

History Culture and Cross-Border Migration: Impact of Afghan Refugees on Socio-Economic Environment of Peshawar

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Abstract

Pakistan's Afghan Policy after the Russia's intervention in 1979 left indefinable impact on Pakistan's society at large. But Peshawar was the worst- hit city during Afghan resistance against Russia even after that, during Taliban insurgency. Pakistan's Afghan refugee policy brought drastic changes in society, culture and economy of the city of Peshawar. Peshawar was the front line city to Afghan borders which absorbed the major influx of refugees from Afghanistan. After thirty years since the Afghan refugees settled in the city, the demography of Peshawar has been profoundly altered. This study focuses the socio-economic impact of Afghan refugees in the city of Peshawar. The study is based on primary and secondary data. Primary data are generated through community dialogue and through questionnaire. For this study, Peshawar city is divided according to demographic concentration of both communities, that is, Afghan refugees and local residents. The study reveals a stiff competition between the two communities and the culture of the city had experienced a sea-change. Family values, pattern of social interaction, gender behavior and demography had profoundly affected by the arrival of refugees. The study finally concludes that after three decades, two communities are at entanglement rather than at compromise.

Keywords: Cross-Border Migration, Afghan Refugees, Socio-Economic Environment, Peshawar

1. Introduction

Pukhtoons of Afghanistan and Pakistan largely share common culture, values, and common language. The historical roots of Pukhtoons on both sides of the border had significant role contribution in the historical development in subcontinents. These roots are well connected in every aspects of life. Their marital connections, trade relations, and social networking in fact diluted the territorial division between the two sovereign states (Ahmad, 1980). Pukhtoons population in Afghanistan is adjacent to the border of Pakistan. Anglo-Afghan wars resulted in the terrestrial division of pukhtoons and Durand line agreement was deemed as the first international treaty with the colonial master of the sub-continent.

This agreement could not bifurcate the pukhtoons of both sides of the border. The populous Federally Administrative Tribal Area (FATA) continued with strong ties with the pukhtoon tribes of Afghanistan. On the other hand, Afghanistan's role in the history of the subcontinent remained decisive. The foundation of Mughal Empire in India and the attack of Ahmed Shah Abdali were land mark events in the history of the

subcontinent that cannot be understood well without tracing their roots from Afghanistan. Out of many strategic factors, the pukhtoon factor dominates the modern history in pre and post partition of the subcontinent.

In pre-partition political and constitutional struggle of Muslims for separate home land, the All India Muslim League failed to get support from the pukhtoons of NWFP for the cause of Pakistan. Bacha Khan's Khudai Khidmatgar defeated Jinnah's Muslim League. Another important gesture explains the strong ties of Pukhtoons across the border. At the time of Partition, Afghanistan did not recognize Pakistan on the basis of controversial Durand Line. In this sequel, trivial but significant movement of greater Pukhtoonistan added misunderstanding between Pakistan and Afghanistan in early 1960s. Tension escalated to serious proportion on this issue and president Ayub Khan decided to seal the border but because of America's reservations he dropped this extreme measure (Maluka, 1995).

When USSR attacked on Afghanistan in 1979, General Zia-ul-Haq, the military ruler of Pakistan glorified historical relations with Afghans in order to mobilize support in Pakistan for Afghan resistance against USSR (Amin, 1982). This support though ought to be seen in the context of the cold war but it cannot be denied that the pukhtoon factor appeared as strong reason to support Afghans not only in the battle field but Pakistan also decided to wide open its border to accommodate the flood of immigrants from across the border. In the initial phase of Afghan resistance, the passion of Jihad gripped young Pakistanis to a large extent. Muslim clergy played important role in spreading the spirit of jihad among the young generation in Pakistan. USSR evacuated Afghanistan in 1989 and left grave impact on the society of Pakistan. Arms, narcotics, illegal trade, smuggling and social crimes were the gifts of Pakistan's support to Afghan Jihad. The decade of 1990s which according to Charles Kennedy was the 'lost decade of Pakistan' was badly affected by the outcome of Pakistan's involvement in Afghan resistance. Among those impacts, the impact of afghan refugees was one of the major causes of unrest in Pakistan (Burki, 1980).

