

The Invisible Refugees: Exploring the Barriers in Social Mobility of Uzbek Refugees in Samali, Baluchistan



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2021

Formal Declaration

I hereby declare that present work titled ‘The Invisible Refugees: Exploring the Barriers in Social Mobility of Uzbek Refugees in Samali, Baluchistan’ is the result of my individual research. Any ideas taken directly or indirectly from third party sources are appropriately indicated as such.

I also declare that this work has not been published or submitted to any other university/degree in a similar form.

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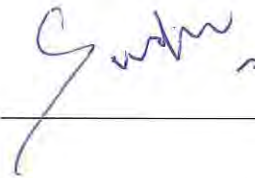
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Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Ms. Mishayam Wajid. 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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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents: my mother, whose love and confidence in me encourages me to be a better version of myself every day and made me the woman I am today, and my father, whose support and trust in me empowered me.

Abstract

Refugee studies have been in the limelight in the rhetoric of migration studies in the contemporary world. Though there is a multitude of literature on Afghan refugees in the Pakistani context, the researchers mainly studied Afghan refugees under one terminology to highlight their challenges or challenges caused by them to host communities. This thesis is a qualitative study, which attempts to fill the gap left behind by generalized studies on Afghan refugees and primarily quantitative literature on Afghan Uzbek refugees. This study focused on the conceptualization of challenges faced by Uzbek refugees from the perspective of Social mobility by analyzing their experiences regarding integration and marginalization. The sample was Uzbek refugees and locals of Samali, Baluchistan. Data was collected through qualitative research techniques including semi-structured interviews, case study method, and participant observation. Thematic analysis was used to analyze and organize data into themes. The study's main findings indicate that Uzbek refugees have not experienced upward social mobility in the last ten years. Barriers to their social mobility of Uzbek refugees residing in Samali resulted from three different sources 1) Ambiguous state-level policies, 2) Stigmatization and marginalization from larger society 3) Marginalization inside their community. The state has not provided refugees with facilities, social services, and their legal status remains obscure. From the larger society, the stigmatization of Uzbek refugees in the form of hostile narratives and resentment while being a minority without resources and limited social capital resulted in downward social mobility. Lastly, the stratification within the Uzbek community and marginalization of women proved to be a barrier to their successful integration within the larger society. Research also recognized their Strategies to survive marginalization and isolation, for instance, rights by proxy and cheap labor. The research emphasizes the diverse experience of social mobility of Afghan refugees when venturing into different ethnicities within Afghan refugees in Pakistan, taking into account perspectives of Uzbek refugees and locals to comprehend the complexities of integration, thus social mobility.

Keywords: Social Mobility, Integration, Marginalization, Refugees.

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List of Abbreviations

REF	Refugees
SSI	Semi-Structured Interview
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees
EASO	European Asylum Support Office
NADRA	National Database and Registration Authority
CNIC	Computerized National Identity Card
PoR	Proof of Registration
CFI	Corporate Finance Institute
FIM	Fundamentalist Islamic Militia

Introduction

1.1 Background of The Study

"Humanity is fundamentally a story of migration." — **Laila Lalami**

Humans have been migrating since the very beginning, and it played a significant role in the formation of diverse cultures, languages, and history. Today the world that we call globalized is also an outcome of enormous cross-border migration; the first wave of globalization dates back to between 1830 and 1913 when en masse migration substantially increased and the openness of good and capital under the gold standard (Solimano, 2004). It indicates that migration was not always with restriction or due to disruption or destruction. It is only in the 19th century that Europe and other countries decided to control migration. It was decided, that only selective people after formal procedures will enter the borders (Bundy, 2016). It was all inaugurated with the outbreak of the first world war in 1914 and led to restrictive policies towards migration (Solimano, 2004, p. 3). Refugees were not even recognized legally, only after world war II, the world was forced to acknowledge the status of refugees, it was acknowledged in 1951 to protect those who were forced to migrate due to war, hate crimes, and any threat to life and freedom, but it has its legal terms and conditions too (UNHCR, 1989).

"No one puts their children in a boat unless the water is safer than the land." — Warsan Shire, 2009. The regulations mentioned above seem to be favoring peace and security but only upon investigating deeper the adverse effects on refugees who are left with no choice but to leave their countries can be seen. Their social and legal status puts them at risk of becoming marginalized or vulnerable for generations to come. Since, in a world where Minorities in their own homeland face low income, lower education, and participation in the workforce (Kislev, 2018).

It is then easy to infer that being a minority in the host countries must have more social and economic constraints. As explained by (Kislev, 2018, p. 4) that minority groups have to encounter obstacles to social mobility from primary education to higher education to the job. Here it is essential to differentiate between minority with resources and minority without resources. United

Nations (Guidance Notes, 2014) explained that minorities have different positions and experiences; some minorities play a crucial role in state and economic structures and other contexts, whereas others are systematically marginalized and receive little or no support (p. 7). They further stated that the focus should be on minorities whose rights are at risk and are socially marginalized. Minorities can be displaced individuals who need international protection and frequent targets of human rights violations; they are often denied participation in public life, rights to resources such as land, education, health, and employment. They highlighted that their statelessness and forced displacement cause serious challenges, particularly in access to rights and legal documentation (p. 8).

Such is the case with Afghan refugees. Afghan Refugees are the largest of concern as every one out of four refugees in the world is Afghan (Tamang, 2009). For this study, Afghan refugees are equally significant as from enlisted refugees approximately 1.8 -1.0 million are in Pakistan, and the number of Afghan refugees without registration living in urban areas and the town is unknown; however, they are evaluated to be in thousands (Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019, p.4). Although they are in great numbers, it doesn't change the reality that Refugees in Pakistan lack opportunities to have upward social mobility. Their status as refugees is a hindrance in social mobility as there is a lack of strategies and empowering arrangements from the government for refugees (p.3). World Bank Group (Policy Note, 2019) elaborates that in Pakistan, ethnicity, background, and socio-economic status define whether individual, group, or community will get opportunities enough to have upward social mobility or even needs as essential as clean water or drainage system. Therefore, refugee status can make one even more vulnerable in Pakistan.

Numerous researches have been conducted on challenges faced by Afghan Refugees, especially Pashtun Afghan refugees. That being said, Afghan Pashtun refugees still found it easier to reside in KPK as they have a cultural affinity with Pashtuns there, but the Hazaras, Tajiks, and Uzbeks had and have cultural differences. They do not speak the same language and nor do they have the same culture (Khattak, 2003, as cited in Tamang, 2009, p.5). Statistics also indicate that 85% of the total registered Afghan refugees are Pashtun, following that are Tajiks (6%), Uzbek (3%), Hazara (2%), Turkmen (1%), Baloch (1%), and then other ethnicities (European Asylum Support Office, 2020, p. 22).

From that arises a significant gap in the literature, the uninvestigated challenges of Uzbek Refugees, and the resulting position on a social ladder. This dimension is crucial to explore, as the Pakistani government's decision to homogenize all Afghan refugees and their failure to recognize ethnic and social diversity among them has increased ethnic tensions between different social groups in Pakistan (Khattak, 2003, as cited in Tamang, 2009, p.6) and has led to the invisibility of Uzbek refugees among the general public too.

Thus, this research is focused on Uzbek refugees and their challenges. The research aims to investigate the social mobility of Uzbek Refugees in Samli, Baluchistan, and the barriers they face in achieving upward social mobility.

1.2 Statement of Problem

There is no doubt that migration phenomena have been explored in literature from perspectives of voluntary, involuntary (forced), repatriation, and within a social, cultural, and economic framework. However, there are the dimensions, contexts, and specific milieus that are left unexplored. Most often, the researchers deal with refugees as a minority social group with challenges in the host country or discuss refugees' presence as a challenge to the local community.

Much research with similar aims has been conducted on Afghan refugees in Pakistan (Sturridge, 2011; Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019; Jibeen, 2019; World Bank Group, 2019; European Asylum Support Office, 2020). Nevertheless, there is a dire need to differentiate between different social groups in Afghan refugees to voice those who are overshadowed under one terminology. Their social, economic issues are muted in literary discourse. This study offers an advanced perspective on Afghan refugees that despite being from the same country of origin, the difference of ethnicity and resources causes different challenges in the host country.

This study seeks to put forth a social mobility Perspective on Uzbek refugees in Samli Baluchistan, which have been studied neither qualitatively nor quantitatively in Pakistan. It does so by exploring their experiences regarding social services such as education, employment, housing, health care accessibility and general attitudes towards them as perceived by them.

1.3 Research Questions

Taking into account the aim of this research, the Researcher has formulated two research questions.

1. What are the experiences of social mobility of Uzbek Refugees in Baluchistan?
2. What challenges Uzbek Refugees face to achieve upward social mobility?

1.4 Research Objectives

- 1) To explore the experiences of social mobility of Uzbek Refugees
- 2) To analyze social mobility through accessibility of social services
- 3) To find out barriers in achieving upward social mobility being a refugee

1.5 Significance of the Study

Various researches have been conducted on challenges faced by Refugees, internationally and in Pakistan. However, it is high time that their problems should be operationalized under one big umbrella to conceptualize their overall societal status.

This study plays its part in achieving that goal and has significance in this regard.

Primarily, it fulfills the gap in the literature that exists in regards to Uzbek Refugees in minority studies in Pakistan. It also provides a new lens to the operationalization of refugees' challenges in the host country within migrational studies in an anthropological context through the concept of social mobility.

Previous studies (Sturridge, 2011; Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019; Jibeen, 2019; World Bank Group, 2019; European Asylum Support Office, 2020) regarding refugees in Pakistan have only studied Afghan refugees as one social group without differentiating between different social groups among them, and Uzbeks are just part of the statistics. No such qualitative and in-depth study has been conducted on Uzbek refugees in the Pakistani context.

This research provides an overview of the problems that are faced by Uzbek Refugees being part of a different ethnic group than other Afghan refugees and being a minority among the minority.

It provides detailed, in-depth perspectives of "Uzbek Refugees: through their experiences and analyzes the process of settling in the host country. It explains that it is not just a movement from one border to the other but also a process that entails integration in society or marginalization from it and resulting social conditions. The model put forth redounds in understanding the above-mentioned intricate processes.

This research is also helpful in policymaking on the local and governmental levels by highlighting Uzbek refugees' problems to inspire solutions.

1.6 Definitions of the key terms

Some key concepts or terms used in the study are defined as follows:

1.6.1 Social Mobility

Pitrim Sorokin first introduced the concept of social mobility. According to him, every society is different in terms of the movement it allows to its members. No society is entirely closed or open. The change in the societal position of the individual happens over time resulting from different social interactions. It results from different factors and performances of individuals to achieve roles with benefits and a better lifestyle in society. Social mobility is positive when a person moves up the social ladder. (Corporate Finance Institute, n.d.). The speed of social mobility depends on how developed society is. However, it cannot always be positive. It can be downward. The essence of social mobility is a change in the individual's position in society and the advantages and disadvantages that go hand in hand with it (Aldridge, 2001). It implies that people from one position or status in society move to the other position or status upward or downward (Yadav, n.d.).

1.6.2 Integration

According to Berry's model of acculturation, integration is one possible outcome when two cultures interact. Integration is when culture adopts the other culture while retaining the heritage culture. The integration strategy is used when individuals want to interact with the other society

while maintaining the integrity of their culture. They become part of a larger society while retaining their cultural membership (Sam & Berry, 2010). It is one of the best strategies for socio-cultural adaptations.

Integration, however, is not a one-way process. It involves two parties; it depends on the receiving community and their openness towards the newly arrived social group. Interaction between both decides what will be the outcome of integration. However, responsibility rests more on the shoulder of receiving community because the institutions and social structure are of the receiving society, and their reaction plays a more significant role in deciding the result of integration (Penninx, 2003).

1.6.3 Marginalization

Marginalization is also part of Berry's model of acculturation. It is one of the outcomes of acculturation. It happens when there are difficulties and a lack of adaptation support. Therefore, individual loses interest in his own and the culture of receiving society; It is often the result of discrimination and exclusion from the receiving culture. The marginalization is often the result of forced loss of culture.

1.6.4 Refugee

A refugee is a person who has a well-founded fear of execution based on their nationality, religion, race, social group, or due to their political opinion and is outside of their country and cannot have protection in their own country. Whether they have been recognized or not, their status remains the same as long as they satisfy the definition. In 1951 the status of refugees was recognized by the Geneva convention for refugees' post-world war II to protect stateless people at the time and in the future to come. However, Pakistan is not a signatory to this convention but has granted refugees permission to stay on Prima-facie, which grants permission based on the first impression and is accepted as refugees in the host country until proven otherwise (Wirth, Defilippis, & Therkelsen, 2014).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter elucidates the core variables of this research from the existing literature to develop an understanding of the research framework. It starts with studies on social mobility and its forms and explains social mobility from the perspective of acculturation theory, highlighting it crucially and different outcomes. It further establishes the link between the status of refugees and their condition with different forms of social mobility. Lastly, it covers the literature on refugees in the Pakistani context, which is majorly about the challenges of Pashtun Afghan refugees without covering their social mobility and calls attention to the need for this research - Barriers in the social mobility of Uzbek refugees.

2.1 Social Mobility

Social mobility is the movement between different social groups and the opportunities or inequalities that society lays out for individuals, families, and groups to move between social groups. This movement has both negative and positive outcomes in monetary terms and overall advancement opportunities (Aldridge, 2001). Social mobility can be measured through the quality of education, employment status, household income, and individual earnings (ACCA, 2018, P. 10). It is crucial to measure social mobility from time to time to highlight the inequalities or help build policies to increase economic efficiency by including the groups otherwise excluded or restricted on the lower part of the social ladder (Aldridge, 2001). At this point, it is crucial to mention that social theorists distinguish between Intergenerational and intra-generational social mobility, inter-generational is the movement in occupational status, education attainment, and individual earning compared to their parents. In contrast, intra-generational social mobility is more concerned with an individual's activity on the social ladder in their lifetime (WBG, 2019, P. 15).

It is crucial to distinguish between forms of mobility because Every social group in society has different power relationships with mobility, hence different control and engagement with mobility (Massey, 1993, as cited in Sturridge, 2011). From this perspective, mobility varies; not everyone benefits from it or has the same access (Sturridge, 2011).

Social mobility is further divided into various forms that help understand the variation in the movement of the social groups in society. There are two general forms the Upward and downward

mobility. When people end up in a lower social position during their life-course and their parents, they are considered downwardly mobile. On the other hand, when people turn out to be in a higher position than in their past life course and their parents, they are upwardly mobile. However, it is crucial to mention that some people remain stable or immobile as they attain the same position as their parents and remain in the same position in their life course (Paskov et al., 2020)

2.1.1 Upward Mobility

Upward mobility indicates transformation and adaptation in the social class of individuals (Schneider & Lang, 2014). Paskov, Prag, & Richards (2020) explained that this adaptation needs to be positive; only then its upward mobility; it signifies prosperity and opportunities and upgraded occupational statuses. They further explained that upward mobility impacts individuals' expectations from society and gives everyone hopes that they can move upward at the top; there is space for them (Paskov et al., 2020). Societies with high upward social mobility have certain factors that make it easier to comprehend how a society with more opportunities appears. Chetty, Hendren, Kline, & Saez (2014), in their comprehensive research on social mobility, laid out few co-related factors with upward social mobility such as 1) Less income inequality 2) less residential division 3) Better primary schools hence better education 4) more significant social capital (networks), and (5) better family stability. These factors can be measured to investigate if society is upwardly mobile or some barriers we need to consider.

2.1.2 Downward Mobility

Downward mobility indicates movement to a lower position from higher in society. Downward mobility has serious consequences; it makes it challenging for people to adapt to new social status and reinforces structure that supports inequality (Corporate Finance Institute, n.d.). Paskov et al. (2020) further explained downward mobility from an intergenerational perspective; according to them, it is a sign of downgraded occupational structure and overall downward mobility if people perform economically worse than their parents. Societies with downward mobility cannot mobilize people's available talents or skills, which leads to their exclusion from economic growth and overall less economic growth, resulting in inequality (WBG, 2019). This Downward trend in the

mobility of social groups is a sign of economic instability, limited opportunities in society, and it warns that policy intervention is needed to control mobility fluctuation (Aldridge, 2001).

2.1.3 Mobility within the framework of Acculturation Theory

Now that the core variable social mobility and its significance have been discussed, it is crucial to address it in the context of two different cultures encountering. The author has rendered a link between acculturation and social mobility through acculturation theory in the following section. Acculturation theory helps generate an understanding of processes that bring about and hinder social mobility of the acculturating social group, such as integration and marginalization.

David L. Sam and John W. Berry (2010) stated that Intercultural contact (contact between two cultures at least) is the major source of development of human behavior, social and cultural activities, and re-modification of social institutions. From this frame of reference, they defined *acculturation* as the phenomenon that is the outcome of the continuous first-hand contact between individuals of different cultures and, as a result, changes the original cultures of both groups in contact. Moreover, it is not pre-defined; there are variations in consequences of this intercultural contact, which depends on the degree to which people wish to contact an outside group and participate in the larger society. It also depends on attitudes and settlement policies of larger society for acculturating groups. Hence, it affects their acculturation strategy, and it has at least four possible outcomes: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Sam & Berry, 2010).

2.1.4 Integration: A factor for Upward Social Mobility

With reference to acculturation theory, the integration of acculturating social groups is correlated with upward social mobility. Lettmayr & Riihimäki (2011) defined *integration* as the participation of an acculturating group in the host country institutions such as the Labor market, health care, and education. They further highlighted that for this participation to happen, it is imperative to have supportive public policies by host country institutions. Only then minority social groups can fully be integrated into the larger society. The work of Sam & berry (2010) in this regard helps in comprehending the significance of integration; they saw integration as the major source of

effective socio-cultural adaptation for minority groups. Socio-cultural adaptation refers to successfully acquiring social skills of the new social milieu and social competence for a better healthy life in the new setting.

2.1.5 Downward Mobility via Marginalization

On the other end of acculturation lies marginalization, which results in downward or no mobility. Sam & Berry (2010) conceptualized the marginalization of minority groups as a lack of cultural maintenance due to enforced cultural loss, at the hand of exclusion and discrimination by the larger society, at least in most cases. To address the process of socio-cultural adaptation in the event of marginalization, Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok (1987) explained that minorities face little social competency and lack of social support from cultural groups and consequences on a group and individual level. They experience lower health status, which entails deteriorated psychological health as well; they suffer from depression, anxiety, feelings of marginality, and identity confusion.

