

# Take the Guns Away



## Afghan Voices on Security and Elections

**The Human Rights  
Research and Advocacy  
Consortium**

**September 2004**

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# About the Consortium

**T**he Human Rights Research and Advocacy Consortium is a group of seven Afghan and six international organizations committed to promoting peace and human rights in Afghanistan. Our members include some of the most experienced and respected agencies working in Afghanistan today in the fields of humanitarian relief, reconstruction, human and women's rights, peace promotion, research and advocacy. The extensive programming experience of our members gives us unrivalled access to communities.

## Aim

To influence policy changes that will promote human rights and peace in Afghanistan through ongoing action research and advocacy.

## Method

The Consortium captures the voices of ordinary Afghans through field research. This research forms the foundation of our advocacy campaigns, in which we seek to ensure that policymakers, hearing the concerns and hopes of Afghans, will work harder to protect their basic human rights.

## Themes

The Consortium focuses its efforts on three key human rights concerns: the right of all Afghans to peace and physical security, their right to participate politically, and their right to share in economic resources and development.

This survey was funded by Novib and each Consortium member.

## Consortium Members



Rights and Democracy



Co-operation for Peace and Unity



The Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit



Afghan Development Association



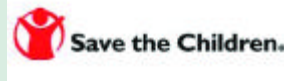
Ockenden International



Oxfam International



Mercy Corps



Save the Children (SC/USA)



Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief



Agency for Rehabilitation & Energy-conservation in Afghanistan



The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission



CARE International



Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance

# Overview

The voices of the majority of Afghans are simply not heard nor heeded in the corridors of power in Kabul, Washington, New York, and Brussels. Inevitably, much of the policy discussion about Afghanistan—in the country and around the world—focuses on the big picture. While not claiming to be statistically representative of the Afghan population, *Take the Guns Away* highlights the views of some Afghans, including farmers, teachers, housewives, and shopkeepers. Their views should, as much as any other, influence the many decisions facing Afghanistan.

This is the second major survey of Afghan opinion conducted by the Human Rights Research and Advocacy Consortium. A key finding of our first report, *Speaking Out*, was that many Afghans believed that disarmament was the most important thing that could be done to improve their security. Afghans also had very high expectations that national elections would bring positive changes to the country. Taking these conclusions as our starting point, we carried out over 700 surveys and in-depth interviews in six provinces to investigate the

impact of guns on the everyday lives of Afghans, and the effect people think this may have on elections. We also wanted to discover what Afghans hope the elections will bring. Do they believe this will be a landmark in the country's recent history, establishing the foundations for long-term peace and stability? Or, are Afghans expecting to be, once again, let down by their leaders and the international community?

Guns and the men who wield them continue to weaken the fabric of Afghan society and obstruct the development of the rule of law. Although many Afghans say that security has improved with the cessation of widespread conflict, there are still accounts of abuses by warlords, commanders<sup>1</sup> and their militias. Until military units are decommissioned and the Afghan military forces (AMF)<sup>2</sup> defactionalized, people will continue to be threatened, and the country's fledgling political institutions undermined. This is exemplified by the stalled Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process.



<sup>1</sup> These terms are used interchangeably and reflect the power and influence that these individuals and groups hold, particularly through the use of guns.

<sup>2</sup> International Crisis Group, "Disarmament and Reintegration in Afghanistan," *ICG Asia Report*, No 65, 30 September 2003.

## Summary

Afghans<sup>3</sup> continue to be exposed to all manner of humiliation and abuse at the hands of gunmen. The rule of law is effectively non-existent throughout the country, and consequently, a culture of impunity dominates. Although many of the Afghans we interviewed are more confident about the security situation now than they were one year ago, they also recite a litany of crimes committed against them—mainly by commanders or their men. Confidence and trust in the police is low. Afghans say their central government is weak, and they are desperately calling for it to be more assertive. Although a majority of those surveyed think there are fewer weapons in the hands of gunmen than there were one year ago, 88% of people we spoke to want the government to act to

reduce the powers of commanders. Nearly two-thirds believe disarmament is the most important way to improve security.

Afghans are eager to participate in the upcoming elections. In some parts of the country, many expect them to be free and fair. Seventy-five percent of Afghans surveyed believe that they will be able to vote freely. However, in the South, there is considerable fear that the polls will be disrupted by violence. Elsewhere, some argue that the commanders will use the distraction of the elections to tighten their grip on their fiefdoms. Although the Afghans surveyed feel overwhelmingly enthusiastic about the upcoming elections, there is a very low level of political awareness. In addition, hopes are so high that many expect the polls to bring radical change almost overnight.

### WHAT AFGHANS WANT

Afghans have strong opinions about actions that can improve their lives and reduce the influence of commanders. These quotes, taken from interviews, represent some of the prevailing views among Afghans.

#### **Accelerated and effective disarmament**

"We are shouting for disarmament. Why has it not taken place?"

#### **A more assertive central government**

"The central government has to realize that this is a crisis. They alone can act. They can interfere with the commanders' power base. They should move on the gunmen."

#### **Enable and strengthen the rule of law**

"I don't have much confidence in the police and the courts because they all want bribes. This is not justice."

#### **Increase the national and international security presence**

"International forces keep the peace... The ANA helps, but there have to be foreign forces as well as the national army."

#### **Free and fair elections**

"The right conditions should be created for elections so that the people who want to pressure others will not be allowed to."

#### **Increase civic education**

"The majority of people don't even know what elections are."

<sup>3</sup> Our reference to Afghans in this report reflects the prevailing views of the more than 700 people who filled in questionnaires or were interviewed.

# "This is the fear of our daily lives"

The fighting may have stopped in much of Afghanistan, but the actions of gunmen still dominate many aspects of Afghans' lives. Commanders are the *de facto* rulers of large areas of the country; some of them are among Afghanistan's most powerful and wealthy men, others are village thugs. Either way, their abuses of power, backed by the threat and use of violence, have a devastating effect on life here.

During the course of our interviews, Afghans made repeated allegations of human rights violations that amount to a consistent pattern of abuse. A resident of Faizabad describes arbitrary murders and a gang rape. A man in Jalalabad warily talks about the private jails run by commanders: "No one knows where the people disappear to."

A shopkeeper in Jalalabad talks about a crippling tax levied by local gunmen. "Whether I earn 2000 Afghanis (US\$40) in a month or not, I pay the men.

## Women on Security

Throughout Afghanistan, women bare the burden of additional threats to their security.

"Women are in a bad situation here. Mothers are afraid. They are worried about their daughters—that the armed men will do something to the girls."

*Woman, Faizabad*

"Girls cannot go freely here. If the situation gets worse, my father says we should not go to school. We do not feel safe here."

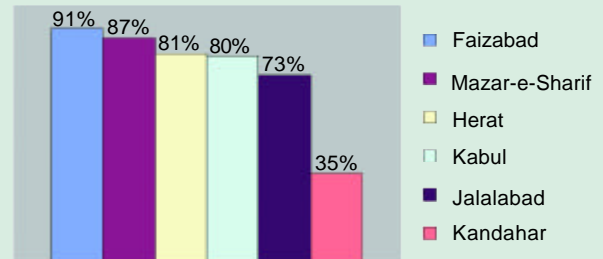
*Young woman, Kabul*

"People say that whilst there are weapons in the houses they will not let their women go to the villages and register to vote. Unless there is DDR, people, particularly women, will not feel free to go to the polling stations."

*Woman, Faizabad*

## Can you describe the security situation in your province compared to a year ago?

### Those who answered "improved."



If I don't give it to them they will destroy my shop." A driver in Mazar-e-Sharif describes being forced at gunpoint to take commanders to distant villages without payment.

One of the most common indignities described by Afghans from Jalalabad to Herat, Kandahar to Faizabad, Mazar-e-Sharif to Kabul is the illegal occupation of land and houses by the gunmen or their supporters.

