

The Politics of Refugees Identity: State Labeling and Formation of Identity among Afghan Refugees



By

Mohammad Ilyas

**Quaid-i-Azam University
Department of Anthropology
Islamabad - Pakistan
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Formal Declaration

I hereby declare that all work is done by me and there is no assistance from anyone else instead of those who have been mentioned. This work is not published before at any university or publication in a similar identical form.

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Mohammad Ilyas

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY

(Department of Anthropology)

Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Mohammad Ilyas. 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.

Committee:

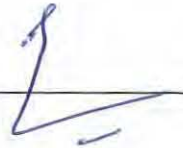
1. Dr. Ikram Badshah
Supervisor



2. Dr. Anwar Iqbal Shaheen
External Examiner



3. Dr. Inam Ullah Leghari
Chairperson
Department of Anthropology



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Abstract

The research examines the politics of refugees' identity, state labeling, the concept of othering, and the formation of identity among Afghan refugees. First, it marks the state labeling processes in making the refugees' identities, it includes the techniques and reasons behind it as well as a critical way of examination. Then, it describes and argues the othering of refugees at the state and societal level and context, which is intersectional to both the state and society for making the refugees in the category of othering. Then it elaborates and focuses on cohesiveness and the formation of identity among the refugees themselves. That is seeing themselves in the whole process and the activities they perform for the formation of their identity and in their day-to-day social and cultural lives. the tools used in the data-collecting process were in-depth interviews, participant observation, and informal interviews with thirty respondents. The Afghan refugees are neither recognized as refugee status nor as Afghan but are in the middle of an Identity crisis. Afghan refugees neither see themselves in the context of the host state nor society but associate themselves with the country of their origin.

1. Introduction

To understand the structural and contextual identity of Afghan refugees formed by the Pakistani state. Afghan refugees were displaced but uprooted and have a strong affiliation with Afghanistan to form their identity within Pakistan as refugees and the role of the state which associate a different identity with Afghan refugee changes time by time as the situation change in Afghanistan. After the USSR intervention in 1979 and onward with fluid identity a different time in which all the stakeholders contributed for their interests by giving them different names but the thing which was and is important, which needs to be illustrated is their own identity.

As Centlivers has elaborated on the Afghan refugees' identity in terms of the three ideological models. The first is their refugees status which is governed by the United Nation convention of 1951 and has a clear definition of the 'refugee' and is owned by all member states. The second is the Afghan tribal norms which is an honor for them to introduce themselves with and linked that with their kinship ties. The third model that is more practical among Afghan refugees from day one and as Centeliverse has worked on this topic at the very beginning of the Afghan refugees is *Mohajer* and referring them to the Muhammad (PBUH) flight or migration from Mecca to Madina in 622 AD which has religious importance. The Afghan refugees give more importance to the second and third models and own them (Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont, 1988 P 1). This scenario is a challenge that still exists among refugees due to its ideological roots. This basic fact presents itself on daily basis to the refugees who must adapt themselves to an elaborate bureaucratic system that governs the refugees and the refugee camps.

Edward in his work very briefly discussed the refugees' identity which is done very organizationally in a systematic way. The head of every household goes through a lengthy process and procedures for registration to nominate themselves for any kind of relief which is given to them or ration distributed among them. After that, refugees are registered with a particular identity card or given ration booklets to show them during picking up their weekly or monthly allotments of different products such as wheat, sugar, cooking oil, and other supplies which is provided by national and international organizations (Edwards, 1986 P 7). It is a kind of

refugee identity as discussed in the previous model above. These are the techniques for forming the refugees' identity and realization of who they are.

After almost forty years of experience of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, it has been clarified that these were just assumptions regarding Afghan refugees both on the regional and international levels because I notified three different cases while working in refugee camps. They became refugees because they were inspired by those who were already refugees in Pakistan and were telling them the stories of free foods, wheat, flour oil, and other free material without any struggle and fulfilled their other basic needs through rations provided by the international community for their survival. The second is some Afghans were compelled to leave the country due to Mujahideen, who were harassing, raping, and abusing their females because of their political and ideological affiliation with the people in the government and there was a question of their dignity and the third one is that Mujahideen have made compulsory for those were neutral in the war against government to either send their children's to war or leave their lands to those Mujahideen who were fighting and fulfilling their Islamic duty.

The identity of Afghan tribesmen did not be at the same place or state but they became against their expectations they were not as they considered themselves. It means that they were given a new identity and they were defined entirely in a new way to maintain and seek their self-definition. Their lives in Pakistani bureaucracy, international agencies such as the United Nations High commissioner, and other number of smaller organizations have created a polarity of the tribe and state "Yaghistan and Hukumat" that became a situation of confusion and ambiguity (Edwards, 1986). Edwards has clarified the blurred boundaries of Afghan refugee identity is compromised by both the international organizations, the Pakistani state, and as well as Mujahideen leaders to form their identity, a new identity which was a compulsion, not a choice because there was no way of return for them, so they compromised on their identity either they are called Muhajeer (Refugee), freedom fighters or Muhafiz Islam (Guardian of Islam).

By contrast, the meaning of identity refers to different aspects such as where one or a group of people belongs, the way they expressed their “self-image” or they have their “common image”, that integrates them inside their self or shows a group existence, and also make them differentiate from others (*Golubović, 2011*). The whole thing of self-image and being different from others is the question refugees ask themselves and as well as others ask them. There is also some arguments for this such as Appiah has raised that ‘ Identity may not be best suitable word for making or bringing people together in sense their roles such as gender, class, race, nationality, and many other things which play a role in our lives but we use it (Appiah, 2006). Instead of giving their own identity to Afghan refugees to call themselves who they are, where they belong, and what they call themselves, there was a larger group of people even states to prove their identity as Muslims and freedom fighters.

The question of Afghan refugees’ identity both by the Pakistani state and Afghan refugees themselves will be illustrated here in this research through both in-depth interviews and observation which is divided into three chapters, the first chapter is based on the social identity which is focused on how Afghan refugees form their identity. The second chapter is associated with that how the Pakistani state and its agencies are making and remaking their identity or shaping and reshaping of the Afghan refugees’ identity and the third chapter is focusing on the concept of the feeling of otherness that how Afghan refugees’ see themselves from the perspective of others.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

As the Afghan refugees are living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with event base identity, allow me to investigate the process of their identity formation by state and label them at different levels differently and how they keep their identity within the particular framework and deal with the state. After the USSR invasion of Afghanistan and afterward, the concept of refugees became common among Afghans due to easy border-crossing and there was a concept of Islamic brotherhood but the majority of Afghans were not aware of this refugeehood and the political motive behind their identity which includes their structural and contextual cultural transformation from one particular identity to another for countering USSR by both imperial powers and their regional allies of them.

The identity of Afghan refugees is formed in a material context but the question of their identity needs to address in the form of non-material structures and context because the generational gap and experiences between those who migrated in the first and second waves are different from those who have born here as a refugee. The question of identity has made the refugees more vulnerable in this context and should also need to be addressed.

1.3 Research Objective

- The main objective of this research is to explore the role of the state in the formation of Afghan refugees' identity and labeling process in the donative policy discourse associated with refugees
- To identify how "refugee" as an otherness phenomenon and social identity constructed by other than refugees themselves
- To investigate how Afghan refugees see themselves in the whole process of identity formation and how they form their identity

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The term transnationalism was used by Randolph S. Bourne in 1916 in an article "Transnational America," in which he emphasized the importance of those immigrants in America to maintain their culture which addresses the key questions of my current study; How refugees' identities are formed in other countries and how they respond to it to maintain their identity because the term transnationalism has also used in political science for self-determination. Second is that how refugees see themselves in the whole process of identity formation by external forces? As refugees are associated with both their country of origin and the host country has brought ups and down in the whole process such as refugees using the term "We Are of Nowhere". This current research is based on the transnationalism theory, it explores the two nation-states' politics that influence the social, cultural, and political identity of the refugees.

Transnationalism theory was developed to explain the following question: Why there is a need among the people for exchanges, connections, and practices across borders with the standard of giving primary preference to their national space as a point of their sociocultural, political, and economic activities and identity as well as connected with several places and not being from here nor there? Transnationalism theory is looking to and fix in the process between two or more nation-states which is the key point to understanding, why people are different identities as their location changes and a new identity is given to them despite having an identity of their origin or they willingly link themselves to that particular identity and using this for political gains. Transnationalism theory interprets the migration and refugees in one home nation and its concern is with the territorial, social, and cultural aspects of the nation.

Anthropological studies see the whole process of transitional as a core responsibility of the state to take care of and secure the national borders, to settle the issues of its citizens, the provision of services to them, and as well as they are responsible for the foreign policy of the state. On the other hand, nation-states run their cultural and political projects of hegemony for controlling the people and to use them for their interests through intervening. Transnationalism put attention to these cultural and political projects of hegemony by nation-states in relationship with other nation-state, by calling them its citizens or “aliens” (Kearney, 1995). Looking to this project of cultural-political hegemony practice in nation-states the same has occurred with refugees in Pakistan under the project of Islamization which will be further explained in upcoming chapters. Transnationals most commonly points out to those migrated communities that are spanning two nations (Kearney, 1995). The Afghan refugees are restricted to one particular place and are limited to those spaces and are not part of the process of transnational.

1.4.1 Conceptual Framework

There are many types of identity associated with an individual when we see it under the umbrella of transnationalism. The identity in which the people see themselves as migrants, refugees or any other label people associate with them as their identity is called identity politics, and the other is which identity these refugees or migrants associate with themselves. There are multiple identities and labels associated with refugees everywhere which articulate their identity and make them

deprived of their identity of origin. Many times these identities and cultural-political agendas are encountered by refugees because they understand their roots but sometimes they compromise over them and accept them as it is. The main argument is despite too many hurdles and state intervention refugees still struggle to maintain their identity as it was.

According to transnational theory, changes in identity formation happen but it is complicated as well because the home is also part of it and it cannot be explored without not considering the “home” or country of origin. The identity one traces with its origin even if a person wants to deny is part of their social and political life. Refugees have been suffering from an identity crisis in the nation- states structures and societal spheres that depend on cultural-political policies. Living in a country with different identities what a person thinks about and what others consider about you is very difficult to decide about identity and where to place oneself in a particular space. Transnationalism is considered as experience by Garrete and he further says that is part of a group of people lives who are living outside thei country of origin even if that movement is voluntary, it makes complicated their relationship with their country of origin of these migrants, their settlement and also their experiences change the way migrants think about their country of origin, about their family, and about themselves (Garrett, 2011). It shows the refugees’ status as their experience increased their way of thinking about their country is not changed but getting more strengthen.

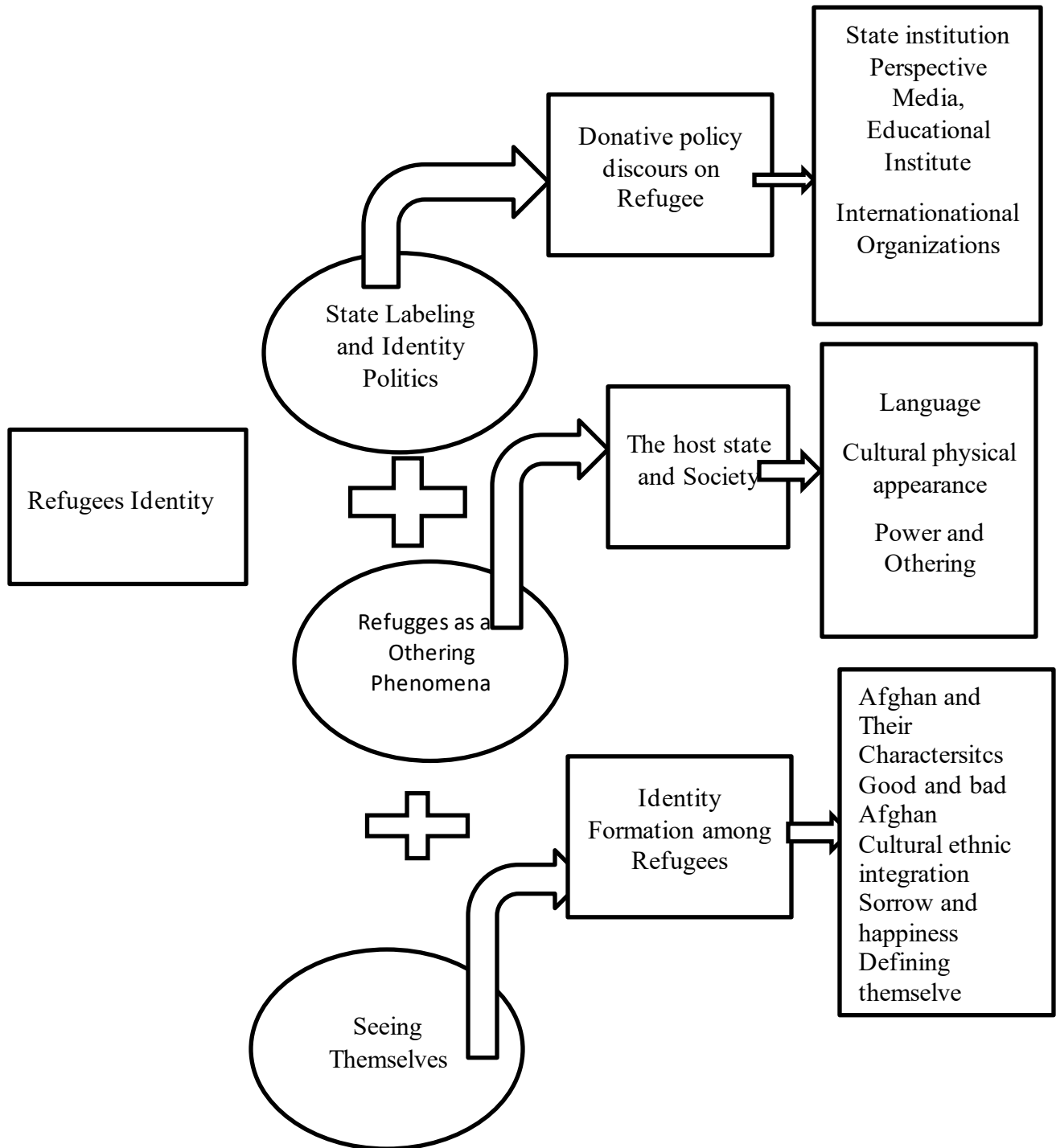
Another point in this study is the application of this theory is the weaker role of the nation-states to integrate those refugees into the structures of the society when different non-state actors are also involved in it. The state instead of integrating refugees with their socio-cultural and political identity has kept them separated as others in separate spaces. Despite all these barriers another concept of the increase in communication through digital media particularly social media across borders has somehow covered up the identity crisis problem among youth to engage with their country of origin, on the other hand, the flow across the border has decreased which was an important part in the identity formation before digitalization. As Kasun has mentioned the role of borders in transnationalism has moved forward and fragmentation of postmodernity and also somewhat paradoxically the more interconnectedness among people across the borders (Kasun, 2017). The border restrictions has made the process of transnationalism more complicated for the Afghan refugees and the state’s excuse is security.

At the same time, the current study explores the different identities of refugees and their structural orientation but it also focuses on the agency of refugees in the postmodern context. It involves the refugees' capability of decision-making about their identity within local practices in different spaces. Among them are anthropologists who recognize the local processes resultant from the forces of globalization (Kasun, 2017). The refugees both in global and local contexts try to fix themselves in the new society they migrated to. The immigrants or refugees have made their image to stay in the host country always looking to stay, make and create their own homes for themselves in the host country, and try to adopt a new place or country to which would pledge their allegiance. The term "transnational" is used to signal the fluidity with which ideas, objects, capital, and people now move across borders and boundaries (Basch, Schiller, Blanc, 1994). The refugees make their cultural-political identity through their social-cultural practices but the problem is the state intervention to give them freedom of movement and expression to express their feelings that who they are and what they want.

There are many pieces of research on refugees' identity and its formulation, some sees the different identity in network analysis, while other see it from a global perspective. The conceptualization of the refugees identity has always been an international issue in which the host country and also the international community are involved everywhere. Social and political relations in the context of refugees' identity or the identity of any other group need to be analyzed in the way institutions play a role in it. To understand what "social relations" mean in the flow and fabric of daily life we must explore how linkages are maintained, renewed, and reconstituted in the context of families, of institutions, of political organizations, of political structures, and of economic investments, business, and finance (Basch, Schiller, Blanc, 1994).

Based on the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study mentioned above, I found that Afghan refugees face an identity crisis, labeling, stereotyping, and deprivation in social, political, cultural, economic, educational, media, international organizations, and state institution spheres. The current research study found that refugees who are living in camps have less interaction with outside people and are in a state of otherness and their affiliation and association with the outside world and those who are coming to the refugee camp such as NGOs and government agents bound them to their identity of refugee, not as an Afghan which is their origin. Their affiliation with their country through digital media has given them a sense of their real identity which can be seen in their marriages, and other social-cultural festivals and events. The discourses on their country's situation, flag, national anthem, and development in their country within the refugee camp also have a deep influence on their identity.

Table 1



Note: Created by the Researcher

1.5 Significance of the Study

The imaginary and ideal identity that was given to Afghan refugees' by imperial powers, their allies, and non-governmental organization in terms of aid which have made a materialized identity of the Afghan refugees to serve their interests and show themselves as more humanized but this research will help to deconstruct those phenomenons which have transformed the tribal and national identity of Afghans to an identity which do not belong to them but was imposed on them and it further explores the way for researcher and as well as those who are still under the process of identity formation.

The academia who has researched the identity formation of Afghan refugees in Pakistan or is willing to research will be aware and understand the native perspective as well because most of the researchers on this topic have seen the identity of refugees from an outsider's perspective, either some were hired by those non-governmental organizations which were involved in the process of the new identity formation of Afghan refugees', so this research will help the academia not only in terms of their native perspective but will also bring new topics and issues on the front for further studies.

