

**Socio-economic barriers for repatriation of Afghan
refugees: A case study of Surkhab Refugee Camp, District
Pishin**



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Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad
2021**

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A case study of Surkhab Refugee Camp, District Pishin**



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Thesis submitted to the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Anthropology.

**Department of Anthropology
Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad
2021**

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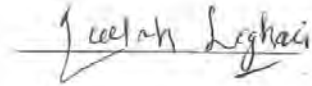
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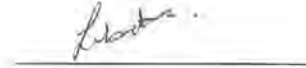
This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Asad Khan. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the Degree of M.Phil in Anthropology.

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ABSTRACT

The present study aims to explore the socio-economic barriers to repatriation of Afghan refugees in Surkhab camp of Pishin District in Balochistan province. The research focuses on two main objectives which deal with the perceptions of Afghan refugees about their resettlement in Afghanistan and to explore the socio-economic aspects affecting the repatriation of Afghan refugees. The locale of the study is Surkhab camp, where most of the respondents live belonging to Pashtun ethnic group. Semi-structured interview guide, FGDs and Case Studies were utilized to unearth the socio-economic barriers to the repatriation of Afghan refugees while acting upon the principles of in-depth interviews. A sample of 23 respondents is drawn to collect the data. The technique of participant observation is carried out for gaining a more in-depth understanding of the research topic. In addition, two case studies were also included. Research findings show that most of the refugees living in the Surkhab camp are the victims of the Soviet invasion, followed by the civil war in Afghanistan. Most Afghan refugees are reluctant to repatriate due to relative peace and generations of Afghan refugees have grown up in Pakistan. They feel more like Pakistani rather than Afghani. In contrast, some of the elderly Afghan refugees have intentions to repatriate due to their affiliation with homeland and with the condition of peace and the availability of socio-economic opportunities in Afghanistan. The study also finds out that most of the refugees are poor and marginalized and have no lands, residence, and livelihood opportunities in Afghanistan which they have in Pakistan. Their socioeconomic conditions and the availability of social services like health and education have improved in Pakistan to such an extent that it works as a barrier to repatriation.

***Key words:** Afghan refugees, Socio-economic, Repatriation, Barriers, Surkhab camp, Pishin District, Baluchistan*

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1. INTRODUCTION

This study explores the socio-economic barriers to the repatriation of Afghan refugees. United Nations High Commission for Refugees, (2006) defines that refugees have been driven away from their country due to segregation, fighting, and violence. A refugee is afraid of being separated because of their religion, race, nationality, political beliefs, or affiliation with a particular cultural or minority group. They are either unable or unwilling to return. Conflicts based on religious, ethnic, tribal violence are the primary causes of migrants fleeing their countries. (UNHCR, 2006). The research highlights barriers to repatriation of Afghan refugees. Although war and political instability in Afghanistan are major obstacles to repatriation, post-war socio-economic and Political situation and variables also play a role in the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland.

Keeping in view the historical events that led to the mass migration of Afghan refugees to Pakistan back in the 1980s, the tendency of Afghan refugees changed to prolong their stay in Pakistan. The factors behind their prolongation are socio-economic and political (Naseh, 2018). According to Crisp, (2005), one of the consequences of historical events of cold war and conflict was the mass migration of Afghans as refugees to neighboring nations, especially Pakistan and Iran. A massive chunk of Afghan refugees has been displaced from the rural areas of Afghanistan, who ended up living in the refugee camps based in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan province of Pakistan.

The situation remained critical during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Indeed, the number of refugees has risen to approximately 2.4 million people. Dr. Najib Ullah succeeded Babrak Karmal as President of Afghanistan in 1986. However, the Mujahidin, who had previously resisted the intervention, intensified their battle against Najibullah's regime, resulting to Najib's fall in 1992. Mujahidin took over Afghanistan. Later on conflict and civil war between Mujahidin leaders started that resulted in the emergence of Taliban militia that came to government from 1996 to 2001. This government introduced strict *Islamic law* or *Shariah* in 1996, which resulted in the mass migration of Afghans. During 2001 after the 9/11 incident, US decided to attack Taliban's government in Afghanistan. That episode of war between the Taliban and the USA created violence and displacement.

It was reported that daily, 3,000 Afghans migrated to neighboring countries due to extreme violence and torcher. War turned country with extreme violence made hurdles for the survival of the local population in Afghanistan (UNHCR, 2005).

However, like those in other countries or states, Afghan refugees are trapped in a complex and quickly changing political and military climate. More than 3,000,000 live in different refugee camps in Pakistan. Most of the Afghan refugees residing in Pakistan heavily rely upon the re- visitation of their homes from time to time. Yet, we have not seen any huge relocation and resettlement back to Afghanistan by these refugees (Khalidi, 1991).

In terms of repatriation, the UNHCR claims that 340,000 Afghans went back to their homeland in 2003. This pattern continued, with over 350,000 people returning to Afghanistan in 2004 and 450,000 in 2005, respectively. UNHCR estimated around 400,000 people to return to Afghanistan during 2006. In any case, the actual number of returns that year was 132,000, which did not match the amount exactly. In 2007, the predicted number was 250,000, while the actual number was 120000. About 2.5 million Afghans remain in Pakistan, unable to leave due to a variety of concerns, including insecure living conditions, limited employment opportunities, and various other socioeconomic challenges in Afghanistan. Despite this, a sizable population refused to leave Pakistan owing to the situation in Afghanistan was not totally stable for a peaceful living (Ghufran, 2006).

Repatriation is a complex procedure with many facets having political and social dimensions. The Afghan government is not stable enough to provide individuals with peace, and economic possibilities. Refugees need to do all the necessary arrangements for them. The life of individual refugees is not secure and is in danger due to civil war and various groups battle against each other. Suicide, and rocket attacks are daily occurrences because of which refugees are not ready to return to Afghanistan (Alam, 2012). The study is about the repatriation of Afghan refugees living in selected locale from Anthropological lens.

Statement of the Problem

The topic under study lies in the domain of Anthropology of refugee studies. This study tries to find out the underlying factors of non-repatriating Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Several courses of repatriation of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan have taken place. However, a

massive chunk of them still resides in several remote areas, and camps of Pakistan. This study tries to explore the perceptions of Afghan refugees about their return to Afghanistan, whether they are willing or have intentions to repatriate. This study also tries to find the socio-economic factors causing barriers to the repatriation of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan.

1.1 Objectives of the study

1. To discern the perception of Afghan refugees about their return to their homeland.
2. To describe the socio-economic aspects affecting the return of Afghan refugees.

1.2 Key Definitions

Refugees

Refugees are people who are both unable to return to their home country because of the fear of persecution (Zimmermann, 2011).

Process of repatriation

Repatriation is the process of returning home from a foreign nation. Repatriates frequently face issues similar to those faced during early cross-cultural access into a new setting upon their return. These include readjusting to work and non-work surroundings in the home country, as well as dealing with home country individuals (Black, 1991).

Socio-economic barriers

A socioeconomic factor is one that combines social and economic aspects. The main drivers of how people act, live, and learn etc is referred to as social and economic variables. If these socioeconomic expectations are not met, factors such as job, communal safety, earnings, accommodation, education, and communal support become hurdles.

1.3 Significance of the study

This study lies in the domain of Migration Studies. The study will have practical and theoretical importance. The study conducted will be helping in academic purposes where it is applicable. The findings of this study will be helpful for INGOs, local organizations, and policymakers to make strategies for the repatriation of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan. Therefore, the study finding will be a good source of new information and data for Policymakers on the repatriation of Afghan refugees.

Theoretically, the findings will play a vital role in the current theoretical debate around the repatriation of Afghan refugees. The results will contribute new data to the previous literature on the issue of Afghans' repatriation.

1.5. Outline of the Thesis

The thesis consists of various chapters. First chapter deals with the introduction, problem statement, objectives and significance of the study. The second chapter describes the literature review of refugees and problems associated with repatriation of refugees. Third chapter deals with the methodology of the study which includes locale, data collection techniques, study methods etc. Coming to the fourth chapter, there is a detailed description about the perception of Afghan refugees about their return to Afghanistan. The fifth chapter explores the socio-economic barriers to repatriation of Afghan refugees. The last chapter is about conclusion of the study.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The chapter reviews relevant literature on barriers to the repatriation of refugees to their homeland. The chapter begins with reviewing literature from multiple disciplines on understanding about refugees, anthropological views and approaches to refugees and problems associated with repatriation as an economic and social phenomenon, focusing on settlement and reintegration of refugees into their country.

2.1 Defining refugee and repatriation

The twentieth century was truly known as the age of displaced people; it is calculated that over 140 million people have been displaced through conflicts and the prospect of political violence. During 1994, approximately 23 million displaced people were recoded as refugees

However in this background, the in-depth investigation and understanding of displaced people is generally is a new topic in the context of Anthropology. The term "refugee" at first referred to French Protestants groups who escaped strict oppression during the seventeenth century. Following World War II, the Alliance of countries took on the responsibility of safeguarding and aiding refugees; the issue of refugees was taken up or perceived as a military matter and was placed under the custody of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force's Displaced Persons Branch. The basic layout for displaced person settlement was built in the style of a military camp with tents or sleeping shelter. Standard components of worldwide refugees' law and strategy rose up out after the civil war, involving the image of the outcast camp as a meeting point where force may be used and people would vanish into the crowd, collectively defenseless in the face of a huge number of mediators. In 1951, the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees (UNHCR) was set up. Particularly since the last part of the 1970s, a huge organization of legislative and non-administrative associations arose to give philanthropic guide, resettlement help and insurance (Lewellen, 2002).

From 1945 to 1990, most displaced people were delivered by cycles of decolonization and postcolonial state-production, which regularly elaborate great struggles against fanatic pioneer powers or among ethnic bunches struggling for control within the new state, and in emerging countries, where the US and the Soviet Union fought intermediate wars. Currently, most refugees are from non-industrial nations, and about

90% will stay there. In any case, outcasts are a worldwide issue. The quick and tremendous expansion in displaced people--- there were around ten times the number of as in 1995 as twenty years sooner. Though the UNHCR has needed to manage 80% a larger number of refugees in 1989 than nine years sooner, its spending plan just moved up by 15%. Approximately 3 million refugees were resettled in developed nations during the 1990s, this was a small fraction of the actual figure. (Campbell, et al. 1993).

Repatriation or cross-cultural entrance is a transitional phase from a foreign state to back home countries. Repatriates suffer issues similar to those encountered after initial cross-cultural entry into an unfamiliar area when they return home. The challenges of readjustments include readjusting to the home country's job and non-work environment, as well as re-interacting with home country residents (Black, 1991).

2.2 The anthropological perspective about refugees

For long, the science of anthropology was related with well-established cultures. Displaced people or refugees were thought to be liminal people who lived in tent cities, had minimal social structure, and had their traditions put on hold. In 1988, the Committee on Refugees and Immigrants (CORI) was set up inside the General Anthropology Division of the American Anthropological Association. Because refugees are a relatively young topic of anthropology, no broad theoretical approach has emerged, and new directions are being developed. As in anthropology, the concepts of community and boundaries are being revisited, with a focus on process over structure and fluidity over consistency. (Lewellen, 2002). The notion of "refugee" is up for debate. Individuals fleeing conflict or for political or strict reasons are accepted in the broadest sense of the term. The UNHCR (1988) characterizes refugees as the individuals who have a "very much established threat" of persecution in their nations of origin. Be that as it may, ecological refugees - - individuals getting away from starvation, flood, or earthquake -- might be dependent upon similar cycles as political displaced people. Additionally, it isn't in every case simple to separate refugees from the people who cross lines for economic reasons (UNHCR, 1988).

2.3 Anthropological approaches towards refugees

Fundamentally, Anthropological approaches are of three types that may be classified as analytical, organizational and interventionist. Analytic approach, may involve some specified ethnographic techniques, it is primarily old-style or classical anthropology, in that it emphasizes adaptive methods, social structures, values, and beliefs through interviews and face-to-face observation with individuals. The organizational approach is more focused on concerns of strategy, organizational structures, and operations. The investigator is interested in the attitudes and preconceptions held by aid organizations, the linkages between immigration officials and exiles, and how strategy is set up and implemented from this perspective. Because the anthropologist places himself/herself in a situation between the exile and the organizations, he/she can go about as culture representative for both. At last, the interventionist approach probably won't accept the analytical and organizational, it is the approach of applied anthropologists, that is, anthropologists who work for assistance organizations with the goal of assisting displaced people (Harrell, 1996).

2.4 The tragic world of the refugee

Refugees are no more only people who had their traditional culture disturbed for a brief period of time. Refugee surroundings were typically unstable for a long time prior to migration and Tran's movement; refugees may well have experienced in-country displacement. As their circumstances change, refugees must constantly recreate and redefine themselves legally, culturally, and materially. They are expected to quickly build new structures in strange environments, submit to the authoritarian humanitarianism of camps supervised by bureaucracy, or adapt to asylum-seeking countries where they may be loathed or disliked. (Lewellen, 2002).

2.5 Burundi Hutu in Tanzania

Even within a same wave of displacement, the scope of refugee interactions can be amazing. This is demonstrated in two separate investigations of Hutu exiles that escaped the Tutsi massacres in Burundi and was living in Tanzania for over ten years by the mid-1990s. The main model appears to be a Hutu tailor stowing away in Tanzania's metropolitan city. The investigation of a large refugee camp demonstrates both the need for and the method for creating history and character. Instead of being restricted within a national country, the acute hatred between Tutsi and Hutu that erupted with the Rwandan massacre of 1994 is local to such exceptional lakes space of west central Africa. During the 1970s and 1980s in Burundi, violent clashes drove a large number of Hutu refugees to neighboring countries. Displaced people in Tanzania's Mischamo Camp see themselves as the

legitimate organizers and successors to Burundi's country. Refugee status was protected as "an important positive component of their overall personality exiled abroad," prolonging their real purpose. Could they return to secure their homeland only by enduring this period of misery? Attempts to escape such problems in Tanzania by acquiring wealth or digestion were stifled, because achievement in the present would generally establish them in the present time and place; they regarded oust as a part of the procedure involved in becoming, in generating history, rather than as a culmination of their experiences. That set of experiences got from an aggregate course of development and recreation by which they legitimized themselves as bound together individuals. In their establishment fantasies, the first Hutu country lived in concordance with the hunting gathering Taw. The despised Tutsi had been held to be "Hamites" or "Nolte" intruders from the north who had acquired harsh mastery through guile. The precise recollections and recordings of mass massacres of Hutu by Tutsi armed forces and ordinary population provided substantial chronicled development. (Malkki, 1996).

In no way, shape or form do all African displaced people live in camps; around 33% live in metropolitan regions, regularly unlawfully. The investigation of a little gathering of Burundi Hutu displaced people residing in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, uncovers one more image of refugee's existence, one described not by aggregate authentic legitimization, but instead by consistent dread. Following twenty years in a state of banishment, numerous youngsters, some brought into the world in the camps, try to get away from the misery and weakness of their control. Most are also crushed by feelings of humiliation and contempt at being identified as outsiders; the Swahili term for exiles, *mkimbizi* (meaning "one who runs"), is a derogatory term. In contrast to the camps, Bongo Land (Bongo meaning "minds"), the capital city, offers one of the few options. To flee the camps, on the other hand, is to accept the risk of being captured or betrayed. Host countries of Africa don't need exiles in urban areas where they can't be noticed and controlled (Sommer, 1993).

