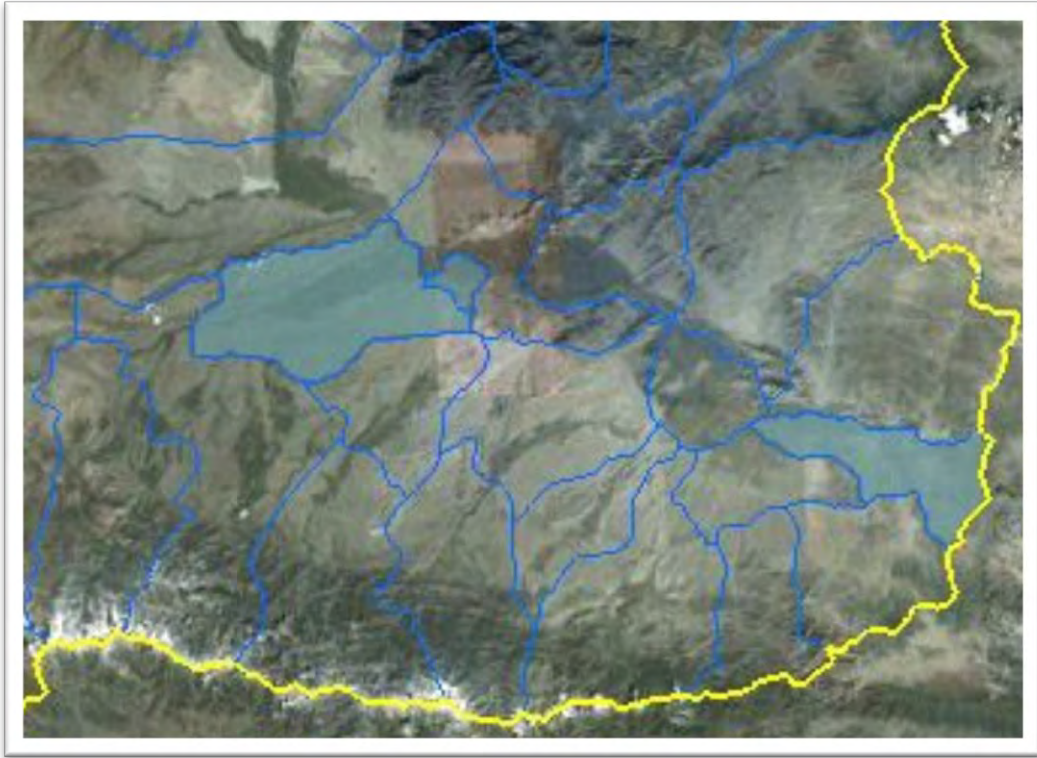


CPAU Human Security Project

Quarterly Report: Nangarhar Province, July – August 2010



Front Cover: *The map depicts the average Human Security score for Jalalabad City (2.54), Muhmand Dara (3.03) and Surkh Rod (2.84) in July 2010. Scores closer to 0 represent poor human security, scores closer to 5 indicate good human security.*

Note:

The Human Security Indicators Project was implemented by Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU). Data collection was carried out in 9 districts in 3 provinces in Afghanistan from January – March 2010. The sites include, Kabul Province: Kabul City, Kalakan and Surobi; Kunduz Province: Kunduz city, Imam Sahib and Ali Abad; Helmand Province: Lashkar Gah, Nad-i Ali and Garmsir. Data collection continued in these sites and expanded to 6 other districts in Kandahar Province: Kandahar City, Arghandab and Spin Boldak; Nangarhar Province: Jalalabad City, Surkh Rud and Muhmand Dara. Data from all sites was collected each month from April – August 2010.

This Quarterly Report aims to provide a comparison of three sites in Nangarhar across the 25 indicators over two months from July – August 2010. The Quarterly Report is based on the Monthly Reports provided for each district. Additional Sectoral Papers focus on analysis and comparison of districts between provinces.

The Human Security Scores outlined in the report **do not** necessarily rank the same number of incidents, nor necessarily use the same respondent groups across indicators. An explanation of the respondent groups and questions asked is available in the Human Security Indicator Methodology Paper.

The scores from 0-5 are also relative to population sizes and are based on ranges outlined in the Human Security Technical Annex. Please note that a score close to 5 is considered to represent a good level of Human Security, a score close to 0 is a very poor level of Human Security.