The non-governmental organizations who are directly working with Afghan refugees and are involved in the process of refugees from day one and newly emerged organizations to provide aid or relief to refugees will get benefit from this research in terms of the Afghan refugees understanding and their way of looking to things as a refugee. other than with their own identity for ownership of their projects. The policy-makers can benefit from this research as a tool for making the refugees on board and in decision-making by keeping their identity in mind because their identity gives them a sense of belonging not othering for successful integration. This research will give voices to the respondent and highlight their issues of identity crisis that have made them more victims from every perspective. The refugees cannot expressively highlight their issue of identity because they are afraid of but through this research, their hidden issue will be explained and elaborated.

1.6 Chapters Summary

The first includes the role of the state in the formation of refugees' identity through the bureaucratic process as well as the role of the INGOs and imperial powers. The second chapter is focused on the refugees' otherness by both the host state and host society. It also includes the relationship of host society and Afghan refugees. The third chapter is about how refugees see themselves in the whole process of identity formation and the way they maintain their identity through social and cultural practices.

2. Literature Review

2. 1 Introduction

This chapter is providing, elaborates, and explains the background of the topic, the existing literature on refugees' identity, labeling of refugees, construction of refugee identity socially and politically, formation of identity among refugees' the role language is playing in forming identity, forming and making of identity by the state institutions, and the role of culture in forming refugees' identity that had and have a role in refugees identity and how politicized by the Pakistani state, the regional and international powers and as well as non-governmental organizations. It also explores the literature on the politics of refugees' identity which shows the contradiction between how refugees perceive their identity and how others form the identity of refugees by hiding or giving them different meanings. The refugees themselves see these concepts in terms of their country of origin and what their ancestor has told them or remained from them.

2.2 The Politics of Identity

Identity politics could not be seen in political practices which directly challenge the power relationship but it could be understood and elaborated in the terms of people's symbolic meanings, cultural presentations, and psychological orientations of things (Bernstein M. (., 2005). As Appiah sees identity politics what other people give you assigns an identity to you (Appiah, 2006). Giving an identity to someone is important mostly because when we give an identity to someone it is easy for us to do a prediction about them or assume things about them (Appiah, 2006). This is how particular norms are attached to Afghan refugees to behave as others demand from them. Without claiming as in normal political culture it is occurring, it is identity politics situate in a very competing theoretical structures to understand and look at the relationship between the experiences of different people, their culture, identity, politics, and power (*Identity Politics*, 2005). The experience of Afghan refugees is directly related to political stances of power and politics both on regional and international levels.

Identity has separated and divorced from its subjective meanings of it in the postmodern social science study, where the core of the phenomenological field is the individual (Grossberg, 2011). The way identity politics moves forward toward the center will lead to inspiring horror and targeting people, and completely sealing the way forward with an arrogant show of courage that celebrates the victimization of the marginalized and giving style to the marginality (Gitlin, 1993). The situation became the same as no one is comfortable either once those Afghan refugees celebrated Pakistan as their second home are uncomfortable. The notion of identity is the creation of a home which have the sense of belonging. Social science deliberately perceives identity, not as a special or unique “sense of self” but sees it as a process of becoming not in a permanent manner (Bromley, 2000). In the communitarian tradition focuses in migration policies are roots-oriented which have a sense of the locality, interests of the identity, engaging the people in particular occupation, and cooperation among migrated and also the sense of relationship and their identity mediated communally in Global North (Shaw, 2008). Compared to the Global North, the Pakistani state has not imposed such fixed policies for Afghan refugees. Perceiving and thinking about human beings as geographically bounded and having a permanent culture is a misperception (Hoellerer, 2017).

2.3 The Afghan Refugees’ Identity

The identity of everyone is personal, it is one way of requirement is the country of origin of a person associated with its culture, economy, and history of that country, despite all these if a person has been brought up in a country and does not have any connection with it anymore it can be said that they lost their identity due to for not having any physical relationship with it anymore (Bulgin, 2018). The intervention of the Soviet in December 1979 during the Afghan crisis about three to four million at that time sought as refugee in Pakistan. We have tried during fieldwork (1986-87) to see the impact of exile and how the exile affected their identity (Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont, 1988a). As Foucher has told that this ethnically selective migratory flow has had an impact on the ethnic composition of Afghanistan. This exile has disturbed the social structures of the Afghan society which was once considered a sign of unity

for them and then became a symbol of shame for them by calling them a refugee. The majority of Afghan refugees came from the rural areas which were controlled and regulated by the Soviet-Afghan troops of the provincial capital and towns where living conditions for them getting extremely difficult due to the security, shortage of food, etc (Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont, 1988b). The rural areas have been always used against the state in the name of religion and were again the center of concentration for imperial powers to use them as in the past and form their new identity of Muhajir. An Afghan refugee elder told me that the situation was not that worst as it was propagated in the rural areas that Islam is in danger and it is our responsibility to protect it through the arm forces or at least migrate from here to record our protest against communist regime. The identification of the refugees and were in the hands of the Malek to register them and provide ration according to their identity (Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont, 1988b). The Malek system was not as it was traditionally practiced in Afghanistan. It functioned as a state to control the people and prepare the youth for Jihad by giving them certain privileges such as appointing them for security in the Afghan refugee camps, commandment groups (امريبال معروف), finding out people with dissident ideas and their punishment.

2.4 Ideological Construction of Refugees' Identity

The construction of the Afghan refugees' identity is based on the ideological discourse of Ummah and there is no doubt it was sold out in a very large amount and the majority owned that. In these kinds of groups, identity is linked with ideology and power because identity among them is more than a choice of theirs (Blackledge, 2005). Hatoss argue that such choices are not decided in a vacuum it is discussed through a proper discourse and discussion co-constructed in day-to-day dialogue among and with the member of the host country (Hatoss, 2012). There is doubt about leaving one's country by force and crossing national borders has an impact on the losing of identity, and culture of course, it uprooting and pushing them for displacement to entail losses but assuming that before understanding what they are, what they become and mean, and how they coped with all these situations and what their homeland means to them or the best place for them to be (Eastmond, 1996). The social construction of the country of origin or homeland's notion of repatriation is also part of the those discourses which are based on ideology of discussing an exile movement, and a struggle for political control of the state. The

definition of home and homeland loss may be different for the individuals with different experiences having at the home country and sharing the same ideology among the supporters and in the same path is also questionable (Eastmond, 1996). The identity of refugees was affiliated with Afghan refugees ideologically from the concept of Ansar and Muhajir which are based on Islamic ideology. The discourse of refugees spread all over Pakistan at that time and for their support on each Friday prayers there was a particular pray for their success in Afghanistan and motivation to support them in Pakistan.

2.5 Social Formation of Refugees Identity

The definitions of social identity have their behavioral consequences and according to those definitions, the act is always different (Verkuyten & Maliepaard, 2013). Identity politics and the social construction of identity form a kind of conjunction and pair with each other like star-crossed lovers, they join together like a flood of passion, betrayal of trust, and perfidy because they do not trust each other, but still have deep intimacy that has given it a strong and influential birth to the number of movements in all parts of the land. I see as the intellectual of such union are diminishing and destroyed so fast (Gergen, 1995). The identity politics of social construction of identity among Afghan refugees has increased hate on the local level, there is hidden resistance against the state but they show it on the societal level. The relationship has not remained the same as it was at the beginning or twenty years before between Pakistanis and Afghan refugees because identity politics has not been sustained successfully after 9/11 and the American invasion of Afghanistan. The formation of Afghan state has also given new hope to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and the role digital media is also a key factor in forming the identity of Afghaniyat among Afghan refugees. Identity politics largely depends on the rhetoric of blaming and illusionary effects are designed to censor the target for their inhuman, oppression, prejudice, selfishness, and being unjust (Gergen, 1995). These rhetorics of blame, labeling, and stereotyping formed a sense of identity and ownership of the origin among the new generation of Afghan refugees. Stephen Carter has proposed that labeling operates mostly create and becomes problematic as stereotypes and cover the complexities over, misleadingly generate in social policies.

2.6 Labeling Refugees

The self discourse and modernity is interlinked with each other, it is not just because of that these are moral and cognitive weight are linked with each other (Calhoun, 1994). Label can be found in both social and developmental policy discourses, dominant discourses to which I refer to and contend is the refugee as a subject (Zetter, 1991). As Zetter has pointed it was the same case with Afghan refugees in terms of the development deserts where there was no chance of living were built through Afghan refugees and gained more aid from international organizations, on the other side there was another discourse of camps where they were alienated from locals. A specific area was assigned to them to live them and the discourse of refugee (Muhajir) became common among locals. The basic function of labeling is the disorganizing the dominated, the more vulnerable, the marginalized and the poor or just excluded to separate and decomposition their cases. It has the potential of to reorganize their interests and come around solidarity which itself engender the labeling. It will be more accurate to find hegemonic tendencies in the process of labeling instead of hegemony itself and therefore labeling is contradictory (Wood, 1985). Zetter considers labeling as a stereotyping process that includes division, successfully established conditions, and formulation that are clearly appeared to mind as a categorization. Looking at all these characteristics of labeling in institutional settings a considerable power comes to mind when it defines a client group for themselves and according to their assumed number of needs which they need prescribed such as food shortage, shelter accessibility, and protection from any kind of harm and threat combinedly with a suitable distributional requirements apparatus of the refugees (Zetter, 1991). The stories of Afghan refugees are always considered and counted separately through labeling in the process of development from the very first day by keeping them disorganized and in surveillance within Pakistan but whenever they were needed to go to war in Afghanistan, they were allowed for any title to give themselves and as well from the state. Such as Honored (Ghairati) Afghan, the warrior (Jangju), and so on. The tools which were used and are still use by state to form the identity of Afghan refugees were food, shelter, and security but today as the scenario changed they became security risk for Pakistani state which is repeatedly heard from state and as well as from public. In the present era the word refugee describes millions of people displaced by force and living in exile or internally displaced within their country of origin due to internal conflicts, intolerance, war, clashes, and other factors in the

territory. Refugee itself is a powerful label which is in the concentration of humanitarian agencies, social differentiation, and both national and international public and local policies. This term itself is a kind of stereotyping and an institutionalized status used for human beings. It is considered apolitical but also use in both legal and policy-making practices around the world and practice, which is itself a highly politicized interpretation of the word refugee (Wood 1985). It may be required and designated crisis needs and the meaning associated with such condition as poverty and deprivation but it in long term it include issue of resettlement, integration, and assimilation (Zetter, 1988).

2.7 Formation of Refugee Identity by State

The Mogire argues that there is a contradiction by seeing asylum in humanitarian with the refugees conception as one who has fled with a fear of persecution (Mogire, 2009). According to Zetter, the refugees' crises were south-south regional phenomenon historically, the conflicts which were caused made them refugees were based on proxy for a geostrategic and post-colonial conflict among the groups or the states (Zetter, 2007). As Zetter has mentioned two aspects the case of Afghan refugees is a proxy for wider geostrategic under the strategic-depth policy. The policies of the admission of the refugee crisis established are socially constructed that who is a refugee and who is not a refugee according to their established policies (Hein, 1993a). The refugees were perceived to be dealt on a humanitarian basis and were a humanitarian issue for the majority of the people traditionally but now are increasingly considered as security risks or threats. The term threat now is dominant in the refugees discourses, in policy-making, and as well it has taken place in academic scholarship (Mogire, 2009). The same occurred with Afghan refugees during the period of migration and afterward. Now the state is seeing them as a threat by forming their different identity through media and in the policymaking process. The dominant view which was acceptable traditionally until the mid 1980s, according to which refugee were victim of the security situation, therefore was a problem of humanitarianism. Academics and as well as policymakers make their analysis and response to refugees a humanitarian paradigm issue and show concern about their provision of help, aid, services, and the UNHCR role. The main issue is not their tragic situation but they politically irrelevant in the discourse by product. This whole discussion changed in 1980s as the analysis shifts in different direction toward their

economic and as well social impact on their homeland and host country, and then it was more political impact on the state and its security. On the policymakers, there is the influence of scholars and they have experience working with refugees has changed their view of seeing the refugees. They are now seeing refugees as a matter in the arena of global politics and want the attention of the people in the power structure of the state, the ministers such as defense, interior, and external security and relation rather than just a humanitarian and immigration issue. The anticipated outcome of this the scrutinization of the refugees and asylum not only in case of their persecution in their home country but also a threat to the country they are refugees in; the United Nations has also acknowledge in their security council meeting this matter that there are some aspects relating to the presence of refugees is a threat to the host country and matter of international security, there are number of resolutions which has not only identified refugees as a threat to the security but also has given permission to the enforcement agencies to take actions against under the chapter VII of the charter for addressing the threat they consider to both regional and international security. There are several states which jointly have unilateral military programs to take action which creat threats to the states because of major refugee flows (Mogire, 2009). President Zia-ul-Haq suddenly became an important partner for the US and its allies, by making his country a bulwark against communist expansion, a safe haven for the refugees fleeing the People regime in Afghanistan, and an important player in the game for any military or political way to end the conflict. The important asset for the Zia regime was the control of Afghan refugees in this context to use them for state interests (Kirad, 2016). As Kirad has elaborated very clearly about the Afghan refugees' migration and the political aims behind it, one can easily imagine the consequences of it that this migration was politically organized program of the international players and the Pakistani state. The refugee exposes the reality of the nation-state concept and its imposed nationalism concepts and make them contradictory in both culturally similar political groups of people and the universalization of the political organization as in modern nation-state is considering, The refugees are both empirically and conceptually out of place or their country of origin which produced and innovated through the universalization of the modern nation-state and fundamentals of political organization as a state (Turton, n.d.).

2.8 Education and Refugee Identity

The formulation presents refugees based on a paradox, their strengths have been reduced, and cannot call themselves “we”. Those who have fled from their homeland due to the fear of persecution historically cannot count as “we and there is no future imagined for them and they know that. In the last fifty years, millions of people have formally declared refugees that share many similarities, but the most important point is that they are stateless. It does not mean they will stop to identify themselves with the nation they fled from and neither they are identityless. They are considering themselves stateless because they know they have crossed national boundaries and borders and plan to take protection in other states, including not having access to their education system that is nationally teach and they see themselves in it. They have been disconnected from their origin and the term nation-state is just imagination for them, and nationalism as imaginary process to remind them who we are now and what will be our future (Waters & LeBlanc, 2005). The state made a self-proclaimed understanding of the refugees’ for aid getting and the education which was provided to the Afghan refugee is still in a language that they do not understand. Creating citizens in mass public education on a secular basis to engage them effectively in its social, cultural, political, and economic processes should be the basic aim of mass public education.

Benidict Anderson in “imagined community,” in which people collectively ties for a joint and shared emancipation and take responsibility willingly, secondly literacy and skills are the sources to give an individual and groups a sense of ownership for a common interest those people who are sharing and have collective goals maybe they are strangers but would make the community stronger (Waters & LeBlanc, 2005).

2.9 Humanitarian Agencies and Refugee Identity

Understanding the refugees from the western perspective and deal them with western strategy through the objectification of them is political humanitarianism (Chimni, 2008). For humanitarian agencies, refugees are just a kind of object for them to study and produce literature about them, share reports of their assistance to them, and their management (Malkki, 1992). The UNHCR is the only actor who define legal ground for the refugee camp. The UNHCR provides legal aid to the refugees and international law and the refugees come to take protection, and in reality, they are coming to the guardianship of the international community and become ward of them (Holzer, 2013).

But on the other side, it claims that. Self-reliance: According to UNHCR, “Self-reliance is considered as the giving protection to the individual or household and a community and their and their social and economic ability to fulfill their basic needs in a manner which suits them with dignity and respect and as a program approach to strengthen the livelihood of the people for a long term (UNHCR, 2011). Humanitarian agencies through their different humanitarian projects have developed a monopoly of their hegemonic order and power which have implications for refugees. monopolizations of power a new resettlement regime are developed to manipulate the settlers and oppressed to gain their ends and refugees accept it for their survival (Colson, 2003). The international agencies are failed to incorporate the refugees in the local economies but have not resolve their issue of refugees displacement as on the name of humanitarian they exploits them. Instead of transforming refugees to the local economy and exchanging their status from aid recipient they are making them exploitative works which they think as we are unable to make our lives (Ramsay, 2020).

2.10 Language and Refugees Identity

The state only considers those as citizen who are living there except of those who are from other country they are excluded and considered as foreigners. The states have the power to include and exclude the people from its citizenship but a democratic state cannot do it to deprive its citizen from the basic rights on the basis of their ethnicity, language, religion, and etc (Hobsbawn,

1996). In Pakistan language belongs to the power and behind that power there is an ideology and therefore Urdu is their conspicuous and became symbol of their identity in Pakistan. People from other language see it as legacy of the colonialism and it as a form internal colonialism and their indigenous languages are only limited to ethnic language speaking and assert their identity (Rahman, 2002). There were many magazines in Urdu which were weekly basis sent to the Afghan refugee camps such as Zarb Momomin (ضرب المومنین) which were used for both ideological bases to spread religious extremism in Afghanistan and to shape their identity through language. Every language that have an ideology behind are well familiar among the masses (Whorf 1956). The text books of social sciences in schools in Pakistan is the making of the ideological basis such as history which is claimed based on false information, Pakistan studies is the same and every book give the message of Islam ideologically, to promote nationalism of the state and militarism (Rahman, 2002). The identity through interaction construction is basically develop through a language because identity change around interaction (Fuller, 2007). Through language, identity is constructed in a discorsal manner by address (how others talk to us), attribution (how others talk about us), and affiliation (how we talk like others (Ivanic, 2006). If identity is relational and discorsally constructed, then identity is not fixed and is constantly (re)made to reflect our desire to identify with a social practice that we want to establish a sense of belonging to (Ivanic, 2006). Identity has defined as a product of linguistics among the group or within the group constructed and my be in categories. Other than linguistics the society or group of people define themselves through communication and may be they are defined by others through their communication with them or the language they (Kroskrity, 1999).

