

SURVEY OF THE AFGHAN HINDUS AND SIKHS



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

National Mood

- Hindus and Sikhs are considerably less optimistic about the direction of Afghanistan, compared to the rest of Afghans. A vast majority (81.6%) of Hindus and Sikhs say they think Afghanistan is heading in the wrong direction, and only 13.1% say Afghanistan is heading in the right direction. Comparing with the national figures available from the 2018 annual Survey of the Afghan people, published by the Asia Foundation, 32.8% of Afghans say they think their country is moving in the right direction and 61.3% say their country is heading in the wrong direction.
- While perceptions about direction of the country is strongly associated with desire to migrate among Hindu and Sikh respondents, no other major factors such as economic, political participation and even security are associated with the level of optimism among respondents. This finding is largely counter intuitive given strong association found between economic, social and security factors with the level of optimism in the national Survey of the Afghan People.
- Among 13.1% Hindu and Sikh respondents who say the country is moving in the right direction, the top reasons are *Afghanistan is getting better or progressing* (43.2%), and *good security or end of war* (35.1%). Among 81.6% of respondents who say the country is moving in the wrong direction, 90.4% say it is because of insecurity/war/suicide attacks. The next reasons are unemployment (19.6%), and poverty/poor economy (8.3%).
- The biggest problems facing Hindu and Sikh communities are *unemployment* (36.6%), *lack of school or not being able to go to school* (27.1%), *insecurity/war* (24.3%). The biggest problems facing Hindu and Sikh youths are lack of *school facilities or illiteracy* (67.6%) and *unemployment* (48.6%). Biggest problems facing Hindu and Sikh women are *not being able to freely go outside or men do not allow them to go outside* (40.5%), *not being able to go to school, lack of school facilities or illiteracy* (35.6%), and *insecurity/war* (12.0%)

Security

- Despite living in large cities, almost all (96.8%) Hindu and Sikh respondents report having always, often, or sometimes fear for their or their families' safety. Comparatively, 71.1% of general population report having always, often, or sometimes fear, according to the Survey of the Afghan People. Majority (70.5%) of Hindu and Sikh respondents report fearing always, which is considerably higher compared to the rest of Afghans (13.2%).
- Respondents report highest level of fear for participating in a peaceful demonstration, and voting, and the least fear for traveling to another part of the country. More than half (55.6%) of respondents say they would feel a lot

of fear if they participate in a peaceful demonstration, which is significantly higher than 32.0% of general population. About half (51.7%) of respondents say they would feel a lot of fear while voting in an election, also significantly higher than 19.2% of general population.

- Respondents express highest level of fear for encountering ISIS/Daesh—90.6% report a lot of fear, compared to 83.3% among general population. More than two-third of respondents (68.9%) also report a lot of fear for encountering the Taliban, which is interestingly slightly lower than the general population (75.3%). Additionally, more than half (53.1%) of respondents also express a lot of fear while encountering Afghan National Police (ANP), which is unexpectedly higher than the general population (14.5%). This might be indicative of poor experiences of Hindu and Sikh respondents in relations to ANP who are the major security provider in the urban areas that Hindu and Sikh population reside. Also, few Hindu and Sikh respondents reported having a lot of fear while encountering international forces (16.8%) and the Afghan National Army (ANA) (5.2%), which is significantly lower compared to the national level (37.3% and 12.5%, respectively).
- Death threats or other types of threats are reported by 16.1%, and physical beating and/or injuries are reported by 18.3% of Hindu and Sikh respondents. Many respondents did not know the perpetrators of the threats or physical attacks.
- Hindus and Sikhs are widely believed to have been victim of land-grabbing. Overall, 16.3% of respondents report having lost a property. The most common type of property taken or forcefully sold is land (10.1%) and house (7.3%).

Political Participation

- More than half of eligible-to-vote respondents, both men and women, report having voted in the previous national elections. Participation in election was lowest among Kabul respondents and highest in Nangarhar.
- A third (34.8%) of respondents say they feel they can influence their local government's decisions *a lot* or *some*. This is considerably lower than the national average of 52.9% who believe they have *some* or *a lot* of influence over local government decisions, an indicator for their poor representation in government administration.

Economic Situation

- A quarter of respondents report having difficulty purchasing simple and basic food (24.5%). More than a third of respondents report having difficulty affording new clothes or social obligations, but can afford simple and basic food (38.3%). A quarter of respondents report having difficult affording new TV or refrigerator, but can afford simple and basic food stuff and social obligations (24.8%).

- Almost all respondents mentioned owning or working in shops including apothecary shops as their household's main source of income (89.7%). Working on the streets and other type of jobs are mentioned as sources of income but in much less frequent fashion. When asked about types of income, wage labor and salary jobs, more respondents say they depend on salary jobs (47.2%) than wage labor (22.2%).
- *Unemployment* is said to be the main obstacle in job market, cited by 31.5%, followed by *insults and humiliation* (17.8%), *bigotry and discrimination* (9.6%), and *harassment* (6.8%). Only one respondent reported having a female member work outside their home. Top cited obstacles facing women for working outside their home, *not being allowed* is top cited reason (38.1%) followed by *illiteracy* (25.2%), *insecurity* (13.7%), and *customs and traditions* (11.5%). A vast majority of Hindu and Sikh respondents of the survey say they have never applied for a job (88.9%) (see Integration chapter).

Civil Rights

- A 7.0% of Hindu and Sikh respondents say someone in their family has gone to court for legal remedies. The most common type of case brought by respondents to the courts were *dispute over land* (5.9%), followed by *traffic accidents* (3.5%). Respondents report mix satisfaction level regarding the outcome of these disputes.
- 18.2% say they have been forced to convert to Islam and 6.5% say they have paid jazyia tax. Respondents from Ghazni report paying jazyia tax the most (11.9%), where the security situation has been worse. The top group or party that respondents mention for collecting jazyia tax is the Taliban. There were credible independent reports that prior to the attack on Ghazni city, Taliban was collecting tax from residents of some areas inside Ghazni city.

Migration

- Overall, 60.7% of survey respondents expressed desire to migrate if they were given opportunity, while 37.9% expressed they would not leave. This figure is considerably higher than the rest of Afghans; in 2018, 36.8% of Afghans said they would leave the country if given the opportunity, according to the Survey of the Afghan People (2018)
- The main reasons for having desire to migrate are *insecurity/war/suicide attacks* (67.9%), *unemployment* (31.0%), and *for education or because of illiteracy* (19.6%). Among respondents who say they would not leave their country even if given the opportunity, the top reasons are *being Afghan or having grown up here* (78.4%), *like Afghanistan or Afghanistan being a nice place* (21.6%), and conditional reasons such as *if we have peace* (9.8%) or *if we have employment* (2.0%), and 6.9% of respondents said they do not have the money to leave, as reason why they are not leaving.

- Top desired destinations for migration are India or Pakistan (45.2%), Europe (19.6%), Canada (18.5%), England (17.3%), and *any place that gives protection* (12.5%).
- Being man, more educated, higher income, pessimistic about direction of country, fearfulness, experience of discrimination and having a family abroad are factors that are associated with desire to migrate.

Integration

- Majority of Hindu or Sikh families live in areas with other ethnic groups (85.5%). Diversity is even greater at their workplace (91.2%).
- At schools, 34.9% say Hindus and Sikhs are discriminated *often* or *sometimes*, while 40.1% say there is no discrimination in schools. At universities, more than two-third (69.4%) of respondents say they do not know because they did not go to university, and 20.4% of them say Hindus and Sikhs are discriminated there. Furthermore, 23.6% of respondents say they face discrimination in their neighborhood *often* or *sometimes*. Similarly, 20.2% say they are *often* or *sometimes* discriminated in public transport.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations to Government

- *Political and legal rights.* Remove legal barriers against participation of Hindus and Sikhs in the political and legal process. Provide equal access to courts with support in legal disputes with other parties. Return back land and properties that have been taken away from them.
- *Education and preserve culture.* Remove barriers in school participation and university attendance, and take appropriate action to ensure school environment is not hostile towards Hindu and Sikh students. Revisit school curriculum to reflect a culture of pluralism, tolerance and co-existence. Preserve culture, language, history, and traditions of Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan. Ensure a safe environment for Hindus and Sikhs to practice their religious obligations, particularly with regards to burial ceremonies.
- *Provide employment.* Promote participation of Hindus and Sikhs in the labor market and civil service. Enforce a zero tolerance policy against discrimination of Hindus and Sikhs in public and private sector. Ensure safe environment for Hindus and Sikhs at their workplace.
- *Promote diversity.* Take practical initiatives to promote diversity and pluralism. Organize public events to raise awareness about Hindu and Sikh Afghans as an important part of Afghanistan.

Recommendations to Civil Society

- *Advocate and campaign.* Survey data provides valuable and valuable insights into how Hindus and Sikhs perceive and what their problems and priorities are. Utilize findings of this report to inform better advocacy for the rights of Hindus and Sikhs, and other religious and ethnic minorities. Monitor and update on the situation of Hindus and Sikhs, and campaign for improvement of their situation.
- *Support government.* It is important to monitor changes and lobby government to implement new initiatives. It is equally important to support government and other parties in their efforts in promoting diversity and inclusion of Hindus and Sikhs. Civil society should work with Afghanistan government on strengthening the relevant legal frameworks, potential laws, and provisions.
- *Program.* Develop initiatives and projects using survey findings on problems and issues. Programs built on top of survey findings will have higher chance of addressing needs and problems of the Hindu and Sikh community.
- *Hold accountable.* Document all forms of violations of human rights such as the cases of murders, land grabbing, and violence against Hindus and Sikhs. Connect with the public and international bodies to keep Afghan government accountable in its obligations towards Hindus and Sikhs, and other minority

groups.

- *Promote Diversity.* Take practical initiatives to promote diversity and co-existence in the society, such as organizing public debates, discussions, and conferences. One of the key issues facing Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan is the low level of social tolerance towards social diversity.

Recommendations to UN and International Community

- *Hold accountable.* Pursue avenues to hold Afghan government accountable for and report on the condition of religious and ethnic minorities within the framework convention for the protection of religious and ethnic Minorities.
- *Render support.* Allocate resources and funds in support of initiatives for improving the overall situation of Hindus and Sikhs. Support should also be given to initiatives that addressed the root cause of intolerance and violence in the society. Recognize society initiatives and advocacies that have achieved success in addressing some of the challenges.
- *Promote diversity.* UN and international community to use supranational status and privilege to initiate activities that promote diversity and tolerance in the Afghan society and in the government. Initiate activities that connect Afghans with the rest of the world to foster a cultural shift towards tolerance and accepting diversity in Afghanistan.

INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan is considered a diverse country, home to multiple ethnic groups, languages, and beliefs. Major ethnic groups are Pashtuns, Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks. Members of different ethnic groups have distinctive languages and dialects, traditions and beliefs, and sometimes even distinctive in appearance. In addition to the four major ethnic groups, other smaller ethnic groups including Turkmen, Baluch, Pachaie, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Qirghiz, Qizlbash, Gujur, Brahwi and other tribes also living in Afghanistan.¹

Nonetheless religion is a strong binding factors among most Afghans. Almost all Afghanistan adhere to Islam, and Islam is the official religion of the country.² Followers of other religions, Hindus, Sikhs, Bahais, Jews, and Christians, comprise an estimated 0.3 percent of the population that form religious minorities of Afghanistan and are excluded de facto from many important aspects of life in Afghanistan.³

In the past, Afghanistan had considerable Hindu and Sikh population. They used to reside primarily in Kabul, Logar, Parwan, Kandahar, Kunduz, Nangarhar, Laghman, Ghazni, Helmand, and Paktiya provinces. However, since the reign of Mujahidin and emergence of Taliban, which started in the 1980s, majority of them have fled Afghanistan. Currently, a small number of Hindus and Sikhs live in Kabul, Ghazni and Nangarhar, and very few spread across other provinces. They mostly speak the language of the communities they live in. However, the Hindus' native tongue is either Hindi or Lahnda, and the Sikhs' native tongue is mainly Panjabi except those settled in Kandahar who speak Sindi and Riasti.⁴

Repression of minority communities, especially Hindus and Sikhs, have a long history in Afghanistan. Hindus and Sikhs have been systematically targeted by radical Islamists and political parties because of their religious beliefs.⁵ Before the civil war and reign of Mujaheddin, the Hindus and Sikhs used to be integrated into the

¹The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (2002). Art. 4, sec. 1. Retrieved from <http://www.afghanembassy.com.pl/afg/images/pliki/TheConstitution.pdf>

²Marseden, Peter, "Afghanistan: Minorities, Conflict and the Search for Peace." Minority Rights Group International, November 2001. Accessed on December 15, 2018. <https://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/old-site-downloads/download-132-Afghanistan-Minorities-Conflict-and-the-Search-for-Peace.pdf>

³US Department of State, "International Religious Freedom Report for 2015, Afghanistan," (Section I), August 2016. Retrieved on December 16, 2018 from: <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2015&dclid=256299>

⁴Emadi, Hafizullah, "Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan." Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-310.

⁵Emadi, Hafizullah, "Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan." Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-308.

politics, society, business and economy of the country throughout 20th Century, until Mujahideen took over Afghanistan in 1989 and followed by emergence of Taliban in 1994. Despite efforts by the international community and new democratic government, Hindus and Sikhs did not find the peace they enjoyed many decades ago. On contrary, they were deprived of their basic rights either through legal barriers or communal harms and attacks. Moreover, a study by Shayegan and Ammar find that Afghanistan's legal system is discriminatory specially when it comes to the constitution, civil law and criminal procedure code. Under Afghanistan constitution a member of Hindu and Sikh community is not allowed to nominate himself/herself for presidency, vice presidency, and become a member of the supreme court, and under criminal procedure code still cases of personal status of Hindus and Sikhs are judged under Islamic Sharia Law.⁶ Recently a Sikh and Hindu community gathering in Jalalabad was targeted by a suicide attack, killing 19 including their sole Parliamentary candidate and well-known activist Awtar Singh.

For continued harassment, repression, and erosion of their rights, some members of the Hindu and Sikh community turned to the United Nations Office in Kabul to seek help with a mass emigration from Afghanistan.⁷ The mass migration of Afghan Sikhs and Hindus are described as the loss; not only of property, business, home and homeland but like with all displaced persons loss of identity, culture and self.⁸ The community is deprived of its basic rights, Sikh and Hindu kids no more attends schools as they did before, they are not in the government positions and as days pass by, they leave Afghanistan for other destinations, which has resulted in drastic fall of their population in the recent months.⁹

Despite harassment and persecution, many Hindus and Sikhs still have not abandoned Afghanistan and consider it their rightful home. The situation of Hindus and Sikhs as a persecuted minority is a little-studied topic in literature dealing with ethno-sectarian conflict in Afghanistan.¹⁰ To this end, this Survey is designed to understand better the situation, and provide clear picture of their living conditions.

⁶Shayegan, Ehsan and Ammaar, Yahya. "Ignored Identities: The Status of Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan's Legal System," Porsesh Research and Studies Organization, (page 6), 19 November 2016, <http://www.porseshresearch.org/porseshv2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Ignored-Identities-Status-ofHindus-and-Sikhs-in-Afghanistans-Legal-System.pdf>, date accessed 29 December 2018.

⁷Abbot, Malanie, "Why are Afghan Sikhs desperate to flee to the UK?" BBC News, September 4, 2018. Accessed on December 20, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-29062770>

⁸Singh, Primender. "What Remains ('Even Now When I Sleep My Dreams Are of Jalalabad')." Sikh Formations 13 (2017): 78-83.

⁹Kumar, Ruchi, KII, Kabul. Nov 01, 2018

¹⁰Ibid

A Glimpse to the History of Afghanistan's Hindu and Sikh Community

There are different narratives on the origin of the Hindu and Sikh community in Afghanistan. The mostly narrated view is that the community is originated from Indian subcontinent given that they share the same religious belief as most people in India. In a country with more than 99% of its population being Muslim it is very convenient to link Hindu and Sikh minority to Indian subcontinent due to shared religion and language.

This hypothesis is also confirmed by Markovits' historical study of the way in which Sikh and Hindu merchants from northern Sindh (now in Pakistan) established trading routes through Kandahar, Kabul and Mazar-e-Sharif into Central Asian region particularly Bukhara and Samarkhand during early 1870's. Markovits makes it clear that the merchants who he studied had a home base in Shikarpur, to where they routinely returned after (often lengthy) trading expeditions.

Another narrative is that some Afghan Sikhs were locals who resisted conversion from Buddhism to Islam in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when Islam was introduced to Afghanistan and converted to Sikhism during the visit of Guru Nanak in the fifteenth century.¹¹ Now in the city of Jalalabad there is a Gurdwara called Guru Nanak Darbar and the Afghan Hindu and Sikh community celebrate his birthday for three days. In the past, Sikhs from other provinces used to come to Jalalabad and camp there for 8 days long festival but now that security condition is tense and the festival takes place at a much smaller scale.¹² Another narrative of their origin has been highlighted in the researches of Dr. Roger Ballard, it is stated that Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan go back to the Khatri community residing whereabouts the Durand line and Panjab and also across Afghanistan. But after researches on how they come to be here in the first place, he concludes that the Khatri myth (indicating the migration of these populations from India) is an almost fiction story to cover the fact that the indigenous people of these areas resisted the process of conversion from Buddhism to Islam during 9th to 13th century, trying to preserve their security through this myth. Prof. Ballard indicates that "the Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan are in no sense"Indian", rather they are a distinct component of the autochthonous population of the core of region which has recently come to be described as 'Afghan-Pak' and that at least until recently they formed an integral component of the social order in this region."¹³ The majority of Sikhs of

¹¹Singh, Primender. "What Remains ('Even Now When I Sleep My Dreams Are of Jalalabad')." Sikh Formations 13 (2017): 78-83.

¹²Daily Sikh Updates. "Historical Gurdwara Sahib in Afghanistan, Video, directed by Pritpal Singh (March 2014) <http://dailysikhupdates.com/historical-gurdwara-sahib-in-afghanistan-video/>

¹³Ballard, Roger. "The History and Current Situation of Afghanistan's Hindu and Sikhs Population." Center for Applied South Asian Studies, (2011).

Afghanistan however, are the descendants of the indigenous Afghan population who converted to Sikhism with the teachings of Guru Nanak, the first Guru of the Sikhs, when he visited Iran and Afghanistan during the 15th century. The Afghan Sikh population grew in 1947 as Sikhs from the Potohar region of the newly established Pakistan migrated to Afghanistan avoiding the prosecution of non-Muslims during the partition period.¹⁴ It is also of immense importance to mention that a number of Sikhs and Hindus were sent by Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) as part of the Indian vision (the 1820s) to establish and advance a trade line between South and Central Asia, who by the passage of time, had settled in Jalalabad and Ghazni and have become locals since then.¹⁵ There are claims that the rulers did not force conversion on non-Muslims because they could levy *jazya*, a poll tax to the government.¹⁶

Despite the prevalence of favoritism and political influences that have disrupted the historiography in Afghanistan, there are strong historical and archeological indications, proving Hindus as indigenous people of Afghanistan whose origin dates back to (6th -7th A.D). They are the descendants of Hindus who persisted and did not convert to Islam. It has been acknowledged by great historians such as Ali Ahmad Saljoqi and Faiz Mohammad Kateb.¹⁷

Even the names of areas in Kabul signifies the ancient Hinduism culture in Afghanistan for instance ‘Asmayee’ mountain whereas the term Asmayee comes from Hindu culture which means the mother of hope. Likewise, Tape Maranjan and Shakar Dara has some sort of association with Hindus culture.¹⁸

However, this study doesn’t intend to dig further on the origin and history of the community rather shed light on the current situation of Hindu and Sikh community through a comprehensive survey and conducting a number of Key Informant Interviews.