In the in-depth interviews in all the places that we visited, incidents of crime emerge as a central concern. Yet two-thirds of the Afghans we surveyed still feel that there is less crime in their area now than there was one year ago. There are strong regional variations however: 55% of those questioned in Kandahar say there is more crime now than in 2003.

Afghans also describe many crimes in detail, and almost invariably attribute the majority of these murders, rapes, kidnappings and robberies to the commanders and their men.

While abuses are reported to be widespread, Afghans are fairly positive about the general security situation. For many who have known nothing but war for nearly 25 years, security is simply defined as "an end to the fighting." This may account for the 76% who believe that security has improved in their province over the past year.<sup>4</sup> This optimism is especially marked in the North

<sup>4</sup> These figures were likely skewed by self-imposed restrictions. We only travelled to areas that we considered safe for both Afghan and international staff.



and West, while respondents in the South are much more pessimistic. In Kandahar only 35% of those questioned feel security has improved, while 45% say it has worsened.

Afghans have not, however, resigned themselves to the abuses of power at the hands of local power holders. On the contrary, they have strong opinions about actions that can improve their lives and reduce the influence of commanders. Throughout this report, we present these opinions, and we end each section with **"What Afghans Want."** As Afghanistan prepares for its first democratically elected government, policy makers must pay attention to the well-founded concerns of the Afghan people.

### Fears about Child Kidnapping

In all the locations we visited, conversations about security often turned to fears about child kidnappings. This fear is terrorising the population.

"After God, the most powerful are the people who kidnap children."

*Woman, Kabul*

"People with weapons take the children and no one can do anything."

*Woman, Mazar-e-Sharif*

"We are concerned everyday because our children are going to school. Youngsters are being kidnapped and we worry that will happen to our children."

*Woman, Jalalabad*

### Fears about the Rule of the Gun

"People have guns. Please take them away. They will kill people. They will rob people."

*Woman, Faizabad*

"There is no difference between the forces of the Taliban and the mujahideen and all the others who carry guns. Only the faces and the clothes have changed."

*Man, Herat*

"I have no freedom of life. Whenever [the commanders] want something, I have to do it for them."

*Man, Kandahar*

"The gunmen have... taken people's land, their houses, their sons, and forced their daughters to marry them. This is the nation's blood."

*Woman, Mazar-e-Sharif*

"Still people are being threatened by the guns. Many people own guns; you can't talk freely because the commanders will say, 'You just need one bullet'."

*Man, Faizabad*

# Security

## Disarmament

With the men wielding weapons dominating life in Afghanistan, almost two-thirds of the people we surveyed (65%) argue that disarmament is the single most important action for improving security.<sup>5</sup>

In some of the provinces we visited, particularly those with powerful commanders, the number of people calling for disarmament is even higher. In Mazar-e-Sharif, where forces loyal to the two strongest regional commanders have sporadic clashes, 87% call for disarmament as a first priority. In Herat, 73% of Afghans believe the priority should be removing the guns.

Even in Kabul, where international security forces are prominent, 51% prioritize disarmament. Others in the capital (35%) feel that strengthening the Afghan national army and police is the most important thing that can be done to improve their security.

### Views on Disarmament

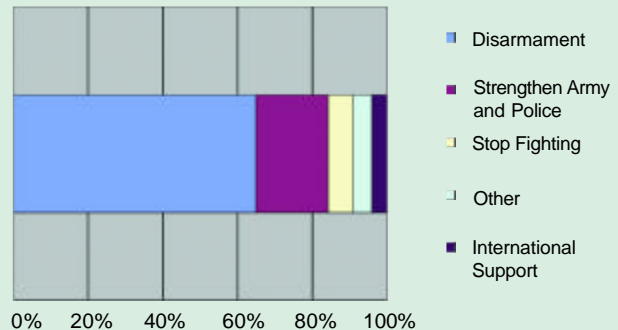
"There are so many weapons in Afghanistan, it's as if they have been planted like a crop."  
*Woman, Mazar-e-Sharif*

"If disarmament happens, I am ready to do whatever my country needs, even if it takes my blood."  
*Man, Kandahar*

"There has only been physical disarmament, not disarmament in the mind. The gun is something these people use to live. It is their tool to survive."  
*Man, Mazar-e-Sharif*

"Commanders and their gunmen cannot do anything else. They eat from the head of the gun and rest from the head of the gun. So I have little confidence in disarmament."  
*Man, Kandahar*

### What is the most important thing to do to improve security in Afghanistan?



Although 59% of Afghans believe there are fewer weapons in the hands of commanders now than there were one year ago, there is little doubt that the gun still dominates many aspects of life. In the words of a woman living in a village in Badakhshan, "You may not be able to see the guns on the street, but in the houses there are hundreds of weapons."

Among our interviewees, there is considerable frustration about the very slow pace of DDR. A man in Mazar-e-Sharif states, "If they continue like this it will take a hundred years to disarm the country." There is also marked scepticism about the thoroughness of the current process. "Even if they give up one or two weapons, they keep another buried in the ground. They will always have weapons," says a woman, also from Mazar-e-Sharif.

**Afghans want accelerated and effective disarmament.**

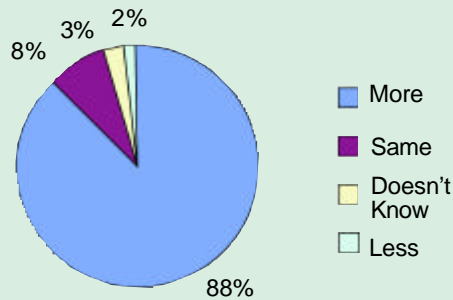
***"We are shouting for disarmament. Why has it not taken place?"***

<sup>5</sup> Afghan civil society organizations also called for disarmament to improve security. See *Recommendations on Afghanistan*, Berlin, March 30, 2004.

## The Role of Central Government

The central government has limited, if any, influence over the gunmen in Afghanistan's provinces, and this is a continuing source of frustration for Afghans.

**Do you think the government should do more, the same, or less to reduce the powers of commanders in Afghanistan?**



One of the most striking results of our survey is the overwhelming call for the government to "take on" the gunmen: 88% of those we spoke to say the government should do more to reduce the powers of commanders. The figure was very high for urban and rural areas alike, and for both men and women. Many Afghans say that now is the time to confront the commanders once and for all. The abuses have, they believe, gone on far too long.

Many people we interviewed also observe that most local commanders are protected and supported by powerful individuals within the central government. In the words of one resident

### Opinions on the Central Government

"Kabul must be stronger. The central government must use its power. The orders from Kabul should be more important than any others in the country."

*Man, Herat*

"The commanders are everywhere and in every position: at the airport, in the police, in the government. They are in power from top to bottom."

*Man, Jalalabad*

"People are scared here because they believe the local commanders are supported by powerful men in the central government."

*Man, Faizabad*

of Faizabad, "If they lose influence with the big commanders in Kabul then they will lose power locally."

Although some officials are contributing to the problem, the central government is seen as key to breaking down existing local power structures. Most people call for central government appointments of qualified individuals to security and administrative posts in the provinces. In interview after interview, Afghans state their desire for more direct action by the central government, indicating a desire to see this process accelerated. Until patronage networks are dismantled, many regional commanders will continue to terrorise the local population.

**Afghans want a more assertive central government.**

***"The central government has to realise that this is a crisis. They alone can act. They can interfere with the commanders' power base. They should move on the gunmen."***

Photo courtesy of HRRAC



## The Rule of Law

### Police

Afghans too often do not trust the people who are meant to provide them with justice because they find little difference between the police and the local militias. Moreover, where there is a difference, money and influence are more likely to solve a crime than evidence and due process. As one man in Mazar-e-Sharif argues, "You can't tell the difference between the new police and the old. The commanders dominate them all." In all the locations we visited, large numbers of policemen have been recruited from the militias and retain ties to their former commanders. The

Afghans we spoke to had little doubt about where the policemen's loyalties still lie.