2.2 Refugee Status

Refugees were not always recognized under the law for protection. Only in the 1951 Geneva Convention were refugees legalized under article 1 later on amended by 1967 protocol relating to refugee status. Refugees were defined as A person who has a well-founded fear of persecution on account of religion, nationality, race, membership in a particular social group and political opinion, and is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to avail the protection from that country on account of well founded-fear and is unwilling to return (UNHCR, Training Service, 1989).

It is critical to define refugees from all parameters and consider every possible threat. It is a matter of people's lives and death who seek asylum (Chimni, 2000, as cited in Pacifico & Maria, 2009, p. 4). Recognition of refugees does provide some relief, but the struggle does not end here; the journey for refugees is long ahead. After they are allowed to enter host countries and live there, the host countries sometimes forget that international and domestic laws protect refugees. Few even forget that refugees are human beings equal to their nationals. They also struggle with the reality that they cannot send refugees back if there is the slightest chance of being tortured and persecuted (Pacifico & Maria, 2009, p. 6). As a result, it presents an array of challenges for

refugees; They not only have to cross the physical border for improved life but also the social confines of access to public services in the host country, such as housing, employment, health care, and education. Otherwise, what started from seeking protection can end up on discrimination and exclusion in host countries (Pacífico & Maria, 2009, p. 18).

2.2.1 Social Mobility of Refugees

Social mobility is critical and challenging to achieve; one can only imagine how difficult it must be for individuals who leave everything outside and start new life inside a new border with less to no resources. Kislev (2018) explained as he cited Borjas's theory (1987) of human capital, according to which it depends on immigrant's skills to which extent he/she will succeed in the host country upon their arrival. Suppose they have a high level of education, proficiency in the host country's language, and have employment experience, they will succeed more. Dunn (2019) also described human capital and stated that job skills, education, household, parental legal status, priorities of family, and mode or level of incorporation influence second-generation immigrants' social mobility. He also established that advantaged backgrounds have higher social mobility than disadvantaged. In that case, they will adapt well economically if they do not have these skills they can acquire with time. It applies to refugees as well. However, Sturridge (2011) argues that, although mobility is pertinent for refugees, it varies according to individual agency and power structures in which they reside. It is strenuous for refugees to develop strategies to develop socio-cultural skills and competencies to deal with differences in the respective environment of the host country (Schneider & Lang, 2014).

The context of mobility is essential for people; it has a considerable impact on the attitudes of young individuals that need opportunities to thrive in society. It also affects older people who want their children to do better than them (Paskov et al., 2020). In the case of refugees, it is even more crucial. For refugees to have social mobility according to the theory of acculturation, they need to integrate with society, and society has to allow them to integrate; otherwise, they will face marginalization and discrimination at the hand of the larger society.

2.2.2 Their Social Mobility through the Integration

For social mobility to happen, acculturation needs to yield positive outcomes, and for it to have positive outcomes, integration is required. This experience is not the same for everyone; those who voluntarily move and involve in the process of acculturation experience more minor challenges (Immigrants) than those with little to no choice in the matter, such as refugees & asylum seekers (Berry et al., 1987, p. 5). As discussed above, integration is one positive outcome of acculturation. Sam & Berry (2010) argue that it occurs when individuals try to maintain their original culture and participate in daily interactions with other social groups. Cheung & Phillimore (2013, p. 11) pointed out steps to achieve integration while researching British society. According to them, it takes place when refugees are empowered enough to achieve their full potential, access the services in a host country to which they are entitled, and contribute to the community. As established earlier that integration is a two-way process. Sturridge (2011, p. 11) explained that Refugees do not come out of the historical vacuum. They have skills, strategies, experiences, and social networks developed in the past and are valuable in a refugee situation.

Moreover, refugees with more economic and social resources integrate and engage better with society. It is only possible when the host country also makes sure that immigrants, refugees are not being perceived as competitors and deploy (Lettmayr & Riihimäki, 2011, p. 18). In case of ignorance from the host country on the state level, refugees who escaped collective deaths and left their country's borders to seek refuge in diverse society can end up being segregated, isolated, and excluded from it (Pacífico & Maria, 2009, pg. 3). Hence, integration is not a mere process; it is complicated and is multidimensional. Multiple parties such as the refugee community, organizations, institutions, and society have a role to play (Ager and Strang, 2004, as cited in Cheung & Phillimore, 2013) along with the labor market, education, training, health care, the housing being critical for it to happen (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013, p. 10).

2.2.3 Theory of Social Capital apposite to integration

Broken with the community of origin, one cannot comprehend how refugees feel in a strange world. There is no doubt that they go through a trauma; the collision of two cultures is complicated to deal with. Pacífico & Maria (2009, pg. 20), while acknowledging this trauma, proposed that

although refugees come from different cultures, regions, and history, they need to integrate themselves, and by that become valuable in a new community, participate in social life, and eventually create social capital and new home inside a new border. Social capital is an asset for refugees which they can utilize to socially mobile themselves. Social capital, for Bourdieu, explained by Richardson (1986), is a network of relationships that provides individuals their credentials. This network of relationships is maintained by exchanging material and immaterial resources; it is an investment conscious or unconscious because they build networks that are useable in the short or long term; it reaffirms their group (Bourdieu, n.d. as cited in Richardson, 1986). However, social capital is not without context. It needs a source to be established in the first place, such as economic, social, and cultural structures that result in differential power structures. Therefore, social capital also depends on the social position to take advantage of (Claridge, 2015). The theory of social capital is relevant for refugees, whether or not they are allowed to access public services and willing to integrate, which ultimately will enable them to build social capital that grants them some security. They will establish roots in the host community and contribute to it (Pacífico & Maria, 2009). On the other hand, if they are not integrated well and lack social capital, they end up in a secondary labor market segment (Lettmayr & Riihimäki, 2011, pg. 37). Therefore, social capital highlights the cruciality of Integration.

2.2.4 Their Marginalization

In case of no public policies on integration, acculturation results in the segregation of refugees and asylum seekers; it is then no less than social apartheid for them (Pacífico & Maria, 2009, p. 21). Policymaking may seem simple in this regard, but it is instead quite a challenge to bring communities that belong to different cultural backgrounds together, especially when the difference is between acculturating society and natives (Lettmayr & Riihimäki, 2011, p.34).

WBG (2019, P. 13) stated that differences that are not addressed result in amplified inequality in society, leading to a lack of socioeconomic mobility. They further explained that the integration of minorities with time, achieving better jobs and education levels, and improving their living standards indicate that inequality is declining. Nevertheless, the lottery of birth predominantly determines the capacity or position to climb the social ladder, and inequality persists over time in all generations impacting equity negatively and marginalizes them in society. Sam & Berry (2010,

p. 9) related separation with discrimination. They stated that if settlement society rejects acculturating society, acculturating society also rejects settlement society and becomes marginalized, which causes poor socio-cultural adaptation, which ultimately leads to a lack of social mobility.

2.2.5 Theory of stigmatization: Reinforcement of Marginalization

Discrimination that leads to marginalization always has some form of stigma in its foundation. Clair (2018, p. 9) explained that stigma connects undesirable characteristics to individuals who are different from others and identify as such. Stigma refers to attitudinal and emotional reactions, considering that discrimination refers to the behavioral enactment of said stigma. Stigma is the co-occurrence of at least four processes that causes significant loss to social groups being stigmatized: (1) Labeling differences among humans; (2) Stereotyping of those differences; (3) Separation of labeled from "us" and (4) loss of status and discrimination against labeled (Link & Phelan, 2009, as cited in Clair, 2018, p. 2). Phelan, Link, and David (2008), as cited in Clair (2018), asserted that through stigmatization, dominance is gained, and stigmatized groups are exploited. On the condition that stigmatization is maintained through institutional practices and by law. In that case, the stigmatized individuals will eventually be excluded from labor markets, law, politics, and social networks resulting in unequal distribution of resources (Clair, 2018, p. 2). It is relevant to refugees, as they experience racism and discrimination at the hand of the larger society, which perceives them as of low status (Clair, 2018, p. 11).

2.3 Refugees – Pakistani Context

It is a well-known fact that Pakistan hosts millions of refugees. Therefore, much literature is available on individuals seeking refuge in Pakistan; the existing literature mainly discusses Afghan refugees living conditions, resources, legal rights or deprivation of rights, psychological challenges that they go through, and repatriation. Therefore, it is essential to discuss some of these studies to understand the social positioning of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Following studies did their best to bring socio-cultural and economic challenges of Afghan refugees to the spotlight. Consequently, reviewing the following literature researcher identifies the gap that would make this research a significant contribution in literature.

Before focusing on refugees and related variables, it is crucial to highlight the situation of Pakistan as a host country to set the context and give meaning to refugees' experiences.

Pakistan is a developing country, and 24.3% of its population lives under the poverty line (Asian Development Bank, 2020; World Bank Group, 2020). A country that was already struggling with resources for its population and had internal challenges had to face a new dilemma in the influx of refugees. Pakistan had to accommodate refugees with its struggling economy and lost \$106.98 billion to the war on terror (Muhammad, 2016). Terrorism not only destroyed our economy but our health, medical care centers, sanitation, education, and infrastructure that were supposed to support economic development (Muhammad, 2016). This section highlights that although it is challenging to achieve social mobility for refugees in the host country, it can be even more challenging to achieve in Pakistan, which had little control over its political and economic development due to instability in its neighboring countries and politics on a global level.

2.3.1 Historical Context

According to European Asylum Support Office (2020, p. 16), The unrest started in 1978 in Afghanistan when the communist government came into power, and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan for support which started decades of arm conflict between the Afghan government and opposition troops called 'Mujahideen' and consequently four lac afghans had to leave and seek refuge in Pakistan. After the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989, one would expect that situation will be better, but right after that, different groups of 'Mujahideen' arrived in Afghanistan started a civil war, and the Taliban arrived, which forced more afghans to seek refuge in Pakistan (EASO, 2020, p. 16).

2.3.2 Legal Framework

According to an estimate, Pakistan hosts millions of refugees between 1978 and 2011, about four to five million Afghans came to Pakistan to seek refuge (Alimia, n.d. as cited in EASO, 2020). Despite hosting millions of refugees, Pakistan is not a signatory of the 1951 Geneva convention for refugees of the United Nations and the protocol relating to the refugee status of 1967 (EASO, 2020, p. 90). Pakistan neglects legal recognition of refugees as convention refugees. It prefers to protect refugees on humanitarian and religious bases and regard them as Muhajrein (People

seeking asylum for religious reasons) (Shavazi et al., 2005, as cited in Sturridge, 2011, p. 15). In fact, The Handbook issued by the Government of Pakistan in 1981 stated that Afghan refugees would be granted refuge based on humanity and shared ethnic, faith, and social values across the border (Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019, p. 8). The only immigration-related law of Pakistan is the Foreigners order of 1951 under the Foreigners Act of 1946 to regulate foreigner's entry, stay, and movement. Under this law, any foreigner, including refugee and asylum seeker without valid and authentic documentation, are subject to detention, arrest, and deportation. However, the Pakistani Government exempted Afghan refugees from the Foreigners Act in July 1997 in the issued circular (EASO, 2020, P. 24). Despite not signing international refugee laws, Pakistan still recognizes Afghan refugees on Prima-facie since the USSR's invasion (Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019, p.8). The "Prima Facie," according to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, is based on the first impression and is for group-based emergency cases in which immediate action is required before status could be determined (1989, p.4). The mentioned legal state of affairs demonstrates that the government of Pakistan handles matters regarding refugees administratively under the national, political, and humanitarian concerns (Khan, 2018, as cited in Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019). UNHCR has no formal legal status for Pakistan but has been allowed to bargain with Afghan Refugee after the Soviet Union, and every refugee under UNHCR mandate is permitted to have impermanent shelter in Pakistan as it does not allow permanent settlement to displaced people (Zubair et al., 2019). (Zubair et al., 2019).

Notwithstanding the state of the law in Pakistan, several policies deal with and decide the scope of rights for Afghan refugees. According to EASO (2020, p. 18), Afghan refugees living in Pakistan can be divided into four broad categories. 1) The PoR cardholders. The PoR (proof of registration) was issued by National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) in 2007 (EASO, 2020, p. 24). 2) The ACC (Afghan Citizens Cards) Holders. It was issued in 2017 to give identity to part of those refugees who are still unregistered. 3) Afghan Refugees without possession of any document (considered illegal). 4) Afghan refugees live in Pakistan with an Afghan passport and a Pakistani visa (EASO, 2020, p. 18). The issuance of ACC provided some legal status to Afghan Refugees in Pakistan (EASO, 2020, p. 24). Along with these strategies, Pakistan also initiated voluntary repatriation (return to their own country) of the refugees in 2015, while in the meantime, law enforcing agencies cracked down on unregistered refugees and arrested thousands of them (Dawn, n.d. as cited in EASO, 2020, p. 27)

Regarding citizenship, no law in Pakistan deals with refugees' citizenship¹, even if the child of a refugee is born in Pakistan (EASO, 2020, p. 25; Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019).

2.3.3 Social Services

Pakistan, in general, is a stratified society where inequality is evident in the allocation of public services (WBG, 2013, p. 16). Even Some fundamental rights such as education, which entails completion of primary education and continuation of studies after that, availability of sanitation facilities, clean water to drink, and electricity at home are distributed unevenly in Pakistan. The opportunities are decided by birth and waste human potential. Suppose a person is born in an underprivileged family in Baluchistan compared to a person born in a privileged family in Punjab; both have different odds of becoming successful in professional fields such as a doctor, engineer, or entrepreneur (WBG, 2013, p. 17). This inequality has further been highlighted through statistics of access to sanitation throughout Pakistan; in Punjab, 58% of households are connected to piped water and have water for more than 6 hours a day compared to Sindh, which is 7% and Baluchistan, which is only 2%² (WBG, 2013, p. 24). Inequality is a primary source of poverty in Pakistan. Together, they could make worse-off feel estranged and cause resentment. It weakens the social contract and renders inclination towards insurgencies (Azam & Aftab, 2009) The concern here is that if inequality prevails even for nationals, what is it like for refugees without legal support for rights?

Most Afghan refugees are daily wage earners and are found working in the agriculture, construction industry, and other industries, heavy machinery, beekeeping, carpet weaving, and fresh fruits. Some refugees have businesses on a small and large scale. However, those businesses

¹ During data collection, conversations regarding the laws related to refugees with local government officials confirmed although the law does not allow refugees to have property or does not grant them citizenship, and is working towards the repatriation of Afghan refugees. Still, they do use proxy means to access services discussed further in data collection.

² The researcher acknowledges that entitlement to privilege does not only exist inter-provincial but intra-provincial as well. Class differentiation, differentiation in ethnicity, and legal status may entitle individuals to privilege, but literature only discussed inter-provincial and intra-provincial is discussed in data collection.

are under proxy owners or not registered because, before 2019, they were not even allowed to open bank accounts or not registered (UNHCR, 2020). UNHCR (2020), as cited in EASO, 2020), wrote in their report that Afghan refugees do not have the resources to have education or technical skills. Hence, they end up working in the labor market and cannot have employment in the private or public sector due to the absence of a national Identity Card. Nevertheless, they still share the same interest with local Pakistani traders and businessmen and are perceived as competition by them; there is a sense of jealousy (Kheshgi, 2020, as cited in EASO, 2020, p. 33).

Even though the education system in Pakistan lacks facilities, standard curriculum, and trained teachers in many parts of the country, the primary level of Education is available for refugees, 146 Schools have been made with the help of foreign aid in refugee villages, and many refugee children benefitted from it; they can also attend Pakistani government schools, but gender barriers cannot be ignored (Herve, 2018). According to a survey, only 18% of Afghan refugee girls are enrolled in schools (UNESCO, 2019, as cited in EASO, 2020, p.45). Howbeit, it is complicated for Afghan refugees to have higher Education without authentic documents, certificates, financial and social resources (UNHCR, 2015). Only PoR cardholders can apply for only two seats reserved for refugees in every institution (Afghan Displacement Solutions Platform, 2018).

As far as Access to health goes it has been allowed by Pakistan to all refugees regardless of their status (Registered or Unregistered), but they have to buy their medicines from market government hospitals that do not provide them. It has also been notified that health services for unregistered Afghan refugees are not as good as they are for registered (EASO, 2020, p. 49).

The housing facility for Afghan refugees has a complicated history and somewhat ambiguous situation. At first Afghan refugees used to live in ARVs (Afghan Refugee Villages) approved by the Pakistani government, but the situation now varies. For example, a recent study by UNHCR (2020) informed that as of March 2020, 69 % of PoR cardholders do not live in ARVs but in provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan, and only 31% live in ARVs. Consequently, only 54 Arv are still open instead of 300 ARVs established originally. Most Afghan refugees are allowed to move freely in the country now but, without authentic documentation, are at risk of apprehension (EASO, 2020, p. 32). The ambiguous status makes their presence shaky, resulting in confrontation and threats of detention from various authorities regardless of their gender and age. Sometimes the power from authorities is misused, and refugees have to deal with harassment (Zubair, Khan &

Shah, 2019, p. 3). According to Afghan refugees, Pakistani police not only harassed but detained, beat and carried out raids on their settlements and even extorted bribes; they claimed that these actions of enmity increased after the attack on Army public school in Peshawar (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Government official Mushtaq Ghani in 2016 even stated that the movement of refugees would be restricted to their camps and will no longer be able to move freely in the province (Dawn, 2016).

The housing Facility is officially not available in Pakistan for refugees. No Afghan can own or lease a property, land, and house in Pakistan. Only PoR cardholders can rent houses for residential and commercial purposes but with a lengthy legal process. The legal documents for rent require signatures from the landowner, Afghani tenants, and two local witnesses on judicial stamp paper, which is later registered at the police station to initiate the process. The difficulty is that Afghans cannot have that judicial stamp without CNIC (EASO, 2020, p. 50). On the other hand, unregistered Afghan refugees have no rights to housing, so most of them are forced to live in informal settlements (Katchi Abadis) (Ansari, 2019). According to Banori (2020), as cited in EASO (2020, p.50), It is impossible to have a quality life in informal settlements; for him, the only benefit of “Katchi Abadi” is that refugees are less harassed by police there than urban settlements of refugees.

