



The Afghanistan Pilot Participatory Poverty Assessment (APPPA) Summary Report

Perceptions of Poverty from the "Poor", Conceptions of Policy for the "Poor"



Center for International Development
The State University of New York



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ

*In the Name of Allah, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful
“...Verily, never will Allah change the condition of people
unless they change it themselves” (013,011)¹*

Report prepared by Naysan Adlparvar (APPPA Team Leader)².

The findings, implications and recommendations expressed here are those of the author and do not represent the views of the Asian Development Bank, or the countries it represents.

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ACBAR is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) formed in 1988. It is a coordinating body responding to the needs of NGOs to coordinate their activities in order to maximise efficiency and resources.







Male participants in Tergaran Village, Tarin Kowt District, Uruzgan



*“The government is like a father and the people like his children.
A father looks after his children and cares for them at all times;
he should be thinking about them at all times.
He should not rest if they are in pain.
At the moment we are in pain but our father does nothing.”*

*- Female participant, Bai Sar Community³,
Herat City, Herat*







Acronyms

AAA	ActionAid Afghanistan
ACBAR	Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief
ADA	Afghan Development Association
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANDS	Afghanistan National Development Strategy
APPPA	Afghanistan Pilot Participatory Poverty Assessment
CA	Christian Aid
CPP	Comprehensive Protection Programme
DFID	The Department for International Development (UK)
DMIP	Drivers, Maintainers and Interrupters of Poverty
DoP	Drivers of Poverty
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FRM	Field Research Manager
GB	Great Britain
GoA	Government of Afghanistan
IoP	Interrupters of Poverty
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoP	Maintainers of Poverty
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRVA	National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment
PPPA	Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SSI	Semi-structured Interview
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASSA	Women's Activities & Social Services Association

Glossary

<i>Kuchi</i>	A nomadic pastoralist people in Afghanistan.
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Executive Summary

Introduction

The Afghanistan Pilot Participatory Poverty Assessment (APPPA)⁴ was a project aimed at collecting, documenting, disseminating and advocating the perspectives of the “poor”⁵ — in relation to poverty — into the formulation of the Afghanistan National Development Strategy (ANDS). The APPPA also aimed to disseminate and advocate the “voices of the poor” more broadly throughout the development community in Afghanistan.

Considering the vast divide between the “poor” of Afghanistan and the policy-makers drafting the ANDS, and the limited availability of qualitative understandings of poverty in Afghanistan the goal of the APPPA was “to contribute to the development of increasingly ‘pro-poor’ and effectively targeted poverty-related policies and practices in Afghanistan.” By documenting a sample of the vast selection of personal understandings of poverty from the “poor” the APPPA aims to complement existing qualitative information — in particular the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) 2005 — and contribute to increasingly relevant, effective and targeted poverty reduction initiatives.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) initially funded the APPPA through its Management for Development Cooperation Trust Fund. The Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief (ACBAR) was commissioned to coordinate the implementation of the project. Shortly after the beginning of the project ACBAR secured additional funding to expand the existing assessment component, of the APPPA, to include a complementary communications and advocacy component. The communications and advocacy component of the APPPA was jointly funded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the State University of New York (funded by the United States Agency for International Development - USAID) and Oxfam Great Britain (Oxfam GB). In-kind support was also received from ActionAid Afghanistan (AAA). The initial design of the APPPA was supported by Christian Aid (CA). Ultimately, the APPPA was a twelve and a half month project running from May 2007 to May 2008, with ongoing monitoring of ANDS implementation until June 2009.

See *Table 1. Assessment Component Activities* and *Table 2. Communications and Advocacy Component Activities* for more details regarding component activities and outputs.

Methodology, Lessons Learned and Scaling-up

The APPPA was a pilot project. In this regard, it is recognised that although the assessment was carried out in a rigorous manner findings are of limited scope and applicability — findings cannot be generalised to wholly represent poverty throughout Afghanistan. The APPPA, as a pilot, was also tasked with identifying learning; learning to indicate improved and localised qualitative methods for understanding poverty and learning to scale-up the pilot to a national-level assessment.