In the villages, Afghans are split about whom they would approach if they were the victim of a crime: 45% say they would approach the police; 33% the governor; and 24% the *shura*.<sup>6</sup> In the cities, although a clear majority say that they would go to the police (67%), there are also regional differences. People in Kabul are the most likely to approach the police first (79%); in Herat, more than half the people we surveyed say they would approach the *shura*.

### Views on Police Corruption

"If you go to the police station, the police will tell you to go and talk to the commanders."

*Woman, Herat*

"We don't have any trained police. The police that we have were mujahideen before. They help the gunmen and not the people."

*Man, Kabul*

"Police officers still beat people on the street and ask drivers for money. If [the people] say no, then they will be attacked."

*Man, Mazar-e-Sharif*

### Corruption

Time after time we were told that corruption is endemic in Afghanistan. Those we interviewed say corruption permeates the police forces and government offices across the country. A woman in Jalalabad sums up the mood of many of those we met; she says she would turn to the police if

she were the victim of a crime, but adds, "I don't trust them. If we go to them they don't help us, but if you know someone or give a bribe then they pay attention. Otherwise the report of the crime will remain on the table."

In many areas, the poor have no recourse to the limited legal remedies on offer. Having money or connections is what solves problems and even gets criminals released. A man in Faizabad tells the story of a relative who was murdered: "The guilty person was arrested that night, but by the morning he had been released after the intervention of a commander."

Over half the people we surveyed argue that a poor person will not receive the same treatment from the police as a rich person. This problem appears to be particularly acute in Kandahar and Jalalabad. Mazar-e-Sharif is the only place we visited where a majority of interviewees believe that the police treat all people equitably. It is vital that the government offices and police forces carry out their responsibilities fairly and transparently in order to effectively end impunity.

**Afghans want the rule of law to be enabled and strengthened.**

***"I don't have much confidence in the police and the courts because they all want bribes. This is not justice."***

### In your province, what is the most powerful position?

*Top answers by location:*

Herat	Governor <sup>7</sup>	98%
Kabul	Head of Police/ANA	59%
Jalalabad	Commanders	54%
Kandahar	Commanders	53%
Faizabad	Commanders	52%
Mazar-e-Sharif	Commanders	46%

Of all the questions in our survey this one is arguably most open to interpretation. Is a governor with mujahideen credentials still a commander? And is a police chief, with links to commanders, himself a commander? Either way, the responses give a clear picture of Afghans' perceptions of the relative power center in each province.

<sup>6</sup> Shuras are traditional councils, either secular or religious.

<sup>7</sup> This survey was conducted in June and July, before the central government announced the appointment of a new governor for Herat province.

## National and International Security Institutions

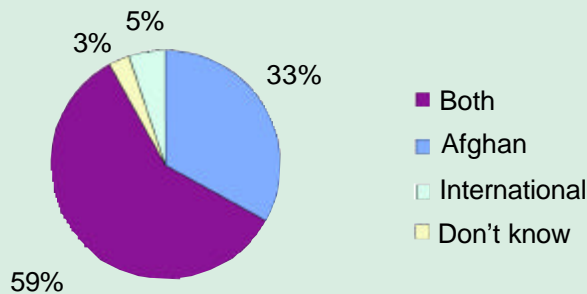
There are mixed feelings about the effectiveness and trustworthiness of the Afghan National Army (ANA). Some interviewees feel that the ANA is a welcome presence. As one woman from Herat says, "The ANA is better than the commanders. We know that the ANA provides us with security."

However, others who were interviewed felt that the only soldiers they can trust are international ones. In the words of one man in Kabul, foreign soldiers "work independently, unlike the [Afghan] army and

police. Only the clothes have changed, not the people. They are still the men of the commanders."

International forces are urged to play an even greater role in both security and disarmament. An overwhelming number of Afghans argued that international forces should oversee the removal of weapons (83%), and a majority (59%) call for both international and Afghan forces to provide security. As one woman in Faizabad says, "We really want the ANA and national police to come, but ISAF<sup>8</sup> would be even better. With the ANA and the police there is a danger that they will know the commanders here. If the foreigners come, they will do the job. Security would definitely improve."

### Do you want Afghan or international forces to provide security in your area?



### Increase the national and international security presence.

***"International forces keep the peace... The ANA helps, but there have to be foreign forces as well as the national army."***

### Links between Opium and Security



Photo courtesy of HRRAC

"In those areas where people use drugs, there are thefts, robberies, fighting and murders. Security is destroyed."

*Woman, Jalalabad*

"The increase in the poppy crop has strengthened the military commanders and put more pressure on the ordinary people."

*Man, Faizabad*

"The money that is made from opium is good for Afghanistan. There are no industrial activities except opium production."

*Man, Kandahar*

"Poppy production has also affected the security of the area. Crime has increased, and the criminals also have money to get out of jail."

*Woman, Kandahar*

# Elections

## Free and Fair Elections

As Afghanistan moves from the rule of the gun to the rule of law, there can be few landmarks as significant as the upcoming national presidential and parliamentary elections. However, these elections must be more than a symbolic achievement for the international community's efforts in Afghanistan. They must be the realization of Afghans' right to political participation.

### Intimidation

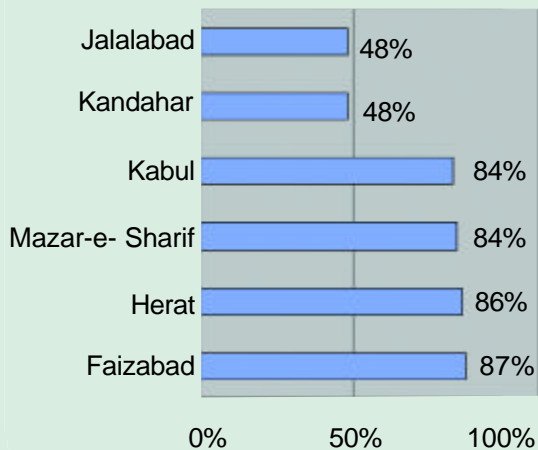
We asked Afghans if they expect to be free to choose who to vote for in the elections. While 75% say they would be free, many in the South and

East have considerably less confidence in their unhindered ability to vote. In both Kandahar and Jalalabad less than half of the people we surveyed say the election will be free from intimidation. Of those who fear pressure, 86% believe commanders will be responsible for it.

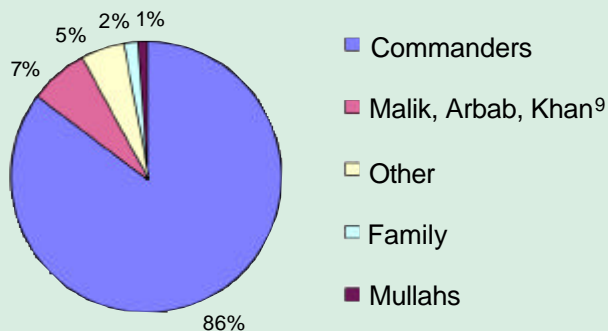
Slightly fewer than two-thirds of those who completed our survey (64%) feel that others will feel free to stand against commanders who contest the elections. The people we spoke to in Herat are the most positive, arguing that intimidation is unlikely. Paradoxically, many Heratis also talk about a lack of political freedoms in the city and province. One resident notes that none of the political parties that have registered in Kabul have yet opened offices in Herat. Another argues that: "People aren't free to express their ideas here. If only we could get rid of the gunmen, then we would be free to speak."

**Do you think that people in this district will be free to choose who they want to vote for or will someone pressure them?**

Those who answered "free to choose."



