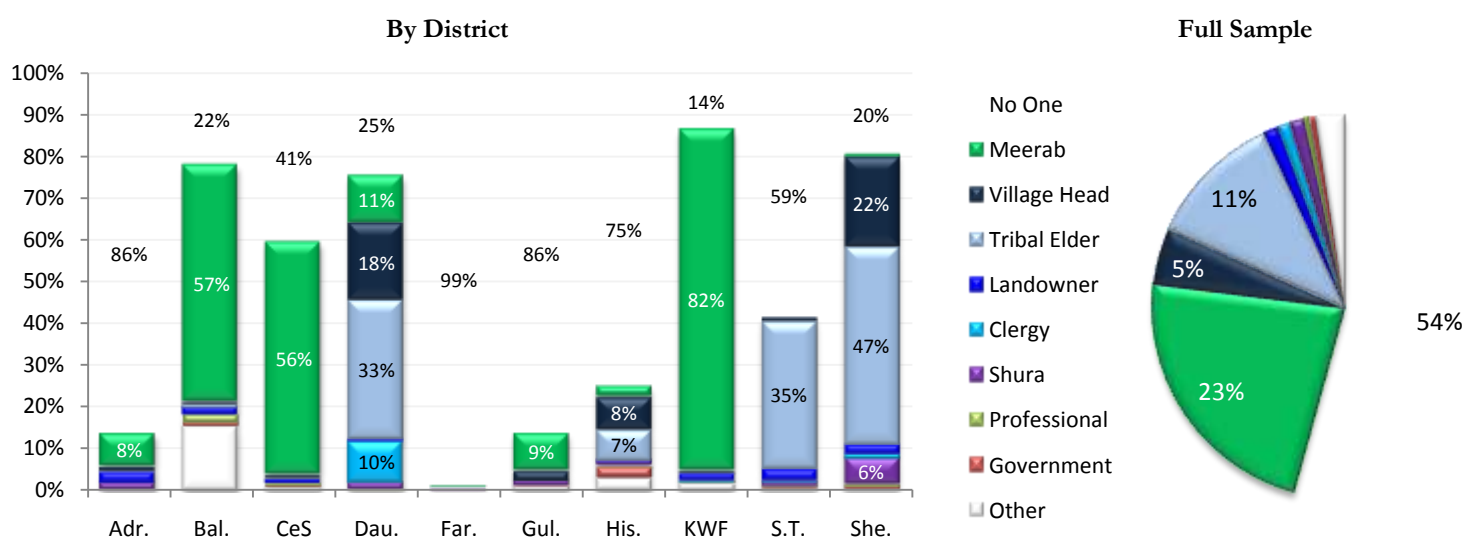
**Figure 265: Authority Responsible for Protecting Village, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



Finally, respondents were asked who or which entity was most responsible for facilitating the access of villagers to water for irrigation. The most commonly cited response, among the 46 percent of respondents who believed there is someone to provide such a service for villagers, was *meerab*, which is a customary title ascribed to a person who is responsible for managing

irrigation water.<sup>66</sup> While 23 percent of male household respondents mentioned the *meerab* as the person most responsible for overseeing the village's water resources, 11 percent cited the tribal elders, and 5 percent cited the village headman. Significant variation between districts was apparent, both in the proportion of respondents that could identify someone with the responsibility of managing water and in the type of person to which the responsibility was ascribed. In Khost Wa Firing, for instance, 86 percent of respondents were able to identify a water manager, with the overwhelming majority citing the *meerab* as the person responsible. *Meerabs* also appeared to have a predominant role in the management of water resources in Balkh and Chisht-e Sharif. In Daulina, Sang Takht, and Sherzad, however, water management is more the domain of tribal elders and village headmen. Respondents in Adraskan, Farsi, Gulran, and Hisarak meanwhile were generally unable to identify anyone who might be in charge of managing the village's water resources, with just 14 percent, 1 percent, 14 percent, and 25 percent of respondents claiming they knew of anyone who held such a responsibility.

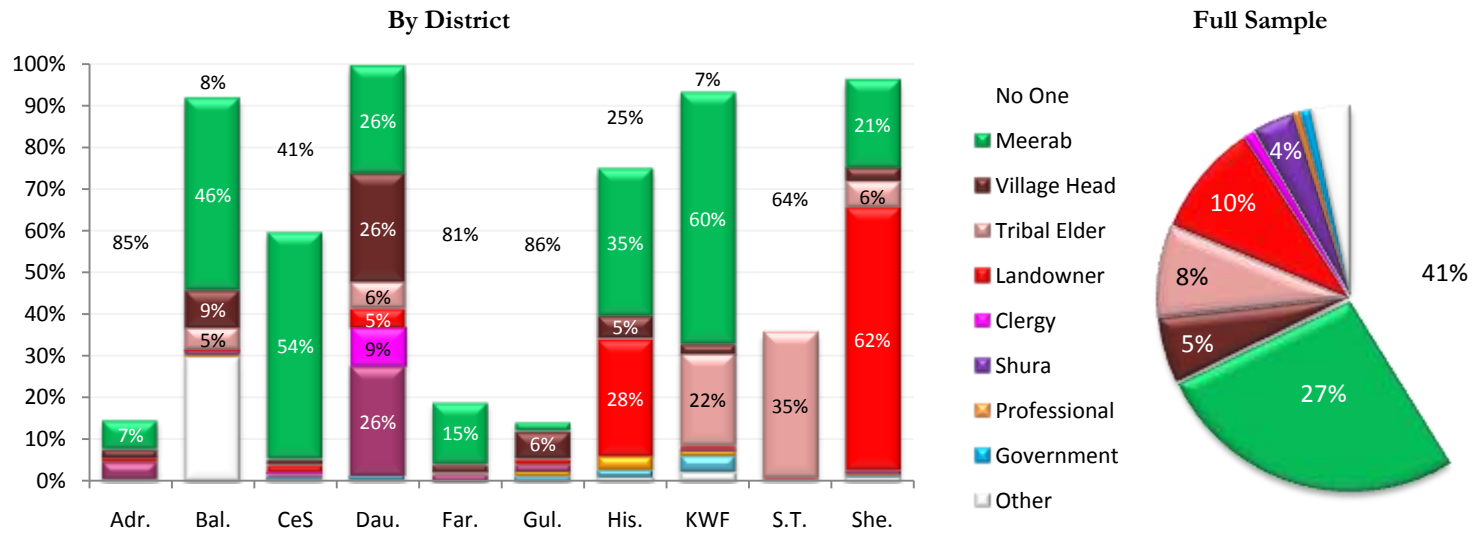
**Figure 266: Authority Responsible for Managing Water, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Female respondents were more frequently able to identify a person responsible for managing the village water resources, with 59 percent of respondents ascribing water management to one person or another. As with male household respondents, *meerab* was the most commonly cited water manager, accounting for 27 percent of responses across the full sample, followed by landowners of village noblemen (10 percent), tribal elders (8 percent), village headmen (5 percent), and the *shura* or *jirga* (4 percent). Respondents in Daulina (99 percent), Khost Wa Firing (93 percent), and Sherzad (96 percent) proved the most able to identify a water manager, while respondents in Adraskan (15 percent), Farsi (19 percent), and Gulran (14 percent) were the least able. According to female respondents, water management is primarily the domain of *meerabs* in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Khost Wa Firing, of landowners or village noblemen in Sherzad, of tribal elders in Sang Takht, is split between *meerabs*, village headmen, and *shura* in Daulina, and is split between *meerabs* and village noblemen in Khost Wa Firing.

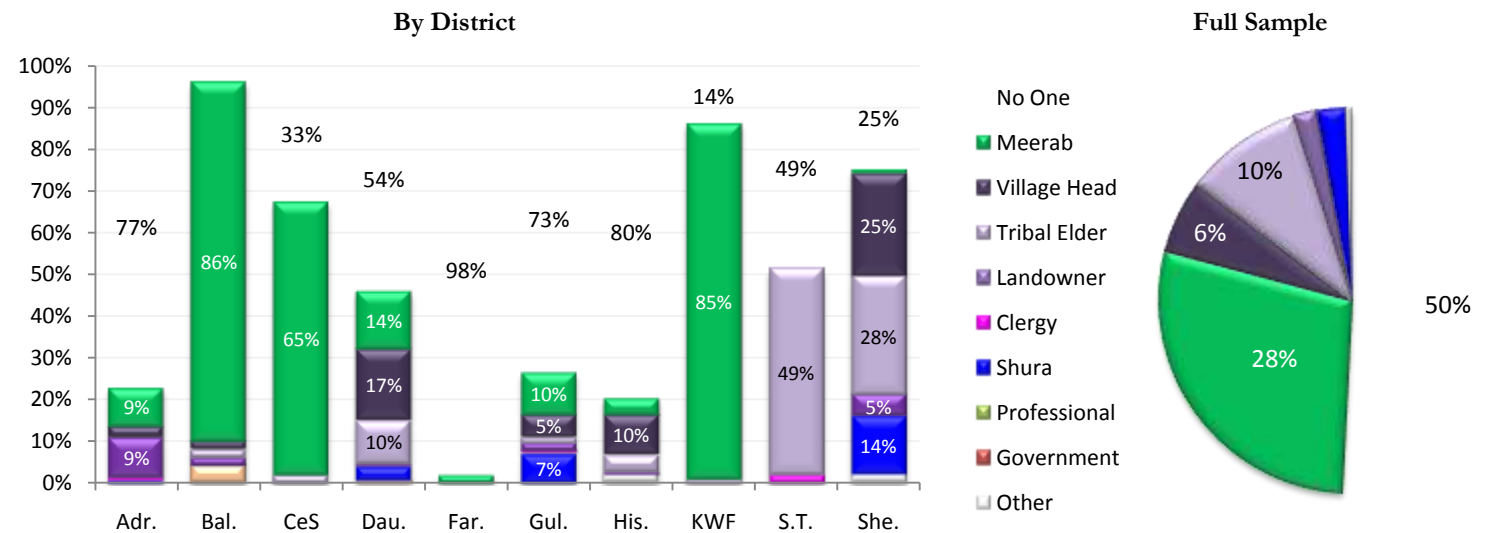
<sup>66</sup> Whereas occupational categories used to aggregate responses for previous questions in this section put the occupations of *meerab* in the "Other" category, a separate category for the *meerab* is created for responses to the question regarding who manages the village's water resources.

**Figure 267: Authority Responsible for Managing Water, as Reported by Female Respondents**



50 percent of male focus group respondents were able to identify someone as holding responsibility for the management of water resources in their village. 28 percent of respondents cited the *meerab* as holding the responsibility, 10 percent ascribed it to village elders, 6 percent to village headmen, and 4 percent to the *shura*, *jirga*, or members thereof. Respondents in Adraskan (23 percent), Farsi (2 percent), and Hisarak (20 percent) least frequently identified a water manager for the village, while respondents in Balkh (96 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (86 percent) were the most able to do so. According to the responses of male focus group participants, water management is primarily the domain of *meerabs* in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Khost Wa Firing, of tribal elders in Sang Takht, is shared between *meerabs*, village headmen, and tribal elders in Daulina, and is shared between village headmen, tribal elders, and *jirga* in Sherzad.

**Figure 268: Authority Responsible for Managing Water, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



## ***Village Councils***

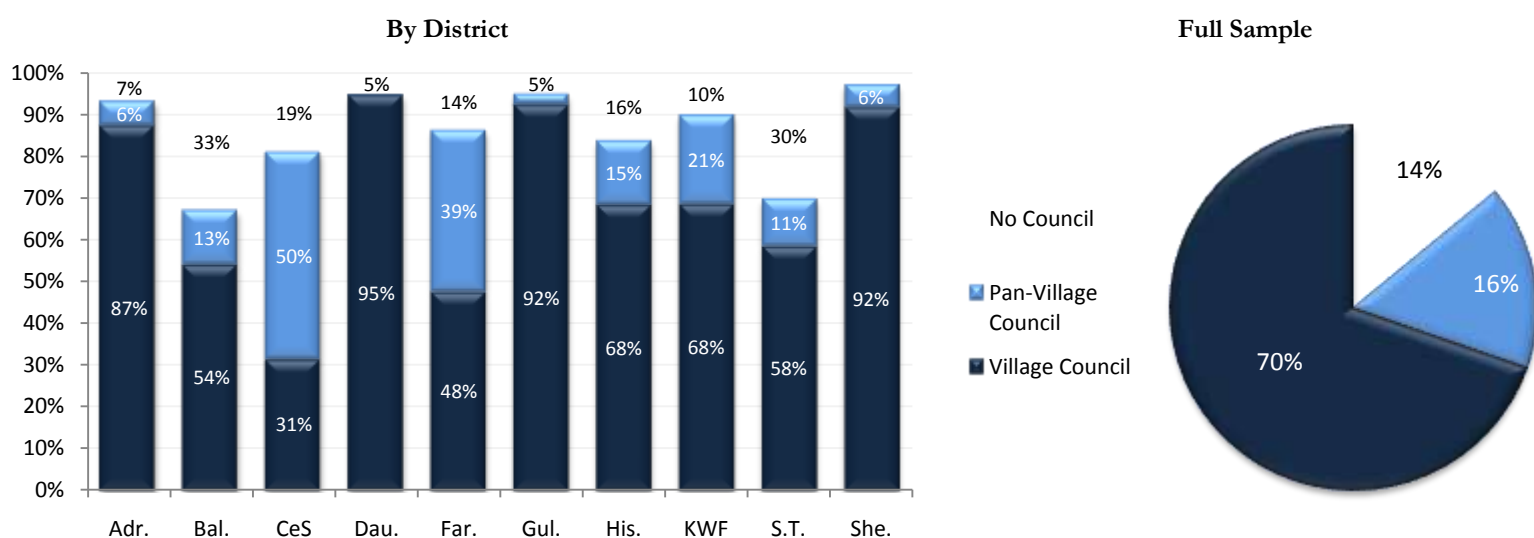
In order to ascertain more information concerning the structure of local governance, the three groups of respondents were asked about the existence, composition, and activities of the village council, known in Dari as a *shura* and in Pashto as a *jirga*.<sup>67</sup> Male household, female, and male focus group respondents were asked whether their village had its own *shura* or *jirga*, whether the village shared a *shura* or *jirga* with another village, or whether the village had no *shura* or *jirga*. If the village does have a *shura* or *jirga* or shares one with another village, respondents were then asked how many times the council had met in the past year. Male focus group respondents were asked how many people sat on the council, how many times in the past year the council had met, and how many people had attended the most recent meeting of the village council, while male household and female respondents were asked whether a member of their household had been present at a meeting of the council, or whether a member of their family was a member of the council. Male household respondents were asked whether they planned to attend a meeting of the village council in the coming year and whether they planned to attempt to influence the decisions of the village leaders or members of the village council. Female and male focus group respondents were also asked about the number of women in the village that are members of the council or serve on a separate council for women, whereas all three respondent groups were questioned on whether they support female participation in the village council, either as full members or as part of a separate council. All three groups of respondents were also asked how members of the village council or village leadership are selected and how they preferred them to be selected. The section below presents statistical summaries of the responses to most of these questions, in both sample aggregate and district-level averages.

Respondents were first asked whether or not their village had its own *shura* or *jirga*, whether the village shared a *shura* or *jirga* with another village, or whether the village did not have any *shura* or *jirga*. 70 percent of male household respondents reported their village had its own *shura* or *jirga*, 16 percent reported their village shared a *shura* or *jirga* with another village, and 14 reported claimed their village had no *shura* or *jirga*. Respondents in Daulina were most likely to report that their village has its own *shura*, with 95 percent of respondents doing so, followed by Gulran and Sherzad, where 92 percent of respondents reported the presence of an independent *shura* or *jirga*. According to the answers provided by male household respondents, villages in Chisht-e Sharif are the least likely to have an independent *shura*, with only 31 percent of respondents in their district claiming their village has one. It appears quite common, however, for villages in Chisht-e Sharif to share a *shura*, as half of male household respondents claimed their village shares a *shura* with another village. In comparison, just 3 percent of respondents in Gulran and less than 1 percent of respondents in Daulina reported that their village shares a *shura*. Respondents in Balkh (33 percent) and Sang Takht (30 percent) were the most likely to report that no *shura* or *jirga* serves their village, while respondents in Sherzad (3 percent), Daulina (5 percent), and Gulran (5 percent) were the least likely.

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<sup>67</sup> Of the questions presented in this section which were administered to female respondents, all were asked in the individual setting.

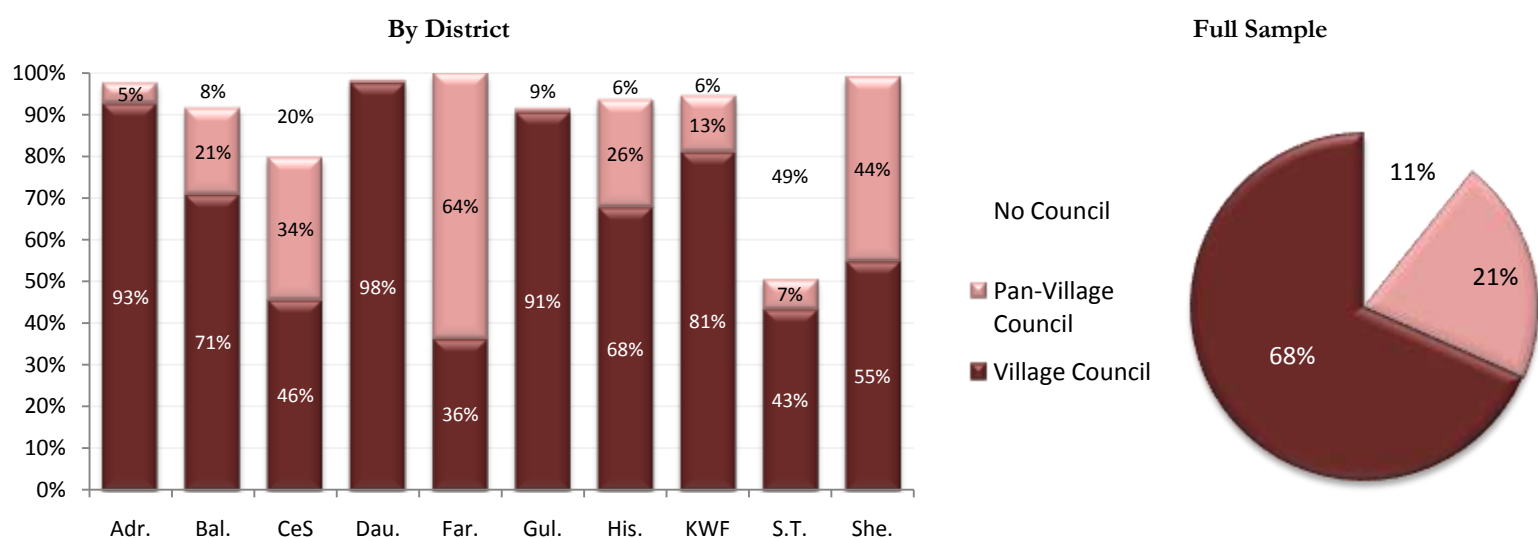
**Figure 269: Existence of Village Council, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Across the sample, the perceptions of female respondents of whether their village has its own *shura* or *jirga*, shares a *shura* or *jirga* with another village, or doesn't have any *shura* or *jirga* were qualitatively similar to those of male household respondents. Female respondents were slightly more likely than their male household counterparts to believe their village shared a *shura* or *jirga* with another village (21 percent for female respondents compared to 16 percent for male household respondents), with 68 percent of female respondents reporting that their village has its own *shura* or *jirga*, and 11 percent of respondents reporting that no *shura* or *jirga* serves their village. As with the male household sample, female respondents in Sang Takht were relatively frequently likely to report that their village has no council, either independent or shared, with 49 percent doing so. In contrast to the male household sample, however, only a small proportion of female respondents in Balkh – 8 percent – claimed their village did not have a council, either independent or shared. Almost all respondents in Adraskan (98 percent), Daulina (98 percent), Farsi (100 percent), and Sherzad (99 percent) claimed their village either had its own council or shares a council with another village. Female respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (46 percent), Farsi (36 percent), and Sang Takht (43 percent) were the least likely to report that their village has its own council, while respondents in Adraskan (93 percent), Daulina (98 percent), and Gulran (91 percent) were the most likely. Respondents claiming their village has a pan-village council were most frequently encountered in Farsi (64 percent) and Sherzad (44 percent) and most rarely in Adraskan (5 percent) and Sang Takht (7 percent).

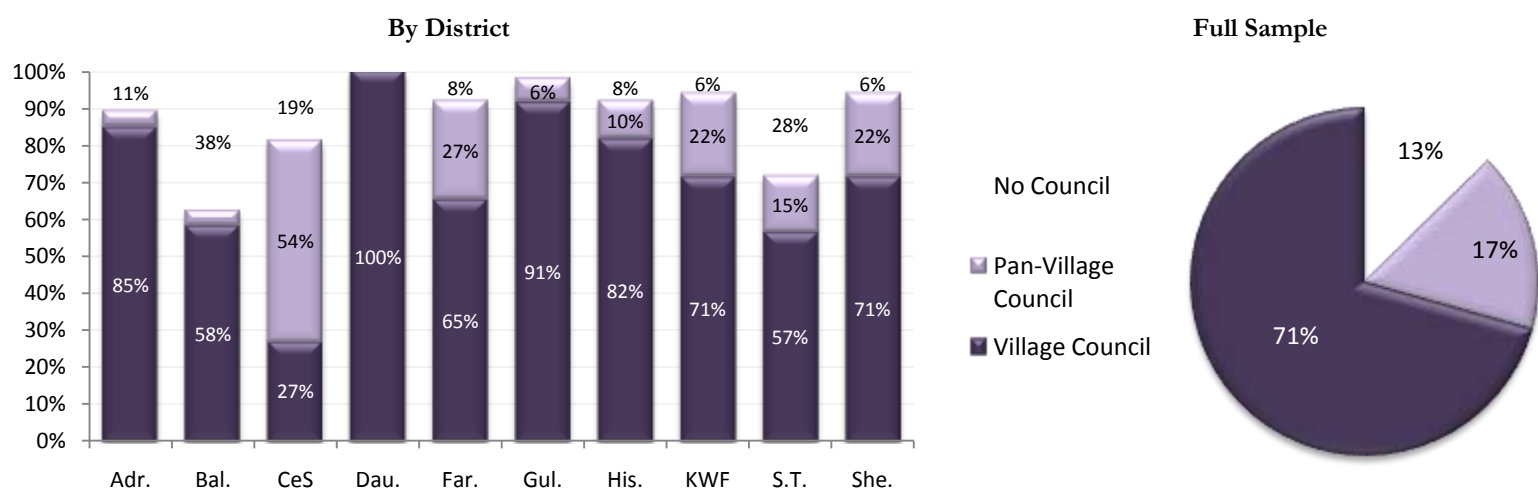


**Figure 270: Existence of Village Council, as Reported by Female Respondents**



71 percent of male focus groups claimed their village has its own council, 17 percent claimed the village shares its council with another village, and 13 percent claimed their village has no council, either shared or independent.<sup>68</sup> As with male household respondents, male focus groups in Balkh (62 percent) and Sang Takht (72 percent) were the least likely to report their village has a council, either independent or shared, while respondents in Daulina (100 percent) and Gulran (97 percent) were the most likely to report such. According to the responses provided by male focus groups, villages with councils of their own are most frequently found in Daulina (100 percent) and least frequently found in Chisht-e Sharif (27 percent). Councils shared between villages are most frequently found in Chisht-e Sharif (54 percent) and least frequently found in Daulina (0 percent).

**Figure 271: Existence of Village Council, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



<sup>68</sup> As with a number of other focus group indicators, responses were tabulated at the focus group level. That is, rather than tallying the number of individual respondents who reported a particular answer, the answer supported by the majority of respondents in the focus group was determined, with the majority responses in each focus group then being tabulated to yield the district and sample aggregates.

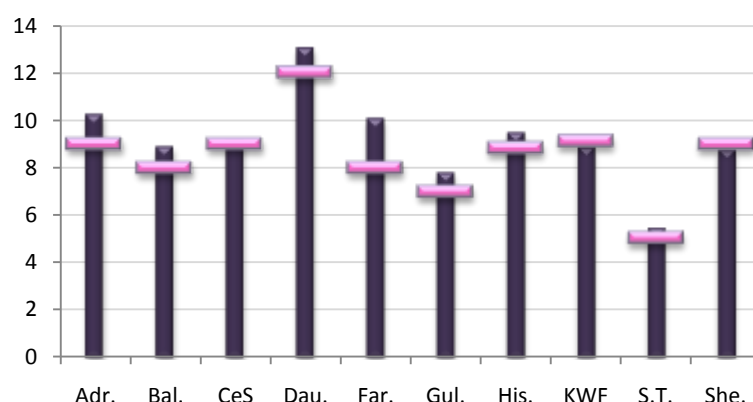


Respondents who indicated that their village has a council, either independent or shared with another village, were asked how many people from the village were members of the council, while respondents who indicated that their village does not have a council were asked how many people comprised the village leadership.<sup>69</sup> Across the full sample, the median response was that the council or village leadership comprised 9 members, with medians ranging from a low of 5 members in Sang Takht to a high of 12 members in Daulina.

**Table 38: Number of Council Members**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	10	2	8	9	11	30
Balkh	9	1	7	8	10	23
Chisht-e Sharif	9	1	4	9	12	50
Daulina	13	4	10	12	16	30
Farsi	10	2	6	8	10	87
Gulran	8	3	5	7	10	20
Hisarak	9	2	7	9	12	19
Khost Wa Firing	9	1	4	9	12	26
Sang Takht	5	1	4	5	7	10
Sherzad	9	2	8	9	10	20
Total	9	1	6	9	11	87

**Figure 272: Average Number of Council Members**



Respondents in all three groups who reported that the village has a village council or more than one member of the village leadership structure were asked how many meetings were held in the past year. Figure 273 below plots the percentage of respondents from the male household and female samples who claimed to have no idea about the number of council meetings held in the past year.<sup>70</sup> Awareness among female respondents was found to be lowest in Sherzad, where just 21 percent of female respondents said that they knew number of council meetings, and Farsi, where 25 percent of female respondents provided a substantive response other than “don’t know”, and highest in Khost Wa Firing (98 percent) and Sherzad (99 percent). Awareness of the number of meetings of the village council or village leaders among male respondents was highest in Gulran (98 percent) and Sang Takht (97 percent) and lowest in Chisht-e Sharif (46 percent), where a majority of villages appeared to have pan-village councils.

<sup>69</sup> Respondents in all three groups were asked this question, but only summary statistics for the responses of male focus group respondents are presented.

<sup>70</sup> Note that those respondents who claimed to know the number of council meetings did not necessarily know the correct number of council meetings.

**Figure 273: Percent of Respondents Unaware of Number of Council Meetings, by District and Respondent Type**

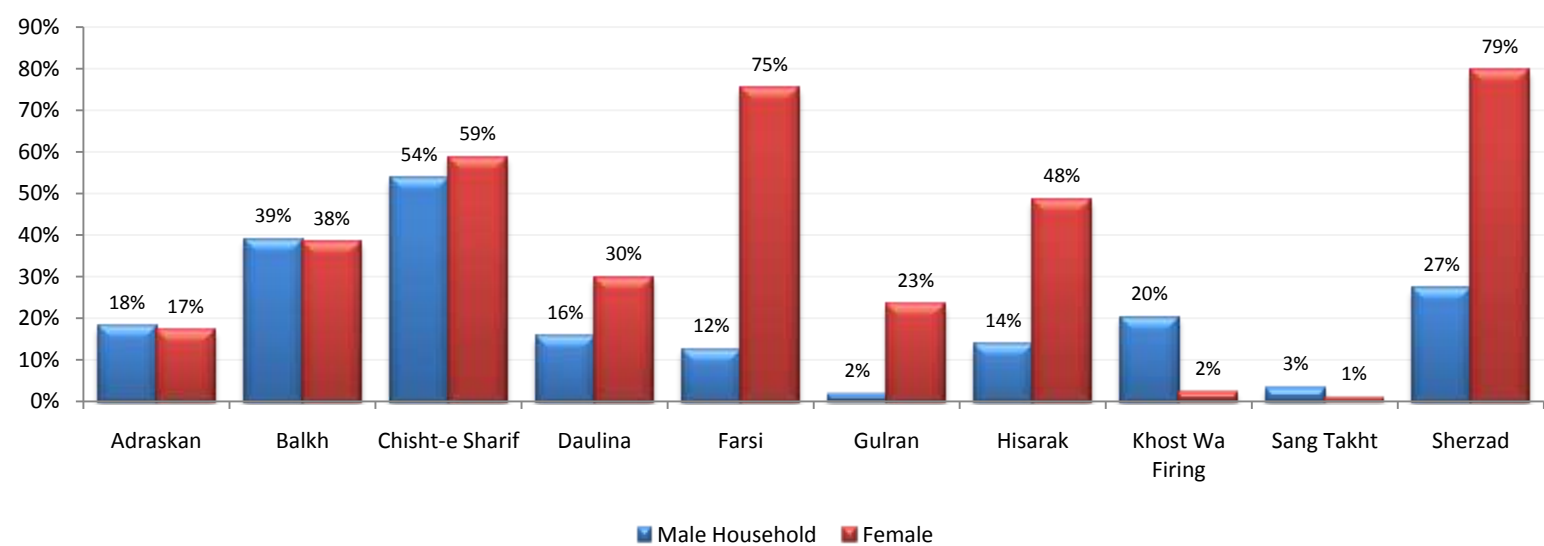


Table 39 and Figure 274 below present summary statistics describing male household respondents estimates of the number of meetings held by the village council or leadership in the past year. Across the full sample, the village council or leadership held a median of 5 meetings each year, with district medians varying from a low of 2 in Daulina to a high of 12 in Chisht-e Sharif and Farsi.

**Table 39: Number of Council Meetings – Male Household**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	5	1	3	4	8	16
Balkh	9	1	3	5	10	52
Chisht-e Sharif	13	2	10	12	12	50
Daulina	2	1	1	2	3	12
Farsi	13	3	12	12	15	30
Gulran	9	1	5	9	12	50
Hisarak	7	1	5	8	9	18
Khost Wa Firing	8	1	5	8	10	40
Sang Takht	5	1	2	4	7	40
Sherzad	10	1	5	10	15	36
Total	8	1	2	5	10	52

**Figure 274: Average Number of Council Meetings – Male Household**

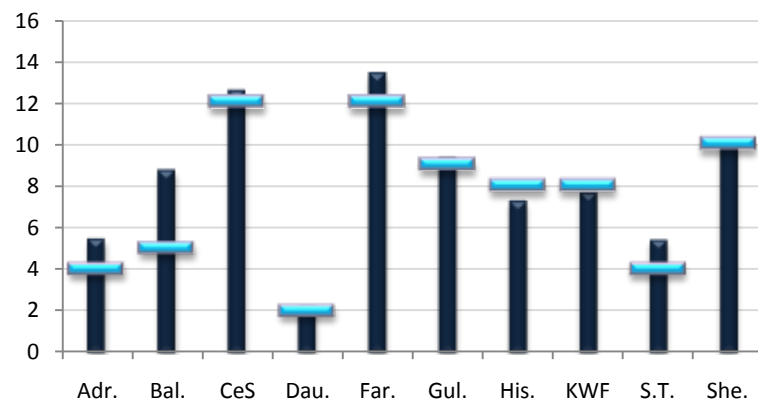


Table 40 and Figure 275 below present summary statistics describing female respondents estimates of the number of meetings held by the village council or leadership in the past year. The median response across the full sample is 4 meetings and most of the district-level medians are noticeably less than those from the male household sample. For example, while male household respondents in Farsi reported a median of 12 meetings, female respondents reported a median of 4 meetings. At the district level, the highest median number of meetings was reported in Sherzad (12 meetings) and the lowest was reported in Daulina (2 meetings).

**Table 40: Number of Council Meetings – Female**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	3	1	2	3	4	10
Balkh	5	1	2	3	5	63
Chisht-e Sharif	7	1	4	6	10	40
Daulina	3	1	1	2	3	65
Farsi	8	3	4	4	7	50
Gulran	9	1	2	4	12	65
Hisarak	7	1	4	7	10	65
Khost Wa Firing	4	1	3	4	6	12
Sang Takht	5	1	2	4	5	30
Sherzad	15	3	12	12	15	65
Total	5	1	2	4	6	65

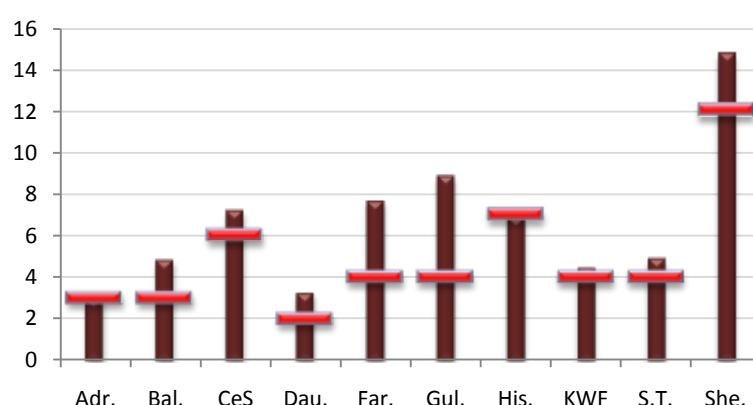
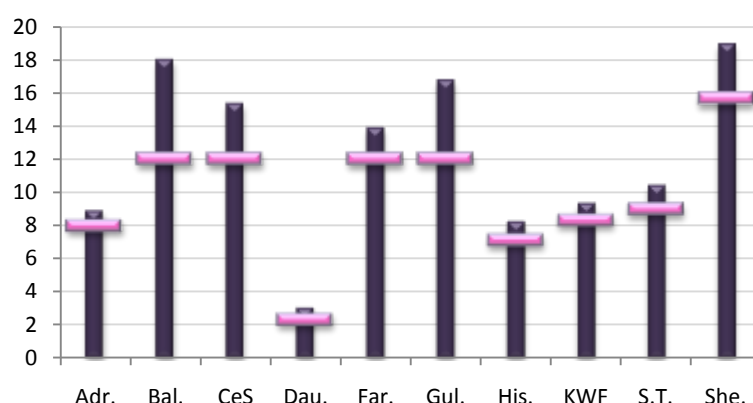
**Figure 275: Average Number of Council Meetings – Female**

Table 41 and Figure 276 below present summary statistics describing male focus group respondents estimates of the number of meetings held by the village council or leadership in the past year. Of the three respondent groups, male focus group respondents had the highest estimates of the number of meetings that had taken place, with a median of 10 meetings across the sample. As with female respondents, medians at the district level peaked at 16 meetings in Sherzad and reached a nadir of 2 meetings in Daulina.

**Table 41: Number of Council Meetings – Male Focus Group**

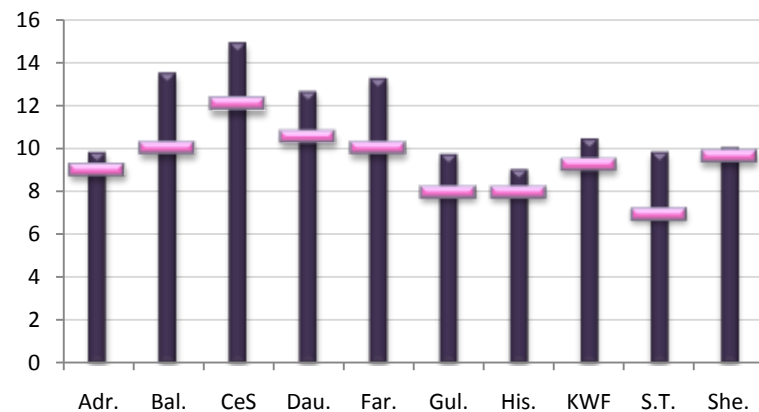
District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	9	1	4	8	12	50
Balkh	18	1	6	12	23	50
Chisht-e Sharif	15	2	10	12	19	52
Daulina	3	1	2	2	4	11
Farsi	14	3	10	12	15	40
Gulran	17	2	5	12	20	50
Hisarak	8	1	5	7	10	19
Khost Wa Firing	9	1	5	8	12	24
Sang Takht	10	2	5	9	16	23
Sherzad	19	4	11	16	24	50
Total	12	1	5	10	15	52

**Figure 276: Avg. Number of Council Meetings – Male Focus Group**

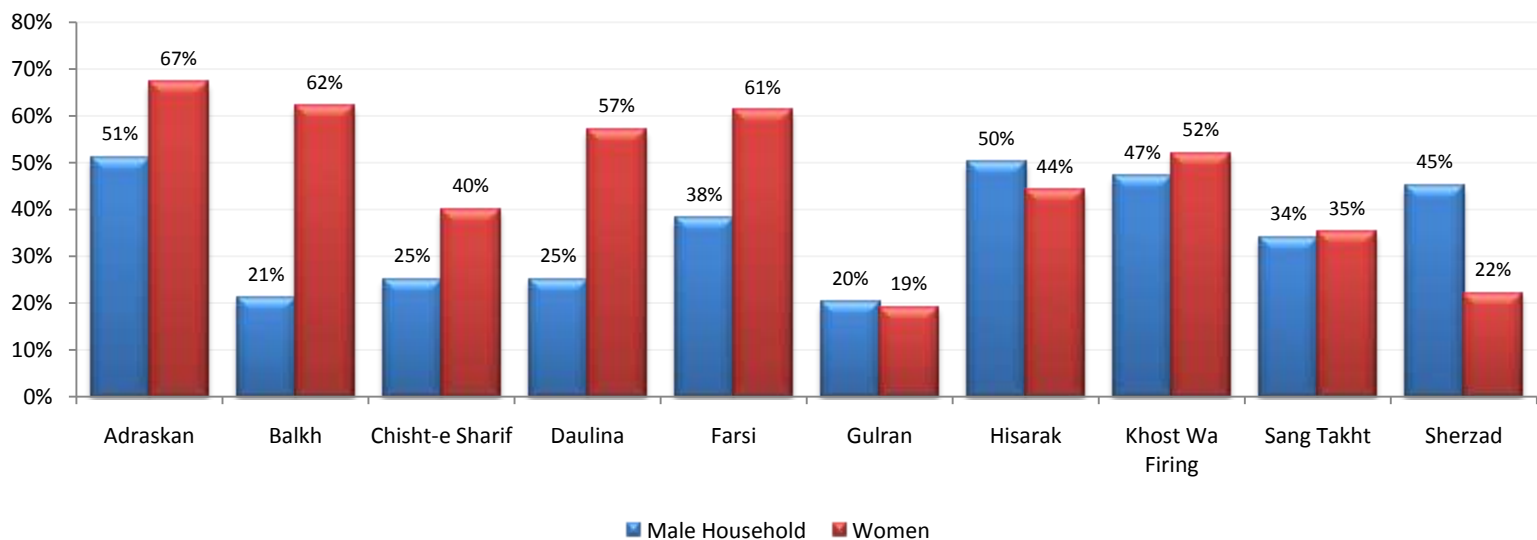
Male focus group respondents were asked how many people attended the last meeting of the village council or leadership, the results of which are presented in Table 42 and Figure 277 below. Across the full sample, the median respondent reported that 9 people attended the most recent council meeting, with median responses varying from a low of 7 people in Sang Takht to a high of 12 people in Chisht-e Sharif.

**Table 42: Attendees at Last Council Meeting**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	10	4	7	9	10	34
Balkh	13	1	6	10	18	70
Chisht-e Sharif	15	4	9	12	15	100
Daulina	13	4	9	11	12	90
Farsi	13	2	9	10	18	50
Gulran	10	3	6	8	10	86
Hisarak	9	4	6	8	10	22
Khost Wa Firing	10	4	6	9	12	32
Sang Takht	10	2	5	7	10	45
Sherzad	10	3	8	10	11	26
Total	11	1	7	9	12	100

**Figure 277: Average Attendees at Last Council Meeting**

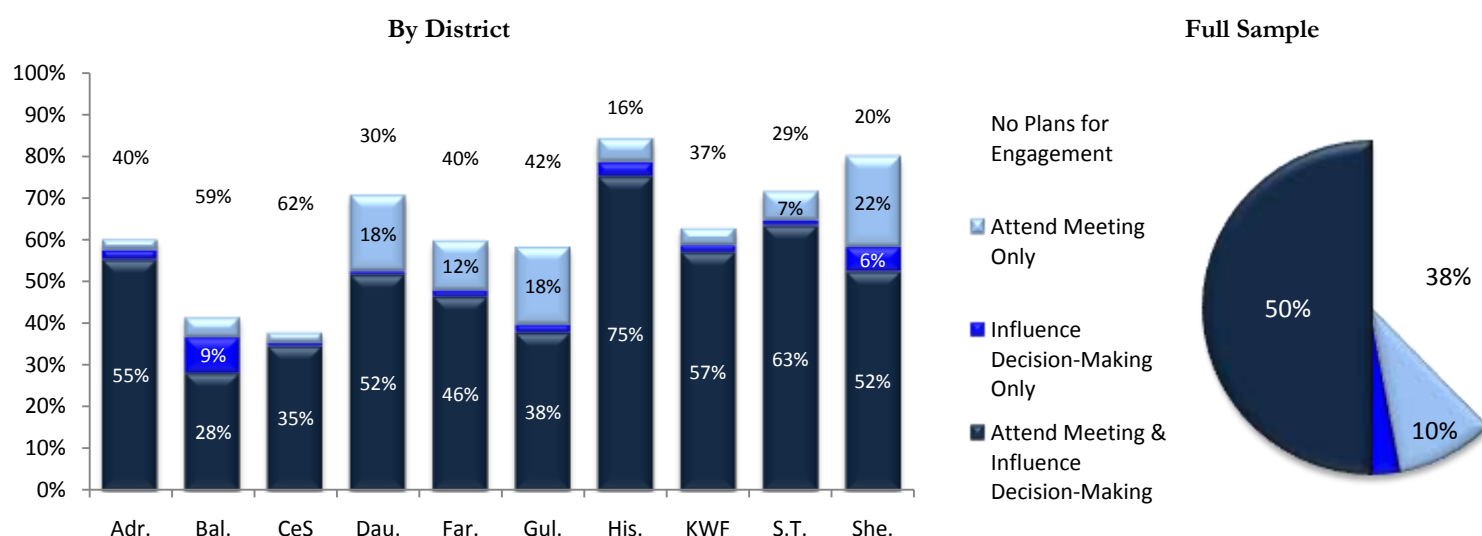
Male household and female respondents were asked whether they or a member of their household were present in meetings of the village council or leadership in the past year. 35 percent of male household respondents and 47 percent of female said that they or a member of their household had attended a meeting, with responses varying from a low of 20 percent for male household respondents and 19 percent for female respondents in Gulran to a high of 51 percent for male household respondents and 67 percent respondents for female respondents in Adraskan.

**Figure 278: Percent of Respondents With Household Member Who Attended Council Meeting in Past Year, by District**

In order to gauge the involvement of villagers in local governance, male household respondents were asked whether they had any plans to attend a meeting of the village council or leadership or to attempt to influence the decision-making of village leaders in the coming year. Across the sample, 50 percent of respondents indicated that they had intentions both to attend a meeting and to attempt to influence the decision-making of the village council or leaders, 3 percent said that they planned to attempt to influence the decision-making of the village council or leaders but had no plans to attend a meeting, 10 percent claimed that they planned to attend a meeting, but had no plans to attempt to influence the decision-making of village leaders, while 38 percent responded that they had no plans to either attend a meeting or influence decision-making. Across the 10 districts, the involvement of villagers in local governance appears to be most common in Hisarak, where 75 percent of respondents indicated that they intended to both influence the decision-making of leaders and attend a meeting, and least common in Balkh and

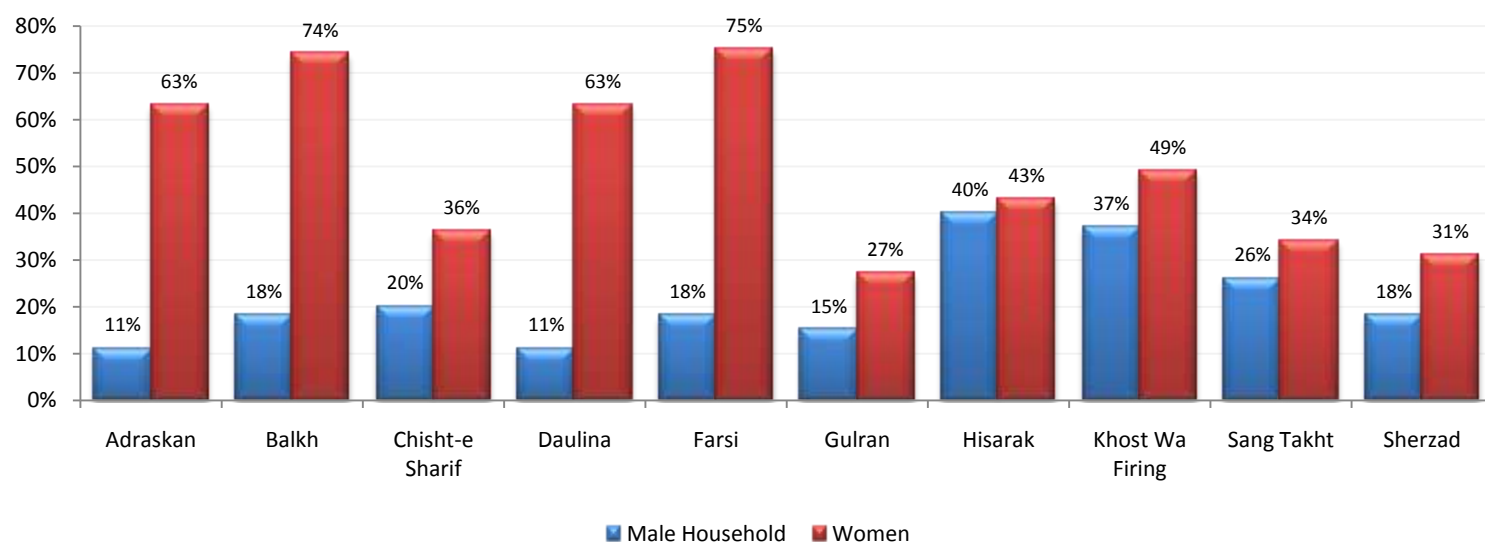
Chisht-e Sharif, where 59 percent and 72 percent of male household respondents respectively reported they had no intention to either attend a meeting or influence the decision-making of the village leaders.

**Figure 279: Planned Engagement by Male Household Respondents in Village Governance in Forthcoming Year**



Across the full sample, 21 percent of male household respondents and 49 percent of female respondents reported that they or a member of their household held membership in the village council or village leadership. Among the sample of female respondents, 75 percent of respondents in Farsi and 74 percent of respondents in Balkh reported that they or a member of their household held membership in the council or village leadership, compared to just 27 percent in Gulran. Among male household respondents, those in Hisarak were most likely to report that they or a member of their household held membership in the village council or were village leaders, with 40 percent of respondents doing so, while respondents in Adraskan and Daulina were the least likely, with 11 percent of respondents in each district reporting such.

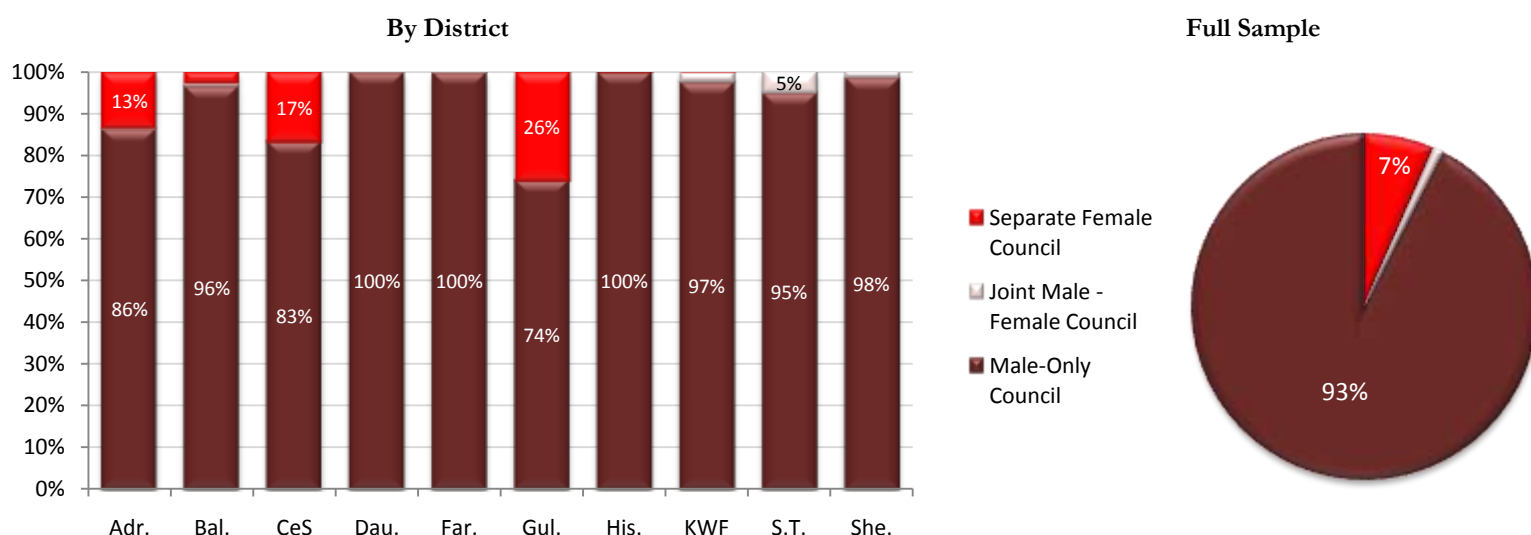
**Figure 280: Percent of Respondents who have a Family Member on Village Council, by District**



Female and male focus group respondents were asked whether any women from the village were members of the village council or held positions in the village leadership or whether there exists a separate village council for women. 93 percent of female respondents reported that, in their village, women neither have membership of the village council nor have a separate council for

management of women's affairs, 7 percent of respondents reported that there is a separate council for women in their village, and just 1 percent of respondents claimed that women were members of the council or leadership in their village. The highest proportion of respondents reporting that there exists a separate council for women in their village was found in Gulran (26 percent), followed by Chisht-e Sharif (17 percent), and Adraskan (13 percent). 5 percent of female respondents in Sang Takht and 2 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing and Sherzad claimed that some women in their village were members of the village council or leadership.

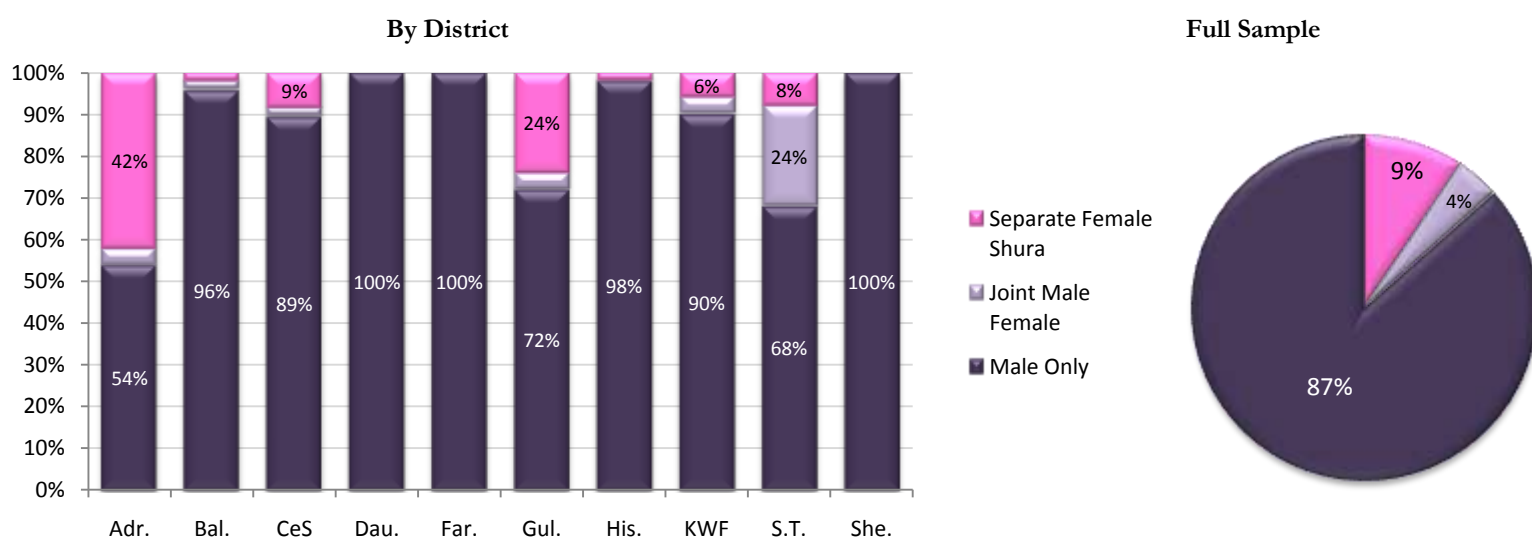
**Figure 281: Composition of Village Council or Leadership, as Reported by Female Respondents**



Interestingly, male focus group respondents were more likely than female respondents to report that women held membership in the village council or leadership or that there exists a separate council exclusively for women. Across the full sample, 87 percent of male focus groups claimed that women had no formal role in village governance, 9 percent of focus groups stated that a separate council for women existed in their village, and 4 percent believed that the village council or leadership comprises both men and women.<sup>71</sup> The highest proportion of focus groups claiming that their village has a separate council for women occurred in Adraskan (42 percent), followed by Gulran (24 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (9 percent), Sang Takht (8 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (6 percent). 24 percent of respondents in Sang Takht reported that their village council or leadership is comprised of both men and women, while 4 percent of male focus groups did so in Adraskan, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing.

<sup>71</sup> Responses were tabulated at the level of focus groups, with the plurality of respondents determining the response for each focus group.

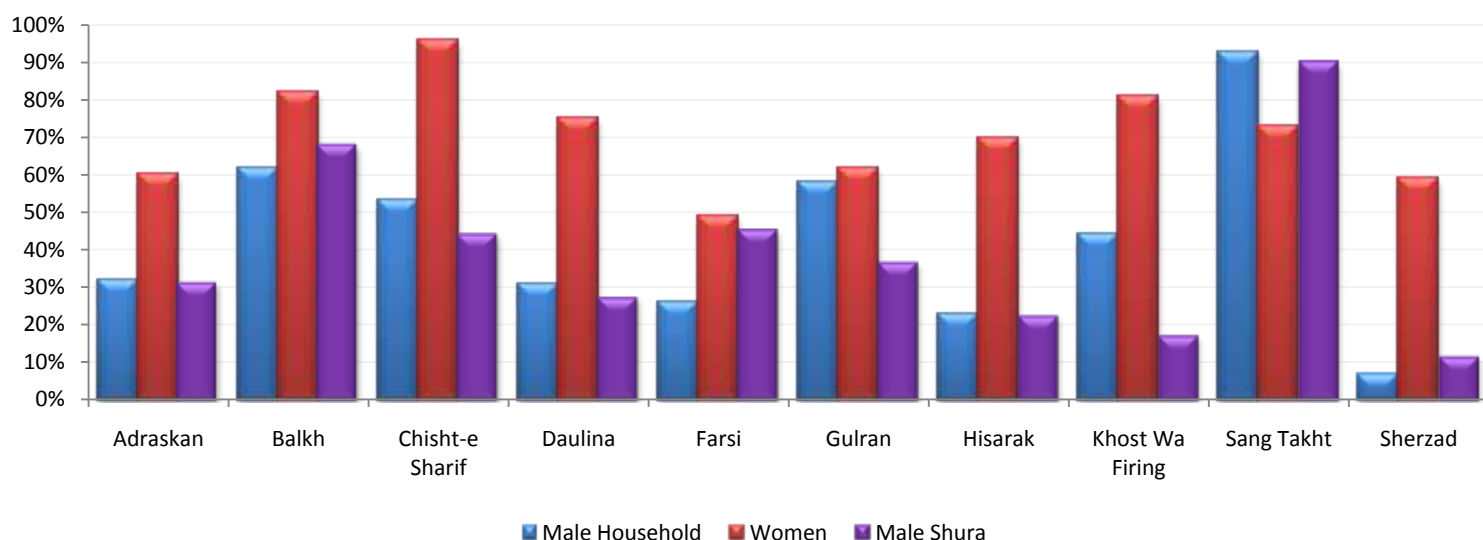
**Figure 282: Composition of Village Council or Leadership, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



Respondents across all three groups were asked whether they believed women should be have membership in the village council or leadership, the results of which are presented in Figure 283 below. Across the full sample, 43 percent of male household respondents, 71 percent of female respondents, and 39 percent of male focus group respondents said that they believed women should have membership. The lowest levels of support among male household and male focus group respondents for female participation in local governance were reported in Sherzad and Hisarak districts. In Sherzad, just 7 percent of male household respondents and 12 percent of male focus group respondents supported female membership in the council or village leadership, while in Hisarak, 23 percent of male household respondents and 23 percent of male focus group respondents did so. Support was also low among male focus group respondents in Khost Wa Firing (17 percent) and male household respondents in Farsi (26 percent). In contrast, 93 percent of male household respondents and 90 percent of male focus group respondents in Sang Takht believe that women should have membership in the village council or leadership. Among female respondents, relatively low levels of support for the induction of women into village councils or leadership was reported in Farsi, where just 49 percent of female respondents agreed that women should have a role in local governance, and in Sherzad (59 percent), Adraskan (60 percent), and Gulran (62 percent). At the other end of the spectrum, 96 percent of female respondents in Chisht-e Sharif said that they thought women should have membership in the village council or leadership.



**Figure 283: Support for Female Membership in Village Council, by Respondent Type and District**



Respondents were also asked whether they believed there should be a separate council for women. Male household and male focus group respondents supported this with much greater frequency than the incorporation of women into the village councils or local leadership structures traditionally dominated by men. Across the full sample, 85 percent of male household respondents, 88 percent of female respondents, and 75 percent of male focus group respondents expressed support for the idea. Among male household respondents, the lowest level of support was registered in Sherzad (60 percent) and the highest in Adraskan (94 percent), Gulran (94 percent), and Hisarak (94 percent). Sherzad also had the lowest level of support reported by female respondents (43 percent), with women in Chisht-e Sharif being the most supportive (92 percent). The idea of creating a separate village council for women was found to be relatively unpopular with male focus group respondents in Daulina (64 percent), while those in Sang Takht (97 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (98 percent), and Gulran (100 percent) were almost universally supportive of the idea.