2.11 Culture and Refugees Identity

Social change also occurs when migrants directly transmit ideas, practices, beliefs, norms and even values to stayers (White et al., 2018). Change is indeed occurring, and that migration is an ‘eye-opener’ and ‘leveller’ that helps change happen, among people from all social backgrounds. Between this introductory section and the concluding section, this chapter is structured in four sections (White et al., 2018). This means exploring widely common sense ideas about countries and roots, nations and national identities (Malkki, 1992b). The Afghan refugees associate themselves with their territory and to the cultural roots of their ancestors. Refugees are portrayed

as individuals who have lost their community, property, culture, identities, and roots, and are therefore in a state of uncertainty that needs to be overcome through the re-invention of culture and emplacement in their new environment (Hoellerer, 2017). In a globalised world, individuals no longer perceive themselves to be bound to a specific locality or a unique, enduring culture and homeland (Lovell, 1998). The title of refugee became fixed upon Afghan refugees in Pakistan and called Muhajir not as Afghan. Rather, individuals create multiple belongings, identities, and homes, depending on the situation in which they find themselves in. Thus, rather than regarding identity as a “recovery of the past”, it is subject to the “continuous play of history, culture and power (Voisco, Cultural Identity). Furthermore, identity is embedded in social relationships, interactions, and discourses, and is subject to various factors that lie outside rather than within the individual (Hall, 2011). For example, Bhutanese ‘refugeeness’ is not the identity of a singular ego, but one that is constructed through relations and discourses with others and their culture, and is therefore a cultural identity (Voisco, Cultural Identity). Cultural identity is a matter of political significance (Hoellerer, 2017).

2.12 Media and Refugee Identity Formation

One of the dominant frames in media coverage was the *terrorist frame*. This frame directly labelled Afghan refugees as “terrorists” or as indirectly facilitating terrorism in Pakistan (Jehangir, 2021). This dominance in media of terrorists tag over Afghan refugees is depending on the state structure in Afghanistan and its relationship with the Pakistani state. The *terrorist frame* is one way of “othering” and dehumanising Afghan refugees in Pakistan and includes a subtle but significant re-casting of Afghan refugee identity (Jehangir, 2021). Expecting the pure and complete truth from media would be naïve (Kempf, 2002). The truth story are always hidden in every state which make the narrative on the name of security, it is what happening with Afghan refugees, there are many success story of Afghan refugees that show their truth but are rarely highlighted and the reason behind is that they do not want see success stories on the name of Afghan which is their real identity. Pakistani government’s “great concern” was about the visibility of the Afghan flag on every page of the English books, India being presented as a friendly country (to Afghanistan), disputed Kashmir being shown as part of India, and the border

between Afghanistan and Pakistan being referred to as the Durand Line (Siddiqui, 2018). The flag is a symbol which identity that where they belong to was problematized. Out-groups often lose their identity and come to represent mere categories (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004).

2.13 Local Identity and Refugee Identity

A strong local community identity often goes together with the rejection of refugees and other migrants, However, there is also the possibility that such a local identity actually stimulates the reception of refugees (Driel & Verkuyten, 2020). Group identity involves boundary drawing with a stronger identity leading to stronger processes of social exclusion (Wimmer, 2008). The content of the local identity defines the norms, values and beliefs of the community that provide community members with a direction for how to think, feel and behave, and this content can be prosocial. Thus, when a community defines itself in terms of hospitality and support for the unfortunate, people who identify with that community are inclined to act in that way (Driel & Verkuyten, 2020). Refugees tend to be marginalized in their new societies; that is, to suffer from feelings of alienation and, more often than not, lower status than they had in their countries of origin (Linda A. Camino & Ruth M. Krulfeld, 1994).

2.14 Personal and National Identity of Afghan Refugees

Bulgin argue that people see the personal identity of an individual in the context of their experiences in the life they have gone or going through, their interests may also shape one identity but the most important thing is the idea of home (Bulgin, 2018). The refugee experiences is mostly based on forced displacement and this forced displacement makes personal identity (Griffiths, 2001). Benedict in his book imagined community argues that the nation is imagined because a small nation will be unaware of each other and do not know about their nation's fellow but the people have an image of their communion which is imagined a community and there is factor of comradeship among these people which is horizontal despite all the exploitation and enquequity (Benedict, 1983). The case of refugees is the homesickness which is experience by the refugees in the time of homelessness and nation-ness because they did not leave the country by the choice but they compelled to leave it and not yet they are settled in the country where they

migrated. The emotional attachment with their country of origin and a new community make it difficult for them to adopt in new places (Bulgin, 2018). The high level of self-esteem is helpful in a very positive relationship and personal identity through increased interaction with the people of the community (Carducci, 2009).

2.15 Refugees and Identity in Anthropological Study

Throughout this century, scholars scattered around the world and from a wide range of disciplines have engaged in refugee-related research, with publications relating to legal issues dominating the field, of all the disciplines involved in the study of human behavior, we contend that anthropology has the most to contribute to the study of refugees. The relation runs in the other direction as well; anthropology can also gain by recognizing refugees as falling within its disciplinary concerns (Harrell-Bond & Voutira, 1992). In this current intellectual environment, ethnicity and ethnic identity have come to be conceptualized less in terms of cultural content *per se* and more in terms of process (Camino & Krulfeld, 1994). In situations in which boundaries and identities are continually negotiated, identity construction may vary depending upon: whether the members of the group are interacting among themselves; whether they are interacting with people external to the group; how those external to the group regard them when interacting with them; and how they are regarded by the outsiders when they are not present among these outsiders (Barth, 1969). Refugee identities are complex and formed not only by internal feelings, beliefs, ethnic and cultural traditions, but also by external factors, such as resettlement practices, forced migrant policies, cultural traditions and the economic, political and social conditions of his/her new host country (Hein, 1993b). Once given the status of refugee and resettled into their new host country, refugees begin another phase of identity reformulation (Burnett, 2013).

Conclusion

The existing literature shows that refugees are not only socially, politically, and economically deprived of their rights but also are in a situation of identity crisis to accommodate themselves in existing structures. It also refers to the process of different identity formation over time, sometimes pride in their identity but sometimes it holds a humiliating stage for them even they

forget those pride moments as the state and social behavior change toward them. Global migration and refugees' are dealt with differently in different countries but they have not entitled by their country of origin other than refugees which is need to be addressed to make them comfortable in every situation. The refugees always consider themselves in a state of identity crisis when it comes to the provision of services as compared to the citizens of that country because labeling them everywhere has become a daily routine for them. The way the media portray them is very difficult for them to integrate themselves as part of the particular society and culture where they live in.

The missing part in the literature review was it was mainly focused on the refugees from an external perspective. The INGOs' perspective or the powers involved in the Afghan refugees' process to form their new identity. The gap between the researcher's understanding of Afghan identity and the refugees themselves is very clear. I have focused on these gaps from the perspective of the refugees by living among them and noticed points that how these refugees see themselves and what their expectations are.

3. Area Profile

3.1 District Profile

The locale of my research is based in Peshawar district which is one of the most populated district in KhyberPakhtunkhwa province. It is also the capital of the province, it was also once used winter capital of Afghanistan after Ahmad Sha Abdali due to its warm weather in the winter. This district is historically a hub for traders stay in which the most famous is Qissa Khawani Bazar (Bazar of Story Telling). The majority of Afghan traders and nomads have very well aware of this district's weather, agriculture, economic opportunity, ethnic groups, geography, and political and social structure of this district. There are many castes migrated from Afghanistan in 1474 AD to Peshawar valley, some went to Sawat, Mardan, Sawabi, and other districts but some are still living in Peshawar. It is located near to Pak-Afghan Toorkham border therefore it is very easy for people to migrate.

3.2 Population

According to the district-wise census report 2017, the population of this district is 4,267,198 3. The urban population is 1,969,823 and the rural population is 2,297,375. Nationality wise there are 3,991,611 and Non-Pakistani are 275,587 which includes Afghan refugees as well. The population census only includes those Afghan refugees that are registered and have Afghan citizens or PoR cards (UNHCR, 2022).

3.3 Ethnicity and Tribes

The majority of the Pashtun ethnic group is living in the Peshawar district which includes Khalil, Mohmand, Chamkani, Khashe Khel, and Duadzai tribes. There are other ethnic groups such as Hindku and other smaller ethnic groups. These ethnic groups are living with coexistence in the district historically. There are many similarities among these groups and adopted each other cultures over time. Afghan refugees are also majority Pashtuns in this district so it is difficult for one to distinguish between them because they are culturally and genetically from one origin.

3.4 Languages

There are two major language speakers in the district, Pashto and Hindku but as Urdu is the national language most people can also speak the Urdu language. The majority of people speak the Pashto language in their daily routine which has provided a smooth ground for Afghan refugees. The majority of refugees in other countries have language problems but here the refugees are relaxed about this problem. Somehow there are dialectical changes between the speakers of Peshawar Pashtuns and Afghan refugees but they consolidate that.

3.5 Religion and Sects

There are 92 percent practicing Muslims in the Peshawar districts and the rest of them are practicing Hinduism, Christianity, Sikhism, and other religion. There are Sunni, Shia, Wahabi, and other sects in the Peshawar districts. The Afghan refugees that migrated to Peshawar were also a part of the religious and sect factors. They were welcomed at that time based on Islamic brotherhood. The other ethnic identity was eliminated from that migration.

3.6 Family Types

The joint family system is common in the Peshawar district and it is changing now to a nuclear family system as the population increase. The majority of the family are joint extended family and they are living together with each other. The Afghan refugees also have a joint family system and it is a more homogeneous society for Afghan refugees in every sphere. The joint family system for them is a symbol of unity, whether it is against the external enemy or rivalry.

3.7 Manufacturing Sector

As Peshawar is the capital of the province, it provides more space for the manufacturing work of the people. A wide range of products can be found in Peshawar such as steel, marble, beverage, textile, automobile body parts, sports products, and other edible items. These products are also one of the key opportunities for Afghan refugees in the sense of trade with Afghanistan. The majority of people are provided jobs and made their lives better with it.

4. 8 Tourism and Hospitality

Peshawar is one of the oldest city and has the potential as a hub of archaeology and adventures. It is one of the oldest cities in the subcontinent and has a well-developed infrastructure for tourism. Its existing tourism parts are still linked with the civilizations of Bhudda, Afghan, the Mughals, and in the end the British colonizers. The historical buildings, and monuments from those civilizations, Peshawar also has its own museum. Peshawar has good quality hostels and guest houses but the most important thing is its people are very famous for hospitality. The Afghans have a gross root relationship with Peshawar.

3.9 Horticulture

Peshawar is known for quality products which it produces in different seasons. Particularly, it produces citrus, pear, peach, apricot, and watermelon are very tasteful in Peshawar. It also produces vegetables such as potatoes, tomatoes, peas, okra, and beans. The horticulture sector is mostly now dependent on Afghanistan and the Afghan refugees are involved in this whole process of trading these products. The people in Peshawar and Afghan refugees together run these businesses.

3.10 Khazana Refugee Camp

Khazana camp is located on Charsada road near Khazana Sugar mill, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Pakistan. After the USSR intervention in Afghanistan, the majority people migrated to Paksitan and this camp was officially introduced in 1985 with the help of the Afghan commissionnerate and UNHCR. People of different provinces of Afghanistan settled there at that time. There is no such official website or information regarding the Khazana camp.

3.11 History of the Khazana Refugee Camp

There is no such information about the first refugee came here to live but one of the elders told me that we came here in 1982 and came to this camp in 1985 when it was officially recognized.

The camp name is assigned because previously this place was named Khazana, so when Afghan refugees starting settled here, the people named it “Da Khazani Camp” Khazana camp.

The majority of people were shifted to the Khazana camp from the Yeka Ghund camp in Mohmand Agency because of its accessibility to the Peshawar city and its surrounding. It is basically, an island and the local language people called it “Tapoo”

3.12 Ethnic Groups Living in the Camp

From the beginning this camp is full of Pahstun ethnic groups, even other ethnic groups also lived here but there is no such evidence that from which ethnic group they were. The majority of the population is from the East provinces of Afghanistan, such as Nangarhar, Laghman, and Kunar. Collectively they affiliate themselves with larger ethnic group but are individually divided in provinces. In discussion with them they will name their provinces instead of ethnicity.

3.13 Social Structure of the Camp

The social structure of the camp is based on the Shura system which is ruled by the Malek. The shura is made of 15 people, and these numbers look at the internal affairs of the camp the Malek is also looking at the external affairs. In the Shura there are only men, no women is included in it and neither there is such a program for them.

3.14 Source of Income of the people

The majority of people are laborers in the camp and are busy with different tasks outside the camp. There is no such business or a job opportunity in the camp or job creation for them. When there was no job restriction and people were allowed to go to Afghanistan without a passport and visa they were going there for jobs. The income of the people is on daily wages.

3.15 Food Patterns

The people are poor and their food pattern is normal, the majority are waiting for food based on the aid of the UNHCR. The summer and winter food patterns are different. In summer and winter they use to eat four times a day. Break fast early in the morning, they called the “Da Sabahe

Chai” then “Sabah Nary” at 10:00 Am and then lunch and then dinner as normal. There are two dishes due to which people come and are also familiar with refugees camp. One is Misri Khan Kabab for which from around the Peshawar valley come for eating Kabab, it is delicious and this business is run by one person for the last forty years, so the relationship of the refugees and Misri Khan is also forty years old. The second Sha Alam Pul Mahyan (Fish) which is near to the river and people visit there.

3.16 Administration

The camp is directly under the federal government of the Safforan Ministry and the administrator is the commissioner of the Afghan commissionaire with the support of the UNHCR. There is no other institution to intervene in the camp and control its administrative affairs. Both the Afghan Commissionaire and UNHCR work together in collaboration in the camp. If any other NGO want to implement their project in the camp, they have to have NOC from the Afghan commissionaire.

3.17 Climate

As earlier said, this camp is surrounded by water from four side and it is an island. The winter is too cold there and in the summer it is somehow adjustable due to the existence of the river. The Latitude 34.0847° or $34^{\circ} 5' 5''$ north and with Longitude 71.60256° or $71^{\circ} 36' 9''$ east Everyone is a good swimmer. Due to floods every year they are getting more damage. They call themselves victims of floods.

3.18 Living Pattern

The people from the very beginning lived in mud-made houses with the fear of today or tomorrow they will be repatriated. Their living pattern is as simple as one can imagine in the 21st century. There are two reasons behind it the first is their fear of returning and the second is the aid of international organizations that should not stop their aiding us based on our status. This thinking is found in middle-class families living in the camp. The men are working outside and the women are controlling the home. Water, sanitation, and hygiene are the problems of every home.

3.19 Population

The population census of the camp is based on the PoR holders and having the address of the camp. According to the report 2020, 920 families were living in the camp and 4424 people were living there including men, women, and children. Many families live outside the camp but they have homes in the camp for Marrhi ao Jawandi (Sorrow and Happiness).

4. Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Research methodology is collecting the data and information that requires logic to identify the problem, and collect, and explain that data to understand the challenges of the study. This is a procedure through which we gather information to give a systematic shape to them. Through research methodology, a researcher properly comprehends anything to integrate many instruments and approaches for gathering information to reach out and get fresh data for further investigation. During the study of my data, these research techniques, methods, and tools were parts of anthropological research.

4.2 Assessment of Fieldwork in Relationship to the Research Topic and Theory

After, I framed the research question it was important for me that where I can conduct my fieldwork to answer the research question because Afghan refugees are spread over Pakistan. Secondly, it was also a kind of challenging task to conduct the research with those groups which are under surveillance everywhere, particularly in refugee camps, and the refugees themselves are afraid to discuss such issues with a person they do not know. I felt this when I started my pilot study in a city like Islamabad, where mostly educated refugees are settled but when it came to the question about the state and its role in their identity, their experiences with government officials, and their perception of the state role they become hesitated to answer those questions because they thought that may be harmful to their security. Then I thought, how difficult it would be for those who are living in refugee camps like a prison.

For this research setting, I choose (Khazana Afghan Refugee Camp) where refugees are living from the beginning of the refugee process to Pakistan was started in early 90s. People from different backgrounds and ethnic groups settled there over the last 40 years and no one else is allowed to live there. This is the only refugee camp in Peshawar that remains in its original shape as it was created for Afghan refugees, the rest has been either bulldozed or some parts of them

are taken back. They have all gone from the same experiences, one can say that homogenous people are living there from every aspect of life when it comes to their way of behaving with an outsider and no one discuss political issues in front of an outsider because they see them to be a spy or member of the intelligence agency. Every outsider is doubted, either one is conducting research, from an NGO, or a guest of someone they do not know. They are from different ethnic groups but their collective identity is a refugee within the camp. I observed that these refugees discuss these phenomena that are part of my research in personal discussion and as well as in gatherings. I gave importance to the locale due to the mentioned reasons. I explored and found different identities of refugees that are associated with them and how these refugees form their identity according to the situation and identities associated with them by the state.

4.3 Rapport Building

For rapport-building with Afghan refugees in camps, one needs to go through a certain bureaucratic process to enter the camp. Therefore, the plus point in my rapport-building with them was my Afghan identity but still gaining their trust was more difficult for me. The reason behind this was the securitization of the camp to convince them. Not only, I have built my rapport with the Malik (Elder) of the camp but also I had a good relationship during my research with the more marginalized refugees.

Researchers need to build a relationship with respect and mutual understanding with his/her informants for more authentic and relevant data collection. It is the same as one putting himself/herself in others' shoes as the sampling frame of your study may act and experience because entering new environments we have to form a bond with them. As I have spent many years around this camp and knew the majority of the elders' family members, I contacted the respondents many times and kept myself in touch with them to discuss various perspectives and ideas. Relationships need to be formed to keep in mind and acknowledge local people's norms and values because to be a good researcher one needs to have positive and good relationships with participants. I spent field time in the Afghan refugee camp for building a good rapport with the respondent as well as local communities belonging to different groups.

4.4 Participant observation

I lived in Peshawar for two months and eight days in a hostel and daily visited the camp. During the participation, the refugees also asked me questions, such as, what are you doing here, how this research will help us or your research will also be like NGOs? As my rapport was built with the refugees, I participated in their weddings, funerals, religious activity, and other social and cultural events which was organized by locals. One day I was invited to the opening ceremony of the bridge organized by the Afghan refugees commissionerate, UNHCR, and GIZ to participate in. I observed the participants and respondents in both passive and active participant observation, sometime when there was a need for an intervention I did ask the respondent and sometimes I became silent over that particular behavior. I observed their communication among themselves within the camp and as well as outside the camp. I could not participate in women's events but, I quoted the stories of women in my research from my women respondents as they told me.

