Migration
Provinces of Kabul, Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kapisa and Parwan

Socio-Demographic and Economic Survey
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Acknowledgments

The Central Statistics Organization (CSO) of Afghanistan would like to thank all the organizations and individuals involved in conducting, supporting and facilitating the Socio-Demographic and Economic Survey (SDES). CSO extends its gratitude to the Government of Japan for supporting the survey in five provinces and making the preparation of the reports possible and to the United Nations Population Fund for technical support.

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Credits

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Foreword

The Socio-Demographic and Economic Survey (SDES), led by the Central Statistics Organization (CSO) with technical assistance from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is a major long-term project to collect and analyse data at the district level of Afghanistan. The SDES will eventually cover all 34 provinces, and provide accurate data to underpin policymaking and planning benefiting the people of Afghanistan at every level. This robust and granular data will improve both the services provided and enable policymakers at every level – from the national to the districts – to identify and seize opportunities to meet people’s needs and improve their lives.

The Thematic Report on Migration is one of a series of research studies which analyses and draws important lessons from the SDES data which can then be used to inform development policies and programmes.

It is well known that years of conflict and insecurity have led to large population movements across Afghanistan. Yet the nature of these movements, and how they have affected the demographics of individual villages or even provinces, has rarely been studied using accurate village-level data. This rigorous analysis of migration uses SDES data for six provinces (Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan) to fill this gap.

The report shows that nearly a quarter (24.1 percent) of the inhabitants of the six provinces surveyed had previously lived in another province or country, but 66 percent or more (excluding those in the capital, Kabul), are now living in the province of their birth. In Kabul, around 47 percent of the population comprises direct and indirect effects of interprovincial or international migration.

As the SDES process continues across the provinces of Afghanistan, we extend our thanks to those who have played a critical role in facilitating this important endeavor. Our particular thanks is extended to our donors, and to the provincial governments whose wholehearted cooperation was essential to the success of this project. The media played, and continues to play, an important supportive role. Our surveyors and monitors travelled, often in difficult circumstances, to remote areas of each province, to conduct the survey; their dedication and hard work are appreciated. Finally, we extend our thanks to the Afghan people, recognizing the importance of SDES, generously gave their time to help make this unprecedented survey a success.

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List of Acronyms

Cedeplar Centre for Development and Regional Planning
IOM International Organization for Migration
PSA Population Situational Analysis of Afghanistan
SDES Socio-Demographic and Economic Surveys
UFMG Federal University of Minas Gerais
UNFPA United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Glossary

Migrant: person who moved from one residence to other between two geographical or administrative units.

In-migrant: person who moved from a different geographical or administrative unit to the geographical or administrative unit under consideration, both units being part of the same country (internal migration).

Out-migrant: person who moved from the geographical or administrative unit under consideration to another geographical or administrative unit, both units being part of the same country (internal migration).

Immigrant: person who moved from another country to the country under consideration (international migration).

Emigrant: person who moved from the country under consideration to another country (international migration).

Intraprovincial migrant: person who changed residence between two districts of the same province.

Interprovincial migrant: person who changed residence between two districts of different provinces.

Previous-residence migrant: person who at any time lived previously as a resident in another geographical or administrative unit. The place of origin of a previous-residence migrant is the geographical or administrative unit where he or she lived just before moving to his or her present unit of residence.

Fixed-period migrant: person who on the exact date at the beginning of a fixed-period (usually a period of 5 or 10 years) was living in another geographical or administrative unit. This unit is his or her place of origin.

Note: Each fixed-period migrant is also a previous-residence migrant but a previous period migrant is not necessarily a fixed-period migrant. In addition, the places of origin may be different. A previous-residence migrant with a time of residence smaller than the length of the fixed-period and who was living in the present place of residence at the beginning of the fixed-period is not a fixed-period migrant.

Non-migrant: person who is not classified in the migrant category analysed.
Note: If international migration is considered, those who never changed of residence between countries are non-international migrants. In the example given in the definition of fixed-period migrant, the individual is a previous-residence migrant but a non-fixed-period migrant. Obviously, those who never changed residence between two geographical or administrative units are non-migrants.

Indirect effect 1 of migration: persons who are not classified in the migrant category analysed but who accompany the migratory movement of those so classified.

Note: In the assessment of the impact of international return immigration on the receiving population, those who are not returnees but immigrate with them, like foreign wives and children born abroad, have to be taken into consideration and are part of indirect effect 1 of international return migration. The same is true when international return emigration is considered.

Indirect effect 2 of migration: children of migrants born after their parents leave their place of origin (negative indirect effect 2) or after their arrival in the place of destination (positive indirect effect 2) and who survive at the end of the period.

Net migration: difference between fixed-period in-migrants and fixed-period out-migrants (net migration) including their children born during the period who are alive at the end of the period; a proportion of these are migrants, the remainder constitute indirect effect 2. Or, the difference between fixed-period immigrants and fixed-period emigrants (international net migration) including their children born during the period, who are alive at the end of the period. A proportion of these are migrants, the remainder constitute indirect effect 2.
Executive Summary
Context of migration in Afghanistan: Kabul, Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kapisa and Parwan

According to the Population Situational Analysis of Afghanistan (PSA) of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) 2012, and Kuschminder and Dora (2009), large internal and international population displacements have been experienced in Afghanistan. These displacements are strongly associated with political violence and are initially characterized by population groups fleeing areas of conflict. Internal migration has primarily tended towards displacements (forced or voluntary) originating in areas of conflict towards safe areas. Hence the volume and direction of migratory flows, internal or international, are highly correlated with armed conflicts in the areas of origin, which represents a challenge to understanding the migratory profile. The growing returns of Afghans from neighbouring countries since the beginning of the last decade has increased pressure on physical and social infrastructure. This creates a need to analyse the migration phenomena from a multi-scale approach, which allows an assessment of the volumes, net balance and direction of movements, as well as the condition of migrants and the composition of the households that support them.

SDES, migration indicators and methodology

The aim of this thematic report is to assess the pattern of internal and international migration in Afghanistan, based on the information gathered from the Socio-Demographic and Economic Survey (SDES), conducted in the provinces of Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan. The migration information obtained from the SDES consists of responses to the following questions included in the survey questionnaire:

- place of usual residence;
- duration of stay in current residence;
- place of previous residence;
- place of usual residence at a given date in the past (Nawroz 1390);
- place of birth.

The availability of micro-data enables these attributes to be cross-referenced with migratory data and allows the socio-demographic profiles (such as age, sex, educational attainment and occupation) of migrants to be identified and compared with non-migrants.

The principal place affected by international return migration and interprovincial in-migration is Kabul, the site of the country's capital, which has a stronger power of population attraction, as well as a differentiated migratory pattern. This justifies a deeper analysis of Kabul province, and an examination of the direct and indirect effects of international return migration and interprovincial in-migration to this province. The volumes of return international immigration and of interprovincial in-migration in Kabul province are high in absolute and relative terms. They have an impact on household composition and thus it is necessary to employ methods that permit this impact to be assessed.

Findings

In 2013, of the 6,986,927 inhabitants of the six provinces surveyed in the SDES, 1,687,106 had previously lived in a different district or country (24.1 percent). The proportion of in-migrants and immigrants in the total population varies substantially, from 31.9 percent in Kabul and 22.7 percent in Parwan to 4.6 percent in Ghor.

Of the total interprovincial in-migrants defined by place of previous residence (678,721), 82.1 percent went to Kabul, 9.5 percent to Parwan and only 2.2 percent to Ghor. Of the 909,021 previous residence immigrants, 76.1 percent lived in Kabul, 8.5 percent in Parwan and 2 percent in Bamiyan. Of all migrants
residing in each province, 66 percent or more, with the exception of Kabul, were born in their own province of residence at the time of the survey. This clearly demonstrates that these flows are mainly return migrants. In the case of Kabul the proportion of returnees to their province of birth was only 33 percent, with 12.6 percent among interprovincial in-migrants and 51.3 percent among immigrants.

In the absence of adequate data related to fixed-period migration or of at least two successive surveys or censuses it was not possible to adequately estimate net migration. A proxy estimate was adopted using data on previous residence migrants. This involved calculating the difference between the numbers of previous residence in-migrants and out-migrants for each province with less than five years of residence in the place of destination in relation to the other five SDES provinces combined. Since net migration refers to a specific interval of time, the estimate only took account of migrants residing at their destination for five years or less. Kabul was the only province with a positive balance, with 32,796 people representing 0.8 percent of the total population of the province in 2013. The other provinces displayed a small negative balance ranging from around 12,000 in Bamiyan to approximately 1,000 in Daykundi, representing about 3.5 percent and 0.1 percent of the total populations, respectively.

Bamiyan, Daykundi and Ghor exhibit the lowest levels of education for the population as a whole. In these three provinces migrants have achieved slightly higher educational levels than non-migrants. As migrants in these provinces mostly consist of returnees and their sons and daughters born while they were living outside, it can be assumed that they had better educational opportunities in the places where they were living prior to their return. In Kabul non-migrants have higher educational levels in all age groups among both men and women. Participation rates in the labour market are not significantly different in each province when migrants and non-migrants are compared by gender. It is worth observing that the female participation rates in Kabul are the lowest among the six provinces, regardless of migratory status.

The analysis of migratory flows to Kabul yielded important conclusions, particularly when accounting for indirect effect 2 of in-migration and immigration, and indirect effect 1 of return immigration. Indirect effect 2 corresponds to the children of in-migrants or immigrants born in the place of destination of their parents. Indirect effect 1 of return immigration corresponds to those not born in Afghanistan but who immigrated to Kabul as a result of the return migration of Afghans to their country. It primarily consists of children of Afghans who were born abroad and of non-Afghan spouses who accompanied returning Afghans to their home country.

In Kabul, 16.7 percent of the population in 2013 were immigrants and 9.8 percent were children born to these immigrants after their arrival, together comprising 26.5 percent of the population. Interprovincial in-migrants constituted 13.5 percent of the Kabul population and their children born in Kabul make up 6.8 percent of the population, corresponding to 20.3 percent of the population.