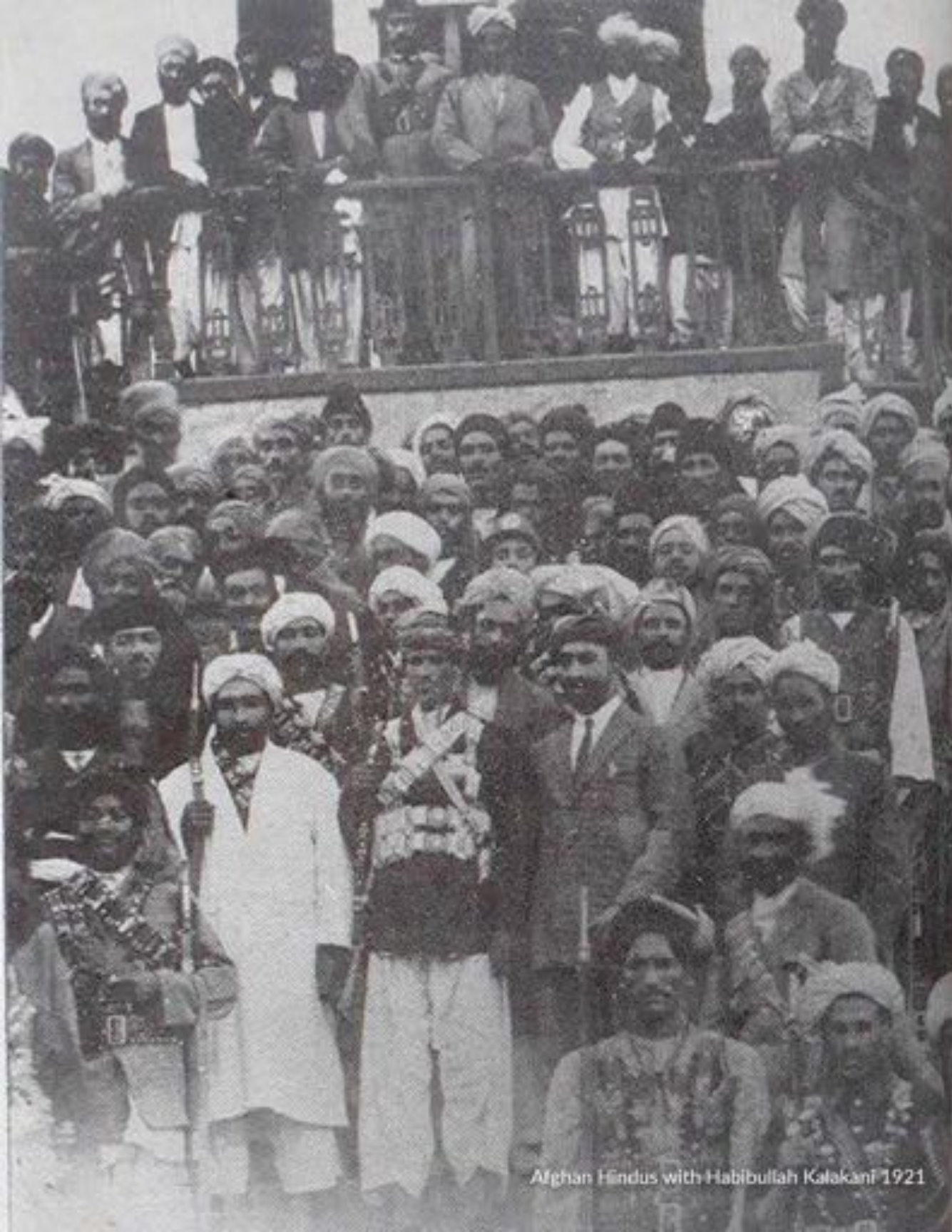
¹⁴Singh, Jasjit. “Explainer: who are the Afghan Sikhs?” The Conversation, August 21, 2014. December 25, 2019. <http://theconversation.com/explainer-who-are-the-afghan-sikhs-30699>

¹⁵Kaur, J. and Singh, B. (2018). Anticipated Extinction of Afghan

¹⁶Emadi, Hafizullah, “Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan.” Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-309.

¹⁷Dass, Ischwar, KII, Frankfurt. Nov 10, 2018.

¹⁸Zaryab, Rahaward, KII, Kabul. Nov 17, 2018.



Afghan Hindus with Habibullah Kalakani 1921

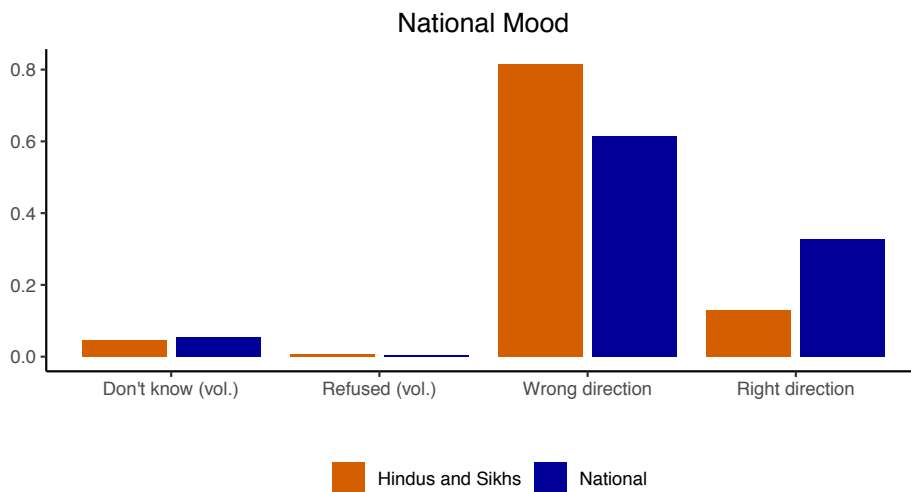
NATIONAL MOOD & OVERALL SITUATION

OPTIMISM ABOUT THE COUNTRY

KEY QUESTION

Q-1. Overall, based on your own experience, do you think things in Afghanistan today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?

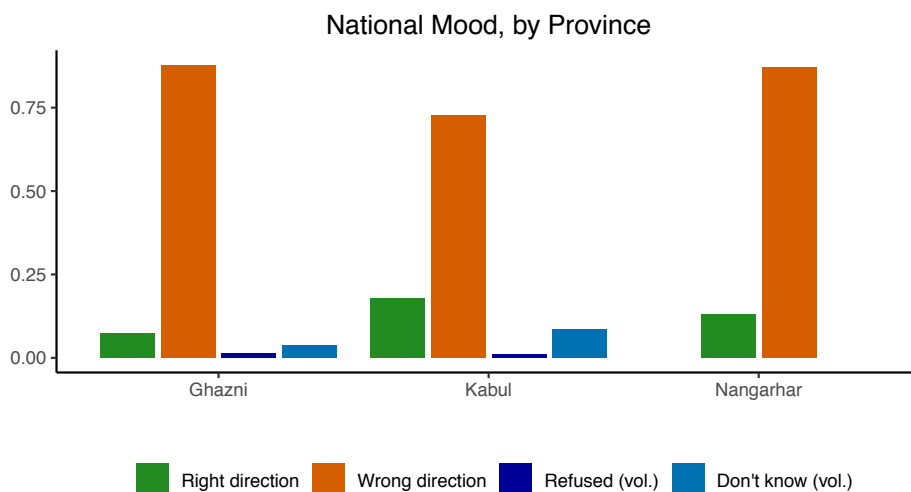
Hindus and Sikhs are considerably less optimistic about the direction of Afghanistan, compared to the rest of Afghans. A vast majority (81.6%) of Hindus and Sikhs say they think Afghanistan is heading in the wrong direction, and only 13.1% say Afghanistan is heading in the right direction. Comparing with the national figures available from the 2018 annual Survey of the Afghan people published by the Asia Foundation, 32.8% of Afghans say they think their country is moving in the right direction and 61.3% say their country is heading in the wrong direction.¹⁹ It indicates the mood and optimism is gravely low among Hindu and Sikh citizens of Afghanistan, who have migrated out of Afghanistan in large numbers in the past years.



Majority of Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan are concentrated in Kabul, Nangarhar

¹⁹The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf

and Ghazni provinces, mostly in the urban parts. Even in these provinces, the populations are shrinking fast with growing migration. While all Hindu and Sikh respondents report largely negative perception about the direction of their country, those in Kabul are slightly more positive and those in Ghazni hold the most negative perceptions. Most respondents in Ghazni (87.8%), which saw a major attack by the Taliban in August 2018, about two months before the survey interviews, believe their country is heading in the wrong direction; and only 7.3% are optimistic.²⁰ Similarly, in Nangarhar, 87.0% of respondents are pessimistic about their country, and 13.0% are optimistic. Additionally, 72.6% of Kabul respondents are pessimistic, and 17.9% are optimistic.



Perceptions about the direction of the country is strongly associated with desire to migrate among Hindu and Sikh respondents.²¹ However, interestingly, no other major factors of economic, integration, political participation and even security are associated with the level of optimism among respondents. This finding is largely counter intuitive given strong associations found between economic, social and security factors with the level of optimism in the national Survey of the Afghan People.²² This could be an indication that the Hindu and Sikh respondents have

²⁰Rod Nordland & Fahim Abed, “Taliban Launch Assault on Ghazni, a Key Afghan City”, The New York Times, August 10, 2018: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/10/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-ghazni.html>

²¹Pearson $\chi^2(1) = 7.8250$, $Pr = 0.005$

²²The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf

different experiences to an average Afghan respondent.

REASONS FOR OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM

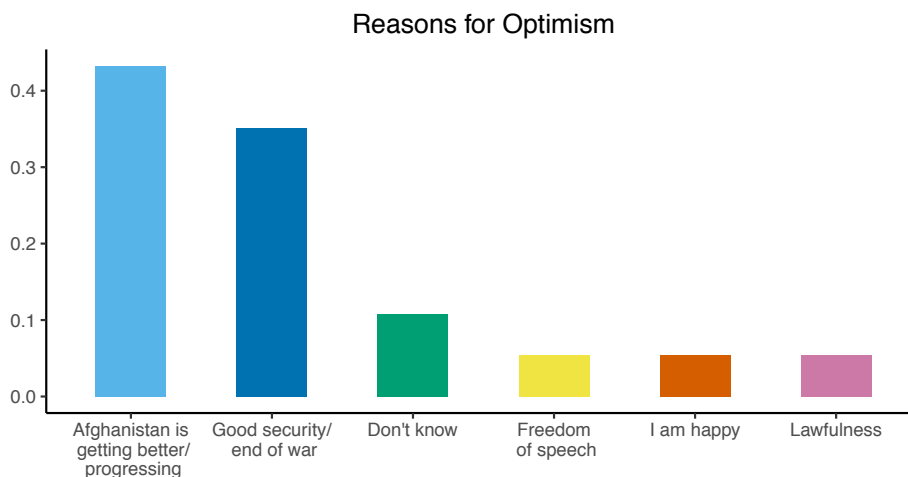
KEY QUESTIONS

Q-2. (If Q-1 is “Right direction”) What are two reasons you think that Afghanistan is going in the right direction?

Q-3. (If Q-1 is “Wrong direction”) What are two reasons you think that Afghanistan is going in the wrong direction?

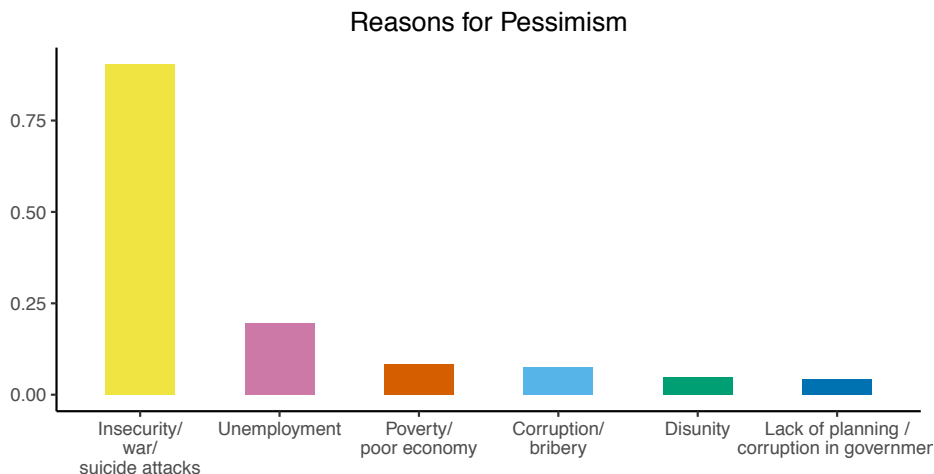
Among 13.1% Hindu and Sikh respondents who say the country is moving in the right direction, the top reasons are *Afghanistan is getting better or progressing* (43.2%), *good security or end of war* (35.1%), and *don't know* (10.8%). With the exception of *better security or end of war* response, the responses to this question are unspecific and no respondent mention economic or governance as reasons for optimism. The top reasons for optimism among Afghans nationally are good security, reconstruction/rebuilding, and improved governance. This could indicate that development projects were rarely implemented in area where Hindus and Sikhs live.

Due to small sample size, it is not accurate to look into the top reasons for optimism by province, gender or any other factors.



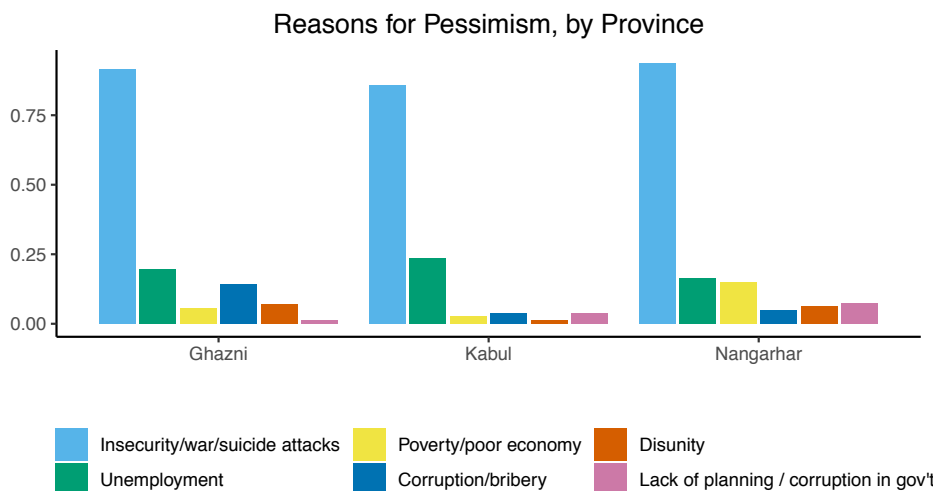
Among 81.6% of respondents who say the country is moving in the wrong direction, 90.4% say it is because of insecurity/war/suicide attacks. The next reasons are

unemployment (19.6%), and poverty/poor economy (8.3%). Insecurity is cited as the top reason for pessimism by the rest of Afghans as well in the Survey of the Afghan People (2018).²³



Looking at provincial breakdowns of reasons for pessimism, in Kabul, insecurity/war/suicide attacks is cited slightly less (85.7%) while unemployment is cited more (23.4%) than other provinces. In Ghazni, corruption is cited higher (14.1%), and in Nangahar, poverty/poor economy is cited higher (15.0%) than the rest. Women respondents (96.4%) report insecurity/war/suicide attacks slightly more than men respondents (84.5%). Men respondents (13.8%) report corruption/bribery more than women respondents (0.9%). This comes as no surprise as women rarely leave their houses and watching TV is a major source of information for them. Men on the contrary has more interaction with neighbors, general public and government officials.

²³Note, the percentages total to more than 100% because respondents could provide up to two responses.



PROBLEMS FACING HINDUS AND SIKHS

KEY QUESTION

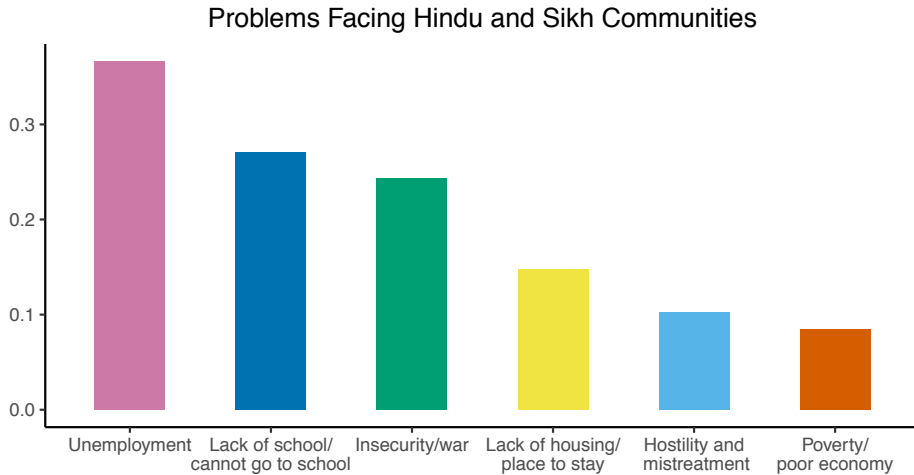
Q-4. *In your view what are the biggest problems facing your community?*

Q-5. *In your view, what are the two biggest problems facing youth of your community? By youth, I mean people between the ages of 15 and 24. What is the next biggest problem?*

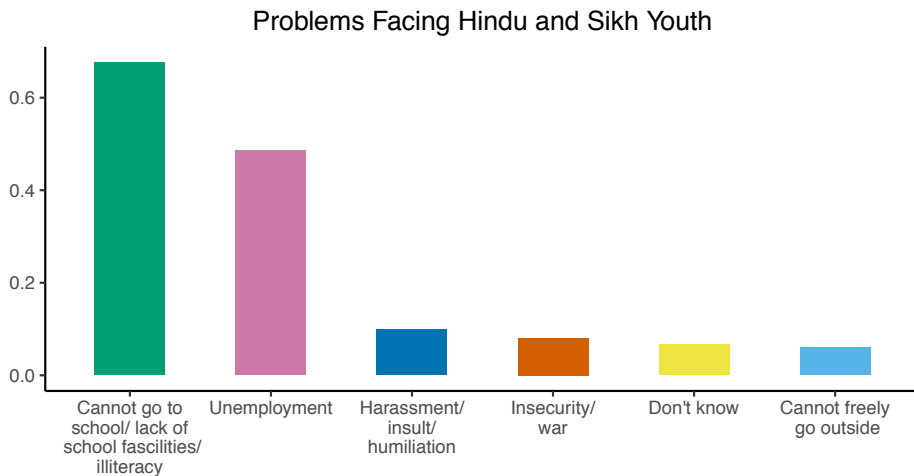
Q-6. *What, if anything, is the biggest problem facing women of your community in this area today? What is the next biggest problem?*

When asked specifically about problems facing Hindu and Sikh communities, respondents provided unemployment (36.6%), *lack of school or not being able to go to school* (27.1%), insecurity/war (24.3%), *lack of housing or a place to live* (14.8%), and *hostility and mistreatment* (10.2%) as top reasons they think are facing them at community level. It is widely known that Hindu and Sikh students are harassed at schools, and they are forced to study certain subjects that are contrary to their beliefs. In an interview with Basir Hamidi, he quoted late Rawil Singh that he always spoke of his children's uncertain future. He stated that the fact that his children were unable to attend school with necessary mental peace, was the biggest issue.²⁴ The responses also bring to light difficulty of renting a house or living in some areas apart from neighborhood of their own.

²⁴Hamidi, Basir, KII, Kabul. Nov 29, 2018



When asked about problems facing the Hindu and Sikh youth, the top two reasons are *cannot go to school, lack of school facilities or illiteracy* (67.6%) and *unemployment* (48.6%). It is worth noting that the top cited problem facing youth across the country is unemployment, not education-related. As schools are free for public, for general public education is considered less of an issue. However, for Hindu and Sikh youth, they not only have to pass certain subjects contrary to their beliefs, but they are target of harassment in schools for being different too.