Sommer's review centered around 25 youthful Hutu tailors lives cautiously in Dar es Salaam's spilling over, waste-spotted slums. With the leave license needed to depart the camps, they tracked organizations to the city, appending oneself as understudies to currently settled kinfolk. Tailors could make a living by mending clothes, manufacturing jeans, and working as long as twelve hours a day, six days a week, resting in a gathering place towards the back of the store, and only leaving on Sundays to attend a private chapel. While occasionally it was important to leave the sacredness of the store, they needed to stay imperceptible; in this manner, enormous spaces of the city where they may be seen---the midtown business region, the public authority region, consulate line---were

completely forbidden. The danger came from a few sources. Once detected by police, the older men would be returned to the refugee camp. Worse, they may be pursued and abused by Tanzanian neighbours who accepted, or appeared to accept, that the outcasts would get citizenship and become economically and socially powerful. Nor could they trust different exiles. A long way from brought together, the Burundian was isolated into two threatening together "clans": the Imbo from the Lake Tanganyika seaside areas, and the high country Banyaruguru. Regardless of their feeling of dread toward one another, they needed to work, consume food and rest together in capital. Selling out was consistently conceivable. There was additionally a consistent dread that somebody may be a covert agent for the Tutsi-drove administration of Burundi. What Sommers depicts is a daily obsession, in view of a practical appraisal of the social climate and to some degree dependent on profound social abhorrence's and doubts (Sommer, 1993).

2.6 Assisting refugees

The UNHCR, which works with a variety of refugee organizations, plans its actions in accordance with the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol on Refugees. Although it focuses on people fleeing conflict or abuse beyond the border, it can also help "non-Convention" refugees, such as flood victims stranded inside. The UNHCR collaborates with the receiving countries as well as, where possible, the country of origin. Its efforts are focused on three solutions to evacuee issues: first, intentional bringing home; second, mixing in the country of initial refuge; and third, if none of these options is feasible, relocation in another country of haven. The right of non-refoulement, or the right not to be persuaded to leave the nation from which the displaced person fled, is crucial to the interaction (UNHCR, 1988).

The "first country asylum" is the country that initially gives lawful refugee prestige. This can be an issue. For clear reasons, numerous refugees will at first show up in a country that works on that from which they are getting away. This nation will itself be devastated. The absolute biggest refugee developments have happened in the nations encompassing Rwanda and in the Horn of Africa, which incorporates Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, among the most unfortunate and least stable nations on the planet. In some cases, there may exist an equivalent culture local

area that will acknowledge the exiles; in Djibouti, for instance, it was a set up Somali people group that could incorporate a portion of the evacuees from Somalia in 1988. As Palestinians in Jordan and Vietnamese in the United States have shown, outcasts can become comfortable by forming diaspora networks or assimilating into larger cultures. As a rule, be that as it may, evacuees will get a cool gathering, accepting they are not turned around at the boundary. Non-refoulement is a rule that is frequently characterized away. During the 1980s, displaced people from incredibly merciless U.S upheld systems in El Salvador and Guatemala were regularly dismissed because they were monetary transients as opposed to exiles. In Hong Kong, Vietnamese boat individuals were persuasively returned on similar grounds (Rabinow, 1996).

The standard of "leave to remain," which is perceived by numerous nations, licenses migration specialists to deny formal refuge while conceding impermanent haven. While this stop getting nations of any drawn-out responsibility, the evacuee is left in an in-between state without full rights. Regularly the displaced person loses his utilization of movement archives, particularly his identification should be reestablished at the international haven of the country from which he is getting away. Discovering work might be incredibly troublesome since his status is uncertain and he might be legitimately extradited whenever (ibid, 1996).

The essential objective of UNHCR is bringing home, which apparently should be noncompulsory. This goal derives from the entrance of refugees following World War II, when previously oppressive home governments had been replaced with democratic institutions. Currently, the circumstance is undeniably extra mind boggling. A considerable lot of the nations from which the exiles get away from stays risky for returnees endlessly. Courts frequently think that it is hard to unmistakably separate monetary travelers from evacuees (Campbell, 1993). Strain to localize may prompt overeager o foolish activity with respect to help offices. After the 1994 decimation in Rwanda, the approach was to localize Hutu evacuees from encompassing nations quickly. Individuals, numbering in the millions in a few countries, had little say in the conflict. The UNHCR's problem was those remnants of the Rwanda Army, which had been expelled, were attempting to force the exiles to stay inside the campgrounds. All things considered, the outcasts had extremely authentic fears. There were numerous instances of repatriates being murdered. Also, 60,000 Hutus were captured on the flimsiest of proof for support in the butcher; when captured, their main possibility was to anticipate preliminary for quite a long time, or endlessly, in jails so stuffed it was difficult to rests (Malkki, 1996).

2.7 How refugees are viewed

The youngster with the swollen stomach, fleshless arms, and bumpy joints of cutting-edge kwashiorkor (intense protein inadequacy); the teeming campground of myriad dehumanized mankind; the helpless faces lined up at the food truck: these are the common visual impressions of the exile, captured in emotional photos and grainy narrative movies. In a few pages of grim photos of murder and terror, Life magazine recorded the genocide in Rwanda and the refugee catastrophe. Such photos exude a dark and fantastic romanticism. Like Gustav Dore's etchings of Dante's Hell, the stark desolation cannot help but strike the heart. The complexities of the refugee predicament are ignored (Lombardi, 2011).

The exile is frequently documented or videotaped for the news shortly after the split as mom brings her infant through a line to security. The long-term well-being of refugees is rarely discussed. Many studies indicate that a year or ten years after their resettlement, resettled refugees in New York or London will be seen as a lawbreaker - indeed, if she is in the country without authorization, she will be considered a criminal - or a threat to the jobs of true Americans or Englishmen. When the distressed objects of previous emotional photographs become neighbor's, hatred and prohibitive laws frequently replace compassion (Lombardi, 2011).

Anthropologists studying relief organizations observed that generalizations and de-individualization are common among those working with refugees. Large aid organizations may be forced to objectify, simplify, and universalize the people they assist. Individuals might claim less attention as the human population grows. Various assumptions may be made that limit conceptualization, resulting in the creation of a "ideal" refugee, a de-historicized and politicized person who represents the universal victim. The country of origin represents a home, a position of normality, according to this ideal model, which was accepted by the UNHCR leadership to return as quickly as possible. When large groups of people must be controlled swiftly and with few resources, often under sensitive political settings, such generalizing may be unavoidable. The camp, akin to Latin America's provincial repartimiento, is a site where refugees can be concentrated, controlled, depoliticized, and made dependent (actually, camps may create continues association required for extremist politicizing) (Malkki, 1996).

2.8 Gendering refugees

Women make up the bulk of refugee populations, despite the fact that sensitive photos of women and children are usually utilized in media representations of refugees. Until recently, social scientists saw migrants as a homogeneous mass with no concern for their gender. In reality, the experience of forced migration differs greatly between men and women. Women are raped and subjected to other forms of violence during fights. Men are frequently absent (dead or fighting with one another), and women are left to care for their families (Lewellen, 2002).

Colson's (1999) extensive study of the Tonga's restricted internal movement in Zambia reveals many of the cycles that have a significant impact on exiled people. Because of the construction of the Kariba Dam, which was completed in 1958, 55,000 Tonga people of the fertile Gamba valley were relocated in 1956. Due to the tough terrain and absence of streets prior to that time, people were cut off from commercial opportunities, therefore horticulture was mostly resource-based and limited in quantity. Many men relocated for work, but women remained at home. In general, women took care of the livestock and farms, as well as the children. Few women travelled more than ten kilometers from their homes. Women possessed their own land, which was passed down via the female line, and their husbands gave them fields to work on. As a result, women were expected to provide for their family using their own storage facilities, relying on their husband's grain stockpile only when their own was depleted (Colson, 1999).

2.9 Constructing Identity

Identity is a continuous process of becoming an idea, not a completed end point in people's history. It is never completed, but is usually found temporarily within a specific problem that must be deciphered creatively and adaptively. While modern academics would agree with Hall in discarding primordialism hypotheses of group identification, they would only agree on a few points more. Late Anthropology's field of personality has been one of the most challenging and contentious. There is no examination of the meaning of terms like "nationality" and "country," how personalities are formed, generated, and reformed, whether the Nation state is being weakened by an increasing number of condemned individuals, or the impact of Globalization (Hall 1990).

Simply conceiving character can be difficult; people's perceptions of themselves rarely match with how others perceive them. Whites (a rather vague term) in the United States put all Native Americans into a single category known as Indians. The term "Local American" has recently gained popularity, and the majority of persons who have been branded as such prefer to use it. The names of their organizations are enough to identify them: American Indian Development, National Indian Youth Chamber, and National Congress of American Indians. Liberal non-Indians and a tiny minority of politicized Indians are the main users of the term Native American. This may look perplexing, especially when one considers that the title India denotes the progress of the white oppressor. This is suggestive of Edward Said's (1979) perception that numerous westerns generalized about the Orient have been embraced by Orientals themselves. Nonetheless, Indians possibly distinguish themselves as Indian while managing non-Indians (Yanagisako, 1998).

2.10 Defining Identity

The fact that "identity" incorporates at least three distinct conceptions adds to the complexity of defining it. First, consider how people see themselves. The second factor is how others view the identity. Third, social scientist's perceptions of the individual. The first is the most difficult since how a person defines oneself at any given time depends on the situation; for example, she is a sister and daughter one moment, a wife the next, and a church member the next. Finally, self-personality shifts from one setting to the next, and there are synchronous supporting characters. When it comes to formal or informal bunch enrollment, this can be simplified if we just examine character in a social or social sense rather than psychologically. The succeeding definition, which describes how the person is well-known, is distinct and straightforward. Society survives generalizations, solid arrangements, and oversimplifications. A regarded Zulu, South African, or English, strolling down Peachtree Street in Atlanta; he is honest, dark. Despite her inability to speak in Korean and her lack of awareness of the Javanese way of life, a Thai evacuee is an Asian—or, to put it another way, an East Asian. Previously, and more recently, there was a desire to fit the person into culture, which may be a hazy, best-case situation. I expected to be that "Aymara" linked to a culture when I first entered the field among Peru's Aymara Indians. However, there was no sense of such affinity among the people themselves. The individuals appeared to identify as Aymara primarily in a linguistic sense. *Indio* was a derogatory term that was never used. They chose to be called *campesinos*, which is a job title that essentially translates to "peasant" but has implications of a rural lifestyle (Lewellen, 2002).

2.11 Problems associated with repatriation

Repatriation brings itself with many frustrations, expenditures, and emotional turmoil. Considering social problems, multiple problems are often encountered by repatriates. Relocation from their home countries and settlement in another country is a long hectic, and costly process. People live there for longer periods and encounter social and economic restraints. The longer refugees have been exiled, the greater cultural bonding to their host society. People abandoning all identifications with their home areas are said to be event alienated. Many refugees quickly integrated with host communities when they find people with similar backgrounds. Just in the case of Africa today, where the second generation of refugees is no longer a rarity. African refugees have no difference in this regard. In addition, there is now even some third generation of African refugees 'repatriates (Rogge, 1989).

2.12 Social Integration/cultural diffusion and Repatriation

It is assumed that social integration in the host countries influences the refugees' tendency to repatriate to their home countries. During the literature review, the study came across certain empirical evidence in different contexts of the world (discussed below) that support/discuss the assumption of the researcher. Keeping in view the commonalities and differences in the said factor-based descriptions of the phenomenon, the research essayed to replicate as to whether the indicators of social integration in the host countries influence the tendency and willingness to repatriate to their home- countries. Taylor (1881) defined cultural diffusion as integrating into the dominant culture and hence assimilating into it. The argument of cultural diffusion by (ibid, 1881) would be measured in the locale. After repatriation, the process of reintegration begins. Reintegration, according to the UNHCR, is "equated with establishing a sustainable return - in other words, the ability to return refugees in the political, economic, [legal], and social conditions required to retain life, livelihood, and dignity." (UNHCR, 2005). (Hammond 1999) argues the most countries' attitude influences. It was also found that the preferential attitude of UNHCR and other welfare organizations towards the

refugees were considered as something resentful, which increase the resentment between both. This, (ibid, 1999) would argue, works as a push factor for the refugees to repatriate. In the same fashion, research findings show that in Africa, returnees are provided materials for house building, such as bricks and wood. Locals live in grass houses since they cannot afford brick homes. Refugees are also provided with items for house building but, at the same time, are unable to secure good jobs. Poverty is the main hurdle between social cohesion (Bakker, 2014). The stigmatization of refugees, Arnaout (2000), would argue that the meaning of receiving community ascribes to the word "refugees" influences how the receiving society views refugees and, as a result, how it responds to them. Cultural, historical, and religious variables have an impact on this meaning (UNHCR, 2008). To achieve total assimilation in the host nation, the local population's quality of life may undergo a dramatic transformation in the asylum country, posing challenges for returnees (Rogge, 1989).

Due to structural difficulties such as demographic pressure, a lack of economic possibilities, poverty, and poor infrastructure, reintegration following repatriation for returnees is difficult. Furthermore, repatriates place further strain on the country's limited resources, such as land and economic prospects (Sommers, 1993). Land, institutional capacity and instability, poverty, host community views, and unemployment are four structural variables that have been considered in relation to the integration of returnees in Burundi. Burundi's most pressing problem is a lack of land. Lack of land spread poverty where people are unable to cultivate their food, they had to buy food from the cash, but lack of employment made them poor even in rural areas. Returnees are not the only ones who face these difficulties; the entire Burundi population does. The worst structural challenges for all community members have been identified in sites with more returnees as a result of population growth (Fransen, 2012).

2.13 Duration of stay in refugee camps and repatriation

Afghan Refugees are living for a long time in refugee camps in Pakistan. They faced hardships; loss of living outside of their home country. Despite limited assistance in refugee camps, they felt connected with their family members. In the host countries, the life of these refugees become miserable when refugees are displaced multiple times. They must get a house for rent at that time, but they cannot afford it due to unemployment. The only option left is to return to their home countries. Repatriates return home with no savings, lack basic facilities, and seek community assistance to get basics for living. For more than 20 years, Afghan refugees

have been present in a number of nations, particularly Pakistan (Khan, 2016). It is challenging for the newly grown second generation to repatriate to a completely new environment with the newly grown second generation. In parallel, Afghan refugees associate themselves as part of Pakistani culture. Their new generation has seen this environment instead as a contested one (UNHCR, 2006). Afghan kids with home grants were yet allowed to take a crack at schools. As a component of the bringing home strategy from 2004 on, they needed to pay an educational expense, which implied that 'a hundred thousand Afghans had to exit school'. Until 2005 Afghan exiles had the option to enroll their youngsters in either Iranian schools or Afghan-run non-public schools (likewise conceding undocumented kids, albeit secretly), however from 2006 the private Afghan schools have been intermittently shut down, and for quite a while the undocumented kids had next to zero admittance to training (Christensen, 2016).