The above literature review helped the researcher identify the gap in the literature and inspired the researcher to work on a particular locale and on a specific social group of Afghan refugees, which has not been voiced in literature.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

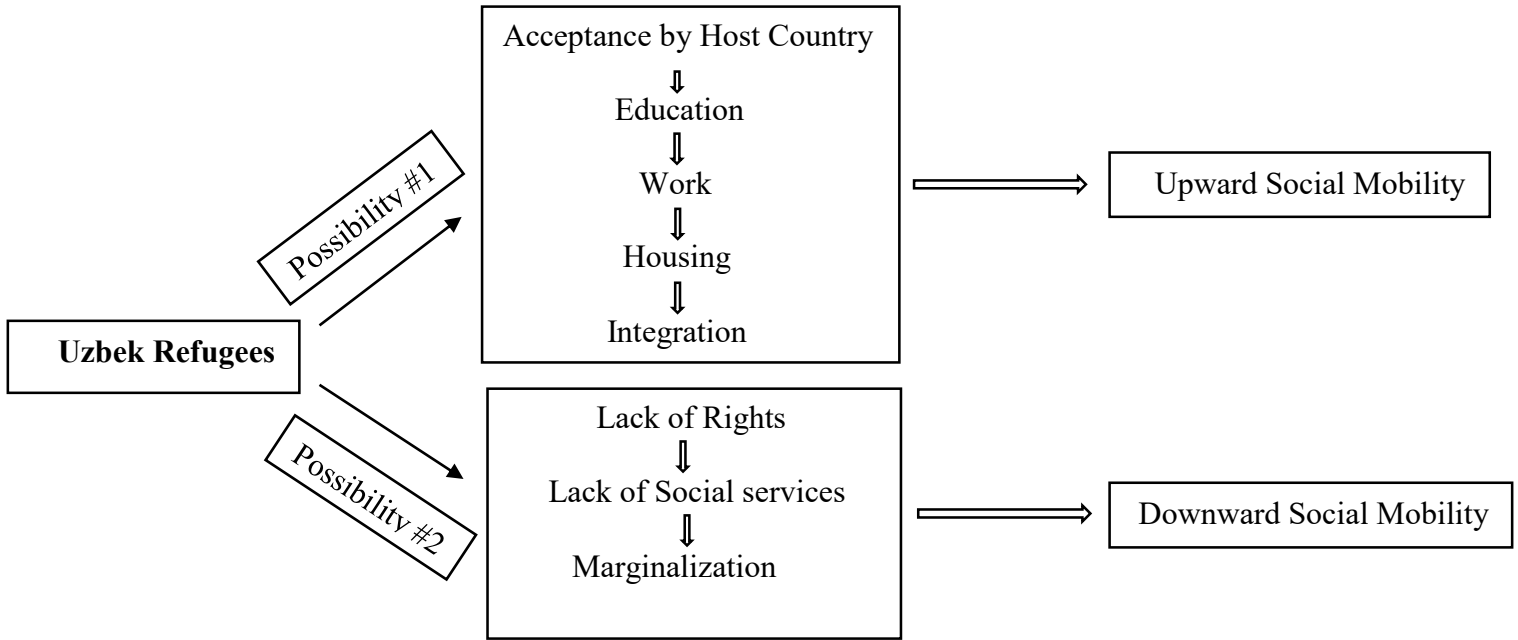


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

3. Research Design and Locale

3.1 Research Methodology

The design of this research is qualitative. Qualitative research collects detailed data and interprets meaning from data to understand the social life of targeted populations and places (Punch, 2013, as cited in Mohajan, 2018). It taps into people's perceptions of different events first through observations and then through interpretation by fieldwork in their natural setting (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, McKibbin, 2015, as cited in Mohajan, 2018). It helps make sense of their experiences and social reality by using open-ended interviews and tools such as interview guides, journals, and diaries (Zohrabi, 2013, as cited in Mohajan, 2018). Since qualitative research aims to understand social life and describes experiences, understand perceptions and what and how of the social events to call attention towards those particular social phenomena (Patton & Cochran, 2002). Therefore, it is the appropriate methodology for this research to dig deeper into the lives of Uzbek Refugees and understand their challenges from their perspective and fill the gap in the vast literature on refugees and minority social groups in Pakistan. Since this study is an attempt to get a perspective on the lives of Uzbek Refugees, a minority group in Baluchistan, Pakistan, the philosophical worldview this research adopted was transformative. According to Creswell (2014), transformative research seeks to study the needs of marginalized groups in society. The transformative research highlights the experiences of diverse groups. It focuses on the inequality of society towards them and their strategies to cope and resist this inequality (Mertens, 2010, as cited in Creswell, 2014). Therefore, this research utilized a transformative worldview to highlight what challenges Uzbek refugees faced being a minority group in Pakistan and to conceptualized those challenges by measuring social mobility to call attention to inequality.

This research design was considered appropriate for this research. Qualitative methods, techniques, and tools were used to conduct comprehensive research from data collection to in-depth data analysis within this framework.

3.2 Research Methods/Techniques

Considering the qualitative nature of this research, data collection methods, techniques, and tools used were:

3.2.1 Rapport Building

This technique is unquestionably one of the most crucial steps in data collection; As soon as fieldwork starts, the researcher has to make sure that everyone is comfortable enough to share information and have an in-depth conversation; for this to happen, good rapport is essential. Rapport lets Anthropologists do all kinds of things that would have been considered otherwise intrusive (Bernard, 2006). Rapport building was needed and took place at every stage of the fieldwork. First, before interviews with Uzbek refugees, I built rapport with local Pathans³ in initial meetings to get permission to take interviews in their area and get basic know-how of the locale as they owned land in the Samali, which is a colony located in Kuchlak, where many refugees and local residents of Pakistan are living together. I built rapport by careful dressing; I wore an abaya and covered my face throughout meetings because of their cultural value of Pardah (Seclusion of women from men). I was also very mindful of my language. I used the word Lala (Pashto Word for Elder brother and other respectable father figures) to converse with them, and I felt that as soon as I called them Lala, they became more welcoming and treated me as their younger sister. It was also crucial for rapport that I am accompanied by men of my family at all times, as it was not acceptable in their culture for women to travel to remote areas and work alone. Hence, I always had my male cousins accompanying me, and this aided me in building rapport. However, it never came up in my conversations with respondents whether my cousins or brothers accompanied me; therefore, I am not sure knowing that I am with my cousins would have made a difference to them.

³ The researcher recognizes that Pashtun is the preferred terminology for the majority of the Pakistani Pashtuns as terminology Pathan may offend people in the community for it contains colonial baggage. However, in "Samali," the locale of the study, the word Pathan was part of the dialect and commonly used. Throughout the study word, Pathan has been used as part of the subjective narratives.

These efforts eventually helped me with my interviews with Uzbek refugee respondents and in finding me, my Key Informant.

Rapport building with Uzbek Refugee women and men was done by casual conversation, mainly with the help of my translator. As there was a language barrier, I made sure that my gestures and expressions were appropriate, affectionate, and friendly. Uzbek women welcomed me by kissing my hands, and I made sure to do the same. I used to stand up for all members of their families coming to meet me. I dressed appropriately. I wore frocks and a big Chaddar (Scarf) during my Interviews with them with my face uncovered, especially during my interviews with women. In most of my meetings, where I only had to meet men, I chose to wear Abaya, but I wore long dresses and a Chaddar (Long Scarf) in interviews with women. I converse with their adolescents as most of them knew Urdu, asked them to show pictures of the family not present and smiled throughout my interaction. I made sure to ask them to show me their house, and I took a complete interest in everything. I was so happy that they were comfortable enough to show me their homes and belongings and allowed me to take pictures. They opened up and talked to me at lengths about their experiences. Rapport building with Uzbek men was challenging as I did not get enough time with them; I felt women of the house did not want me to talk to them at length as I was alone, also I needed a translator to interact with them. It took more effort to get information from them. Hence, I interviewed most of them at their jobs so as to make the environment comfortable enough for them to talk, with my face covered and other men accompanying me. It was essential to consider norms regarding gender as the cultural values were patriarchal, and an alone woman did not symbolize conformation to those values. Interviewing women in the domestic sphere in their homes without my cousins accompanying me and me in an outside sphere always accompanied by a man further highlights the patriarchal setup and gender norms.

3.2.2 Participant Observation

Participant Observation is critical in qualitative research to get close to the respondents and collect data from where the action is. Data is collected from a natural setting by observing what the researcher sees and hears and also records and takes pictures of that natural setting. The researcher additionally participates in activities to understand the respondent's social life (Bernard, 2006, p. 343-344).

In this case, I, in the role of Participant Observer, participated in different social activities. Especially during my visit to the local school, I participated with Uzbek refugee students during their break. I learned about their relationship with teachers who were locals, but during the process, I realized that I had influenced the field as well. I was a woman in an all-boys school, which caught much attention and was a whole new experience for me as a researcher. There was a school for girls, but I was told that it is not located in Samali, it is outside my locale, and only four to five Uzbek refugee girls attend that junior classes in that school. Also, no one appeared to take me there, nor the locals neither the refugees. Therefore, I did not visit it. I recorded what I could relevant for this research.

On my first visit to the Basti (town) of Uzbek refugees, I observed to learn their acceptable ways to behave, especially when someone is visiting. Subsequently, when I participated, I greeted them in the same manner by kissing the back of their hands. Also, every time when I wanted to show gratitude for the time and information they shared, I used to put my right hand on my chest, look downwards and smile. I made sure that I politely ask them for their permission to come and leave and made sure that I greet everyone in the house personally; the above small gestures ultimately helped me build rapport on the field. For most of my interviews, I was a participating observer, as I participated but as an outsider (Bernard, 2006). I observed their behaviors, their interaction with each other, people visiting them, material/objects in their houses, the expressions on their faces when they discussed their life as a refugee, and much more and took notes and recorded them.

3.2.3 Key Informant

Key informants are a valuable source of data collection in qualitative research. They are the people who have the knowledge, information, and access to information on the locale that is required for the research, and they help researchers by providing data or create easy access to it (Bernard, 2006). The Key Informant for this research was a teacher Aminullah of Government Boys High School, Killi Samali. He has been teaching there for the last fifteen years, and he knew almost everyone, the locals and refugees. His status as a senior and experienced teacher proved to be monumental in building my rapport. I met my respondents with his reference and felt that they were more comfortable sharing their experiences when they knew that I was not a complete stranger, and Aminullah had referred me, and they knew him well. He went out of his way to help me. For my interviews with Uzbek refugee women, he could not accompany me into their homes

because women practiced purdah (Religious practice of seclusion of women from stranger men). He sent one of his students with me. That is how the student Naqeebullah became my second key Informant and translator. He was 16 years old, he also knew most of the families in the area, so he was allowed to enter, though young girls still covered their faces in his presence. Naqeeb himself was an Uzbek refugee and had been through a lot; therefore, he had much knowledge on the topic, which I found valuable for this research. His perspective, support, and maturity was immensely helpful for my research. He and I developed a friendship over the course of fieldwork, which made me overcome my anxiety in the field. I found his presence beneficial both for my respondents and me. Without Naqeebullah and Sir Aminullah, I would have never gotten the detailed data necessary for this research.

3.2.4 In-depth conversational (Semi-Structured) Interviews

For this research, semi-structured interviews were found best suited to collect in-depth data. According to Bernard (2006, p. 210), a Semi-Structured interview has the freewheeling quality of an unstructured interview. However, it follows an "interview guide" list with all topics and dimensions needed to discuss during the interview. The interview guide was used as a tool to conduct semi-structured interviews; it is efficient for conversational interviews. It allows the interviewer to be in control of data that is needed for research but at the same time allows the interviewer and respondents free to follow new leads (Bernard, 2006, p.211). I prepared four Interview Guides to cover different backgrounds and gender of respondents. I conducted conversational interviews with Uzbek refugee men, women, children, and the local people of Samali to understand perspectives of and perspectives about Uzbek refugees. At first, it was challenging to explain the purpose of these interviews, as everyone assumed that the government had sent me for aid or a repatriation program. Therefore, before I start asking them research-related questions, I always made sure that they understand that I am there for educational purposes. I aim to deliver their experiences/stories outside Samali, and thankfully it did not affect my rapport.

I never had any problem with the duration of the interviews. I found my respondents very patient and hospitable. Most of my interviews were an hour long. They had long conversations with me, and they showed me every corner of their houses. Some of them took me with them to meet their relatives and called newly arrived Uzbek refugees to meet me so I could hear their experiences as well. However, my experience was different with Uzbek refugee men, and I had to cut short my

interviews; they talked, but the answers were concise. I sensed uneasiness, upon which I changed my approach. I started taking interviews through my male cousin, where I whispered questions in his ear with my face covered and noted given answers. I wanted face-to-face interviews despite this challenge and ongoing pandemic. I wanted to be present to get detailed answers. It is one of the advantages of face-to-face interviews (Bernard, 2006, p. 256). Most of my interviews were in Urdu (national language of Pakistan), for respondents who only spoke Farsi (the official language of Afghanistan) Naqeebullah worked with me as a translator. With the method of semi-structured interviews, stories and experiences unfolded aspects that had not even been asked and provided depth to my research.

3.2.5 Field Notes

Since I collected data through conversational interviews and observation, it was necessary to note it down so it is not all forgotten and detailed analysis can be done. Bernard (2006, p. 389) explained that field notes are of four kinds: diary, jotting, log, field notes proper and formal methodological, descriptive and analytical notes to record and analyze every crucial detail. The quality and quantity of field notes depend on the type of research, method of data collection, and research circumstances. During my fieldwork, I made notes of everything I observed notable for this research. Since I could not note everything during interviews, I had to interact with respondents, make them feel comfortable, and keep the conversation going; therefore, I made field jottings on the spot to jog my memory later on for details. I had a notepad with me all the time, and I asked all my respondents at the start of interviews if I can write this information, and I asked for their permission again to write when they told me something sensitive which could cause them trouble. With time I developed this habit of writing words without actually looking at a notepad to maintain my eye contact with respondents, especially if there was the risk that my writing can break the conversation and make it awkward for the interview to continue. I also made descriptive notes by transcribing recorded interviews, which helped me with my analytic notes. I made themes for my analysis from those descriptive notes. Consequently, it led to coherent, organized, and meaningful findings for this research to analyze.

3.3 Sources of Data

This research employed both primary and secondary sources of data, qualitative in nature:

3.3.1 Primary Data

It was collected through conversational semi-structured interviews by using an interview guide as a tool. The interview guides were made per the research objectives and had open-ended questions, ergo led to detailed data collection. Field notes and recordings aided the collection of the data.

3.3.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data was collected through extensive literature on the topic, reviewed books, journals, reports, research articles, and conference papers to develop an extensive understanding of the research topic. This identified the gap, and helped find the right variables to collect meaningful data for conceptualizing and analyzing challenges of social mobility. Records, documents, and registration cards of refugees were also used as secondary data to substantiate information regarding Uzbek refugees.

3.4 Data Collection and its Challenges

During fieldwork, I, as a researcher, had to face some expected and some unexpected challenges. The unfortunate Pandemic of Covid-19 was one of the biggest challenges. I had to stop, re-plan my fieldwork multiple times. While many opted for online data collection as advised for safety, in my case, the language barrier, remote locale, technological issues, and sensitivity of the topic made it impossible for me to conduct online interviews. I traveled to Baluchistan, Samali, by car, which took about 19 hours in this pandemic; the stress and fear were tough to deal with.

With the current political situation within Baluchistan and on borders, especially related to Afghan Muhajireen and the ongoing situation between Taliban and Afghans, it was also risky to ask questions I had to for detailed data collection. Respondents were hesitant to comment on certain things which were required for perspective.

In my experience, the cultural values of people in Baluchistan are a lot different from the people of Islamabad and Rawalpindi (As I live in Rawalpindi and studying and working in Islamabad for the last nine years), and the Uzbeks had even more. The purdah had utmost importance even for men, and it was challenging for me to interview men. As soon as I entered their homes, the women took me to the separate room for women and did not even ask if I wanted to interview men, even with my face covered. It was always awkward later on to ask them to let me interview men of the house.

I tried to dress like them throughout the field and tried to be humble and respectable toward them, but they were always ten times more hospitable. I had this constant fear that I might disrespect them, that I need to do more. As soon as I entered rooms for interviews, they laid separate floor cushions for me, and they sat on the bare floor. It was overwhelming. I refused at first, and then I had this sudden realization that perhaps I am dishonoring their cultural value by rejecting their hospitality; it was a dilemma.

Another challenge was to interview locals about Uzbeks to get a broad perspective. Many locals dismissed me as soon as I started interviewing, saying there is no challenge for Uzbeks. They are wealthy; their general views about refugees and disregard for any challenge Uzbeks might have made it almost impossible to have a detailed discussion on refugees. They kept taunting me as a researcher that "I will write lies in my thesis to present Uzbek refugees as some oppressed minority," it was distressing for me to have people doubting my research ability and ethics constantly, and it took a lot of effort to get back on track.

3.5 Data Analysis

In qualitative research, while the researcher is collecting data, data is being analyzed too. The coding of data as the collection is in the process into categories to describe themes from the perspective of participants and then, later on, to analyze within the theoretical framework is part of the technique (Meriam, 1988, as cited in Creswell, 2014). Data for the analysis was collected through conversational semi-structured interviews, recordings, transcriptions, field notes, and analytic notes during the data collection, and themes were generated by coding based on a similar pattern. Hence the data analysis method used in this research is Thematic analysis. I chose thematic

analysis because it gave me carte blanche to analyze data for the best research output. I made themes, which are constructed patterns from data (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Within themes, I presented data to further the objectives of this research. Moreover, I analyzed data with information gleaned from the literature and applied theoretical lenses to conclude the research problem. When I showcased the findings and analyzed them, verbatim were used to support the claims and provide a deeper perspective. However, the utterances were translated into English. The words or sentences that risk losing their meaning upon translation were written in exact verbatim, the Urdu and translation of Farsi done by translator in Urdu followed by the English translation.

3.6 Sampling

Research Sampling is the process of identifying a group of people best suited for research to represent the population through different sampling methods, so the results are valid.