Even though the government has built some schools for the community but due to insecurity the children cannot go to these schools, said by the Hindu and Sikh community representative in Ghazni.²⁵ Also, the fact that very few of Hindu and Sikh students remain to attend school is another reason why these schools are not operational.²⁶

Furthermore, the content of school curriculum are big topics of contention for the community. In an interview, Ruchi Kumar highlighted that during her discussions with Hindus at the temple and Rawil Singh, they stated that their history is not taught in the schools, public schools are not plural enough, which means not a lot of Afghans know about their history and community. Their own children don't get the chance to study their own history and that is why for them the education system feels incomplete and they run a separate school in the temple and Gurdwaras for their children.²⁷ Also bullying and harassment of Hindus and Sikhs children in public schools were raised by other key informants.

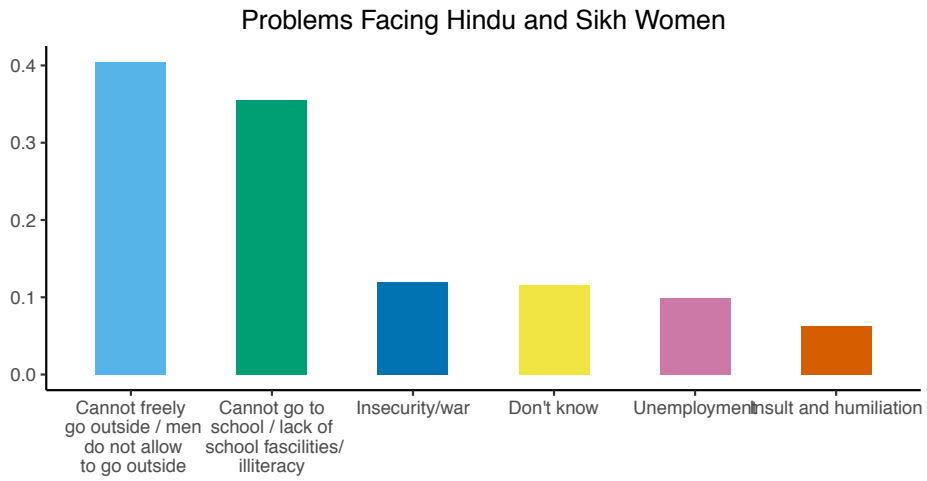
Hindu and Sikh women face slightly different problems. The top problems survey respondents think women face are *not able to freely go outside or men do not allow them to go outside* (40.5%), *not able to go to school, lack of school facilities or illiteracy* (35.6%), and *insecurity/war* (12.0%). Freedom of movement is a general problem that women face across the country, but this problem is cited more among Hindu and Sikh respondents. Perhaps there is an element of self-restriction due to harassments generally targetted at them. Education-related problems is top reasons for Afghan women, based on the Survey of the Afghan People, while it is the second most cited reason among Hindus and Sikhs.²⁸

²⁵Singh, Delip, KII, Ghazni. Nov 23, 2018

²⁶Kumar, Ruchi, KII, Kabul. Nov 01, 2018

²⁷Kumar, Ruchi, KII, Kabul. Nov 01, 2018

²⁸The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf





Mandir Asamayee, Kabul

SECURITY

After the reign of King Amanullah who introduced modern reforms, Hindus and Sikhs enjoyed relative prosperity during the King Zahir Shah's reign (1933–73). In 1947, following India-Pakistan partition, the number of Hindus and Sikhs surged in Afghanistan as many traveled to Afghanistan from Pakistan's Potohar region to escape persecution.²⁹ The same trend continued during the pro-soviet regimes of Daud, Babrak Karmal and Dr. Najibullah. The Soviet backed regimes were secular and members of the Hindu and Sikh community enjoyed the freedom and become well-known traders and qualified pharmacists.

As the rivalry of Russia and America took a different shape, in late 80's America and Pakistan supported countryside Mujahidin to fight the war against Russia. The ideology to fight this war was deeply rooted in fundamental interpretations of Islam and by the time Mujahidin attacked Kabul, like every other Afghan dark day started for the Hindu and Sikh community as well. In a report published by Tolo news Afghanistan, Awtar Singh of Paktia and head of Hindus Council in Afghanistan, expressed that he has lost 10 members of his family during the conflicts of these years after the communists left Afghanistan including two of his brothers. "The discrimination against us surfaced in 1992 when people started counting who were Hindu or Muslim and Tajik, Uzbek or Hazara".³⁰ In an article 'We Belong to Afghanistan' by Foreign Policy it is quoted that "It was a different society before 1992. Hindus and Sikhs lived in prosperity and harmony in Afghanistan. Our community members were mostly business owners, and finance and trading in Afghanistan were largely operated by Hindus and Sikhs. When the mujahideen came to power, this community became a target for criminals controlled by them".

Subsequently in 1992 – 94 when Taliban took over Afghanistan, the security condition worsened for everyone and fundamentalists suffered a crisis of legitimation, they condemned rival groups for violating Islamic rules and resorted to violence as a means to build what they coined as a genuine Islamic state guided by Islamic Sharia laws.³¹ There was widespread kidnappings, extortion, and banditry, as well as religious persecution. Taliban urged the people to avoid buying items from Hindu and Sikhs shops and efforts were also made to force them to convert to Islam, subsequently, they ordered the male members of the community to wear yellow tags and mark

²⁹Ballard, Roger. "The History and Current Situation of Afghanistan's Hindu and Sikhs Population." Center for Applied South Asian Studies, (2011).

³⁰TOLONews. "Nearly 99% of Hindus, Sikhs left Afghanistan in last three decades." Tolonews Website, 20 June, 2016. Accessed on November 10, 2018. <https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/nearly-99-hindus-sikhs-left-afghanistan-last-three-decades>

³¹Emadi, Hafizullah, "Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan." Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-308.

their houses to separate them from Muslim population and their female members had to cover their faces like Muslim women.³² Security threats for Hindu and Sikh community goes beyond the general threats that the Afghan community endures in general against the Taliban and other opposition groups. Sikhs and Hindus are being threatened and encountered for their different system of believes, but they have reacted totally different toward their Muslim counterparts. During the war-times, they were never engaged in the battles and bloodsheds among Afghans, and have never supported a party missioned to trigger ethnic conflicts or communalism. “Even when the battle forged between the communist party and Mujaheddin, I myself indicated this to Dr. Najibullah that we do not want to take part in an internal fight where brothers kill brothers because for us; we are all Afghans” Said Ischwar Dass.³³

In 2002, when the Taliban were overthrown, everyone thought Afghanistan will gain back it’s 70’s glorious days both in terms of economic prosperity, freedom and security and many who had left the country during Mujahedin and Taliban regimes returned back home. But the international community and Afghan Government struggled in their moral obligation to protect and defend the rights of minorities and oppressed communities.³⁴ Hamid Shalizi, the Reuters journalist reports “On a bright day in downtown Kabul, Jagtar Singh Laghmani was in his traditional herb shop when a man turned up, drew a knife and told him to convert to Islam or he would cut his throat. Only bystanders and other shopkeepers saved his life”.³⁵

In past two decades as Hindu and Sikh refugees returned back home mostly from India and Pakistan, they have struggled to gain back ownership of their land and homes. Hindu and Sikh found it difficult to pursue legal recourse in regaining their properties due to fearing retaliation and threats by powerful individuals who occupied their homes and lands. Even now, they encounter hatred and are still unable to cremate their dead’s according to their traditions as most of the cremation sites are captured by warlords, and people living in the neighboring areas prevent them by means such as throwing rocks. Requests that the government provide them alternative sites are repeatedly ignored by authorities.³⁶ This challenge still exists, even though some machineries were bought by Afghanistan government but until the death of Rawil Singh it was not operationalized.³⁷

³²Emadi, Hafizullah, “Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan.” Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-316.

³³Dass, Ischwar, KII, Frankfurt. Nov 10, 2018.

³⁴Ibid

³⁵Shalizi, Hamid. “Afghanistan’s dwindling Sikh, Hindu communities flee new abuses.” Reuters, June 22, 2016. Accessed 23 Nov. 2018. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-minority-idUSKCN0Z82SL>

³⁶Emadi, Hafizullah, “Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan.” Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-318.

³⁷Kumar, Ruchi, KII, Kabul. Nov 01, 2018

Almost the entire leadership of Sikh and Hindu community were killed in a Suicide attack in Jalalabad in July 2018.³⁸ With 19 people Killed from a very small community of almost 700, it has cast a tremendous amount of fear and distrust among them for the government and the society itself. The community feels discriminated, insecure and poor. Even after living for hundreds of years in Afghanistan they are still considered as outsiders and the government hasn't paid enough attention to them. In this survey we have asked several questions relating to their security condition ranging from their personal safety, safety of their properties, crime and violence, confidence in law enforcing body and judiciary to Afghanistan's security as a whole.

FEAR FOR PERSONAL SAFETY

KEY QUESTIONS

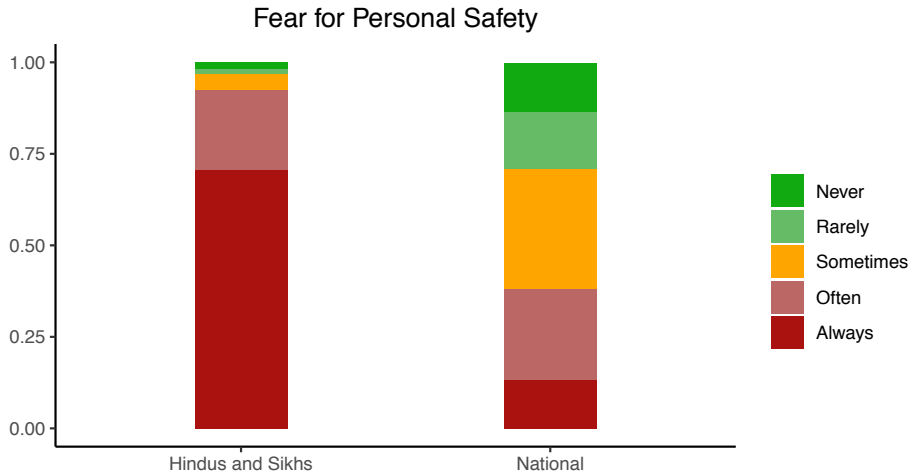
Q-7. *How often do you fear for your own personal safety or security or for that of your family these days? Would you say you always, often, sometimes, rarely, or never fear for you and your family's safety?*

Q-8. *Please, tell me, how you would respond to the following activities or groups. Would you respond with 'no fear', 'some fear' or a 'lot of fear'? (a) Voting in a national/provincial election. (b) Participating in a peaceful demonstration. (c) Running for public office. (d) Encountering ANP. (e) Encountering ANA. (f) Traveling from one part of Afghanistan to another part of the country. (g) Encountering international forces (Western military only). (h) Encountering the Taliban. (i) Encountering ISIS/Daesh.*

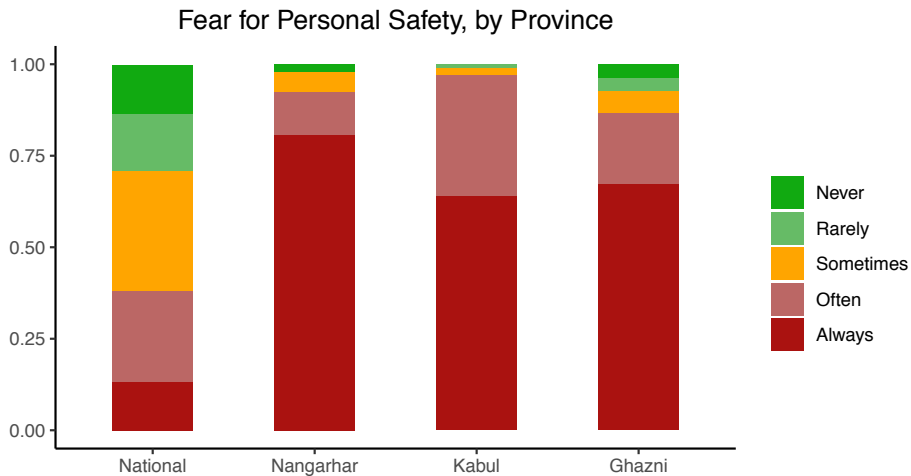
Despite living in large cities, almost all (96.8%) Hindu and Sikh respondents report having *always, often, or sometimes* fear for their or their families' safety. Comparatively, 71.1% of general population report having *always, often, or sometimes* fear, according to the Survey of the Afghan People. Majority (70.5%) of Hindu and Sikh respondents report fearing always, which is considerably higher compared to the rest of Afghans (13.2%).³⁹

³⁸Gazi, Zabihullah and Mashal, Mujib. "Sikhs and Hindus bear brunt of latest Afghanistan Suicide attack", The New York Times, July 2018. Accessed on December 20, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/world/asia/afghanistan-school-attack-nangarhar.html>

³⁹The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf



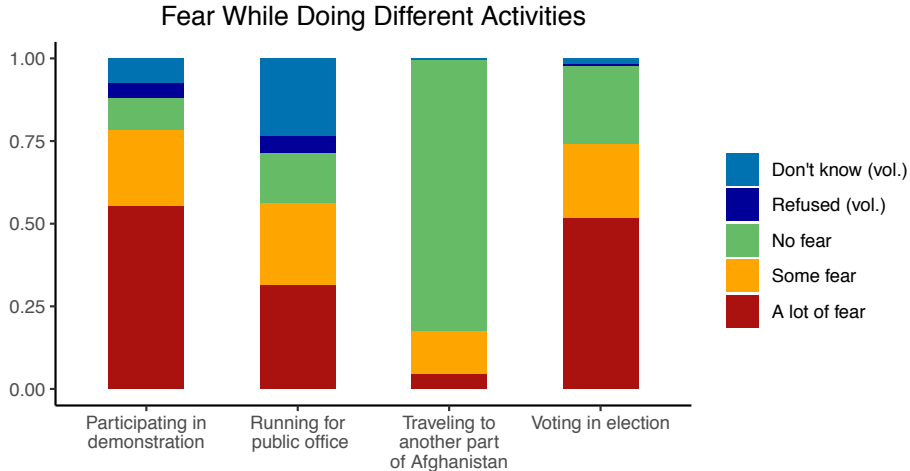
Looking at the provincial breakdown, extreme fear (*always*) is reported the highest by Hindu and Sikh respondents living in Nangarhar province (80.6%), followed by Ghazni (67.5%), and Kabul (64.2%). However, taking into account *often* and *sometimes* fear, almost every respondent from Kabul province reported fear (99.1%). Furthermore, majority of respondents in Nangarhar (97.8%) and Ghanzi (90.6) also reported same level of fear.



In addition to general perception of fear for personal safety, respondents are asked

about fear of engaging in different activities such as voting in an election, participating in a peaceful demonstration, running for a public office, and traveling to another part of Afghanistan. Respondents report highest level of fear for participating in a peaceful demonstration, and voting, and the least fear for traveling to another part of the country. More than half (55.6%) of respondents say they would feel a lot of fear if they participate in a peaceful demonstration, which is significantly higher than 32.0% of general population. About half (51.7%) of respondents say they would feel a lot of fear while voting in an election, also significantly higher than 19.2% of general population.

Close to a third (31.4%) respondents report fearing a lot for running for public office, which interestingly is identical to the general population (31.4%). More interestingly, only 4.6% of Hindu and Sikh respondents report having a lot of fear while traveling to another part of the country (13.0% have some fear). Nationally, 35.6% of Afghans report having a lot of fear (44.1% have some fear). Further research is needed to explain why Hindu and Sikh respondents report considerably lower level of fear while traveling to another part of the country. One plausible explanation can be that for Hindu and Sikh community travelling to other parts of the country mostly mean traveling to Kabul, Nangarhar and Ghazni for which roads are safer to travel. The same was highlighted by Narinder Singh, community's first Parliamentary election contender.⁴⁰

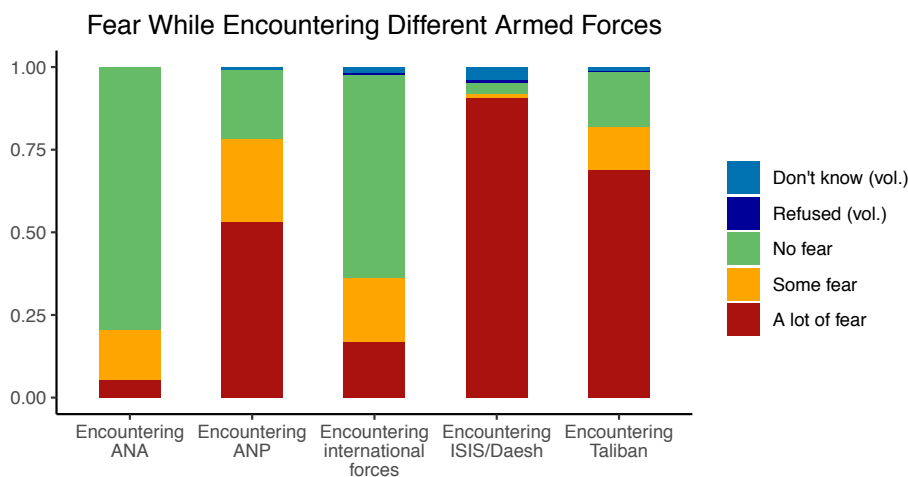


Hindu and Sikh respondents are also asked to express how much they would feel fear if they encounter the Afghan National Police (ANP), Afghan National Army (ANA), international forces, the Taliban, and the ISIS/Daesh. Respondents express

⁴⁰Singh, Narinder, KII, Kabul. Oct 28, 2018

highest level of fear for encountering ISIS/Daesh—90.6% report a lot of fear. Fear of encountering ISIS/Daesh is highest of the mentioned security forces among the general population as well (83.3%). More than two-third of respondents (68.9%) also report a lot of fear for encountering the Taliban, which is interestingly slightly lower than the general population (75.3%). More than half (53.1%) of respondents also express a lot of fear while encountering ANP, which is unexpectedly higher than the general population (14.5%). Furthermore, few Hindu and Sikh respondents reported having a lot of fear while encountering international forces (16.8%) and the ANA (5.2%), which is significantly lower compared to the national level (37.3% and 12.5%, respectively).

The higher level of fear while encountering ANP and lower level of fear while encountering Taliban are unanticipated findings, which could reveal a different set of experiences Hindus and Sikhs have compared to other Afghans. Particularly, it might be indicative of poor experiences of the Hindu and Sikh respondents in relations to ANP who are the major security provider in the urban areas that the Hindu and Sikh population reside.



CRIME AND VIOLENCE

KEY QUESTIONS

Q-9. *I'm going to read some statements to you about your and your family's safety. Please tell me if you have experienced these situations.*
 (a) *Have you or any of your family members in past 12 months has been*

under threat of death? Or other threats? (b) Have you or any of your family members in past 12 months has been injured? Beating up? (c) Have you or any of your family members in past 12 months has been kidnapped? (d) Have you lost or being forced to sale your property, land and other items in past 12 months?