**Figure 284: Support for Creation of Separate Female Council, by Respondent Type and District**

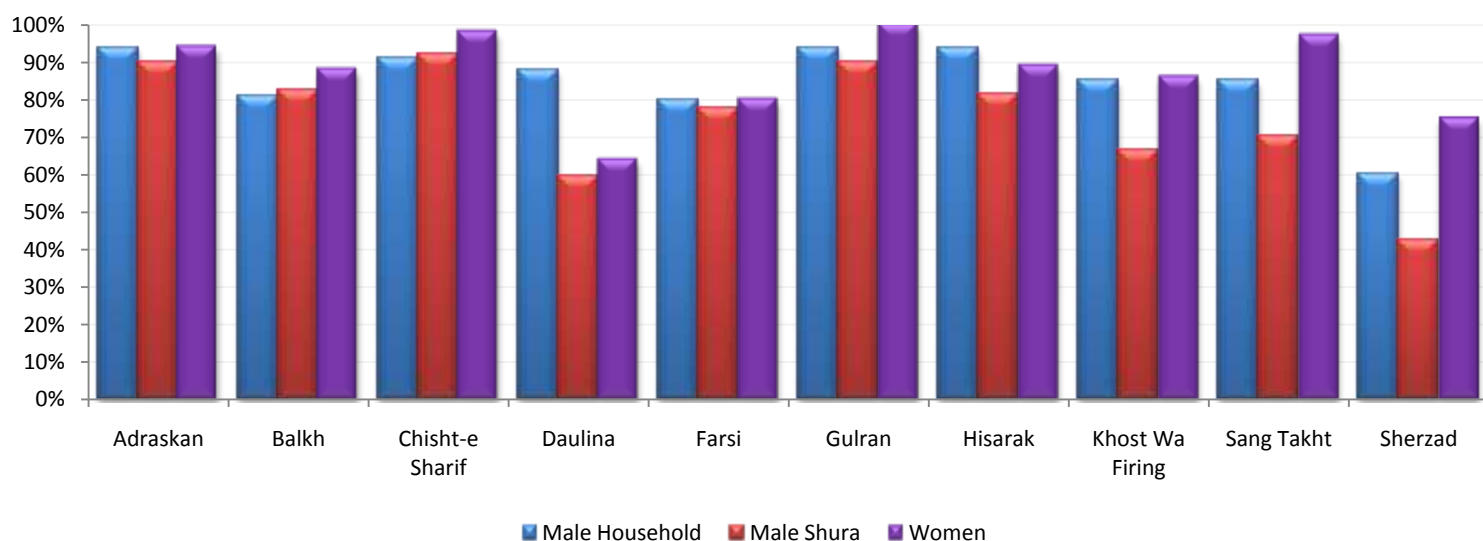
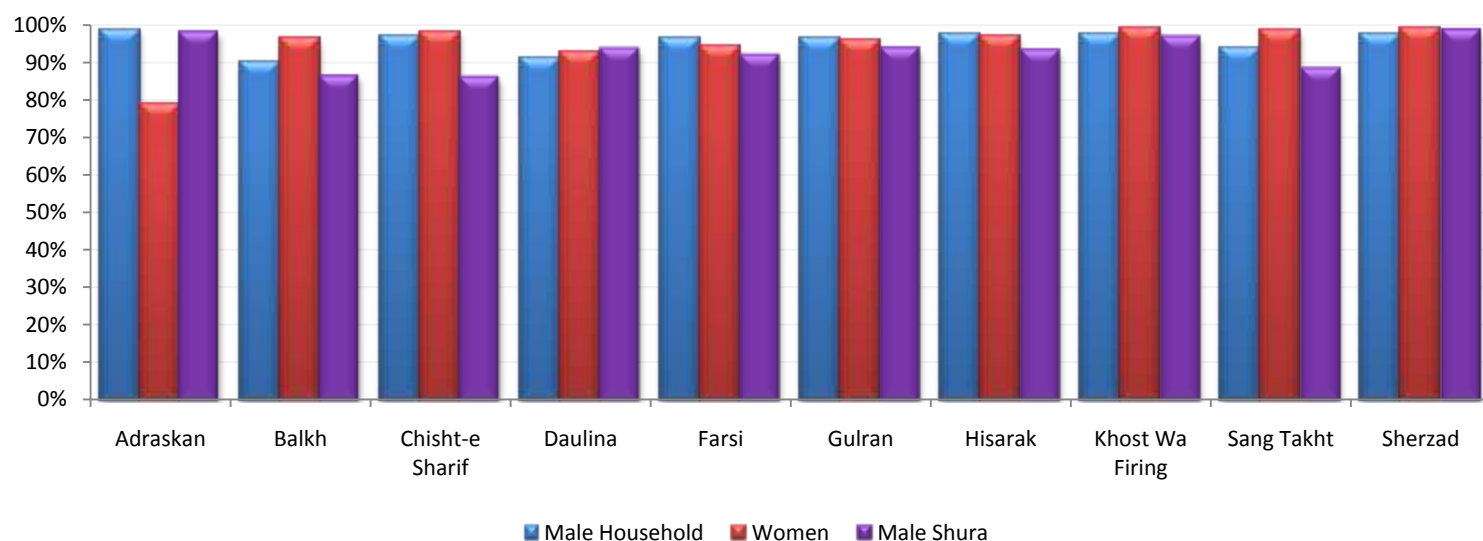


Figure 285 below plots the percent of respondents in each district that agree with the statement that members of the village council or leaders should be elected. Purported support for elections are extremely high across respondent groups in all districts and averaged 95 percent among male household and female respondents and 91 percent among male focus group respondents. Female

respondents in Adraskan expressed the lowest level of support of any of the different respondent groups, at 79 percent, followed by male focus group respondents in Balkh and Chisht-e Sharif, where 86 percent of respondents say that members of the village council or leadership should be elected.

**Figure 285: Support for Election of Village Council or Leaders, by District and Respondent Type**



To gather information concerning the existing methods of selecting members of the village council or leadership, respondents across the three groups were asked how their current local leadership was selected. A summary of the answers provided by male household respondents is provided in Figure 286 below.<sup>72</sup> 77 percent of male household respondents reported that the council members or leaders are selected or elected by the people of the village; 77 percent claimed that personal qualities – such as literacy, behavior, and wisdom - are an important consideration;<sup>73</sup> 33 percent cited religious qualifications, such as theological knowledge, approval of religious scholars, or some kind of divine authority;<sup>74</sup> 12 percent implied that council members or leaders inherited the authority through birthright; 19 percent claimed that the authority was itself derived from other positions of authority or power, such as holding the position of paramilitary commander or headman;<sup>75</sup> and 28 percent of respondents reported that council members or leaders were selected by other authorities, whether in the village or outside of it.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Figure 286 – Figure 291 present the percentage of respondents who cited each method or criterion. As respondents were permitted to provide multiple answers to the question in the case that they believed that there was more than one criterion or method for selecting members of the village council or leadership, the sum of the percentages of respondents who cited each method or criterion is in excess of 100 percent.

<sup>73</sup> 54 percent of male household respondents claimed that literacy was an important consideration in deciding who became a member of the village council or local leadership; 52 percent cited good behavior; and 39 percent mentioned wisdom.

<sup>74</sup> 6 percent mentioned divine authority, 22 percent of respondents cited theological knowledge, and 12 percent said respondents were selected by religious scholars.

<sup>75</sup> 10 percent of respondents said council members or leaders had acted to protect the village at some stage; 6 percent said council members or leaders had experience as a member of the *mujahedeen*; and 6 percent said council members or leaders derived their positions from status as village headmen.

<sup>76</sup> 18 percent of respondents said council members or leaders were selected by tribal elders, 5 percent said they were selected by members of the *mujahedeen*, 3 percent claimed that the selection was done by village headmen, 4 percent claimed it was done by other village authorities, 3 percent said it was done by existing members of the village council or local leadership, 2 percent claimed the selection was done by the district

The proportion of respondents claiming that council members of village leaders were selected either selected by villagers or chosen based on their good personal qualities was generally high across all districts, although just 47 percent of respondents in Sherzad and 56 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif claimed villagers had a role in selecting the local leadership, while 45 percent of respondents in Sherzad cited personal characteristics as being important.<sup>77</sup> The proportion of respondents citing religious qualifications as informing the selection of members of the village council or key village leaders ranged from 11 percent in Balkh and 13 percent in Gulran to 54 percent in Farsi and 55 percent in Khost Wa Firing;<sup>78</sup> hereditary considerations varied from 1 percent in Daulina and Gulran to 56 percent in Sherzad; the proportion of respondents drawing authority inherited from other positions or *de facto* authority varies from 1 percent in Adraskan and 2 percent in Balkh to 57 percent in Sherzad;<sup>79</sup> with the selection by other authorities ranging from 7 percent in Balkh to 57 percent in Sherzad.<sup>80</sup>

**Figure 286: Status Quo Criteria for Selection of Village Council or Leaders - Male Household Respondents**

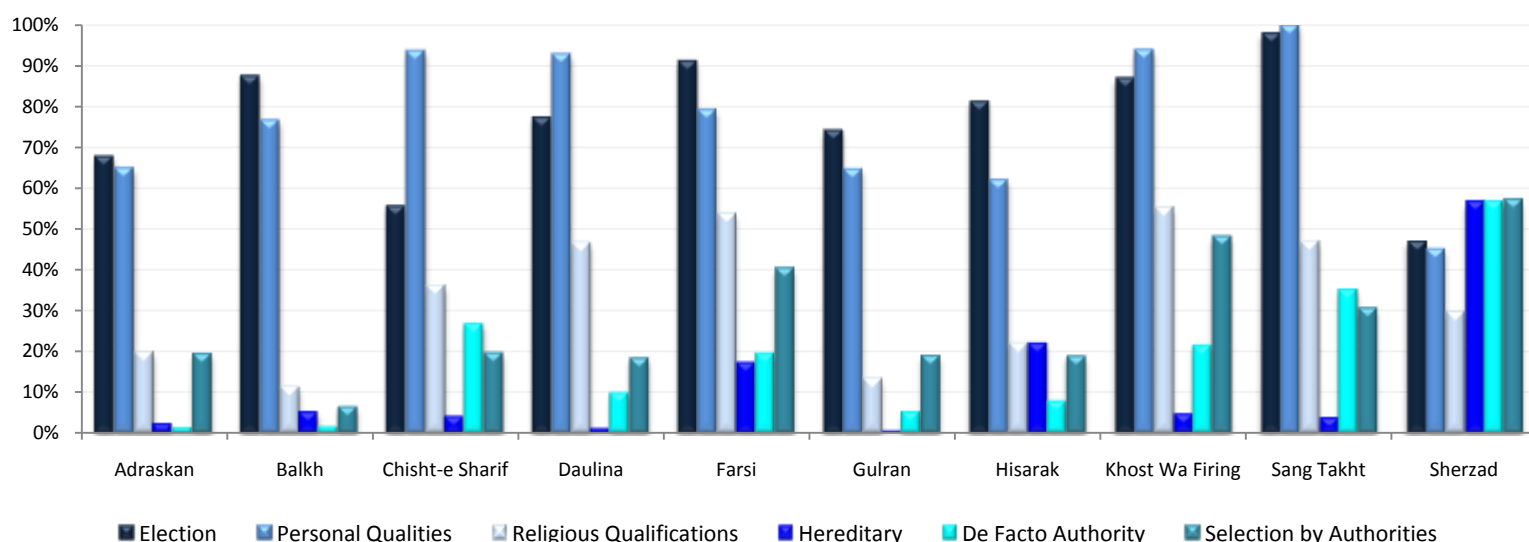


Figure 287 below plots the responses of female respondents concerning how members of the village council or leadership are selected. 71 percent of female respondents said that council members or village leaders were selected by the people; 64 percent cited personal characteristics

administrator, 1 percent by the provincial governor, 2 percent by the central government, and 1 percent by non-governmental organizations.

<sup>77</sup> The proportion of respondents citing literacy as a key consideration ranged from 21 percent in Gulran and 31 percent in Sherzad to 85 percent in Daulina and 98 percent in Sang Takht; good behavior ranged from 15 percent in Sherzad to 73 percent in Khost Wa Firing and 80 percent in Sang Takht; and wisdom ranged from 8 percent in Balkh and 18 percent in Sherzad to 61 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, 64 percent in Sang Takht, and 68 percent in Daulina.

<sup>78</sup> Theological knowledge was a criterion cited by respondents with particular frequency in Daulina (43 percent), Khost Wa Firing (41 percent), and Sang Takht (39 percent); divine authority by respondents in Sherzad (19 percent); and selection by religious scholars in Farsi (29 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (26 percent).

<sup>79</sup> 31 percent of respondents in Sang Takht claimed that council members or village leaders were selected because they had protected the village; 39 percent of respondents in Sherzad said that council members of village leaders held their position owing to their status as *mujahed*; and 23 percent of respondents in Sherzad mentioned that council members or village leaders were selected due to their position as village headmen.

<sup>80</sup> 31 percent of respondents in Sherzad mentioned that council members or village leaders were selected by the *mujahed*; 45 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing claimed they were selected by tribal elders; and 20 percent of respondents in Sherzad mentioned selection by the village headman.

of the candidates; 37 percent mentioned religious qualifications; 7 percent said that the position had been inherited; 16 percent claimed that seats on the village council or leadership positions had been obtained through de facto authority; and 42 percent said that the council members or village leaders had been selected by other persons in leadership positions. The proportion of respondents claiming that council members or village leaders had been selected by the people of the village was high almost everywhere, although just 23 percent of respondents in Daulina made this claim. Appreciable between-district variation was observed in the percentage of respondents referring to the personal qualities of candidates, with proportions ranging from 13 percent in Chisht-e Sharif to 98 percent in Gulran. Among the other criterion and methods for selecting council members and village leaders, the proportion of respondents citing religious qualifications varied from lows of 4 percent in Chisht-e Sharif and 5 percent in Adraskan to 79 percent in Sherzad; hereditary went from 0 percent in Khost Wa Firing to 53 percent in Sherzad; *de facto* authority from 1 percent in Adraskan and 2 percent in Sang Takht to 31 percent in Gulran and 34 percent in Daulina; and selection by other authorities from 3 percent in Gulran to 90 percent in Sherzad.

**Figure 287: Status Quo Criteria for Selection of Village Council or Leaders - Female Respondents**

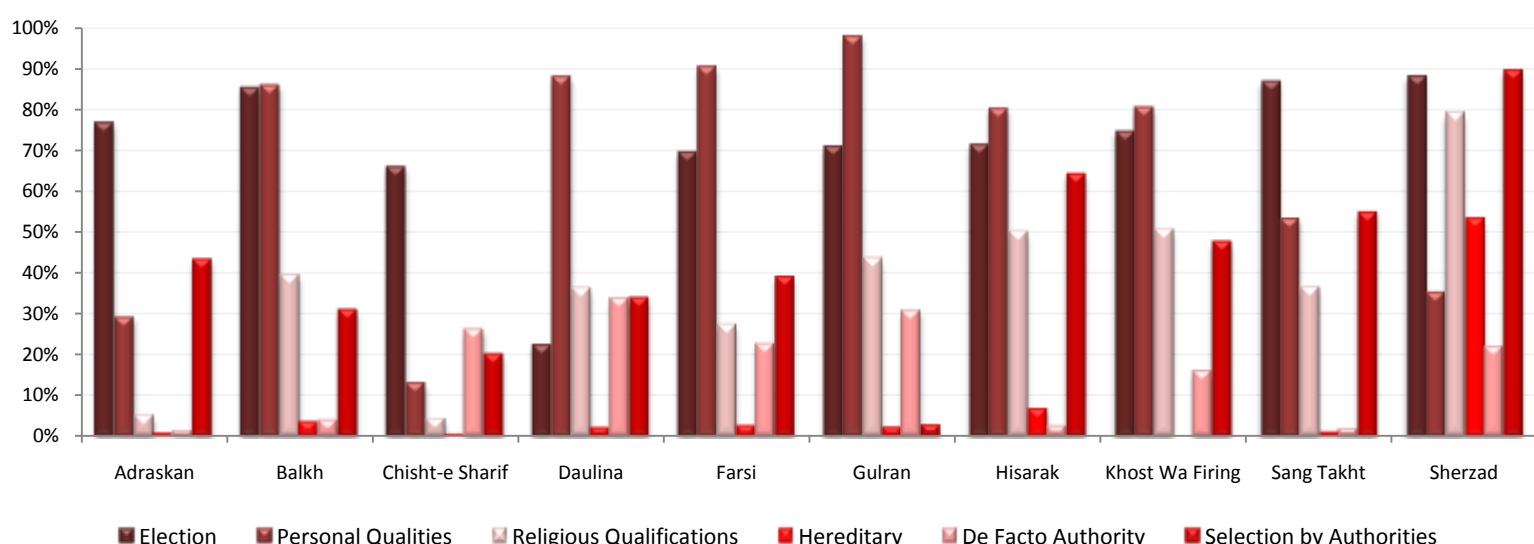
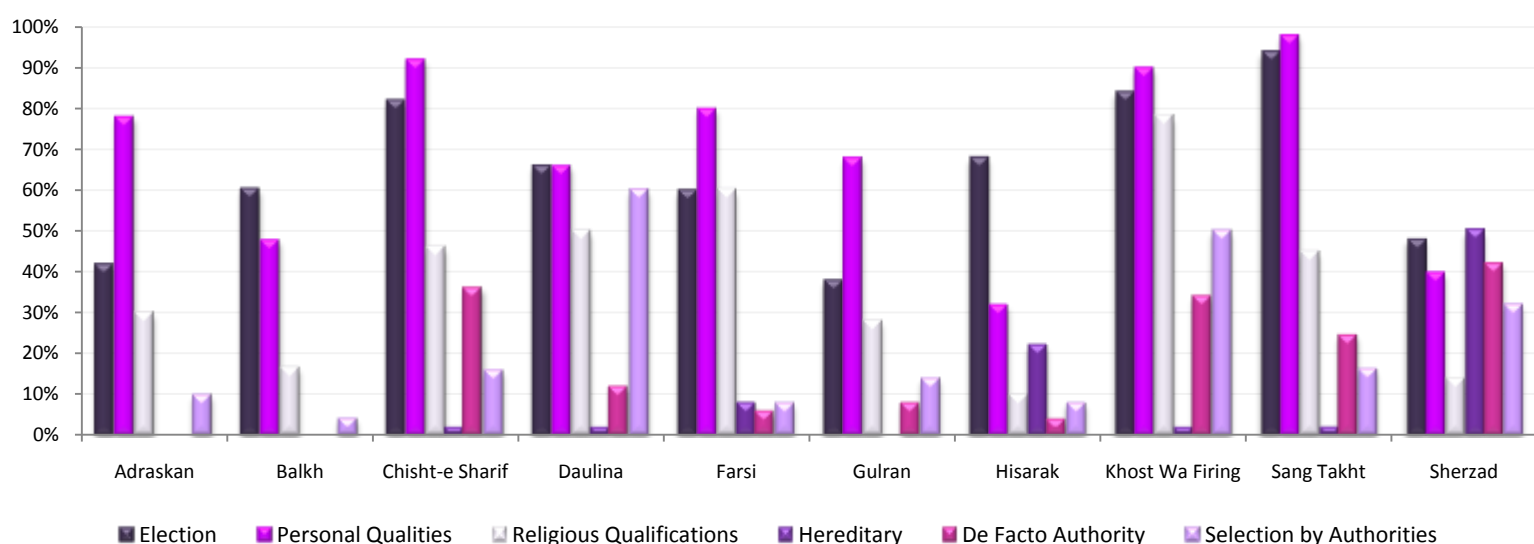


Figure 288 below presents the answers of male focus group respondents to the question of how members of the village council or village leadership are selected. Across the full sample, 64 percent of respondents claimed village council members or leaders were selected by the people of the village; 69 percent cited personal characteristics of candidates; 38 percent mentioned the religious qualifications of those selected; 9 percent said that the positions are hereditary; 17 percent said that de facto authority played a part in determining who became a member and who didn't; and 22 percent claimed that members were selected by persons in other positions of authority. The proportion of male focus group respondents claiming that selection by villagers plays a part in determining membership in the council or leadership of the village ranged from 38 percent in Gulran to 94 percent in Sang Takht; proportions of respondents mentioning personal qualities as a key criterion varied from 32 percent in Hisarak to 98 percent in Sang Takht; religious qualifications from 10 percent in Hisarak to 78 percent in Khost Wa Firing; hereditary structures from 0 percent in Adraskan and Gulran to 50 percent in Sherzad; *de facto* authority from 0 percent in Adraskan and Balkh to 42 percent in Sherzad; and selection by other authorities from 4 percent in Balkh to 60 percent in Daulina.

**Figure 288: Status Quo Criteria for Selection of Village Council or Leaders – Male Focus Group Respondents**



In addition to being asked the positive question about how the members of the village council or leadership are selected, respondents were also asked a normative question about how they should be selected. The responses of male household respondents were relatively similar to those given in response to the positive question, with 87 percent of respondents saying that village council members or village leaders should be selected by the people of the village, 88 percent reporting that the decision should be based on personal characteristics,<sup>81</sup> 39 percent claiming that religious qualifications should play a role,<sup>82</sup> 5 percent saying that leaders should inherit the position, 17 percent claiming that the selection should be based on de facto authority,<sup>83</sup> and 36 percent saying that the selection should be done by existing authorities.<sup>84</sup> The proportion of respondents believing that the selection should be made by the people varied from 71 percent in Adraskan to 98 percent in Sang Takht; the proportion of respondents citing personal characteristics ranged from 59 percent in Gulran to 99 percent in Khost Wa Firing and Sang Takht;<sup>85</sup> the percentage of respondents citing religious qualifications as a preferred criterion went from 10 percent in Balkh and 13 percent in Gulran to 64 percent in Farsi and 65 percent in Khost Wa Firing;<sup>86</sup> support for hereditary structures ranges from 1 percent in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, and Gulran to 28

<sup>81</sup> 68 percent cited literacy as a criterion, 65 percent mentioned good behavior, and 46 percent cited wisdom.

<sup>82</sup> 5 percent of respondents claimed that council members or leaders should have some form of divine authority, 28 percent mentioned theological knowledge, and 16 percent claimed they should be selected by religious scholars.

<sup>83</sup> 13 percent of respondents said that council members or leaders should be selected based on experience protecting the village, 1 percent claimed they should have experience as *mujahedeen*, and 4 percent said that they should already hold a position of village headman.

<sup>84</sup> 20 percent of respondents said that council members or leaders should be selected by tribal elders, 6 percent by other village authorities, 3 percent by existing members of the village council, 2 percent by *mujahedeen*, while selection by any of the other authorities garnered the support of 1 percent or less of respondents.

<sup>85</sup> The importance of literacy varied from 30 percent in Gulran and 35 percent in Adraskan to 93 percent in Daulina and 98 percent in Sang Takht, while good behavior ranged from 26 percent in Gulran to between 80 and 82 percent in Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, Sang Takht, and Sherzad, and wisdom went from just 8 percent in Balkh to 60 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, 62 percent in Khost Wa Firing, 64 percent in Sang Takht, and 69 percent in Daulina.

<sup>86</sup> Divine authority varied from 1 percent in Daulina and Sang Takht to 8 percent in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, and Farsi, and 9 percent in Sherzad; theological knowledge varied from 3 percent in Balkh to 53 percent in Khost Wa Firing; and selection by religious scholars ranged from 5 percent in Balkh to 37 percent in Farsi.

percent in Sherzad; the proportion of respondents believing *de facto* authority should be a key criterion went from just 2 percent in Balkh, Gulran, and Hisarak to 36 percent in Sang Takht;<sup>87</sup> while the proportion of respondents believing that selection should be done by other authorities ranged from 8 percent in Balkh to 64 percent in Sherzad.<sup>88</sup>

**Figure 289: Preferred Criteria for Selection of Village Council or Leaders - Male Household Respondents**

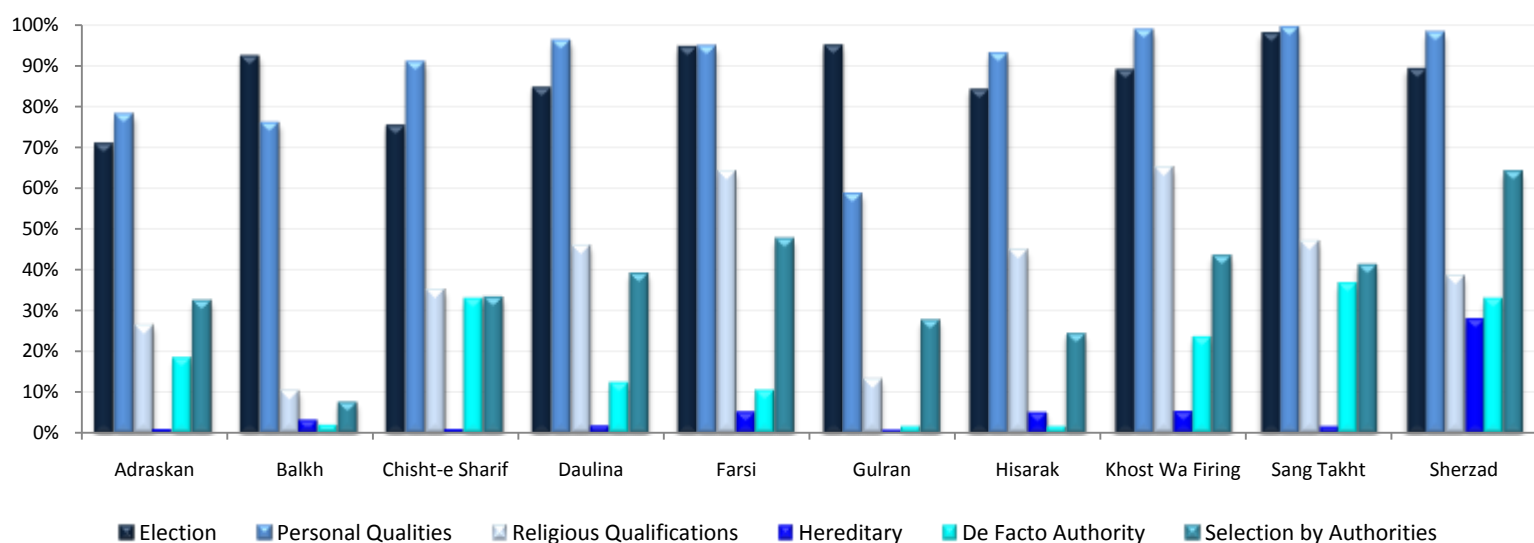


Figure 290 presents information concerning the proportion of respondents in each district which cited particular methods or criterion as ways in which members of the village council or local leadership should be selected. 61 percent of female respondents said that council members or village leaders should be selected by the people; 79 percent cited personal characteristics of the candidates; 25 percent mentioned religious qualifications; 2 percent said that the position should be inherited; 10 percent said that seats on the village council or leadership positions should be allocated to those with *de facto* authority; and 40 percent said that the council members or village leaders should be selected by other persons in leadership positions. The proportion of female respondents claiming that villagers should select council members or the village leadership ranged from lows of 19 percent in Adraskan and 31 percent in Sherzad to a peak of 98 percent in Gulran; personal characteristics were cited by just 34 percent of respondents in Daulina and Gulran, but between 93 percent and 97 percent of respondents in Adraskan, Farsi, Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, Sang Takht, and Sherzad; the range of respondents citing religious qualifications as a preferred criterion went from a low of 4 percent in Adraskan to a high of 47 percent in Sang Takht; the proportion of female respondents saying that the position should be inherited reached a nadir of 0 percent in Gulran but peaked at 7 percent in Sherzad; the number of respondents citing *de facto* authority as a preferred means of selection went from 2 percent in Chisht-e Sharif and Hisarak to 22 percent in Daulina; and selection by other authorities varied from a low of 4 percent in Adraskan to a high of 69 percent in Daulina.

<sup>87</sup> Protection of the village ranged from lows of 0 percent in Gulran and Hisarak and 1 percent in Balkh to 34 percent in Sang Takht; experience as a *mujahed* peaked at 4 percent in Sherzad; and experience as a village headman ranged from 0 percent in Adraskan to 13 percent in Sherzad.

<sup>88</sup> Selection by elders ranged from 4 percent in Balkh to 32 percent in Farsi and Khost Wa Firing; selection by the village headman peaked at 15 percent in Sherzad; selection by village authorities varied from 0 percent in Balkh and Hisarak to 25 percent in Sherzad; selection by *mujahed* peaked at 4 percent in Khost Wa Firing; and selection by village council members peaked at 10 percent in Sherzad.



**Figure 290: Preferred Criteria for Selecting Council Members or Leaders - Female Respondents**

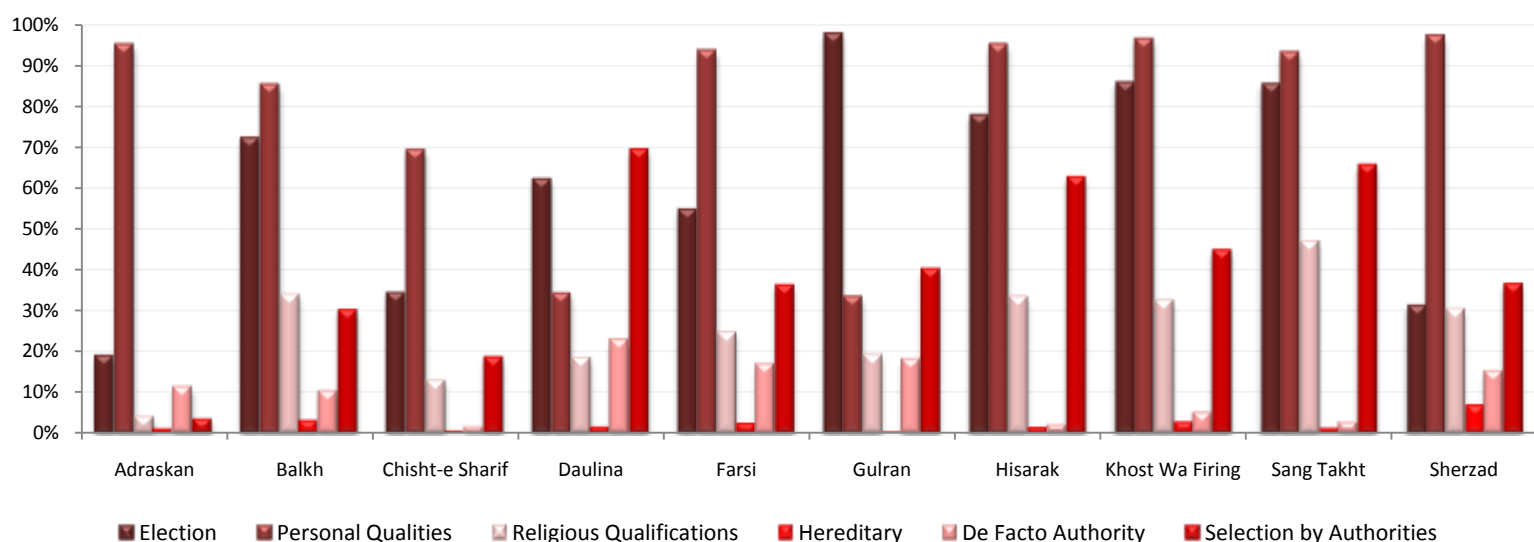
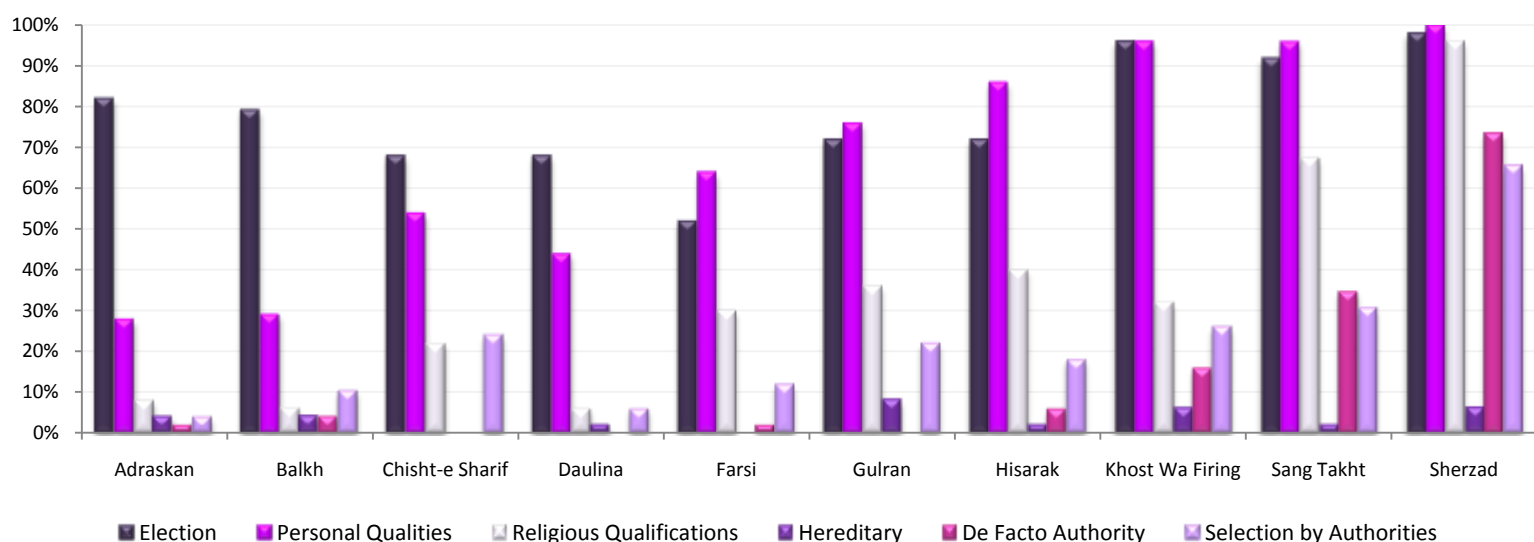


Figure 291 plots the methods and criteria preferred by male focus group respondents in each district. Across the full sample, 78 percent of respondents said that village council members or village leaders should be selected by the people of the village, 67 percent reported that the decision should be based on personal characteristics, 34 percent claimed that religious qualifications should play a role, 3 percent said that leaders should inherit the position, 14 percent claimed that the selection should be based on de facto authority, and 22 percent said that the selection should be done by existing authorities. The proportion of respondents claiming that selection or election by villagers should the means of selection varied from a low of 52 percent in Farsi to a high of 96 percent in Khost Wa Firing; the proportion of respondents believing personal qualities should the means of determining who has a seat on the village council or holds a leadership position in the village ranges from 28 percent in Adraskan and 29 percent in Balkh to 96 percent in Khost Wa Firing and Sang Takht and 100 percent in Sherzad; religious qualifications varied from 6 percent in Balkh and Daulina and 8 percent in Adraskan to 96 percent in Sherzad; hereditary structures were most frequently supported by respondents in Khost Wa Firing (6 percent); Sherzad (6 percent), and Gulran (8 percent); *de facto* authority varied from a low of 0 percent in Chisht-e Sharif and Daulina to 73 percent in Sherzad; while selection by other authorities bottomed out at 4 percent in Adraskan and 6 percent in Daulina and peaked at 65 percent of respondents in Sherzad.



**Figure 291: Preferred Criteria for Selecting Council Members of Leaders - Male Focus Group Respondents**



### *Activities of Village Leadership*

This section presents information about the actions and activities of the village leadership, the preferences of villagers concerning the actions and activities of the village leadership, and the level of satisfaction of respondents with the village leadership.<sup>89</sup> Respondents across the three groups were asked about the main work of the council or village leadership in the past year, about other work done by the council or village leadership in the past year, and the three most important things that the council or village leadership should do in the coming year, while female respondents were also asked about what the council or village leadership had done for women in the past year. In order to gather information about the decision-making process of the council, respondents were asked whether, in making decisions, the council considers the opinions and interests of all villagers, important villagers, their own, or some mixture of the three. Male household and female respondents were also asked whether the council or village leadership did something in the past year that they disagreed with and about their level of satisfaction with the performance of their council or village leaders. In the event that respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the council members or village leaders, respondents were asked to describe the action of which they disapproved.

All three respondent groups were asked to provide information concerning the main work completed in the past year by the village council or, in the event that the respondent reported that the village does not have a council, by the village leadership. Figure 292 presents a summary, at the district and sample aggregate level, of the answers provided by male household respondents. Across the full sample, 32 percent of respondents reported that their village council or local leadership had not done anything in the past year, 44 percent of respondents reported that most of the work of the council or leadership comprised dispute resolution, 18 percent said that the main thing done by the council or leadership was to implement or manage a development project, while 4 percent referred to work completed by the council or leadership which involved the enforcement or promulgation of codes of morality or religious teachings.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Of the questions presented in this section which were administered to female respondents, all were asked in the individual setting.

<sup>90</sup> The definition for the categories presented in Figure 292 – 295 is given in Appendix VII below.

The proportion of respondents who claimed that their council or leaders had done nothing in the past year varied significantly between districts, with just 9 percent of respondents in Sherzad reporting that their local leadership had been inactive in the past year, compared to 77 percent of respondents in Balkh. The type of work that was reported varied as well. For example, while 89 percent of respondents in Hisarak reporting that their council or leaders had done something in the past year cited dispute resolution as the main work, just 24 percent of such respondents in Sang Takht and 32 percent of such respondents in Balkh did so. Similarly, while only 2 percent of respondents in Hisarak with active local leadership cited construction or management of development projects as the most important work, 72 percent of such respondents in Sang Takht did so. The highest proportion of respondents with active local leadership who cited work pertaining to morality or religion was observed in Farsi (9 percent), Balkh (9 percent), and Sherzad (8 percent).

**Figure 292: Main Work of Village Council or Leaders in Past Year, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**

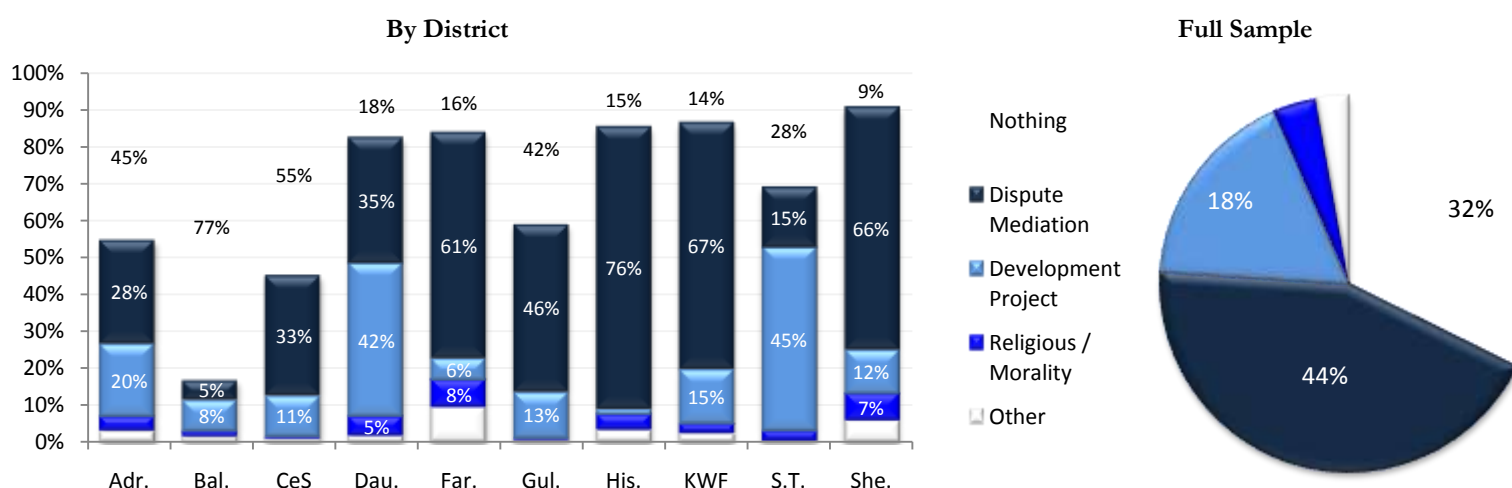


Figure 293 summarizes the answers provided by female respondents concerning the work of the village council or local leadership in the past year, as perceived by female respondents. A greater proportion of female than male household respondents perceived that their village council or leadership had done nothing of importance over the past year (41 percent), while a lesser proportion saw dispute mediation as the main activity (23 percent), and a higher proportion identified the implementation or management of a development project (27 percent). 3 percent of female respondents reported that religious or moral instruction enforcement was the main work done by the council or leadership over the past year. The proportion of female respondents reporting that their council or leaders had done no important work in the past year varied from 12 percent of respondents in Sherzad to 64 percent of respondents in Gulran. Among respondents who could identify something that their local leadership had done in the past year, dispute resolution was most commonly cited in Hisarak (68 percent of respondents who could identify an activity of their council or leaders) and least frequently in Sang Takht (13 percent), Khost Wa Firing (14 percent), and Sherzad (16 percent); development projects were most frequently mentioned in Sherzad (74 percent), Khost Wa Firing (79 percent) and Sang Takht (82 percent) and least frequently in Hisarak (7 percent); and religious and morality-related actions were cited with relative commonality in Hisarak (11 percent) and Daulina (14 percent).

**Figure 293: Main Work of Village Council or Leaders in Past Year, as Reported by Female Respondents**

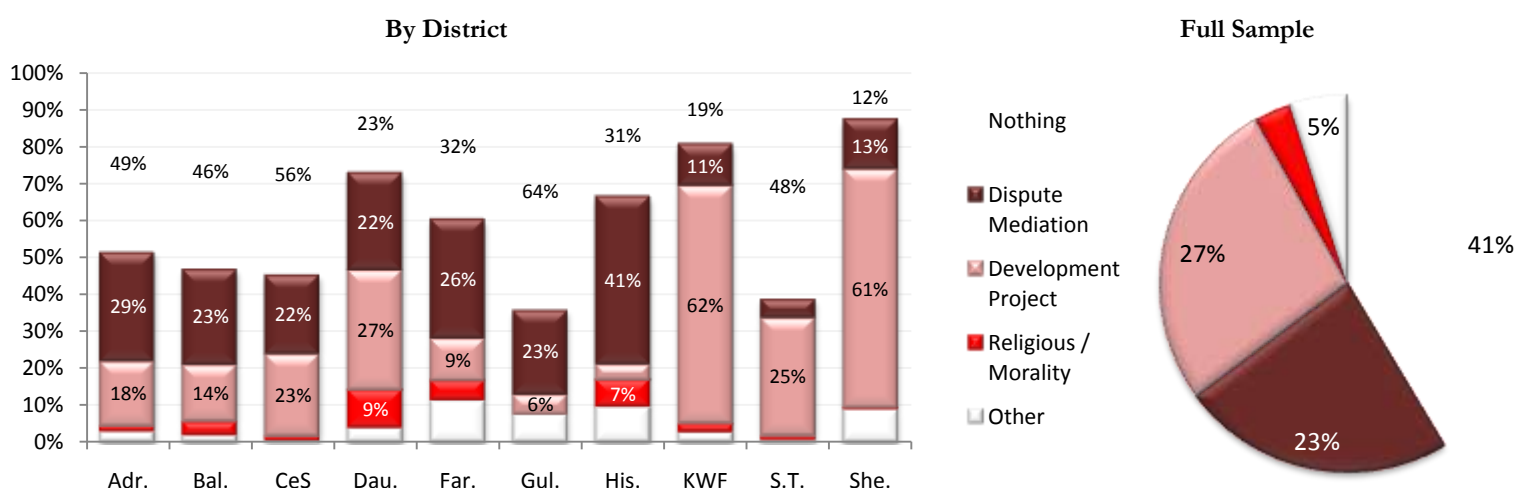
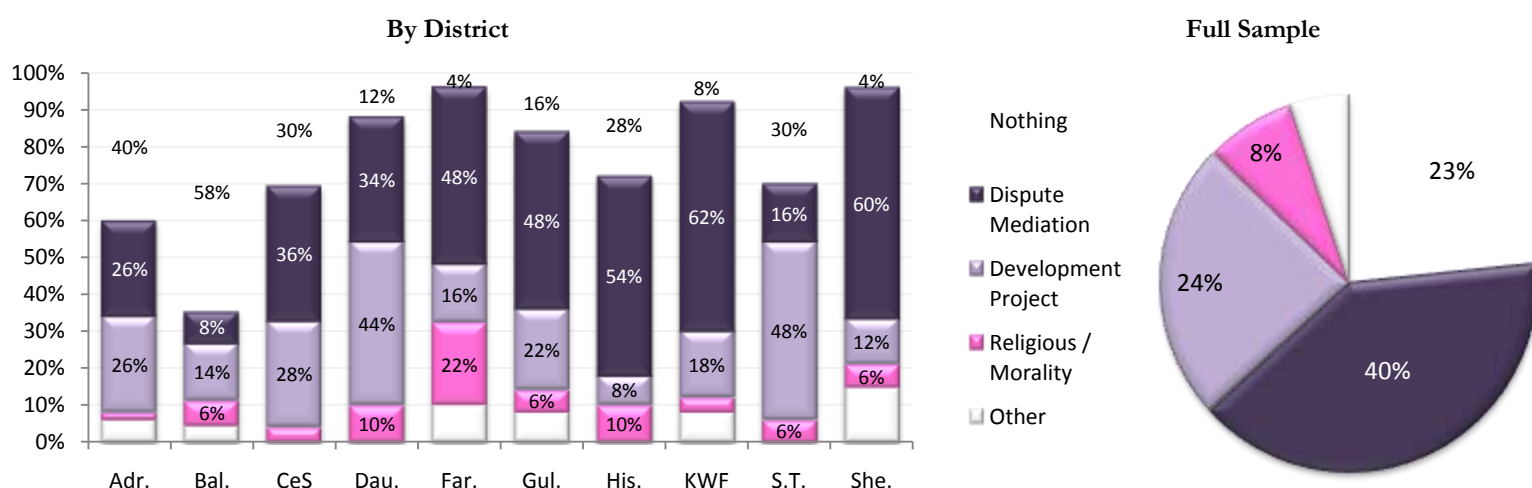


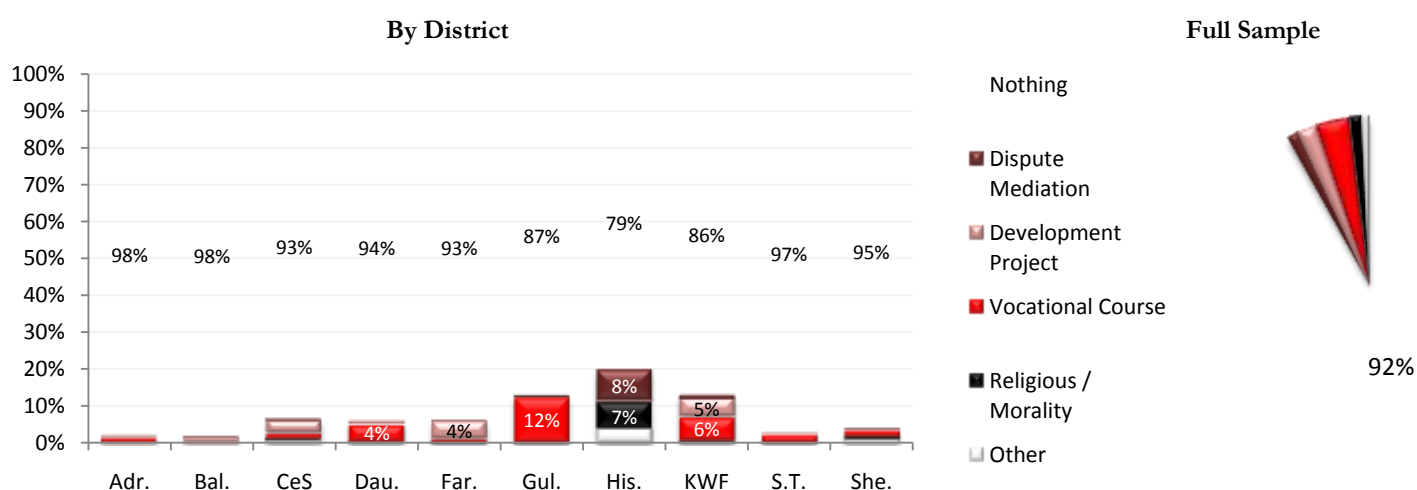
Figure 294 provides information on the responses of male focus group participants concerning the main activity completed by council members or village leaders in the past year. Unsurprisingly, male focus group respondents were much less likely than either male household or female respondents to report that the village council or leaders had done nothing important in the past year, with only 23 percent of respondents doing so. Male focus group respondents claimed that dispute resolution was the main activity of the council or leaders with slightly less frequency (40 percent) than male household respondents but with much greater frequency than female respondents, while development projects were cited as the main work of the council or leaders in the past year with slightly less frequency (24 percent) than female respondents but with more frequency than male household respondents. Male focus group participants were more likely than either female or male household respondents to cite activities related to morality or religion (8 percent). Within the ten districts, respondents in Balkh were the most likely to report that the council or leaders had done nothing (58 percent), while respondents in Farsi and Sherzad were the least (4 percent); dispute resolution was most frequently mentioned by respondents in Khost Wa Firing (67 percent) and Sherzad (65 percent) and least frequently by respondents in Balkh (23 percent) and Sang Takht (25 percent); the implementation or management of development projects was most commonly mentioned by respondents in Sang Takht (69 percent) and reached lows in Hisarak (11 percent) and Sherzad (13 percent); while activities related to morality or religion reached a peak in Farsi (23 percent) and statistical nadirs in Adraskan (3 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (4 percent).

**Figure 294: Main Work of Village Council or Leaders in Past Year, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



Female respondents were also asked what the village council or leaders had done for women in the village in the past year, the results of which are presented in Figure 295 below.<sup>91</sup> 92 percent of female respondents claimed that the village leadership had done nothing for women in the village during the past year, with district-level variance from a low of 79 percent in Hisarak to a high of 98 percent in Adraskan and Balkh. Across the sample, vocational training courses were the most frequently cited activity done by the local leadership for women in the past year, with 12 percent of respondents in Gulran, 6 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, and 4 percent of respondents in Daulina mentioning them. Development projects were mentioned by 2 percent of respondents, although 8 percent of respondents in Hisarak referred to them as the main work completed for women in the past year. Development projects and activities related to morality or religion claimed 1 percent each, with development projects accounting for 5 percent of responses in Khost Wa Firing and 4 percent of responses in Farsi, and morality and religion being referred to by 7 percent of respondents in Hisarak.

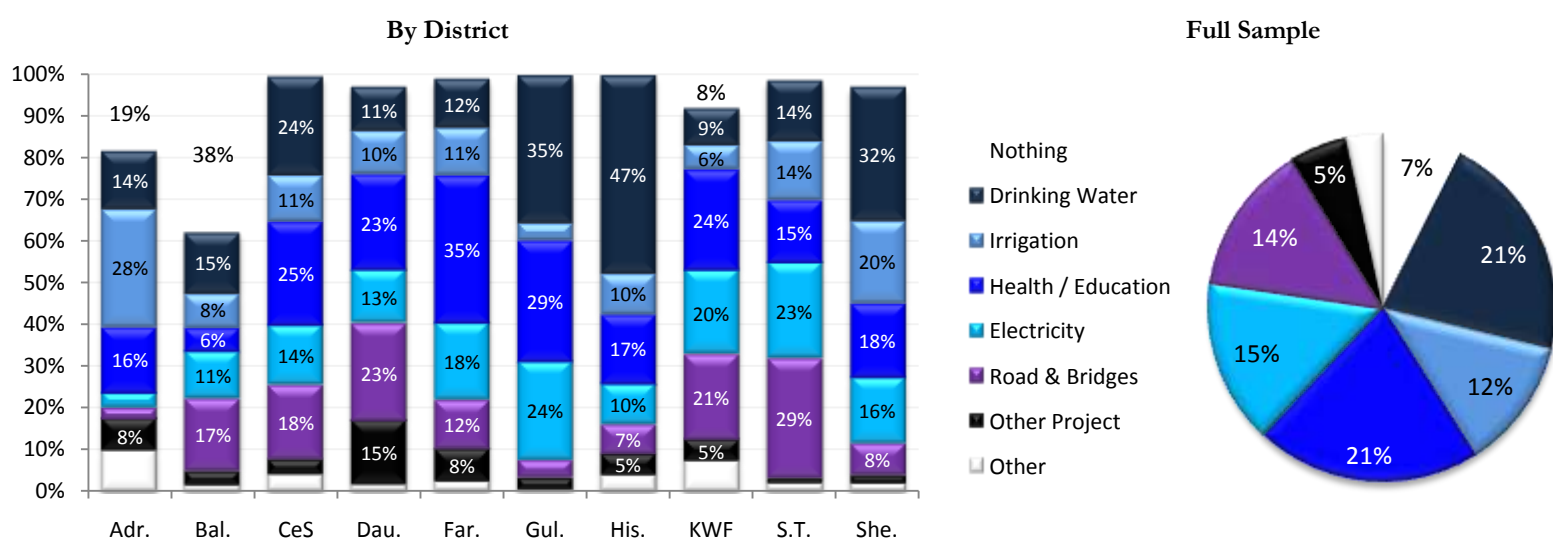
**Figure 295: Main Work of Village Council or Leaders for Women in Past Year, as Reported by Female Respondents**



<sup>91</sup> The categories used to report answers to this question are the same as those used in Figure 292 - Figure 294, with the exception that a new category is created to cover vocational training courses. These answers were included in the "Other" category in Figure 292 - Figure 294.

Male household, female, and male focus group respondents were also asked what three activities they thought the village council or leadership should do in the coming year. Development activities overwhelmingly dominated, with only 11 percent of male household respondents, 7 percent of female respondents, and 20 percent of male focus group respondents not mentioning either a development project, income generating activity, or training course in their answer. Across the full sample, 7 percent of respondents reported that there was nothing that they wanted their village council or local leaders to do in the forthcoming year, peaking at 38 percent of respondents in Balkh. Projects related to drinking water and those related to health and education were the most commonly mentioned response, each accounting for 21 percent of respondents across the sample, followed by electricity projects (15 percent), roads and bridges (14 percent), and irrigation (12 percent). Drinking water projects were a relatively popular option in Hisarak (47 percent) and enjoyed the least support in Khost Wa Firing (9 percent); irrigation projects found the least favor in Gulran (4 percent) and the most in Adraskan (28 percent); health and education projects were most frequently mentioned in Farsi (35 percent) and the least in Balkh (6 percent); electricity projects commanded a relatively high level of support in Gulran (24 percent), but a minimal level in Adraskan (4 percent); while roads and bridges were favored in Sang Takht (29 percent) but mentioned by only a few respondents in Adraskan (3 percent).

**Figure 296: Preferred Work of Village Council or Leaders in Forthcoming Year - Male Household Respondents**



The preferences of female respondents concerning the work of the village council or local leadership in the forthcoming year are presented in Figure 297 below. 6 percent of female respondents said that there was nothing that they wanted the village council or leadership to do, 32 percent mentioned drinking water projects, 23 percent cited projects relating to health and education, 12 percent cited road or bridge projects, 11 percent mentioned electricity projects, and just 3 percent identified irrigation projects. As in the male household sample, Balkh had the highest proportion of female respondents who claimed that there was nothing they wanted the village council or local leaders to do in the coming year (21 percent). Significant variance was observed between districts in the types of projects preferred, with preferences for drinking water projects varying between 6 percent in Khost Wa Firing and 79 percent in Sherzad; health and education projects ranging from 8 percent in Sherzad to 48 percent in Daulina, roads bridges varying from 1 percent in Hisarak to 32 percent in Hisarak, and electricity from 8 percent in Sherzad to 27 percent in Balkh.



