

**Identity Construction Enigma of Afghan Refugees in  
Ghous Abad Quetta, Balochistan**



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2017**

# **Identity Construction Enigma of Afghan Refugees in Ghous Abad Quetta, Balochistan**



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

**Department of Anthropology  
Quaid-i-Azam University  
Islamabad - Pakistan  
2017**

## **Formal Declaration**

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Islamabad, 14 July 2017

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Final Approval of Thesis

This is to certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Mr. Abdul Wahid. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for the award of the degree of “MSc in Anthropology”.

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## **DEDICATION**

Every challenging work needs self-effort as well as guidance of elders, especially,  
those who are very close to our heart

My humble effort is dedicated to my sweet and loving

### **FAMILY**

Whose affection love, encouragement and endless prayers enabled me to achieve this  
success and honour

Along with all the capable and respected

### **TEACHERS**

## **ABSTRACT**

This study was carried out in the main Ghous Abad locality of district Quetta. The main purpose of the present research was to analyze the identity formulation of Afghan refugees living in Quetta, Baluchistan. To achieve the objectives, the researcher used different methods of data collection to achieve the logical conclusion. A sample size of thirty-four respondents was selected by using the purposive sampling technique from the locale to conduct the study. The data collection methods included interview guide, unstructured interviews, and observation method. The qualitative technique was employed for the analysis of data. The result indicates that there was a definite difference of opinion across respondents about the construction of identities at different level. The respondents faced different types of discrimination and stigmatization from their family and friends and the local populace after their migration to Pakistan. A large number of the respondents felt that they were unfairly treated by the local district administration and agencies and faced indifference from their own people in Afghanistan too. However, majority were satisfied and positive with their living conditions and cooperation from local neighborhoods.

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## 1. Introduction

Identity means selfhood individually, personal character of self, for instance, a name, gender, status these things refer specific identity. For Rosenberg (Rosenberg, 1986, p. 107), “a personal identity is classifying a person into a category with one case. The individual is assigned a unique label, usually, a name” The overarching characteristics such as gender, race and ethnicity define the individual personality and these are reconstructed during different phases of life. Identities are the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group membership.

Identities relate to the past, what used to be true of one or to the present what is true of one now. Identity in a social and historical context is a constructed concept. We learn about our identity and the identity of others through interactions with kin, peers, institutions, organizations, the media and other connections we make in our life. “A person’s identity is established when others place him as a social object by assigning him the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself” (Greg Stone 1962, p. 93). A person’s identity is established by addressing in a certain way, one’s age, gender, occupation, social relationship or social positions. “Identities can be defined as one’s answers to the question 'Who am I?’” (Stryker, A social structural version, 1980, p. 83). Who am I? refers to knowledge of his/her self that what type of characteristics construct their identity. Identities are not static but vary in each phase of life and one phase develops with another eventually as we can say that the divorced person had a different status in the past as of now. This past status shows his past identity in contrast to present.

Here the question that arises is, if Afghan identity is a consequence of ethnic and cultural solidarity? Is the identity among Afghan immigrants more closely related to socio-economic conditions, shared values, elements of successful immigration, and community belonging? From the perspectives of qualitative research, how the participants apply meaning to identity is much more crucial than determining ranges that contrast and measure such attributes against the construct of identity.

Before proceeding, it is appropriate to pause and come to an agreement, or at least a common understanding, regarding the meaning of identity. The attribute of identity has been studied for some time. It has reached a status of self-evident notions arising from one's firsthand experience (Sfard, 2005, pp. 14-22). Kosmitzki (Kosmitzki, 1996, pp. 238-248) stated that one's subjective identity or sense of self consists of attributes that makes one unique, as well as the characteristics one may share with others. Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (Berry, 2006, pp. 53-67) stated that there was an effort to improve the body of knowledge about the ethnic components of cultural identity for Afghans within the family context. More specifically, Berry et al. (Berry, 2006, p. 59) focused on how the term identity, as used in the past, encapsulates the relationship between factors such as religion, culture, ethnicity, and national identities.

In contrast to these views, Schachter stated that identity is not a "personal task" but a co-construction of the individual and socio-cultural factors. In the current research, the participant's experiences were explored across a continuum of time, space, and events that took their form and shape prior to their immigration to the host country (Schachter, 2005, pp. 375-395).

In addition, the current research narrowed the beam and focused on identity in an effort to advance dialogue and discussions that both inform and serve social scientific research. Understanding the construct of identity among this group of underexplored Afghans helps deconstruct the relationship between religion, cultures, environment, and self-knowledge of one's authenticity, among other factors (Hoare, Psychosocial identity development and cultural others, 1991, pp. 45-53). Understanding the function and interaction of identity is essential to learning more about the multiplicity, types, complexities, and the nature of Afghan identities. Hall wrote:

Despite the different terminology, literature is replete with paradoxical notion of a self and identity: identity is understood as "oneness," "one true self," which people with a shared history and ancestry have in common, and yet, it is an entity which is continually

recreated, as people make sense of themselves and the world around them. In a way, identity is not simply what we are or the names we give to ourselves as positioned by a single set of narratives. Instead, it is a collection of these experiences along with the interactions, relationships, and boundaries engaged in and affected by others. If one were to synthesize all of these definitions, it may be that identity is a complex, multi-dimensional constructed sum of all these things: internally and externally shaped with both individual and national dimensions. This constructed self is further shaped by one's life experiences, culture, and religion among relationship interactions. Most importantly, identity as we know is not motionless and rigid, rather in flux and flexible as we experience the world around us (Hall, Cultural identity and diaspora. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), 1994, pp. 392-403).

In contrast to the much broader discussion about identity, the key question for this research was what identities are reflected in the pre-immigration and post-immigration Afghan informant experiences. Thus far, a number of defined identities, such as gender, age, and sect affiliation have emerged within Afghanistan's complex social environment. Canfield (Canfield, Ethnic, regional and sectarian alignments in rural Afghanistan, 1996, p. 97) wrote that these identities are based on loyalties, relationships, and obligations, among other considerations. In traditional Muslim lands, such as Afghanistan, identity is not a matter of choice because it is handed down from one generation to the next.

The question of identity does not come up at all in traditional Muslim societies, as it did in traditionally Christian societies. In a traditional Muslim society, an individual's identity is given by that person's parents and social environment; everything from one's tribe and kin to the local imam to the political structure of the state anchors one's identity in a particular branch of Islamic faith (Fukuyama, 2004, p. 2).

Saroglou and Galand (Saroglou, Identities, values, and religion: A study among Muslim, other immigrant, and native Belgian young adults after the 9/11 attacks, 2004, pp. 97-132) described Muslim and Afghan identity as three defined identities that factor across pre-and post-immigration experiences. These Afghan identities include an ethnic and cultural identity that corresponds to pre-immigration activities.

Ethnic identity is particularly important to Afghans. Hashem (Hashem, 1991, p. 83) wrote that ethnic identity has a time dimension and hinges on one's collective experiences and sentiments that hold both historical as well as ancestral meanings. Afghan identities have different dimensions where shared experiences bind the members of tribes and ethnic groups, which are diverse and culturally distinct from all outsiders. According to Smith (Smith A. D., 1991, p. 91), ethnicity gives minority group a sense of common history in the form of shared memories, which unite successive generations and result in accumulated experience" (p. 91). This analysis informs the current study in that within Afghanistan, ethnic and religious identities are arguably more important than other considerations. This is not intended to diminish shared histories, languages, customs, and practices that are uniquely tribal or national in Afghanistan. Rather, Afghanistan's conflict environment forces one to cling to their ethnic identities in order to strengthen individual and group survival against external threats (Smith A. D., 1991, p. 97).

The second key pre-immigration component concerns Afghan cultural identity. According to Jamal (Jamal, 2008, pp. 283-286), Afghan cultural identity binds disparate tribes, villages, and ethnicities to a sense of belonging, based on common experiences, as well as Muslim beliefs and practices (e.g., family, marriage, song, dress, dance, etc.). The effect of these practices is in the channelization of cultural identity toward a sense of connection directed at those who are closer in relation to Muslim lived experiences. This phenomenon (Magen, 1985, p. 49), informs this research in that cultural identity among Afghans imprints a sense of exclusiveness and belonging that is never fully relinquished.

Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, and Senecal (Bourhis, 1997, pp. 369-386) found that the dimensions of Afghan cultural identity (e.g., traditions, ethnicity, and religion) may develop differently and progress at varied speeds from one individual to the next. Bourhis et al. (Berry, 2006, pp. 303-332) indicated that cultural identity formation progresses through stages from a diffused notion of identity to a more concrete understanding of self. Interestingly, where ethnic identity served the survival needs of Afghan ethnic groups, cultural identity reinforces the Afghan sense of who they are, and this sense of self often intersects with other factors, such as culture, language, and history.

Identities use the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not “who we are” or “where we come from,” as much as what we might become how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves (Hall,1994,pp-1-17).

What this says about identity, in a broad sense, and Afghan identity in particular, is that identities interact and are extracted from a collection of meanings that are outcomes of social and cultural circumstance. This idea of interaction, as observed by Brah (Brah, 1996, pp. 34-35) can be translated into a cross-disciplinary approach that sees identities as relational. In other words, the idiosyncrasy of Afghan national identity acquires meaning in relation to the social and cultural context in which identities are constructed.

The third key identity and the attribute that corresponds to post-immigration Afghan experiences is the Muslim faith or religion of Islam (Saroglou, Identities, values, and religion: A study among Muslim, other immigrant, and native Belgian young adults after the 9/11 attacks , 2004, pp. 143-147). Identity becomes problematic precisely when one leaves traditional societies by, for example, immigrating to host countries. One's identity as an Afghan is no longer supported by the outside of society; indeed, there is strong pressure to conform to the west's prevailing cultural norms. The question of authenticity arises in a way that it never did in the traditional society since there is now a gap between one's inner identity as an Afghan and one's behavior vis-à-vis the surrounding society. (Fukuyama, 2004, pp. 5-20).

## **1.2. Migration to Pakistan**

### **1.2.1. Period of Migration**

During the 1980s Soviet war in Afghanistan, many Afghans left their country for a safer haven. As a result of political unrest, mass arrests, executions and other human-rights violations and civil war, about three million Afghan refugees escaped to Pakistan and about two million to Iran. The migration began in December 1979 (when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan with over 100,000 troops) and continued through the 1980s (Nisar, 2001, p. 3). In late 1988, about 3.3 million Afghan refugees were housed in 340



refugee camps along the Afghan-Pakistan border in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). It was reported by *The New York Times* in November 1988 that about 100,000 refugees lived in Peshawar and more than two million lived in KP (known as the North-West Frontier Province at the time). On the outskirts of Peshawar, the Jalozai camp was one of the largest refugee camps in the NWFP (Lorch, 1988, pp. 1-2).

After the September 11, 2001 attacks, when US-led forces began bombing al-Qaeda and Taliban targets in Afghanistan, a small number of Afghans fled into Pakistan. They included foreign militant groups (al-Qaeda), local Taliban members and Afghan civilians who feared being caught up in the bombings. By the end of 2001, there were about five million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, including those born in Pakistan during the previous 20 years. The Afghan diaspora in Pakistan was the largest group of Afghans living outside the country at the time. It was projected that the number would increase due to the US-led intervention (Nisar, 2001, p. 7).

### **1.2.2. Ethnicities**

Afghan society is usually labeled as ‘tribal’, a notion which is not the same as ‘simple’ or ‘primitive’. Afghan society is complex, the product of thousands of years of imperial policies, of conquests, of state building and political decay, of far-reaching spiritual, artistic and social achievements as well as of destruction and chaos. Studying complex societies involves identifying lines of structure and order, finding models or threads in order not to get lost in a sea of confusing phenomena and events. Not only do outsiders wanting to understand a society use simplified models; local people use mental social maps to find their way through their own society (Glatzer, 1998, pp. 167-181).

Anthropologists and demographers have tried hard to count the ethnic groups and tribes of Afghanistan, with widely differing results. The most serious attempt to list the ethnic groups in Afghanistan to my knowledge is that of Erwin Orywal and collaborators. They list 55 ethnic names in Afghanistan. Orywal also cautions that ethnic groups and identities are local categories (emic). They are relative, variable and dynamic. Orywal has listed the following ethnic groups in Afghanistan: Arab (Arabic speakers), Arab (Persian speakers), Aimaq, Baluch, Baluch (Jat-Baluch), Brahui, Eshkashimi, Farsiwan,

Firuzkuhi, Gavarbati, Ghorbat, Gujar, Hazara, Hazara-Sunni, Hindu, Jalali, Jamshidi, Jat, Jogi, Kirghiz, Kutana, Maliki, Mawri, Mishmast, Moghol, Mountain-Tajik, Munjani, Nuristani, Ormuri, Parachi, Pashai, Pushtun, Pikraj, Qarliq, Qazaq, Qipchak, Qizilbash, Rushani, Sanglichi, Shadibaz, Sheghnani, Sheikh Muhammadi, Sikh, Taheri, Tajik, Tatar, Taymani, Taymuri, Tirahi, Turkmen, Uzbek, Wakhi, Rangawala, Yahudi, and Zuri.<sup>1</sup>

As per a 2015 report enumeration of Afghans in Pakistan by the service of states and wilderness Regions (legislature of Pakistan), the ethnic breakdown of Afghan in Pakistan was as per the following: Pashtuns(81.5%), Tajiks(7.3%),Uzbeks(2.3%), Hazara(1.3%), Turkmen(2.0%), Baluchi(1.7%) and other (3.9%).from 2005 to late 2006, the administration of Pakistan started and finished an enlistment procedure of all Afghans living in the nation. The aggregate number of enrolled Afghans was accounted for at 2.15 million in February 2007. They were all issued electronic "verification of enrollment" (POR) cards with exceptional biometric highlights, like the Pakistani national character card (NIC) yet has "Afghan native" on the front. (UNHCR, Convention, and Protocol relating to the status of refugees, December 2010).