Acknowledgements

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1. Human Security Summary

- While Nangarhar is relatively peaceful compared to other provinces, the security situation deteriorated markedly over the last two quarters, reaching its worst levels in August. The level of threats and attacks increased in July with many shops targeted and girls reportedly receiving nightletters, prohibiting them from travelling to the bazaar. The summer months meant that the Taliban could operate more easily; fighting in Afghanistan traditionally increases between June to September and during the winter the harsh environment keeps insurgent activities to a minimum. Moreover, the start of the election campaign provided a target for insurgent attacks.
- In Muhmand Dara, the situation is marked by continuous cooperation between the police and the population and their rejection of the Taliban. Elders are important communicators within this relationship between the people and the government, by taking on a variety of social roles, actively collaborating with the government, taking a stand against the Taliban, and thus promoting unity. The level of illegal activity in the district is low and the business generated by the transit route from Pakistan to Jalalabad and Kabul provides an incentive for keeping peace.
- Bribery continued to be prevalent in Nangarhar Province and even increased in the districts outside of Jalalabad during the third reporting quarter. The majority of respondents had direct experience or had heard of bribery. According to respondents, everyone was involved in bribery, including government officials, courts, the police, NGOs and the district administration. This endemic bribery further strained the relationship between the government and local people.
- The cost of transportation increased markedly in Jalalabad City in August, which can be directly linked to the deteriorating security situation over the summer months, in addition to rising fuel prices. However, transport prices remained stable at a low level in the other two districts. The low level of frequency of journeys across all districts nevertheless restricts people's movement.
- Population movement remained stable at a low level in Nangarhar Province. However, in Muhmand Dara, migration was affected by the flooding in Pakistan and the continued insecurity across the border, with many families fleeing to settle in Muhmand Dara District.
- Household security in Nangarhar Province generally declined over the summer months. Despite being in the midst of the harvesting season, flooding and natural disasters impeded access to land and increased bazaar prices contributed to an overall pessimistic economic outlook. The general lack of coping mechanisms left people vulnerable to shocks and food shortages.
- The economic situation of Nangarhar Province deteriorated alongside the security situation – this was exacerbated by the hot weather which meant that outdoor activities, such as construction, stopped. There was little work available on farms in August and the availability of employment fell slightly in Jalalabad. However, a considerable difference exists between shopkeepers, who enjoyed almost continued employment, and labourers, who suffer from joblessness. In Surkh Rod and Muhmand Dara, high unemployment levels caused people to migrate to Kabul to seek work.
- Judicial and political security remained at a low level in Nangarhar Province. The *Shura Ulema* rarely met in any of the surveyed districts and visits by members of parliament were virtually non-existent.
- Elders continued to play a very prominent role within Muhmand Dara district taking on the majority of the conflict resolution roles and having a strong social function. Elders appeared to be much more trusted than religious leaders although there are isolated examples in some villages where the religious leaders provide a strong social function.

2. Quarter 3: Indicator Scores & Analysis

Cluster 1: Personal/Physical security

Cluster 1 Analysis

While Nangarhar is relatively peaceful compared to other provinces, the security situation deteriorated markedly over the last two quarters of CPAU's research; security reached its worst level during the month of August. The level of threats and attacks increased in July, with many shops targeted and girls reportedly receiving nightletters, prohibiting them from travelling to the bazaar. The summer months meant that the Taliban could operate more easily. Indeed, fighting in Afghanistan traditionally increases between June to September. Within this '*fighting season*' casualty rates are much higher than during the rest of the year, while during the winter, the harsh climate tempers insurgent activities. The start of the election campaign provided a target for insurgency attacks.

The level of incidents and threats declined significantly in August, however, but rather than being related to an improved security situation, this was mostly the result of a climate of fear forcing people to comply with Taliban decrees. One exception to this picture is Muhmand Dara district, where security is reportedly good with no threats and no fighting from AOGs. The good security is said to be derived from the homogeneity of the area (all people are Muhmand), good police behaviour and also the active role of elders in promoting unity.

The security situation differs greatly between the three districts in Nangarhar province. While the security situation in Muhmand Dara is positive in spite of the common border with Pakistan, the situation is poor in Surkh Rod. The district, in the north of Nangarhar, borders some very insecure districts such as Khogyani. Whereas in July there were no major attacks reported, the Taliban increased the level of threats in Surkh Rod in August, issuing nightletters, and threatening women not to attend the bazaar and men not to join the ANSF. Moreover, the Taliban were able to pray openly in the mosques in certain villages.