**Figure 297: Preferred Work of Village Council or Leaders in Forthcoming Year - Female Respondents**

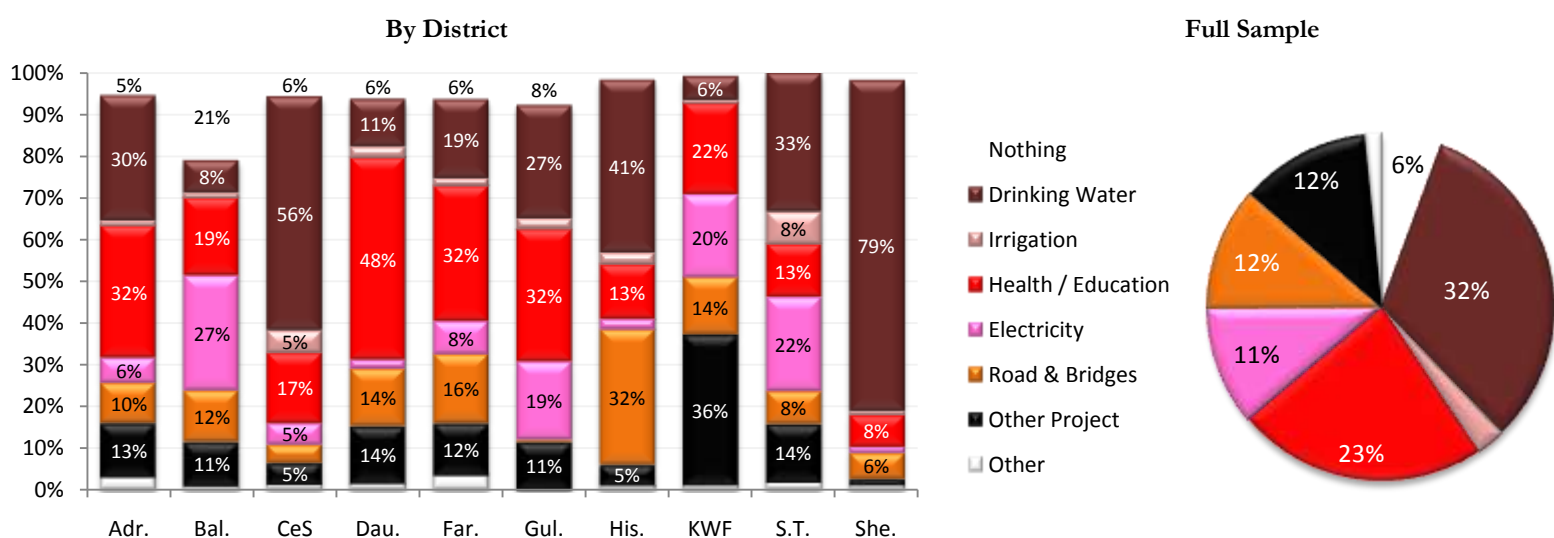
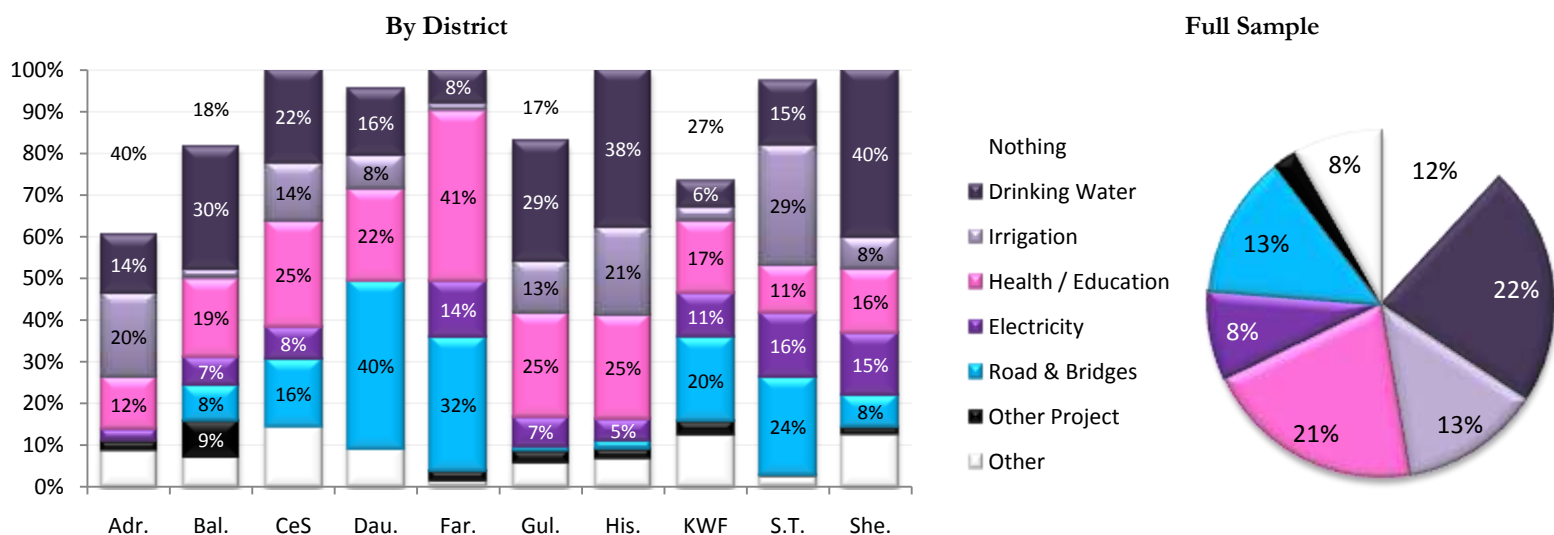


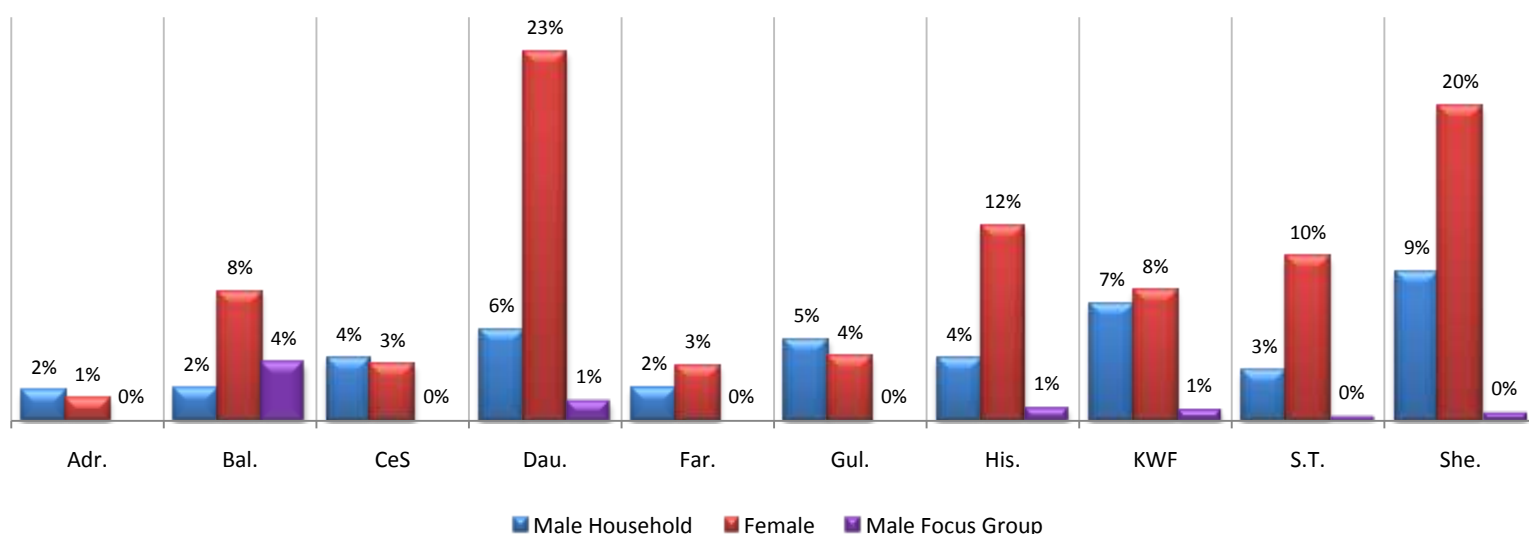
Figure 298 below plots the preferences of male focus group respondents concerning the work of the village council or local leadership in the forthcoming year. 12 percent of respondents claimed that there was nothing of import that the council or leaders should do, with district-level aggregates varying from 0 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Hisarak, and Sherzad to 40 percent in Adraskan. When aggregated across the sample, answers closely mirrored those of male household respondents, with drinking water accounting for 22 percent of responses, followed by health and education projects (21 percent), roads and bridges (13 percent), irrigation (13 percent), electricity (8 percent), other development projects, income generating activities, or vocational training courses (2 percent), and other activities (8 percent). The highest proportions of respondents citing drinking water as the preferred activity for the council or leaders in the coming year was found in Hisarak (38 percent) and Sherzad (40 percent), while the lowest was found in Khost Wa Firing (6 percent); health and education projects ranged from a high of 41 percent in Farsi to a low of 11 percent in Sang Takht; the percentage of respondents mentioning road and bridge projects varied from 0 percent in Adraskan to 40 percent in Daulina; irrigation was cited with the highest relative frequency in Sang Takht (29 percent) and the least in Balkh (2 percent); while electricity varied from 0 percent in Daulina to 16 percent in Sang Takht.

**Figure 298: Planned Work of Village Council or Leaders in Forthcoming Year - Male Focus Group Respondents**



Respondents in all of the three respondent groups were asked whether they believed that the village council or leaders acted in their own interests, the interests of powerful people in the village, in the interests of all of the people in the village, or a mixture of the three. Figure 299 below plots the proportion of male household, female, and male focus group respondents in each district that do not believe the village council or leaders take into consideration the interests of villagers when making their decisions. Across the ten districts, only of 4 percent of male household respondents, 9 percent of female respondents, and 1 percent of male focus group respondents claimed that their village council or leaders do not consider the interests of villagers when making decisions. Within the male household sample, respondents in Sherzad were the most likely to report that the council or leaders do not consider the interests of villagers (9 percent), while respondents in Adraskan and Farsi were the least likely (2 percent). Within the female sample, respondents in Sherzad (20 percent) and Daulina (23 percent) saw the least correlation between the actions of the council or leaders and the interests of villagers, while respondents in Adraskan were the least likely to see such problems (1 percent). Within the male focus group sample, all respondents in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, or Gulran believed that the village council or leaders took the interests of villagers into consideration when making decisions, while in Balkh, 96 percent of respondents claimed to believe this.

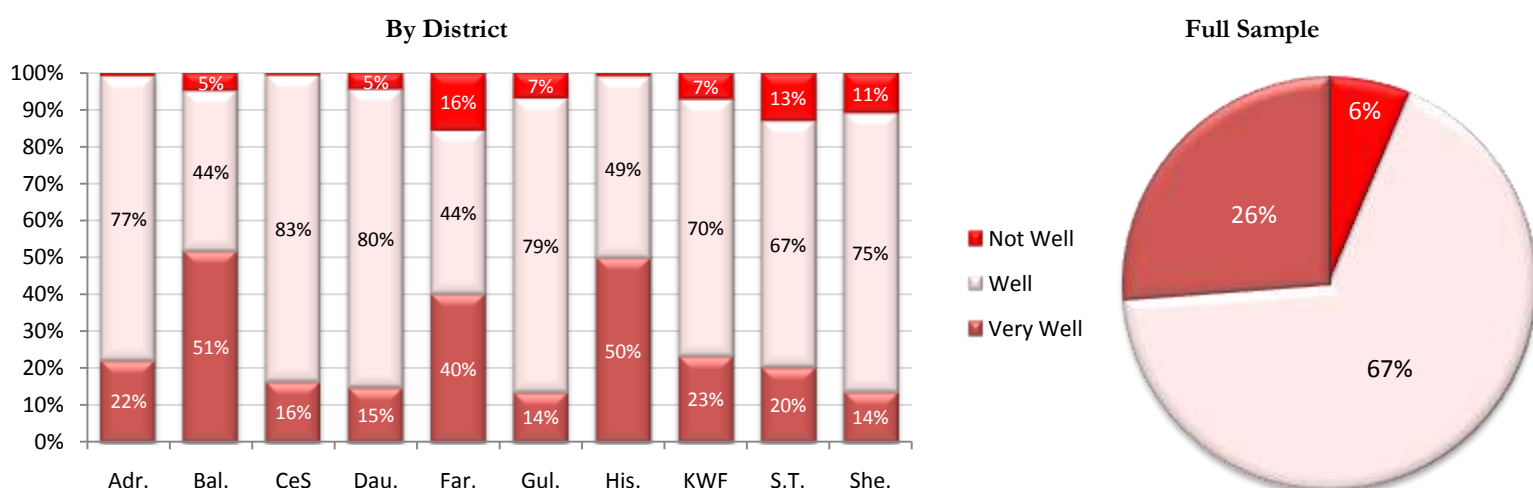
**Figure 299: Percent of Respondents Who Believe Village Council or Leaders Do Not Act in Interests of Villagers**



Female respondents were asked to what extent they believe the village council or leaders considered the interests of people in the village and tried to improve the living conditions of people in the village. A summary of the responses to this question is presented in Figure 300 below. Across the full sample, just 6 percent of female respondents said that the village council or leaders does not serve the interests of the villagers well, with 67 percent claiming the council or leadership is moderately successful in doing so, while 26 percent of respondents praised their work in meeting the needs of the people. The highest levels of satisfaction among female respondents with work done by the local leadership on behalf of the people were recorded in Balkh and Hisarak, where 51 percent and 50 percent of respondents respectively reported that the council or leadership served the interests of villagers very well. At the other end of the spectrum, respondents in Farsi, Sang Takht, and Sherzad were the most likely to report that the local council or leadership does not do a good job in serving the interests of villagers.

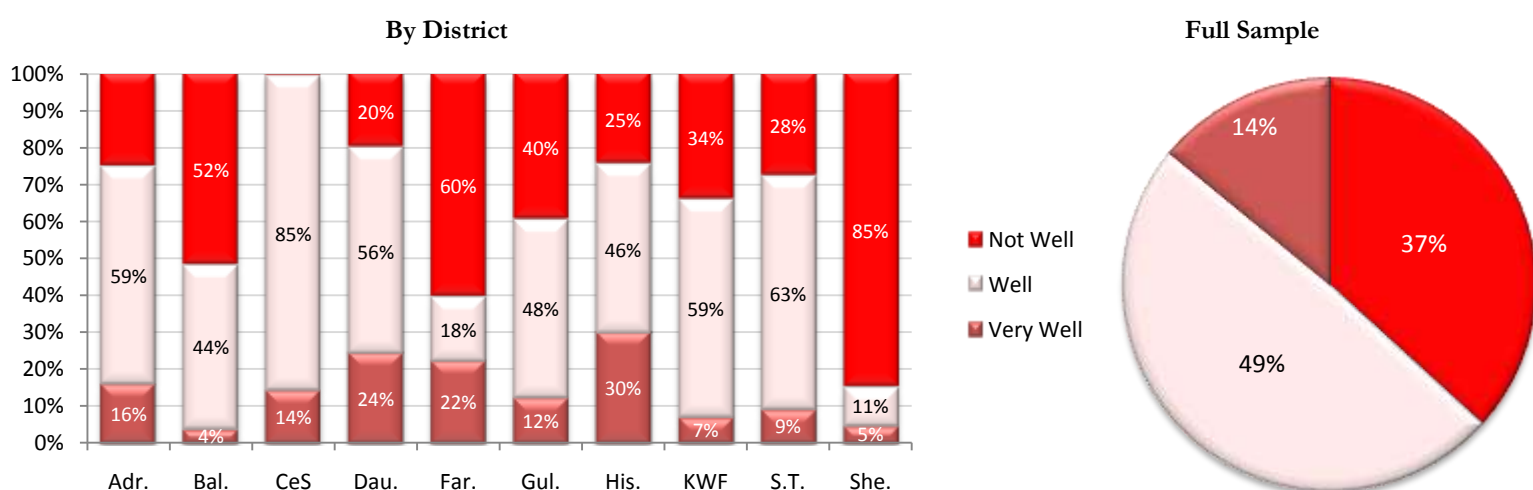


**Figure 300: Extent to Which Village Council or Leaders Serve Interests of Villagers - Female Respondents**



In addition, female respondents were also asked to consider the extent to which the village council or local leadership considers the interests of women in its actions, the results of which are presented in Figure 301 below. 37 percent of female respondents reported that they do not believe their village or leaders do a good job in serving the interests of women, 49 percent claimed that they believe the council or leaders to be moderately successful in improving the lives of women in the village, while 14 percent said that they were very satisfied with how the council or leaders have served women's interests. At the district-level, respondents in Hisarak and Daulina seemed to have the most favorable opinion of work done by the council or leaders on behalf of women, with 30 percent and 24 percent of respondents respectively reporting that they believe their council or leaders do a very good job in representing the interests of women. On the other hand, 85 percent of respondents in Sherzad, 60 percent of respondents in Farsi, and 52 percent of respondents in Balkh claimed that their village council or local leadership does a poor job in working to improve the lives of women in their village.

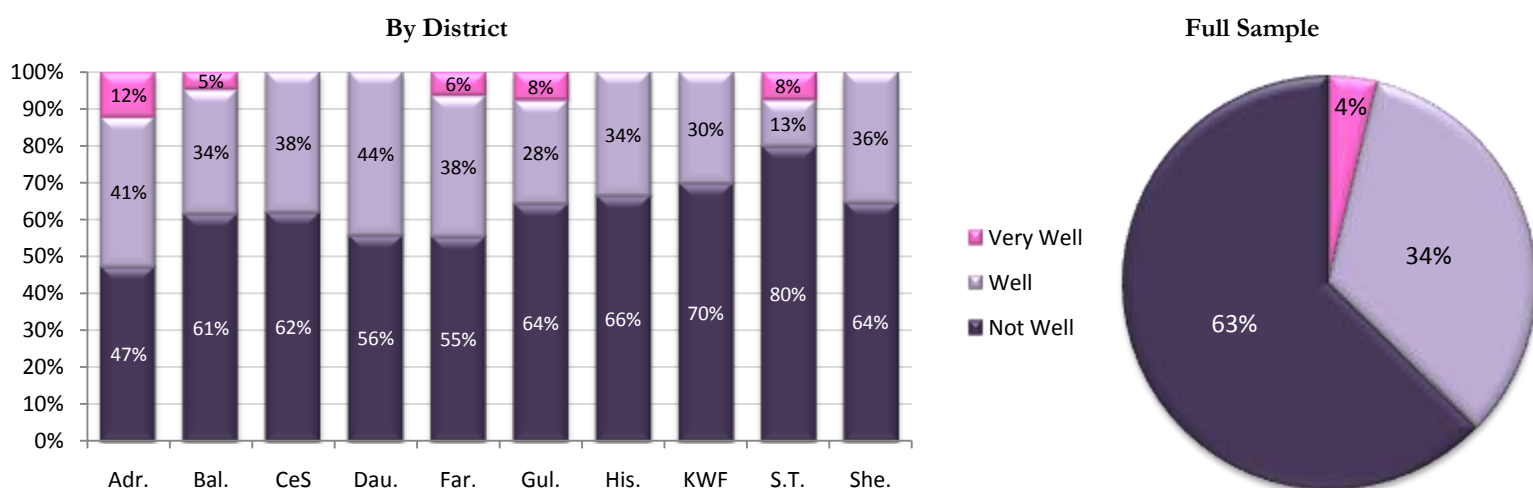
**Figure 301: Extent to Which Village Council or Leaders Serve Interests of Women - Female Respondents**



Male focus group respondents were asked to what extent they considered the interests of the people in the village when making decisions. A summary of the responses is presented in Figure 302 below. Across the full sample, only 4 percent of respondents claimed that the village council or leaders do not consider the interests of people, 34 percent of respondents claimed that the council or leaders did a good, but not excellent, job of considering villagers' interests, and 63 percent of respondents claimed that the council or leaders did an excellent job in incorporating

the interests of villagers into their decisions. Respondents in Sang Takht seemed particularly positive about the role of the council or leaders in serving villagers, with 80 percent of respondents reporting that the council or leaders do so very well. In contrast, 12 percent of respondents in Adraskan reported that the council or leaders do not do a good job in considering the needs of the people and only 47 percent said that the council or leaders do a very good job, a low for the sample.

**Figure 302: Extent to Which Village Council or Leaders Consider Interests of Villagers - Male Focus Group**



Male and female respondents were both asked whether they were happy, unhappy, or indifferent about the performance of the village council or local leadership. A summary of the answers of male household respondents is presented in Figure 303 below. An overwhelming majority of male household respondents, 86 percent, said that they were happy with the performance of their council or village leadership, with 13 percent expressing neutrality on the issue, and just 1 percent expressing dissatisfaction. The highest levels of satisfaction among male household respondents were recorded in Adraskan (91 percent), Sang Takht (91 percent), Balkh (90 percent), and Farsi (90 percent) and the lowest in Gulran (69 percent). The highest levels of dissatisfaction with the performance of the village council or local leadership were recorded in Balkh (3 percent), Hisarak (3 percent), Daulina (2 percent), Sang Takht (2 percent), and Sherzad (2 percent). No male household respondents in Adraskan and only two in Farsi and Gulran claimed they were dissatisfied with the performance of the village council or local leadership.

**Figure 303: Satisfaction of Male Household Respondents with Performance of Village Council or Leaders**

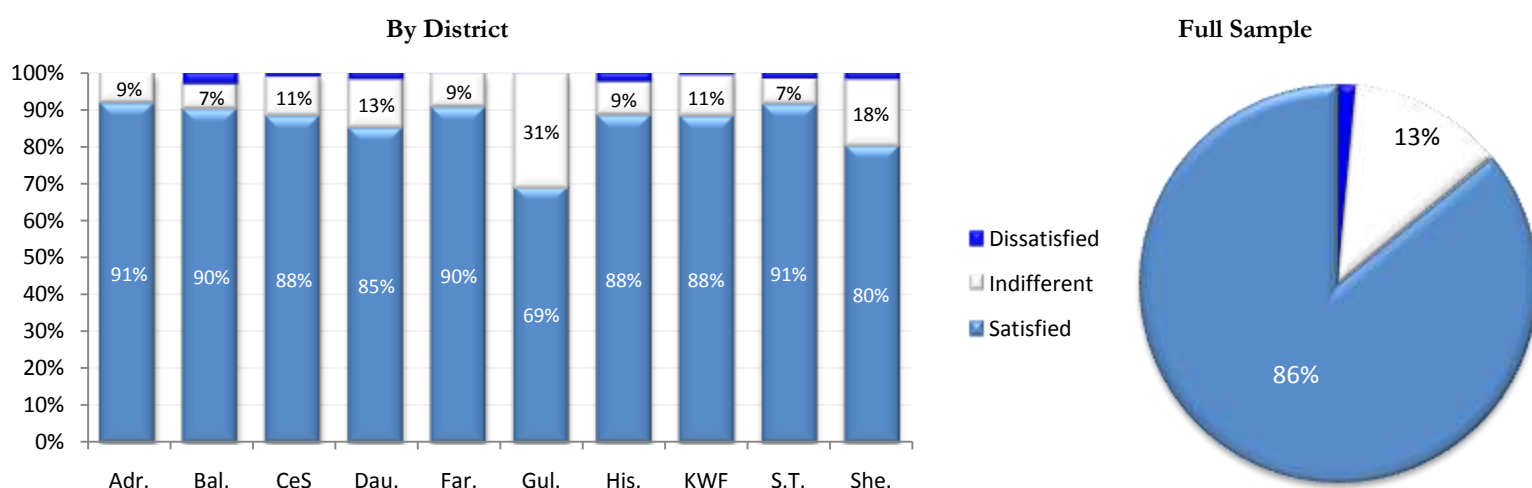
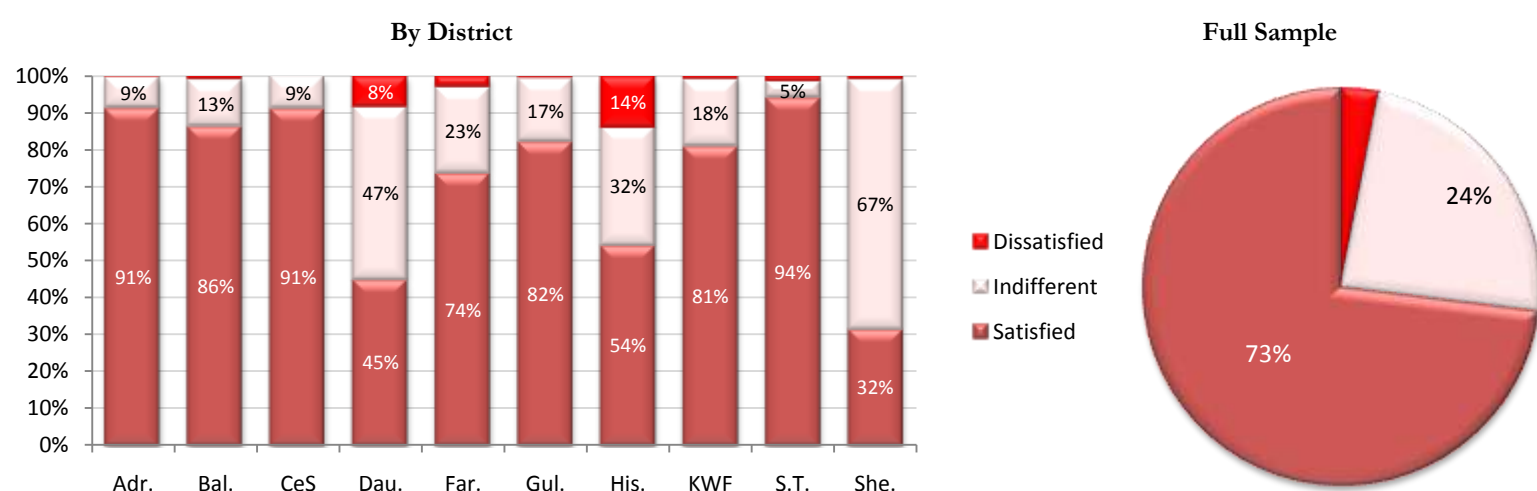


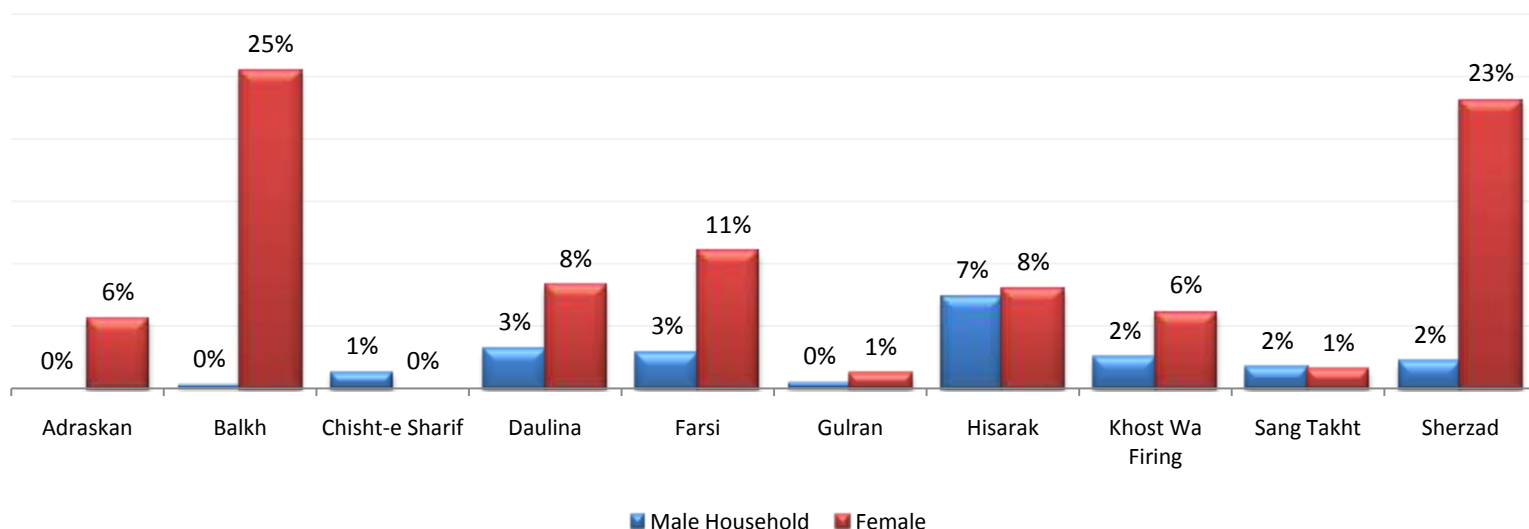
Figure 304 presents the answers of female respondents as to whether they are happy, neither happy nor unhappy, or unhappy with the performance of their village council or local leadership. Across the full sample, 73 percent of respondents claimed to be happy with the work of their village council or local leadership, 24 percent said that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, while 3 percent said that they were unhappy with the way their local leadership had performed. Levels of satisfaction appear to be highest in Sang Takht, Adraskan, and Chisht-e Sharif, where 94 percent, 91 percent, and 91 percent of respondents respectively reported their happiness with the work of the work of their council or leaders, while the lowest levels of satisfaction were reported in Sherzad (67 percent) and Daulina (45 percent). The proportion of respondents claiming to be dissatisfied with the performance of their council or leaders was highest in Hisarak (14 percent) and Daulina (8 percent), while no respondents in Chisht-e Sharif and only one respondent in Adraskan, two respondents in Gulran, and three respondents in Balkh, Khost Wa Firing, and Sherzad said that they were not happy with the performance of their entities of local leadership.

**Figure 304: Satisfaction of Female Respondents with Performance of Village Council or Leaders**



To further explore the satisfaction of villagers with the actions and decisions of village councils or local leaders, male household and female respondents were asked whether their village council, local leaders, or other powerful people in the village had done anything or made any decision which they did not agree with or which they felt was unjust or inappropriate. The proportion of male household and female respondents who indicated that there was something that a member of their local leadership had done which they disagreed with is presented in Figure 305 below. Across the full samples, just 2 percent of male household respondents and 9 percent of female respondents claimed that there was something done by the council or leadership which they disagreed with. Among male household respondents, the highest frequency of complaints was found in Hisarak (7 percent), while no respondents in Adraskan complained, in Balkh only one respondent did so, and in Gulran only two respondents did so. Within the female sample, the highest levels of disagreement the actions of the village council or local leadership were observed in Balkh (25 percent) and Sherzad (23 percent), while in Chisht-e Sharif, no respondents complained and in Gulran and Sang Takht, only four respondents did so.

**Figure 305: Percent of Respondents Expressing Disapproval with Actions of Village Council or Leadership**



Male household and female respondents who indicated that they disagreed with something the village council or local leadership did, either through explicitly saying so in response to the question previously described or through stating that they were dissatisfied with the performance of the village council or local leadership, were asked what it was that the village council or leadership had done which they disagreed with. The responses provided by male household respondents are summarized in Figure 306 below.<sup>92</sup> An outcome of mediation or forms of dispute resolution were the cause of complaint most frequently cited, accounting for 37 percent of causes for complaint mentioned by male household respondents, followed by corruption or nepotism (20 percent); issues pertaining as marriage, such as forced marriages (8 percent); issues relating to education, such as either preventing girls from going to school or allowing girls to do so (8 percent); issues relating to war, such as supporting or opposing paramilitary groups or foreign forces (7 percent); a lack of development projects (6 percent); creating division or conflict among villagers or with other villages (5 percent); stealing land or property (4 percent); and permitting or opposing female participation in governance (2 percent). With the relatively low number of complaints across the sample, there was appreciable deviation between districts in the types of complaints reported. Complaints made in Balkh were split between a lack of projects (4 respondents), issues pertaining to education (5 respondents), and war-related matters (3 respondents), while in Chisht-e Sharif, complaints about corruption dominated (5 respondents), while outcomes of dispute mediation was by far the leading cause of dissatisfaction in Daulina (12 respondents). In Hisarak, complaints were split between matters relating to dispute mediation (22 respondents) and corruption (14 respondents), while in Khost Wa Firing, a handful of respondents each mentioned dispute mediation (11 respondents), marriage-related issues (8 respondents), corruption (5 respondents), and war-related issues (3 respondents) as

<sup>92</sup> All complaints registered are plotted, whether they were in response to this specific question about actions taken by the village council or leadership which the respondent disagreed with or in response to the question about why they were dissatisfied with the performance of the village council or leadership. Where the respondent cited the same complaint in response to both questions, the complaint was only counted once. However, when a single respondent cited multiple complaints, all of the complaints were counted separately. Accordingly, the number of complaints in each district do not necessarily accord with the proportion of respondents that either disagreed with an action taken by the village council or leadership or were dissatisfied with the performance of the village council or leadership.

their cause for complaint. Respondents in Sang Takht most frequently cited dispute mediation (8 respondents), while complaints in Sherzad were split between dispute mediation (10 respondents), corruption (8 respondents), education (4 respondents), and conflict (4 respondents).

**Figure 306: Actions by Village *Shura* or Leaders Causing Dissatisfaction, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**

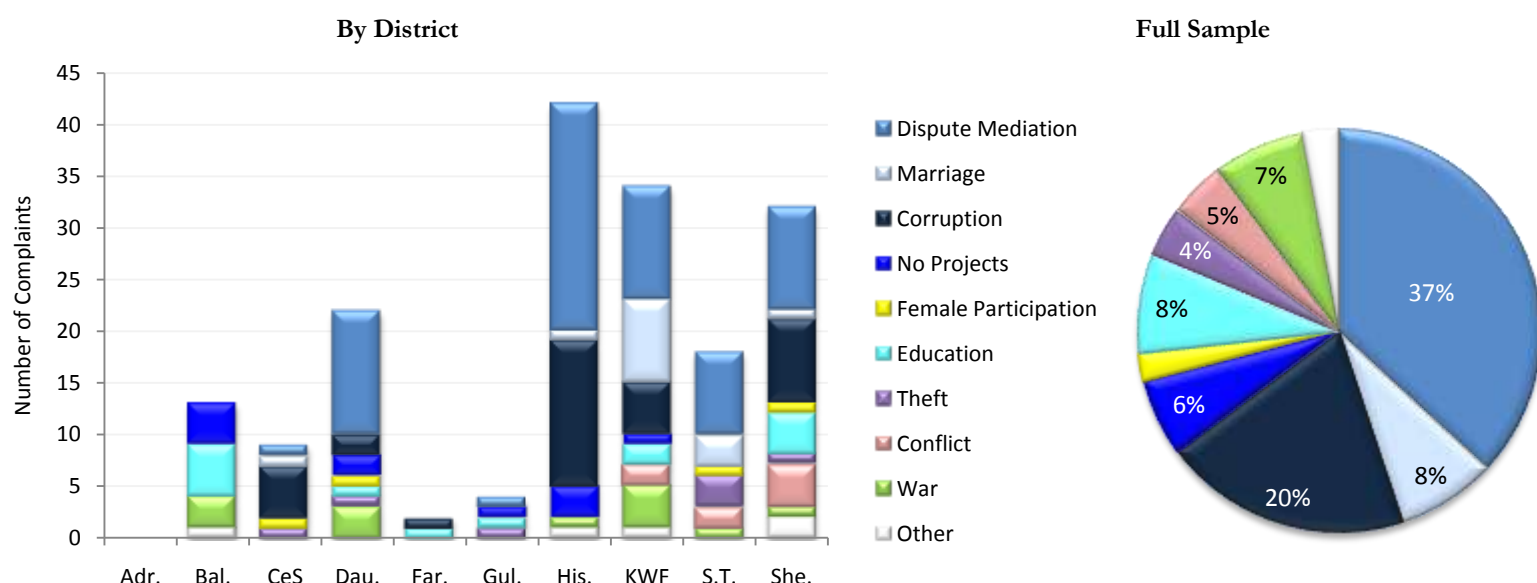
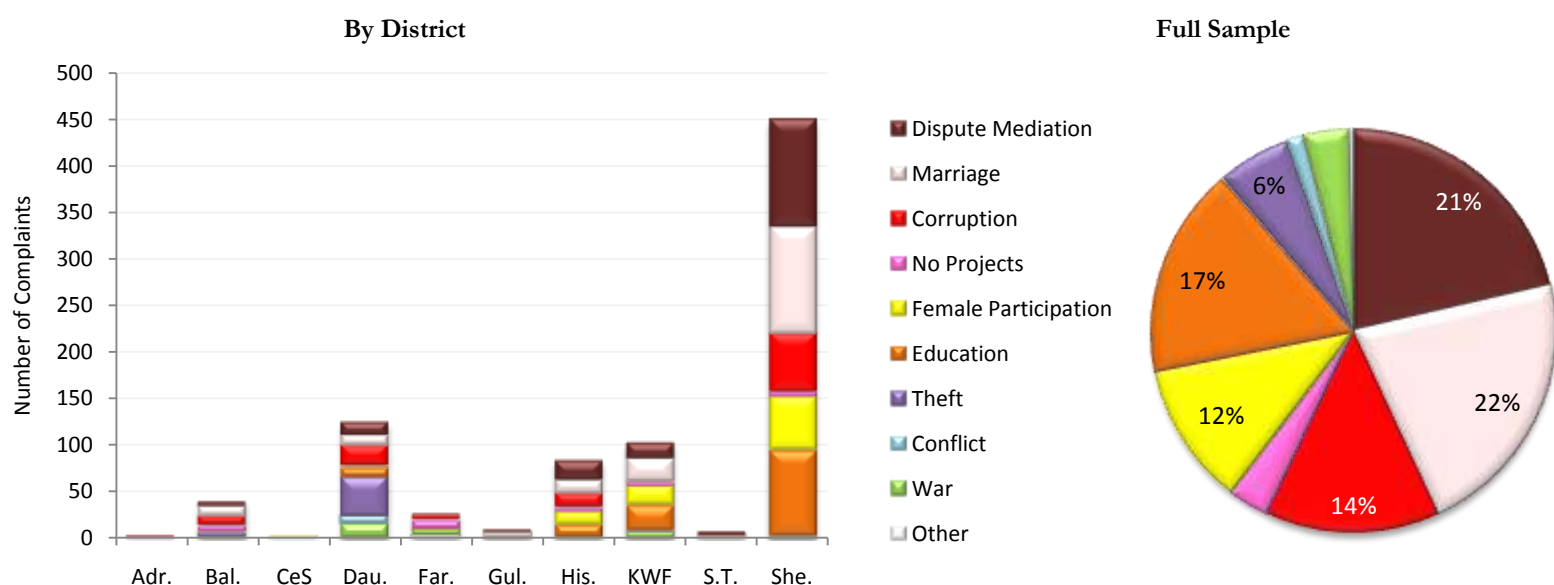


Figure 307 below plots actions of village councils or local leadership structures which female respondents identified that they disagreed with or which caused them to be dissatisfied with the performance of the village council or local leadership.<sup>93</sup> Marriage-related issues were the most frequently mentioned, accounting for 22 percent of complaints across the sample, followed by outcomes of dispute mediation (21 percent), education-related issues (17 percent), corruption (14 percent), female participation in governance (12 percent), theft (6 percent), war-related issues (4 percent), a lack of projects (3 percent), and conflict between villagers or with other villages (1 percent). In Balkh district, marriage-related complaints had a small plurality (11 respondents), followed by corruption (10 respondents), dispute mediation (5 respondents), and theft (5 respondents). In Daulina, complaints over theft dominated (41 respondents), with corruption following (22 respondents), then war-related issues (14 respondents), dispute mediation (14 respondents), marriage-related issues (12 respondents), education (10 respondents), and conflict (9 respondents). In Hisarak, complaints were similarly diverse – dispute mediation was the most frequently cited (21 respondents), followed by marriage (15 respondents), corruption (15 respondents), female participation in governance (15 respondents), and education-related issues (14 respondents). In Khost Wa Firing, education-related issues held the plurality (27 respondents), followed by marriage-related issues (25 respondents), female participation (21 respondents), and dispute mediation (17 respondents). In Sherzad, where the greatest number of complaints was registered, complaints about dispute mediation (116 respondents) narrowly edged marriage-related issues (115 respondents), followed by education (91 respondents), corruption (63 respondents), and female participation in governance (57 respondents).

<sup>93</sup> See previous footnote for information concerning the tabulation of complaints.

**Figure 307: Actions by Village *Shura* or Leaders Causing Dissatisfaction, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Male household and focus group respondents were asked whether the village council members or leaders receive a payment for their work. 99 percent of respondents across both samples indicated that this did not occur. In two villages, male focus group respondents reported that village council members receive a payment, while male household respondents reported that such payments occur in 19 villages – interestingly, the 19 villages did not overlap with the two villages identified in the male focus group sample.<sup>94</sup>

### ***Disputes and Mediation***

A number of questions were asked in the survey about the incidence of tribal feuds and civil disputes among villages and mechanisms through which those disputes are resolved. Both male household and male focus group respondents were asked whether anyone in their village had a civil dispute last year, whether the dispute had been resolved, and, if it had, which authorities, if any, helped mediate the dispute. In addition, male focus groups were asked whether there are any outstanding tribal feuds among people in the village and how many disputes had been submitted to the village council or local leadership for mediation, while female respondents were asked who the family would call upon to mediate a dispute and whether views of the women considered in resolving a dispute if they are heads of their families.<sup>95</sup> The responses to these questions are summarized below at the district and sample aggregate level.

Across the ten districts surveyed, 61 percent of male household respondents and 50 percent of male focus groups said there was at least one dispute or legal case in their village in the past year.<sup>96</sup> Among both male household and male focus groups, Farsi had the highest reported incidences of dispute, with 67 percent of male household respondents and 86 percent of male focus groups reporting that a dispute had occurred in the village during the past year. Sherzad had the second highest incidence of dispute according to the responses of male household

<sup>94</sup> These two villages cited by the male focus group sample are Bodi Now in Hisarak and Mounda Chanar in Khost Wa Firing

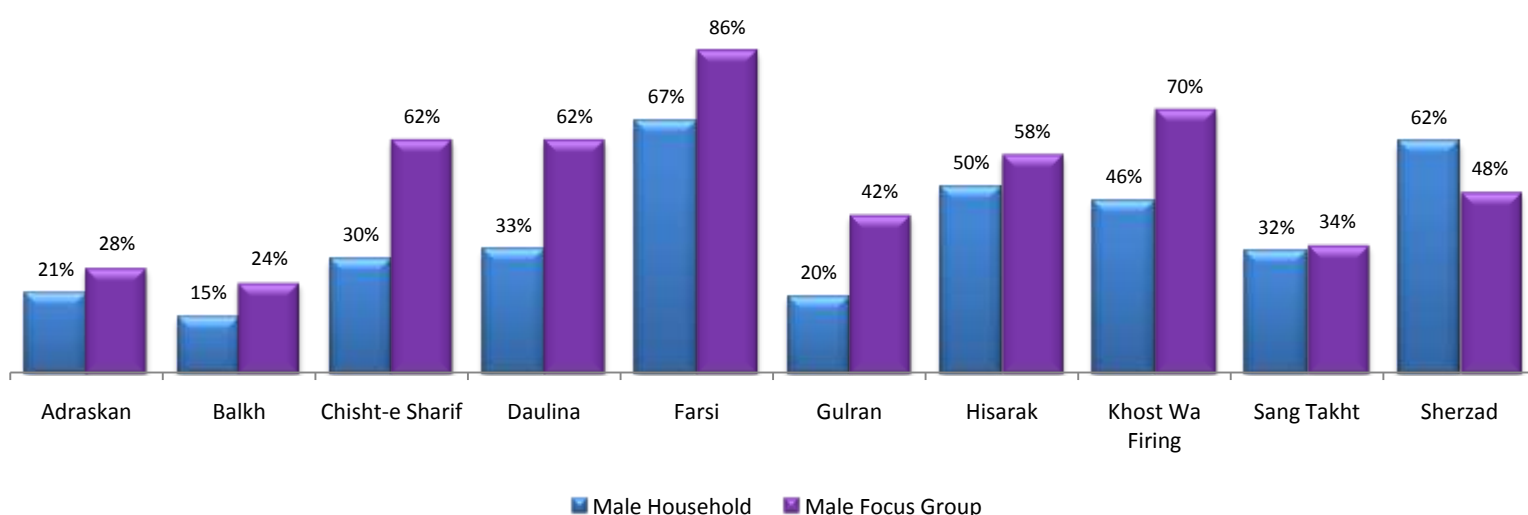
<sup>95</sup> The questions asked to female respondents were asked in the individual setting.

<sup>96</sup> A focus group was considered to have reported a dispute if at least one of the focus group members claimed a dispute had occurred.



respondents (62 percent), while Khost Wa Firing had the highest rate according to male focus groups (48 percent). The lowest incidences of disputes for both male household respondents and male focus groups were found in Balkh, where just 15 percent of male household respondents and 24 percent of male focus groups reported that a dispute had occurred in the past year. Significant divergences in the responses of male household and focus group respondents occur in a number of cases. Notably male focus group respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, and Gulran are more than twice as likely as male household respondents to report that a dispute occurred in the past year. This could be partly attributed to the fact that the male focus group members, or members of the village leadership, are likely to be more aware of village disputes as they will often be called upon to adjudicate them.

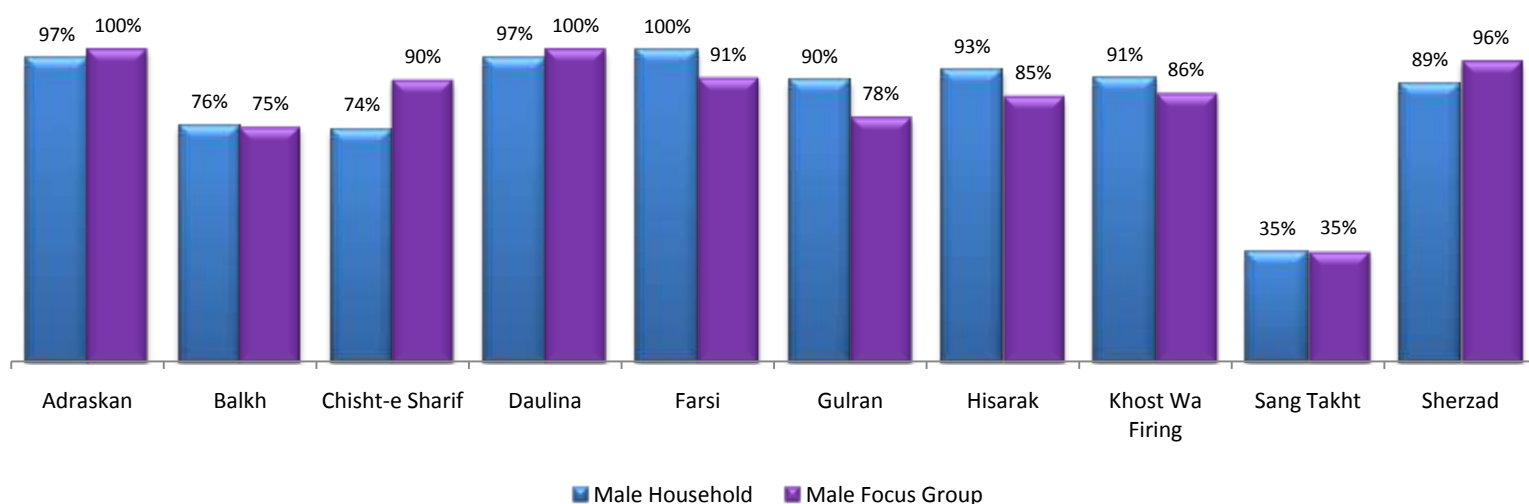
**Figure 308: Incidence of Disputes in Past Year, by District and Respondent Type**



In cases where male household respondents or male focus groups reported that a dispute among had occurred among villagers in the past year, a follow-up question was asked to determine whether the dispute had been resolved. 86 percent of both male household and male focus group respondents reported that the disputes in their village had been successfully resolved. The highest levels of dispute resolution were reported in Adraskan and Daulina, where 97 percent of male household respondents and 100 percent of male focus group respondents reported that all disputes had been successfully resolved. In Sang Takht, however, just 35 percent of male household and male focus group respondents reported that the disputes of the past year had been resolved. Responses of male household and male focus group respondents were relatively consistent, with somewhat of an exception in Chisht-e Sharif, where 74 percent of male household respondents and 90 percent of male focus group respondents reported that the disputes had been resolved.

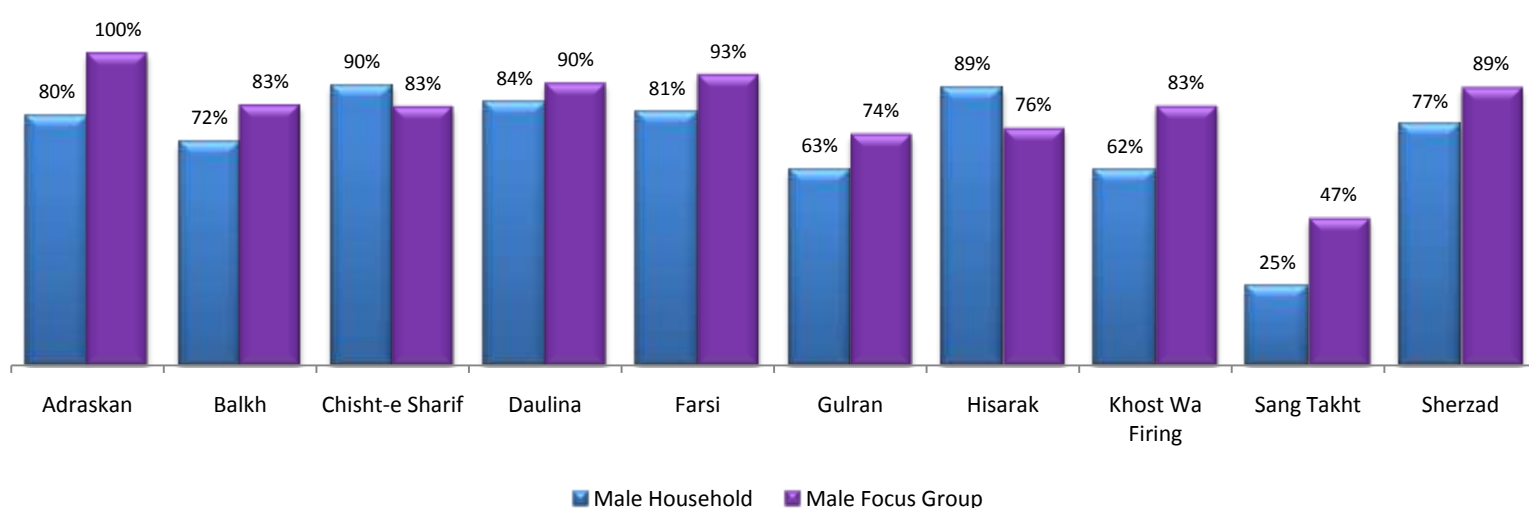


**Figure 309: Resolution of Disputes, by District and Respondent Type**



Whether or not the dispute had been resolved, respondents who indicated that persons in the village had been involved in disputes were asked whether anyone had tried to mediate the dispute, the results of which are presented in Figure 310 below. Across the full sample, 74 percent of male household respondents and 83 percent of male focus group respondents indicated that some form of mediation by an outside party had occurred. Mediation was reported with the greatest frequency by male household respondents in Hisarak (89 percent) and by male focus group respondents in Adraskan (100 percent). The lowest levels of mediation, meanwhile, were observed in Sang Takht, where just 25 percent of male household respondents and 47 percent of male focus group respondents reported that an attempt had been made by outside parties to mediate the dispute.

**Figure 310: Incidence of Mediation in Disputes, by District and Respondent Type**



Male household and male focus group respondents who indicated that an outside party had attempted to mediate the dispute were then asked to identify the person or authority that had attempted the mediation. The responses of male household respondents are summarized in Figure 311 below. Across the full sample, 32 percent said that a tribal elder had attempted to mediate the dispute, 26 percent of respondents identified the village headman as one of the mediators, 17 percent mentioned the head of the village council or the village council itself, 10 percent referred to the clergy or other religious figures, 6 percent mentioned a representative of

the government, while 4 percent identified the district governor as a mediator. As is to be expected, significant variation exists between districts in the authorities called upon to resolved disputes. Village headmen were identified as mediators in 44 percent of responses in Gulran and 37 percent in Sherzad, compared to 0 percent in Sang Takht and 7 percent in Khost Wa Firing. Similarly, tribal elders were cited with relative frequency by respondents in Balkh (43 percent), but with much less frequency among respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (20 percent) and Gulran (20 percent). The role of the clergy, meanwhile, appears to be most significant in Khost Wa Firing (21 percent) and Sang Takht (20 percent) and least so in Hisarak (1 percent). The village council plays an important role in dispute resolution in Adraskan (33 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (32 percent), and Farsi (28 percent), but is less frequently cited in Balkh (5 percent) and Sang Takht (5 percent). The district governor, meanwhile, appears to assume the highest relative importance in resolving disputes in Sang Takht (12 percent), while agents of the government are most frequently cited as mediators in Khost Wa Firing (12 percent), Sang Takht (12 percent), Sherzad (10 percent), and Hisarak (8 percent).

**Figure 311: Dispute Mediators Cited by Male Household Respondents**

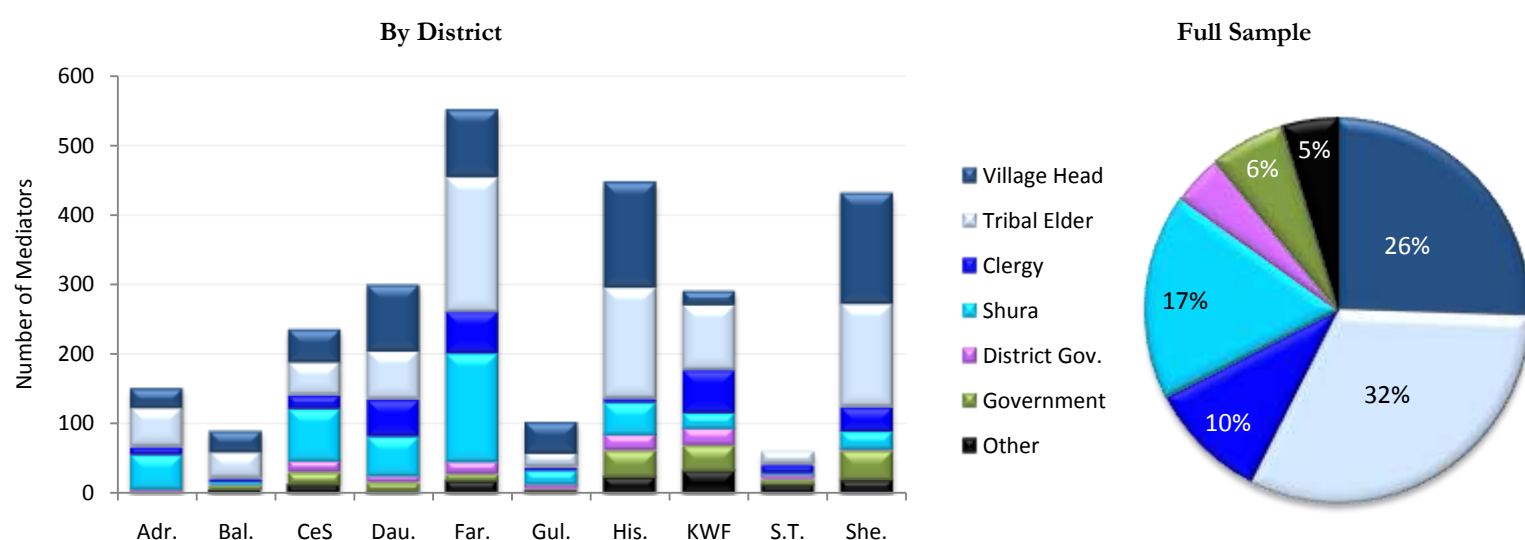
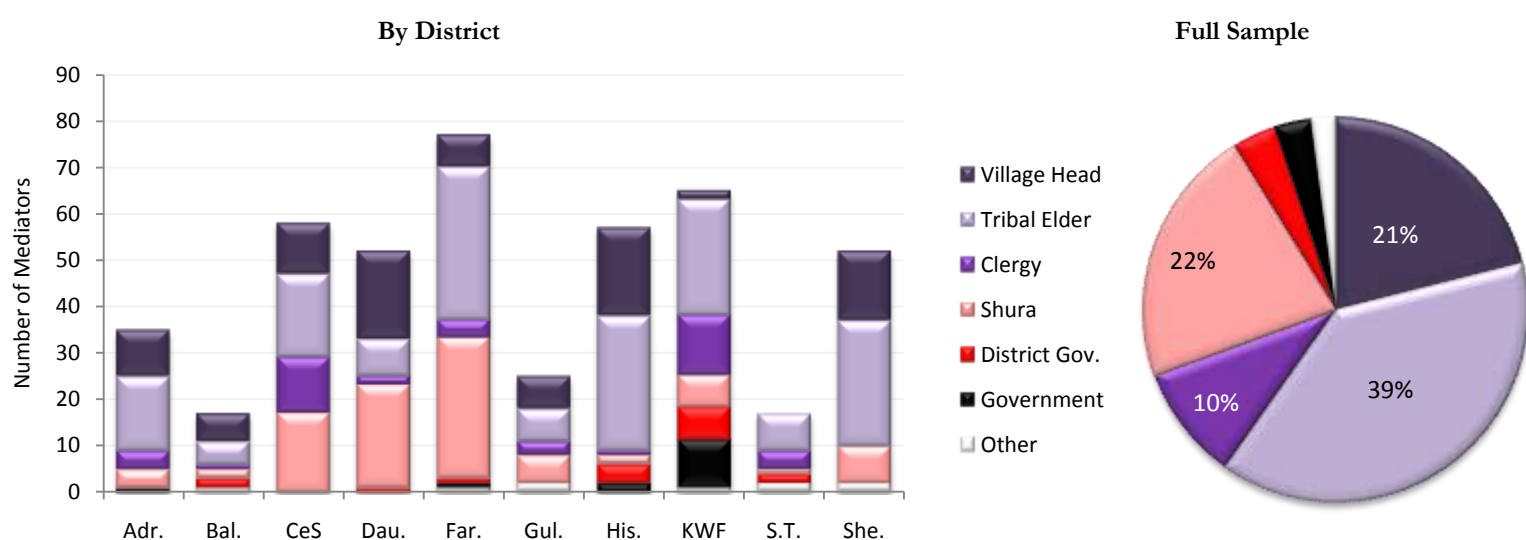


Figure 312 plots the authorities cited by male focus group respondents as those who helped mediate disputes which occurred between villagers over the past year. Overall, male focus group respondents cited tribal elders most frequently (39 percent), followed by the village council (22 percent), village headman (21 percent), clergy (10 percent), district governors (4 percent), and central government (3 percent). As with the male household sample, the relative frequency by which the different authorities were cited varied appreciably between districts. According to male focus group respondents, village headmen, for instance, appear to enjoy a relatively significant role in dispute resolution in Daulina (37 percent) and a minimal role in Sang Takht (0 percent); citations of tribal elders vary from highs of 51 percent in Hisarak and 52 percent in Sherzad to a low of 15 percent in Daulina; the role of the clergy in dispute mediation appears to be greatest in Sang Takht (24 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (21 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (20 percent) and least in Sherzad (0 percent); the proportion of responses mentioning the village council or the head thereof range from a high of 42 percent in Daulina to a low of 4 percent in Hisarak; the role of the district governor in dispute resolution peaks in Balkh (12 percent), Sang Takht (12 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (10 percent), while agents of the central government enjoy a relatively significant role in dispute resolution in Khost Wa Firing (15 percent).

**Figure 312: Dispute Mediators Cited by Male Focus Group Respondents**

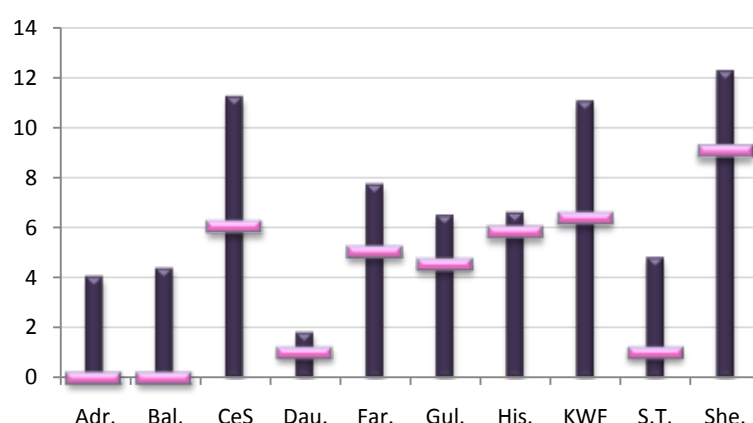


Summary statistics pertaining to the number of disputes brought before the village council or local leadership, as reported by male focus group respondents, are presented in Table 43 and Figure 313 below. Across the full sample, male focus groups reported that the median council or local leadership heard 4 disputes in the past year, with 25 percent of councils or leaderships hearing 10 or more disputes. As a small number of councils heard a large number of disputes (one focus group reported that their council had heard 90 disputes in the past year), the mean was skewed upwards and is at 7 for the full sample. Councils and local leaderships in Adraskan, Balkh, Daulina, and Sang Takht heard the fewest number of disputes, with median levels of either one or zero. At the other end of the spectrum, councils in Sherzad appear to hear the highest number of disputes, with a median of 9.