2.14 Economic Opportunities and Repatriation

The economic problem is amongst the core problems encounters by repatriates. Research findings show that refugees have often been self-dependent in their time in exile. On their migration to other countries, they left all their properties, farmlands, and other amenities essential for homemaking. The question arises do they want to abandon their grown economic circumstances and risk having to start all over again on return to their homeland? (Tanle, 2013).

The second thing is when they want to go to their native countries after a long time when they were fully settled in another country. They feel dreadful while thinking about their returns where farmland regenerated to bushes, which require costly recleaning and rehabilitation (Rogge, 1989).

Furthermore, the Lack of economic opportunities in migrated countries is another problem for refugees. Afghanistan is in a phase of reconstruction. No economic opportunities are present, institutions are weak, and people lack basic infrastructure. Afghan refugees in Pakistan believe that they cannot develop themselves in these conditions it is resulting in them end up became Afghan refugees (Kabir, 2005).

In the same fashion, to overcome economic crises and get legal reintegration after repatriation is easier than social and cultural reintegration. Specifically, in the case of returnees, when they

were residents of another environment in the host country, it's difficult for them to regain the same essence of their home country. Sadly, there are no accurate tools to measure the long and short-term reintegration (Gordenker, 1989).

Additionally, the condition in exile, available resources, access to employment, language, and education play a significant role in returning to their homelands. Life in camps creates a sense of dependency on the host country for the provisioning of resources. Moreover, confronting hardships and living in lesser resources enable refugees to develop a strong livelihood based on access to given resources in return (Harvey, 1989).

Once refugees become economically integrate into host communities, they become part of the regional development strategies. Regional economies such as small-scale industries, construction sites geared by abundant cheap labor are provided by refugees. Their departure would pose detrimental impacts on the regional economy. With the cheap labor, the government adjusts with refugees (Rogge, 1989).

2.15 Cultural Harmony/ networks and Repatriation

Kunz (1981) claims that ethnic harmony plays an important in the acceptance and rejection of the migrants. Migrants who have ethnic and kinships connections across the border are welcomed and settled quickly. In the late 1970s, the Somalian government welcomes the Ethiopian refugee influx very generously. On the contrary, some of the Amharic refugees were treated less, identifying with the Ethiopian regime (Getahun, 2011). People having prior connections are greatly trusted and greeted back to the community. Social network plays a pivotal role in reintegration between locals and returnees. This development may be internal in the shape of some projects that are necessary for the dislocation of residents. External resettlement refers to the 'Migration chain approach' (Brown, 2014).

(Simon, 1974) found the certainty of voluntary repatriation as an answer for refugees. In this case, time and memory are also important in terms of how refugees see their country of origin and return, as stated in the literature. Sentimentality for home, homogeneous gathering and soil might be exacerbated over the long run and twisted by memory.

Cooperation, assurance, providing asylum, and food are the guiding principle in Pashtunwali. (Ahmed, 1976). Living for quite a while in Pakistan, Afghan refugees have respected a vital part of a similar identity, aided all regards. Yet, the thought of predominance and mediocrity

unmistakably exists in this friendly environment. In any case, the Pashto language is a significant component of being Pathan which is the main factor of being adjusted, and hence their repatriation is not likely as those who have generated resentment with the local population.

The well-established Afghans are higher than natives in the social hierarchy. Besides, religion and culture are forms of social cohesion, which are practiced for decades yet parallel. The religious community unites its adherents in encompassing ritual and doctrinal solidarity, yet it is frequently undermined by caste, class, clan, and linguistic identities (Jalal, 1995).

2.16 Language barriers and repatriation

Significant issues emerge in both ways for returnees and for networks into which they return. This issue is complemented by language hindrances made when returnees get back from regions where diverse languages existed. The off springs of refugees get education in the language of their refuge state and consequently need to correct the language of their home region. Second-era outcasts may never have taken in the most widely used language of their home areas. These issues are strikingly represented in Eastern Sudan, where Eritrean and Tigran refugee youngsters are instructed in Arabic (language and content) utilizing a Sudanese educational plan (Kibreab, 1996).

Angolan refugees in Zaire are educated in the French language. Furthermore, English-language instruction was provided to Zambian refugees. When they returned, they were given schooling in Portuguese. This condition presented additional difficulties for the refugees, such as language hurdles upon his or her return. If the returnees are second-age displaced people, these issues might be worsened if they do not communicate in the neighborhood dialects, yet the dialects learned in the nation of asylum (Warner, 1994).

In the case of Burundi, English and Swahili are the most widely spoken languages in Tanzania, followed by French and Kirundi. Not only children, but also adults who learned Swahili in Tanzania have been harmed by the linguistic transfer. The language barrier makes it difficult to communicate with locals and practically impossible to get work. The UNHCR wanted to give returnees with short-term language lessons so that they could learn Kirundi language in schools. Getting an education was pivotal for both locals and returnees. Another problem in the access to quality education is their poverty; returnees cannot afford school expenditure, accessories, and

uniforms to regulate their children's education (Fransen, 2012).

2.17 Social Organization and Repatriation

Long-term reintegration is hampered by structural reasons such as a lack of institutional capacity and instability. Returnees expect to receive their ancestral lands upon return, but native residents occupy them, perceiving that these lands have no more ownership. In this regard, people share their lands but receive only hand-to-mouth resources (Theron, 2009).

It is assumed, the refugee influx potentially threatens the security dimensions of host countries, either by generating new security threats or by intensifying the dangers in the existing situation. (Wilkinson, 1993) revealed that refugee camps experience different clashes with robbers, guerrillas directly, or by assisting their families so that they are free to fight. Results have shown that few individuals with criminal backgrounds and having no identities are a greater threat to host communities.

Research findings indicate that repatriates are considered or expected to be involved in past or present revolts/ attacks. Secondly, where refugees have been considered insurgents, governments are not ready to own them because of the extra burden they place in the forms of resettlement and rehabilitation services (Huyck, 1983).

There is a significant perceptual gap present between the responsiveness of the host government about the safety and security of repatriates. Mainly when it is restless to adjust the burden of refugees and how refugees see the conditions of society in their home country and taking the decision to go back (Aitchison, 1984).

3 RESEARCH SETTING AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes a detailed description of the research setting and methodology employed for data collection while researching the Surkhab refugee camp of District Pishin. The first part of the chapter deals with the study's locale and includes administrative, demographic, socio-economic, and other cultural details about Pishin and Surkhab camps. However, the second part discusses the research methodology for data collection, which also deals with the sampling method and tools, or techniques utilized to target, categorize, and analyze data. The researcher adopted convenience sampling to document the socio-economic barriers to the repatriation of refugees from the Surkhab camp. In-depth semi-structured interviews, participant observation, key informants, and Focused Group Discussions have been used for efficient data collection and analysis.

3.1 Locale of the study

Surkhab refugee camp was selected as a research locale for the field work. Surkhab is a refugee community located 75 kilometres northeast of Quetta in the Pishin area. Surkhab was the first refugee camp in Baluchistan, and it today houses 28,000 Afghan refugees. The population of Surkhab are a combination of "old refugees" who fled Afghanistan due to violence a few years ago and "new refugees" who arrived in the area after the September 11th attacks and related drought problems (Nelson, 2002).



Figure 1: Map of Surkhab camp.

<https://maps.google.com/maps?q=Pishin,+Balochistan,+Pakistan>

3.2 Pishin

Pishin is a district of Baluchistan province in Pakistan. That city was built by the British as a military and civil station in 1983. That was the market center's main rest house with a beautiful Garden. It is located between the Chaman border and Quetta city. Pishin district is situated north of Quetta, fronts in Afghanistan east and northeast. It comprises of a long way. In 1975 it was separated from the Quetta district built a district head quarter. Pishin's modernized form of pushing city was designated in (mainly premodern) Persian sources (Arab sources using Fishing). The population of the Pishin district was estimated at over 300 thousand in 2005. According to the 1998 census first, the predominant language in the section was Pushto. The geographical area of Pishin is about 787,400 squares K.M. In the district, Pishin has four administrative subunits in the community, which are called (tahsil). These four tahsils are Barshore, Karezat, Huramzai, and Pishin. and 38 union counsels. The major ethnic group in Pishin is the Pashtun ethnic group. The district's climate is cold, winter tropical summer, light rain falls, and winter storms. The district population comprised 736,481 in the 2017 census, according to that rural census population of district 593,339, which was 80.56% of the overall district population. Population growth was 3.19 according to a census of 2017.

The household size per house was 5.75 people. There is one police and six levies thanas in the district (Kakar, 2017).

3.2.1 Farming and Agriculture

Pishin is in the tropical ecological zone and has a total potential agricultural area of 185,280 hectares, or roughly 23.5 percent of the district's entire geographical area. Significant crops of the district are wheat, cumin, barley, vegetables, tomato, potato, melons, onion, and different fruit almond, apricot, apples, grapes plum, peach, pomegranate, pistachio, and cherry (Ibid, 2017).

3.2.2 Education and Health

The state of education in Pishin is comparable to that of other districts in Baluchistan. The district's educational system includes both public and private schools of various quality. The public sector runs a total of 921 schools, including primary, intermediate, and upper secondary schools. Rural schools account for 89 percent of all schools, whereas urban schools account for only 11 percent. Pishin is ranked seventh in the literacy rate 50 % education ratio in the district between males and females. Males are 50 % educated and literacy of

Females is 23 % in the overall population of the district. There are two public sector hospitals, ten rural health centers, and ten dispensaries for the district population. That is the entire public infrastructure of health in the district (Kakar, 2017).



Figure 2: Map of Pishin taken from Google,

<https://maps.google.com/maps?q=Pishin,+Balochistan,+Pakistan>

3.1.2 Ethnic and Demographic Groups

There are ethnic and Demographic diversity among the Afghan refugees living in the Surkhab camp. Currently, Pashtun ethnic groups are living at Surkhab Camp. Most of the Population living here belongs to Achakzai, Durani, khilji, Kakar, Wardak, etc are the prominent tribe living in Camp. At early stages, Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Hazara Community resided at Surkhab camp, but all of them left except Pashtuns. Afghan Refugees living in the center are migrated from different cities or Provinces of Afghanistan belong to; Maruf, Arghandao, Kandahar, Helmand, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kalat, Ghazni, and Herat, etc.

3.1.3 Language

At Surkhab camp, most Afghan refugees are Pashto-speaking. The dialect of Afghan refugees from locals was not that different. There may be slight differences at early stages, but they have adopted the same dialect like local people. Speaking the same language also helped refugees in socio-economic survival in new environment. The elders of Afghan refugees can also speak Persian as they have spent much time together, and the youth of Afghan refugees are also able to

speaking Persian due to their schooling in a camp where Pashto and Farsi are the main languages taught to them. Persians and Uzbeks were also living at Surkhab camp, but they later shifted their own towards Quetta and between the outskirts of Quetta City. For Pashto, speaking the same Afghan refugee 's language was an advantage that opened many ways to interact with the locals.

3.1.4 Religion

Afghan refugees residing in the Surkhab camp belong to Sunni sect of Muslims and share the same religious beliefs as the locals have, which helped them survive and integrate into the alien Society. The locals have welcomed the refugees due to the same religion, language, same ethnic background, and cultural ties. Afghan refugees have their Masjids or Mosques and Madrassas at camp, and they also share prayers with locals while working outside of the camp with nearby cities of camp. Surkhab camp has a long side bazar starting from first chain of camp to exit and that bazar contains many of the Mosques and Madrassas where five times Prayers are offered on time.

3.1.5 Conflict resolution

Afghan refugees in Surkhab camp usually adopt two types for conflict resolutions mechanisms. One is based on local Jirga system which is headed by elders of the migrated community. The second mechanism is based on Pakistan's judiciary for the time when conflicts are generated with Pakistani citizens.

3.1.6 Living Standards

The living standards of the refugees of Surkhab camp are very poor with low socio economic background. Their health conditions are deteriorated. Health conditions among men are comparatively better than women due to social and cultural norms among Afghan refugees.

3.1.7 Livelihood opportunities

Most Afghan refugees are peasants and farmers who have lost their houses and property during the Afghan war. Older Afghan refugees were illiterate and had no other skills but farming. In Surkhab, there is no such land exists for refugees farming. Most of them work for daily wages outside of camp, and some are farming lands and taking care of Orchards of Locals. They also do a different kind of works for their livelihoods. Their work includes shopkeepers, horticulture, Truck Drivers and working in Coal mines, etc. Along with it, they also work on farms of local people. Women also contribute to financial setup by selling handicrafts.

3.1.8 Family Structure and Gender Roles

Families are almost based on a combined family system. Every family has its elder for conflict resolution. All the members of a family strictly follow the decisions of the elder. The gender gap between males and females is comparatively huge. Females have fewer opportunities than men, and women are generally responsible for all the household duties. The head male of the family makes the decisions of their return and the marriages of their children. The head male of the family is responsible for protecting the house. They have many family members in a single household where every couple mostly has more than five children.

3.1.9 Household Structure

The entire refugee village is katcha (made of mud) houses. The researcher visited many betakes and Hujras of Afghan refugees, which was not well furnished as refugees having outside of camp. Some Houses inside the camp were well equipped and have plenty of space in betaking where guests receive hospitality from Afghan refugees. However, most of the houses are made of mud with their boundary walls. A curtain is placed inside near the main gate and is very common in Afghan refugees' homes in Surkhab camp.

Figure 3 Field Photography Surkhab



3.1.10 Dressing Patterns

Afghan refugees firmly follow their traditions.. Afghan women wear long round shirts with trousers which is like Shalwar Kameez. Afghan women wear Burqa (Abaya) on the top to cover them from head to ankle. The traditional dress of Afghan males is

Shalwar Kameez. They often use Shalwar Kameez as casual and for formal clothing. The use of a waistcoat over the dress and chadar (a piece of cloth) on the shoulders and covering the body in winter is widespread among Afghan males. Mostly Afghan males wear different types of dresses with embroidery on shoulders, chest, and sleeves. Afghan men wear different types of hats and turbans (Langota/ Pakol) to cover their heads.

3.1.11 Marriage Patterns

Marriage patterns among the refugees are either based on the walwar system (dowry system) or on Badal (revenge marriage). Other than that, exchange marriages (wata-satta) are also dominated among Afghan refugees. Afghan refugees get have both marriages locally or transnationally back in Afghanistan. There were also very few cases of intermarriages with Pakistani people .Arts and Crafts

Women are more active in arts and crafts than the man in the refugee's camp of Surkhab. Women and men make handicrafts for locals for the purpose of generating income. They often generate income from embroidery, which they make based on demand from the local population.