The APPPA — building upon elements of the Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPPA) — adopted a methodology, initially, that consisted of a common set of five overarching questions, which, in turn, were expanded to a list of themes and issues⁶ to be investigated in each field site. The basic questions and related themes and issues were developed based on the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF). Four basic questions were posed for investigation:

1. Who are the “poor” and how do they perceive poverty and related issues?





2. What assets do the “poor” have and how do they use such assets to construct their livelihoods?
3. What have been the major changes for people over time — in their states of poverty — and what factors influenced these changes?
4. What resources, socio-economic and gender relationships, organisations, institutions and services are relevant to different groups among the “poor”?

The overall findings then focused on a fifth question:

5. What scope is there for informing the ANDS to improve development policies, practices and institutions in favour of the “poor”?

Field Site Selection and Sampling

To answer these five questions an approach to field site selection and sampling was adopted that required methodically “working down” from the national-level to the community-level. This step-wise approach included consideration of selecting field sites which could potentially provide data sets covering all groups in Afghan society. Once field sites were selected this process was continued; using PRA methods to “work down” through communities to find the most marginalised dimensions of those communities and identify the “poorest of the poor” for inclusion in the assessment process.

The APPPA was carried out in four provinces in Afghanistan (Uruzgan, Nangarhar, Badakhshan, and Herat). In each province two field sites were selected; resulting in the APPPA having eight field sites in total. The assessment included two urban field sites and six rural field sites. The Afghan Development Association (ADA) implemented the assessment in: (i) Tergaran Village, Tarin Kowt District, Uruzgan; (ii) Sar Qala Village, Tarin Kowt District, Uruzgan; (iii) Fatehbarg Camp, Jalalabad City, Nangarhar; and (iv) Arawu Village, Dar-e Noor District, Nangarhar. Oxfam GB implemented the assessment in: (v) Yustan Village, Yawan District, Badakhshan; and (vi) Shawak Village, Shar-e Buzurg District, Badakhshan. The Women’s Activities & Social Services Association (WASSA) implemented the assessment in: (vii) Bai Sar Community, Herat City, Herat; and (viii) Papchi Village, Karokh District, Herat. See *Figure 1: Distribution of APPPA Field Sites* below for more detail.

The assessment incorporated a total sample size of 2,626 (1,158 male and 1,468 female) participants.

Methods

The APPPA adopted a participatory approach to research. Methods included Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), Semi-structured Interviews (SSIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), which were used to obtain perspectives of poverty from participants. A large proportion of group sessions were conducted but, where possible, individual one-on-one sessions were carried out. Consideration was given to the dynamics of power as they played out in the assessment process. Separate male and female teams — under the guidance of a Field Research Manager (FRM) — collected data in a culturally appropriate manner. Triangulation was used to ensure rigour and reliability in data collection.

Lessons Learned and Recommendations for Scaling-up

Upon critical reflection of the APPPA process and products a number of key learning points were identified. These included:

- Moving beyond a list of themes and issues as a more guided methodology was required. 12 interview schedules were developed and then used by field staff to structure the investigation of perspectives of





poverty in the field sites.

- Some research staff, thinking that “participants wouldn’t know how to complete such exercises”⁷⁷ either produced PRA outputs themselves after asking participants questions, or simply completed the PRA output in a leading manner with participants. A greater role must be placed upon the use of PRA methods to facilitate discussion and analysis during research sessions.
- Difficulties in regulating sampling frames suggest a more structured, yet not fully standardised or inflexible, sampling schedule would be of great value in increasing the representation and validity of PPA results.
- Representation of all ethnic groups in Afghan society needs to be included. The selection of field sites should reflect this. In addition, an outreach component should be integrated into the methodology to promote the inclusion of *Kuchi* populations.
- To fully incorporate the effects of seasonal change on the “poor” and to develop a comprehensive understanding of poverty it would be necessary to conduct research phases throughout a full annual cycle.
- The role of the FRM was fundamental in the implementation of the APPPA. Considering the division of the sexes in the Afghan working environment it would be ideal to recruit a male and female FRM in each province.
- The integration of assessment and communications teams could have been more effective in the APPPA process. Consideration should be given to recruiting one team with assessment and media communication skills or facilitating effective coordination and communication between two teams.
- Identifying at least two field sites (to conduct research in series) at the beginning of the assessment phase is recommended; allowing for a fall-back alternative should problems (security-related or otherwise) occur.
- Attention should be paid to the mechanism by which the qualitative data will be integrated into policy. Ultimately the collection of this data is insufficient; it requires integration into policy to achieve the aim of a PPA.

