



# STUDY ON CROSS BORDER POPULATION MOVEMENTS BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

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**Contacts:**

**Eric Davin**

Partner

[edavin@altaiconsulting.com](mailto:edavin@altaiconsulting.com)

Street 4, Qala-e Fatullah

Kabul, Afghanistan

[www.altaiconsulting.com](http://www.altaiconsulting.com)

**Nassim Majidi**

Project Manager

[nmajidi@altaiconsulting.com](mailto:nmajidi@altaiconsulting.com)

*The views reflected in this study do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.*

## Contents

<b>Executive Summary .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>7</b>
1.1. Objectives of the Study .....	7
1.2. Structure of the report .....	7
1.3. Research Methodology .....	8
1.4. Limitations and constraints.....	12
<b>2. Background to the Afghan-Pakistan cross border movement.....</b>	<b>13</b>
2.1. Overview of the border region.....	13
2.2. Border management practices.....	144
2.3. The scope of cross border movement .....	15
2.4. General profile overview of travelers: border screening exercise .....	21
<b>3. Main findings on cross border migration flows .....</b>	<b>25</b>
3.1. Socio-demographic profile.....	25
3.2. Migration patterns and history.....	30
3.3. Factors of migration .....	32
3.4. Situation of Afghans in Pakistan.....	35
3.5. Seasonal variations in the composition of the population movement.....	37
3.6. Geographical variations in the composition of the population movement .....	39
<b>4. Major conclusions of the study .....</b>	<b>41</b>
4.1. Economic motivations: Labor migration .....	41
4.2. Social and cultural motivations: Transnational networks.....	444
4.3. Temporary and cyclical cross border flow .....	446
<b>5. Areas of opportunity .....</b>	<b>49</b>
5.1. Border management practices.....	50
5.2. Bilateral negotiations .....	51
5.3. Further research areas.....	52
<b>6. References .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>Annex 1: Case studies of Afghans traveling through Torkham .....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Annex 2: Quantitative Questionnaire .....</b>	<b>67</b>

## Executive Summary

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### Main findings of the report

Today, the majority of Afghans travelling to and from Pakistan are temporary migrants. A 2005 IOM study found that cross border movements for social and economic purposes far exceeded refugee movements. Regular border monitoring reports and enumeration exercises carried out by the UNHCR also point to the informal nature of the cross border migration.

The present study adds to the literature on cross border movements by showing that the conflict-refugee view is no longer appropriate in understanding the causes of movement. The findings of this report inform the need to fully develop and adapt new policy approaches to the evolving nature of transnational migration. Population movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan go beyond refugee or traditional tribal movements as the current population consists mainly of temporary and cyclical migrants who travel for a mixed variety of reasons, influenced by social, cultural and economic factors. This research contributes, through a large-scale survey and evidence-based data, to highlighting observations on the changing nature of population movements.

### *Economic motivations*

As presented in the main text of the report, economic motivations are the main decision making factors leading Afghans to travel to Pakistan. 64.6% of labor migrants cite the lack of work in Afghanistan as the factor leading them to Pakistan. However, and as detailed in the main findings of the report, the duration of their stay in Pakistan, and the cyclical nature of the movement indicate that (1) economic factors are not the only objectives sought and (2) that economic opportunities in Pakistan are limited and wage differentials not always advantageous.

- **An analysis of the Pakistani wage and expenditure levels of Afghans interviewed shows that there is no significant financial advantage to living and working in Pakistan.** In one month and on average, Afghan migrant workers interviewed earn USD 112 and save USD 16 of their wage. This explains why the migration to Pakistan, albeit of a labor and economic nature, is only temporary: the wages received are not favorable enough to justify a permanent resettlement in Pakistan as opposed to Afghanistan. This is line with IOM 2005 findings which showed that relative wage levels do not determine the reasons for departure but rather that the availability of work and income, social and cultural reasons are the main drivers of migration.
- **The objective of migration is for the heads of households and main wage earners to meet the needs and expenses of their household, rather than to accumulate wealth or savings over the medium or long term.** The purpose is to find an immediate source of income, ranging from one day to several months, with the view of providing a quick and short-term solution to the lack of revenue at home. The result is a highly mobile labor force, crossing the border recurrently for a limited timeframe, without plans for residency or stable employment in Pakistan. Afghans work primarily in unskilled or low-skilled professions (64.7%) in the construction sector and wholesale and retail trade sector.
- **Casual labor has therefore become a livelihood solution for Afghans who benefit from their networks and past experiences in Pakistan** to have access to more readily available economic opportunities. The low skill and low wage nature of their jobs in the Pakistan economy does not allow them to grow or amass a significant amount of wealth or savings that would alter their families' and communities' level of economic development.
- **The cost of migration is low, but so is its long-term economic impact.** This type of transnational living fits with a low risk, low cost strategy responding to immediate individual and family needs. Its development impact is limited as the levels of savings and remittances are low: only 5.9% of migrants interviewed declare remitting money back to Afghanistan and 19.3% declare having brought back money from their last trip to Pakistan. Saving money and

sending it back home is therefore not the priority of Afghans crossing the border into Pakistan. The temporary and cyclical travel movement therefore does not allow for the improvement of the economic and financial situation of entire families or communities.

### *Social and cultural motivations: Transnational networks*

Refugee movements have now largely given way to labor migration as well as continued social and cultural exchanges between the country of origin and the country of exile. This is facilitated by the presence of well-established transnational social networks on both sides of the border. Decades of war and conflict have resulted in a closely knit network of contacts that make it easier and more realistic to move between different countries. Movements are more varied and complex now than they were before the war.

- **Prior knowledge and experience of life in Pakistan is today translated in an organized and structured movement of temporary and cyclical Afghan migrants.** 81.3% of all travelers interviewed in this study indicate going back and forth to Afghanistan on a regular basis, with 35.9% crossing the border every three months. Only 13.3% report having entered Pakistan for the first time. Corroborating this data, 89.5% declare having spent or planning to spend less than 1 year in Pakistan. Of those, the majority, 61.6%, spend less than 1 month in Pakistan. This is due to the familiarity of Afghans who continue to visit their former host country for social services, employment opportunities and to visit relatives and friends.
- **Just below half – 43.3% – of travelers have a home and network of family and friends on both sides of the border.** 20.0% of interviewees were travelling to Pakistan to go home, showing a trend that more people are now settling in both countries, some of them maintaining a living and work base in Afghanistan and in Pakistan.
- **The frequent visits of Afghans residing in Pakistan shows a two-way cross border movement and an interest in Afghans of returning home in the long run.** 19.7% of respondents declare having their permanent residence in Pakistan, with frequent travels back to their country of origin. With a base in Pakistan, they travel to Afghanistan first and foremost to visit their families and friends (46.6%), for work (34.1%), to check on their land and property in Afghanistan (11.5%) and for business visits (6.3%).
- **Cross border movements indicate a mix of motivations to leave or return to Pakistan, with economic migrants reporting complementary and secondary social and cultural motivations.** Travel is both socially (40.0%) and economically (32.9%) motivated.
- **Most Afghan refugees who have lived in Pakistan have acquired expectations of what is the necessary level of social services they require in their lives.** On average, 46.7% of all respondents interviewed have spent 10 year or more in Pakistan and altogether 82.0% have been established and lived in Pakistan. This is a population that has therefore benefited over a sustained period of time of better infrastructure (access to water, gas and electricity) and social services (healthy and education primarily).

### *Reliance on normal livelihoods systems and coping mechanisms*

The impact of the cross border movement is therefore both economic and socio-cultural. The back and forth movement of Afghans residing on both sides of the border to the neighboring country maintains a way of life and a transnational routine at the heart of livelihood strategies and networking ties of communities divided by national borders.

Population movements have reverted to a more familiar and normal pattern. They are now predominantly temporary and cyclical in nature. Maintaining a base in both countries to spread risk appears still to be a preferred option for many Afghans.

- **The cross border movement between Afghanistan and Pakistan is dominated by single individuals, men aged 18 and above, who cross the border without their families.** On an average day in September, 40,013 single men crossed the border at Torkham compared to 8,930 individuals in family groups, and 20,993 single men were recorded at Spin Boldak compared to 2,821 individuals in family groups. Adding in other individuals crossing the border, namely adult and child workers, single adult men constitute, on average in September 2008, 72.6% and 80.8% of the cross border flows in Torkham and Spin Boldak. As a reflection of actual migrations flows, 75.3% of Afghans interviewed in this study are single men traveling alone, without their family. The mode of travel is predominantly irregular with 81.2% traveling without any travel papers.
- **The findings of this report suggest that there is no evidence showing that Afghan returnees go back to Pakistan in large numbers and return again.** The data collected in this report indicates that returnee families predominantly remain in Afghanistan, whereas individuals (single males) return to Pakistan for social and economic reasons.
- **Afghans interviewed do not express any interest in moving their families to Pakistan. Even though they migrate or return to Pakistan, they only do so as a temporary and cyclical movement, not a permanent movement targeting resettlement.** Men interviewed prefer not having their families living as migrants and instead are prepared to assume the responsibility of migration to provide for their families in Afghanistan.

### Areas of opportunity

Migration is a way of life for many Afghans and is used as a livelihoods strategy. Many Afghans are now integrally part of a **very dynamic situation**: they cross the border to Pakistan for multiple and combined reasons - economic, social, medical and cultural. Given the relative size in the economies of Afghanistan and its neighbors, such movements are likely to expand and diversify.

The cross border movement remains informal at all levels. It is managed by a loose process of checks and rule of law. The current situation at the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan raises questions on the design and implementation of border management policies, resulting in numerous challenges, as illustrated below.

### Border management practices

The Afghan border police and passport office officially control the entry and exit of all individuals, Afghan nationals and internationals, at the Torkham border. The information is collected on a daily basis and the records are kept and sent back to the Ministry of Interior headquarters in Kabul. It is interesting to compare the numbers obtained from these records and from our border counting exercise for the week of September 11-17, 2008, as shown in the table below. This comparison highlights the very irregular nature of the entry and exit of individuals at Torkham or, in other words, the fact that the controls currently in place are only limited to a small margin of the actual flows, i.e. the population of travelers holding valid passports and visas. These numbers show that the current passport and visa process for entry in and out of Pakistan are inadequate in responding to the nature and size of the movements. The implementation of passport and visa regulations has so far not been successful.

Date	Entry		Exit	
	Official Nos.	Actual Nos.	Official Nos.	Actual Nos.
11/09/2008	150	(AM only) 12934	138	(AM only) 23934
12/09/2008	75	(AM only) 12507	64	(AM only) 18993
13/09/2008	194	(AM only) 16080	54	(AM only) 21889
14/09/2008	91	(PM only) 5454	78	(PM only) 8392
15/09/2008	77	(PM only) 10588	112	(PM only) 12384
16/09/2008	141	(PM only) 10220	70	(PM only) 11953

Looking beyond the crossing points themselves, the entire border is to be considered: outside of Torkham and Spin Boldak, along the 2,250 km border, most people do not actually know where the border is located, separating Afghanistan and Pakistan. Students often leave their homes in the morning to go to school on the other side, as it is for them part of their community, not of two different countries. This lack of regulation has long been a source of concern. The test is how to inform the citizens of both countries of the need to participate in the development of a regulated system of official procedures, as they have spent decades behaving otherwise. Therein lies the difficulty in terms of border management practices.

Based on observations of the border management system at Torkham and Spin Boldak, the research team identified the challenges detailed hereafter.

Border police responsibilities and implementation at the border. In practice, and as detailed in this study, cross border movement is defined by its unregulated scope. Based on key informant interviews with the commissariat of the border police in charge of the crossing points, the following areas of responsibilities have been identified. The border police authority is in charge of:

- **Ensuring the protection, security and control of people and goods crossing the border in each direction.** The border offices get their orders directly from the border police headquarters in Kabul. Border police officers are responsible for controlling the gates, maintaining security and registering people at entry and exit points in both directions. As discussed above, documents are to be checked at customs before exit in the case of merchandises leaving and entering the country.
- **Coordinating the activities of the different ministries and government offices active at the border and the full cooperation between all offices.** To this end, the border police commissar schedules a meeting every 15 days to discuss issues and problems witnessed at the two main border crossing points. On this occasion, the border police collects information from:
  - The Ministry of Finance on the goods allowed or forbidden for import and export;
  - The Ministry of Health on diseases related to meat and poultry and on specific quarantines set by health officials;
  - The Ministry of Justice on court orders banning specific individuals of entry or exit.
- **Daily reporting to the Ministry of Interior** regarding the number of registered migrants in both directions. The border police has to keep track of the number of people, either diplomats, foreign citizens or nationals, crossing the border.

Based on the stated goals of the border police at the border and the observed implementation of this mandate, the following comments can be made:

- **The main obstacle at the border is currently the lack of a systematic implementation mechanism for counting and screening individuals crossing the border.** Although one of the main responsibilities of the border police is to report to the Ministry of Interior on the composition of this migration flow, the only method for doing so at the moment is to record the information given by Afghans or other nationals who report to the Passports office at the border. **The border police authority therefore relies on the will of Afghans to voluntarily report to the Passports office in order to enter them in official border reports.** However, as the numbers given in this report show, a very limited number of migrants actually go through the Passports office holding a passport and a valid visa. Almost the entire flow crosses the border without signing up at the Passports office. Depending on individuals' voluntary attendance at the Passports office will therefore not ensure effective border management control.
- **The border police force still remains ineffective in monitoring and checking travel documents for individuals pertaining to specific tribal and community groups. As**



**illustrated by our field work, members of non-Pashtun ethnic groups, especially Hazara Afghans, are more frequently checked and stopped at the border. Pashtuns, however, fall largely outside of this scope of control.** In an effort not to discourage the back and forth movement of populations with strong links in both countries, border police officials do not control Pashtun Afghans. Members of our team, themselves Pashtun, simply tested this by crossing the border without showing any papers. They successfully crossed several times into Pakistan, and back into Afghanistan, without showing any identification card. A regulated system will only be successful if administered to all, irrespective of ethnic, tribal or religious lines.

Customs office. There are two branches at the Customs office in Torkham and Spin Boldak monitoring imports and exports. The border offices receive directions directly from the Ministry of Finance and Taxation in Kabul. They effectively keep track, through a satellite system, of the daily number of cars and trucks entering and leaving the country. **The major challenge is one of implementation of trade regulations.** Although the routine electronic system and monitoring of goods transported by vehicles fit strict criteria and a thorough checking mechanism, individuals by foot who participate in the irregular trade of goods fall outside of this scope of control. One central gap between the mandate and the implementation of the customs office is the continuous, open and easily observed irregular trade of goods (such as flour) between the two countries. This phenomenon reflects the soft and porous nature of this frontier.

### *Bilateral negotiations*

Given the lack of regulation on cross border movements, the porous nature of the border, and the economic motivations of most migrants, the priority objectives for the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan could be:

- The development of an economic, business and trade framework for the regulation and protection of migrant workers in both countries, as there are Afghan and Pakistani workers migrating to the neighboring country in search of economic opportunities. Leaving this economic migration flow unregulated will only result in the thriving of exploitative groups and measures within each country.
- The creation of a joint oversight mechanism to halt the system of police bribes and patterns of discrimination at the border which have resulted in abuses. A regulated system will benefit both the state (in terms of revenues) and the individual (protection of rights).

## **Background of the study**

### *Methodology*

Empirical data was collected and analyzed by Altai Consulting to reflect the state of cross border population movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan, through field work at the two main crossing points of Torkham (East) and Spin Boldak/Chaman (South). The survey was based on a random selection of migrants crossing the border in both directions (in and out of Afghanistan and Pakistan) during two weeks in September 2008 and two weeks in November 2008.

The quantitative field work consisted of extensive interviews with 2,023 migrants and border counting exercises providing a real assessment of flows of cross border movements. Additional interviewers were assigned to record the socio-demographic profile of more than 6,000 migrants at both locations.

Qualitative field work was conducted to support the data collected in the quantitative survey, giving an in-depth look at specific situations and coping strategies of migrants. The data was collected through three main tools: profiles, case studies and key informant interviews.

## 1. Introduction

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### 1.1. Objectives of the Study

#### Background

In the last 25 years, Afghanistan has experienced a massive flow of emigration generated by the ex-Soviet Union invasion in 1979, the civil war and the Taliban regime. From 1979 to 1992, an estimated 6 million people left the country.

There are still some 2.1 million registered Afghans in Pakistan, and after massive flows of returns recorded between 2002 and 2005, changes in security, and the poor prospects for rapid economic and social improvements, have caused a decline in the rate of returns since 2006.

Today, the majority of Afghans travelling to and from Pakistan are temporary migrants, not individuals driven by protection concerns. A UNHCR-financed IOM study conducted in 2005 found that cross border movements for social and economic purposes far exceeded refugee repatriation. But these cross border movements are largely informal in nature and are therefore poorly documented. These observations made in 2005 and since then, regular border monitoring reports carried out by UNHCR's office in Jalalabad and the Department of Refugees and Repatriation (DoRR) of the Government of Afghanistan, all suggest that new policy approaches are now required to recognize that the **informal cross border migration** - rather than refugee repatriation - is now the key management challenge confronting the two governments.

This comes in an increasingly complex political context, with increased management of the population of Afghans in its homeland by the Government of Pakistan through:

- A major registration exercise of all Afghans enumerated in the 2005 census operation,
- The allocation to those Afghans registered of a Proof of Registration (PoR) card valid until the end of 2009,
- The announcement made by the GoP of its intentions to implement the provisions of its Foreigner's Act more strictly.

#### Project

In this context, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Kabul wishes to build a better understanding of cross border migration by collecting empirical data and analyzing the salient characteristics of cross border movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Its objectives are to demonstrate that:

- The continued movement of people across their respective borders is no longer predominantly a refugee phenomenon;
- There is consequently a need to develop more appropriate policies and migration management arrangements for the changing situation,
- These need to be placed on the agenda of normalizing economic and social bilateral relations between the countries concerned.

To respond to this need for up to date empirical data reflecting the state of cross border population movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the UNHCR commissioned Altai Consulting to conduct a research study at the two main crossing points of the Eastern and Southern Afghan regions, namely Torkham and Spin Boldak/Chaman in 2008.

### 1.2. Structure of the report

Chapter 1 introduces the objectives of the study and the research methodology used to collect and analyze information from the field. Chapter 2 provides a background to the history of cross border movement between Afghanistan and Pakistan, with an overview of the border region and of border management practices focusing on Torkham and Spin Boldak. Chapter 3 details the main data collected through our field research. This chapter covers different trends, from the numbers and basic characteristics of migrants, an in-depth profile of travelers, of their migration patterns and history, the



factors of migration, and supplementary information on their transit and situation in Pakistan. A summary of the key findings is provided at the end of the chapter. Chapters 4 and 5 present the major conclusions of the study and areas of opportunity based on the analysis of the data.

Finally, two annex chapters are included at the end of the report. Annex 1 provides an illustration of migrants through a set of 20 case studies and profiles carried out in Jalalabad and Kandahar in September and November of 2008. Annex 2 contains the main tools used for the field work of this survey, namely the border counting exercise forms and the survey questionnaires.

### **1.3. Research Methodology**

#### ***1.3.1 Overview of target themes***

The quantitative survey was based on a questionnaire of approximately 85 close-ended questions designed to include a set of questions on the profile of the migrants, their migration patterns and history, the factors affecting their decision making process to travel to and from Pakistan, the issues faced during the migration process and the nature of their stay in Pakistan.

These areas of study consisted, in detail, of the following:

- a. Numbers and basic characteristics of persons crossing the Afghanistan / Pakistan border,
- b. Their demographic profiles including family size, age-sex composition, country of birth, city and province of origin and destination, overview of skill sets,
- c. Their migration patterns and history including routes, manner of entry, amount of time spent in Pakistan,
- d. The factors affecting their decision making process to travel to Pakistan, through the analysis of push factors (poverty, unemployment, economic needs, conflict and insecurity) and pull factors (better employment opportunities in Pakistan, wage differentials, the existence of well established transnational social networks, access to social services),
- e. The issues faced during the migration process and incurred through the use of smugglers, the modalities of entry into Pakistan and the associated and perceived risks of travel,
- f. The major problems encountered in Pakistan with an overview of the legal status while in Pakistan and its implications for the finding of a decent employment and living situation, access to an income generating activity and services,
- g. The employment situation while in Pakistan including the type of work, wages, working conditions, type of contract, skills and education, unemployment and underemployment, job security,
- h. The motives for and decision making regarding return to Afghanistan, such as instances of voluntary or enforced return, assisted return,
- i. The major problems faced during transit back to Afghanistan and upon return in Afghanistan, including reported violation of rights, perceived notions of return, problems of adjustment depending on the period of absence, non-availability of assets in Afghanistan, personal and family security,
- j. Border management practices: On top of the analysis of the flows and profiles of migrants, a description of existing border management structures and processes between Afghanistan and Pakistan will be made, providing recommendations to improve border management strategies for policy-makers in Kabul and Pakistan, among concerned governments and other stakeholders including recommendations designed to help authorities develop the capacity to collect better data on cross border flows.

#### ***1.3.2 Sampling methodology***

##### **Areas of survey**

The research was conducted at the two main border crossing points of the Eastern and Southern Afghan regions, namely Torkham in the province of Jalalabad and Spin Boldak in the province of Kandahar. Torkham is the main official crossing point between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Jalalabad, the capital of Nangarhar province, is the first major city in Afghanistan, situated at a distance of 1.5 hours from the Torkham border. On the Pakistani side, Peshawar, the capital of the North West

Frontier Province (NWFP) is the first major city in Pakistan on the other side of the border. The second major crossing point to Pakistan is Spin Boldak, taking the name of the closest town on the Afghan side of the southern border, 2.5 hours away from the capital of the province, Kandahar. Chaman is the name of the closest town on the Pakistani side and the first major city is Quetta, the capital of the Balochistan province of Pakistan.

The interviews and observations were conducted only on the Afghan side but covering a two-way migration flow: half of the interviews were held with travelers leaving Afghanistan for Pakistan, and the other half with travelers coming into Afghanistan from Pakistan.



### Population surveyed

The survey was based on a random selection of migrants crossing the border in both directions (in and out of Afghanistan and Pakistan) and during two migration flows (late summer and fall) in order to better analyze the flows and nature of cross border movements.

#### 1.3.3 Quantitative fieldwork

##### I. Migrants Survey (2 x 1,000 questionnaires)

###### Survey Instruments

The main survey instruments used were two extensive structured and close-ended questionnaires lasting about 30-45 minutes: one for migrants travelling from Afghanistan to Pakistan (86 questions) and one for migrants travelling from Pakistan to Afghanistan (85 questions). The questionnaires were organized to take into account the chronology and direction of migration for each respondent. Questions were developed to obtain facts and perceptions on the themes detailed in the previous section, namely:

1. Socio-demographic profile,
2. Migration pattern,
3. Factors of migration,
4. Transit from Afghanistan to Pakistan,
5. Situation in Pakistan,

## 6. Transit from Pakistan to Afghanistan.

A copy of the questionnaires is made available as an annex to the report.

### *Duration of survey*

The interviews were conducted at two different times of the year, in the late summer (September) and fall (November) of 2008. These two periods were chosen as they represent different levels of migration flow and because data had not been comprehensively collected on these seasons by previous reports which concentrated on the winter and spring seasons of the year (see IOM 2005 report).

Each period of field work was run over the course of 2 weeks (14 working days) with a team of 12 Afghan interviewers (Dari and Pashto speakers) collecting 2,023 questionnaires in both locations:

- 1,005 at Torkham and 1,018 at Spin Boldak,
- 1,017 in September 2008 and 1,006 in November 1008,
- 1,007 from the outgoing migration flow and 1,016 from the incoming migration flow.