**If they are not free to choose, who will pressure them?**

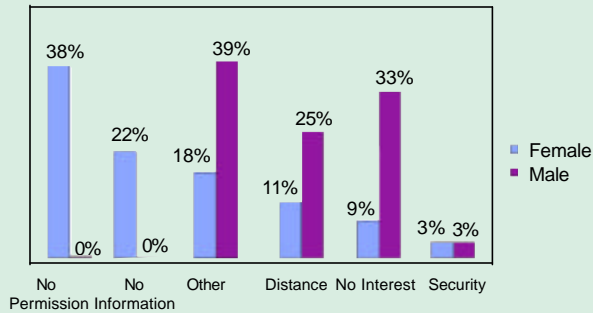


### Women's political participation

For some women, there may be additional constraints. As a housewife in Herat puts it, "Whoever my husband chooses, I will vote for that person. All my opinions will match those of my husband." For some other women, whether they will be allowed to vote at all remains a question. Although an overwhelming majority (92%) of our overall sample supports women's suffrage, only half the men we interviewed in Kandahar agree that women should vote.

Of all the people that we asked, 84% have registered to vote. But of the 110 people in our sample who have not registered, two-thirds are

### Reasons for not registering to vote



women, living mostly in Kandahar, Kabul, and Jalalabad. When people explain their reasons for not registering, there are clear differences between the responses from women and men. The most frequent answer given by women is "No permission"—something none of the men say.

#### Election-related violence

Election-related violence and the lack of neutral security on the ground are on the minds of many of the Afghans we interviewed. People in Kandahar are mainly concerned about the threat of attacks by members of the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

Elsewhere, Afghans tell us they are worried that commanders will interfere with the polls. A shopkeeper in Faizabad states, "The warlords will say, 'If you don't vote for me, I will kill you; I will beat you; I will steal from you.'"

The potential role of the gun in the election process was brought up in interview after interview. The views of a young man in Jalalabad reflect those of many: "The gunmen will interfere with the polls. We don't trust these people. While the government is busy with the elections the commanders will create problems for the people."

The Afghans we spoke to believe that the distraction of an election will allow commanders to increase their grip on their fiefdoms. There is a real danger that a political process designed to take Afghanistan from the rule of the gun to the rule of the law may end up strengthening the former rather than the latter. These concerns informed the decision of the interim Afghan government to benchmark the holding of elections to progress in the DDR process.<sup>10</sup> Meaningful progress in DDR has yet to be made, however, and Afghans have well-founded concerns that their right to freely participate will be obstructed because of this.

### Elections and Security

"Under the rule of the gun it is impossible to have a fair election. It just isn't logical. The gun is governing life. It won't let the people make their own choices in the election."

*Man, Herat*

"In the villages people want to vote but they are afraid of the Taliban, Al Qaeda and some commanders."

*Woman, Kandahar*

"In Kabul [elections] might be possible but in the provinces I don't know, especially for the women. If there are bombings or security problems they may not be able to vote for the candidates."

*Woman, Kabul*

After the fall of the Taliban, "the security was good, but now because of the elections it is insecure."

*Woman, Kandahar*

"So many people still have their own guns, so I wonder how the election will take place."

*Man, Kandahar*

"The parliamentary poll may be dangerous. Professionals and normal people will not be able to take part. The candidates will be commanders and they will use force to get elected."

*Man, Mazar-e-Sharif*

<sup>10</sup> Berlin Declaration 01 April 2004. We Agree... "that it is necessary to implement vigorously the first phase of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration program to be completed by the end of June 2004 as decided by the President of Afghanistan, thereafter to intensify the program ahead of the 2004 elections, and to continue the formation of the Afghan National Army and the National Police."

## Opportunity for change

Yet despite all these difficulties, Afghans remain overwhelmingly enthusiastic about the upcoming polls. Our interviewees say that the time has come for the Afghan people to exercise their right to choose their leaders. A man in Mazar-e-Sharif passionately sums up that sentiment when he argues, "After twenty-five years of *jihad*, the people must choose the president themselves. If they don't, they will have achieved nothing."

Elections in Afghanistan provide an unprecedented opportunity for positive change. But this opportunity does not come without risks. The Afghan government, in partnership with the international community, must ensure that adequate conditions for holding free and fair elections are in place. Neutral security must be provided if election-related violence, intimidation and vote-rigging are to be minimized and if elections are to have legitimacy in Afghans' eyes.

### Afghans want free and fair elections.

*"The right conditions should be created for elections so that the people who want to pressure others will not be allowed to."*

## Participation and Expectations

### Voter awareness

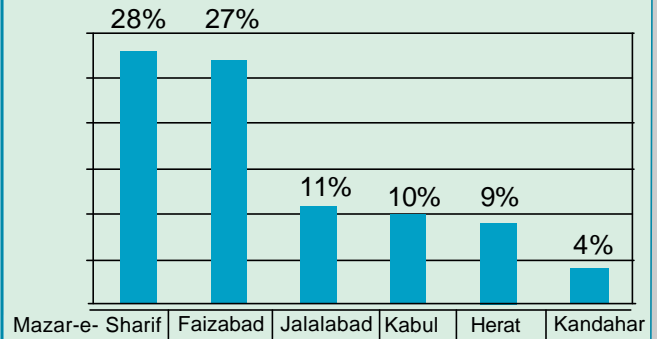
Afghans continue to make it clear by their actions that they want to participate in the political process; they want their voices to be heard. Even the horrendous attacks on registered voters and on voter registration staff have not deterred 9.9 million eligible voters from registering.<sup>11</sup>

Despite these remarkable registration numbers, many Afghans we spoke to have little, if any, knowledge about the new political process. The words of a cleaner in Mazar-e-Sharif best summarize the extent of the problem when she argues that security could be improved if only "we had a better king".

While voter registration numbers have been widely touted, voter education has been given neither the time nor the resources it requires: only a fraction of the Afghans we interviewed (14%) say they

## Have you received any voter education?

### Those who answered "yes."



have received any voter education. Only half of the people who answered our questionnaire can name even two candidates for the presidential polls.<sup>12</sup> There is an urgent need to increase civic education so that Afghans can, not only knowledgeably cast their votes, but also begin to fulfil the rights and responsibilities that citizenship entails.



### Hopes

Limited knowledge does not translate into limited expectations. Indeed, many Afghans hope the new government will bring change immediately. A housewife in Jalalabad anticipates that her children will soon be able to go to school. "Those who are jobless will get jobs. People will not be homeless," she says, "When there's an election, the people will respect the law as well as the government." Others anticipate that wells will be built and the industrial base broadened; still others

<sup>11</sup> As of 14 August 2004, UNAMA indicated that of the 9.9 million registered voters, 5,764,338 were male (58%) and 4,147,378 were female (42%). These numbers do not include registration of Afghan refugees in Iran and Pakistan.

<sup>12</sup> This survey was conducted in June and July, before the registration deadline for presidential candidates.



expect prices to go down in the markets. However, the most common hope is that the elected government will remove weapons from Afghan society.

While many of these hopes are unrealistic, the burden of Afghans' high expectations should nevertheless weigh heavily on the consciences of all political candidates. If not, there is a real possibility that the next government will be viewed in the same way as previous administrations. As one Kandahari succinctly tells us, "This government has not done what we want, so, how can I be optimistic about the new one?"

Afghans have great enthusiasm and hopes for a new political system. But if they are to have faith

in democracy in the long run, Afghans' first democratically elected government must quickly deliver real change to their lives, including basic services and improved security. The international community must support this process with adequate resources, both in terms of funding and in terms of helping the government establish law and order. The elections are not an end point; rather, Afghans hope they will be an opportunity for a new beginning.

**Afghans want civic education to be increased.**

***"The majority of people don't even know what elections are."***

### **Expectations about Elections**

"If the new government is fair, it will bring great changes to our lives. We will feel more secure; women will be able to work without any fear; our country will be free from bad people...."