### **1.2.3. Process of Repatriation**

The majority of displaced people were brought up in Pakistan over the most recent 30 years, however, are still considered citizens of Afghanistan. The majority of Afghans living in Pakistan are from ethnic Pashtun tribes who are known to live and take a shot at the two sides of Afghanistan-Pakistan outskirts, however there are additionally large number of Tajik, Hazaras, Uzbek, Baluch, Turkman and other ethnic groups of Afghanistan. Throughout the year government control on exiles has brought about various returnees. (Mukhtar, 2012, pp. 1-2)

Since mid-2002, more than 5 million Afghan have been repatriated through the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) from both Pakistan and Iran back to their original nation, Afghanistan. As per 2015 report enumeration of Afghans in Pakistan by the service of states and wilderness Regions (legislature of Pakistan), the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. pp. 18-19. This transcription has been simplified and alphabetically ordered by the author.

ethnic breakdown of Afghans in Pakistan was as per the following: Pashtuns(81.5%), Tajiks (7.3%), Uzbeks(2.3%), Hazara(1.3%), Turkmen(2.0%),Baluchi(1.7%) and others (3.9%). From 2005 to late 2006, the administration of Pakistan started and finished an enlistment procedure of all Afghans living in the nation. The aggregate number of enrolled Afghans was accounted for at 2.15 million in February 2007. They were all issued electronic "verification of enrollment" (POR) cards with exceptional biometric highlights, like the Pakistani national character card (NIC) yet has "Afghan native" on the front. (UNHCR, Convention, and Protocol relating to the status of refugees, December 2010).

More than 357,000 Afghans were repatriated from Pakistan in the year 2007. The repatriation process took place between March and October of that year, with each person receiving a travel package of about 100 US dollars. Approximately 80% of the refugees were those living in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 13% from Baluchistan, 3% from Sindh, and remaining 4% from Punjab and Pakistan's capital city, Islamabad. (UNHCR, Voluntary Repatriation Update, 2016).

Between 2010 and the end of 2012, a total of 229,000 Afghan refugees left Pakistan and returned to Afghanistan. Approximately 1.65 million refugees still remain in Pakistan. Some Pakistani officials assert that an estimated 400,000 to 1 million more Afghan refugees may be living in Pakistan illegally but there is no way of verifying these numbers. It makes it more difficult due to the fact that a large number of people go back and forth between the two countries on daily basis without documents, especially the kuchis and other Pashtuns who usually stay in Afghanistan during the summer season and move to Pakistan during the winter. They have been doing that for thousands of years. (UNHCR, 2016)

### **1.3. Reception in Pakistan**

Both refugees and host population shared the same language, culture, and value system. Rather than simply being accepted according to international humanitarian law<sup>2</sup>, the Afghan refugees were welcomed as beneficiaries of traditional hospitality, provided by fellow Pashtuns on the Pakistani side under the strict norms of Pashtunwali; thus the refugees were seeking shelter amongst fellow tribe's men. Importantly, to a Pashtun, the Durand line that separates Afghanistan and Pakistan does not constitute a national border; but divides the Pashtun region into two halves (Khan, 2016, pp. 1-3).

The majority of Afghan refugees being Pashtuns, see themselves as having taken refuge in another part of their homeland. Both the countries Pakistan and Afghanistan share the longest border, which runs in north-south direction for a distance of about 1500 miles. In the north, it starts from the lofty mountains of Hindukush in Chitral district and stretches southward along the mountains upped the Chaghi district in Baluchistan. This whole border which is known as Durand line is dotted with passes, which connect both the countries. Most of these passes are situated in very rugged and difficult terrain at the height of 10000-14,000 feet above sea level. From centuries these apparently inaccessible paths have been the gateways for the nomadic people of both the countries, who know the art of crossing these valleys. (Smith C. , 2004, pp. 243-247)

Afghan mass migration was triggered due to Russian invasion in the late 1970s. More than 3 million Afghan refugees crossed into Pakistan and settled mainly in Khyber Pakhtukhwa and Quetta which are inhabited by Pakistani Pashtuns. These Afghans were given a good reception not only by Pakistan but the entire anti-communist bloc including the USA and western European countries. The Pakistani administration declared them refugees in theory but in practice gave them the status of "Muslim brothers" and allowed them equal right as Pakistani citizens ( although they were not given any official status). Internationally, they were recognized as "Afghan Refugees" and became the main reason

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<sup>2</sup> International humanitarian law is a set of rules which seek, for humanitarian reasons, to limit the effects of armed conflict. It protects persons who are not or are no longer participating in the hostilities and restricts the means and methods of warfare.

for the flow of foreign aid in all conceivable forms including US dollars, weapons and food supplies. (Nasir, 2012, pp. 67-71)

During the past three decades, Afghans have established themselves as integral part of social life of Quetta, Pakistan where every third person is Afghan (Khan, 2016, p. 2). They were never aliens in Quetta as both sides of Durand line is populated by ethnic Pashtuns. Albeit this affinity, Afghan Pashtuns can be easily differentiated from the native Pakistani Pashtuns as they have a distinct life style such as their food habit, living condition, and livelihood practices (Nasir, 2012, pp.49). For instance, at tea, Afghan Pashtun would place a separate medium size tea pot for each individual while Pakistanis Pashtuns serve tea in kettle to several people. Most of research conducted on Afghan refugees, government as well as Non-governmental organizations carried out research studies on Afghan refugees aimed at highlighting their plight and misery to appeal to donors to get funding. The 'refugee' label was conveniently accepted throughout the world by the academic community as Afghan showed some characteristics of refugees.

They were war refugees as they left their homes due to foreign invasion as they were traumatized. However, within Pakistan, they were received as guests by referring to them as those who left their homes for God. Informally they were given equal citizenship rights within Pakistan, they established their business, and they bought lands and built houses. Thus they were given status of 'welcomed guest'. However migrants would normally encounter an alien culture, instead Afghan found them living among Pakistanis Pashtuns who had historically migrated from Afghanistan over the past 300 years (Cathell, 2009, p. 89). A marked difference between everyday lives can be attributed to urban/rural divide or due to affiliation with different tribes however, in general, the majority of Afghans and Pakistanis Pashtun follows "Pashtunwali". This seamless integration can be attributed to the fact that most Pashtuns (Afghani and Pakistanis) never accepted the Durand line as envisaged and implemented by British imperial rulers. (Smith C. , 2004, p. 103)

In fact, it is considered an imperial conspiracy to divide Pashtuns and many tribes. Pashtuns firmly held their hand after the Durand line. Those tribes live in two countries,

however, in practice the Durand line is an unseen line running across their villages, unable to divide them as Pashtun and non-Pashtun habitually cross the border without any travel documents. Thus Afghan refugees must be reconsidered with the reference to broader Pashto migratory patterns. Migration is taken as a social construct. (Tejero, Torradabella, 1999, pp. 333-344).

#### **1.4. Statement of Problem**

This study is aimed at finding out the identity of Afghan refugees in Pakistani society. A lot of research has been carried on the basic problems of refugees. Some scholars have focused on the gender aspect of these refugees. Others have highlighted the means and ways of their livelihoods. The present research is distinctive as it will focus on identifying construction of Afghan refugees based on their perception in the host society. Identity is a fluid phenomenon and it changes with time and space and never remains the same. It is also multifaceted and carries many characteristics. The same is the case with Afghan refugees as their identity is also multifaceted and dynamic. This study will provide the view point/perception of Afghan refugees about their identity and how this identity is effected by exile situation. (migration from Afghanistan to Pakistan). A human being cannot live in isolation and needs other people for interaction. The Afghans who migrated here also interacted with the local population and built their social network. The study will investigate these social networks of Afghan refugees on basis of their identity and the nature and dynamics of this social network. The foci of this study will be to explore the perception of first and second generation Afghan refugees about their identity in the host community. This study does not seek to represent an “objective reality”, and thus does not pursue the essence of ethnic identities but rather the meaning attributed to them by the respondents. It is not interested in origin per se, but rather in perceptions, interpretations, and experiences of Afghan refugees in host community.

## **1.5. Objective**

1. To explore the understanding of the identity of Afghans refugees.
2. To find out the process of the identity construction of Afghan refugees.

## **1.6. Significance of the study**

The current study is unique in a way that the research will unearth nature of the identity of Afghan refugees. This study helps in providing new themes to the existing academic knowledge on refugees especially on identity construction and its process. It gives fresh insight to the academicians who want to conduct the study on the same academic genres in future. This research provides new data for the host government and aid giving organizations for Afghan refugees to formulate policies and strategies related to refugees in accordance with their well being. Apart from that, the research shall also cater to the problems that they face on the basis of identity. This study will provide us the knowledge about the social networks of these people with local community. The study will be helpful in digging out the hidden realities of the lives of Afghan refugees and highlighting the social network with the Pakistani community.

## **2. Research Methodology**

The methodology involves the use of particular techniques and methods for the collection of data. “Methodology denotes “the logic in use” involved in selecting particular observation techniques, assessing their yield of data and relating the data to theoretical proposition (Pelto, 1971, p. 23).

Selecting a proper research methodology is a backbone of every research. The present anthropological study also needs the precise formation of some definite methodology which will help in collecting the relevant and valid information about the research topic. For the present study, only those tools and techniques will be used which will be relevant to the research topic. Report building, interview guide, informal interviews, participant observation, case studies, photography, and secondary data source will be used to get the desired result of research. The tools and techniques which will be used in the research are discussed in the following lines.

### **2.1. Entry to the field: the initial experience**

The Researcher did research on topic of identity construction of Afghan refugees in main Ghous Abad sector, Quetta, Baluchistan. The researcher faced many problems to find a reliable source. It was not the right time when the researcher started his first phase of research in the field as it clashed with the Government of Pakistan’s announcement that Afghan refugees living in Pakistan must repatriate to their homeland Afghanistan and gave them an ultimatum of three months. The ultimatum created more problems for the researcher in the field. People were scared that the researcher might be a government official and they were afraid to divulge their identity and some alleged that the researcher belonged to some intelligence agency and threatened him not to step in their territory. One day the researcher was in the field for survey in Menaz village near Balali check post. The researcher was standing on the main road of that village and asked the passerby, whereabouts of the elder of the village and he was guided straight to the home of the elder. The researcher knocked at the door and another person appeared and enquired the researcher’s identity and the purpose of visit. The researcher explained his purpose and the stranger asked him to follow him. The researcher was very excited at that time and followed him confidently through the lanes of the village. Suddenly that person



entered a mosque, leaving the researcher stranded and wondering as if something had gone wrong. After quite a while the researcher stepped in the nearby room where he thought that person had entered. He was bewildered to find about seven men with Taliban<sup>3</sup> appearance staring at him. The immediate thought that struck his mind was that he was among an unknown group of abductors and there was no way to return. The researcher remained in their custody for two hours and thirty minutes. They questioned and counter questioned him from all angles and threatened that he should not be seen around next time otherwise the researcher would be responsible for the consequences. It was quite a dreadful encounter for the researcher and he hurriedly escaped from the scene to regain his confidence. Heart broken, he was compelled to rethink another topic. At that time the Afghan refugees were scared and they complained that Pakistanis had ruined them, confiscated their properties, placed hurdles in their trade and their assets in Pakistan were demolished. Some of them viewed the American policy with hate and alleged that the super power first destroyed them in Afghanistan, and now Pakistanis are giving them four hundred dollars to return to Afghanistan. After gap of two week, the research regained his confidence and started his field survey in another place because Afghan refugees were settled everywhere and there was no special camp or locale. This particular locale where researcher conducted whole research was much more educated than the previous Afghan camp where he had horrendous experience.

The researcher conducted interviews from Afghan elders, students, and teachers. It was quite difficult for the researcher to conduct interviews with Afghan females because it is not considered appropriate to communicate with a female. The researcher faced a lot of problems in audio recording and photography because refugees thought that I belonged to some law enforcement agency or some government office and they were scared to take a picture or do audio recording. In the field the researcher had to be careful about and had to wear the same dress as Afghan people wore and he felt he was accepted that way. The dress consisted of Baluchi cap, Waistcoat<sup>4</sup>, and long shalwar kameez. They started saying

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<sup>3</sup> The villagers have beard, turban on their head looking same in appearance like Taliban.

<sup>4</sup> Waistcoats for Pashtun men are often decorated with gold or silver colored braids, which are sewn in intricate, geometric designs onto the ground material, such as red velvet. This type of embroidery is also used for women's dresses.

that I looked very much like Afghani and belonged to Afghanistan, thus they were comfortable to give me interviews.

## **2.2. Rapport building**

Rapport building is first and foremost step in anthropological research. Rapport building is to create friendly relationship with a respondent, trust upon them and make them feel comfortable. Rapport building is the manifesto to create good interaction with the respondents, observe their activities and conduct interviews. In my research, it was very important for me to build a friendly relationship with the surrounding Afghan community to select informants and key informants, without whom it was impossible for me to collect real data. At first, the researcher faced some problems in understanding their way of conversation and culture since he was new in locale and faced difficulties in conversation with his respondents. The researcher and the respondents were new to each other and the latter thought the researcher belonged to law enforcement agency and had come to collect vital information about the refugees for handing over to the government department. To overcome this problem of understanding each other the researcher spend few weeks with them and sorted out that problem. Some of respondents were hesitant in giving basic information about them and felt scared of the researcher's identity and it was after a few weeks' observation that the researcher build up his rapport and was successful in developing a friendly relationship with the respondents.