Of Kabul’s population in 2013, around 47 percent was made up of the direct and indirect effects of interprovincial or international migration. Undoubtedly this figure would be much lower had it not been for the exodus from Kabul in previous decades. This is corroborated by the fact that 51.3 percent of Kabul’s immigrants and 12.6 percent of its in-migrants were born in the province, implying a return to their places of birth.

Of all immigrants in Kabul 97.8 percent (691,696) were related to the return immigration with 76.9 percent (531,889) Afghans, and 20.9 percent (144,532) foreign-born children, spouses and close relatives of the international returnees who immigrated to Afghanistan as a consequence of the return migration of a family member.

The Second Model was developed to estimate the direct and indirect effects of those immigrants who, after their return to Afghanistan, migrated to a second district (the SDES contains no information about previous international moves). The results show that internal migration – after arrival in Afghanistan – was low, at least among those living in Kabul. The same applies to interprovincial in-migrants in Kabul after their arrival in the province.
Introduction

Migration in Afghanistan
Historically, migration in Afghanistan has been strongly associated with ethnic and socio-political conditions. Pashtun territory, for instance, straddles the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan and was bifurcated by the so-called "Durand Line", established by the British during the colonial period with the aim of separating British India from Afghanistan. The creation of this boundary has facilitated large scale cross-border movement within the region, virtually defining the migration dynamics between the two countries. No less important, the religious identity of the Hazara ethnic group, which resides in both Iran and Afghanistan, was a major determinant of migration in the region prior to the Soviet invasion. Pakistan and Iran are the main countries of origin and destination for Afghan migrants. The unfavourable economic situation of Afghanistan relative to these neighbours, coupled with the Afghan drought of the 1970s and the Iranian oil boom in 1973 were the main push factors behind emigration movement prior to 1978, driven by the hope of better job opportunities and life conditions (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009).

A huge increase in emigration started with the Soviet invasion in 1979, motivated by the lack of economic opportunities, conflict and by the destruction of the country's infrastructure. Emigration peaked in 1990 during the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the maintenance in power of President Najibullah. These factors, coupled with extreme drought, resulted in an outflow of 6.2 million Afghans. The number of emigrants declined in 1992, but then increased again in 1996 with the rise of the Taliban regime. In 2002, with the fall of the Taliban government and the military intervention of the United States and its allies, returns to Afghanistan accelerated rapidly.

From the start of UNHCR's assisted voluntary repatriation operation in March 2002, until the end of March 2012, over 5.7 million Afghan refugees have returned. The return of refugees has been showing a general declining trend as from 2002, when the highest number was registered, 1.8 million (...). In the first quarter of 2012 only 3.4 thousand had returned, a relative lower number as compared to 68 thousand during the whole 2011 (UNFPA, 2012).

Neighbouring countries such as Iran and Pakistan, which had traditionally welcomed Afghan refugees, after 2001 started to impose restrictions on the duration that these migrants could remain in their respective territories. This was the period when the number of returnees reached its peak. Afghanistan experienced a high inflow of international migrants after the fall of Taliban, primarily from Pakistan and Iran, although the flow has been decreasing in recent years. However, circular movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan, facilitated by established transnational networks continued. It is a challenge to measure this phenomenon from social surveys which usually include only information on the previous residence of migrants (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009).

The international movement of Afghan people is not limited to neighbouring countries. Data from the World Bank for 2007 (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009) estimated that the Afghan diaspora comprised over 2 million people in all, including the "near" and "wide" diasporas. Germany has the highest number in the latter group, followed by the United States. The Afghan diaspora has been fundamental to Afghanistan’s reconstruction, both in its political aspects (peace settlements and treaties since 2002) and the remittances sent to Afghan families to help meet their basic needs. Another positive aspect is the presence of highly educated Afghans resident in other countries. Among the organizations involved with migratory phenomena in Afghanistan, two deserve mention: 1) IOM, which develops technical cooperation programmes for institutions of the Afghan government to assist the development of migration policies; and 2) UNHCR, which seeks to protect and reintegrate Afghan refugees (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009).

The majority of Afghan returnees came from Pakistan and Iran, and although some have returned to their places of birth, most have gone to big cities in search of better job opportunities. This has had an impact on the places of destination, with lack of infrastructure to accommodate such a great volume of migrants resulting in increased urban poverty. Kabul is an example of this phenomenon, with the acceleration of urban population growth, with the number of residents increasing from 500,000 in 2001 to 3 million in 2007 (Kuschminder and Dora, 2009) and over 4 million in 2013. This has been a major challenge to the Afghan government, not only in the development of public policies to improve infrastructure, but also the identification of and the response to the basic needs of this huge migrant population.
The trends observed with regard to internal migration have primarily been related to population displacement (forced or voluntary) from areas of conflict towards safe areas. UNHCR data shows that in 2011, 448,000 persons were internally displaced for the same reasons (UNFPA, 2012). Hence, the volume and direction of migratory flows, both internal and international, are associated with armed conflict and political instability in areas of origin. This presents a challenge to understanding the migration profile of Afghanistan as population movement can vary greatly in form and volume, whether temporary (displacement followed by return), or permanent migration seeking safer areas of residence. The type of migration undertaken by individuals and groups has fundamentally different implications; permanent in-migration and immigration tend to be linked to an intense process of urbanization, as discussed, which on its own, affects the geographical distribution of the population and thereby its prospects for development.

From another perspective, the returned international migrants in the last decade have increased pressure, not only on labour markets but also on housing and household arrangements. This emphasizes the need to analyse migration phenomena from a multi-scale approach, which permits an assessment of the volume, net balance and direction of movements, as well as the condition of migrants and the composition of their households. Household level analysis provides a basis for integrating structural dimensions and behavioural perspectives in the study of population movements (Wood, 1982; Davis, 1989; Massey, 1993; Hoeder, 2002; De Haas, 2010).

Figure 1
Distribution of major ethnic groups in Afghanistan


Considering their nature, volume, economic and social impacts, there is little doubt that population movements in Afghanistan are key to understanding the dynamics of the country. In order to assess the implications of this phenomenon with view to development policies, it is essential to study the magnitude of migration and the selectivity involved at different levels of analysis. A proper understanding of these dynamics and their implications is fundamental to population and development policies in Afghanistan for the coming years. Figure 1 shows the provinces and the geographical distribution of major ethnic groups.
Data and methodology
Source of data and general comments

This thematic report analyses the pattern of internal and international migration in Afghanistan, based on the information gathered from the SDES conducted in the provinces of Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan from 2011 to 2014. The migration information obtained from the SDES is based on responses to the following migration questions included in the survey questionnaire:

- Place of usual residence: In the past, has _____ ever lived for at least six months in a different district/ province/ country?
- Duration of stay in current residence: How long has _____ been staying in this district?
- Place of previous residence: Where was _____’s previous residence (other district/ province/ country?)
- Place of previous residence at a given date in the past (Nawroz, 1390): Where was _____’s usual residence in Nawroz 1390?
- Place of birth: Where was _____’s place of birth?

The information obtained can be disaggregated by country, province and city or district, and allows an analysis of both internal and international migration. The level of disaggregation is determined by the relevance of each unit of analysis for policy decision-making, service provision and development planning. In addition it is important to consider other technical aspects to ensure robust and reliable estimates, for instance sample size and the number of events (individual movements) observed. To the degree that the number of observations in the sample permits, the analysis will take into account individual characteristics of migrants, such as age, sex, educational attainment and occupation.

An important factor limiting the analytical depth of this study is the absence of a previous census or survey as a base to measure trends. This also prevents the application of indirect methods in order to estimate net migration indicators (United Nations, 1970). The use of indirect techniques has proved to be a powerful analytical tool when coupled with direct measures, given that it allows comparisons between the various estimates (Rigotti, 1999; Carvalho, Rigotti, 1999). Under these conditions, the study will limit itself to the use of data drawn from the SDES.

Another limitation concerns the nature of the dataset, which covers only a subset of the country: the provinces of Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan, which corresponded to approximately 23 percent of the total Afghan population in 2012. Consequently, information on immigration and in-migration is limited to these six provinces. Out-migration from the six provinces to other provinces within the country cannot be measured at all as it is not included in the database. The SDES questionnaire provides information on the place of previous residence (district or country) of all the last movement in-migrants or immigrants in the six provinces, as well as their birthplace. Migration flows with origin and destination outside the six enumerated provinces are not captured. It is important to note that due to limitations imposed by the questionnaire, the identification of international and interprovincial migrants under certain conditions will be missed. For example, if an in-migrant made a second inter-district displacement in the same province, or the immigrant made an inter-provincial movement within the time period of analysis, after completing an interprovincial or international migration, he or she is counted in the SDES as an intra-provincial in-migrant in the first case, or an interprovincial in-migrant in the second. Despite these limitations, the SDES data provides valuable information that otherwise would not be available.

The small volume of migratory movements between districts of the same province, partly due to the small number of districts in each province, led this report to focus on the analysis of the migration between the six provinces and international migratory movements. During the last two decades these movements have been strongly associated with socio-political issues, as discussed previously. The availability of micro-data enables the identification of individual attributes covered by the survey questionnaire, which can be cross-referenced with migratory status. Consequently the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants (such as their age, sex, educational attainment and occupation) can be identified and compared with those of non-migrants.
Net migration estimation

Due to the short time span between the reference date of the SDES and the date used to measure fixed-period migration – Nawroz 1390 – and due to the reference-date differences among provinces, this measure yields information with limited explanatory power. Nevertheless, direct estimates of migration can be obtained using the information on “previous place of residence” and “duration of stay in current residence” which links the spatial and temporal dimensions of migration (United Nations, 1970; Rigotti, 1999). A proxy measure of fixed-period migration for the last five years will be generated by combining this information and will be used to estimate net migration. Following this approach, net migration between the six provinces will be estimated. The estimated net migration erroneously counts as “fixed-period migrants” those migrants who have been living in a given province for less than five years but were living in the same province or district at the start of the fixed-period; in other words, those who were living in the geographic unit at the start of the five year term, then migrated to another geographic unit, and subsequently returned within the five year term. Given the limitation of the information on place of previous residence not being coupled with information on fixed-period migration, it is not possible to identify the place of residence in the beginning of the fixed period of those who made a second migratory movement (Rigotti, 1999; Carvalho & Rigotti, 1999).

