

**Societies in Conflict: The education of young female  
Hazara Afghan refugees in Quetta, Pakistan – Factors  
influencing access to basic education**

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## **Abstract**

This study explores how societal conflict affects the basic education of young female Hazara Afghan refugees in Quetta, Pakistan. The thesis focuses on one particular Afghan ethnic group; the Hazaras; and aims to both (1) map the general attitudes among Hazara refugees towards young female education as well as to (2) explore the factors influencing Hazara girls from accessing basic education. The first research question is studied from a micro-level, whilst a macro-level approach is utilised in the second. In this sense, the study explores both the personal attitudes of the Hazara refugees as well as their reconstruction of the society they live in. My research design was therefore a necessarily qualitative one. Forty-seven interviews were conducted during fieldwork; most with individuals belonging to the Hazara refugee community, whilst a small number were conducted with politicians and other stakeholders. I present and analyse the findings from these interviews with reference to the literature surrounding the concepts of socialisation, gender and identity. The findings in this study suggest that the common belief that Afghan girls are restricted from attending school due to religion and male oppression is somewhat reductive. Rather, a number of other factors are seen to be important, including the economy and security. Religion and the oppression of women proved to have less influence than expected.

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# 1. Introduction

Eight years ago representatives from more than 160 Governments gathered at the World Education Forum in Dakar to adopt an ambitious Framework for Action aimed at expanding learning opportunities for children, youths and adults. At the heart of the Framework lies a pledge to achieve six Education for All (EFA) goals:

Goal 1 – Expand early childcare and education<sup>1</sup>

Goal 2 – Provide free and compulsory primary education for all<sup>2</sup>

Goal 3- Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults<sup>3</sup>

Goal 4 – Increase adult literacy by 50 per cent<sup>4</sup>

Goal 5 – Achieve gender parity by 2005 and gender equality by 2015<sup>5</sup>

Goal 6 – Improve the quality of education<sup>6</sup> (UNESCO<sup>a</sup>, n.d.)

The most comprehensive international commitments to education and gender equality are to be found both in the Education for All – EFA (UNESCO<sup>a</sup>,n.d), The Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO<sup>b</sup>,n.d.) and the Millennium Development Goals (UN<sup>a</sup>, n.d.).These declarations and commitments assert that basic education is a human right and aim to eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education with the aim of achieving full educational gender equality. The most urgent priorities of the EFA declaration are to ensure that females can access education, to improve the quality of this education, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation. The Dakar Framework for Action commits to (1) ensuring that by 2015 all children; particularly girls, those in difficult

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<sup>1</sup> Expanding and improving comprehensive early childcare and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

<sup>2</sup> Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

<sup>3</sup> Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skill programmes.

<sup>4</sup> Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

<sup>5</sup> Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

<sup>6</sup> Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.



circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities; both access and complete free and compulsory education of a good quality. (2) Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, whilst achieving complete gender equality in education by 2015. The focus here is on ensuring that children have full and equal access to basic education of a good quality. The second Millennium Development Goal regarding universal primary education states that by 2015 “children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling” (UN<sup>a</sup>, n.d.).

The commitments made to education by the international society have been ambitious. The goals set are difficult to achieve in themselves, yet the large number of refugees in the world makes the task even harder still. According to the UNHCR Statistical Online Population Database (UNHCR<sup>b</sup>, n.d) the number of refugees originating from Afghanistan, as of January 2009, was 2.8 million. Large numbers of Afghan refugees have been repatriated<sup>7</sup>, yet many, some three million according to The UNHCR Global Appeal of 2008-2009, remain in neighbouring countries such as Pakistan<sup>8</sup> (UNHCR<sup>c</sup>, n.d.). Large numbers of Afghani’s have been displaced from their homeland, creating great challenges for both refugees and host countries alike. There are great variations in the quality of life exiled Afghani’s enjoy. Afghan refugees live mainly in Pakistan and Iran, and the social status these refugees hold differs. In some areas Afghan refugees integrate with locals, whilst in others they are considered to be pariahs. Afghanistan is surrounded by great powers (Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and China) that have interests in the country, and which are therefore involved in the country’s development. Among Afghan refugees there is a roughly equal gender split, although, as men often die in battle or stay in Afghanistan to protect the land, there are probably slightly more female refugees. Studies exploring conflicts often show that whilst the impact varies between males and females, children are especially vulnerable. Indeed, when children flee from one country to another, schooling becomes problematic, particularly for females. This situation is perhaps even more pronounced for those females still living in Afghanistan and for those who have fled to neighbouring countries.

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<sup>7</sup>According to UNHCRs Statistical Online population Database, the country operations profile of Afghanistan claims that in 2009, Almost five million Afghans has repatriated to Afghanistan since 2002. (UNHCR<sup>b</sup>, n.d.)

<sup>8</sup> According to The UNHCR Global Appeal 2008-2009, 2.1 million Afghans currently live in Pakistan and 915,000 Afghans currently live in the Islamic Republic of Iran (UNHCR<sup>c</sup>, n.d.).

In order to explore the ‘education’ of young female Afghan refugees it is first necessary to define the term itself. Education can be seen as the practice and development of skills as a means of preparing young people to enter society. Nyerere (1968) argues that the

Purpose [of education] is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of society and to prepare young people for active participation in its maintenance and development (Nyerere, 1968:45).

Education systems vary from society to society in terms of both organization and content. In this thesis I intend to explore “formal education”, or rather “schooling”. Education is an action or process that can take place in a multitude of environments, including schools. In this study “education” refers to education as it occurs in the formal school setting.

## 1.1 Motivation

The beginnings of this research stem from both my last years study at the University of Oslo and my long standing desire to study the Hazara people of Afghanistan. As I travelled and stayed on the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan several times throughout my upbringing it was natural for me to have this location as a starting point. Given my background as Norwegian and Afghan Hazara I am fortunate enough to speak Hazaragi, a dialect of Dari which is spoken by the Hazaras. Academic work on the Hazaras is rare, and as such part of my motivation is therefore to expand the knowledge of this group. The thesis shall focus on Hazaras refugees living in Pakistan. I was also influenced to study this topic by Mousavi’s (1998:145) claim that “... the Pakistani Hazaras... have maintained their origin and traditional identity, along with their tribal and social structure”. In Quetta, the Hazara refugees are mostly self-settled and therefore there are few official statistics regarding them, whilst there is even less official information regarding their education. By employing a qualitative research design I hoped to negate the lack of official information by exploring the daily lives of Afghan Hazara refugees in Pakistan. As such, this thesis should contribute to an increased awareness of everyday life for Afghan Hazara girls in exile.

## 1.2 Statement of the problem

Formulating the research problem into a problem statement is important because it gives the research focus and an actual set of questions to explore. A problem statement should focus on gaps in the debates, ambiguities, tensions and paradoxes. The main purpose of this study is to document the schooling status of young female Hazara refugees in Quetta, Pakistan. I shall explore how their gender and their experiences of conflict impact on their schooling situation. Given the importance placed upon presenting the views of these refugees, this study is therefore a necessarily a qualitative one. Whilst the main research data consists of interviews, I have also utilised relevant academic literature, news articles and other documents and observations from my fieldwork.

## 1.3 Research questions

The main objective of this study is to investigate the education of young female Hazara Afghan refugees in Quetta, Pakistan. In the light of this objective the research questions explored in this study are as follows:

1. What is the general attitude of Hazaras towards young female education?
2. Which factors influence the ability of young female Hazaras to access basic education?

## 1.4 Significance of the study

A study regarding young female education in Southern Asia is, or at least should be, of great importance both for the country of study and for the children themselves. I believe that children are important, even if they are considered to be less powerful, and their voices deserve to be heard regarding the issues closest to them. More specifically, the study is of significance as very little academic work exists pertaining to the Hazaras, particularly in relation to their education. The responses of the interviewees are not only important to this specific region, but also to other countries in the third-world where young girls do not receive schooling. The study therefore hopefully contributes to both a general awareness of their situation and specifically how both their gender and experience of conflict impact upon their ability to access basic education.

## 1.5 Outline of the thesis

In **chapter two** I provide the theoretical framework of the study, focusing on social construction theory, socialisation, identity and gender. In this study 'identity' refers to social identity, and as such I explore the premise that individuals can have multiple identities, including both a self-identity (the individual) and a group-identity (the collective).

In **chapter three** I outline the methodology of the study, exploring its qualitative approach and the overall research design. I also present an outline of what kind of research I did before, during and after the fieldwork. I present my sampling (data collection) and participants (data collection) and discuss my research methods; interviews, observations and documents. I shall also address issues of validity and reliability, as well as the ethical considerations which I made throughout the course of this study.

In **chapter four** I present a background to the study by giving a brief profile of both Afghanistan and Pakistan, before exploring issues of ethnic division and the discrimination of minorities. Chapter four shall also provide background information on the *Hazaras*. I also explore international refugee law, particularly as it refers to Afghan refugees in Pakistan and specifically Quetta.

In **chapter five** I present my interview data and explore how it impacts upon my first research question; what is the general attitude of Hazaras towards young female education? I aim to explore this research question by combining interview data with the theoretical approach outlined in chapter two.

In **chapter six** I present my interview and observation data and explore how it impacts upon my second research question; which factors influence the ability of young female Hazaras to access basic education? In this chapter I discuss availability, responsibility, quality, security and economy as factors affecting access to basic education.

In **chapter seven** I bring together the main findings and the corresponding theories used.

In **chapter eight** I present my conclusion and shall summarize the findings made in chapters five and six.

## 2. Theoretical framework

All research, whether implicitly or explicitly, is based on a theoretical framework or understanding. Hoyle et al suggest that a theory is “a set of interrelated hypotheses used to explain a phenomenon and make predictions about associations among constructs relevant to the phenomenon” (2002:23-24). In this chapter I will explore the theories and theoretical understandings which are to be used in this study. Particularly, I will explore social construction theory, socialisation theory, gender theory and identity theory. I shall suggest that all identification is social, and as such that identity should be divided into self and group identity. As an important aspect of identity I shall also explore its relationship with gender.

### 2.1 Social construction theory

Different cultures, societies and groups often have very different views of how things are, have been and should be. Social construction theory suggests that from an early age we learn the values and correct behaviour of the people belonging to our culture, society and/or group through interaction with those very same people. Through such interactions, Berger and Luckmann argue, we create aspects of our culture, objectify them, internalise them and subsequently take these cultural products for granted (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Given that they emerge from human interaction, concepts such as ethnicity, social class, gender and sex can all be considered to be socially constructed (Ore, 2009:5).

This thesis shall adopt a theoretical framework based upon social construction theory. Such a framework suggests that rather than innately knowing about categories such as ethnicity, social class and gender, we rather through social interaction and social institutions give these categories meanings (Ore, 2009:5). These institutions include the family, education institutions, the economy, the state and the media. Given these premises it follows that the values and meanings we appropriate to things depend on the culture in which we live in and our place in that culture (Ore, 2009:5). Berger and Luckmann argue that reality itself is socially constructed; “Reality [is] a quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognize as having a being independent of our own volition” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991:13). In this sense, what is real to a Norwegian researcher is most likely not real to a young female Afghan refugee. Many categories, including gender and sexuality, are socially constructed and transformed into systems which reproduce inequality and categories of difference (

Ore,2009:14). These “categories of difference” result from human interaction and are shaped by the values of our specific cultures (Ore, 2009). We take these everyday actions for granted but they play a fundamental role in how each we view the world, accounting as such for the different realities experience by the researcher and refugee.

## 2.2 Socialisation

Healy (2003:614) argues that socialisation is “the process of physical, psychological, and social development by which a person learns his or her culture and develops an adult personality”. Adults prepare children to live in society through the process of socialisation, in turn making children familiar with customs, traditions and expectations that society holds. Socialisation begins when a child is born, continues throughout its life, and demands a degree of social and moral training (Healy, 2003). These social and moral norms therefore vary from society to society. Grusec and Hastings (2007:1) define socialisation at the broadest level to be “...the way in which individuals are assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups”. “Assist” is a central word given that socialisation is not a one-way process. Rather, it is an active process that occurs between people, in which new members are active in terms of what they select to accept from older members. As such, new members play an active part in constructing their own standards and should not be considered passive appropriators of values and meanings. Socialisation can also occur when new members of a social group attempt to socialise older members in the same group. As Grusec and Hastings (2007:1) point out, socialisation involves

A variety of outcomes, including the acquisition of rules, roles, standards and values across the social, emotional, cognitive and personal domains. Some outcomes are deliberately hoped for on the part of the agent of socialisation, while others may be unintended side-effects of particular socialisation practices (e.g., low self-esteem, anger...) (Grusec & Hastings, 2007:1).

Through the process of socialisation the culture of a given society is “transmitted” to its young. As such it is necessary to understand socialisation as a culturally bound phenomenon which is neither static nor solid.

## 2.3 Identity

Within the social sciences it is common for researchers to make a distinction between individual and collective identity, with the two understood to be discrete sets of phenomena. It is also common for researchers (Brewer & Hewstone, 2004) to divide identity into self and social identity, i.e. group identity, ethnic identity, etc. This study, however, does not take this approach, and rather adopts Richard Jenkins's (2004:4) premise that human identity is social identity, and as such that all identification is social. Building on this premise Jenkins suggests that the "dynamic principles" of identification are *similarity* and *difference* (Ibid). I have chosen to use these "dynamic principles" as a means by which to explore the self and group identities of those studied in this study. In doing so, I suggest that identity is not static but rather a fluid process that can change over time and space. Identity is actively produced in order that we can classify persons and groups around us, and so that we can "identify" and associate with these persons and groups. Identity is therefore something that is practiced, and through this practice we derive identity itself (Jenkins, 2004: 4). Identity can therefore only be understood as a process, with identity and identities never final or settled.

Jenkins has two main definitions of identity. The first suggests that identity is "...the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectives" (Jenkins, 2004:5). The second suggests that identity is "our understanding of who we are and of who other people are and reciprocally other people's understanding of themselves and of others" (Jenkins, 2004:5). Both definitions are based on the premise that the human world is unimaginable without some means of knowing who others are and some sense of whom we are, as without such a framework we would not be able to interact meaningfully (Jenkins, 2004: 27).

Whilst it has been common within the social sciences to make a distinction between the individual and the collective, Jenkins adopts another approach:

With respect to identification, the individually unique and the collectively shared can be understood as similar in important respects: (a) The individual and the collective are routinely entangled with each other, (b) individual and collective identification only come into being with interaction, (c) the processes by which each is produced and reproduced are analogous, and (d) the theorization of identification must therefore accommodate the individual and the collective in equal measure (2004:15-16).

As Jenkins therefore understands it, identity, both individual and collective, develops through the interplay between the values of similarity and difference that we assign to each other

In order to better understand this process Jenkins (2004:16) divides the world into three “orders”: (a) The individual order is the human world as made up of embodied individuals and what-goes-on-in-their-heads , (b) the interaction order is the human world as constituted in relationships between individuals in what-goes-on-between-people, and (c) the institutional order is the human world of pattern and organization of established-ways-of-doing-things. Individual identity is defined by selfhood, which as Jenkins understands it is feasible without social interaction. As such, selfhood can be considered to be socially constructed through the accumulation of internal and external self-definitions (Jenkins, 2004:18). Jenkins suggests that identities such as self-hood and gender, which are established early in life, - are primary human identities.

The institutional order, by contrast, relates to collective identities. Within this context one can hold multiple identities given that one can see oneself as a member of more than one group. These “groups” can be based on age, gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, nationality, religion and politics. The way each individual “lives” these identities will always be personally decided” (Lorentzen & Muhleisen, 2006:155). The young female Hazara refugees studied in this study hold multiple identities, both individual and group, including gender, ethnic and local group identities which shall be explored below.

### **2.3.1 Self identity – the individual**

Jenkins argues (2004:27) that the “self” has four basic meanings: (1) the first indicates uniformity, as in “ Self- same”, (2) the second and most common refers to individuality or the essence of a person or thing – herself, yourself, myself, itself- simultaneously evoking consistency or “internal” similarity over time and difference from eternal others, (3) the third takes in introspection or reflexive action, as in “self-doubt, self-confidence and self-consciousness”, (4) the fourth is a sense of independence and autonomous agency, as in “self-improvement” and “she did it herself”. Jenkins also suggests that

Individual identification emphasises uniquely embodied differentiation. During primary and subsequent socialisation, in everyday interaction and in institutionalised practise of labelling, individuals are identified, by themselves and by others, in terms which distinguish them from other individuals. Individual identification is, however, necessarily about similarity too (2004:79).



Selfhood itself therefore entails identifications such as gender, ethnicity and kinship which can also be considered collective identities.

### **2.3.2 Group identity – the collective**

The concept of collective identification immediately suggests persons who are in some way similar. However, Jenkins's theory suggests that it is not possible to recognise this similarity without at the same time recognising our differences (Jenkins, 2004). In this sense, defining "us" involves defining "them" as well. Where similarity and difference meet we find what groups we are in which groups we are not.

Jenkins defines a collective as a

Plurality of individuals who either see themselves as similar, or who have in common similar behaviour and circumstances. The two facets of collectivity are often conceptualised together: collective self-identification derives from similar behaviour and circumstances, or vice versa (Jenkins, 2004:80).

As Jenkins understands it, group identity is the product of "*collective internal definition*" (2004: 82). In our relationships with others we identify ourselves as either similar or different, and, in the process, create group identities. As such, a group's self-identification can only exist on the basis that others identify themselves as different from that group. In this sense, groups can only exist in relation to other groups. As Jenkins defines it, identification is the "production and reproduction during interaction between inseparable, themes of human similarity and difference" (2004: 94). One important facet of collective identification in this study is that of ethnic identity, as such, it is discussed in depth below.

### **2.3.3 Ethnic identity**

Ethnic identities, as Jenkins understands them, are "folk classifications, ascriptions and self-ascriptions, held and understood by the participants in any given situation" (2004:97). Ethnic identities are flexible but not totally fluid. The collective forms are not fixed but are brought into being by, or emerge out of, human interaction (Jenkins, 2004). Ethnic collectivities are independent of the individuals whose membership constitutes them as individuals are capable of changing their ethnic identities and shall eventually die. Whilst "difference" is important in collective identifications the emphasis should be placed upon similarity given that members must see themselves as at least minimally similar. This ethnic similarity can be `real` or

imagined, trivial or important, strong or weak (Jenkins, 2004:108). Ethnicity refers to the classification of people and group relations, particularly “relationships between groups whose members consider themselves distinctive...these may be ranked hierarchically within a society” (Eriksen, 1993:6). Ethnicity refers to the attributes of a group. There are certain characteristics ascribed to individuals by themselves and others, e.g. language, religion and so forth, and these characteristics make the group distinct from others. The term “ethnic group” refers to “a people”. But what is “a people”? This raises questions about what the boundaries of the group are. Ethnicity is an aspect of the social relationships which occur between individuals who consider themselves culturally distinctive from other individuals that form other ethnic groups (Eriksen, 1993: 12). Yet, for ethnicity to exist, groups must have some contact with each other in order to define themselves as culturally different from the “other”. As such, as Eriksen points out, ethnicity should be seen as a relationship between groups rather than the property of one particular group (1993:12). Ethnicity therefore requires a systematic distinction between group insiders and outsiders, between “us” and “them”. Without this distinction ethnicity cannot be said to exist, since it “presupposes an institutionalized relationship between delineated categories whose members consider each other to be culturally distinctive” (Eriksen, 1993:18). This also means that ethnicity is a social phenomena, given that it is constituted through social contact.

Ethnic identity is relevant in this study as the Afghan population consists of several ethnic groups. This population has been affected dramatically by wars and conflicts which have emerged along ethnic lines, causing people to flee to “other countries or to parts of the country other than their traditional homeland” (Amnesty International, 1999: 1). Ethnic tension in Afghanistan is therefore prominent;

In almost all cases of hundreds of thousands of internal displacement or flight of refugees in recent years, there appears to have been an element of ethnicity involved (Amnesty international, 1999: 3).

Self-estimates of the size of these ethnic groups tend to vary given that they tend to overestimate the size of their own group and underestimate the size of others. One of the ethnic groups found in great numbers in the bordering countries of Iran and Pakistan is the Hazaras, and they shall be discussed in a later sub-chapter.

## 2.4 Stereotyping and stigmatisation

According to Healy, stereotyping and attribution are important dimensions of classification and identification (2003:85). Stereotypes are understood to be “generalizations about groups of people that are exaggerated, overly simplistic, and resistant to disproof” (Ibid). Stereotypes stress a few traits and assume that these traits can be applied to all members of the group. By categorising people based on stereotypes, we also judge people. Stereotypes are also held between ethnic groups, i.e. between Hazaras and Pashtuns, and between citizens of neighbouring countries, i.e. between Afghans and Pakistanis.

Eriksen explores how cultural differences are communicated in private situations in the Copper Belt, Zambia. He argues that

When two individuals met for the first time, the first information they would gather about one another would be their ethnic membership. When this fact was established they would know roughly how to behave towards each other, since there were standardised relationships between groups (Eriksen, 1993: 22).

This way of communicating is also similar to the interactions between Afghani ethnic groups and between Afghans and Pakistanis. When, for example, Pashtuns and Hazaras meet they know how to interact with each other, as there are standardised relationships between the two groups. Pashtuns are “standardised” to behave superior to the Hazara, the latter of which are most likely intimidated by the Pashtun. There are many stereotypes held by each regarding the other. As the same time, the group itself also holds stereotypes of themselves. “Stereotypes” has become a negative word loaded with connotations of racism and discrimination. Yet stereotypes can also be less pejorative. One can also have positive stereotypes regarding a people. As Eriksen (1993:23) argues;

... the concept of stereotyping refers to the creation and consistent application of standardised notions of the cultural distinctiveness of a group. Stereotypes are held by dominated groups as well as by dominating ones...

Furthermore, Eriksen suggests that “Stereotypes need not be true, and they do not necessarily give good descriptions of what people actually do” (Eriksen, 1993: 24). Negative stereotypes however, being true or not, can leave groups of people from achieving full acceptance from society.

According to Goffman (1968), **stigma** occurs when an individual is disqualified from full social acceptance. Stigma refers to both bodily signs and social status. The Greeks created the term stigma to refer to bodily signs that exposed a group or individual. The term later became used to refer to a broader subject matter. Today the use of the term is applied more to the disgrace itself rather than bodily or social evidence of it. People hold preliminary conceptions of individuals and groups of people. As Goffman suggests;

Society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories. Social settings establish the categories of persons likely to be encountered here (1968: 12).

In this research it is possible to see both the ethnic identity of the Hazaras and their (Afghan) refugee identity as stigmatised identities. The Hazaras are disqualified from full acceptance into Afghan society due to their ancestry and faith, and are also disqualified from full acceptance into Pakistani society as they hold refugee status.

## 2.5 Gender

The concept of gender is complex and builds on several processes that are often intertwined. There are several theories regarding gender and how gender is developed. Most of the contemporary theories either explicitly or implicitly acknowledge the combination of four processes: (a) Social-Structural processes, (b) Social-Interactive Processes, (c) Cognitive-Motivational Processes and (d) Biological Processes (Grusec & Hastings, 2007: 562-563). Theories which explain gender vary with regards to which of the above processes they emphasize most. I will explore these later in this chapter, but firstly it must be recognized that gender is organized differently in different societies and that this has varied depending on the times. This means that the different meanings and possibilities associated with men and women are fluid over time and space and from culture to culture (Grusec & Hastings, 2007). The actors influencing the “gender” of a developing child are diverse; the actors can be families, peers, the media, and schools (Grusec & Hastings, 2007: 561).

### **2.5.1 Gender and Biology**

A person's biological sex only identifies their body as male or female. Thus the fact that women are on average shorter and lighter than men is mostly due to sex, i.e. it is biologically determined (Grusec & Hastings, 2007:4). When a child is born one of the first questions asked is whether the child is a boy or a girl. The labels "boy" and "girl" are decided purely by the persons. When we ask whether the newborn is a boy or a girl we divide the child into one out of two categories which are full of perceptions regarding what a gender is and should be, and, just as importantly, what it should not be. As Healy argues;

From birth the biological differences between the sexes form the basis for gender and for different gender roles, or societal expectations about proper behaviour, attitudes and personal traits. In virtually all societies, including those at the advanced industrial stage, adult work roles tend to be separated by gender, and boys and girls are socialised differently in preparations for the adult roles (Healy, 2003:21).

What is crucial is whether, or how, this knowledge is used to legitimate norms regarding which roles a woman or a man "should" hold in society. Wood and Eagly, in Grusec and Hastings (2007: 563), claim that the most important biological attribute to differentiate the sexes is the women's reproductive capacity, whilst men have greater strength, speed and size. These physical differences influence the roles held by men and women, yet it also needs to be recognised that the way individuals interact with others and their social environment also impacts upon the gender roles we develop. In this sense, gender is not entirely determined by biology, but rather gender socialisation also plays as significant role.