## **2.3. Socio economic survey**

The socio-economic census survey form was used during the research to collect the baseline data about the community. The socio-economic census survey was helpful in getting the basic information like sex, age, marital status, monthly income, occupation, type of family, ethnic group, education etc. about each household. After collecting this baseline data the researcher was able to select the suitable people as sample for the study.

Ethnic group	Household numbers
Pashtun	28

Baluch	05
Turkmen	03
Tajik	18
Uzbek	01
Total	55

(Source field data)

The area where the research was conducted, comprised of different ethnic groups of Afghan refugees living in Ghous Abad, Quetta. The largest ethnic group was Pashtuns, having 28 households in main Ghous Abad. The second largest was Tajik community, and others were Turkmen, Baluch, and Uzbek.

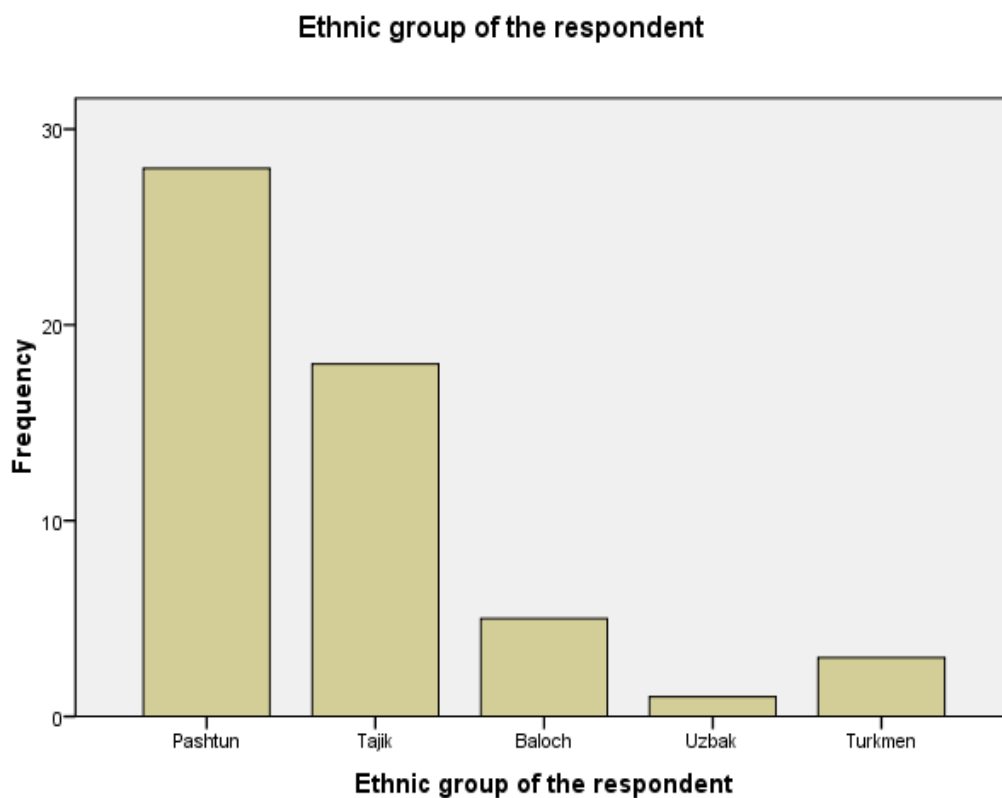
#### **2.4. Sampling**

It was not possible for the researcher to study a heavily populated area, observe and interview the entire community members given the short period of time. The sample size and technique used for this research are briefly described below.

Sampling is the method of anthropological research that refers to take out sample from the selected locale. When the researcher entered the field, he had two options; first was to study the whole targeted survey population and the second was to study the sample which was chosen from the targeted population. It was difficult for the researcher to cover the whole area so he selected 55 households to fill the census form. These 55 households were selected through key informants. Through this method the researcher got the idea about the population of area, socio economic condition of each household including their gender, income, occupation, marital status.

The researcher chose the sample of 34 respondents through socio economic census form. For the collection of data certain techniques and tools had to be used. The research is Qualitative and Quantitative based. In anthropology Qualitative research is conducted and it involves purposive sampling. The researcher conducted the interviews and

collected the data on the basis of the willingness of the respondents. Willingness of respondents was measured at the time of filling census forms. People were asked if they were willing to respond and respondents were chosen accordingly. Not all 34 chosen respondents willing to participate as 9 respondents resisted in giving proper response and they were replaced by other respondents chosen from census forms. Respondents were selected from different age groups and marital status. The reason why respondents were chosen to be individually interviewed rather than to be a part of focus group was due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the need to maintain confidentiality.





### 2.4.3. Unit of analysis

Afghan elders, Afghan students, and teachers are to be analyzed in this study.

Afghan elders	14
Students	09
Teachers	11
Total	34

### 2.4.4. Purposive sampling

According to Babbie

“Purposive sampling is selecting a sample “on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims” (Babbie, 2012, pp. 332-337)

The researcher selected purposive sampling because in this technique the researcher purposively selects respondents that in his opinion were relevant to the research study. As in my research, the criteria for selection of respondents were the researcher’s own

knowledge about the community. In research the basic focus was on Afghan elders who were well aware of the war situation during Soviet Union invasion and now reside in Pakistan. In my research the respondents were selected on the basis of their education status because the response of educated persons was more effective than that of uneducated.

## **2.5. Participant observation**

The researcher started with participant observation because it provided me a clear sense about the respondents that how they were living under the tag of different identities. Malinowski (1964) states:

“The anthropology field worker should totally immerse himself in the lives of the people: and that can only be done through months of residence in the local community. Reside in the research community ensures that the researcher observes the details of daily life and activity enacted by people who have relatively indifferent to an unabashed by the presence of a foreigner.”

In participant observation, the researcher participated in on-going activities of Afghan refugees in the field, and attended their gathering, schooling system, and market trade techniques with reference of his key person. Such close observation provided the researcher with information about Afghan refugees as to how they identified themselves how they are discriminated and in that situation how they build their identity. , By observing the pattern of their social networking with local people and between themselves the researcher noted the most observable factor that how they perceived themselves.

## **2.6. Key informants**

“Key informants are those whose social positions in a research setting give them specialist knowledge about other people, processes or happenings that is more extensive, detailed or privileged than ordinary people, and who are therefore particularly valuable

sources of information to a researcher, not least in the early stages of a project” (Geoff Payne, Judy Payne, 2004, pp. 237-239).

In current research, the researcher selected two key informants. The researcher explained objectives of the research study to them and explained how they could help him to obtain valid and reliable data.

My first key informant was from Tajik community. He was 41 year’s old and migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan thirty years ago due to political unrest in Afghanistan. After few years in Pakistan, he started work with local and international NGOs for the welfare of Afghan communities. He served as information manager for all the NGOs working for Afghan refugees in Ghous Abad and other areas where Afghan refugees had settled. He had sufficient knowledge about all the Afghan communities and especially about the locale.

My second key informant was from the Pashtun community. He was 51 year’s old and he had migrated to Pakistan 35 years ago when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. He was an Imam in Jamia Masjid Ghous Abad and served in this capacity since last twenty years. He had extensive knowledge about the migration and introduction of Afghan refugees in Pakistan society and all the Afghan communities. He was a jihadist at the time of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan and had strong field experience.

## **2.7. In depth interviews**

In depth interviews are a loosely structured method used in qualitative research.

According to Taylor and Bogdan in-depth interview is defined as:

“In depth interviewing is repeated face to face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informant’s perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words.” (Taylor, S.J., Bogdon, R, 2015, pp. 3-7).

The researcher used in-depth interviews in his research project because it was important for his project to gather detailed information about his respondents. It was obligatory to know and explore the information and to know how the exiled (those migrated from Afghanistan) effected their life and to explore and analyze how Afghan refugees constructed their identity in host community in detail. The interviews conducted from locale are mainly based on the perception of Afghan refugees living in Ghous Abad, Quetta. Although research interviewees had varied ethnic origins, the study focused on interviewees' interpretations of long-standing ethnic identities within Afghan community. This study does not seek to represent an "objective reality", and thus does not pursue the essence of ethnic identities but rather the meaning attributed to them by the respondents. It is not interested in origin per se, but rather in perceptions, interpretations, and experiences of Afghan refugees in host community.

## **2.8. Photography**

The researcher used photography during the field research as a non-verbal mechanical aid in order to get and capture informal facts about the people and the locality. In early days of research, it was hard to take a picture of the field or his respondents. One of the respondents said (*da pa Islam k haram die ao za ma kala hum tasweer na die estalie*) that taking a pictures in Islam is haram and he refused to have a picture with me, but after spending more time they trusted me and then they had no hesitation in taking the pictures.

## **2.9. Audio recording**

The researcher used audio recording technique to note verbal communication, but due to the nature of the topic, the researcher faced some difficulties in audio recording as they felt their privacy was being invaded and left without narrating the story. While audio recording, the researcher took care of ethical standards. Firstly the researcher asked his respondents only if they felt comfortable their interview would be recorded and in case their response was in negative, the researcher would avoid asking them any questions or conducting their interview.



### **2.10. Field notes**

It was quite difficult for the researcher to remember all interviews so the researcher took field notes. In this technique the researcher simply noted that down in his notebook whatever the respondent said. Thus it became easy for the researcher to record all the things that he needed for his research.

### **2.11. Time scale**

The time scale is defined as the time required for completing the research study. The timescale for this research study was six months. .

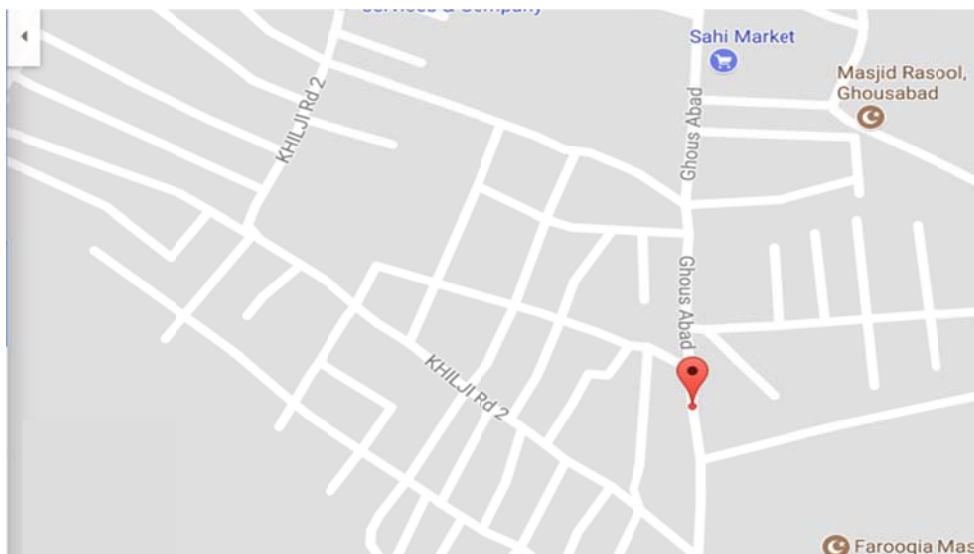
### **3. Locale**

The locale I selected for my research was Ghous Abad situated in urban Quetta, Baluchistan and it is seven kilometers away from the main city. The study was conducted in main Ghous Abad. As my topic was identity construction of Afghan refugees the researcher selected elders, students, and teachers of Afghan community to get reliable data.

#### **3.1. Area profile**

Ghous Abad has a total population of 40 thousand (UNICEF, 2011, p. 13) All the population is Afghan refugees, and comprises of different ethnic groups from different rural and urban areas of Afghanistan. The main area where the study was conducted is Ghous Abad and its settlers here are more educated than other sectors of Ghous Abad. Six different ethnic groups of refugees who migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan are settled here.

#### **3.2. Map of locale**





(Google map)

### 3.3. Ethnic group

There are many ethnic divisions among the people of the Afghan colony in Ghous Abad as well as among the Afghan refugees. Major ethnic groups living here were Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, Baluch, and Turkmen. Some of them were Khilji, Tarakie, Nasar, Kharotie, Papulzie, Ahmadzie, Ghebzie, Shamszie, Uttak, Durrani, Sadozie, Narozie, Alizie, Slamankhel and Kakar. Some of the ethnic divisions based on religious background and the other sub tribes trace their relationship to someone known personally like Osakhel, Umerkhael and Alizie (R2, 60, M, P, 35 years in Pakistan)

### 3.4. Language

Hundred percent Afghan refugees speak Pashto language. In the beginning, their dialect was different, but with the passage of time and interaction with local people they adopted the local dialect. The language also helped these refugees in social and economic survival as these Afghan refugees very rarely considered they living in an alien society. Initially, some Uzbeks also tried to settle among Afghans, but later shifted to other areas because of significant difference in the language of both communities. For the Afghan refugees however, this was not a serious pretext to return to their homeland because they enjoyed the advantage of the same language as the locals and it became convenient for them to interact with Pakistanis.

### **3.5. Religion**

Religious faiths are comprised of a number of doctrines, beliefs and practices that constitute normative systems, giving direction and to how each believer organizes and live their lives (Harpviken, 2005, p. 13). Whereas the importance given to religious identity has changed throughout Afghan history and varies from one place to another, the identity of being a Muslim is shared by the majority of Afghans. Other identities related to clan, ethnicity, language or profession competes with religion, but none of them are as encompassing as the Muslim identity (Borchgrevink, 2007, p. 21). Afghan displaced people on the premise of Muslim solidarity, same ethnic foundation, same dialect, neighborhood and same old connection ties found themselves easier to adjust. Be that as it may, the reason being that their religion being same, these Afghans are utilizing the mosque and madrassas of nearby communities from beginning till now. Furthermore, the individuals in the neighborhood warmly welcomed and respected these displaced people in their religious occasions and ceremonies and also on some exceptional event. So the principal bond for social survival is clearly the religion for Afghan refugees in Ghous Abad (Field data).