A complete distribution of these interviews is included in table 1 below.

### *Breakdown of quantitative interviews*

Table 1. Distribution of quantitative interviews

Survey field work	Number of interviews by direction of migration flow				Total
	Torkham		Spin Boldak		
September 6 – 19, 2008	<i>Outgoing</i>	<i>Incoming</i>	<i>Outgoing</i>	<i>Incoming</i>	<b>1,017 Interviews</b>
	253 interviews	254 Interviews	250 interviews	260 interviews	
November 2 – 15, 2008	<i>Outgoing</i>	<i>Incoming</i>	<i>Outgoing</i>	<i>Incoming</i>	<b>1,006 interviews</b>
	252 interviews	246 Interviews	252 interviews	256 interviews	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,005 interviews</b>		<b>1,018 interviews</b>		<b>2,023 interviews</b>

## II. Border counting exercise

In order to provide with a real assessment of flows of cross border movement, a counting exercise was put in place during 7 consecutive days in September 2008 and in November 2008, in parallel of the migrant survey detailed above. The methodology for the border counting exercise was fine-tuned with the help and expertise of the UNHCR staff in the Jalalabad sub-office which administers monthly reports of the number of migrants crossing the border in both directions.

For 7 days in September 2008 and 7 days in November 2008, at both Torkham and Spin Boldak, a team of 6 border counters were responsible for counting the flows of migrants in each direction. Each team worked for 8 hours a day, either during AM shifts (5.30am-1pm), or PM shifts (1pm-9pm). Their individual responsibilities were to count:

- The number of families and family individuals crossing the border by foot and by car,
- The number of single individuals crossing the border by foot and by car,
- The number of working individuals (both children and adults) at the border,
- The number of loaded and unloaded vehicles crossing the border.

The numbers collected for the 7 days were then weighed to provide an average representation of a daily flow. The numbers discussed as part of this exercise in this study therefore represent daily movement numbers.

### Breakdown of border screening

Additional interviewers were assigned to record the socio-demographic profile of a target number of migrants based on a screening form which included the following characteristics:

- Gender,
- Age group,
- Social category,
- Location of origin and destination,
- Single or accompanied movement,
- Reason for migration

The teams were present from the opening to the closing of the border gates in September as in November. The actual counting and methodology of cross border movements therefore remained unchanged; the only variation to be noted is in the numbers of migrants screened by our teams. The target number of 6,378 profile screenings was reached in both locations with a higher number in the September period due to the longer working days and longer border opening hours in the summer time.

Table 2. Distribution of migrants' screening

Period of field work	Direction of migration and Number of screenings			
	Torkham		Spin Boldak	
<b>September 10 – 16, 2008</b>	<i>To Pakistan</i>	<i>From Pakistan</i>	<i>To Pakistan</i>	<i>From Pakistan</i>
	1,055	1,050	700	705
<b>November 2 – 8, 2008</b>	<i>To Pakistan</i>	<i>From Pakistan</i>	<i>To Pakistan</i>	<i>From Pakistan</i>
	715	728	707	718
Total per location	3,548 individual profiles		2,830 individual profiles	
Grand total	<b>6,378 individual profiles</b>			

### 1.3.4 Qualitative fieldwork

Qualitative field work was conducted to support the data collected in the quantitative survey, giving an in-depth look at specific situations and coping strategies of migrants. The data was collected through three main tools: profiles, case studies and key informant interviews.

#### Collection of profiles

Two national consultants were assigned to compile a set of 30 profiles of Afghan migrants in Torkham and Spin Boldak. We define profiles as semi-case studies, consisting of 30 open-ended questions and lasting on average 1 hour per respondent.

#### Case studies

The international consultant in charge of the project was responsible for 10 case studies at Torkham only. Security considerations did not allow this exercise to be conducted at Spin Boldak given the prevalent insecurity in the southern province of Kandahar. These case studies consisted of in-depth/unstructured interviews of the migrant. This exercise was completed by observations and documentation made available by the respondent on his/her situation in Pakistan, in Afghanistan and in transit between the two countries. Summary reports of the case studies are provided as an annex to this report.

#### Key informant interviews

Interviews with key informants and experts were conducted at various stages of the project, with different objectives:

- Interviews were conducted in the preliminary phase of the project, with major stakeholders, relevant representatives of government agencies, and researchers in the field of cross border movement, in order to get a better grasp of the past and current trends of cross border

movement. Through these unstructured interviews, the international consultants collected recommendations to develop the methodology and tools for the study, as well as primary and secondary data available.

- During the field phase, in Torkham and Spin Boldak, interviews were conducted with the local customs authorities, border police officials and representatives of the local UNHCR sub-offices and other international organizations working on issues of migration and labour at both locations. Through these interviews, the consultants collected information about current trends of cross border movements, current observations and counting methods.
- Finally, to supplement the border observations, interviews were scheduled with Pakistani officials and border police decision makers in Kabul to better understand the overall border management practices and strategies.

#### **1.4. Limitations and constraints**

Four notable field constraints need to be taken into account in understanding the data presented in this study.

- First, it was very difficult for our interviewer teams to obtain authorization to interview women crossing the border, as they were all accompanied by a male relative who spoke on behalf of the family group. The respondents in this study are therefore all males.
- Secondly, family groups would rarely accept to stop for the required 30-45 minutes with their wives and children, as their priority was for a rapid journey. These two elements should not denote a significant bias as the population movements are predominantly composed of single adult males, therefore reflecting our sample pool distribution.
- Thirdly, security concerns hampered the smooth process of our field work in September at Spin Boldak and in November at Torkham. Two such incidents slowed the process of field work: (1) in September at Spin Boldak, when security incidents were noted at the border and on the road between Kandahar and the border and (2) in November at Torkham, when a suspected bomb on a vendor cart was detected and the border was closed for a few hours in the afternoon of Tuesday November 4, 2008.
- Fourth and last, the interviews were carried out at the border, in an open and public arena without any type of privacy and with the influence of the travelers' rush. Our field teams worked to the best of their ability, with constant supervision and monitoring, around these problems to deliver the necessary number of interviews.

## 2. Background to the Afghan-Pakistan cross border movement

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### 2.1. Overview of the border region

The border areas on the Pakistani side are constituted of the North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP), the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Balochistan. On the Afghan side, nine provinces border Pakistan, namely and from North to South: Badakhshan, Nuristan, Kunar, Nangarhar, Paktia, Khost, Paktika, Zabol and Kandahar. Two of these, Nangarhar and Kandahar, are among the five most populated provinces of the country with a population of respectively 1,182,000 and 886,000 people.<sup>1</sup> They are also home to the two major official border crossing points of Torkham and Spin Boldak, although hundreds of unofficial crossing points populate the 2,250 kilometer long boundary.

#### **Soft border**

The border region is home to members of tribes (Pashtuns and Baluchis) living on both sides of what is to them an artificially created line dividing the two countries. The original Pashtun and Baluchi inhabitants of the border region continue to consider the border as having been imposed by outside forces and as cutting across their natural social, cultural, historical and working environment. Further ties are being strengthened by tribal inter marriages into families spanning both sides of the border, making traditional border controls increasingly difficult, especially given the insecurity and violence in the area. "People on both sides of the Durand line consider it as a soft border. Pashtuns consider it their own land even though there is also a loyalty to the respective states along with a desire to freely move back and forth".<sup>2</sup>

There are extensive tribal, familial and religious relations between the people on both sides; this unregulated movement along the border is a traditional movement that has always existed. An official interviewed cited to us the example of a family in the Goshta District of Nangarhar province where the father was actually living in the "Pakistani" area and his son in the "Afghan" area. Every day they go and back to each other houses, no one stops them. Another example often cited is the case of students leaving their home in the morning, going to school on the other side of the border, and coming back at the end of the school day. They therefore cross the border back and forth in one day. This is because tribal people do not think of it as a border but as a larger community.

Secondly, both sides of the border continue to be the scene of insecurity and conflict, with continuous confrontations between the US and Pakistani military operations and terrorist groups. The tribes in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) along the border view these operations as an infringement of their autonomy.

#### **Border controversy ever since the founding of Pakistan: The Durand Line**

This porosity of the border area renders the management of this border increasingly complicated, especially given the fact that the border is to this date still contested. The soft border is first and foremost a legacy of the Durand Line which was drawn as part of an agreement signed on 12 November 1893 between the then ruler of Afghanistan, Abdur Rahman Shah, and Sir Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary of the colonial government of India. This line, which was delineated in 1894-95, marked the boundary between Afghanistan and the British Indian empire.

In 1947, following the partition of India and the creation of the state of Pakistan, the Durand Line became the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. This line, which runs through areas inhabited by Pashtuns, was never accepted by either Afghanistan or the Pashtuns, who sought to create their own homeland of Pashtunistan. As early as June 1949, Afghanistan's parliament cancelled all the treaties which former Afghan governments had signed with the British-India government, including

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<sup>1</sup> CSO, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Husain Haqqani, director of Boston University's Center for International Relations.



the Durand Treaty. The parliament proclaimed that the Afghan government no longer recognized the Durand Line as a legal boundary between the two countries. In 1993, when the Durand agreement completed a century, it was considered to have lapsed since the Afghan government stated that the agreement was only valid for 100 years. Consequently, Pakistan's de jure western border ceased to officially exist.

The government of Pakistan, however, maintains that there is no dispute regarding the border demarcation between the two countries and that the border is an international and officially recognized legal border. The question now is how to effectively regulate border management efforts to respond to the nature of cross border movement and in light of the current political situation.

### ***Increasingly insecure and volatile area***

The lack of an official agreement on the "soft" border separating Afghanistan and Pakistan has increasingly become a problem in the light of the insecurity prevailing in the area. The frontier between the two countries was structured as part of the defenses of British India, with the British and the Pakistanis turning the difficulty of government the tribes to their advantage by establishing the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Within FATA, the tribes, not the government, are responsible for security. Pakistan's strategy of using FATA as a staging area for militants to conduct asymmetric warfare in both Afghanistan and Kashmir has eroded external and internal security. As a consequence, state control is now shrinking in all border regions on the Pakistani side (including the Northwest Frontier Province and the Swat Valley) with negative repercussions on the security in Afghanistan. The Afghan and Pakistani security forces lack the numbers, skills, equipment and motivation to confront the growing insurgencies in the border areas, especially given the fact that al Qaeda has now a strong base in FATA.

**The combination of these three factors – a porous and controversial border in an increasingly insecure area – poses a fundamental problem of politics and clouds the prospects for a more normalized and recognized border management process. With security and political inhibitions on both sides, border issues will most likely not be solved in the foreseeable future, constituting a setback to sustainable border management practices.**

## **2.2. Border management practices**

In 1990, approximately 3.3 million Afghan refugees were living in Pakistan, in the major cities of the country as well as in 300 refugee camps, most of which were located in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). After the downfall of the Taliban and the establishment of the UNHCR-assisted voluntary repatriation in 2002, an estimated 3 million Afghans returned to Afghanistan between 2002 and 2005. A census of Afghans in Pakistan conducted by the UNHCR and the Government of Pakistan in 2005 found that over 3 million Afghans still remain in Pakistan, of which 82% have no immediate plans of return.<sup>3</sup>

The prevalence of political crisis and conflict in Afghanistan from the late 1970s to 2001 resulted in a cross border movement largely consisting of the displacement and movement of refugee populations. Changes in the political context since 2001 have resulted in policy changes and in the formulation of new migration management policies.

Pakistani national policy has been through a number of changes regarding the population of Afghans living and residing within its borders. The official stance since 2001 has been to favor regulation and repatriation of Afghan families, through a tripartite agreement with the Government of Afghanistan and the UNHCR, the rationale being that the conditions under which these populations entered and stayed in Pakistan no longer apply.

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<sup>3</sup> Ministry of States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON), Population Census Organization and UNHCR, 2005, *Census of Afghans in Pakistan 2005*, p.8.

The priority is now for a more nuanced approach to understanding the movement of Afghans to Pakistan and for responding to the constant flow of Afghans entering the neighboring country. The decades of migration as defined by the conflict-refugee view have led to a cyclical, continuous and two-way process rather than a one-way, time-bound event. "Social linkages established through long periods of settlement are likely to be regarded by migrants as instruments for lowering risk and uncertainty and requiring continuous investment and maintenance."<sup>4</sup>

The present study adds to the literature on cross border movements by showing that the conflict-refugee view is no longer appropriate in understanding the immediate causes of movement and displacement. **The findings of this report re-emphasize the need to adapt policy options to the evolving nature of transnational migration and re-enforce the UNHCR's perspective on asylum whereby there are currently no major protection drivers on the cross border movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The lack of major asylum issues in this flow of population movements is a positive factor to be kept in mind when discussing the border area and the return of Afghans.**

### 2.3. The scope of cross border movement

As previous studies have shown, cross border movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan are the result of a wide range of economic, social and political factors. Reasons for this include trade, employment and economic opportunities, the unequalled and wide access to health and other services in Pakistan and the use of Pakistan as a transit country.

*"In Afghanistan, we do not have access to hospitals or good education with proper facilities for our children."*

*Mohammad Asef, 43, Nangarhar*

The first assessment of the scope of cross border movement between Pakistan and Afghanistan was led by a 2005 research team commissioned by UNHCR and supported by IOM. It consisted of three counting exercises each lasting two weeks, at bus stations in close proximity to the border.<sup>5</sup> This initial attempt at an evaluation of the cross border flows has since been supplemented by monthly and day-long border counting exercises led by the UNHCR Jalalabad sub-office in Torkham.

#### 2.3.1. Overview of the Torkham border

The data collected from the UNHCR border counting team is presented in Chart 1 below. It shows the evolution, over 18 months in 2007 and 2008, of the outgoing and incoming flows of individuals at the Torkham border. The trends for Torkham seem to indicate:

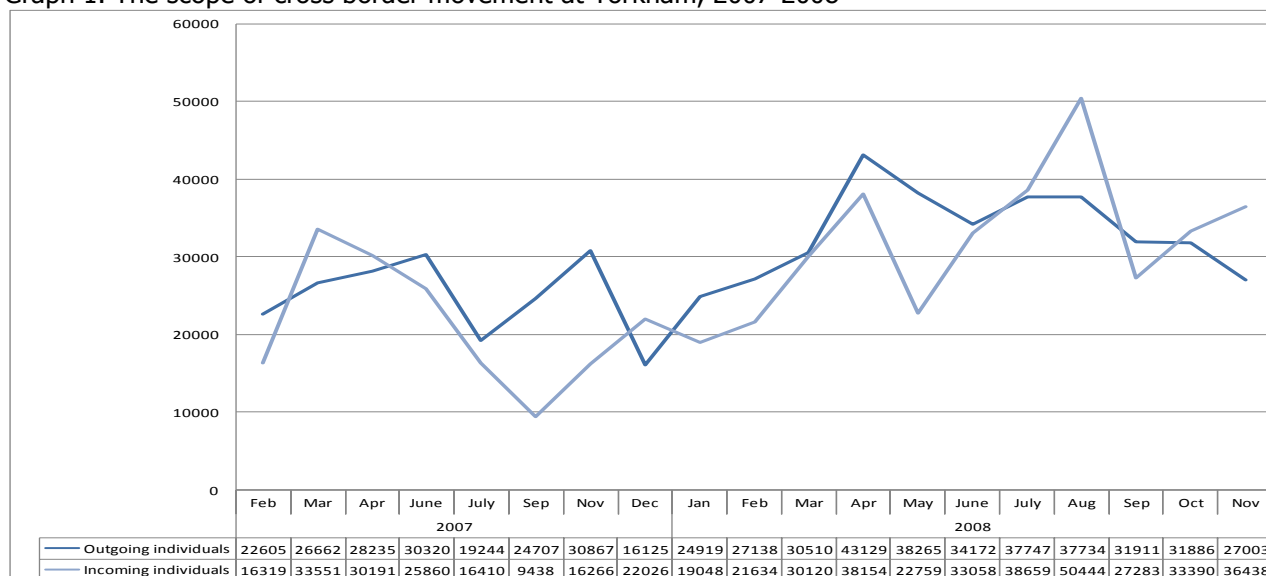
- (1) **A significantly higher rate of cross border movements in 2008 than in 2007.** This can be seen as a result of the worsening security, political and economic situations in both Pakistan and Afghanistan, which cause for populations to become more flexible in their livelihoods strategies and more dependent on transnational networks of solidarity, credit and employment. They are in turn more vulnerable to an unstable family life, exploitative networks and dependency on desperate measures.
- (2) **A sharp distinction in the outgoing flows at Torkham for 2008: there is a decline in the outgoing numbers in the fall of 2008, where there was a peak of outgoing movements in 2007.** The incoming numbers on the other hand reflect the same trends in 2007 and 2008, although the flows are much denser in 2008.

<sup>4</sup> Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU), *Afghans in Karachi: Migration, Settlement and Social Networks*, 2005, p.4.

<sup>5</sup> IOM and UNHCR, *Population movements and border management between Afghanistan and Pakistan: A cross-border survey*, 2005.

(3) **Seasonal variations are key factors in understanding the cross border movements of populations.** In 2008, the outgoing flows outnumber the incoming flows for the spring, fall and winter; however, the incoming numbers are greater during the deep summer months of July and August. This is in line with the climate conditions favoring migrations during those times of the year as opposed to the fall or winter. In general, in 2007 as in 2008, the highest rate of cross border movements are witnessed during the spring and summer, starting around the time of the New Year in Afghanistan.

Graph 1. The scope of cross border movement at Torkham, 2007-2008



### 2.3.2. A comparison of the cross border flows at Torkham and Spin Boldak

The data collected by the UNHCR and presented above is limited to the Torkham crossing point. The data being presented in this report allows us to highlight additional trends for both Torkham and Spin Boldak. The overall trends correlate previous findings.

The numbers provided below are estimates of daily travel flows based on an average taken from 7 days of border counting field work in September, and 7 days in November.

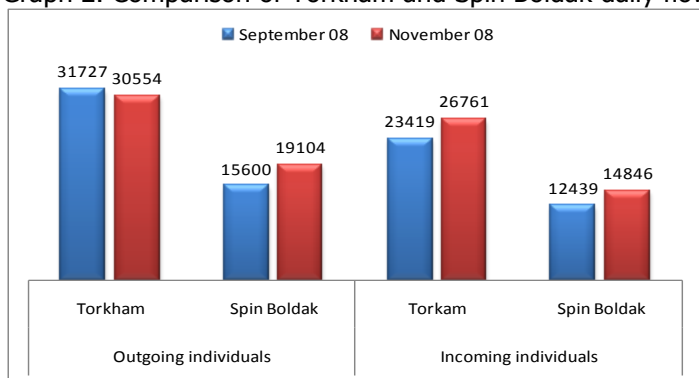
As illustrated in the charts below, the data collected by the Altai Consulting team shows that:

(1) **A far greater number of people cross the Torkham border, in both directions, than the Spin Boldak/Chaman border.**

- In September 2008, on average 382,518 individuals crossed the border at Torkham in one week compared to 181,292 at Spin Boldak.
- In November 2008, the average weekly flow is slightly higher, with 401,209 individuals crossing the Torkham border and 224,480 at Spin Boldak.

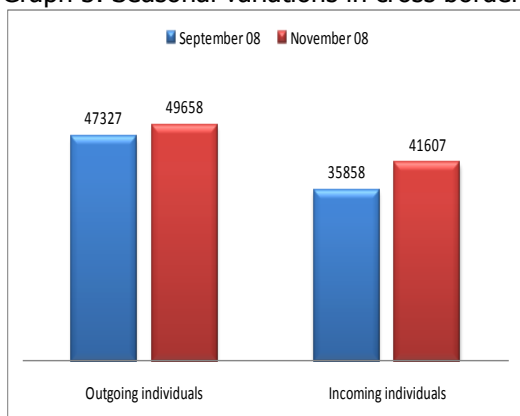
A certain number of factors can explain this: a lower population density, higher insecurity in the southern regions, the lower presence of Afghan refugees on the southern end of the border, and the smaller volume of trade through Spin Boldak than through Torkham.

Graph 2. Comparison of Torkham and Spin Boldak daily flows in September and November 2008



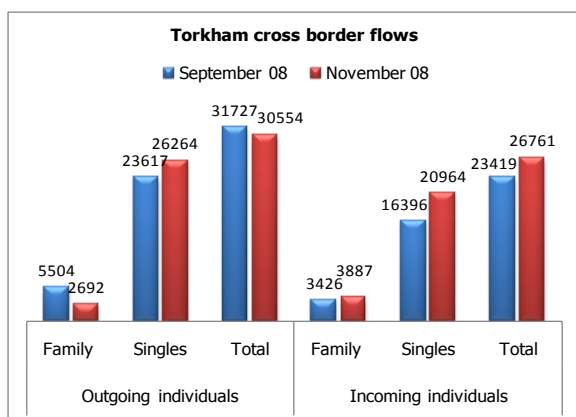
(2) **In both locations, seasonal variations are an important characteristic of cross border movements.** The general comments to be made here are that individuals cross the border to Pakistan more heavily during the months approaching the winter (in the late summer and fall, starting as early as September). This is explained by the fact that the hot summer months tend to bring Afghans back home and the tough winter days draw them back to Pakistan, mirroring the climate conditions in both countries.

Graph 3. Seasonal variations in cross border movements, summer and fall 2008

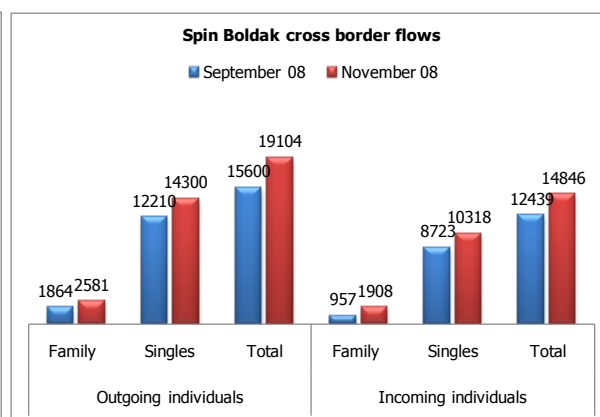


(3) **In both locations, the composition of population movements is identical, with a vast majority of single adult males crossing the border. Family groups entering and leaving Afghanistan are a very marginal segment of the population under review,** as illustrated by graphs 4 and 5 below.

Graph 4.



Graph 5.

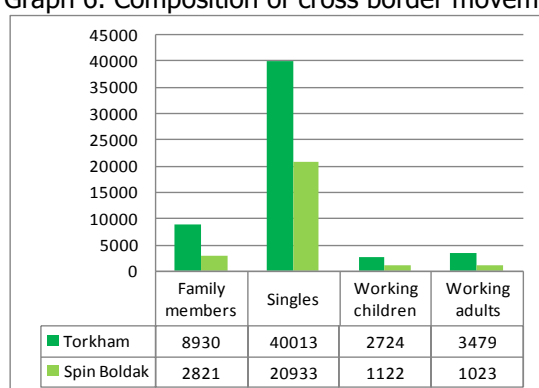


### 2.3.3. An overview of the composition of migration flows

As illustrated in graph 6, **the cross border movement between Afghanistan and Pakistan is predominantly dominated by single individuals, men aged 18 and above, who cross the border without their families. The findings of this report suggest that there is no evidence showing that Afghan returnees go back to Pakistan in large numbers and return again. The data collected in this report indicates that returnee families predominantly remain in Afghanistan, whereas individuals (single males) return to Pakistan for social and economic reasons.**

On an average day in September 2008, at the Torkham border, 40,013 single individuals cross the border, 8,930 individuals in family groups, 2,724 working children and 3,479 working adults. Mirroring these proportions but lower in the number of migrants, at Spin Boldak, 20,933 single individuals crossed the border in both directions, followed by 2,821 individuals in family groups, 1,122 working children and 1,023 working adults.