### **2.5.2 Gender socialisation**

According to Connell (2002: 4), gender is above all a matter of social relations given the fact that it is socially structured. The socialisation of gender happens in several areas of life, and there are three main socialisation processes which are relevant to gender socialisation (Grusec & Hastings, 2007). They vary in content but each process has in common the belief that gender is social. The social-structural process suggests that children's gender development is embedded in a larger societal context. The process considers a person's status and power within society to give shape to their personal circumstances. According to the social-structural process the important social-status factors are; gender, ethnicity, race, economic class and sexual orientation (Grusec & Hastings, 2007: 562). The social-interactive process links cultural institutions to individuals situated in their specific environment. A child's social

interactions and activities are seen as the context for the learning of culture. This process stresses the opportunities to practice behaviours and the incentives that follow for repeating those behaviours (Grusec & Hastings, 2007: 562). The cognitive-motivational process suggests that children internalize their culture's notion of gender once they acquire a symbolic capacity. This notion of gender is based on the way men or women are "thought" to be – and appear as if natural and universal. These ideas are, however, social – the beliefs of what men and women are "thought" to be are told in stories, attitudes, assumptions, ideas that circulate without critical reflection (Grusec & Hastings, 2007: 562). Each of us builds up arrangements of what looks natural and universal and learn to imagine ourselves and others according to these beliefs and stories in the culture we are part of (Connell, 2002). The child filters the world through "*gender lenses*" and as such children play an active role in their own gender development through a process of self- socialisation (Grusec & Hasting, 2007: 562). Girls and boys tend to seek out gender –typed environments. These environments strengthen their gender –typed expectations and interests further. As such, a child's behaviour becomes more and more to be defined by internal standards, values and perceived consequences. With their own notion of gender developed in this way, children are able to place themselves as members of a particular gender from which they derive a part of their identity (Connell, 2002).

The social dimensions of any specific society; the belonging to that society and its particular traditions and customs, beliefs and histories; organizes differences between men and women – so that it is assumed that "men do this" and "women do that" (Connell, 2002: 76-77). There are many ideas and expectations about what is proper gender-appropriate behaviour. These are the gender roles created by humans and they differ somewhat from culture to culture and from society to society. These ideas and expectations also change and develop from time to time. As Healy explores these differences;

In hunter-gatherer societies, for example, boys train for the role of hunter, whereas girls learn the skills necessary for successful harvesting of vegetable, fruit, and other foodstuff. In advanced industrial societies, girls tend to learn nurturing skills that will help them take primary responsibility for the well-being of the family and community members, and boys learn aggressiveness, which is considered necessary for their expected roles as leader, combatants, and providers in a highly competitive society (Healy, 2003:21).

The differences between gender roles are perhaps even more pronounced in Afghan society, and are strictly divided between the workplace and authority. The role of the man is general

and social, whereas the role of the woman is specific in dealing with the close and private spheres such as being the caretaker of the family. This is relevant to this study as the Hazaras living in Quetta consider themselves to be Afghan. Many refugees, especially the elders, were socialised in Afghanistan and therefore see traditional gender roles as the “correct behaviour” for a woman or a man to hold. Traditional Afghan gender roles are to a certain extent therefore obtained in exile.

### **2.5.3 Gender and Identity**

Children are defined in terms of gender from an early age and come to an embodied identification of themselves as gendered (Jenkins, 2004:60). As Jenkins suggests; “gender, as the local coding of sex differences, is enormously significant in everyday life, no general principle of attachment, obligation or even mutual recognition is collectively established between actors on the basis of sex or gender. In any local context it may be, but it isn’t universal” (Jenkins, 2004:60).

Gender, unlike kinship or ethnicity, can only be established at birth. As a category, gender is very much externally defined. It is a concept which relies upon social interaction in order for it to exist, and it is this which makes it a collective category (Jenkins, 2004). On the other hand, gender –rooted as it is in sex differences – is at the centre of personal self-hood (Jenkins, 2004:61). The sharing of similar life-experiences allows gender to be a principle of group formation. As Jenkins argues, “collective gender differentiation, on the other hand may relate to local conceptions of human-ness, gendered notions about ‘human nature’ or embodied models of the ‘natural’ or the ‘normal’” (2004:61). For example, behaviour that is gender-appropriate in one location may be identified as something un-natural to others in other locations. The individual that has the particular gender behaviour that is now considered un-natural must struggle in order to not play out that behaviour (Jenkins, 2004: 61).

In this chapter I have provided the theoretical background to the study. In the following chapter I will discuss the research methodology employed.

## 3. Research Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the research design and the research methods I have used, and in doing so I shall explore issues of validity and reliability, as well as confidentiality and ethical considerations. I will finally outline the problems I encountered during the carrying out of this study.

Prior to doing research we must ask what “research” actually is. The term has many other synonym’s, including *inquiry*, *study*, and *investigation*. At a most basic level research is a systematic approach to acquiring new knowledge, and requires that a researcher be systematic both when selecting a topic and writing up their findings (Bryman, 2004 ; Kvale, 1996 ; Patton, 2002). My research questions require a qualitative research approach given that I am interested in the subjective experience of Afghan refugees. A qualitative research strategy

Emphasizes quality rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data ... [it] predominantly emphasizes an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which individuals interpret their social world ... [it] embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individual’s creation (Bryman, 2004:19-20).

### 3.2 Working with marginalised groups

Fieldwork in countries in the South<sup>9</sup> can present many difficulties for a researcher. When one is studying marginalized and/or vulnerable groups the difficulties and challenges are even more pronounced. As a researcher, both prior to and during fieldwork, one must ask address questions of how to behave, how to present oneself, how the subject will react to me, and also how I, as a researcher and an individual, will react to “them”. Given the nature of my research topic I shall explore in this chapter three categories of marginalized/ and or vulnerable groups; children and youth, minority ethnic groups, and groups and individuals with refugee status.

The study of young children and issues concerning them has by many scholars been deemed as unworthy of academic enquiry. As Scheyvens and Storey (2003) suggest, it has been a

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<sup>9</sup> “Countries in the South” is a far less stigmatised and value based concept compared to the often used “third world” or “developing countries”. With “countries in the South” I refer to ecomoiically poor areas.



research topic that has being “taken for granted – seen but not heard, acted upon but not with” (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003:173). As such, it is important that children are identified as a group whose voices deserve and need to be heard. There are a number of major challenges to consider when researching children. It is crucial to ensure that the study is not harmful, embarrassing or intrusive. It is also crucial to allow the children to build up trust in you as a researcher, and this can take a large amount of time, which in turn should be prioritized by the researcher. Scheyvens and Storey (2003) suggest that research into children has

... sometimes ... turned into a “raid” whereby the investigator moves in, plunders the results, swiftly moves out and in this process the children are denigrated to little more than tokens. As such, they suggest that “researchers should pay particular attention to accessing the views of less confident or less articulate children, particularly girls (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003:174).

It is not only children that are a marginalised group in this study; I am also researching a minority ethnic group. As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, there is a dearth of research concerning young Hazara refugees and education. Yet, as Scheyvens and Storey (2003:179) point out, “It is clearly important that research gives voices to the interests and concerns of minority ethnic groups and indigenous peoples are carried out, especially where these groups still face political repression or subversion of their rights”. Nevertheless, and as was particularly relevant in this study; “researchers must be very sensitive and aware of the politics of such research because otherwise they may endanger themselves and/or the groups they are studying” (Ibid). In this study most of the interviewees were Hazara refugees living in Quetta. This means that this study includes a third marginalised group; individuals with refugee status. This group is both marginalised and vulnerable given that they have experienced traumatic situations and suffer from psychological distress.

In this study I have been very much aware that I have been working with what is considered to be marginalised groups. As I am re-presenting others, I have been careful not to affect or bias the result. Conducting this study I have stressed towards the young informants that I am of the belief that young voices deserves to be heard. All interviews were conducted on the premises of the young informants, e.g. that they got the time needed to think before answering the questions asked. I have been sensitive regarding informing all participating informants that the study is not harmful in any way, and that they will be presented anonymously. They were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any given time.

### 3.3 The researcher as an Insider, outsider, or “just” a woman?

The researcher plays a significant role within a qualitative study. Yet, the role of the researcher can vary depending on whether the researcher is considered to be an outsider, insider or perhaps, as in this study, “just” a woman. The information one is able to receive from participants may differ regarding which of these positions one is seen to hold. In this study, I consider myself to be an insider, outsider, and a woman. In what follows I shall therefore explore all three positions, discussing their advantages and disadvantages with examples from my research.

There are different ways in which a researcher can be an outsider. The researcher doing fieldwork in a foreign country is an outsider as he or she is in a foreign environment. The researcher is taken out of his or hers everyday life, such as was the case in this study. A researcher conducting research in a foreign country or society will in many cases also be separated from the subject of study by language, nationality, culture, traditions and religion. As my background is not entirely Hazara, I have a background very different from those investigated in this study. I set myself apart both in appearances (clothes, attitudes etc) and physically (I am taller than the average Hazara woman). A researcher in a foreign setting will always be an outsider in the sense that his or her presence will impact on the normal daily life of the people been studied. There are both advantages and disadvantages to being an outsider. A very common disadvantage for an outsider is that one does not know basic things regarding the people of study, such as language and culture. This can create problems whilst interviewing, as it is sometimes crucial to ask the “right” question in the “right” way. In some situations one may not get the “right” answer to a question as people of different cultures and traditions may understand certain words and concepts to have a different meaning to that of the researcher. There is also the possibility that participants may change their opinions and answers to what they expect the researcher wants to hear. Subjects may be hesitant to fully “open up” if they feel that their answers, or even participation itself, could be harmful for them in terms of the way they are regarded in their own community or even wider society. Conversely, some subjects actually feel as though they can “open up” to someone on “the outside” where there are no “wrong” answers that need to be defended. An important question to ask is whether being an outsider makes one more or less objective? Every person will bring with them prejudices in some shape or form, regardless of where one comes from. One of the

most important issues separating an insider from an outsider is that the latter feels less pressure to reach conclusions that are deemed more plausible by the local community of the study (Narayan, 1993).

In studies where the researcher is an insider the role leads to others advantages and disadvantages. As an insider one is likely to have the same reference points as the subjects of the study. This can strengthen the study as it enables questions to be asked in a way that is easier for subjects to understand. As an insider one can “read between the lines” and better understand the answer in view of the context in which it is being given. This is clearly a great strength when one is undertaking qualitative research. Yet, when the researcher is seen as an insider there is also a danger that subjects feel that they have an understanding of what the researcher “wants” to hear, a feature which could potentially influence their answers. The subjects might also feel lesser need to elaborate on their answers given that they feel that the perceived insider has a greater insight into the situation of the subject (Narayan, 1993:677). As both an insider and outsider this can be challenging. In the present study I experienced on a number of occasions interviewees responding”... You know how it is” (code list). They sometimes forgot that I have a Hazara background or that I have not lived as a refugee and do not know from personal experience what being a refugee actually feels like. As an insider one often feels the need to support the existing “truths” of the community and society where the research is taking place. As for my own role as a partial insider, I believe that it gave me access to information that a complete outsider would not be able receive. Most importantly, this is because I knew the language and culture of the Hazaras, and could as such ask relevant questions in the right way and at the right time. I was also able to read between the lines of the answers given in return.

Being a female researcher in a patriarchal society with clearly defined gender roles brings with it important challenges. The researcher has the advantage as being viewed as less authoritarian than a man, which can be an advantage when conducting research in which females are the main participants. On the other hand, male participants may be less inclined to view a female research as a professional. During the fieldwork and whilst conducting interviews I did not experience male participants treating me as anything other than a professional. This may have been because of my background. As a female researcher in a patriarchal country with security concerns, my freedom of movement was hampered by the need to have a male escort. This was clearly a disadvantage as it placed restrictions on how much time I could spend in the field. If no male escort could take me to interviewees then

planned interviews would be cancelled and a new contact would not be made unless the interviewees could come to where I was located. As the participants were mainly young female pupils they did not have absolute freedom of movement either, as they too were also reliant on a male escort or elder to take them to where I was residing.

Regardless of being an outsider, insider or female researcher, the most important thing is that despite the challenges to conducting research I was able to gather a satisfactory amount of relevant data (Agar, 1996; Bryman, 2004; Patton, 2002).

### **3.3.1 Going native**

Narayan asks “How native is a native anthropologist? How foreign is an anthropologist from abroad” (Narayan, 1993:671)? These are questions which are important to ask and discuss for any researcher, perhaps even more so in the case of this research given that I am both a Norwegian and an Afghan Hazara. The researcher as “regular” or “native” stands in contrast to the researcher as “foreign”, the former of which is seen to be writing about their own culture from a position of intimate affinity. In this section I shall discuss whether a researcher can be considered an authentic insider in this day and age given that most people have multiple and shifting identities. At the same time there are some factors that can outweigh the cultural identity we associate with being an “insider” or outsider”. These factors include education, gender, class, race, sexual orientation or even sheer duration of contacts. Narayan suggests that we should not focus on whether the researcher has an insider or outsider identity, but rather on “the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts” (1993:672). The polarizing concepts of “native” researcher and “real” researcher stem from the colonial setting, a time in which natives were genuine natives and an observers’ objectivity in the scientific study of other societies posed no problem (Narayan, 1993:672). In contemporary times the term “native” does not serve us well given that “amid the contemporary global flows of trade, politics, migrations, ecology, and the mass media, the accepted nexus of authentic culture/demarcated field/exotic locale has unravelled” ( Narayan, 1993: 672). Today many, if not most, people have multiple identities. I myself have an Afghan father and a Norwegian mother. Yet, the terms “Afghan” and “Norwegian” are only state-level terms. They are broad levels that do not grasp the multiplex identity. My Hazara identity is also multiplex, as my father was born as a Hazara in Quetta, Pakistan yet considers himself to be Afghan and not Pakistani. The Hazaras in Afghanistan would claim that he is a Pakistani Hazara. The Hazaras are also divided into tribes and sub-tribes. My father belongs

to the Dai Chopan tribe which lives mainly in the Uruzgan Province. Even the ancestries of the Hazaras are questionable; my ancestors might be natives of Hazarajat but they may also be pure Mongols, Turk-Mongols, Tajiks or even Tibetan and Gokha. My mother's background is just as complex. Today almost nobody is truly "native" in the original sense of the word. In the original sense, insiders are perceived as native researchers regardless of their complex background. However, one can be some sort of insider as one may share some factors that are alike. It is important to be aware that there are different degrees of being an insider and "... that in the simplest societies, gender and age provide factors for social differentiation" (Narayan, 1993:676). I would therefore claim that I do possess some traits which give me an "insider" status in terms of my research on young female Hazara Afghan refugees in Quetta. At the same time, I do not consider myself to be either "native" or "indigenous" in the original sense of these words. Instead of using labels such as native and indigenous, Narayan suggest a new term for those with mixed backgrounds who are clearly not "native" or "non-native". She suggests that although a person cannot be "neatly split down the middle, excluding all the other vectors that have shaped them" (Narayan, 1993:673-674), it might still be more useful to use the term "halfies". Within this research project I have therefore considered myself to be a "halfie" as well as an "insider" in a broader sense than the original meaning.

### 3.4 Research design

Given the research questions to be explored in this study a qualitative research was necessary. Within qualitative research it is the researcher that becomes the "scientific instrument". This means that the most essential way of collecting data for a qualitative researcher is through looking and listening. When using a qualitative research design it is important and necessary to collect data in a setting which is as natural as possible, something that necessitates fieldwork. However, it is still important to be aware that every research is an invention and that the researcher is a stranger in the natural setting (Agar, 1996).

According to Bryman, a *sample* is "the segment of the population that is selected for research. It is a subset of the population" (Bryman, 2004: 543). From the beginning of the research process I was clear on whom and what I wanted to research. As I decided to research Hazara Afghan refugee girls, Quetta was a natural place to do fieldwork given that it is a city with a large amount of the target group. The study is designed based on the necessity of researching

this particular group in this particular place. As my goal is not to draw a general or overall conclusion, but rather to contribute to the knowledge of Hazara Afghan refugees in Quetta, I chose a purposive sample. This means sampling, “on the basis of wanting to interview people who are relevant to the research questions” (Bryman, 2004:334). The main focus of this study is young female children and their schooling. I wanted to let their voices be heard in order to understand how they experience their reality. In this research young female Hazara Afghan refugees living in Quetta, Pakistan, are my main sample group. I have selected both girls attending school and as a control group girls not attending school. Nevertheless, I have also selected teachers, principals, parents (both mothers and father) of the girls as well as politicians and stakeholders. These other interviews were included in order to bring a wider web of knowledge to the research so that more accurate findings and conclusions could be made.

The initial study aimed to interview twelve female pupils in School A and twelve female pupils in School B. I hoped to interview girls who were at different stages of primary school (PS) and secondary school (SS). As such I sorted female pupils from each school into four each stage. I intended to interview four girls in the primary school, with some hopefully from within various grades. I also hoped to interview four girls from within the last grade of primary school in order to ascertain whether they would continue with their schooling, and if not, why. For similar reasons I also wanted to interview girls in the last grade of secondary school. I expected the girls in the last grade of secondary school to be able to give me different answers than those in the last grade at primary school. Interviewing girls at different levels of basic education, I may provide a better overview of basic education in Quetta. Teachers were interviewed given that they had first-hand experience of the female pupils’ basic education and because they could most likely discuss situations beyond the pupils’ understanding. I also wanted to represent the principal of each school as they hold both the best overview of pupil inflow and outflow as well as an understanding of the challenges facing young girls in their pursuit of education. I also wanted to include the parents of the children in School A and School B as they could answer both why they wanted their children to go to school and how they were able to give them the opportunity. To get a better understanding of schooling for Hazara Afghan refugee girls in Quetta I also aimed to interview children not attending school. Indeed, children of school age not enrolled in school are also a central part of this study. I wanted to get a general understanding of the young female’s thoughts about education, and the non-experience of it. I also aimed to interview

their parents in order to better understand why these children did not attend school. I hoped to explore the views of relevant authorities by interviewing two local politicians and two education development authorities. Prior to going to Quetta for fieldwork I created five interview guides<sup>10</sup>, one for each participant group. The initial plan aimed for 62 individuals to be interviewed:

School A	Number of participants	School B	Number of participants	Other	Number of participants
Female pupil in primary school (PS) (Last grade of PS)	4	Female pupil in primary school (PS) (Last grade of PS)	4	Children out of school	4
Female pupil in the first grade of SS	4	Female pupil in the first grade of SS	4	Parents with children out of school	2 – fathers 2 - mothers
Female pupil in the last grade of SS	4	Female pupil in the last grade of SS	4	Local politicians	2
Parents of pupils in School A	4 – fathers 4- mothers	Parents of pupils in School B	4 – fathers 4- mothers	Educational/ Developing authorities	2
Teachers at School A	2- teachers in PS 2- teachers in SS	Teachers at School B	2- teachers in PS 2- teachers in SS		
Principal of School A	1	Principal of School B	1		
<b>Total number of participants connected to School A</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>Total number of participants connected to School B</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>Total number of participants connected to “other”</b>	<b>12</b>

Table 1: *Intended number of interview participants.*

<sup>10</sup> See appendix A

However, the initial plan was not possible to accomplish. The actual number of interviews conducted during fieldwork is presented in the table below:

School A	Number of participants	School B	Number of participants	Other	Number of participants
Female pupil in primary school (PS) (Last grade of PS)	5	Female pupil in primary school (PS) (Last grade of PS)	X	Children out of school	5
Female pupil in the first grade of SS	4	Female pupil in the first grade of SS	X	Parents with child out of school	2 – fathers 3 - mothers
Female pupil in the last grade of SS	5	Female pupil in the last grade of SS	X	Local politicians	2
Parents of pupils in school A	1 – father 4- mothers	Parents of pupils in school B	X	Educational/ Developing authorities	2
Teachers at school A	3- teachers in PS 3- teachers in SS	Teachers at school B	X	Exceptions to the original plan: Teachers at School A	14 (but 1 interview)
Principal of School A	1	Principal of School B	X	Exceptions to the original plan: Pupils from 11 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> grade at School A	5/1
<b>Total number of participants connected to School A</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>Total number of participants connected to School B</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>Total number of participants connected to “other”</b>	<b>21</b>

Table 2: *Number of interviews conducted during fieldwork.*



There are several reasons why I was not able to fully conduct my initial study. Firstly, I was not able to conduct any interviews at school B. School B was some distance, about one hour, from where I was residing during fieldwork. School B is located at an insecure area of town and due to some incidents I was advised not to travel to the area. After two weeks I was told that it was possible to travel to the area where School B was located, however, winter vacation had started and the pupils were located in many different places. I was reassured by several locals that the situation in School B would not be very different from that of School A. With only two weeks left, and still numerous interviews to conduct at School A, I chose to rather continue interviewing those participants that were reachable. I had also established a good contact with one of the female teachers from school A which helped me with practical issues as well as the finding of participants with different backgrounds from the different school grades of interest. In addition, I had also established good contact with the vice-principal of School A, who had substantial knowledge pertaining to my research questions. I therefore chose to put aside the interviews I had planned to conduct at School B. Teachers and the vice-principal of school A helped me in my search for participants. Some days I would not conduct a single interview, yet on other days I would conduct several. On the busiest day I had six interview sessions, including one where I got to interview a group of 14 teachers from school A at the same time. I had not expected to do group interviews in the research and therefore it was quite a challenge. However, I interviewed some of these teachers one on one in later settings. Besides the group interview, I also interviewed five pupils from 11<sup>th</sup> grade and one pupil from 8<sup>th</sup> grade. These girls were actually in higher grades than the other interviewees as I had decided to interview young female pupils from primary and secondary school. Nevertheless, I interviewed them as I considered anyone with a Hazara Afghan refugee background as a potentially good source of data.

Doing fieldwork usually requires flexibility. It is important to underline that although the initial interview plan was not completed, I was still able to produce enough interview data so as to be able to answer my research questions in a satisfactory way (Bryman, 2004; Patton, 2002; Scheyvens & Storey, 2003).

### 3.5 Qualitative data collection procedures

The research methods used in this study are, given the research questions at hand, necessarily qualitative. Patton (2002) argues that qualitative data consists of "observations that yield

detailed, thick descriptions ... interviews that capture direct quotations about people's personal perspectives and experiences" (2002:40-41). The data used in this study consists of both primary and secondary sources. I have chosen to use the following types of qualitative data; interviews, document analysis and field observations. In what follows I shall explore each method of inquiry and its strengths and weaknesses.

### 3.5.1 Interviews

In an interview conversation one gets to hear what the subjects' point of view is. One is able to gain first-hand data on people's feelings, beliefs, experiences, fears, dreams and so forth. Many qualitative researchers do interviews during their research, and for many, interviews are the main data collection method. This is also the case in this study, as it was important for me to get the people's views and attitudes regarding the research questions in this study. A conversation is a basic mode of human interaction. Humans talk to each other, and there are multiple and varied forms of conversations between people. The forms of the conversations can range from small talk to deep personal interchanges. The research interviews are based on everyday conversation, and yet it is not one of spontaneous exchange as it has both a structure and a purpose. Kvale argues that a research interview is "not a conversation between equal partners because the researcher defines and controls the situation" (1996:6). According to Patton interviews are "open-ended questions and probes which yield in-depth responses about people's experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge" (Patton, 2002:4). Kvale (1996) also suggests that we recognise the compound of the word *interview*: as it really means an "inter view". An "inter view" is an interchange of views between two or more people on a common theme. The type of interviews used in this study is *qualitative research interviews*. Interviews represent an attempt to obtain the "quality", rather than "quantity", of a subjects lived experience through a process of interaction between interviewer and interviewee. This process of interaction is an interpersonal one, which, whilst capable of producing knowledge, can also introduce questions of reliability and ethics into the research. Whilst these were concerns in this study, the interpersonal nature of the interviews made for both the production of knowledge as well as positive experiences for both me and the interviewees.

In this study, I aimed to explore and understand the world of young female Hazara Afghan refugees through their subjective interpretations of that very world. As such, the interviews I conducted aimed at "obtaining nuanced descriptions of the different qualitative aspects of the interviewee's world" (Kvale, 1996:32). In order to obtain these "nuanced descriptions" one

cannot simply ask for the general opinions of interviewees, rather, one must ask specific questions which follow a specific theme of the research. As Kvale points out of such interviews, they should “neither be strictly structured with standardized questions or entirely nondirective, but focused on certain themes” (1996:34). In order to ensure that the interview process was a meaningful one, prior to my fieldwork I prepared specific interview guides<sup>11</sup> based on specific themes for each group of subjects that I interviewed. The interview guide was used as a basic line of questioning which I wanted to introduce to each participant so that I could gain reliable data from the sample. Interviews were conducted using a voice recorder and with the consent of each participant. I also created an interviewer’s guide<sup>12</sup> which I answered after each interview. Sometimes there were several interviews in a row, which meant that I had to complete the guide at a later point in time. I completed an interviewer’s guide for all of the participants. I was allowed to take photos of most of my participants; these photos were strictly for my own memory, as they would help me remember each participant. I also created a code list<sup>13</sup> of all the participants in the study which I have used in the analysis in chapters five and six.