*Woman, Kandahar*

"I hope that after the elections there will be no killings or robberies."

*Man, Herat*

"We want a president whose hands are not wet with the blood of the nation. Someone who will think of the people. It must be someone neutral, who is not a commander. Someone who can bring peace and security to the country."

*Woman, Mazar-e-Sharif*

"If there is a permanent government, the guns will be collected [and] people will have jobs. Afghanistan will be a safe, comfortable society."

*Man, Kabul*

# Annex A

## Methodology

Between 1 June and 12 July 2004, the Consortium carried out its research in six locations: Faizabad, Jalalabad, Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul. Efforts were made to choose these locations randomly from the numerous areas in which our members work. However, the security situation played a large role in the final selection. Our researchers visited locations that were considered safe for both Afghan and international staff. At each location, rural and urban areas were chosen randomly from the safest surrounding areas. As a result, the rural areas visited were all close to cities.

To conduct the research, the following two survey methods were used: questionnaires and in-depth interviews. In total, 763 people were involved in the survey. Of these, 684 answered the questionnaire and 79 participated in the in-depth interviews.<sup>13</sup>

The questionnaire was written in a way that the Consortium felt balanced the need to collect important information with the need to protect the staff and the member organisations. Attempts were made to use language that could be clearly understood once translated. The questionnaire was field-tested in Kabul and translated into Dari. Male and female surveyors, mainly from the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, interviewed men and women at their homes.

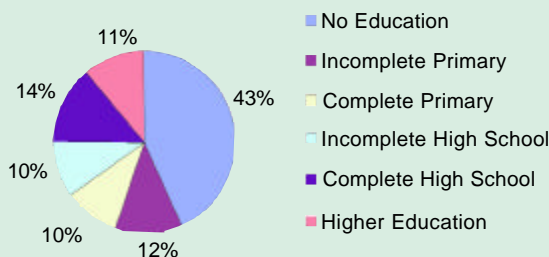
One hundred surveys were carried out per location in Faizabad, Jalalabad, Kandahar, Herat, and Mazar-e-Sharif. However, 200 questionnaires were carried out in Kabul to account for the capital's considerably larger population. Where the questionnaires were incomplete, they have not been considered in the final total numbers. Surveyors chose houses at random while conducting the questionnaire.

The aim of the in-depth interviews was to provide a context for the quantitative data. At least eight interviews were carried out in each location; attempts were made to interview an equal number of men and women in each location. The interviews were loosely structured and lasted for about forty-five minutes on average. International researchers carried them out where possible, with the help of Afghan translators. Great care was taken not to press people for the names of individuals. Where interviewees did name commanders alleged to have committed crimes, the details have been left out of the report for security reasons.

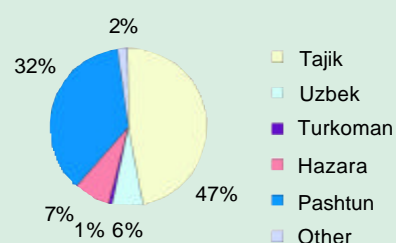
Some of the Afghans who participated in the in-depth interviews were selected at random, while others were recommended by colleagues in each of the locations we visited.

### Sample Profile for the Survey Questionnaire

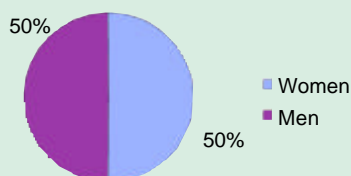
**Education Profile**



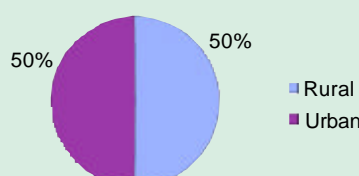
**Ethnic Profile**



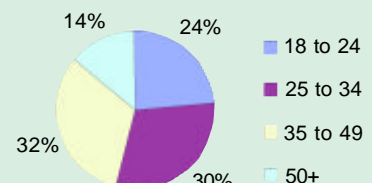
**Gender Profile**



**Rural/Urban Profile**



**Age Profile**





9. Do you think this government should do more, the same or less to reduce the powers of commanders in Afghanistan?  
a. more      b. same      c. less      d. don't know
10. Are there more or less weapons in the hands of commanders and their men in your area than a year ago?  
a. more      b. less      c. same      d. don't know
11. Do you think that international forces should or should not supervise the taking away of weapons?  
a. should      b. should not      c. don't know
12. Do the Police and/or ANA patrol enough in your area?  
a. yes      b. no      c. don't know
13. When should the elections be held?  
a. as soon as possible      b. when planned      c. after disarmament  
d. after security has improved      e. other      f. don't know
14. Which month is the national election planned for?  
a. knows      b. doesn't know
15. Have you registered to vote?  
a. yes      b. no
16. If no, why not?  
a. no information      b. no permission      c. security      d. distance      e. no interest  
f. other
17. Will the planned elections choose the President, the Parliament or both?  
a. presidential      b. parliament      c. both      d. don't know
18. Have you received any voter education? (VERIFY ANSWER BY ASKING FROM WHICH ORGANIZATION THEY RECEIVED IT)  
a. yes      b. no
19. Can you tell me the names of two Presidential Candidates? (VERIFY ANSWER BY ASKING THEM TO NAME THEM)  
a. knows      b. doesn't know
20. Do you think that most people in this district will be able to choose who they want to vote for or will someone pressure them how to vote?  
a. choose      b. someone will pressure them      c. don't know
21. If b, who will pressure them?  
a. family      b. commanders      c. mullahs      d. malik/arbab/khan      e. others
22. Should all adult women be allowed to vote?  
a. yes      b. no      c. don't know
23. If a commander stands for election in this area, will others feel free to stand against him?  
a. yes      b. no      c. don't know
24. In your opinion, will general elections bring positive or negative changes to Afghanistan?  
a. positive      b. negative      c. no change      d. don't know

# Annex C

## Qualitative Questionnaire<sup>14</sup>

Date:

Province:

District:

Village/town:

### INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENT

Gender:

Ethnicity:

Age:

Education:

Occupation:

### QUESTIONS

#### Elections

Are elections important? Why?

Is now the time for elections? Why?

What changes will a new government bring to your life?

Will your life change after the elections?

#### Elections and Security

What concerns do you have about the elections?

Are you worried that some people in this area won't be able to vote for who they want to? Why could that happen?

Have there been problems with registration in this area?

How and where, if at all, have people been discussing the elections in public?

Are there meetings?

What happens at them?

Who is speaking and attending?

Are you saying what you think and are political leaders listening?

Do you expect the elections to go ahead without problems?

Are there people who will try to force the people to vote for them or their friends?

<sup>14</sup> These questions were the starting point for the in-depth interviews. Additional questions were asked as required to clarify answers and

## **Security**

Have there been changes in the security in this area in the past year? If so, why? If not, why not?

Who is the most powerful person in this area? In the province? Why?

Who is responsible for keeping this area safe?

Which groups help to keep it safe?

Which groups make it unsafe?

Do the people who are meant to provide security do that?

What are you afraid of in day-to-day life?

Can your children go to school?

Is it safe to farm the land?

What impact do commanders and their men have on your life?

How can security be improved?

How has the increase in drug production changed your life? How has it affected security in this area?

## **DDR**

Are commanders and their men being disarmed in this area?

If yes; do you feel safer, and how? What do you do differently now?

If no; how would your life change if there was disarmament? What would you do differently?

After disarmament what can the commanders and their men do?

Where appropriate - what are disarmed men doing now?

Do they still follow the orders of their commanders?

Do you think there has to be more disarmament, or not, before the elections go ahead? Why?

## **Role of the Government**

If you were the victim of a crime, who would you approach first? (and after that etc.)