Graph 6. Composition of cross border movements for an average day in September 2008



### Irregular trade across the border and its implications for population movements

As the numbers in graph 6 show, a significant number of people work at the border. This working population is composed of children as well as adults. A 2006 study conducted by Terre des Hommes provides information on the extent of child labor at Torkham.<sup>6</sup> In April 2006, this study estimated that about 500 children worked daily at the Torkham border. In the summer and fall 2008, children were involved in cross border activities such as smuggling in bags of flour from Pakistan into Afghanistan, as flour has recently been banned for exportation from Pakistan. The seasons also play an important role in the work of children with the numbers increasing in the spring months (with longer dayling and warmer weather) and in the summer time (with the summer vacation from school).

**Bilateral trade between Afghanistan and Pakistan has grown from USD 492 million in 2003-2004 to USD 1.63 billion in 2008.** Trade between Afghanistan and Pakistan has been asymmetric, consisting mainly of imports from Pakistan and very little formal Afghan exports. However, official import figures from Pakistan are now falling, with a drop of almost USD 400 million in 2006-2007 from the previous fiscal year. The Pakistanis are mainly losing out to their Iranian and Indian competitors. **Unofficially, however, the volume of clandestine business between the two countries is still estimated at more than USD 10 billion every year.**<sup>7</sup> The extent of the illegal trade can be seen on the outskirts of main Pakistani cities, with the best example being that of Peshawar's Kharkhano market composed of 4,500 shops run by Pakistani and Afghan traders. Goods that are sold on this market are often smuggled from Afghanistan, consisting of everything from electrical appliances to clothing and auto spare parts, with cheaper prices than anywhere else in

<sup>6</sup> Street and working children situation in Torkham, 2006, TdH.

<sup>7</sup> "Smugglers profit from landlocked Afghanistan", by Ashfaq Yusufzai, August 4, 2007.

<http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=38794>

Pakistan. These goods are smuggled on the back of donkeys and by other methods used by smugglers who travel on the mountainous routes.

**The clandestine nature of the trade between Afghanistan and Pakistan has important implications for (1) the composition of population movements across the border and (2) the need for improvements of Afghanistan's customs mechanisms and logistics performances.** The Pakistani demand for the smuggled goods, and the supply potential of all types of goods originating from Iran, China and other trading partner countries from Afghanistan, ensures that population movement today is no longer solely tribal but consists of well-established flows of trade movements. The findings of this report corroborate the complex nature of population movements across this border today. In addition, the predominance of clandestine trade points to the need to improve the design and management of border port stations, the transportation and delivery times of goods crossing the border and the lowering of handling costs and transit times. World Bank reviews show that Afghanistan comes in last in logistics performance evaluations, notably on customs regulations and procedures, when compared to its neighbors.<sup>8</sup>

#### **2.3.4. A soft border lacking effective regulation mechanisms**

The Afghan border police and passport office officially control the entry and exit of all individuals, Afghan nationals and internationals, at the Torkham border. This information is collected on a daily basis and the records are kept and sent back to the Ministry of Interior headquarters in Kabul. It is interesting to compare the numbers obtained from these records and from our border counting exercise for the week of September 11 – 17, 2008, as shown in Table 3. The official records keep track of the number of people crossing the border with a valid passport and visa; while the border counting exercise includes all travelers, with or without passports. This comparison highlights the very irregular nature of the entry and exit of individuals at Torkham or, in other words, the fact that the controls currently in place are only limited to a small margin of the actual flows, i.e. the population of travelers holding valid passports and visas.

Originally, the lack of regulation of passports was designed to facilitate the lives of local people who, in accordance with the law, are allowed to cross over without a passport if they are from the same tribe as the tribes on the other side of the border. They are in that case technically required to ID documents justifying their belonging to the local tribe.

Looking beyond the crossing points themselves, the entire border is to be considered: outside of Torkham and Spin Boldak, along the 2,250 km border, most people do not actually know where the border is located, separating Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is therefore difficult to assess who crosses the border since one land can be spread on both sides. Students often leave their homes in the morning to go to school on the other side, as it is for them part of their community, not of two different countries. This lack of regulation has long been a source of concern. It has now become a priority for both governments. The test is how to inform the citizens of both countries of the need to participate in the development of a regulated system of official procedures, as they have spent decades behaving otherwise. Therein lies the difficulty in terms of border management practices.

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<sup>8</sup> World Bank, Logistics Performance Index (LPI) Evaluation:  
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOUTHASIAEXT/Resources/223546-1192413140459/4281804-1192413178157/4281806-1206928568540/ANNEXNoteonLPI.pdf>



Table 3. Comparison of legal vs. irregular entry and exit at the Torkham border, September 2008

Date	Entry		Exit	
	Official Nos.	Actual Nos.	Official Nos.	Actual Nos.
11/09/2008	150	(AM only) 12934	138	(AM only) 23934
12/09/2008	75	(AM only) 12507	64	(AM only) 18993
13/09/2008	194	(AM only) 16080	54	(AM only) 21889
14/09/2008	91	(PM only) 5454	78	(PM only) 8392
15/09/2008	77	(PM only) 10588	112	(PM only) 12384
16/09/2008	141	(PM only) 10220	70	(PM only) 11953

Based on observations of the border management system at Torkham and Spin Boldak, the research team identified the processes detailed hereafter. The field teams met with local customs authorities and border police officials. The description of current practices can be summarized as follows.

I. Customs office responsibilities and implementation at the border:

There are two branches at the Customs office in Torkham and Spin Boldak: imports and exports. The border offices receive directions directly from the Ministry of Finance and Taxation in Kabul. They are the ones deciding on goods that can cross the border legally and those goods that are forbidden for import or export. At the time of interview, the following goods were on the list of forbidden items:

- Goods not allowed for import into Afghanistan: salt, brick, dried fruits, nuts, chicken, meat, alcohol, vehicles, weapons and any items that can be used for making explosive;
- The list of goods not allowed for export from Pakistan is updated regularly by the Government of Pakistan. At the time of this study's field work the main interdiction on export from Pakistan was the trade of flour. This has led to a side industry whereby children work at the border to import flour illegally;
- Goods not allowed for export: antiques, precious stones, charcoal from Mazar, onions, potatoes, grapes, apples, pomegranates.

The customs office keeps track of the daily number of cars and trucks entering and leaving the country. The counting is done through a satellite system set up at the border. Based on our teams' observations, this system is effective in counting the vehicles crossing the border and checking for the goods imported into and exported out of the country.

II. Border police responsibilities and implementation at the border:

Although the entry and exit of vehicles is thoroughly surveyed and controlled as per the mandate stated above, the same cannot be said of the movement of individuals. In practice, and as detailed in this study, cross border movement is defined by its unregulated scope.

Based on key informant interviews with the commissariat of the border police in charge of the crossing points, the following areas of responsibilities have been identified. The border police authority is in charge of:

- **Ensuring the protection, security and control of people and goods crossing the border in each direction.** The border offices get their orders directly from the border police headquarters in Kabul. Border police officers are responsible for controlling the gates, maintaining security and registering people at entry and exit points in both directions. As discussed above, documents are to be checked at customs before exit in the case of merchandises leaving and entering the country.
- **Coordinating the activities of the different ministries and government offices active at the border and the full cooperation between all offices.** To this end, the border police commissar schedules a meeting every 15 days to discuss issues and problems

witnessed at the two main border crossing points. On this occasion, the border police collects information from:

- The Ministry of Finance on the goods allowed or forbidden for import and export;
  - The Ministry of Health on diseases related to meat and poultry and on specific quarantines set by health officials;
  - The Ministry of Justice on court orders banning specific individuals of entry or exit.
- **Daily reporting to the Ministry of Interior** regarding the number of registered migrants in both directions. The border police has to keep track of the number of people, either diplomats, foreign citizens or nationals, crossing the border.

Based on the stated goals of the border police at the border and the observed implementation of this mandate, the following comments can be made:

- **The main obstacle at the border is currently the lack of a systematic mechanism for counting and screening individuals crossing the border.** Although one of the main responsibilities of the border police is to report to the Ministry of Interior on the composition of this migration flow, the only method for doing so at the moment is to record the information given by Afghans or other nationals who report to the Passports office at the border. The **border police authority therefore relied on the will of Afghans to voluntarily report to the passports office in order to enter them in official border reports.** However, as the numbers given in this report show, a very limited number of migrants actually go through the Passports office holding a passport and valid visa. Almost the entire flow crosses the border without signing up at the Passports office. Depending on individuals' voluntary attendance at the Passports office will therefore not ensure effective border management control.
- Furthermore, the main focus of the border police at the moment is on security of goods and individuals. As such, it is effective in controlling the entry and exit of individuals posing risks to the safety and security of the country. But **the border police still remains ineffective in monitoring and checking travel documents for individuals pertaining to specific tribal and community groups. As illustrated by our case studies, members of non-Pashtun ethnic groups, especially Hazara Afghans, are more frequently checked and stopped at the border. Pashtuns however, fall outside of this scope of control.** In an effort not to discourage the back and forth movement of populations with strong links in both countries, border police officials do not control Pashtun Afghans. Members of our team, themselves Pashtun, simply tested this by crossing the border without showing any papers. They successfully crossed several times into Pakistan, and back into Afghanistan, without showing any identification card. They were not registered on any list, as countless other migrants.
- **Afghan border police officials identified bribes as a major problem facing Afghans on the Pakistani side of the border.** On this issue, it is specifically the non-Pashtun ethnicities that are targeted. More extreme cases, although rare, have seen the confiscation or destruction of passports by Pakistani officials. Anecdotal evidence set aside, different stakeholders reported an inherent system of harassment and intimidation by officials at the border.

#### 2.4. General profile overview of travelers: border screening exercise

Based on the screening of 6,378 migrants at Torkham and Spin Boldak in September and November 2008, a set of general information on the socio-demographic profile and factors of migration were obtained and are presented below in a succinct format. This data will be supplemented, detailed and explained in the next chapter with the presentation of the main findings of the migrants' survey.

The information below is therefore only provided to show broad trends observed on a large scale sample pool and is to be distinguished from the data in chapter 3 which was obtained from an in-

depth migrants' survey. The data which will support the main analyses and conclusions of the report stems from chapter 3. However, the data collected from the border screening exercise is presented here as a way to delineate the broad trends as an introduction to the main data of the study in the next chapter.

#### **2.4.1. Socio-demographic profile**

**Age distribution.** Almost half of the men interviewed, 48.4%, were recorded as young adults i.e. 18 to 30 years of age. This was followed by adults from 30 to 50 years of age with 39.1% of the population at the border. The third category, 8.0%, was men under the age of 18, most of them unaccompanied minors. Lastly, elders above 50 years of age comprised 4.5% of the traveling population.

**Social category.** 72.5% of the surveyed population fell in the broad category of 'average individuals with no specific identification'. By this we mean that they are neither businessmen (12.2%), government officials/civil servants (7.7%) nor traders with merchandise (7.6%). This largest category is composed of mainly daily labors, drivers transporting travelers or goods across the border, shopkeepers or men working as farmers, animal owners and generally in agriculture. Most of the men traveling back and forth across the border are therefore unskilled or low-skilled labor looking for jobs in the agricultural or construction sectors.

**Province of origin.** The 5 main provinces of origin are, in decreasing order, Nangarhar (24.6%), Kandahar (21.9%), Kabul (8.10%), Helmand (6.0%) and Ghazni (3.9%). However, all 34 provinces are represented in our sampling pool, showing the nationwide diversity of the population crossing the Pakistani border. Since most do so at Torkham or Spin Boldak, the home provinces of Nangarhar and Kandahar logically come in first and second. Then in third position is Kabul, the capital city, a 4-hour drive from Torkham, followed by Helmand and Ghazni, the main southern provinces of Afghanistan, easily accessible from Spin Boldak.

**Province of destination in Pakistan.** Most men (50.8%) travel to districts in the North West Frontier Province, or for the remaining 39.9% in Balochistan, 4.8% in Sindh, 3.0 in Punjab, 1.3% in Islamabad Capital Territory and the remaining few in Azad Kashmir.

#### **2.4.2. Methods of and reasons for travel**

**Traveling alone.** 83.5% of men choose to travel on their own across the border, with family groups representing only 16.5% of the population flow. If we look more closely at the composition of these families, we see that they are on average composed of 4 family members. The majority of men, 58.0%, are accompanied by two family members, 31.0% by three family members and 11.0% by four or more family members.

**Reasons for travel.** The three reasons stated by Afghans for crossing the border are first to go home (27.0%), with Afghans living on either side of the border, second for a medical visit (21.4%) and third to visit family and friends (17.4%). Crossing the border to find work (14.9%) is the fourth main reason for migration. The remaining rank education (7.6%), business and trade (7.5%), insecurity and conflict (2.0%) and travel abroad (1.1%) as the main drivers of migration.

To sum up, the main reasons for travel can therefore be grouped in the following categories:

- 44.4% of travelers indicate social reasons as the main motivators of their travel,
- 22.4% refer to economic reasons (either to find work or for a business trip),
- 21.4% for medical purposes and access to social services inexistent in Afghanistan.

As will be explained in the analysis of the main findings of this report, travelling across the border is often related to a mix of factors rather than just one factor. Although the principal reasons of travel have been hereby provided, they do not reflect the variety of reasons pushing Afghans to cross the border. Although 44.4% define themselves as social travelers, they are also possibly going to benefit from the trip for economic reasons. As such, each of the numbers above in a way "hides" other numbers, as will be detailed in the next section of this report.

Only 2.1% of the sample screened at the border stated being originally from and currently living in Pakistan. An overwhelming 97.9% of Afghans crossing the border are originally from Afghanistan and either live or travel to Pakistan for the reasons stated above. Certain key distinctions can be made on this basis.

**A very limited number of Afghans define themselves as originally from a Pakistani province. The overwhelming majority still defines its roots as pertaining to Afghanistan.**

The minority of Afghans defining themselves as pertaining to Pakistan show the following characteristics:

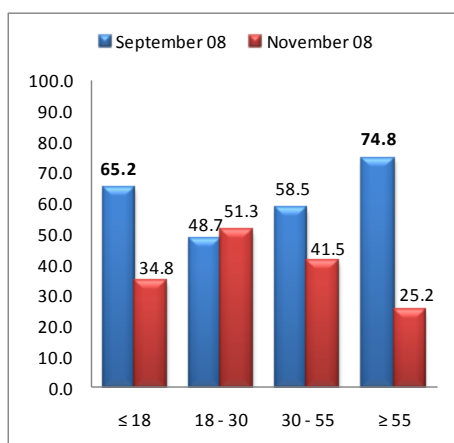
- 98.5% travel alone; 1.5% with their families;
- None of them are unaccompanied minors or elders, they are all aged above 18 and under 50;
- 55.0% are businessmen;
- 89.3% travel to visit their family and friends and 9.9% travel for business and work purposes; none of them mentioned insecurity and conflict as a reason for their travel.

**2.4.3. Distinctions by month of travel**

The populations traveling in September and in November present some nuances in terms of traveler profiles. These are outlined in the charts below.

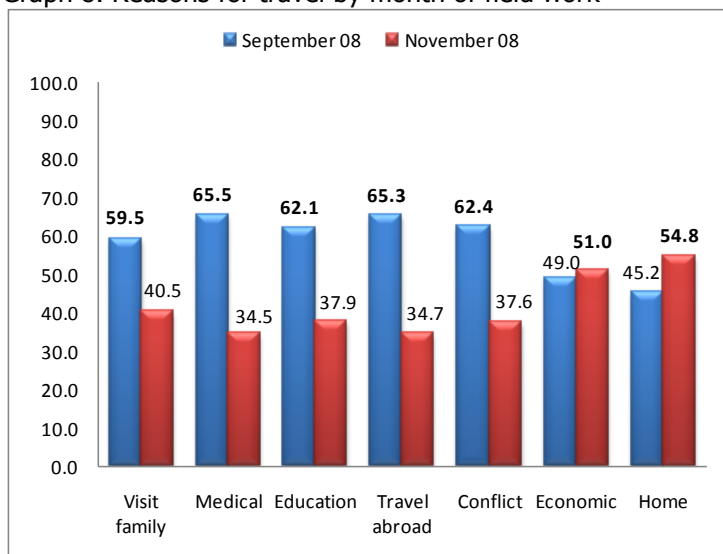
- *The age of the traveling population:* more than two thirds of all unaccompanied minors and elders traveled during the month of September (graph 7). This is due in great part to the Ramadan holidays and the will to visit families and friends;

Graph 7. Age distribution by month of field work



- *The reason for travel:* the majority of the population traveling to visit family and friends, for medical reasons, education and to travel abroad did so in September (graph 8); whereas economic factors and the return home weighed more heavily on the November travelers’ decision to travel. Finally, more travelers in November pointed to their return home as the purpose of their cross border travel.
- *Push factors:* insecurity and conflict played a bigger role in September, as 62.4% of the total number of respondents who defined conflict as a decision making factor were travelers screened during the September field work (graph 8).

Graph 8. Reasons for travel by month of field work



### 3. Main findings on cross border migration flows

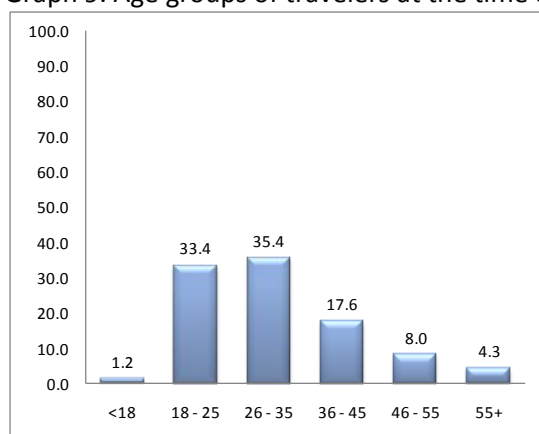
The data presented in this chapter was collected through the migrants' survey of 2,023 people at the Torkham and Spin Boldak crossing points in September and November 2008. These numbers and findings are the result of a quantitative exercise that was lower in numbers than the border screening introduced in the previous chapter, but more in-depth, allowing us to take a precise look at the profiles, reasons and methods of travel. The data presented in this chapter will form the basis of our overall conclusions (chapter 4) and recommendations (chapter 5).

#### 3.1. Socio-demographic profile

##### *Age groups*

**The surveyed population is young with the highest percentage of travelers (35.4%) falling in the 26-35 years age group** as illustrated in graph 7. Out of the 2,023 men interviewed at Torkham and Spin Boldak, ages range from 13 to 90 with an average at 32 years of age.

Graph 9. Age groups of travelers at the time of interview (%)



##### *Gender and marital status*

**All of the interviewees were male respondents** of which the majority, 76.5%, was married at the time of interview, 18.9% were single, 4.2% were engaged and 0.4% widowers. This information is in line with the explanation provided in the methodology section. Our interviewer teams did not have access to women, who never travel alone across the border but with male relatives. In that sense, women were not interviewed directly but their fathers, husbands or brothers were included in the sampling pool.

##### *Household situation*

**64.6% of the respondents are the heads of their household, 42.9% are the sole breadwinners of their household and 75.3% were travelling alone to Pakistan at the time of interview.** This means that the majority of men travel alone across the border, leaving their families behind for a fixed period of time for work or other purposes, highlighting the temporary nature of their cross border movement.

##### *Level of education*

**58.9% are illiterate.** Out of the 40.8% of literate men surveyed, 32.0% have completed primary school, 22.4% lower secondary school, 24.1% higher secondary school, 6.5% university and 14.5% religious studies. As supported by the qualitative field work, the majority of the population interviewed has a low level of education. Economic pressures often push the members of the family who have income generating potential, mainly young men, to stop their studies in favour of a paid activity.



*Province of origin and ethnic status*

**Respondents are almost all born in Afghanistan (91.8%) and originate from 32 provinces in Afghanistan**, showing the geographic variety and nationwide reach of Afghans with pre-established or potential links to Pakistan. This is explained by decades of war which saw the biggest refugee population from Afghanistan moving to Pakistan, which explains why 8.0% of the sample interviewed was born in Pakistan. The migration flow is therefore not restricted to bordering provinces or to populations with common religion or language with Pakistan, although they do rank highest in numbers.

However, it can be said that the biggest numbers of travelers to Pakistan (40.4%) originate from southern Afghanistan, composed of the provinces of Daikundi, Ghazni, Helmand, Kandahar, Khost, Nimroz, Paktia, Paktika, Uruzgan and Zabul; followed by the eastern region provinces of Nangarhar, Laghman, Kunar and Nuristan. Nangarhar remains the first ranking province of origin of travelers.

**The ethnic distribution favors Pashtun populations.** This is explained by the fact that, although travelers originate from all 34 Afghan provinces, the majority originates from predominantly Pashtun-dominated eastern and southern Afghanistan. The ten most represented provinces are: Nangarhar, Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Helmand, Zabul, Wardak, Laghman, Kunduz and Kunar. 84.1% are Pashtun, 8.1% Tajik, 3.7% Hazara, 2.6% Uzbek, and 1.4% Turkmen or from another ethnicity.

Province of origin				
1.	<b>Nangarhar</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	17. Herat	1.3%
2.	<b>Kandahar</b>	<b>16.4%</b>	18. Farah	0.9%
3.	<b>Ghazni</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	19. Parwan	0.9%
4.	<b>Kabul</b>	<b>4.9%</b>	20. Takhar	0.8%
5.	<b>Helmand</b>	<b>4.5%</b>	21. Faryab	0.8%
6.	<b>Zabul</b>	<b>3.9%</b>	22. Kapisa	0.5%
7.	<b>Wardak</b>	<b>3.4%</b>	23. Paktika	0.5%
8.	<b>Laghman</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	24. Badghis	0.4%
9.	<b>Kunduz</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	25. Bamyan	0.3%
10.	<b>Kunar</b>	<b>2.8%</b>	26. Badakhshan	0.2%
11.	Logar	2.8%	27. Khost	0.2%
12.	Paktia	2.3%	28. Samangan	0.2%
13.	Uruzgan	2.2%	29. Nimroz	0.1%
14.	Baghlan	1.8%	30. Daikundi	0.1%
15.	Balkh	1.6%	31. Ghor	0.1%
16.	Jawzjan	1.4%	32. Nuristan	0.1%
N=2,023				

The travel route depends on the province of origin. Travelers from the southern and western provinces travel predominantly through the Spin Boldak/Chaman crossing point. This is the case of the majority of people interviewed who originate from Badghis, Farah, Ghor and Herat in the west, and Ghazni, Helmand, Kandahar, Nimroz, Paktika, Uruzgan and Zabul in the south. On the other hand, travelers from the northern, central and eastern provinces choose Torkham as their preferred route for entry to Pakistan. This is the case of the majority of people interviewed who originate from Badakhshan, Takhar, Balkh, Faryab, Jawzjan and Samangan in the north, Bamyan, Kabul, Kapisa, Logar and Parwan in the central region and finally Kunar, Laghman, Nangarhar and Nuristan in the east.