### **3.6. Housing pattern**

Almost all the houses are “Katcha” (made of mud) but during research project, the researcher visited many “Bethaks”<sup>5</sup> and hujras of Afghan refugees which were well furnished, walls plastered with cement and painted. The Pakistani families living in close vicinity had well built houses (made of concrete, cement and reinforced iron). Many refugees of the colony wanted to make their houses in modern style but they avoided investing heavily as they knew that one day they will have to return to their homeland Afghanistan.

### **3.7. Mosque**

There are two mosques in the colony where children get religious education. A considerable number of Pakistanis also come to this mosque for prayers and this has

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<sup>5</sup> Bethak is a place where people deals with daily life affairs in society

helped the refugees to build a sound interaction with the local population that is so important for both religious and social bonding. The mosque serves an interface among communities and different ethnic groups and augurs well for peaceful co-existence. The local Madrassas also play an important role in the social survival of the refugees because the Afghan refugee's children get religious knowledge from these madrassas and create a healthy and friendly environment for all the people.

### **3.8. Education**

After spending some time in designated Afghan camps they started moving out into the local peripheries and some of them were able to find houses and they settled there. In the early stages their children were admitted to Pakistani schools, but after some time they were rusticated from Pakistani school because they had status of Afghan refugees and no Pakistani identity. Most of the teens in early stages had no access to educational institutes of Pakistan. The elders and educated people among Afghan refugees started thinking to establish the Afghan school to educate the Afghan community living in Pakistan. And now there are 92 Afghan schools where education is imparted to Afghan children

#### **3.8.1. Reason to establish Afghan schools**

Ninety-two schools were established in Baluchistan for Afghan refugees, where only Afghan education is imparted and they are registered directly with Afghanistan<sup>6</sup> (UNHCR, Breaking the Cycle: Education and the Future of Afghan Refugees, 2015). The first reason behind establishing the Afghan schools was that Afghan students were not admitted to Pakistani schools because they had the status of refugees and no valid identity. The second reason was that one of researcher's respondents was Jamila Abbasi who established the first Afghan School in Baluchistan. She remarked:

“ زه د افغانستان له 20 کلنو څخه پاکستان ته مهاجرت کوم، او ما خپل د ماسټرۍ درجه د کابل پوهنتون څخه بشپړه کړه. کله چې ما د افغان ماشومانو خراب حالت ولید، دوی د کار په توګه کار کاوه د دې په پرتله چې ما فکر

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<sup>6</sup> Afghan schools are directly registered with Afghanistan through UNHCR in Pakistan.

کاوه بنوونځی تاسیس کړي. او د لومړي ځل لپاره ما په خپل کور کې زما یوه کوټه مخته کړه او د الله په نامه یې افغان ماشومان زده کړه پیل کړه. او اوس زه د څلورو بنوونځیو مشر یم او د افغان بنوونځي بنوونځیو ته راننیرم."

I migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan when I was 20, and I completed my Master's degree from Kabul University. I was moved by the poor condition Afghan children, who worked as labor and I made up my mind to establish a school for them. And for the first time, I allotted one of my rooms in my house and started educating Afghan children in the name of Allah. And now I am chairperson of four schools delivering Afghan education.



### **3.8.2. Staff, subjects and shifts**

There were ninety-two Afghan schools in Ghous Abad and the staff of each school was from amongst the refugees. There were no Pakistani teachers in these Afghan schools and all the teachers were from Afghan communities. Fifteen subjects were being taught in these schools, which included Biology, Physics, and Chemistry, Quran, Hadith Sharif,

Afghan history, Afghan Farhang (culture), English, Dari, Persian, Pashto, Arabic, Geography, Islamiyat and geometry. . In most Afghan school there was co- education. In some schools like Muslim Hand School, Hazrat Bilal School and Mirwais Nika School there were two shifts of students, morning for boys and evening for girls.

### **3.9. Refugee in Pashtun code of life**

The code which guides communities in deciding disputes, blood feuds, etc., is generally called “Pashtunwali” and is framed on principle of equality and retaliation. This code has numerous laws, but its maxims are those of mediation or protection “ Nanawati” retaliation “Badal” and hospitality “Malmastia” (Banting, 2003, p. 287).

Pashtuns follow the code of traditional laws, which they call as “Pashtunwali”. This code guides them in every social and economic aspect of their lives. In the Pashtun code of life if enemy comes to you and asks for shelter, one is supposed to give him shelter even at the cost of one’s own life as according to Pashtunwali it is the duty of every Pashtun to be fair to the enemies also.

#### **3.9.1. Malmastia**

Malmastia is to show hospitality to all visitors, regardless of who they are. Their ethnic, religious, or national background is without hope of remuneration or favor. Pashtuns are widely considered to be the most hospitable people in the world; a Pashtunwali; goes to great extent to show his hospitability, so much so that in every recorded case it has been observed that a Pashtun has provided his deadly enemy with sanctuary when he was asked for sanctuary by his rival. But in return, those guests who are accorded this are expected to do the same for their host (Banting, 2003, pp. 271-273).

#### **3.9.2. Badal (justice/ revenge)**

This applies to the injustice committed yesterday or 1000 year ago if the wrongdoer still exists. Justice in Pashtun lore needs elaborating: even a mere taunt (Paighor) is regarded as an insult which can only usually be redressed by shedding of the taunter’s blood (if he is not available, then his next closest male relation). This, in turn, leads to a blood feud that can last generation and involves the whole tribe with the loss of hundreds of precious

lives. Normally, blood feuds in this male dominant setup are then settled in a number of ways. Functionally, revenge protests the Pashtun social order (Girad, 1972, p. 244).

### **3.9.3. Nanawateh (Asylum)**

Derived from the verb meaning to go in, this is used for the protection given to a person who requests protection against his/her enemies. The person is protected at all costs. It can also be used when the vanquished party is prepared to go into the house of the victors and ask for their forgiveness. It is a peculiar form of “chivalrous” surrender in which an enemy seeks “Sanctuary” at his enemy’s house.

### **3.9.4. Zmekka (land)**

A Pashtun must define his landed property from incursion wherever he or she resided.

### **3.9.5. Nang (honors)**

The preservation of honor entails the defense of one’s family and one’s independence while upholding cultural and religious requirements. The norms are that family relationship is the highest priority for an act of Nang, but when a national situation or Pashtun honor arises, the priority changes.

### **3.9.6. Namus (honor of women)**

A Pashtun must define the honor of Pashtun women at all costs and must protect them from vocal and physical harm.

### **3.9.7. Hamsaya**

Hamsaya is a non-Pashtun dependent group who attaches themselves to a Pashtun group, usually for protection. The Pashtun protector group is called a “Naik”. Any attack on hamsaya is considered an attack on the protector.

### **3.9.8. Hujra**

Hujra is common sitting or sleeping place for males in the village. Visitors and unmarried young men sleep in Hujra.

### **3.9.9. Kheil (Tribe)**

The larger unit of concentric circle is “kheil”. It may be called as an extension of “Tarboor”. “kheil” is a matrilineal group which includes the member having a common ancestor. Kheil is actually the unit in which people participate in the primary and



secondary group relationship. This means that whenever there is any event of common happiness and sorrow they will participate jointly.

#### **3.9.10. Kaum (clan)**

It has been observed during fieldwork that majority of people have a common kheil. Kheil when combined formulates a larger circle, which is termed as "Kaum". The basic difference is the unit of identification. People identify themselves with each other by common surname, which provides a sense of identification of its member (Field data).

#### **3.9.11. Kor or kahol (house)**

The Kor or Kahol is the basic unit of social organization. It comes into being through marriage. It includes more than two generations vertically downward and the first and second cousin in a horizontal dimension. At the time of marriage the female moves from parent household to the side of husband's household. The offspring after marriage lives with parents. The descent in "KOR" is traced through the male line. The male is considered important because he keeps his patriarchal name moving to the next generation.

### **3.10. Role, position, and status of women**

Most of the women live within old age. Girls are suggested to stay at their homes when they reach the age of puberty. Female mobility is usually restricted to their household where purdah (seclusion) is strictly observed. In Pashtun male dominant society, the woman's place is in the house, where she is expected to do the traditional home task of rearing children, maintaining the house and spending time in cooking, fetching water, feeding and cleaning the livestock, milking cows and many other tasks. A large number of women are engaged in sewing and embroidery work. Most of the women in the area have studied up to middle, matric, and intermediate level.

### **3.11. Trading Trends**

Afghanistan border is not far from the area where these people live on Pakistan side. Their subsistence is dependent upon a small scale trade and business. For transportation across the border, they use both legal and illegal ways. Legally, it is difficult to pass the

border without a permit. The rich people on the other hand bribe the forces to pass their trade in various vehicles and buses, the trading goods are even loaded with the animals to let them pass through hard routes. These people are involved in illegally transporting oil, petrol, and diesel from Pakistan to Afghanistan. In return, they bring tea and motor bikes and this kind of trade shapes their economy.

## **4. Literature Review**

The review of literature provides the background for the research problem. It should establish the need for the research; indicate that writer is knowledgeable about the area. The literature review seeks, describes, summarizes, evaluates, clarifies and/or integrates the content, which really help the researcher to conduct research from any field (Cooper, 1989, p. 19).

### **4.1. Refugee**

Mariam Webster dictionary defines refugee as, “A person who flees to a foreign country or power to escape danger or persecution”.

“Refugees are sub-groups of broader category of displaced persons, they are different from economic migrants, who have voluntarily left the country and form internally displaced persons, who have not crossed an international boarder” (OCHA, 1999, p. 2).

The statement of OCHA organization is about the introduction of refugees, describes the causes behind leaving their homeland, and tell about the differences between the economic migrant and displaced persons, but focus on forced migration. To study refugees we must find out the root cause of migration, and the circumstances that forced the migrants to change their identity and mother land.

### **4.2. Refugee in context of international organization**

For the International Organizations and the Government of Pakistan (GOP), the refugees are defined and governed by the Convention of the United Nations of 1951 which was expanded by the ensuing Protocol of 1967 and, for Africa, by the Convention of the Organization of African Unity of 1969. According to the Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967, the refugee is a person who, 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, Convention and Protocol relating to the status of refugees, December 2010).

After the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, millions of people belonging from different ethnic groups migrated to different areas of world especially to Pakistan and Iran. The

disturbing political condition, war, and having no protection in their own country Afghan people migrated to Pakistan and settled in camps made by Government of Pakistan and other non-governmental organization especially UNHCR, and they have been given status of refugees (Ahmed, 1986, pp. 37-39).

### **4.3. Meaning of Identity**

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines identity in the following terms: “The set of behavioral or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognizable as a member of a group. The distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity; individuality,” (Merriam-Webster, 2011). According to identity theory, the identity process is a control system. An identity is a set of “meanings” applied to the self in social role or situation defining what it means to be who one is. When an identity is activated, a feedback loop is established (Burke, Peter, 2007, pp. 139-168).

Identity mean selfhood individually, personal character of self for instance a name, gender, status these things refer specific identity. For Rosenberg (Rosenberg, 1986, pp. 107-136), “a personal identity is classifying a person into a category with one case. The individual is assigned a unique label, usually a name” Everyone has multiple identities which are constructed and also reconstructed during different phases of life. Identities are the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is.

Hogg and Abrams (Abrams, D and Hogg, M.A, 1988, pp. 317-334) described identity as

“Identity is people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others.”

Jenkins (Jenkins, 1996, p. 4) also described the individual or collectivities identity in the relation of social context that:

“Identity refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities.”

Turner categorize the personal and social identity in social identity theory that:

“When one feels different from other it’s called personal identity. While one focuses on shared group characteristics it’s called social identity.” (Turner, 1987, p. 133)

In terms of identity process, the standard or setting is scaled not in degree but in the meaning persons hold for themselves in a certain role. For example, a person’s gender identity might be set at certain degree of masculinity; or a college student’s identity might set a stimulation of certain degree of academic responsibility, intellectualism, sociability, and personal assertiveness. Whatever the setting, these standards within identity process establish the meaning of person’s “identity”.

#### **4.4. Afghan Tribal and Ethnic Group Identities**

##### **4.4.1. Pashtuns**

The majority ethnic group in Afghanistan is Pashtuns. According to Robson and Lipson (Lipson, J., Mehid, M., Robson, B., Younos, F., 2002, pp. 6-7), roughly 38% of the Afghan population comprises Pashtuns who view themselves as holy warriors. They are a resourceful people who take pride in the difficult lifestyle they have carved out of the austere and often inhospitable Afghan landscape. Robson and Lipson (2002, pp.9) also state that they are poor but able to thrive on adversity, and they can prevail in conditions that would easily defeat others. Scholars have often commented on the tribal relatedness, identity, and fighting ethos of this group. The defeat of the British in the nineteenth century was mainly at the hands of the Pashtuns (Hosseini, 2003, p. 123). In the twentieth century, the Soviets were soundly defeated and driven out of the country by Mujaheddin fighters led by 37 astute Pashtun commanders. Like much of the country, the Pashtuns are deeply committed to their Islamic belief, and equally faithful to their Sunni heritage, customs, and values. It is these cultural values that have at times placed the group at odds with other tribes, national values, and even Islam itself (Hosseini, 2003, pp. 129-131). A set of common core values links the tribes together and represents the Pashtun identity. Younos (Younos, 1998) identified these values that guide Pashtun interpersonal and inter-tribal relationships internally and with outsiders. They include honor (ghayrat); the family, especially the defense of female members of the tribe (mamus); bravery in battle (tureh); steadfastness (sabats); and righteousness (imamdar).

