



Formal and Informal Justice System in Afghanistan: Interactions and Citizen Perceptions

RESEARCH REPORT

COORDINATION OF REHABILITATION AND DEVELOPMENT SERVICES FOR AFGHANISTAN (CRDSA)

FUNDED AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT FROM CAID/ITL THROUGH "PROMOTING ACCESS TO JUSTICE PROJECT"

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1 Introduction

The report at hand describes the findings of a research conducted on understanding formal and informal justice system in Afghanistan as part of “Promoting Access to Justice” project funded by CAID/ITL and implemented by Coordination of Rehabilitation and Development Services for Afghanistan (CRDSA) in Herat and Badghis Provinces. Ultimately, the research aims to understand the interactions between formal and informal justice system in Herat and Badghis and to explore the capacity of formal and informal justice delivery systems in providing access to justice for poor and marginalized sections of society in the named provinces.

The research was conducted between May and October 2018 with extensive coordination and support from the CAID- Afghanistan and ITL London/Dublin and wide-ranging collaboration of the various actors in the formal and informal justice system. The report is structured to describe the methodologies primarily used for the research, continues with a detailed description of the research findings and ends with specific recommendations and conclusions resulting from the research to inform the strategy and actions of the “Promoting Access to Justices in 2 Provinces of West Afghanistan” project in Herat and Badghis province.

2 Research Scope

2.1 Research Goals

The research aims to:

1. To explore the perceptions of the citizens regarding formal and informal justices systems in Herat and Badghis province;
2. To understand the interactions between formal and informal system of justice;

3. To identify facilitators and inhibitors of collaboration between formal and informal justice;
4. To explore provision of justice by formal and informal judiciary entities to the poor and marginalized Afghans (women and people far from key services, mostly rural people);
5. To identify capacity development needs of the formal and informal justice systems.

2.2 Research Questions

Relevant to research goals, ultimate research questions include:

1. What is the perception of the citizens regarding formal and informal justice delivery systems in Herat and Badghis provinces?
2. What are the interaction modalities between formal and informal justice system in both Herat and Badghis provinces and how it could be improved?
3. What are the possible influential mechanisms that would impact the attitude of both formal and informal justice systems toward more positive inclusive attitude?
4. How permissive or obstructing is the justice delivery systems in Herat and Badghis Provinces, formal and informal, for the poor and marginalized communities in accessing justice?
5. What are needs areas and potential strategies to enhance the capacity of the formal and informal justice actors as well as the communities leading to enhanced justice?

3 Findings

The presentation of the research findings are structured according to the research questions. Only essential aspects of sample characteristics are briefly presented here. Detailed information on the sample characteristics are provided in the methodology section (as an attachment).

3.1 Brief characteristics of the sample

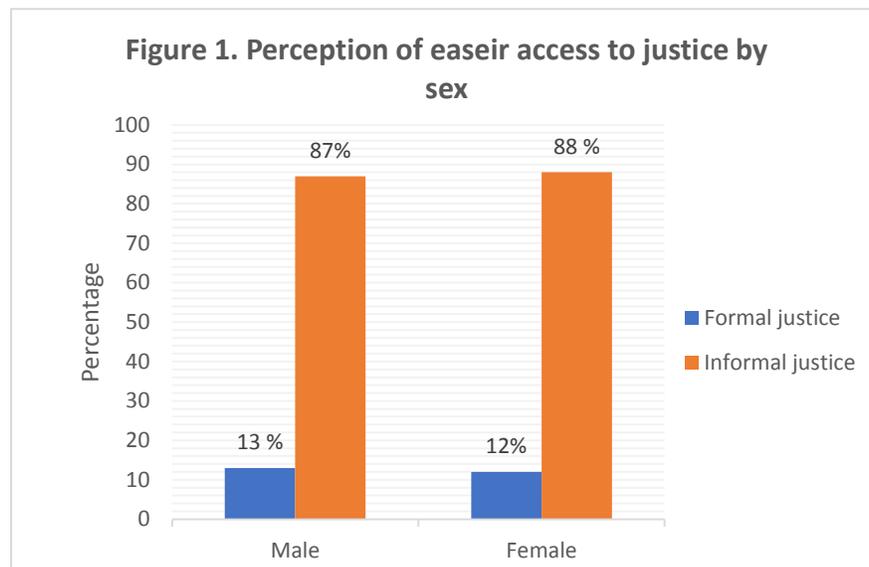
Mean age of the participant was 37.5. 77% of the participants were under 50 years of age. Despite existence of social restrictions on women, 35% of the research participants were female. Overall, almost 85% of the participants were from Tajik and Pahstoon ethnicities in both provinces, reflecting roughly the ethnical composition of the provinces. Minor ethnicity groups i.e. Hazaras, Uzbeks and Turkmen made the rest of research participants. 65% of the respondents were from Herat province and 35% of them are residents of Badghis province.

65% of the respondents had no or minimum schooling, while the rest were high school or university graduates. When both provinces were compared, similar patterns were observed. 35% of the participants were unemployed, while 65% of them were employed in the public sector (27%), private sector (18%) or were farmers/livestock keepers (20%).