Province of origin by border crossing point			
Region	Province	Of which at Torkham	Of which at Spin Boldak
North	Badakshan	<b>75.0%</b>	25.0%
	Faryab	<b>62.5%</b>	37.5%
	Jawzjan	<b>55.2%</b>	44.8%
	Samangan	<b>100.0%</b>	0.0%
	Sare Pul	23.5%	<b>76.5%</b>
North East	Baghlan	<b>54.1%</b>	45.9%
	Balkh	<b>73.5%</b>	26.5%
	Kunduz	46.6%	<b>53.4%</b>
	Takhar	<b>52.9%</b>	47.1%
East	Kunar	<b>96.5%</b>	3.5%
	Laghman	<b>98.3%</b>	1.7%
	Nangarhar	<b>98.7%</b>	1.3%
	Nuristan	<b>100.0%</b>	0.0%
Central	Bamyan	<b>100.0%</b>	0.0%
	Kabul	<b>83.8%</b>	16.2%
	Kapisa	<b>81.8%</b>	18.2%
	Logar	<b>75.4%</b>	24.6%
	Parwan	<b>88.9%</b>	11.1%
	Wardak	36.8%	<b>63.2%</b>
West	Badghis	0.0%	<b>100.0%</b>
	Farah	0.0%	<b>100.0%</b>
	Ghor	0.0%	<b>100.0%</b>
	Herat	15.4%	<b>84.6%</b>
South	Daikundi	50.0%	50.0%
	Ghazni	1.9%	<b>98.1%</b>
	Helmand	1.1%	<b>98.9%</b>
	Kandahar	0.6%	<b>99.4%</b>
	Khost	<b>75.0%</b>	25.0%
	Nimroz	0.0%	<b>100.0%</b>
	Paktia	<b>63.6%</b>	36.4%
	Paktika	0.0%	<b>100.0%</b>
	Uruzgan	0.0%	<b>100.0%</b>
	Zabul	0.0%	<b>100.0%</b>
N=2,023			

*Place of residence*

**71.9% of the men interviews live and reside in Afghanistan and 28.1% in Pakistan.** The ten highest density provinces of residence include 2 locations in Pakistan –NWFP and Balochistan – and 8 Afghan provinces, in decreasing order: Nangarhar, Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Helmand, Zabul, Kunduz and Wardak.

Province of destination			
1.	NWFP	18.0%	<i>Pakistan</i>
2.	Nangarhar	17.9%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
3.	Kandahar	14.9%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
4.	Balochistan	8.6%	<i>Pakistan</i>
5.	Ghazni	8.1%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
6.	Kabul	5.2%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
7.	Helmand	4.0%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
8.	Zabul	2.7%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
9.	Kunduz	1.8%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
10.	Wardak	1.8%	<i>Afghanistan</i>
N=1,764			

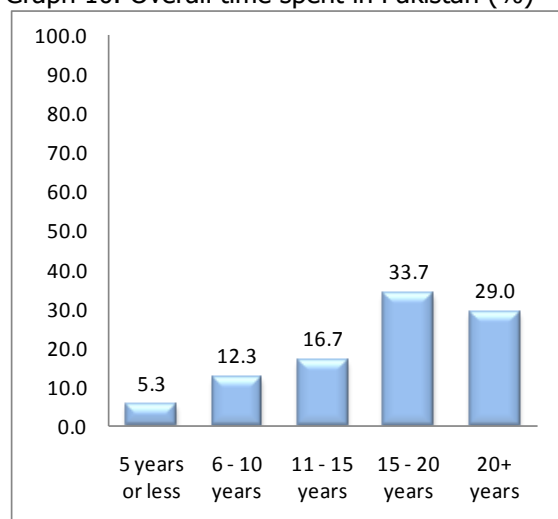
Province and city of destination in Pakistan			
Province of destination		City of destination	
1. NWFP	46.9%	Peshawar	25.4%
2. Balochistan	44.4%	Quetta	27.2%
3. Sindh	5.0%	Karachi	4.0%
4. Punjab	3.2%	Lahore	2.1%
5. Islamabad	0.5%	Islamabad	0.4%
6. Kashmir	0.1%	Kashmir	0.1%

This distribution mirrors the order in which the provinces of origin were ranked, showing that most of the men interviewed either were born, raised and spent their whole life in the city of origin, or after having lived in Pakistan, have returned to their province of origin in Afghanistan.

Province of origin by province of residence	
Province of residence	Province of origin
NWFP	Nangarhar 53.6%, Kunar 6.0%, Laghman 5.2%, Paktia 4.4%, Logar 4.1%
Nangarhar	Nangarhar 92.8%, Laghman 2.5%, Kunar 1.9%, Logar 1.7%, Kapisa 0.3%
Kandahar	Kandahar 86.4%, Ghazni 3.0%, Zabul 2.6%, Helmand 2.3%, Uruzgan 1.0%
Balochistan	Kandahar 37.9%, Ghazni 16.7%, Zabul 12.1%, Kunduz 5.2%, Helmand 5.2%
Ghazni	Ghazni 99.4%, Paktia 0.6%
Kabul	Kabul 53.8%, Laghman 7.5%, Wardak 7.5%, Paktia 5.7%, Logar 4.7%
Helmand	Helmand 91.4%, Kandahar 4.9%, Ghazni 2.5%, Uruzgan 1.2%
Zabul	Zabul 90.7%, Uruzgan 5.6%, Ghazni 1.9%, Wardak 1.9%
Kunduz	Kunduz 89.2%, Takhar 5.4%, Wardak 5.4%
Wardak	Wardak 97.3%, Kunar 2.7%
N=1,764	

Those who now live in Pakistan originate mainly from Nangarhar, followed by Kandahar, Kabul, Ghazni and Kunar. They have for the most part lived in Pakistan over 15 years in the span of their life time.

Graph 10. Overall time spent in Pakistan (%)



#### Activity status and skill set

**33.0% of the men interviewed were unemployed at the time of interview and 53.1% considered not having any professional or marketable skills.** The majority 67.0% were employed as unskilled or low skilled labor in the agriculture sector (15.6%), construction (14.6%), wholesale and retail trade (14.2%), transportation (5.7%), education (4.0%) and other activity sectors (including manufacturing, accommodation and food services, professional, scientific and technical services, government etc.).

The majority of men working in agriculture travelled through Spin Boldak, while the construction sector workers, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and education workers migrated through the Torkham border. This is explained by the fact that the biggest flow of goods and trade goes through Torkham in and out of Pakistan, and that it is therefore a more commercial and economic hub than Spin Boldak. Men from all provinces travel through Torkham for trade purposes, as illustrated by the example below of a man living in Herat but traveling several times a month to Pakistan to purchase goods at a cheaper price in Lahore, Pakistan.

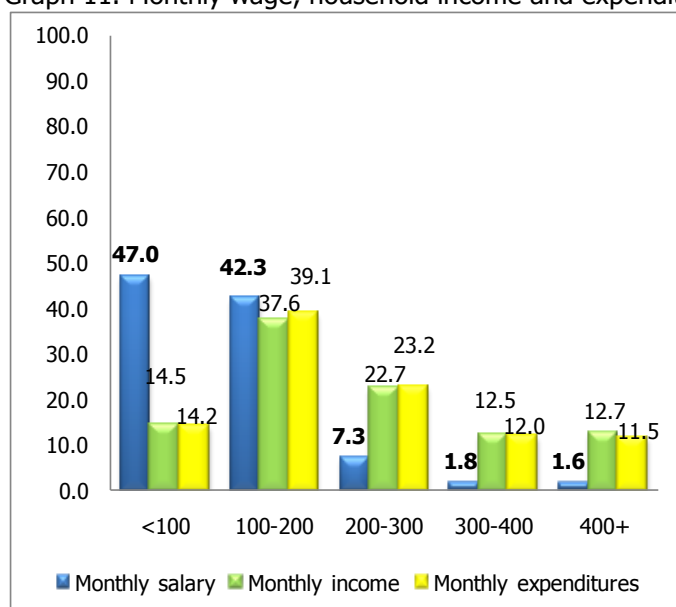
*"I am from Herat province, I am 18 years old, and I live in the Gulran district of Herat with my family. I have never lived in Pakistan but I have been going there for some time mainly for trade as I am a shopkeeper and I need to bring goods for my shop from Pakistan. I usually go 2 to 3 times a month to Pakistan for trade purposes. This time I will stay there for 1 week and my destination is Lahore."*

*Enayatullah, 18, Herat.*

*Monthly wage, household income and expenditure levels*

**The vast majority of these men, 89.3%, earn USD 200 or less per month. This is not sufficient to cover expenses, but together with the additional sources of household income, they manage to have a revenue source beyond their expenditure level.** This corroborates the self perception of these men that their financial situation, for the most part, is above average.

Graph 11. Monthly wage, household income and expenditures levels (USD, %)



**The sample of travelers is an altogether lower middle-class population, based on their own self description and perception.** When asked to determine their family's financial status, 51.5% say they have an average financial situation, 29.5% a good or very good financial situation and only 19.0% deem having a below average financial situation.

How would you rate your household's financial situation?	
Very good	1.8%
Good	27.7%
Average	51.5%
Bad	16.6%
Very bad	2.4%
N=2,011	

### 3.2. Migration patterns and history

#### Temporary and cyclical migration: knowledge and experience of Pakistan

- Torkham is not only the preferred and more used travel route for Afghan migrants to Pakistan, as shown by the daily and weekly travel flows, but it is also home to a more organized and structured movement flow than Spin Boldak.

**81.3% of all travelers indicate going back and forth to Afghanistan on a regular basis. The highest number, 35.9%, tends to cross the border every three months.** The numbers below show the frequency of travel of these migrants. The ones traveling more frequently, i.e. every week or up to a few times a month, tend to go, for the majority, through Torkham to enter Pakistan. On the other hand, less frequent travelers, once to twice a year, or according to necessity, go through Spin Boldak.

How often do you travel back and forth between Afghanistan and Pakistan?			
	Overall flow	Via Torkham	Via Spin Boldak
Every week	7.1%	6.7%	0.4%
A few times a month	6.0%	4.8%	1.2%
Once a month	14.1%	9.9%	4.1%
Every 3 months	35.9%	18.1%	17.8%
Once a year	32.5%	10.4%	22.1%
Other (Twice a year or according to necessity)	4.4%	1.8%	2.6%
N=1,639			

**Only 13.3% of the respondents are entering or have entered Pakistan for the first time.** Of these, the majority, 71.1%, were recorded at the Spin Boldak crossing point. The rest of them have been to Pakistan before, for the most part at least 2 to 5 times, and for 40.7% of them 10 times or more.

How many times have you been to Pakistan?	
Once	8.6%
2 – 5 times	35.6%
6 – 9 times	15.2%
10 – 13 times	13.9%
14 times or more	26.8%
N=1,881	

#### Duration of stay in Pakistan

##### *Overall time spent in Pakistan*

This cyclical movement is a direct effect of the recent migration movements of Afghans escaping conflict during the war years in Afghanistan. Most Afghan families sought refuge in Pakistan. This is reflected in the sample interviewed since **the average number of years spent in Pakistan is**

**11.5 years and 46.7% state having lived in Pakistan 10 years or more throughout their lives.**

There is a significant distinction to be drawn here between the migrants at Torkham and those at Spin Boldak. Afghans traveling through Torkham have spent on average 15 years total in Pakistan, whereas travelers in Spin Boldak have spent half that time, 7.5 years in Pakistan in their lifetime.

How many years have you lived in Pakistan overall?			
	<b>Overall numbers</b>	Via Torkham	Via Spin Boldak
Less than 1 year	<b>14.1%</b>	8.4%	20.5%
1 – 10 years	<b>39.1%</b>	27.8%	51.8%
11 – 20 years	<b>26.3%</b>	36.2%	15.3%
More than 20 years	<b>20.4%</b>	27.7%	12.4%
N=1,741			

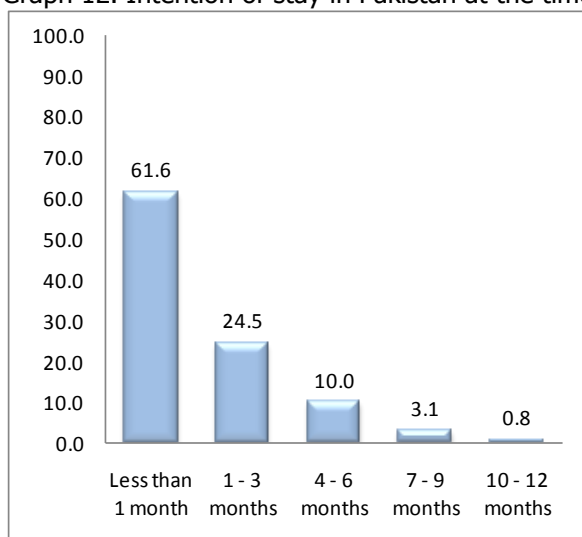
*Current duration of stay in Pakistan*

The current travel patterns are different from the historical migration cycles of Afghans to Pakistan. Whereas close to have, as seen above, have spent at least a decade of their lives in Pakistan, their current travel mode is temporary and short term.

**89.5% of all travelers interviewed have spent or are planning to spend less than 1 year in Pakistan at the time of interview.** 9.3% indicate the duration to be of 1 to 4 years and only 1.0% mention having lived or planning to live in Pakistan for 5 years or more.

**Of those 89.5%, the majority, 61.6%, spend less than 1 month in Pakistan.** There is a significant difference and gap between the intention to stay and the duration of the last visit to Pakistan. This is due to the repatriation of many Afghan refugees to their country of origin but who visit their former host country to continue the use of social services, capitalize on known employment opportunities and visit relatives and friends who have stayed behind.

Graph 12. Intention of stay in Pakistan at the time of interview (%)



Timing of migration

Although migrants travel back and forth frequently, 54.0% mention leaving Afghanistan for Pakistan usually in the winter time and 50.2% returning to Afghanistan in the summer time. The third busiest time for travels is the fall period, with about one third of respondents traveling at that time of the year.



### Reasons for past migration

When asked the main reason justifying their frequent cross border travel over time, the most frequently cited answers were:

1. To visit family and friends,
2. For employment and work purposes,
3. To return home or
4. For medical purposes.

*"I always go and back between Afghanistan and Pakistan border, sometime for work, sometime for visit relatives, and sometime for medication."*

*Mohammad Asef, 43, Nangarhar*

What has historically been the main reason for your travel to / from Pakistan?	
Visit family and friends	31.0%
Employment opportunity	30.5%
To go home	12.3%
Medical purposes	11.2%
Trade, business visit	7.2%
Education	3.6%
Accompanying relatives across the border	2.6%
Other	1.6%

It is interesting to note that 8.1% of the men who reside in Pakistan said that they cross the border often to go home. These correspond to men who have a home on both sides of the border. If we add the number of people who go back and forth to visit family and friends, a total of **43.3% of the travelers have their home, family and friends on both sides of the border.**

### **3.3. Factors of migration**

#### Labor migration and transnational social networks

Looking specifically at the reasons for travel on the day of interview, during the months of September and November 2008, the most important factors of migration remain in line with past migration trends. **The most noticeable difference is that the main factor for travel given on the day of interview is work based, hinting to the greater weight of economic and labor migration than in the past across the Pakistani border.**

Similar to the data found in by the 2005 IOM research team, travelers often quoted more than one reason for traveling to Pakistan. There are usually multiple purposes for one trip, with a mix of reasons reflecting the economic, social, medical and educational motivations of Afghans.

**Furthermore, a higher number go to Pakistan to go "home" while a lower number do so to visit family and friends.** This shows, as a trend, that more people are now settling in both countries some of them maintaining a living and work base in Afghanistan and in Pakistan. The numbers below show that socially and economically motivated travel, respectively 40.0% and 32.9%, are key to understanding the cross border movement of Afghans. However, even when the social factor is indicated as the predominant push for migration, the economic factor is also present as a driver, cause and consequence of travel.

What is the main reason for your travel to / from Pakistan today?			
	Overall numbers	September 08	November 08
Employment	28.4%	13.9%	14.5%
To go home	20.0%	8.6%	11.4%
Visit family and friends	20.0%	11.9%	8.1%
Medical purposes	18.8%	9.2%	9.6%
Trade, business visit	4.5%	2.6%	1.9%
Education	3.2%	1.6%	1.6%
Accompanying relatives	2.6%	0.7%	1.8%
Conflict / insecurity	0.7%	0.4%	0.3%
Other	1.8%	1.3%	0.5%
N=2,023			

These numbers also show some seasonal variations, with the month of September, specifically the Ramadan period, seeing more cross border movement for short term purposes to visit family and friends as well as for trade and business visits. On the other hand, the month of November serves a greater labor migration purpose, to accompany relatives across the border and to go home.

**It is however essential to keep in mind that even economic migrants report complementary and secondary motivations that are social and cultural in nature, and vice versa. Our qualitative field work has indicated a mix of motivations to leave or return to Pakistan, even when employment was the main driver. As such, cross border movements are socially and economically motivated, independent of the location or time of travel.**

#### Afghans residing in Pakistan

**19.7% of the respondents declare having their permanent residence in Pakistan, with frequent travels back to their country of origin.** This segment of the sample population exemplifies the transnational social networks established between both countries. With a base in Pakistan, they travel to Afghanistan first and foremost to visit their families and friends (46.6%) for special occasions such as weddings and funerals or for regular visits; for work (34.1%); to check up on their land and property in Afghanistan (11.5%) and for business visits (6.3%).

**The diversity of motivations, be it social, economic or cultural, for the frequent visits of Afghans residing in Pakistan shows a two-way cross border movement and an interest in Afghans of returning home in the long run.** Based on our qualitative field work, the tipping point will be reached with the provision of increased economic opportunities, better infrastructure and access to social services and finally less insecurity in Afghanistan.

#### ***Profile of an Afghan residing in NWFP, Pakistan***

*"I am originally from Logar province, I am 55 years old, and I now live in the Hayat Abad district of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan with my family. I have 4 children, 3 sons and 1 daughter.*

*When the Najibullah government ended and Mujahidin seized power in Afghanistan, about 100 rockets a day hit the province of Kabul. Most Kabul residents left the city and moved to Pakistan. We also moved to Peshawar where we lived in the Shamshatoo refugee camp. At that time, my sister in law and my brother in law were living the U.S.A. When I informed them of our move to Pakistan, they sent money for my elder son to finish high school in the U.S. They paid the smuggler to take him there, which cost about USD12000. He was provided with an illegal passport, visa and airplane ticket and after 4 years received his U.S. citizenship. He then invited in turn his brother to join him. He had an illness for which he needed to seek treatment. He stayed in the U.S. until his visa expired. He gave himself to the police justifying his longer stay in the light of his medical problems. It has now been 10 years and he still has not received his citizenship.*

*My elder son works as a tailor and earns about USD2000 a month of which he sends USD500 a month to Pakistan through the hawala system to provide for my family. I have a clothing store in*

*Peshawar and I earn about 5-8000Rs a month. My other son is working as a teacher in a private school earning 5000Rs a month. My daughter is studying and finishing high school.*

*I have a very good living situation. Every 2 to 3 months, I travel to Afghanistan to visit my relatives or for some special occasions, be it a wedding or a funeral. This time around I am going to spend 10 days in Kabul and Logar. I still have some land in Logar where a farmer pays me rent to be able to work the land. I will therefore need to pay him a visit to collect these wages.*

*I have now lived 17 years in Pakistan and because of the bad security situation in Afghanistan, I am planning to stay here. We registered in the 2005 Census and have POR cards valid until 2009. If I were to lose my job or my legal status, I would then return to Afghanistan."*

*Hoyat Noor, Kagar, originally from Logar, now living in NWFP, Pakistan.*

#### Working in Pakistan

At the time of interview, **27.8% of respondents already had an employment secured in Pakistan and 72.2% were planning to find employment upon arrival.** Afghan migrants depend on their well established social networks in Pakistan mainly in Balochistan (45.0%), NWFP (43.0%), Sindh (6.7%), Punjab (4.4%) and Islamabad Capital Frontier or Azad Kashmir (1.0%) to find work prior to or upon arrival to their final destination. They mostly go to the main urban areas of Peshawar, Quetta and Karachi.

**Social networks and word of mouth constitute the main method for finding employment with 62.4% of respondents relying on it as their main job source.** This explains why the majority of men traveling for work purposes do not secure an employment prior to their arrival as they are confident that the networks in place will enable them to find work within days of their arrival.

How did you find your employment in Pakistan?	
Word of mouth	45.2%
Social networks	17.2%
Informal labor market	11.8%
Own business activity	11.8%
Former employer	8.6%
Local employment agency	4.3%
Other	1.1%
N=146	

**Afghans work primarily in unskilled or low-skilled professions (64.7%) in the construction sector (37.6%) and wholesale and retail trade (24.2%) sector.** A detailed breakdown of the sectors of activity and positions taken on by Afghans in Pakistan are listed below. The most income earning activities are gained by travelers migrating through Torkham – majority of people working in construction, wholesale and retail, manufacturing and transportation – while the less income generating activities are found in the areas of Pakistan closer to the Spin Boldak crossing point – agriculture, accommodation and food services, mining, and other sectors.

Work in Pakistan: Activity Sector			
	Overall numbers	Torkham	Spin Boldak
Construction	<b>37.6%</b>	20.3%	17.3%
Wholesale and retail	<b>24.2%</b>	13.9%	10.2%
Other service activities	<b>7.2%</b>	50.0%	50.0%
Agriculture	<b>6.2%</b>	0.4%	5.8%
Accommodation / food	<b>5.1%</b>	0.9%	4.2%
Mining	<b>4.6%</b>	0.0%	4.6%
Transportation	<b>4.4%</b>	3.2%	1.2%
Manufacturing	<b>2.8%</b>	2.1%	0.7%
Other (*)	<b>7.9%</b>	2.4%	5.5%
N=890			

*(\*) Among other activity sectors: electric and gas supply; professional, scientific and technical services; education; health services; administration.*

Work in Pakistan: Position	
Day Labour	40.4%
Shopkeeper	10.1%
Own business	8.1%
Civil servant	6.1%
Technician	5.3%
Fruit/vegetable seller	4.6%
Farmer	4.4%
Driver	4.4%
Tailor	1.5%
Teacher	0.9%
Guard	0.8%
Office worker	0.4%
Doctor	0.2%
Skip	12.8%

These migrant workers prefer working in Pakistan than Afghanistan as a result of various problems pertaining to the Afghan context. **64.6% of interviewees point to the lack of work in Afghanistan** as the main reason for their economic migration. This is especially true of travelers crossing the border through Spin Boldak (69.7%). Wage differentials, conflict and insecurity, drought or the lack of land are only minor issues reported by the respondents.

In the list of "push" factors leading Afghan migrants to work in Pakistan, most obstacles are felt by migrants traveling through Spin Boldak. The "push" factors are a more present source of problems for Afghans from the south and west.

What factors pushed you to find work in Pakistan rather than in Afghanistan?			
	Overall numbers	Torkham	Spin Boldak
Lack of jobs in Afghanistan	<b>64.6%</b>	30.3%	<b>69.7%</b>
Wage differentials	<b>21.8%</b>	37.6%	<b>62.4%</b>
Drought	<b>18.3%</b>	40.4%	<b>59.6%</b>
Conflict / Insecurity	<b>14.9%</b>	31.8%	<b>68.2%</b>
Permanent job in Pakistan	<b>10.6%</b>	32.4%	<b>67.6%</b>
Poverty	<b>11.1%</b>	50.0%	<b>50.0%</b>
Lack of land	<b>9.2%</b>	58.8%	41.2%
Difficulties of adjustment	<b>7.6%</b>	62.5%	37.5%

### 3.4. Situation of Afghans in Pakistan

#### Transit from Afghanistan to Pakistan

**75.3% of Afghans interviewed are single men traveling alone, without their family. When asked for the reason of their unaccompanied travel, the majority of respondents, 52.3%, point to the temporary nature of their stay**, either for a temporary business visit (4.8%), medical visit (15.9%) or to family visit (32.6%).