Pakistan as a whole could not escape from Afghan refugees' impact, however, the city of Peshawar was worst-hit as it was the front line city since the Russian intervention in Afghanistan in 1979. Military ruler, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq's generous policy for accommodating Afghan refugees played havoc to Pakistan in general and Peshawar in particular. Every morning we found a new demography of the Peshawar city' since the Afghan refugees had started to arrive in Pakistan, a senior citizen and resident of Peshawar city commented in an interview. Wave after waves of Afghan refugees flooded the streets and residential areas and open land of Peshawar city (Meer, 1983). In few months they had started their businesses and had become visible community of Peshawar. It was a change the residents of Peshawar city never experienced before. Society, business, culture, law and order none could escape from the impact of Afghan refugees' settlement. Bomb blasts, murders, robbery, narcotics business, kidnappings for ransom alarmingly increased (Meer, 1983). One can see the gravity of the situation by the fact that twenty-seven Jihadist organizations were initially operating among four million refugees in North West Frontier Province (Baxter, 1985).

The affluent Afghan refugees settled in planned residential areas of Peshawar like Hayatabad, Gulburg, Defence and Saddar areas. They enjoyed status equal to the local residents. By the end of Zia-ul-Haq's eleven years martial law in 1988, these refugees were well settled and deemed as permanent feature in Peshawar. They carried National Identity Cards, and pass ports and purchased properties in Peshawar without restriction. They established matrimonial alliances with strong tribes in tribal areas of Pakistan and lot of young boys got married with Afghan girls in the city of Peshawar.

After the dismissal of Dr. Najeeb-ullah's government there emerged a hope of refugees return to home but than situation worsened in Afghanistan with the emergence of Taliban in 1999 that resulted into new waves of migration. Katcha Garhi, Shamshutto and Jolozai camps absorbed majority of them (Foley, 1991).

Since 2002 million people of Afghan origin have returned to Afghanistan from Pakistan and majority of them from Peshawar and its suburbs. Now from Jolozai camp many more are likely to go back Afghanistan. Despite of this repatriation, according to UNHCR census conducted in 2005, over 3 millions Afghans are still resided in Pakistan and 82 percent of them have no immediate plans of return.

According to UNHCR, it has managed return of three million refugees so far. The oldest camp Katcha Garhi has been completely demolished. No resistance has been noticed from the refugees' organization.

However those who established their businesses in Peshawar moved in the settled residential areas of the city. Government of Pakistan had issued notice to UNHCR for evacuation of refugees from Jalozei camp by August 31, 2007 that is extended on the request of UNHCR up to February 2008. Jalozei camp is 40 km away from Peshawar and is the next stop over for refugees if they were forced to evacuate the camp. According to a media report twenty thousand refugees has already moved from the camp and settled in Peshawar (UNHCR, 2007).

Peshawar is located 65 km from Pak-Afghan border and was the first stopover for the refugees after crossing the border from Torkhum. According to 1998 census the total population of Peshawar is 2.019 million. 11.38 percent population of the province resides in Peshawar, while the urban population constitutes 48.68 percent with average annual growth rate of 3.56 percent. Out of total refugees in NWFP, 46.26 percent resides in Peshawar.

These refugees brought cataclysmic changes in the social and economic life of the city that directly and indirectly affected every aspect of urban life since their arrival. Government of Pakistan demarcated areas for refugees' camps in the suburb of Peshawar but they sprawled in the settled towns of Peshawar and open lands. Our opinion survey of selected areas of Peshawar for knowing the causes of smooth and rapid settlement of Afghan refugees reveal culture, language and historical ties that existed before migration as the most instrumental causes. These refugees soon assumed prominent position in economic activities in the city of Peshawar (Rafiq, 1983).

Transports, real estate, fruit industry, flee markets, smuggled goods, cloths shops and labor markets, electronic markets and restaurants businesses gradually taken over by the refugees. Afghan clustered settlement appeared in various pockets in Peshawar. The increasing number of Afghan refugees dissipated initial hospitality and local resident of Peshawar got alarmed with the changing values in all aspects of urban life. Soon the residents of the city got realized that refugees' guests had become the integral component of Peshawar's demography. The two communities became contenders and competitors to each other. Similarity in culture, language and traditions facilitated refugees' settlement in Peshawar but these factors did not facilitate assimilation of both communities. Let us discuss important reasons of this.