Q-10. *(if Q-9 is Yes) Please tell me who is responsible for this experience?*

Q-11. *Have you lost your property, including land or others, to anyone since the fall of the Taliban and start of Karzai's government? Have you been forced to sell property?*

Q-12. *(if Q-11 is Yes) What type of property? (a) Land. (b) Shop. (c) House. (d) Other*

Q-13. *(If Q-12 is Yes) Please tell us by who?*

Q-14. *(If Q-12 is Yes) Please tell us where?*

Q-15. *I am going to read some statements about your community safety. Would you say Yes or No? (a) Has anyone ever attacked your worship place? (b) Has anyone ever attacked your burial place? (c) In the past years, have you been forced to close your place of worship?*

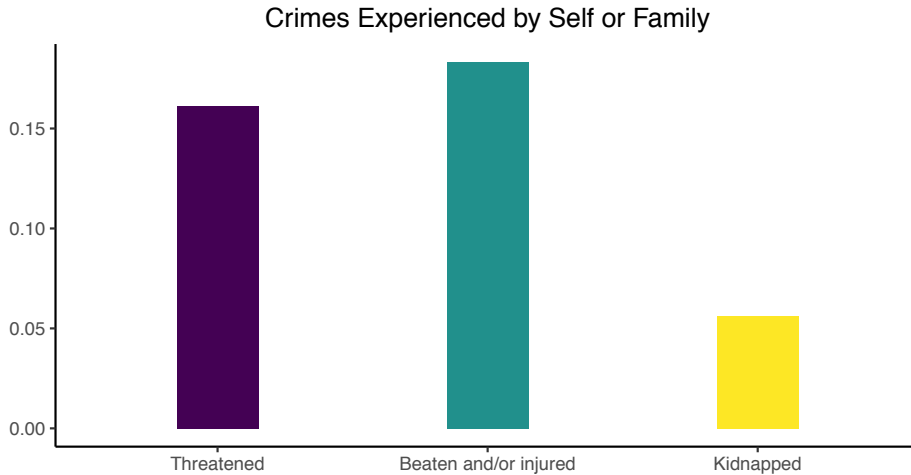
Q-16. *(If Q-15 is Yes) Please tell us by who?*

Q-17. *(If Q-15 is Yes) Please tell us where?*

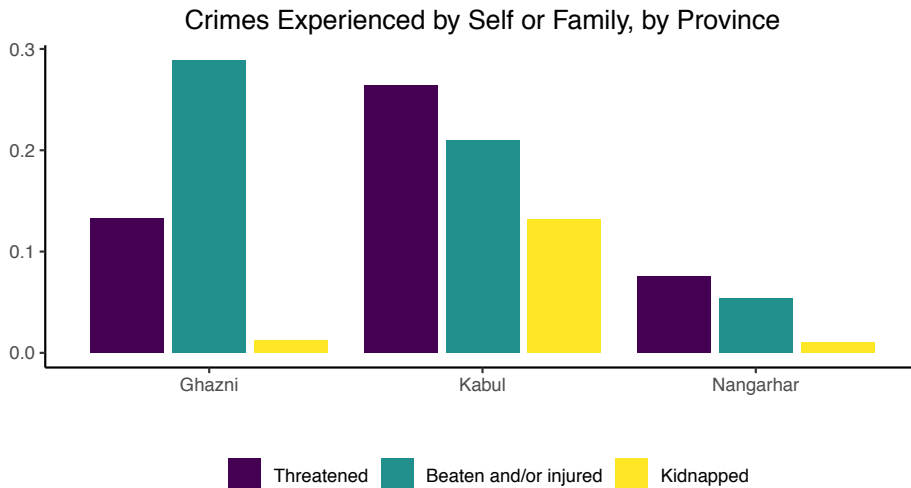
Q-18. *If you were a victim of violence or any criminal act, how much confidence would you have that the governmental law-enforcing organizations and judicial systems would punish the guilty party?*

It is widely believed that the Hindus and Sikhs have been a victim of land-grabbing and other types of crimes particularly in the 1990s. In this survey, the Hindu and Sikh respondents provided answer to a number questions about different types of crimes.

When asked about receiving death threats or other types of threat, personally or a family member, 16.1% report receiving them. When respondents are asked who have threatened them, don't know (23.3%) and unidentified men (18.6%) are top responses. When asked about beating and/or injuries, 18.3% report, with Taliban (30.4%), don't know (15.2%), and Jalalabad attack (13.0%) as top responses. Few (5.6%) also report kidnappings of themselves or a family member, which is mostly concentrated in Kabul (14 out of 16 cases reported).

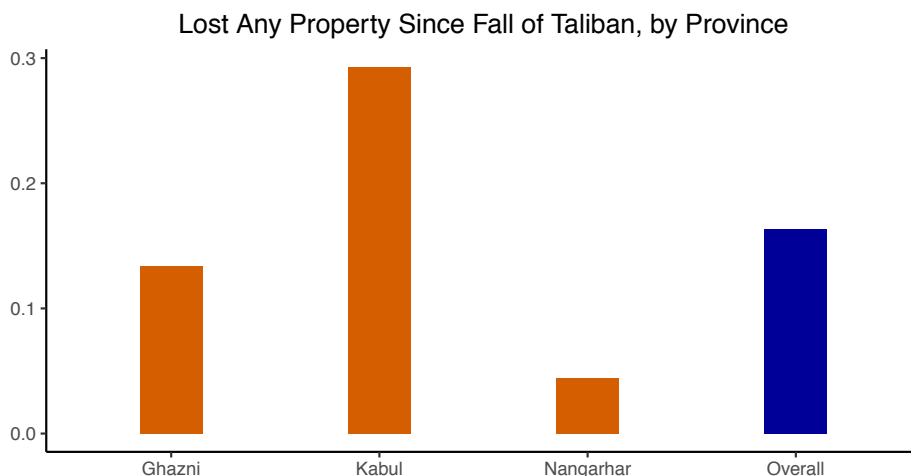


Disaggregating the responses by province, reveals that threat and abductions are reported the highest in Kabul province, while beating and/or injuries are reported the highest in Ghazni.



Hindus and Sikhs are widely believed to have been victim of land-grabbing. The respondents were asked if they had lost property to anyone since the fall of the Taliban and start of Karzai’s government. 16.3% of respondents overall, 29.2% in Kabul, 13.4% in Ghazni, and 4.4% in Nangarhar report having lost a property. For

the first time, it was during the reign of Mujaheddin that landgrabbing and forced sale of Hindus and Sikhs' property become a common currency, which still occurs.⁴¹



The most common type of property taken or forcefully sold is land (10.1%) and house (7.3%). Mafia or local commands (41.4%), and ordinary-local people (17.2%) were cited as the most common perpetrators for illegally and forcefully taking land. Similarly, Mafia or local commands (33.3%) is cited as the top perpetrator for illegally and forcefully taking a house, with few mentioning government as well—in Kabul.

The community has filed many cases in the court to gain back their seized properties and they even wrote complaint letter to president.⁴² In different provinces, mostly warlords and local commands have captured their houses, lands, seized properties belonging to temples and Dharamsals.⁴³ During 1980's they were scattered all around the country, but as they left the country during Mujahiddin and Taliban era and some moved to major cities because of insecurity, their properties were captured by locals. Currently many of them live in Dharamsals.⁴⁴

During field survey we also comprehended it as a major problem for the community and the Government of Afghanistan lacks a proper agenda to preserve their property, and religious sites.

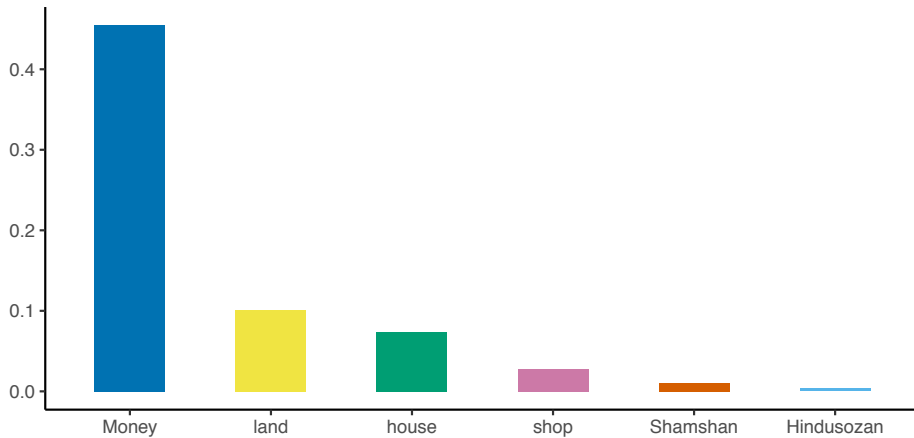
⁴¹Hamidi, Basir, KII, Kabul. Nov 29, 2018

⁴²Kumar, Ruchi, KII, Kabul. Nov 01, 2018

⁴³Singh, Delip, KII, Ghazni. Nov 23, 2018

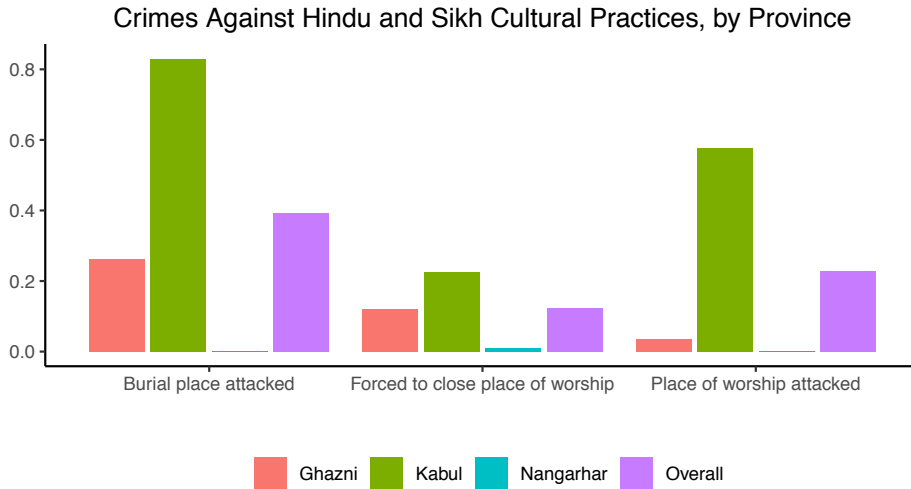
⁴⁴Singh, Narinder, KII, Kabul. Oct 28, 2018.

Type of Property Lost Since Fall of Taliban



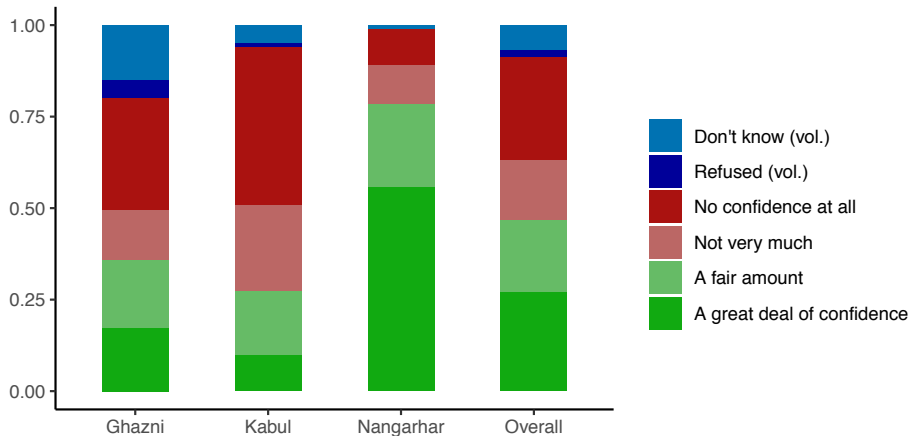
Discussing crimes against Hindu and Sikh traditions, respondents were asked if their place of worship and burial places have been attacked or if they had to close their place of worship. Overall, 39.0% of respondents say that their places of burial have been attacked. The attacks on places of worships was reported the highest in Kabul (83.0%), not so much in Ghazni (25.9%), and it was not reported at all in Nangarhar.

Moreover, 22.6% of respondents say their places of worship have been attacked and 12.2% say they were forced to close a place of worship in the past. These incidents are reported the highest in Kabul (57.5% and 22.6%, respectively), followed by Ghazni (3.5% and 11.8%, respectively). Respondents in Nangarhar province did not mention of any attack on their places of worship.



Lastly, the respondents were asked about their confidence in governmental law-enforcing organizations and judicial systems to punish the guilty party if they were a victim of a crime. About half (47.0%) of respondents overall said they have *a lot* or *some* confidence. Confidence was considerably higher in Nangarhar (78.5%) than in Ghazni (35.8%) and Kabul (27.5%), which indicates a reverse relationship to confidence and experiences of crime, which was reported to be highest in Kabul and lowest in Nangarhar.

Confidence in Law–Enforcement and Judiciary, by Province





Afghan Hindus with King Zahir Shah in Kandahar 1962

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

There have been different phases of political participation for Hindu and Sikh community. While they experienced major discriminations during reign of Amir Habibullah Khan (1901-19); forcing them to wear yellow tag for identification as non-Muslim, payment of poll tax because of their faith and forcing their religious observances and practices to their compounds were among the least.⁴⁵ As a pull incentive to encourage further conversion of Hindus and Sikhs to Islam he provided some amount of money and shelter for the ones who decided to convert to Islam.⁴⁶ Amanullah's rule is regarded as the golden time for these communities as not only they were very active and contributed to the businesses and economy of the country but they were given voices in politics and decision making as well (1919-1929). Amanullah abolished slavery of Hazaras and poll tax on non-Muslim citizens. Hindu and Sikhs were no more forced to wear badges and they accessed civil and military schools and become an active part of the society.⁴⁷ Ghubar (1995) in his book highlights that inclusive policies by the state enabled Hindu and Sikh community to have representatives in the provincial councils in Kandahar, Ghazni, and Jalalabad and at the Kabul Education Association.⁴⁸

Historically, however, "under Sher Ali (1863–66, 1869–79) a Hindu achieved the rank of "field marshal", and under Abdul Rahman and his successors, Hindus and Sikhs served in the police forces in Kabul and Kandahar.⁴⁹ Amanullah appointed a member of the Sikh community 'Naranjan Das' as the Minister of Finance and he was part of Rawalpindi Peace Treaty with British government on August 8, 1919.⁵⁰ Ischwar Das also highlights a number of other important appointments and the role Hindu and Sikh community played in defending King Amanullah's government specifically the role they played in suppression of Khost rebellion by providing shelter and support to government forces.

However, the tension growing between Hindus and Muslims in India through the 1920s and the end of Amanullah's rule to a fundamentalist revolt in 1929 affected

⁴⁵Emadi, Hafizullah, "Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan." Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-312.

⁴⁶Ibid

⁴⁷Ibid

⁴⁸Ghubar, Mir Ghulam Mohammad. [1374] 1995. Afghanistan dar Masir-e-Tarikh [Afghanistan in the Path of History]. Vol. 1. Tehran: Entisharat-e-Jamhoori (p. 794).

⁴⁹Foschini, Fabrizio, "The Other Fold of the Turban: Afghanistan's Hindus and Sikhs," Afghanistan Analysts Network, September 23, 2013, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-other-fold-of-the-turban-afghanistans-hindus-and-sikhs/>

⁵⁰Dass, Ishar. O Dukhtar-e Diwan, Bibi Rado Jan. Kabulnath, December, 2007. Accessed December 29, 2018. http://kabulnath.de/Salae_Doum/Shoumar-e-45/Ischer%20Dass_BebiRadoJan.html

Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan deeply and brought an end to the period of broad political participation and voice for them.⁵¹ The situation never improved after despite the semi-quiet and peaceful period they enjoyed during the communist party. During Mujahidin raid and Taliban regime not only the Hindu and Sikh community political participation declined to zero but they were subject to harsh discriminations and many were forced to flee the country.

After the collapse of the Taliban, despite the hopes for a better representation in the democratic governments, the plight of Hindu and Sikh communities has been ignored. Shayegan and Ammar note that Article 62 of the constitution restricts the political participation of non-Muslims citizens, restricting that head of the state can only be a Muslim and the oath of allegiance to God taken by President, Vice-President, Ministers and Supreme Court judges has a clear restricting effect.⁵² Hamid Karzai the former president had a Hindu as his economic advisor and one member of the Sikh community was serving in Meshrano Jirga [Upper House].⁵³ In 2014, Sham Lall Bathija a member of Hindu community was appointed as special envoy and ambassador to Canada.⁵⁴ Recent efforts and pleas to the appointment of a seat in the Wolesi Jirga (the lower house of the parliament) for the Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan has triggered some attention both from the government and the community to these religious minorities.⁵⁵ But even then, they are simply not there in the Afghanistan civil services and Afghanistan military and police forces.

⁵¹Ibid

⁵²Shayegan, Ehsan and Ammaar, Yahya. "Ignored Identities: The Status of Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan's Legal System," Porsesh Research and Studies Organization, (page 6), 19 November 2016, <http://www.porseshresearch.org/porseshv2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Ignored-Identities-Status-ofHindus-and-Sikhs-in-Afghanistans-Legal-System.pdf>, date accessed 29 December 2018.

⁵³US Department of State 'International Religious Freedom Report for 2013,' Afghanistan, (Section II), 28 July 2014. <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2013&dliid=222323>, date accessed 29 December 2018

⁵⁴British and Irish Agencies Afghanistan Group, Monthly Report: Afghanistan in May 2014. available at [ecoi.net](http://www.ecoi.net) http://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1226_1401785592_afghanistan-20in-20may-202014.pdf, date accessed 29 December 201

⁵⁵Foschini, Fabrizio, "The Other Fold of the Turban: Afghanistan's Hindus and Sikhs," Afghanistan Analysts Network, September 23, 2013, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-other-fold-of-the-turban-afghanistans-hindus-and-sikhs/>

ELECTIONS

KEY QUESTIONS

Q-20. *In which past elections have you voted? (a) Presidential election of 1393/2004. (b) Parliamentary election of 1394/2005. (c) Presidential election of 1388/2009. (d) Parliamentary election of 1389/2010. (e) Presidential election of 1393/2014—first round. (f) Presidential election of 1393/2014—second round.*

Q-21. *(If Q-20 is No) Why didn't you vote?*

Q-22. *Do you plan to vote in the upcoming election?*

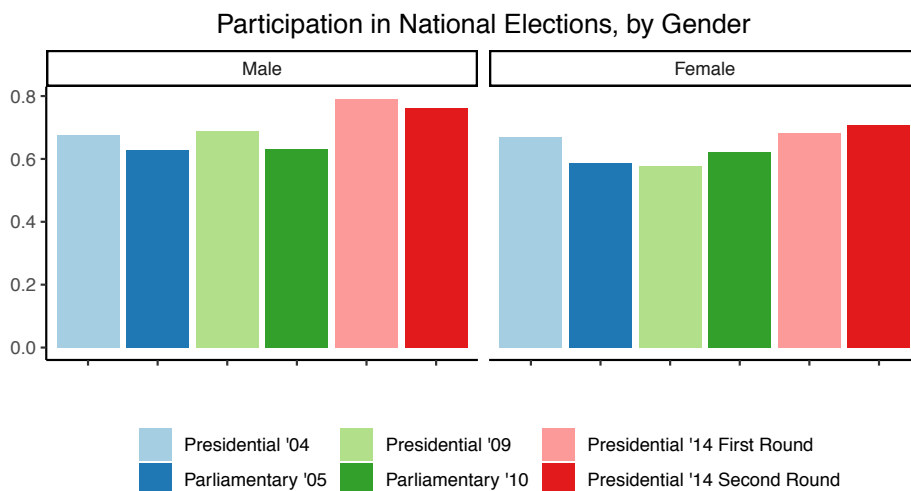
Q-23. *(If Q-22 is Yes) What is your biggest motivation for voting?*

Q-24. *(If Q-22 is No) Why don't you plan to vote?*

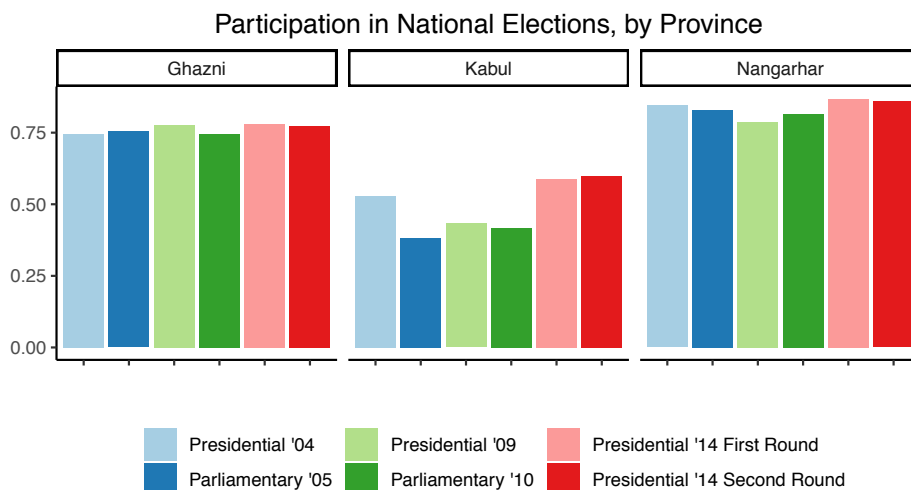
For majority of Afghans, 2004 presidential election was their first experience which millions of Afghans went to cast their votes. Since then, two other presidential and three parliamentary elections have taken place. Particularly later elections, allegations of fraud and delays have taken place. Furthermore, anti-government elements have targeted elections, with many voters and candidates losing their lives. Fraud and insecurity have been the main sources of discouragement for Afghans, according to the Survey of the Afghan People in 2018.⁵⁶

Hindu and Sikh respondents were asked if they had participated in the past elections from the 2004 presidential elections up to the first and second rounds of presidential elections in 2014, more than half of respondents who were qualified in each of these elections had voted. Participation in election was slightly higher among men than women, 76.2% of men and 70.7% of women respondents who had qualified for the election say they had voted in the second round of presidential election 2014.