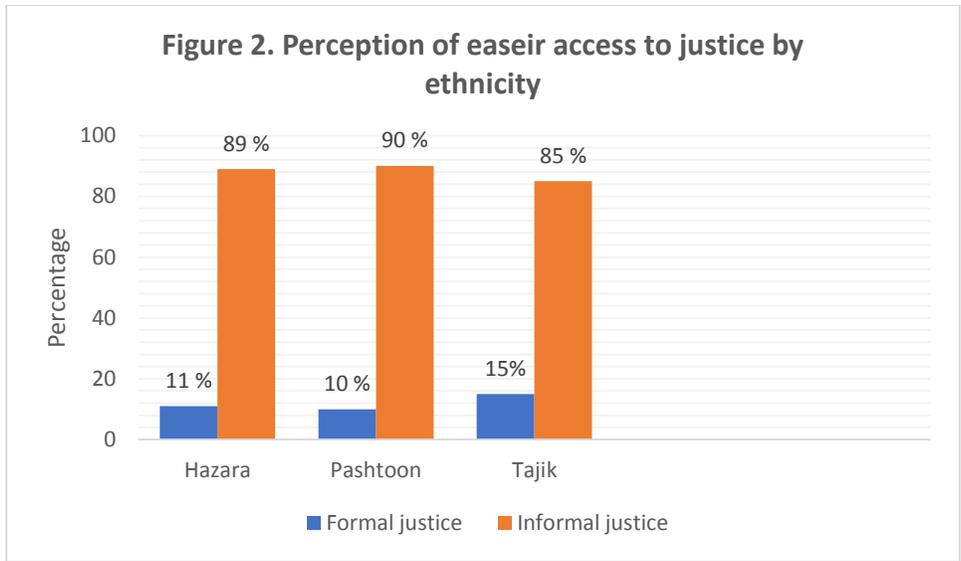
3.2 Understanding the perception of Afghans regarding formal and informal justice systems

3.2.1 Perception of easier access to justice system

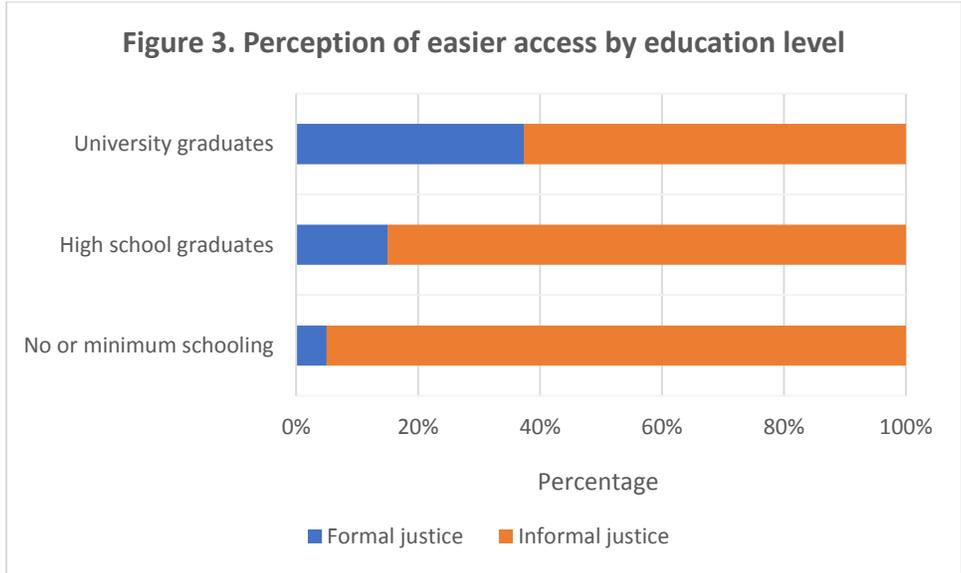
Overall, the majority of the respondents (87%) stated that have easier access to the informal justice system in both of the provinces. Interestingly, the findings did not differ between males and females in the study (Figure 1).



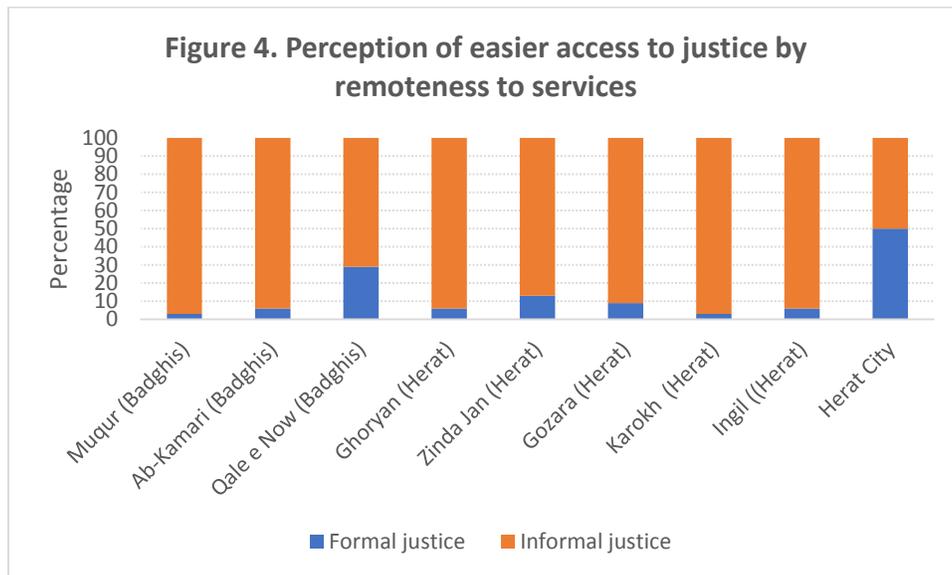
When analyzed by ethnicity, the informal justice again was perceived to be remarkably accessed easier as compared to the formal justice system by all ethnicity groups. The values assessed range between 90% (among Pashtoons and Hazaras) to 85% (among Tajiks) for informal justice system. Even for other minor ethnicity groups living sporadic i.e. Uzbeks and Turkmens the accessibility is more valued to informal justice system (Figure 2).