4.5 Key Informants

During the fieldwork, I had more than four key informants in the camp from different socioeconomic and political backgrounds. The most influential person in the camp is Malik who is not only recognized by the state, INGOs, and NGOs but also by the refugees themselves. I did not rely on him only but made a cluster of informants looking to their backgrounds. Malik has introduced only those who speak like him about the relevant research but the other informants have introduced me to a heterogeneous group of respondents. One was a school principal which was very helpful in introducing me to an educated class of respondents because it was quite difficult for me to find the educated class in the camp easily. The other respondents were drivers of local transport and laborers. From the women's side grandmother of one of the key informants who managed my interviews with the women. My criteria for selecting these key informants were very diversified because in the camp people are seeing these phenomena in different ways. The suitability of these key informants was based on their influence, education, role in the camp, and their relationship with other people.

4.6 Data Collection

For the data collection, I used In-depth open-ended interviews, direct observations, written documents, formal and informal discussions, and focus group discussions. These anthropological research methods are used to understand the identity formation of refugees for getting information for specific responses.

4.7 Sampling Size

The most difficult task for me was to find and recruit a possible sample because the environment in the refugee camp is of fear. I used different steps to ensure the quality of the data. The participant of the study is both those refugees living in the refugee camp and as well as those who are living outside the camp. They are experiencing different cultural, political, economic, and discursive environments which form their identity accordingly. Their experiences with the state and local community are different and from different backgrounds, I took 30 samples through purposive and snowball sampling methods.

4.8 Purposive Sampling

As the current research focuses on the identity and state labeling of refugees, and their experiences in the structural context. I used the purposive sampling method and following this strategy, it was convenient for me and I was able to select my study participants. For those who have been in the situation or those who have seen such a situation, my research aim is to collect information and knowledge about their experiences that are meeting the demands of my research question by interacting with them about their experiences and the way they expect additionally, the impact of labeling and stereotyping on their identity formation and the way it changes as space change.

4.9 Snowball Sampling

The responder who are not willing to or interested in sharing information, one of the data-collecting method is snowball sampling to get valid information. This sampling strategy needs much more time and a close encounter with participants because for a certain reason, sometime participant are dispersed and the researcher must go behind them. The responder is afraid of confidentiality and disclosing their identity therefore they are not sharing information with clarity and confidence or they think it is useless to share this information. I meet two types of refugees, those who had more information but were afraid, so they were trying to share misinformation after two or three times they were confident to share relevant information. The second type was those who thought to be it is just a waste of time. This sampling method is also known as chain sampling. For these reasons, I also used snowball sampling as well to get much more relevant information from the respondent.

4.10 Interview Guide

For a comprehensive and deep understanding of the research question, I prepared an interview guide that allowed me on track with the research question through conducting fieldwork, interviews, and focus group discussions. The reason behind this is, I considered all research elements for comprehensive data and its analysis. A well-prepared interview guide was helpful and required for this researcher to better understand the research topic and a better rapport and trust between the researcher and respondent. My interview guide was also made of the relevant research-related-questions and at the same time these questions were followed with probing those questions looking to the response of the participant for more clarity in the responses and to avoid confusion about the questions and research topic.

4.11 Consent Form

Being in touch with gatekeepers and respondents before conducting interviews and not only this but also entering the camp with the consent of the gatekeepers as it was convenient for them. After their consent I mostly discussed the aim of the research because some of them consider it

as it is conducted by any NGO. Taking their consent for recording their interview, some of them afraid of recording the interview, and wrote those interviews in my diary. I ensured them their names and identity would not be disclosed and declassified and gave them a unique identity, such as for male responders AR-M-001 and female responders with AR-F-002. I also took their consent verbally after and before the interview, if there is any inconvenience or hesitation for them during and after the interview to transcribe their interview some of them even told me that do not to transcribe these points and not write them in my research because it is humiliating. I also ask about their designations if I mentioned them in the research, some has allowed mentioning and some were not comfortable with it.

4.12 Demographic forms

The demographic questionnaire was also used to collect data related to their sociocultural, and political backgrounds. It has allowed me for more description of the respondent's socio-cultural and political information where they stand in this whole process of identity and why they think like this which leads to a better qualitative analysis. The demographic questions included the respondent's age, sex, ethnicity, political affiliation, education, profession, ethnicity, economic status, duration of living in Pakistan, living in camps or outside, affiliation with any group in Pakistan, and their visits to Afghanistan. These questions are important to for more accurate and authentic analysis in qualitative research.

4.13 In-depth Interviews

I conducted in-depth interviews with open-ended questions to know and capture the informant's thoughts, conceptual perspective, and worldview about the identity and the role of the state and also to understand, how it effected their identity and what practice for maintaining their identity as a refugee. It has helped me and enabled respondents to openly share their personal experiences cohesively without hesitation and interruption. I used this strategy to obtain specific and detailed information from the participant, and it helped in gathering relevant data about my research topic from the participant as required. An in-depth interview was very helpful in deeply understanding the phenomenon from every aspect. I aimed to know the emic perspective and this regard the in-depth interview was very productive for further analysis and description of the issue and gave me

more insides. In the face-to-face interaction with the participants during the in-depth interviews, I realized that respondents have more information about the topic and it has also given me more clues about the topic for further study. The interviews were held in both the Pashto and Dari national languages of Afghanistan and at the same time I interviewed some Pakistanis who were part of this process in the early 80s and 90s in Urdu and then transcribed them into English. Many times during the interview, I was also encountered by the respondents because the when the questions come to the state, they mostly told me that, if you were in our place what would be your response.

4.14 Informal interviews

I asked individuals and in a group casually based on the research question, particularly those questions which were problems of everyone and were part of their discussion. Informal interviews were part of the general discussion about the identity of the Afghan refugees and how they are dealing with the state institutions and what are their responses. I have asked many questions about their country of origin and its role in their lives and how it is impacting their identity and affiliation with their own country. They shared their experiences in humor, laughing with each other and sometimes there was regret in their discussions along with fear. The stories were quite interesting and full of joy but at the same time, they were hoping for their country where they can freely do everything that is not possible for them as a refugee. These informal interviews have provided some new themes to my research for further investigations which was not possible in in-depth formal interviews. The reason behind this was the answers that were diverted by the respondents in the formal interviews I found it in the informal interviews.

4.15 Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion is often practiced in qualitative research to collect in-depth and holistic and relevant data to find the answer to the research question. This method is used to collect data from the selected participants rather than in the shape of a demographically sound sample population. I formed three focus group discussions one was made of educated respondents, the second was formed from illiterate respondents and the third was mixed with both. In these three groups, I found the different perspectives of the respondents about the same

topic differently. The reason behind this was to know their consensus on the topic and understanding of the topic.

4.16 Research Ethics

To ensure research ethics, I followed all the criteria for ethical research conduct to not harm anyone's sentiments, and all the research is conducted with the consent of the respondents during the fieldwork. Furthermore, keep in mind the research ethics, I attempted to adhere to all research ethics throughout my study, either it was in the field or during my writeup such as, honesty, integrity, objectivity, integrity, confidentiality, social, political, and religious responsibility, non-discriminatory, and respect for all the participants within and outside the locale.

4.17 Voice recorder

As a researcher, it was my ethical responsibility to take the consent of the respondents for recording their interviews. Some respondents agreed to record their interviews when I asked for recording but some respondents replied that "Isn't it possible for you to write down the interview instead of recording?" I understood and agreed with them and wrote down their interviews in my diary. I tried my level best to write each point accurately as the respondents said, sometimes when I missed any point during writing they happily replied again. The recorded interviews ensure that nothing important should be missed but I did the same in taking notes to not miss any point for understanding comprehensively related to the research study.

4.18 Data Analysis

Field data is required for a comprehensive analysis and that data comes from interviews, focus group discussions, observations, field notes taken in the field, and written documents. These notes are taken during the formal and informal discussion with the respondents and also during the observation which is itself an important part of the qualitative analysis. Being an anthropologist, I developed themes of that data after completing my fieldwork. In the support of

that data created analytical thoughts, I listened to the interviews and went through written interviews, visited fieldnotes that I observed during the fieldwork, and studied the core text as a researcher. An analysis is an ongoing procedure after the completion of the data for the completion of a comprehensive analysis. I did a comparative analysis of the data for the sake of consensus analysis and interpretation of the data which is strategically useful for comparing and triangulating results in mixed-methods research studies which I fulfilled in the data collection.

4.19 Limitations

The limitation is part of every study. Before selecting this topic, my research topic was cultural integration among ethnic groups in Afghanistan but when I went there due to the war I was not able to conduct the fieldwork, so it was quite difficult for me to change my mind from one area to another. During the fieldwork, I faced several limitations because I had taken NOC from the Afghan consulate, then from the Afghan commissioner, and then from the local authority but I did not give up and carried on my work.

The limitation during the fieldwork was the availability of the respondents because the majority of them belong to the working class who were not easily available in the daytime. The other major limitation was their fear while speaking on this topic because they were afraid to discuss these issues with an outsider. Furthermore, to ask such questions I focused on rapport-building by sitting with them in an informal discussion and discussing different issues related to Afghanistan and the respondents were quite interested in that, which made my work easy. All the data is based on in-depth interviews, informal discussions, focus group discussions, and observation.

5. The role of the state in the Formation of Refugees' Identity and Labeling

Entering the refugee camp is just like entering prison. For the very first when I went to the refugee camp I was sitting with Malik¹ within ten minutes a policeman in charge of the refugee camp came to his place. I had big and a laptop even though no police have seen me entering the camp, the first question he asked: Who is he? Malik told me in his eyesight to be silent and replied: He is a friend of my son studying in Islamabad who came here to see us. Then he started questioning me, in which university you are studying and in which department? He was sitting there for more than forty minutes, in these forty minutes he asked me a lot of questions such as the situation in Afghanistan, the current regime change in Afghanistan, and more questions like this. The Malik has shown more respect and hospitality during the discussion which is part of the Afghan culture, we were drinking green tea but he ordered his son to bring milk and make a special Doodh Pathi tea for Khan G. After the policeman in charge of the refugee camp went, I asked from the Malik, why did you lie to him? He told me you do not know if he knew your reality, he would always do your investigation from us and your research work would be a complicated investigative task for us. It was quite interesting for me during the discussion when everyone came to Malik's place they Khan G Sanga e (How are you Khan G), what we can do for you? I asked one of the refugee why everyone trying to interact with a policeman, he is here for your security. He replied: you know we are refugees and he is the state, when we are coming from work to home at night he stands in front of the camp on the road, therefore it is important for us that he must know us.

After a few weeks, I went to an Afghan refugee school, the headmaster² of the school knew me for last twelve years, I discussed my research topic with him that I am going to interview the students as well as the teachers he replied: you have to bring a NOC from the Afghan Consulate, Education Attache, which I had but he was not ready to allow me for interviewing at school. When I started the discussion with him and tried to convince him because I followed all the legal

¹ A person who represent refugees of the camp and selected by the refugee living in camp. Acceptable for both government and Non-governmental organization

² I cannot disclosed more information because he strictly prohibited

procedures but he told me you saw my home come there tonight I will give you interview there but students cannot. When I went to his home, he told me, we are refugees here and the school is under strict surveillance, so the question you asked from the students will be disclosed and then the agencies will investigate us. Even he told me that a COVID-19 vaccination team which was sent by the Afghan consulate and we were investigated for that. He told me the issue you are investigating as your research topic is an issue that the state is afraid of. We have been stopped from issuing the new books to students which had the flag of Afghanistan when the curriculum was changed in Afghanistan.

It is how the refugee identity is a label that has been indoctrinated within the refugees under the cultural-political and ideological project of the state. Those who rise the question of their identity are kept under surveillance by using different means to stop them and engage them in different way such as labeling them through media, in educational institutions, health facilities, issuing different identity cards, trolling, social media campaigns against them, and many more.

5.1 Disjunction between the State and Afghan Refugees

According to the data of this research, the disjunction exists due to the discriminatory policies of the state toward refugees in every sphere. In addition, when the executive authority of the state understand that he/she is a refugee. Corruption is a common trend in underdeveloped countries but for refugees it is a daily routine, even if they did not ask for a bribe the refugees themselves tell them for it because they understand the tag of refugee is associated with them and their work is not possible without giving bribe.

AR-M-003

كله چې موږ ونه تولاو څو چې پټان په انور و ادارې كې ښكارونه خ. صرکړونو لپاڪص احباله ځان سر مېوځو. موږ لپاڪص احبت مېسري وركړو چې هغهي هغوي ته وركوي كه ښلهي چې بكي اچوي خو زموږ كار را خلاص كړي.

Jab hamara kam thanry ya kisi aur idary mai nahi hota tu hum apny saath Malik sahib ko le jaty hai aur unko kuch paisy dety hai. Humi pata nahi hota k o Malak sahib leta hai ya unko deta hai lekin hamara kam ho jata hai. "When we are stuck in police station or any other institution and we understand that we cannot do it. We take Malik with ourselves and bribe him, we do not know that Malik take it or give it to them but our work is done"

The state has also assigned certain elements within the refugee camp and given them more privileges to them as compared to a common refugee for the sake of its interest because, at the end of the day, those elements are required to work for them in those spaces. The political economy associated with refugees' identity is also a major concern among refugees that has created disjunction.

5.2 State Rhetoric and Action toward Refugees

Rhetorically the state on every platform claim equal facilities for Afghan refugees in Pakistan but in action, it is vice-versa. The Afghan refugees till now are not allowed to open their bank accounts in any bank but rhetorically the government has announced to open the bank accounts. I was sitting in the bridge opening ceremony in the camp, commissioner for Afghan refugees from the government side was speaking and said Afghan refugees are our brothers, a refugee sitting near me told his friend, in front of UNHCR and GIZ we are their brothers but outside they humiliate us by telling us you are refugee here. After a few minutes during his speech, he again said you are our brothers but you are refugees here. Reminding them of being refugees, again and again, was part of that speech from the government, it shows the narrative from the above that whatever happens you are not from us and gives them a sense of othering.

AR-M-8

وطني و خه اوکوي پبل خه. ما چي پيژني چي فلغ اني مپه روی کوي و پبلون رشي. دا ز مور دی مپل دی فته خو پلار اورکده د خلي مي اورلي دي چي د دوي په خول هقهن م کوي له مور سر هي م هم پلر کول.

Kehty kuch aur hai aur karty kuch aur hai. Jab unko pata chal jata hai tu unka rawaya meri saath badal jata hai. yeh mera tesra nasal hai edhar main ny baap dada sy suna hai k inki batou par yaqeen mat karna. “ say one thing and do something else. When they know that I am Afghan their behavior change. It is our third generation here, I heard from my father and grandfather that do not trust them, their words and actions are contradictory”

It is not one generation problem but a process of discrimination against Afghan refugees for decades. The way their elders were they are going through the same process of labeling them.

5.3 Border Management by State and Identity of Refugees

In the name of border management refugees are intentionally separated from their soil and people. It was the worst and tough time for refugees when the state announced that no one can cross the border without a proper passport, visa, and documentation. Those who were in Afghanistan were able to make passports but getting a visa is a long way process for a person to avail. It has captured the attention of people toward themselves that who they are and why they are here. Harsha Walia³ called it border imperialism⁴ this term makes us compelled to think beyond the boundaries that how the state implements colonial policies, according to which indigenous people are depressed and racialized.

AR-F-006 Narrated:

زم پلار پوه فلغ غاښت ان کسې مړ شوو خو زم پاره ننگ اجازه نه وه چې لاره شرم. مور مې لټه پيښور ته د علاج لپاره روغتون ته را وړې وه په روغتون کې مړه شوه خو هکله ديو مه اجرې پټ گه اجازه نه وه. اخر به زه م لټه مړه شرم کي دای شي زم مړی مې پوښوږ دي او داش عریی وولسو.

خه رښته خوبه ده د وطن سره سره

کور دې پکې نه ص حح خو گورپ کي پي دکړه *“My father dead in Afghanistan but I was not allowed to go there. My mother was brought here for medical purposes but we lost her and I was not allowed to go with her funeral. One day I will die here as a refugee and maybe they do not allow my dead body to go there. She quoted poetry with tears in her eyes: Find any relationship with your homeland Sail⁵, if you do not have a home in it find gave in it”*

This shows how the relationship between people is cut off and they are divided through borders. The same border was open for people without any restrictions before 2016. The majority of respondent told the border cannot separate us from our land, people, and nation but at the same time there was regret not going to their homeland as previously. In the era of transnationalism, the Afghan refugees are living like in the colonial era and it is projected very systematically to cut them off from their roots and limit them to the identity of refugees. Functioning of the border is to Afghan refugees control and exclude them from the nation-building process in Afghanistan because as much as the refugees flow increases with their nation a national consensus develops between them and their state.

³ South Asian Organizer, activist and Author

⁴ <https://globalsocialtheory.org/topics/border-imperialism/>

⁵ Rehmat Sha Sail is a Pashto famous and well known Poet

5.4 Labeling of Refugees in Bureaucratic Process

The term refugee is itself a label to make a person other than us and when it comes to public policy it becomes more systematic and spread its roots in society. Roger Zetter⁶ call it the conceptual tools of bureaucratic labeling - stereotyping, conformity, designation, identity disaggregation and political/power relationships.

AR-M-002 Narrated:

زموږ لپاره خوب کمپکې اوسېدل یوتور داغ دی ځکه چې شوکمپونټنه کورې چې چېرته اوسېږي او ورته ووظوېه کمپکې نو رڼه ووی مه اجرې، لته موږ ته شوک م نفلغان په سترگه ن کورې بلکې زموږ د اوسېدوله ځای سره چې م مه تړلی دی. “ *Living in camp is a label on us when someone ask us where do you live and we say in camp then they tell us oh ok you are a refugee, so the people do not see us here as Afghan but even they assoicaite our identity with our place of living*”.

In this whole process identity is formed when you assign a specific place for them with specific limitations. It also transformed when those policies are changed such as there was a time when these refugees were Jihadis, Musalaman, FreedomFighters, and so on. The state always wants to manipulate these policies for its interest in the formation of refugees' identities as needed through a bureaucratic process. Yesterday Jihadis, Musalman, and freedom fighters are today terrorists, traitors, and thankless.