⁵⁶The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf



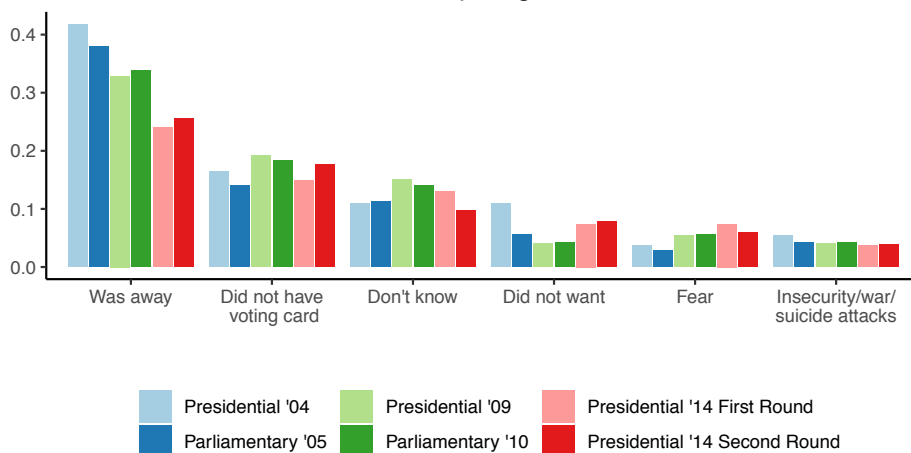
When looking at the provinces, election participation is reported highest among Nangarhar respondents with 85.9% of qualified respondents saying they had voted in the second round of 2014 presidential elections. Meanwhile, 76.1% of qualified respondents in Ghazni and 59.8% of respondents in Kabul report having voted in the second round of 2014 presidential elections. Kabul respondents consistently reported lower rates in all previous elections.



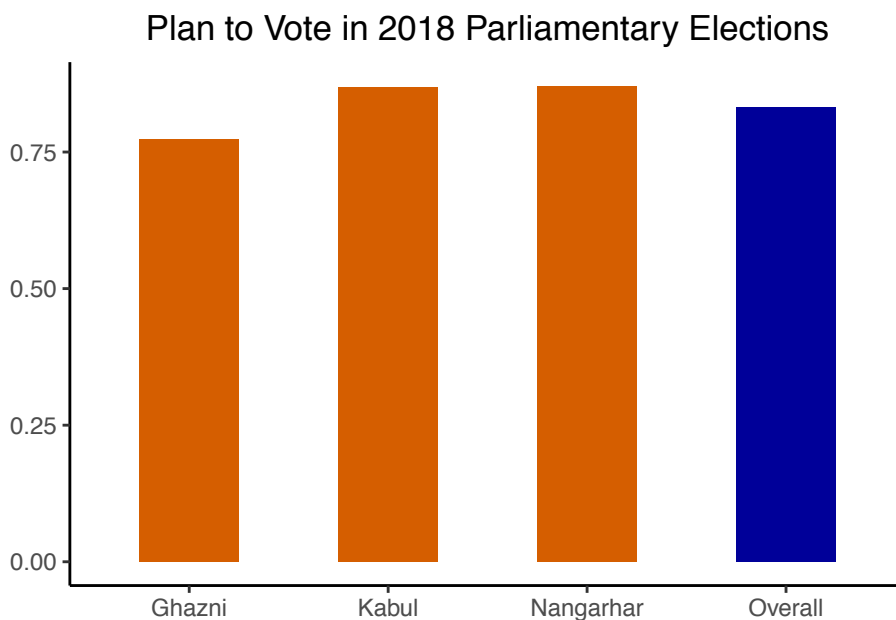
Qualified respondents who did not vote in previous elections are asked why they did

not do so. The reasons vary from the most commonly cited *being away to not having a voting card, lack of interest, and fear and insecurity*. Allegations of fraud which is the top reason for not voting among the general population does not appear to be a major deterrent for voting among Hindu and Sikh communities. Additionally, security and fear are relatively cited at lower rate compared to the national level.

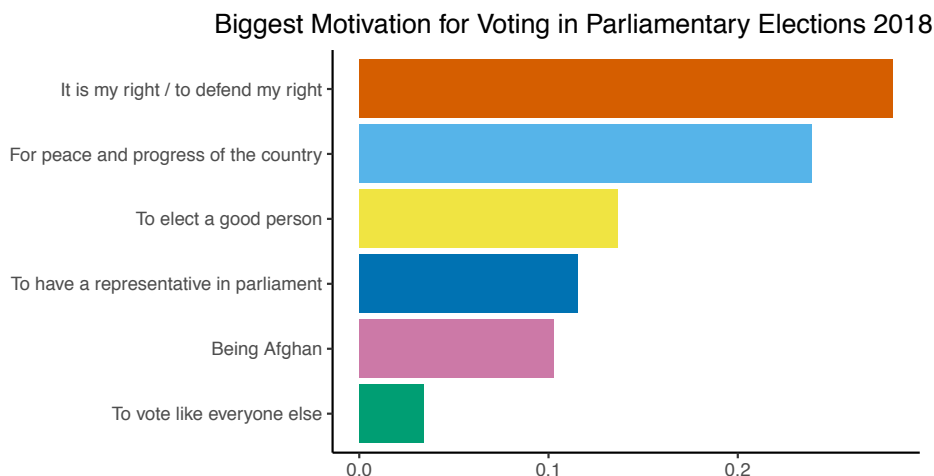
Reasons for Not Participating in National Elections



When fielding the survey, the parliamentary elections had not taken place. The survey respondents were asked if they were planning to vote in the upcoming parliamentary election 2018. Overall, 82.9% of respondents expressed intention to vote in the 2018 parliamentary elections, which in reality could have been different and lower. Unlike previous elections, Kabul respondents had higher intention to vote (86.8%) compared Ghazni respondents (76.5%) but very similar to Nangarhar respondents (87.1%). Male respondents expressed higher intention to vote in the 2018 upcoming parliamentary election (88.8%), compared to female respondents (77.4%). Higher willingness of Kabul respondents to vote in the Parliamentary election might have been because their contender for Parliamentary election (Narinder Singh) had moved to Kabul from Nangarhar after the suicide attack on the community.



From the 82.9% of respondents who said they plan to vote in the upcoming parliamentary election of 2018, their motivation was asked. Majority of respondents felt it is their right to vote (28.2%) and *for peace and progress of the country* (23.9%). Other cited reasons included electing a good person to parliament (13.7%), to have a representative in the parliament (11.5), and *for being an Afghan* (10.3%). From the 11.8% of respondents who said they do not plan to vote, various reasons such as being away, lack of interest, lack of ID cards–tazkira, and insecurity were mentioned.



RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

KEY QUESTIONS

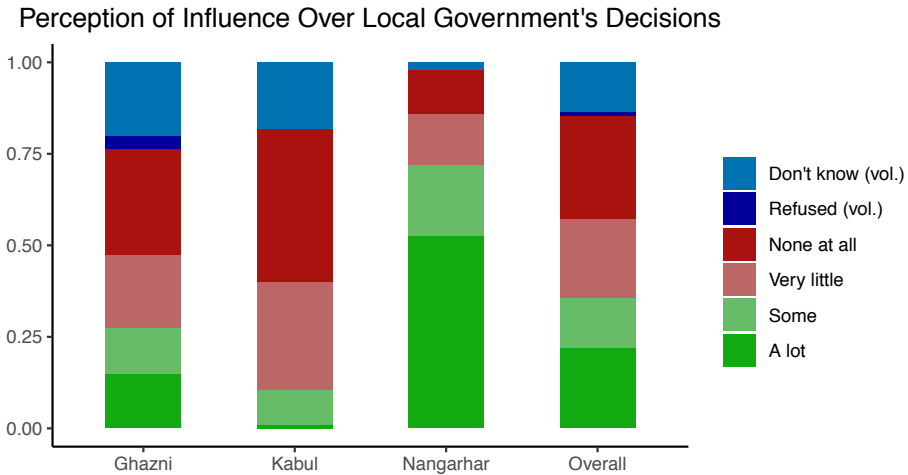
Q-25. *How much influence do you think someone like you can have over local government's decisions—a lot, some, very little, or none at all?*

Q-26. *Does any member of your family work with the government?*

Q-27. *(If Q-26 is Yes) In which agency of government do they work?*

Among ordinary Afghans, at the national level, 52.9% of respondents felt they could influence local government's decisions, according to the Survey of the Afghan People 2018.⁵⁷ As expected, much fewer Hindu and Sikh respondents feel they can influence local government decisions. Overall, 34.8% of respondents say they feel they can influence their local government's decisions *a lot* or *some*. The perception of influence is interestingly much lower among Kabul respondents (10.4%) than Ghazni respondents (25.9%) and Nangarhar respondents (72.0%). Men are also more positive about being able to influence local government's decisions than women (44.8% vs. 24.1%), which is expected given how women are limited to take part in activities outside their home.

⁵⁷The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf



Perception of influence appears to have correlation with intention to vote—those who feel they can influence more local government’s decisions seem to have a higher tendency to vote. Moreover, individuals from better-off families appear to think they can influence local governments decisions more.

Only 8 respondents report having a member of family working with government. Most respondents are busy in private and small businesses. Next chapter, Economic Situation, look into labor market participation of Hindu and Sikhs in more details.



PRSO Field Researcher (Abbas Arify) with an Afghan Sikh During Data Collection.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

In Kabul when someone talks about Hindu and Sikh community one of the first images that would reflect into their mind would be of them owning a small herbal or medicine shops. The community is not as wealthy as they used to be before the war, they mostly live on daily wages, small scale herbal medicine shops, homeopathy and cloth selling. But traditionally it was not the same. In 1919, Amanullah Khan appointed Naranjan Das ‘, a member of the Sikh community’ as the Minister of Finance.⁵⁸ During king Amanullah reign they took active part in building Afghanistan’s education system and they were all well-educated and later they controlled Kabul’s trade and finance with neighboring countries. According to Foschini, the majority of the Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan have been traditionally engaged in urban dealings like trade, or skilled works and activities. “Many were moneylenders; others were Tabib, Ayurvedic physicians practicing in cities or in the countryside as itinerant doctors (a connection which continued until recently, at least in Kabul, where many Sikhs imported medicines from India and ran pharmacies)”.⁵⁹

During Communist era, although the community enjoyed the freedom but due to repressive socioeconomic policies and political reforms of the Peoples’ Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), many wealthy and aristocratic families were forced to leave the country including many from Hindu and Sikh community.⁶⁰ As Mujahidin and Taliban emerged, many other had to flee the country similar to other Afghans due to fear of loss and persecution. In post-Taliban era, even though the law provides equal opportunity for everyone to take part in education and economy but due to continued harassments in the schools they were left out of education system. This delink from education system, drove them out of government, jobs and economy. The International Religious Freedom Report 2015 finds that Hindus and Sikhs lack proper access to labor market and government jobs, which are the main cause for migration.⁶¹ Even the billions of international aids for reconstruction of Afghanistan didn’t trickle down to this community.

⁵⁸Dass, Ischwar, O Dukhtar-e Diwan, Bibi Rado Jan. Kabulnath, December, 2007. Accessed December 29, 2018. http://kabulnath.de/Salae_Doum/Shoumar-e-45/Ischer%20Dass_BebiRadoJan.html

⁵⁹Foschini, Fabrizio, “The Other Fold of the Turban: Afghanistan’s Hindus and Sikhs,” Afghanistan Analysts Network, September 23, 2013, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-other-fold-of-the-turban-afghanistans-hindus-and-sikhs/>

⁶⁰Emadi, Hafizullah, “Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan.” Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-314.

⁶¹US Department of State, “International Religious Freedom Report for 2015, Afghanistan”, (Executive summary), 10 August 2016, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2015&dclid=256299>, date accessed 6 January 2017.

HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

KEY QUESTIONS

Q-28. Which of the following statements best describes the well-being of your household. (a) It's hard for us to even buy simple food products. (b) We can afford to buy food products, but it's hard for us to buy new clothes or pay for social obligations. (c) We can afford to buy food products, clothes, and pay for social obligations, but we cannot afford such things as, for example, a new TV or refrigerator. (d) We can afford to buy food, clothes, pay for social obligations, and buy such things as, for example, a new TV or refrigerator. (e) We can afford to buy almost everything we want.

Q-29. What are the main sources your household income?

Q-33. Does wage labor contribute to your household's income?

Q-34. (If Q-33 is Yes) How important is the wage labor income compared to other sources of income?

Q-35. Do salary jobs contribute to your household's income?

Q-36. (If Q-35 is Yes) If yes, how important is the income from salary jobs compared to other sources of income?

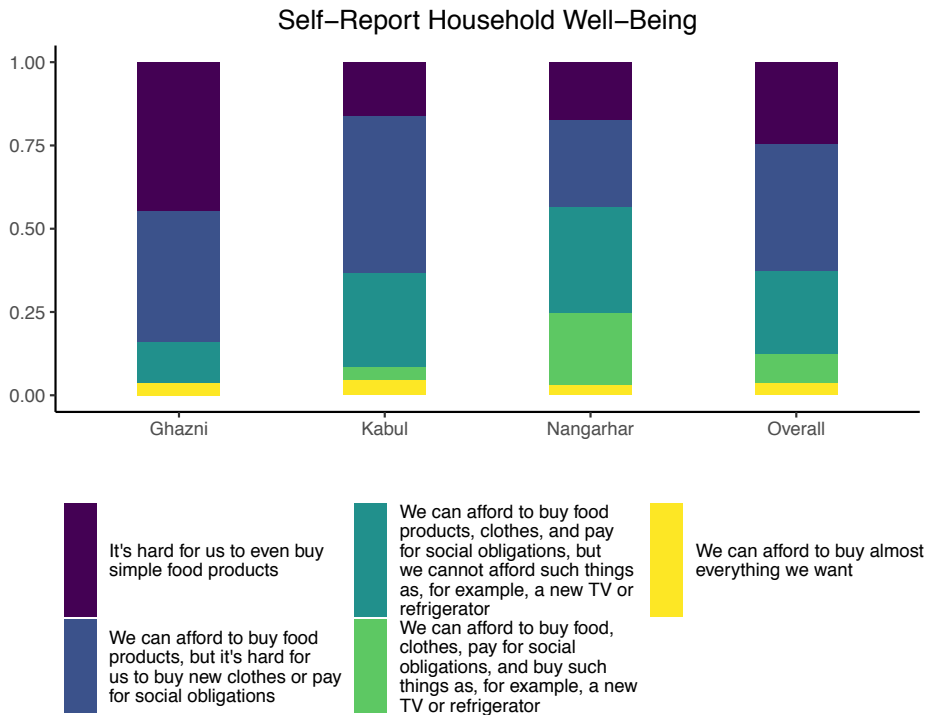
Based on Afghanistan Living Conditions Survey of 2016-2017, Central Statistics Organization reported that 54.5% of all Afghans live under the poverty line.⁶² This indicate a growing poverty rate at the national level. Poor economic performance and rapid population growth are considered major factors associated with increased poverty rate.

Overall, economic conditions of Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan are expected to be slightly different to the rest of the country. Most Hindu and Sikh communities in Afghanistan are city dwellers where services are considered better. But they face more limitations than the rest of Afghans in obtaining education and entering job market. Most Hindus and Sikhs are involved in small-scale family-run trade and businesses.

To understand the household well-being of Hindus and Sikhs, survey respondents choose a statement that described best their household situation. A quarter of respondents report having difficulty purchasing simple and basic food stuff (24.5%). More than a third of respondents report having difficulty affording new clothes or

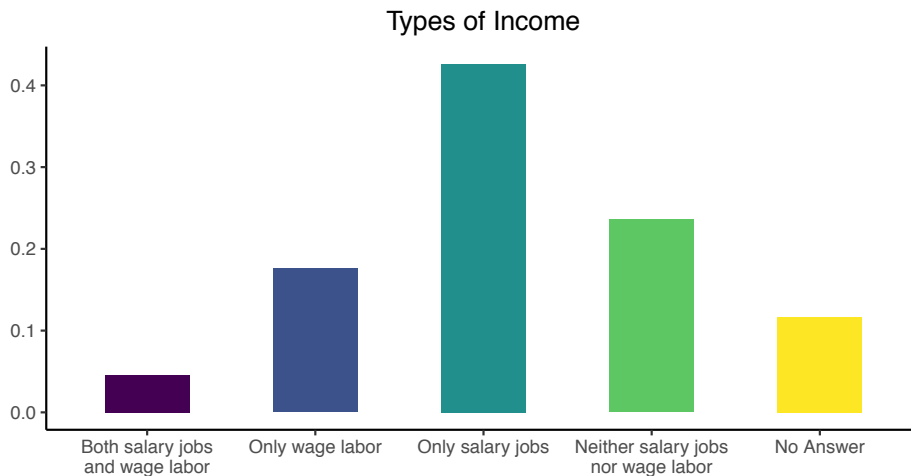
⁶²Central Statistics Organization, "AFGHANISTAN LIVING CONDITIONS SURVEY 2016-2017", Afghanistan: Kabul, [http://cso.gov.af/Content/files/Surveys/ALCS/Final%20English%20ALCS%20Highlight\(1\).pdf](http://cso.gov.af/Content/files/Surveys/ALCS/Final%20English%20ALCS%20Highlight(1).pdf) (page 2)

social obligations, but can afford simple and basic food stuff (38.3%). A quarter of respondents report having difficult affording new TV or refrigerator, but can afford simple and basic food stuff and social obligations (24.8%). Respondents from Ghazni, where Taliban led siege to their city two months before the interview, report considerably worse situations about their household well-beings. Respondents from Nangarhar, where one of Sikh leaders and candidate for the parliament was assassinated, report better situations about their household well-being than the two provinces.



Almost all respondents mentioned owning or working in shops including apothecary shops as their household's main source of income (89.7%). Working on the streets and other type of jobs are mentioned as sources of income but in much less frequent fashion. When asked about types of income, wage labor and salary jobs, more respondents say they depend on salary jobs (47.2%) than wage labor (22.2%). A small group of respondents say their household receive both types of income (4.6%). In terms of importance, respondents who receive income from salary jobs or wage labor, they consider each of them very important. Furthermore, it is worth noting that income from other sources such as rent is not asked in this survey.