Serious social problems were also characterized with Afghans. With the arrival of refugees, rising incidents of crime, prostitution and illegal arms appeared regularly in news papers. Though prostitution is socially considered ugliest act in Pakistani society and especially in Pushtoon culture, it spread under cover in all towns of Peshawar city. Hayatabad town was worst-affected. Drugs and illegal arms, illegal trade and kidnapping for ransom were also at rise (Rossi, 1980). The network of people spilled over other cities of Pakistan. Islamabad and particularly Karachi became the Asia's biggest den of drug dealers. Afghan Katchi Basti at Sohrab Goth was the gift of President Zia-ul-Haq's open arms policy for Afghan refugees. According to Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (2005) Sohrab Goth Afghan Basti in Karachi was known as the largest drug den of Asia from where drug dealers used to operate within and outside the country.

Peshawar was the first stop over for afghan refugees in Pakistan. The emigrants' settlements were mostly patronized through social networking that produced demographic concentration of Afghans in various pockets of Peshawar. This further strengthened the divide between the two communities.

In terms of financial management of the Peshawar city afghan emigrants produced adverse impact. These refugees remained exempted from taxes and other liabilities however they consumed urban facilities, such as sewerage, electric power, fuel energy, roads, health and education.

Within local communities there had been signs of growing resentment to the prolonged presence of the refugees in the city. Local leadership has made intermittent statements in recent years about the need of repatriation of Afghan refugees (Turton and Marsden, 2002). The process of repatriation was started but local people doubt that Afghans would not go back to their homeland.

1.1 Objectives and significance of research

This research is important in many aspects. Its findings will help city managers, provincial and federal governments to design the process of speedy repatriation in a way that help both the communities and minimize the damages on both sides.

There is another angle that makes the study significant. Peshawar is the only city with liberal and moderate values on the extreme northern periphery of Pakistan that borders with Afghanistan. Peshawar is surrounded by the tribal agencies where Afghan Taliban had got support from some local people. The city is very close to these agencies and it is almost impossible to stop infiltration. In last four years this has already proven seeing the increasing number of terrorists' attacks. It is therefore necessary to protect Peshawar from these elements and maintain its cosmopolitan values and socialization among communities. The following questions may help the government to improve the urban management in Peshawar:

1. How these demographic concentrations came into being in the city of Peshawar?
2. How did refugee impact on city governance and facility- infrastructure?
3. What social change refugee did inject in the city of Peshawar?
4. What impact did refugees produce on city management?

2. Research Methodology

Research Methodology is primarily based on survey research mainly from sprawled Afghan population in the settled areas of Peshawar. The first focus of the research addresses the pattern of interaction between Afghans and local population. The second focus is one the impact of Afghans on the socio-economics of the city. The nature of research convincingly suggests qualitative research design that covers diverse opinions of the respondents. Keeping in view the two major focuses of this study we select the respondents from four categories:

1. Afghan Parents (well-settled), age between 40-60;
2. Afghan youth, age between 15- 25;
3. Local residents, age between 40-60;
4. Local businessmen

For gathering qualitative data on urban management another questionnaire developed for the respondents from following departments:

1. District Government, Peshawar
2. Peshawar Development Authority (PDA)
3. Planning & Development Department, NWFP
4. City Police Department

2.1 Research area and population

We selected areas where Afghans are living with local residents. In this category we selected Afghan Colony; Abdara; Arbab Road; Shaheen Town; Board; Tajabad; Danishabad; Rahatabad; University Town; Hayatabad; Yousufabad.

For Business areas, the selected locations provide a mix of both communities which include Karkhano (trading); Khyber Bazaar (export carpets hand made); University Road Shopping plaza (restaurant, cosmetics, garments, tailoring), Board (Medicine, cloths, garments, Fruits & vegetables; Charsadda Road (Flee markets); Namak Mandi; Chok Yadgar.

The summary of selected sample and afghan business demography in the city of Peshawar are tabulated in table 1 and 2 respectively. Moreover maps are also drawn to show it geographically as shown in figure 1 & 2.

2.2 Rationale for selecting qualitative approach

A qualitative methodology investigates issues related to perceptions of both communities. Perceptual data which were so diverse and difficult to gather on the perfect rating scale, that's why regression and correlation tests are not recommended to address the research questions. Qualitative research helps in this study by analyzing the process of migration and refugees settlement in the city of Peshawar and in exploring the relationship between the two variables, that is, business dynamics and social change. In addition to that qualitative research may reveal patterns and its variations on the issue of adjustment of two communities with each other.