The access to informal justice system is perceived to be easier by all educational categories. While 95% of those with no or minimum schooling see access to the informal system easier, among those with university education this figure drops almost to 60% (Figure 3), showing that education level is an important determinant of perceptions of easier access to justice.

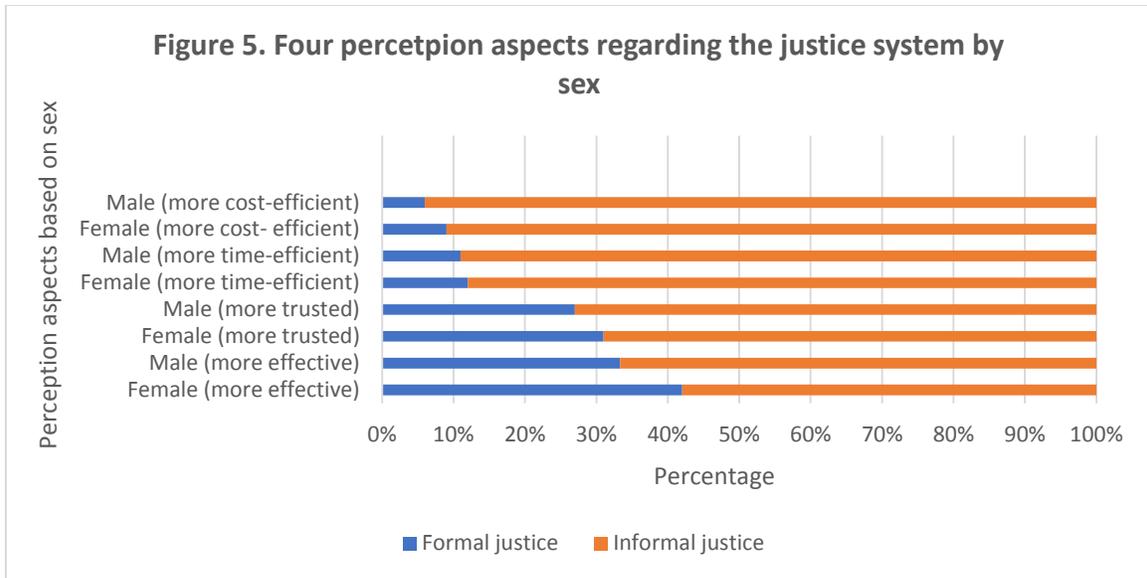


The data was also analyzed to assess if remoteness from services (determined as one of two proxies for poverty and marginalization in this research) has an effect on perception of easier access to justice. The analysis shows that in the province centers (Qala e Now and Herat city) access to the formal justice is perceived much higher than districts that are located far from the centers, where indeed, in many cases the formal justice system is perceived to be almost non-accessible.



3.2.2 Perceptions of trust, effectiveness, time- and cost-efficiency by sex

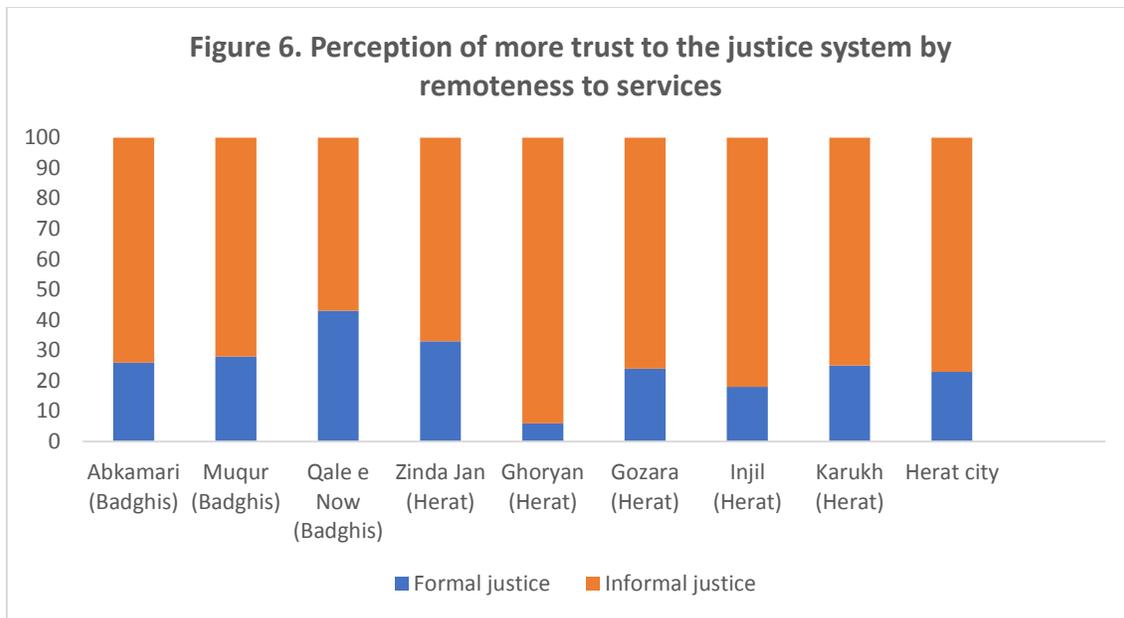
Overall four perception aspects in regard to the justice system (both formal and informal) were analysed based on sex of the participants to be able to assess gender perspectives of the justice system. The perception aspects towards the formal and informal justice system analysed include effectiveness, trust, time-efficiency, cost-efficiency and overall satisfaction (Figure 5).