Direct and indirect effects of immigration and in-migration

The volumes of returned international migrants and of interprovincial in-migrants to Kabul province are very high. This has had a heavy impact on the population as a whole, and the composition of households. Methods that permit the assessment of these consequences of migration will be employed.

Direct and indirect effects of returned immigration

Returnee migration to Kabul has been extremely important since the beginning of the last decade and has reached highly significant figures, in both absolute and relative terms, compared to the receiving population. The full impact of return migration in a given period goes beyond the actual number of returned migrants (direct effect) and indirect effects must also be considered when incorporating the real impact of immigration on the size and composition of the receiving population. Moreover, the SDES refers only to previous residence migration, without identifying international returnees who, once back in Afghanistan, made an inter-district movement.

To address this situation, technical procedures have been adapted and/or developed, which make it possible to estimate: 1) the indirect immigration effects of those whose previous residence migration was international; 2) the direct and indirect international migration effects of individuals who, after returning to Afghanistan, made a separate move and changed their district of residence (for whom the SDES do not record the first information). These procedures are presented in Annex 1.

Direct and indirect effects of inter-provincial in-migration

In order to evaluate the impact of interprovincial in-migration on the volume and the age distribution of the province’s population, it is necessary to estimate the indirect effects of the interprovincial in-migration and to add them to the direct effects. In this case there is only indirect effect 2 (children born in the region of destination) because indirect effect 1 only exists when the migratory flow analysed is a subset of a major flow in the direction of a region.

As the information about kinship in the SDES questionnaire is limited to the relationship with the head of the household, the estimation of indirect effect 2 is limited to those related to the household head. The procedure of estimation is presented in Annex 2.
Results
General characteristics of migration in Afghanistan

Of all residents in Kabul province, 31.8 percent are in-migrants and immigrants (using the criterion of previous residence migration). Other provinces have around 13 percent migrants, with the exceptions of Parwan with 23 percent, and Ghor with only 4.6 percent (Table 1).

### Table 1
Population by previous residence migratory status, Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan (2011-2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Usual Residence</th>
<th>Resided more than six months in another district or country</th>
<th>Did not reside for more than six months in another district or country</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kabul</td>
<td>1,319,747</td>
<td>2,820,175</td>
<td>4,139,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 31.9</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamiyan</td>
<td>45,743</td>
<td>322,674</td>
<td>368,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 12.4</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daykundi</td>
<td>85,484</td>
<td>526,645</td>
<td>612,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 14</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghor</td>
<td>39,378</td>
<td>819,715</td>
<td>859,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 4.6</td>
<td>95.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapisa</td>
<td>41,358</td>
<td>282,331</td>
<td>323,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 12.8</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parwan</td>
<td>155,396</td>
<td>528,281</td>
<td>683,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 22.7</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,687,106</td>
<td>5,299,821</td>
<td>6,986,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 24.1</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014

Table 2 shows that in Kabul more than 52 percent of migrants had previously resided in another country. In the other five provinces this proportion varies from 39.3 percent (Bamiyan) to 87.5 percent (Daykundi). This shows the importance of international immigration flows in the six provinces, probably consisting mostly of returnees to Afghanistan. Despite the large relative weight of immigrants among all migrants to the provinces, it is noteworthy that, except for Kabul (31.9 percent) and Parwan (22.7 percent), the direct effects of immigration and in-migration on the population of the other four provinces in 2012 were modest, ranging from 4.6 percent in Ghor to 14 percent in Daykundi (Table 1).

At first glance, the small volume and relative weight of intra-provincial migrants is surprising. These figures range from 12.3 percent in Kapisa to 1.20 percent in Daykundi. Coupled with low levels of internal mobility suggested by the data, this fact can also be attributed to the small number of districts in the six provinces, namely: Kabul, 15; Bamiyan, 8; Daykundi, 8; Ghor, 10; Kapisa, 5; Parwan, 10.
## Table 2


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous Residence</th>
<th>Other district of the same province</th>
<th>Other province</th>
<th>Other country</th>
<th>Not reported</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kabul</td>
<td>N 70,680</td>
<td>557,283</td>
<td>691,696</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>1,319,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 5.4</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamiyan</td>
<td>N 5,869</td>
<td>21,661</td>
<td>17,973</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>45,743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 12.8</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daykundi</td>
<td>N 1,022</td>
<td>9,649</td>
<td>74,812</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>85,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 12.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghor</td>
<td>N 2,705</td>
<td>15,176</td>
<td>21,481</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>39,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 6.9</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapisa</td>
<td>N 5,105</td>
<td>10,204</td>
<td>26,049</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41,358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 12.3</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parwan</td>
<td>N 13,638</td>
<td>64,748</td>
<td>77,010</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>155,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 8.8</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N 99,018</td>
<td>678,722</td>
<td>909,022</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>1,687,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) 5.9</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source**: CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014

In Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kapisa and Parwan the majority of migrants are classified as native born, that is, migrants who returned to their province of birth. The proportions of returnees in these five provinces are extremely high, particularly in Bamiyan, Daykundi and Ghor, where returnees make up around 90 percent of all in-migrants and immigrants. These high proportions suggest that the quality of migrant's birthplace information is not good, unless these provinces were not attracting non-natives and their return migrants resided for an extremely short period outside their province of birth, and consequently their indirect effect 2 was very small. This second condition does not seem realistic. Kabul, on the other hand, attracted mainly people born in other provinces and countries. Only one third of its in-migrants and immigrants were native born. Around 50 percent were born in other provinces and 12.5 percent abroad.
Figure 2

Place of birth of migrants, Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan (2011–2014)

Source: CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014

Figure 3 shows the distribution of migrants by year of arrival in the six provinces. The large volume of migrants in Kabul is remarkable, compared with the other five provinces. In the beginning of the last decade around 78 percent of all in-migrants and immigrants to the six provinces were Kabul residents (see Table 1). However, Figure 3 shows that the volume of migrants heading to Kabul, until the year 2000, was not significantly different from the other provinces. Between 2001 and 2005, the volume of migrants to Kabul province soared. In spite of the decline during the following years, Kabul maintained its prominent position receiving a yearly number of previous residence immigrants and in-migrants which was significantly larger than the other provinces.

Table 3 presents the origins of previous residence immigrants and in-migrants. The numbers in the principal diagonal refer to the intra-provincial migration between the districts of the same province. Neighbouring countries Pakistan and Iran are extremely important origins for previous residence migration. As will be demonstrated later, in the case of Kabul, the international flows are almost entirely due to the direct and indirect effects of the return immigration of those who had previously left Afghanistan. Pakistan and Iran are the last place of residence of 55.6 percent of the combined previous residence international and interprovincial migration to the six provinces, and 97.1 percent of the immigrants.
The volume of intra-provincial migrants is low when compared with the volume of interprovincial in-migrants and of the immigrants (see main diagonal on Table 3). On the other hand, of the 214,953 migrants who moved between the six provinces, 75.1 percent migrated to Kabul province. Of the remaining 24.9 percent who moved to the other five provinces, Kabul was the last place of residence of 83.6 percent.

Figure 4 presents the relative age distribution pyramids for each province, according to migratory status (previous residence migrants and non-previous residence migrants). It is worth emphasizing the contribution of immigrants and in-migrants to Kabul and Parwan populations (31.9 percent and 22.7 percent, respectively, as shown in Table 1).
### Table 3


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin/destination</th>
<th>Kabul</th>
<th>Bamiyan</th>
<th>Daykundi</th>
<th>Ghor</th>
<th>Kapisa</th>
<th>Parwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kabul</td>
<td>70,680</td>
<td>6,743</td>
<td>3,524</td>
<td>1,769</td>
<td>4,842</td>
<td>27,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamiyan</td>
<td>48,753</td>
<td>5,869</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daykundi</td>
<td>8,888</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghor</td>
<td>8,978</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>2,705</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapisa</td>
<td>31,149</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5,105</td>
<td>4,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parwan</td>
<td>63,555</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,468</td>
<td>13,638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other provinces</td>
<td>395,960</td>
<td>13,846</td>
<td>5,597</td>
<td>13,157</td>
<td>3,758</td>
<td>31,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Afghanistan</strong></td>
<td>627,963</td>
<td>27,530</td>
<td>10,672</td>
<td>17,880</td>
<td>15,309</td>
<td>78,386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pakistan</strong></td>
<td>458,062</td>
<td>2,055</td>
<td>2,884</td>
<td>1,056</td>
<td>3,946</td>
<td>43,068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iran</strong></td>
<td>210,010</td>
<td>15,314</td>
<td>71,080</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>21,880</td>
<td>33,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other countries</strong></td>
<td>23,624</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign countries</strong></td>
<td>691,696</td>
<td>17,973</td>
<td>74,812</td>
<td>21,481</td>
<td>26,049</td>
<td>77,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>627,963</td>
<td>27,530</td>
<td>10,672</td>
<td>17,880</td>
<td>15,309</td>
<td>78,386</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011–2014

In all the migrant pyramids there are far fewer migrants in the 0–9 age groups. This could be misinterpreted to indicate that children did not migrate with their parents and/ or that migrants have very low fertility. Neither is the case. The data refers to previous residence in-migrants and immigrants who have been living in the six provinces independently of the time of residence (Figure 3). Migrants who were very young on arrival were older by the SDES reference date, and a high proportion of younger children were surely born in the province of present residence and consequently classified as natives, not as migrants. This last component corresponds to indirect effect 2 of migration and will be discussed later in this report.