3.1.12 Livestock

Afghan refugees living in Surkhab camp had some animals at their homes were not for economic or financial benefits. Refugees in the camp have cattle not for income generation but for personal use. They are not dependent on livestock because they generate income from daily laborers and horticulture. While some of them had live stocks that they use for familial purposes, including sheep donkeys and hens.

3.1.13 Mosque

Numbers of mosques are there at Surkhab camp inside villages and alongside the main Bazar of Surkhab, where children get religious education and offer Prayers. A strong interaction is built from these mosques between Refugees after offering their Prayers. All the elders and Youth of Afghan refugees came and sit together outside of Mosque and discuss their daily issues with each other. The local madrassas also play an essential role in their social survival because the Afghan refugees 'children are getting religious knowledge from these Madrassas and create social interaction among the refugees and local People.



Figure 4 Camp Mosque

3.1.14 Food Patterns of Afghan Refugees

Afghans avoid eating spicy foods in which chili and oil in their food is very little. Qabli Pulao with Lamb meat is their favorite food. Landi (dry meat) is also their unique food in the winter season, and Qorma is another famous dish among Afghan Refugees. Shorwa is a soup that is a very common food among Afghan refugees. Soup is made of different items. This soup is very famous among Afghan refugees and known as Shorwa. Afghani Naan is renowned bread among Afghan refugees, and their standard drink is Khywah or Shinay Chai (green tea). Most Afghan refugees use Khywah after every meal or serving drink to guests.

Basic facilities in camp

Afghan refugees have access of water for their daily purposes in Surkhab camp. As respondent added that, one of their relatives has his own tube well in camp, and thanks to him, they are getting much water from that, and one tube well has been drought out by UNHCR at the early '80s, and now solar plates are installed over that by installing solar plates it is useful for them from now on they are not paying electric bills of tube well.

UNHCR has built tube wells in camp one tube well is for almost forty houses, and that supplies much water to homes inside the camp. The water scarcity is fulfilled for the daily usages, but they do not have enough water for cultivating and irrigating land near Surkhab camp. They depend on rainwater for grains, and the rainwater is limited in the area as compared to other areas of Pakistan.

3.3 Research Methodology

Research methodology is a procedure through which verifiable data or information is collected, and it delivers reasoning, logic and identifies and explains data to understand the research problems. Research methodology is a way of understanding something correctly, to collect new information. It includes various tools and techniques. In this research, I used qualitative research methods for data collection.

3.3.1 Research Tools and Techniques

Research tools are those instruments and devices used to collect data from respondents by using an interview guide, FGDs (Focus Group Discussions), audio recording, case studies, field notes, and daily diary for the data collection. Techniques are the strategies and processes utilized in the collection of data for the analysis to understand the information about the topic of study. The qualitative research technique involves, report building, and participant observation. I used the following anthropological methods and tools that were useful and appropriate in the context of the research locale. The techniques used in research are explained below.

3.3.1 Rapport Building

For conducting research, it is critical to build a good friendly and meaningful rapport. For gathering data, going to a new community or group to acquire information from the native point of view was not straightforward. The researcher employed rapport building as a crucial and early approach. A researcher needs to build a good rapport among his or her respondents. Until and unless a researcher succeeds in building a workable rapport with the community, he cannot access the actual data that needs to be provided in any case (Lawrence, 2015).

I stayed with the local people of research locale and tried to understand their socio- cultural norms and values. I took my respondents in confidence so that they would share the firsthand data. As my topic concerned documenting the socioeconomic barriers to the repatriation of Afghan refugees, which demanded to constantly visit the Surkhab refugee camp for observation and interviewing .I met various people of starta like teachers, shopkeepers, farmers who trusted me and became my crucial key informants. Moreover, they explained to me the barriers regarding the return of Afghan refugees. I entered the field with my entire identity as a student of M.Phil. I ensured to keep the respondent's identity hidden. I built rapport with the local people, and the people who lived in Surkhab camps. The second most important thing is that that people have been friendly with me because I already belong to the same culture, and I share a common language with them.

3.3.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation is the way of gathering data that is mostly used in the qualitative form of research like in anthropology. It is a way of observing people from inside by mingling with other cultures over a long period and by sharing their day-to-day activities to collect information about their daily life experiences. The observer collects field information and records data in a natural setting. —Through participant observation, the data about people can be observed and recorded. It is the bedrock and hall mark of anthropology (Bernard, 2006).

As a researcher, I did not hide my identity with respondents and key informants. I joined native ceremonies, rituals, gatherings, and other matters to observe their manners those I documented. I attended one of the death ceremonies that Electric Shock caused his death. Besides, I participated in daily activities of people. And I also used to sit in shops at the small Bazar of Surkhab where many of the refugees always sit and share their gossips. I appeared in their gathering as a participant-observer along with my key informants.

3.3.3 Key informants

Key informant is one of the significant sources of collecting data. The informant knows his or her respective culture and knows more than anyone else around. This technique is being used by the ethnographic or researcher in data collection in the field of cultural anthropology, and it is also being used by other social scientists (Bernard, 2006). Key informants are those individuals with whom researchers develop the close relationship they are chosen over time for having information, experience, and reputation and who can give information about their own respective culture. A key informant must have first-hand information about the issues the researcher is investigating in a community.

I needed key informants for better guidance as I am a non-native to the field. I had 2 (two) key informants in the field that helped me introduce the area for data collection. People agreed to give me information due to my key informants who were having social respect among natives. With the help of key informants, I could reach for data assisted me at every forum for conducting my research. The criterion for selecting my key informants depends upon the social knowledge they have and their reputation where people of the locale could not deny sharing

While doing my field work, I interviewed my respondents. Among them, I noticed some of them were aware of the situation which refugees are facing, I selected them as my key informants because of their knowledge about Afghan refugees living in Surkhab camp. Following were my key informants.

3.3.3.1 Moin Khan (key informant 1)

Thirty-three years old Moin Khan is a resident of Khanozai tehsil near to Surkhab camp. He has been working as a field supervisor in Riz consulting, from the last three years. The work of the consultancy is related to the refugees 'social and economic wellbeing. Prior to this, he was also working on the projects of the Baluchistan Rural Support Program (BRSP). These projects were about the educational and healthcare development of the refugees in the Surkhab camp. He was one of the key informants who gave a lot of knowledge about Afghan refugees of the Surkhab camp, particularly about their social and economic conditions. The researcher got important information from Moin Khan in the field. He also had his agricultural land in Surkhab. Refugees had been working as a peasants and care takers of their fruit orchards and having refugee status living at Surkhab camp. The researcher got access to those refugees 'workers through agriculture fields with the help of my key respondent, who was well known to them by having prior connections. He also made easy researcher's access to the respondents in Surkhab Camp.

3.3.3.2 Manan Aka (key informant 2)

The second key informant was a watchman of the primary boys' model school Surkhab. He was forty-five years old. He had excellent relations with the Afghan refugees, particularly camp residents. He spent more than fifteen years in Surkhab and had deep in interactions with Afghan refugees'. He introduced the researcher with the school's teachers. He helped in the rapport building of the researcher in the field. He informed about the population, living conditions, economic and financial burdens, and national and international donations to Surkhab camp refugees.

3.3.4 In-depth Interviews

It is one of the most essential methods used in qualitative research, to collect data through detailed and in-depth interviews. I asked open-ended questions to my respondents and listened carefully to their relevant. The in-depth interviews enabled me for data collection. I conducted formal interviews of one or half hours with some of my respondents, usually with farmers, shopkeepers, elders of the refugee village, and schoolteachers, and some

dispensers. I conducted a total of 23 interviews regarding my research topic. I also had discussions regarding the current refugee conditions in the camp and the factors which affect their repatriation. The technique of in-depth interviewing enabled me getting detailed information. I conducted in-depth interviews for cross-checking, to avoid incorrect or invalid information from my respondents regarding the research process

Interview Guide

A good understanding of the topic allows you to make a good questionnaire (interview guide) that gives respondents appropriate, important, and meaningful responses to each question being asked from them. For a researcher, it is necessary to have a good interview guide to better understand the issue and a better understanding between the interviewer and interviewee (Bernard, 2006).

My interview guide is made up of relevant questions that are related to my research topic and objectives. The interview guide assisted me in not missing any aspect of research that was followed as a memory of queries. The interview guide had open-ended questions that responded freely communicated with me. It helped me in covering the investigation holistically. In some situations, I added and deducted to queries from my interview guide in case of irrelevancy and relevancy of them, but in totality, I have covered whole questions.

Focus Group Discussions

I conducted Focus Group Discussions during my fieldwork about their willingness and intentions to return to their Homeland. It happened sometimes, when I was conducting my interviews in public where, people interrupted to share collective experiences, which helped me to collect relevant information regarding my topic. Besides, I used an interview guide for Focus Group Discussion, but at the same time, I used general questions regarding their experiences. I acted as moderator of the Focus Group Discussions that I had questioned them regarding their perceptions and intention of returning their homeland. During focus group discussions, they felt comfortable and spoke freely without any hesitation. I conducted two (2) FGDs to understand different aspects of the study. While completing FGDs, each of the groups had 10 TO 12 respondents from the locale of the study.

3.3.5 Case Study Method

The case study approach is extensively employed in anthropological research and is a useful tool for learning more about a community's perceptions on various events. It is a way of understanding and rebuilding someone's past life experiences. It can provide holistic representation and detailed information about the natural causes and issues in any event. The best way for a researcher to understand a complex situation is to explore it from all angles.

As a researcher, I have used this method to understand the Socio-Economic factors that affect the repatriation of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan. I used it because it was convenient to justify my data collected from the local experiences. I conducted some of the case studies from the same respondents to strengthen my data in a more transparent manner. Case studies were based on health Problems and the attitude of the host community or social receptiveness caused barriers to their return to Afghanistan. The suitability of case studies collected during fieldwork that I perceived might help readers understand the complex situation prevailing in locale. They may justify the rest of the data regarding their family sufferings. I mentioned number of case studies in my research from different respondents to strengthen my data.

3.3.6 Photography

During the field research, the researchers use photography as a non-verbal and visual tool to gather and record information about the people and the area. I also did photography to take various pictures of locations and events related to my research. It helped me to keep evidence and relevant concepts. Many images are displayed in the dissertation.

3.3.7 Daily Diary

Anthropologists must keep daily diary recordings in order to collect data for their studies. It's similar to a science notebook in which a researcher records his or her everyday activities and observations. Because it is a one-time action, it is a creative endeavor that must be done with precision. I used it daily after returning home after collecting the data from the field.

3.3.8 Field Notes

The researcher used the field notes approach, keeping in mind its importance, to record every item of information gathered during the research process. Field notes allow the researcher to recall events and modes of conversation with respondents and known persons, which proves to be an extremely useful portion of the data. Field notes helped me a lot during research. The record of interviews and notes proved to be the findings of the day, and I kept it closer to my heart.

3.3.9 Audio recording

The researcher used the audio recording to record the interviews of the respondents so that it eases out the task of documentation of the data. I used it also to record the interviews of my respondents because it helped me to document data easily. I asked permission from my respondents before recording his and her interviews. Many of them did not permit me to use a voice recorder because my research domain scared them of sharing information with recording their voices. On the other hand, many responded allowed me to record their voices who felt comfortable giving interviews through a voice recorder. But audio recording eased my work in case of documenting each aspect of my documentation. After I transcribed the interviews.

3.4 Sampling

The sample of any population of a study has an impact on the results of the study. Sampling is the method of taking out a sample from a larger population (Teddlie, 2007).

The population under study is Afghan refugees. The total population of the Surkhab camp was 28,000. It was challenging to cover all the population. I took 23 interviews selected through convenient sampling that is my target population in Surkhab Camp. With the help of 23 respondents, I reached to a saturation point where data was repeated again and again.

3.4.1 Convenience sampling

Convenience sampling is characterized as a technique used to gather data from a helpfully accessible pool of respondents. In most cases, members are easily approachable to be a part of the research sample (Lavrakas, 2008).

I used convenience sampling to gather data from my respondents. By using this technique, I interviewed 23 respondents having enough knowledge on different aspects of the selected topic. To cover whole population of 28,000 from Surkhab camp was difficult for academic research.

Following is the respondent profile.

Table: Respondent's Profile

<i>Serial #</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Time of Arrival</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Language</i>
1	26	Daily wager	Born in Pakistan	Pashtun	Pashto
2	23	Farmer	Born in Pakistan	Pashtun	Pashto
3	24	Shopkeeper	Born in Pakistan	Pashtun	Pashto
4	27	Carpenter	2002	Pashtun	Pashto
5	21	Student	Born in Pakistan	Pashtun	Pashto
6	31	Farmer	2000	Pashtun	Pashto
7	41	Shopkeeper	1985	Pashtun	Pashto
8	40	Doctor	2000	Pashtun	Pashto
9	40	Watchman	1985	Pashtun	Pashto
10	27	Dispenser	Born in Pakistan	Pashtun	Pashto
11	26	Teacher	Born in Pakistan	Pashtun	Pashto
12	51	Tailor	1999	Pashtun	Pashto
13	56	Masjid Imam	1998	Pashtun	Pashto
14	56	Shepherd	1990	Pashtun	Pashto
15	70	Senior Citizen	1980	Pashtun	Pashto
16	64	Senior Citizen	1980	Pashtun	Pashto
17	52	Gardner	1985	Pashtun	Pashto
18	46	Gardner	2005	Pashtun	Pashto
19	28	Hair-Dresser	2003	Pashtun	Pashto
20	34	Farmer	1998	Pashtun	Pashto
21	32	Farmer	1998	Pashtun	Pashto
22	23	Student	Born in Pakistan	Pashtun	Pashto
23	37	Tailor	1998	Pashtun	Pashto

Source Field data

3.5 Research Ethics

It is unethical to risk the life of the researcher as well the lives of respondents in a community as part of a larger security situation in the country. All the people who were interviewed for this research are the storehouses of information about the locale and events happening in the locale. Due to research ethics, their names and identities are kept secret. The term —respondent is used instead of their real names and XYZ's as the names of the case study. This was done for the protection of the lives of respondents so that they may not feel threatened. I ensured them that I would keep their identity confidential. Informed consent was taken during field work.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the logical process of applying the systematic technique to describe and evaluate the data. Indeed, researchers generally analyze and collect the observations through the data collection

phase (Altheide, 1994).

I have conducted interviews in Pashto language. Data was translated into Urdu and themes were generated. I did a thematic analysis of data. I converted that data into themes and generated sub-themes. I analyzed my data according to these themes based on my objectives.

3.7 Limitation of the research

Researchers faced multiple problems while conducting fieldwork for the purpose of data collection. I faced some problems while conducting interviews with Afghan refugees, such as respondents were afraid of being misused information due to which many of the respondents were unwilling to be interviewed and did not record their feedback. Secondly, the global outbreak of COVID-19 restricted mobility due to lockdown in several areas. The research has male biasness because I did not interview female population of the camp due to cultural barriers. In Afghan community females are not allowed to meet strangers.