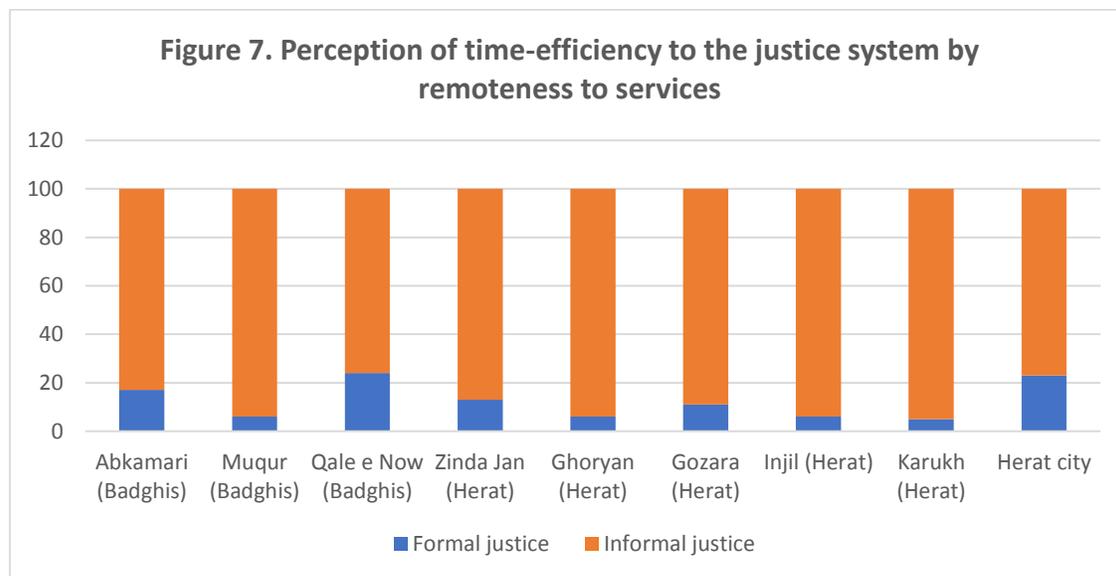
Overall the informal justice system scores more on all four perception aspects of effectiveness, trust, time-efficiency, and cost-efficiency ranging from 60-70% for effectiveness and above 90% for the cost-efficiency. Interestingly, the women slightly score higher for all four aspects than men in favor of formal justice system. Nevertheless, this difference is minimal in most of the cases (1-4% mainly).

3.2.3 Perceptions of trust, effectiveness, time- and cost-efficiency by remoteness to services

Overall four perception aspects in regard to the justice system (both formal and informal) were analyzed based on place of residence of the participants (district or provincial capitals). Overall, participants from both districts and the provincial centers stated to have more trust in the informal justice system. The participant residing in the districts perceived to have only slightly more trust in the informal system compared to the formal system, compared to provincial centers (Figure 6).



Similarly, trends were seen when perceptions of effectiveness, time-efficiency and cost-efficiency were analyzed by remoteness to services (data for effectiveness and cost-efficiency are not shown here). For example, only 23% participants living in Herat city stated the formal justice system to be time-efficient compared to the informal system; this percentage is only 0-3% in the districts of Herat province (Figure 7).



3.2.4 Summary of citizens' perception regarding the formal and informal justice systems

Overall, almost 90% of the survey participants believe that the informal justice system is easier to access and is more time- and cost-efficient to resolve their justice-related disputes. Also, the majority of respondents (60-70%) place more trust to the informal justice system and find it more effective. When overall accessibility of the formal justice system to citizens and especially to the poor and marginalized groups was elaborated, less than 50% of the participants found the accessibility to be intermediate to very good. The same domain for the informal justice system was assessed to be intermediate to very good by 83% of the participants.

Trust in the formal system is not as low as perceptions that it's inefficient. It seems that people are more inclined to think the system simply doesn't work, than to actively mistrust it (though overall trust is, still, very low).

Most interesting is that the trust is not even that lower in the remote areas. When trust is compared with time-efficiency – the trust is higher (e.g. around 25% report trust in Muqur, less than 10% report positive perception on time-efficiency). This means that remote places don't necessarily mistrust the formal system as much as they consider it simply ineffective.