AR-M-009 Narrated:

موږ سره موسسات م دکارکوي. موږ ته لږ څه راکورې اوسې لکوشش کوي چې زموږ هر څه کنټرول کوي او هر څه د موږ سره موسسات م دکارکوي. “ *The same is done with us by NGOs, they bring some aid to the camp and then try to control us and expect us that we conduct every activity according to them*”.

So this process of dependency and controle over refugees is also an integral part of the refugee identity by showing them that you are refugees and behave like them. The international non-government organizations at the same time support each other for the same reason.

⁶

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31258425_Labeling_Refugees_Forming_and_Transforming_a_Bureaucratic_Identity

these Jihadi leaders and the state politicized their issue through them but now the state is directly intervening to form their identity.

Louis Dupree, a famous anthropologist on Afghanistan has used eight 'R's to describe the political processes in Afghanistan since the USSR invasion. Revolution, repression, rhetoric, reforms, revolts, refugees, Russian, and Reagan (Dupree, 1983). Dr. Fazal-Ur-Rahim Marwat added more Islamic points on this with M's. Muhammad, Madina (Center of migration), Muslim, Muhajir, Mujahid, Masjid, Mullah, Malik, Madrassa, Money, Moscow, Mortars, and now Musharaf and MMA, in my study to present the case of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and how the common "Ms" between the Afghans and Pakistan states were exploited by both the states and by both superpowers.⁸

Everyone has seen the Afghans' identity from their perspective as mentioned above. The USSR wanted to it make them more Russianized and make them more communist than them, the Islamic worlds wanted to make them more Islamized than other Muslim through their religious-political lense along with the USA, and then America wanted them to be more liberalized than them but no one has asked Afghans to form their identity from their lenses and their original roots. They were not left and helped to form their political structures through a central command but their identity is mostly politicized from the outside because there was always a coercive force either through direct intervention or through their Afghan mercenaries. The Afghan refugees are extremely depoliticized but they are politicized at every stage whether it is through international organizations or the state. Certain victimization cards are attached to them when the state

5.7 New Religious Socio-Cultural Trends Under the State Patronage

The state was quite aware of the rising religious extremism not only in the refugee camp but also in the surrounding. The terminologies were developed and circulated in society through religious leaders who were inspired by the Afghan Jihadi leaders, instead of intervening and stopping they were getting stronger through different means of literature, resources, and human resources. The government in Afghanistan at that time under the rule of Dr. Najibullah was quite clear about the rising extremism which will not only make Afghanistan unstable but also the region.

⁸ From Muhajir to Mujahid by Dr. Fazal-Ur-Rahim Marwat, 2005

We have a common task – Afghanistan, the USA, and the civilized world to launch a joint struggle against fundamentalism. If fundamentalism comes to Afghanistan, war will continue for many years. Afghanistan will turn into a center of world smuggling for narcotic drugs. Afghanistan will be turned into a core for terrorism.⁹

AR-M-004 Narrated:

کمپته خخته خورکي مرستی او رشن نه رتلل ویکسي ور نلری لکبه م رتلل چې مورته هیې جوم اتکي د جهاد
ضری چیله دی سره مور دومره نه و تلن، دابهیې م هل چې لصلی کار خوبه اوس وختکي جهاد دی دا د وطن قوم
اونوری ضری فیضول دی. *“ Ration and other food aid were not only brought to the camp, but many
people were coming here about whom we did not know. They preached about Jihad in mosques
and were telling us right now the only most important task is Jihad other things such as country
and nation is wasting.”*

Spreading of extremist literature among the Afghan refugees as newcomers, to the new environment, in bad situations, and not having cloths to wear and food to eat was their weaknesses because some of them were aware of the consequences but were silent they knew under whose umbrella they are working and for whom. There were people from Pakhtunkhwa who were opposing these extremist socio-cultural trends among the refugees.

AR-M-005 Narrated:

لته کمپته هیوه ورخی و سوری رانجو مورته هیې د وطن د بلادی، لته پب چوبل دی دت لیکلو و په سول کي د اوسیدو
ضری کلي چې شهران ورپسې را جگ شول داک مورته دی او ورته هیې وولجا لته رانه شری.
*“One day a
person came here and he was talking about the development in Afghanistan, the importance of
education of children, and peace but elders of the camp came to us that he is a communist and
told not to come here again.”*

I investigated that person was Mehdi Sha Bacha, a progressive nationalist from ANP. These people were not allowed to engage Afghan refugees in process of their modernity and development. The elements mentioned above of “Ms” have become part of their lives. The discourse of progressive sociocultural discourse has been replaced by rigid and fixed extremist elements which are now part of their socio-cultural discussion and you can find it in their actions too.

⁹ Dr. Najibullah Interviews to a US reporter

5.8 Curriculum in Schools and Madrasas (Seminaries) and the Refugees' Identity

It is not only Madrasas (Seminaries) to form the identity of the refugees in the religious context but also modern schools are run by Mullahas. I went to the Afghan refugee schools where eighty percent of teachers were Madrassa graduates, inspired by the literature of the Ikhwan-al-Muslimin they were teaching subjects like history, geography, culture, and Islamiyat anyhow belongs to them.

AR-M-0015 Narrated:

زه ليه هغه شرم چې زموږ د تاريخ ملتاد موريت هېڅکله بکې لیکل شوي خبرې ته دروغ وويي او زموږ د ملان لکه غازي امان الله خان تکه کفله او مرتد وويي. د ملان د انجیر غ کفریېر غږېږي بې خبرې کتاب مې شته نو څرنگه به موږ خپل هويت "I become sad when our history teacher proves false what is written in the books and tell their own stories such as calling Ghazi Amaullah khan apostate and unbeliever and for him, the flag of Afghanistan is the flag of unbelievers that is printed on the books so in these kinds of situation how we can maintain our identity."

This program is run systematically because you can hardly find a teacher in these schools who have studied modern alternative literature or graduated from any university. Either they are Madrasas graduates or studied till twelve classes at the same school. There was a time when schools of Afghan refugees were run by different international organizations but the text was religious. ARC in collaboration with UNHCR is still running these educational programs. After the American invasion of Afghanistan, this literature was also thought for more than five years without any change but it has gradually changed and with the help of UNHCR it was brought to Afghan refugee camps as well which was opposed by the state of Pakistan. Dr. Fazal-Ur-Rahim has called it children of war, or the generation of war¹⁰ but in my view, this literature created generations for war which is faced Afghanistan for the last forty-five years and mostly impacted the Afghan refugees in Pakistan with a new identity that is distracted Afghan refugees from their homeland.

¹⁰ From Muhajir to Mujahid, Politics of War through Aid

5.9 Two Nation-states, Same People but Against Each Other

I heard these words in the title from a person on public transport during an informal discussion while I was traveling during my fieldwork. I ask him are you talking about Pakhtoons in Pakistan and Afghanistan, he replied no I am talking about Afghan refugees. The person was an Afghan refugee in Pakistan since 1985. He further added Afghan refugees in Pakistan and those Afghans who are living in Afghanistan are nowadays against each other. They are calling Afghan refugees slaves and mercenaries of Pakistan and Afghan refugees are calling them slaves of America and NATO and the on both sides the state of Pakistan and Afghanistan no one tries to bring them together and dialogue with each other because they belong to the same soil.

The cultural, political, academic, literature, and economic flow around the is attaching the refugees to their state but here the case is getting complicated more day by day because there is no such clear policy for refugees on both sides. I have seen many refugees which were not aware of their sociocultural richness and how the people practice in Afghanistan, and how they celebrate their events, even though some well-educated refugees are not aware.

AR-M-8 Narrated;

که مور مہاجر کارڈ نہ وای جو رکری کی دای شری زہ نفل غزانت ان لہن وم سرہ مہ شن انہ وم عکہ چیل کورنہ ری بل یتر
خلدن پوری د ہی چال نفل غزانت ان سرہ ہی خ دول ایکہ نشتہ اون پری کلن ب س شکی پری صا زم مور اوپلار نفل غزانت ان نہ
دی. *“If we did not make PoR (Afghan Citizen) cards maybe I would not be aware of the name of
Afghanistan because from my home to my family no one has any kind of relationship to
Afghanistan and neither it is expressed in discussion, even my father and mother are both from
Afghanistan.”*

In this globalized and transnational to a person his/her identity is formed through a card but not through their sociocultural, geographical, and historical background. It shows the complications within the system, the states cut-off people from other countries from their origins when they have political interests. Now for the Afghan refugees, their only hope is to extend and renew their PoR cards by the state.

5.10 PoR (Afghan Citizen) Card and Refugees Identity

As much as refugees were happy with PoR cards it is getting worst for them. The securitization process is more easy for the state to control the refugees and remind them of their identity as a refugee. They were hopeful for a day to take nationality because they have developed businesses, constructed homes, marriages with citizens, and so many other things which they cannot hold with themselves as a refugee. They fear now that tomorrow if the state announced our expulsion, what we will do before we were unknown to them and now they know about our everything. The citizenship and the Afghan citizens make a difference for them because these refugees are living here for almost four decades and there is nothing of them in Afghanistan instead than relatives or land left to them from their ancestors which these refugees cannot get the benefit of it.

AR-M-007 Narrated:

مه اجر کارد ز مور لپاره سر دردی جوړ شو. مځای به ه غفل غاښل او به ز مور سره مری ژوندی کولو چې پاکستانی پکار دونه یی لرل اوس زه هغه عملی ټیټی وټی ستل اوسله و چې ز مور کار دونه مالا کن کړی په لاس کې دیک اوس سره نقل غاښل او *PoR card became a headach for us because those Afghan who had Pakistan Id card participatd in our sorrow and happiness now they are running away from us and says that due to you maybe our cards are blocked, don't talk about the remaning problems of it*".

Giving nationalities to some due to their political, economic, and social conditions is another cultural-political move by the state. The rest are telling that your social, economic, and political class is not that much to get that position. At the same time, those refugees who had succeeded to get Pakistani nationalities are also in fear that it will be blocked or someone will come to their doors and ask for money that they are refugees and they have illegally made Pakistan national id cards which are not allowed in law. I interviewed some Afghans who were refugees but succeeded in getting Pakistani nationalities they told me that we are more afraid of relevant authorities than refugees because we are illegally honored with a new nationality.

During the fieldwork, one day I was sitting in the refugee camp and the police came with one previously Afghan refugee who illegally made Pakistan's national Id card. The police were

telling him that you have to leave the camp because you do not have refugee status anymore and this camp is only for PoR card holders refugees. He was resisting to not quit the camp but were not allowed to live in the camp anymore. The camps are only for people with a particular identity which is refugee and it is a sense of otherness that you do not belong here.

5.11 Development and the Refugees' Identity

The term development here does not mean the refugees' social, political, educational, and healthcare system development but the infrastructural development of rural areas through refugees. These all happened under the embodiment of the state through its government, law, institutions, and representative. The refugees were settled in those areas where there was no expectation of living at that time but the refugees managed by dint of their struggles and developed those areas for lives.

مور چي ٺٽه ٺٽي مله لڙي زڪي رائج و پيشو مهنه وه اونه چا د ژون نكلوت مه پڪي دل وده خويي مور همت ڪرو او دا
“When we came here in early 80s even there was no cat to live and neither can expect to live here but we through our struggle made these plain areas developed but they reoccupied those areas from us and now we are hearing of this camp to occupy by the state.”

one generation started developing remote areas, the second generation developed it for living and the third generation was told to live, their memories are attached, and their childhood and growth are associated with the land, people, and mud houses but the state needs the land which was developed by refugees. The refugee identity was used to gain the attention of the international community for aid and show itself as a sympathizer of the Afghan refugees but they were told to vacate after aid was stopped and refugees developed the underdeveloped areas.

5.12 The state and the Identity of Terrorism rather than Refugee

The refugees which claimed to be hosted and welcomed with precious words of honor and dignity how after two decades suddenly the label changed from Muhajir (refugee) to Mujahid and from Mujahid to terrorist in media and other platforms. The reason was external but was the

internal policies of the state because the state cannot blame itself and to hide its deep policies blamed such a group which was themselves the victim of war. No doubt there were groups in Afghan refugees who migrated here to fight in Afghanistan for Pakistan's strategic policies Kabul Must Burn¹¹ but other Afghan refugees were strategically trapped.

AR-M-012 Narrated:

دور خو د لاسلام د قدس زينپهنوم هجرت كړو كچه چې مورته وهول شول چې لښكري نظام دى خو لښكري دوطييزي وروسته پوه شو چې دا د منجنو نكسو نكسو خچگ دى اوكله چې پاكستان مورته نترگرو خطاب كړي نو دكچه نيل هجرت كلى و فلسوس رشي. *“we migrated for the sake of holy Islam because they told us, this is the state of unbelievers but two decades we understood it was a few people interests was. When here someone call us terrorists, I regret my migration.”*

The term terrorism is itself a controversial term and, it changes according to the interests of the imperial powers. During the Cold War, refugees – particularly from communist-controlled nations – were often welcomed as a way to discredit the Soviet bloc and promote the formation of opposition groups in exile, After the Cold War, and especially after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, refugees were often viewed with suspicion, particularly those from Muslim nations (Braithwaite et al., 2019). This was not occurring only in western countries but also became policies of those Muslim countries which once celebrated the war in Afghanistan as a victory and fall of communism. After the cold war when the war on terror has pushed many marginalized people to war against the terror of superpowers, it was not one way process but the result of those policies and events in support of fundamentalism for countering communism. Violence and displacement have a relationship that shapes the behavior of refugee.

5.13 Responses of Refugees to State Behavior of Identity Formation

The consequences of forced migration, civil wars, and state oppression and particularly when the host country is involved in the migration and supports violence became problematic with time. The refugees learn their cunning techniques, then show hidden resistance and apply them because publically showing resistance is dangerous for them in such positions. The refugees know the underline processes of the whole structure and respond accordingly.

¹¹ General Akhtar Abdur Rahman

AR-M-010 Narrated:

کله چې موږ نکوم شهلپار هڅبتن اځوونو د مظلوف اړخون هپه نظر کې سرتو. ددې په اړه طلوم اتکوو چې پکې د فو رده کې شهلپولک کله د نړی کورنۍ غړي نیا تالکو او کلی کم نجه چې مورپووی پرو چې حکومت م ز مور سره دیکه کوي. *“when we do registration for something we keep all the aspects of it in our mind, in which form how many family members to be written because we know the state is deceiving us.”*

Responses from both sides are highly hidden but both know the reality therefore they do not react on the spot. Refugees use their best in front of them and the state performs its best in front of the refugees. In a program at the refugee camp bureaucrats were telling to each other on the side (Marra Muhjir khalak di pa sa pohgi), these are refugees they know nothing, after the program ended the refugees were together and said to each other (Dwi che khabregi khabregi mung har sa pa bada kari v) when these bureaucrats understand we would already take everything. It was interesting on stage both were praising each other’s support, cooperation, and coordination.

Conclusion

The state has managed the Afghan refugees in every sphere by denying their identity of being Afghan because they are only refugees. The “state” for monopoly over refugees is successful, the identity of refugees has changed by giving different names for its interests but in their official documents they are refugees. The refugees’ inclusion and integration are in the interest of the state but using them in different wars is in the interests of the state. Afghan refugees are not dealt like it is mentioned in United Nations articles and conventions or in the constitution of Pakistan. Deprivation of other rights is considered a common factor even the state citizens are deprived of but changing their identity through different means and tools is not acceptable for those refugees in the camp. The state is not allowing refugees to exercise their freedom by showing their identity but refugees use different means such as we have the state referring to Afghanistan, even though they do not want to live there because they do not have any other option when it comes to the host state oppression and deprivation the refugees’ reference is their country of origin. In the quasi-democracy of Pakistan Afghan refugees are of nowhere, their political, social, economic, and human rights are sabotaged and violated by the state.

6. Refugee as Othering Phenomenon

Us and Them are terms that give a sense of being different and alien whether it is for citizens or refugees. The refugees are other everywhere but in those places where the state has imposed national identity on its citizen, and they are dehumanized if they do not accept the imposition of identity then it is problematic for people from other countries. Despite the identity of refugees, Afghan refugees still live in separate places and one can easily identify them as others because of the location assigned to them. In modern nation-states, a famous quote is those who sing with us are from us, and those who are not singing with us are not. No one has rendered Afghan refugees without humiliation on both state and societal levels. The identity of Afghan refugees is based on the ideology of othering with different names.

We need to categorize “others” in the context of Afghan refugees, Afghan refugees are Muslims, Mujahideen, and our brothers but they are not from us. They will fight for us in their country but they are not from us, we will get aid in their name but they are not from us. The same refugees but those who are investing money here are not others and accept illegitimate orders are not others. The status of Afghan refugees is as Rita Himmel and Maria Manuel Baptista argued institutional and political other (Himmel & Baptista, 2020). We can call Afghan refugees ideological allies in violence, conflict, and war but politically, socially, economically, and culturally as others which only recognized as refugees for documentation and proof.

Some refugees are security threats and some are security defenders, security threats are not allowed and security defenders are always allowed. This othering process itself is a hegemonic ideological project to form a new identity for the refugees. For showing sympathy for refugees the state also launch different projects to show the differences between us and them. Afghan refugees are others because they are not allowed to integrate into the political process, not in Pakistan but also they are allowed for political activism about their country but those who are fighting in Afghanistan are allowed.

Othering for Afghan refugees could be found everywhere such as in media, schools, universities, hospitals, legislation, executive, judiciary, and in the whole system. After this institutional otherness it can be also found in people to relationships on the societal level and a new identity develops which Anikó Hatoss called identity development an interactional process in daily life

(Hatoss, 2012). On the societal level is very difficult to understand that either it is the state language or community-oriented discourse. In fact, on the societal level, such kind of a discourse of othering reflection of the state othering. Considering by the state as others and as society is two different approaches for refugees.