Information gathered at several levels from research sites. First we focus on to get the clear picture of Afghan sprawl in the city. Secondly we focus on the community-based socio-economic contexts of Afghans in different locations. Our main thrust was to investigate the change in the perception of locals towards Afghan Refugees and assess refugees' impact on the socio-economic profile of the city. We collected the data on these issues through individual interactions, group-based interactions with communities and business associations.

3. Description of Research Subject and Area

The research population for this study consists of Afghans who are currently residing in Peshawar, as refugees or citizens of the Pakistan. This definition is somewhat different from UNHCR's definition of Afghans refugees. Our definition includes all people of Afghan origin who arrived in Pakistan after 1979 and possesses nationality of Pakistan through legal or illegal means and still residing in the district of Peshawar.

Here we explain four study areas from different perspectives that help us finding the impact on socio-economics of Peshawar.

3.1 Kacha Garhi

Kacha Garhi, the oldest official refugee camps in Peshawar, close to the settled town of Hayatabad on the University Road leading to Khyber Agency and Torkhum border. The 2005 Census found the population of the camp to be 51,014. It was occupied mostly by Pushtoon-speaking emigrants. The camp is completely closed and the majority of refugees returned to Afghanistan. However considerable number of refugees spread out in the settled and semi regularized residential areas of Peshawar. Our survey team with the help of local people identified areas in which Kacha Garhi's residents were now moved to other settled areas. We included these people in our survey.

3.2 Hayatabad

Hayatabad is situated to the northwest of Peshawar opposite to Katcha Garhi. It was planned in the early 1970s with aim to sustain the pressure of population growth and required commercial and industrial activities. The development of Hayatabad coincided with the arrival of Afghans emigrants in Peshawar in the early 1980s. Hayatabad because of its better quality housing attracted affluent Afghan families. International organizations working for Afghan emigrants preferred to have their offices in Hayatabad. Hayatabad was an organized urban settlement where property transaction made through the legal ways and with complete documentation. Hayatabad is, therefore, largely a tenant-occupied neighborhood that caters not only to the well-off, but also to middle-class and even lowers middleclass families of Afghan origin.

3.3 Yusufabad

Yusufabad is located in the northwest of the city. It is an informal and an illegal settlement (*katchi abadi*) comprised of approximately 350 Afghan families. The local landowners converted agricultural land into residential plots which leased out to Afghan families who made mud houses on these plots. This locality developed as make-shift arrangement for Afghan refugees. Yousufabad locality was built in violation of land zoning laws of the district of Peshawar (Farah, 1983).

3.4 Local-Refugees mosaic localities

Four mixed local-refugees localities in Peshawar are selected for this study. These are all regular settlements where Afghans live in close proximity to local citizen. These included Afghan Colony, Arbab Road, Hajji Camp and Sikander Town.

3.5 Afghan Colony

Afghan Colony was developed next to Ittehad Colony a middle class neighborhood of Peshawar. Afghan refugees settled in Ittehad Colony at their arrival, gradually the adjacent area occupied by the continuous arrival of refugees. This colony later on was known as Afghan Colony. It is now counted as regular settlement where urban facilities are provided by Peshawar Development Authority, District Government, Electricity Supply Corporation. It is estimated that around two thirds of the families in Afghan Colony are of refugee status and rests are locals. Afghans are tenants of Pakistani landlords. Few of them have purchased land and homes in the Colony. These Afghans were generally regarded as well-off. These

figures were confirmed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees report (2004) of Afghan Refugees.

3.6 Arbab Road

Arbab Road is located in a posh area of Peshawar 'University Town'. This road runs through the University Town locality which is known as the most affluent areas of the city. There are also clusters of low-income families on and around Arbab Road – and these mostly constitute small vendors and workers in the commercial area servicing the affluent locality. We selected both income groups for our survey. Arbab Road is well served with all civic amenities and modern facilities provided by the District Government. This locality differs from Afghan Colony because the area was already developed before the arrival of refugees.

3.7 Hajji Camp

Hajji Camp is situated near the Peshawar bus terminal within municipal limits. This area was heavily populated by locals with small percentage of Hazara Shias of Pakistani nationality. The area close to the Khyber agency and hence was the first natural stop for Afghan refugees specially Hazara Shias. The growing numbers of Afghan refugees settled in this area which now constitute two third of the total residents in the area. There are very few non-Hazara Shia Afghans in this locality. Hajji Camp is a regular urban neighborhood with all municipal facilities.