The researcher plays a significant role when interviewing. Kvale presents two contrasting metaphors of the interviewer – the interviewer as a miner and as a traveller (1996:3). Within the miner metaphor “knowledge is known as a buried metal and the interviewer is the miner who unearths the valuable metal. Some miners seek objective facts to be quantified; others seek nuggets of essential meaning” (Kvale, 1996:3). Within the traveller metaphor the interviewer is understood to be a traveller that is “...on a journey that leads to a tale to be told upon returning home. The interviewer-traveller wanders through the landscape and enters into conversations with people encountered” (Kvale, 1996:3). As a research method interviewing has both strengths and weaknesses. Interviews enable a researcher to ask open-ended questions which can provide more complex accounts of an interviewee’s reality. This method also gives the researcher the opportunity to follow up interesting points with new questions. The open structure of open-ended interviews allows conversation to keep a certain flow and can make the conversation a positive interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. Yet, as with all methods of inquiry, interviews have weaknesses. There is a high potential for

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<sup>11</sup> See Appendix A

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix B

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix C

interviewer biases because the characteristics we have as individuals will always affect what we do. Often we study what we do *because* of our biases. In order to avoid bias it is therefore important to think through the characteristics one has before conducting interviews. Being aware of the biases can make the interview a strong research method. Finally, doing interviews can also be expensive as the researcher, as in this study, may have to physically go to the group or individuals that shall be interviewed.

### 3.5.2 Documents

The term “documents” includes a very wide range of sources, including personal documents, virtual and mass media outputs, as well as official documents derived from the state and private sources. Patton suggests that documents are

Written materials and other documents from organizational, clinical, or program records; memoranda and correspondence, official publications and reports; personal diaries, letters, artistic works, photographs, and memorabilia; and written responses to open-ended survey (2002: 4).

Documents can be printed, visual, digital, or in any format, and at the same time they do have some things in common. These common things are; firstly, that documents are pre-existing and as such they are “out there” ready to be used by the social researcher. However, this does not mean that the availability of documents makes this an easy and time-saving method to use (Bryman, 2004: 380-381). Finding relevant documents for research can be frustrating, which I experienced when searching for relevant documents on my study group. Second, documents can be “read”, this also includes more visual material like photos. Thirdly, already existing documents have not necessarily been produced specifically for the purpose of social research. Fourth, documents are preserved so that they are available for analysis. Finally, documents are relevant to the concerns of social researchers (Bryman, 2004: 381).

When using documents it is also crucial to have a set of criteria for assessing the quality of them. Scott (in Bryman 2004) suggests four criterion; authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Bryman, 2004:381). Authenticity deals with whether the evidence is of genuine and of unquestionable origin, whilst credibility addresses whether the evidence is free from error and distortion. Representativeness asks whether the evidence is typical of its kind, and if not, whether the extent of its untypicality is known. Finally, the

fourth criteria for addressing the quality of documents is whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible (Bryman, 2004: 381).

In this study I have used mainly official documents derived from private sources, but also some official documents deriving from the state. I have mainly used these documents in chapter four. Official documents deriving from private sources include documents produced by companies and organisations. Of these sources some are in the public domain, such as “annual reports, mission statements, press releases, advertisements, and public relations material printed from and on the World Wide Web (Bryman, 2004:387). Official documents derived from private sources need to be evaluated using the four criteria discussed above. According to Bryman, “documents derived from private sources like companies are likely to be authentic and meaningful” (Bryman,2004:387). However, even if they usually are both authentic and reliable it is still important to analyse the documents used. Bryman also argues that “issues of credibility and representativeness are likely to exercise the analyst of documents somewhat more” (Bryman,2004:387). In this sense, it is always necessary to keep in mind that people who write documents are likely to have a certain point of view which they wish to get across. I have used documents from sources which are considered to be reliable sources, including the UN, UNICEF, UNESCO, AREU and the UNHCR. I chose to use these sources as they are often complementary sources to official state sources and because they focus on some areas which the state does not.

The state is an important source of data as it produces a great deal of statistical information. This statistical information could also be used in a qualitative research such as this. Besides statistics, the state also produces a great deal of textual material which could be of potential interest. One of the crucial criteria to ask oneself when using documents produced by the state is whether the documentary source is biased. While using documents deriving from the state it is necessary to be cautious in attempting to treat them as descriptions of reality, as they do not necessarily reflect “the real” situation (Bryman, 2004:386). Most official documents are also written by academics, who themselves do not always represent the masses and sometimes have their own unique agenda. I have used official state sources in chapter four.

I would like to stress that it is important to recognise that documents do not represent reality, rather, documents represent the *idea* or a *version* of reality ( Rui, 2007).

### 3.5.3 Observation

Observation is a method of inquiry which places the researcher's role into focus. The strength of this method is that the researcher has the opportunity to make direct observations of the research subject. Observation is therefore a first-hand source which involves;

Fieldwork descriptions of activities, behaviours, actions, conversations, interpersonal interactions, organizational or community processes, or any other aspect of observable human experience (Patton, 2002: 4).

Observations are often a good way for a researcher to experience and understand behaviour. This method of inquiry can be used both over short and long periods of time. As was discussed earlier, researchers conducting observation must be careful not to "go native". This will weaken the research's validity and will also most likely not give the true picture of the case or phenomenon. As a human being you always observe the situation around you. Observation is a mechanism which is often difficult to "turn off". This can lead to a lot of observations and field notes that are not necessarily relevant to the research and the research questions asked. In my research I used a non-structure/unstructured observation during fieldwork. I used this to mainly help answer my second research question; which factors restrict Hazara girls from accessing a basic education? Bryman suggests that an unstructured observation

Does not entail the use of observation schedule for recording behaviour. Instead, the aim is to record in as much detail as possible the behaviour of participants with the aim of developing a narrative account of that behaviour. In a sense, most participant observation is unstructured but the term unstructured observation usually employed in conjunction with non-participant observation (2004:167).

I noted observations which I found relevant to my second research question. For instance, I observed the amount of schools in the area where my research took place and concluded that I did not see many schools. The schools which I did observe (from the outside) were mostly of a poor standard,; the school buildings were small, fragile and sometimes even dangerous to the pupils. I also observed the inside of School A and got to see the standards and conditions of the classroom and the principal's office and combined-staff room. The pupils lacked the most basic materials and instruments needed, including blackboards, maps and laboratory equipment. I was present in Quetta during December and so noticed that there was no heating

in the classrooms. I also observed how crowded the city was and that security was an issue. Due to safety concern, girls are reliant on an escort, preferably a male, to take them to school. The men are also usually the breadwinners of the family, which means that when potential daily income comes into conflict with the daughter of the house being taken to school, education sometimes loses out. I observed a lack of freedom of movement for women and girls which was later confirmed to be due to security reasons. While travelling around Quetta I could also see clear signs of poor personal finances and a broken official economy. Seeing poverty with my own eyes, especially as I travelled to areas other than those I had visited during my upbringing, made a larger impact on me than hearing people tell me about their financial situations. The signs of poverty were present in all aspects of the daily life of the subjects and their families.

Even if observing can be difficult to “turn off”, one still need to ask oneself how much observation is necessary before one reaches a saturation point. The key idea here is that one keeps using the method until a category has been saturated with data (Bryman, 2004: 305). This means that one keeps observing a category until no new data emerges, and finally, the saturation point is met when the relationship among categories are well established and validated (Bryman, 2004: 305).

The observations I made during my fieldwork enabled me to develop a more complete view of the factors, both physical and non-physical, which restrict Hazara girls from accessing basic education.

### 3.6 Validity

If something is to be counted as knowledge it has to attain a satisfactory level of validity. Validity refers to the approximate certainty of the truth of an inference or knowledge (Bryman, 2004; Patton, 2002). The validity of the material collected is crucial to the trustworthiness of a study. It will always be a strength to present the reader with “the truth” of the data itself, that is, what you have found through the data and what you have argued for. In this thesis I will present verbatim statements, which are word by word presentations of what is said by the interviewees. This transparency increases the possibility to consider the validity of the research. It is, however, not the data but the validity of our conclusions that are most important. Bryman suggests validity to be “a concern with the integrity of the conclusion that is generated from a piece of research” (Bryman, 2004:545). I will not focus on external

validity as an external validity “refers to the degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings” (Bryman, 2004:273). As I have no intention of generalizing the findings of this research I will focus on internal validity. Bryman argues internal validity to be “whether there is a good match between researchers’ observations and the theoretical ideas they develop” (Bryman, 2004: 273). In order to increase the internal validity of my research I have employed data triangulation.

### 3.7 Triangulation

In this study I chose to use more than one data collection method in order to increase the validity of the research. Bryman defines triangulation as “... the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon so that findings may be cross-checked” (Bryman, 2004:545). I have used a triangular method of inquiry in order to gain a number of different “perspectives” from the data I collected. The official documents I consulted were documents that were open and often written by decision makers. The observations that I made in the field, my field notes, were conducted by me as a researcher. This data consists of my own perspectives and thoughts on a number of different phenomena. The interviews will represent the perspectives of the individuals whom I studied. By using these three different data collection methods I was able to explore a number of views on the same phenomenon.

### 3.8 Inductive research/Analysing

The process of analysis involves discovering the main patterns (if any) within a piece of research. This sometimes involves connecting several, often small, bits and pieces into a bigger and more precise picture of a phenomenon (Bryman, 2004:400). Essentially, it is the attempt to construct a knowledge that is based on several perspectives but which share a common core consistency and meaning (Bryman, 2004; Patton, 2002). Analysing is therefore “sense-making”, given that it is the attempt to make sense of a large amount of evidence. The qualitative naturalistic approach adopted in this study presupposes an inductive approach to research rather than a deductive one. As Patton argues, “Inductive analysis involves discovering patterns, themes and categories in one’s data. Findings emerge out of the data through the analyst’s interactions with the data” (2002:453). In this sense, inductive analysis



... Begins with specific observations and builds toward general patterns. Categories or dimensions of analysis emerge from open-ended observations as the inquirer comes to understand patterns that exist in the phenomenon being investigated (Patton, 2002:56).

An inductive research design does not specify a hypothesis in advance. Rather, as in this research, the main focus is to achieve as complete as is possible understanding of the specific case. As such, it will be important to find depth in the data. The goal of an inductive research is to create a theory. However, for a limited research project like this, theory creation is very difficult, and therefore I have rather focused on the production of rich data and detailed information which may provide new knowledge and new perspectives to already existing theories.

Important elements in the analysis are definitions, categories and typologies. The content of the *inductive categories* is also an important element of the analysis. The main patterns and themes that emerge from the interviews I conducted were placed into different inductive analysis categories. Prior to the fieldwork I created the interview guides and grouped the questions into themes or categories. For example; the categories for the pupils in school were created and based on the six main themes in the interview guide used with the young female pupils attending school. In this interview guide the main themes were; background, moving, education, educational institutions, culture and tradition, and the future:

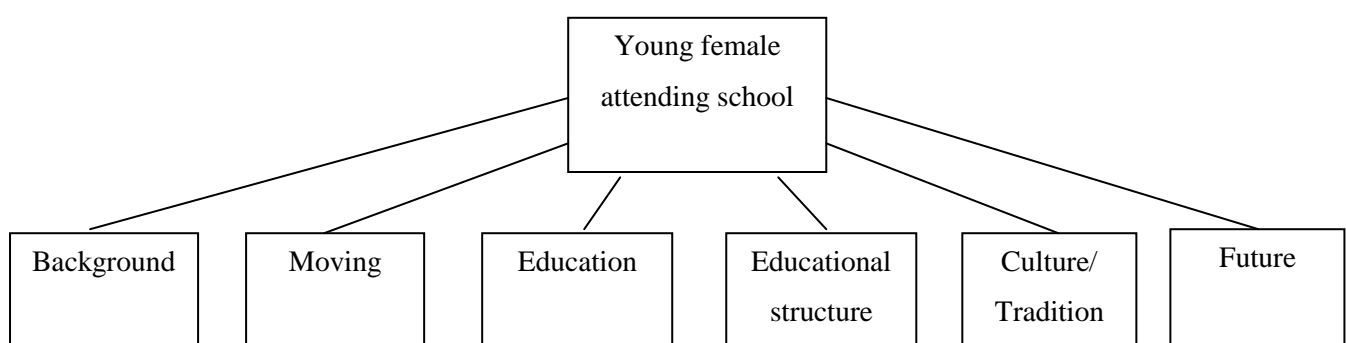


Figure 1: *Inductive analysis categories*

Whilst categories for each interview guide were created prior to fieldwork, these categories were flexible and could be amended as new themes emerged out of each new interview. The flexibility of the research design shows that with qualitative data it is optimal to analyze and

interpret parallel with the data collection (Bryman, 2004). As such, when employing a qualitative research method it is important to think about the analysis process from the very beginning of the research; the analysis and interpretation is an on-going process. Qualitative data does not require any standardized analysis techniques. An inductive analysis is guided by analytical principles rather than rules and standardized analysis techniques (Bryman, 2004). This allows the researcher to be less restricted in the analysis process. When the analysis process is completed it is natural to present the results through illustrations; often with quotes used during interviews (Lie, 1994).

### 3.9 Interpretation of data

Interpretation is an important part of qualitative research. The data one collects through different research methods is used to construct illustrations, quotes, tables, diagrams, data entry and storage, coding and so on. All contribute to helping the researcher interpret what they have been researching and to project meaning (Silverman, 2001). The researcher's role in the production and interpretation of data is crucial. Indeed, both are influenced by the researcher's social, linguistic and cognitive abilities. This makes no research value neutral. As a qualitative researcher it is therefore important to be aware of the researcher's role, to be clear on how one interprets data, as well as what the research design and data collection methods are (Bryman, 2004; Kvale, 1996; Scheyvens & Storey, 2003; Silverman, 2001).

Qualitative research is often criticised on the basis that it lacks *objectivity* due to the fact that it often involves human interaction in interview situations. Objectivity is often discussed as one side of polarities such as objective/subjective, unbiased/biased, public/private etc (Kvale 1996: 64). Kvale claims that; "The objectivity of the knowledge produced by the interview interactions must be discussed with specific respect to the different conceptions of objectivity" (1996:64). The "different concepts" of objectivity that Kvale address are; objectivity as (1) freedom of biases, objectivity as (2) inter-subjective knowledge, and objectivity as (3) reflecting the nature of the object. (1) Objectivity as freedom from bias "refers to reliable knowledge, checked and controlled, undistorted by personal bias and prejudice" (Kvale, 1996:64).

### 3.10 Confidentiality and ethical considerations

There are several ethical concerns and guidelines that need to be addressed when conducting a study (NESH, 2006). Prior to my fieldwork I sent a letter to two schools in which I hoped to do research asking for permission<sup>14</sup>. I also sent a permission letter to the Government of Baluchistan. With this letter I also attached an “assistance letter”<sup>15</sup> from the University of Oslo. I took this letter with me into the field as identification of both myself and my purpose. I received letters of reply from both schools and the government of Baluchistan, neither of which objected to my research. They also expressed that they would provide any necessary assistance. On ethical grounds I have kept the schools I addressed anonymous, and as such only the response from the Government of Baluchistan can be found in the Appendix<sup>16</sup>. Although I knew the city where I was conducting fieldwork I was still a foreign guest in another country, another community, and in some cases, people’s homes. It was important for me to remember that I was the one that had to adjust to the foreign setting. I realized that building up someone’s trust may take quite some time, but this was still an important part of the study. I wanted to reduce the impression of myself as an outsider. Since I speak Hazaragi language barriers were absent, which helped me to get to know my participants. I wanted to assure the participants that the study would not have any negative implications or be harmful to them in any way. I treated all individuals and the data that they provided with the utmost confidentiality. They were informed of the intentions of the study prior to their involvement and provided consent before conducting recorded interviews. In some cases participants were unable to sign the consent form and I recorded their consensus on tape. From those who were too young to give meaningful consent I acquired the consent of a legal guardian. The consent form was available for the participants to read and sign in English and Dari. I constantly stressed that the participants had the right to withdraw from participation at any time.

### 3.11 Limitations

The themes explored in this study are both complex and far-reaching; given both this and the spatial limitations imposed I have at times been able to only touch the surface of broad themes

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<sup>14</sup> See appendix D

<sup>15</sup> See appendix E

<sup>16</sup> See appendix F

and complex areas such as migration, Afghan history and Islamic education. A second limitation concerns statistics, the sources for which have produced varying results, especially those statistics regarding populations. This reflects the fact that there is a tendency to overestimate one's own ethnic group and its achievements and struggles, whilst at the same time underestimating "the others". My greatest challenge has been to find a reliable source regarding the number of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, the percentage of Hazaras in Afghanistan, and the number of Hazara refugees living in Quetta. A third limitation is that participants in this study are children, and it can sometimes be difficult to understand a child's conception of the world around him or her. In this sense, it is possible that I may have interpreted the subjective realities of the children differently from what they intended. It can also be difficult to understand children as they sometimes lack the ability to say what they mean. I have, to the best of my ability, tried to understand the children interviewed by letting them speak freely and without putting words into their mouths. Yet, the children often sought to find the "correct" answer when teachers and/or parent/parents were present during the interview. There was also a tendency in some interviews for parents to "take over" when the child was taking time to think. A final limitation concerns language. As I spoke the language of the Hazaras I did not need a translator, yet the interviews have been translated into English which is not my mother tongue. As such, precise meanings and cultural sensitivities may have been lost in the transcription of interviews.

### 3.12 Problems encountered

Prior to my fieldwork during December 2007 I found it hard to find data regarding young female Hazara refugees in Quetta. A large amount of time was spent in the library and in front of the computer collecting basic information. I also had to delay my planned date to conduct the fieldwork as I was given the opportunity to travel to Afghanistan by the Norwegian Peace Centre. The aim of this trip was to see whether my education was useful in Afghanistan, and if so, how I could use it there. Together with the project coordinator I travelled to Afghanistan in November, postponing my fieldwork to a month later than was originally planned.

During fieldwork I encountered several data collection and field constraints. Although I considered this to be a natural part of the research process, it still caused some parts of my research plan to be reversed. During my time spent in Quetta there were several events which caused my fieldwork to be delayed. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of December, just a few days after my arrival,

Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan declared three days of national sorrow. The assassination led to spontaneous public reactions, which in some cases took the form of damage to the infrastructure, and hence the economy. The Government of Pakistan lost about 90 billion rupees, equivalent to ten billion Norwegian Kroner, of which 55 billion rupees was lost by the railway sector. After the initial outbursts of public dismay further problems emerged. A large proportion of the wheat sold in Quetta comes from the provinces of Punjab and Sindh. Since the railways and the transportation system had severe problems, the shortage of wheat affected the city of Quetta dramatically. As wheat is the cheapest ingredient to make *nan* – bread, poor families depend on wheat. Families queued for hours to buy wheat and prices went up as businessmen discovered they could make extra money. The price of wheat firstly doubled and then tripled. Slowly but surely the military took over the distribution of wheat and it eventually reached the people. These events affected my fieldwork in several ways. Both on a personal level and as a researcher I did not want to break the three days of national sorrow. Due to my respect for Benazir Bhutto and the people of Pakistan I did as the rest of the country did; I watched the news, read the newspapers and discussed Bhutto's life with those interested. Secondly, as my main focus group was the Hazara refugees located mainly in Maryabad, many of my participants were busy queuing for food. The streets of Maryabad were full of people desperate to get something to eat that would not use up the monthly budget. These events meant that I was unable to conduct research during this period of time.

In this chapter I have outlined the methodological approach taken and how each aspect applied to my study. I have utilised data collection in order to explore the two main research questions. In the next chapter I “set the stage” for my research by providing background information on Afghanistan, Pakistan and other relevant themes.

## 4. Setting the stage

In this chapter I will begin by presenting a profile of Afghanistan in terms of its environment, location, population, culture, economy and (modern) history. Furthermore, I shall provide a background to the Hazara ethnic group given that they are the object under study and as they consider themselves to be Afghan. Furthermore, the attitudes towards Hazaras in Afghanistan may influence their situation in Pakistan. Finally, I shall explore the situation of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, particularly in the city of Quetta where I conducted my fieldwork.

### 4.1 Afghanistan

Afghanistan has played a key role in the South Asia region for over two millennia's. The country borders China, Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, and consists of 34 provinces, the capital of which is Kabul.



Source: UN (2009.) *Map NO. 3958 Rev 6.*

Afghanistan literally means “Land of the Afghans”. Yet both “Afghan” and “Pushtun” were used synonymously by all the people and tribes of Afghanistan until 1980. The Afghan population can only be estimated as a comprehensive census based upon systematically sound

methods has not yet been conducted. Most population statistics therefore rely on samples and estimates. According to the CIA's World Factbook (CIA,2009) the Afghan population as of July 2009 was estimated to be 33,609,937 million people. The size and composition of ethnic groups is estimated to be; Pashtu (42 %), Tajik (27%), Hazara (9%), Uzbek (9%), Aimak (4%), Turkmen (3%), Baloch (2%) and other (4%). The official languages of Afghanistan are Pashto, spoken by the Pashtuns, and Dari, spoken by Hazaras, Tajiks, Aimak and other minorities. Ali (2002) describes the complexity of the ethnic groups as

A mosaic of competing tribes and nationalities – ranging from the dominant Pashtuns (themselves bitterly divided), the Tadjiks and the Uzbeks, to Hazaras (of Mongol descent), Nuristanis and Baluch (2002: 203).

The three main aspects to *Afghan culture* are Islam, family and dress. The main religion in Afghanistan is *Islam*. About 90% of the population is Sunni Muslim, whilst followers of the Hanafite school of Sunnism, Shi`a Hazaras, Farsiwan, Qizilbash and approximately 10.000 Ismailis make up the remaining 10 per cent. Except for the very small communities of Sikhs and Hindus, Afghanistan is a purely Islamic country (Anderson & Hatch Dupree, 1990: 65). The family is the single most important institution in Afghan society. Within families there is a tendency towards respect for age, reverence for motherhood, eagerness for children, especially if there are sons, and avoidance of divorce. The extended family is considered by Blood (2001) to be the major economic and social unit in society. Child socialisation takes place within the family because of the lack of an education system. Thus, individual, social, economic and political rights and obligations are found within the family, which guarantees security to each man and woman from birth to death (Blood, 2001). An instantly recognizable manifestation of Afghan conservatism is *dress*. According to the Quran, modest dress is incumbent upon men as well as women, although it is in women that this has taken its most extreme form. Clothing must hide the shape of the body for both sexes, whilst for women the *hijab* (veil) is essential for covering the hair. Afghan men most commonly wear the *pirhan tonban* (traditional male clothes) of baggy pajama trousers and a long shirt known as *shalwar kameez*.

#### **4.1.1 General aims and objectives of education in Afghanistan**

According to Blood (2001) there are two parallel educational systems functioning in Afghanistan; the traditional Islamic Madrasas and the modern education system. The former are found in towns and villages and teach children basic moral values and ritual knowledge

through the study of the Holy Koran. The latter was introduced by the government at the end of the nineteenth century as a means by which to convince traditionalists of the Islam's compatibility with modernisation. The modern Afghan education system was subsequently expanded through assistance from France, Germany, Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, Turkey and India. In 1935 education were declared universal, compulsory and free (Blood, 2001).

It has proved problematic to find information regarding the general aims and objectives of education in Afghanistan. The official web pages of the Government of Afghanistan have no stated aims or objectives regarding education. Nor did I receive any response when addressing them directly through email. It is unknown whether the implication is that it is difficult to provide such aims and objections when large areas of the country are at a war, or whether there are other unknown difficulties.

#### **4.1.2 The Hazaras**

There is a scarcity of research and academic work pertaining to the Hazaras. In one of the few available works Poladi (1989) addresses the Hazaras in terms of the people, the land, culture and religion, the affects of different Afghan rulers and wars on the Hazara people, their political and social organisation and their economy. The book covers all aspects of Hazara identity, culture, religion and history. Mousavi (1998) has also explored the Hazaras from a historical, cultural, economic and political perspective.

The Hazaras are one of several ethnic groups inhabiting Afghanistan and as the third largest they are likely to account for "one-fifth, 20 per cent, of the Afghan population" (Britannica Online Encyclopedia, n.d.). According to the CIA world fact book, however, the Hazaras are the third largest ethnic group, and make up an estimated 9 % of the Afghan population (CIA, n.d.). I would consider both these sources as being reliable, yet the gap in the statistics are severe. It is obvious that there is no correlation between the data which is presented, which supports my conclusion that there are great insecurities regarding the number of Hazaras in Afghanistan, and in the world in general. The Hazaras are, however, a significant group of people as they are believed to form at least 9% of the Afghan population.