Identities are constructed intersubjectively due to overlapping in relation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). I compared these overlapping to the two states which spoke at the same time for their interests and made refugees others. On the other side the host country was successful to convince its citizens for making refugees others in the eyes of its nationals. Nothing else but “otherness” has made Afghan refugees more reluctant and have not integrated in the transnational process. It is what Hegel¹² has called the “Master-Slave dialectic” (B.IV.A 1807). A new relationship of self-consciousness¹³ has developed among the refugees to form their identity. This has also developed a sense of in-group who are owned and out-group as others. The refugees during this process of othering have gone to the original roots of their identity. For the host country, they are others, and therefore refugees have constructed self-identity of their and how these refugees construct and deconstruct their identity knowing the otherness policy of the host country. There are certain characteristics assigned to refugees that they are in or out of due to lacking those characteristics.

6.1 Language, Otherness, and Identity Formation

During the fieldwork, I remember the conversation between my friend an Afghan refugee in the camp, and a policeman near Bacha Khan Chowk famous as (Chargano Chowk), Peshawar at the checkpoint. The car was stopped at the checkpoint before the policeman started questioning my friend, my friend told him “Senga e khan g” (How are you G) which we normally call “Sanga e” the difference between those words is only (Senga and accent spoken at Charsadda valley and Sanga which is used in Afghan dialectic is E and A) but the policeman stopped further investigation and let us go. I asked my friend why did you use instead “Sang” word “Senga” he replied the policeman wanted to know whether we are from Peshawar or refugees. The sense of understanding of refugees-self and others and as well as the policeman who also realized that

¹² Hegel’s dialectic of Self and Other identification and distantiation

¹³ Frantz Fanon Black Skin, White Masks

they are from us not others. The most important point here is the use of language as knowing “us” and “them” for both the state and refugees.

AR-M-020 Narrated:

زاځل وکامپته مړي ته روان وم او مه اجر کار د رن کور کې پېښې و وپه لار کې پلېس و فاحش ککچ و درې لویو ماته ول کار د ښار، ما ورته وول کور رن پېښې دی چې، ولې نکهوم خایې ما ورته ول پېښورن و ښکته هی کرم چې ور ښکته شو پ و نیتې رن ه شروع کړې، ما هم ورسره پېښوریل ه ج کاروله ع کار د نه و نوپه څکه مېری روان وو رکه وول دا څه دي ما ورته وول مېری، فکر کولو چې رکه به و و طې ه ټون دی خو ما ول پ ق ران که مې وول.

“I was traveling to the Zakhil camp for a funeral but had forgotten my Afghan citizen card at home. The police stopped the flying coach and started the investigation and checking. Asked me for showing my identity card but I told him I had forgotten it at home, he told me get out of the car and started questioning I used a Peshawari accent because I did not have the card. During the investigation, he suddenly asked, what is this? I replied, (Meegy¹⁴) an ant, he wanted to hear from me (Meegatoon) but I said swear to God in such a situation you will never hear.”

Realizing refugees through language and the use of distinguishing techniques by proofing them as others and not from us by the state. The local community also uses language for realization to the refugees as others during the interaction by using the word (Muhajir e) you are a refugee. From the state to the local community refugees are others but it is not the consequences of the language used but their policies and understanding of refugees as an enemy of the state.

6.2 Cultural Physical Appearance and Othering

The already perceived difference between the self and others is the key to understanding the role of cultural physical appearance in the process of othering. It is very easy through labeling for showing a group as others through their physical appearance and transmission of it to the local community. The refugees’ dress and makeup look like are different from the local community and most of them are targeted as others in their physical appearance. Refugees’ cultural positioning in the structure makes them other and these cultural differences make them vulnerable as others and not from them.

AR-M-009 Narrated:

¹⁴ Afghan called Ant (Meegatoon) and in Peshawar valley it called (Meegy)

care system, and other social services which is part international law convention to entertain refugees is a problem on the macro level Afghan refugees are facing developing a sense of othering among the refugees.

6.5 Repatriation and Othering of Afghan Refugees

As earlier mentioned (Kala ba Zi) when you will return is the result of the discourse of repatriation that has begun from the continuation of the projects from Afghanistan to Pakistan but has not been returned yet. Repatriation is a failed process everywhere when it comes to refugees' rights because they may not be facilitated by their country of origin but here it has thrown Afghan refugees into the othering category.

AR-M-008 Narrated:

مره ورځ داپېغورنه رګول چې پېرته لار شو، مور مټګ غوارو ښځل هوانته خو دوی دې لاس لټ کړي لاري دي ازادې کړي چې پېه لسانه هر شوکتلی رڼلی شريکه شوکتی اکتا پېشې کې او راځي نو دوی ته به دا مهله نه وي.
“Their sarcastic taunt on us that return to your country, we also want to go. On a humanitarian basis, they should open the border so that everyone can go and come easily if someone wants to stay there or want to live here would not be a problem for them.”

Repatriation is just an excuse of making and identifying refugees in the mind of people others, the political economy associated with the refugees and the sympathy gained on the world stage and international law conventions do not permit repatriation of refugees by force or any other means.

6.6 Who are You and Where are you from questions of othering

Everybody asks questions when meeting a stranger but this question from refugees is something referring to otherness. The refugees face this problem even when the person knows about them that they are refugees. Refugees' answers to such questions of identity orientation of them and they think it is asked from us intentionally.

AR-M-006 Narrated:

که داپوښتنې پلېس کړي خو د هغوی کار همدا دی خو عام خلک چې کله له ما د پوښتنې کوي نو بدله لگي ږي ځکه چې مورې لري ورته نه نیک کار ولکه اسان. *“If these questions are asked from us by police, we do not mind but when it is asked by public as a taunt so we feel bad and thinks that we are not humans”*.

Refugees do not mind such questions but they know the way people ask of them and realizing them that we are different species. The majority of refugees underestimate when they know it is a taunt because they get the pleasure of it but some refugees show resistance in response such as they are replied what do you mean by who are you and where are you from? Their clear stance and consensus on such questions to answer, I am an Afghan or Afghan refugee and I am from Afghanistan.

6.7 Refugee Camp and Othering

The refugees living in the camps are already others for the outside society because their specific place is their identity. These camps are introduced outside the camp belonging to particular ethnic, tribal, or racial groups that are from somewhere else not from us. The point here is that refugees are allowed to live outside the camp, but in-group people which consider themselves in comparison of refugees are not allowed. Their actions and words are under strict regulation and surveillance and the people of the in-group are also followed if they get entry to the camp. Their understanding world and phenomenon are fixed in a particular structure and when they explore outside world they behave the same. They see the world from a very limited and narrow point of view, in fact for refugees outside people are others because they are not from them.

AR-M-002 Narrated:

مورې چې دکی مپ نه وو خو خلکوت بدل نیک اری پرو خو دب هر خلک موریت بدل نیک اری، خو اوس دلبلون یرک مشروی دی. *“When go outside the camps we see different to people but the outside are also different for us. Now this difference is reduced in appearance but sometime when we start a discussion or interaction with them they sometime laugh”*.

Encapsulation of refugees in a particular space, where they repeatedly experience the same social domain without any change makes them others for outsiders. Inculcation of the refugees in the

same environment and ideology without any integration with the outside is a problem and it is also the refugees' concern.

6.8 Outside the Camp Refugees Othering

Refugees living outside the camp are somehow integrated with those who are considering themselves in groups of society and see refugees as others. They are mostly neither counted in the larger group of in-group nor as a refugee because when they go to the refugee camp, they see them as an outsider and on the other side the superior group does not accept them as part of their group. Those refugees living outside the camp also call themselves Afghans in the public spheres so they think this is the reason.

AROSC¹⁶-001-Narrated:

مور چيپکي مپکي اوسيدلو ديوې ليلپار هپردي وو خو اوس د نطیو مه اجرولپاره مپردي شو. لکي په چيپ مر را
“When we were living in the camp we were others just for one group, now we are also others for refugees. Outside the camp, we understood the reality that what these people think about us before we were unaware of these things”.

The tragedy for those refugees who are living outside the camp is that interact with those who consider refugees others and count them in the group of othering.

6.9 Women Refugees and Othering

As the refugees within the camp are others for the outsider, with more passion than that refugees women are others for refugees men. With their masculinity and masculin way of thinking refugee women are living under the worst form of othering, we can call it the brutal form of othering. Within their in-group women are like a security threat to men because everything related to women is in their control.

AR-F-003 Narrated:

¹⁶ Afghan Refugees outside the camp

لټه ټولې ښځې د ښځو سره یو لپاره پردی دی ټولې ملاتړیو بسی وازی د هغوی بچوسینو او کورسینو کوی نورې ښځې شخ
“Here for men all women are others, all women means all women, they only take care of their children and home. They do not have any other identity because we neither have permission to do something, nor to say something”

It is like others within others. The othering of women is an ideological product of the discourse which came out of the whole othering process because they are isolated from a large group of society and kept in a cage along with their men. Refugee men have some access outside to explore but women are strictly prohibited. Women are excluded from all forms of communication and participation but they can only be found in aid distribution lines when they reach. There is censorship on them to speak for themselves and convey their message to the people in authority. They do not have any representation in any form for get together, even if it is made for women which Collins described as being the outsider within (*Patricia-Hill-Collins-Black-Feminist-Thought.Pdf*, n.d.).

6.10 Orinary Identity and Othering

The origin of a group and othering are interlinked in this case because these two states have a very fundamental issue of geography and existence. Those who from the host country speak on the behalf of the origin of refugees speak are also others in their grand narrative of the state. The stereotyping of Afghan refugees has dehumanized them due to their origin and home country of belonging. It has been patronaged by the state from the very first day of its creation. The refugees are aware of this reality and therefore they are compromising on every stage. They state if we speak so we do not have any alternative space to move and our state is not in a condition to facilitate us there. The powerful group always tries to have a subordinate group and here the subordinate group to target is Afghan refugees.

6.11 Expectation of Loyalty From Refugees

Expecting loyalty from every group in the modern nation-state is not new. The imposed nationalism of the state also has a deep influence over society, its culture, and its way of thinking. Refugees are marginalized groups, so expecting loyalty from them is normal in such a state and it is not only expected from them but also they have to prove themselves. The response

of the refugees to such expectations is different, we follow the law, respect the law, do not involve in any illegal action against the state and society, and live here under international law, so what else more they are expecting? If it the standard for loyalty to speak and go against our homeland as previously some Jihadi leaders did, we cannot do that. It is important to remember that societal expectation of loyalty is different from the state.

6.12 Namak Haram (Traitor)

This is the word mostly used for Afghan refugees to describe them in the local community. The local community is pessimistic about them because they think that refugees should think like us at every level. Somehow they are right about this because the people who have studied Pakistani schools and lived from the beginning outside the camp or made Pakistani identity cards think like them. The local community's experiences with refugees outside the camp and, when they face refugees living in the camp are shocking for them.

PR-M-003 Narrated:

دا مه اجر مېکې نلرې نه وو خو اوس پته نه لگي ږي چې څه چلې پرې شوي دي. چې پکې کوم تالېکې وڅوري لته خو غول مېکوي. *"These refugees were not previously like this, I do not know what happened to them. They should not shit there where they eat."*

The Pashto proverb where you eat does not shit there is commonly used in the local community against refugees. The respondents themselves accept by using the words like refugees were not like this and what happened to them that there is something cooked behind such a situation.

6.13 Terrorist Refugees and Othering

The term terrorist is used in different senses but the host society is getting meaning from it to associate to the refugees. The way it is shown in the media has a direct influence on them. After the cold war finished and the war on terror started the term terrorism in Pashtoon society reached every home. The Pashtoon overall is affected by terrorism but at the same time, it has also been associated with Pashtoon on both sides of the Durand line.

AR-M-004 Narrated:

کله چې د ایپي طس نبرون خپن اور مچینه وشوه نو په سره و راغول چې تر ګر د فلفغانیتان نه را نځی وونو لټه په مه اچونو هرې مېده ورځ وه خو دانوره مېده ورځ شوه چې ددی خای نځنی نځو م مورت ګر لیلو. ستونزه دا ده چې په سره و رځی چې دتر ګر د فلفغانیتان نه را نځی دی نځک دا نځرنه ن کوی چې دتر ګر شوک ول او چا راستل.

“When the tragedy of APS¹⁷ in media it is shown that these terrorists fled from Afghanistan, the refugees already had bad days but it was getting worst when the local community started looking us from that perspective. The problem is media show such news but people do not investigate that who they are and who brought them here.”

According to refugees, we are not generalizing this on host society overall, there is the majority of good people but there are some speculators who spread hate among us and divide us. There is consensus among refugees on this point but the people who spread such stereotyping are more powerful than those marginalized in both refugees and the host society.

6.14 Dissident Voices for Refugees and their Othering

Those who are rising voices for refugees’ are also considered others in the host society by telling them go to Afghanistan if you are a sympathizer of them. In host society dissident voices for refugees at the beginning were sidelined by Jihadi leaders and refugees were also opposed them. Now these voices are also targeted in the host country even they are part of the larger group but not accepted in this issue of refugees.

6.15 Segregation Between the Host and Refugees

The segregation that already existed in society in the social system facilitates one and neglects the other. No doubt there is inequality in the system and refugees are sidelined in the process of the social system but they are complaining about social discrimination and othering on both the state and social levels. This segregation is the result of the state policies that had made the host and refugees in conflict. The results of the conflicts on the ground can be seen very clearly and this conflict is not for the sake of any material or other interests, it is only for the satisfaction of themselves and making another group other.

¹⁷ Army Public School attack on 16, December, 2014

The host and refugees both are agreed on this point that internal conflicts are the results of the state policies which have created division among us. They agreed on the point of calling themselves us and we instead of us and them but when the situation gets worst between the states then these pronouns changed.

6.15.1 Power and Othering

There is no doubt that power influences identity and wants to form an individual or group identity according to their choice. Foucault called it, the Subject he says (the person, the self, and one's identity) is the product of both history and power.¹⁸ He furthermore elaborates and argues that the individual and population is regulated through administrate through biopower and you can find it everywhere. The same has occurred with the refugees and the hosts, both identities are regulated and administrated through a structural power. The host and refugees both consciously and unconsciously accept or act according to what has been told to them by these powers.

AR-M-001 Narrated:

We cannot say anything to the host state and society because they have the power and we are opporeesed and marginalized” موږ خو حکومت او دې حکومت ته څه ولټون نه شو ځکه له دوی قوت دی او موږ د حکومت اوبی چاره نه کویو.

The refugees want to say something in reaction but due to power that regulates and controls them through different means are silent. The host society is also regulated through the same means but differently because for them everything is normalized through their educational social system.

6.15.2 Social Categories and Othering by the State

Through achieved biopower, the state develops social categories that conform to norms introduced by them and secure its vital population (Roach, 2009). The state tries to make categories within its population and according to that categorization, people make each other put in the othering categories. The same has occurred in this process of othering to divide the host society and refugees. Before there was the direct intervention of the state in the whole process but now the host society and refugees are confronting each other. The subjects that are following the designed and defined norms by powers either native citizens or refugees are normal for the

¹⁸ Michel Foucault: The Birth of Biopolitics (1978-1979)

state but those who are going against are fall in the categories of others. This categorization has created distances between the host society and refugees but the state is getting benefits from it.

Conclusion

Like most human beings Afghan refugees are also facing the problem of otherness and othering as their space changes. The main difference we can identify is the state and specific groups of people from the host society are involve in this process collectively. The other point has to understand the ideology behind this migration from both those who migrated and those who welcomed them with an open heart. The first-generation refugees and the third-generation refugees' understanding of self and others is also the main factor because this new generation does not easily accept those designed norms and values imposed on them which were accepted by their elders without any resistance. The first generation considered this migration as the will of the Almighty Allah and it is the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) but the new generation also adds that this migration was not for the sake of Allah but to serve the interest of powers.

The host state and society have different understandings of the refugees as their subordinates in the structure and follow their designed norms. This relationship between the state, host society, and refugees is influenced by power and the people in the power domain changes it according to their need. In the process of othering it is very important to understand that neither the host society nor the refugees has any particular role but the states policies are the main factors.

7. Refugees see themselves in the process of Identity Formation

Everyone defines refugees according to their perspective, ideology, interests, and orientation toward them. The United Nation and its collaborative organizations have their understanding, the host countries see them from the state perspective, and the local native community assigns them different identities and associate different meanings with them. Refugees are people who have

fled war, violence, conflict, or persecution and have crossed an international border to find safety in another country¹⁹. The refugee agency is not kept in mind when defining refugees and how they see themselves in the whole process and whether happy or not to be called refugees or not. The identification of refugees from the outsider's perspective is different from what refugees think and imagine about themselves when someone calls them a refugee.

Refugees expect to return to their homeland, have their national and ethnic identity, and be called by the identity they belong to. The same they expect in the host countries where they migrate but the internationally established label of a refugee does not allow them to be reciprocated. There are many negative meanings attached to this term itself and refugees do recognize them from people's interactions, behavior, and attitude. One day I was traveling from Islamabad to Peshawar when crossed the Peshawar toll plaza the driver asked a person to careful with the gate, in reply the person only said "Sa Muhajir kho na yam," I am not a refugee. He said in a very light mood, the refugees including myself sitting in the car understood what he is associating with refugees and what he was expecting in such a situation from a refugee.

Although refugee also uses victimization cards everywhere for their interests, when it comes to their self-determination and identification they stand with their roots. "The term refugee became like an abuse for me when someone calls me refugee but before it was the term of honor²⁰." The main point here is subjectivity and intersubjectivity, what we perceive about others, and how they see themselves. Here I elaborated on the understanding of Afghan refugees about themselves. The camps for Afghan refugees have been established based on ethnicity, linguistics, and tribes keeping in mind their political, social, and ideological affiliation. Those refugee camps were not named by their ethnic, linguistic, and tribal belonging but they were known by the names of Jihadi leaders such as Hikmatayar (Hizb) camp, Siyaf camp, and Khursan camp. The point is how the identity of refugees is socially constructed and how these refugees have passed through these processes of social construction from other's perspectives and how they see themselves in the whole process and forming their identity.