**Table 43: Number of Disputes Mediated by Council in Past Year**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	4	2	0	0	6	20
Balkh	4	1	0	0	4	40
Chisht-e Sharif	11	3	3	6	20	60
Daulina	2	1	0	1	2	10
Farsi	8	0	3	5	10	30
Gulran	6	1	0	5	10	40
Hisarak	7	1	4	6	9	18
Khost Wa Firing	11	1	4	6	11	90
Sang Takht	5	1	0	1	5	79
Sherzad	12	3	5	9	15	80
Total	7	0	0	4	10	90

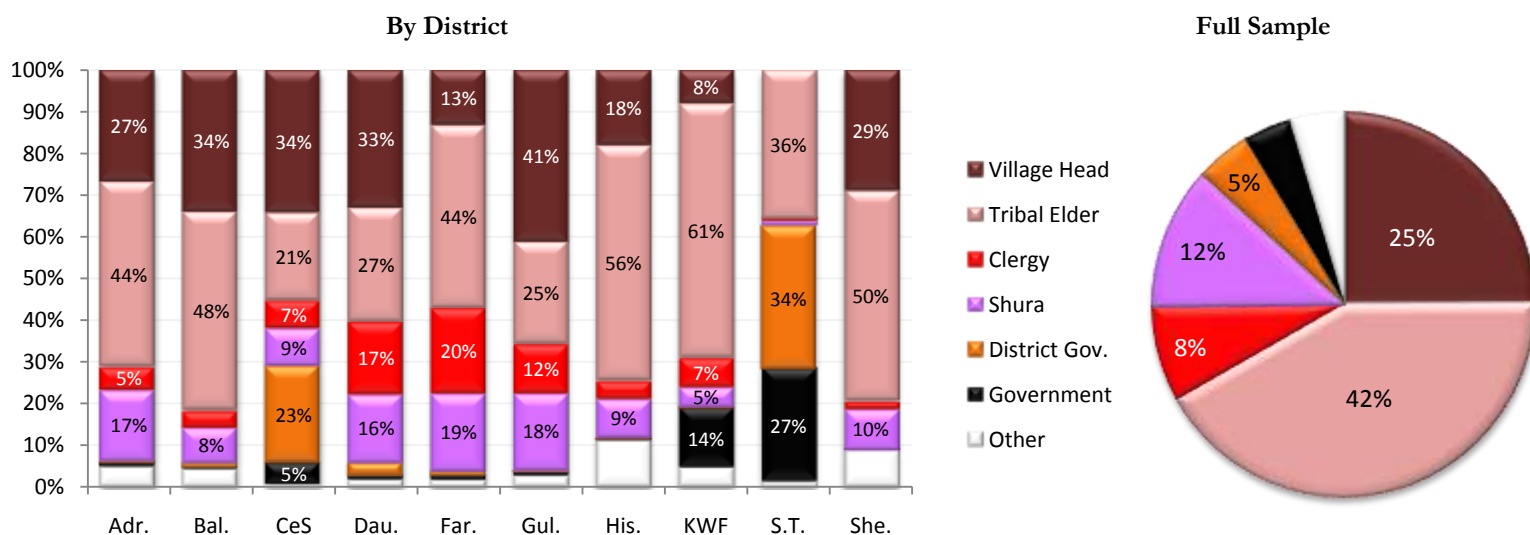
**Figure 313: Average Number of Disputes Mediated by Council**



Female respondents were asked a hypothetical question about which authority their family would call upon to help mediate a dispute. Despite the hypothetical nature of the question, responses were generally relatively closely aligned with the actual mediators cited by male household and male focus group respondents. Across the full sample, tribal elders were most frequently cited as the preferred potential mediators (42 percent), followed by village headmen (25 percent), village councils (12 percent), clergy (8 percent), district governors (5 percent), and agents of the central government (4 percent). As in the male household and male focus group responses concerning actual mediators, significant variation between districts was observed in the potential mediators cited by female respondents. The proportion of female respondents who identified village

headmen as potential mediators varied, for instance, from 41 percent in Gulran to 0 percent in Sang Takht; the proportion of respondents citing tribal elders ranged a high of 61 percent in Khost Wa Firing to a low of 21 percent in Chisht-e Sharif; clergy was most frequently mentioned in Farsi (20 percent) and least frequently in Sang Takht (1 percent); the village council was referred to with relative commonality in Farsi (19 percent), Gulran (18 percent), and Adraskan (17 percent), but much less so in Sang Takht (1 percent); the role of the district governor in dispute resolution appears to be most significant in Sang Takht (34 percent) and Chisht-e Sharif (23 percent); while agents of the central government are most frequently seen as potential mediators among respondents in Sang Takht (27 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (14 percent).

**Figure 314: Dispute Mediators Cited by Female Respondents**



In addition to being asked who their family would seek to help mediate a dispute, female respondents were also asked whether the opinions of female heads-of-household are ever taken into consideration during the resolution of disputes. Across the full sample, 50 percent of female respondents reported that the views of women are never considered in settling disputes, with 14 percent claiming they rarely were, 29 percent saying they sometimes were, and 7 percent reporting they always were. Respondents in Balkh (76 percent) and Farsi (87 percent) reported with greatest frequency that women's views are never incorporated into the resolution of civil disputes, while respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (23 percent) and Hisarak (21 percent) were the least likely to do so. Similarly, respondents in Chisht-e Sharif (71 percent), Gulran (45 percent), Hisarak (43 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (43 percent) were the most likely to report that women's views are sometimes or always considered in the resolution of disputes, while those in Balkh (13 percent) and Farsi (4 percent) least frequently did so.

**Figure 315: Consideration of Women's Views in Dispute Resolution**

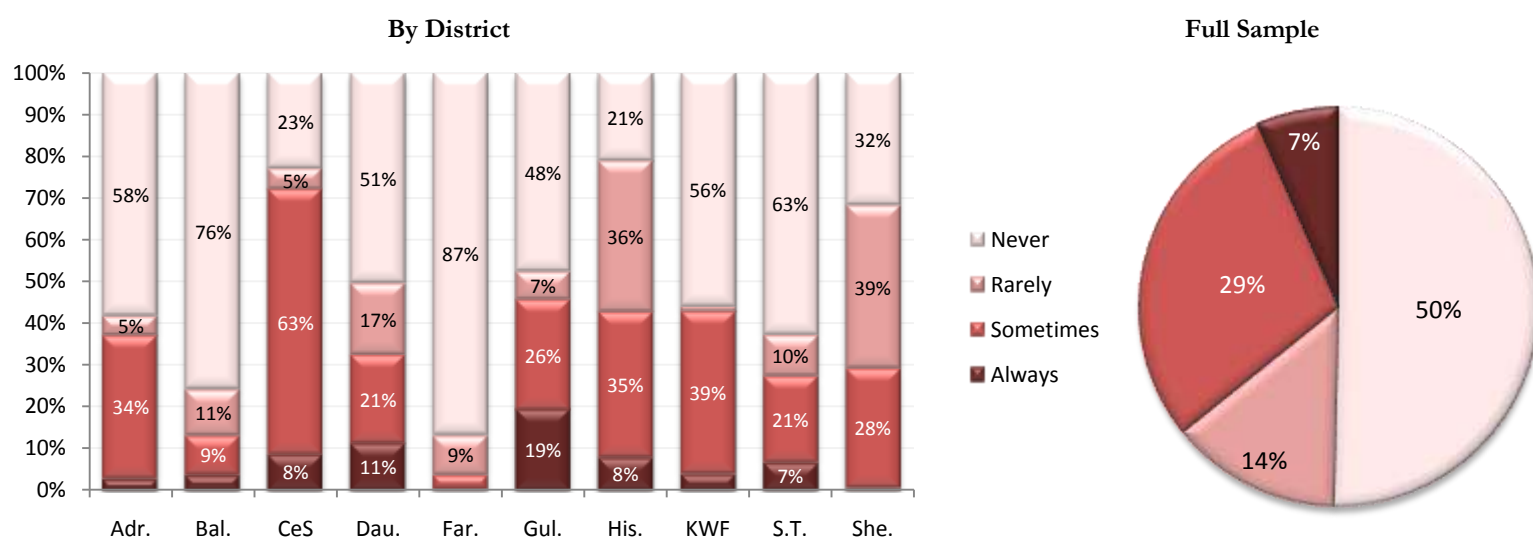
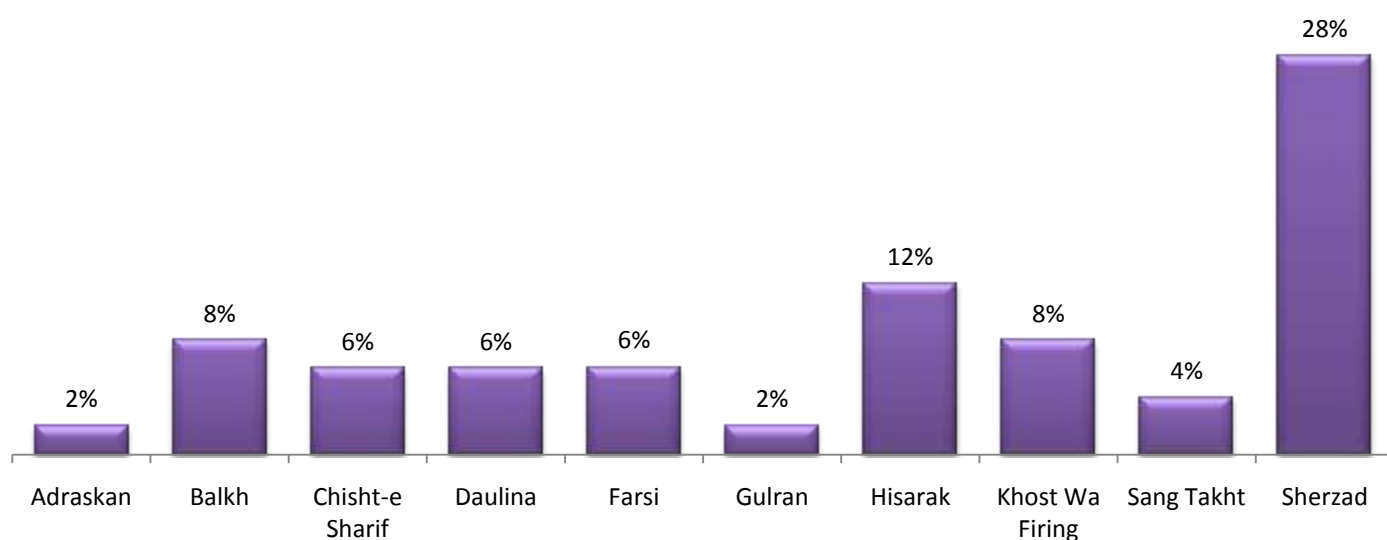


Figure 316 below plots the percentage of male focus groups in each of the ten survey districts that reported there is an outstanding tribal feud among people in their village.<sup>97</sup> Tribal feuds were relatively uncommon across the sample. The two districts in Nangarhar, Hisarak and Sherzad, had the highest frequency of tribal feuds, with 28 percent of focus groups in Sherzad and 12 percent of focus groups in Hisarak reporting that their village had one. 8 percent of male focus groups in Balkh and Khost Wa Firing reported their village was afflicted by an outstanding tribal feud, with 6 percent of respondents doing so in Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, and Farsi, 4 percent of respondents in Sang Takht saying so, and just 2 percent of respondents in Adraskan and Gulran reporting their existence.

**Figure 316: Percent of Villages with Outstanding Tribal Feuds, by District**



<sup>97</sup> A focus group was considered to have reported the existence of a tribal feud if at least one member of the focus group claimed that there was one in the village.



## V.5. Economic, Social, and Political Development

The following section provides an overview of economic, social, and political development and is divided into the following four sections: (1) Political Awareness and Opinion; (2) Projects; (3) Trust; and (4) Gender. Short summaries of each section are provided below, with more detailed descriptions and a full set of graphs of aggregate statistics and district-level variation in the separate sections.

**Political Awareness and Opinion:** Male household respondents were found to have a high degree of knowledge of political structures and personalities and high self-reported level of political involvement. For instance, 98 percent of male household respondents correctly identified the President of Afghanistan and 51 percent could correctly name one or more of their province's Member of Parliament. Knowledge of the latter was highest in Adraskan, Gulran, and Sherzad and lowest in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Farsi. Across the full sample, 89 percent of male household respondents claimed to have voted in the 2005 parliamentary election and 91 percent claimed to have voted in the 2004 presidential election. 88 percent of male household respondents said they would vote in the next parliamentary election and 91 percent said they would vote in the next presidential election. Across the ten districts, 47 percent of male household respondents, 10 percent of female respondents, and 60 percent of male focus group respondents claimed to have heard of the National Solidarity Programme (NSP). Radio is the main source of news and information for the majority of respondents, accounting for 74 percent of male household respondents, 42 percent of female respondents, and 73 percent of male focus group respondents. Sources of information were more diversified among female respondents, with 18 percent claiming they learned news from discussions with other villagers, 13 percent from relatives or friends, and 11 percent from the village leadership. When compared to a range of different authorities and institutional actors, male household respondents reported that they hold tribal elders in the highest regard, with 92 percent of respondents claiming that they usually take actions that in accordance with the interests of all villagers. Respondents also seemed to hold the President and agents of the central government in relatively high regard as well, with only 20 percent and 22 percent of respondents respectively reported that these authorities only acted in their own interests. The village council was also held in high regard, with 67 percent of respondents saying that its members acted in the interests of all, while commanders fared the worst of the various institutional actors, with 51 percent of respondents saying they acted only in their own interests. Among the ten districts, respondents in Khost Wa Firing seemed to be the most skeptical of institutional actors, while respondents in Hisarak seemed to hold most political authorities in high esteem. Across the full sample, very few respondents reported that taxes are usually paid by people in the village, with the partial exception of Sang Takht where a fifth of male household respondents reported that a small amount of tax is paid to the district administrator. When asked whether taxes should be paid by people in the village, 39 percent of male household respondents and 47 percent of male focus group respondents replied in the affirmative. Respondents in Sherzad were the most supportive of taxation, while those in Adraskan and Daulina were found to be the least supportive. When asked to whom taxes should be paid to, 87 percent of male household respondents and 83 percent of male focus group respondents stated that taxes should be paid to the central government, rather than other entities such as provincial governors, district administrators, or village councils. The rate of taxation that respondents thought most appropriate was relatively low, however, with a median of 3 percent in the male household sample and 2 percent in the male focus group sample.

**Projects:** On the whole, villages across the sample seem to be poorly served by development projects. Across the full sample, just 4 percent of male household respondents and 5 percent of male focus group respondents reported that their village has a development project, with villages in Daulina, Gulran, and Sherzad appearing to be better served than villages in other districts.



Projects tend to cover a wide range of areas, with projects pertaining to drinking water, roads and bridges, and agriculture all being mentioned, but seem to be mainly sponsored by NGOs, with only 11 percent of male household respondents and 13 percent of male focus group respondents saying that projects in their village are sponsored by the central government. Among male household respondents who said that their village contained a development project, 51 percent reported that they had contributed either labor, money, or goods to the project. 74 percent of male focus group respondents, on the other hand, reported making a contribution to the development project in their village. When asked if they planned to contribute to a village development project in the coming year, 51 percent of respondents indicating a desire to do so, although half of those reported that they planned only to contribute labor time. As with development projects, cash-for-work activities appeared to be relatively rare across the villages in the sample, with just 7 percent of male household respondents reporting that they or a family member had participated in such activities over the past year. When asked which development project the village had the greatest need for, a plurality of male household and female respondents indicated drinking water as the village's top priority, while male focus group respondents were split in their support for drinking water projects, schools, health facilities, roads and bridges, and irrigation. Drinking water projects were especially favored by male household respondents in Hisarak and Sherzad and by female respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, Hisarak, and Sherzad, with schools highly favored by male household respondents in Farsi, health facilities by male focus group respondents in Adraskan, Farsi, and Khost Wa Firing; roads and bridges by male household respondents in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, and Khost Wa Firing; and irrigation projects by male household and male focus group respondents in Adraskan and Sang Takht. Female respondents were also asked which type of projects would most benefit the women of the village, in response to which, female respondents cited mainly vocational training courses or income-generating activities in areas such as carpet weaving, handicrafts, and needlecraft.

**Trust:** In response to a question as to whether they would be willing to entrust a fellow villager to collect money for them, 84 percent of male household respondents, 69 percent of female respondents, and 90 percent of male focus group respondents replied in the affirmative. Male household respondents in Sang Takht and Sherzad, female respondents in Gulran, Sang Takht, and Sherzad, and male focus group respondents in Gulran and Sherzad were found to be the most trusting, while male household respondents in Hisarak and Khost Wa Firing, female respondents in Adraskan and Khost Wa Firing, and male focus group respondents in Adraskan and Khost Wa Firing were found to be the least trusting. Respondents were next asked whether they had ever entrusted a fellow villager with money. Across the sample, 50 percent of male household respondents, 28 percent of female respondents and 66 percent of male focus group respondents reported they had done this. The practice was found to be most common among male household respondents in Farsi, female respondents in Sherzad, and male focus group respondents in Gulran, while male households in Sang Takht, female respondents in Gulran, and male focus group respondents in Balkh were the least likely to have done this. In response to a question about whether people in their village generally help one another, 91 percent of male household respondents, 81 percent of female respondents, and 93 percent of male focus group respondents said that they thought villagers generally did. Levels of faith in the magnanimity of fellow villagers was found to be highest among male household respondents in Gulran, among female respondents in Farsi, and among male focus group respondents in Gulran, while male household and female respondents in Khost Wa Firing and male focus group respondents in Adraskan were the least likely to take a positive view of the willingness of people in their village to help one another. Finally, villagers were asked whether they believed people in their village work better together in small groups compared to working together as a village. Overall, 52 percent of male household respondents, 62 percent of female respondents, and 85 percent of male focus group respondents contended that cooperation was indeed better among smaller

groups. Male household and female respondents in Sang Takht were the most likely to report that villagers cooperate better when in small groups, while male focus group respondents in Sherzad were the most likely to do so. At the other end of the spectrum, male household respondents in Hisarak, female respondents in Daulina, and male focus group respondents in Adraskan were the most likely to report no difference between cooperation in small groups and across the whole village.

**Gender:** Women appear to have relatively little decision-making authority in the villages surveyed across the ten districts, particularly in regard to questions with a financial dimension attached to them. In decisions pertaining to the purchase of food or the taking out of loans, for instance, very few women reported that they are even consulted prior to a decision being made. Female respondents were more likely to report that they are consulted in regard to questions pertaining to the marriage or education of their children, but such respondents were still firmly in the minority across the sample. Women in Sang Takht and Hisarak appear to have a much greater degree of involvement in decision-making than in other districts, with women in Adraskan, Farsi, and Sherzad having relatively little. Women in villages in Chisht-e Sharif and Sang Takht appear to leave their home compounds most frequently, while those in Adraskan, Daulina, and Farsi report relatively infrequent trips outside of their compound. Overall, the most common reason women leave their house is to collect water, wood, or scrap, with 68 percent of respondents across the sample reporting that they had done this in the past month. Just under a half of female respondents also reported that they leave the house to visit relatives or friends. Across the ten districts, just over a quarter of respondents reported that they regularly leave the house without company, with 27 percent reporting that a young child is their common company when leaving the house and 21 percent reporting that their husband usually accompanies them. Women in Sang Takht were by far the most likely to say they regularly leave their house without company, while women in Adraskan, Farsi, and Sherzad were the least likely. Female respondents were also asked whether they wear a burqa (*chadori*) when walking outside the home. 19 percent of women indicated they wear neither a scarf nor a burqa, 30 percent indicated they wear a scarf only, 14 percent said they sometimes wear a burqa, and 37 percent claimed they usually or always wear a burqa. Relatively few women in Sang Takht indicated they wear either a burqa or a scarf, while almost all respondents in Balkh indicated they do so. 79 percent of female respondents indicated that it is common for women in their village to socialize with women outside of their family, with respondents in Daulina, Farsi, and Sherzad being relatively less likely to report this and respondents in Balkh and Sang Takht being relatively more likely. The most common location for socialization among unrelated women is at weddings, followed by events and celebrations. Across the full sample, 42 percent of respondents cited weddings as the most common location, while 25 percent mentioned events or celebrations.

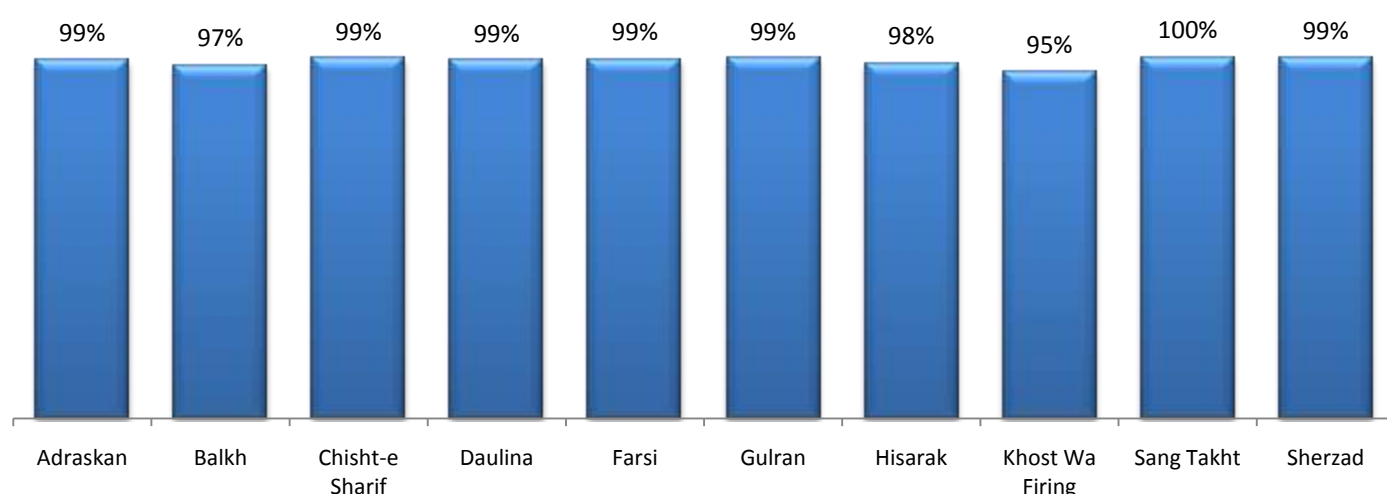
### ***Political Awareness and Opinion***

The following section describes answers provided by male household, female, and male focus group respondents in response to questions concerning political awareness and opinion. Male household respondents, for instance, were asked to name the President of Afghanistan and one of the Members of Parliament representing their province and were also asked whether they had voted in the most recent presidential and parliamentary elections and whether they planned to vote in the next presidential and parliamentary elections. All three groups of respondents were asked what their main source of information is for national events and whether they were aware of the National Solidarity Programme (NSP), while male household respondents were asked whether a range of political authorities and institutional actors behaved in a manner that was consistent with their own interests, the interests of just some of the people in the village, or the interests of all of the people in the village. Male household and male focus group respondents were asked whether they or people in their village pay taxation and, if so, how much they pay,

who they pay it to, and who benefits from the usage of the taxation revenues. Male household and male focus group respondents were also asked whether they believed people earning income should pay taxation and, if people do have to pay taxation, who it should be paid to.

Across the sample, male household respondents proved to have a high level of knowledge of political structures and personalities and a high self-reported level of political involvement. 98 percent of male household respondents correctly identified the President of Afghanistan as Hamid Karzai, with only 62 respondents failing to answer the question correctly. A district level breakdown is provided in Figure 317 below.

**Figure 317: Percent of Male Household Respondents Who Correctly Identified President of Afghanistan, by District**



Although a high percentage of male household respondents claimed to have voted in the parliamentary elections (see Figure 319 below), only 51 percent correctly named one or more of their province's representatives in the *Wolesi Jirga*, the lower house of the Parliament of Afghanistan. Knowledge of parliamentary representatives appears to be highest in Adraskan (80 percent), Gulran (92 percent), and Sherzad (87 percent), while a relatively small proportion of respondents in Balkh (17 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (12 percent), Daulina (25 percent), Farsi (19 percent), and Hisarak (25 percent) could name their province's representative.

**Figure 318: Percent of Male Households Who Correctly Identified Member of Parliament, by District**

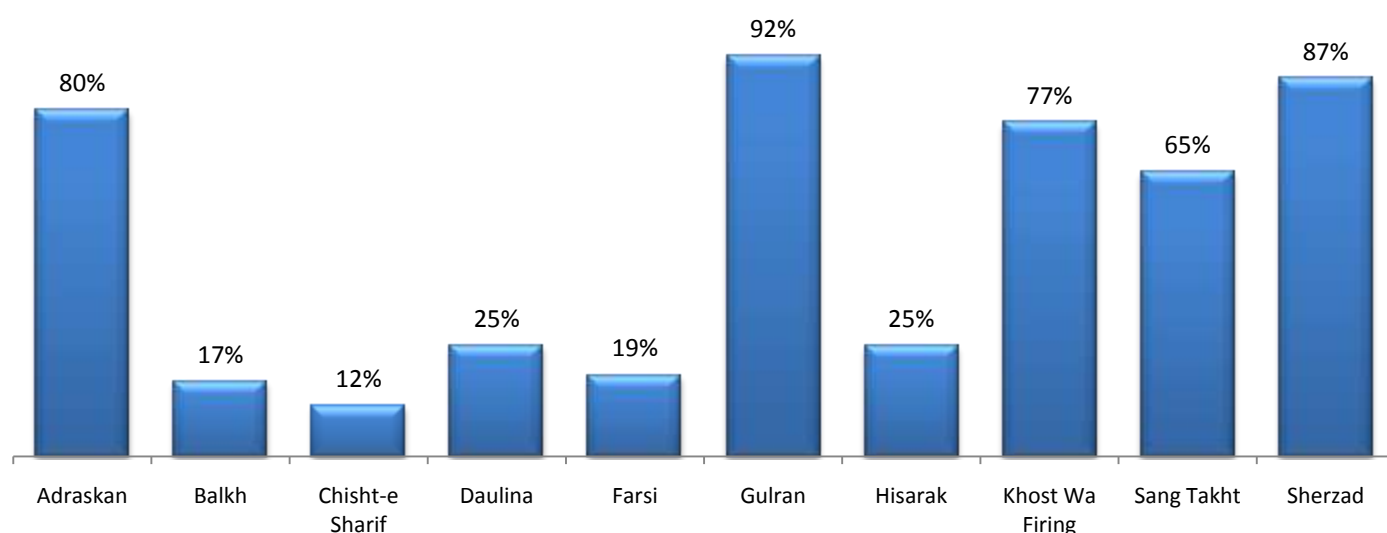
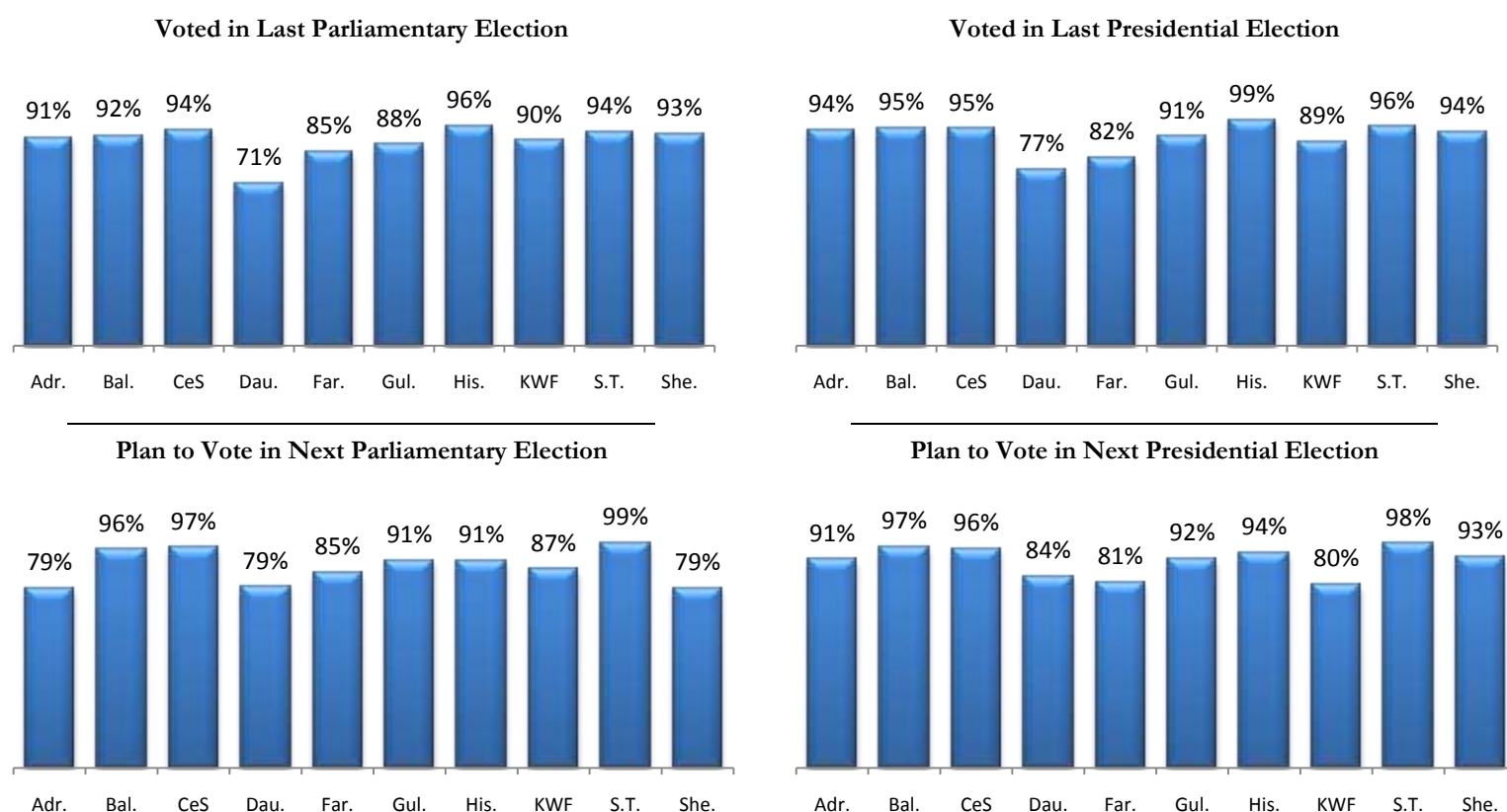


Figure 319 below plots the percentage of respondents from each district who claimed to have voted in the last parliamentary and presidential elections and who said they would participate in the next parliamentary elections. Across the full sample, 89 percent of male household respondents claimed to have voted in the last parliamentary election in September 2005, 91 percent claimed to have voted in the last presidential election in October 2004, 88 percent claimed they would vote in the next parliamentary election, and 91 percent said they would vote in the next presidential election. Self-reported participation in the last parliamentary and presidential election was lowest in Daulina, where just 71 percent of respondents claimed to have voted in the parliamentary election and 77 percent of respondents claimed to have voted in the last presidential election, while Hisarak had the highest levels, with 96 percent of respondents claiming to have voted in the parliamentary election and 99 percent claiming to have voted in the presidential election. Levels of anticipated participation in the next parliamentary election were found to be lowest in Adraskan (79 percent), Daulina (79 percent), and Sherzad (79 percent) and highest in Balkh (96 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (97 percent), and Sang Takht (99 percent). For presidential elections, respondents in Daulina (84 percent), Farsi (81 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (80 percent) expressed the lowest levels of anticipated involvement, while respondents in Balkh (97 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (96 percent), and Sang Takht (98 percent) were the most likely to say that they would vote.

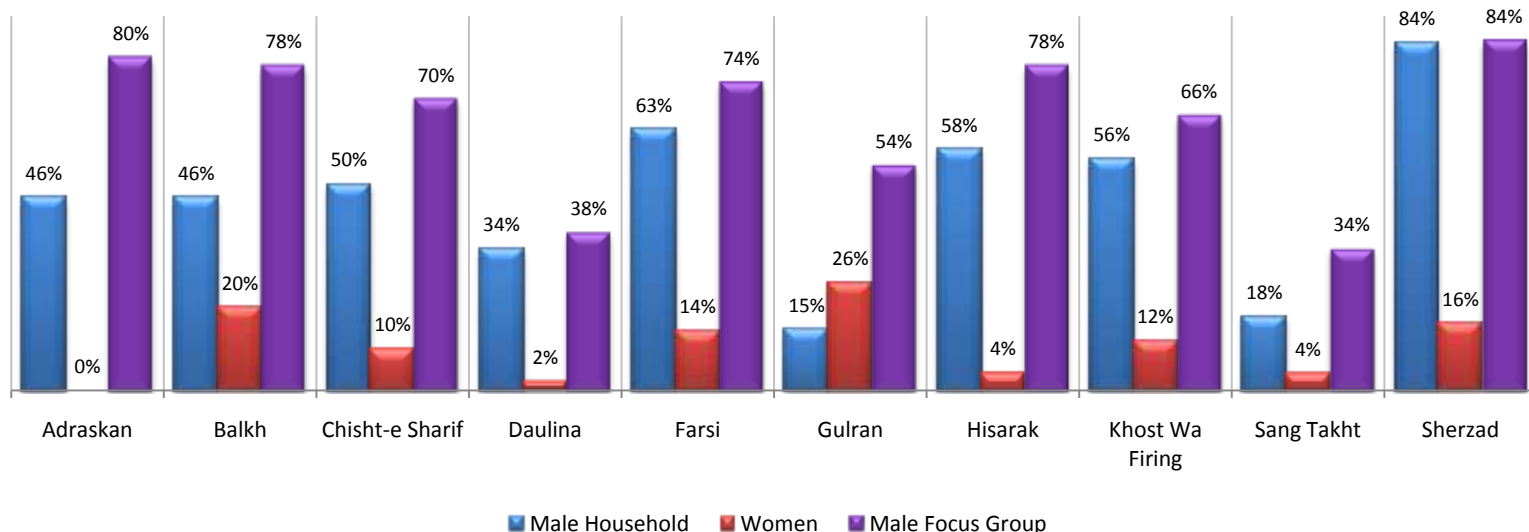
**Figure 319: Participation or Planned Participation by Male Household Respondents in Elections, by District**



All three groups of respondents were asked whether they knew of the National Solidarity Programme (NSP), the results of which are presented in Figure 320 below. Across the ten districts, 47 percent of male household respondents, 10 percent of female respondents, and 60 percent of male focus group respondents claimed to have heard of NSP. Within the sample of male household respondents, those in Sherzad (84 percent) were the most likely to have heard of the program, while those in Gulran (15 percent) and Sang Takht (18 percent) were the least likely. Among female respondents, Gulran recorded the highest level of awareness (26 percent), while no women in Adraskan claimed to have heard of the program. The proportion of male

focus group respondents who claimed to be aware of NSP was highest in Sherzad (84 percent), Adraskan (80 percent), Balkh (78 percent), and Hisarak (78 percent), and was relatively low in Sang Takht (34 percent) and Daulina (38 percent).

**Figure 320: Percent of Respondents Aware of NSP, by Respondent Type and District**



All three groups of respondents were asked from which source they receive most of the information about national events. Figure 321 summarizes the answers provided by male household respondents. Across the sample, 74 percent of respondents cited the radio as their primary source of information, which was followed by discussions with other villagers (13 percent), relatives or friends (6 percent), sermons at the mosque or discussions with members of the clergy (2 percent), television (1 percent), and discussions with village leaders (1 percent). Only 1 percent of male household respondents claimed to have no source of information, a response which was most frequently recorded in Adraskan, but then only among 4 percent of respondents. The proportion of respondents citing sermons at the mosque or discussions with members of the clergy as their primary source of information reached a peak of 8 percent in Daulina and is at 5 percent in Adraskan, although was minimal in all other districts. 27 percent of respondents in Adraskan and Gulran reported that they received their information from discussions with other villagers, a high for the sample, although only 3 percent of respondents in Hisarak reported receiving information through this manner. In Chisht-e Sharif, 18 percent of respondents claimed that relatives or friends is their primary source of information on national events, while just 1 percent of respondents in Sang Takht made the same claim. The proportion of respondents citing radio as their primary source of information ranged from a low of 49 percent in Adraskan to a high of 89 percent in Hisarak. Although television is a relatively rare source of information across the sample, 13 percent of respondents in Balkh did report it as where they most commonly receive their national news from. The frequency by which respondents in Balkh cited television as their main source of information is, if anything, surprisingly low given that 23 percent of respondents in the district claim to own a television and given that electricity does not appear to be a constraint for the operation of household appliances for respondents in the district. The frequency by which television was cited by respondents in Farsi (0 percent) and Gulran (2 percent) was also relatively low, considering that 7 percent of respondents in Farsi and 9 percent of respondents in Gulran claimed to own a television set.

**Figure 321: Main Source of Information on National Events for Male Household Respondents**

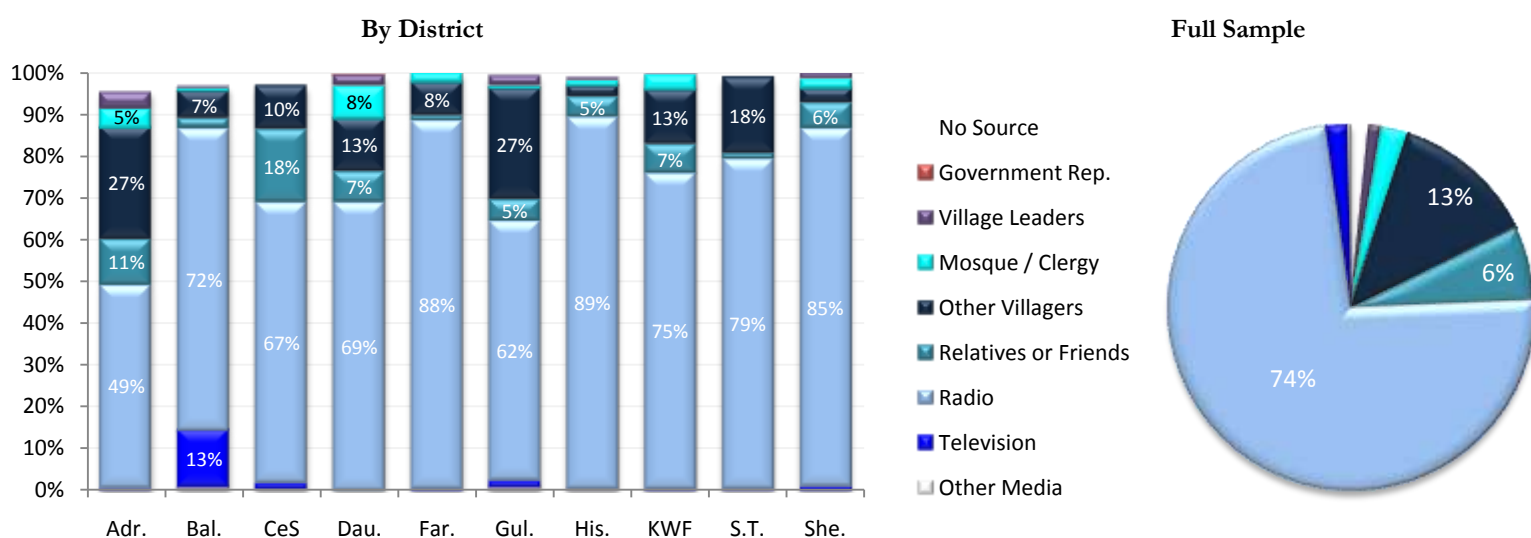
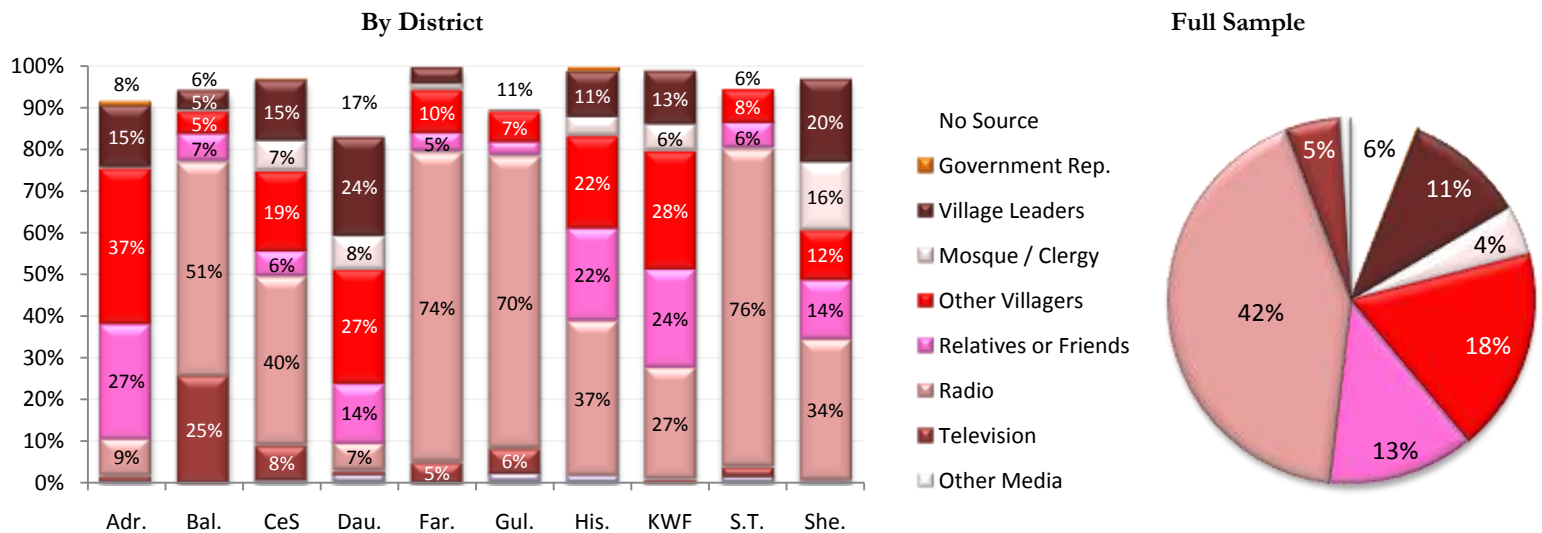


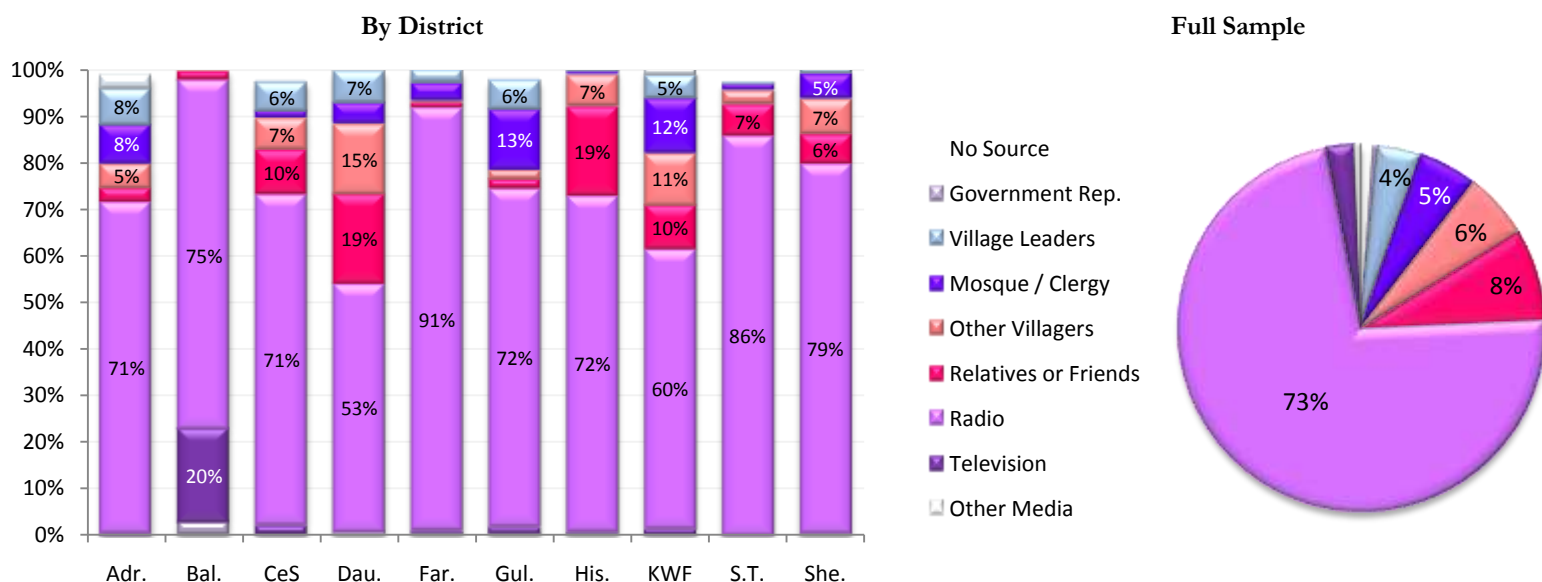
Figure 322 presents a summary of the main information sources reported by female respondents. Overall, 6 percent of respondents reported having no source at all for information on national events. Female respondents in Daulina claimed to have the most difficulty receiving information, with 17 percent reporting they are without any source, with just 1 percent of respondents in Farsi, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing made the same claim. 42 percent of female respondents reported receiving information on national events from the radio, with respondents ranging from 7 percent in Daulina and 9 percent in Adraskan to 76 percent in Sang Takht and 74 percent in Farsi; 18 percent of respondents reported that other villagers were their main source of information, with district-level proportions varying from 5 percent in Balkh to 37 percent in Adraskan; 13 percent of female respondents claimed that relatives or friends were their main source of information – respondents in Gulran were the least likely to report this, at 3 percent, while respondents in Adraskan were the most likely, at 27 percent; 11 percent of respondents claimed village leaders is where they got their national news from, ranging from 0 percent in Gulran to 24 percent in Daulina; Television was the main source of information cited by 5 percent of respondents, peaking at 25 percent of respondents in Balkh and reaching 8 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, 6 percent in Gulran, and 5 percent in Farsi; Sermons at the mosque or interactions with members of the clergy was cited as the primary information source by 4 percent of female respondents and was cited with relative frequency by respondents in Sherzad (16 percent), Daulina (8 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (7 percent), and Khost Wa Firing (6 percent).

**Figure 322: Main Source of Information on National Events for Female Respondents**



As with male household respondents, radio was overwhelmingly the primary information source cited by male focus group respondents, with 73 percent doing so. The degree of dependence by male focus group respondents on the radio for information varied between districts, ranging from a low of 53 percent in Daulina to a high of 91 percent in Farsi. The second most commonly-cited source of information was relatives or friends, accounting for 8 percent of respondents, and reaching a peak of 19 percent in Daulina and Hisarak. Discussions with other villagers was the primary source of information on national events for 6 percent of respondents across the sample, with respondents in Daulina claiming a greater dependence on their friends and relatives for information than their counterparts in other districts (15 percent). 5 percent of respondents referred to sermons at the mosque or interactions with the clergy as their main source of national news, peaking at 13 percent of respondents in Gulran. Interactions with village leaders were identified as the most important information source by 4 percent of respondents, peaking at 8 percent of respondents in Adraskan. Television was cited as the primary information source by 3 percent of respondents, with 20 percent of male household respondents in Balkh citing it as their source of national news.

**Figure 323: Main Source of Information on National Events for Male Focus Group Respondents**





Male household respondents were asked to assess whether a series of authorities and institutional actors behaved in a manner consistent with just their own interests, the interests of some of the villagers, or the interests of all of the villagers. Specifically, male household respondents were asked about the behavior of the President of Afghanistan, central government officials, Members of Parliament (*Wolesi Jirga*), members of the village council, tribal elders, the local commander, ordinary villagers, and employees of non-governmental organizations. Figure 324 below plots the results across the sample. Tribal elders commanded the highest level of respect, with 92 percent of respondents reporting that their actions are consistent with the interests of all villagers and just 3 percent claiming that act only in their own interests. Other villagers were also held in a relatively high regard, with just 15 percent of respondents reporting that their fellow villagers act only in their own interest. Of the various political actors about which respondents were asked, commanders seem to command the lowest level of respect, with just 30 percent of respondents saying that they act in the interests of all. The President of Afghanistan and agents of the central government fared relatively well, with 68 percent and 63 percent of respondents respectively reporting that they act in the interests of all, while a relatively low 44 percent of respondents said they held the same belief about Members of the *Wolesi Jirga*, or lower house of the Parliament of Afghanistan. Sub-national government fared better than Members of the *Wolesi Jirga*, but worse than the central government, with 56 percent of respondents claiming agents of the provincial government act in the interests of all and 55 percent claiming agents of the district government act in the interests of all. Village councils appear to be held in relatively high esteem, with only 17 percent of respondents reporting they act in the interests of themselves only. Employees of non-governmental organizations, however, do not appear to be quite so favored, with only 39 percent of respondents saying they believe that they believe their work is consistent with the interests of all villagers.

**Figure 324: Interests Served by Institutional Actors as Perceived by Male Household Respondents**

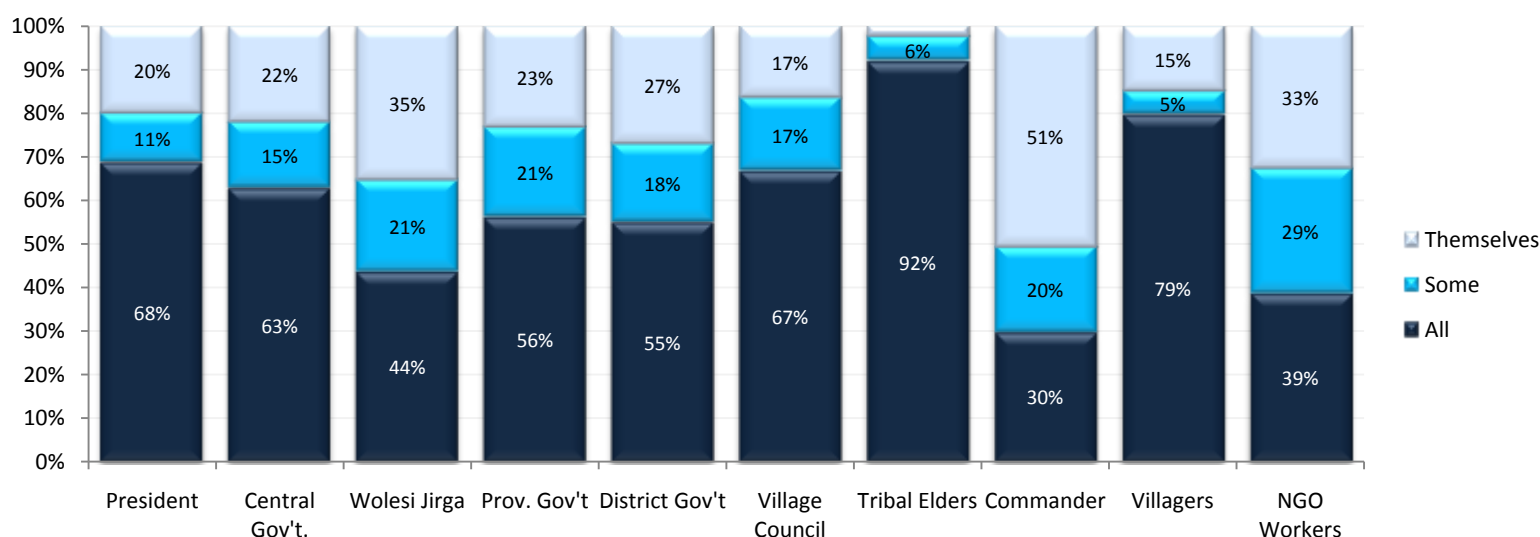
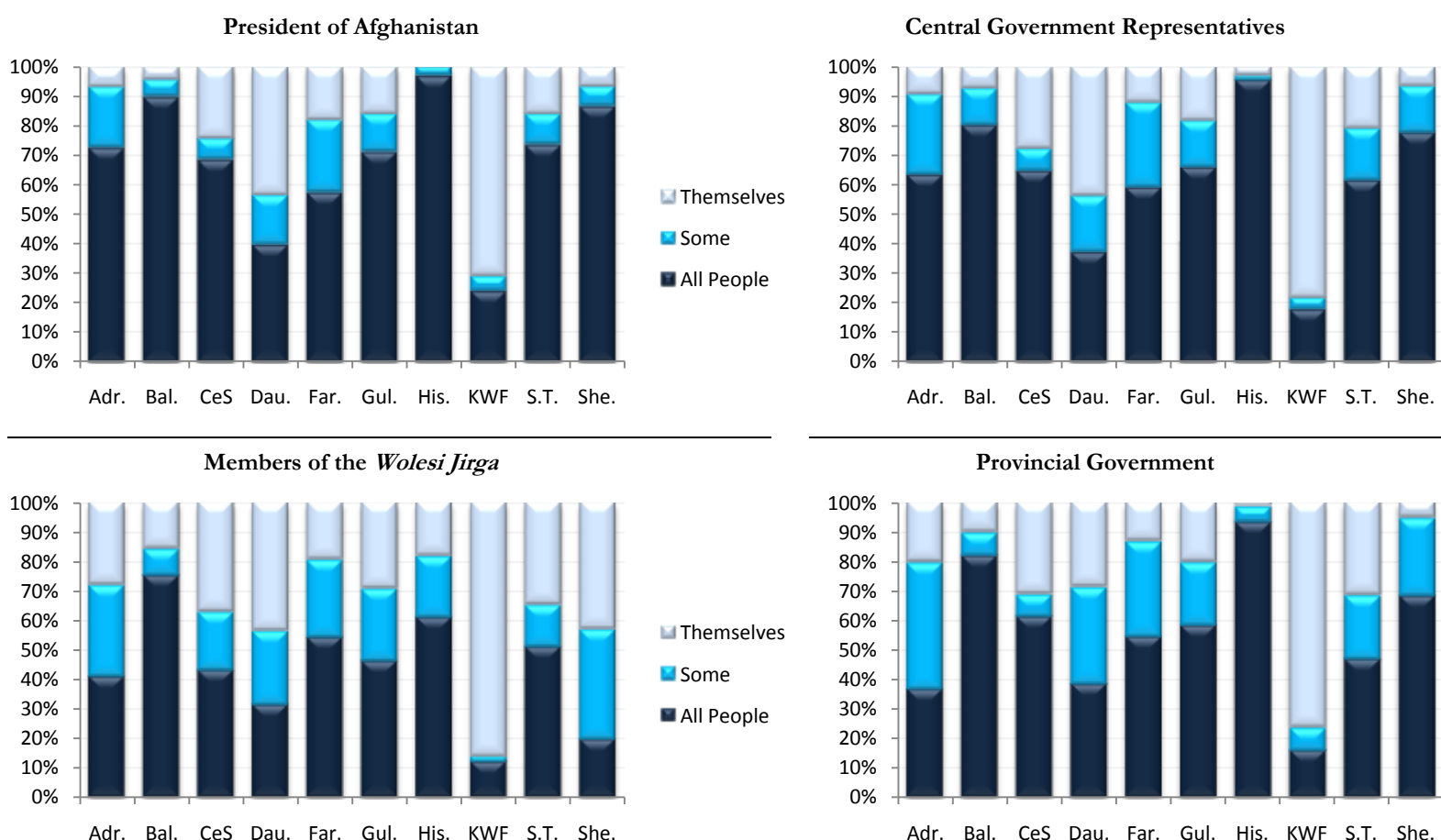


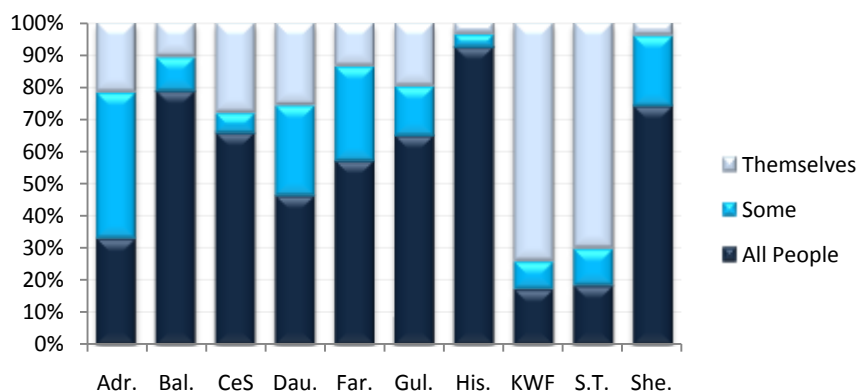
Figure 325 below plots the district-level breakdowns of the aggregate results presented in Figure 324. For all of the institutional actors except tribal elders, significant variation was observed between districts in the answers of respondents: The proportion of respondents who believe the President of Afghanistan acts in the interest of all people varied from a low of 24 percent in Khost Wa Firing to a high of 97 percent in Hisarak; Variation in respect for the agents of the central government followed a similar pattern, with proportions ranging from a low of 18 percent in Khost Wa Firing to a high of 95 percent in Hisarak; Belief that Members of the *Wolesi Jirga* act just in their own interests went from a low of 16 percent in Balkh to a high of 86 percent in Khost Wa Firing; Provincial government is held in the highest regard by respondents in Hisarak, just 2 percent of which claimed that representatives thereof act in their

own interests, and is seen in the worst light by respondents in Khost Wa Firing, 76 percent of which reported that agents of the provincial government act only in their own interest; Similarly, district government found its highest level of support among respondents in Hisarak, where 19 percent of respondents claimed its representatives acted in the interests of all respondents, and is held in the lowest regard by respondents in Khost Wa Firing and Sang Takht, where only 17 percent and 18 percent of respondents respectively report that representatives act in the interests of all respondents; Respondents in Farsi were the most likely to claim that members of the village council act in the interests of all villagers (89 percent), while respondents in Sherzad were the least likely to do so (32 percent); Tribal elders appear to be held in almost universal regard across the sample of ten districts, with only a partial exception in Daulina, where just 73 percent of respondents reported that they act in the interests of all villagers; Paramilitary commanders are viewed least negatively in Farsi, where only 18 percent of respondents believe they act just in their own interests; and most negatively in Khost Wa Firing, where 90 percent of respondents report the same; Fellow villagers are most frequently reported to be motivated by the interests of all people in Farsi (95 percent), Gulran (96 percent), Khost Wa Firing (94 percent), and Sherzad (93 percent), whereas just 61 percent of respondents in Hisarak reported the same; and Employees of non-governmental organizations appear to be held in the lowest regard in the districts of Adraskan, Daulina, and Khost Wa Firing, where just 22 percent, 24 percent, and 21 percent of respondents respectively report that they act in the interests of all villagers, while respondents in Balkh (57 percent), Chisht-e Sharif (52 percent), and Gulran (51 percent) appear to be hold them in much higher regard.