In Muhmand Dara, the situation is marked by continuous cooperation between the police and the population, and their rejection of the Taliban. Elders are important communicators within this relationship between the people and the government, by taking on a variety of social roles, actively collaborating with the government, taking a stand against the Taliban, and thus promoting unity. The level of illegal activity in the district is low and the business generated by the transit route from Pakistan to Jalalabad and Kabul provides an incentive for keeping the peace.

Bribery continued to be prevalent in Nangarhar province and even increased in the districts outside Jalalabad during the third reporting quarter. The majority of respondents had direct experience of bribery and all respondents had heard of incidents in both July and August. According to respondents, everyone was involved in bribery, including government officials, courts, the police, NGOs and the district administration. This endemic bribery further strained the relationship between the government and local people and particularly undercut public support in Surkh Rod. While the police in Muhmand Dara were not reported to demand bribes, government officials were, although a distinction was drawn between those in high positions (who do not take bribes) and those in low positions (who do take bribes).

The police reportedly had a presence in Surkh Rod and Jalalabad. However, in Muhmand Dara it was minimal and respondents wished the police would increase their presence and patrol the streets at night. In Surkh Rod, the Taliban carried out their own patrols, while the police were unable to challenge this behaviour. The police in Jalalabad reportedly took bribes from local drivers, hindering their business and freedom of movement. In Muhmand Dara, the low level of police bribery and few checkpoints caused no major problems. In Muhmand Dara checkpoints either did not exist or did not present a major cause of disruption, and in Jalalabad respondents reported that the police at checkpoints were severely under-resourced and lacked discipline, often extracting bribes from drivers. Moreover, people complained that checkpoints caused clashes between the police and

insurgents, that they could hear firing at night and that checkpoints should therefore not be positioned close to peoples' homes.

Cluster 1 Data

Indicator		Jalalabad				Muhmand Dara				Surkh Rod				
		June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	
1.1	Attacks in district against International and national forces (-)	4.87	4.69	- ¹	-	4.88	4.87	-	-	4.91	4.88	-	-	
1.2	Threats by resistance groups (shabnameh: preaching in mosques) (-)	5.00	4.83	-	-	5.00	5.00	-	-	5.00	5.00	-	-	
1.3	Threats, intimidation and bribery by ANSF & government (-)	Experienced bribery, extortion, or threats by ANSF & government in the district / province in the last month	3.04	0.33	4.42	1.38	4.12	1.55	1.55	-2.57	2.17	2.86	0.00	-2.17
		Heard about bribery, extortion, or threats by ANSF & government in the district / province in the last month	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.00	-0.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Total	1.52	0.17	2.21	0.69	2.22	0.78	0.78	-1.44	1.09	1.43	0.00	-1.09
1.4	Violent clashes injuring/killing civilians (-)	5.00	- ²	-	-	5.00	-	-	-	5.00	-	-	-	
		Q2	Q3	Change	Q2	Q3	Change	Q2	Q3	Change				
1.5	Number of checkpoints (-)	Number of ANSF/military checkpoints	5.00	2.61	-2.39	4.94	4.87	-0.06	3.31	2.47	-0.84			
		Number of insurgent checkpoints	5.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	4.66	4.66	0.00			
		Total	5.00	3.81	-1.19	4.97	4.94	-0.03	3.99	3.56	-0.42			
Cluster Total		4.28	3.37	3.01	-1.27	4.41	3.90	2.86	-1.56	4.00	3.72	1.78	-2.21	

¹ No data on attacks or threats was available for Nangarhar province in August.

² No data for civilian casualties was available for Nangarhar in August.

Cluster 2: Freedom of Movement

Cluster 2 Analysis

While access to services improved slightly, the ability to move around freely deteriorated over the third reporting quarter in line with the overall declining security situation.

The cost of transportation increased markedly in Jalalabad City, and combined with a low or decreasing frequency of journeys accounts for much of the decline in Human Security across cluster 2. This can be directly linked to the tense and deteriorating security situation in Jalalabad City. In Muhmand Dara and Surkh Rod, the frequency of journeys remained constant at a relatively low level. Informal taxes rose significantly over the reporting quarter in Jalalabad City as well as in Muhmand Dara. Drivers reported that demands for bribes increased, both in level and frequency, and bribery by the traffic police appeared to be a problem particularly in Jalalabad City.