**The mode of travel is noticeable by the lack of documentation and for a regularized method of cross border movement. 81.2% of respondents say they travel without any travel papers.** The ones who do have papers either own a passport (3.7%), a Pakistani ID (3.3%), an Afghan ID (5.1), or variety of immigration cards (6.6%).

*"I do not have any documents. When I cross the border some time the police stops me. I then have to give them some money as bribe. They let me to go back and forth between Afghanistan and Pakistan border. We never registered in the 2005 Census so I don't have a POR card."*

*Rahmatullah, 21, Kabul*

This irregular migration flow is not caused by a smuggling network as 90.1% of travelers cross the border on their own, without the help of any agent or smuggler. The border is therefore unregulated and allows for Afghans to migrate without necessitating any formal travel documents.

#### Legal status in Pakistan

**82.0% of respondents have previously resided or worked in Pakistan. Of these, 73.4% were living in Pakistan without any legal status**, while 17.5% held refugee status, 2.6% a valid visa and 1.0% a work permit. Most of the refugee card holders – 73.9% – traveled through Torkham while most of the visa holders – 78.8% – traveled through Spin Boldak. Overall, 18.7% reported having been registered in the 2005 Pakistani government census.

#### Socio-economic situation of Afghans in Pakistan

**61.7% of Afghans traveling through the border in September and November had previously held a job in Pakistan.** Not having had for the majority, 72.9%, any prior experience in the sectors of activity chosen, the experience of living and working in Pakistan allowed a margin of this population (24.9%) to learn a new skill. However, they still stayed in low skilled positions, their work conditions being for the most part below average. Only 21.6% of the respondents claim having had satisfactory work conditions.

How would you define your work conditions in Pakistan?	
Very difficult	9.7%
Difficult	38.8%
Average	29.9%
Good	20.4%
Very good	1.2%
N=1,130	

The analysis of the wage levels and expenditures levels of these men in Pakistan during their last period of activity shows that there is **no significant financial advantage to living and working in Pakistan. The average wage level is USD112 and the average expenditure level of USD96. This means that in one month, and on average, Afghan migrant workers saved USD16 of their wage.**

This explains why the migration to Pakistan, albeit of a labor and economic nature, is only temporary: the wages and benefits received are not favorable enough to justify a permanent resettlement in Pakistan as opposed to Afghanistan. As such, migrating to Pakistan is a temporary and short term coping mechanism.

This is in line with IOM 2005 findings, which demonstrated that by comparing wage levels, it was apparent that relative wage levels do not determine the reasons for departure but rather that the availability of work and income, social reasons, cultural reasons and identity are the main drivers of migration. It has become part of the culture of Afghans to easily cross the border to Pakistan for immediate and medium term needs and an important coping strategy used by heads of households across the country.

This is further exemplified by the levels of remittances: **only 5.9% of male migrants to Pakistan remit money back to Afghanistan and 19.3% declare having brought back money from on their last trip to Pakistan. Saving money and sending it back home is not the priority of Afghans crossing the border into Pakistan.**

On previous trips to Pakistan, the small numbers of Afghans who had sent money back home did not actually go through formal institutions or the *hawala* system. In 82.1% of cases, they either brought the money back to Afghanistan themselves or had a relative bring it back to their family. They rarely paid a smuggler or use a formal system to send the remittances home, as it was too costly a method especially in relative terms to the amount of savings, which were marginal. The short distances

between the cities of Peshawar and Quetta from the Afghanistan were another factor which worked as a disincentive to using paid and formal systems of money transfer.

### Needs assessment

To assess the needs of Afghans migrating to and from Pakistan, the interviewer teams inquired about the level of problems encountered and of assistance offered to these populations. 95.8% did not receive any help, whether governmental or non-governmental, while in Pakistan and 94.7% did not receive any help upon return in Afghanistan. This is explained by the overall lack of problems encountered by the travelers. The majority of respondents did not report facing any difficulty in their transit back to Afghanistan (66.1%) or having any problems upon return (62.9%). Unemployment, poverty, security and the re-adjustment to life back in Afghanistan is only a problem for a marginal segment of this sample population (see data below).

Which problems did you face, if any, upon return?	
<b>None</b>	<b>62.9%</b>
Unemployment	27.3%
Poverty	13.6%
Security	8.6%
Adjustment to life back in Afghanistan	4.5%
N=1,875	

**The lack of assistance and of problems before and upon return show that the respondents did not fall in either of the two categories of (1) refugee populations returning to Afghanistan or (2) extremely vulnerable individuals.**

An interesting finding, especially when compared to past reports on the flows of returnees from Iran & Pakistan, is that **66.0% of respondents did not report any specific positive impact from their migration to Pakistan.** This is mainly due to the short duration, personal and medical nature of their travel, which is very different from the situation of refugees returning from 10-15 years of exile (Altai 2005). In the latter case, exile had been the main vehicle for acquiring a better education and improving skills for respondents and their families. However, in line with this previous study, skills improvement and educational value remain the two key benefits from traveling and living abroad.

What positive impact did your experience in Pakistan have on you?	
<b>None</b>	<b>66.0%</b>
Improve skill set	12.9%
Educational value	7.5%
Acquire new ideas	6.8%
Better financial situation	5.8%
Gain in material assets	3.3%
N=1,881	

### **3.5. Seasonal variations in the composition of the population movement**

In the 2005 IOM survey, a higher number of economic migrants shaped the cross border flows between Pakistan and Afghanistan in the spring than in the winter. **This present study looks at two different travel flows and shows a higher rate of economically motivated migration in the fall than in the summer.**

This is exemplified by a concurring set of key data collected on the migrant survey which point to the greater economic nature of the November travel flow:

First, November travelers indicate a higher rate of back and forth across the border, with only 8.3% crossing the border for the first time as opposed to 18.3% in September. This frequent back and forth cross border movement is explained in November in economic terms, while social factors (going home and visiting friends and family) play a greater role in September.

Secondly, more Afghans have a job already secured in Pakistan prior to their travel in November (52.1%). This is in part due to the fact that first time travelers were very low in November (4.2% of the overall sample pool), while they were twice as high in September. This shows a greater knowledge and experience of cross border movement and of Pakistan in the November flow, which make it easier for migrants to find economic opportunities through their contacts or own local expertise.

Thirdly, the reasons for cross border movement on the day of the interview are again more widely job related in November, while family visits, conflict and insecurity are a bigger factor in September. More Afghans identify temporary travel for business to describe the nature of their movement in November while the September flow identifies itself by a temporary visit to see family and for health purposes.

Last but not least, in November, more Afghans point to the lack of jobs in Afghanistan (34.1%) and wage differentials (14.2%) as the main push factors driving them to cross the border.

*NB: The data collected on seasonal variations has to be understood in the light of the influence of the religious holiday of Ramadan on the migration flow in the month of September. The holiday naturally affected the wave of movements by giving precedence to social and family related travels.*

**These subtle seasonal variations aside, it is important to understand that the quantitative and qualitative data indicate a mix of motivations to leave or return to Pakistan, even when employment was the main driver. As such, cross border movements in September and in November alike are socially and economically motivated. This dual trend is the main conclusion on the motivations for cross border traveling.**

#### **Focus: Afghans residing in Pakistan**

The large majority of Afghans residing in Pakistan report a high rate of cross border movement. Those traveling in November have a higher tendency to do so, with 98.6% of them as compared to 90.4% in September. In both seasons, the main reasons for this back and forth cross border movement is to (1) visit family and friends (44.7% in September and 32.1% in November), (2) to work (23.6% in September and 29.0% in November) and (3) to go home (19.5% in September and 25.9% in November).

The fall travelers indicate a higher rate of employment motivated travel. This can be explained by the fact that the summer field work was carried out right before a major religious holiday, a time when movements across border are increasingly related to social and cultural factors. Family visits are therefore a more important element in their movements in the late summer than in the fall.

The common trend is in both seasons for about half of the respondents to be living in Pakistan irregularly, while more than one third (37.4% in September and 38.7% in November) hold refugee status and the remaining hold some type of ID card (8.4% in September and 12.9% in November). These ID cards mainly indicate cases of Afghan men who work in the informal sector or who are self-employed. Some of them are businessmen in Afghanistan who have a presence and status in Pakistan, with the authorization of the government of Pakistan to live and work there. They are involved in both countries and are represented in higher numbers in November than in September.

This is further confirmed by the higher monthly wage levels and household income of Afghan residents of Pakistan in November than in September. The majority of these Afghans in September earns less than USD100/month, while the majority in November earns more than USD 100/month. Their financial status is a step higher in November with the majority of them reporting a household income above USD200 while in September the majority reports this income to be under USD200.



### 3.6. Geographical variations in the composition of the population movement

The composition and nature of the flow between the two main crossing points reflect a different situation mainly due to the regional and urban specificities in Afghanistan and in Pakistan, with different opportunities and services in different locations of the north and the south. The field work in September and in November was carried out simultaneously at both borders to allow for a comparison and contrast between the defining characteristics of cross border movement at each location.

The overall trend that comes out of the data is that the flow through Torkham holds more social and cultural ties to Pakistan, as a result of a longer experience of life in the country of exile, a higher number still living in this country and a more frequent and cyclical travel pattern.

In Spin Boldak however, the migration flow is less structured and organized and tends to build itself around economic opportunities and constitutes more of a livelihood strategy.

In both cases, there are always multiple reasons for travel. In Torkham, the social and cultural supersede the economic, while in Spin Boldak it is the opposite. However, all reasons are usually present in the decision making process of migrants. In any event, there is a general and natural pattern of cross-border travelling for Afghans between Afghanistan and Pakistan, who tend to travel to Pakistan often and only for temporary periods of time. The opportunities in Pakistan are slightly better but the data shows the overall wage levels to be similar enough for the economic factor not to be overwhelmingly relevant in contrast to other factors.

A set of distinctions between the travelers at Torkham and Spin Boldak are presented below. Certain key elements are:

- **Cluster mapping in Afghanistan and Pakistan:**
  - **Province of origin:** The distribution of Torkham travelers is centered specifically on a few main eastern and central provinces, namely Nangarhar, Kabul, Laghman and Kunar. The picture in Spin Boldak is more diverse and balanced with a wider representation of the nearby southern provinces such Kandahar, Ghazni, Helmand and Zabul but also the main western province of Herat).
  - **Province of destination:** In both cases, the province of destination follows the logic of the geographical location of the chosen travel route: travelers going through Torkham aim for the majority for a destination in NWFP (Peshawar) a limited number to Punjab (Lahore), and Spin Boldak travelers choose to go to Balochistan (Quetta) followed by the province of Sindh (Karachi).
- **Cyclical and temporary cross border movement:**
  - **Frequency of travels and duration of stay:** Torkham travelers show a higher tendency for back and forth cross border movement (51.7%) while Spin Boldak travelers constitute the biggest group of 1<sup>st</sup> timers traveling to Pakistan (71.1%). This is in direct correlation with previous visits to Pakistan. The longer the overall duration of stay in Pakistan throughout one lifetime is, the more frequent short term travels back to Pakistan are. Indeed, migrants through Torkham report having lived on average 15 years in Pakistan, hence justifying the cyclical nature of their cross border movement, while Spin Boldak migrants report a significantly lower average, estimated at 8 years. Only 20.5% of travelers through Spin Boldak have spent, in their lifetime, 1 year or less in Pakistan, and the majority (59.4%) has spent 5 years or less in Pakistan. This is in sharp contrast with travelers going through Torkham: they have for the most part (27.7%) spent 21 years or more in Pakistan, with the majority (77.4%) having spent 6 years or more living in the country of migration.

- **Transnational networks:** The presence of well established links between specific provinces in the two countries increases the incidence of travel across the closest crossing point. Most of the Afghans residing in Pakistan live in NWFP, close to the border, and choose to travel through Torkham (67.5%). This is also true of Afghans born in Pakistan of which the clear majority (82.6%) opts for the Torkham route in and out of Pakistan. The presence of a greater population of Afghans in Pakistan's northern province, as well as the cultural ties related to the birth of the younger generation of Afghans in Pakistan, have increased the necessity and ease of cross border movement to visit family and friends, or the likelihood of having one foot in each country.
- **Intention to stay:** The intended duration of the stay of Afghan migrants to Pakistan reflects the temporary nature of their migration, for economic, social or cultural purposes, as 91.6% of the Torkham and 87.5% of Spin Boldak travelers plan to spend less than 1 year in Pakistan. Of these, the more short term visitors are the Torkham travelers, as **70.1% of them will spend less than 1 month in Pakistan, compared to 55.3% of the Spin Boldak travelers.**
- **Economic migration:**
  - **Economic motives of travel:** These are higher in numbers at Spin Boldak (55.1% of all work related travels, 50.5% of trade visits) than at Torkham (higher number of home related, family related, and conflict related movements) and tend to save more money during their trip to Pakistan, hinting at the financial goal of their stay in the neighboring country. Spin Boldak travelers show a tendency to have no other choice but to migrate to Pakistan, showing the necessity and economic factor of their movement as they are higher in numbers to identify conflict, wage differentials, drought and the lack of jobs in Afghanistan as drivers of their migration to Pakistan.
  - **Economic motives for return:** In addition, their return to Pakistan is mainly related to the end of a business activity at Spin Boldak (81.0%), while Torkham travelers constitute the main population of Afghans returning voluntarily with UNHCR support (refugees returning home), out of fear of conflict or persecution in Afghanistan or because of perceived improved security and employment opportunities in Afghanistan.
  - **Economic opportunities:** When looking at their level of income, the average current wage level of Spin Boldak travelers is higher, with USD117 compared to USD96 for Torkham. The wage levels in Pakistan during the previous visit are identical to this current salary for Spin Boldak travelers, showing that many tend to do the same job recurrently on two sides of the border, at the same rate. However, Torkham travelers can increase their pay in Pakistan as they receive on average USD109, higher than the rate given in Afghanistan, but still significantly lower than at Spin Boldak.
- **Note on the methods of travel:**
  - **Smuggling network at Spin Boldak:** Spin Boldak travelers report a higher reliance on smugglers (9.5% of them representing 96.5% of all smuggler users) to cross the border than the Torkham travelers, paying a small fee, on average USD 14 to enter Pakistan through the southern crossing point. According to our qualitative field work and team observation of the border, there are on any given day hundreds of smugglers waiting with their cars or motorbikes at the Spin Boldak crossing point. Their fees are cheap and mostly consist of (1) providing transportation for travelers from the town of Spin Boldak to the main border point, approximately 5-10 minutes by car and (2) avoiding the police bribes for travelers crossing the border.

## 4. Major conclusions of the study

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The Afghan history of the past 20 years of war and crisis has been accompanied by a history of economic migration at the regional level, with flows of labor migrants traveling to the neighboring countries: Iran, Pakistan and the rest of the Central Asian region. These flows go back hundreds of years and are faithful to the basic rules of international labor migration: Afghanistan has a high demand for employment that cannot be met locally. As a practical response, Afghans shift their supply of labor to the regional economic power. It is interesting to note that in the particular case of Afghanistan, current economic migrants prefer traveling to Iran than to Pakistan for reasons of wage differentials, job opportunities on the informal labor market and nonexistent unemployment rates. This is true of all ethnic groups (ALTAI 2008<sup>9</sup>).

**However, Pakistan offers additional social and cultural advantages that provide the impetus for more frequent and cyclical cross border movements, leading to a temporary migration for a diverse range of reasons,** stemming from economic, social (visits to family and friends) and medical purposes. The assumption here, as correlated by previous studies, is that Afghans seek to remain in both countries, both as family groups and as single wage earners, and that they will find increasingly inventive methods to circumvent any attempts at stricter border control and police scrutiny inside the country."<sup>10</sup> **The migratory phenomenon is economic, social and cultural, and has its roots in the history of refugee movements but it is clearly no longer a refugee migration issue.**

The main findings of this study are summarized below, with a specific focus on key macro issues, and will be followed by a chapter on areas of opportunities recommended to tackle the identified problems.

### 4.1. Economic motivations: Labor migration or trade

**As presented in the main findings of the report, economic motivations are one of the main decision making factors leading Afghans to travel to Pakistan.** Indeed, 62.6% of labor migrants cite the lack of work in Afghanistan as the push factor leading them to Pakistan. According to past and current trends, one third of overall the overall respondent pool at the Torkham and Spin Boldak borders identify work and the finding of an employment as their main migration objective. The construction sector in Pakistan is the main beneficiary of this incoming labor force (37.6%), followed by the wholesale and retail sector (24.2%), general service sector activities (7.3%) and agriculture (6.2%).

The duration of their stay in Pakistan and the cyclical nature of the movement indicates however that (1) economic factors are not the only objectives sought and (2) that economic opportunities in Pakistan are limited and that the wage differentials are not always advantageous.

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<sup>9</sup> *Research study on Afghan deportees from Iran*, commissioned by ILO and UNHCR, Altai Consulting, August 2008.

<sup>10</sup> *Taking refugees for a ride? The politics of refugee return to Afghanistan (2002)*.

### **Limited economic opportunities and wage differentials**

*"I am working as a construction daily worker. Sometimes I find work, but not always. The job situation is not much better in Pakistan, but between the two countries, I tend to find a balance and enough money to cover our needs. The biggest problem on both sides of the border at the moment is first and foremost the security situation which doesn't allow for us to work properly."*

*Mohammad Asef, 43, Nangarhar*

It is apparent from the wage levels that livelihood opportunities for Afghans in Pakistan are still limited. They are able to find employment more easily than in Afghanistan and are guaranteed some economic activity, mainly through their pre-established social networks or previous employers. Indeed, unemployment levels in Afghanistan reach 33.0% among the pool of interviewees compared to 0.1% in Pakistan. However, the wage levels are not much more advantageous than in Afghanistan. Travelers going through Spin Boldak report the same wages earned on both sides of the border, on average around USD117 a month, while Torkham travelers see a slight increase of, on average, USD10 a month. This is very different from economic migration to Iran for instance where wages are 4 times higher than in Afghanistan. The economic benefit from labor migration to Iran is therefore much higher than in Pakistan, revealing that other factors come into play in the migration to the latter country.

These limited economic opportunities in Pakistan and the more positive prospects abroad have been identified by past reports on the situation of Afghans in Pakistan as shown by this excerpt from an AREU report on Afghans in Quetta: "the livelihood opportunities available to Afghans in Quetta and the two nearby refugee camps are limited. Over their extended exile, Afghans have looked towards other national and international labour markets for job opportunities."<sup>11</sup>

### **Low skilled and unskilled day labour**

Afghans work primarily in unskilled or low-skilled professions (64.7%) in the construction sector and wholesale and retail trade sector. This mirrors their self perception as 53.1% of the respondents claim having no professional or marketable skills. The quantitative and qualitative field work reveals that when Afghans arrive in Pakistan, they mainly work as day laborers and for a limited time, reflecting a supply of casual labor. The purpose is to find an immediate source of income, ranging from one day to several months, with the view of providing a quick and short term solution to the lack of revenue or income at home. **The objective is for the heads of the households and main wage earners to meet the needs and expenses of their household, not to accumulate wealth or savings over the medium or long term.** The result is a highly mobile labor force, crossing the border recurrently for a limited timeframe, without planning for residency or stable employment in Pakistan.

This conclusion had previously been revealed by the 2005 Census and AREU past studies which identified "casual wage labor as one of the most important sources of livelihoods for Afghans. A hugely disproportionate number of Afghans families reported casual or daily wage labour as their main source of income. In fact, while Afghans only made up 20 percent of Peshawar's population, they constituted 34 percent of its casual workforce."<sup>12</sup>

Casual labor has therefore become a band-aid solution for mainly Pashtun Afghans who benefit from their networks and past experiences in Pakistan to have access to more readily available economic opportunities with a minimal physical, financial, human or social investment on their part. While they benefit from transnational strategies as an economic solution to their needs, it is only a matter of short term and immediate subsistence. The low skill and low wage nature of their jobs in the informal Pakistani economy does not allow them to grow or to amass a significant amount of wealth and savings that would alter their families' and communities' level of economic development.

<sup>11</sup> AREU: Afghans living in Quetta.

<sup>12</sup> AREU: Afghans living in Peshawar.

The lack of papers is one of the main obstacles to potential prospects of economic evolution. The lack of papers is not an obstacle to entry into Pakistan and does not entail fears of arrest and deportation, unlike in Iran, but it does represent a significant hamper to social and economic progress. The emphasis should be on regularizing those who have a business, trade or skill in Pakistan as a way to encourage their participation in the economy of Pakistan. A second level of action can be provided for Afghans needing residency or work permits, to prevent them from ending up in the informal labor economy.

### **Self employed and service sector activities**

Not all of the respondents pertain to this casual labor force. Indeed, out of the pool of respondents going to Pakistan for work, 12.6% planned to find work in service sector activities (accommodation, food service and other service activities), 18.1% defined themselves as self-employed men working either as shopkeepers or as business going to Pakistan to further their activity (either by buying materials in Pakistan to bring back to Afghanistan or selling them in both countries). These businesses range from fruit and vegetable selling stores, grocery stores, to medical, metal or textile trade. Cross border trade and imports are therefore an important livelihoods strategy for Afghans. Self employed men find in Afghanistan the means to replenish their activity and to have access to certain goods and materials which are cheaper or more readily available. Peshawar is a main destination for these men as many of them benefit from the existence of successful entrepreneurs among Afghans in Peshawar who are involved in large-scale cross border trade. None of the men interviewed were large-scale businessmen but they effectively acted as men facilitating the transit for goods into Afghanistan, on behalf of these larger businessmen. "Peshawar had emerged as a hub of cross-border trade and its commercial sector benefited greatly. Afghans were an integral part of this story."<sup>13</sup>

*Example of an Afghan businessman traveling through Torkham to Pakistan for trade purposes:*

*When the WFP ended its programs in Peshawar, I was again jobless. Since I could not find another employment for a few months, we moved back to Afghanistan. This time around we went to Kabul, as I perceived better economic opportunities there. I opened a retail shop where I still work today. Now I have a big store and sell women's clothes and cosmetics. I go to Pakistan and China to export these goods. I go to Pakistan once a month for trade. I buy the material I need, give it to the transportation company and deliver them to Kabul. Along the way, the Pakistani police requires a lot of money as a bribe to let me import and export goods. I earn about USD600 a month and our living situation is very good as we have access to water, electricity and other social services like clinic, school and mosques.*

*Juma Gul, 55, Kabul*

### **Cross border fluidity: impact on wage levels and basic commodity price levels**

The fluid nature of the border, the tendency for an easy supply of casual labor and various commodities, have resulted in the frequent travels of Afghan day laborers or self employed business and tradesmen. This is especially true of the Torkham border as Peshawar and its surroundings on the Afghan side have virtually become a single market. Borders are open for the movement of people as well as goods. The availability of work and goods in Pakistan ensures a more interesting wage and price level, however, this is only very marginal as the supply and demand rules apply to Afghanistan and Pakistan as one single market.

*This is the case of a man interviewed at Torkham in November 2008. His brother and his family live in Pakistan, where he himself lived for 20 years before returning to Afghanistan. Every time he visits them, he takes advantage of the cheaper commodity prices to replenish his stock of shampoo which he sells in Jalalabad.*

<sup>13</sup> AREU: Afghans living in Peshawar.

*"Every couple of months, I go back to Pakistan to visit my family, and also bring shampoo from Pakistan to sell in Jalalabad. I have spent overall 20 years in Pakistan, now I come and go every month or so, staying about a week every time in Pakistan."*

*Osman, 30, Nangarhar*

### **Economic migration: not the sole or main factor of cross border movement for Afghans**

Given the almost nonexistent wage differentials, other destinations are better in terms of economic migration. This is the case of Iran for instance, where the benefits reaped from economic migration in terms of wage levels, savings and remittances represent a unique livelihood strategy for Afghans of all backgrounds, ethnicities and provinces of origin. Due to the increasing difficulties met in irregularly entering Iran, Afghan labor migrants tend to also often enter Pakistan through Spin Boldak and wait in Quetta for a smuggler to take them, as a group, to Zahedan in the Balochistan province of Iran. The network of Balochis on both sides of the population facilitates this irregular labor migration flow.