If young children are not taken into account, due to the fact that indirect effect 2 of migration is not included in the migrant pyramid, in general the age distribution of migrants is similar to that of the population as a whole. This distribution is not typical of people who migrate for economic reasons, because it is not concentrated in young adults. This age distribution suggests that Afghans migrate not as individuals but as members of whole families.

As referred to in the methodological section above, the lack of information on the place of residence exactly five years before the sample reference date (fixed-period migrant), which would allow a proper estimation of net migration, previous-residence migrants between each province and the other five together, aged five years or more and with five or less years of residence, were taken as proxy of the number of fixed-period in-migrants and out-migrants. The difference between them produces a proxy of the five year net migration (Table 4).
Figure 4

Relative age distribution according to migratory status, Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan (2011–2014)

Source: CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014

The numbers of previous-residence migrants between the six provinces with five or less years of residence in the sample reference date are in general very small and consequently so are net migration cases. Kabul province received the largest number of immigrants from the other five provinces (48,409) and Parwan had the largest number of out-migrants (17,410). During this five year period Kabul province was the only one with positive net migration with respect to the other five provinces.
Table 4

**Number of previous residence migrants by origin and destination*, Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan (2007-2012)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>origin/destination</th>
<th>Kabul</th>
<th>Bamiyan</th>
<th>Daykundi</th>
<th>Ghor</th>
<th>Kapisa</th>
<th>Parwan</th>
<th>Total (out-migrant)</th>
<th>Net migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kabul</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3,743</td>
<td>2,696</td>
<td>1,286</td>
<td>1,499</td>
<td>6,389</td>
<td>15,613</td>
<td>32,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamiyan</td>
<td>16,376</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>17,137</td>
<td>-12,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daykundi</td>
<td>3,712</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3,815</td>
<td>-765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghor</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3,519</td>
<td>-2,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapisa</td>
<td>8,462</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1,626</td>
<td>10,105</td>
<td>-8,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parwan</td>
<td>16,559</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>17,410</td>
<td>-8,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (in-migrant)</td>
<td>48,409</td>
<td>4,275</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>1,452</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>8,451</td>
<td>67,599</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number of previous residence migrants aged five or more years between the six provinces with less than five years of residence, and net migration between each province and the other five combined.

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014

**Migration by educational status and labour market**

As proxies for the relative socioeconomic status of migrants the differences between them and non-migrants in relation to average years of schooling (Figure 5) and participation in the labour market (Figure 6) is considered by sex and age group. As far as education is concerned, it is clear that younger cohorts have higher levels of education in each province independently of their migratory status, despite the wide sex gap, reflecting recent efforts to expand education in Afghanistan.

Figure 5 shows that, among males of almost all ages, only in Kabul is the level of education of migrants lower than that of non-migrants. Following Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan provinces have the highest educational levels, but with no important differences between migrants and non-migrants. Bamiyan, Daykundi and Ghor fare worst, but migrants have higher educational attainment than non-migrants. This suggests that once those who had the opportunity to migrate from economically stagnant areas return (observe that a high proportion of immigrants in these regions are returnees; see Figure 5), any level of schooling attained while living outside provides educational advantages relative to those who stayed. Sex and regional differentials are noteworthy.

The higher the provincial educational level the larger the sex differentials independently of migratory status (see the cases of Kabul, Parwan and Kapisa). In spite of the great differences between the educational levels of men and women in each province, in Kabul the female educational levels are generally equal to or higher than the educational levels of men in Daykundi, Bamiyan and Ghor, the three provinces with the lowest educational levels.
Male labour participation rates (Figure 6) do not show significant differences by migratory status. In Kabul province the rates at higher ages are lower than in all other provinces, both among migrants and non-migrants. While the highest male participation rates approach 100 percent in all provinces, the highest female participation rates are observed in Bamiyan and Daykundi, but are still only around 30 percent. This shows extreme gender disparities in the labour market. In Kabul the female labour force participation rate is the lowest among the six provinces at around 10 percent. This supports other evidence that women’s occupations are mainly concentrated in the agricultural sector, the economic bedrock of all the provinces but Kabul.
**Figure 6**

Participation rates in the labour market of previous residence migrants and non-migrants, by age and sex, Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan (2011–2014)

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014
Migration to Kabul province

Migrants living in Kabul in 2013 represented 78 percent of all in-migrants and immigrants of the six provinces in this study (Table 1) and it is thus useful to conduct a deeper analysis of migration to this province. The analysis will not be broken down by district, but it is important to note that among the 15 districts of the province, the national and provincial capital of Kabul was the main destination for migratory flows to the province, receiving 75 percent of immigrants and 91.2 percent of interprovincial in-migrants. The weight that the population of the capital holds in relation to the rest of the province (77.2 percent in 2013) is to a great extent due to the migratory inflows. Of migrants living in the other districts of Kabul province in 2013, 64.2 percent were born in the district of residence, and 26.7 percent were foreign-born and are largely related to the return of their parents to their district of birth (indirect effect 1).

Direct and indirect effects of Afghan international return migration to Kabul province

Kabul province is unlike the others analysed, not just for its high volume of immigration (and its contribution relative to total population), but also in terms of other factors related to migration. In 2013, among the migrants living in the province who had previously resided in another province or country (1,249,067), 55 percent had come from another country (691,696), and were 76 percent Afghans and 24 percent foreign-born (Table 5). In Kabul province, these Afghans constitute the direct effect of return migration to the country. Furthermore, the foreign-born immigrants in Kabul (165,031) are probably, in a significant proportion, linked to the return of Afghans to the country (indirect effect 1 of return migration). In addition the Afghan immigrants had, on the reference survey date, children born after their return to the country (indirect effect 2 of return migration). The persons constituting indirect effects 1 and 2 had become part of the Kabul population in 2013 due to the Afghan international returnees.

There is also the direct and indirect contribution of the international return immigration through those Afghans who, after their arrival in Afghanistan, moved to another district before coming to Kabul and, consequently, were not captured by the SDES questionnaire. In this section, a thorough analysis will be made to estimate the indirect effects of international return migration to Kabul and its impact on the size and age composition of the province's population.

Figure 7 shows the importance of previous residence immigrants in Kabul in absolute numbers and as a proportion of total migration with the province as destination. The similar patterns since 1994 of the distribution of international and national origins as previous residence indicate that both forms of migration probably had the same basic causes, perhaps related to the political instability in the country.

Table 5 allows analysis of the relationship between previous residence and birthplace for migrants who are resident in Kabul province. Among the intra-provincial migrants (70,679) 94.2 percent were born in Kabul province. Among the international previous residence immigrants (691,696), 77 percent (531,950) were born in Afghanistan, 51 percent in Kabul province, 26 percent in other provinces but did not return to their birthplace and proceeded directly to Kabul, while 23 percent were foreign-born. Almost all foreign-born enumerated in Kabul (96.8 percent of 165,031 foreign-born) had another country as their previous residence, and so had moved directly to Kabul province without a prior move to another district. In addition, of all Kabul in-migrants with previous residence in another province (557,283 interprovincial in-migrants) 86.5 percent were born in the other provinces. This data shows that intra-provincial (between districts) migration is negligible, that among the interprovincial migrants the return of native-born to Kabul is insignificant, but that among immigrants the weight of returnees born in the province is significant (51.3 percent of all immigrants).
**Figure 7**

**Total previous residence migrants and previous residence immigrants by year of arrival, Kabul (2013)**

![Graph showing total previous residence migrants and previous residence immigrants by year of arrival.]

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014

**Table 5**

**Previous residence migrants and place of birth of in-migrants and immigrants, Kabul (2013)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Previous Residence</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same district, Kabul province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another District of Kabul (Intra-provincial migrants)</td>
<td>35,507</td>
<td>70,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other district, Kabul province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Province (Interprovincial migrants)</td>
<td>67,732</td>
<td>557,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other province</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another Country (International migrants)</td>
<td>337,683</td>
<td>691,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign-born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>897</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>440,997</td>
<td>1,319,745</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014
Table 6 shows the previous residence migrants in Kabul, distributed by sex and relation to the head of the household head and divided into two groups: the first comprising previous residence Afghan returned immigrants; and the second, previous residence in-migrants and non-returned immigrants. Afghan returnees whose previous residence was in another country (531,891) account for 42.3 percent of all immigrants and interprovincial in-migrants in Kabul. Nevertheless the impact of return immigration on the population of Kabul province is much higher than these numbers suggest. Amongst the 787,855 migrants of the second group a proportion of individuals are directly or indirectly linked with the return immigration of Afghans to the country: the foreign-born children and close relatives of returnees that emigrated to Afghan as a consequence of return immigration (indirect effect 1); and the Afghan children of returnees born after their return (indirect effect 2). Finally, there are the direct and indirect effects linked to those Afghans who, after returning, made an internal migration between two or more districts and are considered in the SDES as internal migrants, not as immigrants.

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to household head</th>
<th>Previous residence returned immigrants</th>
<th>Previous residence - non-returned immigrants and in-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>179,247</td>
<td>2,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>118,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>110,693</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>60,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>2,094</td>
<td>1,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relative</td>
<td>18,564</td>
<td>38,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relative</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional member</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>311,289</td>
<td>220,602</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSO Afghanistan, SDES 2011-2014

As described in Annex 1, to estimate the direct and indirect effects of international return migration, the households were split according to the following criteria: (a) Households where the head of the household is an Afghan returnee immigrant (First Model, first case); (b) Households where the head of the household is a non-returned immigrant, but there are in the household one or more members who are Afghan returned immigrants (First Model, second case); (c) Households without the presence of Afghan previous residence returnees, but with the presence of foreign-born aged 20 years or less, and whose responsible parent is Afghan born (Second Model, first case); (d) Households indirectly estimated, assuming that among families with international returnees who later migrated internally, the quotient between those families with no children born outside Afghanistan and those with at least one child aged 20 years or less born outside Afghanistan and whose parent is Afghan, is the same as that observed in families whose head of household is a returnee. This produces an estimation of the share of households without international previous residence returnees and foreign-born children, but with Afghan international returnees who made an internal move after their return to Afghanistan.
The observed value of the quotient (k) is 2.93. The estimated direct and indirect effects of the return migration to Afghanistan are shown in Table 7.