4 PERCEPTION OF AFGHAN REFUGEES ABOUT THEIR RETURN

The chapter addresses the first objective of the study and explores the nature, and different types of problems and choices opted by the refugees of the Surkhab camp. It records the various perceptions of Afghan refugees about their return. It also elaborates the willingness and intentions of Afghan refugees about their return to Afghanistan and the settlement reasons of Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

4.1 Refugees Perceptions about their Return

Perceptions of Afghan refugees were examined in terms of their willingness and intentions to return or repatriate and the way they see return for themselves. Most Afghan refugees are reluctant to go back to their homeland due to certain reasons. Some of my respondents said they first arrived here right after the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. They were the first who owned ration cards or refugee cards in Pakistan and among the first families who were settled or interred in Surkhab camp placed in Baluchistan. Their birthplace is Surkhab, and they spent almost 37 to 38 years and shared memories with people living in a camp village at Surkhab. Those memories are of different forms, like shared experiences from childhood when they used to play together, eat together, got educated together at the same schools and colleges, and attended death and marriage ceremonies together. Having a full understanding of neighbors and Locals is closing doors for the repatriation of Afghan refugees.

The people in the Surkhab camp, whose birth occurred in Balochistan and are living for 38 years, almost four decades, never want to return to the origin country. As they responded that returning to Afghanistan means spending 40 years again to adjust in Afghanistan. They internalized the advantages and disadvantages of returning that can be a waste of time as they have connections in Pakistan like generations up bringing, economic setup, and other belongings. To sum up, they integrated themselves into Baluchistan culture who cannot survive there in Afghanistan immediately.

4.2 Settlement reasons of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan

An Afghan refugee who still wants to live here has a reason behind those unharnessed conditions and settlement problems in Afghanistan. Respondents shared that there are so many problems (stunzi), and there are no such facilities that they have in Pakistan as a comparison. As one of my respondents mentioned that, if we want to go back to Afghanistan, we will face such settlement

problems even though in Kabul the capital of Afghanistan. We still will face too many problems and to be called as muhajir's (refugee's) from locals in Kabul city, or if we want to settle back to our village or neighborhood from where we came. There are no such facilities available, and there are two conditions/options for settlement. The first one is we must pick Machine Gun and became Charwaki (Police) or Mili-Urdu (army of Afghanistan), and the second is we must have to become a part of the Taliban and do support them. Choosing one of the groups will lead to picking Arms and weapons by innocent people. But here in Pakistan situation is much better as compared to the situation at our Origin”.

It is also revealed from the respondents who stated that they could not allow their female individuals for education, even for primary education, due to radical Taliban law imposed in Afghanistan. They came here (Pakistan) to make possibilities for their daughters to get an education in a peaceful environment without imposing restrictions on their freedom and liberty. They are living in Pakistan with some hopes of the future building of a new generation. They especially are very concerned about women's liberty and girl education which is full of restrictions under taliban regimes. The Afghan refugees in the Surkhab camp are very happy about the female education which they are providing to their girls here.

4.2.1 Settlement problems of Afghan refugees in Afghanistan

Afghan refugees living in camps found it challenging to settle in their homeland, Afghanistan. As many of them settled and spend many years at Afghanistan, but they failed. They returned to refugee camps because of uncertain conditions of war. People suffered again from the war situation and could not survive in Afghanistan, and they returned to refugee camps.

According to a respondent “they went back to their origin and spent almost 5 to 6 years there. They tried hard to settle, but they could not even manage to buy two times of food for themselves. Things have changed as they have lived here in Pakistan. They still know little or much about job and other market demands in Pakistan, but it was hard for them to earn as much in Afghanistan. For people who spent most of their life at camps are not capable of working and settle back in Afghanistan.” Respondents shared their experiences when they went back to Afghanistan that the uncertain war situation chocked all pathways of earning and survival patterns. They were not able to earn enough money to survive and suffered even from receiving basic needs such as health and education. They returned to refugee camps for passing a more prosperous life because they have little, but enough facilitation as compared to Afghanistan. As another respondent mentioned that

“We have relatives back and they often share their experiences to us about conditions at Afghanistan but conditions according to them are not suitable and they are also suffering from the worst conditions”.

4.3 Perception about Pressure of Militants in Afghanistan

Afghan refugees in the Surkhab camp highlighted that they face difficulties from the pressure groups. Afghan refugees face problems from the pressure groups at their origin country if they want to go back to Afghanistan. Because they should either join either Taliban or be part of the Afghan Army (Mili-Urdu). For instance, most of the 80s migrated refugees to Surkhab Camp stated that, Mujahidin are those who took part in direct war in the late 80's against Russian Forces on the name of Jihad. They built the Government in Afghanistan in 1990. After the attack of 9/11 on the world trade center US acted against the Taliban because they had hidden Al-Qaida leader. In the last two decades, they are fighting against American and (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) NATO Forces. Some of my respondents also added that spending life in Afghanistan is full of pressures and threats for locals and especially for returnees to join militant groups or Afghan forces. One respondent stated,

“There are only two options for returnees or for locals of Afghanistan to settle are that they must choose one group from Taliban vs Afghan forces. You cannot move around until and unless you choose any group. If you select Taliban as your group and do support them, Afghan forces will take your inquiry, might threaten you and put a lot of pressures, ask reasons why you gave support to Militants like Taliban or if you support forces, Taliban will do the same as forces do to you”.

Pressure of these groups is one of the main reasons causing barriers to the repatriation of Afghan refugees. People having refugee status and residing at Surkhab camp are free of such difficulties. In camp there are no such groups that exist. There may be little hold of Taliban, but they do not harm people to support the Taliban or Mujahidin forcefully. Most Afghan refugees are neutral and having no such intentional support for the Taliban for any mission nor for the Afghan Army. According to them, they live here at Surkhab camp retained a status of a political and do not have direct contact and support with the Taliban or Mujahidin. Because they highlighted saying that they already suffered in Afghanistan and that is what today they lost everything in Afghanistan, now they do not want to push themselves again in the war. Remaining apolitical and saving a future generation from war is the main reason for them not being willing to return.

4.3.1 Perception about control of Taliban

Taliban have a very strong control over many areas of Afghanistan, especially after the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan. Refugees are happy living their life here in Pakistan rather than going back to Afghanistan. As respondent stated that, Taliban has significant control over each of the Afghan territory like Helmand province only markaz of Lashkargah is in hands of Afghan Government they are ruling that and have somehow strong hold, except that everything or any place around that has been controlled by the Taliban where still war exists, and law and order situation are demolished. Despite that shortage of schools (Mukatibs), health facilities and other necessities are also missing at their origin country.

Taliban and security forces both are the problem creators for local people. As one of my respondents who was 58 years old, added that, "both groups visit locals and ask for dinner (dodi) or lunch, etc., from poor people. When you give food to the Taliban government, forces will come and ask questions from you whether you are a supporter of the Taliban or not. If you gave food to Government forces, the Taliban would threaten you by supporting forces. Locals are afraid of this situation".

The local people in Afghanistan have an uncertain life expectancy, and they never predict returning home safe when they go out of their homes. They are, on the other hand, are confused through allegations of helping either side. If they help the Taliban or Mujahidin, then they are punished by the government, or found supporting Afghan forces are punished by the Taliban and Mujahidin. Being neutral causes suffering for them as well and get punishment from either side. The above discussion can be the reason for seeking refugees in a different part of the world for them. Afghan refugees mentioned by highlighting that they are not the owner of their any belongings, either government forces exploit them or Taliban and Mujahidin regimes. The clash between the Afghan government and the Taliban is only causing death and losses of Afghan residents.

Perceptions of Afghanistan are very individualised and influenced by ethnicity and place of origin. Fear of crime and violence, particularly towards women, are among the reasons for avoiding returning home. Afghans believe that economic prospects are scarce in Afghanistan, particularly in certain regions. Other issues that discourage people from returning include land conflicts and a lack of social services (Arey, 2006).

"Every other month or year, someone from the family pays a visit, and we also go. Some members of the family believe the situation is fine, while others believe it is still severe." told by a 40-year-old man.

However, depending on the origin, the convenience of travel and level of detail accessible to guide the decision to return. Some respondents claimed that they are hesitant to return to their villages for a visit because they believe the situation can change at any time (halaat is na da malooma ar wakht kharab e daisi). Some of the Surkhab camp's male respondents indicated they have no relatives in Afghanistan and have had no touch with extended family there.

4.4 The willingness of Refugees about repatriation

Willingness about the repatriation of Afghan refugees depends on the political and peaceful situation or condition of their country. Because there are no peaceful conditions for living. A 55- year-old man shared that,

“We are just having hope and waiting for better overall conditions, especially war. Til then, we can just wait and pray for better conditions in Afghanistan. Of course, then we will go back to our homeland”.

The present scenario and the ongoing process of American troop’s withdrawal from Afghanistan also came up with sudden unrest as the Taliban and the Kabul government does not come up on a consensus on how to establish such a system of public and political affairs which brings political, economic, and social stability in the region.

This uncertainty prevails in Afghanistan does not allow the refugee to even think to go back to their homeland. They do not want to risk their children's lives under such circumstances where there is no future for their children as a majority of the respondents mentioned that they have already been through such hard times as Afghan land is under war scene for more than four decades which ruins their life as they sadly described that it’s hard when you need to be displaced from your homeland.

The hardship of returning Afghan refugees to Afghanistan is analyzed by refugees and they do not want to risk their future. As one of my responded stated that, “if we go back to Afghanistan, we will face problems like basic unavailability of basic services that is, children’s education, health, and un expectancy of life (bey barosay zwand)”. That they do not know when and where they will die due to daily bomb attacks in Afghanistan. The Afghan refugees prefer living in Surkhab camp in Pakistan because they bit certain about the future of their children.

4.5 Life of Afghan refugees in Pakistan

Refugees living in Pakistan are somehow having a safe life as compared to the situation in Afghanistan. One of respondents said that,

“We are living a happy and peaceful life in Pakistan everyone of a family member is on work, and almost all of them are earning a reasonable amount of money for their survival and having no such security problems in Pakistan as compared to Afghanistan. Many refugees are teachers at schools of camp or outside cities like Pishin, Khanozai, etc. and many do small businesses around here”.

Afghan refugees are living for almost 40 years in this camp and have taken birth here in Pakistan. It is a kind of birth land and have attachments and integrity with people at the camp and workplace. A 30-year-old respondent mentioned that —da khasporu wattan mi da gha su (we brought up here or our upbringing occurs here). The life of Afghan refugees in Pakistan is more comfortable because they at least do not suffer from war as they mentioned that they suffered during the Afghan wars. Afghans in camps do not have a standard living style but are cared for by many welfare organizations and international concerns. They are facilitated with schooling at their camps for educating their children, and many of their educated people are availing opportunities such as many of them are Muallims (teachers) at schools and colleges.

As they stated about living standards, they did not hesitate by mentioning that living a life without war in Surkhab camp is worth noting for them. Peace and prosperity mean a lot for Afghan refugees as they suffered from the war before. In fact, they do not demand any high-profile facilitation from the government and organizations except basic needs. They are happy receiving health, education, and other basic needs.

4.6 Family patterns of Afghan refugees

Family patterns of kinship ties play an important role in the return of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan from Pakistan. Many refugees returned to Afghanistan with the help of kinship ties because returning Afghanistan needs the reception of family members. Some families partially migrated to Pakistan, and another part of the family still resides in Afghanistan. The families who returned to Afghanistan were assisted by their kin members and supported by every forum. But most of them do not have any assistant in Afghanistan when they go back and suffer that causes returning them to camps.

According to respondents, they got married here at camp and have children that are quite happy to live in this camp. The connections between protracted refugees are built in a strong way and adopted the culture which remains in camp. One of the respondents shared that, “We have no intentions to repatriate because most of our family members took birth here at Pakistan in Surkhab camp and spent living here. According to my respondent, *he said our father tells us stories of the early stages*

when we arrived first at camp the local People have given us many opportunities to bring our documents and somehow, we will give you proper National identity cards of Pakistan at that time it was too easy to gain nationality of Pakistan, but our elders rejected the offers and remain or hold Afghan Refugees status”.

The duration of being a refugee completed four decades. This favorably changed the life patterns of refugees and integrated them into local culture. The long-term residence in camps of Surkhab passed generations. Many of them have done their daughters marriages to the local community residing in their camps’ surroundings. Marriage bonds strengthened their relationships with the settlement countries and provided a cause to stay in Surkhab more emotionally. The exogamous activities constructed a youngest generational identity and belongingness that can be a cause of not thinking about returning to Afghanistan.

4.7 Time in exile of Afghan Refugees

Some refugees do not have any intentions to return home to Afghanistan reason behind this is the time they have spent here in Pakistan at Surkhab camp. Almost 2 to 3 generations are born in Pakistan as refugees in refugee camps. It is a long time of stay and integration into local culture and community. They are in the local economy and social obligations where they are more facilitated than in Afghanistan.

Some of my respondent added that,

“We neither have hope nor intentions to return because we almost have lived all our life here in Pakistan. We became used to here in camp as refugees with our colleges and neighbors it is better not to leave from Pakistan because returning to the origin will always take more than 30 years for us to settle and to reintegrate with the society as we have already spent 30 to 35 years here and got understandings with the locals of Pakistan”.

There may be some people who want to return to Afghanistan. From Surkhab camp, families who often returned to Afghanistan belong to (wardag) tribe but still there are many Wardag’s living in Surkhab camp. According to people who spent most of their time in exile as refugees are totally unaware of the current culture prevailing back at origin and especially for financial purposes. People shared security conditions are not the only reason even though if conditions became good in Afghanistan, they still would refuse to return. The life they spent here is change as a lifestyle of people living in Afghanistan.

Another respondent added that they came here at the time of Shorawi (Soviet Union) when conditions were worst at our origin, but refugees who came later here at camps and took shelter were in more danger than us. They have faced many more problems than ours in every aspect of life. People living in Afghanistan are facing more problems and issues than the people living in Surkhab camps. The war situation in Afghanistan worsened the life expectancy of Afghans, and here in Surkhab camp, people are more facilitated and receiving basic needs.

4.8 Basic identification of Afghan refugees

Afghan refugees living in the camp are not going to return to Afghanistan. In fact, they think they are more likely Pakistani citizens. According to some of respondents, Afghanistan was the nation of their forefathers' who lived their lives there. They took birth here in Pakistan and spent life in Pakistan. Many of their relatives live in Quetta or other cities of Pakistan. They are not willing to return to Afghanistan, and they belong to Pakistan. They have a fluid identity and cannot yet recognize themselves as Pakistani or Afghani, but many of them understand that their future identity is constructed with Pakistan. Due to their resident period in refugee camps, they want to stay here for a lifetime and never want to return as they spent four decades in Pakistan.

The respondents further added that (*kedai si che Pakistan muzh pa zaan gadd ki*) Pakistan might give them legal citizenship of Pakistan. They are giving training to them to adopt the National language of Pakistan that is Urdu, which has been added as a compulsory subject in the curriculum of their schools and colleges. They are hopeful for getting a Pakistani national identity card and soon recognition as Pakistan's citizen. Few integrated Afghan refugees achieved Pakistan nationality with unknown procedures they applied. This has given them the hope of achieving Pakistan nationality, and they are waiting for a long period.