Given the limited and less profitable nature of labor migration to Pakistan, it can be inferred that economic motives are not the sole or main motives for migration. This has been highlighted by our data findings in chapter 3. Other factors are to be taken into account, including social and cultural elements, and weighed heavily to understand the decision making process of Afghans today.

### **4.2. Social and cultural motivations: Transnational networks**

Since 2001, the UNHCR has assisted with the repatriation of 3.5 million Afghans from Pakistan, as a result of one of the largest refugee movements in history. The flow of returnees has slowed down since 2006 because of the limited absorption capacity in Afghanistan and because of worsening security conditions.

**As a result of the current state of reintegration of Afghan refugees in their home country, it is now clear that repatriation does not imply the end of migratory movements.** Refugee migration issues have now given way to labor migration as well as continued social and cultural exchanges between the country of origin and the country of exile. This is facilitated by the presence of well established transnational social networks on both sides of the border.

**Decades of war and conflict have resulted in a closely knit network of contacts that make it easier and more realistic to move between different countries.** "Addressing the original causes of flight does not constitute a guarantee to bring current migratory movements to an end, as the factors sustaining transnational movements of Afghans have come to form more or less stable systems."<sup>14</sup>

Iran and Pakistan represent two different migratory options open for Afghans today. Looking specifically at what motivates Afghans to travel to Pakistan, our field work shows that economic opportunities, discussed above, are one factor alongside access to services and the visit to family and friends in Pakistan.

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<sup>14</sup> AREU: Afghan Transnational Networks: Looking beyond repatriation p.1.

### **Access to and availability of social services**

*Afghans rely heavily on travels to Pakistan for medical visits and treatment. This quote was given during an interview at the Torkham border in September with an Afghan who had lived in Pakistan 10 years before returning to Afghanistan.*

*"From time to time, I go to Pakistan to visit my relatives and to retrieve medication as my mother has a heart illness. A month ago, I went to Peshawar for my mother's illness. The doctor asked me to return a month later with my mother, so I am taking her to the doctor today. I have an Afghan passport and I use it when I cross the border. There is no problem for those who have legal documents. For the others, they have to be prepared to pay a bribe to the Pakistani police."*

*Sher Mohammad, 50, Kabul.*

As shown in the citation above, when asked to specify their main reason for traveling to Pakistan, 18.8% of respondents identified medical treatment and doctor visits as their answer.

**Most Afghan refugees who have previously lived in Pakistan have acquired expectations of what is the necessary level of services they require in their lives.** Habits and exposure to the more developed Pakistani environment has permanently changed their outlook and affects their decision making process even upon return to Afghanistan. On average, 46.7% of all respondents interviewed have spent 10 year or more in Pakistan and altogether 82.0% have been established and lived in Pakistan. This is a population which has therefore benefited over a sustained period of time of better infrastructure (access to water, gas and electricity) and social services (healthy and education primarily).

As indicated during an interview conducted with an official of the Government of Pakistan based in Kabul, cross border movements are ruled by the daily coming and going of people, and day to day needs, not of migrants going to Pakistan to settle down. "There are 3 million refugees and migrants in Pakistan with relatives in Afghanistan. Most of them go to visit their relatives. Afghanistan is dependent on day to day work and livelihood from Pakistan. Even on minor health issues, the easiest option is to go to Pakistan. People also turn to Pakistan for a place to hold marriages, as it is a better place, and less costly than Dubai for instance. Businessmen also rely on movements to Pakistan to buy goods (e.g. mobile sets) or medicines (to bring in and sell for a profit in Afghanistan)."

### **Social and cultural ties sustaining different types of cross border movement**

With an average of 11.5 years spent in Pakistan, the interviewees have longstanding links to Pakistan: 43.3% of them have family on both sides of the border. This explains why 40.0% of interviewees were planning to cross the border on the day of interview to visit their home, their families and friends. This social and cultural movement brings together men and women of all ages, from minors to elders, especially during specific cross border movements related to religious or cultural holidays (as was the case during the September field work and the Ramadan festivities). This movement is an opportunity for Afghans resettled back in Afghanistan (71.9% of our interviewee pool), or Afghans still residing in Pakistan (28.1%), to keep the social and cultural connection irrespective of their choice of residence.

This social and cultural flow is a determining factor of labor migration as well. Of the interviewees working in Pakistan, 62.4% relied on their networks in place to find their job. 61.7% have previously worked there, benefiting therefore from their maintained contact with a previous employer to find a job (8.6%), while others rely more heavily on the word of mouth (45.2%) or from the help of friends and relatives (17.2%).



### Focus on Peshawar

To understand why Torkham represents the first border crossing point into Pakistan, it is important to take a look at the networks of Afghans established in the city of Peshawar in NWFP. The entire Peshawar district regrouped the highest numbers of Afghan refugee settlements during the war years and remains even so today although the height of the conflict has now passed. "No other city or district in Pakistan has hosted as many Afghans, or been as greatly impacted by their presence, as Peshawar".<sup>15</sup> Findings from an AREU study published in 2005 show that one out of every five people in Peshawar is of Afghan origin. The overwhelming past and current presence of Afghans in the North of Pakistan clearly reflects on the size of the migration flows through Torkham, home to the most sizeable incoming and outgoing flows between the two countries.

Peshawar being only 2.5 hours away from the border, the same distance separating Torkham from the capital Afghan city of Kabul, the proximity to Afghanistan and the ease of travel means that it is very easy for Afghans in both countries to stay in touch, visit each other and maintain solid ties. The costs of it are low and the benefits in terms of employment, access to services and goods high. It costs very little to travel to Peshawar from Torkham as bus options are available for less than USD 2.

### **Network in Afghanistan: influence on resettlement and reintegration**

The networks are transnational in nature and are as relevant to understanding the cross border movement to Pakistan as well as the living context in Afghanistan. Looking at the distribution of provinces of origin and provinces of residence, it is clear that most people go back to their province of origin, in the same location as the one prior to their migration to Pakistan. They often tend to favor urban areas for their perceived economic opportunities.

**Afghans interviewed do not express any interest in moving their families to Pakistan. Even though they migrate or return to Pakistan, they only do so as a temporary and cyclical movement, not a permanent movement targeting resettlement.** This is due to an improved situation of returnees in Afghanistan as compared to refugee camps and to the availability of punctual migration to Pakistan as a coping mechanism on a case by case basis, and as necessity dictates. Men interviewed prefer not having their families living as migrants and instead are prepared to assume the responsibility of migration to provide for their families in Afghanistan.

### **4.3. Temporary and cyclical cross border flow**

*A typical profile of an Afghan traveler met at Torkham:*

*"I usually go to Pakistan 2 to 3 times a year, when a special occasion or need rises. I lived in Pakistan altogether 8 years. I am today going to Pakistan to visit my sister's family in Peshawar. I have a visa and passport to cross the border as police often ask for bribes if we are without documents. I am going alone on this trip. I plan to stay in Peshawar for 2 days before returning back to Afghanistan through Torkham."*

*Abdul Ahmad, 43, Kabul.*

### **Temporary stay in Pakistan**

The question of permanent establishment in Pakistan not being relevant to our pool of respondents, the impetus was clearly for a temporary movement reducing any types of risks of migration: men leave for Pakistan alone (75.3% leave their families behind) nurturing regular and short term cross border travel. When asked about the intended duration of their stay in Pakistan, 89.5% responded planning to spend less than 1 year in Pakistan, and 62.6% spend less than 1 month. The majority

<sup>15</sup> AREU: Afghans living in Peshawar.

(52.3%) clearly point to the nature of their movement being of a temporary nature either for business, for medical purposes or to visit relatives and friends. Our qualitative field work shows that the cross border movement is very easy for travelers, pointing to the low risk and low cost of travel.

### **Cyclical movement: transnational living**

Respondents describe a cyclical movement across the border with 81.3% of the more than 2,000 interviews pointing to a high frequency of travels. 35.8% go back and forth every 3 months. Only 13.1% of interviewees were going to Pakistan for the first time on the day of interview. The lack of official regulation facilitates this cyclical movement: **81.2% of interviewees traveled without any type of documentation**, be it passport, valid visa or ID document. The border is porous and fluid, as exemplified by the marginal need to rely on a smuggler for travel across the frontier: 90.1% of respondents traveled on their own, without paying for a smuggler.

### **Limited economic impact of migration**

The cost of migration is therefore low, but so is its long term economic impact. This type of transnational living fits with a low risk, low cost strategy responding to immediate individual and family needs. Its development impact is limited as the levels of savings and remittances are low: only 5.9% of migrants interviewed remit money back to Afghanistan and 19.3% declare having brought back money from their last trip to Pakistan. Saving money and sending it back home is therefore not the priority of Afghans crossing the border into Pakistan. The temporary and cyclical travel movement therefore does not allow for the improvement of the economic and financial situation of entire families or communities.

The impact of the cross border movement is therefore both economic and social and cultural. The back and forth movement of Afghans residing on both sides of the border to the neighboring country maintains a way of life and a transnational routine at the heart of livelihood strategies and networking ties of communities divided by national borders.

**Afghans have resumed their normal livelihoods system, as seen in population movement patterns exemplified by temporary movements, not resettlement, refugee-like or permanent migration. Without questioning the will to resettle in Pakistan or permanently migrate to Pakistan, temporary and cyclical movement is therefore the preferred option for Afghans today who like to keep one foot in both countries and maintain their historical attachment to both countries.**

### **Cross border movements and implications for Afghans registered in Pakistan**

A May 2008 report on the registration of Afghan citizens in Pakistan shows that the large majority of Afghans live in the North West Frontier Province (64.0%) and Balochistan (21.0%), constituting about 6% of the population of each of these provinces. This report, conducted by Pakistan's National Database and Registration Authority under the auspices of the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions and UNHCR, shows that **more than half of the remaining Afghans in Pakistan are originally from the eastern and southern regions of Afghanistan, with the highest number (21.0%) from Nangarhar**. Among the pool of interviewees, 62,200 families said they wished to return home, of which most were originally from Nangarhar, Laghman, Kabul, Baghlan, Kunduz and Logar. Security remains their foremost concern (41.6%), followed by shelter (30.7%) and livelihood opportunities (24.4%) in Afghanistan.

The origins of Afghans from the east and southern bordering areas imply an ongoing movement and sustained links between the two countries. This level of transnational networks between the two countries will, in the future, require the development of a system for people to travel back and forth. As has been pushed for by the Government of Pakistan, biometric cards or monthly passer should be considered as a solution for the regulation of cross border movements. There are, however, important legal implications of a biometric system to be taken into account for registered and PoR holding Afghans. Those who will be intending to travel across the border will have to hand over their

PoR cards in exchange for biometric cards. The possession of both will be forbidden and the delivery of a biometric card with Afghans applying to go back and forth across the border no longer being able to keep their refugee status. The problem today, as illustrated in case studies conducted by the research team, is that so-called refugees easily travel to Afghanistan for family visits and other socio-cultural occasions.

*The frequent cross border movement of an Afghan refugee registered in Pakistan:*

*"We faced a lot of problems with my wife and children in Quetta, and my mother being in Kabul, it is easier for me to live in Peshawar so that I can come back to Afghanistan more regularly. I have the Afghan refugee ID card which allows me to cross the border without any problem."*

*Ahmad Zia, 29, originally from Paktia.*

## 5. Areas of opportunity

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In the Afghan context, migration is never just about conflict and is no longer about refugee issues. One of the assumptions on cross border movements has been that all movement has been forced or is in essence humanitarian and protection related. Even during intense waves of insecurity and conflict, migrants came from all over the country, not just the most conflict ridden provinces, as shown by the data collected in this study. This is in part due to transnational networks and to the fact that migration has become a way of life for Afghans and is used as a livelihoods strategy for their families. As a consequence of the biggest population movement in recent history, Afghans are now integrally part of a **very dynamic situation**: they cross the border to Pakistan for multiple and combined reasons - economic, social, medical and cultural – as illustrated by the example below.

*Ahmad Zia has lived 11 years in Iran and has attempted to return to Afghanistan a few times in the past few years in search of economic opportunities to support his family.*

*"Not being able to find a job in Afghanistan, I returned to Quetta with my family. My mother stayed behind in Afghanistan and I went with my wife to her father's house. After a month, I found a decent job and we got a house of our own. I earned 4000Rs a month and our rent was 1000Rs, which meant that we lived comfortably.*

*Last year I returned to Afghanistan with my family to see the situation and look for a good job. After a month, not being able to find a job, we returned to Pakistan. In Pakistan as well the economic situation is difficult with most Afghan refugees being jobless. We go to the bazaar or street square to find construction work and day job. But some days we do not find any work and cannot earn any money.*

*Last week, I returned from Quetta to Kabul to look for jobs and to visit my mother. On the Kabul-Kandahar highway, thieves stopped our bus and looted the people. They even beat me up a lot. So, I now travel to Afghanistan through the Torkham border point and I'm thinking of settling down in Peshawar where I heard the job situation was better. We have faced a lot of problems with my wife and children in Quetta, and my mother being in Kabul. It is now easier for me to live in Peshawar so that I can come back to Afghanistan more regularly. I have the Afghan refugee ID card which allows me to cross the border without any problem."*

*Ahmad Zia, 29, Quetta, Pakistan*

The weight of movement becomes stronger with insecurity: the more insecure areas, the ones closer to the border in the south and the east, are home to the highest numbers of migrants and travelers to Pakistan. The more the situation in Afghanistan deteriorates, the more likely it is that migration flows will increase. The decision making process is affected by the volatility of the situation. Beyond these considerations, the continuous waves of cross border movement have created an intensification of the commercial, economic and social relationships between the two countries.

Discussing border issues will have different meanings to different stakeholders. The Pakistani and Afghan officials' understanding of the Durand line are still at odds. At the local level, the Durand line remains to this day much of an imaginary line between communities that have historically lived side by side. The majority of travelers originates and aims to go to provinces and main cities nearest to the border. As such the eastern and southern provinces of Afghanistan play a vital role in this flow, namely Nangarhar and Kandahar, and on the Pakistani side, the NWFP and Balochistan. The concept of "border region" is therefore more in line with the conception that inhabitants have of this area, rather than referring to two distinct countries.

The cross border movement remains informal at all levels: the methods of crossing are informal, as there is no passport or visa check and so are the economic motivations leading Afghans to work in the informal economy, mainly as day laborers, in Pakistan.

The goal should be to put in place a system that allows safeguarding communal and historical ties between the two countries while ensuring a safe and secure process of cross border movement

respecting the sovereignty of each country. While the social ties should not be dislocated, it is important to keep in mind the priority for enhanced economic, political and social security for all nationals. The areas of opportunity detailed below are in line with the need to **respect the social fabric in the border region** and with the fact that tribal people will require help to get used to a regulated system of which the goal will be to enhance their protection and security.

## 5.1. Border management practices

### 5.1.1. Border observation

As introduced at the beginning of this report, official figures on cross border movements collected from passport and visa holders are at greatly at odds with the actual size of the two-way flows. As a reminder, below is a table on cross border flows from the field work carried out in September. These number show that the current passport and visa process for entry in and out of Pakistan are inadequate in responding to the nature and size of the movements. Regulation has so far failed and a new system and approach need to be developed.

Date	Entry		Exit	
	Offical Nos.	Actual Nos.	Offical Nos.	Actual Nos.
11/09/2008	150	(AM only) 12934	138	(AM only) 23934
12/09/2008	75	(AM only) 12507	64	(AM only) 18993
13/09/2008	194	(AM only) 16080	54	(AM only) 21889
14/09/2008	91	(PM only) 5454	78	(PM only) 8392
15/09/2008	77	(PM only) 10588	112	(PM only) 12384
16/09/2008	141	(PM only) 10220	70	(PM only) 11953

Based on observations of the border management system at Torkham and Spin Boldak, the research team identified the challenges detailed hereafter.

#### I. Customs office

**The main gap between the mandate and the implementation of the customs office is the continuous, open and easily observed irregular trade of goods between the two countries.** This shows a lack of cooperation between the governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan and a lack of commitment by border officials to administer legal requirements and break with tradition. Although flour is forbidden to be imported in the country, the officials on both sides of the border turn a blind eye on the smuggling of flour by children and adults at the border. During both periods of field work at Torkham, flour was being continuously smuggled into Afghanistan, without the interference of the Pakistani or Afghan officials. This phenomenon points to a lack of credibility and rule of law at the border, reflecting the soft and porous nature of this frontier.

- **The major challenge is one of implementation.** Although the routine electronic system and monitoring of goods transported by vehicles fit strict criteria and a thorough checking mechanism, individuals by foot who participate in the irregular trade of goods fall outside of this scope of control.
- **The priority is therefore to expand the current system to either (1) create a specific legal caveat to allow local populations to support their communities' livelihoods and economic activity by importing and exporting goods otherwise on the forbidden list of imports and exports or (2) to ensure a comprehensive implementation of the trade laws established by the governments of the two countries.** The decisions will have to be made through bilateral negotiations between the two governments in charge of the border area.

#### II. Border police

Given the lack of a system of cross border control (detailed in chapter 2), the evidence suggests the following areas of opportunity:

- **There is a need to respond to the gaps in border management control with the implementation of a concrete and well enforced border counting and identification system.** Such a system has to take into account the will of border police officials not to impede on the links between transnational networks and the livelihoods of Afghan communities. It is our recommendation that an electronic system mirroring the one used by customs officials be used in the counting of individuals crossing the border. In addition, border police officers stationed at the border line, on each side, need to check *all* passports (for Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns alike). As will be discussed in section 5.2. below, this can only result from bilateral negotiations between the two governments. Given the extent of cross border flows, the most likely and manageable way to check the identity of all individuals crossing is through an electronic biometric system.
- **Border officials on both sides should be monitored for their respect and implementation of their responsibilities without reliance on any form of harassment and without discrimination based on ethnic criteria.** The discrimination against non-Pashtuns is to this day well known and accepted by government representatives and migrants alike. A regulated system will only be successful if administered to all, irrespective of ethnic, tribal or religious lines. This element should be integrated in the capacity building and training of officials acting on behalf of the Afghan and Pakistan governments along the border.

These observations and challenges can be dealt with by relying on a set of recommendations outlined hereafter. These include a reform of the Afghan passport and identification system as well as on strengthened bilateral negotiations. At the basis of a successful implementation of these recommendations is the need for up to date and daily data collection on cross border movements by border authorities.

#### 5.1.2. Reforming the Afghan passport and identification system

Although progress has been achieved since 2001 to improve the Afghan passport system and to develop schemes to issue passports nationwide, passports can only be obtained in main urban areas and the bureaucratic process is still too lengthy and expensive for most. It is a common understanding that bribe systems allow for the facilitation of the process and a quicker receipt of an official passport. The delays can therefore vary from a few days to a few months, depending on the bribe. As a result, a black market has thrived for the sale of formal passports and fake passports. A formal passport can now be bought for approximately USD240 USD on the black market, and about half that amount for a fake passport. This is compared to USD50-80 for a formal passport obtained through a legal pathway. Faced with such high prices, Afghans travelling through Pakistan prefer to do so without any formal passport, as it is less costly and part of the routine and acquired habits.

#### 5.1.3. Improving the border management process

Following up on the need to improve the bureaucracy in place, the management of borders has to be adapted to the changing security conditions and the requirements to change century old habits of cross border movement into a more regulated, structured and identifiable flow. As a result, staffing will become an issue to focus on, as well as the quality of training and level of responsibilities bestowed on the border police. Additional training is needed in the light of qualitative data collected from top officials at the Border Police headquarters in Kabul who pointed to the lack of training of officials and staff at Spin Boldak. According to these statements, the Border Police self-evaluation of the Torkham staff is very positive while it was indicated that the same quality was not found in the management of the Spin Boldak border. That being the second most frequented crossing point, one can infer on the level of management at other border crossing posts.

### 5.2. Bilateral negotiations

The Government of Pakistan is increasing efforts to control the border. Emphasis is being put on the employability of a biometric system along the Chaman/Spin Boldak border. This system would allow the Pakistanis to track the coming and going of individuals and their identity at the border. Previous attempts by the Government of Pakistan included the putting up of fences in areas alongside the

border to create gates with officials to check flows where there are now mainly unofficial movements. These attempts have not been successful to this day because of a lack of bilateral cooperation and negotiation.

As voiced by a top official at the Border Police headquarter in Kabul, "it is up to the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan to come up with a solution for the regulation of the border. It is not for us to make a decision at this level; it is not our responsibility. We are just implementing the rules and regulations set forth by the government. However, the government is currently not doing anything to respond to border management issues."

The basis of bilateral negotiations will need to lead to:

- **The release of a joint official statement on the official status of the Durand Line separating Afghanistan and Pakistan.** To this day, Pakistani officials refer to it as an internationally-recognized, UN established national frontier, while Afghan officials in unofficial contexts still question the legitimacy of this international border. Qualitative field work led for this study with high and low level officials on the Afghan side alike has shown the lack of acceptance of the Durand Line as the official frontier separating the two countries.
- **Effective and immediate action and policies on the basis of commonly agreed border management policies,** such as the biometric card initiative suggested by the Government of Pakistan and supported by certain members of the international community, notably the Government of Canada.
  - **This will allow for an up to date data collection system which will indicate changes in volumes and compositions of migration flows at various crossing points.** This is an essential and basic requirement for an effective and comprehensive border management policy responding to the evolving nature of migration resulting from changes in the political and security contexts in both countries.
- **The creation of a joint oversight mechanism to halt the system of police bribes and patterns of discrimination at the border** which have resulted in human rights abuses and the thriving of a smuggling network. A regulated system will benefit both the state (in terms of revenues) and the individual (protection of rights).
- **The development of an economic, business and trade framework** for the regulation and protection of migrant workers in both countries, as there are Afghan and Pakistani workers migrating to the neighboring country in search of economic opportunities. Leaving this economic migration flow unregulated will only result in the thriving of exploitative groups and measures within each country.

### **5.3. Further research areas**

The donor and international community should support the continued research on the area of migration issues specifically to gather more detailed information on:

- The structure and mechanisms of transnational seasonal and informal labor markets,
- The development of mechanisms to oversee and manage border movements,
- The nature of the migration of Pakistani nationals to Afghanistan.



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**STUDY ON CROSS  
BORDER POPULATION MOVEMENTS BETWEEN  
AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN**

**Annex 1:  
Afghan travelers at the Torkham border:  
September and November 2008**

## Torkham – September 2008

### Case study 1

*Name: Abdul Ahmad*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 43*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: University*

*Place of birth: Jalalabad*

*Province of origin: Jalalabad*

*Province of residence: Kabul*

*No. of income earning HH members: 1 for 5 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: 2 to 3 times a year*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Visit family, (2) Special needs and occasion*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 2 days*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 8 years*

"My Name is Abdul Ahmad, I am an engineer and I graduated from Kabul Polytechnique University in 1990. After my graduation, I joined the army for 3 years. At that time I lived in Kabul although I am originally from Nangarhar. When the Mujahidin government came to power in Afghanistan and the fighting began, I left with my parents from Kabul. They returned to Jalalabad but I preferred to go to Peshawar in Pakistan, through the Torkham border. My brother had been living there since 1983 where he was married. Upon arrival in Peshawar, I joined his household as I was still single at that time. We lived in a house built by my brother in the Kababian refugee camp. We didn't pay any rent. One month after my arrival, I found a job in an art shop since I had previously acquired calligraphy skills. Initially, I earned 2000 Rs a month, which increased over time and which allowed me to send money back to my family in Jalalabad.