Recommendations for scaling-up the APPPA to a national-level assessment include:

- **Include regional management structures.** It is recommended to include an additional (regional level) of management in a national-level assessment.
- **Adopt a phased approach.** It would be advisable to carry out research in a phased format to limit overburdening management and logistical capacity. This would also assure the inclusion of the impact of seasonal changes in the data collection process.
- **Integrate Participatory Video processes.** The inclusion of Participatory Video in a national-level assessment — galvanising and empowering remote communities — is recommended.
- **Include Discussion Forums.** The inclusion of Discussion Forums — to create interaction and dialogue between government, civil society and community actors — is recommended.





Findings and Implications

Poverty, in Afghanistan, is multi-dimensional and context specific. Each individual experiences poverty in a different way.

Perceptions of Poverty

The language and definitions used by participants to refer to poverty often portrayed a perception of poverty as a lack of material assets (including, for example, a lack of suitable housing, money, land or livestock), but also encompassed a broader conception of poverty as a marginalisation from essential services (mostly education and health), security and opportunities for employment. Powerlessness, helplessness and an inability to act or “have an option” to improve wellbeing were also indicated by participants. A number of conceptions of poverty also related to food insecurity: the inability of being able to feed oneself and family satisfactorily. Female participants also referred to poverty as the inability to participate actively, or be “visible” in everyday life. Conversely, wellbeing and wealth were referred to as having comfort and freedom to access material assets and services for a good standard of living.

“The one who doesn’t have security, money, land, health, power or education...they are poor.”

- Female participant, Papchi Village, Karokh District, Herat.

It is evident from the APPPA findings that the local discourses and definitions of poverty vary from field site to field site. In different field sites poverty is defined and described in different ways. These different contextual understandings of poverty would indicate vastly different interventions to address them.

Across the eight field sites participants divided the households⁸ in their communities, based upon their own criteria, into a number of categories. These ranged from simple distinctions to more complex delineations including: (i) poor, (ii) not so poor, (iii) *avara* (people with pain and no house), (iv) *binavaa* (a person with no way to move forward in their life), (v) middle, (vi) the rich/those with capital, and (vii) the very rich. The distinctions were based upon the assets, coping strategies, social characteristics and social capital⁹ of a household, viewed as a single entity. The characteristics and distinctions reported by participants clearly indicate the context-specific nature of poverty throughout Afghanistan.

APPPA findings do not indicate that a particular ethnic/tribal or religious group were more prone to poverty than another¹⁰. However, they were included as some of the dimensions upon which discrimination was based within communities. The participant’s perceptions of poverty did indicate that poverty was correlated with; (i) age, (ii) sex, (iii) a lack of a family support network, (iv) educational background, and (v) family size. Some women (in terms of powerlessness and marginalisation), widows, orphans, the unsupported elderly, amputees and the disabled were indicated as some of the poorest categories of people. In some cases refugees were also indicated as being more likely to be poor. It should be noted that, poverty is not purely limited to one category of people or another.

Perceptions of Rights and Entitlements

Participants, in all field sites, would also clearly articulate various sources and practices associated with rights: the concept of “rights” in APPPA field sites was linked mostly to religious and civil rights but was often framed in terms of actual traditional or cultural practices. Across all field sites more impor-





tance was given to god-given rights (as revealed in Islam) over civil rights (as decreed by the Government). Often, participants also named their cultural traditions as a (least important) source of rights. The APPPA findings suggest that although rights were publicly theorised and justified in terms of Islamic (and occasionally civil) rights, cultural norms or traditions typically prevailed in practice. In addition, the concept of entitlement — the amount of benefit an individual should receive based upon a particular right — was often incomparable to the more western and liberal concept of equal rights. Participants reported that both men and women had “equal” rights but to differing degrees of entitlement; with males benefiting from a larger entitlement than females.

“Discrimination is seen against women... because of our rotting culture; this is not Islam... against the poor because they can’t defend their rights and against ethnic minorities.”

- Female participant, Sar Qala Village, Tarin Kowt District, Uruzgan.