4.9 Perceptions of Elderly vs. Young Afghan refugees about Repatriation

Age and gender are one of the major factors affecting the repatriation of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan. There is a contradiction between the perception of Afghan refugees, like the perception of males and females, and young and old-age Afghan refugees of Surkhab camp as the younger generation do not know about Afghanistan because they have not seen Afghanistan yet from their own eyes. As one of the twenty-eight years old respondent said "I have not yet seen Afghanistan with my eyes, most of our elderly talk about its culture and norms but we ourselves never experienced it" (*muzz pakhpala Aghanistan laa ni yoo thalali, zmux mashran mozta da agha zai rasm oe riwaj ra shavvi*) The younger generation does not want to return to Afghanistan because they are much

educated and integrated. Most of the respondents stated that “muzz oss tahleem assila wo, muzz na ghwaroo si bartha khpal watan Aghanistan tha lar so.” Even many of them did exogamous marriages and had children. They do not know about Afghanistan and cannot adjust in Afghanistan if they go back to their country of origin.

In contrast, most elder people want to go back to Afghanistan if the situation will be favorable. But this willingness is emotional, and rationally they are worried about children future when they think to go back to Afghanistan. They know that it takes as much time as four decades to settle and integrate in Afghanistan, on the other hand, those people who have property in Afghanistan are ready to move back to Afghanistan if the situation gets favorable.

The youth feel more like Pakistani's and wants to stay here in Pakistan, but old age is still hoping for better conditions in Afghanistan to return to their homeland. Old-age people are emotionally attached to Afghanistan and hopeful for a better situation to return. The younger generation is more comfortable here in Pakistan because they are fully Integrated and do not have a reasonable emotional attachment with Afghanistan because of not being aware of Afghan culture integration.

Socialization is critical for the development of new generations' mental processes. They are affiliated with Pakistan and its environment as compared to elderly people who have the same feelings or affiliations that they had at their homeland. The situation for refugee youth is quite different or changed in Afghanistan from Pakistan. The young generation of Afghan refugees who took birth at refugees' camps are resisting their return to Afghanistan. Young generations are not willing to go back to Afghanistan, and they do not want to reintegrate into Afghanistan.

4.10. Acculturation to their host society

Afghans were living inbound community or in tribalism at origin, but here they are divided into different groups, families were divided, and they settle in diversity so that kinship system does not remain. So that boundless not remains like Afghan celebrates Nauroz every year most of refugees living in camp have not experienced the same ceremonies which their fathers or forefathers do, as one of the respondents stated that “mozz os pa khpalo Pashto oe rasmono nakhabara yoo, zmozz zahri (old-aged) pa dy shaa khabar vi” we do not know about our cultural practices, we get information about it from our elders”.

Not only Afghan refugees their culture language and tradition but they provided by different things which are belonging to Afghan culture for instance Afghan food, music, and dress patterns etc. They

have their own culture with them is quite similar as Baluchistan's culture. They cook their Afghani food, play music, and follow their own ceremonial activities. Along with it, they also integrated with local people and followed the local norms and values in many areas.

4.11 Refugees' perception about the war

One of my respondents told his experience with the Taliban. He told the researcher about the difference between real and non-real Taliban. He understood Afghan Mujahidin are real Taliban, and Pakistani Taliban are non-real for that he explained some reasons he said that—Afghani Taliban are only fighting with non-Muslim foreign forces, for instance, NATO, American and Russian for the safety of Afghanistan. While the Pakistani Taliban are spreading terror, violence, brutishness, and destruction. Because they are They are beheading their own military personals and common People. They are extremely cruel people. They are loyal to their religion because they are killing Muslims, but Mujahidin do not do so.

That is a major reason for the refugees to stay in Pakistan. They are afraid of Tehreek Taliban Pakistan more than Afghan Mujahidin due to multiple situations inside Afghanistan; they prefer to live in Pakistan. The hybrid form of war has confused Afghani, and they do not know who is real or pack and who is working for the welfare of Afghanistan and who is not. Forgive themselves safety, they are residing in refugee camps in different areas of Pakistan.

4.11.1 Refugees Perception about Modern Education

Modern education plays an important role in personality development and brings changes in thoughts and ideas of a person and gives new vision to think outside of the box and adopts different world view. Afghan Refugees living in the camp are almost getting a good education as compared to Afghanistan because of the Assistance to Afghan refugees from UNHCR and other INGOs. Installing schools and colleges at refugee village is one of the better examples, and youth are taught quality education which includes English, Urdu, Farsi, Arabic and Pashto as key subjects on free of cost. Like, one of the respondents stated “zmozz taleem daly daar sha dai, paa Aghanistan ki taleem no wo, daly schoolona sta, alkan tolaa sahar wakht khpalo schollono tha zee”. These facilities are missing from the origin country; such assistance is not available in Afghanistan for the young generation of Afghan Refugees. Young Afghan refugees living at camp have a different worldview from people living in Afghanistan.

Education in Afghanistan was limited with Islamic teachings only, but they in Surkhab camp are facilitated with both education of modern time and Islamic teachings. It is up to the people; they

educate them either modern or Islamic. But most people in Surkhab camp avail the format of both education. Refugees in camps are happy for availing modern education for their children provided by INGOs and UNHCR.

4.11.2 Perception about livelihood Opportunities

Afghan refugees living in Pakistan have multiple livelihood sources as compared to Afghanistan. As one of my respondents said that they are having several businesses or working opportunities that are good in Pakistan (“dalta mi da karobar Zaraya Barabara da In local terms. They are satisfied with their source of earning for livelihoods, such as they are doing gardening of fruits and vegetables. Most of the Afghan refugees are doing gardening work in the local gardens of fruit that is their livelihood surrounding the refugee village for apple and grapes gardens. Some other refugees are involved in business, for instance, shops at camps and cities of Baluchistan. Many Afghan refugees are daily wages labor in the surroundings of refugees’ camps.

Similarly, they wanted peaceful environment for their livelihood as most of the respondents stated that “daly aaman dai zaka mooz daly karobar kawalai soo”. It means “here (in Pakistan) we have peaceful environment for the generation of our income that’s why we can do our businesses (here). Afghanistan was called as a center of war “Da jaang mahdaan” due to which livelihood opportunities are mostly destroyed in war. Refugees want peaceful environment for their livelihood that’s why, it was said that they are in Pakistan.

4.11.3 Perception about Land issues

Some respondents stated that if they owned any land or other property, they would return to Afghanistan to restore those rights or preserve them from being lost. Another Surkhab camp resident observed that the majority of the refugees had returned, claiming that they had gone to prevent others from claiming their land. Land conflicts are rife with ethnic tensions. Respondents are concerned about how to gain access to or reclaim their land, as well as how to defend it from ethnic groups and warlord extortion. Most of the respondent stated that “Mozz la kora zakha yoo yoo kass wa zmako tha sparo, agha ya khyal sati oe da khasaan dory ossyee” Families have sent members back to protect the land they do have access to and to pay commanders their regular tax charges in order to keep the land.

4.12 Conclusion

Various perceptions from Afghan refugees living in Surkhab camp as examined in this chapter their return to Afghanistan. It has been concluded that Afghan refugees have neither intentions nor

willingness

to return especially the young generation of Afghan refugees who born in Surkhab camp, their tendency to repatriate has been long affected by present situation in Afghanistan where war and insurgency, political instability are on its peak. Afghan refugees are benefited from social services and integrated with the locals of Pakistan in such a way that they feel more comfortable living in Pakistan and feels like more like a Pakistani citizen.

5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC BARRIERS TO REPATRIATION OF AFGHAN REFUGEES

This chapter addresses the second objective of the study regarding socio-economic factors affecting the repatriation of Afghan refugees. This chapter has two sections; the first one comprises the social and in second section economic factors has been analyzed. Socio-economic barriers along with war, political instability, and insecurity are analyzed in this chapter. It also includes education, health, the attitude of the host community, acculturation to host society, and kinship ties of Afghan refugees. And economic sections describe their economic factors like livelihood opportunities, fundings to refugees and land and residence related issues are discussed.

5.1 Education as a barrier to their repatriation

Education plays a key role in the repatriation of Afghan refugees. Some of my respondents argued that the education facilities are missing in the origin country. There is no such good condition back there, there is a lack of schools and colleges, and especially most of the Muslims/teachers are not that much educated and specialized.

At camp, *mustakil muhalim* (specialists) need to be hired. They should have to pay enough salary so that they come and attend schools and colleges on a regular basis, most of teachers who teach here at camp are receiving 8 to 9 thousand rupees which are too little. Still, they just teach the students because they are afraid that their children must be educated enough and not to make them uneducated. A second time or double shifts, they will pay 5000 extra for a month, and this is the additional source of income for any refugee teacher.

Afghan refugees living in camps don't have higher education facilities for females, especially they are just taught 7 to 8 classes. Some of my respondents gave the reason behind that is the shortage of well-educated female teachers (*ustazani*) in schools or colleges. It has been requested that UNHCR bring some specialist female teachers from Quetta or somewhere else, and those teachers will train other staff too. Textbooks are also missing; those books are also not available in Bazar.

The children, both males and females took good education here at camp, about boys they almost cleared intermediate education/ Fsc from College (*Laisa* in Local term) and some of them also teach at different Schools in camp and outside. Females are also well-Educated, one of my respondents argued that two of my daughters are teachers (*Muhalims* in local term) at schools and college of camp, but in Afghanistan, maybe it was not possible for us to educate children in the way they are

getting an education here in Pakistan especially about females. According to Abdullah Aka, in their culture, which prevails at our origin, it is a shame to say that they don't allow females to get an education —if suppose we will return to our country of origin, I will also not allow females to get higher education or to carry on their teaching carrier at Afghanistan, reported by a respondent. He further argued that females at their origin and same as in camp are supposed to sit at home and wait for their marriage.

Afghan refugees in Surkhab camp have almost had ten schools (Maktab) for both males and females, and some of them are co-education where many children are enrolled from refugee Community.

Another respondent said

“That at camps, most of the refugees are well educated, but if they compare this to the origin, things are quite changed literacy rate is quite low, especially about females.

Some of my respondents said that if there is peace at origin and they must have to return, they still will not allow females to get an education at our origin because of the unstable law and order situation.

Education is somehow good in Afghanistan, but the Taliban always threaten educated people and even kills them in Afghanistan. They are the real enemy of scholars and little educated people. Many refugees who took education here at camp or somewhere else at different schools or colleges are bounded by the Taliban. Some of them who went to Afghanistan before ten years are still bounded thereby Taliban forces, and they are not allowed to come back to Surkhab camp or Pakistan. It would be a kind of threat to them if they came here Taliban will execute them because they think these educated people are a threat to them. According to him, Afghanistan has become very tired; conditions are at the worst level because Afghanistan is fighting for almost 40 to 42 years.

Most refugees residing in the surkhab camp are having basic and elementary schooling within the camp locale as there are ten different schools in refugee village where both boys and girls can get primary education. Schooling of refugee camps is up to 8th Class while 9th and 10th classes are taught to them in college with leading to 11th and 12th class. Furthermore, there is only one college (Laisa) at Surkhab Refugee camp where they can get their intermediate certification.

Madrassa education is also available in camp children's and most of the students are enrolled in madrassa and as well as in schools. Basic educational facilities are readily available to the resident children of Surkhab camp as compared to their homeland. Basic Religious education to refugee children is also taught in Schools of camp. The education of their children is quite better facilitating

than in Afghanistan because Afghanistan's situation is very bad, and people do not have any alternates to facilitate their children educationally. Refugees in Surkhab camp are happier and more satisfied with educational facilities. Especially about religious education, as one of respondent said that "here in Pakistan, we are free to choose between religious and modern education. No one is enforcing Madrassa education on others."

5.1.2 Education facilities and schools as a barrier to repatriation

Considering Pashto and Farsi as National Languages of Afghanistan, the subjects offered in schools and especially higher education are written in Pashto and Farsi for their familiarity with their own language and cultural codes through these notebooks argued by some of my respondents.

While some of the respondents added that the government of Pakistan, in collaboration with UNHCR, has added Urdu as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum of camp so that refugee children get familiar with Urdu as well. He further added that refugee school teachers are also attending seminars and training from UNHCR officials to get as much information about teaching Urdu to students of refugees.

Many Afghan refugees are not in favor of teaching Urdu subjects as compulsory for basic education at camp. One of my respondents argued, "Ideologically we are totally against of this action, by imposing Urdu subject in Afghan curriculum." The Afghans will leave Pakistan one day, and their Urdu and English have no such meaning in their country of origin. They emphasized of being familiar with their own language that is Pashto. The only language they will be benefited in Afghanistan is Pashto or Farsi. In the early stages, when some of the youths completed F.sc or 12 class educations from camp, he/she could have taken admission at higher education in Afghanistan like Phontun (university) where they got specialization in the same language as Pashto and Farsi, which is the actual curriculum of Afghanistan's education. Now if students in future get the education of intermediate or secondary education in Urdu, he/she will face many challenges at Universities of Afghanistan where the curriculum is taught in Pashto.

In education, there is a significant gender prejudice. In contrast to Persian-speaking communities, like as the Shia Hazaras and Tajiks from Kabul, Pashtun Afghans are the least likely to send their daughters to school. Girls are more likely to be allowed to attend a madrassa, which is less expensive and poses less social risks, or to attend regular schools until puberty (Arey, 2006).

Education here is easy to access, and most people living in camps included females, are well educated, but in the case of Afghanistan, they are at a much slower pace. They have a better

education system here in Pakistan, and they are not bearing too much cost of education because it is all funded by UNHCR and other INGOs. Many Afghan refugees are getting an education in Kandahar after they completed their intermediate education from the refugee camp stated by one of my respondents.

5.2 An attitude of host community

Host community usually refers to people of one's own cultural and livelihood understanding who accepts one without any conditioning and understands the circumstances of the war era. Some of my respondents revealed that their acceptability in their homeland after being living outside so many years they still are dealt in their homeland as a refugee. Because after living in Pakistan for four decades, they cannot be accepted or welcomed to Afghanistan. They are expected to be strangers when they go back to Afghanistan.

However, social resettlement within their host community after being residing out of town and family for several years. People of their own country did not welcome as their own despite that they consider them as non-Afghan, and really, they do not like to strengthen their ties with them. Because they do not trust them and think that they again will leave Afghanistan when a situation is not favorable, they are not trusted due to uncertainty of their mobility.

If they want to go back to their country of origin, it will take many years for them to adapt to the conditions and build trust because their views about them are worst. They will still call them Refugees, and refugees are tagged as Pakistani's stated by one of my respondents. They are of the view that they neither remain Afghani nor Pakistani, and this reason also stops them from going back to Afghanistan because they know that they are going to be stereotyped. Another respondent added that once they visited their country of origin in prayers of Eid-Gah, one of their Pashtun asked questions to him that refugees didn't notice a face like yours before even though he was not Persian or Tajik, he was our own Pashtun, and we are facing discrimination in terms of our own people not by others.