Hindus and Sikhs are pushed into small businesses in a widely discriminated market. The data shows that most of Hindus and Sikhs own apothecary shops which are fairly small business. On the other hand, the data also illustrates a homogeneous job pattern whereas in the past such job pattern did not exist. Hindus and Sikhs were running similar businesses the same as other Afghans. For instance, Doctor [Ball Macandass] was one of the best doctors of Kabul. Likewise, Hindus and Sikhs used to work in banks, military, financial, and business sectors.⁶³



LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION

KEY QUESTIONS

Q-30. *What obstacles exist on the way of Hindu and Sikh communities in the job market?*

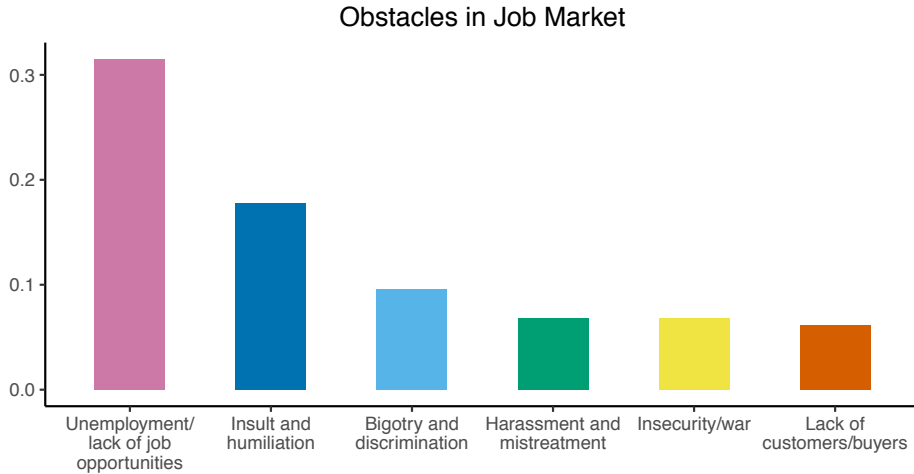
Q-31. *Does any female member of your family work outside home?*

Q-32. *What are the main barriers for the female members of your household to work outside home?*

It is widely believed that Hindu and Sikh communities in Afghanistan face more challenges in the labor market compared to other Afghans. In this survey, respondents are asked what they think are some of the obstacles on the way of Hindus and Sikhs in the job market, if any. *Unemployment and lack of job opportunities* was cited by 31.5% of respondents, followed by various types of poor treatment from other fellow

⁶³Zaryab, Rahnaward, KII. Kabul. Nov 17, 2018.

compatriots, such as insults and humiliation (17.8%), bigotry and discrimination (9.6%), and harassment (6.8%). Few also mention that buyers do not buy from them (5.6%).

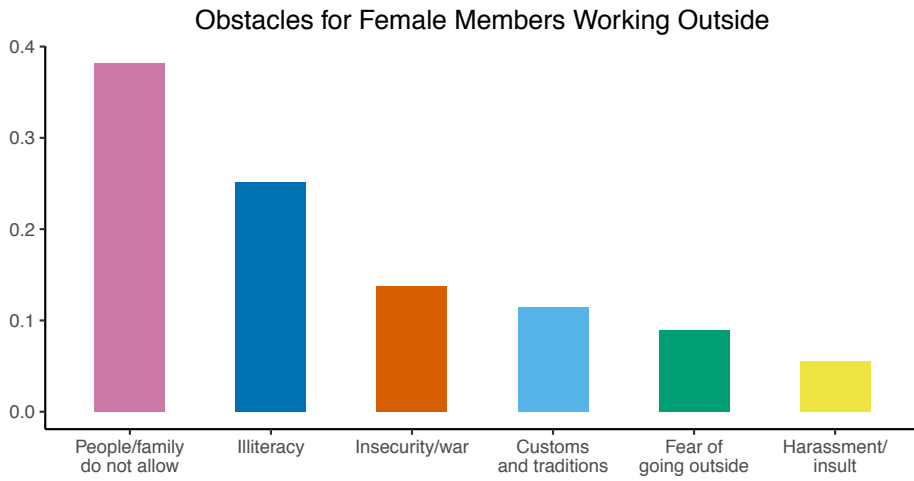


From 286 respondents, only 1 report having a female member work outside their home. This is considered extremely small labor force participation for women, compared to the national average of 19.1% from the Survey of the Afghan People (2018).⁶⁴ Widespread unemployment and a multitude of problems in labor market on the way of Hindu and Sikh communities could explain why women do not work, particularly outside their homes. When respondents are asked about main obstacles facing women for working outside their home, *not being allowed* is top cited reason (38.1%) followed by *illiteracy* (25.2%), *insecurity* (13.7%), and *customs and traditions* (11.5%). *Not being allowed* and *illiteracy* are cited more among women than men, and *customs and traditions* is cited more among men than women.

Narindar Singh, Hindu and Sikh community representative mentioned that Afghanistan government has asked them to introduce women to work in the government offices but they failed to introduce capable women due to high illiteracy rate among them and lack of proper skill and social protection.⁶⁵

⁶⁴The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf

⁶⁵Singh, Narinder, KII, Kabul. Oct 28, 2018





CIVIL RIGHTS

Before and throughout Abdurrahman rule, the Hindus and Sikhs were subject to payment of poll tax (extra tax for living in a Muslim country) a different system of taxation called Jaziya which was paid annually. There were other restrictions applied to them as well, such as not being allowed to carry arms or ride horses inside cities except for some high ranking government officials. These restrictions and rules changed during Amanullah's rule when he, in a quest to create an equal environment for all faiths, removed Jaziya and other specific restrictions for religious minorities.⁶⁶ The current Afghan Constitution is excessively dependent upon Islamic interpretations and contains many articles that are discriminatory towards Hindus and Sikhs. Article 3 states that no law can be contrary to the beliefs and provisions of the sacred religion of Islam and Article 35 states that the manifesto and charter of political parties should be consistent with the principles of Islam. Further, article 62 restricts the political participation of non-Muslim Afghan citizens, stipulating that any head of state must be Muslim.⁶⁷ Also, in the same article published by Porsesh Research & Studies Organization it is stated that under the penal code, religious minorities are subject to Islamic law in situations where there is no specific provision in the constitution or penal code and there is no specific law designed for the Hindu and Sikh minorities to be followed, therefore, in most cases non-Muslims are subjected to Hanafi Sunni jurisprudence.

Regarding building places of worship, practicing religious matters and performing their cremation rituals there is no legal restrictions for the community, they are free to worship any religion publicly, build Gurdwaras and Mandirs and cremate their dead.⁶⁸ The government also allocated land for Sikhs and Hindus for cremation sites and also provided police support to protect them while performing cremation rituals.⁶⁹ However, Rawil Sing, a known Afghan Sikh civil society activist in an interview with Aljazeera stated that "they were stoned by public while cremating their dead in one of the old cremation sites in 2012".⁷⁰ Sometimes they encounter

⁶⁶Ibid

⁶⁷Shayegan, Ehsan and Ammaar, Yahya. "Ignored Identities: The Status of Hindus and Sikhs in Afghanistan's Legal System," Porsesh Research and Studies Organization, (page 6-9), 19 November 2016, <http://www.porseshresearch.org/porseshv2/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Ignored-Identities-Status-ofHindus-and-Sikhs-in-Afghanistans-Legal-System.pdf>, date accessed 29 December 2018.

⁶⁸US Department of State, "International Religious Freedom Report for 2015, Afghanistan", (Section II), 10 August 2016, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm?year=2015&dclid=256299>, date accessed 6 January 2017.

⁶⁹ibid

⁷⁰Kumar, Ruchi. "The decline of Afghanistan's Hindu and Sikh communities." Aljazeera, January 1, 2017. Accessed January 1, 2017. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2016/>

discrimination by people in positions of authority when they request state services. For example, they lobbied the Ministry of Religious Affairs to provide free electricity to the community's Gurdwaras and Mandirs the same as the government provides for mosques, but the ministry denied their repeated requests. The state treats Hindu and Sikh houses of worships as business entities subject to payment of higher fees unlike mosques.⁷¹

Owning land and property, restitution of land rights and land disputes are repetitively spoken problems for Hindu and Sikh community. Although there is no legal restriction against this, but in International Religious Freedom Report for 2015 by US Department of States it is stated: "Sikh and Hindu sources reported members of their communities continued to express concern over land disputes and said they often chose not to pursue restitution through the courts for fear of retaliation, particularly when powerful local leaders occupied their property". A Sikh leader reported the community had not been able to use land set aside by the government for burials and housing due to what he said were threats from local residents. The residents argued the land was private property and the government did not have the authority to give the land to the Sikhs. He said the residents were using the land as a dump.' Institute for War and Peace Reporting also notes that Kabul Municipality allotted some land in district 21 of Kabul city so they can build buildings, schools and cremation sites, but apparently the idea is not welcomed by Hindu and Sikh community concerning it is security since it is far away from the main city although Kabul Municipality was ready to work with them in developing the area.⁷²

In the face of law there is no restrictions for Hindu and Sikh community to access schools and universities, but given that the number of Hindus and Sikhs entering higher education is zero and they experience a wide range of discriminations in the schools,⁷³ they are mostly illiterate. The Marriage of a Sikh or Hindu community members with anyone out of their community is not valid before the law until the Hindu or Sikh convert to Islam.

12/decline-afghanistan-hindu-sikh-communities-161225082540860.html

⁷¹Emadi, Hafizullah, "Minorities and marginality: pertinacity of Hindus and Sikhs in a repressive environment in Afghanistan." Nationalities Papers 42 (2014): p-318.

⁷²Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 'Tough times for Afghan Hindus and Sikhs', dated 11 July 2013, <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/tough-times-afghan-hindus-and-sikhs>, date accessed 20 January 2015

⁷³Shayegan, Aber, "Why do no Sikh and Hindu get into universities? (Dari)", Elilaat Roz daily newspaper, July 2018, Accessed on December 20, 2018: <https://etilaatroz.com/62989/>

JUDICIARY AND DISPUTE RESOLUTION

KEY QUESTIONS

Q-37. *Does any of your family members has ever gone to court for legal remedies?*

Q-38. *(If Q-37 is Yes) how did the court handled your case?*

Q-39. *(If Q-37 is No) what is the reason that you haven't gone to courts for legal remedies?*

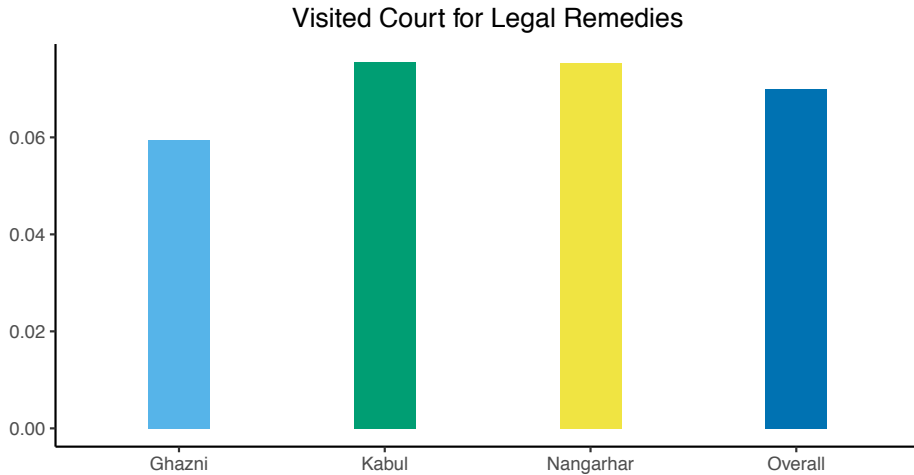
Q-40. *I am going to read a list of disputes. Please tell me if you have had any such disputes in the last ten years. (a) Dispute over land. (b) Other property dispute, not land. (c) Commercial dispute. (d) Divorce. (e) Family problems. (f) Traffic accident. (g) Other.*

Q-41. *(If Q-40 is Yes) Who was the other side of dispute?*

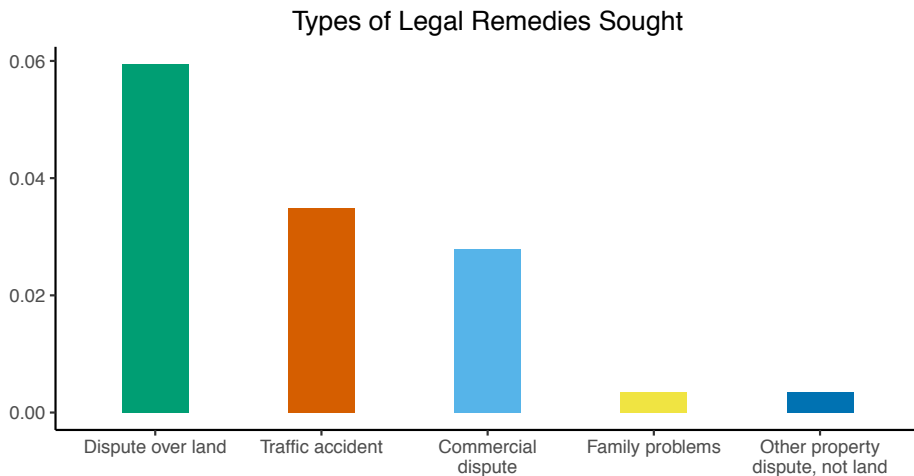
Q-42. *(If Q-40 is Yes) To who did you report the dispute?*

Q-43. *(If Q-42 is answered) How satisfied are you with the outcome of the dispute? Very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not satisfied?*

Only 7.0% of Hindu and Sikh respondents say anyone in their family have gone to court for legal remedies. It is unclear from the survey whether such low visit to courts is due to lack of legal cases, lack of trust in judiciary system, or lack of awareness. Of those who report a family member visiting court for legal remedies, six respondents say the case was resolved in their favor. Five respondents think the other side of dispute bribed and won the case. Furthermore, 4 respondents think courts did not solve their case. Additionally, twelve respondents provide they did not go to court because they lacked trust that the case could have been resolved due to bribery.



The most common type of case brought by respondents to the courts were *dispute over land*, brought in by 5.9% of respondents, followed by *traffic accidents* (3.5%). The other side of dispute included a wide range of parties such as ordinary people, warlords, and even relatives. Some of these cases were report to officials such as courts and police. Overall, respondents report mix satisfaction level regarding the outcome of the dispute. There have been also cases that they had to prove that first they are Afghan to the court before the court decide to solve their case.⁷⁴



⁷⁴Kumar, Ruchi, KII, Kabul. Nov 01, 2018

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

KEY QUESTIONS

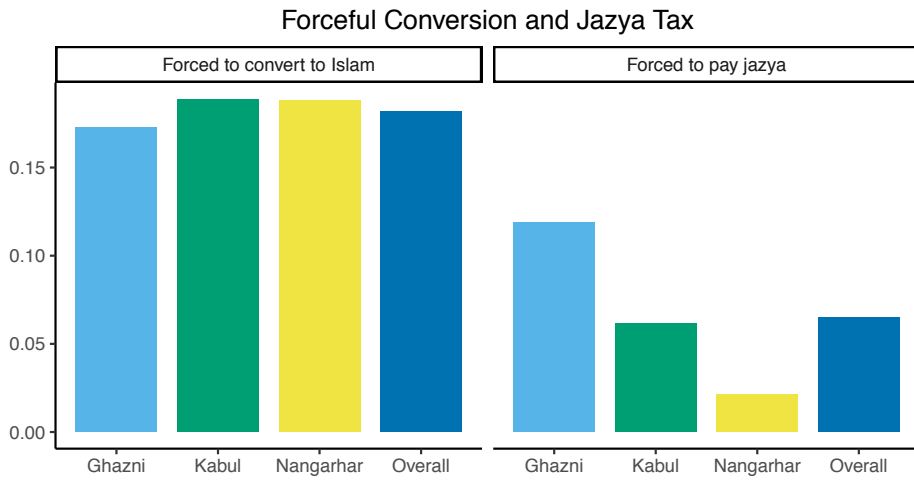
Q-44. *Have you ever... (a) been forced to convert to Islam? (b) been forced to pay jazyza (special tax historically levied on non-Muslims living in Muslim lands)?*

Q-45. *(If Q-44 is Yes) Please tell us by who?*

Hindus and Sikhs have lived in Afghanistan for hundred years alongside Muslims. In times, they were subject to different treatment because of their faith. For example, Hindus and Sikhs were subject to *Jazyza* tax, a special tax paid by non-Muslims living in Muslim lands, or forced to convert to Islam. When asked whether respondents were forced to convert to Islam or pay *jazyza* tax, 18.2% say they have been forced to convert to Islam and 6.5% say they have paid *jazyza* tax. Respondents from Ghazni report paying *jazyza* tax the most (11.9%), where the securtiy situation has been worse compared to Kabul and Nangarhar provinces. Furthermore, there were credible reports that prior to the attack on Ghazni city, Taliban was collecting tax from residents of some areas inside the city.⁷⁵ It appears most residents of certain parts of the city were subject to taxation by the Taliban. Even though there is no report specifically indicating Hindus and Sikhs being targetted, it is very likely that Hindus and Sikhs living in areas subject to Taliban taxation were subject to *jazyza* tax.

The top group or party that respondents mention for collecting *jazyza* tax is the Taliban. However, respondents say ordinary people or people whom they did not recognize were mostly responsible for forceful conversion to Islam. Only few mentioned Taliban to forcefully convert Hindus and Sikhs, which is consistent with their policy when they captured and ruled most of Afghanistan between 1997 and 2001.

⁷⁵Sukhanyar, Jawad “When the Taliban Are at the Gates, a City Has One Choice: Pay Up”, The New York Times, May 7, 2018: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/07/world/asia/afghanistan-taliban-ghazni.html>





PRSO Surveyor (Karim Nasiry) with an Afghan Sikh During Data Collection, Ghazni

MIGRATION

In 1980's, there were almost 220,000 Sikhs and Hindus in Afghanistan highlighted in an investigation report by TOLO news, the report further states that during Mujahidin in 1990's their population dropped to almost 15,000 and now it is estimated to be only 1,350.⁷⁶

In 2014, there was a shipping container found with 35 men, women and children of Sikh community at Tilbury docks in Essex, UK. The investigation started when there was a dead man found in the container at its arrival at the Port of Tilbury from Zeebrugge in Belgium. It become known that the migrants in the container belonged to Afghanistan's Sikh community. The news was shocking as not many knew about the Hindu and Sikh community in Afghanistan.⁷⁷

The Hindu-Sikh community's present position is constantly threatened by not only insecurity in general, but the targetted hostility from the other communities. There are growing threats against their property, faith, and religious practices due to growing religious extremism. The migration trend follows as internal displacement from villages and smaller cities to larger cities, and then to New Delhi or further European countries. There is little data to estimate the exact number of Afghans living in India. But according to a study by Anwesha Ghosh carried out in the late 1990s, there were approximately 60,000 Afghans living in India, of which merely 16,000 possessed UNHCR certificates. According to the UNHCR New Delhi Factsheet 2016, India currently hosts 13,381 refugees and asylum seekers from Afghanistan, mostly settled in and around the capital. Khalsa Diwan Welfare Society, an organization run by the Afghan Sikhs and Hindus in India, however, assesses the current size of these communities to be over 15,000; that is after the bulk of them migrated to Western countries over the past decade.⁷⁸ Among Afghans living in New Delhi, a significant number of them are Hindus and Sikhs. Lower House of Indian Parliament recently approved a bill that allows the government to accept non-Muslim minorities from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh.⁷⁹ However, this is yet to be approved by upper house. Should this bill get approved by

⁷⁶TOLOnews. "Nearly 99% of Hindus, Sikhs left Afghanistan in last three decades." Tolonews Website, 20 June, 2016. Accessed on November 10, 2018. <https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/nearly-99-hindus-sikhs-left-afghanistan-last-three-decades>

⁷⁷Tran, Mark. "Group found in container at Tilbury includes 13 children." The Guardian, 17 August, 2014. Accessed on January 5, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/aug/17/tilbury-container-sikhs-afghanistan-essex-police>

⁷⁸Ghosh, Anwesha. "Longing to belong: Afghan Sikhs and Hindus in India." The Diplomat, 19 August, 2016. Accessed on January 6, 2019. <https://thediplomat.com/2016/08/longing-to-belong-afghan-sikhs-and-hindus-in-india/>

⁷⁹Hussain, Wasbir. "India's lower house possess citizenship bill despite protests." The Washington Post, 8 January, 2019. Accessed on January 12, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>

upper house, this will definitely trigger more Afghan Hindus and Sikhs to migrate to India and seek Indian citizenship.