How much confidence do you have in that person?

Are they the right people to provide justice?

Do you see the police/ANA on the streets?

How many? How often?

Do they make a difference?

How can the government improve the security situation?

## **International Community**

Is there an international security presence in this area?

What is it?

Who are they?

What do the international forces do here?

What difference do they make to your life?

# Annex D

## Statistical Results <sup>15</sup>

**1** Can you describe the security situation in your province in comparison to one year ago?

	%	Improved	Worse	Same	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>					
Female		77.88	11.50	10.03	0.59
Male		73.91	19.13	6.09	0.87
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Baluch <sup>16</sup>		100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara		77.08	20.83	0.00	2.08
Other		81.25	18.75	0.00	0.00
Pashtun		61.75	24.30	13.15	0.80
Tajik		83.95	9.26	6.17	0.62
Turkomen		83.33	16.67	0.00	0.00
Uzbek		94.74	0.00	5.26	0.00
<b>Location</b>					
Faizabad		91.00	6.00	3.00	0.00
Herat		81.00	6.00	12.00	1.00
Jalalabad		73.47	13.27	13.27	0.00
Kabul		80.41	18.56	1.03	0.00
Kandahar		35.48	45.16	17.20	2.15
Mazar-e-Sharif		86.87	2.02	9.09	2.02
<b>Total</b>		<b>75.88</b>	<b>15.35</b>	<b>8.04</b>	<b>0.73</b>

**2** Is there more or less crime in your area in comparison to one year ago?

	%	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>					
Female		20.06	64.31	12.98	2.65
Male		24.06	68.70	6.38	0.87
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Baluch		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara		16.67	66.67	8.33	8.33
Other		12.50	81.25	6.25	0.00
Pashtun		33.86	50.60	14.74	0.80
Tajik		16.67	74.07	7.41	1.85
Turkomen		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Uzbek		5.26	94.74	0.00	0.00
<b>Location</b>					
Faizabad		6.00	90.00	4.00	0.00
Herat		13.00	63.00	22.00	2.00
Jalalabad		19.39	64.29	16.33	0.00
Kabul		29.38	64.43	3.09	3.09
Kandahar		55.91	24.73	17.20	2.15
Mazar-e-Sharif		4.04	91.92	2.02	2.02
<b>Total</b>		<b>22.08</b>	<b>66.52</b>	<b>9.65</b>	<b>1.75</b>

**3** If you were the victim of a crime, where would you go for help?

	%	Shura	Police	Woluswali/ Governor	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>					
Female		18.29	51.92	16.22	13.57
Male		15.65	60.58	21.16	2.61
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Baluch		0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara		4.17	87.50	2.08	6.25
Other		25.00	68.75	6.25	0.00
Pashtun		16.33	53.78	21.51	8.37
Tajik		19.75	54.63	17.59	8.03
Turkomen		0.00	33.33	50.00	16.67
Uzbek		13.16	44.74	31.58	10.53
<b>Location</b>					
Faizabad		14.00	37.00	37.00	12.00
Herat		52.00	37.00	8.00	3.00
Jalalabad		12.24	45.92	32.65	9.18
Kabul		8.25	78.87	7.22	5.67
Kandahar		7.53	66.67	20.43	5.38
Mazar-e-Sharif		15.15	51.52	18.18	15.15
<b>Total</b>		<b>16.96</b>	<b>56.29</b>	<b>18.71</b>	<b>8.04</b>

**4** Does a poor person receive the same treatment from the police as a rich person?

	%	Yes	No	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>				
Female		35.10	47.20	17.70
Male		33.04	60.00	6.96
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Baluch		100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara		31.25	52.08	16.67
Other		43.75	50.00	6.25
Pashtun		22.31	71.31	6.37
Tajik		43.21	41.67	15.12
Turkomen		50.00	50.00	0.00
Uzbek		28.95	44.74	26.32
<b>Location</b>				
Faizabad		37.00	47.00	16.00
Herat		35.00	53.00	12.00
Jalalabad		21.43	71.43	7.14
Kabul		40.21	45.88	13.92
Kandahar		7.53	88.17	4.30
Mazar-e-Sharif		55.56	26.26	18.18
<b>Total</b>		<b>34.06</b>	<b>53.65</b>	<b>12.28</b>

<sup>15</sup> The data presented in this annex is a selection from the complete data set. For further data please contact the project staff.

<sup>16</sup> Only one Baluch was interviewed.

**5** In this province what is the most powerful position?  
Please do not give me a name.

%	Governor	Commanders	Head of Police/Army	Other	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>					
Female	40.71	31.27	11.80	2.65	13.57
Male	35.07	32.75	27.54	1.16	3.48
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	14.58	18.75	45.83	2.08	18.75
Other	25.00	0.00	56.25	12.50	6.25
Pashtun	36.65	40.64	13.15	1.20	8.37
Tajik	42.59	26.23	20.99	2.16	8.02
Turkomen	66.67	16.67	16.67	0.00	0.00
Uzbek	34.21	57.89	5.26	0.00	2.63
<b>Location</b>					
Faizabad	31.00	52.00	7.00	2.00	8.00
Herat	98.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
Jalalabad	36.73	56.12	3.06	1.02	3.06
Kabul	9.28	8.25	58.76	4.64	19.07
Kandahar	41.94	52.69	1.08	0.00	4.30
Mazar-e-Sharif	37.37	46.46	10.10	1.01	5.05
<b>Total</b>	<b>37.87</b>	<b>32.02</b>	<b>19.74</b>	<b>1.90</b>	<b>8.48</b>

**6** What is the most important thing to do to improve security in Afghanistan?

%	Strengthen Army and Police	Disarmament	International Support	Stop Fighting	Other
<b>Gender</b>					
Female	16.81	64.01	4.42	9.73	5.01
Male	21.74	65.22	4.06	4.64	4.35
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Baluch	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00
Hazara	33.33	56.25	4.17	2.08	4.17
Other	12.50	50.00	0.00	6.25	31.25
Pashtun	21.51	63.35	5.58	7.57	1.99
Tajik	17.90	66.05	3.09	7.72	5.25
Turkomen	0.00	83.33	0.00	0.00	16.67
Uzbek	5.26	76.32	7.89	5.26	5.26
<b>Location</b>					
Faizabad	9.00	65.00	5.00	11.00	10.00
Herat	18.00	73.00	0.00	6.00	3.00
Jalalabad	19.39	64.29	8.16	3.06	5.10
Kabul	34.54	50.52	3.61	5.15	6.19
Kandahar	11.83	61.29	8.60	18.28	0.00
Mazar-e-Sharif	8.08	86.87	1.01	2.02	2.02
<b>Total</b>	<b>19.30</b>	<b>64.62</b>	<b>4.24</b>	<b>7.16</b>	<b>4.68</b>



**7** Do you want Afghan or international forces or both to provide security in your area?

%	Afghan	International	Both	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	30.68	5.60	59.00	4.72
Male	34.78	4.06	59.42	1.74
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	12.50	6.25	75.00	6.25
Other	25.00	0.00	75.00	0.00
Pashtun	34.26	3.19	60.56	1.99
Tajik	33.64	5.86	57.10	3.40
Turkomen	33.33	0.00	66.67	0.00
Uzbek	42.11	7.89	42.11	7.89
<b>Location</b>				
Faizabad	50.00	9.00	37.00	4.00
Herat	38.00	4.00	56.00	2.00
Jalalabad	29.59	3.06	67.35	0.00
Kabul	30.41	5.67	58.76	5.15
Kandahar	20.43	3.23	73.12	3.23
Mazar-e-Sharif	29.29	3.03	64.65	3.03
<b>Total</b>	<b>32.75</b>	<b>4.82</b>	<b>59.21</b>	<b>3.22</b>