#### **4.4.2. Tajiks**

The Tajiks represent the second largest Afghan ethnic group according to Robson, Lipson, and Younos (Younos, 1998, pp. 37-67). They comprise an estimated 25% of the Afghan population. They are loyal Muslims of Sunni origin. In terms of ethnicity and language, this group identifies closely with old Persia (now Iran) mainly because of Afghanistan's geographical location between the Indian subcontinent, China, and Central Asia (Robson & Lipson, 2002; Younos, 1998, pp.22). The Tajiks speak Dari, the historic dialect of Afghan Persian, and are the most influential and predominant Dari-speaking ethnic group within Afghanistan. According to Robson and Lipson and predominant Dari-speaking ethnic group within Afghanistan. According to Robson and Lipson (2002, pp.27), they are believed to be among the earliest settlers and native groups of Afghanistan and Turkmenistan to the north. Geographically, their largest population mass is situated among the difficult Hindu Kush mountain areas that stretch from the north, with heavy pockets of populations down to the south and west, near Iran. 38 Writings from Afghan scholars like Younos Robson & Lipson, and Hosseini (2003, pp.159) reflect the fact that these people have been severely persecuted and have often found themselves outcasts in their own country. Nearly half of the Afghans who fled the country during the Soviet invasion were Tajiks. While their identity is rooted in their cultural past, they are primarily Sunni Muslims, but some Tajiks belong to the Islamic Shi'a sect (Lipson, 2002, pp.19). Furthermore, the internal differences within the tribe (Sunni vs Shi'a) have created tensions both for the tribe itself and for the Afghan nation.

#### **4.4.3. Hazaras**

The third most populous Afghan tribe is the Hazaras; these people also speak Dari. They are mostly settled in the mountain areas surrounding the center of Afghanistan, and they share their nomadic lifestyle with their Mongolian ancestors. They comprise about 20% of the national population (which is roughly 5 million Afghan citizens). Their culture is deeply connected to the land and livestock, and they are not tied to any particular area. As such, this lifestyle has often caused conflict with others who view people's worth according to the land that they own. According to Younos (1998, pp.39-41), Hazaras are not particularly respectful of these traditions.

#### **4.4.4. Uzbeks**

The Uzbeks according to Younos (1998, pp.51), and Robson & Lipson (2002, pp.45) represent roughly 6% of the Afghan population and live a farming existence in the northernmost region of the country. The literature informs us that the Uzbeks are also Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi sect, and have interwoven some orthodox customs and values into their own Islamic practices (Lipson, J., Mehid, M., Robson, B., Younos, F.,, 2002, pp. 89-91). Although they are generally not orthodox Muslims, Islam is an integral part of their cultural identity. They speak a Turkish dialect called Altaic Uzbek, and their cultural heritage is rooted in their Sunni Muslim beliefs.

#### **4.4.5. Turkmen**

The Turkmen is a minority Afghan tribe that lives mainly along the Western corridor of Afghanistan, straddling the border with Turkmenistan. They also share a nomadic lifestyle and they speak a similar Turkish Altaic dialect to their Uzbek neighbors (Robson & Lipson, 2002, pp.101). They are Sunni Muslims whose identity is deeply affiliated with their Islamic religious beliefs and cultural traditions. Additionally, their values and beliefs reflect a deep connectedness to their land of origin, Turkmenistan, rather than their present Afghan homeland.

### **4.5. Religious Identity**

In Afghanistan, Islam is the official state religion by constitutional decree; 99% of the country's inhabitants are Muslims, which can be further divided into 80% Sunni, 19% Shi'a, and 1% other (Borchgrevink, 2007, p. 21). This means that nearly all citizens share the Afghan identity of being a Muslim. But even among their highly homogeneous Islamic shared experiences, vastly different beliefs and interpretations exist between and among tribes.

Borchgrevink (Borchgrevink, 2007, pp. 9-11) reminds us that religious civil society, however, is not a single, uniform condition, and among the many interpretations of Islam, there are a range of actors that include reform-friendly and pro-government moderates, Islamists, conservative traditionalists, and radical fundamentalists. These differences ensure a wide array of influences that compete against one another. Borchgrevink's (2007, pp.23) work informs us that for the eclectic Afghan ethnic population, religious

identity is vitally important, and in some cases, crucial to the primal 40 orientations of lived experiences. All main tribes of Afghanistan all consider Islam as particularly relevant for identity formation. And, as the literature underscores, Islam bonds the Afghan population even though the nation is deeply divided along ethnic and tribal lines. In this way, both Islam and tribal traditions intersect to undergird individual and cultural identity (Anderson, 1983, p. 223).

These ethnic identities and diverse formations encourage the quest for meaning in individual lives; offer ways of answering existential enigmas; emphasize order and structure; and support coherence and integration between cognitions, emotions, and actions (Hinde, 1999, p. 288). Other scholars, such as (Piedmont, 1999, pp. 985-1013), point to the sense of unity, purpose, and social connectedness that bonds seemingly disparate groups beyond what he referred to as “the spatiotemporal discrepancies” of the visible Afghan landscape. Islam is therefore seen as the identity linchpin creating formations that are elevated above the nation and offer a sense of belonging and unity, meaning, and shared experiences. In post-Eriksonian terms (Marcia, 1980, pp. 159-187), religion could then be conceived as encouraging both commitment and exploration in identity. As a result, groups relate to one another simply by virtue of their religious heritage, and it is that heritage and reverence for religion that has both served Afghanistan during the conflict and simultaneously prevented significant development and modernization (Canfield, 1986, pp. 75-103).

Canfield’s (1986, pp.93) writings remind this researcher that identity for an Afghan is not a simple proposition. Identity is complex, dynamic, enduring, and multifaceted at all at once, according to Canfield (1986, pp.99). The literature also informs us that the Afghan national identity is embodied in the rich cultural heritage, traditions, and symbols that belong to Afghanistan its people, customs, and beliefs. For individual Afghans, the cultural or national identity not only holds diverse meanings, but also is interpreted differently depending on one’s life experiences. In addition, these identities are developed from one’s tribal and ethnic affiliation, country beliefs, religion, family patterns, traditions, and obligations (Saroglou, : A study among Muslim, other immigrant, and native Belgian young adults after the 9/11 attacks, 2004, pp. 97-132).



#### **4.6. Process of identity construction**

Susan J. Dowling (Dowling, 2011, p. 44) describe that,

“Identity construction literally involves life experiences, relationships and connections, a solid mental or emotional stamp on a human.”

Identities are constructed in the space between past and present, the two representing a continuum, rather than separate world (Thapan, 2005, pp. 23-62). Identity is people’s source of meaning and experience. As Calhoun writes:

“We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made...Self-knowledge – always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery – is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others” (Calhoun, 1994, pp. 9-11).

By identity, as it refers to social actors, the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning. For a given individual, or for a collective actor, there may be a plurality of identities. Yet, such a plurality is a source of stress and contradiction in both self-representation and social action. This is because identity must be distinguished from what, traditionally; sociologists have called roles, and role-sets. Roles (for example, to be a worker, a mother, a neighbor, a socialist militant, a union member, a basketball player, a churchgoer, and a smoker, at the same time) are defined by norms structured by the institutions and organizations of society. Their relative weight in influencing people’s behavior depends upon negotiations and arrangements between individuals and these institutions and organizations. Identities are sources of meaning for the actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation. Thus Afghan refugees must be reconsidered with reference to broader Pashtu migratory patterns. In this research, migration is taken as a social construct (Tejero, Torradabella, 1999, p. 338) and concept of migratory field is employed. According to this temporally and dynamic perceptive migrants adapts a new environment in various way and degree according to their social condition.

Manual castell distinguished three forms and origin of identity. Legitimizing identity (introduced by the dominant institution of society), Resistance identity (generated by those actors who are in position), and Project identity (build a new identity whatever resources are available to them). Naturally, identities that start as resistance may induce projects, and may also, along the course of history, become dominant in the institutions of society, thus becoming legitimized identities to rationalize their domination. Indeed, the dynamics of identities along this sequence shows that, from the point of view of social theory, no identity can be an essence, and no identity has, per se, progressive or regressive value outside its historical context. A different, and very important matter, is the benefits of each identity for the people who belong (Castells, 1997, pp. 54-55).

#### **4.7. Afghan refugees and their identity**

The Afghan refugees in Pakistan are for the most part Afghan Pashtun's who have sought asylum in a Pathan (Anglo-Indian name for Pakistani Pashtun's) territory in Pakistan, inhabited by a population with whom they share the same language, the same culture, and the same value system. Rather than victims, accepted according to humanitarian law, one could perceive them at least in the beginning of that enormous migration - as beneficiaries of traditional hospitality offered by the Pakistanis of the NWFP to their brothers from the other side of the border. Indeed, it was not just any hospitality, but one dictated by the strict norms of the Pushtunwali code of honor as practiced by the Pashtuns. (Ahmed, 1986, pp. 43-44).

From this view point, the image of these 'refugees' offer themselves that they are unharmed and not hopeless, but an organized shelter among kin. They are not hopeless refugees; instead they were received by tribal Pashtun of Pakistan.

These operational considerations co-exist with a second set of difficulties. There is extensive empirical evidence to illustrate that refugees conceive their identity in very different terms from those bestowing the label (Zetter, 1991, p. 26).

Refugees, more than many target groups suffer from the dilemma of policies which seek to integrate and to create independence, yet which exclude, sustain dependency and

differentiation. The labeled may not necessarily be unwilling victims of such discrimination and cooptation. A 'refugee consciousness' maintains an identity, and the enhanced solidarity may be turned to advantage as a lever on governments and agencies. An initially bureaucratic meaning, therefore, gradually assumes a distinctive, politicized identity; it expresses the strength of the target group's influence on policy. Deployed as a tool to create marginalization, the political outcomes of the label may become dominant features in the refugees' responses, accentuating the contradictions they seek to reduce. The evidence accumulated so far to illustrate the formation and reformation of an identity, is now brought together to demonstrate some aspects of the politicized identity (Zetter, 1991, pp. 46-47).

Thus, one can better understand the determination of the Afghan refugees is, for us, universal; and derived from the human rights. Yet the refugees also belong to western history and philosophy, and in they may be foreign to cultural tradition of which they are applied. To impose them without considering possible differences is to risk misunderstanding and conflict; it may even threaten the reason of those compelled to seek assistance.

#### **4.8. Theoretical framework**

A couple of theories developed in Western countries, such as media dependency theory (Wang, 2005, p. 1) and theory of social identity which probably can be used to explain identity of refugees after migration.

#### **4.9. Social Identity Theory**

Social Identity Theory was introduced by Tajfel and Turner in 1979. This hypothesis is an endeavor to portray that individuals tend to relate themselves into at least one "in-gatherings", individuals build their character on the premise of enrollment of that gathering and authorizing limits with different gatherings and they continue attempting to keep up their personality (Tajfel, 1982, p. 109). Social character hypothesis recommends that individuals relate to bunches so as to augment positive uniqueness; moreover gatherings' offer confidence (liking us) along personality. The hypothesis has substantially affected numerous territories of social brain research, including bunch progression, partiality, stereotyping and intergroup relations (Turner, 1987, p. 129).

- Three factors distinguished by Tajfel and Turner (1979, pp.131) are here underneath whose commitment is imperative to the rise of in-aggregate preference:
- The degree to which people relate to an in-gathering to disguise that gathering enrollment as a part of their self-idea.
- The degree to which the common setting gives ground to correlation between gatherings.

They saw significance of the correlation gathering, which itself is formed by the relative and supreme status of the in-gathering.

People are probably going to indicate partiality to when an in-bunch is boss to their self-definition.

Turner says that in the Social character Theory, a man has not one, "individual self" but rather he has numerous selves which relate to enlarging circles of gathering participation. While he additionally says that distinctive social settings may trigger a person to think, feel and follow up on the premise of his/her own family or national "level of self". Hogg and Vaughan (Vaughan, 2002, pp. 16-33) are donors of Social Identity Theory they clarified it as social personality is simply the person's idea gotten from saw participation of social gatherings and separated the "level of self", an individual has more than one "social character". It is an individual based-view of what characterizes the "us" related with any disguised gathering participation. The Theory of Social Identity guarantees that gathering participation makes in-gathering/self-order and upgrade in ways that support the in-assemble at the cost of the out-gathering. Turner and Tajfel (Tajfel, 1982, p. 237) gave numerous cases of demonstrations of people classifying themselves as a gathering which are adequate to announce their in-assemble partiality. Tajfel and Turner portray that subsequent to being arranged of a gathering enrollment, person's next anticipate get

constructive confidence by emphatically separating their in-aggregate from a similar out-assemble on some esteemed measurement. This look for constructive uniqueness implies that individuals' feeling of their identity is characterized as far as "ourselves" instead of 'me'. In Social Identity Theory the self is reflexive in that it thinks back on it as a question and orders, arranges, or names itself specifically ways that stands out itself from other social classes or characterizations. This is simply the procedure arrangement. For social personality hypothesis, self-classification is intellectual groupings of oneself and a total of boosts as indistinguishable, as opposed to another gathering of jolts. People who contrast from the self are delegated the out-gathering. Turner additionally says that focal procedure in social character hypothesis is depersonalization or seeing the as an encapsulation of the in-bunch concerns instead of as a one of a kind substance (Ibid).