Based on our latest follow up with one of their community representative, around 50 families have left the country between July and November, 2018.

After lobbies of Hindu and Sikh community residing in Canada with Canadian government, Ahmed Hussen, Canadian Minister for Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, told to news agencies that Canadian government is working on a plan to approve private sponsorship of Afghan Hindus and Sikhs by a foundation.⁸⁰ Subsequently on 12 December 2018, President Ghani met with members of Hindu and Sikh community in presidential palace to listen to their problems. Then, President instructed government officials to transfer legal cases of Hindus and Sikhs to Kabul, and establish a special section to address these legal cases. Furthermore, President instructed the National Security Adviser to follow-up with former President Karzai's decree on distribution of 160 plots of residential lands to Sikh minority in Nangarhar, and prevent usurpation of Hindu and Sikh properties. The president also promised to decide around an advisory office for Hindu and Sikh community.⁸¹ The government has made a lot of promises to Hindus and Sikhs but have mostly failed to fulfil them. Government also has not been able to provide them the required protection and improvement of their overall situation.⁸²

This section seeks to understand Hindus and Sikhs willingness for migration and also sheds light on the factors associated with their migration.

MIGRATION TENDENCIES

KEY QUESTIONS

Q-46. *Tell me, if given opportunity, would you leave Afghanistan and live somewhere else, or not?*

Q-47. *(If Q-46 is Yes) Why would you leave Afghanistan?*

world/asia_pacific/citizenship-bill-protest-nearly-shuts-down-indias-northeast/2019/01/08/047857fc-133b-11e9-ab79-30cd4f7926f2_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.aeab2ae566c4

⁸⁰News Agency. "Canada working to offer shelter to Afghan Hindus, Sikhs." TOLONews, 29 November, 2018. Accessed on January 12, 2019. <https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/canada-working-offer-shelter-afghan-hindus-sikhs>

⁸¹Manager. "Sikh minority are part of Afghanistan's glowing history." BAKHTARNews, 12 December, 2018. Accessed on 12 January, 2019. <http://www.bakhtarnews.com.af/eng/politics/item/36074-%E2%80%9Ccsikh-minority-are-part-of-afghanistan%E2%80%99s-glowing-history%E2%80%9D-president-ghani.html>

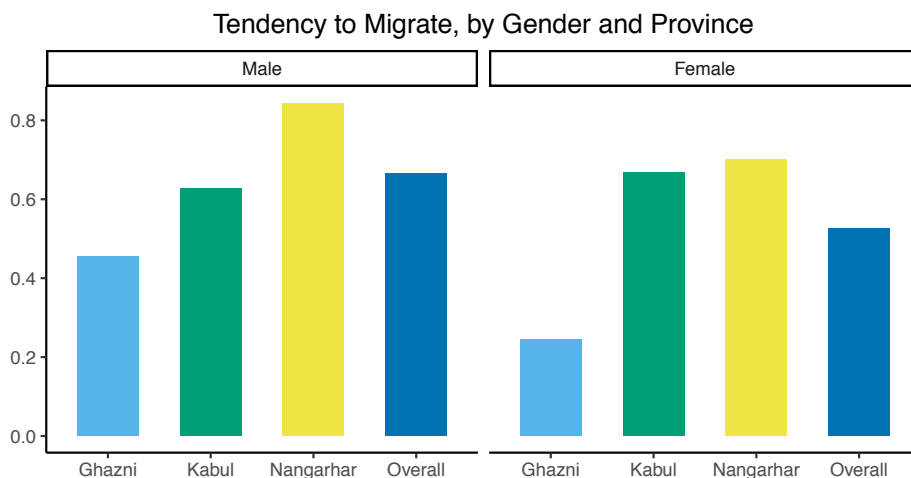
⁸²Zaryab, Rahnaward, KII, Kabul. Nov 17, 2018.

- Q-48.** *(If Q-46 is No) Why would you want to stay in Afghanistan?*
- Q-49.** *(If Q46 is Yes) Where do you want to live?*
- Q-50.** *Do you have a family member or close relative that lives abroad?*
- Q-51.** *(If Q-50 is Yes) In what countries do they live?*
- Q-52.** *(If Q-50 is Yes) Why did they leave Afghanistan?*
- Q-53.** *(If Q-50 is Yes) Have these relatives helped you financially, such as sending money?*

Overall, 60.7% of survey respondents expressed desire to migrate if they were given opportunity, while 37.9% expressed they would not leave. This figure is considerably higher than the rest of Afghans; in 2018, 36.8% of Afghans said they would leave the country if given the opportunity, according to the Survey of the Afghan People (2018).⁸³ The tendency to migrate is higher among Hindu and Sikh men than women (67.9% vs. 53.3%). Furthermore, respondents from Nangarhar express greater desire to leave the country (78.5%) than respondents from Kabul (64.8%) and Ghazni (34.2%). Additionally, age has a weak but negative relationship with tendency to migrate: younger respondents expressed greater desire to migrate than older respondents.⁸⁴ This comes as no surprise as Hindu and Sikh youth have difficulty accessing public schools and Universities, and in the job market they face discrimination, beside other negative factors that are applicable to Afghans overall.

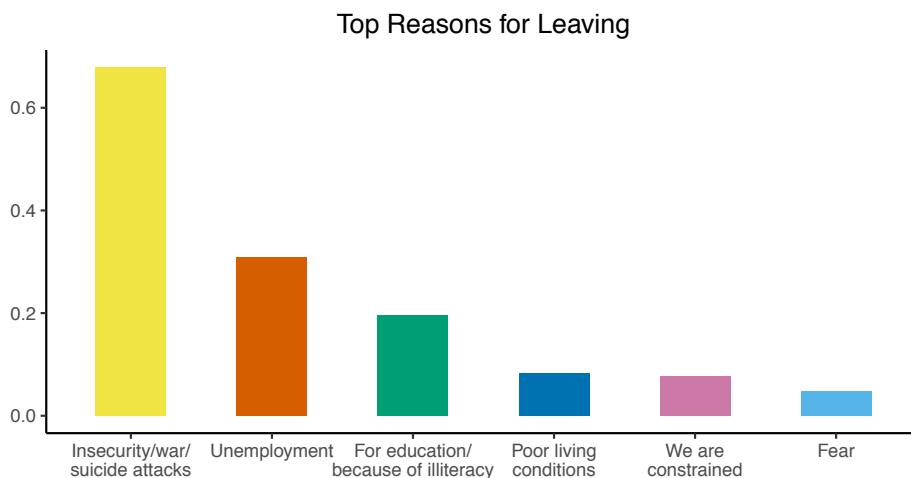
⁸³The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf

⁸⁴Those who wish to migrate has an average age of 35.173 (SD = 1.0), and those who do not wish to migrate has an average age of 36.788 (SD = 1.5). The two groups are not statistically different (ttest: t = -0.9243, P = 0.3561)



Respondents who say they would leave Afghanistan if they had the opportunity, they say the main reasons behind that are *insecurity/war/suicide attacks* (67.9%), *unemployment* (31.0%), and *for education or because of illiteracy* (19.6%). Insecurity and unemployment are cited more in Ghazni province (76.9% and 34.6%, respectively). Education is cited more among Nangarhar and Kabul respondents (29.2% and 17.6, respectively). Moreover, the top responses are similar to the national survey responses. According to the Survey of the Afghan People in 2018, top reasons for desire to migrate are insecurity (74.6%) and unemployment (51.5%), which are consistent with reasons provided by Hindu and Sikh respondents.⁸⁵

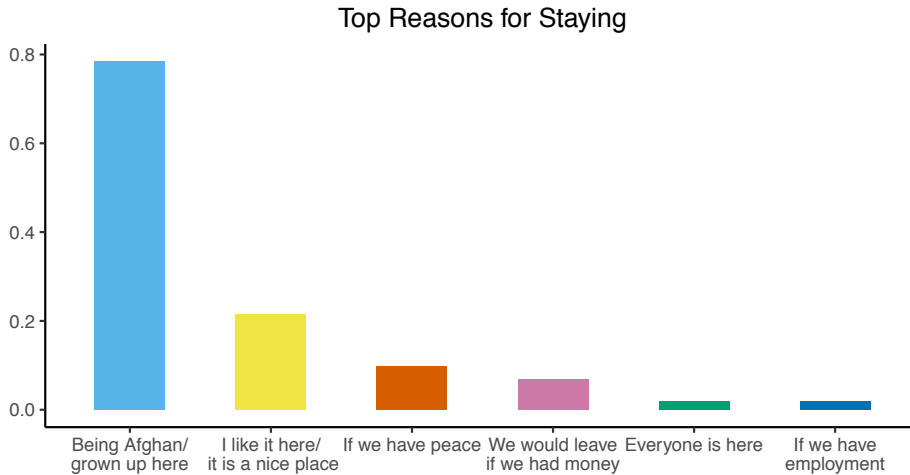
⁸⁵The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf



Among 37.9% of respondents who say they would not leave their country even if given the opportunity, the top reasons are *being Afghan or having grown up here* (78.4%), *like Afghanistan or Afghanistan being a nice place* (21.6%), and conditional reasons such as *if we have peace* (9.8%) or *if we have employment* (2.0%), which rather indicates the respondent would leave. Additionally, 6.9% of respondents said they do not have the money to leave, as reason why they are not leaving. This was also highlighted in an interview with the community member from Ghazni, he mentioned that all the wealthy families have already moved out of the country and the ones left here don't have the money to migrate.⁸⁶ Afghan identity is also a top reason for why Afghans do not want to leave their country, from the Survey of the Afghan People (2018).⁸⁷

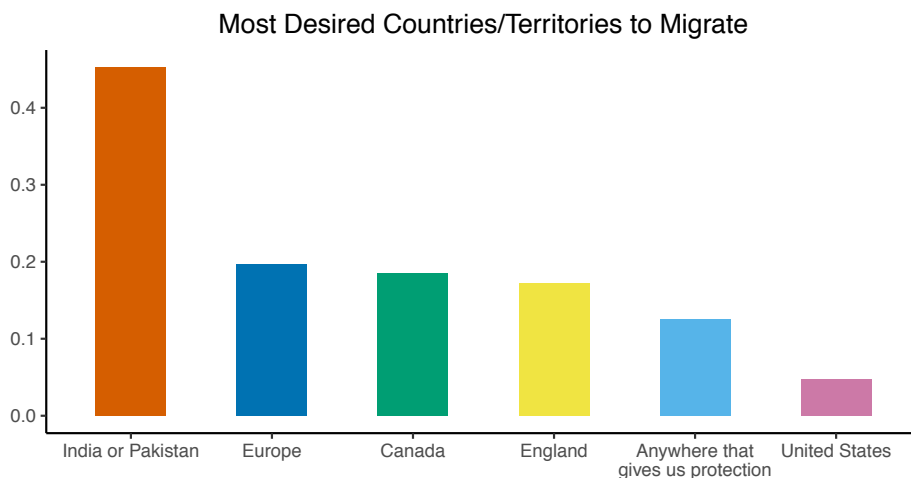
⁸⁶Singh, Delip, KII, Ghazni. Nov 23, 2018

⁸⁷The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf



Those respondents who say they would leave the country if given the opportunity, 45.2% of them say they would migrate to India or Pakistan, 19.6% say to Europe, 18.5% say to Canada, 17.3% say to England, and 12.5% say they would migrate to any place that gives protection. India and Pakistan have large Hindu and Sikh population, and there are reports that many Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan already have moved to India and Pakistan. However, many Sikhs and Hindus do not see India as their home or want to migrate, according to some reports. Instead, they are interested to migrate to western countries via India.⁸⁸

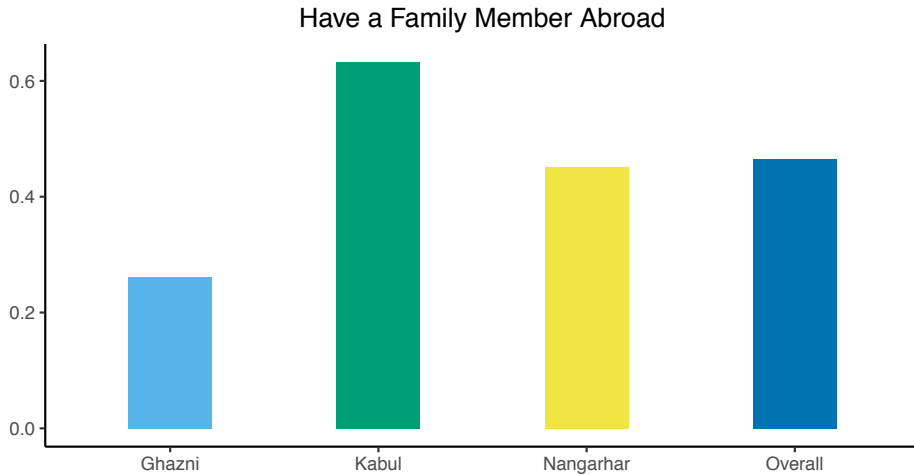
⁸⁸Yudhvir, Rana, “Don’t want to migrate to India: Afghan Sikhs”, The Times of India, July 6, 2018: <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/amritsar/dont-want-to-migrate-to-india-afghan-sikhs/articleshow/64876621.cms>



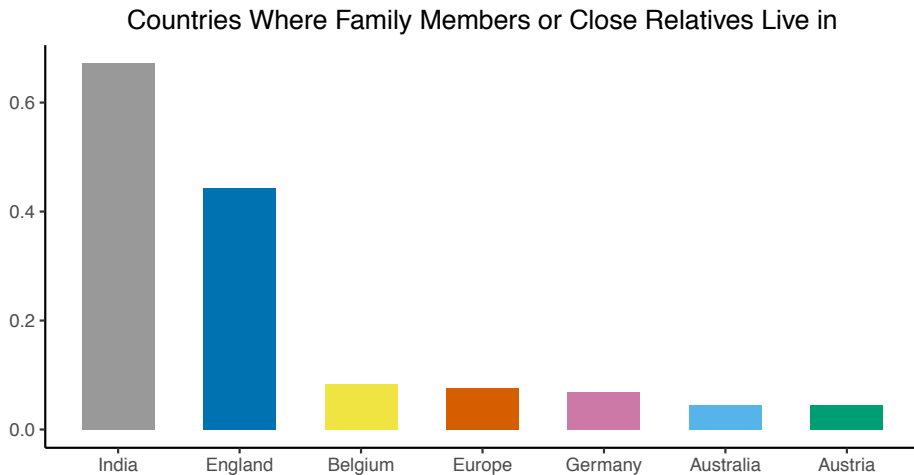
Having a family abroad is considered a pull factor for outward migration. Respondents who have a family member abroad are more likely to be informed about migration process, living abroad, and have support when migrating. This is expected to increase the likelihood of migration. Overall, 46.5% of respondents say they have a family member or relative abroad, which is slightly higher than 42.0% of ordinary Afghans (A Survey of the Afghan People 2018).⁸⁹ Majority of respondents from Kabul say they have a relative abroad (63.2%), while 45.2% in Nangarhar and 26.2% in Ghazni say so. The relationship between desire to migrate and having a relative abroad appears to be robust.⁹⁰

⁸⁹The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf

⁹⁰Pearson $\chi^2(1) = 4.1617$, $P = 0.041$

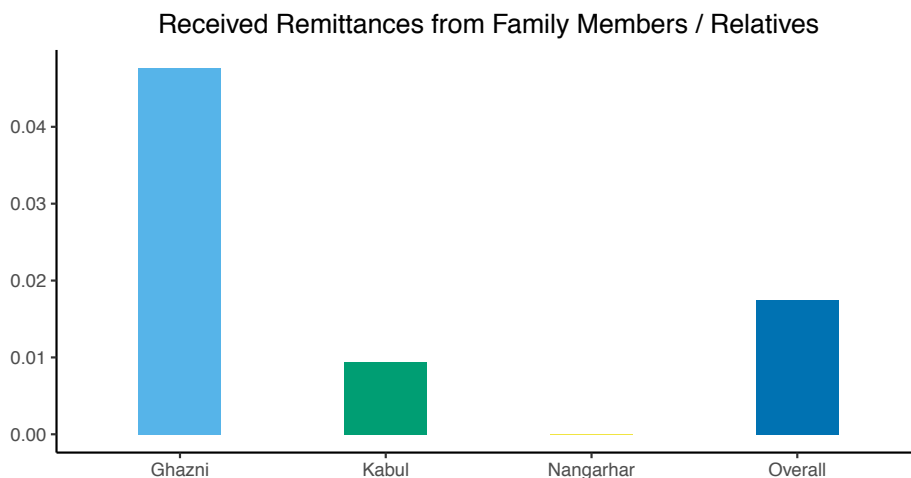


India (67.2%) and England (44.3%) are the top two countries where respondents say they have a family member or relative in. These countries are also among top destinations respondents indicated they would like to migrate to. Furthermore, these two countries have large Hindu and Sikh populations, as well as Afghan diaspora.



Although there are no official figures on remittances, Afghanistan has a large diaspora population which are likely to remit money for their families in the country. When asked about remittances from the survey respondents, very few indicated

receiving remittances from abroad (1.7%). It is unclear why very few Hindu and Sikh respondents receive remittances despite having economic difficulties and family members abroad.



FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DESIRE TO MIGRATE

While majority (60.7%) of Hindu and Sikh respondents expressed desire to migrate, decisions about migration is overall a complex one. Many factors play a role in influence the decision to migrate. There are push factors, related to conditions and situations in Afghanistan, and pull factors, related to situations outside Afghanistan. While this analysis does not have data on all potential drivers of this decision, there are available proxies for them. Nonetheless, desire to migrate is not necessarily the same as actual migration decision. Furthermore, the association between desire to migrate and factors are not necessarily a causal relationship, but a correlation.

As expected, more educated men from households with higher income are more likely to express desire to leave Afghanistan if given the opportunity. This is consistent with the findings from the Survey of the Afghan People (2018).⁹¹ Age does not have a meaningful association with desire to migrate. Additionally, perception of what direction Afghanistan is heading, or a proxy for optimism about the country, has strong association with respondent's desire to stay even if given opportunity to

⁹¹The Asia Foundation, *Afghanistan in 2018: A Survey of the Afghan People*, San Francisco: The Asia Foundation, 2018: https://asiafoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/2018_Afghan-Survey_fullReport-12.4.18.pdf

migrate. Perception of fear for personal safety, and fear while voting and participating in a demonstration has strong relationship with desire to migrate. Moreover, experience of landgrabbing is associated with higher desire to migrate. Hindus and Sikhs have been subject to landgrabbing in the past decades. Experience of discrimination, particularly in schools has strong association with desire to migrate as well. In addition to many push factors mentioned, having a family member is associated with greater desire to migrate, as the most important pull factor. The following table summarizes the factors that have strong association with desire to migrate.

Factors associated with desire to leave Afghanistan

More likely to be male.

More likely to have higher household income.

More educated.

More pessimistic about direction of country.

More fearful for personal safety.

More fearful while voting or participating in demonstration.

More likely to have not lost land, property.

More likely to have family/relative abroad.

More likely to have been experienced discrimination in school/university.