Coming to the satisfaction level from the formal and informal systems, 54% of the respondents stated to be satisfied with the formal justice system (33% intermediate, 16% high and 5% very highly satisfied). The satisfaction level from the informal justice system peaked to 90% of the participants (20% intermediate, 30% high and 40% very highly satisfied).

3.3 Understand the interactions between formal and informal system of justice and improvement strategies

The interactions between the two systems take various shapes and seem to mainly evolve from the individual or institutional perceptions of various actors. Extreme perceptions exist in both systems against the other. Interestingly, there is an agreement regarding the roles of the informal justice system even among most of the actors of the formal justice system. The informal system is not only seen as a traditional mechanism to solve justice-related issues among community members but also as a mechanism that is foreseen in the procedures of formal justice system. This notion was grounded that law is also developed based on traditions, Sharia and culture; hence the informal justices system has a tangible relation with law. This notion can be deployed as an important facilitator factor between the formal and informal justice system.

"...the informal justice system does not oppose the law and is according to the traditions and cultures and could be 100% be effective... almost 80% of the population live in rural areas where beside formal system, they mainly go to informal system to solve their disputes." (District governor, Karukh)

The need for existence of informal justice system was clearly illustrated almost by all research participants. This need was stated to be based on specific circumstances in the country including extensive security problems, geographical dispersity, deficient transport system, complexity of the formal system, perception of corruption and poverty, which limit access of citizens especially in the rural areas to the formal system and makes the informal justice system as the only point of reference to address justice-related disputes of the community members.

Additional factors that were named that have enhanced the role of the informal justice system include unfamiliarity of community members with the formal system, high number of justice-related cases above the capacity of the formal system, non-bureaucratic/efficient processes, better confidentiality, decreased potential for further conflicts and use of lay language in the informal system compared to the use of professional language in the formal system which is not understood fully by

the citizens. The wide acceptance of the need for the informal justice system, even by the actors of the formal justice system can be seen as a facilitating factor to be used to enhance interaction between the two systems.

On other hand, there are exist extreme views regarding the roles and effectiveness of both formal and informal justice systems and their interaction which requires keen attention, when designing strategies that target to improve the interaction between these systems. These extreme views mainly vary based on circumstances and relationships between individual Shuras and formal justice employees in respective districts. Indeed, these misperceptions between the actors of the two systems are the main inhibiting factor for the interaction between the formal and informal justice systems.

“...the informal is not optimistic of the formal system. The informal is more active and effective. If you have money, everything is good. If you don't have there is problem. We try to solve disputes here and if we don't reach to a result, we tell them if you go to government you will get in trouble; you will lose money and time. Here you reach a result without money and party”.
(Head of a Shura, Guzara district)

“...with the formal [system]– you gave them the thief and tomorrow they come out of prison due to money or influential people e.g. MPs. Our work is pure, and the people respect us better than government.” (A Shura member, Guzara district).

“...the interaction is little, the formal doesn't accept our decision, they do decisions under the cover. They don't accept us as decision bodies. On the other side it is time consuming in the formal system and they are influenced by political or tribal interferences.” (a Shura member, Karukh district)

“...there is no informal system, they are just old people, they don't have registration even, they don't have any knowledge of law; people go because formal [system] is time consuming and people especially women do not go because of stigma.” (A formal system actor, Herat city)

The theoretical base for establishing sound interaction and mutual cooperation between the formal and informal justice system seems promising. The existence of informal justice system is indirectly foreseen in the law. It is illustrated in the law that civil and business conflicts could be addressed primarily through “informal negotiation”. To this end, there is also specific directorate in the ministry of justice which aims to increase access to justice through informal initiatives.

“...the existence of Shuras is to help government to provide justice. Their role is supplemental. It is good if they work as intermediary and support government. Sometimes if there are conflicts between individuals, better to solve through informal [system]. Formal system is the last option.”

“...there is sometimes misinterpretation of informal justice and seeing them as interfering, however for some cases the law says that they should be referred to informal.” (A university lecturer, Herat)

Potential strategies to enhance the interaction between the two systems were proposed by the research participant. An overarching long-term strategy which was stated to be also used in other countries was to regulate the informal justice system e.g. registering informal justice system entities and establishing support and accountability mechanisms in order to enhance their effectiveness, acceptance and accountability in provision of justice to the citizens.

“... In other countries the informal system is helpful because they are well-regulated.” ((a university lecturer, Herat)

To that end, defining the type of cases that can be addressed by the informal and formal justice system, as said by some of the research participants, can enhance the collaboration between the systems and reduce misunderstandings. Some rough illustrations were said to be already been considered in the law e.g. crime cases cannot be dealt in the informal system while business, familial, civil or legal cases can be addressed in the informal system. Such illustrations, however, need to be further explored if their implementation can assure/enhance provision of justice for the poor.

Increasing the awareness of informal justice system actors and development of policies/training guides that clearly illustrate the interaction pattern with formal justice system, were seen as workable strategies.

Examples of good interaction in some of the target districts also exist that can be further utilized to develop strategies to enhance collaboration and mutual acceptance of formal and informal systems.