3.6.1 Sampling Method

Purposive and convenience sampling methods were used for this research. Purposive sampling is to find individuals who can reflect and share experiences related to research. The researcher decides what purpose they want informants to serve and finds them accordingly (Bernard, 2006, p.190). Whereas convenience sampling depends on the availability of individuals, anyone from the population who is willing to give enough time for an interview long enough for data collection is a respondent.

Firstly, the respondents were selected purposively. Those Uzbek refugee men, women, and children whose families lived in Samali, Baluchistan, Pakistan for at least ten years and had relatives in Afghanistan were selected with the help of key informants to understand the social mobility. The convenience sampling method was adopted to interview locals to get their perspectives on Uzbek refugees. Later on, during the fieldwork, this method was adopted for newly arrived Uzbek refugees to understand their expectations from Pakistan and expected challenges in Pakistan.

3.6.2 Sampling Unit and Size

My main goal was to interact with enough respondents representing both genders and age groups to collect comprehensible data. A lot changed during fieldwork with the ongoing situation, and I had to adjust and gather whatever I could. A sample of 24 women, 20 men, and 11 adolescents were interviewed. There were four women, five men, and four adolescents from the local community whose interviews were rather short. The rest of the sample was Uzbek Refugees. The total sample size was 55. The sample size was kept large and diverse enough to incorporate a variety of perceptions and data collection.

3.7 Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Table 1. Demographic Profile of the Uzbek and Local Respondents

Characteristics	Women		Men		Adolescents	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Ages						
Under 15 years					11	100%
Between 15-30 years	14	58.33%	12	60%		
Between 31-45 years	7	29.17%	6	30%		
Above 46	3	12.5%	2	10%		
Educational Level						
Illiterate	14	58.33%	8	40%		
Below Secondary	8	33.33%	7	35%	11	100%
Matric and above	2	8.33%	5	25%		

Marital Status						
Married	13	54.7%	11	55%		
Widowed	1	4.17%	-	-		
Single	10	41.67%	9	45%	11	100%
Languages spoken						
Farsi	20	83.33%	15	75%	7	63.64%
Pashto	3	12.5%	2	10%	2	18.18%
Urdu	1	4.17%	3	15%	2	18.18%
Uzbek	12					
Ethnicity						
Uzbek	20	83.33%	15	75%	7	63.64%
Pathan	3	12.5%	2	10%	2	18.18%
Punjabi	1	4.17%	3	15%	2	18.18%
Religion						
Islam	24	100%	20	100%	11	100%

Table 2. Occupations of the Respondents

Women	Men	Adolescents

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage	Occupation	Frequency	Percentage	Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Housewives	5	20.83%	Laborers	15	75%	Laborers	6	54.55%
Maids	12	50%	- -			- -		
Craftswomen	7	29.17%	Craftsmen	2	10%	Craft-Workers	5	45.45%
			Others	3	15%			

3.8 Reflections of the Research Process

As much as I wanted a topic unbiased or neutral as our field demands, I have to admit that I preferred Baluchistan for fieldwork as a result of my emotional attachment to the place. I had decided at the start of my degree to conduct my research in Baluchistan to make it part of my academic identity.

The decision to study Uzbek refugees to highlight their challenges was also, on some level, personal for me. They were part of my childhood. Ayesha (Uzbek Refugee) worked at my uncle’s home; she used to spend hours playing games with us kids and taught me to play with crystal balls. The sentimental memories and her sudden disappearance from Quetta to Afghanistan were traumatic for me. However, When I had to finalize my research topic, I did secondary research, and upon realizing that this is bigger than that, and the fact that people are not aware that Uzbek Refugees are living in Pakistan and have a separate identity. I decided to focus and conduct my research on this topic.

At first, I was unknowingly using English words in interviews, and my respondents had to ask again what I meant. Words like life, death, refugee, the ones we do not notice that we are saying in English. I realized how embarrassing it is for me to do this. I should not put my Respondents through this, and I worked on it. It took a little time but eventually, I got it right.

During fieldwork at my first interview, I was afraid of face-to-face interviews because of Corona; I had this notion that since they do regular labor work, it makes them more prone to have Corona. However, when I realized I am the one who traveled 19 hours from Rawalpindi to Quetta by car,

and I am more of a risk for them than they are for me, I had this sheer feeling of guilt for being this ignorant.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations during research are as crucial as the research itself. The researcher must engage in them throughout the research from start to the end (Creswell, 2014). It has to do with how data is collected, whom, and how it will be represented.

The Ethical consideration adopted in this research were:

- Consent and willingness of the respondents to participate in the in-depth interviews.
- Each Respondent was informed about the purpose of the research.
- Consent of the respondents for recording the interviews, taking pictures. Otherwise, everything was written down on the notepad.
- The anonymity of those respondents specifically asked me not to mention their names to protect their privacy, as some of my respondents wanted me to write their names so their experiences are shared with real identity.
- Fair treatment of all respondents, no discrimination, and where I sensed discrimination by one group for the other, and I made sure that I had a healthy conversation about it and remained unbiased.
- The moral dilemma that I faced most during the research was the assumption that I am a government officer working on a project for refugees. It was assumed that either I was there to interview them for aid or decide whether they are legal or illegal. It was a real challenge to clear before every interview that my purpose is purely academic, and I am to write their challenges only without tacting my rapport.
- During my fieldwork, I received very harshly and rude comments on conducting my research on Refugees. I kept my cool and did my best to stay unbiased and noted the perspective that it gave me about the challenges of Uzbek refugees.
- I took the time of my respondents and considered it my responsibility to do something for them in return. I conveyed their problems to NGOs and ensured that they run the campaign for them.

3.10 Entry and Selection of Locale

Refugees have been living in Pakistan for decades. Pakistan has more than 1.6 million registered Afghan refugees and more than 300k unregistered Afghan refugees (Zubair, Khan & Shah, 2019). Afghan refugees are living in every corner of Pakistan, but because I was looking for Afghan Uzbek refugees, there were few locations where they had Basti (towns). I chose Samali because it had the largest population of Uzbek refugees residing from the last 10 to twenty-year minimum. I contacted people with a large social circle there, and they agreed to help me and took me to the houses of Uzbek refugees for the interviews.

3.11 Profile of Samali

Samali is a locality/colony in the town of Kuchlak near Quetta city. The coordinates are 30.3564.66.9497. It comes under the jurisdiction of the Union Council in Chiltan town Quetta.

3.11.1 Physical Setting

Since Samali is a colony located in Kuchlak, and the land's legalization is controversial there, especially having Basti of refugees (settlement), the topography is complicated to explain.



Figure 2. Google Map Location of Samali

The infrastructure was not developed according to modern standards. The roads were Unpaved, leading to houses and markets. The small area had houses, shops, Madrassa, a clinic, a clinic for

ladies, and a school all in the same vicinity. The streets were unpaved but were wide enough and had a sanitary sewer system self-made by the community of Uzbek refugees.

Inside the streets, the houses are constructed wall to wall. The houses were of all types, Brick houses, mud houses, and some were Juggis (tents). All houses were single-story given the structure. Most of the houses had thick curtains in front of the gate or just a curtain.

The houses had expansive and open mud courtyards, which had places specified for animals, a Tandoor (Clay oven) (see fig. 3), and a well, along with an area for women to sit and weave. The houses had one or two rooms without the door. One washroom, they had no water, they purchase water tanker every three or four weeks. Electricity was only for one room for a fan and a bulb. I did not see any televisions or other electrical machines. They had no internet. Some of the houses had gas, which had a fixed bill of three thousand rupees some had no facility at all.



Figure 3. A Pictorial view of Clay ovens and Unpaved Roads

There was no police station in the area. There was no hospital in the vicinity, only a Small clinic that had minimal resources.

Local Pathans mostly owned the shops, Uzbek refugees had at most four businesses in the area.

3.11.2 Social and cultural settings

The family structure in Uzbek refugee settlement is an extended family system in every household. Especially with the recent change in the geopolitical situation of Afghanistan, many families had

newly arrived relatives from Afghanistan. The newly arrived Uzbek refugees only spoke and understood Farsi. However, those living in Samali for years understood Pashto as well, and kids who were studying school understood Urdu as well. The followed religion is Islam and Sunni sect. The dress pattern for women is long frocks and a Chaddar (Long-scarf); some of them were wearing a cap under the Chaddar. The dressing pattern for men is kameez-shalwar and turbans on the head. In summer, most of them were wearing a white turban. The literacy rate of the area was low. None of the grown women or men had been to school. The kids are now going to schools, but that too mostly boys to have primary or secondary education.

3.11.3 Economic and political settings

The majority of the Uzbek refugee men in Samali are daily-wage laborers. The minority is that of the traders and shopkeepers. The women do the jobs of housemaids and craftwork. The families I interviewed were of lower-class statuses and few were of middle class.

Uzbek refugees do not have any say in political matters. They do not have any sort of political representation in local political bodies. The Pathan landlords of the area have political authority. Most of the refugees have proof of registration.

Now we move onto the next chapter on the findings and analysis of data.

4. Data Presentation and Data Analysis

In this chapter, data is presented and analyzed in themes. I decided to present and analyze data from macro to micro challenges of social mobility of Uzbek refugees. At first, I have discussed the facilities provided by the state from what I was told and what I observed to understand integration from both sides. I moved on to explain their strategies to services or no services by government, their experiences of social mobility, and how they are surviving and conceptualized with the theory of social capital. Then I moved to present challenges they face in the more general society living with the local community. Lastly, challenges existing within their community have been presented and analyzed.

Refugees Welcome: Settlement of Uzbek Refugees

4.1 Welcome by the State

Pakistan hosts millions of refugees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, it is also notable that Pakistan's policy toward refugees is ambiguous, as highlighted in the literature.

The Uzbek refugees of Samali all agreed that Pakistan provided them with safety. It was never safe for them in Afghanistan, to which they kept referring as "where the war is."

They said they will keep living in Pakistan unless someone forces them out, then they will have no other options, but until then, they are not going anywhere. To which I inquire the reason, and the majority had the same answer as one respondent "We are born in Pakistan, we have no desire to go to Afghanistan." Another respondent said, "پاکستان خوب است" (Pakistan is good).

This led me to my following few questions about facilities provided by the government.

4.2 Social Services

Almost all Uzbek refugees I interviewed were living in rented houses except for one. They were not in refugee camps (area provided by the government for resettlement of Refugees), In refugee camps, the government and the united nation provide facilities such as shelter, education, and health care to refugees until they can safely return to their homes. The houses I interviewed either

had arranged facilities such as gas, electricity, water on their own or had none. The education, job opportunities, and health care services were also no different.

4.3 Basic Necessities

Their houses were made of mud or were tents, and It was 32-38 degrees in Samali during fieldwork. Only eight of the houses had fans in locality according to respondent. The few houses had electricity only for one room, and the rest had none, especially “tent houses” (Called *Jhuggi* in the locality “a house-made up with nylon, polyester and felt and usually has only one room made up of mud). They had no gas either. Only a few houses had a connection from means that shall be discussed later in this chapter. They complained about not having any of the basic necessities in the area.

A woman I was interviewing in “Juggi” (tent house) had four kids of age 4, 7, 10, and 13 gestured with her palm up and said, “*Na Bijli hai, Na pani hai, na gas, sakht sardi may sab bacha log bemar hujatey hain myre, yeh tou hain bhi buhat chotay*” Meaning “There is no electricity, water, and gas. In freezing cold weather, all my kids get sick, and they are too young to go through this.”

None of the houses had a water supply by local state bodies and had to rely on private water tankers. Keeping with the background that it already is an area where water management is poor and climate change has adverse effects, poverty made it more challenging to afford water tankers for the lower class in the locality.

An Uzbek woman refugee living in a mud house said, “We use water tanker service, one small water tanker costs us Rs.1200 and has 1000 gallons of water, we use it for about two months. We cannot afford this service every four weeks.”

Another Uzbek refugee woman living in “*Juggi*” (tent) told me during the interview, “We do not have any water supply, nor we cannot afford water tanker, we get water daily from a house we work for. We fill 3 gallons of water from their house every other day”. (See fig. 4)



Figure 4. A Pictorial View of Water Gallons

The man I was interviewing said, “We have refugee cards; it is no good for us other than the fact that police do not throw us in jail with this in possession. Since we do not get free treatment or ration on this card.”

4.4 Health Care Provision and Accessibility

Besides these basic facilities, other social services such as education, health care, job opportunities were also the same. Samali had one health care center for women who treated refugee women, and according to the women I interviewed, it was costly.

One widowed 39 years old Uzbek woman shared, “I had a child six years ago. Lady doctor asked ten thousand rupees for delivery. My husband was alive then and used to do “Mazduri” (labor work). He wanted me to have a child in the clinic. My husband died of serious illness last year;

since then, I am sick too, but now I have no one to pay for my treatment. I have been dealing with my severe headaches on my own and never revisited her.”

There was a medical clinic too for the general public, with one local doctor, and Uzbek People had their theories about him.

A 15 years old Uzbek boy, during his interview, shared, “He is not a real doctor. He has done some *“Jarri botti wala parhai”* (My best guess is that he was referring to either a homeopathic doctor or herbalist)

Another boy Muhammad Naseer whispered to me,” *Yeh doctor par sab ko Pura shak hai, agency wala hai yeh. Yahan jab bhi koi larai Huta hai yeh srf nikal kar dekhta hai or foran say Fc walay ajatey hain or larai waloun ko utha kar lay jatey hain.*” meaning “Everyone suspects that this doctor is an agent. whenever a fight erupts in this area, he just takes one look at the situation, and FC (Frontier Corps) arrives to arrest the fighting groups.”

The distrust of the public in the medical center was a significant problem. The nearest hospital was private, which they could not afford, and the government hospital was in Quetta city, which also demands registration proofs depending upon the mood of the staff. There is a general perception that even if they have registration proofs, they are fake and made by illegal means.

As respondent shared:

“Kabhi check kar layty hain, kabhi kehtay hain Muhajir ko nai dekhain gay.” Meaning “sometimes they take appointments, sometimes they refuse to check refugees.”

This behavior highlights discrimination against their refugee status. The health care service provided by the government was that all the kids of the area were vaccinated for immunization against polio, measles, pneumonia, etc. However, no one has yet visited for corona awareness. Given that area had little to no media and social media technology, it was even more crucial for them to have awareness programs.

A 17 years old Uzbek girl stated, *“Yahan ksi ko corona hua he nai hai, mausami nazla zukam huta hai bas,”* meaning “No one has got coronavirus here, they only catch a seasonal cold.”

This unawareness regarding the current pandemic is dangerous because they lived in a densely populated area and regularly visited each other and the city for work. This is true for the lower class everywhere in Pakistan. However, the language barrier and the legal status make it more challenging for Uzbek refugees, especially if they are unregistered because then they are not eligible for vaccination either.

However, upon research, it was found that it was in the context when the government initiated repatriation programs after Army Public School Attack in 2014, and by 2015, Afghan refugees returning to Afghanistan to escape aggression from authorities in Pakistan went up to 155 percent (Human Rights Watch, 2015). The employee of the school said that it happens whenever the government is active in repatriation programs. Still, whenever the situation gets worse in Afghanistan again, most refugees return and get back to their old routine here.

4.5 Education

There were schools in the vicinity, a Government school for boys, and one was a Government school for girls. Although there were schools, most of the kids studied only till 5th class and girls even less. However, in Samali, it was common for every child, regardless of gender, to go to Madrassa (Institute to learn to Read Quran-sacred book of Islam) to learn to recite Quran. Nevertheless, dropping out of school after fifth or 6th class was a common practice.

Imam Uddin, a 14-year-old Uzbek Refugee boy, shared: “*Yahan ziada say ziada panchvi ya chathi tak parhty hain, uskay bad sarey larky mazduri seekhty hain.*” meaning “Kids study till 5th or 6th class at most, and then they learn labor work.”

Another one of my respondents, a 16-year-old Uzbek boy, shared, “That even if we do study till Matric, we cannot go any further we do not have documents to apply in prominent institutes, we cannot even give board exams⁴ without proper documents.”

On paper, they are allowed to study in private or government schools, but in reality, it is different.

⁴ Board Exams are public examinations conducted at the end of the 9th and 10th grades at the end of secondary school education to check students' competency.

As Uzbek REF woman shared: “Whenever some terrorism happens in Pakistan, School administration get strict as well. They do not allow us to study, and they say that we have “Upar say order hai” orders from above.”

No one from the area ever went to university or even college. All the adolescents who went to school had and will have primary education. There were those adolescent boys, too, whose parents could not send them to government schools as they had to do labor work from morning to evening.

4.6 Work opportunities

In Baluchistan, it was common knowledge that Uzbek refugees do all the labor work. I interviewed men who had been doing daily-wage labor for ten or twenty years, and I met boys who were doing labor work from the age of 10 years. They accompanied their fathers, uncles, siblings, or elder cousins to learn work. It was the most common occupation among Uzbek men. Other occupations were shopkeepers and traders, but they were low in numbers. Women, on the other hand, were working as housemaids or were craft workers.

No changes in their work positions were witnessed in the last twenty years. People who have been doing labor were doing it all their adult life and had plans to do it until they physically can.

In pandemic work, finding work has been a difficult task for them. The government imposed restrictions. Some of them followed restrictions, but some could not.

As an Uzbek woman said: “Humarey ghar char din mazduri nai aye tou khaaney ko kuch nai houta.” Meaning, “If we do not get a wage for four days, we don’t have anything to eat.”

A male Uzbek Respondent said: “When there was a restriction from government, we faced a lot of difficulties. Authorities used to ask us to go home.”

Regardless, they looked for work every day. They had no other option but to earn their daily wage to feed their families. Women who worked as housemaids shared similar stories.

An Uzbek REF woman said: In the city where families we used to work asked us to take a few days. They were afraid we have corona.”

An Uzbek REF male I interviewed said: “I am working as “*Mazdur*” (Labor) for the past 15 years. I go daily to Quetta city and wait to get work on Saryab Chowk (Name of place). Somedays I get work someday, I don’t.”

Daily wage laborers get affected by every situation and hence are very vulnerable economically. Extreme cold weather, pandemic, and cheap wage had adverse effects on their work lives.