After a couple of months, I returned to Jalalabad to visit my parents. In 1996, my parents chose a girl for me to marry. Since my work situation was not promising in Afghanistan, a few months after my marriage, I took my family back to Pakistan, again in my brother's house. I was working two jobs, at the art shop and with an NGO. My total monthly income soon reached 15,000Rs.

When the Taliban were removed from power, we decided, as many other Afghans did, to return to Afghanistan because of the improved security and economic conditions. We did not receive any assistance for our return.

We first arrived in Jalalabad but after a few months I found a job in Kabul on the radio. We first lived in Karte naw then we moved to Macro rayon. My current salary is average and my only concern at this time is the lack of security in Afghanistan.

I usually go to Pakistan 2 to 3 times a year, when a special occasion or need rises. I lived in Pakistan altogether 8 years. I am today going to Pakistan to visit my sister's family in Peshawar. I have a visa and passport to cross the border as police often ask for bribes if we are without documents. I am going alone on this trip. I plan to stay there for 2 days."

### Case study 2

*Name: Juma Gul*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 55*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: Illiterate*

*Place of birth: Ghazni*

*Province of origin: Ghazni*

*Province of residence: Kabul*

*No. of income earning HH members: 1 for 8 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Once a month*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Trade, (2) Visit family and friends*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 7 days*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 10 years*

"My name is Juma Gul and I am originally from Ghazni province. I am 55 year old. When the war began, we went to Kabul province. At the time, I was a truck driver for a truck company in Afghanistan. I drove a truck which loaded export and import goods from Afghanistan to Pakistan and Iran. I earned USD150 a month, but after few years the owner of the company encouraged me to smuggle opium to Iran and Pakistan from the different provinces. He had built a hidden place in the truck to hide the opium. I did this several times. When I delivered the opium, he would give me USD200 per kg of opium. One day, the police followed me when I was placing the opium in the hiding place in my truck. On the way to Nimroz, a helicopter landed 1-2 kms from my truck and security police stopped my truck. They knew exactly where I had placed the opium, found it, arrested me and put me in prison. When my 2 children were informed that I had been arrested by the police, they moved to their grandfather's house.

I was kept in prison for 5 years. Upon my release, I quit my driving job and I worked as a day labor in construction for a few years. My income was very little so I had to leave Afghanistan and to go Pakistan towards the end of the Najibullah regime.

A smuggler helped us move to Pakistan, to the Shamshato refugee camp of Peshawar. Our relatives were living there and we joined them in their house at the beginning. After one month, I found a job with the World Food Programme of the UN as a driver, transporting wheat from Pakistan to Afghanistan for them.

When the WFP ended its programs in Peshawar, I was again jobless. Since I could not find another employment for a few months, we moved back to Afghanistan. This time around we went to Kabul, as I perceived better economic opportunities there. I opened a retail shop where I still work today. Now I have a big store and sell women's clothes and cosmetics. I go to Pakistan and China to export these goods. I go to Pakistan once a month for trade. I buy the material I need, give it to the transportation company and deliver them to Kabul. Along the way, the Pakistani police requires a lot of money as a bribe to let me import and export goods. I earn about USD600 a month and our living situation is very good as we have access to water, electricity and other social services like clinic, school and mosques."

### *Case study 3*

*Name: Malyar*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 35*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: Illiterate*

*Place of birth: Nangarhar*

*Province of origin: Nangarhar*

*Province of residence: Nangarhar*

*No. of income earning HH members: 1 for 10 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: 2 to 3 times a year*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Medical visit*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 1 week.*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 28 years.*

"My name is Malyar, I am 35 years old and originate from Nangarhar province. According to my mother, I was 3 years old when my father was killed by the Russian forces as he was a member of the Mujahidin group. I have 2 brothers and 2 sisters, my mother is also alive and we are living together in my own house located on the Sorkh road district of Nangarhar province.

When my father died, my grandfather moved my family to Pakistan, as the security situation was getting worse day by day. When we reached Pakistan, my grandfather found a rented house there in the Kacha Gaday refugee camp and informed the UN organization to help my family. They give us monthly rations of food and we could also receive monthly help from Islamic organizations.

When I was 5 years old, I was admitted at school but I could not continue my studies because of family problems. My grandfather searched for jobs for me and placed me in the sale of plastic shopping bags. When I started working in the street, sometimes I sold water, other times I washed cars. After a year, with the help of some relatives, I became a trainee in a mechanic workshop where I worked for 8 years. I therefore learned how to be a mechanic. I opened a mechanic repair shop in Peshawar and I could earn enough money to feed my family.

When the Mujahidin government came to Afghanistan, we came back and built a house out of ruins. But since the fighting continued and got worse, we returned to Pakistan again where we faced a lot of difficulties, from poverty, debt to the fear of getting caught. I continued working as a mechanic. All in all we lived 28 years in Pakistan.

Since I didn't have a good memory and experience of my first return to Afghanistan, I didn't want to go back when my family insisted on it after the start of the Karzai government. After two years, in 2004, we returned to Afghanistan with the voluntary repatriation scheme of the UNHCR. We received USD100 cash grant, shelter, oil, flour and built our hopes with the donation of windows and doors.

I am now living in the village where I was born, working as a mechanic in Jalalabad. I earn USD200 a month, which is enough to cover my family's expenses. My elder has eye sight problems, he is slowly losing his ability to see. As a result, I take him to Pakistan for treatment. But the treatment being very expensive, I will start looking into opportunities at hospitals in Kabul for him."

#### ***Case study 4***

*Name: Sher Mohammad*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 50*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: High school*

*Place of birth: Kabul*

*Province of origin: Kabul*

*Province of residence: Kabul*

*No. of income earning HH members: 1 for 18 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Once a month*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Medical visit, (2) Accompanying relative*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 1 week.*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 10 years.*

"My Name is Sher Mohammad, I am originally from Kabul province, I am 50 years old and live with 18 people in a house. I have 2 brothers, 4 sons and 5 daughters; my brothers also have wife and children.

I was 18 years old when the Russian forces attacked Afghanistan. I had just graduated from high school and my brother from the Army University. He moved to Herat province to work as an Army officer. After 6 months he left the government and joined the Mujahidin. Shortly after I was injured, and my father was killed by opposition groups on his way to Herat. Both my father and brother were martyred during the war. When my mother received this news, she decided that we should go to Herat to bring the bodies back home. As a result, the responsibility of the family fell on me. When the Taliban took power, my younger brother went to Iran and I went instead to Peshawar in Pakistan.

We lived in the Shamshato refugee camp in a rented house, with my small brother and our children and mother. The rent of house was 1000 Rs per month. After just a few weeks I found a job and started earning money as a teacher in a refugee school with a monthly salary of 2000Rs. My brother earned 45000Rs so that we had a good living situation. When the Karzai government took

over in Afghanistan, we decided to return and registered with the UNHCR for voluntary repatriation in 2004.

When we reached Afghanistan, we went to the Kabul Pole Charkhi UNHCR encashment center, showed our documents and received USD200. We sent our documents to the MoRR as well as they had a program for giving land to those who didn't have either a house or land. They kept our document but we still have not received any land. We settled down in Kabul where I have a job in an Afghan organization as a provincial trainer for the NSP program. I earn USD500 and live in our own house.

From time to time, I go to Pakistan to visit my relatives and to retrieve medication as my mother has a heart illness. A month ago, I went to Peshawar for my mother's illness. The doctor asked me to return a month later with my mother, so I am taking her to the doctor today. I have an Afghan passport and I use it when I cross the border. There is no problem for those who have legal documents. For the others, they have to be prepared to pay a bribe to the Pakistani police."

### *Case study 5*

*Name: Mohammad Naweed*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 28*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: Primary school*

*Place of birth: Nangarhar*

*Province of origin: Nangarhar*

*Province of residence: Peshawar, PAKISTAN*

*No. of income earning HH members: 2 for 15 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Once a month*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) To find work in Afghanistan*

*Intended duration of stay in Afghanistan: Daily work at the border*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 20 years*

"My Name is Mohammad Naweed, I am originally from Nangarhar province, I am 28 years old and I now live with my family in Peshawar, Pakistan. We are 15 people living in a rented house, with my uncle's family.

When I was 8 years old my family moved to Pakistan. We crossed the Pakistan – Afghan border by foot, because there was fighting between Mujahidin and Russian forces in Jalalabad. We first lived in a refugee camp where we had a shelter. The Pakistani government then decided to expel Afghan refugees from Pakistan so we moved to another area and lived in a rented house. Most refugees were waiting for the UNHCR or other NGOs to help them, but it had negative effects on our people and made them lazy so when the assistance ended, they faced a lot of problems.

I studied up to grade 4, but because of economic problems, I had to leave school and start working. My father had health problem and my uncle was the only one working but his salary was not enough to cover my family's expenses. I started working as a day labor in the construction sector. At that time, I could earn 3000-4000Rs per month, but day by day the cost of materials got higher and this amount was not enough to cover for my family's monthly expenses. Nowadays, finding a decent job in Pakistan is very difficult, that is why my uncle and I come to Afghanistan for work: my uncle is a teacher and I work as a day labor at the border.

We can earn 300-500 Rs per day, and we send 10000-12000 Rs a month to our family in Pakistan. We send the money through relatives or when we go to visit our family we bring it by ourselves.

One month ago I returned to Pakistan to realize that my father's illness has gotten worse and that the cost of his medicine has greatly increased. Because of a lack of income we cannot provide for his treatment. In 2005, UNHCR registered my family as refugees and we now have refugee ID cards that we can use it when we cross the border. When crossing border on both side Afghans face a lot of problems, some time from the Pakistani police who take a lot of money from them, and sometime

they even tear their documents and beat the up. This is the case especially for Hazara and Uzbek people; crossing the border is never a difficulty for Pashtun people.”

### Case study 6

*Name: Mohammad Asef*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 43*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: Illiterate*

*Place of birth: Laghman*

*Province of origin: Laghman*

*Province of residence: Nangarhar*

*No. of income earning HH members: 1 for 6 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Once a month*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Work, (2) Visit family, (3) Medical visit*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 10 days*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 15 years*

“I am originally from Laghman province. When the war started in our village we moved to Pakistan. I have lived in Pakistan for 15 years in a refugee camp where we we didn’t have access water, electricity or social services. From time to time we received help from a UN agency but it was not enough. I had to stop going to school when I reached grade 8 to help my father by working alongside him. After one year we went to Iran with some friends. We lived there for 14 years, in Tehran, with a monthly income of about USD100. I then went to Bandar Abbas and started a big business which allowed me to send my family USD150 every 2-3 months. I returned to Pakistan two years ago. I decided to take my family back to Afghanistan. I had to bribe the Pakistani police 10000Rs. I then received information about the voluntary repatriation programme through UNHCR. Since we didn’t have refugee cards, we could not benefit from this assistance. So we covered our expenses to Jalalabad ourselves. The DoRR, seeing that we had no shelter or land, gave us a piece of land on which we built a house.

I always go and back between Afghanistan and Pakistan border, sometime for work, sometime for visit relatives, and sometime for medication. The police bother Afghans traveling the border, especially the Tajik and the Hazara. They take their money to let them go to Pakistan or come to Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, we do not have access to hospitals or good education with proper facilities for our children. I am working as a construction daily worker. Sometimes I find work, but not always. The job situation is not much better in Pakistan, but between the two countries, I tend to find a balance and enough money to cover our needs. The biggest problem on both sides of the border at the moment is first and foremost the security situation which doesn’t allow for us to work properly.”



## Torkham – November 2008

### Case study 7

*Name: Zainu din*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 24*

*Marital status: single*

*Education: Illiterate*

*Place of birth: Nangarhar*

*Province of origin: Nangarhar*

*Province of residence: Nangarhar*

*No. of income earning HH members: 2 for 10 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: At least once a year*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Medical visit, (2) Routine visit to see family and friends*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 1 week*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 12 years (from 8 to 20 years of age)*

"I am from Nangarhar province Achin district, I am 20 years old, and I am living now in Bati kot district of Nangarhar with my family. I work in the construction sector as a day labor with a monthly salary of USD120. My financial and living situations are good, mainly because I am not the only bread winner in my family. My father also earns a living which brings our household monthly income to USD240. That is a comfortable income for us.

I lived with my family in Pakistan for 12 years. We initially moved to Pakistan when the Taliban came to Afghanistan. There were no job opportunities to be had in Afghanistan at that time so my father decided to opt for exile. We first lived in the Kacha Gari refugee camp, in a rented house. I was 8 years old and I had to work on the street, selling whatever I could find to earn some money. Our monthly rent was 1000Rs but my father only earned 2000Rs a month, which was clearly not enough to provide for our family's needs. At the age of 12 years of age, my father took me with him to a construction company where I started working as a day labour with a salary of 1000Rs.

When the Taliban regime ended in Afghanistan, we opted for the UNHCR assistance to return to Afghanistan. In 2004, we made the move back home as the security had improved immensely, especially in my home province of Nangarhar. I also perceived good job opportunities in the construction sector as the country was rebuilding itself with numerous reconstruction projects. The UNHCR provided us assistance with shelter, luggage and food, and another NGO helped us purchase windows and doors to build our home on a piece of land we already owned in the Bati Kot district of Nangarhar. We are now still living there, without any electricity but with drinking water at least.

In Pakistan, I learned some basic work in the construction sector and I also learned how to drive. I am now a driver in a construction company where my father is still working. Both of our incomes allow us to have a good economic situation.

I normally go to Pakistan once a year to visit my friends and family. This is the minimum, sometimes I try to go more often, depending on any other needs arising, such as medical needs. I never travel with documents. When the police stops me, then I give them some money to let me pass. This time around, I will spend one week in Pakistan because I have some illness for which I'm seeking treatment.

For now, my plan is to stay in Afghanistan. Although the security situation is rapidly deteriorating here, we still have good jobs and a comfortable life. If we lose our jobs, then we will move again to Pakistan.

## Case study 8

*Name: Ahmad Zia*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 29*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: Illiterate*

*Place of birth: Paktia*

*Province of origin: Paktia*

*Province of residence: Quetta, Pakistan*

*No. of income earning HH members: 1 for 4 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: 2 to 3 times a year*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Visit family, (2) Look for employment.*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: Afghan resident of Pakistan (refugee).*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 11 years – ongoing.*

"I am originally from Paktia province, I am 29 years old, and I now living in Quetta Pakistan with my family.

When I was 8 years old, my father was killed in Kabul when the Mujahidin government threw rockets on the city. My uncle also was injured and died after a few days. We were 3 brothers and 2 sisters and my mother. Our house was destroyed, and after the funerals, we left for Peshawar in Pakistan. We lived there with our relatives in a refugee camp. The situation was deteriorating day by day, as we didn't have any employment. My 2 brothers went to the bazaar every day to find a job to earn money. Some days they earned some money, other days they didn't. I was also selling water by the side of the road, but the amount I earned was not enough to cover our expenses.

Our relatives then advised us to move to Quetta, in the Balochistan province of Pakistan. We lived there in a rented house in an area where most Afghan refugees lived. My 2 brothers found jobs in a flour mill with a monthly wage of 3000Rs. I was working as a vegetable vendor on the road and earned 150 Rs a day.

After 5 years of this life, my eldest brother went to Iran with his family and my other brother and sisters got married. This left just my mother and I in the house. She got sick when I was 15 years old and decided that I should get married too. At the age of 16, I had an accident at work where I used to load the trucks with dry fruit. One day I put a big bag of dry fruits on my shoulder but it was too heavy, I fell down and broke my leg. This caused me to spend 2 months in the hospital and to have to borrow a lot of money for the treatment and the overall household expenses. Upon return from the hospital, I heard that the UNHCR gave help to those who left Pakistan voluntarily. I therefore came back to Afghanistan, receiving assistance in the form of cash, wheat, oil and luggage.

Not being able to find a job in Afghanistan, after 2-3 months, I returned to Quetta with my family. My mother stayed behind in Afghanistan and I went with my wife to her father's house. After a month, I found a decent job and we got a house of our own. I earned 4000Rs a month and our rent was 1000Rs, which meant that we lived comfortably.

Last year I returned to Afghanistan with my family just to see the situation and look for a good job. After a month, not being able to find a job, we returned to Pakistan. In Pakistan as well the economic situation is difficult with most Afghan refugees being jobless. We go to the bazaar or street square to find construction work and day job. But some days we do not find any work and cannot earn any money.

Last week, I returned from Quetta to Kabul to look for jobs and to visit my mother. On the Kabul-Kandahar highway, thieves stopped our bus and looted the people. They even beat me up a lot. So, I now travel to Afghanistan through the Torkham border point and I'm thinking of settling down in Peshawar where I heard the job situation was better. We have faced a lot of problems with my wife and children in Quetta, and my mother being in Kabul, it is easier for me to live in Peshawar so that I can come back to Afghanistan more regularly. I have the Afghan refugee ID card which allows me to cross the border without any problem."

### Case study 9

*Name: Enayatullah*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 18*

*Marital status: Single*

*Education: Secondary school*

*Place of birth: Herat*

*Province of origin: Herat*

*Province of residence: Herat*

*No. of income earning HH members: 2 for 10 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: 2 to 3 times a month*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Trade, purchase of goods for shop.*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 1 week.*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: Never lived in Pakistan.*

"I am from Herat province, I am 18 years old, and I live in the Gulran district of Herat with my family. I have never lived in Pakistan but I have been going there for some time mainly for trade as I am a shopkeeper and I need to bring goods for my shop from Pakistan. This is my 5<sup>th</sup> trip to Pakistan. I usually go 2 to 3 times a month to Pakistan for trade purposes. This time I will stay there for 1 week and my destination is Lahore.

My father and my brother also working in the shop with me, I collect goods for them and they sell them. I earned about USD120 a month, and altogether, we earn USD300 which is well enough for a family of 10. My living situation is good: we have access to electricity, water and other social services, we are living in our own house and we have land.

I have a passport and visa when I cross the Pakistani border so that I don't face any problems along the way. I travel alone and I intend to purchase women and children's clothes from Lahore as textile products are cheaper there than in other Pakistani cities.

Our biggest problem today is the lack of security. Most people like me who are involved in trade want to end their activity in Herat. Kidnappers frequently target businessmen and their families. This has an impact on the local population as we all decided to demonstrate to ask the government for a change in the power structure of our province. If the situation continues, we will leave Herat for Iran for a few years, where we have previously lived as refugees. Although we have lost our refugee status, I am hoping we will be able to spend a few years there with a simple permission letter."

### Case study 10

*Name: Farhad*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 30*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: High school*

*Place of birth: Kabul*

*Province of origin: Logar*

*Province of residence: Logar*

*No. of income earning HH members: 1 for 4 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Every 3 months.*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Visit father's family*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 5 days.*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 15 years.*

"I am originally from Logar province, I am 30 years old, and I still live in Logar with my family, I have 2 daughters.

When the Russian forces came to Afghanistan my father joined the Mujahidin group. He was an engineer, after some months he was arrested by the police and spent 2 years in the jail. Upon his release, we all left for Pakistan. At that time I was 5 years old. My father worked as a teacher in an Afghan refugee school with a monthly salary of 1500Rs. At the beginning we lived in a rented house in the city but after a few months, an organization gave us a piece of land in the Shamshato refugee camp. My father built us a house on the land but we didn't have access to electricity, water or any type of social services. I went to school there and at the end of high school, at the time of the Taliban, I came to Kabul to enroll in university. I joined the Medical institute, studied three years of university but our economic situation prevented me to continue studying any further. I had to leave the university in search of a job. Since I had learned English and computer skills, I found a job with Care International in Gardez, Paktia province. I earned USD300 a month. After a couple of months, I went to visit my family in Pakistan and brought to them my salary to help them with their expenses. In 2005, I registered as part of the Census and received a POR card which I use now to travel back and forth across the border.

In 2006, I got married and I am now settled in Logar with my 2 daughters. Last year, I lost my job at Care International and was unemployed for a year. My living situation got worse everyday, but luckily about 2 months ago I found a job with GTZ in Logar. My earn USD270 a month and since we live in my grandfather's house, I do not pay any rent. But I am afraid of the security situation in Logar and of the Taliban as I am working for a foreign NGO.

My father and his family still live in Pakistan. My family joined them about 5 days ago for a visit. We are now returning from Pakistan, back to Logar. If I lose my job again, I will go back to Pakistan since I still have my immigrant status there."

### *Case study 11*

*Name: Hayat Noor*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 45*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: High school*

*Place of birth: Logar*

*Province of origin: Logar*

*Province of residence: Hayat Abad, NWFP, PAKISTAN*

*No. of income earning HH members: 3 for 6 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: 2 to 3 times a year*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Visit family, (2) Special occasions (weddings or funerals), (3) Collect wages*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 10 days*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 18 years*

"I am originally from Logar province, I am 55 years old, and I now live in the Hayat Abad district of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan with my family. I have 4 children, 3 sons and 1 daughter.

When the Najibullah government ended and Mujahidin seized power in Afghanistan, about 100 rockets a day hit the province of Kabul. Most Kabul residents left the city and moved to Pakistan. We also moved to Peshawar where we lived in the Shamshatoo refugee camp. At that time, my sister in law and my brother in law were living the U.S.A. When I informed them of our move to Pakistan, they sent money for my elder son to finish high school in the U.S. They paid the smuggler to take him there, which cost about USD12000. He was provided with an illegal passport, visa and airplane ticket and after 4 years received his U.S. citizenship. He then invited in turn his brother to join him. He had an illness for which he needed to seek treatment. He stayed in the U.S. until his visa expired. He gave himself to the police justifying his longer stay in the light of his medical problems. It has now been 10 years and he still has not received his citizenship.

My elder son works as a tailor and earns about USD2000 a month of which he sends USD500 a month to Pakistan through the hawala system to provide for my family. I have a clothing store in

Peshawar and I earn about 5-8000Rs a month. My other son is working as a teacher in a private school earning 5000Rs a month. My daughter is studying and finishing high school.

I have a very good living situation. Every 2 to 3 months, I travel to Afghanistan to visit my relatives or for some special occasions, be it a wedding or a funeral. This time around I am going to spend 10 days in Kabul and Logar. I still have some land in Logar where a farmer pays me rent to be able to work the land. I will therefore need to pay him a visit to collect these wages.

I have now lived 17 years in Pakistan and because of the bad security situation in Afghanistan, I am planning to stay here. We registered in the 2005 Census and have POR cards valid until 2009. If I were to lose my job or my legal status, I would then return to Afghanistan."

### *Case study 12*

*Name: Hekayat*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 35*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: Secondary school*

*Place of birth: Nangarhar*

*Province of origin: Nangarhar*

*Province of residence: Lwalgi, NWFP, PAKISTAN*

*No. of income earning HH members: 2 for 14 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Once a month*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Work, (2) Home on both sides of the border, (3) Owns land*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 10 days*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 18 years*

"I am originally from Nangarhar province, I am 35 years old, and I now live in Lwalgi in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan with my family, 7 children and 7 adults. I have spent overall 18 years in Pakistan and I travel once a month across the border. Because our relatives were living in Lwalgi, NWFP, we moved there as well. I learned a valuable skill in Pakistan: I catch snakes for which I can earn as much as USD2-300 month but I rarely save any money because the cost of living is so high. We live in a rented house in Pakistan, and I also have a house of my own in the Mohmandara district of Nangarhar province in Afghanistan. We own a piece of land there.

In Pakistan, I registered my family in the 2005 Census but we didn't get POR cards as we were living very far from refugee camps. The benefit of life in Pakistan is that we have access to electricity, water and social services.