Assets and Livelihoods

Participants reported a number of different aspects of poverty that related to differing assets (financial, natural, physical, social and human capital) they possessed or had access to. Adopting the SLF approach¹¹ poverty can be interpreted as the “poor” having weakened assets bases. These weakened forms of capital mean that the “poor” struggle to meet basic needs on a daily basis. In addition, these weakened assets bases mean participants are extremely vulnerable. Vulnerability¹² was experienced in relation to Shocks, Trends and Seasonality resulting in participants experiencing severe limitations in relation to strengthening their assets bases, and barriers to achieving improved wellbeing.

“You should learn to read and write, learn English, know powerful people and have money for bribes, and then you will get a good job.”

- Male participant, Fatehbarg Camp, Jalalabad City, Nangarhar.

Key shocks included conflict and natural disasters (flooding, drought and earthquake) that decimated “poor” populations on a regular basis. In APPPA field sites flooding was reported as a major factor contributing to states of poverty.

“In the spring the river overflows – there is no retaining wall and our lands are damaged.”

- Male participant, Bai Sar Community, Herat City, Herat.

Participants discussed the impact of seasonality on production, the prices of basic agricultural produce and employment opportunities. Winterisation posed great difficulties that required stockpiling and investment in livestock for survival. Seasonality strongly contributed to food insecurity.

“During spring we plant, in summer we harvest so in autumn and winter we have enough food. At the end of winter and the beginning of spring we do not have enough.”

- Female participant, Shawak Village, Shar-e Buzurg District, Badakhshan.





Key trends — reported by participants — included the decreasing Rule of Law (RoL), increasing basic costs and increasing population. It was evident from APPPA findings that the cost of basic household goods and foodstuffs were increasing — in line with the growth in the national economy — disproportionately to increases in the financial capital of the “poor”. This would implicate that to date economic growth in APPPA field sites has not been “pro-poor”.

“Increasingly every year our basic foodstuffs become more expensive but we make no more money.”

- Male participant, Bai Sar Community, Herat City, Herat.

Access to Services for the “Poor”

The states of poverty that participants in APPPA field sites experienced were compounded by Ineffective Institutions¹³ to which they had no access, and received little, if any, support from. These weak institutions and the services they deliver are not “pro-poor” in nature and are failing participants. Particular reference was made to the ineffectiveness of Health and Education services, although the complete lack of Agricultural and Livestock Support services and the corruption rife and inaccessible nature of Judicial “services” were also reported.

“We don’t have a clinic here but if you are lucky enough to be able to drive the 30 kilometres to the nearest hospital you find doctors who are not professional, who don’t pay attention to you, and who tell you to buy your own medicine.”

- Female participant, Papchi Village, Karokh District, Herat.

Both health and education services suffered from inadequate provision, restricted access (physical and social) and low quality services. Measures to enable access for the “poor” were highly inadequate resulting in the marginalisation of financially “poor” individuals and women and girls from essential services. The improvement of health and education facilities was the most important priority for the “poor”.

“The government has to give us teachers – female teachers; we will not allow our girls to be taught by men.”

- Male participant, Tergaran Village, Tarin Kowt District, Uruzgan.

Drivers, Maintainers and Interrupters of Poverty

Based upon the data collected during the APPPA process, a Drivers, Maintainers and Interrupters of Poverty (DMIP) Framework was developed to understand the scope, nature and causes and effects of poverty in Afghanistan. Drivers of Poverty (DoP) are the key reasons why a person or household has become “poor”, while Maintainers of Poverty (MoP) are the main reasons that a person or household remain “poor”. Interrupters of Poverty (IoP), on the other hand, are what enable a person or household to escape poverty. Four key intervention points — for poverty reduction initiatives — are identified based upon the DMIP Framework. These are: (i) strengthen assets bases of the “poor”; (ii) promote effective governance systems and improved quality and provision of GoA (and GoA commissioned) programmes and “services”¹⁴; (iii) promote effective social protection programming and regulatory mechanisms; and (iv) diversify livelihoods. See *Figure 2. Drivers, Maintainers and Interrupters of Poverty Framework in APPPA Field Sites* for further details.