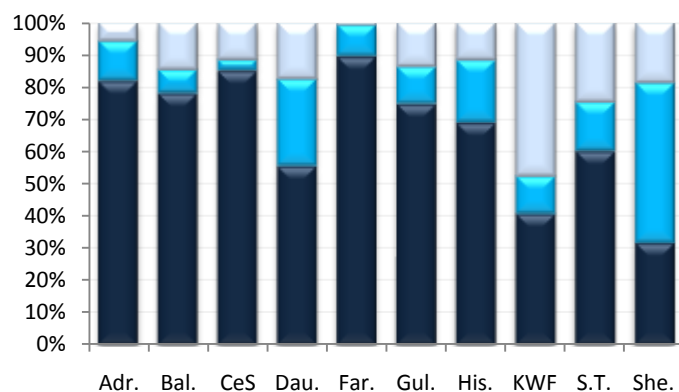
**Figure 325: Interests Served by Institutional Actors as Perceived by Male Household Respondents, by District**



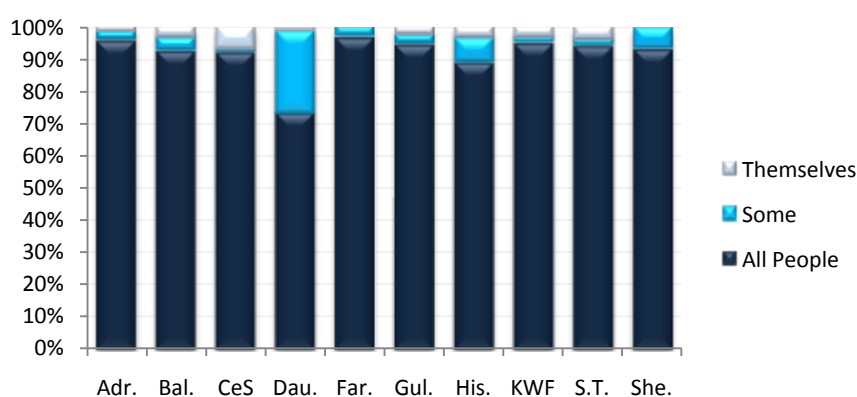
**District Government**



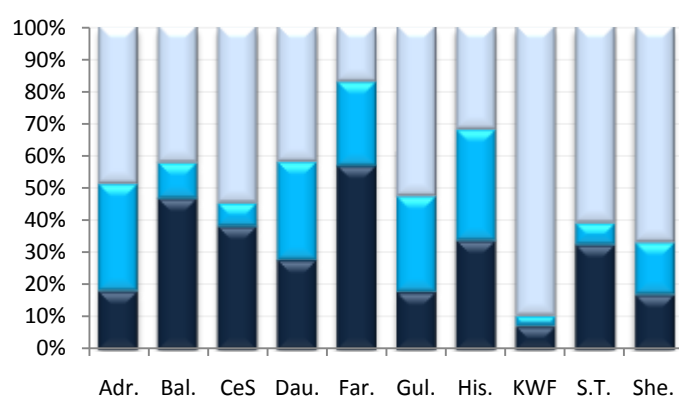
**Members of the Village Council**



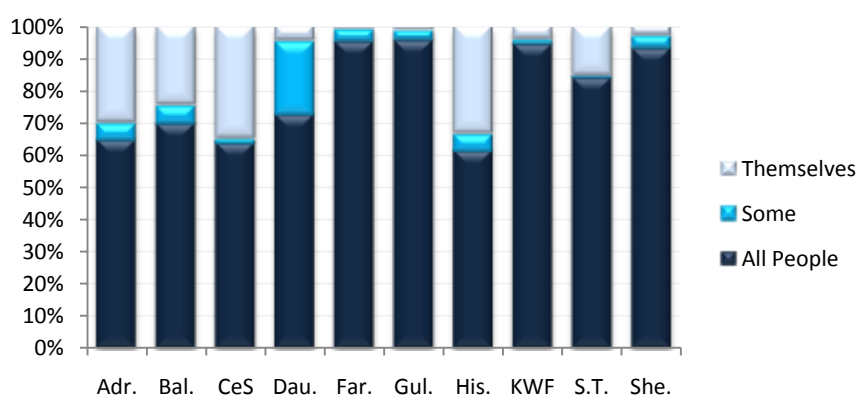
**Tribal Elders**



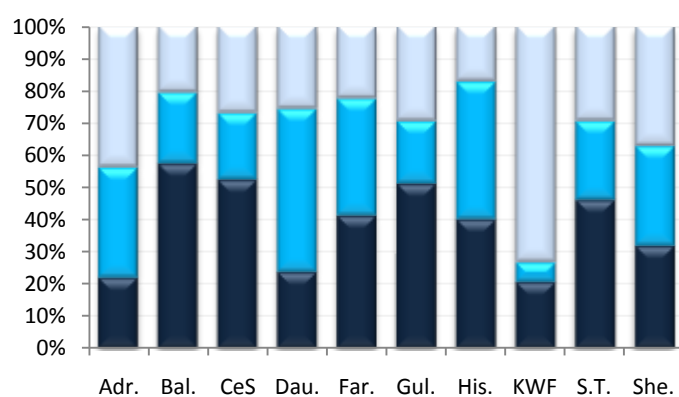
**Commanders**



**Villagers**

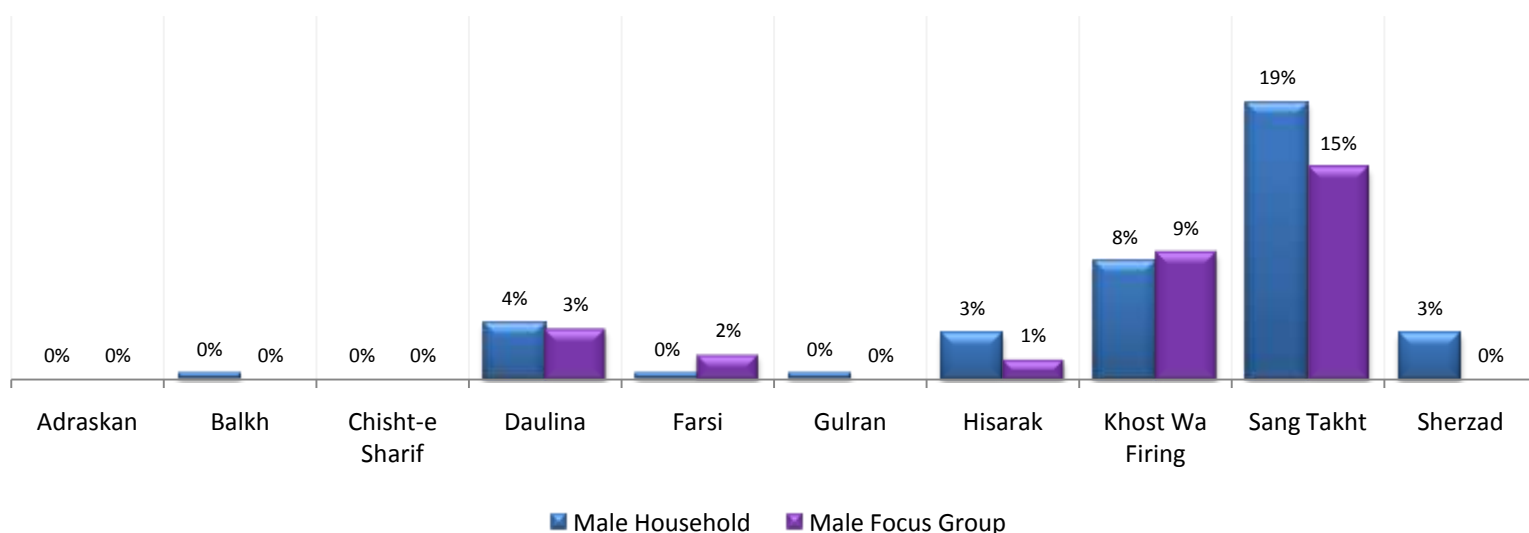


**Employees of Non-Governmental Organizations**



Male household and male focus group respondents were asked whether some or all people in the village had paid taxes to a village or other authority in the past year. Figure 326 below plots the proportion of male household and male focus group respondents that reported that at least some of the people in their village had paid taxes in the past year. Across the sample, taxation payments were extremely rare, with just 4 percent of male household respondents and 3 percent of male focus group respondents reporting that people in their village had paid them. Taxation payments were most frequently reported in Sang Takht, where 19 percent of male household respondents and 15 percent of male focus group respondents, and Khost Wa Firing, where the corresponding figures were 8 percent for male household respondents and 9 percent for male focus group respondents. In contrast, very few or no male household or male focus group respondents in the districts of Adraskan, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Gulran, or Sherzad reported that taxes were paid by people in the village.

**Figure 326: Incidence of Taxation, by District and Respondent Type**



Male household and male focus group respondents who reported that taxes were paid were asked to whom the taxes were paid. Figure 327 plots the answers of male household respondents. Across the full sample, 42 percent reported that taxes were paid to the district government, 31 percent reported they were paid to the central government, 11 percent reported they were paid to a professional in the village, while 7 percent reported they were paid to the village council. In Sang Takht, the district government was the predominant recipient of taxation, accounting for 77 percent of responses, while in Khost Wa Firing and Hisarak, the central government was the most commonly cited recipient, accounting for 53 percent and 75 percent of responses respectively.

**Figure 327: Authority Receiving Taxation Revenue, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**

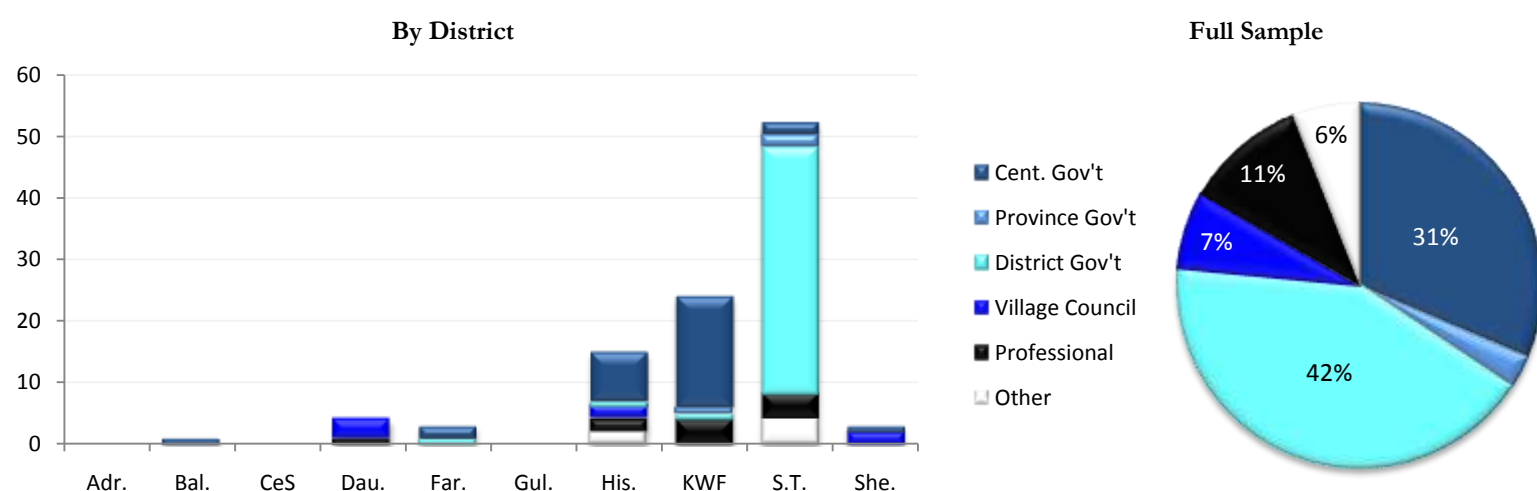


Figure 328 summarizes the responses of male focus groups concerning the recipient of taxation paid by villagers. Across the full sample, 61 percent of focus groups said that the tax was paid to the district government, with the remaining responses being split between the village council (17 percent), central government (17 percent), and provincial government (6 percent). As with the male household sample, male focus groups in Sang Takht identified the district government as the recipient of taxation. Respondents in Khost Wa Firing, on the hand, were split between the central government (3 focus groups) and the district government (2 focus groups). Village councils were identified as the recipients of taxation by two focus groups in Daulina and a single

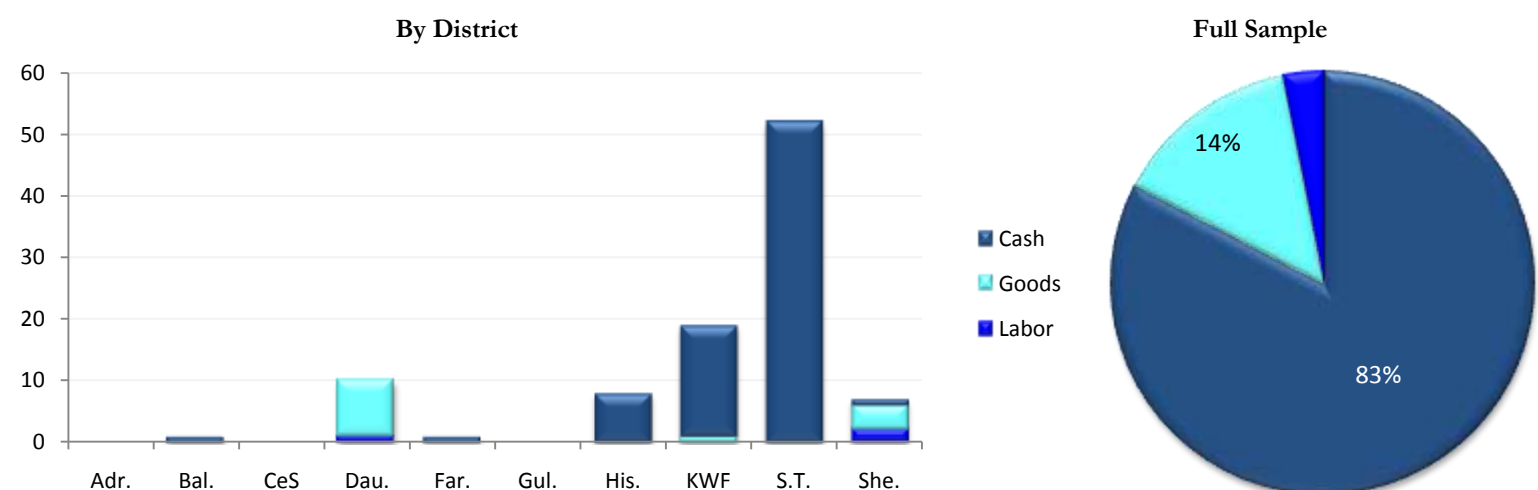
focus group in Hisarak, while a focus group each in Farsi cited the provincial government and the district government as the recipient.

**Figure 328: Authority Receiving Taxation Revenue, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



Male household respondents were asked whether taxation was paid in cash, goods, or labor, the results of which are presented in Figure 329 below. An overwhelming proportion – 83 percent – of respondents claimed that taxes were paid in cash, with 14 percent of respondents claiming tax was paid in goods, and just 3 percent reporting that taxes were paid in labor. Respondents in Hisarak, Khost Wa Firing, and Sherzad almost exclusively reported that taxes were paid in cash, while respondents in Daulina almost exclusively reported that taxes were paid in kind. In Sherzad, two respondents reported that taxes were paid in labor, four respondents reported that taxes were paid in kind, and one respondent reported that taxes were paid in cash.

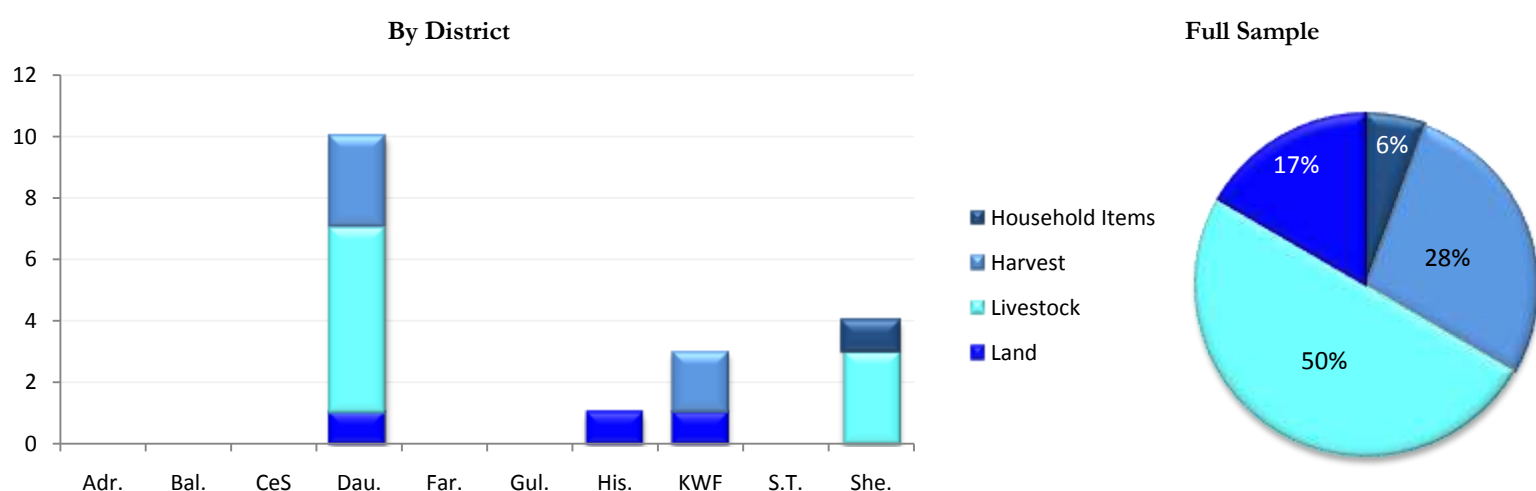
**Figure 329: Type of Tax Payment, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**



Male household respondents who reported that taxes were paid in kind were asked about the exact nature of the payment, the results of which are presented in Figure 330 below. Across the full sample, 50 percent of respondents reported that the payment of in-kind taxes involved a transfer of livestock, 28 percent reported that it involved a contribution of a portion of the harvest, 17 percent mentioned that taxes were paid by transferring ownership of land, and 6 percent of respondents claimed that household items had been given as a means of settling tax payments. In Daulina and Sherzad, transference of livestock was the most common means of paying taxes, while in Khost Wa Firing, a gift of produce was cited by two respondents. A single

respondent each in Daulina, Hisarak, and Khost Wa Firing claimed that taxes had been paid by transferring ownership of land.

**Figure 330: Description of In-Kind Tax Payment, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**

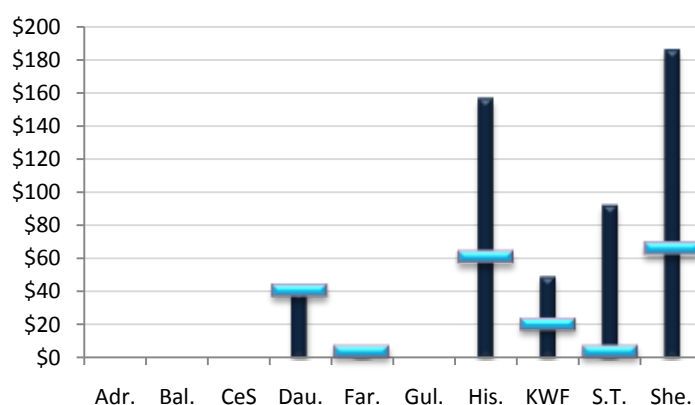


Male household respondents who reported that people in the village pay tax were also asked about the value of the taxation payments. Summary statistics describing these responses are presented in Figure 331 and Table 44 below. Across the full sample, the median tax payment was a mere \$7, although significant variation was observed between districts. In Sang Takht, the district with the most frequent incidence of tax, the value of reported taxation payments was relatively low, with a median value of \$4 and a 3<sup>rd</sup> quartile value of \$9, meaning that 75 percent of those who paid tax paid \$9 or less in taxation in the past year. In Daulina, Hisarak, and Sherzad, the taxation payments reported were much higher, with median levels of \$40, \$60, and \$65 respectively. In Khost Wa Firing, reported taxation levels were relatively moderate, with a median of \$20, although responses indicate that a quarter of those paying tax pay over \$53 annually.

**Table 44: Value of Taxation Payment**

District	Obs.	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Balkh	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chisht-e Sharif	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Daulina	8	\$41	\$7	\$33	\$40	\$46	\$80
Farsi	1	\$4	\$4	\$4	\$4	\$4	\$4
Gulran	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hisarak	7	\$156	\$3	\$15	\$60	\$300	\$400
Khost Wa Firing	19	\$49	\$6	\$10	\$20	\$53	\$300
Sang Takht	52	\$92	\$1	\$4	\$4	\$9	\$2,000
Sherzad	8	\$185	\$0	\$38	\$65	\$225	\$800
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>\$91</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$4</b>	<b>\$7</b>	<b>\$20</b>	<b>\$2,000</b>

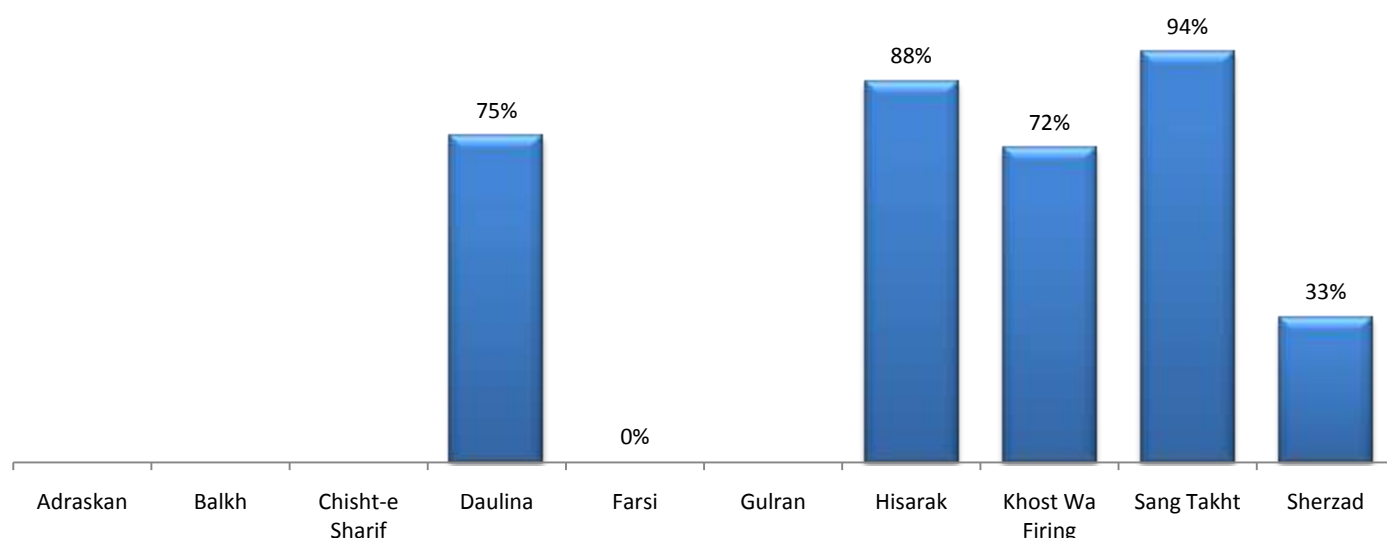
**Figure 331: Average Value of Taxation Payment**



Male household respondents who reported paying taxes were asked to consider whether the taxation revenues had been used to benefit all of the villagers or just the recipient. Figure 332 reports the proportion of respondents in each district who claimed that the benefits from the use of the taxation revenues accrued only to the recipient. Across the full sample, 83 percent of those who reported that taxes were paid claimed that the payment of those taxes benefited only the recipient. The proportion of respondents who claimed such was especially high in Sang Takht, at 94 percent, which had the highest reported incidence of taxation and where taxes appeared to have been mainly paid to the district government. In Hisarak and Khost Wa Firing,

where taxes appeared to be mainly paid to the central government, 88 percent and 72 percent of respondents respectively said that the people of their village saw little benefit from the taxes. In Daulina, where taxes appeared to be paid mainly to village councils, three-quarters of respondents reported that taxes benefited only the recipients.

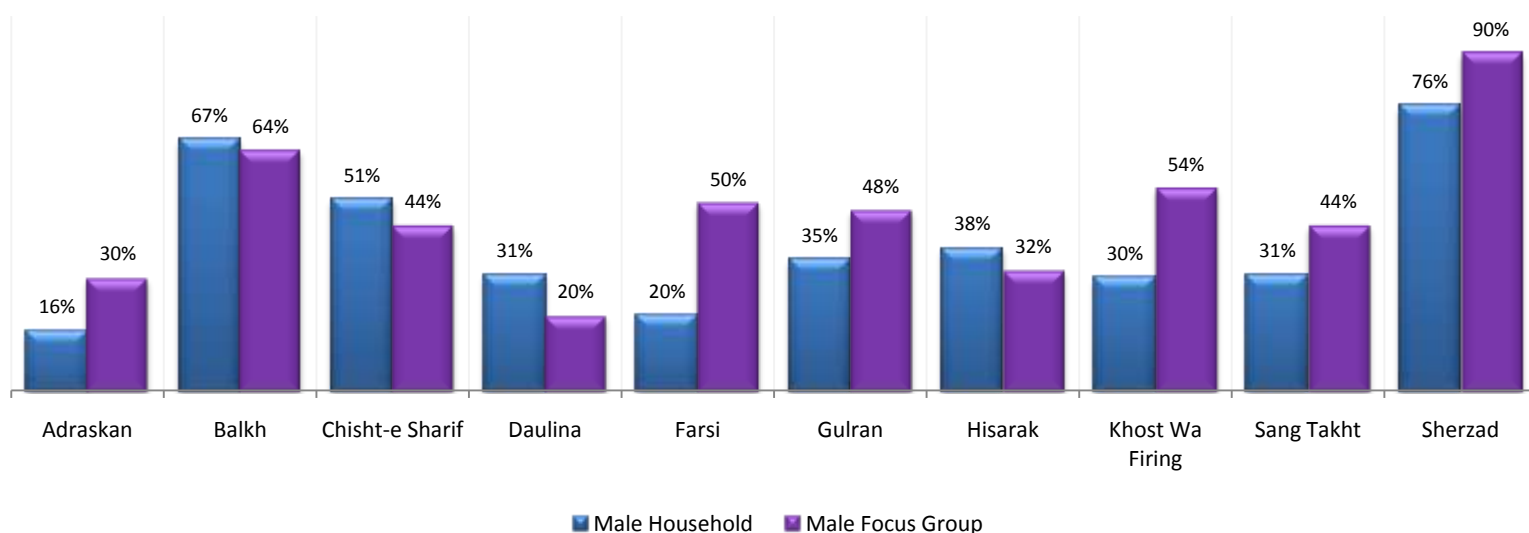
**Figure 332: Percent of Respondents Asserting Benefit from Taxation Revenue Accrues to Recipient Only**



Male household and male focus group respondents were asked whether people in their village should pay tax to village elders, central government, or another organization. Figure 333 below presents the proportion of male household and male focus group respondents in each district who agreed that tax should be paid by people in the village. Across the full sample, 39 percent of male household respondents and 47 percent of male focus group respondents reported that they believed that taxes should be paid. Respondents in Sherzad were particularly likely to report that taxes should be paid, with 76 percent of male household and 90 percent of male focus group respondents doing so. Respondents in Balkh also seemed particularly amenable to taxation, with 67 percent of male household respondents and 64 percent of male focus group respondents claiming that they believed that villagers should pay taxes. Respondents in Adraskan and Daulina were the least likely to support the taxation of villagers, with 16 percent of male household respondents and 30 percent of male focus group respondents in Adraskan and 31 percent of male household respondents and 20 percent of male focus group respondents in Daulina doing so. In Farsi, there was a relatively large divergence between the responses of male household and male focus group respondents, with only 20 percent of male household respondents claiming that taxes should be paid and 50 percent of male focus group respondents doing so.



**Figure 333: Percent of Respondents that Consent to Taxation**



Whether or not a respondent believed villagers should pay taxes, respondents were asked to which authority villagers should pay taxes to in the event that they must be paid. The responses of male household respondents are summarized in Figure 334 below. Across the full sample, 87 percent of male household respondents reported that they believed taxes should be paid to the central government, with just 5 percent of respondents citing entities of sub-national governance as the preferred recipient, 5 percent citing entities of village governance as the preferred recipient, and 2 percent citing a village professional. The proportion of respondents who identified central government as the preferred recipient of taxation varied from a low of 76 percent in Hisarak to a high of 95 percent in Adraskan, citations of sub-national governance peaked at 12 percent in Chisht-e Sharif, village leadership at 12 percent in Daulina, and village professionals at 11 percent in Hisarak.

**Figure 334: Authority Preferred by Male Household Respondents to Receive Taxation Revenue**

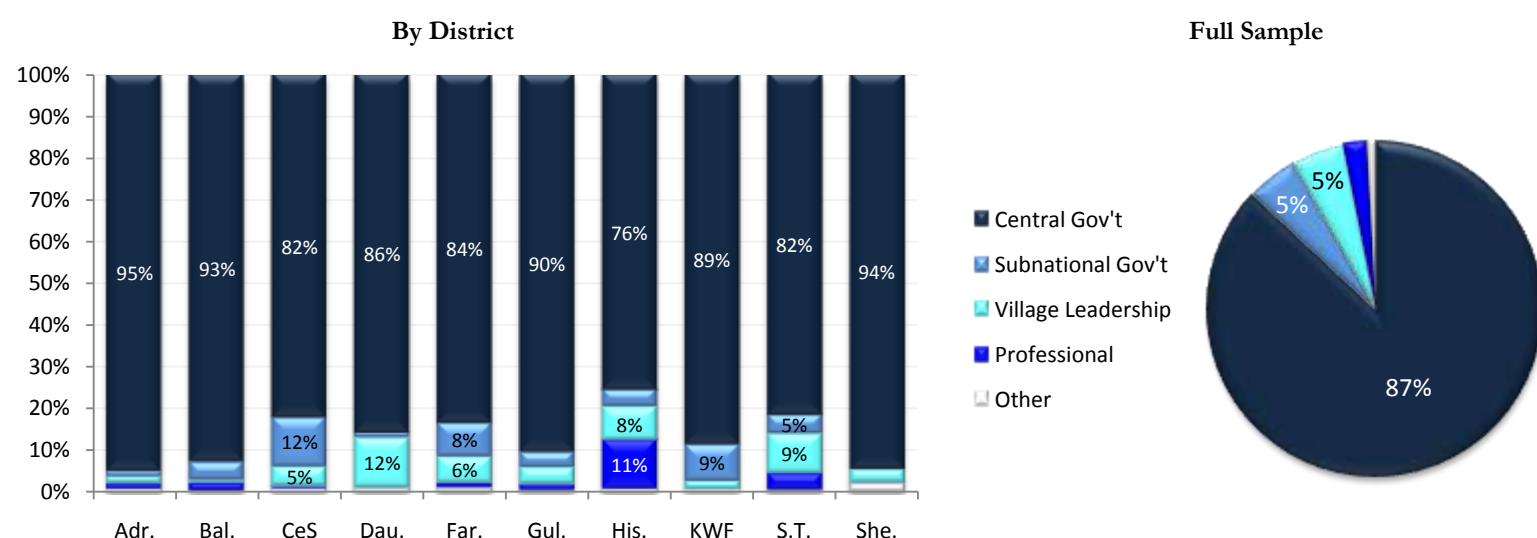
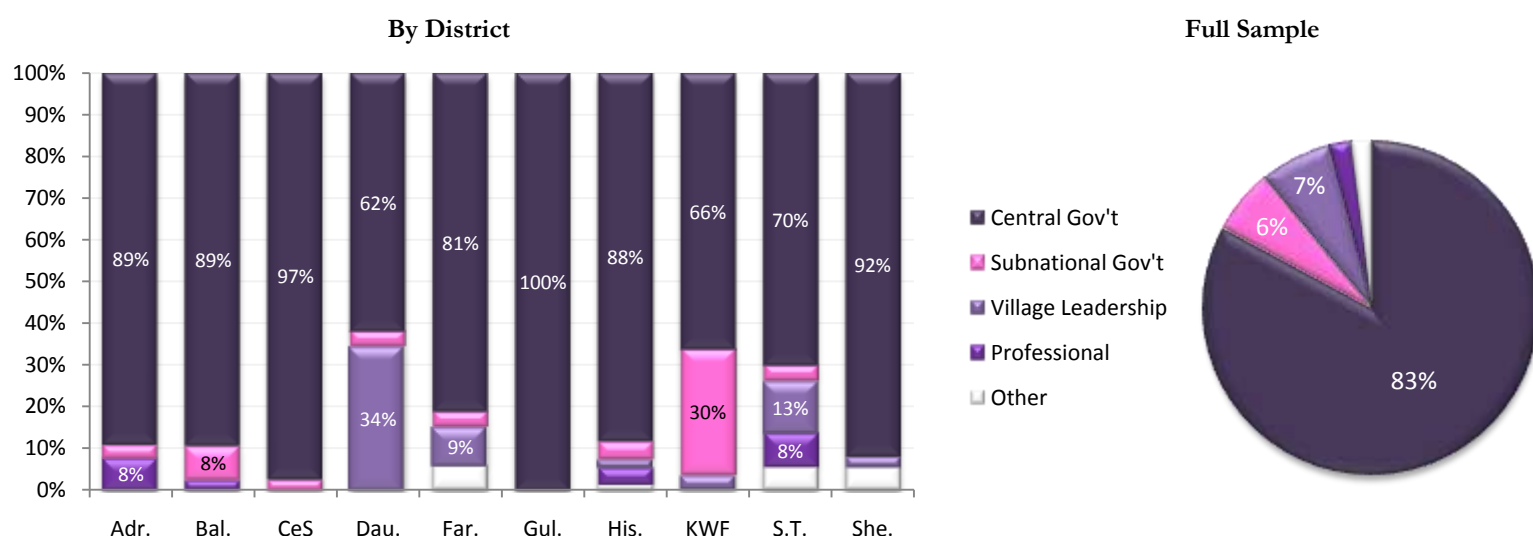


Figure 335 below summarizes the preferred recipients of taxation cited by male focus group respondents. Across the full sample, central government was cited by 83 percent of respondents, entities of sub-national governance by 6 percent of respondents, entities of village governance by 7 percent of respondents, and village professionals by 2 percent of respondents. The proportion of male focus respondents who cited the central government as the preferred recipient of taxation revenues varied from a low of 62 percent in Daulina to a high of 100 percent in Gulran,

citations for entities of sub-national governance peaked at 30 percent in Khost Wa Firing, citations for entities of village governance peaked at 34 percent in Daulina, and citations for village professionals peaked at 8 percent in Adraskan and Sang Takht.

**Figure 335: Authority Preferred by Male Shura Respondents to Receive Taxation Revenue**



Male household and male focus group respondents who said that people in the village should pay tax were asked what percentage of income should be paid. Summary statistics for the responses provided by male household respondents are presented in Table 45 and Figure 336 below. The median preferred rate of taxation of male household respondents is 3 percent across the full sample, with the mean at 4.1 percent. Median preferred rates varied between districts, with a rate of 5 percent preferred by median respondents in Adraskan, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht, a rate of 3 percent preferred by median respondents in Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Gulran, and Hisarak, a rate of 2 percent preferred by the median respondent in Daulina, and a rate of 1 percent preferred by the median respondent in Sherzad.

**Table 45 – Preferred Tax Rate – Male Household Respondents**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	6.0%	2%	4%	5%	10%	15%
Balkh	4.1%	1%	2%	3%	5%	20%
Chisht-e Sharif	5.1%	1%	2%	3%	10%	30%
Daulina	3.3%	1%	1%	2%	5%	50%
Farsi	3.8%	1%	2%	3%	5%	25%
Gulran	3.7%	1%	2%	3%	5%	10%
Hisarak	3.3%	1%	2%	3%	4%	8%
Khost Wa Firing	6.2%	1%	2%	5%	10%	19%
Sang Takht	6.7%	1%	4%	5%	10%	20%
Sherzad	2.2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>4.1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>50%</b>

**Figure 336: Preferred Tax Rate - Male Household Respondents**

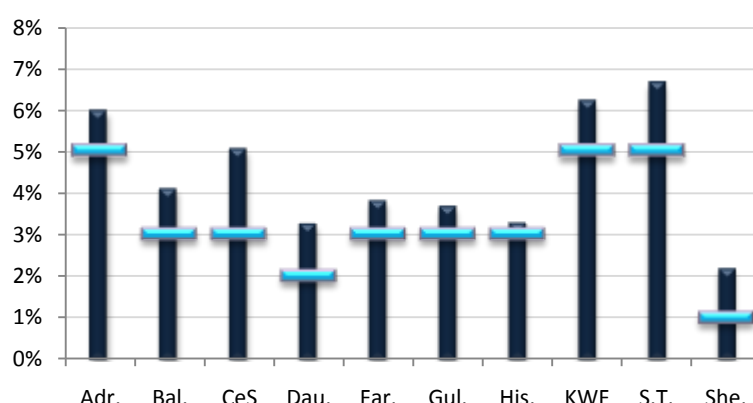
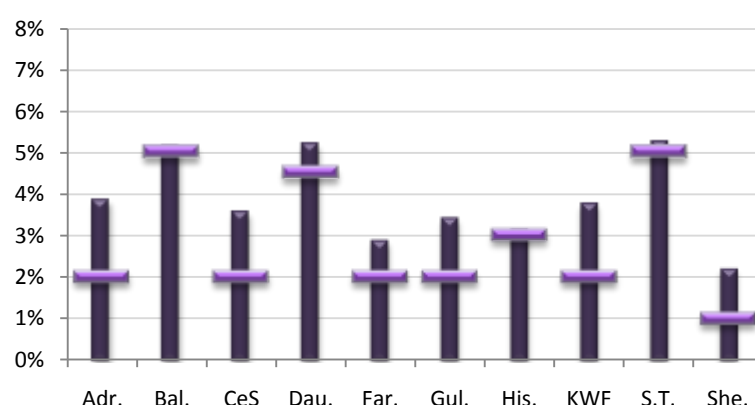


Table 46 and Figure 337 below present summary statistics for the responses of male focus group participants concerning the preferred rate of taxation. Across the full sample of male focus group respondents, the rate preferred by the median respondents is 2 percent and the mean is 3.6 percent. In Balkh, Daulina, and Sang Takht, the median respondent prefers a rate of 5 percent, the median respondent in Hisarak prefers a rate of 3 percent, the median respondents in Adraskan, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Gulran, and Khost Wa Firing prefers rates of 2 percent, while the median respondent in Sherzad prefers a rate of just 1 percent.

**Table 46 – Preferred Tax Rate – Male Focus Group**

District	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	3.9%	1%	2%	2%	6%	10%
Balkh	5.1%	1%	3%	5%	7%	10%
Chisht-e Sharif	3.6%	1%	2%	2%	5%	10%
Daulina	5.2%	1%	2%	5%	10%	10%
Farsi	2.9%	1%	1%	2%	3%	10%
Gulran	3.4%	2%	2%	2%	5%	10%
Hisarak	3.1%	1%	2%	3%	5%	8%
Khost Wa Firing	3.8%	1%	1%	2%	5%	10%
Sang Takht	5.3%	1%	1%	5%	9%	10%
Sherzad	2.2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	50%
Total	3.6%	1%	1%	2%	5%	50%

**Figure 337: Preferred Tax Rate - Male Focus Group**

## Projects

Respondents across the three groups were asked a series of questions designed to gauge the extent and nature of development activities in their village and their preferences for future development activities. Male household, female, and male focus group respondents were asked, whether the National Solidarity Programme (NSP) was sponsoring any projects in their village, while male household and male focus group respondents were asked whether there were any development projects in the village and, if so, what the development projects were focused on, who was sponsoring them, and whether they themselves had made any contribution in the form of cash, material, or labor towards the project's completion. Male household respondents were also asked whether they had any plans to make a contribution, either in the form of material or labor, towards the completion of a development project in the village in the forthcoming year. Male household respondents were asked whether they had participated in any cash-for-work projects in the past year and, if so, how many days they worked for and what the daily wage for the work was, while those that claimed to have not participated in any cash-for-work projects were asked why this was so. In order to ascertain the preferences of villagers for future development activities in their village, male household, female, and male focus group respondents were asked, if their village has \$60,000 to spend on development projects, what are the three projects on which the money should be spent. Female respondents were also asked which type of project they felt would be of greatest benefit to women.

Across the ten districts included in the sample, 97 percent of male household respondents, 97 percent of female respondents, and 98 percent of male focus group respondents reported that there is no project sponsored by the National Solidarity Programme (NSP) in their village.<sup>98</sup> Figure 338 below plots the proportion of male household, female, and male focus group respondents in each district that reported their village has a project sponsored by NSP.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>98</sup> At the time that the baseline survey was administered, none of the 500 sample villages were expected to contain projects sponsored by NSP.

<sup>99</sup> There are only five villages in which at least three male household respondents report that their village contains a project sponsored by NSP and eleven villages in which male focus group respondents report the existence of such a project. The only village that is mentioned both by male household respondents and male focus group participants is Gharak Sufli in Daulina. Female respondents reported NSP-sponsored projects in another five villages, none of which coincided with those mentioned by male household or male focus group respondents.

**Figure 338: Percent of Respondents Claiming Village Has NSP Project, by District and Respondent Type**

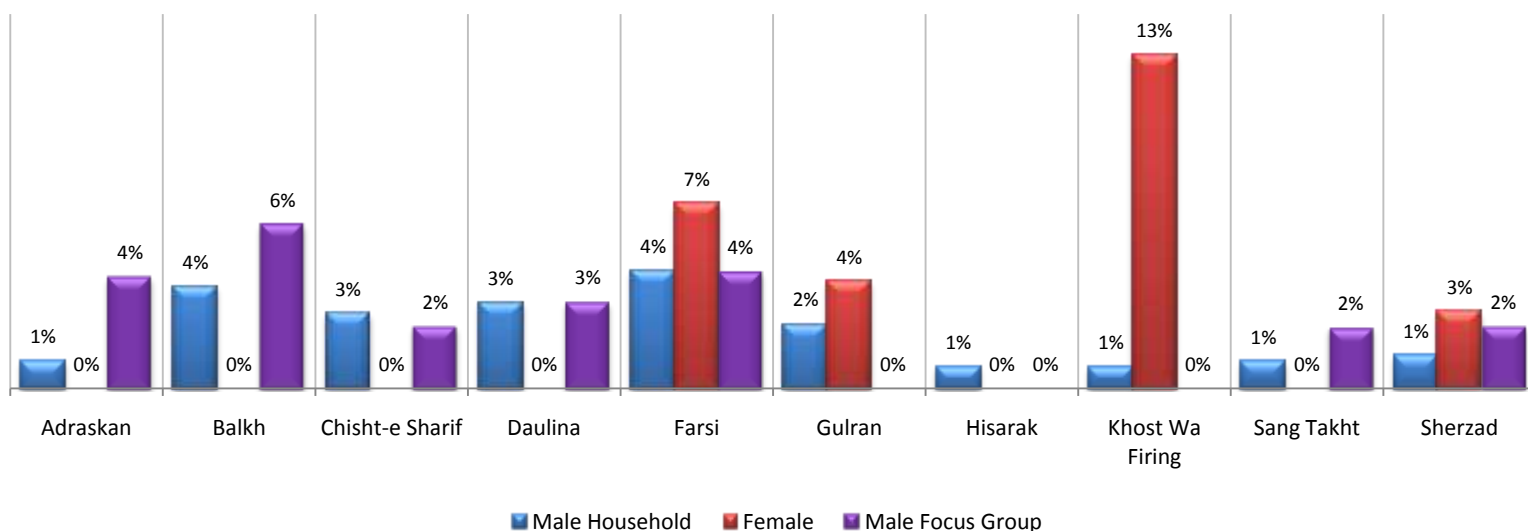
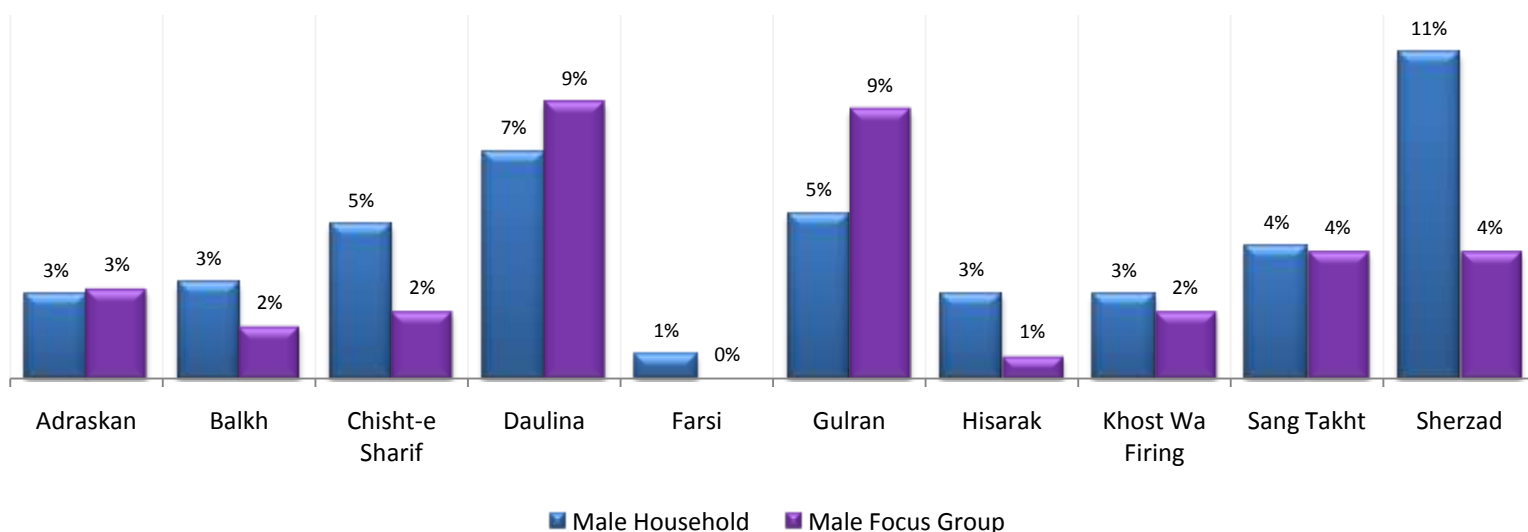


Figure 339 plots the proportion of male household and male focus group respondents who report that their village has a development project. Across the full sample, 3.7 percent of male household respondents and 4.6 percent of male focus group respondents reported that their village has a development project. Male household respondents in Sherzad were the most likely of any in the ten districts to report their village has a development project, with 11 percent of respondents doing so, while male household respondents in Farsi were the least likely, with just 1 percent of respondents doing so. In the male focus group sample, respondents in Daulina and Gulran were the most likely to report their village has a development project, with 9 percent of respondents reporting such in both districts, while male focus group respondents in Farsi were the least likely.

**Figure 339: Percent of Respondents Claiming Village Has Development Project, by District and Respondent Type**



Male household and male focus group respondents who reported that their village has a development project were asked about the type of project. The responses of male household respondents are summarized in Figure 339 below. 39 percent of male household respondents indicated that the development project in their village related to the rehabilitation or construction of roads and/or bridges, 19 percent said that the project was focused on drinking water, 11 percent claimed the project was focused on education or health, 9 percent on agriculture, animal husbandry, or irrigation, and another 9 percent on income generating activities or employment

generation. Among those districts where 5 percent or more of male household respondents reported development activities in their village, respondents in Chisht-e Sharif reported that projects are a mix of drinking water (28 percent), roads and bridges (17 percent), and agriculture, animal husbandry, and irrigation (28 percent); in Daulina, a plurality of projects related to roads and bridges (41 percent), followed by drinking water (34 percent), and education and health (24 percent); in Gulran, a plurality of projects pertained to education and health (24 percent); while a majority of projects in Sherzad pertain to roads and bridges (63 percent), followed by income or employment generation (24 percent), and health and education (8 percent).

**Figure 340: Type of Village Projects, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**

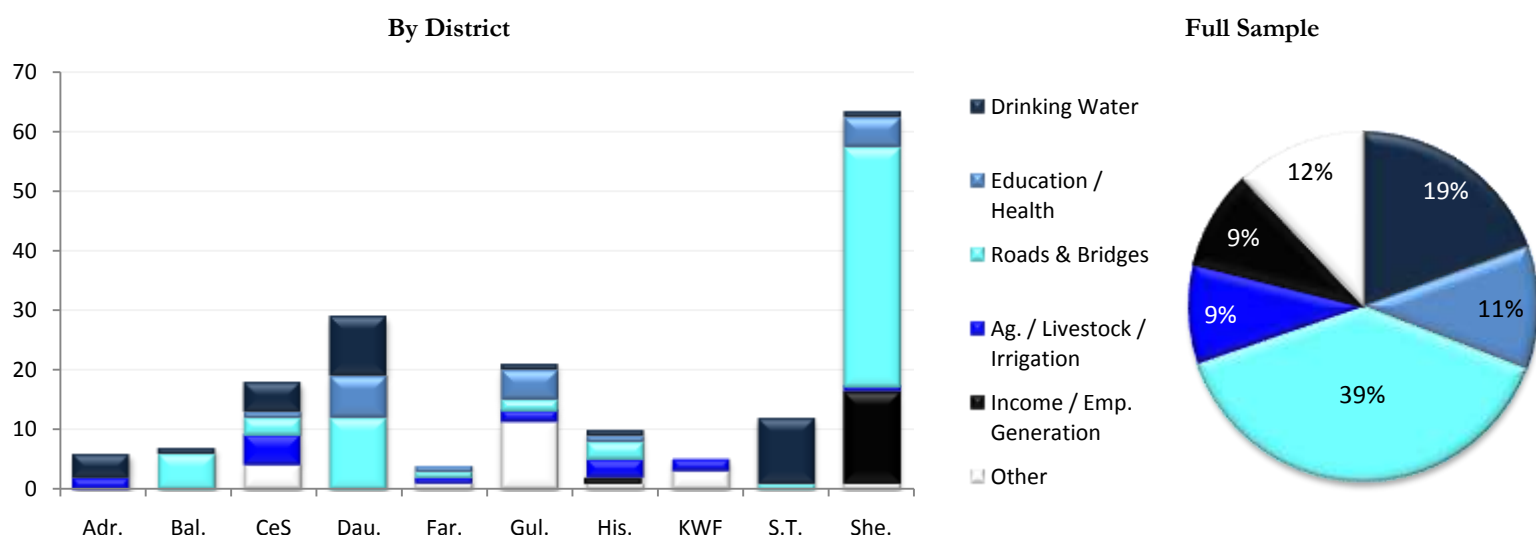
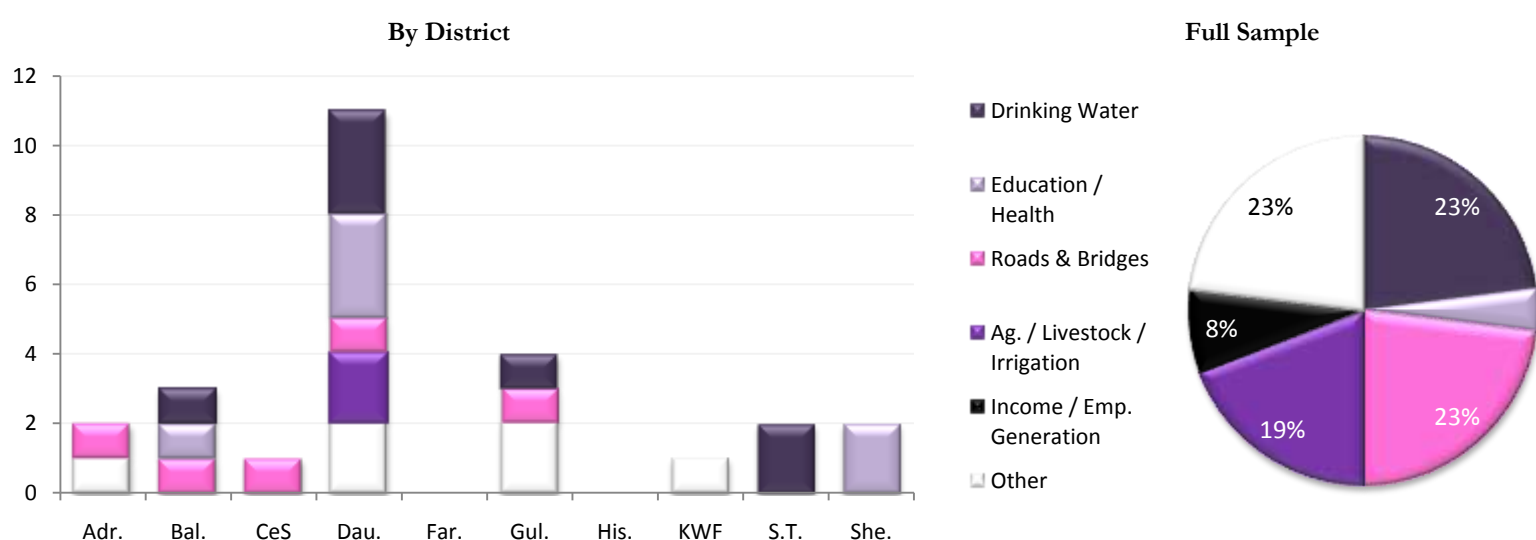


Figure 340 below plots the responses of male focus groups concerning the type of projects being implemented in the villages in the sample. According to male focus groups, 23 percent of projects pertain to drinking water, 23 percent to the construction or rehabilitation of roads and/or bridges, 19 percent to agriculture, animal husbandry, or irrigation, and 8 percent to income or employment generation.

**Figure 341: Type of Village Projects, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**



Male household and male focus group respondents who reported that their village has a development project were also asked who is sponsoring the project. The responses of male household respondents are described in Figure 342 below. Overall, 56 percent of male

household respondents claimed that the project is sponsored by a non-governmental organization (NGO), 11 percent said that the government is sponsoring the project, 10 percent claimed the project is sponsored by a village professional, and 8 percent said that the project is sponsored by a member of the village leadership. In Daulina, projects appear to be sponsored by a mix of donors, with three respondents claiming an NGO sponsors the project, one saying the central government does, two identifying sub-national government as the sponsor, two mentioning a member of the village leadership, and three citing a village professional. Similarly, in Gulran, one respondent cited an NGO as the sponsor, three mentioned the central government, two referred to the village leadership, and three claimed a village professional was backing the project. In Sherzad, on the other hand, male household respondents reported with overwhelming frequency – 85 percent – that the project in their village is sponsored by an NGO.

**Figure 342: Sponsor of Village Development Projects, as Reported by Male Household Respondents**

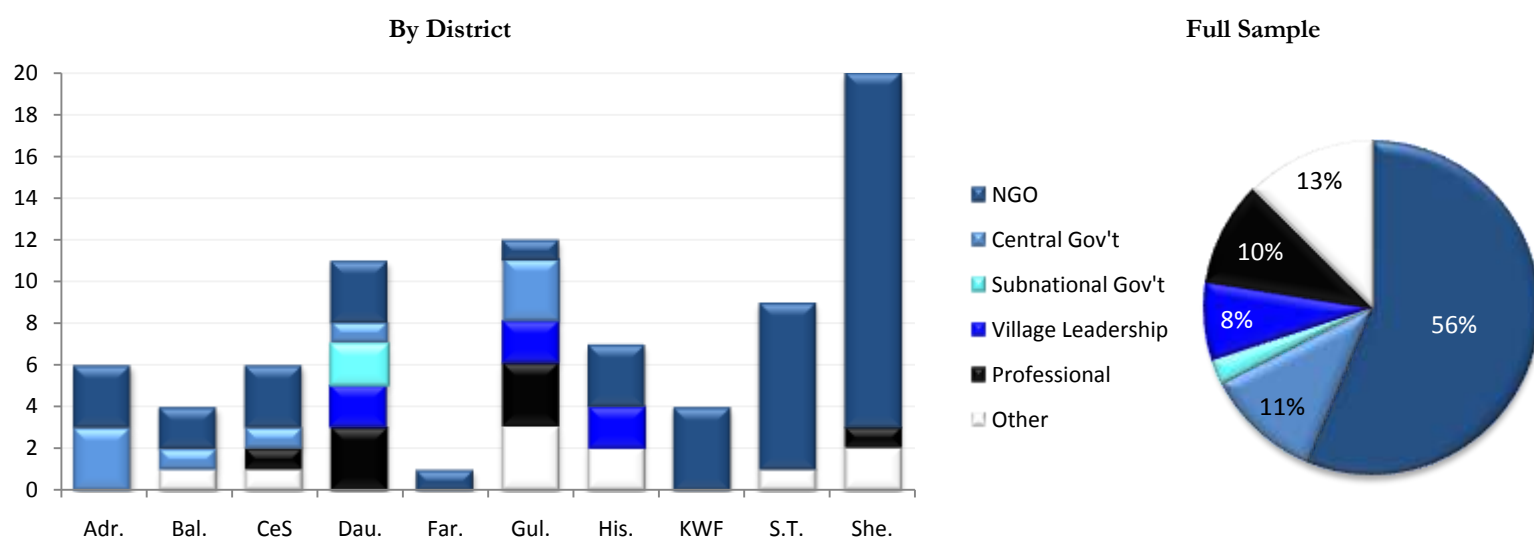
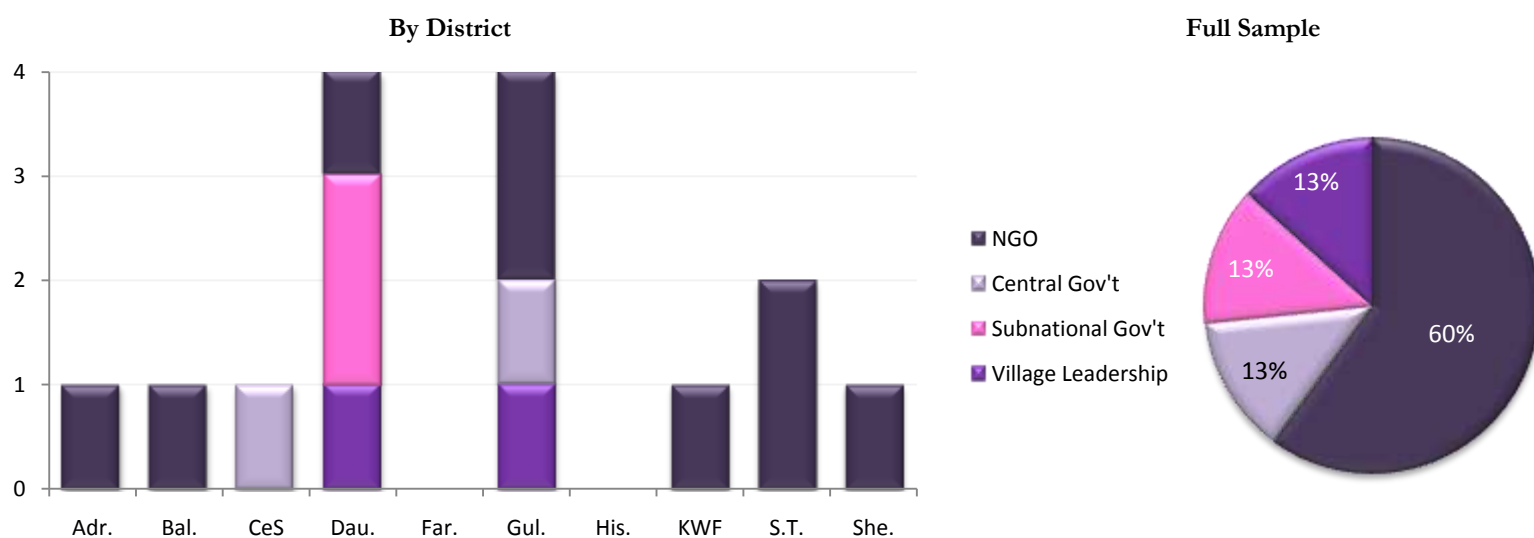


Figure 343 plots the responses of male focus groups in response to the question of who sponsored the development projects in the village. Across the sample, 60 percent of male focus groups cited non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as the sponsor of the project, 13 percent cited the village leadership, 13 percent cited the central government, and a further 13 percent cited entities of sub-national governance.