Most Hazaras are Shiite Muslims, which, given that most the inhabitants of Afghanistan are Sunni Muslims, makes them a minority. The Hazaras speak Hazaragi, a dialect of Dari. The meaning of the name Hazara originates from the Persian word *Hazar*, which in Dari means



*thousand* (Poladi, 1989: 22). The Hazaras physical features differ from the rest of the Afghan population. They have Mongoloid features; narrow eyes, flat noses and broad cheekbones. It is difficult to say for sure from where and from whom the Hazaras originate. There are however, five main theories, the first of which claims the Hazaras to be pure Mongols and the direct descendants of Genghis Khan. As one academic suggests; “The Hazaras are Mongols and inhabit a large area in Central Afghanistan. They settled in this country in the thirteenth century ...Even today most of the Hazaras are unmistakably Mongol in appearance...” (Thesiger, 1955:313). The second theory claims that the Hazaras are a mix of Turks and Mongols, while the third theory claims that the Hazaras are Tajiks (Poladi, 1989:4). The fourth theory claims that the Hazaras are natives of Hazarajat, and that when Genghis Khan came to the region there were already Hazaras present. The theory claims that the Buddha’s of Bamiyan were made by Hazaras over 2.500 years ago (Poladi, 1989). The fifth and final theory is that Hazaras are related to Tibetans or Nepalese Gorkhas (Poladi, 1989:4). Today the Hazaras are scattered around Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. The majority of Hazaras still inhabit Central Afghanistan, an isolated area known as Hazarajat.

Although the third largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, the Hazaras constitutes a minority group. Being a minority does not necessarily mean that one is weaker in numbers, since this “has more to do with the distribution of resources and power than with simple numbers” (Healy, 2003:9-10). The Hazaras have long experienced inequality in education and visas, mainly on the basis of their religious views and physical features. As Clammer points out, their religious status has “led to them being persecuted throughout history and to their being seen largely as a servant class by the ruling Pashtuns” (2007:45). Within the context of religion, Anderson and Hatch Dupree (1990) point out that Islam has been employed variously by the Afghan state in order to further two contradictory goals: to firstly differentiate between groups and secondly to unify such a diverse society. However, the state’s usage of Islam for the purposes of differentiation “may have proven more harmful for the development of the state than the rise of religious leaders because of foreign wars”(Anderson & Hatch Dupree,1990:46).The authors suggest that at the local level conflicts between tribal and ethnic communities often escalate to moral conflicts justified on Islamic grounds. Indeed, Afghan government policies have “often encouraged rather than combated such conflicts among ethnic groups, except when they have been seen as a threat to the government” (Anderson & Hatch Dupree, 1990: 46-47).

In 1893 Amir Abdur Rahman became King of Afghanistan and embarked on several wars against the Shi`a Hazaras of Central Afghanistan, confiscating their fertile agricultural lands in the process. Many Hazaras, having lost relatives, land and livestock, migrated to Pakistan, Iran and other parts of Afghanistan (Chairman of the Hazara Democratic Party, 2008). Even as late as the 1950`s and 1960`s the Hazaras did not have access to educational institutions within most Afghan regions. Indeed, only a few primary schools existed in Hazarajat which has a population of six million. Hazaras could not register at an official school or a non-Hazara school unless they officially changed their identity to Tajiks. The Afghan Government encouraged Hazaras, sometimes by force, to change their ethnic identity. Those Hazaras who succeeded in entering a school and later attained governmental jobs changed their ethnic identity to Tajiks. Hazaras were not allowed to attend higher educational institutions, particularly military academies (Chairman of Hazara Democratic Party, 2008). Amnesty has also highlighted the discrimination Hazaras suffer;

Ethnic issues appear to have taken yet another turn... after the capture of an area by the Taliban people from the Pashtun tribes are encouraged to settle in the area... After the capture of the Bamiyan... they confiscated land from Hazaras, in some cases reportedly taking possession of Wheatfield's from Hazara farmers ... Local authorities reportedly tolerate these actions (Amnesty International, 1999: 6).

The ongoing discrimination affects the refugees in Quetta as they do not want repatriate to a country where their opportunities and rights are even less than those in exile.

## 4.2 Pakistan

Pakistan was founded as an independent nation in 1947 as the result of the division of former British India (GoP, n.d.). The country borders to Afghanistan, India, China, Iran and the Arabian Sea.



Source: UN (2004) *Map No. 4181 Rev. 1 Pakistan*

The country is divided into four provinces: Sindh, Punjab, North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, where Quetta is the provincial capital (Britannica online Encyclopedia<sup>a</sup>, n.d.). The Pakistani population was an estimated 153,578 million in 2003, with an estimated 31 % living below the poverty line. Pakistan has maintained a sustained and fairly steady annual growth rate since independence. At the same time, there has been a relentless increase in population, so much so that, despite a real growth in the economy, output per capita has risen only slowly (Britannica online Encyclopedia<sup>a</sup>, n.d.). Pakistan has suffered from decades of internal political disputes. The country has a very low level of foreign investment and has been engaged in an ongoing confrontation with India over Kashmir for decades. As Behar (2002) points out in the news paper *The Fortune*, this confrontation has become very costly in terms of children's education;

Nearly two-thirds of school-age children don't attend school...Not surprisingly, more than half of the population is illiterate.

#### 4.2.1 General aims and objectives of education in Pakistan

All countries provide general education aims and objectives which provide a guideline for education institutions. The National Education Policy (1998-2010) of the Ministry of Education in Pakistan states that;

Education and training should enable the citizens of Pakistan to lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam as laid down in the Qur'an and Sunnah and to educate and train them as true practicing Muslim. To evolve an integrated system of national education by bringing Deeni Madaris and modern schools closer to each stream in curriculum and the contents of education. Nazira Qur'an will be introduced as a compulsory component from grade I-VIII. While at secondary level translation of the selected verses from the Holy Qur'an will be offered (MOE, n.d.).

Education in Pakistan is not compulsory and roughly only half of the population is literate. The literacy rate is significantly higher for males than it is for females. "Education suffered a major setback in the 1970s as a result of the nationalization of private schools and colleges" (Britannica online Encyclopedia<sup>a</sup>, n.d.). In the 1980s the government reversed this policy of nationalization of private schools, and the policy led to a proliferation of private institutions, particularly in the large cities (Britannica online Encyclopedia<sup>a</sup>, n.d.). The government's focus on Islam began in the 1980s with the Islamification of the official curriculum and the increased use of Urdu as the medium of instruction. During the 1980s there was also an increase in the number of madrassas established throughout the country, particularly in poorer areas (Britannica online Encyclopedia<sup>a</sup>, n.d.).

In the next sub-chapter I shall address Islamic education given that this is a major form of education in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

### 4.3 Islamic education

Both Afghanistan and Pakistan have included Islamic education in the aims and objectives of their education systems. Islamic education is very common in both countries, and besides the official teaching of Islam in schools, some pupils also attend *madrassas*. These have a long history in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, and originally consisted of boarding institutions

where students both lived and were schooled at the cost of the local community. Originally, *madrassas* were designed so that girls could not attend, whilst families of higher status could afford for their children to receive home tuition. Students at *madrassas* are mainly “from poor rural, landless families” and are “taught on an individual basis” (Ekanayake, 2000:11). As Karlsson and Mansory point out, the aim of the schools is to “to provide the specialists an Islamic society needs or, in other words, to produce masters in Islamic theology and law” (2007:161). Originally, however, the *madrassas* were more open to new ideas and also contributed to science and art. It was only later that the focus of the religious leaders turned to “traditional studies and adopted a hostile stance towards science and philosophy” (Ekanayake, 2000:11). Through observations and conversations made during my field work I managed to form an overall view of Islamic education in Quetta. Many girls attend *madrassas* and the reasons for doing so are various. Most girls of school age attend *madrassas* in addition to their regular schooling. They usually study at the *madrassas* prior to- or after attending regular school. Generally, the Hazaras believe that sending their children to *madrassas* in addition to regular school will help them improve their reading skills and also to increase their general knowledge. Some parents send their children, especially their girls, exclusively to the *madrassas*. This is, however, very rare. Those who do send their children exclusively to the *madrassas* claim that they will learn to read there and that this is sufficient in itself. *Madrassas* are usually free, and therefore it is claimed by some that poor families send their children to *madrassas* so that they can learn to read free of charge. Some parents send their children solely to *Madrassas* so that they will learn about Islam. I have not spoken to anyone that has done so, but after various conversations during fieldwork, I have gained the impression that it does occur, even if it is rare.

#### 4.4 Refugees and international law

International migration has increased significantly for various reasons, and a large number of these “migrants” are refugees. Together, the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UN, 1951) and the 1967 Protocol (UN, 1967) provide the most important international guidelines for the protection of refugees. Countries that embrace the convention and the protocol pledge to follow international rules regarding the treatment of refugees. The UN 1951 convention was signed by Afghanistan in 2005, while Pakistan has to this date neither signed the 1951 convention nor the 1967 protocol. At the time of writing (November 2009) some 145 states had signed the 1951 Convention, in which a refugee is identified as any

person who

owing to a 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 to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UN, 1951).

The exact number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan is unclear given that the unpredictable nature of refugee crises makes data necessarily imprecise. In this study I have chosen to rely on the data compiled by experts on Afghan refugees and on the statistics presented by the UN and the US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI). In 2008 there were approximately 42 million refugees worldwide, the most affected continent of which was Asia with approximately 17.5 million people who have fled their country of origin. Among the world's "top five producers" of refugees in 2008, Afghanistan was placed fifth with 3 218 400 million refugees (Flyktninghjelpen, 2008: 16).

When ambassadors to the United States tried to ascertain why so few Islamic nations had signed the convention and Protocol they received responses from only Pakistan, Bangladesh and Lebanon (Anderson & Hatch Dupree, 1990: 25) Pakistan responded that;

While ...it has not yet ratified the--- Convention or Protocol, it continues to abide by the spirit of the Convention as evident from the humanitarian assistance and hospitality which has been provided by the Government of Pakistan to the Afghan refugees. [In the mean time] the question of Pakistan's ratification of the Convention is under active consideration by the Government ... Pakistan will continue to be guided by the provisions of the... Convention as regards the protection and treatment of refugees (Anderson & Hatch Dupree, 1990:25).

Despite not ratifying either the Convention or Protocol, "... it must be stated that nowhere in the world have refugees been received as well as Afghans in Pakistan" (Anderson & Hatch Dupree, 1990: 67). The reasons for this, as Anderson and Hatch Dupree point out, are diverse and include;

The close historical and blood ties of the population on both sides of the border and, most important, the basic values of Pushtunwali: *merana* (magnanimity) and *melmapala* (hospitality), in addition to a common language and religion (1990: 68).

Pashtun people follow the “Pashtunwali”, which is

A way of living and a code of honour created by and for men. When a Pashtun is to explain what Pashtunwali is, they tend to mention the four basic rules of Pashtunwali which are; revenge, hospitality, refuge and jirga. The codex also includes *purda*, segregation of women by holding them hidden and impeccable (Barth, 2008:30).

Pashtunwali governs the code of conduct between the Pashtuns. The Pashtuns from Afghanistan and those from Pakistan are often belonging to the same tribes, and sometimes even the same family. They are divided by the Durand Line, as it is the official boundary running between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Boundary established in the Hindu Kush in 1893 running through the tribal lands between Afghanistan and British India, marking their respective spheres of influence; in modern times it has marked the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The acceptance of this line was named for [after] Sir Mortimer Durand (Britannica online Encyclopedia<sup>b</sup>,n.d.).

The Durand line is an “un-natural” border for the Pashtuns living on both sides of it, as the border cuts straight through the land of the Pashtuns. For the Pashtuns the border has no practical meaning. As a large amount of the Afghan refugees are Pashtuns, their people in what is officially known as Pakistan take them in as they are following a code of honor. This means that many refugees are given refuge in the homes of those which officially are considered to be Pakistani-Pashtuns. Yet although the Pakistani- Pashtuns give the Afghan-Pashtuns refuge, they receive no encouragement from the Governments of Pakistan or Afghanistan. The Hazaras have no similar “code of honor” as the Pashtuns, yet patriotism and interlinked relations between the Hazaras in Afghanistan and the Hazaras of Pakistan does exist, and Hazara refugees from Afghanistan have found shelter in areas of Quetta mainly populated by Pakistani Hazaras. The minority status the Hazaras hold in Afghanistan and their status as refugees in Pakistan have markedly influenced their strong sense of group identity.

## 4.5 Afghan refugees in Pakistan

War, conflict and ethnic tensions are some of the reasons accounting for the mass migration of Afghans into the bordering countries of Iran and Pakistan. In 2008 Pakistan hosted 1,877,800 million refugees and asylum seekers. 1,876,300 of these were refugees from Afghanistan (USCRI, 2008:9). the largest Afghan population movement occurred during 1979 - 2001.

According to a recent AREU report, Afghanistan's population is dispersed among 72 different countries, with 96 per cent of those displaced residing in Pakistan and Iran;

The 2005 Census of Afghans in Pakistan suggests that there were 3,049,268 Afghani's in Pakistan, with almost half residing in five districts... According to the census, there are 769,268 (25.5 per cent) Afghans, or 115,565 families, in Baluchistan province" (AREU<sup>a</sup>, 2006:2).

The Afghan population in Baluchistan is significantly young, indeed "Afghans under the age of five number 27 per cent of all Afghans in Balochistan" (AREU<sup>a</sup>, 2006: 7). At least one generation has been born and raised to adulthood in Pakistan, and this makes the refugee framework even more complicated. Indeed, as Kronenfeld (2008) points out, the very term `Afghan` may be questioned given that over half the Afghans currently residing in Pakistan, according to the census, were born outside their putative homeland. Even though they are born in Pakistan, many children are not registered Pakistani as their parents are illegal immigrants and do not seek contact with the Pakistani authorities.

The Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan both encourage the Afghan refugee population to repatriate to Afghanistan. For Pakistan there are several challenges related to having such a large group of refugees residing in the country. The large group of refugees could be seen as a potential threat to internal stability. The enormous Afghan population in Pakistan is taking a toll on both the economic and security levels of the country;

On the economic level, some Pakistani politicians believe that Afghans are taking jobs that might otherwise go to Pakistanis... In addition to their economic impact, some Pakistani leaders are concerned that Afghans represent a security risk for Pakistan. These fears concern lawlessness, terrorism, and anti-government activity. There is a perception among many Pakistanis, including government officials, that Afghans are responsible for a great deal of the smuggling stolen goods, narcotics and weaponry across Pakistan's western border (Margesson, 2007:6-7).

In April 2006, the Pakistani government and the United Nations signed an agreement to issue registration cards to the remaining 2.6 million Afghan refugees sheltering in Pakistan. The Minister for States and Frontier Regions hoped that the registration would help map the number of refugees in Pakistan (Daily Times, 20<sup>th</sup> April, 2006). The registration cards were to serve as identity cards and travel documents in Pakistan. More than 2.1 million Afghans registered with the Pakistan Government in the period between October 2006 and February



2007. During this period they received registration cards which gave them status as Afghan citizens with a right to temporary stay in Pakistan. Those who chose not to register were told to voluntarily repatriate by the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 2007. Afghan refugees without a registration card are now considered to be illegal immigrants and can be taken to court and be expelled from Pakistan (Flyktningshjelpen, 2007: 92). The vast majority of Hazara refugees in Quetta did not register with the Pakistani Government and now exist as “invisible-refugees”, making it almost impossible to know how many Hazara refugees are living in Quetta.

For the Hazaras there were more reasons *not* register than to do so, and these reasons are still relevant today. Many Hazaras chose not to register for fear of harassment and extortion from the Pakistani police. According to local Hazaras, there have been many incidents of police harassment towards Hazaras and other settlers in Quetta. Usually the Pashtuns are not harassed as they have close ties with governmental officials who are themselves Pashtuns. Not registering as a refugee supposedly decreases the risk of being followed by the police. Those who did choose to register were often placed in camps. In the camps the Hazaras were a minority among Pashtun refugees, and rape and other humiliating incidents occurred regularly to the Hazaras, according to several of my informants. Many Hazaras did not register as they wanted to live amongst what they call “their own”. Some Hazaras did not register for fear of being thrown out of Pakistan; living as “invisible refugees” they could hide among local Pakistani Hazaras. One of the advantages of registering was that the children received some sort of basic education in the camps. However, most Hazaras found that the education provide by local Hazaras was just as good as that provided in the camps.

The majority of Afghans that remain have been in Pakistan for more than twenty years. Some of the more recent<sup>17</sup> refugees have integrated into the already established Afghan communities in Pakistani cities. For those who do repatriate the situation is rarely optimal. They face great problems in terms of shelter, safety, jobs, education, water and health. One of the most central problems is the difficulties people meet when trying to get their land and property back. Many Afghan refugees have therefore rather integrated themselves into the countries in which they have found exile.

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<sup>17</sup> Refugees coming, or returning to, Pakistan after the registration of Afghan refugees ended in February 2007.

### 4.5.1 Afghan refugee women

There are no adequate statistics regarding how many women and children have been displaced from Afghanistan. Statistics, however, usually show that female refugees and their children constitute the majority of the refugee population. As Martin argues;

In most refugee populations, more than 50 per cent of the uprooted people are women and girls. Stripped of the protection of their homes, their government, and often their family structure, females are made particularly vulnerable (2004: vii).

Furthermore, Martin suggests that;

Refugee and displaced women must often cope with new environments, new languages, new social and economic roles, new community structures, new familial relationships, and new problems. At the same time, refugee and displaced women generally seek to reconstruct familiar lifestyles as much as is physically and socially possible. In a sense, then, refugee and displaced women are both agents of change and sources of continuity and tradition (2004: 13).

Many refugee families consist of only women and children, and have often lost one or more members of the family. Fathers have either died fighting or joined either government or rebel forces. This often leaves women at the head of the household and the breadwinners. In many Islamic countries it is mostly the men who are the breadwinners, and when a woman takes on this role it uproots some of the social and traditional systems of Islamic societies. A great number of the Afghan refugees living in Pakistan are women. As Anderson and Hatch Dupree (1990) argue;

More than a million Afghan women over the age of fifteen are registered refugees in Pakistan; uncounted thousands of unregistered women live outside official refugee communities where rations are distributed. All these women nurture infants and children who make up an estimated 48 per cent of the refugee population. Together, the women and their charges account for almost 2.5 million individuals or 75 per cent of the total number of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan (1990:121).

Despite these statistics, it was not until relatively recently that female refugees became a subject for serious academic attention. Where such work exists “the literature has tended to focus fairly exclusively on the challenges faced by refugee women” and neglected other aspects such as their education (Koser, 2007:79).

## 4.5.2 Quetta: The Afghani refuge

There have been up to 300 refugee settlements throughout Pakistan; yet today only 145 remain. The movement of Afghans from camps to cities is a process that has taken place since the 1980s, primarily because of the search for employment and rations (AREU<sup>b</sup>, 2006: 3) As the report points out; “kinship, ethnicity, religious sect and political affiliation have been key determinants in the choice of destination for Afghans, and have often made the move to the city feasible” (AREU<sup>b</sup>, 2006: 3). One of the most popular destinations for Afghan refugees has been the city of Quetta, which are the capital of Baluchistan and the location of all province offices and department headquarters. The city consists of a large number of Afghan refugees given that it lies very close to the Afghan border. The largest group of refugees living in Quetta is the Pashtuns, whilst “the settlers”<sup>18</sup> make up the rest of the refugee population. There are several reasons why “settlers” choose to live in Quetta, though perhaps most important is the support networks that the city offers. The AREU<sup>b</sup> report of 2006 suggests that Quetta offers an important series of support networks which facilitate Afghan migration. These include the fact that

Afghans are taken under the protection of tribal leaders, offered land or lease for camps or illegal settlements in the city, and assisted in the acquisition of identity cards (2006<sup>b</sup>.3).

Ethnic Hazara refugees have taken cover under the patronage of local Hazara leaders in Quetta. Here the Hazaras have gradually come to form the third largest community of Hazaras outside of Afghanistan. As such they are known as the “Pakistani Hazaras” (Mousavi, 1998:145). The Hazara refugee population in Quetta is estimated to be approximately 100.000. A minority of the refugees live in refugee camps, whilst others are more integrated into society as they have been living in the city for several decades. Hazaras in Quetta are mainly *self-settled refugees*. As Koser describes this phenomenon;

A significant proportion of refugees self-settle within the local population, normally in villages close to the border. This is particularly the case where refugees find themselves within the same ethnic group despite having crossed an international border (2007:78).

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<sup>18</sup> “The settlers” are considered to be ethnic Hazaras, Punjabis, Khasmiri and the Muhajir (migrants from British India); also known as those people of Pakistan which are Urdu-speaking.

Their self-settled status has, in the long term, become a problem for the Hazara refugees. If they are not present in the refugee camps they are not given any support by the Government of Pakistan. Rather, they are perceived to have integrated into the local Hazara population already settled in the area. Many of the locals are former refugees who did not want to abandon their countrymen and subsequently they took them in. Patriotism is very strong among the Hazaras, producing both positive and negative aspects. A large number of the self-settled refugees have come to Quetta in recent years in order to live with their relatives. In the camps there are many other *Quams* (peoples) so they did not feel secure there. Even if they do not have relatives in Quetta, they are happy to live in the area of their *Quam*. The ethnic Hazaras have close links with Hazara tribes who arrived in Quetta in the last century and now exercise some political influence in the provincial government. Most Hazara refugees arrived in Quetta during the Taliban era, although smaller numbers were already living in different parts of the city.

This chapter has provided a background to the phenomenon under study, both in terms of the countries, ethnicities and statistics involved. Having done so, the next two chapters will focus on the two main research questions to be explored in this study.

## **5. What is the general attitude of Hazaras towards young female education?**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Young female education has been under-prioritized in many countries in the South to such an extent that any investment in this area has the potential to produce a higher relative increase in human capital and subsequently economic growth. As a UNICEF report argued; “Healthy, educated and empowered women are more likely to have healthy, educated and confident daughters and sons“(UNICEF, 2006:2). The status of women and the well-being of their children are strongly intertwined. Providing girls with an education may also prevent the reduction of fertility, child mortality and malnutrition. This will not only benefit the immediate family but also wider society. Young females are often under-prioritized in countries in the South due to their gender, but the full reality is somewhat more complex than this. Nevertheless, religion and the oppression of women proved to have less influence than expected in this study.

As I am studying young female Afghan refugees it is also necessary to look closer at the term conflict and address how it impacts upon female education. Ekanayake claims that “...it would be better to describe, rather than define, what conflicts are likely to be” (2000:131).

Ekanayake`s own definition of the “conceptual level of conflict”, however, provides a useful definition of conflict as; “ clashes of interests, ideas or even desires, on which consensus cannot be reached and which cannot apparently be resolved through amicable means” (2000:131). Beyond the conceptual, “conflict” is experienced by young female afghan refugees on an almost daily basis.

Conflict has a very direct and negative impact on both the supply and demand of education. The direct impact can be seen in the collapse of state-run schools. Suffering from the conflict of ideas, schools are frequently viewed of one or more parties of a conflict to present the “wrong” teaching. There is also a high risk of a decline in the quality of the education provided during conflict. There are several reasons for this, the main of which is that teachers receive little or no payment and no moral support. A general decline in security will naturally affect the availability of education, as just getting to and from the school itself poses potentially grave problems. With the above illustrations of conflict as context, it should be

noted that girls that do go to school tend to drop out in such a situation. Those children who are already excluded have even less chance of access schooling. In times of conflict resources are often scarce and survival takes up most resources and energy. As such, educational discrimination in favour of males is strong. Furthermore, within conflict situations traditional concepts and values become challenged and divisions between adulthood and childhood often become blurred. Early marriage and early pregnancy are prominent features of conflict situations, in turn often causing early drop-out from education. Parents not willing, or not able, to spare the direct and indirect costs of sending girls to school, can hinder a girl's education. Safety and security concerns emerge for many parents as girls must travel from home to school.

This study aims to account for the following research questions: (1) what is the general attitude of Hazaras towards young female education? And (2) which factors influence the ability of young female Hazaras to access basic education? The first research question regarding the general attitudes of Hazaras towards education for girls shall be answered at a micro-level, whilst the factors that restrict the education of young Hazara girls shall be explored at a macro-level. In this sense, the study shall explore both the personal attitudes of the Hazara refugees as well as their construction of the society they live in. I will present and analyse my findings with reference to the concepts of social construction, socialisation, gender and identity.

The Hazara refugees in this study live in Quetta due to conflict and, either direct or indirectly, forced migration. When starting a life or putting the life you knew on hold, ones view of reality changes. The reality faced by Hazara refugees in Quetta is quite different from that experienced as a minority Hazara in Afghanistan. When what you consider to be your reality changes one must reconstruct the reality. As the society one live in changes, so does ones identity, as identity and society are closely intertwined. The Hazaras in Quetta have taken on, or perhaps been given, the label as "Afghan refugees". What this "label" contains might be different from the "label" they had in Afghanistan living as minority Hazaras. This change of identity also affects the educational situation for young female Hazara refugees.