Access to schools and health facilities remained good within Nangarhar in the third reporting quarter. Though schools were closed over the summer months, school attendance in Nangarhar was at a very high level overall, even exceeding Human Security ranges for boys in Jalalabad City and Muhmand Dara. While in Jalalabad this can be explained by increased urban access to public services and facilities within the provincial capital, in Muhmand Dara this is possibly related to the relative security of the district. School attendance was not negatively affected by Taliban threats, although in Surkh Rod some respondents reported that children could not attend school due to the long travel distance from remote villages. Moreover, many respondents complained about the lack of school buildings and resources as well as the lack of female teachers and separate class rooms, preventing many girls from attending school regularly. The consistently lower number for girls' school attendance was more usually explained by cultural barriers rather than insecurity. However, respondents in Jalalabad also expressed concerns that if they sent their girls to school it may cause them to be threatened. Moreover, due to weak economic circumstances, many school children in Muhmand Dara could not attend school regularly as they had to work to support their families.

A similar pattern could be observed with healthcare access. In Surkh Rod, access to healthcare was extremely difficult and focus groups respondents expressed concern with the quality of services and travel distance. The four health centres were under-equipped and travel times are long – this situation was exacerbated by an upturn in poor health due to the onset of diseases such as malaria and diarrhoea. In fact, focus group respondents reported that no matter what illness patients reported, clinics had only one medicine – Paracetamol – to prescribe. Some respondents reported that the distance to the clinic is so far they have to attend the nearby animal clinic, while others claimed that without personal contacts within the clinics, they would be turned away at the doorstep.

Population movement remained at a low level in Nangarhar province. In Jalalabad, population movement has been marked by an outflow of people due to the hot July and August weather. However, this movement is less pronounced in the provincial capital than elsewhere and many people moved from poorer areas of Nangarhar to live in the city. The trend of returnees from Pakistan due to threats by the Pakistani police was also ongoing. Migration flows within Surkh Rod were similarly small, although in Muhmand Dara migration was affected by the flooding in Pakistan and the continued insecurity across the border, with many families fleeing these difficult conditions to settle in Muhmand Dara District.

Cluster 2 Data

Indicator		Jalalabad				Muhmand Dara				Surkh Rod				
		June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	
2.1	Cost & frequency of public transport (to provincial capital) (-)	Afs / km	3.75	3.59	2.58	-1.17	3.77	4.00	4.00	0.23	4.32	4.25	4.25	-0.07
		Number of journeys per day x number of cars servicing route	2.94	0.94	0.75	-2.19	0.88	0.85	1.28	0.40	1.89	1.94	1.56	-0.33
		Total	3.34	2.26	1.66	-1.68	2.33	2.43	2.64	0.31	3.11	3.09	2.91	-0.20
2.2	Informal taxes for travelling along a road (-)	3.54	2.33	1.00	-2.54	4.13	2.70	2.35	-1.78	5.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	
		Q2	Q3		Change	Q2	Q3		Change	Q2	Q3		Change	
2.3	Number of children attending school (+)	School attendance (age 6-13) male, as percentage of potential attendance rates	4.50	7.48		2.98	4.88	6.44		1.57	3.47	4.69		1.22
		School attendance (age 6-13) female, as a percentage of potential attendance rates	3.08	3.82		0.74	4.10	4.69		0.58	2.98	3.51		0.53
		Total	3.80	5.69		1.89	4.50	5.58		-4.50	3.23	4.11		-3.23
2.4	Number of patients using healthcare centres by population number (+)	3.17	3.17		0.00	2.07	4.43		2.36	0.27	0.41		0.14	
		June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	
2.5	Returnee, IDP and migrant movements (-)	5.00	4.54	5.00	0.00	1.52	4.90	2.63	1.11	5.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	
Cluster Total		3.77	3.08	2.71	-1.06	2.91	5.01	4.41	1.50	3.32	4.40	4.36	1.03	

Cluster 3: Household Security

Cluster 3 Analysis

Household security in Nangarhar Province generally declined over the summer months. Overall, all household indicators declined in all three districts – except indicator 3.1, measuring access to land, which fluctuated from month to month. Despite being in the midst of the harvesting season, flooding and natural disasters impeded access to land. This in turn increased bazaar prices, thereby diminishing food security and contributing to an overall pessimistic economic outlook. Thus, drops in certain indicators reinforced declines in other areas of household security. The general lack of coping mechanisms again left people vulnerable to shocks and food shortages.