**Figure 343: Sponsor of Village Development Projects, as Reported by Male Focus Group Respondents**





Male household and male focus group respondents who indicated that there is a development project in the village were in turn asked whether they had made a contribution to the project in terms of money, goods, or labor. Figure 345 plots the answers of male household respondents. Across the sample, 49 percent of respondents indicated they had made no contribution, 21 percent claimed to have donated both money and labor time, 11 percent said they had contributed labor time only, 10 percent mentioned they had contributed labor, goods, and money, and 7 percent of respondents said they had contributed labor time and goods. In the districts of Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Farsi, Gulran, Hisarak, and Sang Takht, the majority of respondents who reported the presence of a development project in their village said that they had not made any contribution to the project, while, in comparison, only 28 percent of respondents in Daulina, 0 percent of respondents in Khost Wa Firing, and 41 percent of respondents in Sherzad did so. In Daulina, 28 percent of respondents claimed to have contributed labor and goods, 17 percent said they had contributed labor and money, and a further 17 percent claimed to have contributed just labor time. In Sherzad, 44 percent of respondents said they had given both labor time and money to the project, while a further 15 percent said they had contributed labor time, goods, and money to the project.

**Figure 344: Contribution to Development Projects by Male Household Respondents**

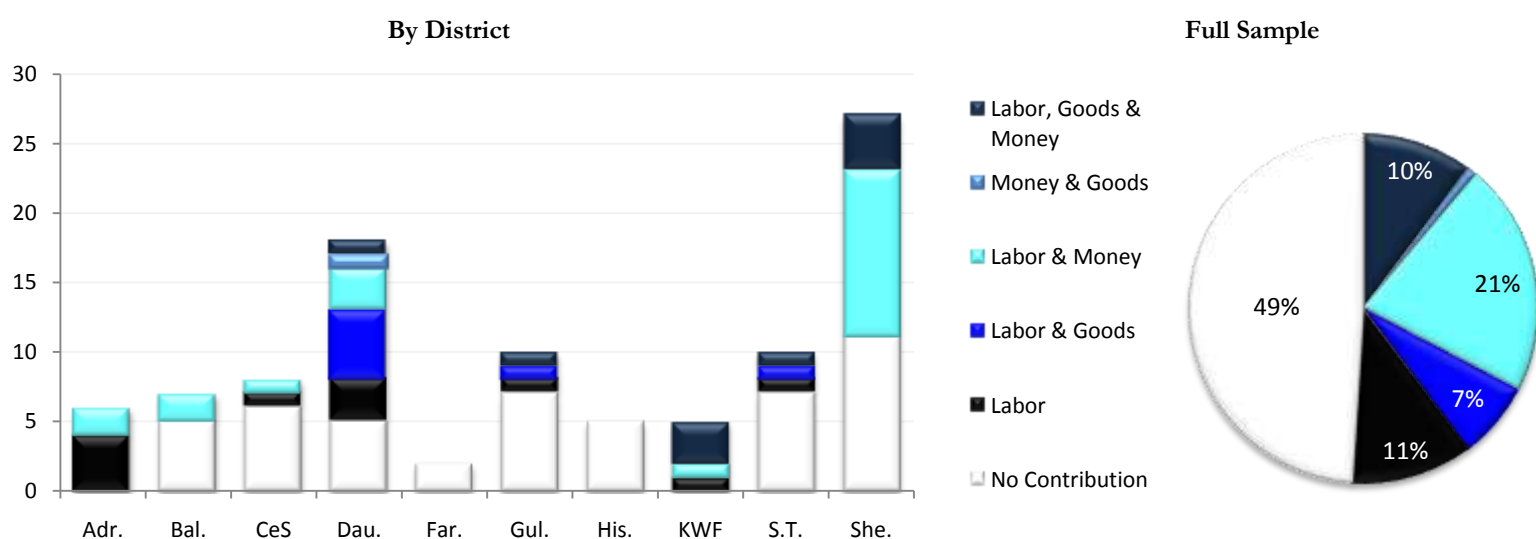
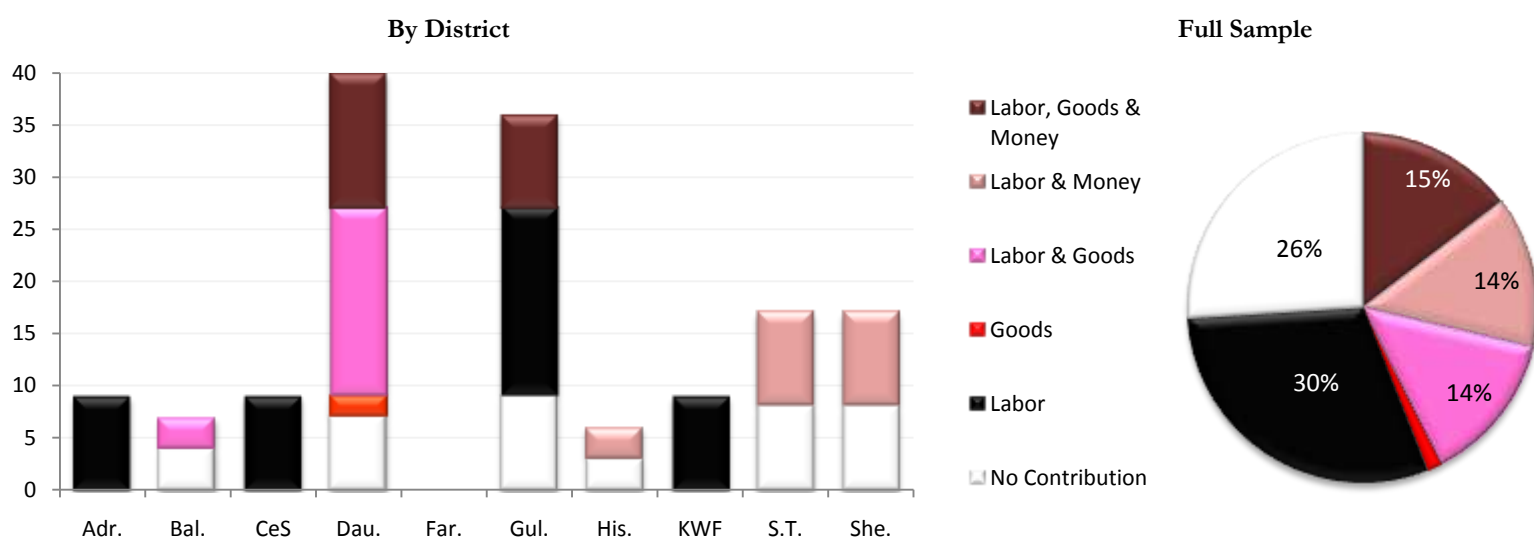


Figure 345 below plots the contributions of male focus group respondents to village development projects. Across the full sample, 26 percent of respondents said that they hadn't contributed anything to the project, 30 percent said they had given labor time only, 15 percent said they had given labor time, goods, and money, 14 percent reported donating labor time and money, and a further 14 percent claimed to have given both labor time and goods. In Daulina, 45 percent of male focus group respondents claimed to have donated both labor time and goods to the project and 33 percent said they had given labor time, goods, and money, while 18 percent said they hadn't given anything to the project. In Gulran, 50 percent of respondents claimed to have contributed labor time to the village project, 25 percent said they had given labor time, goods, and money, while the remaining 25 percent said they had made no contribution to the project.

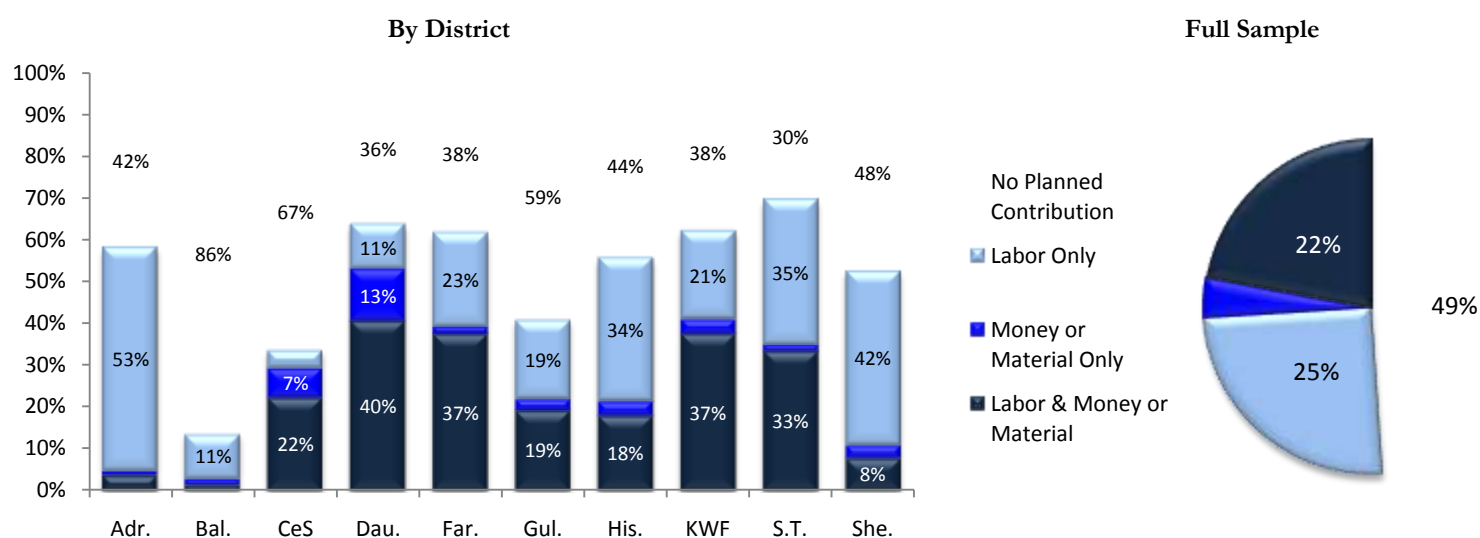


**Figure 345: Contribution to Development Projects by Male Focus Group Respondents**



All male household respondents were asked whether they planned to contribute to a development project in the village in the coming year. Across the sample, 49 percent of respondents said they had no such plans, 25 percent of respondents said they planned to contribute labor time only, 22 percent said they would contribute both labor time and money or materials, and the remaining 4 percent said they would give money or materials only. Respondents in Sang Takht district seemed to be the most eager to contribute to village development projects, with 70 percent of respondents indicating that they planned to make a donation of labor time, money, or materials in the coming year, while respondents in Balkh appeared to be the least likely, with 86 percent of respondents in the district indicating they had no plans to make a contribution in the coming year. Respondents in Daulina most frequently reported they would contribute labor time and money or materials, with 40 percent of respondents doing so, while respondents in Adraskan were the most likely to indicate they would only contribute labor time, with 53 percent of respondents.

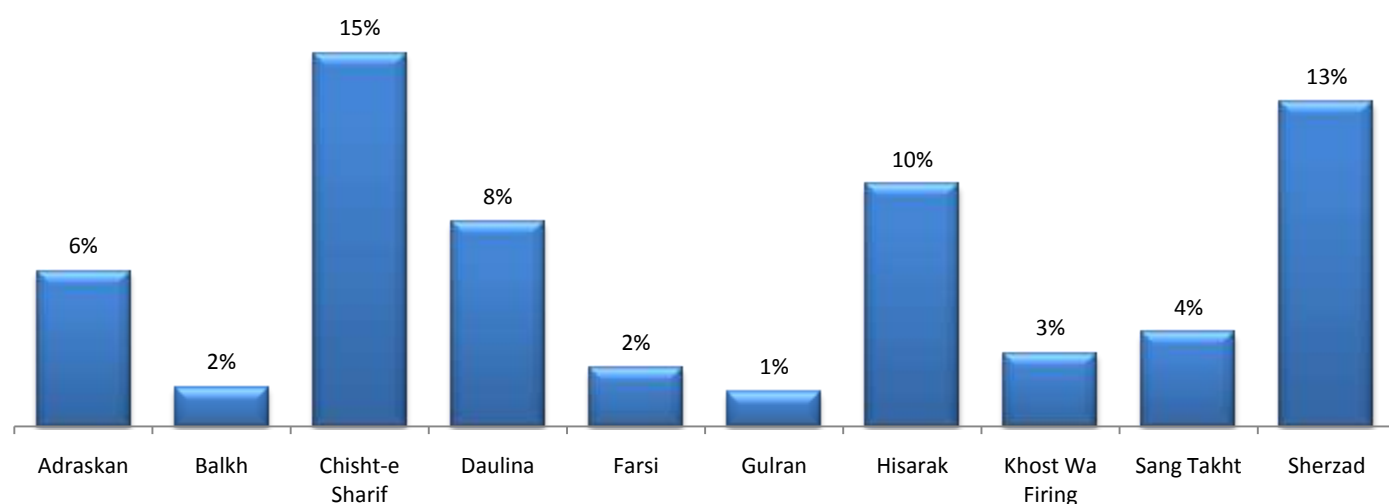
**Figure 346: Planned Contribution to Community Projects in Forthcoming Year**



Male household respondents were asked whether they or a family member had participated in any cash-for-work activities over the past year, the results of which are presented in Figure 347 below. Across the full sample, 7 percent of respondents indicated they had done so, with

participation reaching a peak of 15 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif and a nadir of 1 percent of respondents in Gulran.

**Figure 347: Percent of Households Involved in Cash-for-Work Activities, by District**

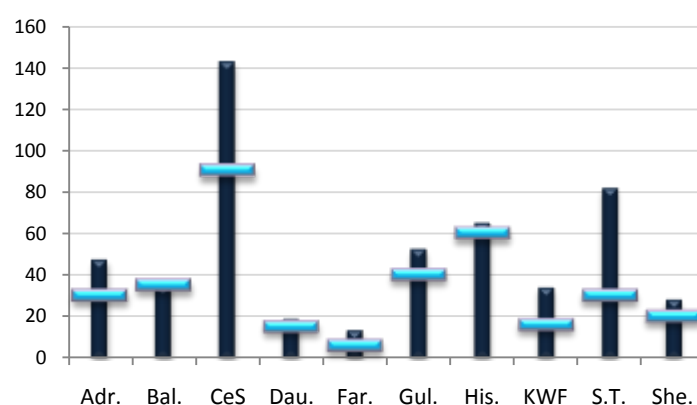


Male household respondents who indicated that they or a family member had participated in cash-for-work activities were asked to report the number of days that family members were involved in such activities. Table 47 and Figure 348 below provide summary statistics of the responses. Across the sample, the median respondent worked, or had family members that worked, 30 days in the past year. Significant variation between districts is apparent, however, with medians ranging from just 6 days in Farsi to 185 days in Chisht-e Sharif, the district also with the highest reported participation in cash-for-work activities.

**Table 47: Number of Days Worked in Cash-for-Work Activities**

District	Obs.	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	32	47	2	19	30	0	250
Balkh	8	35	4	4	35	65	66
Chisht-e Sharif	74	143	2	30	90	185	365
Daulina	40	19	9	12	15	20	45
Farsi	11	13	3	5	6	20	40
Gulran	5	53	10	15	40	90	160
Hisarak	43	65	5	30	60	90	250
Khost Wa Firing	13	34	2	7	16	30	200
Sang Takht	15	82	20	29	30	120	250
Sherzad	62	28	5	10	20	30	120
<b>Total</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>365</b>

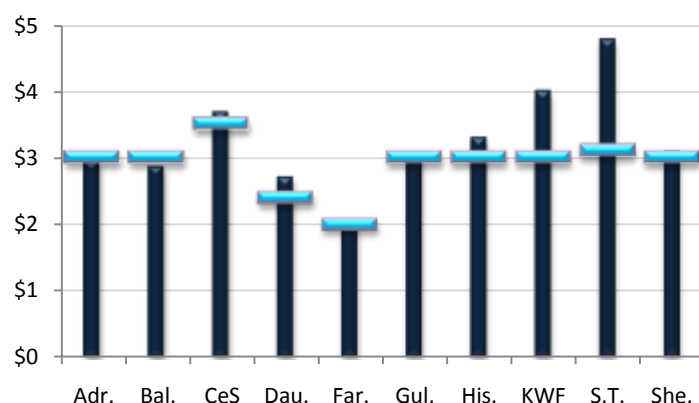
**Figure 348: Average Number of Days Worked**



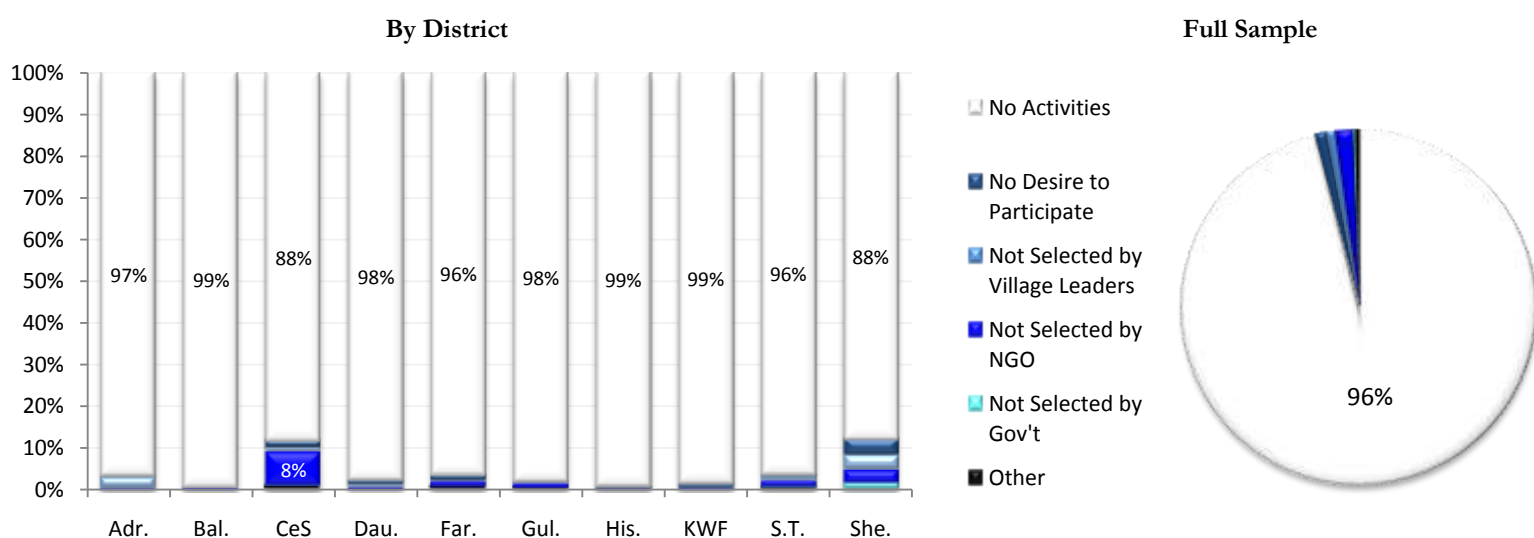
Male household respondents who indicated that they or a family member had participated in cash-for-work activities were also asked what the daily wage was for these activities. Table 48 and Figure 349 below display summary statistics of the responses. Across the full sample, the median daily wage was \$3.00. Limited variation was observed within and between districts, with the lowest median of \$2.00 observed in Farsi and the highest median of \$3.50 observed in Chisht-e Sharif.

**Table 48: Daily Wage for Cash-for-Work Activities**

District	Obs.	Avg.	Min.	1 <sup>st</sup> Q	Med.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Q	Max.
Adraskan	32	\$2.95	\$1.00	\$2.50	\$3.00	\$0.00	\$8.00
Balkh	8	\$2.88	\$2.00	\$2.85	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$3.60
Chisht-e Sharif	72	\$3.69	\$1.00	\$2.40	\$3.50	\$4.00	\$10.00
Daulina	42	\$2.71	\$1.00	\$2.00	\$2.40	\$3.00	\$14.00
Farsi	9	\$2.02	\$1.00	\$1.60	\$2.00	\$2.40	\$3.00
Gulran	6	\$3.07	\$0.40	\$2.25	\$3.00	\$3.75	\$6.00
Hisarak	48	\$3.31	\$2.40	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$3.55	\$5.60
Khost Wa Firing	15	\$4.01	\$1.00	\$2.90	\$3.00	\$4.00	\$18.00
Sang Takht	14	\$4.79	\$1.60	\$3.00	\$3.10	\$3.90	\$18.00
Sherzad	66	\$3.10	\$2.60	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$3.00	\$4.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>312</b>	<b>\$3.29</b>	<b>\$0.40</b>	<b>\$3.00</b>	<b>\$3.00</b>	<b>\$3.40</b>	<b>\$18.00</b>

**Figure 349: Average Daily Wage**

Male household respondents who indicated that neither they nor any of their family members had participated in cash-for-work activities were asked why this was so, the answers to which are summarized in Figure 350 below. Across the sample, 95 percent of respondents said that the reason they had not participated was simply because there were no activities in their area, with 2 percent of respondents claiming their family did not participate because they were not selected by the non-governmental organization (NGO) managing the activities, 1 percent indicating they did not participate because their family was not selected by village leaders, and a further 1 percent indicating they did not participate because they had no desire to do so. In all districts except Chisht-e Sharif and Sherzad, 96 percent or more of respondents said that the main reason their family did not participate in cash-for-work activities was because there were no activities in the area. In Chisht-e Sharif, 8 percent of respondents said that the reason their family had not participated in cash-for-work activities was because they were not selected by the NGO running the program, while in Sherzad, a range of responses was provided by the 12 percent of respondents who indicated that there were cash-for-work activities in their area but did not participate.

**Figure 350: Reason for Non-Participation of Household in Cash-for-Work Activities**

All three groups of respondents were asked to imagine that \$60,000 was to be given to their village for the execution of three development projects.<sup>100</sup> They were then read a list of potential development projects, which included drinking water, irrigation, schools, training courses, health courses, clinic and health facilities, agricultural seeds, agricultural machinery, training in animal husbandry, road and bridge construction, electricity, microfinance, communal toilets and communal buildings, and asked to designate which project they considered to be of primary importance, which project they considered to be of secondary importance, and which project they considered to be of tertiary importance. Figure 351 below plots the proportion of respondents from each of the three sample groups that cited each of the main categories of development projects as the most important project to be implemented with the hypothetical development fund. Among male household respondents, drinking water projects were the most frequently preferred as the most important project, accounting for 30 percent of respondents, followed by schools (16 percent), health facilities (14 percent), roads and bridges (14 percent), and irrigation (14 percent). Drinking water projects were also the most frequently preferred by female respondents, accounting for 41 percent of the sample, followed by health facilities (17 percent), and schools (15 percent). Projects preferred by male focus group respondents were relatively evenly split among the various options, with irrigation being the most commonly cited at 15 percent, followed by drinking water (14 percent), schools (14 percent), health facilities (13 percent), electricity (11 percent), and agricultural inputs, such as seeds and machinery (11 percent).

**Figure 351: Preferred Project by Respondent Type**

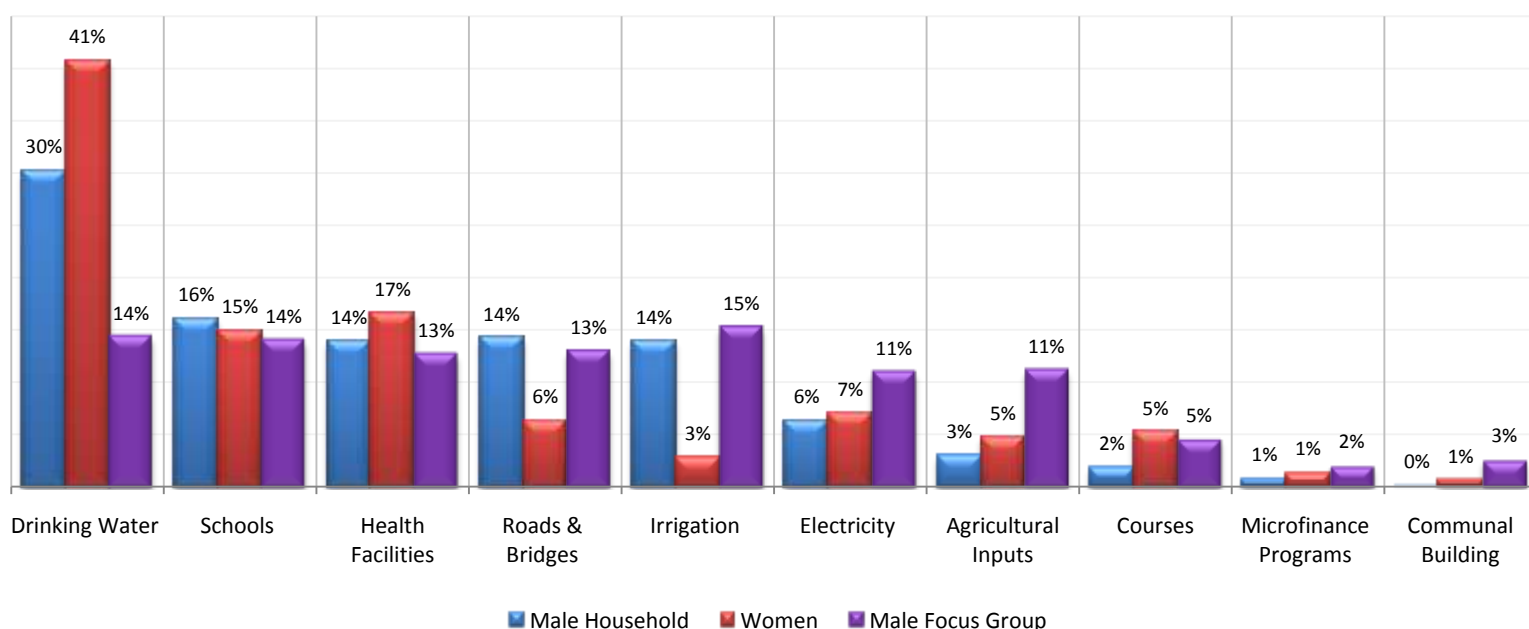


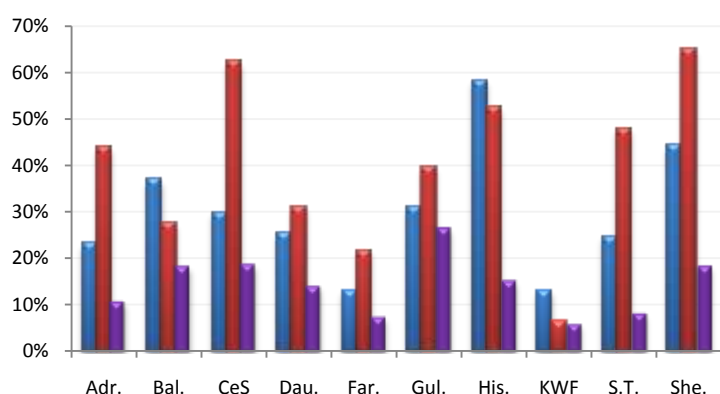
Figure 352 below plots the proportion of male household, female, and male focus group respondents in each district that cited drinking water, schools, health facilities, roads and bridges, irrigation, or electricity as the project of primary importance. As can be seen, there is significant variation between districts in the type of project identified as being the most important. Drinking water projects receive high levels of support from male household respondents in Hisarak (58

<sup>100</sup> \$60,000 is the maximum block grant disbursement that a village can receive from the National Solidarity Programme (NSP).

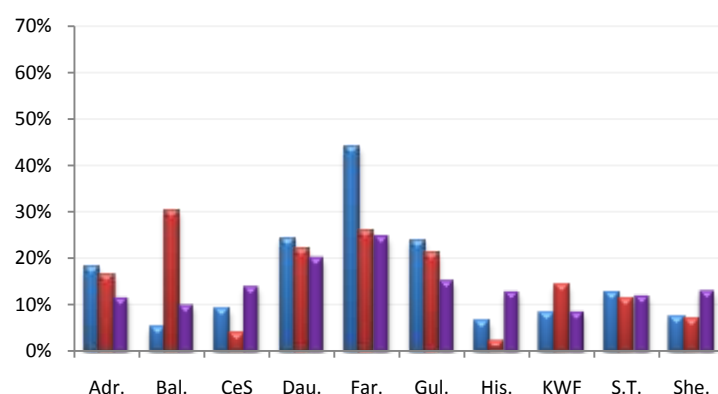
percent), from female respondents in Sherzad (65 percent) and Chisht-e Sharif (62 percent), and from male focus group respondents in Gulran (26 percent). Schools received the highest level of support from male household respondents in Farsi (44 percent), from female respondents in Balkh (30 percent), and from male focus group respondents in Farsi (24 percent). Health facilities are relatively highly favored by male household respondents in Khost Wa Firing (25 percent), by female respondents in Hisarak (30 percent), and by male focus group respondents in Farsi (27 percent). Roads and bridges are most frequently cited as the preferred project by male household respondents in Balkh (28 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (28 percent), by female respondents in Khost Wa Firing (15 percent), and by male focus group respondents in Balkh (21 percent). Irrigation projects find the highest favor among male household respondents in Adraskan (30 percent), among female respondents in Sang Takht (6 percent), and among male focus group respondents in Adraskan (31 percent) and Sang Takht (31 percent). Finally, electricity projects are cited as the preferred project with greatest frequency among respondents in Khost Wa Firing (15 percent), among female respondents in Khost Wa Firing (21 percent), and among male focus group respondents in Khost Wa Firing (19 percent).

**Figure 352: Development Project Preferences by Participant Type and District**

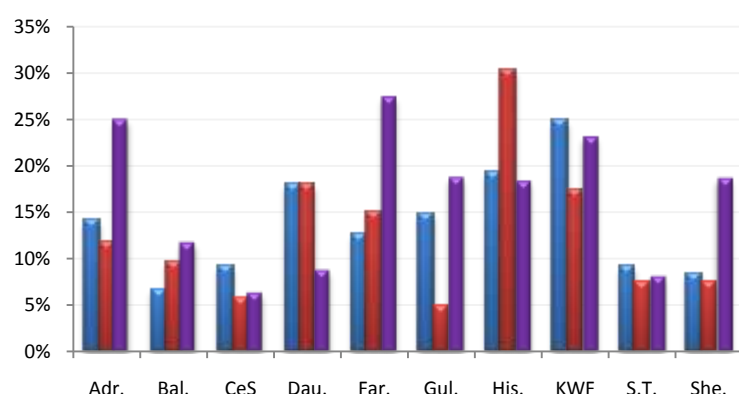
**Drinking Water**



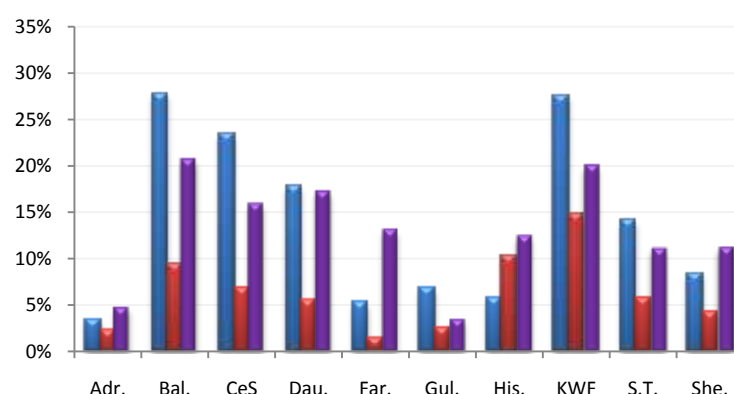
**Schools**

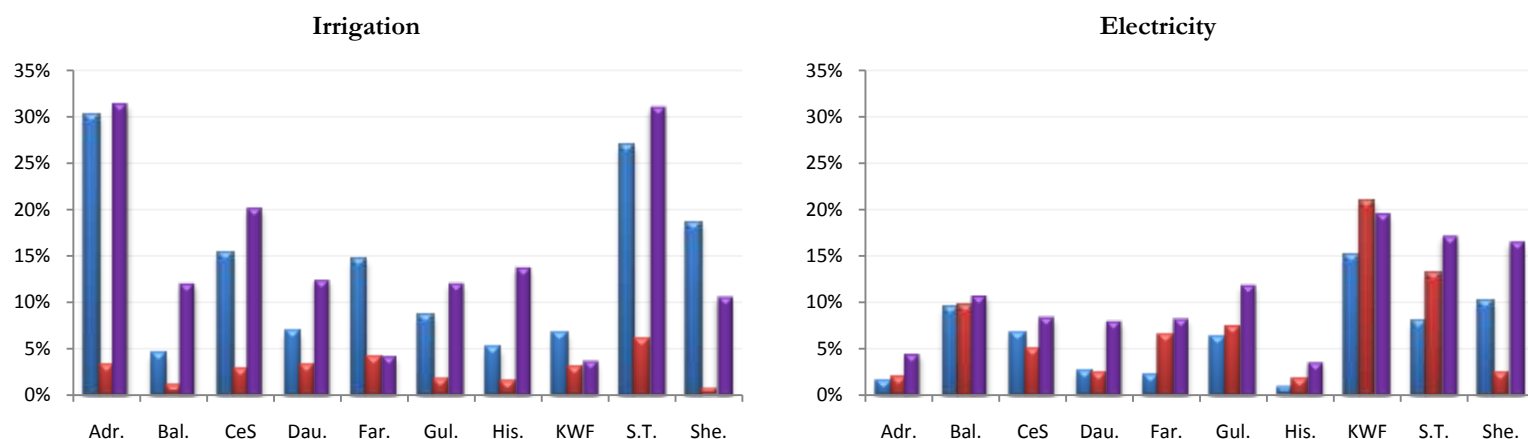


**Health Facilities**



**Roads and Bridges**





In addition to being asked to select the projects from the list provided which they felt would be serve the needs of the village, female respondents were also asked an open-ended question about which type of project they felt would be most beneficial to women. Figure 353 below presents the answers to the question in sample aggregate form. Training courses or income generating activities targeted at carpet weaving were the most frequently cited project, accounting for 25 percent of respondents. This was followed by training courses and income generating activities focused on handicrafts, which accounted for 22 percent of responses, , then training courses and income generating activities for needlecrafts, which were cited by 16 percent of respondents, followed by projects focused on agriculture, animal husbandry, or irrigation (13 percent), and literacy courses (12 percent). Interestingly, the development projects focused on infrastructure, such as drinking water projects, electricity projects, education projects, and health projects, were cited by relatively few respondents.

**Figure 353: Project Believed by Female Respondents to Be of Greatest Benefit to Women**

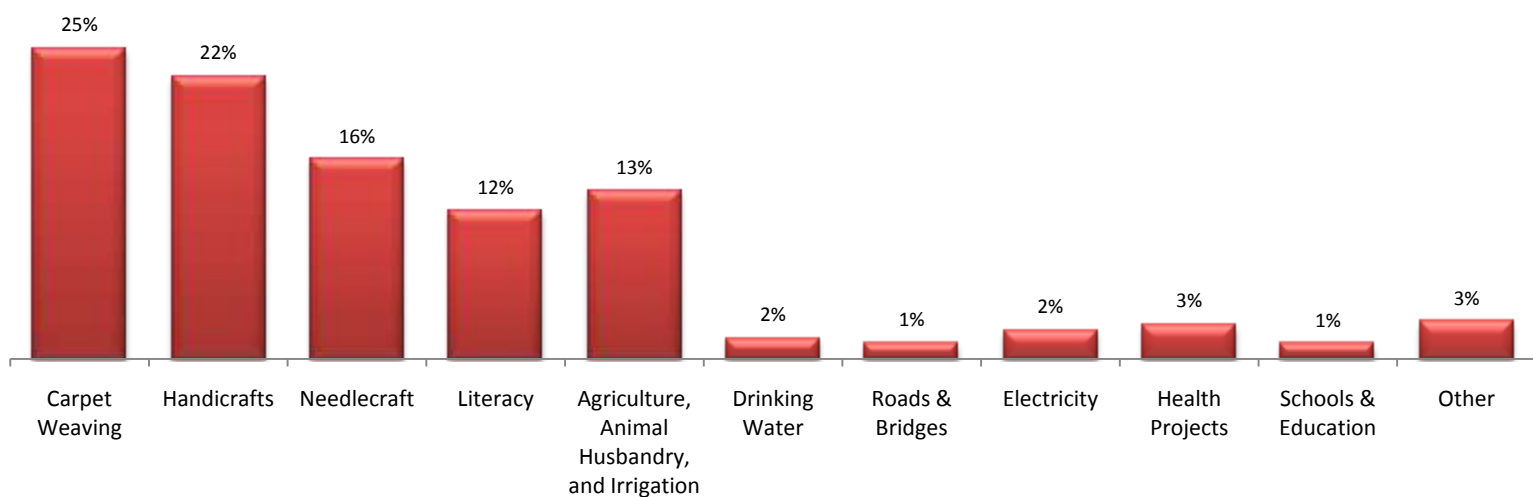
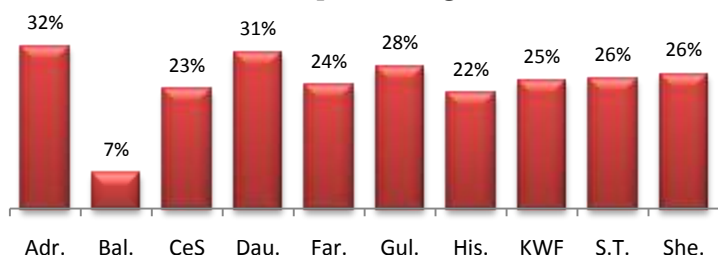


Figure 354 below provides for a district-level breakdown of the sample aggregates presented in Figure 353 above. The figure demonstrates that some variation exists between districts in the projects or courses which female respondents identified as being of greatest benefit to women in the village. The proportion of female respondents who viewed training courses or income generating activities focused on carpet weaving as being of the greatest benefit to women varied from 7 percent in Balkh to 32 percent in Adraskan; handicrafts from 12 percent in Sang Takht to 27 percent in Balkh and Daulina; needlecrafts from 9 percent in Gulran and Sang Takht to 29 percent in Sherzad; literacy courses from 6 percent in Adraskan, Farsi, and Khost Wa Firing to 24 percent in Sang Takht; projects focused on agriculture, animal husbandry, or irrigation from 4

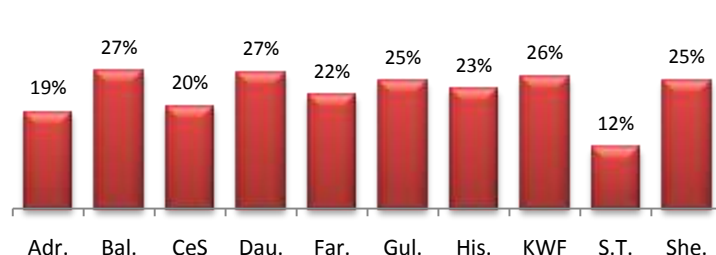
percent in Farsi and Sherzad to 26 percent in Adraskan; while projects focused on drinking water peaked at 7 percent in Chisht-e Sharif; those focused on electricity peaked at 6 percent in Balkh and Chisht-e Sharif; and those focused on health peaked at 11 percent in Farsi.

**Figure 354: Project Believed by Female Respondents to Be of Greatest Benefit to Women, by District**

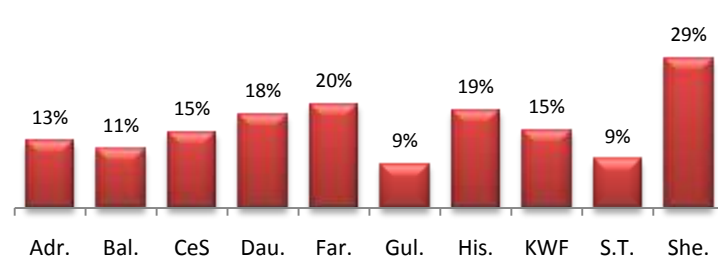
#### Carpet Weaving



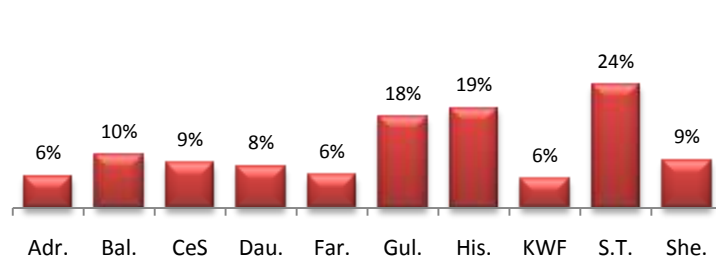
#### Handicrafts



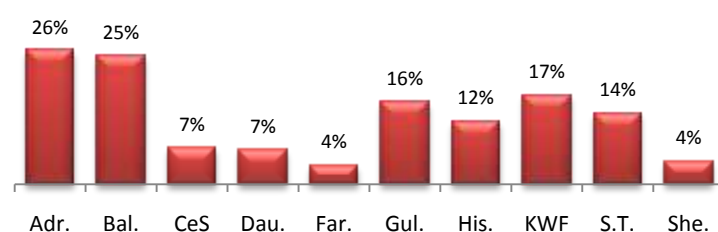
#### Needlecrafts



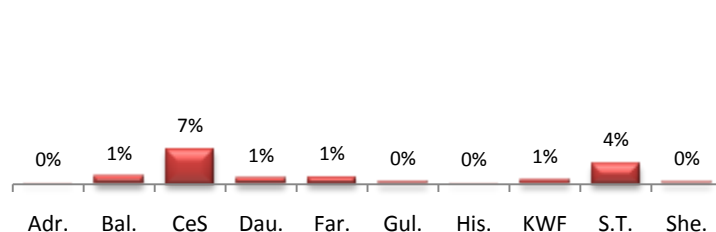
#### Literacy Courses



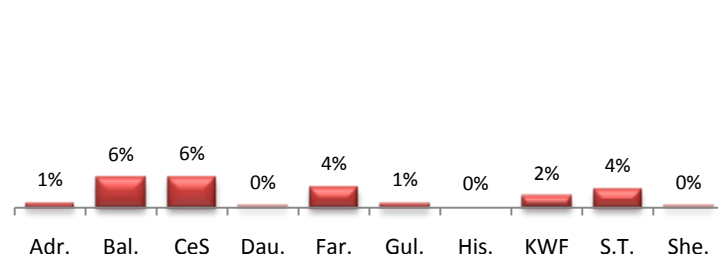
#### Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, or Irrigation



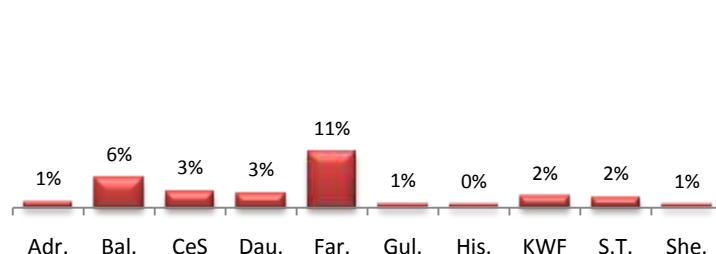
#### Drinking Water



#### Electricity



#### Health Projects



### Trust

In an effort to gauge levels of community trust, all respondent groups were asked whether, in the case of illness, a villager would trust a non-family member from the village to bring money on his or her behalf. Respondents were then asked whether they had ever done this. Finally, respondents across the three groups were asked whether they believed that there is better cooperation within neighborhoods or other divisions within the village rather than across the whole village. The results of these questions are presented in the following paragraphs.



Figure 355 plots the proportion of male household, female, and male focus group respondents in each district that claimed they would be willing to entrust a fellow villager to collect money for them. Across the full sample, 84 percent of male household respondents, 69 percent of female respondents, and 90 percent of male focus group respondents claimed that they would be willing to do this. Within the male household sample, respondents in Sang Takht (95 percent) and Sherzad (92 percent) appeared to be the most trusting, while respondents in Hisarak (74 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (76 percent) were the least. Among female respondents, those in Gulran (92 percent), Sang Takht (94 percent), and Sherzad (90 percent) are the most trusting, while those in Adraskan (40 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (48 percent) are the least. Finally, male focus group respondents in Gulran (100 percent) and Sherzad (100 percent) most frequently reported that they'd be willing to entrust a fellow villager with collecting money for them, while those in Adraskan (60 percent) and Khost Wa Firing (78 percent) least frequently reported such.

**Figure 355: Percent of Respondents Willing to Entrust a Fellow Villager with Money, by District**

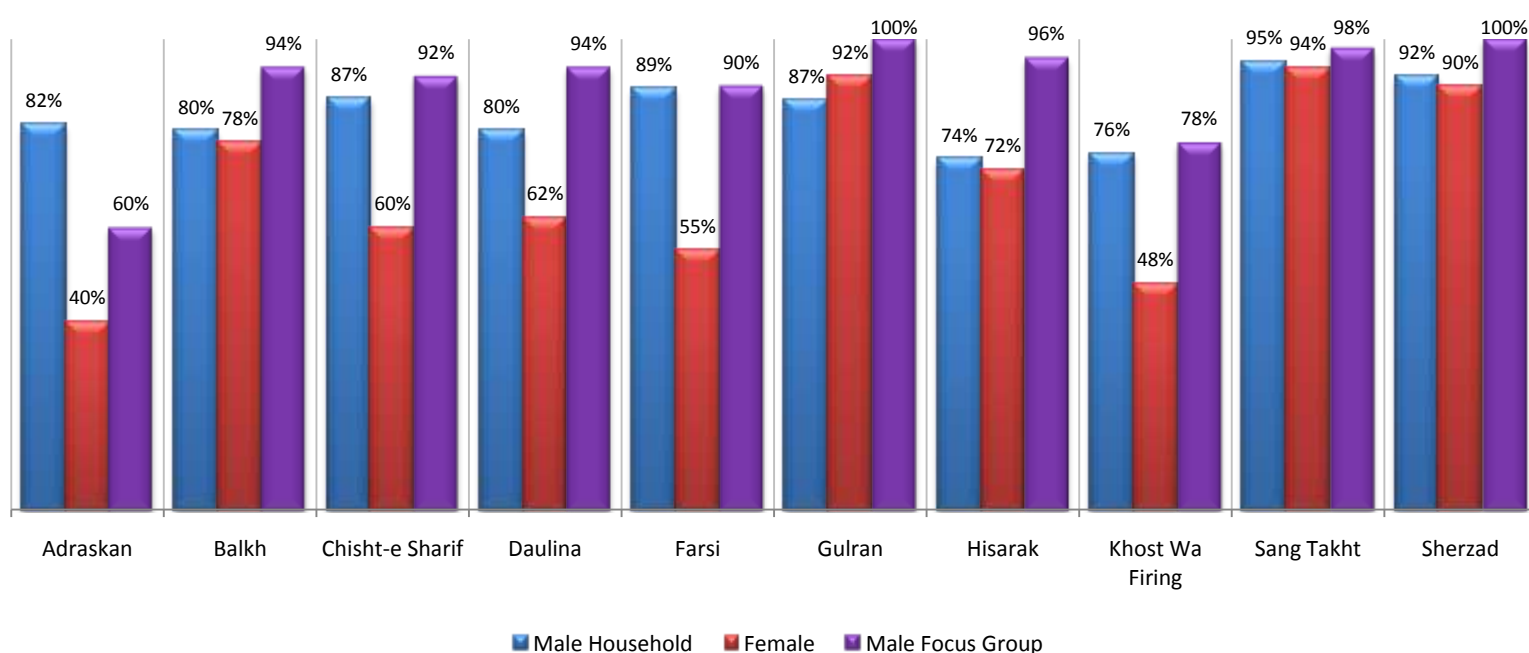


Figure 356 plots the proportion of male household, female, and male focus group respondents in each district who claim to have entrusted a fellow villager with collecting money for them. Across the sample, 50 percent of male household respondents, 28 percent of female respondents and 66 percent of male focus group respondents reported they had done this. Among male household respondents, Farsi had the highest proportion of respondents who had reported entrusting a fellow villager with money (80 percent), while Sang Takht had the lowest (25 percent). For female respondents, Sherzad had the highest proportion (80 percent), while Gulran had the lowest (17 percent). Male focus group respondents in Gulran had the highest reported rate of entrusting fellow villagers with money (96 percent), while respondents in Balkh had the lowest (41 percent).

**Figure 356: Percent of Respondents Who Entrusted a Fellow Villager with Money, by District**

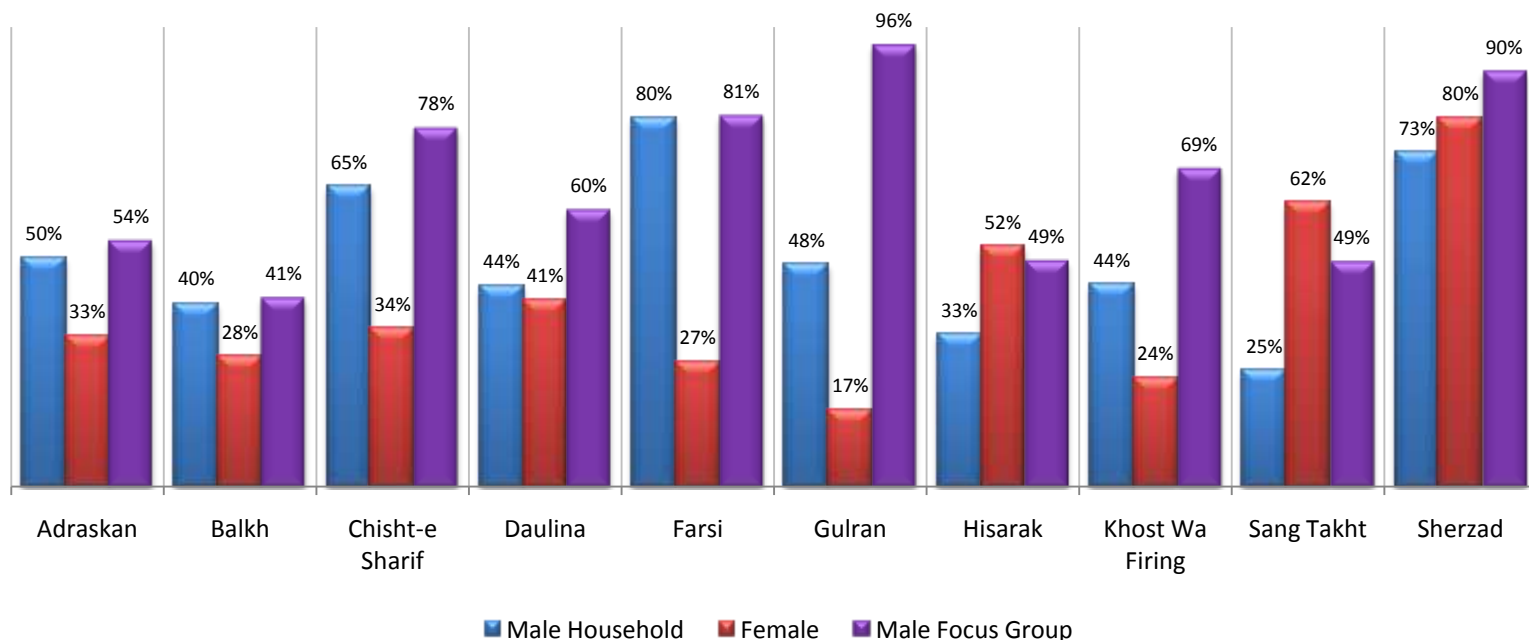


Figure 357 below plots the proportion of respondents in each district that believe people in their village generally help each other. Across the sample, 91 percent of male household respondents, 81 percent of female respondents, and 93 percent of male focus group respondents said that they believed villagers do indeed help one another. Among male household respondents, those in Gulran (99 percent) had the most positive view of their fellow villagers, while those in Khost Wa Firing (82 percent) had the least positive view. Among female respondents, those in Khost Wa Firing were the least likely to report that villagers generally help one another (57 percent), while respondents in Farsi were the most likely (95 percent). Male focus group respondents in Adraskan took the most negative view of their fellow villagers (72 percent), while those in Gulran were the most positive (100 percent).

**Figure 357: Percent of Respondents Who Believe Villagers Help Each Other, by District**

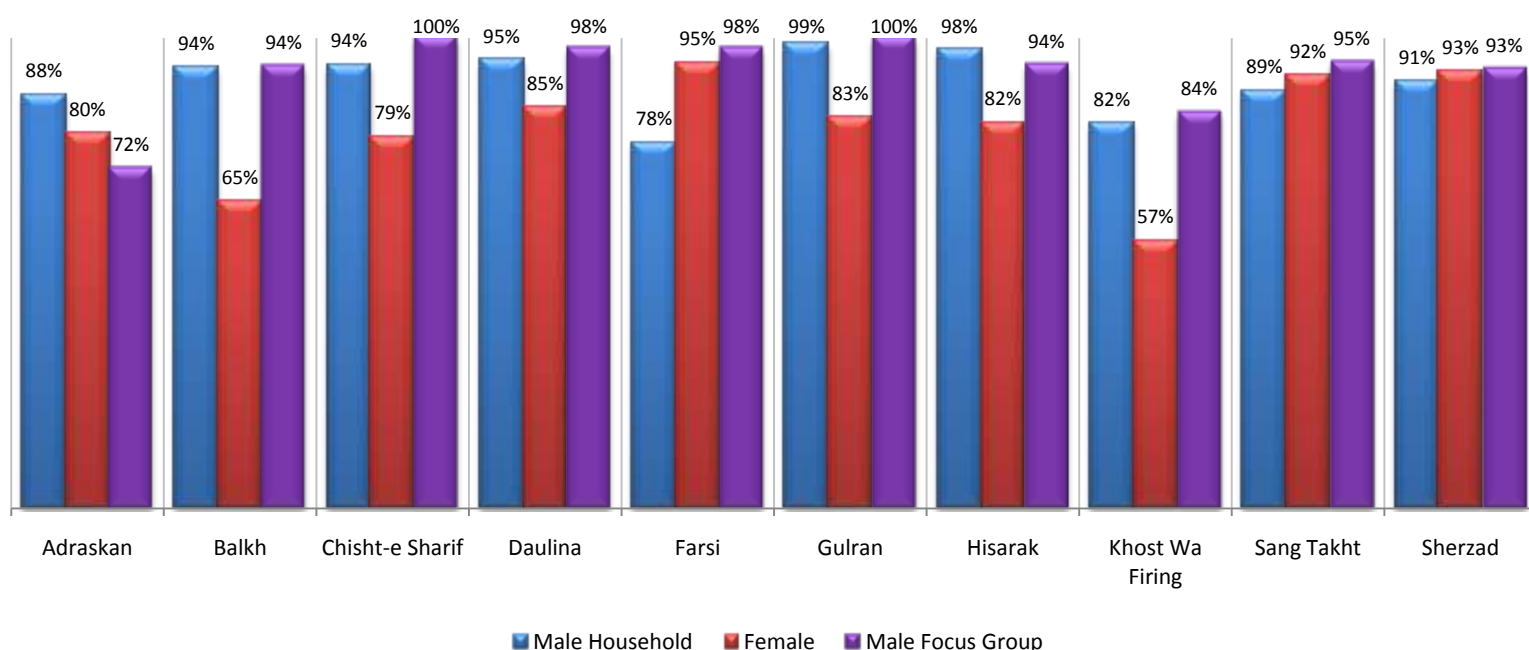
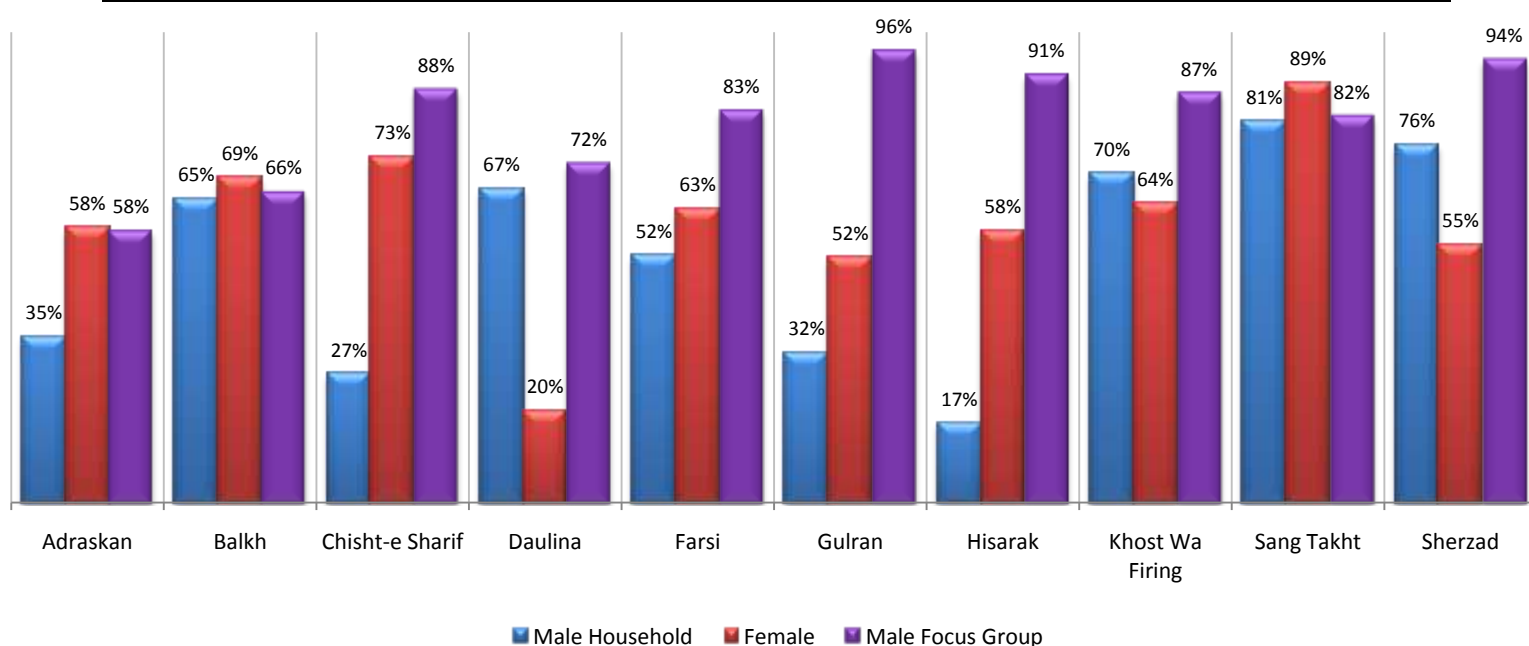


Figure 358 plots the responses of male household, female, and male focus group respondents to the question about whether cooperation is better among small groups in the village or the village as a whole. Despite the fact that an overwhelming proportion of respondents viewed their fellow villagers as generally magnanimous, the majority of respondents across the three samples admitted that cooperation is better among smaller groups than in the entire village, confirming general collective action theories. Overall, 52 percent of male household respondents, 62 percent of female respondents, and 85 percent of male focus group respondents contended that cooperation was indeed better among smaller groups. Significant variation between districts was apparent, with the proportion of male household respondents who claimed that cooperation was better among smaller groups varying from 17 percent in Hisarak to 81 percent in Sang Takht; within the female sample, proportions ranged from a low of 20 percent in Daulina to a high of 89 percent in Sang Takht; and in the male focus group sample, proportions varied from a low of 27 percent in Chisht-e Sharif to a high of 96 percent in Gulran.