### Table 7

**Direct and indirect effects of previous residence return migration Kabul (2013)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to Household Head</th>
<th>Direct effect</th>
<th>Household Headed by Afghan previous returnees (a)</th>
<th>Household Headed by Afghan previous returnees but with non-Afghan members (b)</th>
<th>Total (c) = (a) + (b)</th>
<th>Household without Afghan previous returnees but with non-Afghan members (d)</th>
<th>Households without Afghan previous returnees and without non-Afghans (e)</th>
<th>Total (f) = (d) + (e)</th>
<th>Total (g) = (c) + (f)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>181,327</td>
<td>181,327</td>
<td>1,206</td>
<td>3,535</td>
<td>4,741</td>
<td>186,068</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>114,818</td>
<td>3,373</td>
<td>118,192</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>3,477</td>
<td>122,655</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>103,086</td>
<td>7,607</td>
<td>110,693</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>1,670</td>
<td>112,333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>59,485</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>60,234</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>61,546</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>3,329</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>3,721</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>3,721</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relative</td>
<td>50,544</td>
<td>6,485</td>
<td>57,029</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>57,029</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relative</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>319</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional member</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>374</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>512,779</td>
<td>19,109</td>
<td>531,889</td>
<td>3,296</td>
<td>9,660</td>
<td>12,956</td>
<td>544,845</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>1,685</td>
<td>1,685</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>1,685</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>3,111</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>3,510</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>3,750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>66,876</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>67,869</td>
<td>1,747</td>
<td>5,123</td>
<td>6,871</td>
<td>74,740</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>53,165</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>53,942</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>4,094</td>
<td>5,491</td>
<td>59,433</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>5,714</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>6,131</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>6,131</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relative</td>
<td>9,072</td>
<td>2,236</td>
<td>11,308</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>11,308</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relative</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional member</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>137,963</td>
<td>6,569</td>
<td>144,532</td>
<td>3,205</td>
<td>9,396</td>
<td>12,602</td>
<td>157,134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>181,239</td>
<td>1,041</td>
<td>182,280</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>3,927</td>
<td>5,267</td>
<td>187,547</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>170,789</td>
<td>970</td>
<td>171,760</td>
<td>1,158</td>
<td>3,395</td>
<td>4,553</td>
<td>176,333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>53,367</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>53,478</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,810</td>
<td>55,288</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>405,395</td>
<td>2,123</td>
<td>407,518</td>
<td>2,958</td>
<td>8,872</td>
<td>11,630</td>
<td>419,148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013
The sum of the direct effects in columns (a) and (b) is exactly equal to the observed international returned immigrants (531,890), presented in Table 6. Indirect effect 1 in columns (a) and (b), that is, foreign-born persons whose international previous residence migration is associated to the returnees, encompasses 144,532 individuals, or 90.5 percent of all the foreign-born persons whose previous residence was international (see Tables 5 and 7). Indirect effect 2 in columns (a) and (b) includes 407,517 children, which raises the total indirect effects to 552,050 persons.

Columns (c) and (d) present the direct and indirect effects estimates of international return migration in households with no previous residence international returnees due to the fact that they moved to another district after arriving in Afghanistan. The values found are low, confirming the hypothesis that only a small proportion of individuals undertook internal displacement between districts after their international migration to Afghanistan. This is true in relation to the interprovincial in-migrants in Kabul, few of whom made an international move before migrating to the province. The direct effect estimate amounts to 12,956 persons or only 2.4 percent of the 531,890 previous residence international returnees. The estimated indirect effects 1 and 2, 11,629 and 12,601 persons, respectively, correspond to 8.7 percent and 2.9 percent of the same effects among previous residence international returnees.

Taking into account all the observed and estimated Afghan international returnees living in Kabul province in 2013, they number 544,845 persons, or 13.2 percent of the Kabul population in 2013. Indirect effect 2 (the children born after their return and alive in 2013) numbered 419,146 or 10.1 percent of Kabul's population, and indirect effect 1 (non-Afghans who accompanied Afghan returnees) 157,133 individuals, or 3.8 percent of the total population of the province. In all, 27.1 percent of the resident population of Kabul province in 2013 comprised persons who were either Afghan international returnees or non-Afghans who moved to the country as a consequence of the return of Afghans, or children born in the country after the international return of their Afghan parents.

Two observations should be made: 1) of the total number of Afghan returnees, 544,845 persons, only 2.4 percent (12,956) were estimated. The remaining 97.6 percent declared themselves as Afghan previous residence international returnees in the SDES questionnaires. This extremely high proportion show that after entering the country, at least among those living in Kabul in 2013 and during the period in consideration, only a tiny proportion of immigrants made an internal move to another district. 2) If the Afghan previous residence international returnees (531,890) are added to their indirect effect 1 (144,532) they total 676,422 persons. This number corresponds to 97.8 percent of all of those who declared another country as their previous residence origin (691,696) in the SDES. This proportion leads to the conclusion that practically the whole immigration in Kabul is due directly and indirectly to return migration to the country. This conclusion should not be a surprise given the political context. On the other hand, it shows the importance of taking into consideration indirect effect 1 of return migration.

Given the small numbers of return immigrants and of their indirect effects 1 and 2 estimated through the Second Model, and due to the fact that they are also included among the interprovincial in-migrants to Kabul province, further analysis of return migrants in this report will exclude them.

Figure 8 shows the proportional age distribution of the Kabul population providing evidence in each age group of the weight of the previous residence international returnees, of indirect effect 2 and indirect effect 1. The importance of indirect effect 2, children born after the return to the country, is clearly evident in the basis of the pyramid. When analysing the age distribution of the Kabul population in Figure 4 it was noted that the small proportion of children among the immigrants was not due to their low fertility but to the fact that probably the majority of them were born after the return of their immigrant parents and consequently classified as non-immigrants. In Figure 8 the sons and daughters of returnees to Kabul province born after their arrival in Afghanistan (76.6 percent of the direct effect) are identified as indirect effect 2. The joint age distribution of returnees and persons pertaining to indirect effects 1 and 2 is very similar to that of the whole population. Consequently, the overall age distribution would not be directly or indirectly linked with immigration. The similarity is very clear, especially when compared separately for men and women. This implies that the impact of immigration on the age structure of Kabul population has been negligible.
**Figure 8**

Proportional age distribution by sex of the population not related to the return immigration and of the population related to the return immigration, Kabul (2013)

![Proportional age distribution by sex of the population not related to the return immigration and of the population related to the return immigration, Kabul (2013)](image)

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013

Table 8 presents the distribution by three large age groups of Afghan returned immigrants and of the persons who make up indirect effects 1 and 2 and their relative weight in the Kabul population. The three age groups represent children (aged 0–14 years), people of working age (15–59 years) and the elderly (60+ years). The proportions of the provincial population due to the joint effects of immigration are very similar in the three groups, ranging from 26.3 percent in the 15–59 age group, to 28.1 percent in the 0–14 age group. Again, these almost equal proportions show the similarity of the age distribution of the two groups: one linked with return migration and its indirect effects, the other with no links with immigrants.

When the main determinants of migration are economic factors, especially those related to the labour market, the age distribution of migrants and their children is usually concentrated in the more productive ages (young adults), which are also those with higher fertility, and in the very young ages through direct and indirect effect 2 of migration. This is not what happened in Kabul with the joint age distribution of returned immigrants, those who follow them (indirect effect 1) and their children (indirect effect 2). The number of these as a proportion of the total population in each of the three large age groups is surprisingly similar (around 27 percent). This is probably due to the fact that their move abroad and return to Afghanistan were not primarily motivated by economic factors but by a context of continuous political instability and insecurity. In these circumstances people do not migrate individually but as members of entire nuclear or extended families or social groups. As a consequence the age distribution tends to reflect that of the original population.
Table 8

Distribution of previous residence Afghan returned immigrants by three large age groups,* Kabul (2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>International Return Migration</th>
<th>Direct effect</th>
<th>Indirect effect 1</th>
<th>Indirect effect 2</th>
<th>Direct and Indirect effects</th>
<th>Remaining population</th>
<th>Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Distribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 - 14</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>38,640</td>
<td>75,612</td>
<td>367,623</td>
<td>481,875</td>
<td>1,298,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>103.8</td>
<td>106.1</td>
<td>102.4</td>
<td>103.1</td>
<td>103.4</td>
<td>103.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 59</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>447,592</td>
<td>68,639</td>
<td>39,885</td>
<td>556,116</td>
<td>1,633,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>140.9</td>
<td>122.7</td>
<td>149.4</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>97.1</td>
<td>106.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 +</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>45,653</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45,906</td>
<td>124,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>188.8</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>187.2</td>
<td>136.3</td>
<td>148.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>531,885</td>
<td>144,504</td>
<td>407,508</td>
<td>1,083,897</td>
<td>3,056,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>141.1</td>
<td>113.5</td>
<td>106.2</td>
<td>123.1</td>
<td>101.1</td>
<td>106.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Distribution of previous residence Afghan returned immigrants and of persons who constitute indirect effect 1 and indirect effect 2 of previous residence Afghan return immigration by three large age groups and their proportion of the Kabul population.

Source: CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013

The joint overall sex ratio of the returned immigrants and the persons included in their estimated effects 1 and 2 (123) is 16 percent higher than the sex ratio of the total Kabul population (106). There is no significant sex ratio differential between the immigrant population and that of Kabul between in the 0–14 age group, however, among those aged 15–59 the sex ratios are 139 and 106, and among those 60 and over, 187 and 148, in the immigrant population and Kabul population respectively, indicating a significantly higher presence of men among immigrants in these two age groups relative to the population of the destination. One could pose the hypothesis that those very high sex ratios are due to the assumptions made in the estimation of indirect effects, but they are also high among the observed (enumerated) returned immigrants: 141 and 189 in the 15–19 and 60+ age groups, respectively.