Before looking further into the two research questions, it is first necessary to give a short introduction to the observations carried out at school A and the information I received about the school through interviewing. School A was located in Quetta. Due to issues regarding confidentiality and ethical consideration, I will not write about the location of the school in

further detail. The school consisted of 19 teachers, and approximately 900 pupils, whereas 800 are young females and 100 are boys. The school cover classes from 1<sup>st</sup> through till 12<sup>th</sup> grade. The school is run primarily for young females; however some boys did attend lower grade classes. The school is run by Hazara refugees, and most students in the school are Hazara. There is a large variation of age among the pupils. Due to war and conflict, many of the pupils have not followed a natural education process. It is therefore not uncommon to find 18 year old pupils in first grade. The school is primarily financed through school fees. The fees the pupils pay for attending go to cover everything from teachers' salaries, books, electricity to light bulbs and rent. This means that the school is fully reliant on the school fees. According to the vice-principal, there are months when the head of administration struggles to pay teacher salaries or electricity. Some of the teachers have been teaching for a long time, some whilst they were living in Afghanistan, whilst others are quite young and have only recently become teachers. It is common for most teachers to be refugees or have a refugee background.

In this chapter I will look more closely at the first research question regarding the Hazaras attitudes towards education for girls. What ones people generally believe about education can either be factors that hinder the receiving of a basic education or can be conducive. The concept of socialisation, gender and identity are of course relevant while trying to answer this question.

## 5.2 Carriers of norms, customs and traditions

In this sub-chapter I will utilise the concept of *socialisation* in order to explore the first research question; what is the general attitude of the Hazaras towards education for girls. Exploring this research question shall lead me to consider; what are the Hazara refugee girls socialised to “be”, and what is considered to be “correct” behaviour? As the theory chapter earlier discussed, socialisation refers to the learning of a culture and the development of an adult personality. Socialisation is therefore the active process of becoming a member of one or more social groups. Hazara refugee girls are socialised into being individuals that carry the norms, customs and traditions of the Hazara social group. As I mentioned earlier, the Hazara reality in Quetta living as refugees is different from that of being an ethnic minority in Afghanistan. Even if the situation living in exile in Pakistan is different from that of being a minority in ones own homeland, it does not mean that the life in the neighbouring country is

radically different. Perhaps the differences are actually advantageous in terms of the general attitudes held by Hazaras towards education for girls?

Afghans in general belong to a culture with conservative traditions and customs which influence their children from birth. These traditions and customs include a segregated society, dress and religion. Indeed, other traditions build upon the basic segregated structure of society. Pakistan also has a similar culture based on conservative traditions and customs. As the countries share some of the same basic culture, the Afghan culture is not in direct conflict with the Pakistani way of living. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan are segregated societies where women and men, and also boys and girls after a certain age, are separated. The opportunities offered to male children differ to those of female children. In a segregated society with conservative traditions and norms it is often the female child which is deprived of the right to an education. As such, from birth girls are socialised to be segregated. However, in times of great need one can not necessarily afford to retain all conservative traditions and norms. For instance, at school A, boys attended some classes despite the school being an all girl school. The school is of a high quality for a refugee school run by refugees, and subsequently some boys also attend school given that they were not accepted by other schools. They go to the all-girl school and transfer to an all-male school as soon as they are accepted. The parents of girls with boys in their classes accept this situation;

We cannot turn down anyone that seeks an education. As long as the girl's parents think that it is ok that there are a small amount of boys in the classes then we will keep enrolling boys as well (A26 – VICE<sup>19</sup>, interview, 2008).

The roles of the Hazara refugee girls are much the same as those living in Afghanistan. The girls are socialised into being virtuous and obedient, especially towards elders in the family and male authorities such as the father and older brothers. Generally the girls are raised to be the “second” gender and they are accustomed to being put after male children in several areas of life, including education. A strong custom and tradition is that girls have to marry. Many girls see marriage as a necessity and some believe that the sooner a girl gets married the better. However, this does not occur until a girl reaches the “legal” age of sixteen. Females are the caretakers of their family, as well as sometimes also of their husband's family. The role of caretaker is traditionally given to female children who are often socialised into this from an

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<sup>19</sup> Code list in Appendix



early age through the teaching of cooking skills and caring for younger siblings etc. Traditionally, the family's honour lies with the girls and how they behave. This is a great responsibility for the girls to hold, but one which also sometimes restricts their opportunity to receive an education. However, as a refugee in a somewhat different "reality" than that in Afghanistan, these customs and traditions may vary.

Both in Afghanistan and Pakistan the custom of modest dress is a part of the culture. Generally, I have observed the Afghans in Quetta to be slightly more conservative than the Pakistani citizens in Quetta. However, the Hazara refugees do not stand out in the crowd as the dress code is somewhat the same. The girls are socialised at an early stage in their lives to be modest in their dress, and this is custom has not been challenged even within refugee life.

Islam is a large and ever present part of Afghan and Pakistani societies. Religion is also an important part of everyday Hazara life. How does this affect education, and is the general attitude among Hazaras regarding education based on their interpretation of Islam?

From birth children are introduced to Islam, which becomes a part of most of their daily activities, including education. Hazara refugee girls are carriers of Islam, and they are often judged whether something is wrong or right from the perspective of their religion. Interpretations of Islam vary, yet most of the participants in this study believed Islam to be positive towards education. Most participants also believed that males and females are equal in the right to pursue an education. Most also believed that Islam sets no limits for education, and that Muslims regardless of their gender should strive to learn throughout their lives. One of the teachers in school A claimed that;

Islam sets no limits for education. Islam has always said that we should learn from the cradle to the grave. Mohammed said that we should get educated. Women and men's rights within Islam are the same. A mother's role is very important. If a mother is illiterate, life gets tough, but if she is educated she can teach her children, keep her house etc (A21 - TPS, interview, 2008).

This was said by a male teacher at school A. The metaphor of 'cradle to the grave' was used by several of the informants. The belief that education is a lifelong process, and that it knows no boundaries regarding age and gender, seem to be a common thought among the teachers at school A. Another teacher at School A claimed that;

Islam itself means peace... and to read. Islam is the only religion that encourages everyone, whether male or female, to get educated... There are many misinterpretations regarding Islam. Islam says a lot of things regarding education for both genders (A25 - TSS, interview, 2008).

The teachers I interviewed clearly interpreted Islam as favouring education for all people, including girls. Similar views were also expressed by other Hazaras, including a pupil who commented that “Islam says that you should go to school. If you are educated, then you can read the Quran” (A11 - SSL, interview, 2008). Another pupil also expressed the positive attitude of Islam towards education, arguing that “Islam has always said that both men and women should be educated” (A9 – SSF, interview, 2008).

In addition to the teachers and pupils at school A, parents of girls both in and out of school claimed that Islam has said that it is important to be educated, and that this is necessary both for women and men. When Islam is interpreted as “approving” of female education it is easier for parents and heads of households to send their girls to school. When young girls do something that is not seen as appropriate by the tradition and religion of the community, the community is often judgmental. If Islam “approves” of education and schooling then the general attitude amongst Hazaras is also to approve. Many believe that if Islam says it is good then it must be right. Islamic education is central in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Most of the girls at School A do not attend madrassas. However, everyone knows someone who does. I discussed madrassas with the vice-principal of school A, who commented that;

Parents send their children to madrassas to learn. The meaning of a madrassas has a slightly different meaning in Pakistan than in Afghanistan. Parents send their children to regular school first and then to the madrassas. Usually the children attend regular school until they reach sixth or seventh grade and then they go to the madrassas to learn better. There are girls here that have been to madrassas from early age and then to regular school. Most of them cannot read properly (A26 – VICE, interview, 2008).

In Afghanistan many see the madrassas as a regular school, yet in Pakistan they see the regular school as the main school and the madrassas as a kind of extracurricular activity. The teachers at school A try to recommend parents to send their children to regular school prior to sending them to madrassas, so that they actually learn to read before they go there. When parents are convinced that by going to school their child will learn how to read, they send their child because they feel it is important that they actually understand what they read at the Islamic schools. With this argument, one teacher was able to enrol the children of

conservative and religious families. She pointed out that many have misunderstood the meaning of Islam;

Many have misunderstood the meaning of Islam. They do not let their children read at school, as they think that they may learn the wrong things and get “ruined”, so, they send them to madrassas instead. They believe that is more important. The poor children spend hours and hours at the madrassas “reading” something they absolutely do not understand (A24 – TSS, interview, 2008).

Many Hazaras used the word “ruined”, and according to one participant some conservative families were afraid that the girls would be “ruined” by going to school;

They will not send their children to school as they think that children in school get their eyes opened to things they are not suppose to know of. We want these girls to come to school, and so we convince the parents. There are luckily very few families that think this way (A22 – TPS, interview, 2008).

If a girl becomes “ruined” she carries the shame of the family on her shoulders. The need to keep the girls “clean” by keeping them from attending school has, according to my informants, become less and less common.

The role Islam plays in the lives of Hazara refugees does not seem to have changed with their refugee status. Yet, I would claim that their perception of gender and gender roles has changed with their changing identity, and that this change has also influenced their view of young female education.

### 5.3 Gender and marriage

The concept of gender is closely connected to the concept of socialisation. When the main research question is interpreted through the concept of gender a number of questions arise; what does it mean to be a young female Hazara? What are the expected gender roles held in Hazara society? What ideas of gender emerge from Hazara refugees’ interpretation of Islam’s view of female education?

There are variations in how different Afghan ethnic groups view the status of females. Generally speaking, Hazaras have a less conservative outlook on females’ positions within society than the more traditionally conservative Pashtun tribes. However, gender is very

important within Afghan society, regardless of ethnic belonging. The gender roles which Afghan women take up are strongly intertwined with the traditions and culture of an Afghan society based on a patriarchal structure. There is a strong male predominance in every aspect of society. The family is the structural unit of society and it is from here that relations and tribes are developed. Family integrity is closely linked to the behaviour of Afghan women, and this is kept in mind at all times, both by males and females. Afghan culture is based on dignity and honour, which affects the roles women, can play given that they are symbols of their family's dignity and honour. The gender-appropriate behaviours, attitudes and personality traits found in female Afghan refugees in Quetta are traditional. In this sense they are similar to that of most women in Afghanistan. Traditionally a female's roles include domestic work and chores, whilst the outside world is the domain of the men. The women are caretakers for the extended family, while the men are the breadwinners.

Yet, it is not always so that the traditional female roles are upheld. Some of the Hazara refugees are widows as a result of conflict, and have taken on the role of the breadwinner of the family. 'Work' which Afghan women in Afghanistan would consider to be "mans work" is seen as a necessity in the refugee situation. Through this, female gender identity changes slightly as women take on roles other than those they have been socialised into.

Some Hazara refugees have looked upon girls as a future expense given that as parents they will have to pay a dowry when their daughters get married. As such, many parents ask themselves whether it is "worth" giving their girls an education given the costs in terms of school fees and equipment. It is also thought that the girls are away from home when they could be doing "proper" work that could provide the family with income, or they could be helping elders in and around the house. In this sense, the economic sacrifice seems even greater. For some Hazara refugees, girls are seen as "visitors";

The first thing I have observed is that in most families they do not give priority and respect to the girls. They say that they are just visitors, they are just like guests. One day they will leave their home, their house. The parents respect their sons because they will help them when they get work, economically the boys will work for them. The girls will just be married (A23 - TSS, interview, 2008).

From an early age Afghan girls are socialised into the "fact" that girls are to be married, that this is one of the main goals in life, and that if you do not do this you are not a "proper" girl;

When a girl reaches the age of 18 it is time to marry, if they do not marry, people say that they will not find a decent living (A25 - TSS, interview, 2008).

This has, to some extent, influenced the schooling of the Hazara refugee girls. Some girls are not sent to school at all because their parents only aim for them to be married, some receive only a few years of education as their parents think it is enough that they learn basic reading, whilst others are taken from school before they finish because a marriage has been arranged for them.

I want my daughter to get married. I think she would be much happier as a married woman than an educated one. I want her to learn things that a wife does and I cannot waste her time by sending her to school. She has got more important things to learn (A17 – PM, interview, 2008).

This interviewee did not have the same view as most other women I interviewed and talked to during fieldwork. The assumption that her daughter would be “happier as a married woman” was also uniquely believed by her. Most parents did not measure a girl’s happiness in terms of whether she was married or not. However, what they did “measure” was the degree of self-esteem the girls would receive through an education. Most parents, also of those out of school, were certain that their child’s self-esteem would increase through an education. When I asked a mother whose daughter attended school whether she thought education was important she replied;

Yes, I think it is very important. It is so exciting to see that my daughter learn something new every day. The knowledge you get from being educated is important, because it can be used in so many settings. Her father loves that she is becoming educated. I love that she seems to have gained new self-esteem (A15 – PF, interview, 2008).

According to the interviewees, the young female Hazara refugees are introduced to far more varied “settings” than they would have been in Afghanistan. The refugee status has, for example, given young girls and females other daily tasks than those they performed in Afghanistan. One mother mentions that in Afghanistan the men usually brought home the ingredients for dinner. Now, many women and girls have taken on this responsibility as the men are either dead, in Afghanistan or busy working to make ends meet. Education can, in this way, be used when it comes to calculating prices, reading signs and labels etc. The refugee setting also allows the young female refugees to have somewhat more freedom of

movement and independence than they would have had in Afghanistan. However, security is still an issue, which I will address later.

It also seems that the general self-esteem the girls have increases with the years spent in school. Some mothers comment on this, as they believe it is important for their daughters to have some self-esteem before they get married. One mother says;

I do not want anyone to claim that my daughter is no one. But people might tell her that. Especially the mother in laws can be cruel. I want her to get some self-esteem and belief in herself before she gets married (A19-PM, interview, 2008).

When I asked young female Hazara refugees (both those attending and those not attending school) whether it was most important for them, to be educated, married or both, their answers were consistent. Out of the twenty pupils interviewed in School A, eight said that being educated was the most important; eleven said that both were important, whilst all of them believed that it was crucial to be educated first. They shared the belief that “after you marry, it is too late” to get an education (A9 – SSF, interview, 2008). Just one pupil thought that it was most important to get married. It is also important to emphasize that this girl’s mother was present during the interview. This does not mean that the girl really did believe that it is most important to get married, but this might also have been what she had been socialised into *knowing*.

When I asked the parents the same question their answers were more varied. Generally they wanted their children to both be educated and married. What “education” meant varied from parent to parent. Some thought that “some” basic education was enough, by which they meant schooling until fifth or sixth grade. A couple of the parents believed that as long as the girl learned to read then she would be “educated enough for a girl of her status” (A18 – PM, interview, 2008). This parent believed that a girl’s status should set the standard for how educated she should be. The parent thought that it would be a waste of time for her two girls to learn more than basic reading in school given their future gender roles. The parent also believed that her daughters would just be frustrated if they became educated women;

Educated refugee women do not get any jobs here. We have more than enough teachers. The teachers do not make much money. They [the daughters] could make more money weaving carpets or sewing clothes. Some women work in offices but they are few. I can count them on one hand. I do not see the point in getting educated when living in a place like this (A18 – PM, interview, 2008).

The parent did not see a future in Afghanistan and believed that she and her family would most likely be refugees for the rest of their lives. She explained that;

My husband was killed by the Taliban. So were my son and my two brothers. There are no men left in this family to provide for us or help us. The only man we have in this family is three years old. He was born in Quetta. We have no family in Afghanistan; we have no place to live there. How could we go back? At least here we have some place to sleep at night. We [the mother, two daughters under the age of 18 and a three year old boy] rent a small room that we share with another refugee women and her newborn son. I have nothing to go back to and neither do my children. We will always be refugees (A18 – PM, interview, 2008).

This participant had just recently arrived from Afghanistan and taken up refugee status. The frustration she felt was normal for many of the mothers I talked to during fieldwork.

The general attitude towards female education was that it was important for a girl to get educated and then be married. Both parents and girls thought it best to be educated first as they believed that as soon as one became a wife it was too late to be educated. Marriages among Hazara refugees often occur at a young age, with girls often then tied to time consuming chores and duties which restrict their ability to attend school. Given that marriage can occur at a young age, there are many girls that do not complete even a basic education. Usually the girls start 1<sup>st</sup> grade at the age of six or seven, but sometimes, and for numerous reasons, girls are far older when they begin school. The wish to be educated is so strong that the challenges and bullying that follow being a late starter are generally overcome. I interviewed a girl that started 1<sup>st</sup> grade at the age of sixteen; if her parents had not placed an importance on her being educated, she believed that she might have been married by the beginning of the first grade.

Some parents also believed that if their girls were educated they would hold a better position within their new families;

It is important for her to be educated. If she can read and write she will not be dependent on her husband in important areas of life. I think that she will also be better off as a mother if she can read and write. A teacher has told us that if she is educated then our grandchildren will also do better (A15 – PF, interview, 2008).

In school A, the teachers and principals knew that many parents had difficulties sending their children to school due to economic restraints. The teachers and vice-principal did not want the

girls to be sitting at home, so instead they “convince them to come to school” (A26 – VICE, interview 2008). The school has established a committee of three female teachers that focus on girls of school age not attending school. The committee visit family homes in order to convince parents to send their daughters to school. Sometimes the parents do not need convincing, but rather motivation. If parents do need to be convinced the committee usually starts by convincing the mothers, whom in turn convince the fathers. There is no doubt that Hazara mothers have some sort of authority over their husband, as the husbands often listen to them when it concerns their daughters. Families who have a visit from the committee often send their girls back to school;

We ask the mothers what hindrances and difficulties they have. After some talks the pupils usually come back. And then we try to help them by taking only half the fee or even deleting their fee completely (A26 – VICE, interview, 2008).

The Hazara refugee community is closely knit to each other. The committee knows which girls remain at home and therefore they know which houses to visit. Family members, neighbours or pupils already enrolled in school give the committee information regards whether it is necessary for the committee to make a visit. In this sense, the enrolment of girls has become a sort of community engagement;

We know which girls sit at home. The girls in school tell us if a sister, neighbour or someone they know through friends and family sits at home. The girls [pupils in school] themselves seem very interested in getting as many girls as possible to come to school (A26 – VICE, interview, 2008).

## 5.4 Change of identity as a opportunity

The Hazaras are marginalised within Afghanistan and this has impacted upon their ability to attend educational institutions. The Hazara population is concentrated in poor areas, which in turn negatively impacts upon the availability of education. The Hazaras mostly inhabit rural areas of Afghanistan which are some distance from the country’s education centres. As such, most Hazaras do not have access to basic education and very few are enrolled into higher educational institutions. Some Pashtuns view the Hazaras as being of less worth and some believe that Hazaras are not “real” Afghans. This has negatively impacted upon Hazaras who are in competition with Pashtuns for educational enrolment. Their ethnic identity has deprived them of receiving the basic education they have sought. With relatively few education places



available to Hazaras the tendency has been that girls lose out to boys. The usual reason for this is that the educational institutions are placed far from the areas inhabited by the Hazaras, and that females are more restricted in terms of movement than males are. When I asked the pupils whether they went to school in Afghanistan, many replied that they did not have the chance, but that they wished that they could have;

I really wanted to go to school in Afghanistan, but the nearest school was too far away. My father went to work really early, and came home really late every day, so he could not take me. My mother could not take me that far as she has trouble walking (A11 – SSL, interview 2008).

Others did go to school in Afghanistan, but usually no further than 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> grade. Many, both pupils and teachers, have had their schooling cut short by conflict and war; “I read first and second grade, and then the wars came. There was no calmness, so after some time we [the family] came here. I started schooling again after a year” (A13 – SSL, interview, 2008). My findings suggest that the Hazara refugees in Quetta are primarily viewed as Afghans rather than “just” Hazaras. Living within the Afghan diasporas in Pakistan the importance and stigma of their ethnic background is somewhat reduced. The stigmatised Hazara identity is replaced with a more general “Afghan refugee” identity. Mallouf (2000) claims that when a person’s identity is threatened it becomes even more important to that person. The Hazara identity is less at threat in the diasporas when compared to life in Afghanistan under the Taliban, yet this does not mean that it is not threatened. However, the opportunity to blend into a bigger mass of people gives the Hazaras an opportunity to educate their youths, which they did not, for the most part, have in Afghanistan. Even if it is the Hazara refugees which provide the schooling opportunity themselves, the Hazaras are now living in a community where education is emphasized and available to a far greater extent than in Afghanistan. However, this does not mean that they are not discriminated against or receive the same education opportunities as Pakistani citizens, rather that they are now marginalised as part of a much greater group of people. This in itself affects how the Hazaras view themselves. Living in the diaspora, the chance of getting a basic education is higher. The combination of both an increased availability of education places and a less rigid social structure has affected the girls’ enrolment in a positive manner. Living in the diaspora of a country which includes girls in education to a large extent, has greatly influenced the ability of Hazara refugees to attain an education.

The idea of “the individual” is not a central idea in either Afghanistan or Pakistan. The collective is rather given priority. One of the reasons why the collective is important is due to the prevalence of large families with scarce financial resources. Family members need to work their fair share in order for the collective to survive. Decisions taken on the behalf of the family are often done so by the family elders. The younger members respect and do what the elders believe to be the best thing to do. When it comes to education, this idea of the collective often means that in families with both boys and girls, the boys are often sent to school and the girls are not. If a family cannot pay for all of their children to attend school the head of the family usually sends the boy/s. The girls rather become important in the daily chores of the house and as caretakers of the elders. The focus is on the family as a group and what is considered the best solution for the family. As Afghan refugees in Pakistan are so heavily imbued with a sense of family, the group identity can become a major challenge for Hazara girls in their pursuit of education. As the family comes first it is often that the best option for the family is not the same as the best option for, or the wishes of, young females.

However, my study also reveals that identity can have the opposite effect. Due to the Hazaras “changing” identity the girls now have a greater chance of enrolment into a school. In Afghanistan the Hazaras were a discriminated minority and Hazara children remained outside of schooling due to their ethnic identity. As they are now residing in Pakistan, outside of camps with their own *Quams* [people], they can control, to an extent, the schooling situation of their children. Almost every female child that is allowed to be enrolled into school by their parent or the head of household is enrolled. In some areas there are space restrictions, but so far the vice-principal at School A had never turned a child away. When asked whether the school enrolls any Hazara refugee girl of school age that can pay the school fees, the answer was very clear;

Balay [yes]! We take them all. And we take them in whenever they come during the semester. We see their leaving certificates, and they take a test, and then we put them in the right class for their knowledge. We never place anyone by age. Whenever they come the school doors will be open. If they do not have their leaving certificates we will take examine them, and then we give the child admission anyway. Sometimes they do not get any leaving certificates and sometimes situations can happen along the journey to exile where the certificates go missing (A26 – VICE, interview, 2008).

The vice-principal and teachers of school A test the newcomers in order to know which grade they should be in. This is necessary due to the fact that some have had no schooling in

Afghanistan, whilst others have an education of such low quality that they need to take some classes again, which is the reason why there are; “older girls sitting with the younger girls in primary school. A couple of weeks ago we enrolled a 13 year old girl into 2<sup>nd</sup> grade (A26 – VICE, interview, 2008). Regardless of age and grade, a young females enrollment depends heavily on the parents point of view regarding education.

## 5.5 The parents point of view

Most parents that I interviewed during fieldwork expressed that they understood the importance of education. The reasons why they thought education was important were many and varied, though the three most important were; education is important as Islam says it is important, the children are not “blind” anymore, and the advantage of having someone in the family that can read.

As mentioned previously, many believe that Islam had given a quest to all believers to become educated. A religious argument explaining why education is important amongst parents is the fact that “when the children can read, they can read what is written in the Holy Quran” (A19 – PM, interview, 2008). Religion is an important factor in parents understanding of the importance of education. As the Hazara interpretation is education for all, including girls, the education provided in school is seen as a necessity and welcomed. Parents with children out of school expressed the view that their children ought to read so as that “then they would be better Muslims” (A19 – PM, interview, 2008). Most parents believed that sending young females to madrassas without any schooling was a waste of time. A parent explain that a

Neighbour sent her daughter to the local madrasa. She has been there for over three years now and she still cannot read. I do not understand why she does not use her daughter for something useful instead, as she is clearly not learning to read this way (A16- PM, interview, 2008).

Of the parents I interviewed, none sent their children exclusively to madrassas. However, as the example given above shows, many know or have heard of others that have done so. Parents with their children out of school often struggle from poor personal finances and therefore cannot afford to send their children to madrassas as they need their children to work and earn money. A couple of the parents I talked to worked as beggars alongside their young

female daughters. One of these mothers told me that

It would be like a dream if I could send just one of my children to school. If I were able to send all three of them that would be better than a dream. Some think that we do not care for our children. We care! We just cannot afford to give them what is best for them (O8-PCOSM, interview, 2008).