**8** Can you tell me what the DDR process is?

%	Knows all 3	Knows 2 of 3	Knows 1 of 3	Doesn't Know
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	12.98	21.24	40.12	25.66
Male	13.91	17.97	49.28	18.84
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Baluch	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00
Hazara	14.58	20.83	52.08	12.50
Other	12.50	0.00	43.75	43.75
Pashtun	14.34	25.90	36.65	23.11
Tajik	12.04	16.36	48.77	22.84
Turkomen	33.33	33.33	16.67	16.67
Uzbek	15.79	10.53	57.89	15.79
<b>Location</b>				
Faizabad	3.00	9.00	78.00	10.00
Herat	19.00	16.00	35.00	30.00
Jalalabad	16.33	22.45	27.55	33.67
Kabul	10.31	16.49	53.09	20.10
Kandahar	10.75	29.03	45.16	15.05
Mazar-e-Sharif	24.24	28.28	21.21	26.26
<b>Total</b>	<b>13.45</b>	<b>19.59</b>	<b>44.74</b>	<b>22.22</b>

**9** Do you think this government should do more, the same or less to reduce the powers of commanders in Afghanistan?

%	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	83.78	2.95	9.14	4.13
Male	91.30	0.29	6.96	1.45
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	91.67	2.08	0.00	6.25
Other	93.75	0.00	6.25	0.00
Pashtun	87.25	2.39	8.76	1.59
Tajik	87.96	1.23	7.72	3.09
Turkomen	83.33	0.00	16.67	0.00
Uzbek	78.95	0.00	15.79	5.26
<b>Location</b>				
Faizabad	79.00	1.00	16.00	4.00
Herat	84.00	3.00	9.00	4.00
Jalalabad	76.53	4.08	19.39	0.00
Kabul	92.27	0.52	3.61	3.61
Kandahar	93.55	2.15	1.08	3.23
Mazar-e-Sharif	95.96	0.00	3.03	1.01
<b>Total</b>	<b>87.57</b>	<b>1.61</b>	<b>8.04</b>	<b>2.78</b>

**10** Are there more or less weapons in the hands of commanders and their men in your area than a year ago?

%	More	Less	Same	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	20.06	51.92	12.68	15.34
Male	7.83	65.22	11.88	15.07
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Baluch	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	4.17	72.92	4.17	18.75
Other	6.25	68.75	6.25	18.75
Pashtun	23.90	42.63	16.33	17.13
Tajik	8.33	66.67	11.42	13.58
Turkomen	16.67	83.33	0.00	0.00
Uzbek	10.53	68.42	7.89	13.16
<b>Location</b>				
Faizabad	5.00	74.00	9.00	12.00
Herat	9.00	57.00	18.00	16.00
Jalalabad	30.61	53.06	14.29	2.04
Kabul	11.34	64.95	6.70	17.01
Kandahar	17.20	19.35	27.96	35.48
Mazar-e-Sharif	13.13	74.75	4.04	8.08
<b>Total</b>	<b>13.89</b>	<b>58.63</b>	<b>12.28</b>	<b>15.20</b>

**11** Do you think that international forces should or should not supervise the taking away of weapons?

%	Should	Should Not	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	82.01	7.37	10.62
Male	83.19	10.72	6.09
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	85.42	6.25	8.33
Other	81.25	18.75	0.00
Pashtun	84.46	6.77	8.76
Tajik	81.17	9.88	8.95
Turkomen	83.33	16.67	0.00
Uzbek	78.95	15.79	5.26
<b>Location</b>			
Faizabad	73.00	18.00	9.00
Herat	81.00	11.00	8.00
Jalalabad	93.88	5.10	1.02
Kabul	81.44	8.25	10.31
Kandahar	82.80	3.23	13.98
Mazar-e-Sharif	84.85	9.09	6.06
<b>Total</b>	<b>82.60</b>	<b>9.06</b>	<b>8.33</b>

**12** Do the Police and/or ANA patrol enough in your area?

%	Yes	No	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	53.39	38.35	8.26
Male	50.72	42.90	6.38
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	50.00	43.75	6.25
Other	75.00	25.00	0.00
Pashtun	45.02	44.22	10.76
Tajik	54.94	38.89	6.17
Turkomen	83.33	16.67	0.00
Uzbek	60.53	39.47	0.00
<b>Location</b>			
Faizabad	41.00	54.00	5.00
Herat	67.00	31.00	2.00
Jalalabad	37.76	59.18	3.06
Kabul	60.31	34.54	5.15
Kandahar	31.18	48.39	20.43
Mazar-e-Sharif	65.66	23.23	11.11
<b>Total</b>	<b>52.05</b>	<b>40.64</b>	<b>7.31</b>

**13** When should the elections be held?

%	ASAP	When Planned	After Disarmament	After Security Improved	Other	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>						
Female	41.89	10.91	21.24	15.04	0.59	10.32
Male	24.93	20.29	30.43	16.23	2.32	5.80
<b>Ethnicity</b>						
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	39.58	22.92	22.92	8.33	0.00	6.25
Other	12.50	25.00	25.00	6.25	6.25	25.00
Pashtun	33.86	9.16	33.47	16.73	3.19	3.59
Tajik	31.17	18.21	22.53	17.90	0.31	9.88
Turkomen	66.67	0.00	16.67	0.00	0.00	16.67
Uzbek	42.11	26.32	10.53	5.26	0.00	15.79
<b>Location</b>						
Faizabad	33.00	26.00	18.00	13.00	0.00	10.00
Herat	21.00	7.00	28.00	31.00	1.00	12.00
Jalalabad	42.86	9.18	37.76	9.18	0.00	1.02
Kabul	41.75	19.07	18.04	9.79	1.55	9.79
Kandahar	16.13	3.23	47.31	25.81	6.45	1.08
Mazar-e-Sharif	36.36	25.25	15.15	11.11	0.00	12.12
<b>Total</b>	<b>33.33</b>	<b>15.64</b>	<b>25.88</b>	<b>15.64</b>	<b>1.46</b>	<b>8.04</b>

**14** Which month is the national election planned for?

	%	Knows	Doesn't Know
<b>Gender</b>			
Female		33.33	66.67
Male		48.41	51.59
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Baluch		100.00	0.00
Hazara		41.67	58.33
Other		31.25	68.75
Pashtun		41.43	58.57
Tajik		38.89	61.11
Turkomen		83.33	16.67
Uzbek		50.00	50.00
<b>Location</b>			
Faizabad		33.00	67.00
Herat		36.00	64.00
Jalalabad		38.78	61.22
Kabul		38.66	61.34
Kandahar		41.94	58.06
Mazar-e-Sharif		59.60	40.40
<b>Total</b>		<b>40.94</b>	<b>59.06</b>

**15** Have you registered to vote?

	%	Yes	No
<b>Gender</b>			
Female		78.17	21.83
Male		89.57	10.43
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Baluch		100.00	0.00
Hazara		89.58	10.42
Other		75.00	25.00
Pashtun		81.67	18.33
Tajik		84.88	15.12
Turkomen		100.00	0.00
Uzbek		84.21	15.79
<b>Location</b>			
Faizabad		87.00	13.00
Herat		91.00	9.00
Jalalabad		87.76	12.24
Kabul		76.29	23.71
Kandahar		76.34	23.66
Mazar-e-Sharif		91.92	8.08
<b>Total</b>		<b>83.92</b>	<b>16.08</b>

**16** If no, why not?<sup>17</sup>

	%	No Information	No Permission	Security	Distance	No Interest	Other
<b>Gender</b>							
Female		21.62	37.84	2.70	10.81	9.46	17.57
Male		0.00	0.00	2.78	25.00	33.33	38.89
<b>Ethnicity</b>							
Baluch		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara		0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	60.00
Other		0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	25.00
Pashtun		19.57	23.91	2.17	17.39	21.74	15.22
Tajik		12.24	28.57	4.08	12.24	12.24	30.61
Turkomen		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Uzbek		16.67	33.33	0.00	33.33	0.00	16.67
<b>Location</b>							
Faizabad		7.69	7.69	0.00	23.08	7.69	53.85
Herat		33.33	22.22	0.00	11.11	0.00	33.33
Jalalabad		50.00	8.33	0.00	33.33	8.33	0.00
Kabul		10.87	36.96	6.52	2.17	19.57	23.91
Kandahar		0.00	22.73	0.00	27.27	27.27	22.73
Mazar-e-Sharif		12.50	25.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	12.50
<b>Total</b>		<b>14.55</b>	<b>25.45</b>	<b>2.73</b>	<b>15.45</b>	<b>17.27</b>	<b>24.55</b>

<sup>17</sup> Percentages are based on the total number of people who responded 'No' to question no. 15.