"...we have close relationship with Shuras as legal office has a correction/negotiation role. We have common vision with Shuras in order to solve the disputes together. If two parties reached to an agreement and have no disputes we also agree." (A district legal officer, Karukh district)

"... We advise people to go and solve their disputes through informal system as it is simpler and less time-consuming compared to formal system and also the formal system can lead to conflicts and also, they have to pay 10% tax." (A district legal officer, Karukh district)

"...the formal and informal should sit with each other and talk and see what are collaboration points and point that separate them and also we need to look at the laws and policies in how these can come together." (Head of a Shura, Badghis Muqur district)

"... We accept formal system and many cases actually come back from them to us actually to negotiate and we solve disputes under the idea of government, if we can't solve [the dispute] we refer to the formal system." (Head of a Shura, Ghorian district)

"There is need that the formal system supports us otherwise we can't work." (A Shura member, Guzara district)

In summary, despite existence of mutual misperceptions and some levels of unacceptance by the actors of the formal and informal justice system regarding the roles of each other in provision of justice to the citizens, there exist a sound theoretical basis for collaboration and interaction between the two systems. This

theoretical basis consists of three understandings i.e. 1) the informal justice system is a traditional mechanism of solving disputes that widely accepted by the Afghans, 2) that there are provisions in the law (at least indirect) that accepts the involvement of the informal justice system, and finally 3) that without the informal justice system, it is impossible for the formal system to address the huge burden of legal cases in the country.

3.4 Provision of justice to the poor and marginalized groups

Provision of justice to the poor and marginalized Afghans (women and people far from key services, mostly rural people) by formal and informal judiciary entities was analysed. Provision of justice to the poor and marginalized was illustrated to be far from optimal in the formal system and to some extents also in the informal system. Actors in the both of the systems raised concern about the high potential of injustice to the poor and marginalized based on their specific contexts.

“...due to war, influence of elders, richness, relationship’s influence, the Shura might decide against the poor. At times, they might somehow even convince the poor and he/she might think that my voice is heard although the decision might have not been in his favor.” (A formal justice system actor, Herat city)

“... The informal [system] is not successful to provide justice to the poor as there are tribal preferences, power influences and low legal awareness. Mostly the poor are mishandled in the formal and informal system (they send a mission if it is a rich person and even some Shuras does not held meeting if it is a poor person who need justice.”) (A district legal officer, Injil district)

In the formal system, despite a provision from the law to provide legal assistance to the poor and marginalized, these groups still have several challenges to reach justice. While many of the formal justice actors claim that the formal system is just for the rich and the poor, in reality this is not practiced. Provision of legal assistance to the poor is one of the examples of such discrepancy.

“... Legal assistance for the poor is said in the law, but actually it is very limited in practice. Indeed, in informal system they provide more assistance if it is a widow for example.” (A university lecturer, Herat city)

Discrimination and stigma against vulnerable groups such as women is another challenge in the formal justice system. Women who are referring to the formal system are stigmatized due to traditional beliefs and can be easily mishandled from justice point of view.

“...discrimination especially against women and children exist.” (A university lecturer, Herat city)

Further systematic challenges for the poor and marginalized groups include gaps in law in regard to the disabled and increased fine levels which creates more problems for the poor (not being able to pay the established fines and hence must opt for prison leading to further poverty).

3.5 Identifying capacity development needs of the justice systems

3.5.1 Extensive need for citizen awareness rising

The need for citizen awareness rising was raised by majority of the research participants as one of the most needed strategies for enhancing justice in the country. Not only was the need for awareness raising extensively declared but also the benefits that it could bring to the both formal and informal justice system. Low literacy rate especially in rural areas was seen as the reason why the citizens lack legal awareness.

Low awareness of the citizen was seen to be multi-dimensional. Limitations in awareness were stated to be regarding the laws, their own legal rights and the formal the formal justice system.

Specifically, low awareness and consequently existence of misperceptions regarding performance of the formal justice system among the citizen was brought up to be extensive, despite good performance of the system in some districts.

Low awareness was declared to result in community members to refer to the community Shuras or community elders and seek justice at the community level. "Because people are not aware of the structure of the formal justice system, they go to Shura or Arbab." (Karukh district governor,)

Increased demand for justice was brought up as one of the main benefits of enhanced legal and rights awareness. Interestingly, improved rights awareness is seen as a way to enable the citizen (especially the poor) to preserve their rights in not only in the formal but also informal justice system.

Moreover, a number of participants declared that, indeed, increasing awareness of people can lead to reduced conflicts and enhanced peace among communities.

3.5.2 Extensive need for informal justice system awareness rising

Not only the formal justice system actors academic institutions and civil society organizations but also the informal justice system actors agree that low awareness was not limited to the community members but also the members of community Shuras who act as the main decision makers in the informal justice system, leading to high potential of decisions that might be against the law or decisions that might not protect the rights of poor and marginalized people.

"...the informal justice actors are not familiar with the law. Some decisions might be based on tradition as source of law, but some might be escaping the law or against the law." (An actor of the formal justice system, Herat city)

"... Lack of awareness of law is critical in the informal system." (A university lecturer, Herat city)

Indeed, one of the measures to strengthen the informal justice system was seen to increase awareness of the community Shuras and other community elders through developing specific guidelines and provide training on these guidelines.