Another reason why education is important for the parents of young female refugees is that education is believed to generally “open their eyes” (A19 - PM, interview, 2008). Several of the illiterate parents interviewed used the same metaphor to explain how the education of their girls had impact on their family; “We were blind, now our eyes have been opened... the educated children help us see (A16 – PM, interview 2008). As the girls often have the responsibilities at home, including caring for their parents, it might be an advantage that they are educated. As the examples above show us, parents are often reliant upon their educated children. Now that they have seen the advantages of having a person in the family that can read, education is even more welcome. As the Hazara refugees have migrated to Quetta due to conflict, their needs are somewhat different to those they had in Afghanistan. Some participants expressed the necessity of being able to “take care of one’s self in Pakistan”; hence being educated is crucial. In Afghanistan the Hazaras seemed to be more reliant on family and neighbors, and as such educated girls were scarce. The lifestyle which many led in Afghanistan did not require educated girls. However, in Pakistan, the Hazara refugees believe that it is important to be “educated so that one can get by in the Pakistani society”. One father tells me that his daughter knows so much more than he does. He never had the opportunity to go to school and as a result he “is blind”.

I never went to school as my parents could not send me. Look at my daughter! Her eyes have opened. Both our eyes are open, but the only one of us that can truly see is her (A15-PF, interview, 2008).

On the question of why some would want to keep their children especially “blind”, he answered that

They are stupid and ignorant. What parents in their right mind would take away the opportunity for their child to go to school and learn to become seeing people. I do not know what they think. For me it is unimaginable to find any good reason to keep children away from school. Especially girls! What use do they do sitting at home (A15-PF, interview, 2008)?

A third and final reason why parents believe that education is important is that they see the advantage of having someone in the family that can read. The daily life of many families becomes easier with educated girls. One of the reasons why the general attitude towards education is positive is because the educated girls can give relief and help to their parents in ways they did not think of before. The same father as above told me that;

My family weave carpets for a living. One time we had been given a direction and the name of the road where we were suppose to deliver two carpets. It is not easy to find an unknown road if you cannot read a simple sign. We ended up in the wrong place, almost on the other side of the city. No one else knew the way either. Now that my oldest daughter can read we are not blind anymore. If we get instructions, she can tell us if we are on the right way (A15 – PF, interview, 2008).

A mother told me a similar story about the time her husband was sick and her daughter helped her with measuring out the amount of medicine;

I had got some medicine for my husband. He was very ill. The doctor had told me how much he needed to take and how many times. I was so scared when I went to the doctor. I had never been to the doctor by myself before, and at the same time I was so worried about my husband. I forgot what the doctor told me about the medicine on my way home. Neither my husband nor I can read, but my daughter can, thank God! She is in 5<sup>th</sup> grade. If it was not for her I might have given my husband an overdose (A19 – PM, interview, 2008).

I would claim that both parents sending their children to school and those not strongly believed that education was important and that it was equally important for both young females and males. They also expressed how life with a literate person in the family was generally better; many did not therefore understand how parents that could afford to pay school fees kept their children, especially their young females, at home. The majority of parents claimed that girls did not face more restrictions than boys. Many mention that “there is nothing a boy can do that a girl cannot do” (A17-PM, interview, 2008). One mother also said; “What restrictions? Mentally the girls are much better than the boys. The girls have fewer restrictions regarding the capacity to learn” (O10-PCOSM, interview, 2008). Most parents recognised that there were obstructions in the way of female education, and suggested the personal finances and security were the main two. I will address these issues in further detail in the next chapter.

Having outlined the subjective experiences of parents regarding the education of young female Hazara refugees, it is now necessary to explore the views of the girls themselves; what

are their views on education and what has their (non-)experience of it been?

## 5.6 The girls' point of view

In this study it has been important to address what the young female Hazara refugees believe, and what their general attitude towards education for girls is. I interviewed twenty young female Hazara refugees in school, and five young female Hazara refugees out of school. Their general view of education was that it was something that was important and that can both shape and change the future. There were, however different ideas and thoughts as to *why* it was important. Their answers varied most significantly when I asked whether in terms of education girls have more restrictions placed on them than boys. Most of the young female Hazara refugees acknowledged that there were both hindrances and obstructions in a females pursuit of education.

### 5.6.1 Girls in school

The young female refugees in school had various opinions regarding what they considered the general attitude of Hazaras towards education to be. However, most young female refugees believed that Hazaras did see education for girls as positive. There are, however, always some adults that misunderstand what it means to be educated, and the young females were very much aware of this. Some claimed that those who were negative towards female education were “most likely uneducated themselves” (O17-EX3, interview, 2008). Others thought that some people were not positive towards young female education as they “feel threatened by young girls that are smarter than themselves” (O20-EX6, interview, 2008). The pupils also generally believed that parents would want their children to be in school, and that those who did not send their children to school usually “have other issues to deal with than oppression” (A14-SSL, interview, 2008). Every young female attending school believed that education was important;

[Education] is a very important thing. I want to go to school so I can learn and understand better. I do not want to be bound to somebody else's hand. I want to get a job on my own. I want to be able to understand. Being illiterate is not a good situation to be in (A1 – PSL, interview, 2008).

This pupil had a strong belief that if she got educated she would be able to provide for herself. She also hoped to “one day be able to provide for [her] family. That would make me feel so

proud” (A1 – PSL, interview, 2008). Most of the pupils that participated in this study believed education to be important because they wanted to learn. However, another reason for getting educated was also due to the fear of sitting at home and doing what the pupils called “nothing”;

I do not want to be at home doing nothing. I think I can do more for myself and my family by getting educated. Maybe I can get a job that pays well. If I would have been at home I would just be doing some basic chores and maybe sow on chadors to get some money. I would hate it if I had to go back to doing nothing (A7 – SSF, interview, 2008).

The young females do see that there are some that do not have a choice regarding school, and that they have to stay at home and “do nothing”. One pupil told me that she was “aware that they do not have a choice. I respect them. But I am glad that is not me” (A8-SSF, interview, 2008). The girls are aware that they are lucky to be in school, and several of the pupil’s interviewees expressed this.

The girls are not of the impression that the life of a boy is much easier than theirs, one pupil said that; “The boys do not have it easy either. They want to go to school, but sometimes they have to work for the family” (A5 – PSL, interview, 2008). Nevertheless, some of the young females believed that the main difference between the boys and the girls was that their voices were not heard and that their intellect was underestimated. A pupil told me that;

Girls voices are not heard. A girl understands just as much as a boy. Boys have difficulties too. Sometimes they want to leave school and work for the family. There are obstructions and difficulties for both (A8 – SSF, interview, 2008).

When I asked the young females attending school whether they thought that there were obstructions to the pursuit of young female education I received several answers. Almost all of the young females replied that there were definitely obstructions in the pursuit of female education. Three main obstructions were mentioned; Peoples ignorance and illiteracy, as well as financial and security concerns.

The girls in school saw that there were people both ignorant and illiterate; some people simply believe that girls should not be educated due to their gender. One pupil believed that men who believe girls should not be educated are “afraid that we are smarter than them” (O20-EX6, interview, 2008). Of the female belief that girls did not need to be educated, the same pupil

believed that “they are just jealous that they did not have the opportunity when they were younger (A5- PSL, interview, 008). The young females expressed that the biggest hindrance to the pursuit of education was the financial and security situations they faced. One pupil explained that

I hope my family can keep finding the finances to keep me here. I dread the time of month when we have to pay our school fees. What if my parents decide they cannot afford this anymore (A1-PSL, interview, 2008).

Another pupil also discussed the issue of school fees and the struggle her family faces to keep her and her sister in school.

I know my family works hard to keep me and my sister in school. They have told me that they cannot guaranty that we can continue next year. I have begged them to not take us out. They want to keep us here, but my father’s business is not going to well (A6-PSL, interview, 2008).

Many interview participants also discussed the issue of security. A young pupil stated that;

There are most definitely security issues in this city. Parents are worried when we go to school. Some areas are worse than others. I do not mind the insecurities though; I just want to get to school (A2-PSL, interview, 2008).

As the young females expressed the issues of security and financial situations to be the biggest hindrance to the pursuit of education, it will be lengthy discussed in section 6.2 and 6.3.

Generally, the main desire of the girls was to “become something”. The girls wanted to be educated so that they could work and take care of themselves and their current and/or future families. They also wanted to be independent. It is important to recognise that this did not mean that they did not want to be married. By being independent they meant economic independence. Most of the girls wanted to become teachers (*malims*). Being a *malim* is a female occupation that is not controversial with respect to the traditions and customs of either the refugee community or Afghan women in general.



## 5.6.2 Girls out of school

The young female Hazara interviewees who did not attend school still believed that education was important. They expressed this in various ways, with one young female arguing that education was important as it represented the “only opportunity to get a better job” (O2-COS, interview, 2008). Another young female, by contrast, stressed the importance of education to her religious observance;

How am I supposed to learn about Islam when I cannot read? Everyone tells me how important it is to know my religion, but how am I supposed to learn anything about it when I cannot even read the words of the Quran? People tell me different things, and I become frustrated because I do not know who to believe (O4-COS, interview 2008).

In addition to the belief that education could provide both a better job and the opportunity to engage with religion, one of the youngest informants out of school also stressed social aspects;

Most of my friends go to school. I feel left out when they talk about things that they have learned. They seem very smart, and sometimes they think that I am stupid. I feel left out and want to learn what they learn (O1-COS, interview, 2008).

Non-attending young female Hazaras believe education to be very important and wish to become educated. Whilst there were, as shown above, different reasons for this, a singular explanation was invoked as to why they did not attend school; finances. Both personal and school finances had a direct negative effect on education;

My parents cannot afford to send me to school. My father is the only one making money in my family. We are 5 children all together, and none of us have gone, or go to, school. My parents really want to send us, but do not think they will ever be able to (O3-COS, interview, 2008).

Another young female expressed that;

People think my father is really strict and traditional because he does not send me to school. That is not the case. I have to work to make money, and the money the family make is not enough to send me to school. My father really hopes that he and my mother can make enough money so that I do not have to work and get enrolled [into school]. I am his oldest child, and he has promised me that the first one to become educated when the financial situation allows us, is me (O2-COS, interview, 2008).

The families of the young females in school struggle with personal finances, and their child's school going status is therefore continually under threat. Despite this, they generally still somehow managed to send their child or children to school. The girls out of school, by contrast, seem to experience far worse family finances than the general Hazara community in Quetta. Of the five young females interviewed who were not attending school, four of them were working and living as beggars. Finances seem to be the one and only reason why parents have been unable to send their young daughters to school. These young females represent to these families an extra, necessary, source of income. As such, the non-attending young females interviewed did not believe that they would have the opportunity to access even a basis education;

I am a beggar. What are the chances that I will become educated? I can barely find money for food, how am I supposed to find money for education (O4-COS, interview, 2008)?

The desire of these girls to be educated was obvious. They believed that their non-experience of education was making their daily lives more difficult. Most were sad that their inability to access education would only perpetuate their everyday reality, including their futures:

If I could have gone to school I would have become a teacher. Then I could have made a decent living, and used my life to do something good. Now I just sit in the streets all day, what good comes out of that? Life without education is difficult, and the worst part is that it will not be any better in the future (O5-COS, interview, 2008).

Another girl told me;

I wish I could read. It would make my life so much easier. Then I could work in an office instead of the streets. I would not care what kind of job I would be doing as long as it was inside (O2-COS, interview, 2008).

One of the young females also thought of how she would not be able to better the life of her future children;

One day I will be an illiterate mother. How am I going to help my children? They will see the same destiny as me. They will be stupid and unknowing of the important things in the world (O4-COS, interview, 2008).

Most of the young female refugees not attending school believed that in the quest for education there were no more restrictions placed upon girls than there were for boys;

There is no difference between boys and girls. If parents cannot send children to school due to poor economy, they do not send anyone. If they can send some, they probably send their oldest child (O2-COS, interview, 2008).

One interviewee, by contrast, argued that;

I think that there are far more restrictions for the boys. People expect them to work. Besides, they can do much more varied work than girls and they can travel freely. I believe that boys are usually more likely to be sent to work than to school (O5-COS, interview, 2008).

They thought Hazaras in general to be in favour of education, believing that “most Hazaras send their children to school” (O1-COS, interview, 2008) and that “they want their girls to become educated” (O5-COS, interview, 2008).

## **6. Which factors influence the ability of young female Hazaras to access basic education?**

In this chapter I will explore the second research question (above) from a macro-level. In doing so I will assess whether the restrictions encompass issues of availability, responsibility, access, cultural and religious traditions, economy and/or issues of security.

### **6.1 Availability, responsibility and quality**

As was discussed in chapter two, conflict has a very direct and negative impact on the supply and demand of education for both boys and girls. Conflict affects the availability of schooling, the aims of schooling and its quality. In conducting my fieldwork I aimed to explore a number of questions, including the following; Are there available institutions? Who is responsible for the basic education of the young female Hazara Afghan refugees? What is the quality of the education institutions?

These questions would allow me to assess whether availability, responsibility and/or quality of education were factors which hindered or were conducive to young female Hazara refugees receiving a basic education.

#### **6.1.1 Availability of educational institutions**

Questions regarding the availability of educational institutions can proceed in several different ways due to the multiple meanings held by the word 'available'. The most important explored in this project were; Are there available school buildings? Is access to school available? Are the education institutions available when it comes to "aims"? I will briefly explore each of these questions with a view to answering the main question regarding the availability of education institutions.

One of the most relevant questions regarding the availability of education institutions is whether there are available buildings. There are a number of school buildings available to Hazara refugee girls in Quetta; but only a small number. Some areas have more than others, and there is no balance between the numbers of schools and pupils of school age. In some areas there are no schools, whilst in others there may be a number of schools. Yet, even if there is a school in one area it does not necessarily mean that there are enough educationa

institutions. The schools are often small and classrooms scarce. A teacher in school A explained that they were the only available school in the area that still had room for more pupils;

There is a lack of schools. In this area there is only our school. There are two other schools as well, but they do not have any room. We are a bigger school and have room for more pupils, but we are also having trouble with space now (A22 – TPS, interview, 2008).

School A is considered to be one of the bigger schools in the area. The school building has twelve classrooms, which in turn are used by approximately 900 pupils. When I observed the inside of school A, I could truly understand what this teacher meant when she claimed that there was trouble with space. Yet, School A was still a big school when compared to many in the area, and young female pupils belonging in the area, according to the teachers at least, preferred to attend School A rather than other alternatives. Another teacher confirmed that the availability of schools for young female pupils was scarce. The teacher wanted more schools to be available;

If there were more schools available it would be better. Other schools have started to turn pupils down, and sometimes they send them to us. So far, it has been no problem, but if it keep going like this the school will be too full, and we would have to reject inquiries. But at the same time I think perhaps it is enough, as the number of refugees here has decreased (A20 – TPS, interview, 2008).

It is interesting that the number of refugees has decreased at the same time as the number of young female pupils turned down has increased. This shows that even if the number of refugees has reduced, the number of children that want to and/or are allowed to attend school has increased. This might be a sign of increasing stability in terms of the flow of refugees, and also that other more basic needs have been met. As some parents and families have resided in Quetta for a long period of time, they might have found the opportunity to send their young females to school. The increased demand regarding education can also be explained by the change of attitudes amongst Hazara refugees. The standard of the school buildings was rather low. The school buildings were generally in bad shape, and the sizes of both buildings and surrounding areas were small. At school A there was hardly any space for the children to play outside in the school yard, there were no heating in the classrooms and some rooms lacked doors and/or windows. The availability and the standard of the buildings did not seem to be an issue in terms of enrolment numbers or the enthusiasm of young interviewees towards education.

Whether access to school is available for young female refugees is a difficult question. If we do not consider socio-economic issues, access to school is available in the sense that you are most likely to be offered the opportunity to attend school if you seek it, especially if you do not mind attending a school outside of your own neighbourhood. However, *enrolment* is not necessarily as available. To be enrolled in school you would have to pay school fees. The fees in the schools vary, depending on the school. These school fees are set by each particular school administration and are in the main set as low as possible so that as many families as possible can be able to pay them. However, in a situation when money is scarce, it is still difficult to fulfil these fees. As this is a reoccurring issue, the issues related to school fees will be looked upon in further detail in chapter 7.1.2. Other enrolment issues such as documents regarding which level you are in at school and what grades you have passed earlier, are also needed. However, in School A the ability to document past schooling was not absolute. The school had developed a testing system which placed young female pupils based not on age or documents, but by testing them.

Parents do not want to send “dumb” children to school as they believe that this will be a waste of school fees. Parents pay the school fees for the development of their children and because they will receive benefits later in time. Many parents look upon education as a financial investment, and in this way they expect a monetary return for their expenses. A child with learning disabilities will clearly struggle in school if there is no adjusted education. As many of the teachers are not educated in teaching, and perhaps none are educated within special needs, the education provided is not specific enough for those that have trouble concentrating. The expected result is that many fall out of mainstream education. The education provided is also based upon reading and repeating. Physical disabilities that restrict movement also hamper young females’ opportunities to receive a basic education. As it is a struggle just to have a school building available for the children to go to, it is beyond expectations that the school administration could find the money to facilitate the building so that children with physical disabilities also could attend.

As the schools available for the young female Afghan refugees are run by other refugees in the local community, the aims of the schools are available for young females. The general aim of school A, according to the school administration, is to educate young female refugees. Aims can also include everything from language of instruction to the subjects provided. The

aims provided in School A are understandable and relevant to the pupils. The lectures in school A are provided in Dari – Hazaragi. The teachers have decided that there is no reason not to teach in the children's mother tongue.

However, the school teach Urdu, as this is the official language spoken in Pakistan. Subjects offered in school A are; mathematics, English, Urdu, geography, chemistry/science, gymnastics and general development of reading and writing skills. The subjects provided in school A are all subjects that are necessary to have passed to continue school after basic grades in Pakistan. The Afghan refugees running schools in Quetta provide the basic education the young females need to continue their education after eleventh grade. In this study I have only addressed basic education, but I would like to point out that for many, education often stops at this early stage. Even if the young females want to continue their education, permission from parents and money for school fees mean that they are seldom enrolled further. The main reasons seem to be that the refugee community does not have the possibility or capacity to provide education on a higher level. Pakistani schools do not usually enrol young female refugees into their official systems even if they fulfil the requirements the school demands.

The availability of education institutions for the Hazara girls seems to be problematic. There are not enough school buildings, as the classrooms are cramped and the school administration has started to turn potential pupils down due to lack of space. The school fees are a problem for many families. Educational institutions do not seem to be available for children with special needs. However, the availability of the aims of the educational institutions for young female Hazara refugees is present, as pupils are taught in their mother tongue in subjects that are both relevant to their general knowledge and necessary if they want to pursue higher education within the Pakistani education system.

### **6.1.2 Responsibility**

The responsibility for the basic education of young female Hazara refugees is that of the refugees themselves. The school administration in school A claim that they receive no help from the Pakistani government when it comes to education. Other education institutions are also responsible for the education themselves, with no or little help from the Pakistani government. The Pakistani government wishes for the refugees to repatriate. Pakistan has generally cut all support and help provided for the afghan refugees in all areas, including

education. Yet, there are still a great number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan in general. In Quetta the numbers are great, yet unfortunately unclear. Many of the remaining Afghan refugees are children of school age. The answers provided by the Afghan refugees themselves are, however, different from those given by the chief secretary of Baluchistan. The chief secretary claimed that the Pakistani government supported the education of Afghan refugees. The chief secretary further claimed that the schools were being run mostly by Afghan refugees, but that they were helped by the government amongst others;

There are many schools that are being run by the Afghan refugees themselves, privately as well as organization run. And they are mostly helped by international donors, the Pakistani government and the federal government of course. They do have a lot of educational institutions here in Pakistan. It is done by themselves mostly (O13 – EDA, interview, 2008).

However, of all the interviews I conducted and the observations I made, I could not find one school supported or financed indirectly or directly by the Pakistani Government. I am therefore not sure what the Chief secretary is referring to when he claimed that the Pakistani government helped with running Afghan refugee schools for girls through international organizations. The Pakistani government had helped, according to the refugees, but that was several years ago. There are, and have been, some private organizations and international donors involved in the funding and running of schools for young female Hazara refugees, but according to the vice-principal of school A, most of the support and funding had vanished over the last few years. The Pakistani government has cut its funding to the schools, and at the same time as it has become common for them to fund schools inside Afghanistan than in the refugee communities. As the Pakistani government wishes for Afghan repatriation there are no future plans to support schools for refugees. Yet, some of the refugees will most likely remain in Quetta for the foreseeable future. Most Hazara refugees in Quetta believed that it would be better if the Pakistani government helped them with the education; however the reasons why they believed this varied. One teacher claimed that if they could have taken care of themselves they would not be refugees;

If a refugee could have taken responsibility and got herself forward then she would not be a refugee. Pakistan should have helped. Yet, here is not as bad as in Iran. I think the Afghan refugees in Iran have it far worse. Here we are comfortable, like we are in our own country. If they could help, it would be better and easier (A20 – TPS, interview 2008).



In many of the interviews conducted the participants expressed the need for help, at the same time as they saw that Pakistan was not as bad as Iran, as many have stories of relatives being severely harassed. Many share the belief that “at least they are not beating our children here (A20-TPS, interview 2008). This makes Pakistan a better place to live according to them, however, *better* is not necessarily good. A second argument suggests that the Pakistani government should help as the Hazara refugees in Quetta are on Pakistani land; “Since we live in Pakistan then maybe they should help us. But if they cannot then we have to do it ourselves” (A3 – PSL, interview, 2008). A third argument suggest that religion and empathy should also be reason enough;

If the Pakistani Government should have helped us? Yes! Yes, I think they should have helped us as we are neighbours and because we are Muslims... If they would help us our lives would be better. They have to help us because more than being neighbours, we are brothers. And Afghanistan has been burdened by war for over 20 years. The girls have been left out of school. They must help us. However, Pakistan has not helped anyone here (A23 – TSS, interview, 2008).

The question arises as to whether the government of Pakistan should re-take responsibility for the refugees living there. The refugees themselves have repeatedly stated their need for funding. However, given both Pakistani policy of repatriation and Pakistan’s poor finances this seems unlikely to happen.

As the Hazara refugee community has not received much help in the form of funding from the Pakistani government or official donors during recent years, they themselves have been responsible for the availability of education institutions for their young females. Like many of the schools in the surrounding area, school A is administrated and run primarily by the efforts of individual Hazara refugees. The responsibilities of the administration of School A include financial budgetary issues, testing and placing of children, recruitment and teaching. The school fee makes it possible for the school administration to provide a basic education for the young female Hazara refugees. The responsibility of maintaining a functional school for the community is not an easy one. There are many economic obstacles, and for school A one of these obstacles is the rent they must pay;

The school administration pays rent for the ground [the school ground] we are located on. The rent is paid from month to month. We do not have a contract, and those we rent from keep pushing the rent up (A26- VICE, interview, 2008).

The school administration does not have a signed contract. This makes the situation unstable and uncertain given that the landlord can push the rent up. According to the vice-principal, the rent had increased during the last three months. The situation is bearable, but the vice-principal is uncertain how long they can keep on going with only the monthly school fees they collect from pupils. However, the school has been located there for several years now. The school fees are also supposed to cover monthly expenses such as electricity, teacher salaries and school equipment. There are months when the school fees vary significantly, as families have trouble paying the whole or even a part of the fees. As mentioned earlier, there have been occasions when the vice-principal has reduced her own salary in order to be able to pay for rent or electricity. Another responsibility School A faces is the placing of newly enrolled children. They have created a testing system that places pupils in the grade they assume they are supposed to be according to their knowledge and skills. However, as these tests are developed by the refugees themselves, it is not certain that each child will be placed in the right grade. As a school they are of course also responsible for the teaching provided. However, with a varied staff the teaching is just as varied. Some of the teachers are educated teachers that have also taught in Afghanistan prior to becoming refugees, while others are under the age of eighteen and clearly have not been educated as a teacher. I will discuss the teaching and the teachers' education in the next chapter on quality.

The responsibility the Hazara refugee community have taken on to educate their children is great. I would, however, claim that though they face hardships and daily struggles with keeping ends meet financially, the Hazara group seems to have grown into the task. The administration of a school is not only a job for the administration and its teacher, but rather also seen as a community responsibility. They do the best then can out of the situation that they are in, and they are also aware of the struggles Pakistan has regarding enrolling its own population into schooling.