The primary donors of the hypothesis Terry and Hogg proclaimed that social personality hypothesis addresses subjective results, for example, stereotyping and ethnocentrism. In those occasions where social personality hypothesis has been worried with the procedures prompting behavioral results, two unique wellsprings of the conduct have been talked about. In one, the conduct relies on people seeing regularizing parts of gathering enrollment in the model and after that acting as per these standards. This is like personality hypothesis in which people act as per the standards and desires for the part held in the character guidelines (Stryker, Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version, 1980, pp. 199-218). Confidence support and its improvement are a moment well spring of conduct in a hypothesis of social character. As Turner says when a social character is actuated, individuals attempt to upgrade the assessment of the in-gathering. Another benefactor of the hypothesis is Abrams, who viewed self as regard is the thought which is key to the underlying detailing and improvement of social personality hypothesis, however it has not gotten much experimental support and subsequently has been minimized in later work. As a substitute for the confidence intention, there are different thought processes proposed including an aggregate confidence rationale, a self-information roused, a self-effectiveness rationale, a self-consistency thought process. Any of these thought processes are brought into play when the character is enacted. For instance, as for the self-control intention, Abrams contends that when a social character is

dynamic and taken care of, reactions are pondered and self-directed. Gathering individuals act to coordinate their conduct to the guidelines pertinent to the social character to affirm and improve their social distinguishing proof with the gathering. In the present study this theory is linked with core addressing themes of dissertation refugees and the role of group in identity negotiation of respondents of Ghous Abad, Quetta (Hogg, M.A and Turner, J.C, 1987, pp. 139-182).

#### **4.10. Reactive Identity Theory**

According to Aguirre and Proctor (Aguirre J. A., 1995) among the many factors that sustain culture, ethnicity, and national identity formations in minority immigrant groups is discrimination. Researchers such as Portes and Rumbaut (Portes, 1996, p. 73) supported this view, concluding that intolerance represents an important ingredient in a unified theory of ethnic and cultural relations, in addition to identity development. Also, Portes and Rumbaut (1996, pp.87-89) suggested that during the twentieth century in America, the social response to discrimination among immigrant populations came to be known as reactive identity theory. Ethnicity, framed by the experiences of the first arrivals rather than class, was to provide the fundamental matrix of American-based politics for subsequent generations. Ironically, the class-consciousness of the more literate immigrants faded away while ethnic consciousness, forced on the peasant masses by native discrimination endured. Hence, ethnic markers were redefined by reactive formation into symbols of pride and rallying points for mass political participation. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 102). According to Aguirre and Proctor (1995), reactive identity theory refers to a particular type of social identity that is characterized by opposition to mainstream values, norms, and social groups, and it involves two key components. First, there is an immigrant perceived, suspected, or actual ethnic and cultural boundary intrusion through some discriminatory act (Gonzales, 1994, p. 111). According to Gonzales (1994, pp.111-113) in response to this intrusion, immigrant groups mobilize in an effort to reconstitute the broken boundaries and restore or perhaps gain social standing. Critics of reactive identity theory, such as Gallo (Gallo, 1974, p. 174), maintained that it fails to fully appreciate other factors that contribute to reactions

to negotiated identity formations, such as social interactions, economic strength, or pre-existing archetypes of self, group, or community or tribal identification. Still, the approach helped me better understand the patterns, methods, and processes through which discriminatory judgments and labels are used against minority immigrant groups, and how these groups internalize these meanings (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). In this research on the post-immigration lived experiences and identity issues of Afghan refugees interpreters and translators, reactive identity theory helps unearth identity attributes with higher internalized value such as trust and mistrust, as compared to those that are less important to assimilation or native relatedness.

#### **4.11. Concept of migratory field**

Afghan refugees must be reconsidered with reference to broader Pashtun migratory patterns. In this research, migration is taken as a social construct (Tejero, Torradadella, 1999, pp. 333-334) and concept of migratory field is employed.

The notion of migration as a fixed event with clear boundaries and effect is rejected. Migration is conceptualized as experience between place of origin and destiny, which is a continuous process and does not stop at settlement (Tejero, Torradadella, 1999, p. 321). According to this temporarily dynamic perspective migrants adapt to the new environment in various ways and degree according to their social condition. When these new elements adopted their cultural legacy there appears a fertile chaos (Tejero, Torradadella, 1999, p. 324). The concept also provides flexibly inters of labeling migration as a tense or stressed event. The Afghan refugee's problem in Pakistan is no exception. Pakistan has always proved both truly generous and ambivalent in its relations with Afghan refugees. According to United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), about 1.9 million registered refugees were present in Pakistan in January 2011, the vast majority of whom from Afghanistan (UNHCR G. o., 2007).

## 5. IDENTITY IN TRANSITION

### 5.1. Exile situation and identity

The study was conducted to know how the exile situation affected the identity of Afghan refugees. Since the Afghan crisis and Soviet intervention of December 1979 in Afghanistan, more than three million Afghans fled to Pakistan. The exile situation completely shook their lives; people left families back home either dead or lost. Such a traumatic exile deeply affected these migrants in different ways. The research was conducted to study the refugee's identity construction in host country that is Pakistan. Number of such factors is as under:

#### 5.1.1. Economic Factors

It is important to realize that 85% of the Afghan population was dependent on agriculture prior to Soviet intervention (Khan, 2016). But when the mayhem was unleashed in Afghanistan, millions of people were forced to migrate and left behind properties and families to escape death and bloodshed in Afghanistan. By the time when Afghans arrived in Pakistan they were in pitiable condition and had nothing with them. One of my respondents told me that:

کله چې مور د افغانستان څخه پاکستان ته مهاجر شو نو زموږ پیژندنه په مختلفو لارو اغیزمنه وه چې اوس مور په هغه څه کې یو چې مور یې غواړو چې مور غواړو چې د لارې په مینځ کې یو، که مور ووايو چې افغانی یم، افغانستان ماته قبول نه کړم که چیرې مور ووايو پاکستان دی چې د قانون پلي کونکي ادارې مور ته د سرحد څخه بهر راوړي او ما د کډوال لیبیل راکوي. دوی وویل چې د مهاجرت په لومړیو پړاونو کې مور تل هڅه کړې چې د کورني ټولني څخه پټ وساتو، یو ناڅاپه ناڅاپه د بنار بنار ساحه ټینګه کړه ځکه چې مور ویره درلوده چې هیڅ شناخت شتون نلري زموږ لپاره ستونزې رامنځته کړي.

When we migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan our identity was affected in different ways. We were in dilemma as to whether we are Pakistani or Afghani? On one hand we could not call ourselves Afghans because we could be rebuffed for it, and on the other we could not be accepted as Pakistanis. We were people with a new kind of identity, named 'Mohajir' (Refugees) a term utterly alien to us. The law enforcement agencies of Pakistan pushed us out of their border and if we succeeded in entering their borders, we



were labeled us refugees. Since the law enforcement were more vigilant and alert in urban areas we avoided settling in cities and preferred to make our settlements in the outskirts to escape these agencies. He further added that:

او مور تل په غلطی سره احساس کاوه چې لومړنی افغانانو خپل هیواد خراب کړ او اوس دوی په تجارت کې دي ترڅو مور ضایع کړي. یوازې فکر کوئ چې کله تاسو له یوې کور څخه بلې بلې بلې ته بلې ته لیردئ تاسو خپل ځان په نوي کور کې نشو کولی تاسو دا وضعیت نشئ کولی مگر که تاسو خپل هیواد پرېښود او بل هیواد ته مهاجرت وکړئ دا 10 ځله وخت ډیر ستونزمن دی. دا زما لپاره ډیر توپیر وو ځکه چې په کابل کې کلتور، سیمه، چاپیریال، خلک، هیواد مختلف و او دا په پاکستان کې ټول توپیر لري نو دا د یو کس لپاره د ستونزمن کار وړ دی چې په کوربه ټولنه کې ځای په ځای شي او خپل پیژندنه په کوم ځای کې لرئ په نښه کولو کې هیڅ نښه نشته

He reported that we are always misperceived, like it is being said about us ‘Afghanis’ that we spoiled our own country Afghanistan and now we are bent upon spoiling Pakistan. One cannot even imagine what difficult circumstances we are confronting. It is not an easy thing to leave a home for an unknown place where everything is wrapped in thick layer of uncertainty be it culture, language or environment. People, food and life pattern were quite different in Afghanistan. It is very difficult for us to mould our identity and altogether accept a new one.

### **5.1.2. Political Factors**

Politically Afghan refugees were completely disarrayed. Their specified rights as a refugee in Afghanistan were not available to them. One of my respondents told me that;

مور له پاکستان څخه د پاکستان د سیاسي گوندونو لخوا پاکستان ته راوړل شوي وو. او مور ژمنه کړې وه چې مور به د پاکستان هویت تضمین کولو مسؤلیت په غاړه واخلو. مگر داسې هیڅ شی نه دی شوی. مور یوازې د رایې لپاره کارول کیده او اوس مور د پاکستان نه او نه د افغانستان پیژندنه لرو.

We were brought from Afghanistan to Pakistan by political parties of Pakistan and we were promised that we will be responsible to ensure Pakistani identity. But nothing like that has happened so far. We as refugees were only used for casting vote and now we have neither an Afghani nor Pakistani identity but a Refugee status. He further added that:

په سياسي توگه مور خالي يو. مور په افغانستان کې هم په پيککسين کې د رايې حق نلرو. داسې مناسب چينل شتون نلري چې مور يې په سياسي فعاليتونو کې ونډه اخلو. مور هيڅ سياسي حق نلرو. په پيل کې مور د پاکستان هويت خپور کړ ترڅو سياسي رايې يقيني کړو مگر اوس زموږ CNIC بنده شوي او مور زورواکي ته استول شوي يو.

From the political point of view we are empty in all respects. We have no right to vote in Pakistan as well as in Afghanistan. There were no proper channels through which we could become politically active. We even have no right to make any political wing. At the beginning we were issued a Pakistani identity card to ensure that we vote for Pakistani political parties but now our CNICs are blocked and we are being sent to our country Afghanistan forcibly.

### **5.1.3. Social Factors**

Socially the Afghan refugees were totally shaken because they were completely cut off from their homeland. Most of the population was in Afghanistan and had to earn their livelihood through agriculture, which was the only source of earning but when they arrived in Pakistan they had no land available to them for cultivation and were therefore unable to find an alternative livelihood. The second point is that they also found themselves cut off from their relatives who caused a great sense of insecurity and they felt emotionally deserted. One of my respondents told me that:

په يو يا دوه ځله په کال کې مور خپل هيواد ته څو ترڅو افغانستان خپلو خپلوانو سره وجنگيږي. او په افغانستان کې د ملکيت حالت وگورئ. څلور کلونه وروسته چې زه د لومړي ځل لپاره افغانستان ته د مهاجرت څخه وروسته زما د ځمکې په لټه کې وم، کله چې هلته ورسيدم زما چاچا ما ته وويل چې اوس تاسو په دې ځمکه حق نلري. دا ځمکه زما سره اړه لري ځکه چې ستاسو په نشتوالي کې ما ځمکه ساتله نو اوس تاسو هيڅ حقوق نلري.

They said that we visit our homeland Afghanistan once or twice in a year to meet our relatives who are settled there and also to check our property (land) left behind in Afghanistan. I went to Afghanistan after four years since my migration to check situation of my land. My uncle said that he will not take any kind of responsibility of my property in my absence. So we are being shunned off in every walk of life everywhere. The Afghan refugees also left the pattern of socialization which they had in Afghanistan. Due

to economic reason they pulled their children out of schools and started sending them to work so that they contribute to their family's economic needs.

## **5.2. Impasse Situation**

Most of the respondents told me that they were on a track that led to nowhere. They (Pakistan side) failed to sensitize their children with any objective identity. It was very ironic and at the same time it is also hurting to tell a child that he is an Afghani but has to hide his identity from other children in his/her school. After this we were so unfortunate that we were even given a choice to identify ourselves.

افغانستان مور ته نه مني او د پاکستان مجھج لیبیل ورکوي، پداسي حال کي چي پاکستان هر دري میاشتي وروسته افغانستان ته راستنیدلو او د افغان مهاجرینو موقف ورکوي. مور په افغانستان کي ټول ملکیت لرو او زموږ خپلوان په مزاج کي نه دي چي مور پرپردي چي هلته میشت شي. د طالبانو مختلف ډلي او نور زموږ په ملکیت کي خای پر خای شوي دي.

He further told me that our own country Afghanistan is not accepting us. They labeled us as Pakistani Muhajirs. We are unacceptable on both sides. I do not understand but why Pakistan is bent upon repatriating us to Afghanistan while our country refuses to own us who are its own people. We have properties in Afghanistan and our relatives are in no mood to let us settle over there because of our acceptance to live in Pakistan may result in loss of property to them. It is to be borne in mind that it was not only the relatives but also some Taliban groups who have confiscated our properties. So pressure is building from both sides.

## **5.3. Stereotyping**

Thirty five (35) years old Afghan is staying in Pakistan as a refugee but still has a negative perception about the way Pakistani authorities and the people are treating Afghan refugees. The local people are of the view that the unrest in Pakistan is owing to Afghan refugees. But that is not true. We as Afghans have always fulfilled our duties faithfully, in fact considered Pakistan as our own country to which we owe a lot. It is due

to all these local people who repel us. We always have given all the services to Pakistan from trade to labor but whenever unrest takes place our houses are the first ones to be raided and investigation teams knock at our doors whether its midnight or early morning. We are unduly locked up, detained and intercepted. We are living in a country which gives us no reward for our services.

#### **5.4. Role of NGOs**

There are many non-governmental organizations for the welfare of Afghan refugees in Quetta Baluchistan. United Nation Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Afghan Commission Rate, Volunteer Refugee Center (VRC) Wess, Taeraki Foundation, Danish, Seher, and Afghan Consulate are the different non-governmental organization working for the welfare of Afghan refugees. Instead of providing services these organizations pay cash stipend only and nominal status.