3.8 Sikander Town

Sikander Town and Aman Colony was planned area originally developed by the Ismaili organizations for rehabilitation of Ismailies forcefully evacuated from northern areas. With the establishment of Taliban government in Afghanistan Ismailies refugees from Afghanistan arrived in Pakistan which mostly accommodated at open space between Sikander Town and Aman Colony. Ismaili organizations extended the Aman colony and added 240 residential plots specifically for Afghan Ismailis as reported in Chief Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees (1983).

Afghan communities were well placed in the center of the city and more diverse in character than what we presented here in four selected localities. Now let us discuss the socio-economic character of Afghan refugees living in Peshawar.

4. Findings and Conclusion

4.1 Afghan Refugees and their impact on Business Demography of Peshawar

Business demography of Afghan refugees was largely identified by the family position and profile in Afghanistan before evacuation from there. Allan (1974), for example, discerned six strata: 1) those of holy lineage (e.g., Sadat), 2) landowners and administrators, 3) religious leaders, 4) agricultural workers, 5) skilled artisans and 6) unskilled workers and traders.

One pattern appeared very visible that the Afghan refugees in the camps and illegal settlements outside the camp mostly belong to rural areas of Afghanistan, while those settled in Hayatabad or Arbab Road in University Town area came from Kabul and other cities of Afghanistan. Afghan government officials, professionals and Afghan businessmen preferred to stay in Hayatabad Town. While the residents of refugee camps were mostly farmers and laborers' in Afghanistan.

4.2 Interactions with local residents

Cultural, religious and linguistic similarities facilitated interaction without noticeable friction between the two communities but not to the point of assimilation. Such a homogenous environment on both side of the Pak-Afghan border undermined all efforts of the Commissionerate of Afghan Refugees to regularize Refugees' activities in Peshawar and NWFP (Gazdar, 2005). Afghan refugees in Peshawar were smoothly accommodated in already existed classes and spheres of society, like economic, social and political spheres. This interaction has its own dynamics. In general, Afghans interacted relatively freely in the wider economy and society of Peshawar and its surroundings. The fact that so many resided outside camps in rented accommodation in both regular and irregular settlements) was itself a proof of the failure to keep refugees in camps or at least registered them. Even the officially designated refugee camps could not hold refugees and they openly socialized in and out of the camps (Khattak and Bokhari, 2004).

The community profiles indicate that refugees' penetration in the host economy was pervasive. Afghan refugees and local residents of Peshawar interact as buyers and sellers, tenants and landlords, clients and service providers, and employers and employees. This was particularly the case for people residing in regular settlements, or in mixed Afghan–Pakistani areas.

4.3 Housing and security of tenure

Our study finds several ways through which Afghan refugees managed to purchase property in Peshawar despite official restrictions. Refugees acquired fake citizenship documents and made property transactions, sales and purchases, with out any problem. They also used proxy names of Pakistani associates and business partners. These transactions were risky and liable to legal implications. Such vulnerable position of refugees opened gates for kickbacks and bribery for local middlemen. So for refugees, property transaction cost became higher than the local residents.

In irregular urban and semi-urban settlements, such as Yusufabad, the primary transaction with the Pakistani landowner was a relatively secure one. This security was established through the relationship between the landowners and the Afghan entrepreneur. Afghan residents of the settlement, however, only had relatively insecure rights of tenure.

On the other hand Afghan refugees in the mixed settlement like Sikander Town and Haji Camp Afghan refugees were relatively secured. Local counterparts played key role in providing security to these Afghan entrepreneurs. Community net working was also active in these localities. Ismaili Muslim community organizations were active in providing housing to displaced Afghan Ismailis, while in Haji Camp the Pakistani Hazara Shia community had been instrumental in facilitating property transactions on the behalf of the Afghan Hazara Shia families (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

4.4 Employment profile of Afghans

During the field study we found wide range of income disparity among Afghan refugees. The lowest level was even beggary by poor Afghan refugees who subsisted on less than \$50 US dollar per month for average household size of five persons, and the highest went up to \$400 for one household. Kacha Garhi was badly stricken by poverty while rich entrepreneurs among refugees resided in Hayatabad. The wealthy afghan refugees were involved in business not only in Peshawar but also across several countries. The remittances received from abroad improved the living conditions of refugees along with increased investment in various businesses in Pakistan.