### **6.1.3 Quality**

Before discussing whether the quality provided for the young female afghan refugees is satisfactory, a far more fundamental question must be asked first. What is considered to be a satisfactory or good quality education? The sixth goal of the Education For All (EFA) states pledges those countries signed up to: "Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved

by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills” (UNESCO, n.d). Quality in education has been defined by UNESCO as

The success with which systems achieve cognitive development is one indicator of their quality. The second emphasizes education’s role in promoting values and attitudes of responsible citizenship and in nurturing creative and emotional development. (UNESCO, 2004: 17)

There is no doubt that the international community recognises the importance of good quality education. However, the quality of education is often challenged in times of distress and conflict, and is almost certain to decrease. To improve learning, the EFA global monitoring report suggest that some points are specially important when it comes to the quality of learning; teachers, learning material, learning time, core subjects, pedagogy, language, facilities and leadership (UNESCO, 2004: 17). I have chosen to address teachers, learning material, pedagogy and language, as I have not collected data regarding the other points. In discussing these I shall be able to assess the general quality of education in school A.

Running a school for refugee girls and providing a good quality education is challenging. As the refugees themselves are the main providers of education they are also responsible for the quality of the education provided to the children. According to the EFA global monitoring report, the standards of teaching in many low-income countries does not hold great quality, as “in many low-income countries, teachers do not meet even the minimum standards for entry into teaching and many have not fully mastered the curriculum” (UNSECO,2004:16). The teachers at school A have varied experience with teaching and just as varied a set of education. The youngest teacher in school A is just seventeen years old, and has been teaching the lowest classes for half a year. She has no formal teaching education as she is a pupil from school A herself. When she graduated grade seven she was offered to work as a teacher as she had had great results on test throughout her time in School A. The school have also another teacher who is eighteen. She also teaches the younger classes and has no formal teaching education. On the other hand, there are also teachers that have been teaching for over twenty years. However, this does not necessarily mean that the quality of teaching is any higher. None of the interviewees, neither teachers, pupils nor other interviewees, mentioned the lack of educated teachers as one of the challenges to quality; although my personal field observations bear testament to the fact that not all of the teachers were educated in teaching. As an uneducated teacher one is more reliant on equipment, and it is natural for teachers to

blame the somewhat low quality of education on the lack of equipment. Budgetary restraints lead to a lack of basic learning material and equipment, and female refugee teachers thought this to be the greatest challenge to providing quality education;

I do not have all the equipment I need to teach. It is very difficult to teach without books and other equipment. I am a teacher of geography. How am I going to explain where a country is when I do not have maps? I try to draw maps on the blackboard myself, but it is not the same (A21 – TPS, interview, 2008).

According to the EFA global monitoring report, “The quality and availability of learning materials strongly affect what teachers can do” (UNESCO, 2004:17). All the teachers in school A mentioned the lack of materials as one of the main things they lacked. There was an overall agreement that the lack of materials and equipment hampered their teaching, and that the quality of the teaching was reduced because of this. It is not only the teachers that do not have the materials needed. From observations and interviews I found that pupils in school A do not have the basic learning materials they need. School books were old and there were not enough for each pupil, meaning that had to share each book between 2-3 pupils. The pedagogy used in teaching settings can be various. However, the most common teaching style used was based on rote learning. The EFA global monitoring report suggests that;

Many commonly used teaching styles do not serve children well: they are often too rigid and rely heavily on rote learning, placing students in a passive role. Many educational researchers advocate structured teaching – a combination of direct instruction, guided practice and independent learning – in a child-friendly environment (UNESCO, 2004:17).

With many pupils crammed into classrooms with a lack of books and other materials, this teaching style is believed to be the most efficient one. A teaching style that is more child-friendly could be more challenging, especially if one is not used to any other type of teaching. Further, language plays a significant role in learning. The EFA global monitoring report suggests that “the choice of the language of instruction used in school is of utmost importance. Initial instruction in the learner’s first language improves learning outcomes and reduces subsequent grade repetition and dropout rates” (UNESCO, 2004:17). The school administration of School A has chosen Dari as the language of instruction as Hazaragi is their pupil’s mother tongue. Hazaragi is a dialect of Dari and therefore all the pupils in school A understand the language of instructions. One teacher also pointed out that in addition to being the language that they understand best; it is also “a part of their identity” (A24-TSS,

interview, 2008).

My observations and interviews suggest that the quality of education in school A is rather low. The teachers are not qualified to be teachers, the learning materials are either of poor standard or lacking completely, and the pedagogy used is not child-friendly. However, the language of instruction is the mother tongue of the pupils, and so the language is not be a barrier towards learning. However, I do not consider the general low quality of the education and facilities offered, to be a challenge in terms of achieving basic education for the young female Hazara refugees. The community has to struggle to ensure that children are enrolled in school, whilst physical space is also a consistent problem. As such, the focus is not on the quality of the education provided. The issues of quality seems to be prioritized less, with the first priority simply being to get children enrolled and ensure they stay in school. In a situation of conflict and instability the education provided by school A is an achievement in itself.

## 6.2 Security

Feeling and being secure is not a given in periods of conflict and instability. When great masses of people live together in small and overpopulated areas there is always a security issue. Quetta, originally a city built to support a substantially smaller population, is now home to more than one million people, many of these Afghan refugees. There are also other socio-economic factors that make this melting pot of a country even more insecure. The city has a lack of water, sanitary options are few for many families, and large families are gathered in small houses. The general population is poor and suffer trauma as a result of the conflict they experience. Being a refugee is often equivalent to being in some kind of vulnerable situation and affects everything from housing to finances.

Several of the interviewees mentioned security as one of the factors restricting Hazara girls in their pursuit of an education. Some were worried about security in general, whilst others emphasized personal insecurities;

There are most definitely obstructions. Some families do not want to send their daughters to school... they cannot send their young girls to school due to the conditions (A22 – TPS, interview 2008).

Some parents are afraid that something could happen to their daughter's on the way to and from school, even though the community usually knows what is going on. Precautions are taken as "one never knows if someone would want to hurt the girls" (A17-P, interview, 2008). The parents do not believe that their own *Quam* – people – would be able to do harm to their "own" girls, but "what if someone from the outside would harm the girls" (A16- PM, interview, 2008).

Girls can suffer violent acts and attitudes; in the worst cases rape. The area where my informants lived was heavily overpopulated and so there was little control over whether someone could take a girl on their way to school unless security was given by the community. In both Afghanistan and Pakistan there is a social "agreement" that if a girl is raped it is the girl's fault, and the shame is not placed on the rapist but rather the girl herself and her family. The family honour is very important, and the girl's security becomes not only her individual issue, but also that of the family. The young female Hazara refugee identity also makes them especially vulnerable. Many reside in Quetta as illegal immigrants or "invisible", and can therefore be looked upon as a more "legal hunt" by rapists as they are neither Pakistani nor registered in the country. This leads to the horrible circumstance that if a young Afghan female is raped, the family does not report the incidence. The refugees are reluctant to contact the authorities as they doubt that either the government or the system will help them, especially as they often not registered as immigrants. They also fear that the Pakistani government will make them repatriate by force. In the worst case girls could be kidnapped and sold. This was not mentioned directly by the interviewees but during general later conversations later I was informed that this could occur. However, there are no statistics regarding the rape or abduction of young female refugees. The best way to avoid these problems would naturally be to not go to and from school by oneself, but rather in larger groups of young females, or optimally to be accompanied by a male.

The Hazara identity also threatens the security of the young females and the Hazara refugees in general. Due to obvious physical features of the Hazara ethnic group they are easy to locate and separate from the crowd. Some of the interviewees mentioned that they were worried that they would be victims of police harassment. As the police are aware of their vulnerable positions in society, some police officers use this knowledge to harass and exploit. One Hazara parent told me that "it is not unusual that the police stops you and ask you for money" (O6-PCOSF, interview, 2008). Even though the security issues are severe, many of the

refugees still compare their situation to that of Afghan refugees in Iran, and consider themselves to be “the lucky ones that came to Pakistan”(A16-PM, interview, 2008).

Security concerns are most definitely a factor restricting Hazara female refugees in their pursuit to access education. Many of the parents placed this issue second after mentioned that after financial issues. Both pupils and parents also mentioned security issues when asked whether the school was far from where they lived. Some had chosen to attend school A due to security reasons. A pupil told me that “ there is another school a little further towards... this school has far lower school fees but my father wanted me to attend this school [school A] as it is closer to home and the area is safer”(A3-PSL, interview, 2008). One pupil told me that their neighbour’s daughter was not allowed to go to school as the girl’s mother was afraid that something could happen to her on the way there;

My neighbour will not let her daughter attend school because she thinks it is not safe for her to go to school. We live far from here, and I have to walk here by myself every morning. I am ok with that. I told her that she could go with me but she wanted an adult to take her. I do not know why, but for some reason she cannot take her to school herself” (A14-SSL, interview, 2008).

Most parents dread sending their children to school by themselves, as for various reasons they cannot take them to school themselves. Even though some choose to pay higher fees to go to the closest school, this is not the case for everyone. Some girls also drop out due to the distance away from school. Not able to pay higher school fees to attend the closest school, some parents take their children out of school or do not enrol them in the first place. There is no doubt that the security is a factor that hinders young female afghan refugees receiving a basic education.

## 6.3 Economy

In discussing the challenges facing Hazara refugees in their pursuit of education it would be amiss to exclude the economy. Conflict often uproots the life one has, and in many cases families leaves their land, jobs and other sources of income and economic stability. Overall, the Hazara refugees in Quetta are considered to be economically poor. Large households and extended families often rely on one or two people, usually the men and boys, to support them. Money is sparse and large groups of people live in cramped spaces.

As both Afghanistan and Pakistan are segregated societies, it is usually the males that are the breadwinners of the family. The males have various jobs, but the most common are sales, working in the coal mines and other low-income jobs. The women often work from home; usually weaving carpets or sewing clothes and other materials. Rarely does the income of this work collect enough money to cover the basic needs of the family, as the families are often expanded to include uncle, aunts, cousins, grandparents and so forth. The elders are taken care of by the women of the house, and therefore the possibility of working outside of the home is unlikely. Finances play a significant role in the ability, or inability, of young female Hazara refugees to access a basic education. As mentioned earlier in this study, all refugee schools in Quetta rely on the school fee given by pupils for their upkeep. This money pays for the rent of the school building, electricity and payments to teachers. This means that if no one can pay the school fees there is no school available.

In school A the fees varied according to which grade the pupils were in. At school A the fees were as follows; In first grade the fee was 100 rupees per month, in 2<sup>nd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> grade the fee was 150 rupees per month, and from 7<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grade the fee was 200 rupees per month. This is approximate to 10, 15 and 20 Norwegian Krone. This amount of money makes it difficult for many families, especially large families with many children, to send all, if even some, of their children to school. In situation when parents have to choose which children to send to school, the obvious answer is that they send the boys. However, it seems that in the Hazara community they have, in situations where families have had money for school fees for some of the children, chosen to send their girls ahead of their boys. One parents explained that;

The girls are far more fitted for school. The girls do much better in school than the boys and are also much more dedicated and eager. The boys usually do not want to. That is why I have both my girls in school, while my three boys are out working. They make more use of themselves by making money now (A15 PF, interview, 2008).

Another parent added to this that it was “wiser to send the boys to work as they get paid better than the girls would have” (A19-PM, interview, 2008). A mother with her child in school A states that;

I hope that my daughter will get a job that pays well, so that she can support me when I grow older. Even if she would not get a job I think it is wise of me to make sure that she gets educated. If I will not get the money is spent on her education back, maybe I get it back in honour, if she gets married well due to her education. Perhaps even her



future family are rich, so that she can support me through them (A19-PM, interview, 2008).

However, due to poor finances, not all parents are able to send their children to school. The principal at School A realized that it was difficult for many to pay the money needed to pay the school fees. Yet, as the school is run on the fees as the only income, it was not possible to cut the fees down or abandon them completely. The teachers also rely on their salaries which are paid for from the fees. Sometimes salaries vary as pupils and their families cannot afford to pay for a month or two. This means that the teachers also encounter difficulties given that they also have children and a house rent to pay. As one teacher commented; “The money that comes from the school fees is my payment. I have to pay house rent and feed my five children” (A22 – TPS, interview 2008). Even though the money is scarce, the vice-principal is idealistic, soft-hearted and sees the value of education. The vice-principal has therefore allowed especially gifted children that cannot pay for themselves to continue schooling. She also underlines that this affects only her own salary. She told me about an exception;

A girl that was very good at school did not come to school one day. I contacted her mother and she said that the girl would not be sent to school because of poor economy. I talked to both the father and mother and told them that the girl was very talented. They still would not send her due to their economical situation. So, I said she could attend school without giving the school fees. I wanted her to finish school. I would not want girls who are strong in school to sit at home (A26 – VICE, interview 2008).

The vice-principal discussed several examples of girls that wanted to go to school but that were not enrolled or were taken out of school due to poor finances. The vice-principal in school A is of no doubt that finances are the main reason why girls are not enrolled or drop out of school. She claimed that this was also the main problem at most of the other schools in the city, except for the few of those where security was a slightly bigger problem. The vice principal also claimed the economy to be the main factor hindering the access of basic education for the last five to ten years. Another teacher also argued that poor family finances were the main reason that girls were left out of school;

Some are poor and don't have the money for the school fee and school books etc. But if the schools help with the fees they send their girls. Most leave their girls out of school due to poor finances (A25 – TSS, interview, 2008).

There is no doubt that economy is the biggest obstacle when it comes to young female Hazara refugees accessing an education. The refugee situation has forced many to leave the stability

of their homes and to start life all over again. With poor personal finances, parents face a monthly struggle to keep their children in school.

## 7. Bringing it to a close

In this study I have sought to answer two main research questions regards the education of young female Hazara Afghan refugees in Quetta, Pakistan. In the previous two chapters I have presented the data collected during fieldwork and applied a theoretical framework. In the last parts of this thesis I will bring together the main findings and the corresponding theories used.

### 7.1 Social construction theory

Social construction theory, which I have adopted as one of the theoretical frameworks of this thesis, suggests that different cultures, societies and groups often have very different views of how things are, have been and should be ( Berger & Luckmann,1991).These views regarding values and correct behaviour are learned from an early age by people belonging to a specific culture, society and group. As members interact they create aspects of their own culture. This means that the culture of one group is a product produced by the group itself through interaction and over time (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

The general attitude of Hazaras towards education for girls is in many ways a question of social construction. The Hazaras in Quetta do have certain views of how things are, have been and should be, and some of these views relate to the education of their young females. The views held by the Hazara community in Quetta are transferred and learned by the younger members of the group from an early age. The Hazara refugee community in Quetta has a somewhat different attitude towards education than the Hazaras in Afghanistan. The culture of the Hazara refugee community in Quetta has been produced through interaction among the group, whilst the views and values they have regarding education have been socially constructed based on their reality. As the reality of Hazara refugees differs from the reality of Hazaras in Afghanistan, the views regarding the basic education of young females also varies to some extent.

Several of the interviewees suggested that the Hazara community in Quetta has a positive attitude towards education for young females. The majority of the Hazara group see female education as an important part of a child's development and their ability to access future opportunities. Some even see education for young females as a necessity. Many of the

interviewees believed education to be important given that it would allow the young girls to be more financially productive. Islamic values also play a significant role in the attitudes held by the Hazara refugee community towards young female education. The Hazaras have interpreted Islam to be in favour of both male and female education. The interviewees also suggested that Hazaras outside of Quetta had somewhat different views towards young female education. A number of interviewee's claimed that the attitude of Hazaras in Afghanistan was far more strict and negative. They believed that the Afghan Hazaras live under different conditions than themselves, and that these conditions influenced the Afghan Hazaras towards a less favourable view of young female education. The belief that education could "ruin" a young female (see section 5.2) has previously been a much more prominent view of Hazaras in Quetta. Most of my informants in Quetta hoped that those who still believed that girls were better off without an education would change their attitude. The vice-principal of School A was constantly working to change people's attitudes, especially those of the elders and parents. She stressed that an educated young female would in the future be far "better off" in many aspects of their lives than a non-educated young female.

The social construction of Hazara refugee reality in Quetta not only affects the attitudes the Hazaras have towards young female education, but also the factors which influence the ability of young female Hazaras to access basic education. As the Government of Pakistan is neither able nor willing to provide basic education for the Hazara refugees in Quetta, the refugees themselves are responsible for educating their children. If a culture which values young female education did not exist, the offer of enrollment into a school would simply not exist. That educational institutions founded by the Hazara refugees themselves exist, suggests that education is deemed to be important. The Hazara refugees in exile have constructed a reality in which education is given a more prominent role in the lives of young female Hazaras. The creation of all-female schools within the refugee community also stands as a symbol of the attitude of most Hazaras towards young female education. Moreover, within the context of their refugee status, the constant struggle of the Hazaras to keep their schools open bears testament to their commitment to young female education.

## 7.2 Socialisation

Before discussing the concept of “socialisation” and its relationship to this study in further terms, it is necessary to re-emphasise that the concepts of “socialisation” and gender are closely intertwined.

Healy (2003) suggests that socialisation is “the process of physical, psychological and social development by which a person learns his or her culture and develops an adult personality” (2003: 614). Through socialisation one is prepared to live within a society, children are in turn made familiar with customs, traditions and expectations that the society they live in holds. These customs, traditions and expectations influence the education of the young female refugees given that they form and shape the general attitude of Hazaras towards young female education. The young female Hazara refugees are socialised to be virtuous and obedient carriers of the norms, customs and traditions held by the Hazara community. The “correct” behaviour for young females to hold is closely related to the expected gender roles of the community. The young females are raised in a segregated society, one in which, as some interviewees suggested, females are viewed as the “second gender”. Afghan tradition also emphasises the importance of young female marriage, and this will be further explored in section 7.3.

Young female refugees are socialised into being followers of Islam from an early age. The role of Islam is a prominent part of Hazara society, and affects the general attitudes held towards young female education. Indeed, most aspects of Hazara society in Quetta are constructed around religion. Religion is clearly intertwined with socialisation, for religion is often the reference point when addressing the values, norms and traditions of Hazara society. As has been shown previously, how Hazaras interpret Islam affects the ability of young females to access education in a positive manner. All interviewees argued that Islam encourages all believers to become educated. According to some interviewees, Islam even encourages young females to become educated.

## 7.3 Gender

Gender roles and their organisation differ within societies and within different eras. Within Afghan culture gender is strongly intertwined with both the tradition of a patriarchal structure and the importance of religion to everyday life.

As a category, gender is very much externally defined, and children are from birth divided into two categories which are full of perceptions regarding what a gender is and should be, and, just as importantly, what it should not be. These gender roles are societal expectations about proper behaviour, attitudes and personal traits. What is considered `natural` or the `normal` gender-appropriate behaviour in one location may be identified as something unnatural to others in other locations (Connell, 2002; Grusec & Hastings, 2007; Healy, 2003).

Gender is closely intertwined with the concept of socialisation, as children are socialised into being the carriers of certain gender roles. The actors influencing what is considered to be the correct and appropriate gender roles are the family, peers, the media and schools (Grusec & Hastings, 2007: 561). The gender roles the young female Hazara refugees have been socialised to uphold, affect their ability to access basic education. The different roles men and women hold within Afghan society are strictly divided between the official and private spheres. The role of the man is general and social, whereas the role of the woman is specific and is that of the caretaker of the family. Within Afghan society the female is considered to be the only caretaker of the extended family. The Hazara refugees in Quetta hold the same traditional gender roles as Afghan women in general. One of these roles is to be a caring wife; indeed, one of the most important roles women hold is to “be married”.

From an early age young females are socialised into the “fact” that real or proper girls are to be married. Many of the Hazara refugees, especially the elders, were socialised in Afghanistan and therefore see traditional gender roles as the “correct behaviour” for women and men to hold. Traditional Afghan gender roles are, to a certain extent, therefore obtained in exile. The expectation that young females shall be married affects the education of young female Hazaras in Quetta. The idea that being a wife is the ultimate role a female can hold can obstruct the schooling of young female Hazara refugees. Some of the interviewees in school A were older than eighteen and were attending classes between second and seventh grade. These young females were under even more pressure to “get married soon” than younger female pupils (A2-PSL, interview 2008). The general attitude of Hazaras in Quetta was in

favour of young females being educated before they get married. As the Hazaras in Afghanistan have been restricted in their ability to access education for their young, the opportunity to provide education in exile has influenced several parents to send their young to school. Somewhat ironically therefore, life in exile has provided the opportunity for Hazaras to educate their young, which has itself in turn, decreased the pressure placed on females to marry young.

Indeed, whilst marriage is still considered to be the one of the most important roles of women, many parents also wish for their daughters to become educated as well. The young females interviewed believed that it was most important to be educated first and married second. The gender roles held in refugee exile have therefore changed somewhat from those held in Afghanistan. The idea that females need to be married when they are young, innocent and not “ruined”, is one that most parents have discarded. The idea that educated young females may hold a better position within their future families has at the same time become increasingly important. Yet what it means to be “educated” varies from parent to parent.

The practical necessities of life in exile have also changed to some extent the traditional gender roles Hazaras hold. Among the obstacles present in exile are the language and culture. Within this context, the educated young females have become sources of information for their elders. The young females are still considered to be the caretakers of the extended family; however, life in refuge has expanded the role of caretaker to also include that of informer. The role of “informer” is a new and additional way in which young females can take care of the family. The parents interviewed in this study emphasised the importance of not having “blind children”, and, moreover, that this was more important than early marriage. These parents also stressed the advantage of having someone in the family that could read, e.g. the example given in section 5.5 concerning reading medicine labels.

The traditional gender roles held by Hazaras in Quetta have changed somewhat compared to their counterparts living in Afghanistan. The role of young females has expanded to include other less traditional roles such as “informer”. Education is therefore taking a more central role in the life of young females, relegating marriage to a second priority.

## 7.4 Identity, stereotyping and stigmatisation

In relating the concept of identity to the two research questions I have chosen to focus on the two definitions of identity offered by Jenkins (2004) and which are discussed in section 2.3. Both of Jenkins' definitions are based on the premise that the human world is unimaginable without some means of knowing who others are and some sense of who we are. Without such a framework we would not be able to interact meaningfully (Jenkins, 2004). Jenkins' definitions of identity are also based on the idea that identification is a product of both similarity and difference, more specifically, those that emerge through individual and collective relations (Jenkins, 2004). As the Hazara group identity is closely intertwined with their ethnic identity, I will discuss both these identities in this final sub-chapter. Using Jenkins' definition of identity as being based on similarity and difference, the Hazara identity is quite clear. Both in Afghanistan and Pakistan the Hazaras are distinguished from the rest of the population by their physical features.

This in turn has led to the marginalisation of the Hazaras in Afghanistan, for they are stereotyped as not being "real" Afghans. Stereotypes, as was discussed in chapter 2, stress a few traits and assume that these traits can be applied to all members of a group. Stereotypes are held between different Afghan ethnic groups, i.e. between Hazaras and Pashtuns. The stereotyped Hazara identity has negatively impacted upon Hazaras educational enrolment. As was discussed earlier, their ethnic identity has led to them being deprived of basic education. In Pakistan, their physical features also separate them from the Pakistani population. However, in Pakistan they are first and foremost identified as "Afghans" and/or "refugees", and not as the ethnic group "Hazaras". This means that the Hazaras are marginalised in both Afghanistan and Pakistan due to the identity that they hold, However, this identity, is two-fold, and suggests that they are marginalised due to their *different* identities in each country. They are marginalised in Afghanistan due to their ethnic identity, whilst in Pakistan they are marginalised due to their group identity as "Afghans" and/or "refugees".

The Hazara group often identifies itself with reference to the terms "us" and "them". As the Hazaras consider themselves to be marginalised due to their identities, the Hazaras subsequently hold a strong in-group identity. This identity was said by several interviewees to have hampered their ability to access basic education. In Afghanistan, the Hazaras were discriminated against in terms of access to education institutions. Several of my interviewees mentioned that "being a Hazara has a different meaning in Pakistan" (code list). This is



related to the shifting identity of the Hazara group in Pakistan, a shift which has, as discussed above, influenced the ability of young female Hazaras to access education. This thesis suggests that it is possible to see both the ethnic identity of the Hazaras and their refugee identity as stigmatised identities. The Hazaras are disqualified from full acceptance into Afghan society due to their ancestry and faith, and are disqualified from full acceptance into Pakistani society as they hold a refugee status. Living within the Afghan diaspora in Pakistan, the importance of their ethnic background and the affects of stigma are somewhat reduced.

The Hazaras in Quetta live in a community which emphasises education, and the educational institutions which they themselves have provided are far more available to Hazaras than they were in Afghanistan. One of the reasons why this availability has increased is due to the shorter distances from home to school. Nevertheless, as was discussed in section 6.2, security issues are still severe, and impact upon the ability of young females to access education.

## 8. Conclusion

In this study I have explored two main research questions; (1) what is the general attitude of Hazaras towards young female education? And (2) which factors influence the ability of young female Hazaras to access basic education?