In UNHCR it is enshrined that if any refugee wanted to stay in host community, the latter cannot insist him to leave. But ironically, despite of being the member of United Nations Pakistan keeps on violating this very article of UNHCR and the refugees are compulsorily forced to leave for Afghanistan. Many Afghans who were caught by police and other enforcement agencies had requested to UNHCR to help them out but UNHCR authorities in response told them that was not their responsibility and they cannot indulge in government's work. Like other -The other non-governmental organizations too declined to listen to refugees' problems. All the data about refugees is being reported hypothetically by these NGOs and IGOs. On the other hand during my field work VRC (volunteer refugee's center) and Afghan Commissioner stopped me from working on Afghan refugees to avoid this becoming an issue or create a problem for the donors.

#### **5.5. Group migration**

During the soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979 millions of Afghan migrated to Pakistan. At the early stages thousands of Afghan refugees settled in different camps made by General Zia ul Haq's regime in Sorkhab, Panjfi, Muslimbagh and Loralai. These camps were run by non-governmental organizations. After a few years Afghan refugees settled in different areas of Baluchistan. Pattern of socialization of Afghan refugees with local community of Baluchistan was in different layers.

One of my respondents told me that;

مور د گروپ په شکل مهاجرت کوو. د سوسیالی کولو بیلگه زموږ لپاره خورا اسانه وه، ځکه مور په ټولنه کې ورته کلتور، ژبې، او ورته قومي ډلو سره یوځای شوی و. او بل فکتور دا وو چې زموږ ځینې خپلوان د 60 او 60 په لمریو کې د سوداګرۍ او سوداګرۍ لپاره مهاجرت شوي، او دوی مور ته په حل کې خورا لوی ملاتړ راکوي.

We migrated in groups. The process of socialization was very easy for us because we settled in community having same culture, language, and same ethnic groups. Some of our relatives had already migrated in early 60s for trade and business and they extended great support in our proper and safe settlement.

### **5.6. Lingual and cultural optimum for livelihood**

Different ethnicities, like Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, Turkmen and Baluch were already settled in Pakistan even long before the independence in Baluchistan. Thus it most possibly can be retrospection that why Afghanis chose to migrate to Pakistan. Besides such cultural incentives some another factor was a close proximity of Pakistan to Afghanistan which made it an ideal locale to migrate. Moreover cultural resemblance and language made it comparatively easy for survival. Some of my respondents confided that the people of KPK and Baluchistan treated them as brothers. They were very hospitable and initially hence it was very easy to build up social contact with them.

### **5.7. Trans border Patriotism**

The purpose of study on Afghans was to understand that how they perceive themselves in new environment. Most of Afghan refugees living in Quetta and Baluchistan were true patriotic. Most of my respondents remarked they had no fear to return back to Afghanistan. We even want to be buried in our motherland Afghanistan. Many of dead bodies of our elders are shifted to Afghanistan for burials. This is a sign of love and immortal ties with our homeland. Physically we live here across the border but emotionally we still bleed and mourn for the ill-fated invasion of our homeland. Our

hearts cry for Afghanistan. Every Afghani had a wish that he should be buried in Afghanistan. He further added emotionally that if Afghanistan demanded their bones and pieces of flesh they were ready to sacrifice them.

One of my respondents shared with me that;

ما هيڅکله زما هويت په هيڅ حالت کې پټ نه کړ. زه خپل وطن سره مينه لرم او زه باور لرم چې يوه ورځ به افغانستان ته ستون شم. په افغانستان کې د ورته ژبې او کلتور تطبيق په افغانستان کې د مينه او وطن دوست نښه ده.

I will never hide my identity at any cost. I love my homeland. I believe that one day I will return to Afghanistan. I am not ashamed of being an Afghani. Afghanistan stands for the symbol of pride for me.

### **5.8. Feelings of discrimination and oppression**

The people of Afghanistan known as Afghani are living in Pakistan since a long time but they were always victims of discrimination on the basis of their attire, identity and culture. One of my respondents reported;

په پاکستان کې 25 کډوال په توګه 25 کاله مې ما احساس وکړ چې زه مهاجر یم، لومړي ځل چې زه دفتر ته لاړم او دوی زما لپاره ټول شیان لاسلیک کړل خو په وروستیو کې دوی رد کړل او ویل یې چې تاسو محجیر یاست تاسو دا فعالیت ترسره کوئ. او دوهم ځل چې کله مې سفر کاوه نو د ایف سی چک پوسټي ته لاړ شم چې FC د افغان نارینه وو لپاره بد چلند سره توپیر کوي او دوی یې وهل او دویم دویم لپاره یې له هغه څخه وپوښتل چې ستا د هويت کارت چیرې دی. پاکستان ته زما مهاجرت یوازې دا دی چې زه غواړم عازان مقدس لار واورم، او د دې لپاره چې پاکستان پاکستان دی

I spent 25 years in Pakistan but every single day I felt myself as a refugee. When I went to local office for some official work the staff verified my entire documentation but at the last moment refused to book a marriage hall for my function on the pretext of my refugee status. I was told that I am a Mohajir and was not allowed this right. On an occasion when I was travelling to some place, our vehicle was stopped at a check post for passenger checking by FC personnel and they asked for a national identity card. However

I showed them my Mohajir card that was issued by Pakistani authorities, yet I was suspected and looked upon with suspicion. Besides that I was witnessed to callous behavior against many Afghans who were maltreated and beaten by FC officials for not possessing national identity cards or for some other reason. He further told me that they came to Pakistan because they thought it was an Islamic republic and the identity of a Muslim was enough to stay in Pakistan but inauspiciously that is not the case and they are always being denied the right to stay just because they are Afghans (Pakistanis are infidels, he said sarcastically)

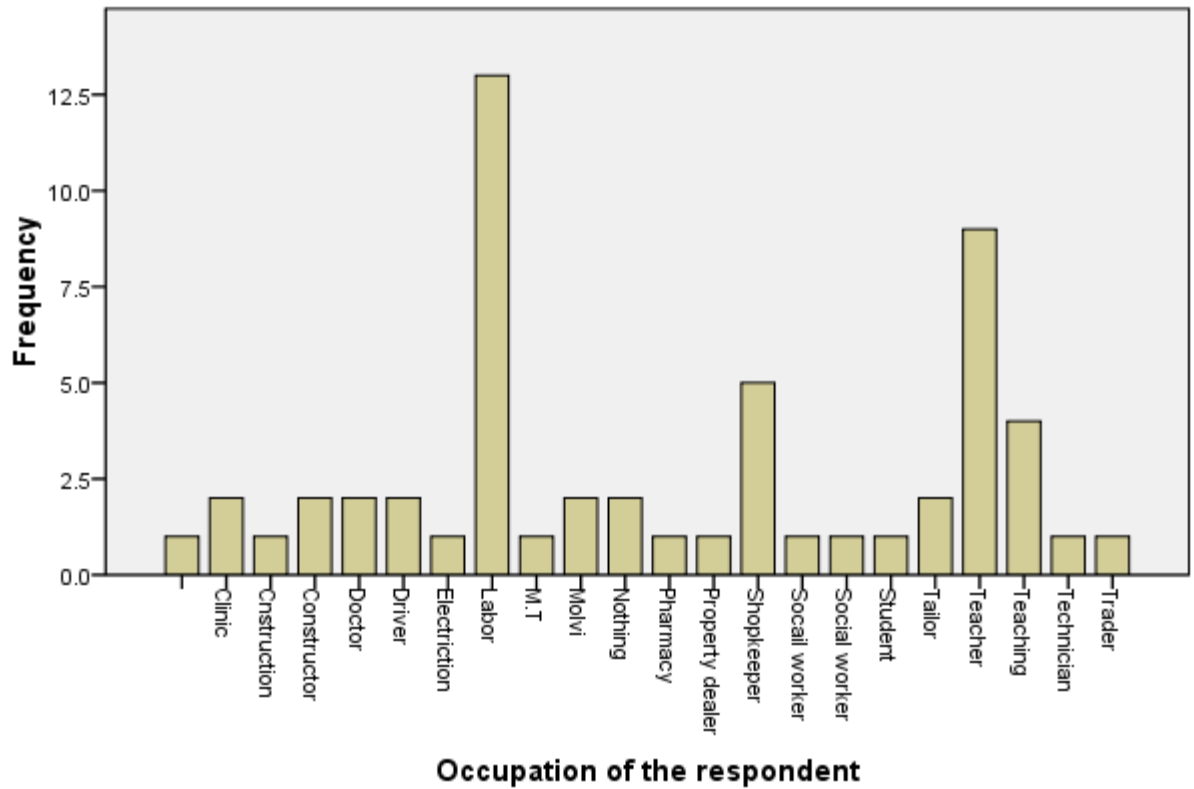
### **5.9. Schools and madrassas**

Schools and madrassas were other institutions to build social ties with local people. In the early stages there was no restriction on admission of Afghan refugees in Pakistani schools and madrassas and that was an easy way to develop social ties with the local people. These institutions provided a great deal of acquaintance with the locals and helped in strengthening the social capital and mutual acceptance to some extent. Later on with the advent of some foul and murky politics and economic interests we were badly discriminated. Many people were made to believe that we Afghans have hijacked businesses and menial jobs which resulted in great annoyance among the locals.

### **5.10. Afghans as Labors**

Working as labor in workshops with local community was another way to communicate with them. Due to economic reasons most of the Afghan children and elders were bound to work to earn and run their homes. Almost all Afghans took upon all kinds of menial jobs which locals avoided due to status problems. However, since these Afghans had least developed social ties they hardly thought of any culture within society. No labor was alien to Afghans within Pakistan be it menial or prestigious one.

**Occupation of the respondent**



(Source field data)

Owing to constrained economic conditions both the parents and children are off to work within Pakistani society. Even the Afghan refugee women venture to work, though most of them are restricted within four walls, and they do house chores and are never paid for it. The above chart also shows that most of the refugees are laborers.

### **5.11. Hide and seek from law enforcement agencies**

In early days of migration Afghan refugees had to face problems owing to their Afghan identity. Dozens of refugees were unduly intercepted by different agencies like Police and FC etc., on regular basis. One of respondents was of the view that:



په لومړۍ ورځ مور باید خپل کمپ ته نږدې ولگوو او هیڅ کله هم د ښار ساحې ته لار نشو ځکه چې خلک او پولیس تل زموږ د هويت په نوم راپیژني او زموږ لپاره ستونزې رامنځته کوي. په دې توگه مور تل خپل کور ته محدود یو.

Initially, when we migrated to Pakistan we used to spend entire day within the camps, from fear of being bullied by officials as they abused their power and ridiculed us. Hence we used to avoid going near cities where we had higher chances of frequent interaction with law enforcement agencies.

## **6. Identity construction process**

### **6.1. Constructing identity**

As Calhoun says:

“We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made...Self-knowledge – always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery – is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others” (Calhoun, 1994, pp. 9-11)

Constructing identity literally involves life experiences, relationships and connections with others, a solid mental and emotional stamp on humans. Exploration of identity provides tangible source of expression. Identity is linked to racial and cultural heritage, sexual preference and issue of gender, age, social class, and ethnicity. Some aspects of our identity are constructed for human beings while other aspects of our identity are constructed by ourselves.

### **6.2. Three facets of identity**

#### **6.2.1. Refugee**

For International Organizations and the Government of Pakistan (GoP), the refugees are defined and governed by the Convention of the United Nations of 1951 which was expanded by the ensuing Protocol of 1967 and states that “the refugee is a person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his

nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country“ (Centliveres-Demont, 1988).

In abundant literature dedicated to Afghan refugees, one notices the first term to be individual: ‘Refugee’ and latter is described as victim of circumstances. The refugees identity is the most familiar to us and the refugee is known by his poor condition, economically weak status, uneducated and undernourished and demoralized. It is true that the image is not appropriate to describe the misery of Afghan refugees but that is the hard truth. Upon the arrival of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, UNHCR takes over the charge for temporary settlement while other NGOs supply items of basic needs to refugees in Pakistan, but in the longer run these refugees face difficulties in education, healthcare, and many problems in all walks of life.

One of my respondents said that;

کله چې مور د جگړې له امله پاکستان ته مهاجر شو او مور د پوکسین سیمه ایز ښوونځي ته لاړو، مور ته ویل شوي و چې که تاسو د پوکسایاني شناخت ولرئ نو مور به وکولای شو خپل ماشومان په ښوونځي کې ومنو او یا هم بخښنه غواړو

When we migrated to Pakistan and asked local schools to enroll our children, we were outrightly told that we did not have Pakistani identity therefore our children were not liable to be admitted in Pakistani schools.

One Tajik female respondent complained that:

من خودم را به عنوان ناسیونالیست پاکستان در نظر گرفتم. اما وقتی که من در کلاس 9 بودم از اداره دولتی بازدید کردم، آنها گفتند که شما هیچ کارت شناسایی ندارید و شما پناهنده هستید و نمی توانید برای این پست کار کنید.

I was considering myself as Pakistani national but when I was in 9<sup>th</sup> class, I happened to visit a government office where the staff told me that I did not have a Pakistani identity

card and, therefore I could not be employed on the basis of Middle school education and refugee status.

She further explained that:

آنها اضافه کردند که شما حق ندارید در مورد Pakistan. شما مردم به عنوان پناهنده در نظر گرفته شده و برای مدت زمان طولانی در اینجا خواهید ماند و به زودی ممکن است شما مردم کشور ما را ترک کنید.

They added that I had no right in Paksitan. We people were considered as refugees and were here temporarily and we should leave their country soon.

### 6.2.2. Muhajir

Muhajir is another identity of Afghan refugees living in Quetta, Baluchistan. Usually the local people called them Muhajir. Most of the Afghan refugees relate themselves as Muhajir, because they were of the view that we followed the Sunnah of our Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). One of my respondents said that when the conflict situation started in Makkah Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) thought to migrate from Makkah to Madina. So our situation is of same nature and we are on same path as our beloved Prophet (PBUH).