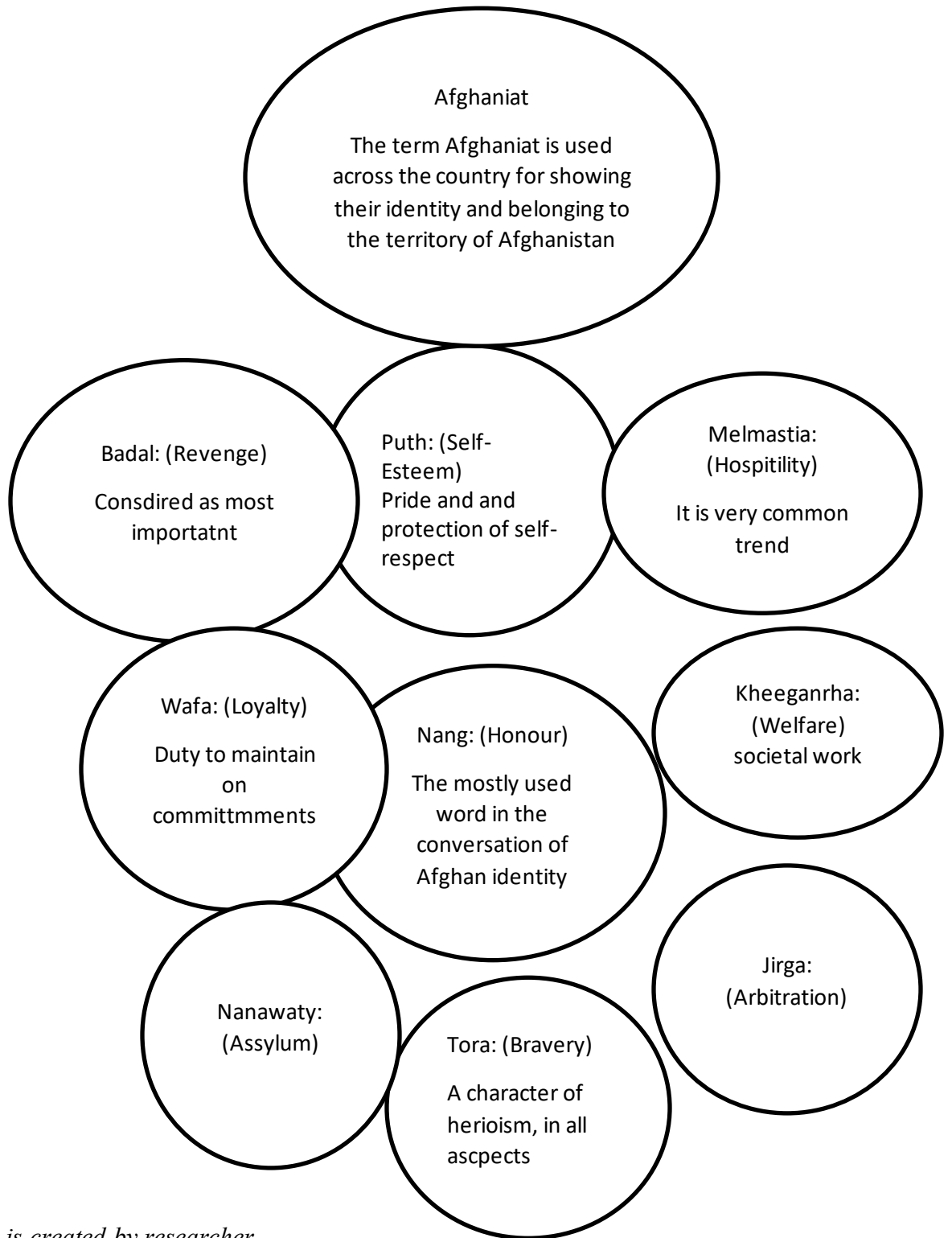
¹⁹ Refugees, U. N. H. C. for. (n.d.). *What is a refugee?* UNHCR. Retrieved January 27, 2023, from <https://www.unhcr.org/what-is-a-refugee.html>

²⁰ An Afghan refugee told in informal discussion and was referring honor to Madina

7.1 Afghan and their characteristics in the Afghan Refugees' perspective

The question of who is an Afghan and their characteristics have not been changed for refugees. As it was traditionally constructed through orientalist's construction, the Afghans' self-imagination about themselves is not changed, and neither any reforms can be seen in it as a refugee living here almost for four decades. They being refugees see themselves in the context of Afghan when someone asks them such questions as who is an Afghan. There are some specific and occupied terminologies and characteristics associated with Afghans by Pashtuns. Which is elaborated on the below table.

Table 2



Note: Table is created by researcher

As the term used in most Pashtoon areas Pukhtunwali which is considered law for themselves, the people in Afghanistan use Afghaniyat when it comes to the context of Afghanistan. The Afghans who have these characteristics are completely Afghan. The refugees' understanding is the same because these refugees are also inspired by their ancestors.

AR-M-009 Narrated:

پخوا دفلغلخت مچي ارونه دا و او نكوب هپدي تكي كوله خو ز مور لپاره اوس فلغان بخت، خلك غلي متش ددي م ليكته، بي لته، اوبې سرن وښت هپه چا دى عكه دلتول مورپه مه اجرتكي ليدل اوت چپه موكلړل. ز مور لځك هريپه اوږده. *“The standard for being an Afghan was different before but it has been changed to an unlucky, war-torn, violent, and unknown future because we have seen and experienced all these things during the migration and as a refugee. People have slept a long sleep and they neither know about themselves, their identity that who they were, and what they became nor do they know about the world.”*

The identity which has been introduced to and was familiar with as an Afghan being refugee has deconstructed from going through the processes of refugeehood. They think these meanings are associated with us but we do not remain the same as Afghans, their all values are destructed due to the war and becoming refugees but still, we cannot neglect the identity of Afghan and we are so proud of it. Associating identity with the territory is another factor they called themselves Afghans because as earlier mentioned they as Afghan in another form of disrespect, dishonor, and victims in the context of refugee that is against all those values which have mentioned in the table above. The same logic, if applied to other ethnic groups in Afghanistan they are seeing phenomena in different ways.

AR-HM²¹-014 Narrated:

Ma Afghanistani astem, Afghan nestam Afghan Pashtoon ast wa Pashtoon Afghan ast.

Mai Afghanistani ho, Afghan nahi ho kio Afghan Pashtoon hai aur Pashtoon Afghan. “I am Afghanistani, not an Afghan because Afghan means Pashtoon and Pahstoon mean Afghan.”

²¹ Afghan refugee from Hazara ethnicity

The logic behind this argument the Afghans are Pashtoons and Pashtoons are Afghans was the slogan of “Lara o bar yeo Afghan”²² which means on both sides of the Durand line Afghans are one. These conflicts exist and have roots in Afghanistan because for them it is racial or ethnic terminology used for Pashtoons. Refugees from different ethnic groups are known as Afghan refugees but their understanding of Afghan is different in different ethnic groups. Some you will see will explain Afghan in terms of values and some to territory but the fact of the matter is again that historically those who are living in this particular geography are called Afghans.

7.2 Good and Bad Afghans among Refugees

Due to security reasons and the labeling of Afghan refugees, there is a serious concern among the refugees because from specific events they have been targeted. An individual’s act has caused this and has generalized overall but they have developed their parameters to understand their personality benchmarks and standards for good and bad Afghans. Refugees are affected because of such incidents in history and happening right now but they are not silent about these incidents and events that are a threat to their image as refugees. Good Afghans are those who take care of their social, cultural, religious, ethnic, and moral values according to their roots which is Afghanistan and make themselves responsible and accountable to the law of the host country.

AR-M-009 Narrated:

مور لفته دیوہ یو ادا نطن گیکو وکھ چھری مور کومن اورہ عمل کوونو د یو ادا بن امی سبب موگرچی او دنورو نکو
د خدای پرو. *“We are representing a country here when we do any violation it ill-famed our country and laugh at us. Those who do bad acts or violation against our values, they are not bad but the worst for us.”*

The structures of the camp are very strict and rigid particularly when it comes to against their values. Representing themselves as envoy but at the same time, some people are doing all those bad outside their existing designed structures in the camp that caused them to represent their wrong image in society and a large portion of refugees face the consequences of them. Meanwhile, these refugees are also saying, good and bad are those benchmarks which cannot be

²² The slogan is used by Pashtoon Nationalist Parties ANP and PKMAP and it is also part of their manifesto

associated with any group or their particular identity but with us, these bad images are intentionally associated, even when the name of Muhajir (Refugee) people think we did it. Refugees are seeing good and bad both in their moral values and in the moral and legal values of the host country.

7.3 Cultural-Ethnic Integration Among Refugees

Cultural and ethnic integration is possible when the policies are cohesive either for citizens or outsiders. In the case of Afghan refugees, there are no such policies to integrate them but intentionally kept separated from each other, and neither they intended to live together because they migrated from a place where war was religious and then became ethnic conflicts. Every group was trying to find a comfort zone and live with people from their ethnicities which has kept them disintegrated.

AR-M-008 Narrated:

مور چي لت پکستان ته رانجونو زه يي وک مپت ه بولم لته کلتريت هزارگان ول، دوه دري شپهي هي چي کري نو د معوي دود ستور، کلتور، او ضايق هي م دشي عکلو وه او د مزاری لکري ونو طيبته هيپ ونسودو او دیک مپته رانجم. *“When I first came here I went to a refugee camp where the majority of refugees were Hazara their culture, and their way of living was different from us and most importantly their sect was Shia and followers of Mazari²³, therefore I left that camp and came here.”*

There were social and political factors behind the disintegration that separated ethnic groups from each other in the name of ethnicity and ideology. There is some evidence those refugees who are living with other ethnic groups are socially and culturally more integrated than those who are living with the same ethnic group. There are cases of cross-marriages despite ethnic and sectarian differences has occurred between them and now there is no such limitation between them. For first-generation refugees, it was very difficult for them to accept and they considered it against their sectarian and ethnic values but new -generation refugees have broken those taboos which were set by the previous generation.

²³ A Hazara Jihadi leader Abdul Ali Mazari

7.3.1 Intermarriage among Refugees

When it comes to the ethnic problem, it has been historically somehow resolved but when it comes to the sectarian problem it is problematic for both groups. In very rare cases ethnicity prohibits intermarriage because people are adjusting it through their share territory but even if there is the sectarian difference they do not accept and do not see it in the context of the shared identity of Afghan. Those refugees who are living together are somehow accepting it but overall.

7.3.2.1 *Accepting Change as a Refugee*

Refugees from Pashtoon ethnic groups are not accepting changes in most of the spheres but refugees from other ethnic groups such as Hazara and Uzbek accept change. Meanwhile, among these ethnic groups, a conflict also exists on accepting the change that much easy. This conflict is not on what is good and what is bad but on the values which they set for themselves and a change but one group is willing to accept change while the other group wants it the same as it was.

7.4 Women Refugees and Identity

Women are historically the most vulnerable and marginalized group in Afghan society. They have been forced to accept what the men say or they are compelled to accept it. Men considered women as their property and they have the right to decide for them. They were not involved in the whole process of migration neither they were asked in this whole process till now. Consistently women are kept away from social and cultural spheres away and are not allowed to participate in it in the camp. Still, there is no hope for them as refugee women that circumstances for them would be changed because women are only limited to the NGOs type of work.

AR-F-016 Narrated:

له ما چا هېږونتنه نه دكړي چې چېرته شو او لې شو خو سر دې هېره ل كوره وټو او غرمه رانجو ولوي حالات
خراب دي له طالبان و سررگوزاره نكي پري پكست ان ته به مه اجر شو. "I have not asked where to go, in the

morning my husband went outside the home and came back in the afternoon and said, it is difficult to live with the Taliban anymore. We must migrate to Pakistan.”

Women and children faced more problems being a refugee but kept them aside in Afghan refugees' history. The power of their lives is with the men and they are representing them at every stage of refugees. Neither as women nor as an Afghan their identity is formed or they are considered in social and cultural structures as human. The problem is not only finishing here but the international organizations²⁴ are also dehumanizing them in their project-based approach toward women. When they need them for the project they give them hope of a bright future but when the project ends their hopes are melted. Gender-based violence, harassment, and discrimination are common in refugees camp but are not reported.

AR-F-018 Narrated:

دورته هی وازی مه اجری نیس چی ولای شری، نور ز مور شی دهت نشته اون هی شوک خبی لته، نه ز مور لپاره شی نلری
س هلته نشته چی مور پری وهار. *“We are only called Refugee women, there is no other identity of us and neither people accept it. We do not have such special facilities that we can be proud of it.”*

7.4.1 Refugee Women's formation of identity through folklore

Despite all these problems women are facing they still identify themselves as a hero or victim in the patriarchal society and men lead refugee status through folklore during marriages or any event of happiness. Women's voices are very rare or even not available during the whole process but one cannot eliminate their voices from the rich folklore.

هېښتن و لمر ل وپته

Oh the self-esteem of Pashtoon

ز م لپه خوله دی لاس ل و گونگه دی کرم

You put your hands on my mouth to become dumb

According to a report this Pashto Tappa has more than two hundred and fifty years old which means for a dignified life to live in social acceptance, they are silent and cannot rise their voices for their identity and rights historically. After the Islamization project of refugees, women's

²⁴ Many organizations are working with them for women empowerment but no one has helped them which is required neither it is their serious concern

picture is more associated with and presented to be as pitiful, silent, modest, curtain, saints and either of home or graveyard. The recovery program for women's emancipation by social and cultural structures, the state, and the international community are the same to give them the same response as they are giving to the women.

7.5 Refugees' Relationship with their Country of Origin in the Formation of Identity

No Refugees want to live here in isolation from the state they belong to but it depends on the host country's policies and integrational policies. The Afghan refugees' access to their country of origin is not only based on their businesses and lands there but also based on the social cohesive structures of the relationship with families and tribes. They come here and refugees go there on different events that itself is a reciprocity process and policy. Whether they participate or not in the refugees' happiness or sorrow but the refugees try to participate because, at the end of the day, their funerals will be held there.

This is now tough for them due to the border management policies and visa restrictions. Anyhow, they find one or another way to reach there for events, particularly sorrow such death of an elder, and in happiness, they do compromise with each other. It is helping them to maintain their cultural and social values alive and make refugees' identities in different ways.

AR-M-009 Narrated:

دا اوږدې مهلت چې ژوندی دی دابه نه وپیلې که چېرې دا لارې پخوا هم دغږوېدنې وې او مورته دتگ او رتگ اجازت نه وو. *"The identity which we have today and practice would not be like this if the border were closed like this during and after we migrated here and if we were not allowed to go there."*

The refugees are aware of the importance of going to their country of origin because they think without having a relationship with our people we cannot survive here alone. The issue of survival and relationship in the transnational era of mobility is of course an issue of concern in the twenty-first century for Afghan refugees.

different nights different relatives and friends come like this to celebrate the events. The people see it as an influence of the outside cultures.

AR-M-006 Narrated:

نور خو لاڅکوي وطي دا درکيزو شپه ده، دا خو ډول و رواج دی او زموږ پاتلن کسوي رڼکي ډي په هر وخت کې دوی په فتنو فتنو ډکار روان وي. *“Leave everything, in every wedding, every night people say it is henna night which is Hindu culture not ours but these people made it commons here and it is going on for weeks in weddings.”*

These concepts of labeling ours and theirs also exist among refugees. They think everything from the outside is a conspiracy against them. The youth see these kind from their lenses as entertainment and celebration of happiness. The generational gap is also a kind of problem between them.

7.8 Fasting, Eid, and Its Celebration as Refugees

When it comes to events like fasting, Eid-UI-Fitr, and Eidul-UI-Adha they mostly neither see to Pakistan nor Afghanistan but they depend on the decision of Saudi Arabia and name them that we are doing it with Afghanistan because Afghanistan is also dependent on the decision of Saudi Arabia. Their priority in Eids is to visit elders in the camp, particularly relative elders, then they have their group members who collectively visit every home they are familiar with as it practice in Afghanistan. Mostly dry fruits are available at every home during these events for the celebration.

AR-M-007 Narrated:

مخني اضرونه چې مور د فلع غاښت ان سره له دې چې موږ پکې راجي او موريتنگوي چې خدا د مخيل دې لږوته مون پکې ږدي *“Sometimes in Eid Police come here when we celebrate Eids with Afghanistan but Pakistan does not celebrate Eid, they do not let us to celebrate Eid and argued that there is no Eid in Pakistan today but they do not ask this question when it is fasting.”*

Religious practices are also politicized like their identity because the state is considering it as revolt or resistance against them. When there is Eid is the camp, people mostly say “Da Muhajiro Akhtar” which means refugees Eid. The people in the surroundings affiliate the refugees with Afghanistan. The scenario in Eid-Ul-Adha is not different from Eid-Ul-Fitr but there are many interesting stories. The same person told me the camp is mostly full of those refugees living outside the camp and some Pakistani friends as well in Eid-Ul-Adha we do sacrifices one day before they celebrate, so we laugh at them that when it comes to eating meat you people even do not speak.

7.9 Tlal-Rathlal (Coming and Going) to each other Houses

Coming and going to each other houses are considered a kind of respect for each other and ownership of the relationship that has remained from their ancestors to them. Within the camp, people are going and coming to each other houses just like their own houses, it becomes complicated when a refugee is living outside the camp. If he visits them, they will visit them too. Hospitality is not that much expensive in daily going and coming, it is very simple among them but coming and going to each other houses rare are expensive for them economically.

Reciprocity among them is very much noticed because they think we are not less than them, if others shows respect toward us we will also do. The class, social, and political status among them do matter because people face many personal, social, and economic problems those refugees with high status can help them.

7.10 Nation and National Unity among Refugees

Refugees' definition of a nation is distinctly separate because their experiences are with their state and people. Wherever they live, they are Afghans and as nation living here stateless have not gotten their attention from their state either it is good or bad. Even the people in their country do not accept them and call them changed Afghans but they hope to get united with them. Always looking for alternative is a question with them, where to go if we leave this place? In

self-orientation, they represent they says we represent a nation here, and we are more than three million so we are a nation here, even if we do not have the state.

There is national unity among refugees but they are not allowed to show it publically and speak for their rights. They are neither integrated nor assimilated but living in a status, called people of nowhere. The national unity for them is as refugees to be in touch with people from them both here and there in Afghanistan.