Mostly the refugees were involved in small and medium size business and skilled segment of the refugees' population were self-employed in carpet industry, education sector, technical education and small shops and departmental stores. Refugees' economic activities overall alleviated prosperity among them and their standard of living had been better off (Chief Commissioner for Afghan Refugees, 1982).

The most affluent refugee population in Peshawar was found in Hayatabad. Hayatabad's residents were placed in middle and upper classes of the Afghan population in Peshawar. They acquired salaried jobs, considerable numbers were associated with professions like teachers, engineers and doctors and they were in retail business. One aspect was very prominent among refugees population. After their arrival in Peshawar, the city had observed rapid growth of educational institutes, including schools, English language centers, tutorial colleges and small computer training institutes. These were mostly Afghan-owned, and employed educated Afghan men and particularly women.

Refugees did not hesitate to accommodate in the casual labor market in Peshawar. Bottom line activity like rag-picking, beggary, unskilled physical labor, hotel jobs and brick making were occupied by the refugees. Through their hard working and promptness refugees acquired bigger share than their proportion in Peshawar's population. By 2005, the casual wage labor becomes one of the key sources of refugees' livelihoods.

The educated Afghan refugees opted for self-employment. Businesses were overwhelmingly dominated by refugees, like carpet-making, cross-border trade, transport, and retail businesses. Their success was laid in strong community linkages not only in Peshawar but also across border. Refugee population itself provided a considerable market size for their businesses. Therefore the market forces of supply and demand forces of any services or product were dependent on their own community. Their contacts with Afghanistan were

their main strength for trade and transit business. Many of the businesses had been built on the basis of intra-family transactions across borders.

There were other forms of cross-border trade such as the export of timber from Afghanistan to Pakistan that involved lower-value commodities. Peshawar had emerged as a hub of cross-border trade and its commercial sector benefited greatly. Refugees had become an important component of Peshawar's business environment.

Remittances were another important source for refugees' livelihood in Peshawar. However this information was not easily accessible as it was not documented in national economy and largely remain outside the tax net. Our field surveys found that these remittances were received from the countries of the Gulf and industrialized countries of the west. Family assets and income in Afghanistan was also an important source of livelihood of refugees in Peshawar.

The arrival of money for refugees' families in Peshawar was not only sufficient for their livelihood but the money also became a potential source for their entrepreneurial activities. This money came in higher currency from the west and in Pakistani currency from Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Islamabad where the affluent Afghan community sent money to their friends and family. No market, small and medium size was free from Afghan refugees businesses. Road side restaurants, dry fruit markets, appliances, trade from china and Afghanistan, carpet markets and rental business all were dominated by Afghan refugees in Peshawar.

This rapid growth of refugees businesses and social penetration in Peshawar reduced the market share of the local entrepreneurs. The early hospitalities of locals for emigrants turned into hostilities by the time Taliban came to power in Afghanistan. Peshawar still faces an underlying tension between the two communities.

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Figure 1: Population Concentration of Afghan Refugees in Peshawar District