Conclusions and Recommendations

The following Policy Recommendations represent a list of key recommendations based upon the “voices of the poor” collected throughout the APPPA process and based upon the intervention points highlighted in the DMIP Framework. They are presented for integration into the ANDS to promote a “pro-poor” approach and to contribute to poverty-reduction in APPPA field sites.

Address the Immediate Needs of the “Poor”. It is recommended that the immediate needs of the “poor”, identified through the APPPA process, are integrated into development policy to contribute strongly to poverty-reduction in Afghanistan.

The immediate needs of the “poor” are (in order of importance):

1. Improve quality of, and access to, health and education services;
2. Improve infrastructure for, and access to, clean drinking water¹⁵;
3. Improve employment opportunities;
4. Improve road infrastructure;
5. Improve irrigation and water storage facilities; and
6. Improve security and rule of law.

Strengthen Assets Bases of the “Poor”. The strengthening of the weak assets bases of the “poor” — a clear step in addressing poverty-reduction — must be articulated as a central policy for poverty reduction in Afghanistan.

Produce an Enabling Economic Environment for the “Poor”. It is recommended that economic policies in Afghanistan must be devised to be “pro-poor”; they must include mechanisms to ensure that the “poor” can gain access to markets, but must also present measures to support the “poor” directly in overcoming the barriers limiting exploitation of benefits from those markets. In addition, legal protection measures must be instituted to protect the “poor” from marginalisation and abuse by GoA authorities. It is suggested that initiatives, where enactable, are established to secure land tenure and support (legally and financially) the purchasing of land by the “poor”.

Support Small-scale Agricultural Development. It is recommended that small-scale agriculture should be supported. This would primarily require initiatives aimed at promoting land reclamation, irrigation water access (physical and social), seed availability, systems of subsistence agriculture and the diversification of dietary intake.

Improve Regional Governance and Reduce Corruption. Provincial, District and Local-level governance structures must receive institutional strengthening and capacity building. In particular, Provincial and District-level government structures must receive support to understand regional budgeting processes to secure funding. At all regional levels of government corruption must be minimised and integrity must be promoted.

Improve Regional “Service” Provision. Regional “service” delivery must be improved in relation to provision, access and quality. In particular Health and Education, and to a lesser extent Agricultural and Livestock Support Services, should be enhanced. Particular attention should be paid to enabling access (social and physical) for women and girls. The presence of “end-user” fees in supposedly free public services must be addressed.

Implement Effective “Pro-poor” Budgeting. It is recommended that the MoF and international community commit to developing an effective “pro-poor” budgeting process. This process should:





(i) prioritise finances to ministries directly engaged in poverty reduction programming; (ii) prioritise finances to the poorest areas in Afghanistan; (iii) improve intra-sectoral and social development resource allocation; and (iv) commit to funding all facets of development initiatives aimed at reducing poverty, minimising “gaps” in internal and external budgets.

Address Social/Power Inequalities. It is recommended that cross-cutting policy and independent programmatic efforts are undertaken, to address social inequalities at a number of levels throughout Afghanistan’s social structure. Of great importance is the need to focus on gender relations in a culturally appropriate manner to enable Afghan men and women to promote gender equity.

Minimise the Impact of Increasing Population Growth upon the “Poor”. Long-term strategies and courses of action must be instituted to minimise the impact of rapid population increase — projected to occur in Afghanistan in the coming decades. If government capacity, natural resource bases and employment opportunities are not developed the implications for the country, and more specifically the “poor” are dire.

Develop a Comprehensive Protection Programme (CPP). A comprehensive approach to Physical and Social Protection must be devised that can address both the immediate impact and long-term effects of Shocks and Seasonality, and provide safety nets for marginalised peoples. The CPP must be nationally mobilised, both pre-emptive and reactionary, and support all marginalised dimensions of Afghan society.

Improve Community Engagement, Participation and Monitoring. Community engagement in service and project/programme planning, delivery and monitoring must be radically reassessed. Efforts must be taken to ensure that the GoA and development agencies try to ensure that poverty-reduction project deliverables reach targeted “poor” beneficiaries.

Develop Community-based Disaster Mitigation and Preparedness Measures. The delivery of community-based disaster mitigating infrastructure and disaster preparedness is recommended. Quality assurance and monitoring measures must also be undertaken to ensure good quality and durable infrastructure is constructed.