While access to land is less a concern in the urban environment of Jalalabad City, it is a vital aspect of livelihood security in the more rural areas of Muhmand Dara and Surkh Rod. Whereas access to land was impeded in Muhmand Dara in July by natural disasters and flooding, it recovered again in August. Indeed, all respondents had access to land, and nearly all reported sufficient water supply. In the rural areas, most families relied on their land to some extent, but none had a coping strategy for natural shocks in July. Although nearly half of respondents were affected by flooding in August, this was a significant reduction from July, when all respondents were adversely affected by such shocks. Unusually though, rural as well as urban areas were affected by natural disasters. Whereas most areas were hit by heavy rains and flooding, Surkh Rod in addition suffered from drought. Floods and droughts in turn had impacted negatively on food security within Nangarhar province, and most respondents faced food shortages from time to time or regularly. While food security recovered again in August in Jalalabad, in contrast it declined in Muhmand Dara and Surkh Rod.

In Surkh Rod, though access to land remained stable and the impact of natural shocks declined as in Muhmand Dara, sufficiency also declined markedly. The rain-fed nature of water supply means that people were vulnerable to natural shocks and sharing resources was highly problematic and fraught with disputes. Accordingly, subsistence livelihoods were adversely affected by insufficient water in August, and all respondents reported difficulties feeding their households for between one and five days during the month.

While far fewer respondents in Muhmand Dara reported that their situation had worsened during the reporting period, almost half claimed that theirs had not improved at all. The universal impact of flooding seen during the summer meant that conditions for many people could not get any worse. The same was true for Jalalabad City and Surkh Rod. The perception of households' economic situation remained at a very low level and only recovered slightly in August, and although slightly fewer people thought that their situation had worsened, none indicated that their situation had improved during August. The lack of jobs, higher prices and flooding contributed to this perception. Nearly half of the respondents reported that they were still affected by flooding in August, despite the drier summer season. To cope with this, some families relocated to Kabul.

Livestock ownership remained very important in Muhmand Dara and Surkh Rod, although diseases such as *Tabaq* continued to be problematic particularly over the summer months across all districts. Compared with July, however, the situation improved slightly, owing to better weather conditions.

Table 1: Agricultural Seasons³

<i>Agricultural Activities: 1st season:</i>	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Land Preparation												
Planting												
Irrigation												
Weeding												
Harvesting												
Threshing/Storage												
<i>Agricultural Activities: 2nd season:</i>												
Land Preparation												
Planting												
Irrigation												
Weeding												
Harvesting												
Threshing/Storage												
<i>Livestock activities:</i>												
Open range grazing												
Peak milking												
<i>Other economic activities:</i>												
On farm employment												
Off farm employment												
Seasonal migration/remittance												

³ USAID FEWSNET, Afghanistan rural livelihood profiles (zone 6: Eastern Intensively Irrigated Zone, p. 37), September 2005.

Cluster 3 Data

Indicator		Jalalabad				Muhmand Dara				Surkh Rod				
		June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	
3.1	Extent to which water supply meets crops requirements (+)	Households reporting sufficiency (%)	0.29	2.59	5.00	4.71	1.00	0.00	4.48	3.48	0.26	0.36	0.00	-0.26
		Households reporting access to irrigated land (%)	2.86	2.50	0.00	-2.86	2.08	2.96	5.00	2.92	2.92	4.00	3.50	0.58
		Households with coping mechanism (%)	2.00	3.95	5.00	3.00	0.00	3.13	0.00	0.00	0.29	2.14	0.00	-0.29
		Total	1.72	3.01	3.33	1.62	1.03	2.03	3.16	2.13	1.16	2.17	1.17	0.01
3.2	Threats to livestock ownership (-)	4.89	1.02	2.92	-1.98	3.90	1.77	2.20	-1.70	3.75	0.47	2.60	-1.15	
3.3	Percentage of households consuming less than daily calorific requirements (-)	4.60	2.76	4.36	-0.24	3.13	3.33	2.82	-0.31	4.55	4.62	3.33	-1.21	
3.4	Impact of natural disasters (-)	2.83	0.00	2.69	-0.13	3.54	0.00	2.59	-0.96	4.50	0.00	2.75	-1.75	
3.5	Perception of household economic situation (+)	4.12	0.52	0.67	-3.44	2.02	0.76	2.16	0.13	2.13	0.33	1.75	-0.38	
Cluster Total		3.63	1.46	2.79	-0.84	2.72	1.58	2.58	-0.14	3.22	1.52	2.32	-0.90	

Cluster 4: Economic (Trade/Business) Security

Cluster 4 Analysis

The economic situation in Jalalabad City deteriorated alongside the security situation. This was exacerbated by the hot weather which meant that outdoor activities such as construction stopped. There was very little work on the land in August and the availability of employment fell slightly in Jalalabad. The relatively high score masks a considerable difference between shopkeepers, who enjoyed almost continued employment, and labourers, who worked on average only one third of the month.