As a laborer told: “Hum baraf bari may bhi kam kartey hain, buhat sarey mazdur tabqay kay islye bemar hu jatay hain. Bukhar rehta hai unko mahinun mahinun, kuch mar bhi jatay hain.” Meaning, “We work in snowfall too, so many of laborer community get sick. They get a fever for months. Some of them die as well.”

Their refugee status did not allow them to have access to learn more technical skills or education. A local respondent commented: “They are mostly part of the labor community because they do not have the education. If they had education, they would have been doing something different.” They had a limited scope of work that kept them in the secondary labor market, but they were bound to it for survival.

4.7 Political Representation

Uzbek refugee community in Samali had no political leadership or any position of authority. They lacked political representation. The community had been living in Pakistan for decades. During an interview, I inquired about the Baluchistan government and administration of Quetta and Kuchlak to 24 years old Uzbek refugee girl. She answered:

"Baji itna parha likha nai hai, humain nai pata yeh hakumat kahan kahan hute hai," meaning "I am not educated enough to know how many governments are there."

A male Uzbek REF said: “We are not Pakistani; we are “*Muhajir*,” How can we be in government.”

A female Uzbek REF said: “They have allowed us to live that is enough”

The Locals from the area are in Politics. The Uzbeks had no one in politics or any interest in Politics; they barely talked about it.

4.8 Technology

All the homes that I interviewed had little to no technological items. There was no internet. They had no landline connections. The mobile phones were not the expensive ones. Most of the women I met had keypad touch phones. There was no television, washing machine. They cooked on clay ovens (see fig. 5), or few of the houses had cylinders and stoves. They washed clothes with their hands in the courtyard. One of the mud houses had a solar panel for a fan.



Figure 5. A pictorial View of Clay Ovens of Mud Houses

The sanitation system was also not built by the city or its administration. As one of the Uzbek boys interviewed confirmed: “We built the sanitation system, collected money from every family and built it otherwise, it would have been a big problem.”

The sanitation system was simple. They had built small ditches from every house, one from their toilet and one from the courtyard where they wash dishes and clothes (see fig. 6). All the ditches met at one point and had a culvert at the end of it. The ditches were made on mud road tracks, but they were neatly built, roads looked clean. They also had pipes on the roof to drain rainwater.



Figure 6. A Pictorial View of Self-Made Sanitation System

No one had technological medical equipment at home, such as blood pressure machines, etc.

They also had no vehicles such as cars or motorbikes etc.

An Uzbek REF man said: “We are not allowed to have a driver's license.” They take local busses to go to the city for work.

4.9 Who are they – Identity Crisis in Uzbek Refugees

It is the responsibility of the state to outline clear laws and policies. It has not been decided yet by Pakistan for how long they want to keep refugees and when they will be repatriated. It was decided to register Afghan refugees in 2006, and since then, the government has been giving extensions for long or short periods depending upon the situation of Pakistan. The registration was again done to reinforce voluntary repatriation. However, in 2015 after the APS attack, involuntary repatriations were reported by international NGOs (EASO, 2020, p. 39).

All Uzbek refugees called themselves “*Muhajir*,” meaning “Muslim immigrant/refugees,” even though they were born in Pakistan and had kids in Pakistan. All the kids had this notion of being an outsider as well. Even though second and third generations are born in Pakistan, they are still asked to repatriate (return to their own country) (EASO, 2020).

4.9.1 A Case study

The subject of this case study is 68 years old Uzbek woman “Khadija,” everyone called her “*Amma*.” She was living in a mud house with her children, grandchildren, and newly arrived refugees. Ten people were living in a house which had two rooms. She spoke in Farsi and a little bit of Urdu. She said I was in my 20s, there was chaos everywhere, and we were afraid for our lives when I left Afghanistan in the 80s. Since then, she was living here in Pakistan. She was married at the time but had no kids. After that, she had her first child here in Pakistan and then the second, and then all three of her kids were born in Pakistan. She said, “*Mujhy yahan rehty Huye taqreeban 50 saal hugye hain Magar may aj bhi muhajir hun, myre yeh sab bachay bhi muhajir hain,*” meaning “I am living here in Pakistan for almost last 50⁵ years, but I am still a “*Muhajir*” (Refugee), and my kids are “*Muhajir*” (refugee) too. Her daughter laughed at this. “*Amma,*” said she would never leave Pakistan until and unless “*Humain zaber dasti nikaal dain*” (we are forcefully sent back). For her, there is nothing in Afghanistan; militants enter by force in homes and abduct young girls. It is impossible for her to think she one day will have to go back to Afghanistan with her daughter and granddaughter. Her husband was working here in Pakistan as a daily wage laborer for the past fifty years, and although he is too old for that, he still works. Her sons work as daily wage laborers too. The economic situation was not good, but she still knew it was better for her than what was happening in Afghanistan. she said, “*Yahan jo bhi hujaye, kam az kam tou mil jata hai roz ka roz, wahan kam band huaa hai mazdur k lia.*” Meaning “Whatever happens here, at least we get work here on day to day basis. There work is stopped.”

4.9.2 Analysis

The data presented established that the government has accommodated millions of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Still, it is not a signatory to refugee convention that has created a loophole in Pakistan's law for refugees. Efforts have been made to register refugees, deadlines have been extended again and again on the one hand for registration, but on the other, the same lack of the

⁵ 50 is a hypothetical figure that has been quoted without calculation to connote a prolonged duration.

law has created a dilemma for the government what services it should provide to Afghan Refugees. The confusion on the part of the government has also affected refugees, and they do not understand what they are entitled to based on the Proof of registration cards that they hold. It has made integration for Uzbek refugees into Pakistani society challenging. Refugees cannot have social mobility until they are granted facilities to have a firm foot in the society and given a chance to integrate (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013). They are an acculturating group, and they must be supported by policies of the host country's government to participate in the labor market, health care, and education (Lettmayr & Riihimäki, 2011).

The research shows that Uzbek refugees are part of the secondary labor market, with no health care policies leaving them alone to participate in society and not having access to higher education. Though these issues are common for the lower socio-economic class everywhere in Pakistan, of which Uzbek refugees are also part of and share similarities with lack of resources, the refugee status makes them more vulnerable. They suffer more discrimination, have uncertainty, and are not integrated into a society which in summary highlights that they suffer from double marginalization.

In an environment with an identity crisis, where they are born yet are “*Muhajireen*” (refugees).” This lack of legal recognition and ambiguous stance on refugees by the state has made Uzbek refugees vulnerable. Despite living in Pakistan for thirty or forty years and having generations there, they had a fear that they can be thrown out of here anytime. Economically they are under or close to the poverty line. In mud houses and tents, they are forced to live in Basti (town), far away from the city as they do not have the resources to live in a city in proper houses, they can only afford mud houses or tent houses, which are also not allowed everywhere in the city. They are not included in health care awareness programs, and they were not aware of the effects of the current pandemic either. I observed that they were living as if there was no pandemic. They had no concept of masks, sanitizer and were not aware of how serious it is. I have no way of knowing that they would choose to if they were aware. Their unawareness is due to the lack of technology in the Samali. They did not have television, android cell phones, or were using social media; hence their they had no information about corona as people with access to the technology. Their biggest problem was whether they would have labor work today or not.

A community in which men have been doing the same daily-wage labor for the past 20 to 30 years or more and kids of 10-12 years old are doing labor work too clearly highlights that the chances of social mobility are low to none. The role of the state in the acculturation of the Uzbek refugees is clearly questionable. Because if the government is not providing facilities to the refugees and if they are working on the same jobs as decades, it means they have barely moved from their social standing. They are not integrated into society and are being isolated. If they have an identity crisis which means they are not sure where they will spend the rest of their lives or to which country they belong, or when their lives suddenly will change.

4.10 Integration on the part of refugees/ Response to the lack of Facilities from State

The second part of the data presentation and analysis deals with the experiences of Uzbek refugees. It is to provide a window to their form of adaptation for acculturation and discussion within the framework of acculturation theory on whether it is enough to have upward social mobility or not?

4.10.1 Professional and Cheap Labor

Most Afghan Uzbek Refugees came to Pakistan leaving their homes behind and only brought labor work with them. The income inequality has not lessened in the past few decades, but their labor work, even though in the secondary labor market, has managed to keep them on foot for this long. With time Uzbek laborers have drawn the attention of the local community and government to the fact that Uzbek laborers are a valuable part of the workforce in Baluchistan.

A local (A Pathan Citizen of Pakistan, living in samali) Explained, "*Kuchlak, Quetta or sarey shehroun main mazduri ka sab say ziada kam Uzbek log he karty hain.*" Meaning "Uzbeks do most Labor work in all cities including kuchlak and Quetta."

In all my interviews, it was common agreement that Uzbek refugee men do most of the labor work in Baluchistan.

A Local (A Punjabi citizen of Pakistan) respondent opined with the listen-up gesture. "*O Baba, in logun ko yahan say koi nahin nikal sakta, purey Quetta may sara tameerati kam yeh log kartrey hain, mazak thurri hai.*" meaning " Listen up, no one can deport them. They do all of the construction work in Quetta; it's not a joke."

Another local man that I interviewed stated. "*Yeh itnay pasiyay walay nahin hain. Iska faida yeh hai kay jitney may mazduri yeh kar kay dyty hain, koi or nai kar kay deta. Baki mazdur log buhat mehngay hain.*" meaning " They do not have much money, it is good in a sense that they work at a low price that no other labor does. The rest of the laborers are very costly."

Another local respondent explained, " Only Uzbek laborers have the skill of roofing in construction work."

I met laborers as they were looking for "*Dehari*" (work). They confirmed during their interviews the statements mentioned above of local respondents.

An Uzbek refugee laborer 32 years old told, "*wesay tou hum hazar ya bara sou rupay lyty hain aik din ki mazduri ka lekin jab hamain pura pura din kam nai milta phr ham saat aath sou main bhi kar dyty hain.*" Meaning " We charge Rs. 1000 or 1200 for a day of labor work, but when do not find work all day then we work for Rs. 700 or 800 too."

He also shared, " The laborers who are not Uzbek and belong to the local community charge Rs.2000 or 25000 for the same we do in Rs.1000."

Majority acknowledged the significant role of Uzbek refugee laborers in the secondary labor market. An Uzbek REF 28 years old woman stated. "*Ab humain itna tang nai kartey, Jab say Imran Khan aya hai us nay kaha hai mazdur tabqay ko nai chyrna inko nikal dya tou mazduri ka kam kaun karey ga.*" Meaning "Since Imran Khan came into power, no one bothers us much now as he has stated that we cannot cause trouble to the laborer community If they are deported, who will work?"

However, I could not find any such statement by Imran Khan, but it seemed to be a general narrative among Uzbek refugees that since Imran Khan has come to power, he acknowledges the work they do and will not forcefully repatriate them. Although they do not have political representation; however, they have political narratives. It seemed that they closely observed and discussed the

government's policies regarding refugees. Policies did decide not only their quality of life in Pakistan but also the duration they will live in Pakistan. This is a significant impact, and they were aware of it.

Almost Uzbek REFs had the practice of transferring skills into adolescents at a very early age. The kids or adolescents of age 10 start working with their father, elder brothers or cousins to learn labor work. They start with loading and unloading and with age move to other labor work.

A kid I interviewed was 13 years old told: "I go to work with my father after school. I earn my own *"Jaib kharach"* Pocket money.

4.10.2 Case study

Twelve-year-old Abdul Basit, an Afghan Uzbek refugee, lived with her mother and two siblings. He had one brother of age 14 and a sister of age 17. His father had died a year ago. Since they belonged to a lower social class, it became more challenging for him and his family to manage expenses, given that they had to buy food, pay rent for the house, and purchase water tankers for water. Basit started working as a laborer. He went with his *"Chacha zaad"* (Father's Brother's Son) for the first few months to learn work, then he found work at someone's home. He had found it at the Local Landlord's Properties. He had to help them with construction work, drilling, loading, unloading, and cleaning. This job provided him with stability, as it was not daily-wage work, and he got paid monthly. Nonetheless, it was still labor work, the job requirement was to work from 8:00 am to 4:00 pm, and he had to leave his school. His brother was also working as a laborer, but he was working after school hours as he worked for a daily wage. Basit's mother said *"Majburi hai kya karein, naukree zarure tha. Islye school say nikalwa dya."* Meaning " We are helpless, the job was necessary, so he had to drop out of school." Basit has plans to support his family for all his life *"Main mazduri karun ga sara zindagi."* meaning "I will do labor work all my life."

Women, on the other hand, work as housemaids or are craft workers. They make *"Dari"* (Rug), *"Parday."* (Curtains), and make embroidered vests. Women and Girls, especially those living in *Juggi* (tent), were all working as housemaids as they lacked resources to make rugs to begin with.

4.10.3 Rights by Proxy

This concept emerged during fieldwork when I was searching for the answer to how they have managed to live in Samali for more than 20 years without permanent legal recognition and with little to no facility given. I have analyzed rights by proxy as their way of adapting and integrating into society.

I was told during interviews, due to the lack of the proper documents, they do not have access to electricity connection and connection for Sui Gas from the government. However, as mentioned above, the mud house had a connection in one room at least.

When I probed, a 19 years old Uzbek boy living in a mud house explained:

" Humarey pass koi kaghaz nai hai, hakumat Mahajiroun ko bijli nai deti na karaye kay gharoun ki ijazat hai. Yeh humarey ilaqay may aik local Pathan hai, bara admi hai usnay apnay naam par gali may kay akhar may meter lgwa kar dya hai. Jo jo bill day sakta hai humari galii may say sab nay apna apna taar lagaya hai. Jab bill ata hai tou usko baant leta hai sab." Meaning " We do not have documents and government does not supply electricity to refugees, neither we are allowed to rent homes in our names. There is a local Pathan personage in our area, and he has arranged an electric meter for our street. Anyone from the street who can afford to pay the divided bill has got a connection from there."

The houses that were visited for interviews in different streets of Samali and had electricity had got it through proxy registration.

Very few houses had a gas connection but those who had also had through the same proxy system.

Uzbek refugee women 32 years old living in a Mud House Interviewed shared:

Meaning " We do not have many gas connections in our area, especially in areas that are distant or far-flung. Although our house is near the main road/highway, we still cannot connect on our name. We have a gas connection in our landlord's name."

Only a few houses had a gas connection, on average two houses in one street among dozens of houses.

According to my respondents, they can get a gas supply if they wanted to, but they cannot afford it.

Maria, a 25-year-old Uzbek girl, Complained:

"Hum nahin lagwa saky gas. Yahan sardiyun main buhat ziada bill ata hai. Jin gharoun nay lagwaya hai jab unka bill ziada ajata hai tou daftaroun mnain bhagty hain kay kam kardo." Meaning " We cannot have a connection from gas. In winters, the gas bill is always high. The houses that have a connection on receiving those high bills run to the gas office to request to lower the bill."

According to the community that had to resort to proxy methods for electricity and gas, it was critical to resort to it for important and sensitive matters.

The refugees living in Samali for twenty or thirty years were not living in their name. The majority had signed no official contract with the house owner and lived on rent on spoken contract. The vast area of Samali, where most of the Uzbek refugees were living, had one owner. The owner himself was living in Quetta city. The rent of the moderate mud house with two rooms and a big courtyard was Rs.2000, and the small house with two rooms but a small courtyard was Rs.1200. Those living in (Juggis) tent houses were allowed to live in exchange for work.

38 years old Uzbek woman explained during her Interview:

" Yahan tou kaghaz ka itna zarurat nai parhta hai, qun k ham konay may reh raye hain. Hamara Uzbek log jo Quetta shehar may rehta hai woh kaghaz par Pakistani log ka naam likhta hai." Meaning " We do not need documents for the house as we live in an area afar from the city. People from our Uzbek community, those who live in Quetta, have documents of houses written in Pakistani's names."

A 39 years old Uzbek refugee man clarified the reason to resort for proxy ownership:

"We cannot have Papers on our name, even if we want to. We cannot go back, and we have to live here."

The rights by proxy or proxy rights are not ended there. Given that they needed many more documents and had to go through an investigation to get a genuine Proof of registration card (see fig. 7), many had it made by other means.

A local respondent told me:

“Shuru shuru may jab aye thay pandra bees saal pehlay tab buhat ziada registration hua tha legal hugye thay log. Qun kay NADRA may biometric nai tha.” Meaning" When they first came fifteen to twenty years ago, many got registered and became legal because NADRA (National Database and Registration Authority) did not have a biometric system."

Nevertheless, I could not find such documents, but it was discussed that registration is arranged by different means then, but now the government has announced the biometric system.

Uzbek refugees that I interviewed had proof of registration cards, and some of them had applied for new Smart cards that the government has now announced in the hope that It will grant access to services and a better lifestyle.



Figure 7. A Pictorial View of Proof of Registration Card of Respondent

A 19 years old Uzbek boy commented:

"Humarey ghar baroun ka card bana hai. Jo reh gaye hain, hum sab smart card bnwa rahay hain."
Meaning "Elders have their registration cards. We who are left behind, we are applying for the smart card."

Most of my respondents expressed that PoR cards' only benefit is that authorities do not arrest you.

4.10.4 Relatives in a Foreign country

Three of my respondents had a relative living in a foreign European country, economically supporting them and their families. A female Uzbek refugee I was interviewing and inquiring about how she manages her expenses informed: "My husband is very sick he has *"Zardi"* (Jaundice) for one year. He cannot do *"Mazduri"*(Labor work). I am sick too. I only have one child, who is seven years old. My *"Devar"* (Husband's brother) is living in Australia. He sends us and his family money."

when I probed if that was enough, she responded:

"Alhamdullilah, devar itna bhyjta hai ka mujhy ya myre shohar ko bemari may majburi say baher nai jana parhta. Beta jab bara huga tou yeh Kam Karly ga. Khushi say nai laytay hain us say paisay majburi hai." Meaning "Praise be to God, Husband's brother sends enough that my husband and I do not have to go outside in this sickness to work. When my son grows up, he will work. We do not take money for our amusements; we are helpless."

Another Uzbek refugee Woman shared:

"My husband's brother's son has gone to Germany to earn. He is contributing economically to three families' expenses here in Pakistan."

The Uzbek refugees who went to European countries to earn did not go through Pakistan. Those who can afford and arrange to go to a foreign country, they go through Afghanistan. They go back to Afghanistan to apply for foreign asylum. They support not only their families but their extended

families too here in Pakistan. They are indirectly enabling the integration of those few Uzbek refugees into the larger society.