Diversify Livelihoods. A long-term initiative aimed at diversifying the livelihoods of the “poor” is recommended. This diversification should be aimed at attaining realistic and achievable outcomes, include capacity development components and be able to protect beneficiaries for shocks related to initial diversification attempts.

Prioritising Policy Recommendations

A comprehensive phased approach to poverty reduction is required. All of the recommendations are important but due to resource limitations and the need for a systematic approach the following priorities - for implementation scheduling - are provided.

Priority should be given to meeting the immediate needs of the “poor” in the short-term. Simultaneously, the assets bases of the “poor” must be strengthened. Comprehensive (social) protection programming and disaster mitigation and preparedness measures must also be undertaken in the short-term. In addition, the foundational steps of later programming should be initiated.

Throughout all phases approaches to implementation need be adopted that will promote gender equity, address social inequalities and improve community engagement, participation and monitoring.





In the mid-term, processes must be initiated that contribute to; the mainstreaming of “pro-poor” budgeting, the establishment of an enabling economic environment for the “poor”, the support of small-scale agricultural development and the improvement of regional governance (and related reductions in corruption). Independent measures to assess and address social/power inequalities should also be enacted.

In the long-term, efforts should be aimed at minimising the impact of increasing population growth and diversifying the livelihoods of the “poor”.

Conclusion

The Government of Afghanistan and the international community are called upon to meaningfully integrate a poverty reduction agenda into their policies and programming.

For any development strategy or development intervention to actually present an opportunity to break cycles of poverty it must be “pro-poor” in nature. It must explicitly contain components and programmes that directly include the “poor” in targeted initiatives. For an effective trajectory of poverty-reduction to occur the “poor” cannot be an add-on category to existing projects of programmes. Initiatives designed and monitored in partnership with the “poor” and implemented directly with the “poor” — which are aimed at strengthening their assets bases, mitigating the effects of shocks, trends and seasonality, and promoting the institutions from which they require support — will increasingly deliver sound poverty reduction throughout Afghanistan.

At the core of this approach is the acceptance of the respect that the “poor” — as human beings and equal citizens — deserve. Meaningful processes of participation (promoting inclusion and subsequently more effective development programmes) and communication (broadening people’s awareness of development initiatives, fostering ownership and ultimately contributing to the inclusion of the “poor” into the state-building exercise) will result in increasingly positive outcomes for Afghanistan.





Endnotes

¹ Translation of The Holy Quran by Abdullah Yousafali.

² Contactable at n_adlparvar@hotmail.com

³ All community/village names have been changed to protect the identity of the APPPA participants.

⁴ The APPPA Final Report can be downloaded from the ACBAR (www.acbar.org) and ADB (www.adb.org) websites.

⁵ Quotation marks appear around the term “poor” to draw attention to the fact that homogenising all personal understandings of poverty into one category is ill-advised and may result in “blueprint” or “one size fits all” approaches to poverty reduction.

⁶ These Themes and Issues were later developed into more guided interview schedules: see *Lessons Learned* for further details.

⁷ Personal comment, APPPA research staff member.

⁸ A household unit was defined as all those people living in one physical compound, which could be made up of one or more families.

⁹ Social capital refers to the social resources (networks, organisations and relationships) that people utilise in their everyday lives.

¹⁰ This may be caused by a limited sampling of communities and ethnicities.

¹¹ The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is a tool promoted by DFID (www.dfid.gov.uk) to understand the livelihoods of the “poor”.

¹² Vulnerability is the tendency of a person or household to be more prone to and/or less likely to recover from shocks and critical situations.

¹³ “Institutions” is taken in its broadest form to represent formal and informal institutions within the Public, Private and Civil spheres.

¹⁴ “Services” include health, education, agricultural and livestock support, roads, security (including judicial), and electrification services.

¹⁵ It is strongly recommended that hygiene education is delivered to support the improved infrastructure for, and access to, clean drinking water.