In order to better understand the differing patterns of the sex ratio distribution for immigrant and non-migrant populations, distribution by five-year age groups is analysed in Figure 9.

Two general findings are evident when comparing the sex ratio curves. First, up to 15 years of age, the sex ratios of the two populations are roughly equal. Second, for both populations, international returned immigrants, included the indirect effects, and the non-immigrant population of Kabul, the sex ratios tend to grow from age group 35–39 years. These observations elicit two, non-mutually exclusive, hypotheses that could explain this trend in both segments of the population: 1) failure to declare in the SDES the presence of women living in the household (under-enumeration of women), increasing proportionately with age; 2) higher female mortality after 35 years of age. Another report in this series of SDES data analyses, the Thematic Report on Adult Mortality - Provinces of Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa, Parwan, has shown evidence of a higher female mortality after ages 40 or 45.
RESULTS

However, this excess female mortality probably does not entirely explain the rapidly growing sex ratio as age increases.

**Figure 9**

**Sex ratios of non-migrants and of previous residence Afghan returned immigrants by five year age group,** *Kabul (2013)*

* Sex ratios of non-migrants and of previous residence Afghan returned immigrants and their indirect effects 1 and 2, by 5 year age group.

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013

Starting with the 35–39 year age group, the two sex ratio curves have a similar trend but the sex ratios of immigrants are persistently higher than that of non-migrants, with a significant and fairly constant differential. It is unlikely that this pattern of differences is entirely due to a combination of higher under-enumeration of immigrant women in the households and a higher female mortality amongst immigrants. Given that the immigrant curve above age 35 is constituted almost entirely by return immigrants (see Figure 8) a third hypothesis can be put forth. Namely, when these individuals emigrated from Afghanistan there was already a predominance of men, and hence a high sex ratio at a prior stage of the migratory cycle and consequently in the return migration flows. Though plausible, this would nevertheless be surprising in light of the similar internal age composition displayed by both return female immigrants and female non-immigrants, as well as by both return male immigrants and male non-immigrants (Figure 12). Similarities in age composition of this nature are generally associated with migration flows motivated by non-economic reasons, composed of nuclear or extended families.

Extending the analysis of the sex ratios of immigrant and non-migrant populations some interesting observations can be made. Studying the curves generated by plotting the sex ratio as age increases (Figure 9), it becomes apparent that the immigrant and non-migrant populations exhibit different patterns. The non-migrant sex ratio displays a rapidly decreasing pattern between the ages of 15 and 39. In contrast, the curve for immigrants registers a sustained increase in the sex ratio between ages...
15 to 29, subsequently declining from age 30 to 39. Despite the declining sex ratio of the immigrant population between 30–39 years of age, the difference in the sex ratio of non-migrants remains considerable.

In order to shed light on this unexpected behaviour it is important to consider the socio-cultural context in which these migratory flows take place. First, the mean age of first marriage is lower for women than men. Furthermore, it is common practice that when women wed they move to reside in the husband’s household. Moreover, Afghan emigration flows generally occur towards regions where the inhabitants share the same ethnicity, as in the case of Pashtun emigrants going to Pakistan and Hazara emigrants to Iran. Considering these factors, it is quite plausible that a proportion of single Afghan female emigrants married natives (non-Afghans). Consequently, when their families returned to Afghanistan these women would probably have remained abroad. Another possible factor that could influence the differences in sex ratios between ages 15 and 35 has to do with the techniques employed to estimate indirect effect 2 of Afghan immigration. Women born in Afghanistan after the return of their parents (indirect effect 2) who married and, as it is usual in the country, left their households, were not captured by the technique employed. These two elements combined may help explain the higher sex ratio observed in the immigrant population aged 15 to 35 years in comparison with the non-migrant population.

**Direct and indirect effects of interprovincial migration in Kabul**

As with returning immigration, it is important to account for the indirect effects of interprovincial migratory flows to Kabul in order to assess the joint impacts that in-migration and its indirect effects had on the size and age distribution of Kabul’s population in 2013. In the case of the migratory flows towards Kabul there is no indirect effect 1, which only occurs when dealing with a subset of migrants, as it was the case of Afghan returned immigrants to Kabul, which constitutes a subset of all immigrants who had Kabul as their destination. When studying interprovincial migration to Kabul, all in-migrants are considered collectively. In this case, the only indirect effect of migration is the children of in-migrants born in Kabul. Considering all households in Kabul, 122,681 were headed by an interprovincial in-migrant. These households provide the base upon which the size of indirect effect 2 is estimated. Within the 122,681 households considered for the estimation of indirect effect 2, 501,552 interprovincial in-migrants were enumerated. This represents 90 percent of the 557,283 interprovincial in-migrants living in Kabul in 2013. The remaining 10 percent corresponds to individuals who are interprovincial in-migrants themselves, yet live in households that are not headed by interprovincial in-migrants. Note that the SDES data provides information on kinship taking the household head as anchor. Due to this, information on kinship links between other members of the household is limited. When an interprovincial in-migrant is living in a household whose head is not an in-migrant, there is no reasonable set of assumptions which allows indirect effect 2 to be estimated.

Table 9 shows that 281,454 individuals (sons, daughters and grandchildren) in Kabul lived in households headed by interprovincial in-migrants and were born after the arrival of their interprovincial in-migrant parents or grandparents to the province. This is an underestimation due to the impossibility of taking into consideration indirect effect 2 related to the in-migrants living in households headed by non-in-migrants. Interprovincial in-migrants and their estimated indirect effect 2 made up 20.3 percent of the Kabul population in 2013. If the indirect effect is not taken into consideration, this proportion diminishes to 13.5 percent. This last proportion is misleading as an indicator of the importance of in-migration in Kabul and its consequences because at least 281,454 persons (indirect effect), or 6.8 percent of the total population, would not live in Kabul in the absence of the interprovincial in-migration.

Figure 10 presents the age composition by sex of the Kabul population in 2013 in three parts, each as a proportion of the total population: 1) interprovincial in-migrants; 2) indirect effect 2 in households headed by in-migrants and; 3) the remaining population of Kabul.
### Table 9

**Direct and indirect effects of households headed by previous residence interprovincial migrants, Kabul (2013)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct and indirect effects</th>
<th>Relationship to Household Head</th>
<th>Interprovincial In-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct effect</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>123,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>101,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>122,987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>86,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td>6,826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other relative</td>
<td>58,721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-relative</td>
<td>1,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutional member</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>501,552</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indirect effect 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Relationship to Household Head</th>
<th>Interprovincial In-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td></td>
<td>128,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td>117,642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchild</td>
<td></td>
<td>35,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>281,454</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013

### Figure 10

**Relative age distribution by sex of previous residence, interprovincial in-migrants, persons that constitute indirect effect 2, and of total population, Kabul (2013)**

**Source:** CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013
When indirect effect 2 is added to the interprovincial in-migrants in Kabul, their proportional age distribution is similar to the age distribution of the whole population, particularly when the comparison is made among men and women separately. This can be seen in Table 10 which shows the joint relative weight of interprovincial in-migrants and their indirect effect in the three broad age groups (0–14, 15–59 and 60+ years). The proportion of in-migrants is approximately the same, ranging from 20 percent in the 15–59 age group to 22 percent in the 60+ age group.

Similar to the situation among the international returnees analysed earlier in section 3.3, the joint age distribution of the interprovincial in-migrants and their indirect effect does not show the traditional concentration in the young adult and the very young age groups. Interprovincial in-migration is probably not primarily linked to labour market dynamics but to the country's context of political instability. In these circumstances, individuals generally migrate as part of a nuclear or extended family, even as part of a social group in some cases. As a consequence, the age distribution of the migrants is not very different to that of the population in general.

When comparing the sex ratios among three broad age groups of the in-migrant and non-migrant population (Table 10), a similar pattern to that of returned immigrants is observed, as discussed earlier. There is no difference in the 0–14 age group, but for the other two, the joint sex ratio of interprovincial in-migrants and their indirect effect 2 is significantly higher than among non-migrants.

The analysis of the sex ratio distribution of the in-migrants is carried out in the same way as for returned immigrants. Figure 11 shows the sex ratios of the interprovincial in-migrant and non-migrant populations by five year age groups, as well as of return immigrants. The sex ratio in the 15–19 years is the same for non-migrants and in-migrants. Starting at age 45, a sustained increase in sex ratios is registered, similar to that observed in the immigrant population. The sex ratio of the in-migrant population does not present the same behaviour as that observed for returned immigrants aged 15–35. In this age interval the observed trend among in-migrants is similar to that among non-migrants. Beyond age 45 all groups (in-migrants, non-migrants and returned immigrants) present an increasing sex ratio. The sex ratio for in-migrants is consistently higher than that of non-migrants after age 20. Nonetheless, the differences between the sex ratios of the in-migrant population and of the non-migrant population are not as accentuated as that of the returned immigrants.

From these sex ratio distributions some observations can be made and some hypotheses proposed. The age composition of the in-migrant population indicates that the flow of in-migrants consists of nuclear or extended families. No abnormal concentration in particular age intervals are observed. Nonetheless, interprovincial in-migrants display disproportionate weight of males in adult and elderly age groups compared with non-migrants, producing higher sex ratios in the in-migrant population in relation to non-migrants. Perhaps the sex ratios in the provinces of origin of the in-migrants are abnormally high. Further investigation asking more specific questions about migratory flows may prove fruitful in corroborating this hypothesis.

Another hypothesis, corroborated by the data, is that women have a higher mortality level than men, particularly after age 40. This holds for the in-migrant, immigrant and non-migrant population, albeit the differential varies from one group to another. This subject deserves further attention and research, and may have important implications for public policy, particularly with regard to health services.