**17** Will the planned elections choose the president, the parliament or both?

%	President	Parliament	Both	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	70.21	2.65	14.16	12.98
Male	54.49	2.61	32.17	10.72
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	47.92	4.17	31.25	16.67
Other	56.25	0.00	18.75	25.00
Pashtun	62.55	2.39	24.70	10.36
Tajik	63.58	3.09	21.60	11.73
Turkomen	66.67	0.00	33.33	0.00
Uzbek	68.42	0.00	18.42	13.16
<b>Location</b>				
Faizabad	71.00	4.00	12.00	13.00
Herat	84.00	0.00	12.00	4.00
Jalalabad	64.29	6.12	22.45	7.14
Kabul	53.61	3.61	26.80	15.98
Kandahar	53.76	1.08	33.33	11.83
Mazar-e-Sharif	54.55	0.00	30.30	15.15
<b>Total</b>	<b>62.28</b>	<b>2.63</b>	<b>23.25</b>	<b>11.84</b>

**18** Have you received any voter education?

%	Yes	No
<b>Gender</b>		
Female	16.22	83.78
Male	12.75	87.25
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Baluch	100.00	0.00
Hazara	14.58	85.42
Other	12.50	87.50
Pashtun	8.37	91.63
Tajik	18.21	81.79
Turkomen	0.00	100.00
Uzbek	23.68	76.32
<b>Location</b>		
Faizabad	27.00	73.00
Herat	9.00	91.00
Jalalabad	11.22	88.78
Kabul	10.31	89.69
Kandahar	4.30	95.70
Mazar-e-Sharif	28.28	71.72
<b>Total</b>	<b>14.47</b>	<b>85.53</b>

**19** Can you tell me the names of two presidential candidates?

%	Knows	Doesn't Know
<b>Gender</b>		
Female	45.43	54.57
Male	55.36	44.64
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Baluch	100.00	0.00
Hazara	66.67	33.33
Other	43.75	56.25
Pashtun	46.61	53.39
Tajik	48.46	51.54
Turkomen	83.33	16.67
Uzbek	68.42	31.58
<b>Location</b>		
Faizabad	64.00	36.00
Herat	40.00	60.00
Jalalabad	34.69	65.31
Kabul	48.45	51.55
Kandahar	53.76	46.24
Mazar-e-Sharif	63.64	36.36
<b>Total</b>	<b>50.44</b>	<b>49.56</b>

**20** Do you think that most people in this district will be able to choose who they want to vote for or will someone pressure them how to vote?

%	Choose	Someone Pressure	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	76.99	12.68	10.32
Male	72.17	22.03	5.80
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	89.58	4.17	6.25
Other	93.75	6.25	0.00
Pashtun	59.76	30.68	9.56
Tajik	80.56	11.11	8.33
Turkomen	100.00	0.00	0.00
Uzbek	89.47	7.89	2.63
<b>Location</b>			
Faizabad	87.00	10.00	3.00
Herat	86.00	10.00	4.00
Jalalabad	47.96	47.96	4.08
Kabul	83.51	4.64	11.86
Kandahar	48.39	39.78	11.83
Mazar-e-Sharif	83.84	6.06	10.10
<b>Total</b>	<b>74.56</b>	<b>17.40</b>	<b>8.04</b>

**21** If b, who will pressure them?<sup>18</sup>

%	Family	Commander	Mullahs	Malik/ Arbab/ Khan	Other
<b>Gender</b>					
Female	4.65	81.40	0.00	6.98	6.98
Male	0.00	88.16	1.32	6.58	3.95
<b>Ethnicity</b>					
Baluch	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pashtun	1.30	90.91	0.00	5.19	2.60
Tajik	2.78	72.22	2.78	11.11	11.11
Turkomen	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Uzbek	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>Location</b>					
Faizabad	10.00	80.00	0.00	10.00	0.00
Herat	0.00	60.00	10.00	0.00	30.00
Jalalabad	0.00	91.49	0.00	6.38	2.13
Kabul	0.00	88.89	0.00	0.00	11.11
Kandahar	2.70	83.78	0.00	10.81	2.70
Mazar-e-Sharif	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.68</b>	<b>85.71</b>	<b>0.84</b>	<b>6.72</b>	<b>5.04</b>

**22** Should all adult women be allowed to vote?

%	Yes	No	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	93.51	2.95	3.54
Male	91.01	4.64	4.35
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	100.00	0.00	0.00
Other	100.00	0.00	0.00
Pashtun	85.66	7.17	7.17
Tajik	95.68	2.47	1.85
Turkomen	100.00	0.00	0.00
Uzbek	92.11	0.00	7.89
<b>Location</b>			
Faizabad	97.00	1.00	2.00
Herat	99.00	0.00	1.00
Jalalabad	92.86	3.06	4.08
Kabul	94.33	4.64	1.03
Kandahar	68.82	12.90	18.28
Mazar-e-Sharif	97.98	1.01	1.01
<b>Total</b>	<b>92.25</b>	<b>3.80</b>	<b>3.95</b>

**23** If a commander stands for election in this area, will others feel free to stand against him?

%	Yes	No	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>			
Female	66.08	24.19	9.73
Male	62.03	25.22	12.75
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	75.00	10.42	14.58
Other	81.25	12.50	6.25
Pashtun	51.00	34.26	14.74
Tajik	70.68	20.99	8.33
Turkomen	83.33	0.00	16.67
Uzbek	68.42	21.05	10.53
<b>Location</b>			
Faizabad	67.00	23.00	10.00
Herat	86.00	10.00	4.00
Jalalabad	53.06	44.90	2.04
Kabul	78.35	11.34	10.31
Kandahar	16.13	49.46	34.41
Mazar-e-Sharif	66.67	24.24	9.09
<b>Total</b>	<b>64.04</b>	<b>24.71</b>	<b>11.26</b>

**24** In your opinion, will general elections bring positive or negative changes to Afghanistan?

%	Positive	Negative	No Change	Don't Know
<b>Gender</b>				
Female	81.42	0.29	4.42	13.86
Male	86.67	0.29	7.54	5.51
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
Baluch	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hazara	91.67	0.00	2.08	6.25
Other	93.75	0.00	0.00	6.25
Pashtun	78.09	0.40	13.55	7.97
Tajik	86.11	0.31	1.85	11.73
Turkomen	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Uzbek	89.47	0.00	0.00	10.53
<b>Location</b>				
Faizabad	90.00	0.00	2.00	8.00
Herat	93.00	0.00	1.00	6.00
Jalalabad	88.78	0.00	2.04	9.18
Kabul	86.08	0.00	1.55	12.37
Kandahar	55.91	2.15	32.26	9.68
Mazar-e-Sharif	86.87	0.00	3.03	10.10
<b>Total</b>	<b>84.06</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>5.99</b>	<b>9.65</b>

<sup>18</sup> Percentages based on the total number of people who responded 'Pressure' to question no. 20.

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