I come back and forth to my village in Nangarhar to treat people. This time I spent 10 days in Afghanistan, now I am crossing the border and stay home with my family for about a month before returning to Afghanistan. My family fears the police because they don't have any legal document. But usually, if and when the police stops them, they give a bribe and they are let go. If the security situation improves in Afghanistan, we will return, otherwise we will stay in Pakistan until the government deports us."

### Case study 13

*Name: Osman*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 30*

*Marital status: Married*

*Education: Illiterate*

*Place of birth: Nangarhar*

*Province of origin: Nangarhar*

*Province of residence: Nangarhar*

*No. of income earning HH members: 3 for 13 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Once a month*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) To visit family, (3) Trade, to importe goods to sell*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 1 week*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 20 years*

"I am originally from the Hesarak district of Nangarhar province. I am 30 years old and I currently live in Karkhano in NWFP with my family. I have been back and forth between Afghanistan and Pakistan over 100 times.

When the Taliban came to Afghanistan, we left for Pakistan. At first, we were living in the Kacha Gari refugee camp but when the camp was destroyed by the government of Pakistan, we moved to Karkhano area. We are now living in a rented house, the rent of my house is 2000Rs per month. We have access to electricity, water and health services. I was a driver in Pakistan, but last year I lost my job. At that point, I decided to come to Afghanistan, to find a good job. Following the advice received from relatives, I started selling shampoo in Jalalabad for which I earned USD70 a month. My father and my brother are still working in Peshawar where they have a clothing shop for which they can earn USD200. This allows us to save about USD70 a month.

Every couple of months, I go back to Pakistan to visit my family, and also bring shampoo from Pakistan to sell in Jalalabad. I have spent overall 20 years in Pakistan, now I come and go every month or so, staying about a week every time in Pakistan. We registered in the 2005 Census and received POR cards.

I am working 10 hours a day, and I am working full week, and I am living here in Afghanistan in my relative house, and I pay for my own expenses. If my family loses its migration status or they found themselves jobless in Pakistan, they will return to Afghanistan."

### Case study 14

*Name: Rahmatullah*

*Gender: Male*

*Age: 21*

*Marital status: single*

*Education: Illiterate*

*Place of birth: Nangarhar*

*Province of origin: Nangarhar*

*Province of residence: Kabul*

*No. of income earning HH members: 3 for 15 HH members*

*Frequency of cross border travel: Twice a year*

*Reasons for cross border travel: (1) Visit family, (2) Bring back remittances*

*Intended duration of stay in Pakistan: 10 days*

*Overall duration of stay in Pakistan: 15 years*

"I am originally from Nangarhar province, I am 21 years old, and I live in Ata Mohammad Garai in the NWFP province of Pakistan with my family. My main occupation and skill is masonry. When Russian forces arrived in Afghanistan, we moved to Pakistan. We have spent over 15 years

living in Pakistan. I was working as a mason in construction sector in Pakistan with a monthly salary of 4000Rs. When the Taliban regime was overthrown and construction started in Afghanistan, I went along 2 friends to Afghanistan. After just a few days we found a good job building a supermarket in Kabul. We were busy on that building for 2 years making good money and savings and sending money every 1-2 months to our families in Pakistan. This is the 5<sup>th</sup> time that I go back and forth across the border to visit my family and bring them money.

I do not have any documents. When I cross the border some time the police stops me. I then have to give them some money as bribe. They let me to go back and forth between Afghanistan and Pakistan border. We never registered in the 2005 Census so I don't have a POR card.

I work 8 hours per day and 6 days a week at a monthly wage of USD140 of which I send 5000RS monthly to my family in Pakistan. I live at my workplace with 10 people who work with me in construction. I do not earn enough money for my family to live here with me as the cost of living is cheaper in Pakistan than in Afghanistan. If I find a better job at a better salary, I will then have my family return to Afghanistan as well. Furthermore, the rent is cheaper in Pakistan, my sons are still studying there and the education level is much better than the one children receive in Afghanistan. The security situation is also better.

The positive impact of migration on my life has been that I have learned a valuable skill, masonry, which I use to work in the construction sector."





# **STUDY ON CROSS BORDER POPULATION MOVEMENTS BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN**

## **Annex 2: Quantitative questionnaire Torkham and Spin Boldak Outgoing flow of Afghan migrants**

Hello. My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I work for an independent company working for an international donor agency to assess cross-border movements of Afghans to Pakistan.

More precisely, I would like to ask you questions about your migration pattern, your work and living conditions in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the major aspects and problems of your transit. This questionnaire will stay confidential and your name and that of your family members or company will not be mentioned in our study if you don't wish to.

No.	Question	Answers
<b>A</b>	Questionnaire ID <b>(To be completed by Data Entry)</b>	(__ __) ____
<b>B</b>	Interviewer code	__ __
<b>C</b>	Year of interview	2008
<b>D</b>	Month of interview	1 – September 2 – November
<b>E</b>	Day of interview	__ __
<b>F</b>	Time interview started	__ __: __ __ 1=AM / 2=PM
<b>G</b>	Time interview finished	__ __: __ __ 1=AM / 2=PM
<b>H</b>	Location of interview	1. Torkham border / Nangarhar 2. Spin boldak border / Kandahar
<b>I</b>	Interview number	__ __

**INTERVIEWER REMARKS:**

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Interviewer's name ..... Date.....

Supervisor's name ..... Date.....

Data entry operator ..... Date.....

**I. Socio Demographic Profile of the Interviewee**

1.	Interviewee Name & Telephone Number	Name: _____		
		Phone Number:	0	<input type="text"/>
2.	Age <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	_____		
3.	Gender <b>(Interviewer to record)</b>	1 – Male 2 – Female		
4.	Marital status <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Single 2 – Engaged 3 – Married	4 – Divorced 5 – Widow/Widower 6 – Other _____	
5.	What is your ethnic group? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Pashto 2 – Tajik 3 – Hazara	4 – Uzbek 5 – Turkmen 6 – Other: _____	
6.	Literacy Level: are you literate or illiterate? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Literate 2 – Illiterate <b>(Skip to Q. 8)</b>		
7.	What is your level of education? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Primary school 2 – High school 3 – Lower secondary school 4 – University	5 – Vocational Training School 6 – Specific skills course 7 – Madrasa/Religious study 8 – Other: _____	
8.	Where were you born? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Afghanistan 2 – Pakistan	3 – Iran 4 – Other: _____	
9.	Which province and city are you originally from in Afghanistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	District	Province	
10.	Where is your household living now? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	District	Province	Country
11.	Are you the head of your household? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes 2 – No		
12.	Are you the eldest of your household? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes 2 – No		
13.	How many people are living in your household? Including yourself. <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	Below 14:	Above 14:	Total Number:
14.	How many people in your household earn an income? Including yourself. <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	_____ people		
15.	What are your household's monthly income and expenditure? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	Monthly Income _____ AFA	Monthly Expenditure _____ AFA	
16.	What is your main occupation today in Afghanistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One answer</b>	<u>a) Activity sector</u> 1. Agriculture 2. Mining 3. Manufacturing 4. Electricity/ gas supply 5. Water supply 6. Construction 7. Wholesale and retail trade 8. Transportation and storage 9. Accommodation and Food service activities 10. Information /Communication 11. Finance / Insurance 12. Real estate activities 13. Professional, scientific and technical activities 14. Administrative and support service activities 15. Public administration 16. Education 17. Health and social work 18. Arts / entertainment 19. Other service activities	<u>b) Position</u> 1. Teacher 2. Businessman – Type of business: ..... 3. Shopkeeper 4. Laborer/construction worker 5. Farmer 6. Technician (e.g. plumber) 7. Fruit/vegetable vendor 8. Driver 9. Watchman/guard 10. Artist 11. Doctor 12. Office worker 13. Civil servant 14. Tailor 15. Other: .....	

		20. NGO / Intl. organization 21. Government 22. None / Unemployed	
17.	What professional skills do you have? <i>Record up to three skills</i> <b>Do Not Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1. _____	2. _____ 3. _____
18.	What is your current monthly salary? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	Monthly salary _____ AFA	

### II. Migration Pattern

19.	Is this your first time going to Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes <b>(If yes skip to Q. 28)</b> 2 – No		
20.	How many times have you been to Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	_____ times		
21.	How many times have you left Pakistan? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	No. voluntary returns		No. forced returns
22.	When did you return to Afghanistan? <i>Record no. of days/weeks/months ago.</i> <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	Days	Weeks	Months
23.	In which season did you return to Afghanistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Spring 2 – Summer		3 – Autumn 4 – Winter
24.	Do you go back and forth between Afghanistan and Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes 2 – No <b>(If no skip to Q. 27)</b>		
25.	If yes, how often? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Every week 2 – A few times a month 3 – Once a month		4 – Every 3 months 5 – Once a year 6 – Other / Specify: _____
26.	If yes, for what reason? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Home 2 – Employment / work 3 – Trade / Business visit 4 – Visit family / friends 5 – Medical 6 – Education 7 – Accompanying relatives		8 – Pakistan consulate 9 – To go to Dubai / Saudi Arabia 10 – Conflict/Insecurity 11 – Drought 12 – To get back a loan/money 13 – Other : _____
27.	What is the total time you have spent in Pakistan overall? (Include all trips to Pakistan) <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	Day	Month	Year
28.	How much time do you plan to spend in Pakistan on this trip? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	Day	Month	Year
29.	What is your destination in Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	City		Province

### III. Factors of migration

30.	What is your family's financial status? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Very good 2 – Good 3 – Average		4 – Bad 5 – Very bad
31.	What is the <b>main</b> reason you are going to Pakistan on this trip? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Home 2 – Employment / work <b>(Skip to Q. 33)</b> 3 – Trade / Business visit <b>(Skip to Q. 33)</b> 4 – Visit family / friends <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 5 – Medical <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 6 – Education <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 7 – Accompanying relatives <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 8 – Pakistan consulate <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 9 – To go to Dubai / Saudi Arabia <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 10 – Conflict/Insecurity <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 11 – Drought <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b>		

		12 – To get back a loan/money <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b> 13 – Other : _____ <b>(Skip to Q. 39)</b>	
32.	If your home is in Pakistan, why did you come to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Family visit 2 – Wedding / Funeral 3 – Check on land / property 4 – Business 5 – To work	6 – To see the situation 7 – To try to find a job 8 – To teach 9 – To study 10 – Other: _____
33.	Do you already have an employment secured in Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Yes 2 – No <b>(Skip to Q. 35)</b>	
34.	If yes, how did you find this job? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Through a smuggler 2 – Through the network of Afghan migrants in Pakistan 3 – Through personal contacts 4 – Through a local employment placement agency 5 – By word of mouth 6 – On the informal labor marketplace 7 – With my former employer 8 – I have my own business 9 – Other: _____	
35.	What type of work will you be doing in Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One answer</b>	a) <u>Activity sector</u> 1. Agriculture 2. Mining 3. Manufacturing 4. Electricity/ gas supply 5. Water supply 6. Construction 7. Wholesale and retail trade 8. Transportation and storage 9. Accommodation and Food service activities 10. Information /Communication 11. Finance / insurance 12. Real estate activities 13. Professional, scientific and technical activities 14. Administrative and support service activities 15. Public administration 16. Education 17. Health and social work 18. Arts / entertainment 19. Other service activities 20. NGO / International organization 21. Government 22. None / Unemployed	b) <u>Position</u> 1. Teacher 2. Businessman – Type of business: ..... 3. Shopkeeper 4. Laborer/construction worker 5. Farmer 6. Technician (e.g. plumber) 7. Fruit/vegetable vendor 8. Driver 9. Watchman/guard 10. Artist 11. Doctor 12. Office worker 13. Civil servant 14. Tailor 15. Other: .....
36.	If you are going to Pakistan for work, what use will you be making of the income from your job in Pakistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Food 2 – Clothes 3 – Medicines / Medical bills 4 – To start a business 5 – To build a house 6 – To pay for haj 7 – To pay for a wedding	8 – To save money 9 – Education 10 – To pay the rent 11 – To buy a car 12 – Other: _____
37.	For whom will you be earning money? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Myself 2 – Father 3 – Mother	4 – Wife and children 5 – Future marriage 6 – Other: _____
38.	Why did you not stay in Afghanistan to work? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – No work in Afghanistan 2 – Wage differentials 3 – Poverty 4 – Conflict / Insecurity 5 – Drought 6 – No land	7 – Family problems 8 – Difficulties adapting to life in Afghanistan 9 – I have a job in Pakistan 10 – Other: _____

**IV. Transit from Afghanistan to Pakistan**

39.	Will you be using any documents / visa to cross the border? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Pakistani passport 2 – Afghan passport 3 – Valid visa: Type _____ Validity _____	4 – Pakistani ID 5 – Afghan ID 6 – No documents 7 – Other: _____
40.	Will you be crossing the border with a smuggler? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Yes, I have used a smuggler in the past 2 – Yes, this is my first time using a smuggler 3 – No <b>(Skip to Q. 44)</b>	
41.	If you plan to use a smuggler, what is the cost? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	Amount _____ AFA	
42.	How do you plan to pay for this sum? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Savings 2 – Loan from relatives/friends	3 – Salary in Pakistan 4 – Other : _____
43.	What does the smuggler provide you with? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Transportation 2 – Shelter/housing 3 – Food 4 – Clothing 5 – Contacts in Pakistan	6 – A job in Pakistan 7 – Living arrangements in Pakistan 8 – Papers/documentation 9 – Other: _____
44.	What issues do you foresee during the trip to Pakistan? <i>Either based on previous experience or perceptions.</i> <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Physical abuse 2 – Sexual abuse 3 – Theft 4 – Lack of food/water 5 – Lack of legal options 6 – Smuggling	7 – Trafficking 8 – Heavy fees / debt incurred 9 – Reliance on informal recruitment agencies 10 – Death 11 – Other: _____
45.	Are you travelling alone to Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes 2 – No <b>(Skip to Q. 47)</b>	
46.	If yes, why are you going alone to Pakistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Temporary visit for business <b>(Skip to Q. 49)</b> 2 – Temporary visit for health issues <b>(Skip to Q. 49)</b> 3 – Temporary visit to see family <b>(Skip to Q. 49)</b> 4 – Permanent stay for employment purposes <b>(Skip to Q. 49)</b> 5 – Permanent stay to reunite with my family <b>(Skip to Q. 49)</b> 6 – Other / Specify: _____ <b>(Skip to Q. 49)</b>	
47.	If no, with whom are you travelling? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Wife and children 2 – Parents 3 – Brother 4 – Son 5 – Male relative 6 – Sister	7 – Daughter 8 – Female relative 9 – Friends 10 – Coworker 11 – Other: _____
48.	What is the size of your group? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	_____ members	

**V. Situation in Pakistan**

49.	Have you visited, lived, resided or worked in Pakistan before? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes 2 – No <b>(Interview ends here.)</b>	
50.	Where in Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	City	Province
51.	What status did you (or do you still) have in Pakistan? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – A valid visa 2 – A valid refugee status 3 – A valid work permit	4 – None, irregular status 5 – Other: _____
52.	Were you registered at the Pakistan census in 2005? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes 2 – No	
53.	What was your occupation in Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Student <b>(Skip to Q. 70)</b> 2 – I worked 3 – I stayed at home <b>(Skip to Q. 70)</b> 4 – Other: _____ <b>(Skip to Q. 70)</b>	
54.	What type of work did you do in Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One answer</b>	a) <u>Activity sector</u> 1. Agriculture 2. Mining	b) <u>Position</u> 1. Teacher

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Manufacturing</li> <li>4. Electricity/ gas supply</li> <li>5. Water supply</li> <li>6. Construction</li> <li>7. Wholesale and retail trade</li> <li>8. Transportation and storage</li> <li>9. Accommodation and Food service activities</li> <li>10. Information /Communication</li> <li>11. Finance / insurance</li> <li>12. Real estate activities</li> <li>13. Professional, scientific and technical activities</li> <li>14. Administrative and support service activities</li> <li>15. Public administration</li> <li>16. Education</li> <li>17. Health and social work</li> <li>18. Arts / entertainment</li> <li>19. Other service activities</li> <li>20. NGO / Intl. Organization</li> <li>21. Government</li> <li>22. None / Unemployed (<b>Skip to Q. 70</b>)</li> </ol>	<p>2. Businessman – Type of business: .....</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. Shopkeeper</li> <li>4. Laborer/construction worker</li> <li>5. Farmer</li> <li>6. Technician (e.g. plumber)</li> <li>7. Fruit/vegetable vendor</li> <li>8. Driver</li> <li>9. Watchman/guard</li> <li>10. Artist</li> <li>11. Doctor</li> <li>12. Office worker</li> <li>13. Civil servant</li> <li>14. Tailor</li> <li>15. Other: .....</li> </ol>
55.	<p>How did you find this job in Pakistan? <b>Prompt: One answer</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 – Smuggler</li> <li>2 – Network of Afghan migrants</li> <li>3 – Personal contacts before leaving Afghanistan</li> <li>4 – Local employment placement agency</li> <li>5 – Informal market place</li> <li>6 – Word of mouth</li> <li>7 – Former employer</li> <li>8 – Other / Specify: _____</li> </ol>	
56.	<p>How many hours a day did you work at your job? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	_____ hours	
57.	<p>How many days a week did you work? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	_____ day	
58.	<p>Did you have a written contract? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 – Yes, specify type: _____</li> <li>2 – No</li> </ol>	
59.	<p>Did you have experience working in this field before your migration? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 – Yes</li> <li>2 – No</li> </ol>	
60.	<p>Did your work experience in Pakistan teach you new skills? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 – Yes, Specify skills: _____</li> <li>2 – No</li> </ol>	
61.	<p>How would you describe your work conditions in Pakistan? <b>Prompt: One answer</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 – Very difficult</li> <li>2 – Difficult</li> <li>3 – Average</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4 – Good</li> <li>5 – Very good</li> <li>6 – Other: _____</li> </ol>
62.	<p>How much did you get paid in one month? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	_____ AFA	
63.	<p>How much did you spend in one month? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	_____ AFA	
64.	<p>What was the money spent on? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 – Food</li> <li>2 – Clothes</li> <li>3 – Medicines / Medical bills</li> <li>4 – To start a business</li> <li>5 – To build a house</li> <li>6 – To pay for haj</li> <li>7 – To pay for a wedding</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8 – To save money</li> <li>9 – Education</li> <li>10 – To pay the rent</li> <li>11 – To buy a car</li> <li>12 – Other: _____</li> </ol>
65.	<p>How much were you able to save the last time you were in Pakistan? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b></p>	_____ AFA	



66.	Did you send money back to Afghanistan? <i>If yes, record monthly amount of remittance.</i> <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes: _____ AFA 2 – No ( <b>Skip to Q. 70</b> )	
67.	How often did you send money back to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Once a month 2 – Twice a month 3 – Every 2-3 months	4 – Every 6 months 5 – Once a year 6 – Other : _____
68.	What proportion of the household income was this? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – All 2 – Most 3 – Half	4 – A quarter 5 – A little 6 – None / Insignificant
69.	Which method did you use to send money back to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: One answer</b>	1 – Hawala 2 – Smuggler 3 – Relatives	4 – Other migrants 5 – Myself 6 – Other: _____
70.	Where did you live / housing arrangement while in Pakistan? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – At my work place with _____ (no. of people) 2 – Own private house 3 – Rented house 4 – Friend / neighbor's house 5 – Relative's house 6 – Refugee camp: Specify: _____ 7 – Other : _____	
71.	What were the difficulties you faced in Pakistan? – <i>Rank the 3 most important difficulties in order.</i> <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Racism / Discrimination 2 – Poor treatment by authorities 3 – Poor work conditions 4 – Poor living conditions 5 – Fear of getting caught 6 – Poverty	7 – Lack of access to services 8 – Trafficking 9 – Debt bondage 10 – Confiscation of passports 11 – None 12 – Other _____
72.	Which of these services did you have access to in Pakistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Housing 2 – Health services 3 – Education 4 – Water at home	5 – Gas at home 6 – Electricity at home 7 – Recreational activities 8 – Other : _____
73.	What was the reason for your return to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Voluntary repatriation with UNHCR 2 – Voluntary return out of fear and harassment 3 – Voluntary return because of inflation and high prices in Pakistan 4 – Better security in Afghanistan 5 – No access to land our housing in Pakistan 6 – Family 7 – Harvesting/ planting season 8 – Employment 9 – Health improved 10 – End of business activities in Pakistan 11 – Afghanistan is home 12 – Forced return / deportation 13 – Other: _____	
74.	What perception did you have of the conditions of Afghans who had returned? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Satisfactory return 2 – Difficulties faced on their return 3 – High risk of failure on their return 4 – None 5 – Other : _____	

**VI. Transit from Pakistan to Afghanistan**

75.	What are some of the problems you faced during your transit back to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Family separation 2 – Non receipt of wages or other dues 3 – Loss of assets 4 – Violation of rights 5 – Violence	6 – Harassment / Intimidation 7 – Lack of food / water 8 – Health problems 9 – Fees / Debts incurred 10 – None 11 – Other _____
76.	If you left behind wages or material assets in Pakistan, how much money do you estimate the total worth? <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	_____ AFA	
77.	Did you bring back money with you to Afghanistan? <i>If yes, record the amount.</i> <b>Do Not Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Yes: _____ AFA 2 – No	

78.	Did you go through a screening/registration once you arrived in Afghanistan at the border? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Yes, government registration 2 – Yes, UNHCR registration 3 – Yes, NGO registration: Specify _____ 4 – No ( <b>Skip to Q. 80</b> )	
79.	Were you registered as belonging to one of the following categories of returnees? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Single female 2 – Single parent 3 – Unaccompanied elderly 4 – Unaccompanied Minor 5 – Physically disabled 6 – Mentally ill	7 – Chronically ill 8 – Poor family 9 – Drug Addict 10 – Medical case 11 – Special case 12 – None
80.	Did you receive any assistance for your return while you were in Pakistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Yes, government help: Specify _____ 2 – Yes, UNHCR help: Specify _____ 3 – Yes, NGO registration: Specify _____ 4 – No	
81.	Did you receive any assistance once you arrived to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Yes, government program 2 – Yes, UNHCR program 3 – Yes, NGO program 4 – Yes, personal local support network 5 – No ( <b>Skip to Q. 83</b> ) 6 – Other: _____	
82.	If yes, which type of assistance did you receive upon arrival? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Food 2 – Shelter 3 – Transportation	4 – Cash grant 5 – Advice/Counseling 6 – Other : _____
83.	What was your most immediate need upon your return to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: One Answer</b>	1 – Immediate assistance (Water, Food, Shelter, Transportation) 2 – Provision of land / housing 3 – Job placement	4 – Advice/Counseling 5 – Vocational training courses 6 – None 7 – Other: _____
84.	What were the difficulties you faced upon your return to Afghanistan? <b>Prompt: Multiple answers</b>	1 – Poverty 2 – Unemployment 3 – Lack of security 4 – Lack of savings 5 – No support system of family / relatives 6 – Family separation	7 – Problem of adjustment to life in Afghanistan 8 – Non availability of assets in Afghanistan (land, housing) 9 – Health problems 10 – None 11 – Other: _____
85.	What positive impact has migration to Pakistan had on you? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Improved my skills 2 – Gain in material assets 3 – Better financial situation 4 – Better living situation	5 – Better education 6 – Exposure to new ideas 7 – None 8 – Other: _____
86.	What losses have you incurred because of your migration and deportation? <b>Prompt: Multiple Answers</b>	1 – Financial loss (e.g. debts) 2 – Loss of assets 3 – Loss of family ties	4 – None 5 – Other : _____