It is also important to consider that under-reporting of females may be higher than of males. The data suggests that under-reporting may increase with age. Once again investigation query would be a significant contribution to understanding the socio-demographic and economic context in Afghanistan.
Table 10
Distribution of previous residence Afghan interprovincial in-migrants by three large age groups*, Kabul (2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interprovincial Migration</th>
<th>Direct effect</th>
<th>Indirect effect 2</th>
<th>Direct and indirect effects</th>
<th>Remaining population</th>
<th>Total population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age Distribution 0 - 14</td>
<td>N 128,662</td>
<td>235,550</td>
<td>364,212</td>
<td>1,416,407</td>
<td>1,780,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 7.2</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>107.2</td>
<td>101.5</td>
<td>103.4</td>
<td>103.2</td>
<td>103.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Distribution 15 - 59</td>
<td>N 391,205</td>
<td>45,901</td>
<td>437,106</td>
<td>1,752,261</td>
<td>2,189,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 17.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>114.1</td>
<td>152.6</td>
<td>110.7</td>
<td>105.2</td>
<td>106.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age Distribution 60+</td>
<td>N 37,417</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37,420</td>
<td>132,518</td>
<td>169,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>176.2</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>156.1</td>
<td>146.1</td>
<td>148.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>N 557,284</td>
<td>281,454</td>
<td>838,738</td>
<td>3,301,186</td>
<td>4,139,924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 13.5</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>79.7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>115.8</td>
<td>108.4</td>
<td>109.1</td>
<td>105.7</td>
<td>106.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Distribution of previous residence Afghan interprovincial in-migrants and of persons that constitute indirect effect 2 of in-migration by three large age groups and their proportion of the Kabul population.

Source: CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013

An integrated overview of the weight of immigration and interprovincial in-migration in Kabul province

Figure 12 provides an integrated view of the age distribution of Kabul's population disaggregated by immigrants and in-migrants, and their indirect effects and by those not directly or indirectly linked to migration. From the centre of the pyramid outwards the following components of the population are shown: 1) population not related to the return immigration and to the interprovincial in-migration; 2) interprovincial in-migrants; 3) indirect effect 2 of interprovincial in-migrant; 4) immigrants; 5) indirect effect 2 of returned immigrants.

Items 2 and 3 constitute the population of Kabul composed of interprovincial in-migrants and the children of these migrants born after their parents’ arrival in Kabul. Taken together this group represents 20.3 percent of the province’s 2013 population (interprovincial in-migrants 13.5 percent, and their children born in Kabul 6.8 percent). As previously discussed indirect effect 2 of interprovincial in-migrants is underestimated due to data restrictions. Consequently, the contribution of the interprovincial in-migration to the Kabul population is also underestimated.

Item 4 comprises all international immigrants in Kabul in 2013, namely: returned immigrants, non-Afghan immigrants linked with the return immigration (indirect effect 1) and foreign-born immigrants not linked with return immigration. Item 5, in turn, corresponds to indirect effect 2 of international Afghan returnees. It is necessary to point out that there is an inherent omission in the estimation of indirect effect 2 related to immigrants. Indirect effect 2 of the immigrants not related to return immigration was not estimated. The underestimation is very small because this subgroup of immigrants, in 2013, corresponded to only 2.2 percent of all the immigrants to the province. On the whole, items 4 and 5 (international migration and indirect effect 2) represented 26.6 percent of the province's population in 2013 (16.7 percent due to immigrants and at least 9.9 percent due to their children born after arrival in the province).
Considering immigration and in-migration jointly, and their indirect effects 2, they accounted for 46.9 percent of Kabul's population. In Kabul's total population 30.2 percent correspond to immigrants and in-migrants, and 16.7 percent to their children born after arrival in Kabul (indirect effect 2).

The non-migrant population of Kabul represented, in 2013, 53.2 percent of the total population if indirect effect 2 is not accounted for. Due to technical considerations previously discussed this proportion may be slightly overestimated. It is important to call attention to the fact that 12.6 percent of interprovincial in-migrants and 51.3 percent of immigrants, in 2013, were born in Kabul (Table 5). Given the significant contribution of return migratory flows to Kabul’s population, it follows that in the absence of the adverse political conditions at the end of the last century the scenario would be quite different. This is based on the fact that political instability triggered a large exodus from Kabul. Subsequently, when conditions improved, probably the majority of emigrants from Kabul returned to the province. In the absence of this context it is plausible to affirm that the proportion of non-migrants in Kabul population would be significantly higher in spite of the fact that around 50 percent and almost 90 percent of immigrants and in-migrants in Kabul, respectively, were not born in the province.
**Figure 12**

Relative age distribution by sex of previous residence interprovincial in-migrants and their indirect effect 2, of previous residence immigrants and the indirect effects 1 and 2 of returned immigrants, and of total population, Kabul (2013)

Source: CSO Afghanistan, Kabul SDES 2013
Conclusion
Migration streams in Afghanistan are associated with ethnic diversity, through historical migration flows to neighbouring countries, particularly Iran and Pakistan. Beyond this historical context, migration has been related to the search for better job opportunities due to the better situation of those countries relative to Afghanistan's. More recently, emigration, as well as interprovincial out-migration, were a consequence mainly of armed conflict, closely related to the political instability that the country faced in recent decades. Since the fall of the Taliban regime, a large volume of international return migration has occurred, the majority comprising returned immigrants. This has had a major impact on household structures and strained basic services in Afghanistan, particularly in Kabul. In Kabul, the total population grew from 500,000 in 2001 to over 4 million in 2013, mainly due to immigration and in-migration.

In this context, this report may provide some guidance for developing public policies to the extent that it: (a) estimates the distribution and volume of migratory flows in all six provinces (Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan); and (b) estimates the significant direct and indirect effects of international return migration and interprovincial in-migration in Kabul province through the adaptation and development of new methodologies that allow more precise estimates of the volume of return immigration and intra-provincial in-migration and the indirect effects associated with them.

The data available for this study encompass six provinces: Bamiyan, Daykundi, Ghor, Kabul, Kapisa and Parwan. This limits the extent of the analysis that can be carried out. One factor particularly relevant in the case of migration is the fact that the extent and pattern of emigration from the six provinces in the survey to those outside the survey is not known, not to mention migration flows between un-surveyed provinces. The availability of data for all the provinces will undoubtedly allow for a richer and more in-depth analysis. Another limitation is that questions referring to migration in the SDES questionnaire are limited to the year and origin of the previous migratory trajectory; namely district of previous residence (in-migration) or country of previous residence (immigration).

In 2013, of the 6,986,927 inhabitants of the 6 provinces, 1,687,106 (24.1 percent) previously lived in a different district or country. At the provincial level the proportion of in-migrants and immigrants in the total population varies substantially, from 31.9 percent in Kabul and 22.7 percent in Parwan to 4.6 percent in Ghor.

Of the total interprovincial previous residence in-migrants (678,721), 82.1 percent went to Kabul, 9.5 percent to Parwan and only 2.2 percent of Ghor. Of the 909,021 previous residence immigrants, 76.1 percent lived in Kabul, 8.5 percent in Parwan and only 2 percent in Bamiyan. Of all migrants residing in each province, 66 percent or more, with the exception of Kabul, were born in their own province of residence at the time of the survey. This clearly demonstrates that these flows are mainly constituted of return migration. In the case of Kabul the proportion of returnees to the province of birth was only 33 percent, with 12.6 percent among interprovincial in-migrants and 51.3 percent among immigrants.

In the absence of adequate data related to fixed-period migration or of at least two successive surveys or censuses it was not possible to adequately estimate net migration. A proxy estimate was adopted using data on previous residence migrants. This consisted of calculating the difference between the numbers of previous residence in-migrants and out-migrants of each province with less than five years of residence in the destination in relation to the other five together. Since net migration refers to a determined interval of time, the estimate only took into account migrants residing at their destination for five years or less. Kabul was the only province with a positive balance, with 32,796 people, representing 0.8 percent of the total population of the province in 2013. The other provinces displayed a small negative balance ranging from 12,000 in Bamiyan to 1,000 in Daykundi.

Bamiyan, Daykundi and Ghor exhibit the lowest levels of education for the population as a whole. In these three provinces migrants display slightly higher educational levels than non-migrants. As migrants in these provinces are made up almost entirely of returnees and their sons and daughters born while they were living elsewhere, it can be assumed that they had better educational opportunities in the places where they were living prior to their return. In Kabul non-migrants have higher educational levels in all age groups among both men and women. The participation rates in the labour market are not significantly different in each province when migrants and non-migrants are compared by sex. It
is worth observing that the female participation rates in Kabul are the lowest among the six provinces, independently of migratory status.

The analysis of migratory flows to Kabul yielded important conclusions, particularly when accounting for indirect effect 2 of in-migration and immigration and indirect effect 1 of return immigration. Indirect effect 2 corresponds to the children of in-migrants or immigrants born in the place of destination. Indirect effect 1 of return immigration corresponds to those not born in Afghanistan who immigrated to Kabul as a result of return migration of Afghans to their country. It primarily consists of children of Afghans born abroad and of non-Afghan spouses who accompanied Afghans in their return migration.

In Kabul, 16.7 percent of the population were immigrants and roughly 9.8 percent were their children born after their arrival constituting 26.5 percent of the total 2013 population. Interprovincial in-migrants constituted 13.5 percent and their children born in Kabul 6.8 percent of the Kabul population, corresponding to 20.3 percent of the total population.

Of the total population of Kabul in 2013, around 47 percent comprised the direct and indirect effects of interprovincial or international migration. Undoubtedly this figure would be much lower had it not been for the exodus in previous decades. This is corroborated by the fact that 51.3 percent of Kabul's province immigrants and 12.6 percent of its in-migrants were born in the province, implying a return to their place of birth.

Of all immigrants in Kabul (691,696), 97.8 percent were related to return immigration to the country, being 76.9 percent Afghan (531,889) and 20.9 percent (144,532) foreign born children, spouses and close relatives of international returnees that immigrated to Afghanistan as consequence of the return migration.