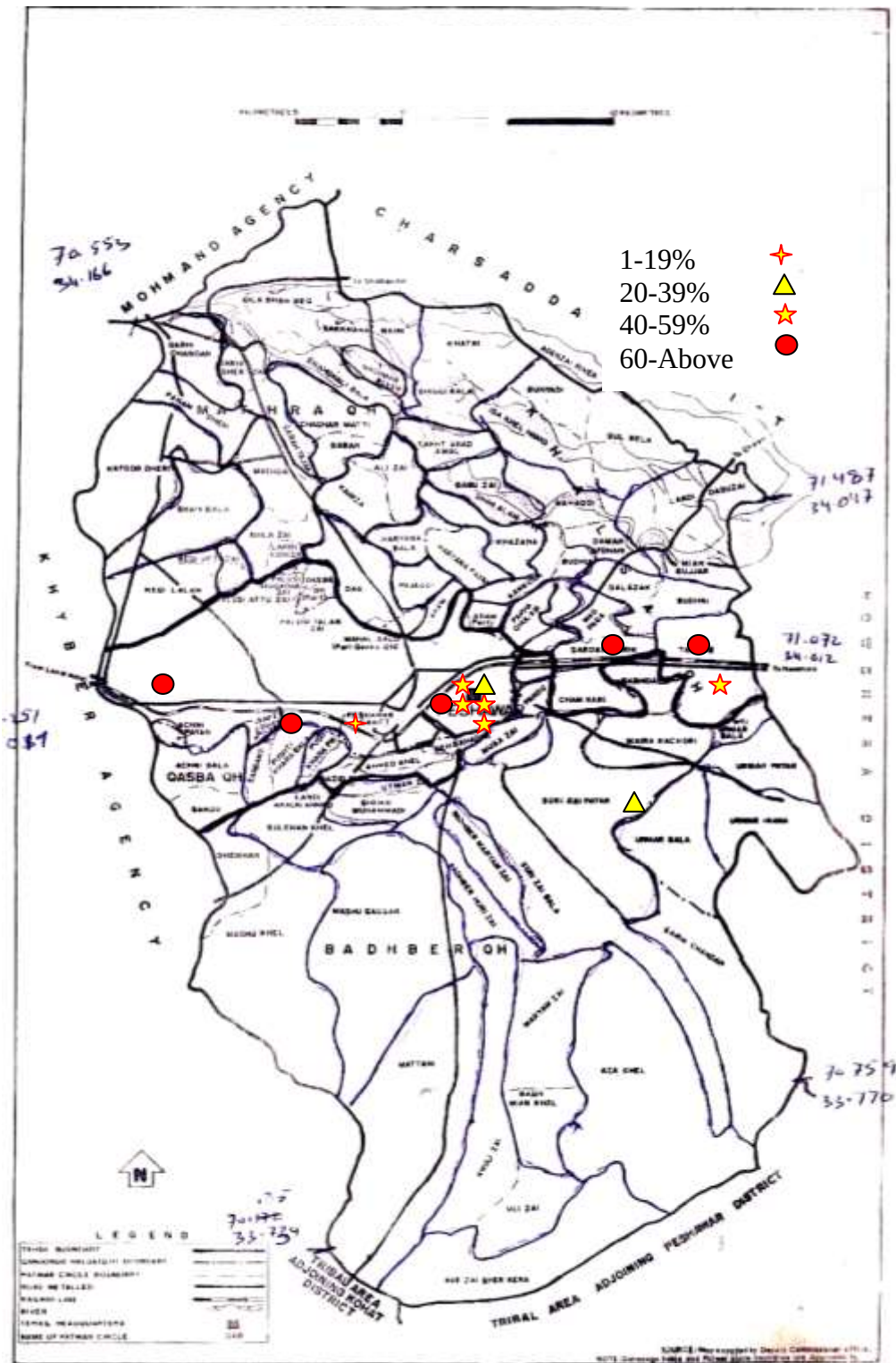


Figure 2: Business Concentration of Afghan Refugees in Peshawar District

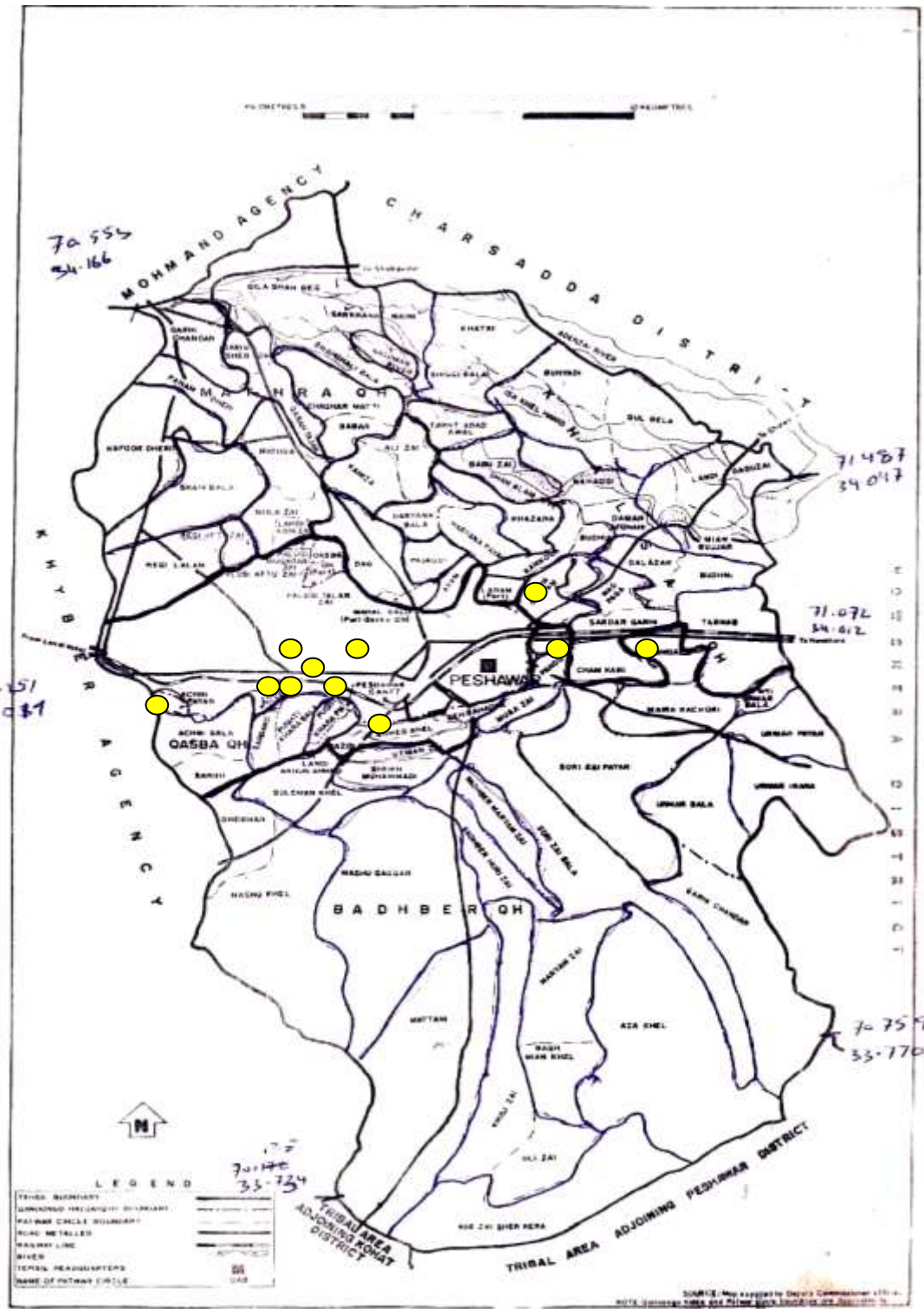


Table 1: Population Concentration of Afghan Refugees in Peshawar District

S. No	Residential Area	Houses	Nature of Business	Number of businesses
1	Jamruad, Shahkas	3500	General Stores and Transport	8
2	Bara, Sarband	3000	Industries and cloths	14
3	Hayatabad	5000	General Stores and Import	55
4	University Road	400	Import(cloths and spare parts)	2
5	Taj Abad, Danish Abad	10000	Import(Foot wares and Spare Parts)	70
6	Board Market	100	Mix Market	90
7	Palawan, Hazar Bus Camp and Gulabad	2300	Import (cigarettes, Clothes, electronic)	100
8	Tehakal, Ghareeb Abad	1350	Small Shops	10
9	Palosi, Nasir Bagh	2500	Export (wheat, Rice, Sugar)	43
10	Shaheen Town, Rahat abad	700	Export (General Commodity)	17
11	Gulbarg, Kohat Road, Nothia	1400	Spare Parts and Clothes	5