One of my respondents said that:

"کله چې زه ماشوم وم، د محلي ټولني ماشومانو سره لوبه کوله، کله چې ما لوبه وکړه نو دوی ما سره جگړه پیل کړه او ما ته یې وایم (د سپو ماډریرا، ستاسې غږ او ستاینه). تاسو ډیر متقاعد وساتئ، تاسو دلته هیڅ ځای نلری). او کله چې کور ته راستون شوم، ما له مور څخه وپوښتل چې ولې ما ما راوباسي؟ مجاج څه معنی لري؟ زما مور ځواب ورکړ چې مور مجاجری یو ځکه چې مور د افغانستان څخه مهاجرت کوو نو له دې امله دوی مور ته غږ کوي."

When I was a kid, I used to play games with kids of local community. Most of the times when I won the game they used to fight with me and called me (*chup sa Muhajeera, stasu yue zie nasta daly. Keep quite you Muhajeir, you have no place here*). And when I used

to return home, I used to ask my mother why other children called me Muhajir? What does Muhajir mean? My mother used to reply that we are Muhajir because we migrated from Afghanistan therefore they call us Muhajir.

### 6.2.3. Melma (guest)

Another facet of identity is Melma. The word Melma is commonly used for guest in Pushto language. The Afghan refugees in Quetta, Baluchistan are also called by the name of Melma. Melma is the code of Pakhtunwali which is practiced very humbly and honorably in Pashtun society. The Afghan refugees lived in an area where all the Pashtun community was already settled. In Pashtun society if a kin or a person comes to your home then it is obligatory for the host to take care of him and ask if anything is required be it any kind of financial help or material need.

One of my respondents said that:

سیمه بیږ خلک پښتانه وو او مور د میلانو په توګه د امن په توګه په میلمه توګه درملنه کوله او مور د هرې یوې ستونزې سره مرسته وکړه. د کډوالو نوم، محجیر، میلما مور هیڅ نه درلود. په پاکستان کې ځایي ټولني مور ته د ګاز، بریښنا او همدارنګه د کار لپاره چمتو کولو کې مرسته کړې ده.

The local communities were Pashtun and we were hospitably treated as brothers, they gave us shelter and always helped us in all sort of problems. In Pakistan the local community helped in assuring us gas, electricity, and also work.

One of my other respondents said that:

د مهاجرینو د مهاجرت څخه وروسته مور هیڅ شی نه درلوده مګر ځایي پښتنو زموږ ورور سره چلند وکړ. په پښتنو کې د خندا مفهوم په داسې ډول دی چې کوربه د میلانو هر څه مسؤلیت لري. حساس میلمانه دا ده چې تاسو کوربه ته زیان رسولی شی.

After migration to Paksitan we had nothing with us, but the local Pashtuns treated us in brotherly manner. In Pashtun the concept of melma is practiced in such a way that host is responsible for each and every requirement of the guest. Harming guest is like you are harming the host.

### 6.3. Negotiating identity

Afghan refugees identify themselves in these three facets. Often they negotiated according to the existing condition. One of my respondents was of the view that;

مور د شرايطو پر اساس مذاکره کوو، کله چې د *UNHCR* راځی مور خپل ځان د کډوالو په توگه ښکاره کوو. او کله چې یو بل پوښتنه وکړو مور وایو چې مور مومن یو او زموږ د پیغمبر په لاره کې. او کله چې پښتون زموږ د هویت په اړه پوښتنه کوي مور اکثرا ووايه چې مور د پښتونوالی په اعلامیه کې میډما یو.

We negotiated according the prevailing condition, like when UNHCR arrives we show ourselves as ‘Refugees’. And if any non-Pashtun inquires our identity or status we state that we are Muhajirs like our Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was. But when a Pashtun wants to know our identity we often say we are Melma in Pakhtunwali code of honor.

One of my respondents was of the view that:

زه دواړه د پوکسینټ او د مجاهد جغرافیې کارت (POR) (پیژندنې کارتونه لرم. یو وخت چې زه په پولیسو کې راغلم نو زه په ساده ډول د خپل پیژندنې کارت (CNIC) (کارت وشمیرم او د چک کولو پروسې بریالیتوب وموم. پداسې حال کې چې د بیابیلو انجوانو څخه د تمویل په صورت کې زه فنډونو ته د لاسرسې لپاره د POR کارت ښودلی شم. په محلي ټولنه کې مور د میلمه په توگه گڼل کېږي او هېڅوک نشي کولی چې میلمانه ته زیان ورسوي

I have identity cards of both Pakistan and Muhajir (POR). When I happened to encounter police I simply show my Pakistani identity card (CNIC) and save myself from checking process. While in case of funding from different NGOs I show POR card to access the funds. In local community we are considered as guests and no one can harm the guest.

#### 6.4. Identity card

The identity card constitutes the external layer of an individual's identity and record of individual's personal characteristics. ID cards are required to register children at school and to travel outside of the place of residence registered on the card. The Muhajir card is an important identity document to provide temporary legal status to Afghans in Pakistan.



(POR)

#### 5. Acceptance of Muhajir identity

All the Afghan refugees are accepting the identity of Muhajirs and never refuse to show any other identity like Pakistani or other.

One of my female respondents Jamila Abassi was of the view that:

هغه 45 کلن و. هغه د 20 کلنۍ په عمر کې د خپل میره او دوه زامن سره لیږدول شوي وه. هغې وویل چې دا ستا شناخت پټ پټ دی او زه هیڅکله هڅه نه لرم چې خپل هویت پټ کړم چې هغه څه زه یم؟ او په پاکستان کې زما د

مهاجرت څخه وړاندې پخوا په تاجکستان کې شتون درلود او نورې ټولني دلتې اوسيدلي او دا زما لپاره گټور نقطه وه که چيرې ما بايد د غس آباد په بل ځای کې بل ځای ته واستولم چې دا زما لپاره ستونزمن کار دی. د کډوالو په توگه په 25 کلونو کې زه هېڅ کله زما هويت پټ نه کړم او زه به هېڅکله تاجک وم او زه به ووايم چې زه معاینه يم. زه پخپله جوړ شوی يم او ځان هڅوم. او زه وپارم چې افغان شم. او دلته دلته په پاکستان سيمه ايزو خلکو ما ته وويل چې تاسو به د پاکستان هويت په گوته کړئ او ما د افغانستان هويت نه منلی او زه وپارم چې افغان وي. په هيواد کې وفاداری او ځينې يې د دوی شتمنی لري، نور يې په افغانستان کې خپلوان لري او اړينه ده چې دوی په کال کې يوځل خپل کور ته لاړ شي.

She was 45 year's old. She migrated at the age of 20 with her husband and two sons. She said that it was awkward to hide one's identity and I had never tried to hide my identity as to who I am ? In Pakistan, I mean in Ghous Abad before my migration here, Tajik and other communities were already settled, thus it was beneficial for me. If I had to settle somewhere else in a place other than Ghous Abad that would somehow, have been quite difficult. In 25 years as refugee I never hid my identity and I never will, I was a Tajik and I shall always stay one, but along my Tajik identity I am a Muahjir too for locals. I am self-made and self-motivated person and I am proud to be an Afghan Tajik.

## **6.6. Self-perception of identity**

There is confusion in identity of second generation of Afghan refugees. Second generation were either born in Pakistan or raised here. As adults, many have sought out information about the history of Afghanistan from media, parents, and relatives. Some learned about Afghanistan through mass media such as television, radio, as well as through the internet. Second generation Afghan refugees also learned about Afghanistan as visitors. But in Pakistani schools and madrassas they learned about Pakistan's history. They befriended with Pakistanis which brought a change in their behavior and style. Most of them wanted to have identity like Pakistanis do, and they tried to identify themselves as Pakistanis. They got confused when they were made to understand that they belonged to Afghanistan, their parents were born there, and someday they too, shall have to go back to Afghanistan. The question which haunts them most is would they survive there at this stage when they have fully assimilated into Pakistani culture? Besides, they have



nothing left in Afghanistan except a horrible history and torn society. These youngsters are confused and thus at times deny to be Afghans. The situation is very complex for Afghans.

One of my respondents said that:

یکی از پاسخ دهندگان من گفت که من در پاکستان متولد شده ام و در آنجا بزرگ شده ام. من با جامعه پاکستان رویرو شدم. وقتی کسی از من پرسید چه کسی هستی؟ من می گویم من پاکستان هستم و افتخار می کنم که بگویم، اما کارت شناسایی من مسدود شده است و من می دانم که یک روز ما به افغانستان بازگشته ایم.

I was born in Pakistan and raised here. I grew older with Pakistani community. When someone asks me who I am? I tell them that I am an Afghani and I am proud in telling that but my ID card has been blocked and I know that one day we have to return to Afghanistan.

He further added that:

هرگز هویت من را رد نکردم من همیشه هویت افغانی را در همه جا نشان می دهم و افتخار می کنم که افغانی باشم. ما فرهنگ منحصر به فرد داریم و فرهنگی که هویت من را به جهان تبدیل می کند.

I have never concealed my identity, I always show my Afghani identity everywhere I go and I am proud to be an Afghani. We have a unique culture and that culture shapes my identity in the world.

The process of identity formation in first generation and second generation of Afghans in Pakistan is very complex. In this section the core identity of self as Afghan for both male and female is presented. Secondly, the influence of Afghans in Pakistani society upon the individual is highlighted. And the perception of both first and second generation is analyzed in Pakistani society. Identity is defined as “ the way in which people conceive

themselves and are characterized by others''. Social scientists claim that identity is found in different layers, and is subject to constant processes of change.

## **Conclusion**

The present study was conducted in the Ghaus Abad district of Quetta. Quetta is provincial capital of Baluchistan Province. For the present study researcher used ethnographic research design. Different methods of data collection were used in order to find out possible answers to research question. Furthermore, Purposive sampling technique was administrated by the researcher to select the respondents.

The researcher for this study examined the live experiences of an Afghan participant group, exploring their immigration from Afghanistan and the difficulties they faced especially in their settlement in Pakistan. This research was an examination of Afghan male and female identity as an attribute that is closely related to live experiences, environment, and cultural assimilation. Additionally, the researcher looked directly at the Afghan immigrant group attached to identity through their own perspectives, and explored their unique story narratives during pre-immigration and post-immigration time frames. The research objective particularly focused on how this selected group of Afghan males and females conceptualized their own sense of identity and how their notion of identity was further influenced by their pre- and post-migration life experiences influenced by their pre- and post-migration life experiences . To this end, the researcher for this study sought to explore the migration experiences in the context of defined self-identity. As the findings in this study indicated, identity, sense of self, and live experiences of these participants reflect that when taken as a whole, self-identity formations for this population are not uncomplicated, nor can overemphasis stability be taken as absolute truth.

This researcher was reminded by Canfield (Canfield, Ethnic, regional and sectarian alignments in rural Afghanistan, 1996, pp. 75-103) and Saroglou & Galand (Saroglou, Identities, values, and religion: A study among Muslim, other immigrant, and native Belgian young adults after the 9/11 attacks , 2004, pp. 97-132) that for an Afghan, identity is not a simple proposition, rather it can be found to be complex, dynamic, and enduring all at once. More specifically, the nature of the identities for the majority group (e.g., Pashtun members) appears more blended, embracing certain aspects of the cultural,

ethnic, and social elements of both their old native home and their new host environment. This phenomenon is contrasted by this analysis that finds the nature of identity development in the minority group (e.g., Hazara and Tajik members) has assumed a “non-blended,” somewhat disconnected or re-negotiated identity formation. Put differently, an identity that is newly created and takes on more of their adopted homeland, a unique phenomenon for first generation immigrants (Hall, 1996, pp.1-17).

The aim of this study was to become better informed about the construction of Afghan identity and its outcome in human interaction among this study group. To achieve this goal, understanding how their immigration experiences affected the their immigration experiences affected the study participants’ sense of being and identity was important. Additionally, as suggested by Hoare (Hoare, Psychosocial identity development and cultural others, 1991, pp. 45-53), learning more about the constructed relationship between religion, culture, ethnicity, and environment helped to frame the entire research undertaking. This framework was regularly referenced and applied in an effort to learn more about the associated concept of identity for several reasons. Least among these reasons was the examination of the under-investigated notion of identity related to the studied population i.e. Afghan Muslim male interpreters and translators who immigrated from their native land. Equally important, if not more , this researcher looked closely at how identity has holistically structured their Muslim experiences in the migrated state and the static or the flexible nature of the self-identities of this studied group. Understanding the function and interaction of identity is essential to learning more about the multiplicity, types, complexities, and nature of Afghan identities of this research population in addressing these issues.

As established in the sampling section in the methodology portion of this study, researchers acknowledge the viability of a sampling size with as few as 34 participants in a narrative methodological design. However, while this research study’s population fits within the established criteria range for the design method, this researcher took a cautious approach, resisting generalizations from this small, non-diversified, single study’s discoveries and findings.

The existing body of literature and this study's results demonstrate that identity for an Afghan is not homogeneous, rather more heterogeneous in nature and being. Canfield (1986, pp.99) argued, Afghan identity is complex, dynamic, enduring, and multifaceted, all at once. This research supports the social scientific argument that when descendants of immigrants leave their ethnically-homogenous areas, they may assume an ethnic hybrid, while at the same time, their identities become influenced and shaped, and over time, begin to reflect more of their new cultural environment. In fact, this hybridism involves more than gradual assimilation into one's new environment. Furthermore, how the immigrants negotiate their past social practices in relation to the new processes influences the nature of the conflict and tension they experience.

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