5.2.1 Case study

Mr. A is one of my respondents is living a camp life in Surkhab, working as a schoolteacher in one of camp school. He described him once visit Afghanistan. A few years back, he went back home to

See his relatives and loved ones. During that visit, he got a medical issue, and a doctor in Afghanistan advised him to go through surgery, while during his stay in an Afghan hospital where he needed to stay for a couple of days for his surgery. A nurse was very kind and very professional in her duty and towards her patient health care. She was so supportive and obliged to him and took serious care of him as she really respects him due to his profession and she says to him that you are a precious an asset of this country is that you train children to be a progressive member of society. He said that he remembers one day she completed her working hours and was about to leave for home, but he didn't feel well, and he was really feeling low at that day she stayed there for almost 3 hours for him and left home when he felt normal. After two days, he had his final checkup, and the specialist discharged him. And he told Nurse that it has been really kind of her during his stay in hospital. One of his cousin brothers was also there with him to take care of him and looked after the hospital matters. His cousin told him on formant of the Nurse that his ticket is delayed for some reason. The nurse asked that where are they going? His cousin responded that he is going back to Pakistan where he is living in a refugee camp suddenly; he saw that she was kind of shocked after listening to this, and she really showed him a strange kind of behavior at that time which was so overwhelming when she did not know that he is living in Pakistan as a refugee and she left the site after completing some required documentation and did not even greet him.

While some of my respondents said they had not spent much time in Afghanistan, they always visited to see their relatives for almost 3 to 4 days or a week. They did not notice the harsh or rigid behavior of local people or their relatives who left there during that period. The hospitality of relatives back in their country of origin is still as same as when they left Afghanistan.

5.3 The behavior of the refugee community towards the host community

Afghan refugees have a positive attitude towards their host community around their camp. They have a friendly relationship due to their kinship ties. The refugee community living in Surkhab camp has been integrated with locals. They accept host community through exogamous marriages where many of refugees are connected through intermarriages. Exogamous marriages between locals of Pakistan and Afghan refugees have strengthen their ties to such extent that both refugees and locals are having welcoming reception for each other's with great hospitality. Refugees don't interfere in the political matters of locals and avoid common fights with local people because they want to maintain their good relationships with them. As many of respondents stated that "muzz da jala mandu yew aulada yu" which means we are a kind of brothers from different mothers.

5.3.1 Attitude or behavior of Locals to Refugees

Most of the Afghan refugees found a positive behavior from locals as they are much integrated with the local people. Despite their 38-year exile, some Afghans say they have not been able to integrate into Pakistani society, and that tolerance for Afghans in Pakistan has waned with time. Even second-generation Afghans born and reared in Pakistan believe that being Afghan might be used against them at times: When we mind our own business, we feel no different than Pakistanis. When they get into a fight with a local, however, everyone, including the administration, makes a distinction between them and the locals. If a fight arises and the police are involved, they must pay double the amount that Pakistanis pay. This sense of inferiority appears to be widespread across ethnic groups.

Life in Pakistan vs Life in Afghanistan

Afghan refugees feel more comfortable living in Pakistan rather than in Afghanistan as some of my respondents added that, “conditions are worst in the country of origin of their homeland, even if they take an example of basic facilities like, shortage of hospitals (Roghtun) or clinics. Some of the refugees added that “the Doctors are not specialized they just took 7 to 8 class education and did some small courses in the medical field, they started their own clinics and facilitated people while they are not specialists. Quality of health and same as education systems are damaged so badly.” Refugees living in Pakistan are having peaceful and safe life and happy because everyone of a family member is on work and became economically sound. They are having better livelihood opportunities and social services in Pakistan which are missing in Afghanistan and that might become barrier to their repatriation.

5.4 Health facilities as a barrier to repatriation of Afghan refugees

Afghans have free access to government facilities, and larger hospitals and NGO-run health centres send patients to each other for free care. Some Afghans prefer to go to private doctors or clinics if they have a major health concern. Treatment is costly, but if you pay the money, you will get better. Others claim unequivocally that they use larger hospitals for more urgent issues. With a few exceptions, private health facilities were thought to be of higher quality, but for Afghans who couldn't afford anything else, government hospitals remained the only option.

The condition of health is not good enough. We have a hospital build by UNHCR, but doctor's availability and medicines are not available. Little problems of health are somehow managed by these doctors, but serious patients are referred to city hospitals or somewhere else.

Some of my respondents added that there are no female doctors in the camp. One or two lady doctors should have to assign the duty of checking female patients especially.

The situation here at camp is not good in camp hospitals before hospitals and doctors were controlled by Safe, the children, but from some time they left working in Baluchistan after those hospitals are ruin down there is no vaccinators or doctors, they mostly took their Patients to Private clinics where they also do discriminate or harass based on refugees, they charge so much money from them. Conditions of health in their country of origin are not good enough to deal with the normal diseases, and yet they have much better facilities at camps or near cities like Quetta, etc.

Condition of the health system in camp from few years is at worst condition. They have had one hospital build by UNHCR at camp for almost five years; when UNHCR shifted some duties to their linked NGOs (Mujisa in local term), things became changed after that. Some dispensaries and (Shakhsi) private clinics still exist in the main bazaar of the camp. The condition of health in Afghanistan is not good there is a shortage of Hospitals and Doctors too at our origin.

5.4.1 Case study

One of my respondents said that once there was some budget released by different NGOs for a Hospital to be built. Taliban took that money from locals and said that they would build a hospital here for the people. After taking money, they refused to start working on Hospital and gave them a suggestion that you people don't need any hospital for health purposes they will give a horse or donkey to 1 doctor by that he will visit the community with his first aid box and treat patients in everyone's homes.

People in the camp shared their unsatisfactory experiences that the Taliban do not let any welfare organization working for the welfare of people. They are skeptical about every foreign assistant that they think will threaten the social structure.

POR (Proof of Registration) cards

POR cards are much necessary, and it also helps refugees from benefiting through aids from UNHCR and other INGOs and helpful while anyone caught by police. Sometimes it is helpful, and sometimes POR cards cause problems too for refugees like in Musafir khana (hotel or Restaurant), refugees having POR cards are not allowed to spend a day or night.

They just have one or two Musafir khana in Quetta city who are somehow their relatives; that is why they are helpful and let them stay there. Otherwise, if they do not have any references or recommendations are not allowed by the restaurant's administration. They are not facilitated enough with the POR cards, and it does not work in big cities of Balochistan like Quetta.

The government of Pakistan and UNHCR should have to ensure that to what extent they have the right to live here, and they must be assisted and should make policies that with having POR cards, refugees must be allowed in hotels to stay for a day or Night. By having POR cards, they are not allowed to have/open any Bank Accounts.

Almost 50 to 60 % of businesses in Quetta or any other city like Lorelai etc. are being run by Afghans and Afghan refugees. Refugees often face problems by handling their business, work, or shopping in a city like Quetta because from camp to Quetta, it takes time to reach mandi (market), and if a refugee has no relatives back in Quetta city, he is unable to spend a single night in any Musafir khana or hotel. He or she must come back to camp late at night; hurdles like having a stay at a hotel etc., are a major problem or barrier for a refugee community here in Pakistan.

Refugees having POR cards also face many problems when they go to receive Mahash(salary) from a bank, in return police stops them and take their money that they must give them bribery of 500 rupees because they by saying that you people have received your salaries and refugees must pay money to them because there is no other way rather than giving money to them. It means the POR card has no respect here in Pakistan. It has been totally devalued by police forces.

By having POR cards, they face problems in transportation, especially when they are going to another city or province of Pakistan. Transport services often demand cards from them when they show them POR cards, and they refuse to pick them because they say Police will not allow Muhajirs with no POR card and give them the reason that you people will be taken down from buses or cars on check posts, and that will cause problems for other too said by transport managers to them as mentioned by some of my respondents. Refugee cards were renewed two years before, and people often talk about the renovation of their cards. According to their networking, maybe this year, with the help of UNHCR and Government Officials, cards will be renewed. They are of the view that in Pakistan, this card does not hold any worth because it is not implemented by the Pakistani government. And refugees are not comfortable due to the act of administration.

5.5 Narratives of Relatives at Afghanistan

They have relatives back there at origin, and they often share their experiences about the conditions

in Afghanistan, but conditions according to them are not suitable, and they are also suffering from the worst conditions.

They still have many relatives left there at Ardhando. Most of them are well-settled businessmen and Landlords that the reason they still survive there is that they are not dependent on the Government or Jobs etc., they can earn much to live with that for poor families it is hard to live and spent time there because of no employment opportunities. For example, we are four brothers, and all of us are working on Daily wages, but my cousins are well settled. They can buy fruits like apples and grapes etc., and vegetables and sell in the market and do their business for survival.

Most of our family members and relatives went back to the origin of our country Afghanistan; some are still reluctant to go back. Many of our relatives, like uncle and aunty (mama aw khala) and married sisters went back to their homeland and lived there. Arghando is a place whose pomegranates and grapes are very popular fruits around the world, said Abdul Bari. They have relatives in the country of origin, but they are 1/3 of our relatives; most of them are living in a camp, and some are self-settled in different cities in Baluchistan, Pakistan.

Yes, they do have many relatives in Afghanistan, and they always do visit Afghanistan with their relatives. They do have a small business, and some have fruit gardens, but they too are suffering and facing many problems because brothers living in the same home are killing one another the reason behind this is one brother works for the Taliban at every single home of community and others are in government forces.

They have gardens, but they don't protect them from government forces they too everything from them. They left out their own green or fertile lands back there, and forces are cutting or taking fruits and taking that by force for their own purposes.

Some of the respondents shared that our relatives living in our Villayat (Nation) often share their experiences with us about the conditions. Taliban caused many tensions like if someone from Afghan Government like —Hukamandan or Uluswall etc. visits our villages or someone's House Day after that Taliban arrive and take members especially Elders of family and do torcher them asking the reason of why he/she has visited your House.

5.6 War or Insecurity

There is still insurgency; it is not just about the outskirts or Rural areas even though cities like Kandahar are not safe to live in. War still exists in many places of Afghanistan, especially in villages or rural areas, but sometimes blasts or firing is practiced too in cities like Kandahar.

War is still at its peak at our origin Militia, and Taliban are fighting against each other, especially in remote areas of Afghanistan, and now the situation became worst even though Local People also took machine guns and fighting against Taliban militants with Government forces added by some of my respondents.

5.7 Baluchistan Government

The greatest threat Afghans confront in Quetta is police harassment, which is frequently used as a tactic of extortion (Aren, 2006). Refugees don't face many problems from police or any other law enforcement agencies until and unless there is peace or until there is no serious issue raised. As one of respondent stated, they had once stopped at Tangi Check post and asked about their identity cards, and they showed them their Afghan citizenship cards to them which is also called POR cards and one of policeman asked that from how long they are staying here in Pakistan? One of their colleagues replied that it had been almost 35 years that they are living in Pakistan; after that policeman replied, that please, you have almost spent half of your life here, please return to your own country (da khudai Roi ta wagori birta wlar si khpal watan ta). Respondent replied that if the situation or conditions in Afghanistan gets better, they will not spend even a second here in Pakistan. Even in the family, they often talk about our return that they want to return after a year, and they are repeating this for almost ten years. They are not able to start permanent business etc., because they are afraid of the situation; if the situation gets worse in Pakistan, we will have nothing to take we are of being bulldozed like it was exercised in most of the Peshawar camps by the Pakistan army or forces. Many of them are expecting that our Por cards will be renewed this year or later.

5.8 Time in exile of Afghan refugees

According to him, people who spent most of their time in exile as refugees are totally unaware of today's culture prevailing back at origin and especially for financial purposes.

He said even though conditions became good in Afghanistan is not the only reason that they refuse to return the life they spent here is changed as a life of people are spending in Afghanistan. They came here at the time of Shorawi when conditions were worst, but refugees who came later here at camps and took shelter were in more danger than ours.

Taliban and security forces both are the problem creators for local people, locals became bizarre. Both two groups visit locals and ask for dinner or lunch etc., from poor people. When they give food to the Taliban, government forces will come and ask questions from them whether they are a supporter of the Taliban or not, and if they gave food to government forces, the Taliban would

threaten them by supporting forces. Locals became afraid of this situation.

5.11. Security conditions of Afghanistan

The security situation in the Afghanistan is not good. There is somehow the possibility of living a secure and financially settled life in Pakistan. —If they don't do any illegal activity or harm someone definitely they will not be harmed, and you may have a peaceful life. People living there are quite able to handle the situation because they are now used too of the situation.

5.12 Policies for Refugee Problem

There is a growing recognition that Afghans in Pakistan arrived for a variety of reasons, and in many cases, a combination of these: seeking sanctuary from political violence, fleeing natural disasters, and seeking economic answers. Furthermore, many of them have travelled back and forth between the two countries on a regular basis. Policies on both sides of the border need to be revised, and diverse solutions to what some see to be a chronic refugee problem need to be offered. The state is the primary policymaker, and its acts have a direct impact on people's daily life. Many social relations, on the other hand, mediate the relationship between the state and individuals, influencing both the state's policies and how it affects individual lives. Kinship and ethnicity, economic relations and faith, and party politics have all been persistent features of Afghanistan's experience of displacement, migration, and settlement in neighboring countries. They have facilitated, protected, and sustained large populations over long periods of time, including those in refugee camps, and in many cases, they are transnational in that they provide support to Afghans across national borders and create networks based on common ethnicity, social, business, and political ties between Afghans and Pakistanis.

5.13 Demands of Refuges

Pakistan, Kabul, and UNHCR should have to look forward in collaboration with each other about the conditions of refugees living in Pakistan reliefs should have been provided to these till conditions in Afghanistan became suitable to live in. Refugees must have been given access to Bank accounts through POR cards, and they must have ensured and given permission to stay for a night or two in Musafir khana (Hotels).

Like most refugees who want to go to Hajj must be given permission to go to hajj from Por card,

because refugees living in Pakistan are not able to go to Saudi or Dubai etc., refugees must go to Afghanistan and make their Tazkira (Identity card) after that he or she will get permission to visit Hajj.

5.14 Livelihood opportunities/ Occupations

There are not better opportunities at camp for their livelihood purpose that they have to earn from outside of camp near Baluchistan and having occupations like scrip selling and working in coal mines and working in fruit gardens or cultivating lands of local landlords called as Bazgar (peasant) in local terminology. People living there at Afghanistan are aware of the trending culture many people run their livelihood sources in accordingly. It has not been that much hard to live a life in Afghanistan because many people still living there have somehow little problems.

Most of their youth are working labor, and some of them are Muhalims (teachers) at camp. Most of their youth are unemployed or have nothing to do rather than spending time in-home or having gossips near Bazar of camp.

One of the respondent's brothers is Muhalim (teacher) in a school of camp, the second brother has been working for daily wages (Rozana), and the respondent had small, cultivated land in front of their house from which he generates a reasonable amount of money by selling those crop/vegetables. There is a shortage of employment opportunities in Afghanistan, especially in villages or rural areas where the Taliban has control over many areas. People are not allowed to work in any Government sector and are threatened by the Taliban to death. As one of my respondents said, (Taliban di Da Chapay kwah di Halal ye) Taliban slaughters the people who go against them.