**Figure 358: Percentage of Respondents who Believe Villagers Cooperate Better in Small Groups, by District**



## Gender

To ascertain information about the involvement of women in community life, female respondents were asked a number of questions in the individual setting. Questions concerned who in the family usually holds the decision-making power for purchasing various items and resolving important issues in the life of the family, how many times female respondents had left their house in the past 30 days, the purpose for which they left their house, whether they can travel along outside of the house or require a chaperone, and whether they usually wear a burqa (*chadori*) when walking around the village. Female respondents were also asked about whether they socialize with people outside of their family and, if so, what are the common locations for such socialization. The following section presents an overview of the responses to these questions.

Figure 359 summarizes the responses of female respondents concerning the decision-making authority vested in different family members. As the graph makes clear, the overwhelming number of women respondents claimed that household decisions that have a clear financial dimension attached to them - such as decisions to borrow or repay loans, or even decisions on what food to buy - are taken by the men of the household. 87 percent of women, for instance,

said that decisions to purchase food for the household are made by the men of the household, without consultation with the women. Similarly, with the purchase of medicine for the wife of the head of the household, 76 percent of respondents claimed that the decision is made solely by the husband or between the husband and the other men of the household. In the instance of borrowing and repaying funds, the discrepancy is even more extreme, with 87 percent of respondents reporting that the decision is vested solely in the husband or adult men of the household. Women appear to have relatively more power in relation to issues pertaining to the marriage and education of children. Interestingly, 17 percent of female respondents report that decisions pertaining to the education of boys are made solely by the wife, while 19 percent of respondents report that decisions pertaining to the education of girls are made solely by the wife. Women in turn are even more involved in the education and weddings of their sons and daughters, either deciding by themselves or being consulted by the male head of household. The male head of household still remains the primary decision maker but the wives appear to have more active and involved roles in these social and cultural issues.

**Figure 359: Vesting of Decision-Making Authority with Respect to Important Family Decisions**

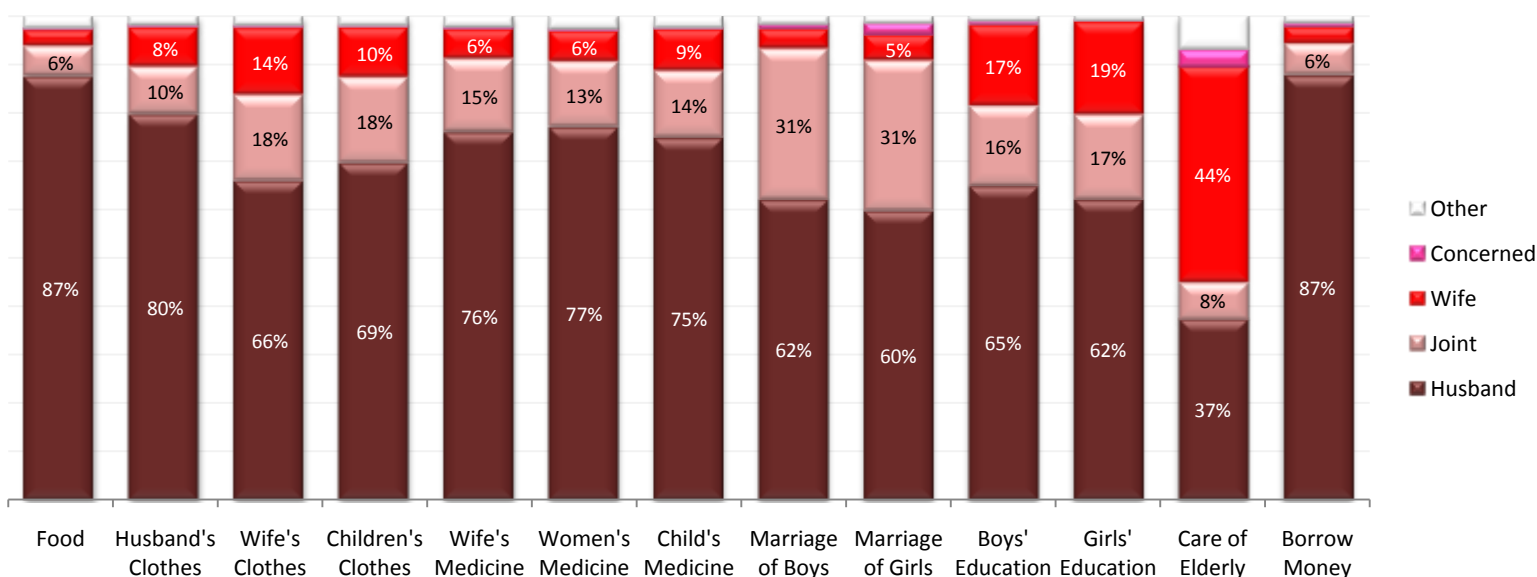
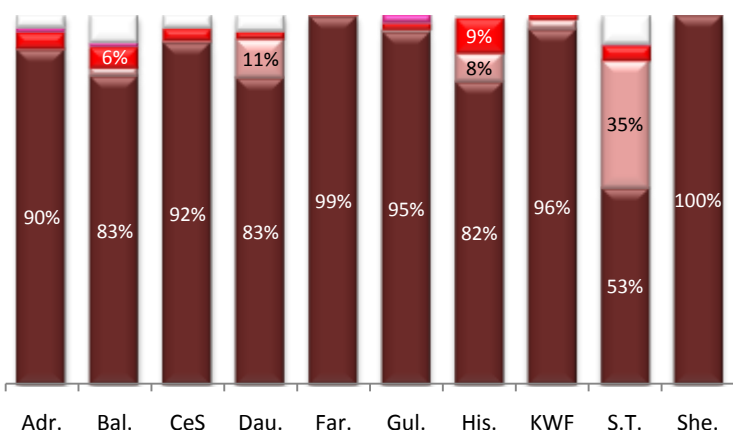


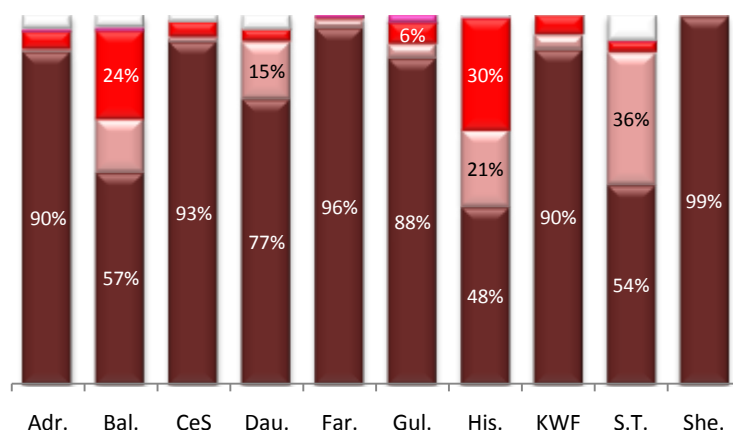
Figure 360 below presents the data aggregated in Figure 359 at the district level. The graphs show that the results presented in Figure 359 are largely consistent across the ten districts, with a couple of exceptions. In Sang Takht district in Daykundi and Hisarak district in Nangarhar, women appear to have a much greater degree of involvement in decision-making than in the other districts. At the other end of the spectrum, women appear to have the lowest levels of involvement in decision-making in Adraskan and Farsi districts of Herat and in Sherzad district of Nangarhar.

**Figure 360: Vesting of Decision-Making Authority with Respect to Important Family Decisions, by District**

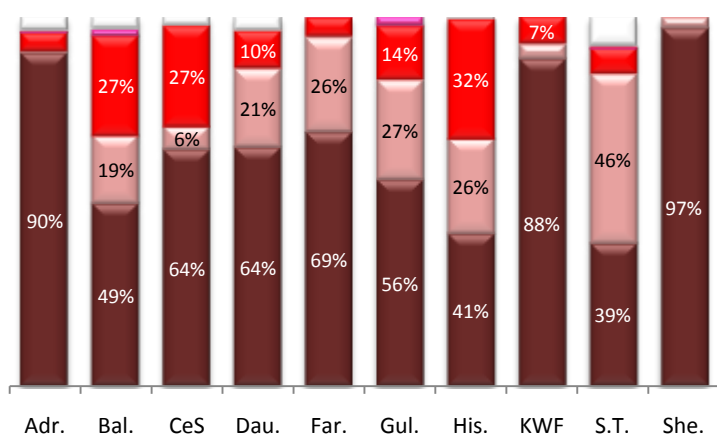
**Food**



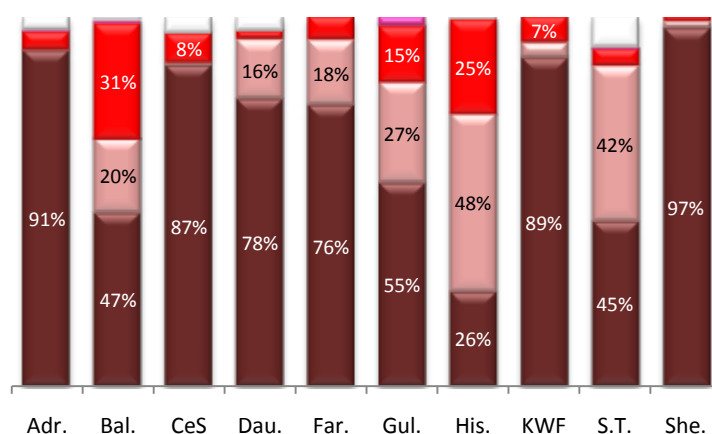
**Husband's Clothes**



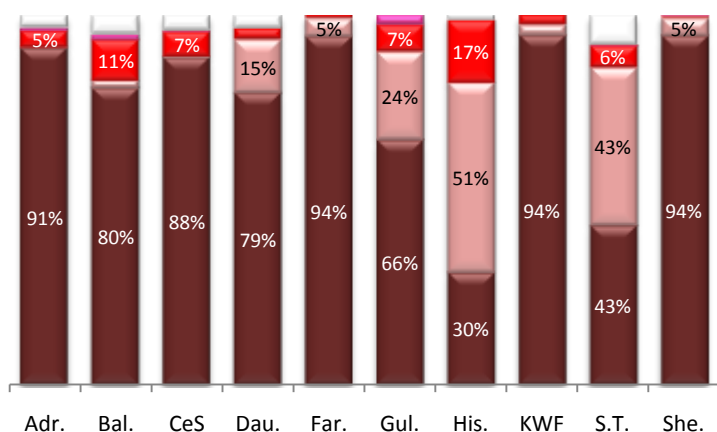
**Wife's Clothes**



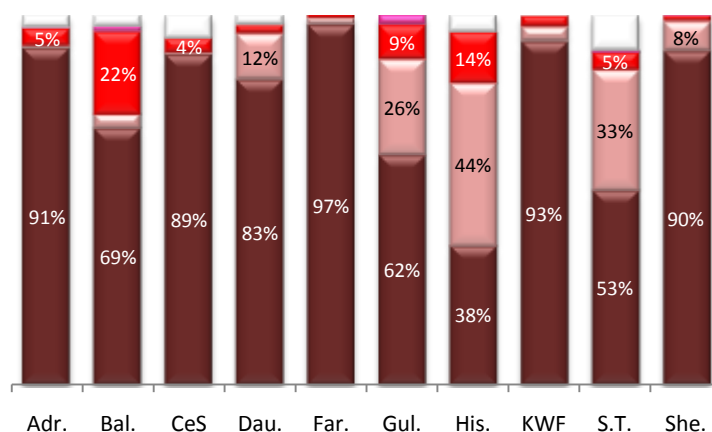
**Children's Clothes**



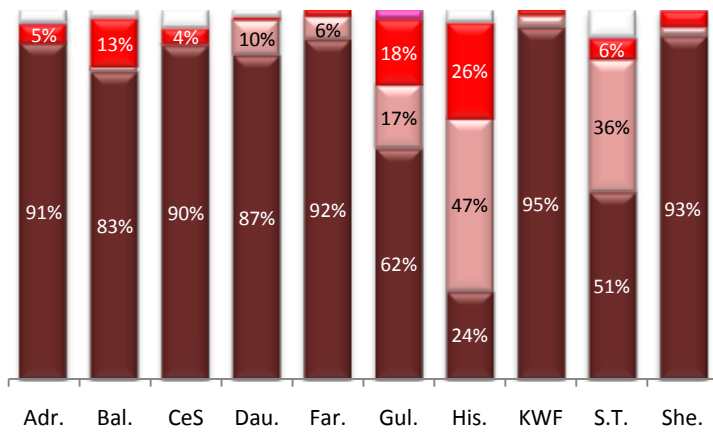
**Medicine for Wife**



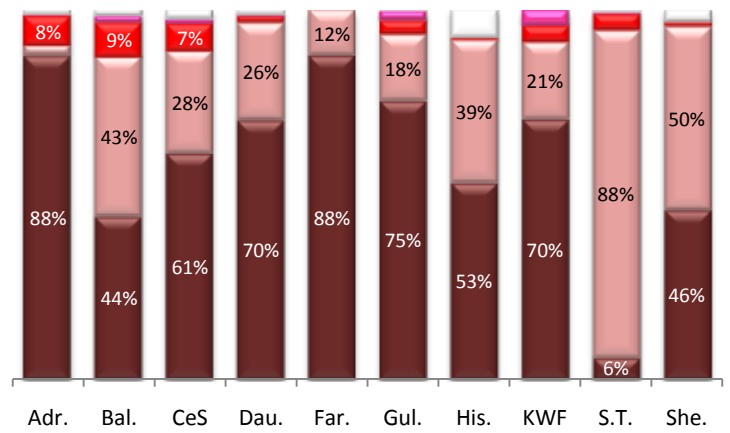
**Medicine for Other Women**



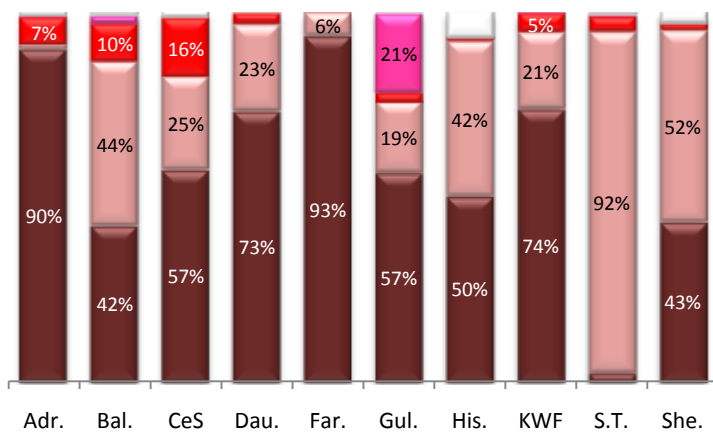
Medicine for Children



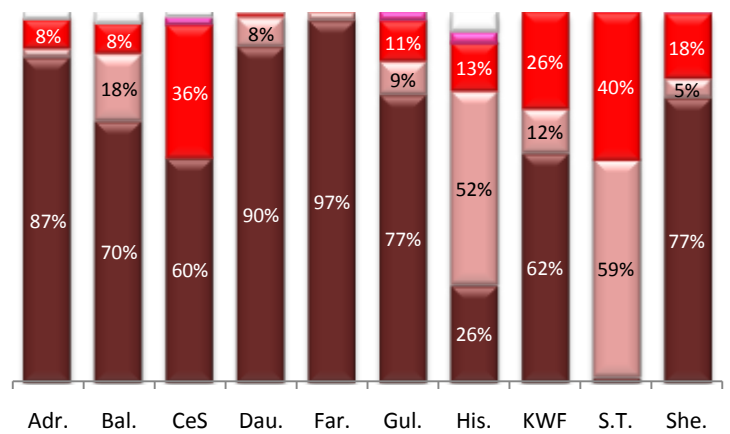
Marriage of Boys



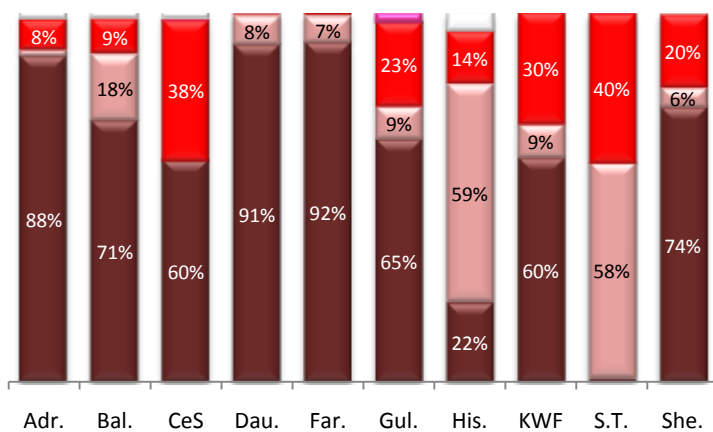
Marriage of Girls



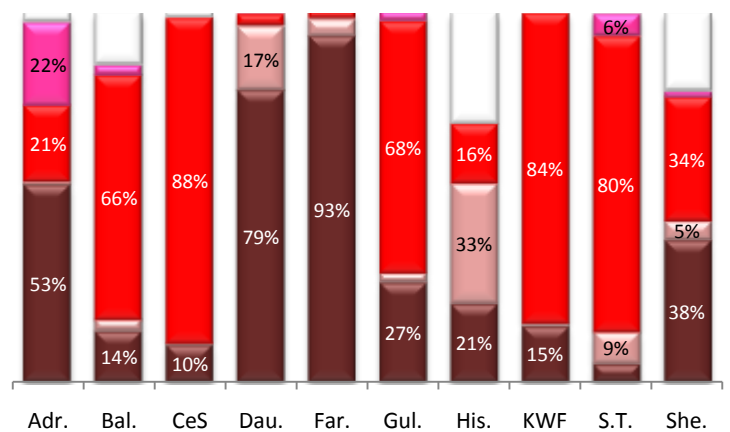
Education of Boys



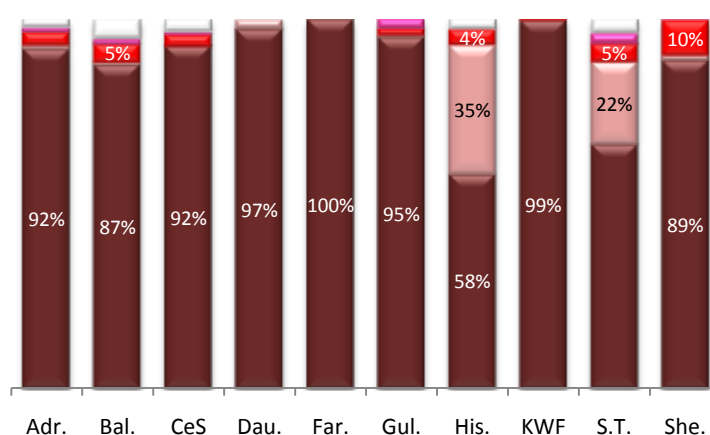
Education of Girls



Care of Elderly

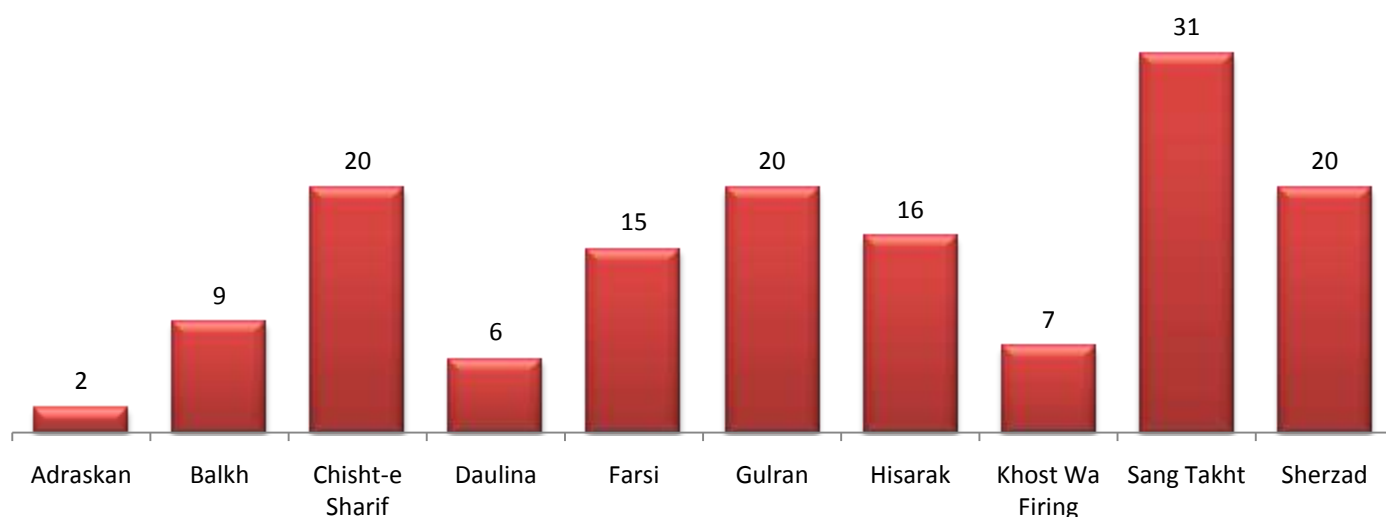


### Borrowing Money and Repaying Loans



As a measure of female involvement in the community, women respondents were asked how many times a month on average they leave their homes. Figure 361 plots the median response to this question for each district. As is apparent in the graph, there is a very large variation across districts, with the median number of times that a female respondent leaves her house varying from two times per month in Adraskan to more than 30 in Sang Takht. In general, it appears that women face the strictest restrictions in their ability to leave their houses in Adraskan, Daulina, and Khost Wa Firing, and the least in Chisht-e Sharif, Gulran, and Sang Takht.

**Figure 361: Median Number of Times Female Respondent Left House in Past 30 Days, by District**



Female respondents who indicated that they had left the house in the past 30 days were asked to provide information on the reasons why they left the house, the results of which are presented in Figure 362 in sample aggregate form and at the district-level. Across the full sample, the collection of water, wood, or other scrap was the most commonly cited reason for leaving the house, with 68 percent of female respondents indicating they had left the house for this reason during the past month. Following this, 47 percent of respondents indicated that they had left the house to visit relatives or visit friends. 31 percent of female respondents claimed to have left the house to visit a clinic or doctor or to attend ceremonies. In contrast, relatively few respondents indicated that they had left the house to attend school or a literacy course (4 percent) or to take children to school (3 percent).



**Figure 362: Proportion of Female Respondents Who Leave House for Different Purposes**

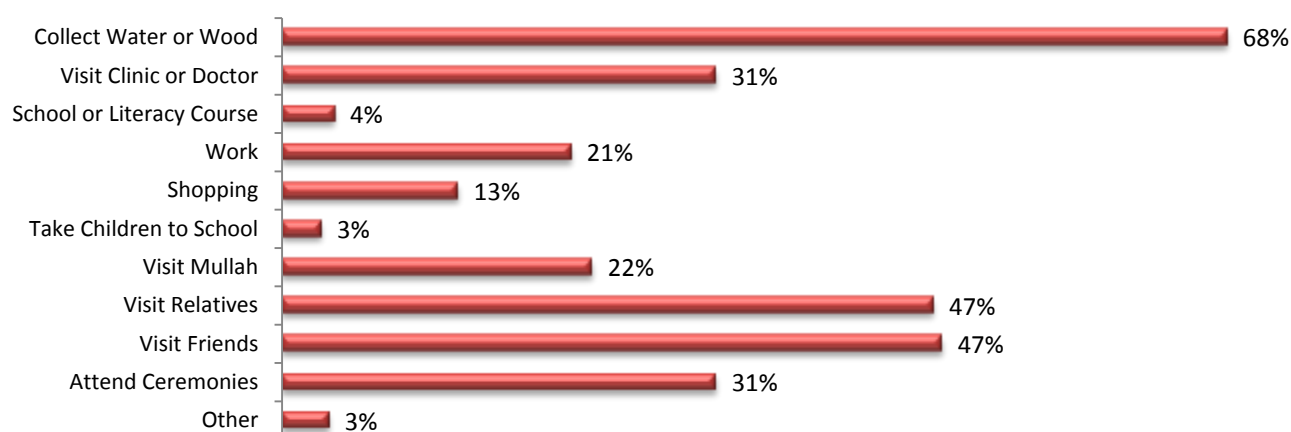
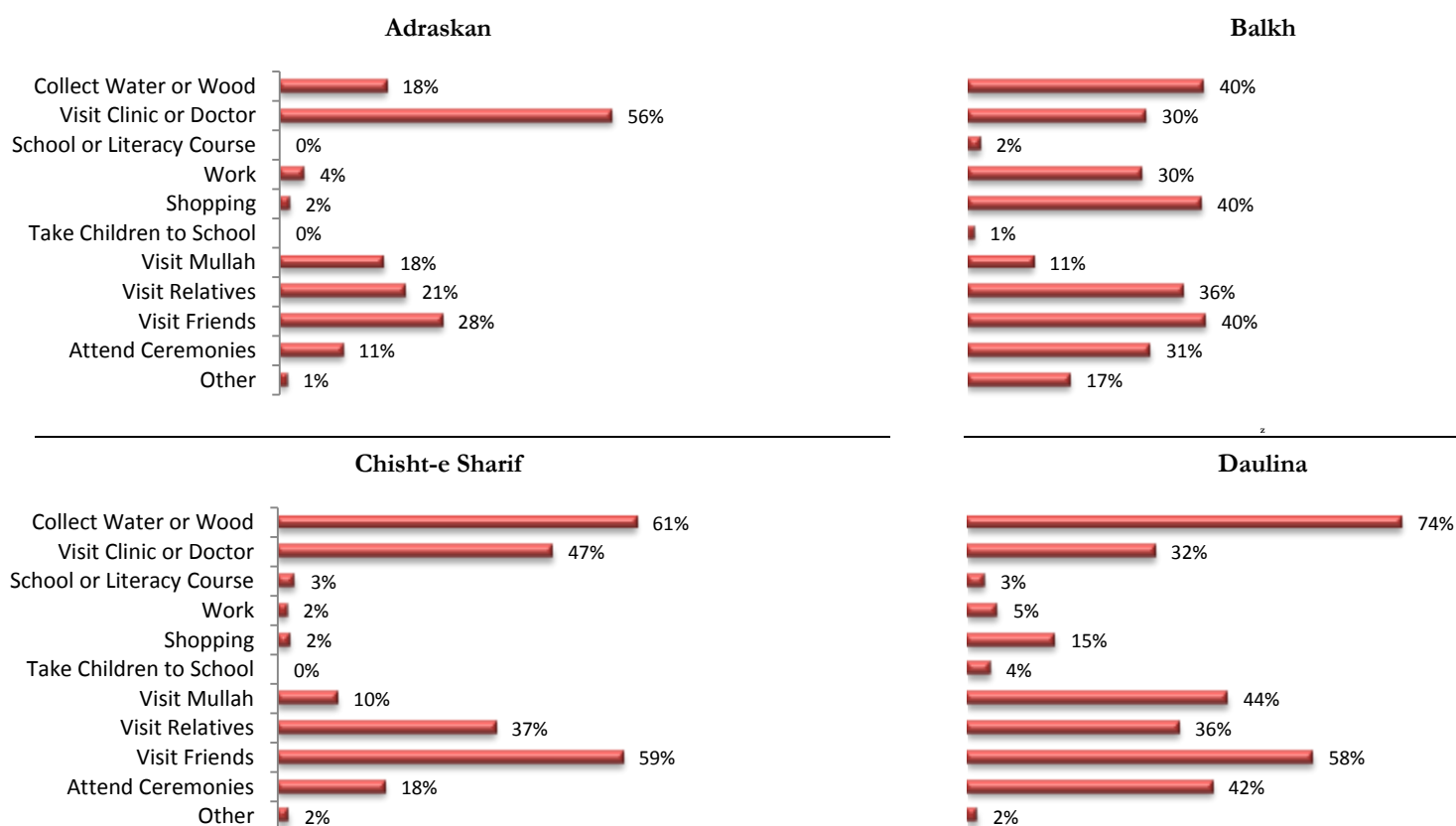
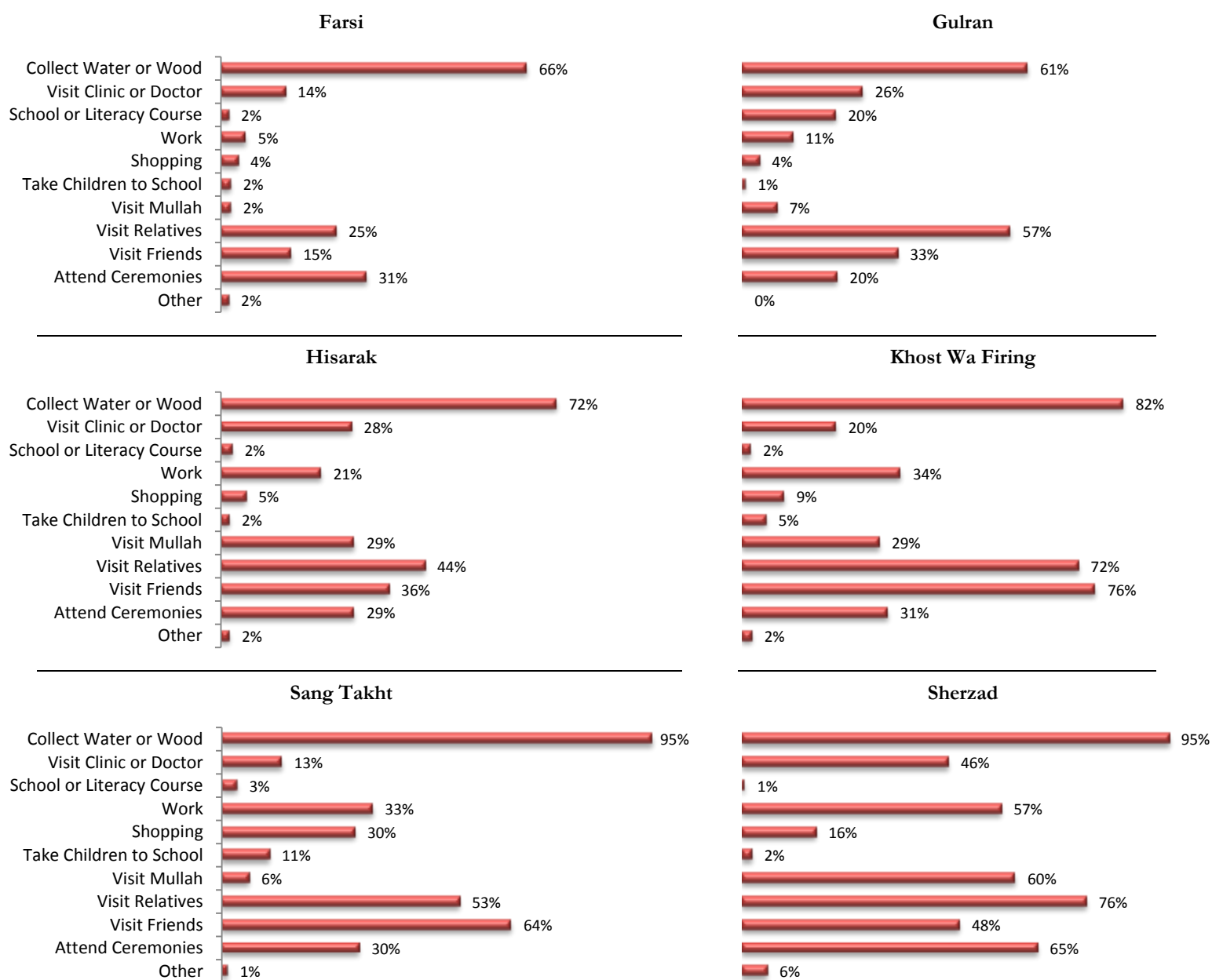


Figure 362 below indicates that, although proportions vary, the most commonly cited reason for which women report leaving their house – the collection of wood, water, and/or scrap – is reasonably consistent across districts. One major exception is in Adraskan, where just 18 percent of respondents indicate leaving the house to collect water, wood, and/or scrap. In Balkh, also, only 40 percent of respondents report leaving the house to collect water or word. In contrast, 95 percent of female respondents in Sang Takht and Sherzad claim to have left the house to collect water, wood, and/or scrap in the past month.

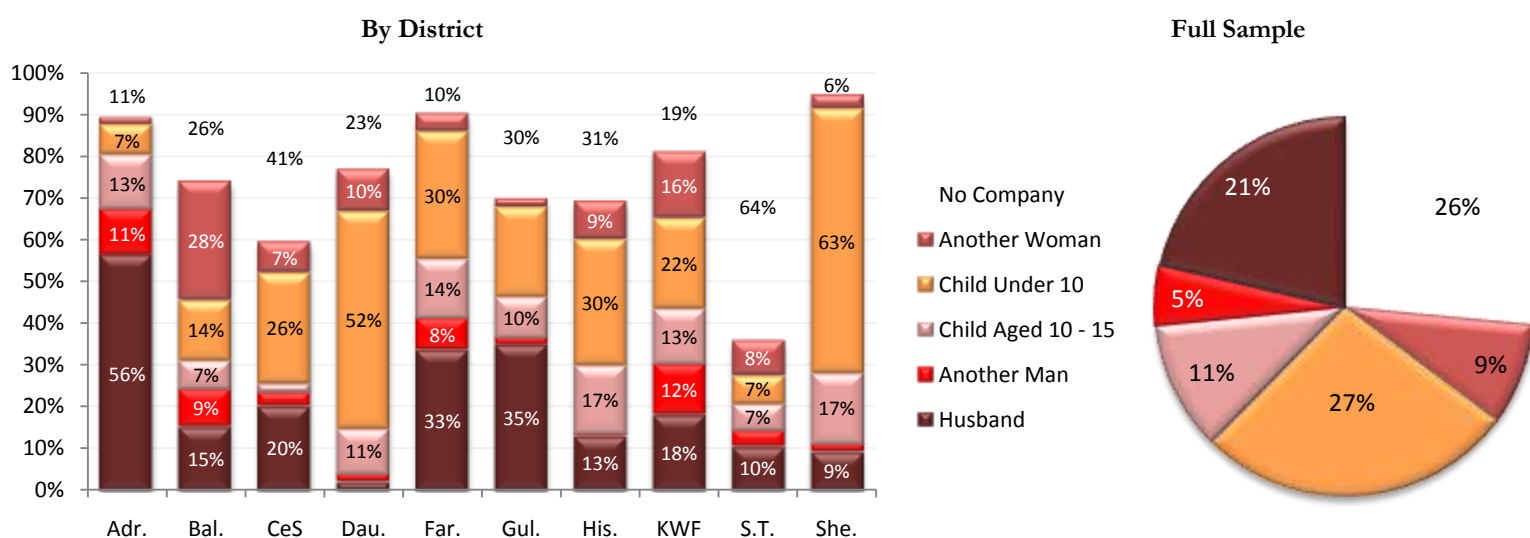
**Figure 363: Proportion of Female Respondents Who Leave House for Different Purposes, by District**





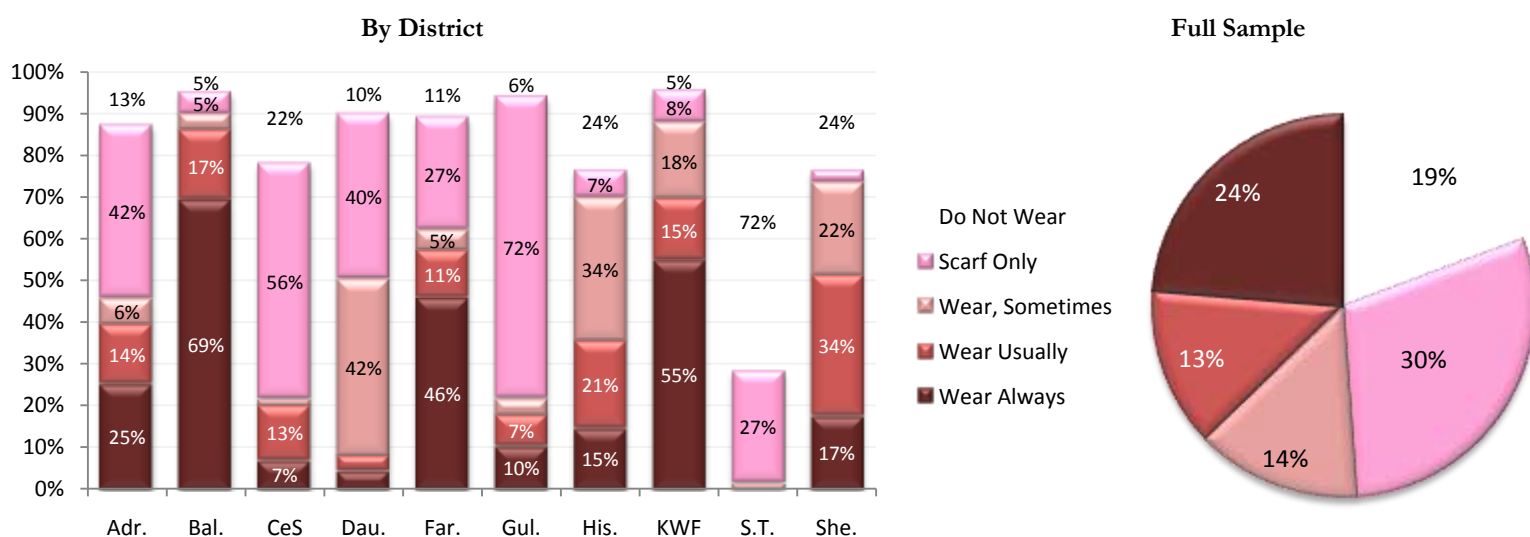
Female respondents were asked whether they are usually accompanied when they leave the house. The results, presented in Figure 364 below, indicate that women appear to rarely leave their home alone, with three out of four respondents saying that they are usually chaperoned by their husbands, a child, or someone else. There is notable regional variation in the degree of mobility that is customary for unaccompanied women. Sang Takht and Sherzad districts are in the polar ends of the spectrum in that regard: 64 percent of female respondents in Sang Takht claimed that that they usually leave the house without a chaperone compared to a mere 6 percent of women in Sherzad. In Adraskan and Farsi, also, only a small proportion of respondents indicated that they regularly leave the house along. In Adraskan, 56 percent of respondents indicated that they are usually accompanied by their husband when leaving the house. The proportion of women reported they are usually accompanied by their husband was high also in Farsi and Gulran, where 33 percent and 35 percent of respondents respectively reported this was so.

**Figure 364: Usual Source of Company for Female Respondents Outside Home**



Although women are usually chaperoned when they leave the house, 63 percent of female respondents indicated that they rarely or never wear the burqa (*chadori*), the all enveloping piece of cloth that also covers the face. 30 percent of female respondents indicated that they instead opted for a scarf or veil, while 37 percent of respondents claimed that they usually or always wear the burqa. Variation between districts in the wearing of the burqa is extremely pronounced, with 86 percent of female respondents in Balkh, 57 percent in Farsi, and 70 percent in Khost Wa Firing indicating that they always or usually wear their burqa when they leave the house. By way of comparison, just 20 percent of respondents in Chisht-e Sharif, 17 percent in Gulran, and no respondents in Sang Takht claimed that they usually or always wear a burqa when leaving their house.

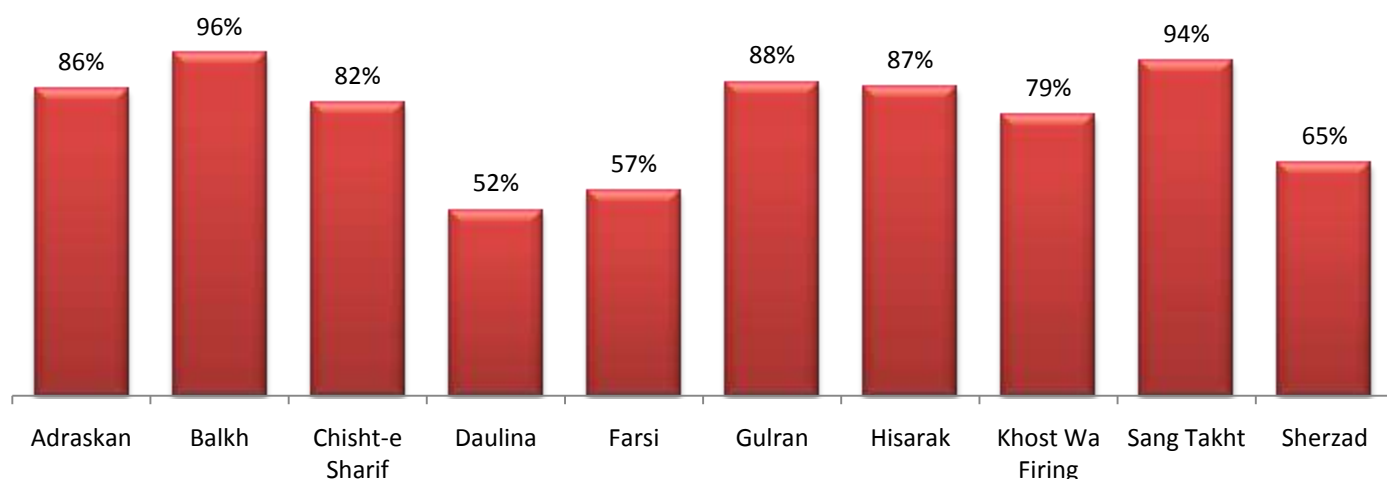
**Figure 365: Proportion of Female Respondents Who Wear Burqa (Chadori) Outside Home**



In the focus group setting, female respondents were asked whether it is common for women in their village to socialize with women outside their family. Across the full sample, in 79 percent of focus groups, a majority of respondents indicated that it was common for women in their village to do this. As Figure 366 demonstrates, there are a number of districts in which women's social life appears to be more family oriented. In Daulina and Farsi, for instance, only 52 percent and 57 percent of focus groups claimed that it was common for women in their village to socialize with women outside of their family. In comparison, 96 percent of focus groups in Balkh, 88

percent in Gulran, 87 percent in Hisarak, and 94 percent in Sang Takht said that women in their village regularly socialize with women who are not their relatives.

**Figure 366: Percent of Villages in which Women Socialize with Women Outside their Family**



Female focus groups which indicated that women socialize with others outside their family were asked where this socialization usually occurs, the results of which are presented in Figure 367 below. The results indicate that women have relatively rare opportunities for socialization, with 42 percent of respondents indicating that socialization most regularly occurs at weddings and 25 percent claiming that it usually occurs at other events or celebrations. Only 15 percent of female respondents said that women most commonly interact with other women while doing work in the farm and 11 percent during other work.

**Figure 367: Locations at Which Women Socialize in Village**

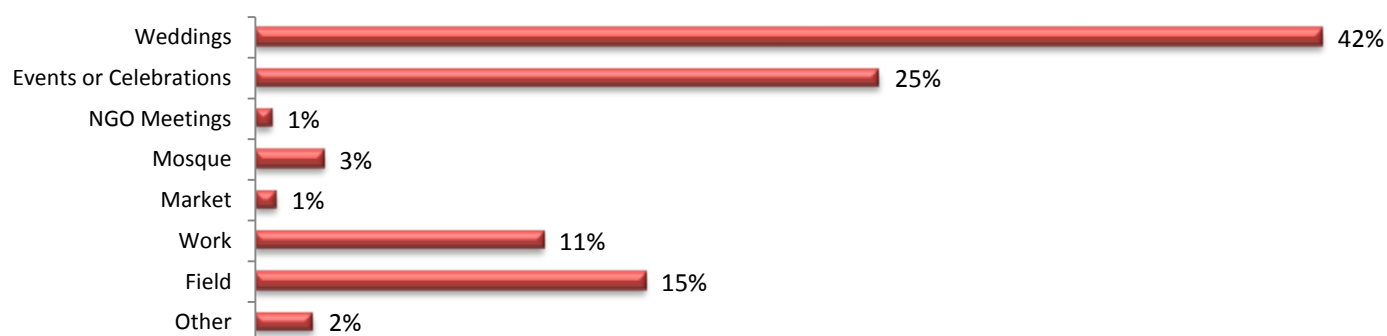
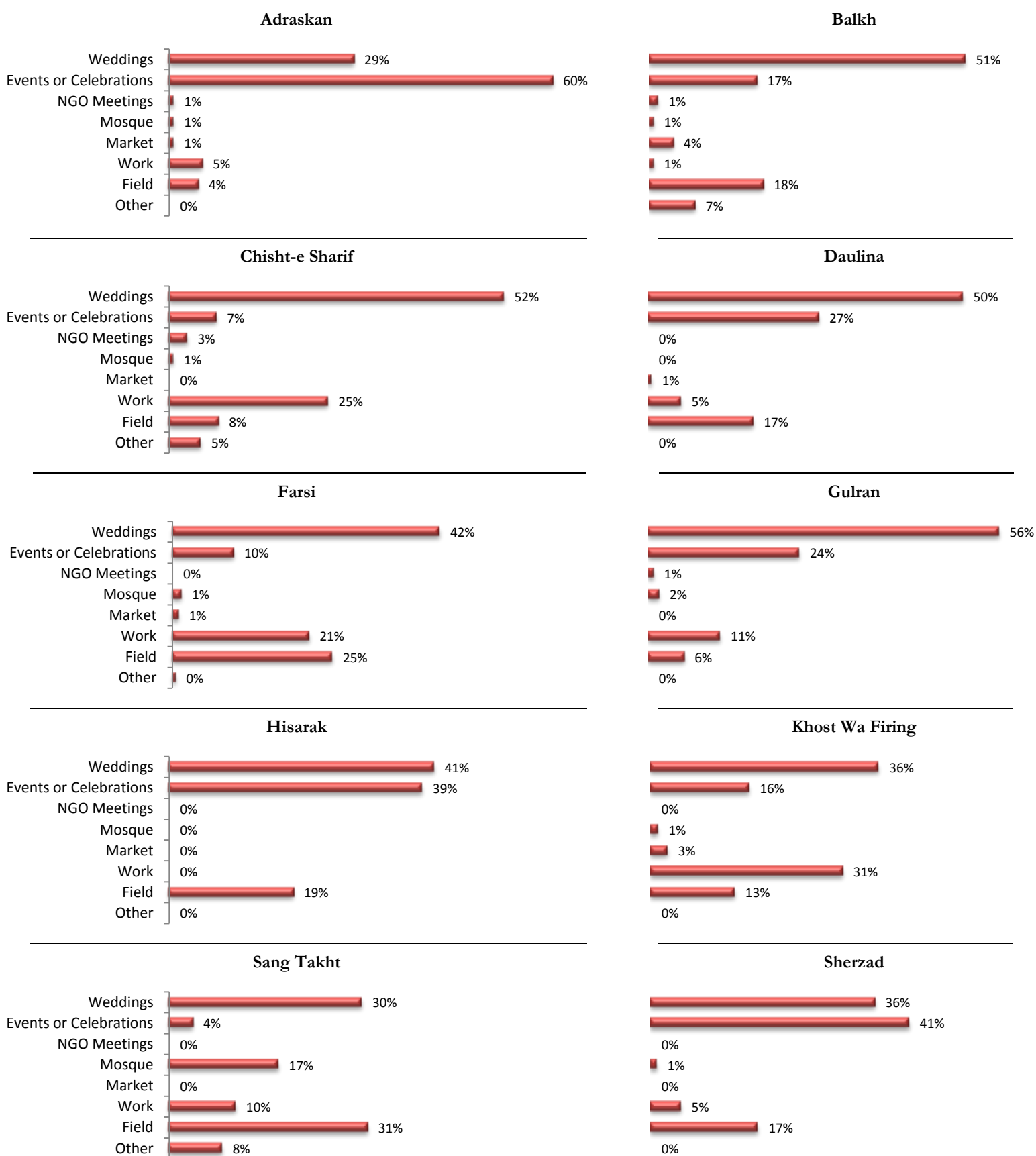


Figure 368 below displays the most common locations for female socialization in each district. In almost all districts, the most commonly cited location for socialization is weddings or events of celebrations, with Sang Takht being the only partial exception where a plurality of women - 31 percent – indicated that socialization most regularly occurs in the field. The percent of female respondents who indicate that weddings are the most common source of socialization for women in the village varied from 29 percent in Adraskan to 56 percent in Gulran, while the proportions claiming events or celebrations are the most common socialization location ranged from a low of 4 percent in Sang Takht to a high of 60 percent in Adraskan.

**Figure 368: Locations at Which Women Socialize in Village, by District**





## VI. Quality Assurance for Baseline Survey

Due to the unique challenges imposed by survey research in Afghanistan, effective monitoring and supervision is essential in order to discourage and identify instances of mis-measurement or data fabrication. During the administration of the baseline survey, supervision was undertaken on a number of levels, the most direct of which was provided by a team of ten supervisors who were each assigned to one of the 10 sample districts and remained in that district for the duration of the baseline survey in order to monitor the conduct of the nine enumerators administering the baseline survey in their assigned district.<sup>101</sup>

In addition to the team of 10 supervisors, additional supervision was provided by staff members of the Vulnerability Analysis Unit (VAU) and by one of the members of the evaluation team, who each made a number of unannounced trips to the 10 sample districts to directly observe data collection and to conduct limited re-interviewing of survey participants.<sup>102</sup> Reports from the team of supervisors and VAU staff members engaged in supervision indicated that enumerators were undertaking survey activities in general accordance with the prescribed protocols, with no reporting of any major instances of data fabrication or fraud.

Even with a relatively large amount of resources devoted to supervision, minor instances of data fabrication and mis-measurement – for example, the incorrect recording of responses related to skip patterns in order to shorten the length of the interview – can be difficult to identify through methods of direct observation. Thus, in order to provide more systematic and reliable assurances as to the quality of the baseline data and as is customary in surveys of such magnitude, face-to-face re-interviews of a random sample of baseline survey participants were conducted in the months following the baseline survey. This re-interviewing exercise was designed with the primary aim of checking that baseline survey interviews were conducted with the specified respondents and that the data was truthfully and accurately recorded, rather than falsified by the enumerators. In addition, the re-interviewing exercise also provided a check of the time-consistency of responses recorded during the baseline survey.

The following sections detail the re-interviewing procedure and results, beginning with an overview of the sampling methodology employed to select re-interviewees (Section VI.1), followed by a short description of the re-interview questionnaire (VI.2), and concluded by a presentation of the results of the re-interview survey and data assurance exercise (VI.3).

### VI.1. Sampling Methodology

Due to the challenges of arranging re-interviews of focus group participants and in conducting interviews of women in rural Afghanistan, re-interviews were restricted to persons to whom the male household questionnaire had been administered. In this manner, the re-interview procedure was able to check the work of all of the 30 two-member male enumerator teams that had worked

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<sup>101</sup> Activities required of supervisors included direct observation of survey activities, as well as inspection of completed survey forms

<sup>102</sup> Mr. Amanullah Assil of VAU observed survey activities in Hisarak and Sherzad districts, Mr. Kabuli of VAU observed survey activities in Adraskan, Balkh, Chisht-e Sharif, Daulina, Farsi, Gulran, Khost Wa Firing, and Sang Takht districts, and Mr. Beath observed survey activities in Balkh and Daulina districts.



on the baseline survey, while not consuming the exorbitant resources that would be required to check data collected for all four of the survey instruments.<sup>103</sup>

The re-interview procedure was designed with the intent to revalidate approximately 10 percent of male heads-of-household interviewed during the baseline survey. The re-interviews were conducted by a total of 10 re-interviewers, who were each assigned to evaluate the work of the three enumerator teams that had conducted surveys in each one of the 10 evaluation districts. To ensure transparency, enumerators conducting re-interviews, who worked either as enumerators or supervisors during the baseline survey, were assigned to different districts than those they had worked in during the baseline survey, where feasible.

The process for selecting villages for re-interviewing aspired to a form stratification that was methodologically sound, while logistically feasible. In each of the 10 sample districts, 12 evaluation communities were selected to provide a cross-section of the different stages of baseline survey administration (i.e., early, middle, and late), as well to ensure that villages surveyed by each the three enumerator teams assigned to the district were equally represented.

To economize resources, the re-interview procedure was conducted in parallel with the monitoring of CDC elections, which necessarily restricted the re-interview survey to those villages selected for participation in NSP. In addition, the decision meant that the CDC election schedule was an important consideration in selecting villages for inclusion in the re-interview procedure. Notwithstanding this constraint, it was generally possible to select villages so as to meet the preferred form of sample stratification. The bundling of the re-interview procedure with the CDC election monitoring did, however, have the unfortunate consequence of delaying the re-interview survey in some of the 10 sample districts. Table 49 below lists the dates of the baseline and re-interview surveys for the 10 sample districts.

**Table 49: Dates of Baseline and Re-Interview Surveys**

District	Dates of Baseline Survey	Dates of Re-Interview Survey
Adraskan	August – September 2007	October – November 2007
Balkh	August – September 2007	November – December 2007
Chisht-e Sharif	August – September 2007	March – April 2008
Daulina	August – September 2007	November – December 2007
Farsi	August – September 2007	October – November 2007
Gulran	August – September 2007	March – April 2008
Hisarak	August – September 2007	November – December 2007
Khost Wa Firing	August – September 2007	November – December 2007
Sang Takht	August – September 2007	November – December 2007
Sherzad	August – September 2007	March – April 2008

In each of the 120 villages selected for re-interview activities, enumerators were requested to complete four re-interviews of men to which the male household questionnaire had been administered during the baseline survey. The selection of the re-interviewees was done randomly by the evaluation team prior to the commencement of baseline survey activities, with re-interviewers also provided with information on the age and occupation of the re-interviewees in

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<sup>103</sup> Given that the MHH-Q involved the highest number of interviews, it was considered that, of the four survey instruments, the MHH-Q was the most susceptible to instances of fabrication or mis-measurement by unscrupulous enumerators seeking to reduce the total duration of interviews in the village.

order to enable them to locate the correct individual.<sup>104</sup> In the event that any selected four re-interviewees could not be located, re-interviewers were allowed to substitute the selectee(s) for another person(s) to which the male household questionnaire was administered, but were required to do so in the order of a numbered list provided by the evaluation team.<sup>105</sup>

In total, re-interviewers attempted 615 re-interviews of baseline survey participants. Of the 615 male heads-of-household, the re-interviewers were successfully able to locate and administer the re-interview questionnaire to 472 (77%) of them. The 472 re-interviews were conducted in 115 villages in 10 districts, covering all 30 of the enumerator teams which administered the baseline survey. A list of villages in which participants of the baseline survey were re-interviewed is provided in Appendix 1.

## **VI.2. Re-Interview Questionnaire**

The re-interview questionnaire contained a total of 26 questions drawn from the male head-of-household questionnaire that was administered in the baseline survey.<sup>106</sup> Questions were selected with two different objectives in mind: 1) ensuring that the enumerator interviewed the specified individual and did not fabricate any data in the process (validation); and 2) checking the reliability of the data measures over time (reliability). Of the 26 questions in the re-interview questionnaire, nine questions have numerical answers; five questions ask about an occupation of a person who plays a certain role in the village (four of them allow naming up to two different people); and 12 provide for binary yes/no answers.<sup>107</sup>

## **VI.3. Results of Re-Interviews**

As noted above, the re-interview procedure serves a number of purposes. The act of asking re-interviewers to use name, age, and occupation information to locate a random sample of persons purportedly interviewed during the baseline survey checks that the interviewees indeed exist and are not merely figment of the imagination of unscrupulous enumerators. The following sections detail the results of the re-interview survey.

### ***Verifying the Existence of Baseline Survey Participants***

The rate by which re-interviewers were able to successfully locate persons selected for re-interviews, together with the reasons why re-interview selectees could not be interviewed, is used to assure against the most severe form of survey fraud, whereby enumerators falsify entire interviews rather than interview actual people. The results of the re-interview procedure indicate that, by and large, the NSP-IE baseline survey was not subject to such forms of fraud. From 615 attempts, re-interviewers succeeded in locating and interviewing 472 baseline survey participants, a success rate of 77 percent.

Among the 143 cases where re-interview selectees were not able to be interviewed, re-interviewers were able to verify that the individual existed and lived in the village in the vast

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<sup>104</sup> It is not uncommon for many people in a single village in rural Afghanistan to share a common name

<sup>105</sup> In the event that one of the four selectees could not be located, the re-interviewer was required to indicate the reason that the selectee could not be located. A breakdown of problems encountered by re-interviewers in locating selectees is provided in Section VI.3 below.

<sup>106</sup> This is a larger number of questions than is typically administered in re-contact interviews in developed country contexts, which tend to be done via phone or mail.

<sup>107</sup> In keeping with procedures used for the baseline survey, the re-interview questionnaire was prepared in teleform format, with completed forms being scanned and processed automatically

majority of cases. Indeed, the predominant reason for failures to re-interview selectees – accounting for 114 of the 143 cases – was that the selectee was not at their home at the time the re-interviewer sought to conduct the re-interview. Of the remaining 29 failed re-interviews, six were caused by baseline survey participants refusing to be re-interviewed.<sup>108</sup> There was one instance where the individual claimed not to have been surveyed in the first place, and 12 instances where the individual could not be located based on the specified information.<sup>109</sup> In the remaining 10 cases, enumerators conducting re-interviews did not indicate the reason why the attempted re-interview was unsuccessful.

**Table 50: Incidences of Failure to Re-Interview**

Reason for Failure	Number	Percentage
Individual Exists but was not at Home	114	80%
No House Found at Specified Location	12	8%
Person Refused to be Re-interviewed	6	4%
Person Claimed not to Have Been Surveyed	1	1%
Unknown Reason	10	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>100%</b>

These findings indicate that only in a small number of cases was there any indication that a re-interview selectee may not have been interviewed during the baseline survey. In all of these instances, it is impossible to identify whether the problem was due to fraud committed by the respective enumerator during the baseline survey, was due to incorrect data entry by the respective enumerator during the baseline survey, or was due to inappropriate or insufficient inquiries made by the re-interviewer.

In addition to the ‘existence check’ described above, a number of basic questions included in the re-interview questionnaire enable a further means to check the method whether baseline survey participants were actually interviewed. These questions are relatively objective and thus less likely to have changed during the period that lapsed between the administration of the baseline survey and that of the re-interview survey.

Table 51 presents summary statistics for questions concerning birth year and the size of the respondent’s household, types of questions which are considered reasonably objective in normal contexts.

**Table 51: Comparison of Select Baseline and Re-Interview Survey Indicators**

Baseline Survey						Re-Interview Survey					
	Obs.	Mean	Std.	Min	Max	Obs.	Mean	Std.	Min	Max	Corr.

<sup>108</sup> Four of these occurred in Nangarhar province (two each in Hisarak and Sherzad), where the security situation is tenuous and where, as a result, residents have an increased level of suspicion towards outsiders seeking personal information. The two villages in Hisarak district were Bawali and Par Jena and the two villages in Sherzad district were Hajeyan and Koza Ghara. The two remaining instances were noted in Jar Ango village in Farsi district, Herat province, and in Daha Zabar village in Cheshti Sharif district, Herat province.

<sup>109</sup> The villager who claimed not to have been surveyed resided in Daha Zabar village in Chisht-e Sharif district. There were also 6 instances across 5 different villages in Chisht-e Sharif where homes could not be located. Those were the villages of Nuzam Abad, Noor Ha, Chasma Owajiha, Murgha (2), and Khak Rash. There were also two villages in Hisarak, Do Ab and Touda Chena, two instances in the Sherzad village of Hajeyan, as well as an instance in Dakar village in Balkh and in Garm Ab village in Daulina.