“If you want to strengthen us, increase our awareness.” (A community Shura member, Ghorian district)

Nevertheless, it is also clear that actors in the informal justice system have almost no or very little legal awareness/knowledge (even the informal justice actors verify this themselves too) and that this might lead to decisions that may be against the law and thus leading to injustice for the citizens, especially for the poor and vulnerable groups such as women and children. Systematic awareness raising and training of the community Shuras/entities that serve as the informal actors of justice provision can be an effective strategy to improve the capacity of these entities and additionally enhance their acceptance by the formal justice system.

Another aspect that is extensively emphasized by the formal justice system, civil society organizations and justice-related academic institutions and would serve as a ground-breaking step to improve the interaction between the formal and informal justice system is regulation of the informal justice system.

4 Conclusions and recommendations

4.1 Interactions between formal and informal justice system and improvement strategies

The research showed that there is tangible need to increase the interaction and joint dialogue between the formal and informal justice system so that they sound relationships are built among the actors and that misperceptions are reduced regarding the performance of the actors. This can lead to improved trust, cooperation and accountability among the actors and a better service provision to the citizen. Such interactions s can be encouraged and mobilized through

establishing joint discussion forums such as seminars, conferences, exposure visits, case days etc.

The research also found that the relationships between the formal and informal justice systems are more constructive in some districts than others. A potential action could be to conduct exposure visits among various districts formal and informal actors so that the districts where a sound relationship among the formal and informal systems exists, could serve as learning centers for those districts that have less functional relationships exist among the formal and informal systems.

Initiation of a two-pronged action, though potentially beyond the set-out goals of the CAID/ITL project, would be to (firstly) study the legal and imperative aspects as well as the scope and feasibility of informal justice regulation in Afghanistan and (secondly) to set out a comprehensive advocacy strategy that initiate discussions regarding regulation of the informal justice system among the various actors both in the formal and informal system as well as the civil society, academia and the citizens.

4.2 Awareness rising of the citizen

The research showed that low awareness of the citizens is a major challenge in the way of the citizens toward justice. Low awareness not only leads to low demand for justice but also is the main reason as to why citizens could get abused both in the formal and informal justice system. While low awareness was found to be multi-dimensional, at least three domains of awareness rising are vital to be focused in throughout the awareness raising activities of the CAID/ITL project. These include increasing awareness of the citizens regarding the pertinent laws, laws, their own legal and human rights and the structure and processes of the of the formal and informal justice systems.

Various but targeted awareness mechanisms should be appraised, developed and implemented as part of the action. While the use of media awareness campaigns is out of question, there also awareness strategies that use face to face provision of awareness messages e.g. dialogue sessions, conducting interactive awareness

activities such as community theaters at the community level, could be tried to optimize the outcomes/impacts of the awareness raising activities of the project.

5 Annexes

5.1 Annex 1 - Research Methodology

This is a cross sectional exploratory research that has used both quantitative and qualitative methods.

5.1.1 Quantitative methods

This includes survey of 335 community members using structured questionnaires. The aim of the survey was to achieve data regarding citizens' satisfaction and dissatisfaction from the formal and informal justice system. Main aspects of the research that was assessed using quantitative methods include:

- Comparison of perceived accessibility, trust, effectiveness, time efficiency, and responsiveness of the formal system;
- Comparison of perceived accessibility, trust, effectiveness, time efficiency, and responsiveness of the informal system;
- Citizen's perception regarding the role of government entities and informal justice system challenges;
- Perceived challenges and barriers in access to formal and informal justice.

5.1.2 Qualitative methods

Qualitative methods used in the study include semi-structured individual interviews and focus group discussions. These methods were applied to determine the following aspects of the study questions:

- Role of informal justice system in addressing legal issues of the people;

- Understanding the interactions between formal and informal system of justice;
- Identifying facilitators and inhibitors of collaboration between formal and informal justice;
- Identifying challenges of the formal and informal justice systems;
- Extent of provision of justice to the poor and marginalized groups by formal and informal justice system.

5.2 Sampling frame and research objects

For sampling the population for quantitative data collection, we have considered the number of adult population in Herat and Badghis (1.32 Million based on UN report) in which the margin of sampling error is calculated at a cumulative of +/-5.6 at 95% confidence interval, therefore, a total of 335 community members, randomly selected people as recipient of justice, in the target area was surveyed. Based on the adult population proportion, out of 335 targeted samples 118 was surveyed in Badghis and the rest (217 individuals) was surveyed in Herat. The factors of urban/rural, male/female and literate/illiterate were considered to provide best representation. To assure proper identification of research target groups, upon discussions with the ITL/Christian Aid technical teams, it was agreed that 'poor and marginalized' will be particularly a) women and b) people far from key services (health, education etc. – mostly rural people). Specifically, this was further followed throughout the research process including during research methodology development as well as during data analysis and presentation of research results.

For qualitative component following categories were selected (with reasons for selection):

District governors are considered as representative of the government and are directly involved with people and are responsive to any kind of claims by people of each district. The governors are resolving cases, disputes and any conflict among people prior to official claim in the court. They are also well-informed about the structures and processes of the justice system at the district level.

District justice system officials are the primary point of contact of judicial cases before entering the courts system and also in charge of implementation of court decisions.