Kabul View, photo by Marko Djurica, retrieved from <http://blogs.reuters.com>

INTEGRATION

In the literature, there is only a general indication of religious and cultural tolerance towards Hindu and Sikh communities of Afghanistan in the past. One may know the song of BiBi Rado jan (Daughter of Niranjana Dass) is a popular folk song sung by prominent folk singer Ustad Nashenas, which signifies the level of tolerance of Kabulis towards Hindu and Sikh community in the past. The term BiBi is a term used in literature to address a respectful female religious figure.⁹²

Most of the emphasis on the issue of integration comes back to and after the Mujahidin's time. The support of the governments for Hindu and Sikh community is mentioned as a way where Hindus were integrated into the society and public and political spheres. The good time of Amanullah Khan, Zahir Shah, and the communist party for Hindus and Sikhs brought direct orders with practical actions taken by these governments to ensure the unity of all religions in Afghanistan. Consequently, there was a much better understanding between Muslims and these communities and they lived in peace and harmony. However, things have changed drastically with the rise of fundamental thoughts and narrow interpretations of Islam and nationalism.

There is evidence of religious intolerance, especially towards Hindus and Sikhs.⁹³ For instance, the dispute over the crematory in Qalacha arose with Muslims.⁹⁴ The crematory was built in a remote area away from the city, the place was used by Hindus and Sikhs for cremation purpose. But recently due to rapid urbanization, many people have started residing in proximity of the site and often they complained of the smoke due to cremation. On the other side, Hindu and Sikh community complained of being stoned by residents of the area while cremating their dead.⁹⁵ This issue is still present and often police forces provide protection for the community during cremation rituals.

According to Fabrizio Foschini, the Hindu, Muslim unity card that Amanullah played throughout his rule was an effort to champion the Pan-Asianism and further his modernism agenda for Afghanistan. He appointed one of the influential civil servants from the Hindu community to attend the peace conference in Rawalpindi and Mussoorie by the end of the third Anglo-Afghan war which created a hostile feeling for British and interested the Indians. "But this was more than symbolic

⁹²Zaryab, Rahnavard, KII, Kabul. Nov 17, 2018.

⁹³Arabzadah, Nushin. "Afghan Sikhs: Forgotten Victims." *The Guardian*, July 6, 2010. January 2, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/jul/06/afghanistan-sikhs-persecution>

⁹⁴Foschini, Fabrizio, "The Other Fold of the Turban: Afghanistan's Hindus and Sikhs," *Afghanistan Analysts Network*, September 23, 2013, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-other-fold-of-the-turban-afghanistans-hindus-and-sikhs/>

⁹⁵Ibid

moves: his reforms abolished the Jazya and encouraged Hindus and Sikhs to take part in developing the state educational system in effect turning them into equal citizens on par with [Muslim Afghans]” Foschini explains. With the emergence of Mujahidin and Taliban the situation changed, Taliban ordered Hindus and Sikhs to wear yellow patches so they can be distinguished from other Afghans. Foschini calls the details of the order “outrageous” as the men would wear yellow dyed turbans and women clothes of yellow color. The Hindu shops and businesses would be identified by yellow marks and colors broadly displayed and they were prohibited from living in proximity with Muslims.⁹⁶ These extreme measures throughout the civil war period have changed the general view of Afghan society towards them. In a policy report by UNHCR regional representation for Western Europe, 2012, it is stated that the societal hostility and mistreatment towards the Hindus and Sikhs have not improved even after Taliban. Hindus and Sikhs report harassment by their neighbors. Less religious tolerance towards their ceremonies and practices are noticed and mostly their children are not being able to attend school due to harassment and insult of the community. The government is seemed to not being able to do much in this regard.⁹⁷

NEIGHBORHOOD AND WORKPLACE DIVERSITY

KEY QUESTIONS

Q-54. *In this area that you live, what type of people mostly live in this area? What are the second most common type of people that live in this area? Your family and relatives, other Hindu or Sikh families, or people from other ethnic and religious beliefs?*

Q-55. *In your workplace, with what type of people do you mostly work with? What are the second most common type of people that you work with? Your family and relatives, other Hindu or Sikh families, or people from other ethnic and religious beliefs?*

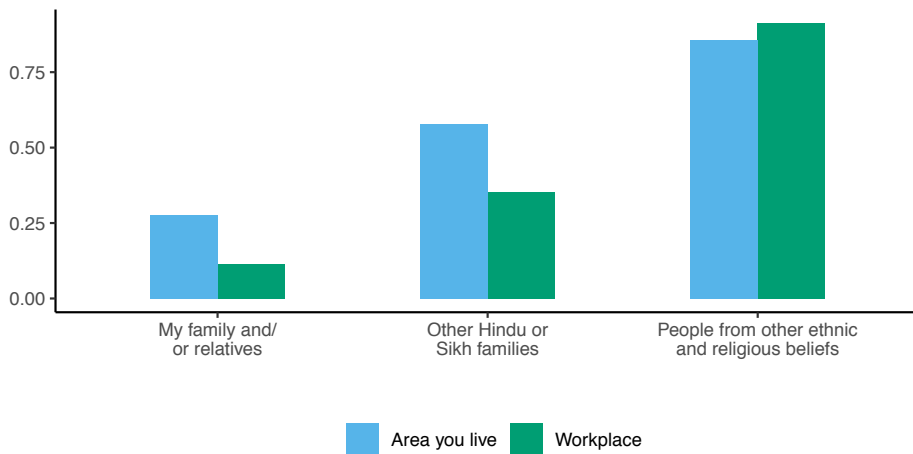
There is little question about shrinking Sikh and Hindu population in Afghanistan. It appears that those who remain are living in certain areas in close proximity in certain areas of larger cities. Nonetheless, the areas they live and work are vastly

⁹⁶Foschini, Fabrizio, “The Other Fold of the Turban: Afghanistan’s Hindus and Sikhs,” Afghanistan Analysts Network, September 23, 2013, <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-other-fold-of-the-turban-afghanistans-hindus-and-sikhs/>

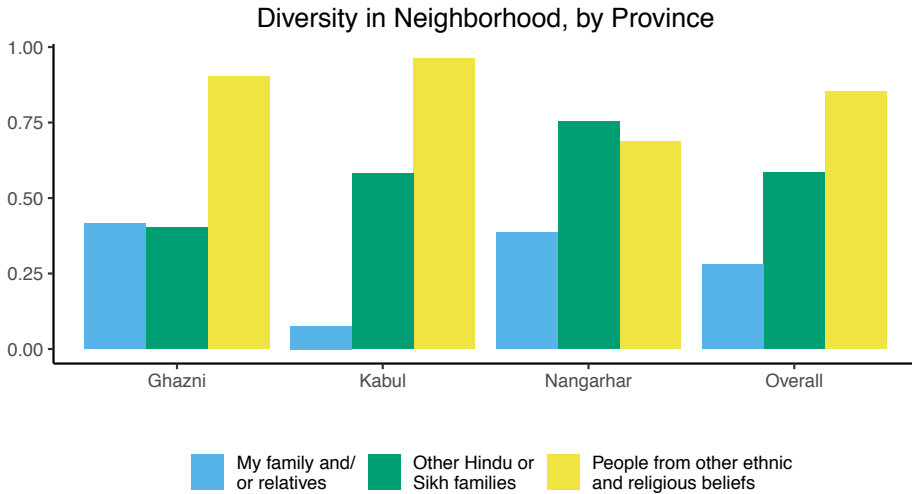
⁹⁷UNHCR Regional Representation for Western Europe, Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan: There Situation and Recommendation for the Assessment of the Claims. (Brussels, 2011), p 2. Available at: <https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain/opendocpdf.pdf?reldoc=y&docid=511ca9522>

dominated by Muslim neighbors and Muslim coworkers. When asked about the areas they live, 85.5% of respondents say there are people from other ethnic groups that live in their area, 58.0% say there are other Hindu or Sikh families living in their area, and 27.6% say other family or relatives are living in their area. In their workplace, 91.2% say there are people from other ethnic and religious beliefs, 35.2% say there are other Hindu or Sikh persons, and only 11.3% say there are family members or relatives. This also indicate that Hindus and Sikhs are largely assimilated in neighborhoods they live in and in areas they work at.

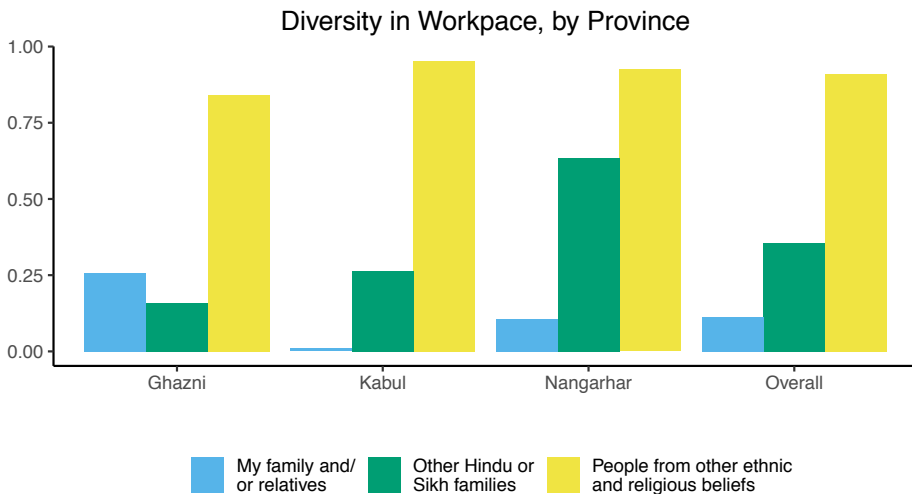
Diversity in Neighborhood and Workplace



In Kabul, a larger proportion of respondents indicate living in areas with neighbors from different ethnic groups and religious beliefs (96.2%). Comparatively, in Nangarhar, fewer respondents say they work with others from ethnic and religious backgrounds (68.8%). This might indicate that in Nangarhar, respondents are more concentrated in areas with only Hindu and Sikh neighbors.



The diversity at workplace is more similar between provinces, compared to diversity in the neighborhood. In Nangarhar, 63.4% of respondents say there are other Hindu or Sikh persons in the workplace, which is significantly higher than Kabul and Ghazni (26.4% and 15.9, respectively). Furthermore, 25.6% Ghazni respondents say there are a family member or relative in their workplace, which is considerably higher than Nangarhar and Kabul (10.8% and 0.9%, respectively).



EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION

KEY QUESTIONS

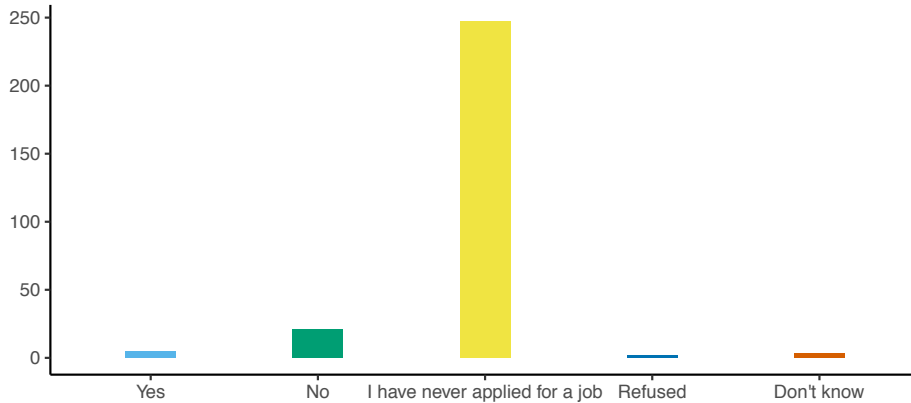
Q-56. *Have you ever faced any type of discrimination while applying for a job?*

Q-57. *I am going to read you a list of different locations. Please tell me if you have encountered discrimination because of your faith or customs. If that is the case, how frequent do you encounter discrimination in each of these locations? (a) School. (b) University. (c) In your neighborhood. (d) Encountering Police. (e) In your workplace. (f) In public transport. (g) In marketplace. (h) In restaurants.*

Q-58. *Now, I am going to ask a few questions about the experiences of discrimination of Hindu and Sikh communities. Please tell me how frequently this situation happens. (a) How frequent students from Hindu or Sikh communities face hostility or mistreatment because of their faith in schools? (b) How frequent Hindu or Sikh communities face hostility or unfair treatment because of their faith while applying for a job? (c) How frequent Hindu or Sikh communities face hostility or mistreatment because of their faith in workplace? (d) How frequent Hindu or Sikh communities face hostility or unfair treatment because of their faith while traveling in public transport? (e) How frequent Hindu or Sikh communities face hostility or unfair treatment because of their faith while eating at a restaurant? (f) How frequent Hindu or Sikh communities face hostility or unfair treatment because of their faith while encountering police?*

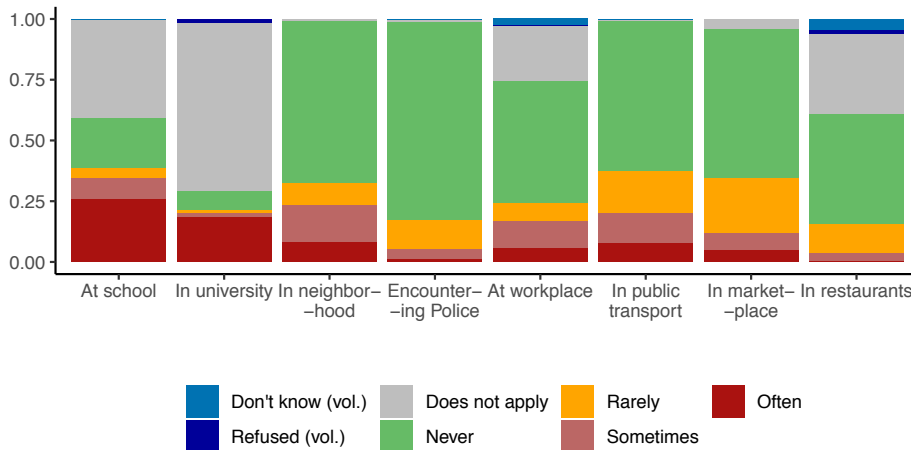
A vast majority of Hindu and Sikh respondents of the survey say they have never applied for a job (88.9%). Of those 26 individuals who have applied for a job, only 5 of them think they were discriminated. What is tangible and significant is the large number of respondents who have never applied for a job. This could be indicative of restrictive behavior of Hindus and Sikhs, or a general lack of interest in outside jobs. Further research is required to understand why Hindus and Sikhs do not apply for jobs.

Experience of Discrimination While Applying for a Job (Frequency)



Furthermore, respondents are asked about their personal experience of discrimination in public places. At schools, 34.9% say they have been discriminated often or sometimes, while 40.1% never been to school. At universities, more than two-third of respondents say they did not go to university (69.4%), and 20.4% of them say they have been discriminated there. Furthermore, 23.6% of respondents say they face discrimination in their neighborhood *often* or *sometimes*. Similarly, 20.2% say are *often* or *sometimes* discriminated in public transport.

Personal Experience of Discrimination at Public Places

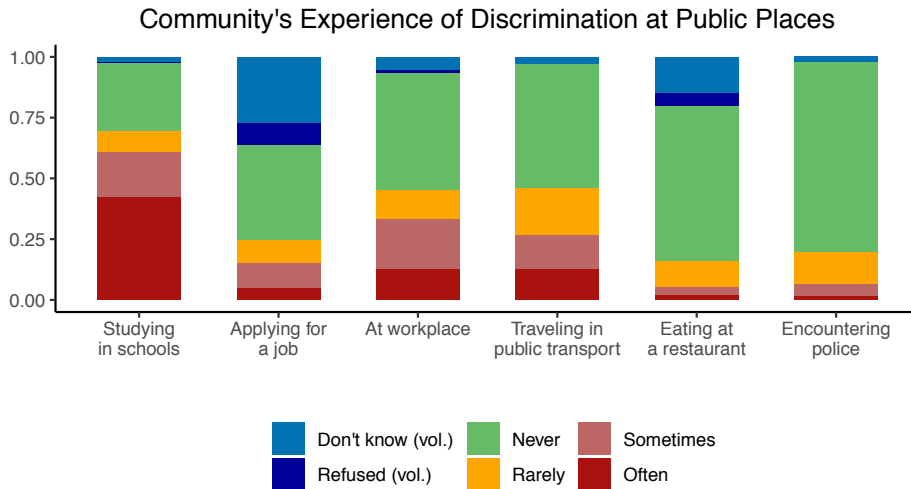


Discrimination in the public space toward Hindus and Sikhs is common. Sometimes, Hindus and Sikhs are called outsiders and strangers. In one instance, a Member of Parliament referred to Hindus and Sikhs as outsiders and guests on public television.⁹⁸

One of Hindu and Sikh representative affirms the discriminatory interaction of the civilians. He states “This is just because of our inability to defend ourselves. We are poor, minority and we don’t have money and weapon like many others who have powerful allies who defend them. We are not powerful enough to be heard.”⁹⁹

This mentality permeated to the offices and embassies outside Afghanistan for instance, a Muslim can be as a witness in a Hindu’s case but a Hindu is not allowed to be a witness when it’s a Muslim case.¹⁰⁰

In addition to personal experience of discrimination, respondents are asked about their perception of discrimination towards their community in public places. Again, schools are perceived to be the most discriminatory place for Hindus and Sikhs, with 61.0% saying *often* or *sometimes* their community face discrimination. Workplace and public transport are also other places where respondents feel Hindus and Sikhs face more discrimination (33.1% and 27.0%, respectively).



⁹⁸Dass, Ischwar. KII, Frankfurt, Nov 10, 2018.

⁹⁹Singh, Narinder, KII, Kabul. Oct 28, 2018

¹⁰⁰Dass, Ischwar. KII, Frankfurt, Nov 10, 2018.

APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

Population figures in Afghanistan are highly contested. It is even more so for the case of the Hindus and Sikhs of Afghanistan, as large number of them has been fleeing the country. Furthermore, they have been migrating internally, mostly moving to larger cities. Before the fieldwork, it was estimated that between 200 and 250 Hindu and Sikh households live in Afghanistan, based on consultation meetings with leaders of Hindu and Sikh communities. While most Hindu and Sikh population reside in Kabul, Nangarhar and Ghazni provincial centers, there are few Hindu and Sikh households in provinces of Herat, Khost, Kunduz, and Parwan.

To undertake this study, PRSO devised mixed methods approach, a quantitative part with 300 interviews, and a qualitative part that included key informant interviews. In the quantitative survey, the aim was to make provincial comparisons with acceptable statistical power. Therefore, a sample of 100 interviews were allocated for each of the three provinces Kabul, Nangarhar and Ghazni. Then, the entire population of Hindus and Sikhs were targeted with family as a unit of the survey. The entire quantitative data is collected from adult Hindus and Sikhs civilians of both gender who are selected through a random selection. The obtained number of interviews conducted with Hindu and Sikh family varies from the planned interviews, and varies from a province to another. The unreliable prior statistics and high emigration rate among Hindu and Sikh communities have influenced the sampling strategy adopted for this study.

Province	Planned Sample	Achieved Sample	Difference
Kabul	100	106	6
Nangarhar	100	93	-7
Ghazni	100	84	-16
Kunduz	0	3	3

In the qualitative side, ten key informants provided insights on a wide range of topics in an extensive, semi-structured interview. The experts provided valuable insights that enrich and complement the survey findings. The interviews started in parallel to the survey fieldwork dates, from October 28, 2018 to December 5, 2018.

Key Informants	Date of Interview	Mean of Interview
Faridullah Farahmand	December 05, 2018	Face-to-face
Ruchi Kumar	November 01, 2018	Face-to-face
Ischwar Dass	November 10, 2018	Skype call
Saidullah Salam	November 13, 2018	Face-to-face

Key Informants	Date of Interview	Mean of Interview
Sarpal Singh	November 16, 2018	Face-to-face
Rahnaward Zaryab	November 17, 2018	Face-to-face
Zamzama Niyazi	November 19, 2018	Face-to-face
Delip Singh	November 23, 2018	Phone call
Basir Hamidi	November 29, 2018	Phone call
Naridra Singh	October 28, 2018	Face-to-face

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