The Second Model was developed to estimate the direct and indirect effects of those immigrants who, after their return, migrated to a second district and as consequence there is no information in SDES about their international move. The results show that internal migration after arrival in Afghanistan, at least among those living in Kabul, was very small. The same conclusion applies to the interprovincial in-migrants in Kabul after their arrival in the province.
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Annex 1

1A. First Model: Indirect effects of international return migration, considering households with individuals whose previous residence was international

Ribeiro (1997) proposed a methodology to analyse the demographic effects of returning migratory flows. This methodology was marginally improved by Garcia and Miranda-Ribeiro (2005). The basic rationale underlying the two versions was applied to international return migration in Afghanistan in this report.

In addition to the direct effects, all migratory flows have indirect effects on the size and demographic composition of the receiving population. In this particular case the receiving population is modified through three different effects of the international return immigration. The first composed by those who emigrated in an earlier period and returned during the period of analysis, the direct effect of return migration. The second refers to the number of children of return migrants born in Afghanistan, whose age is equal to or lower than the time of residence of the returnees (in this paper named “indirect effect 2”). The third is ancillary to the direct effect, and consists of those persons who are not born in the country of birth of the returnee, but whose migration is associated with the returnee. This phenomenon is also considered an indirect effect of migration (in this paper termed “indirect effect 1”).

The indirect effects of return immigration are estimated by linking the data of returned immigrants with information on family relationships within the household. Two typologies based on the head of the household are used when studying the direct and indirect effects of return migration. The first is the case where the head of the household is an Afghan returning to the country. The second case is where the head of the household is not a returning migrant, but one or more members of the household are returned migrants.

1A.1 First case: the head of the household is an Afghan returnee

**Direct effect:** all Afghan returnees regardless of their relation to the household head.

**Indirect effect 1:** non-Afghans belonging to the household nucleus. Foreign members of the household, not belonging to the household nucleus, with time of residence equal or lower than the heads, are also considered as indirect effect 1.

**Indirect effect 2:** children or grandchildren of the head of the household, born in Afghanistan,\(^1\) with age equal to or lower than the time of residence of the household head after returning.

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\(^1\) The kinship relation in the SDES question is limited to that with the head of the household.
Figure 13

Direct and indirect effects of international return migration in households headed by a returned Afghan immigrant

**FIRST MODEL**
**FIRST CASE:**
the household head is a returned Afghan

**DIRECT EFFECT:**
Relationship to the head of household:
- a) head, spouse, son, daughter, grandchild (nucleus); other relative or non-relative.
- Condition: Afghan returned immigrant.

**INDIRECT EFFECT 1:**
Relationship to the head of household:
- a) spouse, son, daughter or grandchild (nucleus).
- Condition: Non-Afghan immigrant.
- b) other relative or non-relative.
- Condition: Non-Afghan immigrant; time of residence equal

**INDIRECT EFFECT 2:**
Relationship to the head of household:
- a) son, daughter or grandchild.
- Condition: Afghan; age equal or lower than the time of residence of the household head.

**2A.2 Second case: the head is not a returnee to Afghanistan, but the household has members who are returned immigrants**

**Direct effect:** all Afghan returnees regardless of their relation to the household head.

**Indirect effect 1:** foreign-born persons with a time of residence that is equal to or lower than the returnee’s. The criteria is the same independent of the kinship relation, whether belonging to the household nucleus or not.

**Indirect effect 2:** children and grandchildren born in Afghanistan whose age is equal to or lower than the time of residence of the returnee, if the parent (head of household) is foreign-born with a time of residence equal of lower than the returnee’s (that is, when the household head is an indirect effect 1).

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2 If there is more than one returnee in the household, the one with more time of residence is considered.
Figure 14

Direct and indirect effects of international return migration, in households headed by a non-Afghan returnee

FIRST MODEL
SECOND CASE:
the household head is not a returnee to Afghanistan, but at least one of the household members is an Afghan returnee.

DIRECT EFFECT:
Relationship to the head of household:
a) spouse, son, daughter, grandchild (nucleus); other relative or non-relative.
Condition: Afghan; returned immigrant.

INDIRECT EFFECT 1:
Relationship to the head of household:
a) head, spouse, son, daughter, grandchild (nucleus); other relative or non-relative.
Condition: Non-Afghan immigrant; time of residence equal or lower than the time of residence of the returnee.

INDIRECT EFFECT 2:
Relationship to the head of household:
a) son, daughter or grandchild.
Condition: Afghan; age equal or lower than the time of residence of the returnee; the household head has to be a foreign born and with less time of residence than the returnee (the household head have to be an indirect effect 2).

This model allows obtaining estimates of the direct and indirect effects of international return migration, both in households where the head is an Afghan international returnee and in households where the head is not an Afghan international returnee but with at least one Afghan international returnee among their members.

2A. Second Model: Direct and indirect effects of international return migration, in households with foreign-born persons younger than 20 years of age and with no previous residence return immigrant

There are situations where households have members who are international returnees but have changed residence from one district to another, and whom the SDES cannot track. The model was adapted in order to estimate such cases.

Some basic restrictions and assumptions were made when adapting the model. First, only households with non-Afghans below 20 years of age belonging to the household family nucleus are considered. These households have other members that are immigrants but did not appear in the SDES because after entering in Afghanistan they moved between districts. In those households with at least one non-Afghan member aged 20 years or lower, and with no previous residence returnees, whose head is his or her parent and Afghan, the head is considered an international returnee. The same applies to the spouse of the head if she is Afghan and to the Afghan sons and daughters who are older than the non-Afghan sibling. This set of individuals, parents and older Afghan brothers and sisters, constitutes the direct effect of return migration.

Sons, daughters and spouses in the households, who are foreign-born, constitute indirect effect 1 of international return migration. Afghan sons, daughters and grandchildren of the head, who are younger than the head's foreign-born child, constitute indirect effect 2 of international return migration. In the estimation of indirect effect 1, individuals outside the family nucleus (who are not the head, spouse, son, daughter or grandchild) were not considered.
Figure 15

Direct and indirect effects of international return migration, in households with foreign-born persons aged 20 years or less and with no previous residence Afghan returnee

SECOND MODEL  
FIRST CASE:  
households with at least one non-Afghan member aged 20 years or less, and with no previous residence returnees, and whose head is his or her parent, Afghan and in-migrant

DIRECT EFFECT:  
Relationship to the head of household:  
a) head or spouse. 
Condition: Afghan in-migrant.  
c) Son or daughter. 
Condition: Afghan, in-migrant; older than the non-Afghan sibling.

INDIRECT EFFECT 1:  
Relationship to the head of household:  
a) spouse, son or daughter. 
Condition: Non-Afghan, in-migrant.

INDIRECT EFFECT 2:  
Relationship to the head of household:  
a) son, daughter or grandchild. 
Condition: Afghan in-migrant; younger than the non-Afghan member.

Certainly, some families headed by international returnees not having at least one foreign-born child might have also moved to another district or province after returning, whose information on the international return the SDES lost track of. Among those families with international returnees but with no foreign-born member, that after returning have moved internally, it is assumed that the ratio between those with no foreign-born children (of the head) and those with at least one foreign-born son and/or daughter aged 20 years or lower is the same as that observed in the households of the First Model first case:

\[ k = \frac{A}{B} = \frac{C}{D} \]

Where:

A: households with no foreign-born son or daughter aged 20 years or less, headed by previous residence Afghan immigrant;  

B: households with at least one foreign-born son or daughter aged 20 years or less, headed by previous residence Afghan immigrant;  

C: households with no foreign-born son or daughter aged 20 years or less and with no previous residence Afghan immigrant;  

D: households with at least one foreign-born son or daughter aged 20 years or less and with no previous residence Afghan immigrant;  

The direct and indirect effects in those households headed by non-previous residence returnee immigrant and without non-Afghans aged 20 years or less but with international returnees who, after immigration, moved internally between districts, were estimated by multiplying the direct and indirect
effects estimated among those households headed by a non-previous residence Afghan immigrant but with at least one foreign-born child by k.

In the analysis of the impact of the international returnees to the province the number of those who, after returning to the country made a second move, as well as their indirect effects will be estimated.

Annex 2

Technical procedures to estimate the indirect effect of inter-provincial in-migration

All children and grandchildren of the interprovincial household head in-migrants born in the province with an age equal or lower than the time of residence in the province of the head of the household will be considered components of indirect effect 2.

Figure 16

Direct and indirect effects of previous residence interprovincial in-migrants

Suggested questions on migration

Reworking the question on time of residence (duration of stay):

How long has _______ been living continuously in this city/district?

If less than 4 years write the number of months.

If 4 years or more write the number of years.

New questions: If to the question of previous residence the individual answers:

2- Other city/district, same province; or

3- Other province;
Add another question:

Has _______ ever lived in another country for at least 6 months?

1- No

2- Yes

If “Yes” write the name of the country on the blank, and proceed to the follow question:

How long has _______ been living continuous in Afghanistan?

Comment: It is probable that part of the intra-provincial and the interprovincial migrants lived abroad before the last internal migratory movement. Given the extreme importance of the international migratory movement to Afghanistan in the last two decades and the probability that a proportion of the immigrants subsequently made an internal move, it is relevant to know their amount, areas in Afghanistan and social and economic characteristics.

Substituting question Residence in Nawroz 1390 (where was _______’s usual residence in Nawroz 1390?) to the follow question:

Where was _______’s usual residence in exactly 5 years ago? (or: ...in Nawroz five years ago?)

Same city/ district.

Other city/ district, same province.

Other province.

Other country.

Not yet born in Nawroz 1390.

Comment: To obtain estimates of fixed-period migration the question on the place of residence one or two years previous to the census or sample reference date usually does not produce good returns. In the majority of countries where this information is raised the question refers to exactly five years ago. In the case of Afghanistan it would perhaps be suitable to ask: “place of residence in Nawroz five years ago”.