Figure 1. Distribution of APPPA Field Sites



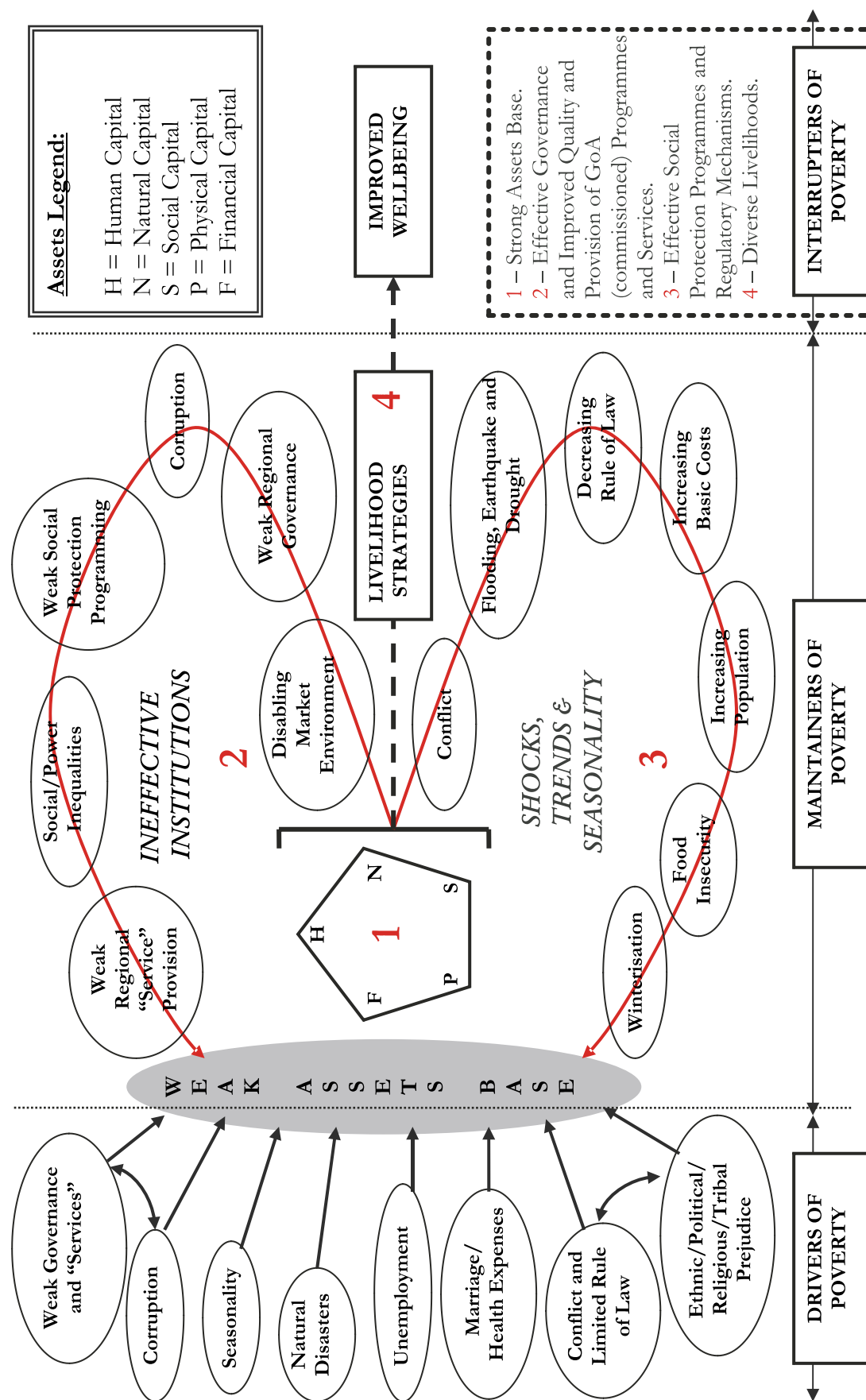
Field Sites

(Note: Red and black dots indicate location in the map above.)

PROVINCE	COMMUNITY/VILLAGE	
	Urban	Rural
Herat	Bai Sar Community ●, Herat City	Papchi Village ●, Karokh District
Uruzgan		Tergaran Village ●, Tarin Kowt District Sar Qala Village ●, Tarin Kowt District
Nangarhar	Fatehbarg Camp ●, Jalalabad City	Arawu Village ●, Dar-e Noor District
Badakhshan		Shawak Village ●, Shar-e Buzurg District Yustan Village ●, Yawan District



Figure 2. Drivers, Maintainers and Interrupters of Poverty Framework in APPPA Field Sites





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