	Dev.					Dev.					
<b>Age</b>	463	43.44	13.75	17	100	465	43.38	13.31	15	100	<b>0.67</b>
<b>Household Members</b>	470	9.70	5.11	2	36	468	9.49	4.66	1	30	<b>0.42</b>

The correlations between answers given in the baseline and re-interview surveys for these two questions although reasonable, are by no means spectacular. The age question elicited a relatively high correlation of 0.67 between the two surveys, while the correlation on the question concerning the size of the household is lower at 0.42. In the context of rural Afghanistan, however, such low levels of correlation do not yield the “smoking gun” of enumerator fraud that they may provide in other contexts. The failure, until very recently, for the authorities in Afghanistan to issue birth certificates means that most of the country’s rural population is unsure as to their exact age. The question on household size is likely to yield even greater variability given the high rates of internal migration and the fluidity in the definition of the household.<sup>110</sup> Thus, even in the event of perfect compliance by the enumerators, a level of variance in responses to both questions is anticipated, particularly over the time spans which elapsed in some districts between the administration of the baseline and follow-up surveys.

### *Verifying Data Accuracy*

In primary data collection exercises such as the NSP baseline survey, the most common type of enumerator fraud is also the most difficult to detect. Given the presence of supervisors, it is often difficult for unscrupulous enumerators to avoid visiting a sample village entirely. However, once in the village, enumerators have the opportunity to reduce the time of the interview and, thus, the time they have to spend in the village, by not administering portions of the questionnaire and instead completing them at a later time. Questions associated with skip patterns, where a particular response from the respondent allows the enumerator to avoid administering a section of questions, are particularly susceptible to such types of fraud. In the absence of satisfactory resources to ensure that the house-by-house activities of enumerators are monitored closely, the only practical means by which to identify instances of such fraud is through re-interview surveys.

The evaluation team selected questions from all 8 sections of the male head of household questionnaire. Several of these questions included categorical and binary variables which are not well suited for correlation analysis: for categorical variables correlation is not defined, whereas for binary variables a more revealing measure is the share of coinciding answers (SCA). The share of coinciding answers is the measure of agreement between the baseline survey and the re-interview survey, i.e. the share of questions for which the answers in the two surveys coincide. For the questions where there was a possibility to give two answers (e.g. who is responsible for making the rules in a village), the answers were coded as coinciding if at least one of the answers in the male head of household questionnaire was the same as one of the answers in the re-interview questionnaire.<sup>111</sup> Since for almost all the questions regarding the number of animals owned by a household the main difference is between having none or some, we recoded these questions as binary asking whether a household owns at least one animal of the respective kind. After that, we calculated the share of coinciding answers for these constructed variables. Appendix 4 presents the share of coinciding answers for each re-interview question reporting

<sup>110</sup> In answering the same question, interviewees may have defined the boundaries of the household differently, not only because of births or deaths, but also due to seasonal migration related to labor, refugee movements, and weather, for example.

<sup>111</sup> For tabulated responses to these questions see Appendix IV

results both at the aggregate level—for all 10 districts—and for each district separately. The share of coinciding answers is overall high and in most binary questions exceeds 0.8.

For validation purposes, particular focus was placed on questions with a frequent response, such as whether people voted in the presidential and parliamentary elections, or questions with a rare response such as whether they owned camels. Binary questions with frequent or rare responses are good ways to validate enumerator compliance because if filled out randomly they would not coincide with reality. For example, if an enumerator was randomly responding to one of those binary questions (did you vote in the presidential elections (yes or no); do you own camels (yes or no)), the breakdown of responses would be roughly 50%-50% and would not reflect the reality of frequent or rare answers which—as shown in Table 4 below—suggest that almost nobody owns camels and almost everyone voted in the parliamentary and presidential elections.

**Table 52: Data on Validating Binary Responses with Extreme Frequencies**

Baseline Survey			Re-Interview Survey		SCA
Did you vote in the last parliamentary election?	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
Yes	422	90.2%	434	92.1%	0.84
No	46	9.8%	37	7.9%	
Did you vote in the last Presidential election?	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	0.87
Yes	431	91.7%	440	93.6%	
No	39	8.3%	30	6.4%	
Do you own camels?	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	0.81
Yes	0	0%	2	0.5%	
No	423	100%	428	99.5%	

As an additional validation check, we focused our attention on six questions from the re-interview questionnaire for which the actual answers were least likely to change between the baseline and the re-interview surveys and for which there was sufficient variation between respondents—i.e. questions for which the share of respondents that gave the most popular answer was less than 90%. These questions include: 1) the respondent's age; 2) the number of household members; 3) access to electricity; 4) whether the household owns any livestock; and 5) whether there were any *hoquoqui* disputes in the village. For these six questions we computed the average share of questions for which the answers in the baseline and re-interview surveys coincide. The results (cumulative and by district) are presented in Table 5 below. The average share of coinciding answers for all districts is 65%, varying from 51% in Sherzad to 76% in Farsi and Adraskan.

**Table 53: Coincidence of Answers between Baseline and Re-Interview Surveys**

District	Coincidence	Observations
Adraskan	0.76	40
Balkh	0.58	55
Chist-e Sharif	0.60	56
Daulina	0.68	40
Farsi	0.76	48
Gulran	0.69	50
Hisarak	0.57	39
Khost Wa Firing	0.64	48
Sang Takht	0.62	47
Sherzad	0.51	48

Total	0.64	471
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Note: Average includes only those variables for which the share of respondents with most popular answer is less than 90%.

### ***Verifying Enumerator Teams***

Table 6 below offers yet another layer of validation by presenting the share of coinciding answers for each enumerator team for the six key variables indicated above. Since the characteristics of the respondents are significantly different across districts, which might affect consistency of the results in a way which does not depend on the quality of the work of surveyors, in addition to reporting the raw share of coinciding answers, we also report the deviation of the share of coinciding answers from the district mean. Another reason for demeaning the numbers is that the low share of coinciding answers could be a result of falsifications in the re-interview, rather than in the baseline survey. Since teams of surveyors conducting re-interviews varied by districts, demeaning of the results should serve—albeit imperfectly—to account for this potential effect.

The share of coinciding answers, both raw and demeaned, varies across enumerator teams. If one were to take 0.5 of coinciding answers as the cutoff point, the two teams that did not meet the benchmark were enumerator teams from Sherzad, a district that had the lowest share of coinciding answers and where re-interviews were conducted 7 months after the baseline survey due to weather conditions and logistical difficulties. Sherzad district is in Nangarhar province, which is an inaccessible and mountainous terrain, plagued by security concerns. Indeed, there is more evidence to suggest that the results are attributable to location rather than low enumerator performance as the next two teams with lowest scores on the list are from Hisarak district, which is also in Nangarhar province and also experienced a later date in re-interviews, with a similar lag-time of 7 months. Although we did not have any direct evidence of data falsification by enumerators, and since we cannot conclusively verify if the inconsistency was attributable to the original enumerator teams or the re-interviewers, we still regarded a low share of coinciding answers as a potential sign of low quality of work. Hence, the enumerator teams for which the share of coinciding answers was below the district mean by more than 0.05—which was the case for 3 out of 30 teams— have been excluded from future data collection activities related to this evaluation.

**Table 54: Answer Coincidence by Enumerator Teams**

District	Team Code	Coincidence	Demeaned Coincidence	N
Sherzad	602	0.45	-0.05	14
Sherzad	601	0.48	-0.02	18
Sang Takht	701	0.54	-0.07	16
Hisarak	501	0.55	-0.03	11
Hisarak	503	0.55	-0.02	19
Chisht-e Sharif	303	0.56	-0.03	12
Balkh	803	0.56	0.00	20
Chisht-e Sharif	302	0.57	-0.01	16
Balkh	801	0.58	0.02	19
Sang Takht	703	0.58	-0.03	12
Sherzad	603	0.58	0.08	16
Balkh	802	0.60	0.04	15
Khost Wa Firing	901	0.60	-0.04	16
Daulina	112	0.61	-0.06	12
Chisht-e Sharif	301	0.63	0.04	28
Hisarak	502	0.63	0.05	9
Daulina	113	0.64	-0.03	12
Khost Wa Firing	902	0.65	0.00	16
Khost Wa Firing	903	0.68	0.03	16
Gulran	402	0.68	-0.01	15
Gulran	401	0.68	-0.01	19
Adraskan	102	0.69	-0.04	7
Gulran	403	0.71	0.02	16
Sang Takht	702	0.71	0.10	19
Farsi	201	0.72	-0.04	16
Farsi	202	0.74	-0.02	16
Adraskan	101	0.75	0.01	20
Daulina	111	0.77	0.10	16
Farsi	203	0.82	0.06	16
Adraskan	103	0.83	0.10	12

### ***Reliability***

In addition to the validity checks, aimed to suggest that the gathered data were accurate, there was also a secondary interest in setting up reliability checks, i.e. in providing a set of questions that looked at the over time stability of the data, ensuring that the measures are indeed adequately crafted to capture change over different conditions and time periods. The reliability check includes questions on consumption, production and demand for debt and treats the data as a panel survey looking for an over time trend in the survey and re-interview data. If the picture is indeed consistent with the broader realities on the ground— indicating for example that the measures are realistic given seasonal changes, potentially worsening safety and/or economic conditions etc.—then there is a further indication of data robustness and absence of data falsification.

As seen in Tables 7 and 8 below, the data on the reliability questions pertaining to consumption, production, and debt are indeed consistent with each other and with the overall conditions on the ground indicating a trend that reflects a story of more difficult economic times due to harsh winter weather conditions and increasing insecurity on the ground. For example, people had sold less produce in the winter months—a decline of 7% since the baseline survey—, they had consumed more livestock, with a decline in goats, sheep and poultry—and were 18% more likely to have borrowed money during the winter months when the re-interview was conducted than at the time of the baseline survey.



Overall the trend in the variation of the data over time is consistent with the current conditions on the ground. The baseline survey data can therefore be considered as a reliable measure, adequately capturing the dynamic aspect of the characteristics of the communities under study.

**Table 55: Number of Livestock Owned**

Type of Livestock	Baseline Survey						Re-Interview Survey					
	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Zero Ans.	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Zero Ans.
Cattle	432	1.86	2.14	0	25	0.26	471	1.43	1.87	0	14	0.38
Horses	432	0.14	0.55	0	6	0.90	471	0.13	0.41	0	3	0.90
Donkeys	430	1.06	0.96	0	6	0.30	471	0.93	1.29	0	10	0.41
Goats	430	6.23	9.16	0	90	0.39	470	3.33	6.84	0	60	0.57
Sheep	431	6.56	11.89	0	100	0.42	422	4.05	13.02	0	220	0.59
Poultry	434	6.52	7.16	0	70	0.24	421	3.92	6.11	0	90	0.30
Camels	430	0.01	0.17	0	3	1.00	423	0.00	0.00	0	0	1.00

**Table 56: Data on Validating Binary Responses**

Baseline Survey						Re-Interview Survey			
Within the past 12 months, have you or anyone in your household borrowed money from friends, family, employers, banks, NGOs, traders or any other source?			Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent	SCA	
No			242	51.8%		150	32.0%		?
Yes			225	48.2%		318	68.0%		
In the last 12 months, did you sell any produce?			Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent	SCA	
No			386	86.2%		415	93.0%		?
Yes			62	13.8%		31	7.0%		

## Conclusion

The main intent of the re-interview survey was to ensure that the documented baseline respondents had indeed been surveyed and that the questionnaire was filled out accurately with no shirking or data fabrication on the part of the enumerator teams. The ultimate goal was to reasonably establish that the quality of the baseline survey is sufficiently high to make it a reliable source of information regarding the communities under study.

The different validation checks indeed establish that the individual respondents had been interviewed and that there was no evidence to suggest that enumerators had fabricated data. For the six questions in the re-interview survey that exhibit enough variation across respondents and for which the underlying characteristics were least likely to change between the two surveys, the share of answers that are consistent in the baseline and re-interview survey is comfortably high, exceeding 0.64, with the question regarding the age of the respondent—the only question that implies numerical answers and is not as highly disputed—exhibiting a correlation of over 0.65. Moreover, a validation check on the level of enumerator teams also produced largely undisputed results, with a high share of coinciding answers, both raw and demeaned, across districts. Last but not least, the reliability test also suggests a realistic picture, with the data being largely consistent with seasonal changes and realities on the ground. We can therefore consider the general quality of the baseline survey more than sufficiently high, constituting a reliable source of information regarding the characteristics of the communities before the start of the NSP program in the corresponding districts.



## VII. Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this paper was to provide an overview of the goals, hypotheses, methodology, and data collection processes for a major on-going randomized evaluation of the National Solidarity Programme (NSP) in Afghanistan. The study covers 500 sample villages located in 10 sample districts located in six provinces in Afghanistan and involves seven NGOs participating in the study. The central objective of the study is to provide a precise, rigorous, and unbiased estimate of the impact of the NSP on the economic and social welfare of Afghan villagers and the institutions and governance structures of rural Afghanistan. A secondary objective of the study is to estimate the impact of variance in two sub-treatment interventions, one pertaining to the method of CDC election and the other to the procedure used to select village projects for NSP funding. To paraphrase the concluding remarks of (Gakidou, et al., 2007), “We do not know how [NSP], or its many components, will be evaluated in the end, but we are certain that thousands of national and regional governments around the world, as well as their citizens, would greatly benefit by following the lead of the [Afghan] government and enabling social scientists to conduct serious, arms-length, dispassionate, scientific evaluations of governmental programs.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> (Gakidou, et al., 2007), p. 27



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## Appendix I – Outcomes of Interest and Hypotheses<sup>113</sup>

The evaluation seeks to estimate the impact of the NSP program through comparison of changes in outcomes of interest between a treatment group of villages, in which CDC elections are held and NSP-funded projects are implemented, and a control group of villages, which are governed by customary structures and which do not receive NSP-funded projects.<sup>114</sup>

The core outcomes of interest for the study fall into two groups: (1) Social and Economic Outcomes and (2) Governance and Institutions.<sup>115</sup> Table 57 below summarizes the core outcome indicators:

**Table 57: Summary of Core Outcome Indicators**

Social & Economic Outcomes	Governance & Institutions
Consumption	Governance Structures & Activities of Elites
Production	Participation of Women in Governance
Assets	Dispute Incidence
Capital Markets	Interpersonal Trust
Access to Infrastructure	Political Participation
Access to Services	Attitude towards Governance Structures

The following two sections, one concerning Economic and Social Outcomes and another concerning Governance and Institutions, discusses the central questions of interest which will be used to assess the average impact of NSP, with each hypothesis summarized in mathematical form.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>113</sup> This section summarizes a more detailed discussion presented in Section III of the Hypotheses & Methodology Paper available at: <http://web.mit.edu/cfotini/www/NSP-IE>. Hypotheses pertaining to the interaction of NSP impacts and pre-existing conditions and those pertaining to the sub-treatment interventions (STIs) are excluded here, but are presented in detail in the Methodology & Hypotheses Paper.

<sup>114</sup> As all of the villages in the treatment group receive both a CDC election and a project grant, and the villages in the control group receive neither, the study will generally not be able to isolate the average impact of CDC elections and the average impact of the project grant. In this sense, institutional change is defined as the effect of both the CDC election and the disbursement of project grants.

<sup>115</sup> In addition, the study seeks to estimate the average impact of introduced variation in the method of CDC elections and in the procedure by which projects are selected for NSP financing. The impact of this variation will be assessed both in terms of the core outcome indicators and program-specific variables, such as the composition of the CDC, the type of project selected, the legitimacy of the selected project, and contributions by villagers to the project. For purposes of conciseness, the program-specific variables used to evaluate the impact of variation in the sub-treatment interventions (STIs) are not discussed in this paper. Readers interested in learning more about the STIs are instead referred to the Methodology & Hypotheses paper.

<sup>116</sup> On dependent and independent variables, superscripts denote time periods corresponding to phases of data collection:  $t$  denotes the period prior to the initiation of NSP activities (i.e., baseline survey);  $t + 1$  denotes the period during which CDC elections are held;  $t + 2$  denotes the period during which projects are selected;  $t + 3$  denotes the period during which projects are undertaken and completed;  $t + 4$  denotes the period following the completion of projects during which the first follow-up survey is administered; and  $t + 5$  denotes the period during which the second follow-up survey is administered. On dependent and independent variables, subscripts denote the unit of analysis:  $i$  denotes an individual villager;  $x$  denotes a member of the CDC or village leadership; and  $y$  denotes a village. On coefficients, superscripts denote the reference category to which the hypothesis falls into and the subscript denotes the reference number of the hypothesis within the reference category.



Appendix III – Sources of Information for Variables in Appendix I lists questions administered during the baseline survey which, in conjunction with data collected during the follow-up surveys, will be used to construct the measures used to evaluate these hypotheses.

### ***Economic and Social Welfare***

The following section discusses specific questions of interest pertaining to the impact of the program on outcomes relating to social and economic welfare:

1. **Access to Infrastructure and/or Services:** It is expected that NSP will generally improve access to infrastructure and services. The hypothesis is summarized by the following equation, where the dependent variable measures changes in the level of service access corresponding to the type of project selected and *NSP* is a dummy variable which assumes a value of 1 if the individual *i* resides in a village which has been assigned to the treatment group and which assumes a value of 0 if the individual *i* resides in a village which has been assigned to the control group:

$$Access_i^{t+5} - Access_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_1^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_1^E > 0 \quad H_1^E$$

2. **Average Level of Consumption and Assets:** NSP infuses significant economic resources into participating villages and it is hypothesized that this will result in an increase in consumption, which in turn will be reflected in increased ownership of household assets:

$$Cons_i^{t+5} - Cons_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{2a}^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{2a}^E > 0 \quad H_{2a}^E$$

$$Assets_i^{t+5} - Assets_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{2b}^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{2b}^E > 0 \quad H_{2b}^E$$

3. **Inequality of Consumption and Assets:** It is hypothesized that NSP will reduce the level of intra-village inequality of consumption and assets:

$$Ineq. Cons_i^{t+5} - Ineq. Cons_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{3a}^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{3a}^E < 0 \quad H_{3a}^E$$

$$Ineq. Assets_i^{t+5} - Ineq. Assets_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{3b}^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{3b}^E < 0 \quad H_{3b}^E$$

4. **Average Level of Production:** It is hypothesized that NSP will increase the level of income earned by individuals residing in villages participating in the program:

$$Prod_i^{t+5} - Prod_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_4^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_4^E > 0 \quad H_4^E$$

5. **Diversification of Production:** It is hypothesized that NSP will increase the diversity of income sources and of the crops cultivated, but only in the medium-term as projects financed by NSP increase the availability of production inputs (e.g. irrigation, water, vehicular access) and thereby facilitate diversification of economic activity:

$$Div. Prod_i^{t+5} - Div. Prod_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_5^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_5^E > 0 \quad H_5^E$$

6. **Average Level of Borrowing:** It is hypothesized that NSP will impact the level of borrowing, although the direction of the impact will depend on the specific type of borrowing. NSP is expected to increase the availability of profitable income activities, leading to an increase in the level of borrowing for investment. The impact of NSP on borrowing for consumption or repayment of existing debt depends on whether

the effect of liquidity or consumption-smoothing dominates. We expect liquidity considerations to dominate, so that people would incur lower debt towards consumption or repayment of the existing debt in NSP communities:

$$Bo.Inv_i^{t+5} - Bo.Inv_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{6a}^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{6a}^E > 0 \quad H_{6a}^E$$

$$Bo.Cons_i^{t+5} - Bo.Cons_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{6b}^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{6b}^E > 0 \quad H_{6b}^E$$

$$Bo.Rep_i^{t+5} - Bo.Rep_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{6c}^E NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{6c}^E > 0 \quad H_{6c}^E$$

### ***Institutions and Governance***

The following section discusses specific questions of interest pertaining to the impact of the program on outcomes relating to institutions and governance:

1. **Governance Structures & Activities of Elites:** This study seeks to assess the extent to which the *de jure* institutional reform introduced by the creation of the CDC impacts *de facto* institutional outcomes, as measured by perceptions of the identity of village leaders, activities of village leaders, and levels of satisfaction with village leaders. It is hypothesized that changes in governance structures and activities of elites will be observed as a result of NSP. This will be assessed by the identity of those who hold various positions in the village leadership, as perceived by survey respondents. The hypothesis is summarized by the following equation, where the dependent variable captures continuity in the leadership of the village:

$$Leaders_i^{t+5} - Leaders_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{1a}^G NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{1a}^G < 0 \quad H_{1a}^G$$

We expect that such *de jure* institutional reforms will increase the accountability of village leaders and lower the incidence of elite behavior that villagers find disagreeable. The hypothesis is summarized by the following equation, where the dependent variable measures changes in villagers' discontent with existing structures of governance:

$$Discon_i^{t+5} - Discon_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{1b}^G NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{1b}^G < 0 \quad H_{1b}^G$$

2. **Participation of Women in Governance:** In villages participating in NSP, the gender-balanced CDC is introduced to overlap with customary governance structures, which in many of the survey districts are heavily male-dominated. It is hypothesized that a greater role of women in village governance will be observed as a result of the introduction of the NSP program:

$$Wo.Gov_i^{t+5} - Wo.Gov_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_2^G NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_2^G < 0 \quad H_2^G$$

3. **Interpersonal Trust:** Findings from evaluations of CDD in other post-conflict settings indicate that programs similar to the NSP have a significant and positive impact on levels of interpersonal trust:<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> (Labonne & Chase, Who's at the Wheel when Communities Drive Development? The Case of the KALAHI-CIDSS in the Philippines, 2007) find the presence of a project notably improves local governance and social capital, especially for households who are involved in project activities.

$$Trust_i^{t+5} - Trust_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_3^G NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_2^G > 0 \quad H_3^G$$

- 4. Political Participation:** The NSP program creates direct channels for participation of villagers in local governance and increases the rewards of such participation. It is thus hypothesized that individuals residing in villages which receive the NSP program will participate more substantively in local political institutions, such as meetings of the village *shura* or *jirga*:

$$Partic_i^{t+5} - Partic_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_4^G NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_4^G > 0 \quad H_4^G$$

- 5. Attitude towards Governance Structures:** It is expected that individuals residing in villages participating in the NSP program will have significantly more positive views towards central government authority and will have more favorable views towards taxation by the central government:

$$Att.CenGov_i^{t+5} - Att.CenGov_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{5a}^G NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{5a}^G > 0 \quad H_{5a}^G$$

$$Att.Tax_i^{t+5} - Att.Tax_i^t = \alpha_i + \beta_{5b}^G NSP_i^{t+1} + \varepsilon_i \quad \text{where } \beta_{5b}^G > 0 \quad H_{5b}^G$$

## Appendix II – Treatment Assignment<sup>118</sup>

The study seeks to evaluate the hypotheses described in Appendix I by comparing changes in outcomes over time between 250 villages randomly assigned to the treatment group, which are to receive NSP, and 250 villages randomly assigned to the control group, which are not to receive NSP until after the conclusion of the study.<sup>119</sup>

In order to ensure the estimated impacts of NSP are not contaminated by selection biases, an treatment assignment mechanism was designed to assign the 500 sample villages to the treatment and control groups in such a manner that villages had an equal probability – exactly 50 percent – of being assigned to participate in NSP.<sup>120</sup> In addition, to improve statistical balance between villages in the control and treatment and to reduce the probability of the integrity of the research design being contaminated by attrition in the sample, a special randomization procedure was adopted whereby 25 matched-pairs of sample villages in each district were formed and then one village in each pair randomly selected to receive the program.

The matched-pair randomization design has a number of advantages over classical randomization.<sup>121</sup> It improves balance on covariates, which in turn increases the efficiency of estimation, the power of hypothesis tests, and reduces the required sample size for fixed precision or power.<sup>122</sup> Crucially, the matched-pair randomization design also can preclude selection bias in the event of attrition if the attrition is related to one or more variables included in the matching exercise. In this case, the matched-pair containing the offending unit can be dropped from the analysis and the “set of all remaining pairs in the study would still be as balanced . . . as the original full data set.”<sup>123</sup> Finally, matched-pair randomization allows correct estimation of the program effect for a given sub-sample of villages, which can provide invaluable information about how program impacts are affected by underlying conditions.

An additional concern which impacted on the design of the treatment assignment mechanism was the possibility of spillovers between units which may cause violations of the Stable Unit Treatment Value Assumption (SUTVA).<sup>124</sup> SUTVA stipulates that the potential outcomes for each individual unit must be independent of the treatment group status of other individual units. To mitigate the potential for spillovers between treated and control units, a stipulation was

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<sup>118</sup> This section summarizes a more detailed discussion presented in Section IV.2 of the Hypotheses & Methodology Paper available at: <http://web.mit.edu/cfotini/www/NSP-IE>

<sup>119</sup> Our evaluation falls under the rubric of a “place-randomized” trial (Murray, 1998; Donner & Klar, 2000; Boruch, et al., 2004) (Murray 1998; Donner and Klar 2000; Boruch et al.2004)

<sup>120</sup> As noted by (Gakidou, et al., 2007), “This design makes it possible to base inferences on a simple difference in means between the two groups, since the observed and unobserved characteristics of the control and treated clusters are the same, at least on average. Randomization, then, makes it possible to avoid resorting to the usual model-dependent regression adjustments that are required in observational studies.”

<sup>121</sup> This technique has been formerly used and referenced in (Donner & Klar, 2000; Greevy, Lu, Silber, & Rosenbaum, 2004; Gakidou, et al., 2007)

<sup>122</sup> (Greevy, Lu, Silber, & Rosenbaum, 2004), p. 264, cited in (Gakidou, et al., 2007), p. 15

<sup>123</sup> (Gakidou, et al., 2007), p. 15. However, (Gakidou, et al., 2007) note that “Selection bias might still occur under this design if, for political or other reasons, [sample units] were lost after the start of the study for reasons both unrelated to our matched variables and related to the treatment assignment, or by selecting on the casual effect.” (p. 15)

<sup>124</sup> SUTVA stipulates that the potential outcomes for each unit must be independent of the assignment status of other individual units. For further discussion, see: (Angrist, Imbens, & Rubin, 1996)

introduced that villages located within a kilometer of one another must be assigned to the same treatment status.<sup>125</sup>

To form matched-pairs, an optimal greedy matching algorithm, based on Mahalanobis distance between the observations, was employed.<sup>126</sup> The *optimal greedy* matching procedure first calculates the Mahalanobis distance between every feasible pair of communities in the district and then selects the pair of villages with the least Mahalanobis distance as a matched-pair, with the constraint that the pairs should not belong to the same cluster.<sup>127</sup> This selected pair is then removed from the pool of feasible pairs. These steps are then repeated until all the communities are matched in pairs. The matching algorithm employed village-level data obtained from the Central Statistics Office (CSO).<sup>128</sup>

The complete treatment assignment mechanism proceeded along five stages, which are described in detail below:<sup>129</sup>

1. **Clusters:** To minimize potential for spillovers between treated and untreated units, villages located within one kilometre of each other were grouped in clusters. Of the 500 sample villages, 107 were assigned to 41 clusters.
2. **Matched-Pairs:** In each district, the 50 sample villages were paired into 25 groups of two using the *optimal greedy* matching algorithm which paired villages to ensure similarity based on various background characteristics provided that the villages were not in the same cluster.<sup>130</sup> The following data were used for the matching exercise:<sup>131</sup> (1) number of

<sup>125</sup> Unfortunately, however, the efficacy of this measure was limited by inaccuracies in the GPS coordinates used to determine distances between sample villages, by a coding error which affected three districts, and the infeasibility of completing implementing the procedure in two other districts where villages were closely clustered together.

<sup>126</sup> Mahalanobis distance is defined as  $d = \sqrt{(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2)' V^{-1} (\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2)}$ , where  $\bar{x}_1$  is a vector of characteristics of community  $i$ , and  $V$  is the covariance matrix of corresponding characteristics. Intuitively, we first calculate the difference in each of the underlying characteristics separately and then combine these differences, giving more weight to those characteristics that have the lowest variance and covariance with other characteristics. Taking variance into account makes this measure independent of the units of measurement, whereas taking into account covariance decreases individual weights for the characteristics that usually go hand in hand. Because of the significant heterogeneity among districts, a covariance matrix was computed for each district separately, using the data for all communities in the district for which the corresponding data was available, not only those that were included in the evaluation study.

<sup>127</sup> This procedure differs from *optimal* matching, which selects pairs to minimize the total Mahalanobis distance between each of the pairs. The drawback with *optimal* matching is that any reduction in the sample results in a loss of optimality. On the other hand, matched pairs formed with a *greedy optimal* algorithm are optimal, given the constraints, and retain their optimality even if matched-pairs are lost. As it is anticipated, that some of the matched-pairs will be lost during the course of the study, the decision was made to employ an *optimal greedy* matching procedure.

<sup>128</sup> The code for the matching algorithm is presented in Appendix V of the Hypotheses & Methodology Paper.

<sup>129</sup> The discussion below omits discussion of the assignment of STI status, which is provided in Section IV.2 of the Hypotheses & Methodology Paper.

<sup>130</sup> The *optimal greedy* matching procedure works by calculating the Mahalanobis distance between every feasible pair of communities in the district. The pair of villages with the least Mahalanobis distance is selected as a matched-pair, with the constraint that the pairs do not belong to the same cluster. This selected pair is then removed from the pool of feasible pairs. the pair and repeat the preceding steps until all the communities are matched in pairs.

<sup>131</sup> Square brackets indicate source of data where CSO indicates the Household Listing Exercise conducted by CSO in 2003 – 05 and GIS indicates that the data was generated by the authors based on available geographic information.

households [CSO], (2) main language [CSO], (3) distance to nearest river [GIS], (4) distance to district center [CSO], (5) topography type [CSO], (6) type of nearest road [CSO], and (7) existence of primary school in the community [CSO].

3. **Assignment of Treatment:** In each matched-pair, a random number generator was employed to decide which of the two villages would be assigned to participate in NSP and which would be assigned to the control group. In order to minimize the probability of spillovers biasing estimated impacts of NSP, clusters of villages were either all assigned to the treatment group or all assigned to the control group.<sup>132</sup> In total, 250 villages were assigned to the treatment and control groups respectively.
4. **Violations of Clustering Restrictions:** In a few districts, the number of clustered communities and pattern of matching precluded the co-assignment of clustered villages to the same treatment and sub-treatment status.<sup>133</sup> For those districts for which assignment of treatment status without violation of the clustering restriction was not possible, the number of violations was minimized through a simulation approach. Specifically, the procedures described in the preceding steps were repeated ten times for each such district and the assignment that minimized the variation of the treatment status within clustered communities within the district was selected.

According to the above steps, the 500 sample villages were assigned to either the treatment or control group.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> This was achieved by executing an algorithm which, after a village has been assigned a treatment status, assigned all of the other the villages in the same cluster the same treatment status. The other villages in the respective matched-pairs were then assigned the complimentary treatment status.

<sup>133</sup> To understand why this might be the case, consider a situation in which there are three clusters with two villages in each cluster. Suppose a village from cluster 1 being matched with a village from cluster 2, the other village from cluster 2 is matched to a village from cluster 3 and the other village from cluster 3 is matched to the remaining village from cluster 1. If both villages in cluster 1 are assigned to the treatment group, then their matches in the clusters 2 and 3 will be assigned to the control group. Whichever way we assign treatment status to the remaining pair of villages (one in cluster 2 and one in cluster 3), one of them will have to be assigned to the treatment group despite the fact that the other village in that cluster is already assigned to the control group.

<sup>134</sup> For 17 village clusters, (covering 44 villages) the condition of the same treatment status within cluster was violated. In three districts (Khost Wa Firing, Hisarak, and Sherzad) violation was caused by a large number of clustered villages (the number of clusters were 10, 7, and 8, respectively). In the other three districts (Balkh, Adraskan and Chist-e Sharif) violation was caused by the coding mistake described above.





## Appendix III – Sources of Information for Variables in Appendix I

The following tables provide a listing of some of the questions administered during the baseline survey and subsequent data collection exercises which are to be employed in the testing of hypotheses outlined in Appendix I above. A rough English translation (from Dari) of each relevant question is provided, followed by the instrument in which the question was administered (MHH: Male Household Questionnaire; MFG: Male Focus Group Questionnaire; FFG: Female Focus Group Questionnaire; and FI: Female Individual Questionnaire) and the question number.

### *Economic and Social Welfare*

Access to Services	
<i>Water</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What is the main source of drinking water? (MHH-2.01, MFG-3.16, FFG-2.21)</li> <li>- How long does it take (on foot) to get to the water source, take water and come back? (MHH-2.05, FFG-2.24)</li> <li>- How often do you need to get water from the source? (MHH-2.06, FFG-2.25)</li> </ul>
<i>Electricity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Did your family have access to electricity last year? (MHH-2.07, MFG-3.19-20)</li> <li>- What is your primary source of electricity? For example diesel generator, water generator, solar system, battery or something else? (MHH-2.08, MFG-3.21)</li> <li>- Does this generator belong to your household, is it shared with other households, or does it belong to the entire village? (MHH-2.09, MFG-3.22)</li> <li>- How many days on average did your house have electricity during the last 30 days? (MHH-2.10)</li> <li>- How many hours per day did your house have electricity on average during the last 30 days? (MHH-2.11)</li> <li>- Do you pay for electricity? (MHH-2.12, MFG-3.23)</li> <li>- How much money did you pay for electricity in the last 30 days? (MHH-2.13)</li> <li>- As compared to this time last year have this village's household access to electricity increased, decreased or remained the same? (MHH-2.14)</li> </ul>
<i>Roads</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Can vehicles travel across the nearest road to your village throughout the year including winter? (MFG-3.27)</li> <li>- Which roads were blocked during the past 12 months (not suitable for traveling)? (MFG-3.28)</li> </ul>
<i>Education</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In comparison with the last year has the number of children going to school in your village increased, decreased or stayed the same? (MHH-2.23, MFG-3.08, 3.10, FFG-2.10-12)</li> <li>- Are there vocational training or literacy courses in your village? (MHH-4.22, MFG-5.13, FFG-3.06)</li> <li>- What are the main subjects of these courses? (MHH-4.23, MFG-5.14, FFG-3.07)</li> <li>- Are these courses just for men or women, or for both men and women? (MHH-4.24, MFG-5.15, FFG-3.08)</li> <li>- What is the main reason for women not being able to participate in these courses? (MHH-4.25, MFG-5.16, FFG-3.09)</li> </ul>

## Consumption

- What was your household's total expenditure for each of the items below in the last 30 days?

*Monthly  
Expenditure*

Food (MHH-6.13)  
 Transportation Fares (MHH-6.14)  
 Shoes and Clothes (MHH-6.15)  
 Telephone Cost (MHH-6.16)  
 Fuel for Car or Motorbike (MHH-6.17)

- What was the total expenditure of your household on the following items in the last 12 months?

*Annual  
Expenditure*

Taxes (MHH-6.18)  
 Construction or Repair of the House (MHH-6.19)  
 Medicine (MHH-6.20)  
 Doctor and Hospital Fees (MHH-6.21)  
 Education Fees (MHH-6.22)  
 Repair and Maintenance of the Car (MHH-6.23)  
 Penalty and Loan Payments (MHH-6.24)  
 Weddings (MHH-6.25)  
 Funerals (MHH-6.26)  
 Hajj (MHH-6.27)  
 Traditional Annual Festivals (MHH-6.28)  
 Charity and Relief (MHH-6.29)

- How many times did you face problems when supplying food for your family last year? (MHH-6.42)  
 - Have a member of your family gone on the Hajj in the last five years? (MHH-6.43)  
 - If you compare your household condition with last year, has your household condition improved, remained the same or deteriorated? (MHH-8.14)

*General*

- Has your household faced one of the following problems and been affected by it in the last 12 months?

*Negative  
Shocks*

Reduction in agriculture harvest (MHH-6.30)  
 War and insecurity (MHH-6.31)  
 Illness of a member of the household (MHH-6.32)  
 Food price inflation (MHH-6.33)  
 Reduction in the sale price of agriculture products (MHH-6.34)  
 Shortage of drinking water (MHH-6.35)  
 Return of too many refugees (MHH-6.36)  
 Redundancy of a household member (MHH-6.37)  
 Salary reduction of a household member (MHH-6.38)  
 Theft or loss of land and house (MHH-6.39)  
 Theft or loss of livestock (MHH-6.40)  
 Theft or loss of house and other properties (MHH-6.41)

## Assets

- Dwelling*
- **Physical condition of dwelling** (MHH-0.18)
  - **Number of rooms in dwelling** (MHH-0.19)

- Material Possessions*
- **Does your household have the following items (in working condition)?**
    - Watch or Clock** (MHH-6.44)
    - Home-made Carpet** (MHH-6.45)
    - Rug, Strip Cotton Carpet, Thick Woolen Carpet, Floor Covering** (MHH-6.46)
    - Fridge** (MHH-6.47)
    - Radio** (MHH-6.48)
    - Mobile Phone** (MHH-6.49)
    - Television** (MHH-6.50)
    - Carpet Weaving Hoop** (MHH-6.51)
    - Generator** (MHH-6.52)
    - Wheelbarrow** (MHH-6.53)
    - Bicycle** (MHH-6.54)
    - Motorbike** (MHH-6.55)
    - Tractor** (MHH-6.56)
    - Plow** (MHH-6.57)
    - Car** (MHH-6.58)
    - Truck** (MHH-6.59)

- Livestock Ownership*
- **Does your household have livestock or chickens** (MHH-6.60)
  - **Which one of the following livestock do you have?**
    - Cow** (MHH-6.61)
    - Horse** (MHH-6.62)
    - Donkey** (MHH-6.63)
    - Goat** (MHH-6.64)
    - Sheep** (MHH-6.65)
    - Birds / Chicken** (MHH-6.66)
    - Camel** (MHH-6.67)

## Production

- Cash-for-Work*
- Were you or a member of your family involved in activities for money last year? (MHH-4.18, FFG-4.05)
  - Since last year, how many days were members of your family involved in money for work projects? (MHH-4.19)
  - How much was the daily wages for this work? (MHH-4.20)
  - What was the reason why no member of your household has been participating in the money for work activities since last year? (MHH-4.21)

- Major Income Generating Activities*
- What are the three most important income activity of your household? (MHH-6.01,.05,.09, MFG-7.01,.02,.03; , FFG-4.16)
  - How much of your household total income did this income activity make last year? (MHH-6.02,.06,.10)
  - In which season of the year did you make the income generated from this activity? (MHH-6.03,.07,.11)
  - How many afghanis did you make in a month on average from this activity? (MHH-6.04,.08,.12)

- Agricultural Production*
- Do you or a member of your family have access to a type of agriculture land or an orchard? (MHH-6.68)
  - How many jerebs of irrigated land, rain fed land or orchid did your family have access to? (MHH-6.69)
  - What are the three major agriculture products that you grew last summer? (MHH-6.70,.71,.72, MFG-7.04,.05,.06)
  - What are the three major agriculture products that you grew last winter? (MHH-6.73,.74,.75)
  - What are the main sources of your land irrigation in the summer? (MHH-6.76)
  - What are the main sources of land irrigation in the winter? (MHH-6.77)
  - Have you done these works in the last season of harvest?
    - Farmed the land (MHH-6.78)
    - Leased in the land (MHH-6.79)
    - Franchised in the land (MHH-6.80)
    - Farmed out the land (MHH-6.81)
    - Leased out the land (MHH-6.82)
    - Franchised out the land (MHH-6.83)
  - How many jerebs of your irrigated land, rain-fed land or the orchard that your household has access to were not cultivated during the last spring? (MHH-6.84)
  - What was the main reason for not growing this land? (MHH-6.85)

- Agricultural Markets*
- Did you sell the harvest you gained in the last season? (MHH-6.86)
  - Did you sell the vegetations you received in the last harvest? (MHH-6.87)
  - How much money did you make from selling the last season vegetations? (MHH-6.88)

## Borrowing

- Have you or any member of your family received a loan from your friends, family, boss, bank, NGO, businessman or other sources in the last 12 months that should have been reimbursed? (MHH-7.01)
- Why did you get this loan? (MHH-7.02)
- Why was it not possible to get a loan? (MHH-7.04)
- Was this loan in cash or goods? (MHH-7.05)
- Should the reimbursement of this loan be in cash or goods? (MHH-7.06)
- What was the value of your main loan? (MHH-7.07)
- How many months did you have for your main loan reimbursement? (MHH-7.08)

## Institutions and Governance

Village Leaders	
<i>Village Leaders</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What is the name of the person or persons most responsible for making decisions on behalf of the community? (MHH-3.01, MFG-4.04, FI-1.02)</li> <li>- Does this person [OR PEOPLE] hold any other positions or title? For example, are they the Malik or Arbab, the Mirab, the Mullah, the Mullawi, the Qumandan, or do they hold some title or responsibility? (MHH-3.02, MFG-4.05, FI-1.03)</li> </ul>
<i>Positions of Local Authority</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If two or more members of the village have a hoququi dispute, what is the title or responsibility of the person who usually helps resolve this dispute? (MHH-3.03, MFG-4.06, FI-1.04)</li> <li>- If a villager needs food or money due to a crop failure or other catastrophe, what is the title of the person in the village who would give them food or money to survive? (MHH-3.04, MFG-4.07, FI-1.05)</li> <li>- If a villager needs to borrow money for a reason that is not an emergency – for example, to pay for a wedding or other celebration - what is the title of the person in the village who would lend them money? (MHH-3.05, MFG-4.08, FI-1.06)</li> <li>- Who is most responsible for initiating development projects or cash-generating activities in the village? What is this person's title or responsibility? (MHH-3.06, MFG-4.09, FI-1.07)</li> <li>- If the village requires protection due to conflict or attacks by bandits, who is the person who would provide this protection? What is this person's title or responsibility? (MHH-3.07, MFG-4.10, FI-1.08)</li> <li>- Is there a person who is responsible for providing villagers with access to irrigation or drinking water? What is this person's title or responsibility? (MHH-3.08, MFG-4.11, FI-1.09)</li> <li>- Who is the person most responsible for making rules for the village? (MHH-3.09, MFG-4.12, FI-1.10)</li> </ul>
Female Participation in Governance	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Do you think women should be village leaders? (MHH-3.31, FI-1.32)</li> <li>- Do you think women should have their own separate shura? (MHH-3.32, FI-1.33)</li> <li>- Are women members of the <i>shura</i> or do they have a separate council? (MFG-4.16)</li> </ul>
Political Participation	
<i>Community Projects</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Have you or a member of your household cooperated with the project in terms of labor, money and required goods for the project? (MHH-4.07)</li> </ul>
<i>Knowledge and Information</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Who is the President of Afghanistan? (MHH-8.03)</li> <li>- What is the name of the Member of Parliament representing this area? (MHH-8.04)</li> <li>- What is your main source of information about national events? (MHH-8.08)</li> </ul>
<i>Voting</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Did you vote in the last parliamentary elections? (MHH-8.10)</li> <li>- Will you vote in the next parliamentary elections? (MHH-8.11)</li> <li>- Did you vote in the last presidential election? (MHH-8.12)</li> <li>- Would you participate in the next presidential elections? (MHH-8.13)</li> </ul>

## Discontent

### *Unjust Acts*

- I'd like you to now think about all the things that the village leaders have done in the past year, both good and bad. Have the village leaders made a decision or done something that you believe was unjust, unfair, not right, or otherwise didn't agree with? (MHH-3.24, FI-1.25)
- What was the thing or things they did which you did not agree with? (MHH-3.25, FI-1.25)
- What did the village leaders do that made you not so happy with them? (MHH-3.30, FI-1.31)

### *Satisfaction*

- How happy are you with the work the village leaders do for the community? Happy, neutral, or not happy? (MHH-3.29, FI-1.30)
- In your view, would the people mentioned here work for the benefit of all the people in the village, for the benefit of some, or only for their own benefit? (MHH-5.07-5.16)

District Government Authorities  
Provincial Government Authorities  
Central Government Authorities  
Members of Parliament  
President of Afghanistan  
Commanders  
Shura Members  
Village Elders

### *Support for Taxation*

- Do you think that the people in the village should pay tax to village elders, central government or another organization? (MHH-4.15, MFG-5.10)
- What percentage of their income should the people pay as tax? (MHH-4.16, MFG 5.11)
- If people in the village are obliged to pay tax, whom should they pay the tax to? (MHH-4.17, MFG 5.12)

## Economic Institutions

### *Agricultural Markets*

- Did you sell most of your products in the market? (MHH-6.89)
- Where did the person you sold most of your product to come from? (MHH-6.90)
- Who did you sell most of your products to? What was the status of the person? (MHH-6.91)
- Could you select the buyer to your products yourself? (MHH-6.92)
- Why couldn't you select the buyer to your products yourself? (MHH-6.93)
- Where is the location of the market where you sold most of your products? (MHH-6.94)

### *Borrowing*

- Where does the person live from whom you got the loan? (MHH-7.09)
- What is the job of the person from who you got most of the loan? (MHH-7.10)
- How much of your main loan did you pay back? (MHH-7.11)
- Did you pay interest on your loan? (MHH-7.12, MFG-7.13)
- What is the percentage of payable interest? (MHH-7.13, MFG-7.14)
- How much should your household pay back for the main loan? (MHH-7.14)
- If your household happens to get a loan who will be the first person they would go to for a loan? (MHH-7.15)
- Why doesn't your household have anyone to get a loan from? (MHH-7.16)

## Trust and Community

### *Trust*

- Imagine someone sends you money from another village. You and your family cannot get this money for instance you are ill and your family is not there, would you ask someone in your village who is not a member of your household to go and receive this money on your behalf? (MHH-5.05, MFG-6.07, FFG-4.12)
- Has something like this ever happened? (MHH-5.06, MFG-6.08, FFG-4.13)

### *Community*

- Do people of this village always help other people of the village, help and cooperated with them when necessary? (MHH-5.17, MFG-6.09, FFG-4.14)
- Do you think help and cooperation among smaller groups of this village who live in smaller part of the village is more than that of the collective one in the entire village? (MHH-5.18, MFG-6.10, FFG-4.15)

## Disputes

### *Incidence*

- Did anyone in your village have a legal case last year? (MHH-5.01, MFG-6.01)
- Has this case been settled? (MHH-5.02, MFG-6.02)

### *Resolution Structures*

- Has anyone within or outside the village helped in settling this case? (MHH-5.03, MFG-6.03)
- Who has helped in settling this case? (MHH-5.04, MFG 6.04)



## Appendix IV – Baseline Survey Observations and Type of Treatment Assignment

	Male Head of Household			Male Focus Group			Female Individual			Female Focus Group		
	Control	Treatment	Total	Control	Treatment	Total	Control	Treatment	Total	Control	Treatment	Total
<b>Adraskan</b>	249	250	<b>499</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	185	182	<b>367</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Balkh</b>	250	250	<b>500</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	150	151	<b>301</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Chisht-e Sharif</b>	250	250	<b>500</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	198	192	<b>390</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Daulina</b>	250	250	<b>500</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	166	171	<b>337</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Farsi</b>	250	249	<b>499</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	147	154	<b>301</b>	24	25	<b>49</b>
<b>Gulran</b>	250	250	<b>500</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	176	177	<b>353</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Hisarak</b>	247	245	<b>492</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	173	180	<b>353</b>	24	23	<b>47</b>
<b>Khost Wa Firing</b>	250	250	<b>500</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	167	168	<b>335</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Sang Takht</b>	250	245	<b>495</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	168	169	<b>337</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Sherzad</b>	246	247	<b>493</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>	162	166	<b>328</b>	25	25	<b>50</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>2492</b>	<b>2486</b>	<b>4978</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>1692</b>	<b>1710</b>	<b>3402</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>496</b>

## Appendix V – Definition of Occupational Categories

Governance and Institutions - Local Governance Structures: *Figure 248 (p. 183) – Figure 268 (p. 195)*

Category	Dari Phrase	English Translation	Card No.
Village Head	<i>Arbab</i>	Village Headman	66
	<i>Malik</i>	Village Headman	67
	<i>Qariyadar</i>	Village Headman	70
	<i>Khanadar</i>	Village Headman	71
Tribal Elder	<i>Rish Safed</i>	Whitebeard	63
	<i>Bozorg-e Qawm</i>	Tribal Elder	65
Landowner	<i>Dehqan (Kesht Wa Kar Dar Zamen Khod)</i>	Farmer (Cultivates Own Land)	5
	<i>Khan</i>	Khan (Nobleman and Landlord)	72
	<i>Zamindar</i>	Zamindar (Landlord)	73
	<i>Nawab</i>	Nawab (Nobleman)	74
	<i>Beg</i>	Beg (Uzbek Nobleman and Landlord)	77
Clergy	<i>Mullah</i>	Priest	54
	<i>Ulem-e Den</i>	Religious Scholar	55
	<i>Mullah Masjid</i>	Priest of the Mosque	56
	<i>Rohanion</i>	Clergy	57
	<i>Talib</i>	Religious Student	58
	<i>Sufi</i>	Sufi	59
	<i>Moki</i>	Mooki	60
	<i>Mokiani</i>	Mookiani	61
	<i>Sayed</i>	Descendant of the Prophet	62
Shura	<i>Rayes-e Shura</i>	Head of Council	64
	<i>Uzw-e Shura</i>	Member of Council	68
	<i>Shura-e Qariyar</i>	Village Council	89
	<i>Shura-e Woliswoli</i>	District Council	90
	<i>Hambastgi Milli / Milli Pawastoon</i>	National Solidarity Programme (NSP)	95
	<i>Shura-e Hambastagi</i>	Solidarity Shura (NSP Shura)	96
	<i>Jirga</i>	Council (Pashto)	97
Professional	<i>Motakhases Zer'aat / Maldary</i>	Specialist in Agriculture or Livestock	8
	<i>Vetorner (Betar)</i>	Veterinarian (University Trained)	9
	<i>Karmand Amozesh Deda Vetorner</i>	Veterinarian (Non-University Trained)	10
	<i>Qalenbaf</i>	Carpet Weaver	12
	<i>Najaar</i>	Carpenter	13
	<i>Kar Dar Sanyee Dasty</i>	Handicraft Worker	14
	<i>Salman</i>	Barber	15
	<i>Ahangar</i>	Steelworker / Blacksmith	16
	<i>Rangmal</i>	Painter	17

	<i>Asyab Ban</i>	Miller	18
	<i>Dokandar</i>	Shopkeeper	19
	<i>Drifir</i>	Driver	20
	<i>Mochi</i>	Cobbler	21
	<i>Wolding Kar</i>	Welder	23
	<i>Degar Kargaran Maslaki Ya Maher</i>	Other Professional or Skilled Worker	25
	<i>Gelkar</i>	Mason	26
	<i>Karkon Sehi Mahali</i>	Community Health Worker	27
	<i>Doctar</i>	Doctor	28
	<i>Ners</i>	Nurse	29
	<i>Daye Mahali</i>	Unofficial Midwife	30
	<i>Qabela</i>	Official Midwife	31
	<i>Malik Ya Karmand Dar Dawa Khana</i>	Pharmacy Owner or Worker	32
	<i>Qarz Dehenda Pol (Hawala)</i>	Moneylender	34
	<i>Banker (Karmand Bank)</i>	Bank Employee	35
	<i>Dokandar</i>	Shopkeeper	37
	<i>Tajir / Tajir Kochak</i>	Trader / Small Businessman	38
	<i>Molem</i>	Teacher	40
	<i>Sar Molem</i>	Teacher Manager	41
	<i>Moder</i>	Principal	42
	<i>Karmand Beland Paya Maaref</i>	School Manager	44
	<i>Qazi</i>	Judge	51
	<i>Karmand NGO</i>	NGO Employee	53
<b>Government</b>	<i>Wazir</i>	Minister of Government	45
	<i>Wali</i>	Provincial Governor	46
	<i>Uloswol</i>	District Administrator	47
	<i>Nomayenda Hokomat Dar Woliswali</i>	Cent. Gov't Representative in District	48
	<i>Nomayenda Hokomat Dar Wolayat</i>	Cent. Gov't Representative in District	49
	<i>Uzw-e Parleman</i>	Member of Parliament	50
	<i>Mamor / Karmand Dawlat</i>	Civil Servant	52
	<i>Uzw-e Parleman</i>	Member of Parliament	69
	<i>Sarbaz Urdowi Milli</i>	Soldier in National Army	78
	<i>Sarbaz Polis</i>	Police Officer	79
	<i>Ufiser Polis</i>	Police Commander	80
	<i>Ufiser Dar Urdowe</i>	Army Commander	81
	<i>Ufiser Beland Paya Dawlat</i>	Senior Government Official	82
	<i>Shura-e Woleyati</i>	Provincial Shura	91
	<i>Dawlat</i>	Government / State	92
<b>Other</b>	<i>Bekar / Hech Aaide Nadard</i>	Unemployed / Without Income	0
	<i>Motaqaed / Taqaodi</i>	Retired	1
	<i>Fard Aadi Qariya</i>	Villager	2
	<i>Kargar Ghayr Maher</i>	Unskilled Laborer	3
	<i>Mozdor Kary Dar Bakhsh Ghayr Zeraty</i>	Non-Agricultural Unskilled Laborer	4

<i>Dehqani (Kesht Wa Kar Dar Zemne Degran)</i>	Farmer (Cultivates Others' Land)	6
<i>Mozdor Kary Dar Bakhsh Zeraaty</i>	Agricultural Laborer	7
<i>Chopan</i>	Shepherd	11
<i>Sport man</i>	Sportsman	22
<i>Nadaf</i>	Cotton Carder	24
<i>Qachaq Bar</i>	Smuggler	33
<i>Dast Froshan</i>	Peddler	36
<i>Motalem / Mohasel</i>	Student	39
<i>Peyada Maktab</i>	School Cleaner	43
<i>Sardar</i>	Sardar (Hindus / Smart Person)	75
<i>Meerab<sup>B</sup></i>	Water Manager	76
<i>ISAF / NATO</i>	ISAF / NATO	83
<i>Mujahed<sup>A</sup></i>	Holy Warrior <sup>A</sup>	84
<i>Jehadi<sup>A</sup></i>	Holy Warrior <sup>A</sup>	85
<i>Qumandan<sup>A</sup></i>	Commander <sup>A</sup>	86
<i>NGO Hay Milli</i>	National NGOs	87
<i>NGO Hay Bainalmilli</i>	International NGOs	88
<i>Mosessa Qarza Hay Kochak</i>	Microfinance Organization	93
<i>Urganhay Milal Motahed</i>	United Nations	94
<i>Gadayi</i>	Begging	98
<i>Sayir</i>	Other	99

<sup>B</sup> A separate category, “Meerab”, is created to encompass the title of *Meerab* for responses to the question of who manages water resources in the village (Figure 266 – 268 [p. 210 – 212])

<sup>A</sup> A separate category, “Paramilitary”, is created to encompass the titles of: *Qumandan*, *Mujahid*, *Jehadi* for responses to the question of who would protect the people in the village when protection is required against war or invasion by insurgents (Figure 263, Figure 264, Figure 265 [pp. 208 - 210])

## Appendix VI – Definition of Activity Categories

Governance and Institutions – Activities of Village Leadership: *Figure 292 (p. 217) – Figure 295 (p. 219)*

Category	Dari Phrase	English Translation	Card No.
<b>Nothing</b>	<i>Nemidaram</i>	Don't Know	C
	<i>Hech Chez [Omomi]</i>	Nothing	1
<b>Dispute Resolution</b>	<i>Hal Wa Fasl Dawa [Omomi]</i>	Resolve Disputes [General]	2
<b>Development Project</b>	<i>Bray Aab Aashamedani / Chah Ha [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Drinking Water / Wells [Village Projects]	8
	<i>Bray Aabiary [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Irrigation [Village Projects]	9
	<i>Bray Hefz Seha [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Health & Safety [Village Projects]	10
	<i>Barq [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Electricity [Village Projects]	11
	<i>Khadamat Sehi [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Healthcare [Village Projects]	12
	<i>Sarak Wa Pol [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Road & Bridges [Village Projects]	13
	<i>Tamer Hay Qarya [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Community Buildings [Village Projects]	15
	<i>Makateb / Masayel Talimi [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Education [Village Projects]	16
	<i>Omomi/ Ghayr Moshakhs [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	General [Village Projects]	17
<b>Religious / Morality</b>	<i>Sayer (Moshakhs Besazed) [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Religious Matters [General]	3
	<i>Masayel Mazhab [Omomi]</i>	Enforce Morality [General]	4
	<i>Hefz rawabet Manway [Omomi]</i>	Mosque [Village Projects]	14
<b>Other</b>	<i>Masajed [Proja Hay Qarya]</i>	Ensuring Protection & Hygiene [General]	5
	<i>Tamen Hefazat Wa Paki Qarya [Omomi]</i>	Protecting Village [General]	6
	<i>Hefazat Qarya Az Modakhela Beganagan [Omomi]</i>	Other [General]	7
	<i>Sayer(Moshakhs Besazed) [Omomi]</i>	Carpet Weaving [Income Gen. Activities]	19
	<i>Qalen Bafi [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	Handicraft s [Income Generating Activities]	20
	<i>Sanaye Dasty [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	Embroidery [Income Generating Activities]	21
	<i>Gol Dozy [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	Textiles [Income Generating Activities]	22
	<i>Nasaje [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	Agriculture [Income Generating Activities]	23
	<i>Zeraat [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	Animal Husbandry [Income Gen. Activities]	24
	<i>Maldary [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	Trade [Income Generating Activities]	25
	<i>Tojart [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	General / Unspecified [Inc. Gen. Activities]	26
	<i>Omomi / Ghayr Moshakhs [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]</i>	Other [Income Generating Activities]	27
	<i>Sayer (Moshakhs sazed) [Falyt Hay Ejad Konenda Aayedat]<sup>x</sup></i>	Carpet Weaving [Training Courses] <sup>x</sup>	28
	<i>Qalen Bafi [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>x</sup></i>	Embroidery [Training Courses] <sup>x</sup>	29
	<i>Sanaye Dasty [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>x</sup></i>	Handicrafts [Training Courses] <sup>x</sup>	30
	<i>Gol Dozy [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>x</sup></i>	Textiles [Training Courses] <sup>x</sup>	31

<sup>x</sup> A separate category, “Vocational Courses”, is created for Figure 295 (p. 225), which encompasses this and other activities marked with the same symbol.

	<i>Nasaje [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>X</sup></i>	<i>Agriculture [Training Courses]<sup>X</sup></i>	32
	<i>Zeraat [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>X</sup></i>	<i>Animal Husbandry [Training Courses]<sup>X</sup></i>	33
	<i>Maldary [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>X</sup></i>	<i>Trade [Training Courses]<sup>X</sup></i>	34
	<i>Tojart [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>X</sup></i>	<i>Literacy [Training Courses]<sup>X</sup></i>	35
	<i>Basawady / Khowandn Wa Neweshtan [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>X</sup></i>	<i>General / Unspecified [Training Courses]<sup>X</sup></i>	36
	<i>Omomi / Ghayr Moshakhs [Korshay Aamozeshi Bary]<sup>X</sup></i>	<i>Other [Training Courses]<sup>X</sup></i>	37

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