University lecturers (from law and sharia faculties) have been included in this research as a triangulation method to verify the information gathered from the formal and informal justice actors.

Retired judges were targeted to capture the dynamics of the court system in relation to the research question as it has been not possible to involve the court system in the project and consequently in the research. Alternatively, we used retired judges who have sufficient knowledge of formal justice system and experiences of various legal systems (democratic, Taliban methods of law and Jihadi legal systems).

Islamic scholars are the most essential part of justice making process within informal justice system. They are the key persons in informal justice sessions and the community people act based on their recitation of Islam. The Islamic scholars are those people who have been practicing justice making based on sharia with very long history in Afghanistan. Islamic scholars are not just part of justice, but they are the justice makers, interpreters of the sharia and leading people in their legal aspects. They are pretended as literate people who have Islamic knowledge and are heir the prophet. Further, without Islamic scholar no marriage will be accepted as legal (based on Islam). Because of their position in society, they have very good knowledge of informal justice and Islamic thoughts around this system.

National/international NGOs (some of them) have years of work experience in dispute resolution. The distinct points for NGOs are that these NGOs have classified data and experience and modern technical knowledge of justice making and human rights issues inside communities and within state departments. They have worked with both formal and informal justice systems and have a good knowledge formal and informal justice in Afghanistan and different countries around the globe.

Community elders are the main actors of the informal justice system and have a good knowledge of informal justice system.

5.3 Study participants characteristics

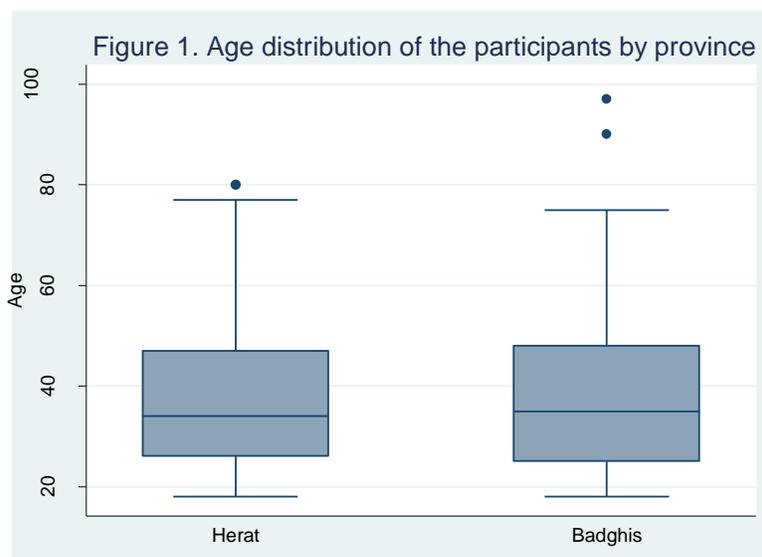
In a primary step, main characteristics of the participants were analysed to see if the surveyed groups are overall representative in terms of age, sex, ethnicity, province, education, and employment status.

In terms of age, mean age of the participant was 37.5. 77% of the participants were under 50 years of age and 22% of them were above 50 years (further details in table 1). Despite existence of social restrictions on women, 35% of the research participants were female (figure 2).

Table 1: Age distribution of research participants

Age (in year)	No of participants (frequency) in respective age group	Relative frequency (%)
18 – 29	125	37
30-39	70	21
40-49	63	19
50-59	46	14
> 60	31	11
Total	335	100

Age and sex distribution did not vary remarkably in Herat and Badghis province (Figure 1).



5.4 Data Collection

Data collection started in August 2018 and lasted for two months. The data was collected by a team of 4 individuals who underwent an extensive training of data collection methods. They obtained enough knowledge of data collection to increase the validity of data and reducing the risk of achieving falls data.

5.4.1 Instruments for data collection

Two main instruments were used for data collection in the research. The first instrument was a structured questionnaire used for the quantitative component of the research. The second was a semi-structured questionnaire used for individual interviews and focus group discussions.

Upon permission of the participants, individual interviews and FGDs were recorded and afterwards the scripts were developed from the recordings. When recording was not permitted by the study participants, one of the two data collectors has taken notes, from which the scripts were developed to do the analysis.

5.5 Data Analysis

Separate data analysis procedures were performed for the collected quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data was analysed using SAS data analysis software program. In the primary steps the data were cleaned and afterwards entered in SAS software. Data entry was performed between 1 and 10 October 2018. Data entry was done by the data collectors and was independently checked by another person to ensure correctness of entered data. The data were then organized to be able to create source pages for analysis of the data.

Qualitative data analysis was done after completion of the data collection process. The research used the inductive approach for qualitative data analysis. Content analysis was applied inductively to the scripts of FGDs and all individual interviews. The scripts were first read to identify emerging themes and review the scripts in terms of content, quality and language. Afterwards the contents of the scripts were coded as per the emerging themes (inductive). The third function applied to data was displaying. With this function, the data were scrutinized in terms of details of the similarly coded blocks aiming at identifying what has details of emerging themes, looking at variations of ideas both within the same group as well as with other study subjects and groups. The final stage of content analysis performed was reducing of the data during which important and relevant concepts to the study questions were identified.