Owing to natural disasters and flooding in Pakistan, the price of many staple items rose precipitously from July. While most items showed a modest increase, the price of beef rose by nearly a third and mutton by 50% in Jalalabad. Maize also doubled in price. This was particularly due to Jalalabad's proximity to the relatively open border to Pakistan, where usually a plentiful supply of goods and favourable exchange rates together increase trade. This meant that the economic situation remained exceptionally poor with people struggling to meet their household requirements owing to the lack of job opportunities. The rise in prices was particularly high in Muhmand Dara, owing to the fact that the impact of the flooding in Pakistan was felt especially strongly in this border area. While the price of rice and potatoes increased significantly, the largest rises were seen for beef and especially mutton, where costs were significantly higher than in Jalalabad.

Similarly, in Surkh Rod the employment situation deteriorated and many people left the area to seek work in Kabul. The surviving trade of brick work, however, attracted people from Nuristan and Kunar to seek employment. People in Muhmand Dara District also tended to migrate out for work and joblessness was one of the biggest concerns for residents. This combined with reliance upon farms and livestock (of which much was dying from diseases), meant that many people were very poor. Residents also tended to shop elsewhere as the bazaar had only 15 shops – this meant that traders were also not well off.

Ramadan affected the work situation in the same way, as it reduced opportunities in both Surkh Rod and Muhmand Dara, and the high bazaar prices meant people struggled to afford the most basic goods. While the majority of these problems were faced by labourers, the traders interviewed had been able to attract better incomes in comparison. This accounts for the relatively positive Human Security scores. For those that struggled, a standard coping mechanism employed by families was to send their young men to Kabul in order to seek work, otherwise people were reliant upon credit or eating away at any savings they had.

The number of respondents currently holding loans remained relatively stable in Jalalabad and Surkh Rod, while the perceived availability of credit actually increased in both areas. In Muhmand Dara, in contrast, both indicators declined significantly. In fact, while higher prices in Jalalabad did not have the expected restricting effect upon credit uptake and availability, this seems to be the consequence in Muhmand Dara.

Cluster 4 Data

Indicator			Jalalabad				Muhmand Dara				Surkh Rod			
			Q2	Q3	Change	Q2	Q3	Change	Q2	Q3	Change			
4.1	Cost of shop rental (-)		2.34	1.19	-1.16	5.26	5.24	-0.01	4.88	5.05	0.17			
			June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change
4.2	Price of a basic basket of consumer goods including fuels and agri inputs (-)		1.93	1.49	-1.65	-3.57	4.03	1.11	-0.79	-4.83	4.24	3.15	-	-
4.3	Availability of employment reported by casual & agricultural labourers (+)		3.28	3.31	3.29	0.01	4.16	3.29	3.84	-0.33	3.63	3.06	4.28	0.65
4.4	Average daily wage (Casual/urban & agricultural) (+)		1.62	3.82	3.49	1.87	0.93	1.12	1.15	0.22	1.37	1.36	2.29	0.92
4.5	Access to credit (-)	Percentage of respondents currently with a loan (%)	2.81	3.75	2.81	0.00	4.41	3.13	2.08	-2.33	2.78	3.47	2.50	-0.28
		Availability of informal credit; % of respondents that feel they have access to credit	1.67	2.89	3.42	1.75	2.50	1.25	0.71	-1.79	3.06	3.75	5.00	1.94
		Total	2.24	3.32	3.12	0.88	3.46	2.19	1.40	-2.06	2.92	3.61	3.75	0.83
Cluster Total			2.28	2.63	1.89	-0.39	3.57	2.59	2.17	-1.40	3.41	3.25	3.84	0.44

Cluster 5: Judicial & Political Security

Cluster 5 Analysis

Judicial and political security remained at a low level in Nangarhar province. The *Shura Ulema* hardly met in any of the surveyed districts and visits by members of parliament were virtually non-existent. Similarly, a low level of local grievance resolution activity was reported across districts, with hardly any new cases received or decisions taken, pointing towards a slow and inefficient informal justice process. Nevertheless, while overall human security scores for Jalalabad and Surkh Road remained stable or actually improved – albeit at a generally low level - the situation in Muhmand Dara worsened in every indicator.