AR-M-003 Narrated:

لېت خوبه نظام لېت وی چې نظام نه وینو لېت یخ دې ان لری او پفلغ لیت ان کسی چې د هر چا حکومت وی دغه مور.
نجل نظام گونو. *“A nation is known by their state, without the state nation do not have any meaning and in Afghanistan every state is our stae either they are Taliban or someone els.”*

The state collapse but the nation survives in case of refugees do not have any alternative to identify themselves. Refugees' claim of a nation is very subjective because they say our children are aware of their identity and it gives us the hope of a nation here that we are not assimilated here on both individual and social levels and we are living with our own identity.

7.11 Positive and Negative Impact of Migration on Refugees' lives

Refugees in the camp, the majority of the refugees consider this migration as the worst decision of their lives that put them in hell from heaven. Meanwhile, there was the opportunity for some of them to get advantages of it. The refugee youth are not as mobilized as expected in decades for them through education and other sources of knowledge.

AR-M-001 Narrated:

هر وخت احساس نکیمری کوو، په جرات سره نجله نجره پ هیو خای کسی ن شوکولای، د نجل وطن نه فاعن شوکولای،
د هیواد لېتې هر لیس په ازادی سره نه شول د ل خجی نو نکمو نېتکونک ورسره هی ز مور په هیت فیهی نرات نرات دی.
“We always feel inferior, cannot express something with confidence, cannot defend our country, and cannot celebrate our national ceremonies with freedom, so with less positive impact there more negative impact on our identity.”

This person has come out from the camp around twenty years ago and was well educated and mentioned that we became aware of modernity in the new world but those who are in the camp

are thinking distinct from those who are living in the camp. Afghan refugees are not living as transnational from the very beginning.

7.12 Memories, Stories, and Social Formation of Identity

Memories and stories of refugee are forming and shaping the social identity of the Afghan refugees. Inter-generational memories are helping the refugees to know about their tough times and the way they succeeded to maintain and form their identity. Memories and narratives are mostly developed and build by political leaders in a conflict situation to remind people about themselves but here it is formed in the street discussion. On the one side, their identity was exchanged with an identity of othered but on the side these local stories and memories associated with the country of origin in an informal discussion with the locals.

Memories and stories strengthen the refugees' sense of belonging to their country and culture. These stories and memories of that time are not placed in books or magazines, and are not visualized but still have importance in society only those memories and stories recorded promote violence, extremism, and help in the war. The cultural and social identity of a large portion of people is replaced by ideological identity.

AR-M-011 Narrated:

مورثت هتول عمر د چگون وفت سحر، او جه ادین وکسیرې شوی دی د وطن دلد ادی کسیرې مو او ای ابلتونه هرکم وو خو خون دور ول. *“We have heard and our memories are full of stories of wars, victories in war, and Jihads (Holy Wars), we heard very rare stories of developments.”*

Refugees are systematically kept away from such stories, people are most likely to hear success stories but the stories of defeat are not accepted. The refugees need to know stories of mistakes in the past and defeats by their leaders which have been represented as a victory to them.

7.13 Poetry and Formation of Refugees Identity

Poets played and are playing a very important role in the formation of collective social identity formation in the last four decades the refugee country was burning. Afghan Adabi Bheer²⁵

²⁵ It was found by well known poet Ustad Sediq Pasarly in 1993 in Peshawar Sadar

(Afghan Literary Process) has trained many well-known poets from both Afghanistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for promoting peace, and stability in the country and guided them with nationalists ideology.

هر څه مکه دی مورته وطن بڼکلی دی
کښته وي خوري دس مژدر اویه
صه قیسرلی

“Whatever it is, our homeland is beautiful for us

For fish the water of the ocean is sweet”

Sediq Pasarly

There are many more poets and their poetry that has promoted the sense of belonging to the youth as refugees in the host country but these kinds of activities are not supported and tolerated. They are still doing this job voluntarily for the sake of their people. On the other hand, extremists and violent literary organizations have full access to refugees camp.

7.14 Refugees Defining and See themselves

Defining oneself living outside of the country for decades is the most difficult task, particularly, for those born and rise in other countries. The new generation of refugees does not hesitate to define themselves in the frame of their origin. I was visiting a respondent outside the camp, and a student of the college sit next to me in the taxi wearing a mask designed with the flag of Afghanistan. I asked, are you an Afghan refugee? He replied, no I am not, again I asked why do you wear this mask made of Afghanistan’s flag? He said I am from Afghanistan but we have Pakistani identity cards, I am wearing this because I belong to Afghanistan and my father decided to go for this Pakistani card, it was not my decision neither he asked me.

Sometimes refugees hide their identity due to their relationships with other than refugees or have business with people from other communities. The refugees’ status is a shame for some and some are proud of it. I will give examples of two refugees who were my respondent from two different generations, the first is the the first generation refugee and the second is the third generation refugee. When did I ask the first-generation refugee the question, what you like to be prefer a refugee or an Afghan? His answer was Afghan is my identity no doubt but I love to be called a refugee because our Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) had this title and I am proud as a

refugee. The answer from more refugees of second and third generations was not the same as this, they prefer to be called Afghans, not a refugee, and even one told me I hate the word refugee.

The social construction of refugees' identity is mostly is through media either from the hate in media or the situation in their country. There is no such institution or organization which has boosted their sense of belonging to their country and their nation. It also depends on who is governing Afghanistan, the political culture there, and their policies for refugees living in other countries.

Conclusion

The refugees see themselves as the victim of not only war but also the host state and society in the current arena. At the same time, Afghan refugees have not forgotten their social, political, and cultural roots in their country of origin. It does not matter to them, where they live but it does matter to them who they are and where they belong to. It shows their cultural richness and that they have not forgotten their cultural values and identity after living here for decades. The refugees are finding themselves nowhere else but in their country of origin. It also reflects other aspects of the matter, the state's neglect and its non-association with the Afghan refugees in the social context.

The refugees' formation of identity is on factor but on the other hand, they are also adopting certain cultural aspects from the host society. The language that is spoken in different dialectics by the host society is adopted and also influenced the refugees. The refugees realized today or tomorrow they will return to their country of origin.

8. Summary and Conclusion

On one side the world is moving toward globalization and migrants and refugees evolving through the process of transnationalism but on the other side, the refugees are still under state oppression. The issue of Afghan refugees in Pakistan is not new but has historical roots and these historical roots from time to time have pushed the refugees to a new side of history. The replacement of refugees' identities with a new identity is not a new phenomenon but here the case is very different. Here, both sides are trying to be in conflict with each other instead of integration, oneness, and freedom. Marginalization of refugees and giving them a sense of otherness and othering is a daily routine.

The state institutions are labeling them at every stage, every document, and every project related to the refugees. The state and refugees are on two sides of the bridge and looking at other, neither state want to help them and label them in the category of others and refugees think it is not ours. The state labeling of refugees is much stronger because they have a machine of propaganda against them. The alienation of Afghan refugees from their nation and people shows that the state is not serious about them and wants them to be neither from here nor there. Culture and countries are different but the way they were invited as brothers are giving the refugees a sense of otherness.

The exclusionary policies toward refugees have made them inclusive to their state, even though that cannot publically express it due to oppressive policies but they feel about it. Most scholars are also blaming refugees in their academic writing but the lack of attention toward them and their neglectful experiences has created a new self of refugees. The individual case may be understood but refugees are looking at it as a structural injustice toward them.

There is a list of the problems which include sometimes the inclusion of refugees and then exclusion. Then again it begins with dignity and respect and ends with humiliation, the process of this repudiation of refugees reaches till today. The refugees are still in a state of fear, you cannot find hope in them for the future. The question of belonging and the question of identity is in their mind, they ask themselves and people ask the same question too. They have fled from their places but they are still serving their homes and it is what the state is afraid of.

The education system has not changed refugees' identity, but how could the state change it by force? The answer is very simple, due to their policies of neglect and exclusion. This othering of refugees has influenced the behavior of refugees and they have found a very strong self within themselves, we can also a broken repair self. There was a dualism in the refugee identity before but now it is one-sided, due to the larceny approach of taking their identity from the refugee unlawfully.

In the transnational era of migration, refugees are stuck here as in prison with only Afghan citizen cards, which is also not acceptable not other than but in the state institution in the host country. it is just their identity to minimize the state threat and keep them under surveillance. A given identity to the oppressed is not a favor to them, but it is an identity for any time of the investigation. Refugees are considering themselves strangers in society once they owned it.

The refugees' problems are not only homelessness or statelessness but they are under a political game of the imperial powers. The names and label associated with them have taken their sense of belonging. Some INGOs are providing relief, and aid, and facilitate them in different aspects but they do not have economic facilitation as they are refugees. The refugees are still looking for a new hope of belonging to stay here as they are and go forward for a good life but who will assure this life for them is a question for them. Stories I heard in the camp and outside the camp are a kind of horror and fear and if it continues like this the situation will go more toward otherness.

The bureaucracy uses the Afghan refugees for their political concerns and compelled them to participate in their processions and demonstrations. These refugees are organized through Maliks and used to show their strength but they are not allowed to actively participate in their rights. Special protocols are given to some refugees in this whole process or some promises are made to them. Those who are leading refugees camp are getting personal interest in the name of refugees.

The socio-cultural integration of refugees with the host society is not that much bad as it is with the state. The host society and refugees are accepting each other somehow in the sense of Muslim brotherhood and the commonality they share. The state intervention in these relationships has made their integration more complicated and madethem separate from each other.

8.1 Conclusion

The three chapters examined different aspects were part of it. Refugees themselves, the state, and the host society but my focus was only that how refugees experience all these actors. The policy of inclusivity and integration is missing in the whole process of refugees' identity formation. The policy of assimilation has not worked till now because it included the slave-master intentions. The state and the host are both thinking about refugees as others. the refugees are also considering themselves excluded from the system. In the political economy of the refugees, the state is only getting benefits from it, and refugees are deprived of their essential rights and these rights should be given to them for their integration.

The host state and society are also in conflict because the state not only considers refugees but a large portion of natives are also counted as others by the state. The international community can mediate between the host society and Afghan refugees. The refugees' identity is a critical question for both the host state and society because they both think giving them their national identity is also a threat to state-imposed nationalism. Therefore, they labeled them with different names and put them in the othering categories. The problem of the security state is to consider everything which is not as they are as a national security threat, in that security threat one is Afghan refugees.

The state, international community, and the host society call them refugees or by other names but they are calling themselves Afghans. The difference is very clear, it cannot be enforced and enforcement can alienate them from the structure. The strategy of changing the identity of others from their origins but in return not giving them ownership is also a question mark. The diversity and heterogeneity in society are also under attack due to the othering of refugees if not possible then as Giorgio Agamben²⁶ said, it is a state of exception.

All the stakeholders including the state, INGOs, and the Afghan state should come together to depoliticize the refugees' identity and go forward with their own identity. Including of refugees in all decision-making whether it is about infrastructural development or social and political development. For the integration of refugees and the host society, there should be a get-together cultural and social event that are inclusive and productive, such as Nawrooz day on large scale.

²⁶ Agamben is a Italian philosopher and he is written this book "State of Exception"

Opening the borders for Afghan refugees on their PoR cards is the basic necessity to overcome the otherness.

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Glossary

List of Abbreviations:

ARC:	Afghan Refugees Commissionerate
CCAR:	Chief Commissioner for Afghan Refugees
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
ISI:	Inter-Services Intelligence
INGO:	International Non-Governmental Organizations
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organizations

SAFRON:	State and Frontier Regions
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

List of Non-English Terms and Terminologies:

Amir-ul-Mumineen: This title is used for the commander and chief of the believers and faithful, it is used in political terms for the Jihadi top leader.

Deeni: Everything related to religion whether it is education or social and cultural values.

Ghazi: Those who are engaged in war and are alive.

Hanafi: The followers of Imam Abu Hanifa school thought which is predominant in Afghanistan

Inqilab: A revoltion: An upheaval of people restructuring the system but here only war is considered as Inqilab

Jihad: Holy war, every war in this context against invasion of others either it is physical or moral

Khalqi: Those who are belonging to the Kahlq a faction of People Democratic of Afghanistan but the term is used in general for people with dissident mind

Malik: A tribal leader or elder to lead the people or engaged among them in the different issues that have given the authority

Muhajir: Those who are engaged in Jihad practically

Mullah: A religious person with rudimentary education and traditionally perform the religious performance such as funeral, Nikkah, and other religious acivities.

Shia: Those who follow imam Jaffar and it is also called fiqah-Jaffaria and mostly influenced by the Iran.

:امربال معروف: The group of people for inviting people for virtue

Appendixes

Interviews Questions

The politics of Refugee Identity: The Formation and labeling of identity by the state among the Afghan Refugees

Afghan Refugees

1. Who is Afghan?
2. ستلر وپه نظر کي افغان څوک دی؟
3. What are the characteristic that make you good or bad Afghan?
4. افغان څرنگه پي او پي ا و صر ا ت څه دي کوم چي و پنه او ب د افغان در پي ژني؟
5. Who is a good Afghan/ bad Afghan?

6. بد او بن هلغان څوک دی؟
7. What are the personality standard/benchmark of an Afghan?
8. دش خصلت مځاری څه دی؟
9. How do you identify yourself
10. ته څان څنگه معنوي کوي؟
11. What kind of space do you require in public and private sphere?
12. څه ډول ماحولت لروپه مشخري او اجتماعي ژونکي غواري؟
13. How you exercise your agency and choices when you deal with people from another identity?
14. ضلعه خوښه او غوښتنې څکوت کوم ډول ورپېژنیکله چې دنوروتلونو د وگروسره ضري نډري کوي؟
15. How multiple identities are compounded and negotiated?
16. څنگه ضل مضاف ډوله هويت جوړوي او مالم کوي؟
17. What was the purpose of your migration, and how do you see it now?
18. ستلرو د هجرت کولو هدف څه او اوس ورته څنگه گوري؟
19. Do you try to assimilate yourself within Pakistani culture or take their identity card if available?
20. کله مو هڅه کړې ده چې ددي ځای لکلته ورسره ځلون هضم کړي او ادي ځایکارت واخلي؟
21. What are your memories attached with Afghanistan or association with Afghanistan?
22. نفلغ خصلت ان سره ستلرو کوي اذلتون ترل شوي دي؟
23. What is nation and national identity to you?
24. ستلرو لپاره لهت او لهي وحت څه دی؟
25. How this migration does affected your identity and what kind of craft it has made?
26. دي مه اجرت ستلرو په هويت څه نډرات کړي دي او څه ډول بلون ي راويستی؟
27. What kind of recognition you have as refugee (Afghan, Muslim, Mujahid....) and how was before
28. څه ډول پېژنکلی وي د مه اجرت وکلري هلغان، ملمان، مچا هد..... (او مچي څنگه و؟)

State

1. Where do you see rapture, break and disjunction when you deal with state?
2. چېرته ستلرو خوښي، هلوالی او اړون دولی ونی کله چې د حکومتی ادارتوسره مخیږی؟
3. What are the contradiction in the state rhetoric and action?
4. د حکومت پمیا زبانی او عملکي څه توپیر وونی؟
5. What kind of process you go through when dealing with state institution?
6. څه ډول پروسون مېږی کله چې د حکومتی ادارتوسره مخیږی؟
7. Is your identity constructed and maintain by state or you exercise your freedom?
8. ملی ستلرو هويت د حکومت لخوا جوړیږی کله چې ازادیت م وونی؟
9. How meanings, expectation and conflicts are associated with Afghan refugees by state?
10. څنگه ملی تمې اوشخري نفلغان مه اجرووسره د حکومت لخوا ترل شوي دي؟
11. How the state and other humanitarian organization does has dealing with you?
12. څنگه حکومت اونوري لارلي مونسری لستلرو سره مالم کوي؟
13. What are the refugee's response to institutional actions to form their identity? (.....)

14. د مهاجرونو جواب د ادارنو دې عملته څه وي چې د دوی هويت جوړوي؟
15. Who are included and who are excluded in the state policy toward Afghan refugees?
16. دفلغان مهاجرونو لپاره په حکومتی پالیسی کې څوک داخل دي او څوک خارج؟
17. How individual represent themselves using one or another elements that constitute their identity?
18. فلراد څنگه نښلې هوی لبله وسوله ملت ملوي چې د هغه هويت جوړوي؟
19. What kind of privileges are provided to elite class (Jihadist) and a common refugee by state and why?
20. د عامو فلغانو او جهادونو تر منځ څه دولت پورې تړلې دي؟
21. How the state politicized the Afghan refugees?
22. حکومت په څه ډول دفلغان مهاجرونو سټیټونز مسټرې کوي؟
23. How these labeling pattern is changing under what kind of circumstances?
24. څنگه اوپه څه ډول حالاتو کې دا د مصلحت وپیلوسې ملت تېلېري رېلېري؟
25. How these bureaucratic process transform the refugee's identity?
26. څنگه د لویو کورنیو کمپرسه دفلغانو هويت اړوي را اړوي؟

Societal

1. What kind of questions people ask from you about your identity when you confront with other community?
2. څه ډول پوښتنې لاملې شوې چې دنورو خلکو سره مخامخ کېږئ؟
3. Have you experienced anything negative from people here?
4. د خلکو څخه نکهتونه څه دي؟
5. What kind of anti-Afghan refugee rhetoric and actions you face?
6. دفلغان مهاجرونو په خلاف نکهتونه او رېلېري نښې او نښانې څه دي؟
7. What kind of participation is allowed for you?
8. د څه ډول برخې اغېزې اجازت لرو؟
9. What was your expectation of migration and how it ended up?
10. ستا لپاره د مهاجرت څه تمې څه وې او څنگه وته اوس کورنۍ؟
11. How do you express your native land and identity?
12. څنگه د نښلې خاورې او خلکو سره د نښلې اظهاريه عامو نښو وکړې؟
13. How do you see the people from different places living together side by side?
14. څنگه دنورو نښو خلکو سره چې ستا لخوا اوسېږي؟
15. What are the cultural distinct you face in the locality?
16. څه کلتوري نښې او نښانې سره مخ کېږئ؟
17. How do you see your identity now after a long period of time (Do you feel any difference)?
18. پس له دې وروسته اوس نښلې هويت پکوم نظر کورنۍ؟
19. How do they position themselves when confronted with the question about your identity?

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The Politics of Refugees Identity: State Labeling and Formation of Identity among Afghan Refugees by Mohammad Ilyas .



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