12	Arbab Road, Abdara Road	500	Hotels, Travel Agencies, education	20
13	Afghan Colony, Sardar Ahmad Colony	3500	Carpet, Jewelry, Dry fruits	60
14	Zargar Abad, Landi Sarak	650	Leather, Bargains	13
15	Shaheen Town, Rahatabad	1000	Stores	28
16	Hazar Boz Camp, Jamruad Road	2000	Imports and Industries	100
17	Chughal pura G.T Road	450	Daily Wages worker, General Stores	27

Table 2: Afghan Business Demography of Peshawar City

Area of Business	Business Profiling	Ratio of Afghan businesses in terms of %
Karkhano market	Electronics, Cigarettes, Clothes	60
Saddar Bazaar	Garments, Shoes	15
Khyber Bazaar	Carpets, Sanitary, Spare parts	50
Namak Mandee	Leather Export, Gyms, Vehicles Engines, Antiques	70
Ring Road Peshawar	Logistics	35
Kochi Bazaar, Meena Bazaar	Clothes, General Stores	40
People Mandee	Dry Fruits	70
Andar Sher	Jewelry, Antiques	33
Chowk Yadgar	Exchanging of Money	57
Fruit Market	Import fruits	70
G.T Road Tarnab Farm	Honey Export	90
Peshawar Dry Port	Import Logistics	40