Although only three of my respondents had relatives in a foreign country, it informs that social networking within their community is strong. Literature established for upward social mobility: To move upward in society in terms of position and opportunities, their social network within the community did not help with that. They still were not able to afford further education, housing, or lifestyle. They support each other. It reaffirms their group, but the challenge was their social capital based on their relationship with locals in different positions, and material and immaterial exchange was not through the position that could help them with significant advantages later on. As social capital theory explains, to establish strong roots, the social capital needs to be built by integrating within society by using facilities given to them and working on different positions with society at large. Otherwise, refugees will be stuck in the secondary labor market (Lettmayr & Riihimäki, 2011), which was found valid in Uzbek refugees' case.

5. Major Barriers in larger society in Social mobility of Uzbek Refugees

5.1 Limited Social Capital

As explained in the literature, social capital is a network of social relationships built on resources to integrate into society, thus catalyzing social mobility (Bourdieu, n.d. as cited in Richardson, 1986). Social capital is an investment that pays off with social mobility. The crux of this process is that it needs investment.

Uzbek refugees in Samali who live near or under the line of poverty have limited resources and social networks. They lived in an area where they only had a close relationship with their community; social class structures bounded their relationship with locals and other ethnicities. Their social network helped them get basic facilities, but it was not enough to get them to the upper strata in society. They were still in the margins.

An Uzbek refugee man, during his interview, emphasized:

" Hum log Uzbek hain. Pakistan may hamara rishteydar nai tha. Pathan afghani Mahajirun ka rishteydar shuru say hai yahan. Un logun ko kaghaz banany may wqt nai lagata na itna masala huta hai." Meaning " We are Uzbeks. We do not have relatives in Pakistan. On the other hand, Afghan Pathan refugees have had their relatives since the beginning. It does not take much time for them to arrange documents, nor do they have to face many difficulties."

Uzbek refugees did not share genes, appearances with other ethnicities of Pakistan, which made it more difficult for them to integrate. They had no social networks and people of positions at this side of the border to welcome and help them acculturate positively. On the other hand, Pashtuns shared history, had family ties, and similar culture (EASO, 2020, p. 13). It was easier for them to integrate into Pakistani society comparatively. They had a clear understanding that their social network is weaker than the other Afghan refugees.

The social network used to get basic facilities through proxy mentioned above resulted from the social capital that they built through the labor work. Their labor work is not enough investment to socially mobile them into the middle or upper class. The basic facilities were the most they could get from that investment.

Another factor that impacted the overall social capital was the domain of their work. The majority of the Uzbek refugee men did labor work in construction. Their work domain did not allow them to have enough material and immaterial resources to build social capital. They were working day-to-day and had uncertainty in their work. On the other hand, women worked as housemaids or craft workers, which led to the minimum interaction and exchange of resources again not enough to build social capital strong enough to have social mobility. There were very few Uzbek refugees working in Quetta city as shopkeepers and traders, and they were so few that people everywhere knew them and could count them. Nevertheless, Quetta was not my research locale; hence I did not make that part of my demographic profile.

The language was another barrier for Uzbek refugees to integrate into Pakistani society. Women who were working from home spoke in Farsi, Uzbek, and had basic know-how of Urdu. Those women who worked outside as housemaids spoke in Urdu to me in incomplete sentences. The lack of efficiency in the national (Urdu) and local languages (Pashto and Balochi) deter social capital.

5.2 Minority without Resources

Afghan refugees are not only diverse in terms of their ethnicity but their resources as well. Those Afghan refugees who were in the upper strata in Afghanistan and moved to Pakistan with resources in their hands did better than those in the lower class and moved here with nothing.

A 19 years old Female Uzbek refugee commented:

" Hum tou wahan bhi esay he gharoun may rehtay thay. Wahan bhi bijli, gas, pani nahin tha. Wahan bhi juggi lagaya hua tha." Meaning, " We had similar houses in Afghanistan. We had no electricity, gas, and water there too. We used to live in tents there too."

I asked her if everything is alike in both places, then why did she prefer to live here in Pakistan? Upon which she lamented:

"Wahan jang hai, yahan aman hai." meaning "There is war. Here is peace."

They were a minority in Afghanistan, and they are a minority here in Pakistan, which made them more vulnerable and prone to marginalization.

An Uzbek refugee man exasperated:

"Yahan logun ko Pata hai Uzbek kay agay peechay koi nai hai Pakistan mai, tou humarey sir par charh kar shair huajtey hain." Meaning " People here know that Uzbeks have no one on their backs to support, so they carelessly take undue advantage of us."

They were a minority in Afghanistan, and they are a minority here, too, which made them vulnerable to marginalization. To successfully move into this society, any minority needs material and immaterial. If they move with resources here, they settle and cope quickly with the situation compared to those who move with nothing. Refugees with advantageous backgrounds, such as money, education, and parental legal status, had higher social mobility than the refugees who were a minority in their home country and had none of these (Dunn, 2019). The more disadvantaged the background is, the lesser the level of incorporation is.

A 24 Years old Uzbek male refugee pointed out:

"Baluchistan may pehlay he ghareebi hai aur humbhi Afghanistan may sab kuch chor aye thay. Yahan halat aik dam achay nai hou saktay." Meaning "Baluchistan already has poverty, and we also left everything in Afghanistan and moved here. The situation cannot improve swiftly."

A common understanding among the Uzbek Refugees was that being a minority without resources is one thing, but being a minority in Baluchistan means another. Baluchistan has issues that made it more complicated for refugees to adjust, which called for the next theme.

5.3 No Way Back

The Uzbek refugees were in a real dilemma about moving back to Afghanistan if Pakistan's government orders it. Most of them had no hope from Afghanistan. Given that majority of them were born and raised or raised in Pakistan, they were clueless about what they would do if they ever had to go back.

One of the Female Uzbek REF explained:

"Agar hum Afghanistan gaye tou wahan kam nai kar sakain gay. Wahan Talib log Ijizat nai deta kay ham aurtein logun kay gahroun may ja kar kam karein". Meaning " If we ever have to go to Afghanistan, we will not be able to work. Fundamentalist Islamic Militants there does not allow women to work as housemaids."

Another Female Uzbek REF who was living in "Juggi" (Tent) described in her opinion what the situation in Afghanistan is like:

" Kaam ham yahan bhi kartey hain or ghareeb hain kaam hamain wahan be karna huga, magar wahan kam nai milta. Talib log gharroun may ghuss kar zaberdate kam karwatey hain. Woh kehtay hain hamarey lia ghizza banao, or us ghizza may gosht houna chaiye. Ham ghareeb hain ham gosht wala khana nai bana saky pandra bees bandoun k lia. Aik dafa talib logun nay aik Khanuwadah ko khana banany ko kaha, woh ghar walay ghareeb thay tou unhun nay srf shorba bana kar dya. Talib logun nay unkay ghar k sarbara ko shorbay say jala kar maar dya." Meaning " We work here, as we are poor we will have to work there as well, but it is difficult to find work there. FIM forcefully enters the houses and asks to work for them. They ask to prepare food for them, and that food should have meat in it. We are poo, and we cannot prepare meat dishes for fifteen to twenty people. Once, they asked a family to prepare food for them. The family was poor. They only prepared gravy without meat. The Fundamentalists Militia Killed the burnt the head of the family with gravy."

They had not experienced it themselves, but they had heard all kinds of terror stories from their relatives in Afghanistan. Every Uzbek REF that I Interviewed talked about the war in Afghanistan. They talked about how uncertain things are there, especially in current developments where

everyone in their family had already fled Afghanistan or were planning to. They were sure that they would not go back. Uzbeks had a history with FIM; they fought against them in the 1990s and were worried that they might be executed in revenge even though they were not part of the war against them. As the majority of them had been born in Pakistan, but their ethnicity made them a target.

Uzbek REF talked about how disheartening the situation of Afghanistan was for them.

An Uzbek REF 17 Years old boy lamented:

"Afghanistan ja kay kiya karna hai saab. Musalman musلمان kay sath jang may laga hua hai. Wahan kiya karna hai ja kar." meaning " what we will do in Afghanistan. Muslims are at war with Muslims. What will we do there."

Other than a literal translation, this can be translated into that there is no use to go to Afghanistan. He was referring to the war of Afghan Militia with Fundamentalist Islamic Militia. During all interviews, I found Uzbek REF concerned about this war since they still had family there.

5.4 Case study

Arifa was a 21 years old Uzbek REF girl living in "Juggi" (tent) with her two sisters and a baby brother. At the time of the interview, her mother was outside working at someone's home. Her sister was also outside working as a housemaid. The other sister sat with Arifa and me, and her four years old brother was also with her. Her "Khala" (Mother's Sister) and her cousin, five years old (Mother's Sister's Daughter), also gave company to us. Although her "Khala" (MZ) could not understand and speak Urdu, she sat through the whole interview. During the interview, when Arifa and I started talking about Afghanistan, her "Khala" MZ looked worried and kept asking Arifa in Farsi what are we talking about. Arifa told her that we are discussing Afghanistan, on which her MZ started jabbing Arifa. She wanted her to tell me that what happened to her in Afghanistan. Arifa said that is not why I am here to learn about Afghanistan, to which Her MZ kept jabbing, and they had a little fight on it. She looked as if she was in trauma. I had to interrupt and told Arifa it is equally important to know about Afghanistan and Pakistan in your situation. She told me that Her "Khala" has just fled Mazar-e-Sharif Afghanistan two weeks ago. Her mother in law had got killed during the war, and her husband is also stuck there. He cannot leave. She is worried sick

that he will get killed too. Arifa said we are a minority there, and we are not on good terms with Fundamentalist Islamic Militia. We had fought against them. Her husband is at high risk because he is Uzbek. She said we cannot leave Pakistan, especially now with the FIM gaining power in Afghanistan.

With the government working on voluntary repatriation, research shows that the voluntary return decision will be very challenging for Uzbek refugees given the history and their narratives.

Another Female REF Sabira 21 years old, during her interview, shared a similar experience:

"My family and I are living in Pakistan for the last twenty years. She huffed; my sibling and I were born here, and we are still "Muhajir" (Refugee). In 2015 we were asked to leave Pakistan and go back to Afghanistan, and we did; we left this "Juggi." The situation there was dreadful. We were not able to leave our home. "Har darwazay par jang laga tha." meaning there was war at every doorstep. Women especially were not able to step out of the door. Men had no labor. We starved there, and as soon as we could, we came back to Pakistan, we got back and started to live here in "Juggi" again."

These case studies provide perspective to understand that why there is no way back for Uzbek refugees. They have a target painted on their backs now with the recent power shift in Afghanistan and they are scared that as a minority, they will be too vulnerable there.

As sabira Further explained:

"Uzbek Muhajir jo raat kay wat Bhaag saktay hain bhaag jatay hain. Buhat sarey tou yahan anay ka paisa bhi nai kar paaty or majburi may jang may reh rahye hain. Ab is saal jo Taliban nay taqreeban sara ilaqa qabza karlye hai usmay haumarey buhat say rishtydaar marey gaye hain." meaning, "Uzbek "muhajir" who can travel at night, run at night and not many Uzbeks can afford traveling. Those who cannot afford they are forced to live there in the war. Now in 2021, the FIM captured almost all of Afghanistan, and many of our relatives got killed within these two months."

All Uzbeks believed that going back to Afghanistan is not the option now, but what's next?

Now that it is established, why can they simply go back to Afghanistan, where most of them were not even born. It is crucial to highlight what barriers they face here.

5.5 No Place here

What has happened in Afghanistan has had similar effects on Pakistan and its policies towards Afghan refugees overall. The fact that Uzbek refugees do not have as many documents and social support of other ethnicities they feel; they are most affected.

After the Incident of Army Public School attack in 2014, Pakistan's policies which had been lenient towards refugees in the Past, became very hostile. In 2015 Pakistan decided to deport unregistered and registered Afghan refugees (EASO, 2020). The fear of Displacement made them uncertain about their place in society and hence made integration irrelevant, which ultimately leads to marginalization or isolation.

An Uzbek REF man during his interview complained:

" Paksitan main jab bhi koi waqaiya houta hai, hakumat or idaround ki taraf say sakhti hujate hai. Har taraf yae shor mach jata hai kay abhi Muahjiroun ko wapis bhej dain gay." Meaning, " Whenever some incident happens in Pakistan, the government and authorities enforce more regulatory policies. Everyone talks about that they will now send Refugees back.

Another Uzbek REF woman Shared:

"Pakistan may jab halat kharab huety hain. Humain kehaty hain apnay gharoun ko khali kardo. Ya tou refugee camp chalay jao ya phr Afghanistan. Ham wahan tab rehaty hain jab tak halat dubara normal nai hujatey." Meaning, " Whenever situation gets critical here in Pakistan, we are asked to leave our homes. We are asked to go to Refugee camps set by the government or either go back to Afghanistan. We live there until the situation gets normal again."

They talked about how after 2014, there was a period where everyone who stepped out of home feared that they would be thrown into Afghanistan. Those were the worst days of their life. Many of the refugees who roamed in the city without proper documentation and proof were sent to Afghanistan. With time the situation has gotten better, but the fear is still here.

A 33 years old Female Uzbek REF said:

"Within the span of last ten years, we have been asked by authorities to go back to Afghanistan four times."

A Local Respondent Shared:

"In 2015 situation was so worse that the local population was also used to travel with all their documents with them all the time so they might not end up on Afghan border."

The Pakistan Afghanistan political dynamics affect Pakistan's attitude towards the Refugees. However, the loss from both sides is that of refugees. Uzbek refugees cannot see a way back and cannot have stability and certainty about their lives here in Pakistan; hence, they are unsure how and why they should work to improve their lifestyle here.

A 52 Years old Female Uzbek REF Shared:

" I have built a life here—my house, my kids, my grandchildren here. Yet whenever All refugees are asked to leave, I too will leave with them. There is no other way."

The "No place here" notion does not apply only apply to the terror situation, but other factors are contributing to it as well. Such as:

5.5.1 Legal complications

As mentioned above, Pakistan's Government has been indecisive about registered and unregistered Refugees. It is also not clear what rights does proof of registration (PoR) cardholders have. According to respondents, a PoR card does not grant them the right to have property or makes them eligible to get admission to private colleges or universities.

A 23 years old Female Uzbek REF Respondent Saleema sighed:

"When my father and mother first came here 30 years ago. They bought this house (Mud house) from a Local. He said he could not sign any contract, or neither he gave documents. Now we fear someday he or his sons will claim this house in court, and as we do not have any proof or documents to show the court, they will have our house."

They understood that the life they built here is on hope, hoping that they will continue to live on verbal contracts without legal recognitions and documents. As Salima had put it: "*Hum kar bhi Kiya saky hain.*" Meaning "What else can we do."

Almost all the respondents I have met have been through something because they only had PoR and not a CNIC.

A Female Uzbek REF shared:

"Government hospital there in Quetta refused to check my son because he was a "*Muhajir*" (Refugee). He has "Gardan torh bukhar" (Meningitis); private hospitals do not care about us being "*Muhajir*" (Refugee). Their only concern is money. Our bad luck is that we do not even have money."

This highlights that although the situation in Afghanistan is not good, it is also problematic in Pakistan. The minority community who is dealing with so many challenges on a day-to-day basis how on earth can climb the social ladder if things are going to be the same.

An Uzbek REF Commented: "At least, we are safe here. At least Pakistan has provided us safety from the War. Unless we are sent back." The fear and uncertainty of not having legal rights and protection forever and that their lives can be changed drastically in a matter of days is probably one of the fundamental barriers to their social mobility.

5.5.2 Stigmatization

This barrier was conceptualized by analyzing the statements provided by local respondents (Pathan and Punjabi citizens of Samali, Baluchistan, Pakistan). Their views provide insight into stigmas attached to Uzbek refugees and how, based on those stigmas, they are resented by the local community, which further inhibits their integration and promotes marginalization.

5.5.2.1 Local Resentment

The interviews with local respondents about Uzbek REF were an enormous help in finding out the general narratives about Uzbeks.

The 46 years old Local Male Respondent Condemned:

"Ap Uzbekoun ko parh he qun rahe hou? Ap Pakistani nahi hou? Jab apka Mphil Pakistan ki aik University say hai tou apko kya zarurat hai kay ap apana taleemi wqt Afghani Muhajiroun Par lagao. Woh Pakistani nahi hain,". Meaning " Why are you even studying Uzbeks? Aren't you a Pakistani? When your degree of MPhil is from a Pakistani institute, why are you using your academic time/ resources on Afghan refugees? They are not Pakistani.

This statement was shocking for me. I remember I was numb for a while before I could respond, but I tried my best to stay calm and neutral to understand his perspective. Upon asking why he feels this way, he said: They live here, the state has protected them for decades, yet they are ungrateful. They complain about Pakistan."

Another Local respondent during the interview stated:

" They have taken over our city. They are everywhere, and soon there will be no work left for us to do."

A woman local respondent commented: They have been earning money from here and sending it back to Afghanistan. They have made things difficult for us. They have caused Inflation." I inquired about "how Inflation" she responded: They buy so much property here. under proxy owners and leave it here so that they could earn profit later on."

I asked if she is confident that she is talking about Afghan Uzbek refugees? Because they do not have resources of this level.

She said, *"Sare Muhajir aik jesay hain."* meaning " All refugees are same."

The resentment of locals towards Uzbek refugees was the result of generalization without the knowledge of ground realities. However, the resentment caused a great deal of damage to the social

mobility of Uzbek refugees. Local respondents had a fear that their resources will be taken if they welcomed all refugees. Hence, Uzbek refugees were not accepted the way they should have, and that isolated them from society.

The resentment was not just on an economic basis. Other general narratives that had stigmatized Uzbek refugees also created a barrier between Locals and Uzbek REF to have healthy relationships or onset the social mobility upwards for Uzbeks REFs.

5.5.2.2 Hostile Narratives

It is a sensitive dimension to deal with. However, it is crucial to make it part of the research to deeply understand the challenges that have kept Uzbeks REFs from acculturating positively in society.

In interviews with local respondents (Pakistani Citizens), the following narrative emerged.

Local respect during his interview Fumed: Pakistan has provided Uzbek refugees safety and protection. They still hate us."

When asked reason, He responded: "We all just know this. They do all sorts of illegal activities here."