Conflicts within Jalalabad were solved exclusively by elders and both elders and mullahs had no threats issued against them by AOGs. Elders were favoured over religious leaders and some accused the religious leaders of having a bad past, reducing trust. Indeed, there appeared to be two types of religious leaders in the area who opposed each other; the mainstream Sunni and the more conservative Sunni religious leaders. This created some difficulty in functioning and neither group appeared to be involved in social or political affairs, instead being restricted to simply Islamic affairs. Due to the curtailed role of religious leaders, elders' importance was increased, and despite complaints about their treatment from the government, they were able to solve the majority of conflicts and presented the first port of call when disputes arose.

Elders continued to play a prominent role within Muhmand Dara, taking on the majority of the conflict resolution roles and having a strong social function. Elders appeared to be much more trusted than religious leaders although there were isolated examples in some villages where the religious leaders provided a strong social function as well as just Islamic teachings. People nevertheless tended to obey religious leaders within Muhmand Dara and the strong religious sentiments of the people combined with the traditional roles undertaken due to their Pashtun ethnicity meant that they had no problem conforming to religious leaders' conservative edicts.

Conflicts within the district were thus solved by elders. Bribery from government court procedures was a common complaint from respondents. Arbitrary detention incidents were not reported despite the presence of two ISAF bases in the district of Muhmand Dara, and it appeared not to be an extensive problem due to cooperation between elders and the police, with the former negotiating the safe release of detainees if incidents occurred.

In Surkh Rod, elders also appeared better placed than religious leaders to influence the local population within the district. Indeed, they had a system in place in which they noted penalties and fees applicable to the local disputes and disagreements they dealt with. This meant that if the offence reoccurred, they had a record of previous punishments, developing a nascent version of customary law.

The elections involved a lot of campaigning and no major problems in Surkh Rod – in fact many were happy with the campaigning process, especially elders, as they were given money, clothes and food in exchange for their word that they would mobilise support for the respective candidates. However, in Jalalabad City, the election period caused security to worsen. Overall there was a lack of trust in the election process and there have been claims that people have been harassed during campaigning.

Cluster 5 Data

Indicator		Jalalabad				Muhmand Dara				Surkh Rod				
		June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	June	July	August	Change	
5.1	Number of Ulema Shura meetings in district (+)	1.25	1.25	1.25	0.00	1.25	1.25	1.00	-0.25	1.88	2.81	1.50	-0.38	
5.2	Number of visits to districts made by Parliamentarians and Provincial Councillors (+)	0.00	0.21	0.00	0.00	0.99	0.00	0.00	-0.99	0.37	0.00	0.00	-0.37	
5.3	Number of new cases and decisions within informal justice mechanisms (+)	Number of new cases per/month/population	0.09	0.57	2.04	1.94	0.58	3.97	0.12	-0.45	0.09	1.41	1.49	1.40
		Number of decisions in courts per/month/population	0.18	1.36	1.53	1.35	1.15	3.01	0.31	-0.84	0.40	1.58	1.65	1.25
		Total	0.14	0.96	1.78	1.64	0.86	3.49	0.21	-0.65	0.25	1.49	1.57	1.32
5.4	Engagement of religious actors in political and social decision making (+)	Number of consultative and decision making gatherings attended by religious actors per month/population	1.25	1.87	1.27	0.02	0.90	8.27	0.20	-0.70	0.82	1.17	1.28	0.46
		Public perception of representativeness of Religious leaders; involvement in in Social & Development affairs	5.00	3.50	4.23	-0.77	5.00	4.31	3.10	-1.90	5.00	2.67	5.00	0.00
		Total	3.12	2.69	2.75	-0.37	2.95	6.29	1.65	-1.30	2.91	1.92	3.14	0.23
5.5	Levels of arbitrary detention (-)	1.58	2.67	5.00	3.42	3.67	5.00	3.79	0.13	1.58	2.86	3.25	1.67	
Cluster Total		1.22	1.56	2.16	0.94	1.94	3.21	1.33	-0.61	1.40	1.82	1.89	0.50	