In cities of Afghanistan, people can find jobs related to government sector or any private firm, etc. But here in Pakistan, we are living in somehow better conditions we have little bit opportunities here of working or any Jobs inside camp like hospitals and schools from NGOs side. Refugees are much economically secure in Pakistan and have livelihood opportunities as compared to Afghanistan.

5.15 Funding to the Afghan refugees

Afghan Refugees living in the Surkhab camp have not received much funding or assistance from the Government of Afghanistan or INGOs. A 60-year-old respondents stated that "Funds are not implemented or utilized well at Afghanistan funds people from Kunduz and other Living in the South was hardly covered by funds; there is almost 10 out of 90 families would have been hardly received any funds or assistance.

Other respondents added that, "when promises of the Afghan Government are not fulfilled, we

will be unable to return because we don't have any shelter left. According to him, once at Mazar-i-Sharif, thousands of local refugees from Kunduz were abandoned and took shelter beneath carpets and small tents in very cold weather. They were unable to find shelter or a roof for themselves.” Afghan refugees are afraid of their previous experiences in which refugees had at their homeland where they did not even had access to basic services like shelter etc., or any other Fundings.

5.16 Assistance or Aid to Afghan refugees

There is no such assistance given from the government of Baluchistan to refugees that they are only assisted by UNHCR and other INGOs. Pakistan government and Afghanistan government have no assistant or welfare funds for the refugee camps mentioned by refugees. If they have little facilitation are provided by UNHCR and other INGOs working regarding this issue across the world.

So many INGOs are working for different programs having different agendas or goals for the development and sustainability of Afghan refugees in the camp are still having some gaps which are not fulfilled in these many years. Some of my respondents argued that they are somehow receiving aids and different vocational training programs for both Males and Females, but most of these efforts are just paperwork (kaghazi karwai), officials from different Mujisa"s (NGOs) do visit camp and arrange some tea or lunch parties many refugees take part in these seminars at the End the main purpose for the officials is to get signatures from all on the attendance list and mainly for photo sessions. Today's aids are like just giving one time of lunch and tea for Refugee Participants, and they just do a collection of photos as a piece of evidence for attending/organization of these Programs.

5.17 Shortage of Agricultural lands as a barrier to repatriation

Afghan refugees living in camps are facing the worst problems; most of them are Poor and unskilled and have left drylands at their origin and have no such land in the country of settlement to cultivate. Some of my respondents said that “they are not that much wealthy and are too weak to go back. The reason behind this is that they are not capable to make these drylands fertile once again. As it takes lot of money from them to begin from the start”.

Most of the refugees residing in the camp are poor and have no Shakhshi (Private) lands at the origin of their country to cultivate, but many of them have a small piece of land left in the dry stream of Surkhab valley, which they cultivate for their basic needs. While some have their lands in country of origin from which they generate a little amount of money from Orchards or vegetable and Grains etc. that are supervised by their relatives and one of the Family members. In this regard, they get few

revenues from their relatives because they are living in camps in Pakistan and do not take care of their lands.

Some Afghans, particularly those living in irregular settlements, are exposed to the whims of local landlords due to their inability to own property. The people had their own lands, but they just left them behind due to uncertain conditions created by the Afghan war. They migrated due to war in refugee camps, and their lands became in use by other people living in Afghanistan. The people living in Afghanistan confiscated the lands of poor people, those who are the victim of war. They, after the confiscation of their land, now enjoy their fruits, and people in refugee camps are helpless and cannot go back to Afghanistan because they cannot afford to fight with people as they are already the victim of war and terror.

5.18 Lands / Shelter as a barrier to repatriation

According to Afghan refugees, the UNHCR and the Afghan government are not taking stances for the fulfillment of their agreements and promises about sorting out refugee's land problems. Institutions such as UNHCR, INGOs, and human rights failed to provide basic rights such as shelter. The concern departments must assist those refugees that they promised to them about giving back their land for shelter. Instead of giving back their land's government officials took their lands into their own names and sold lands back to refugees with the demand for extra money.

Most of the Afghan Refugees living in the camp have no land in their origin country. But some of them still have their lands and relatives living in their country of origin. As one of my respondents argued that, they were living in Afghanistan on someone else property at Baba Sahib, placed in the heart of Afghanistan named Arghandao.

“From these many years Afghanistan has been receiving too many aids and assistance from many countries and organizations according to the respondent if these were managed in a good way, I do not think so any of Afghani Muhajir would have stayed in Pakistan or somewhere else, in fact, all of us would have been repatriated happily.”

And there would have been Peace and Harmony in Afghanistan. The Main Reason behind this is the Power some People are heaving. Whoever has power will use it for his own purpose and benefit stated by a respondent.

The concerned departments did not fulfill their promises regarding providing them lands; rather, government officials confiscated their lands illegally and selling these lands back to them with the demand of extra money. If anyone has a piece of land, he or she only built their homes there, and

they do not have extra land for cultivating agricultural plants, which is a kind of barrier for the refugees to go back to Afghanistan. Because they cannot survive there because of the way they lived here at camp or anywhere else in Pakistan. Some of the relatives of refugees who got settled back there have their own fruit gardens and cultivated lands for their livelihood purposes.

There are many families who had 20 to 30 jaraib lands their families are too much extended now they will hardly receive 1 or 2 jaraib for a family, which is not enough for today's extended families who are refugees in the camp. People from the south side mainly were landlords do harvest their lands or had some livestock too, and some who just had livestock are also now helpless, so that is the reason they do not want to go back because they perceive that where should they live and cultivate lands of others, it is not possible to return in this condition.

5.19 Conclusion

Socio-economic factors are playing an effective role in the repatriation of Afghan refugees. The 5th chapter describes the various socio-economic barriers to the return of Afghan refugee. It has been concluded that Afghan refugees having better education and health facilities in Pakistan and the current scenario where Afghanistan is under Talibans rule are becoming the main obstacles in their return. Afghan refugees also benefite from the livelihood opportunities and lands for living and for generating money through small scale cultivations in Surkhab camp has also played a key role in their repatriation. These facilities are not available in Afghanistan as a reason they are still reluctant to return to their origin of country.

6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to look into the socio-economic impediments to Afghan refugees being repatriated from the Surkhab camp in District Pishin. The researcher came on with an assumption that the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and their assumption about the socio-economic conditions in their home country influence their tendency for repatriation. The researcher explored the socio-economic condition of Afghan refugees in Surkhab Camp of District Pishin and analyzed it as a potent barrier for their repatriation. The researcher also investigated their perception about the socio-economic condition in Afghanistan and its influence on their tendency to repatriate. In doing so, the researcher went on a rigorous data collection process, with both in-depth interviews and Focused Group Discussions (FDGs), to come upon a conclusion about the possible connection between socio-economic conditions and the willingness of refugees to repatriate back to their country of origin.

The second chapter of thesis is based on review of literature in which the researcher reviewed relevant literature on the problems associated to repatriation of refugees from South Asia and African countries. Literature highlights multiple factors affecting the repatriation, reintegration, and resettlement of refugees around the world. It has been revealed from literature review that socio-economic and political factors play key role in refugee repatriation and resettlement. Such as prolongation of refugees in exile that leads to adaptation of host culture and their integration and assimilation into the host community. Better health conditions, modern education from which refugees are benefited and kinship ties in host communities cause barriers or obstacles to repatriation of refugees to their homeland.

The third chapter of the thesis focused on the research setting and methodology. The present research study is primarily qualitative in nature and was conducted from January to April 2021. Fieldwork was conducted in a single geographical location of the Surkhab refugee camp. Surkhab camp is in Pishin district, Balochistan, Pakistan. However, the present study, due to its limitations, restricted its selection of a sample from the Surkhab refugee camp. The sample size of the present study was 23, discovered through convenience sampling. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews of 23 Afghan refugees on the issue of repatriation. Apart from 23 detailed, in-depth interviews, the researcher conducted 02 FDGs for the purpose of data collection. Besides, informal discussions and observation were also essential sources of data collection. Note-taking and audio recordings of the respondents turn out helpful in documenting information from the field.

The fourth chapter discussed the perception of Afghan refugees regarding their return to their country of origin. The thesis investigated the perception of Afghan refugees in terms of their intentions or tendency to repatriate. According to the research, the majority of Afghan refugees in the Surkhab camp were hesitant to return to their home country. While some of the refugees who reported intentions to repatriate mainly due to their affiliations and emotional bonding with their Homeland and due to some Strict or restricted Policies of Pakistan Government for Afghan refugees.

Youth of Afghan refugees who were born in Surkhab Camp had no intentions nor willingness to repatriate after being here as a prolonged refugee. Those young generations of Afghan refugees pointed out that the present environment and culture are totally new to them; they are totally unaware of the present scenario in Afghanistan. They don't feel like Afghans in fact they call themselves more like Pakistani citizens due to their time spent in camp and social integration into the present society. In comparison, the elderly Afghan refugees who had lived in Afghanistan before migration are still hoping for better socio-economic conditions of Afghanistan.

In the fifth chapter, all socio and economic factors were investigated that affected the repatriation of Afghan refugees living in the Surkhab camp. These factors are at a most times transform into multiple challenges that Afghan refugees struggle with while making their decision regarding repatriation. Research findings revealed that social factors influenced repatriation. Respondents reported that there are no facilities available in Afghanistan like; Health facilities from which refugees are being benefited in Pakistan. Modern Education, which a new generation of Afghan refugees had in Pakistan, revealed that education facilities were missing in their homeland, especially for females, but here in Pakistan, they were facilitated with free education both for males and females. Similarly, kinship ties of a new generation of Afghan refugees also affect repatriation because most of them were married in Pakistan, where their new ties had long emerged. Along with it, social receptiveness or Attitude of the host community was also the main barrier to repatriation. The study finds out that Afghan refugees were faced discrimination and a not a welcoming reception from their locals in Afghanistan. Young Afghan refugees who were raised in Pakistan found themselves aliens to a local culture that prevails in Afghanistan. Moreover, they identified themselves as Pakistanis and adopted the dominant culture in their residence. These social barriers consequently compel them to stay in Pakistan.

Regarding economic factors study finds out that economics also had an effect and cause barriers to repatriation. As most of the respondents were poor and had no property or lands at the country of

origin while few had land in Afghanistan. Further, Afghan refugees had better economic conditions in Pakistan, where most of the refugees had jobs and working opportunities in camps and in different cities of Pakistan. Many of the Respondent's shared jobs are not available in Afghanistan, which causes barriers to their repatriation.

Concluding, this study was conducted on the socio-economic barriers to the repatriation of Afghan refugees in Surkhab camp, District Pishin, Balochistan, Pakistan. The majority of Afghan refugees in the Surkhab camp came from Afghanistan to Pakistan as a result of war and terror, particularly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which was followed by a civil war. Research findings show Afghan refugees living in the Surkhab camp have no intentions to repatriate due to war and instability in their country of origin which is the direct threat to their life. In addition, the socio-economic situation created by war also stops Afghan refugees from repatriating to their homeland as they have better socio-economic conditions in Pakistan. In addition, the findings and conclusion of this study are useful for researchers, academicians, and policymakers associated with socio-economic aspects of repatriation. In addition, this research widens avenues for future researchers to focus on refugees' personal disputes in the country of origin, assistance from UNHR or other local INGOs, cross Afghan border networks, as well as many other aspects related to the phenomenon of repatriation barriers.

6.1 Suggestions

Results of this study show that Afghan refugees are facing socio-economic obstacles to repatriation. The present research investigated the socio-economic barriers and tendency of Afghan refugees to repatriate. The researcher further suggests that research should be conducted on the recent overtake of Taliban forces and its impact on Afghan refugees' repatriation, young generation's identity crises. The same study needs to be conducted in various parts of Pakistan with a much larger sample Size. The study also needs to be supplemented a view from country of origin which is Afghanistan for further investigation about the barriers to repatriation.

GLOSSARY

Sharayat.....	demands
Stunzi	hurdles
Charwaki	police
Dodi.....	Bread.
Mili-Urdu	Afghan Army
Eid Gah	Prayers of the Eid day
Jirga.....	a group of people headed by <i>Nawab</i> and <i>Sardar</i> for the purpose of resolving internal affairs of tribe or family.
Kabuli Pulao.....	is a type of cooked rice.
Shalwar Kameez	shirt or trouser a cultural dress of Afghans male and female.
Topi/kholai.....	a traditional Pashtuns cap to cover head.
Pattu	a piece of cloth which almost every male Afghan refugee wears.
Sadri.....	waist coat of Afghans
Muhalim.....	Teacher
Ustazani.....	female teachers
Bazgar	Peasant
Musafar khana.....	guest house or hotels
Tazkira	national identity card of Afghans
Muhajir card.....	refugee card also known as POR (proof of registration) cards
Villayat.....	origin of country
Nauroz.....	new year
Maktab	School
Laisa.....	College
Phontun	University
Roghtun.....	hospital
Mujisa	NGO
Mahash.....	salary

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Interview Guide

- Demographic information
- Age of the respondents _____
- Education _____
- Profession/occupation _____
- Per month income _____
- Family members _____
- Number of children
- Boys _____
- Girls _____
- Duration in exile _____
- Do you have willingness to return or not?

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structural factors: • What are the policies of local Government about returnees? • Do you think so there are favorable conditions of return? • Land: • Do you own any piece of land in Afghanistan? • Do you have land in your country for livelihood purpose? • Do you think that someone else has taken your land? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual Factors: • Language: • What is your first language? • Can you speak Pashto Dari/Farsi? • Do you think so there is communication issue for you based on language? • To what extent language is a communication issue in employment prospect? • Education: • What is your qualification? • Do you have same curriculum in
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional capacity and Insecurity: • Do you think so that institutions based on land issues are working for returnees in Afghanistan? • If so, do you think that those institutions are biased towards you? • Do you think so that schooling system has capacity to absorb more students in Afghanistan? • Do you think so there are better health care facilities in country of origin? • Do you think so government of Afghanistan is able to provide security for returnees? • Attitudes of host community and Social cohesion: • Do you think so locals have welcoming reception to returnees? • Do you think so returnees are preferentially treated by locals? • Poverty and unemployment: • What would you say that Government 	<p>Pakistan as compared to Afghanistan?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your perception about school curriculum in Afghanistan? • Do you have schools and colleges in your camp? • Do you have school and college in camp for both males and females? • Do you have school and college at origin of country for both males and females? • Network and Access to services: • Do you have any social connections in your destination? • Do you have any contacts with friends and family relatives living in Afghanistan? • Do you think so there is favoritism/social exclusion based on links in institutions like schools, courts etc.? • Do you think so there is access to legal issues for returnees at Afghanistan?
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<p>of Afghanistan has created employment opportunities?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Do you have employment opportunities at your homeland?• What type of occupation will you prefer at Afghanistan?• Do you have hospitals at your destination?• Do you think so there are better health facilities in Afghanistan?	
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