Another local Respondent stated: "They are never going to appreciate Pakistan."

The majority of the local respondents had never been in a close relationship with Uzbek REFs. However, they believed in these narratives.

Latif, a local Resp't, opined:

" They are part of all sorts of harmful activities. They are the reason for terrorism in Pakistan."

Another respondent stated: "Mahol kharab kardiya hai nasha bech bech kar." Meaning " They have defiled the atmosphere by selling drugs here."

The extreme narrative existed among local residents about Refugees. They firmly believed that the government should send them back. The decades-long stay did not have positive outcomes for Refugees. Pakistan's battle with terrorism, Complicated political relationships with Afghanistan, and conspiracy theories made locals hostile towards refugees.

They considered them "Ghaddar." (Traitor). The narrative was so extreme and general that they believed all of them were either drug dealers or terrorists and had a lot of money.

A local Respondent Stated:

"Uzbek buhat taiz hain, yeh illegal kam kartey hain. Inkay pass paisa buhat hai bus dekhawa kartey hain kay hum ghareeb hain." Meaning "Uzbeks are very clever. They do illegal activities here. They have a lot of money, and they just act that they are poor."

The "Juggis" (tent houses) were thought to be Uzbeks way of showing themselves. As Moeed a local Respondent exasperated:

" Inkay juggiyun ko dekh kay hamdardi nahi karo. Inhun nay andar buhat saman bharra hua hai. Sab kuch hai inkay pass." Meaning " Do not sympathize with them for living in a tent house. They have filled their homes with things in there. They have everything."

The disbelief in the poverty of Uzbeks was one of the main reasons that they are still poor. They are not given chances to work in better positions on better wages because it is believed that they already have money. The narrative that Uzbek REFs were living a fake life in "Juggis" (tents) for twenty years was a mockery of their day-to-day struggles. The conspiracy theories did not stop here.

A local Respondent retorted: " Yeh nahi chahtay koi Uzbeki seekhain, takkay humain inkay raaz na pata chlaian." Meaning "They do not want us to learn Uzbek language, so that we may not learn their secrets."

The fact that most Uzbek refugees spoke the language Farsi cause they, their parents, or grandparents were born and raised in Afghanistan was ignored.

Local respondents either had negative narratives about Uzbek refugees or did not want to talk about it all. They thought that the priority should be Pakistan and Pakistan's Issues. A local Respondent I interviewed said:

" Pakistan and Pakistanis have their issues. why should we care for Afghan Uzbek or Afghan Pathan refugees, for that matter? "Hum tou khud barbad hain." We are doomed."

The stigmas attached to Uzbeks are not just harmful but are severe accusations and cause marginalization. Such narratives catalyze isolation as more people believe in them, the more people do not trust Uzbek REFs; hence they are not welcomed in social networks. They do not have a lot of friends in other communities.

Some stigmas were based on Uzbek REFs' lifestyles. There were jokes about their appearances, houses, and language.

I was interviewing a local Respondent in the market. He pinpointed to every individual that looked different and was wearing different clothes in the vicinity and said, "Huliye say tou yeh sarey he Uzbek lag rey hain." "By the looks of them, they all are Uzbeks."

It confirmed that it was also common knowledge Uzbeks are living under the poverty line. However, for locals I interviewed, it was something not to sympathize with, and of course, as established earlier, was fake.

A female local Respondent during her interview shared:

"It is a common joke here; if someone's house is messy and is not tidied up, we say, "Kiya Uzbukun ka ghar banaya hua hai." Why have you made your house look like Uzbek's home?"

A young female local Respondent recalled:

" You are right. I have heard a lot of Uzbek jokes. For example, if someone does not comb their hair or wake up with messy hair in the morning, it is said, "Uzbekiyun waly baal qun banaye hain" Why have you styled your hair like Uzbeks."

The stigmas attached to their appearances and their cleanliness worked as an agent to isolate Uzbek REFs from other residents. It worked as a negative reinforcement for locals to not communicate with Uzbeks or treat them with equality or respect. The source of such stigmas is untraceable. The narratives I heard had no basis to support them, yet they existed as if they were a fact. I went into the homes of Uzbek REFs, and I did not find any electrical appliances. Referring to "They have everything." The rooms only had carpets and one-floor cushion. They had one bulb hanging from the ceiling. Many houses did not even have fans in 36 Degree Celsius. Rooms had cotton mattresses in one corner for nighttime sleep folded and lined up (See fig. 8). The women of the houses were dressed in frocks and styled their hair with a cap.



Figures 8. A Pictorial View of Inside of the Room

The narratives hostile or subtle are thereby to maintain the status quo. It is a type of defense mechanism of locals to keep Uzbek refugees out of this society's upper strata. Such narrative has helped them with the fear of their “resources being taken over by Uzbek Refugees” and kept Uzbek refugees away from becoming a productive part of the society.

A local respondent said." I know that they have businesses here under the names of proxy owners."

The proxy has been discussed earlier. However, it is another challenge for Uzbek refugees; they are mixed with all other ethnicities under one terminology, “Afghan Refugees”. In that generalization, it is forgotten that they are a minority and do not have such resources nor such a robust social network that they could afford to have big businesses here. They never had a major Pakistani social group with whom they shared bloodlines or were their relatives to establish a different lifestyle.

5.6 The "Pakistan Log" and "Muhajir Log"

This theme is generated by analysis and observation. I observed that Uzbek REFs had separated themselves from the rest of the residents, and whenever they talked about other residents during the interview, they called them "Pakistan log." It highlights that they perceive their selves as outsiders and clearly understand their legal and social position in Samali as refugees.

They talked about resources, authority, and independence that "Pakistan log" (Pakistanis) had the opposite of what "Muhajir Log" (Refugees) had, which resulted in their dependence on "Pakistan Log."

An Uzbek REF boy confirmed:

"Bijli gas kay lia humain Paksistan log ka naam chaiye huta hai. Humari gali may yahan k local Pathan k nam par laga hai." Meaning, "For electricity and gas, we need names of Pakistanis. In our street, we got these in local Pathan's name."

When discussing their political representation, they expressed that representation is only granted when you are a Pakistani. As Uzbek Respondent expressed:

"Uzbek logun may siyasat may koi bhi nai hai samali say." Meaning "No one is in politics from Uzbek community."

Another Uzbek REF man said:

"Election kay dinun main yahan siyasi log atay hain, waaday kartey hain. Lekin qun kay unko vote sirf Pakistan log day saktay hain tou voh kam bhi unhi ka kartey hain." Meaning "In days near the election, politicians visit this area and make promises. Since only "Pakistan Log" (Pakistanis) can cast votes, they work only for them."

The unclear policies of the government regarding the legality of refugees have played a critical role in this situation of "Pakistan Log" and "Muhajir log." The government allows refugees to stay, yet they are illegal. Repatriation programs are top in agenda for the state, yet the state allows more refugees every day. They are given the right of security and protection here under the contract signed with UNHCR (UNCR Global Appeal, 2004), yet they have been forcefully displaced. They expressed that they do not belong anywhere.

A 17 Years old Uzbek REF boy lamented:

"Yeh registation card ka yeh faida kay jab ham shehar jatay hain tou police wala mangta hai, warna andr dakhil nai hunay deta. Card dikha dou tab bhi voh hum par yakeen nai karta kay yeh sae card hai." Meaning "The registration card has one benefit. When we go to the city, the

authorities ask for identification. Otherwise, we are not allowed to enter. Even upon presenting the card, they doubt whether it is verified or not."

A Male Uzbek Respondent shared:

"There was a doctor here in our area. He was Uzbek, and he had studied in Afghanistan and moved here. He started a clinic here in Samali, and we "Uzbek Log" used to go there. After a while, he received a lot of threats, that he cannot have a clinic here or work here as a doctor. He cannot go back go to Afghanistan because of war. So now he stays at home all the time."

One respondent said: "I believe that some of them are very poor. I agree they have problems, but many of them are not."

The profound distrust among the public for Uzbek refugees and uncertainty among refugees is has proven to be challenging in their social mobility.

6. Barriers Within Community

6.1 Stratification Among Uzbek Refugees

The challenges not only lie outside the Uzbek Refugee community, but they lie within their social structure as well. As per my observation and difference in data, it was clear that there is stratification among Uzbek refugees.

Some Uzbek refugees lived in Mud houses (see fig. 9), and some Uzbek refugees lived in "Juggis" (tent houses) (see fig. 10).



Figure 9. A Mud House



Figure 10. “Juggi” A Tent House

The difference in the houses is not just on the surface level. The housing difference is a symbol of a different social structure that is deeper than it looks.

The most significant difference is economic. Uzbek REFs living in mud houses had more earning and better social networks within the Uzbek community. They had more facilities, the proxy connection of electricity, gas and could afford water tanker even if once a month. They had a shelter that was safe and protected them in harsh weather and dangerous situation.

Uzbek REFs living in "Juggis" (tent houses) were isolated from the rest of the community.

Although more people were earning in "Juggis," they had less income and resources, and they were under the line of poverty. They did not have the resources to afford water tankers, so they used to get their water from people's houses. They had no electricity and gas. The houses were not the best for protection or against extreme cold weather in Samali.

From a Socio-cultural point of view, Since, Most of the Uzbek community had enough earnings. They had prohibited their women from working outside. They were allowed to work at home,

weave rugs and curtains and contribute to expenses. In their eyes, it was a sin for women to work in someone else's home:

One Male Uzbek REF living in a mud house I interviewed said:

"Aurtoun ka baher nai niklany dyty hamarey muhallay main. Jo niklate hain un par galiyan baktay hain log kay jao tum andar tumhara kya kam hai yahan. Tou yeh acha baat nai hai." Meaning, "Women are not allowed to go outside in our neighborhood. If they do go, people shout curse words at them and ask them to go back inside as she has no reason to be out. So this is not good for them."

As women were at their homes, they had more social interaction and strong ties within the community. They also had their kids in Government schools, if only till the 5th or 6th class.

The Uzbek refugees living in "Juggis," on the other hand, were poverty-stricken. Hence, their women were also working.

An Uzbek REF wailed: "Majburi hai. Agar ham kam nai karein tou humara baap ghar ka kiraya day gay ya hamain khilaye ga?" Meaning, "We are helpless. If we stop working, will our father feed us or will keep shelter on our heads?"

She added:

"We do not get pay by working at Malik's house. We work in exchange for the land for "Juggi" (Tent house). "Wo kehta hai agar myre ghar kam nai karo gay tou may nikaal doun ga yahan say." (If you do not work at my home, I will ask you to vacate this area)."

Most of the women worked in Malik's or his relatives' houses for different tasks.

A woman aged 72 was working there too. She made "Rottis" (Flat and round south Asian Bread) for the owners in exchange for shelter.

An Uzbek REF girl lamented: "My Father cried one day. He said he does not want us to work, but he is helpless. If we do not, we will starve."

The reason is that Almost all members of the "Juggis" had to work in order to keep the shelter. They were not going to schools either. They start working as soon as ten years old.

I Inquired one of the Uzbek boys living in Juggi about Government schools and free books to understand why he does not go to school. He responded:

"We do not need books only; there are expenses of copy, pencil, bags, and uniform, etc. We cannot afford that."

The all-working members also caused little interaction within the community and hence resulted in more isolation.

They did not know most of the people living in mud houses and had little interaction with them. However, they did have interaction with other "Juggis" whenever the time was given.

The stratification within the minority group that is already without resources is a significant threat to their social mobility in society. It does not only cause isolation but downward mobility as well which results in marginalization.

6.2 Marginalization of women

Being a refugee already makes individuals vulnerable if not given the right circumstances to integrate into society to achieve a stable lifestyle, but being a women refugee is another level of vulnerability. The social structure of the Uzbek community is also patriarchal, which means male dominance and unequal rights for women. The inequality discussed got visible during the detailed analysis of data. As discussed above, the Uzbek women worked outside as maids or at home. They were not allowed to have social life more than that. Many women confirmed that they only go to the city once a year to buy clothes for Eid. The recreation or independence they had was to visit each other at homes in the same neighborhood.

The following response has been quoted before but in a different lense:

"Aurtoun ka baher nai niklany dyty hamarey muhallay main. Jo niklate hain un par galiyan baktay hain log kay jao tum andar tumhara kya kam hai yahan." Meaning, " Women are not allowed to go outside in our neighborhood. If they do go, people shout curse words at them and ask them to go back inside as she has no reason to be out. "

This statement calls attention to the restriction of movement on Uzbek women. This restriction of movement is not limited to recreational activities but applies to her education, health, and her rights

in marriage. The stance will now be proved with the help of statements given by Uzbek refugee women.

There were two schools in Samali, One for boys and one for girls. Almost all the boys in the vicinity had been to that school for two, three, or five years. On the flip side, only five young girls went to the school. There were no explanations as to why that was. I asked a woman why her daughter do not go the school. She responded, "Bus, yahan Itna rivaj nai hai bachiyun ko school bheyjna ka." Meaning " GAH, it is not much of a tradition here to send girls to school."

They go to Madrassah to read the Quran located in one of the streets in Samali.

The Uzbek girls who had never been out in schools or the city for long did not know any language other than Uzbek and Farsi. Only girls who worked as housemaids or went to school for few years knew and understood Urdu to some extent; meanwhile, all the men and boys spoke and understood little Urdu and Pashto. This, in return, created a language barrier for women that marginalized them even more.

The restriction on movement and language barrier affected women's health. They did not go to hospitals in the city. They did not have exposure to the knowledge that was necessary for them. Even if they did, the language barrier between them and doctors did not allow them to be aware of their health.

An Uzbek 46 years old female REF shared:

" I want to have one more child, but I am very sick. I have severe headaches, and I constantly bleed. Please pray for me that I get well and have a child."

I instantly knew that she is going through symptoms of menopause, but she did not know that. I, through my translator, talked to her about it and asked her to see a doctor.

Apart from this, they never had a lady health worker talk about childbirth control in their area. The lack of awareness programs and lack of Uzbek women's participation in the ones in the city had an adverse impact on their health.

The clinic for women also had no facilities (see fig. 11). Only a basic check-up was available.



Figure 11. Women's Health Care Clinic

Most of the women, girls get married at the age of 16. Some of them had gotten married at 14. They get engaged in their childhood or at the age of 12.

An Uzbek female respondent shared: "May 12 ki the tou myra mangni tay hou gaya tha, or 15 saal ki umer may shaadi hugai. Myra shohar tab 45 saal ka tha." Meaning "I was only 12 when I got engaged and got married at the age of 15. My husband was 45 years old."

The considerable difference in age between men and women at the age of marriage did not matter. All the girls between ages 13-19 were either engaged or were married.

An Uzbek girl I was interviewing in "Juggi" said:

"We are not rich, we cannot afford to make dowry, neither can we stay with our parents forever. When we get engaged, our fiancé gives "Valvar" (Bride Price) to our parents, from which we prepare for our marriage."

Another Uzbek female Respondent shared: My cousin (who was sitting in the room at the time of the interview) is of 14 years. She is engaged to a man in our relatives in Afghanistan. She will soon be married off to Afghanistan. She gets worried about what she will do there alone without us after marriage."

In a way, the bride price reinforced early marriages of women in the Uzbek community.

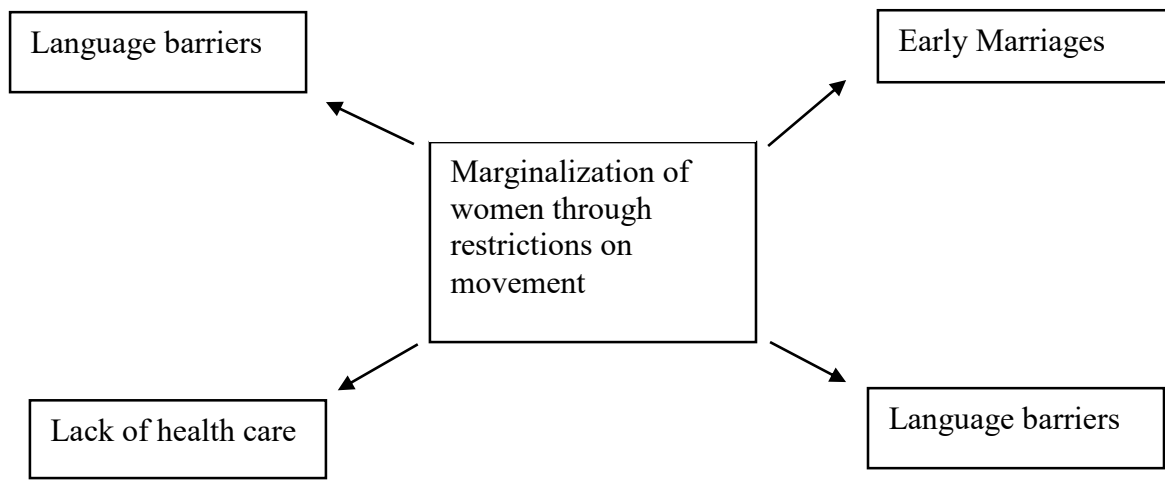


Figure 12. Model of Factors Marginalizing Uzbek Refugee Women

6.3 Analysis within Theoretical Frame

It was established in the literature that upward social mobility means that an individual has a better income than before, has significant social capital, his family is stable than before, and has better education opportunities (Hendren, Kline, & Saez, 2014). Collected data revealed that Uzbek refugees had experienced none of the changes in the past ten years. They had been working in the same labor market, same houses, had the same social networking and education. In fact, some of the social aspects have worsened. When they first came into the country, the registration was easier. There was little fear of involuntary repatriation. In the past eight years, the terror attacks, Afghanistan, and Pakistan's political dynamics have changed the narrative and made it even more hostile towards refugees. The Pakistani government, which is not a signatory of the Geneva convention, has tripartite with UNHCR and Afghanistan for the protection of Afghan refugees and their safe and voluntary return. However, the government only seems to provide permission to enter Pakistan. After that, the refugees manage basic necessities on their through formal and

informal meaning which included proxy methods. Their generations have been born in Pakistan, but there is now a law that supports citizenship. They are not provided with fundamental rights as they do not have any legal status. The government and its ambiguous policies are just one of the significant challenges. According to the data presented, Uzbek refugees faced. Local resentment resulted from hostile narratives. Local resentment is a result of stigmatization. Stigmatization is not some jokes or hate comments toward the community. The structure is deeper than that.

Through stigmatization, society exploits groups, and if stigmatization is institutional, the stigmatized community becomes marginalized. As in the case of Uzbeks, not only was their character found to be stigmatized but their appearances and lifestyle were also stigmatized too. The hostile narratives that are presented in the collected data exposed discrimination that is the result of stigmatization. The exploitation done by that has resulted in Uzbeks being part of the secondary labor market for the past twenty years, and they are still cheap labor earning half of what other communities does. The stigmatization did not only stagnate their social mobility but resulted in downward mobility. The societies that do not mobilize the skills of their members also cause downward mobility. They were isolated from society, and they already had no facilities, or their lifestyle had not upgraded in the past ten years. Stigmatization also affected their social capital. The more negative narratives were associated with them, the less local public trusted them, resulting in weak social networks. The again is necessary for social mobility or upward social mobility. They also had no certainty that they were going to be in Pakistan forever. Hence they did not integrate well with the society and did what they needed to for a basic lifestyle as refugees. As for refugees to integrate into the larger society, the larger society has to allow them to integrate, and they did not, not to the level that it would support social mobility upward.

Besides challenges outside the community, they had challenges within their social group. They had stratification among them. The women were marginalized, and they had no health care awareness. They reported deteriorated health. So, according to the theory of acculturation, the Uzbek refugees are poorly acculturated into the society; instead of integrating and experience upward social mobility, they are marginalized and experiencing downward mobility or no social mobility.

6.4 Model: Barriers in Social Mobility of Uzbek Refugees

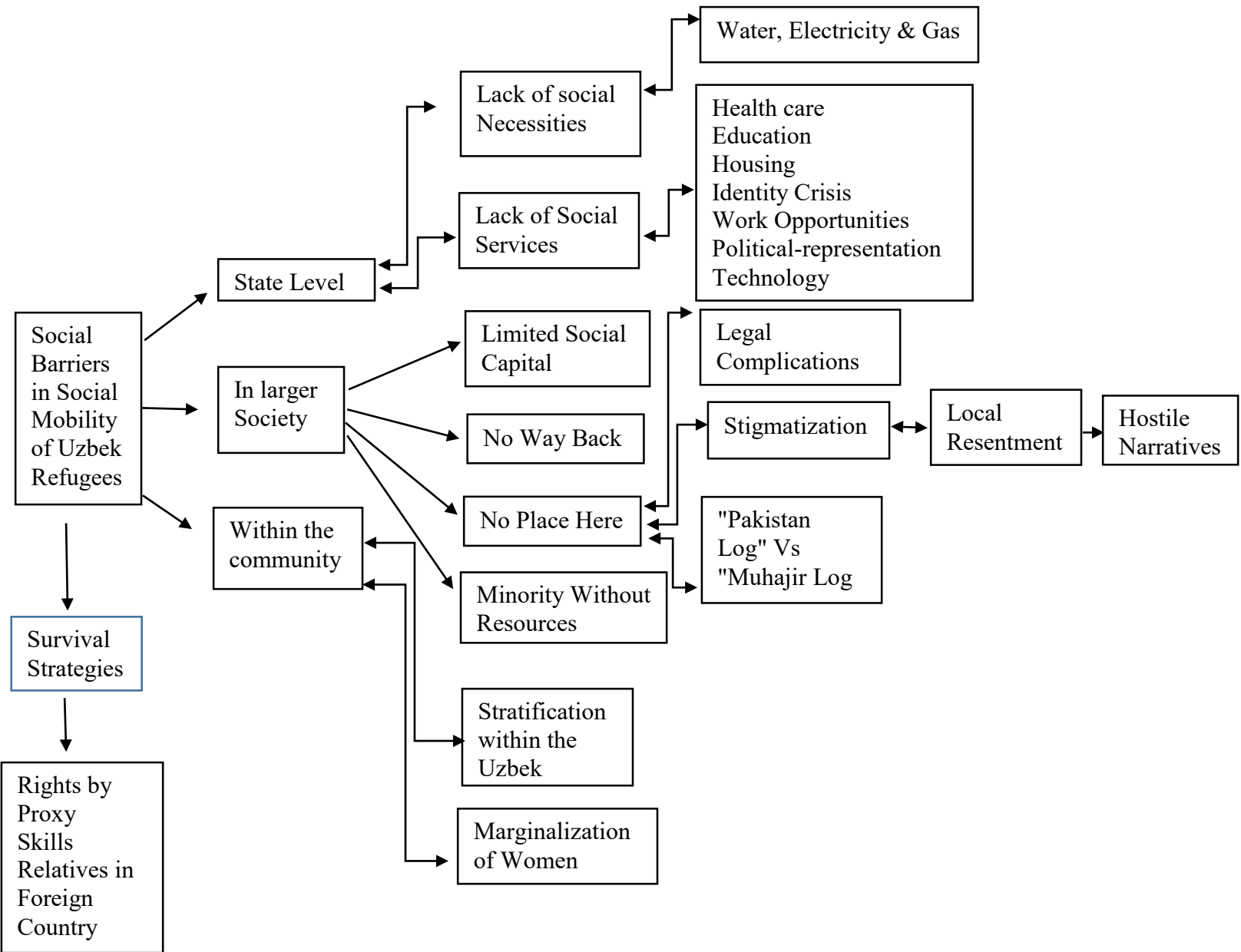


Figure 13. Model: Barriers in Social Mobility of Uzbek Refugees

7. Conclusion

The discourse on Afghan refugees in Pakistan has focused on repatriation, its effects, or the legal challenges they face as one community. The diversity of their challenges have not been perceived yet. It has not been acknowledged in the rhetoric of refugees in Pakistan that the repatriation could have different effects on different ethnicities within Afghan refugees. Their challenges are generalized and often oversimplified. Within Afghan refugees, there are groups that, with the current political change in Afghanistan, cannot repatriate and have different experiences within Pakistani society due to their ethnicity. They are living in the margins of society, and their voices are mute in discourse. They are part of statistics, but their experiences are not seen and explored in researches.

This research has attempted to fill the gap by exploring Afghan refugees as diverse social groups and making experiences and perspectives of Uzbek refugees of Samali, Baluchistan part of the refugee rhetoric. The assumption that all Afghan refugees have similar experiences is not valid, especially in Pakistan's narrative that deals with the largest population of Afghan refugees.

The findings conclude that although Uzbek refugees in Samali have been living in Pakistan for more than a decade, they did not find means to integrate with Pakistani society. This showed the need to understand their challenges on grass root level to find out what they require to climb up the social ladder.

I was welcomed at their homes. The house women would kiss my hand as their tradition and talk about their lives, their experiences. They showed me their homes, their personal belongings and shared their thoughts. When talking about Pakistan, it was clear they wanted to integrate, but integration cannot be bestowed. Their enigma was who are they; all of the Uzbek refugees talked about their time in Pakistan and were baffled by whether they are part of Pakistani society or not. The dilemma is how do you measure the social mobility of individuals that are not considered part of society in the first place by the larger society, especially in Samali.

The majority of the Uzbek refugees opined that they need more opportunities, especially women who wanted to learn new skills. They wanted to have better facilities because until the basic needs are not met, they cannot have resources to build social networks outside their community hence

social capital. They did not care about working as daily wage laborers or housemaids in the secondary labor market for their whole lives because it was the only source of their income. They needed more resources from the state and the local community to have the motivation to achieve upward social mobility. Furthermore, Unless they are supported from outside their community, they cannot support marginalized groups such as women or, in general, people living in "Juggi" Tent houses within their community to change social position or status.

From the findings, it can be concluded that The state and society did not grant Uzbek refugees the proper means to integrate. They were marginalized. The lack of integration and their marginalization allowed room for informal means of adapting to the situation that I, as a researcher, regard them as Uzbek refugees' survival strategies.

The marginalization resulted from stigmatization that was proved stigmatization under the theoretical lens and was not realized by the local community. The very stigmatization caused a lack of social networks outside their community. The Uzbek refugees were unaware of how they were perceived outside their community due to their ethnicity because they had more challenges to deal with.

While researches as this one paints the picture of their challenges, the narratives in the local community are going to take a lot more than discourse to promote integration from both sides; otherwise, the business will be as usual.

The local administrative bodies are in a power position; they need to make Uzbek refugees part of their development programs. The proof of registration card needs to bring more resources than just security or verification of their identity, reinforcing the notion of Pakistani vs. refugees.

It also needs to be highlighted that although many of the challenges faced by Uzbek refugees are similar to the lower class of Pakistan everywhere else, their refugee status makes it more challenging for them to achieve social mobility. First, they have to integrate into a society they are not part of and face resentment from the host society because it is a developing country, and there is already competition for resources. They have to adopt the language, culture, values, or else they succumb to more marginalization. Second, Uzbek refugees are more vulnerable to discrimination and marginalization as they do not have many similarities with other ethnicities in Pakistan; hence more difficult for them to integrate. Third, refugee status is a reminder of constant uncertainty that

they might have to leave everything in Pakistan regardless of what they achieve or how much they try and integrate. These factors result in the double marginalization of Afghan Uzbek refugees.

Findings also conclude that until the structures by which illiteracy, discrimination, and poverty have been perpetuated are addressed, Uzbek refugees cannot have social mobility, they will remain invisible till then.

Recommendation

How then can Uzbek Refugees gain upward social mobility?

The following are recommended:

- First and foremost, proper legislation should be formed on a national level to grant refugees rights and privileges. Their legal status should be clear to erase the uncertainty among them.
- Uzbek refugees are now with the major political shift in Afghanistan, are vulnerable. There should be specific projects to protect refugees that are more vulnerable than others.
- There should be periodic surveys to analyze living conditions in "Katchi Abadis (informal settlements)," and policies should be upgraded accordingly.
- Awareness programs should be designed for local communities living and interacting with refugee communities to build healthy relationships between both.
- Positive narratives should be built through media campaigns and political authorities about Afghan refugees. The public should be made aware that the role of Uzbek refugees is productive in the labor market and not destructive.
- The communication barrier between Uzbek women and health care staff is adversely affecting their health. Medical projects with diverse team members who can speak Farsi, Pashto, and Uzbek should be designed to target the refugee community.
- Women's education should be promoted in areas where refugees live by hiring women teachers with pre-hand knowledge of the community and cultural values to promote acceptance of women's education.
- The absence of technology can also be fatal in these times during this pandemic. There should be posters, banners in Farsi, Pashto, and Uzbek languages about Corona Virus.

- Qualitative data should be collected by NGOs and institutions working for refugees to understand the differences between different ethnicity hence their needs.
- Therefore, there needs to be a drastic change in policies and projects to promote social mobility in Uzbek refugees. To make them part of a more productive and rewarding labor market by creating opportunities in every aspect of social life.

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Appendix

Following are Interview Guides for field work.

Interview Guide #1

For Uzbek Refugee Men

Demographic Profile

Name -----
Age -----
Education -----
Employment -----
Marital status -----
Family Members -----

Semi-Structured Questions

Q1) Where were you born and raised?

Q2) Who in your family came from Afghanistan? When, why, and how?

Q3) Can you comment on your life here in Samli? What is your routine?

Q4) What facilities do you have in your area and what it lacks?

Q5) Can you comment on your income and how you manage your responsibilities in that income? and for how long you have been doing this job? What skills have you recently learned or have for your job?

Q6) Please share your views about being a refugee in Baluchistan? What do you feel about your living area as compared to the others?

Q7) Can you please share your experiences with locals? How they treat you?

Q8) Can you share any good and bad experiences with locals? have you ever experienced bullying, harassment, or comments from locals?

Q9) Have you worked with them on a similar job? or in an institution?

Q10) Do you have any schools in the vicinity? How many Uzbek refugee kids study there?

Q11) In your view, what is the importance of higher education? And are there any facilities for Uzbeks to have higher education?

Q12) What languages can you understand and speak besides Uzbek?

Q13) In your point of view, what problems you have to face due to the language barrier?

Q14) Does your community/area have any health care centers?

Q15) Has any female doctors and Polio workers visited your community?

Q16) Are kids in your community vaccinated? For diphtheria, tetanus, **and** pertussis (DTP), polio, **and** measles under the immunization program of Pakistan? were you vaccinated when you were a kid?

Q17) Have you been approached by authorities for covid vaccines yet? How were the facilities for Uzbek covid patients in hospitals? Can you share any such experiences?

Q18) Do you feel safe and secure here? have you ever had to face threats?

Q19) The house that you live in and land is given to you? Does Government acknowledge your right to housing?

Q20) Have you ever faced any threats, harassment, and torture from authorities for being a refugee?

Q 21) If anyone from your community is in politics? How would you describe your relationship with Quetta's administration or Baluchistan Government?

Q22) Can you comment on the repatriation of Afghan refugees by the Government?

Q23) Have your life changed in the past ten years? In terms of facilities?

Q24) How would you describe your life ten years from now? What hopes you have? For yourself, your family, and your community.

Q 25) Have you ever thought about going back to Afghanistan? In your opinion, what difference will it make?

Q26) what in your perspective are the problems of Uzbek refugees? What solution are you looking forward to?

Interview Guide #2

For Uzbek Refugee Women

Demographic Profile

Name -----

Age -----

Education -----

Employment -----

Marital status -----

Family Members -----

Semi-Structured Questions

Q1) Where were you born and raised?

Q2) Who in your family came from Afghanistan? When, why, and how?

Q3) Can you comment on your life here in Samli? What is your routine?

Q4) What facilities do you have in your area and house and what it lacks? How do you manage?

Q5) Can you comment on the income of your household? How you manage your Home?

Q6) How would you describe your diet?

Q7) Can you share your experiences of working outside your Home? what jobs do women of your community have?

Q8) Please share your views about being a women refugee in Baluchistan? What do you feel about your living area, house as compared to the others?

Q9) Are you educated? Can you comment on the education of girls?

Q10) In your view, what is the importance of higher education for women? And are there any facilities for Uzbeks to have higher education?

Q11) Can you please share your experiences with locals men and women? How they treat you?

Q12) Can you share any good and bad experiences with locals? have you ever experienced bullying, harassment, or comments from locals being a refugee woman?

Q13) What languages can you understand and speak besides Uzbek? In your view, what problems you have to face due to the language barrier?

Q14) Does your community/area have any health care centers, especially for women?

Q15) Has any female health care workers, and Polio workers visited your community?

Q16) Are kids in your Home and community vaccinated? For diphtheria, tetanus, **and** pertussis (DTP), polio, **and** measles under the immunization program of Pakistan? were you vaccinated when you were a kid?

Q17) Have you been approached by authorities for covid vaccines yet? How were the facilities for Uzbek covid patients in hospitals? Can you share any such experiences?

Q18) Please share any personal experiences or of females in your family and community regarding childbirth/Delivery? Do they go to hospitals, or do they go through childbirth at Home?

Q19) Have you ever witnessed maternal mortality in your community? Please share the experience?

Q20) In your view, has anything changed for Uzbek refugee women in Baluchistan in the past ten years? In terms of facilities?

Q21) Do you feel safe and secure here? have you ever had to face threats?

Q22) Have you ever faced any threats, harassment, and torture from authorities for being a refugee? How do you feel about it being a woman?

Q23) Can you comment on the repatriation of Afghan refugees by the Government? How many Uzbeks have left Pakistan? Please share what you feel about that?

Q24) How would you describe your life ten years from now? What hopes you have? For yourself, your family, and your community.

Q 25) Have you ever thought about going back to Afghanistan? In your opinion, what difference will it make?

Q26) Have you recently heard from your friends from Afghanistan? How they describe their life there?

Q26) what in your perspective are the problems of Uzbek refugees? What solution are you looking forward to?

Interview Guide #3

For Uzbek Refugee Kids

Demographic Profile

Name -----

Gender -----

Age -----

Education -----

Family Members -----

Semi-Structured Questions

Q1) Where were you born?

Q2) What you do? Can you share your routine? Describe your day?

Q3) Do you and your Siblings go to School? What is your opinion on education?

Q4) What do you want to be when you grow up?

Q5) Do you work anywhere? Or do kids in your community earn?

Q6) How much pocket money you get from your parents?

Q7) Do you have friends in the local community? Share your experiences in this regard.

Q8) Do you know what being a Refugee means?

Q9) Have you ever experienced any torture, harassment, bullying from authorities? Or witnessed this happening with other kids of your community?

Q10) Have you ever experienced any torture, harassment, bullying from the local community? Or witnessed this happening with other kids of your community?

Q11) What languages can you understand and speak besides Uzbek?

Q12) What you and your family do when you get sick?

Q13) Are you vaccinated? have you ever had polio drops?

Q14) What you feel about your life here in Baluchistan?

Interview Guide #4

For Locals

Demographic Profile

Name -----

Age -----

Education -----

Family Members -----

Semi-Structured Questions

Q1) What you know About Uzbek refugees?

Q2) Please share your opinion about Uzbek refugees Living in Baluchistan?

Q3) In your opinion, what good and bad they brought into Baluchistan?

Q4) Please comment on government policies towards Uzbek Refugees?

Q5) What do you think about their repatriation?

Q6) What have you heard about Uzbeks? Their habits, jobs, and culture, etc.?

Q7) Share your good and bad experience with Uzbek refugees.

Q8) In your opinion, why they had to come to Pakistan, and why they live here?

Q9) Have you ever studied and worked with Uzbek refugees in the same institutions?

Q10) please share your opinion on governmental policy towards refugees? Their legal status, repatriation, and settlements?

Q11) Have you witnessed any change in their housing, jobs, and education in the past five to ten years?

Q12) Please share your view on their rights? What in your opinion should be done in future for future?

Glossary

Mazdur	Labor
Juggi	Tent House
Dehari	Daily-wage
Mazduri	Wage
Muhajir	Refugees
Amma	Father's Sister
Jaib Kharach	Pocket money
Chacha Zaad	Father's brother's son
Dari	Rug
Parday	Curtains
Devar	Husband's brother
Zardi	Jaundice
Khala	Mother's Sister
Gradan Torh Bukhar	Meningitis
Pakistan Log	Pakistanis
Muhajir Log	Refugees
Rottis	Round flat bread

Farsi	Local language/Official language of Afghanistan
Urdu	National Language
Pashto	Local language/Official language of Afghanistan
Eid	Islamic festivals
Katchi Abadi	Informal settlements

Turnitin Originality Report

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