Regarding the first research question, I have, based on my data, concluded that the Hazaras in my sample have a traditional view of female gender roles; a woman's role in society is seen to be caring for the home and family. From an early age, young females are socialised into being the providers of care, and one of the main goals in life is to get married. These social structures are, however, being challenged by their being a part of a society in conflict. The Hazara identity has changed in exile, making it less difficult for them to access education. Young female Hazaras are now a part of a larger marginalised group of Afghan refugees, and even though they are stigmatised as "invisible refugees", they are still better off in terms of access to education. The Hazaras' schools are run by Hazara refugees themselves, and so they cannot be accused of taking advantage of the education system in their host country. The Hazaras have interpreted Islam to be in favour of female education on the basis that the quest for knowledge is universal.

I have concluded the following in terms of my second research question: There are schools available to Hazara refugees within their communities in Quetta. The schools themselves lack everything but the most basic equipment. Buildings are run down and the books are either out of date or in bad shape. This is primarily because there is no support from the Pakistani education system. To add to this, NGOs have moved their focus from refugees in Pakistan to those in Afghanistan itself. The Hazara run schools are financed through pupils' school fees, which is not a stable source of income. The quality of the education is affected by this lack of financial support. Also, not being a part of any wider education system, teachers are not required to comply with a set of education standards. As illegal refugees, many Hazaras are concerned that they will not receive any official support in cases of harassment, rape, abductions and so forth. Security issues are therefore one of the factors which restrict the ability of young female Hazaras to access education. Whilst popular wisdom suggests that cultural factors are the main factors restricting the ability of young female Hazaras to access education, this thesis has shown that the base of the problem is more pragmatic. Many Hazara families simply lack the money to send their children to school and cannot afford for them not to work.

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# Appendix A: Interview guides

## Appendix A (1): Pupil interview guide

### Background

1. Can you please tell me your name and age?
2. Who takes care of you?
3. Who do you live with, and where do you live in Quetta?
4. Do you have any siblings? If yes, how many (girls and/or boys)? Where are you placed in the line of siblings?
5. What does your parents/guardian do for a living? If the father/mother is not present/living, then what does the guardian do?

### Moving

6. From where in Afghanistan are your family/you originally from?
7. Did you go to school in Afghanistan? Yes/No. If yes, how many grades did you attend?
8. When and how did you come to Quetta? Year?
9. Why did you/your family come to Quetta? Was it forced or voluntarily?

### Education

10. Do you think education is important? Yes/No – please explain.
11. Why do you want to go to school? What are your reasons (s)?
12. Do you have a role model? If yes, what does this person do that makes him/her your role model? If no, why do you think you do not have one?

### Educational structure/schooling

13. What is the name of your school, and why did you choose to go to this particular school?
14. Is the school far (in distance) from where you live?
15. Who pay for your school fees, and how do they do that? Do you get money sent from abroad? If so, from where?
16. What level/class are you in?
17. Do you have all the school equipment you need?



18. Do you get help with school work if you need it? Who helps you (father,mother, siblings,other)?
19. Are you planning on finishing the school level/grade (primary/secondary) you are on now?
20. Are you planning on getting further education after you finish this level/grade?
21. Was it hard for you to get into a/the school? Yes/No – please explain.
22. Do you think the Pakistani Government should provide education for Hazara, Afghan refugee girls? Yes/No – please explain.

#### Culture and tradition (Gender and Socialisation)

23. Do you think that girls have more restrictions than boys when it comes to education? Yes/No – please explain. If yes, do you think it is right/fair? Yes/No – please explain
24. Do you think it is more important for a girl to get married, get education or both?
25. What does Islam say about education?
26. Do you attend a Madrasa? Yes/No please explain
27. Do you know any girls your age who attend madrassas? If yes, why do you think they go there?
28. Do you think that there are hindrances/ obstructions in the pursuit of getting education for a girl? If yes, what do you think they are related to (Ex: Economy, traditional views, culture, gender roles, nationality, ethnic group)?

#### **Future – Hopes and dreams**

29. What do you want to be in the future, profession?
30. Do you think your dream of a profession will be realised? Yes/No – please explain.
31. Do you think your future will be easier/ better with education, or do you think that it will not make any difference?

## **Appendix A (2): Teacher/Principale interview guide**

### **Background**

1. Name and age:
2. Place of birth:
3. How long have you been working as a teacher?
4. At what school do you work?
5. How long have you been working at this school?

### **School structure**

6. How many pupils attend this school?
7. How many classes/levels are available at this school?
8. Is this an all-girl school?
9. Who is funding this school, and how?
10. Do the pupils pay school fees? If yes, how much are they and what do they cover?
11. Have most pupils lived in Quetta all their life?
12. What are the criteria to attend your school?
13. Do you turn anybody down? If yes, what is the most common reason?
14. Do you think that there are enough schools for Hazara girl pupils available in Quetta?
15. Are there an ethnic majority in your school? Yes/No. If yes, which ethnic group?
16. Does the school have all the equipment it needs?
17. Do you arrange any extracurricular activities at your school?
18. Do you think the Pakistan government should provide education for Hazara, Afghan refugee girls? Yes/No – please explain
19. Do you think that the Pakistan government has a positive or negative attitude towards providing education for afghan refugee children? Positive/ Negative- please explain.
20. What does Islam say about education?
21. Do you know any parents who send their girls to madrassas? If yes, why do you think they go there?
22. Do you think that there are hindrances/obstructions in the pursuit of getting education for a girl? If yes, what do you think they are related to? (Ex: Economy, traditional views, culture, gender roles, nationality, ethnic group)? If no, please explain.

## **Appendix A (3): Child out of school interview guide**

### **Background**

1. Can you please tell me your name and age?
2. Who takes care of you?
3. Who do you live with, and where do you live in Quetta?
4. Do you have any siblings? If yes, how many (girls and/or boys)? Where are you placed in the line of siblings?
5. What does your parents/guardian do for a living? Father/ Mother. If the father or mother is not present/living, then what does the guardian do?
6. What do you do now? (Daily life)

### **Moving**

7. From where in Afghanistan are your family/you originally from?
8. Did you go to school in Afghanistan? Yes/ No. If yes, how many grades did you attend?
9. When and how did you come to Quetta? (Year?)
10. Why did your family/you come to Quetta? Was it forced or voluntarily?

### **Education**

11. Do you think education is important? Yes/No – please explain.
12. Do you want to go to school? What are your reason(s)?
13. Do you have a role model(s)? If yes, what does this person do that makes him or her your role model? If no, why do you think this is so?

### **Educational structure**

14. Have you ever applied for access in a school? Yes/No. If yes, Why did they not enrol you?
15. How did you feel when you couldn't start/continue schooling?
16. If you attended a school where school fees were demanded, who do you think would pay for your school fees, and how would they do that? Would you get money send from abroad? If so, from where?
17. What level/class should you in?
18. Are you planning on starting school? Yes/No – please explain.
19. Do you think the Pakistan government should provide education for Hazara, Afghan refugee girls? Yes/No- Please explain.

### **Culture and Tradition: Gender**

20. Do you think that girls have more restrictions than boys when it comes to education? Yes/No – Please explain. Do you think it is fair? Yes/No – Please explain.
21. Do you think it is more important for a girl to get married, get education or both?
22. What does Islam say about education?
23. Do you know any girls your age who attend madrassas? If yes, why do you think they go there?
24. Do you think that there are hindrances/ obstructions in the pursuit of getting education for a girl? If yes, what do you think they are related to? (Ex: Economy, traditional

views, culture, gender roles, nationality, ethnic group)? If no, please explain.

### **Future – Hopes and dreams**

25. What do you want to be in the future, profession?
26. Do you think your dream of a profession will be raised? Yes/no – Please explain.  
Why/ why not?
27. Do you think the future will be harder for you without education?

### **Additional**

28. Do you have anything to add?

## **Appendix A (4): Parent (with girl child/children in/out of school) interview guide**

### **Background**

1. Can you please tell me your name and age?
2. Are you married?
3. How many children do you have? How many girls/boys?
4. Who do you live with, and where do you live in Quetta? Is it with the nuclear or extended family? If extended, then who?
5. What do you do for a living?
6. What does your husband/wife do for a living?

### **Moving**

7. From where in Afghanistan are you/ your family originally from?
8. Did you go to school in Afghanistan? If yes, how many grades/what level?
9. When did you/your family come to Quetta? Year?
10. Why did you/your family come to Quetta? Year?
11. Did you move to Quetta forced or voluntarily?

### **Education**

12. Do you think education is important? Yes/No – please explain
13. Do you consider education to be important for both girls and boys?
14. Do you have children in school? Yes/No? If Yes, Does all your children go to school?

If yes, go to section A

If no, go to section B

## **Section A**

### **Educational structure**

15. What is the name of the school your child/children attends, and why did you choose this particular school? Do the girls/boys go to separate schools?
16. Is the school far from where you live?
17. Are there any school fees? If yes, how much are they? Do you pay different amount of money for the boys or the girls?
18. Who pays the school fees, and how do you/they do that? Do you get money sent from abroad? If so, from where?
19. Does your girl child have all the school equipment she needs?
20. Does your girl child get help with school work if she needs it?
21. How will you help her finish the school level (primary/secondary) that she/they are on now?
22. Would you suggest/wish for her/them to take further education after this school level?
23. Was it difficult for you/your family to get your child/children into the/a school?  
Yes/No – please explain.
24. Do you think that the Pakistani Government has a positive or negative attitude towards giving education to Hazara, Afghan refugee children? Positive/Negative – Please explain.

### **Culture and Tradition (Gender & socialisation)**

25. Do you think that girls have/should have more restrictions than boys when it comes to education? Yes/No – please explain. Do you think it is fair? Yes/No – please explain.
26. Do you think it is more important for a girl to be married, be educated or both?
27. What does Islam say about education?
28. Do you send your children to madrassas? Yes/No – please explain
29. Do you know any parents who send their girls to madrassas If yes, why do you think they go there?
30. Do you think that there are hindrances/obstructions in the pursuit of getting education for a girl? If yes, what do you think they are related to? (Economy, traditional views, culture, gender (roles), nationality, ethnic group). If no – please explain.

## **Future – Hopes and dreams**

31. What do you hope your children/boy child/girl child will become in the future, profession?
32. Do you think the future will be better/easier for her/them with education? Or do you think it will make no significant difference?

## **Section B**

### **Educational structure**

15. Why is your child/children (boys child/girl child) not in school? What are the obstructions/hindrances keeping you from sending her/him/them? Please explain.
16. Have you thought of sending her/him/them to school? Yes/No – Please explain. If yes, how are you planning on organising it?
17. Do you think it is difficult to find suitable or available schools? Yes/No – please explain.
18. Do you think the Pakistani Government should provide education for Hazara, Afghan refugee girls? Yes/No – Please explain.
19. Do you think that the Pakistani Government has a positive or negative attitude towards providing education to Hazara, Afghan refugee children? Positive/Negative – please explain.

### **Culture and Tradition (Gender and Socialisation)**

20. Do you think that girls have more restrictions than boys when it comes to education? Yes/No – please explain.
21. Do you think it is more important for a girl to be married, be educated or both?
22. What does Islam say about education?
23. Do you send your children to madrassas? Yes/No – please explain
24. Do you know any parents who send their girls to madrassas? If yes, why do you think they do so?
25. Do you think that there are hindrances/obstructions in the pursuit of getting education for a girl? If yes, what do you think they are related to? (Economy, traditional views, culture, gender (roles), nationality, ethnic group). If no – please explain.

### **Future – Hopes and dreams**

26. What do you hope your children/boy child/girl child will become in the future, profession?
27. Do you think the future will be better/easier for her/them with education? Or do you think it will make no significant difference?

## **Appendix A (5): Politicians & (educational) authorities interview guide**

### **Background**

1. Can you please tell me your name and age?
2. Where do you live in Quetta?
3. What are your nationality / ethnic belonging?
4. What political party/organization are you member of?
5. What are your role/ job within this political party/organization?
6. Does your political party/organization have any official plan or theory regarding education in Quetta? If yes, what is it? If no, please explain
7. If you do have an educational plan or theory, does this include the Afghan refugees living in Quetta? If yes, how? If no, why not?
8. Do the female Afghan refugees request education?
9. Do you think that there are enough schools for female Afghan refugees in Quetta?
10. In general, how would you say the female Afghan refugee situation is regarding education in Quetta?
11. What kind of influence does your political party/organization have on the refugee community in Quetta?
12. Do you cooperate with the refugee community? If yes, in what are (ex; education) do you cooperate and how? If no, why not?
13. Do you think that there are hindrances/obstructions for an Afghan refugee girl in the pursuit of education? If yes, what do you think that those hindrances/obstructions are related to? If no, please explain.
14. Do you think that the Pakistan government should provide education for Hazara, Afghan refugee girls? Yes/No - please explain.
15. Do you think that the Pakistan government has a positive or negative attitude towards providing education for Afghan refugee(s) (girls)? Positive/negative – please explain.



## Appendix B: Interviewers guide

1. What expectation did you have prior to this interview?
2. Did you feel any sort of discomfort, anxiety, distress etc prior to and/or under this interview?
3. Where did the interview take place?
4. The interview length (Hours/minutes)
5. Which interview guide was used? (Pupil in school, pupil out of school parent, teacher/principale, politicians/ (educational) authorities, none).
6. Do you know the participant from before? (Yes, Yes, but not personally, No)
7. Were there others than you and the participant present during the interview? (Yes/No).  
If yes, who? Do you think this person(s) influenced the participant's answers (Yes/No)
8. How many times has this participant been interviewed by you?
9. Did you use audio recording device? (Yes/No).
10. Anything to add?
  
11. Date of conducted interview
12. Name of participant

## Appendix C: Code List

<b>School A/Other</b>	<b>Role /status/ grade</b>	<b>Further information</b>	<b>Code</b>
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil primary school (Last grade)		A1 - PSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil primary school (Last grade)		A2 - PSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil primary school (Last grade)		A3 - PSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil primary school (Last grade)		A4 - PSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil primary school (Last grade)		A5 - PSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the first grade of SS		A6 - SSF
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the first grade of SS		A7 - SSF
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the first grade of SS		A8 – SSF
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the first grade of SS		A9 - SSF
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the last grade of SS		A10 – SSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the last grade of SS		A11 - SSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the last grade of SS		A12 - SSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the last grade of SS		A13 - SSL
<b>School A</b>	Girl pupil in the last grade of SS		A14 - SSL
<b>School A</b>	Parent of pupils in school A	Father	A15 - PF
<b>School A</b>	Parent of pupils in school A	Mother	A16 - PM
<b>School A</b>	Parent of pupils in school A	Mother	A17 - PM
<b>School A</b>	Parent of pupils in school A	Mother	A18 - PM
<b>School A</b>	Parents of pupils in school A	Mother	A19 - PM
<b>School A</b>	Teacher in PS		A20 – TPS
<b>School A</b>	Teacher in PS		A21 - TPS

<b>School A</b>	Teacher in PS		A22 - TPS
<b>School A</b>	Teacher in SS		A23 - TSS
<b>School A</b>	Teacher in SS		A24 - TSS
<b>School A</b>	Teacher in SS		A25 - TSS
<b>School A</b>	Vice principal		A26 - VICE
<b>Other</b>	Child out of school		O1- COS
<b>Other</b>	Child out of school		O2- COS
<b>Other</b>	Child out of school		O3- COS
<b>Other</b>	Child out of school		O4- COS
<b>Other</b>	Child out of school		O5- COS
<b>Other</b>	Parent with child out of school	Father	O6 -PCOSF
<b>Other</b>	Parent with child out of school	Father	O7 - PCOSF
<b>Other</b>	Parent with child out of school	Mother	O8- PCOSM
<b>Other</b>	Parent with child out of school	Mother	O9- PCOSM
<b>Other</b>	Parent with child out of school	Mother	O10- PCOSM
<b>Other</b>	Local politician	Male	O11 - LP
<b>Other</b>	Local politician	Female	O 12- LP
<b>Other</b>	Educational/Development authority	Male	O13 - EDA
<b>Other</b>	Educational/Development authority	Male	O14 - EDA
<b>Other</b>	Exceptions: 14 teachers in 1 interview	School A	O15 – EX1
<b>Other</b>	Exception: Pupil 11 th grade	School A	O16- EX2
<b>Other</b>	Exception: Pupil 11 th grade	School A	O17 – EX3
<b>Other</b>	Exception: Pupil 11 th grade	School A	O18 – EX4
<b>Other</b>	Exception: Pupil 11 th grade	School A	O19 – EX5
<b>Other</b>	Exception: Pupil 11 th grade	School A	O20 – EX6
<b>Other</b>	Exception: Pupil 8 th grade	School A	O21- EX/

# Appendix D: The consent form



APPENDIX D

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## UNIVERSITETET I OSLO DET UTDANNINGSVITENSKAPELIGE FAKULTET

Oslo, 19.12.2007

Sofie Changezi

[Redacted]  
[Redacted]

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### Consent Form

Participation in "*Primary and secondary education for Afghan refugee girls in Quetta, Pakistan: Access, opportunity and outcome*", Conducted by Sofie Changezi

This research is a fieldwork which is part of a master's thesis in Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education, provided at the University of Oslo, Norway.

The research intends to address the situation regarding primary and secondary education for Afghan refugee girls in Quetta, Pakistan. The researcher wishes to look closer at the situation regarding access, opportunity and outcome. The purpose of the research is to map the education situation (2007/2008), and to find the general attitudes towards girls' education within this group and the society they live in. With this study the researcher hopes to increase awareness of the education situation of Afghan refugee girls in Quetta, Pakistan. The thesis' working title is: *Primary and secondary education for Afghan refugee girls in Quetta, Pakistan: Access, opportunity and outcome*. The research will be conducted between December 20<sup>th</sup> (2007) and January 20<sup>th</sup> (2008).

I, Sofie Changezi, am the researcher of this study. I am a 24- year old student at the Faculty of Education, the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Norway. I am in my final year in Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education (CIE). CIE is an international master's degree programme on education and development, policy and planning in a comparative perspective. I am fluent in Hazaragi and English, and therefore you will be talking to me without the assistance of an interpreter.

The research procedures will mainly be interviewing. Most participants will be asked to take part in one interview lasting approximately between 30 minutes to 1 hour. Some participants might be asked to give a second or third interview if it is found necessary. The participants' role will therefore be to answer the questions asked as honest as possible.



## UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

DET UTDANNINGSVITENSKAPELIGE FAKULTET

The information I collect through my research in Quetta, will be used in writing my master thesis. The thesis is an 80-120 page official document. The master thesis will be published at DOU- digital publications at the University of Oslo. A copy of the thesis will also be available at University of Oslo library. The research is an open study, which means that the ones interested will be able to get access to my collected data. However, this does not mean that they will have access to my participants, as they will be treated confidential and anonymous.

As a participant you have several rights. First of all you have the right to decline participation. If you decide not to participate in the research, it will have no negative impact on you. If you do want to be a participant, you have the right to withdraw from participation in this study at any time. I will assure you that this research will not have any negative implications or be harmful to you as a person in any way. I will be treating all the information about you, and the information you provide me, with confidentiality. If it is wished for, you have the right to have any audio or video recording device turned off at any time. You have the right to ask questions about the study, the research results and the conclusions at any time. A summary of the thesis will be made and will be sent, if desired, to those concerned.

Shortly summarized the basic rights of the participant are the following:

1. To decline participation
2. To withdraw from the study at any time
3. To have privacy and confidentiality assured
4. To have any audio/video recording device turned off at any time
5. To ask questions about the study at any time
6. To receive information about the research results and conclusions at any time

**I am informed and understand the intentions of this research prior to my involvement.**

**I agree to participate in this research**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_



# Appendix E: Application for Research permit, School A

APPENDIX E



## UNIVERSITETET I OSLO DET UTDANNINGSVITENSKAPELIGE FAKULTET

Oslo, 18.09.2007

Sofie Changezi  
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### Application for Research Permit Request by Sofie Changezi, University of Oslo

To the head principle of [REDACTED] Quetta, Pakistan

Ms. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
Quetta, Pakistan

I, Sofie Changezi, am a student at the Faculty of Education, the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Norway. I am in my final year in the Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education (CIE). CIE is an international master's degree programme on education and development, policy and planning in a comparative perspective. My specialisation is within Education and Development, an area that consist of three parts; (a) educational policies and the role of donors, (b) culture and language of instruction in developing countries, and (c) higher education in developing countries.

I intend to write my master's thesis based on a fieldwork I would like to do in Quetta, Pakistan. My thesis' working title is: *Primary and secondary education for Afghan refugee girls in Quetta, Pakistan: Access, opportunity and outcome*. The research will be a qualitative case study. My research proposal has been approved by the administration of Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education.

I am writing this letter requesting a research permit to do parts of my fieldwork in your school. A research permit is required by the University of Oslo. I intend to do my field work in the time period between 15 of December to 15 of January. I will be conducting the field work only in Quetta, Pakistan. I am fluent in Hazaragi/Dari and English, and therefore do not need the assistance of an interpreter.





## UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

### DET UTDANNINGSVITENSKAPELIGE FAKULTET

The purpose of the fieldwork is to survey the primary and secondary education for Afghan refugee girls in Quetta, Pakistan. Subjects of interests are: Gender, (formal) education: access, opportunity and outcomes at primary and secondary educational levels, availability of educational institutions, difference between public and private education, supply and demand, financing of schools, differences between boys' and girls education, parents attitudes towards girls' education, girls' attitudes towards schooling: hopes and dreams for the future, and Pakistan's role regarding Afghan refugees' education.

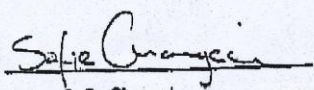
With this research I hope to increase awareness of the education situation of Afghan refugees in Quetta, Pakistan, particularly that of girls. In addition I hope to be able to point out the spin off effects from increased participation in education for girls. I believe my plan of work can satisfactorily contribute to increase the awareness around the area of gender, refugees and education.

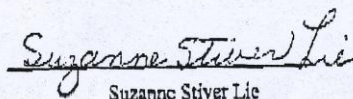
I intend to collect data through different methods of enquiry. My main method will be interviewing. The interviews will be approximately between 20 minutes and 1 hour. I will also be taking full field notes, using questionnaires and searching for official documents that can provide me with data for my research area. I am arranging semi-structured and open-ended interviews, and are preparing to interview various stakeholders. Among these are officials in the educational field, principals of schools, teachers, parents and a limited number of girls in the last grade in primary school, first grade in secondary school and the last grade in secondary school.

I will be treating all individuals and the data that they provide me with confidentially. I will make sure that the participants will be informed with the intentions of the thesis prior to their involvement. I will also make sure that I have their consent. The consent form will be available for the participants to read and sign in English and/or in Dari/Farsi. I will also stress that the participants have a right to withdraw from participation, at any time. The master thesis will be published openly. The thesis will be published at DOU - digital publications at the University of Oslo. A copy of the thesis will also be available at the University of Oslo library. A summary of the thesis will be made and will be sent, if desired, to those concerned.

This field work will mainly be self-financed, with the exception of a small amount of expenses covered by Lånekassen, the Norwegian State Educational Loan Fund. The stipend I will receive from Lånekassen will pay for my Airfare from Oslo, Norway to Quetta, Pakistan, and will be approximately 6000- 8000 Norwegian Kroner (NOK).

Yours sincerely,

  
Sofie Changzi  
Student

  
Suzanne Stiver Lie  
Professor Emerita, Supervisor

# Appendix F: "Assistance letter" from the University of Oslo

APPENDIX F



## UNIVERSITETET I OSLO DET UTDANNINGSVITENSKAPELIGE FAKULTET

To whom it may concern

**Institute for Educational Research**  
P.O. Box 1092 Blindern  
N-0317 Oslo

**Date:** 2007-08-24

**Your ref.:**

**Our ref.:**

Visiting address:  
Sem Sælandsvei 7, Helga Eng's Building, 5<sup>th</sup> floor  
Telephone: +47 22 84 44 75  
Fax: +47 22 85 42 50  
[www.uv.uio.no](http://www.uv.uio.no)


### ASSISTANCE IN THE CONDUCTION OF FIELD-WORK


This is to confirm that, Sofie Changezi, born 01.05.1983, is a second year student in the Master programme in Comparative and International Education at the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Norway.

In the second year our students are required to write a Master thesis of 80 to 110 pages. This thesis should preferably be based on field studies. The field-work may incorporate interviews with educational practitioners and decision-makers, class-room observation and documentary analysis. The type of data gathered should of course be discussed with the relevant authorities.

We kindly ask you to give Ms Changezi all possible assistance during her field-work in Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

  
Berit Karseth  
Dep. Head of Department

  
Mette Oftebro  
Senior Executive Officer



**UNIVERSITY OF OSLO**  
Institute for Educational Research  
Box 1092 Blindern  
N-0317 OSLO



Appendix G: Research permit from the Government of Baluchistan

APPENDIX G



ADDITIONAL CHIEF SECRETARY (DEV:)

D.O.NO.PS/ACS/1(3)/67

GOVERNMENT OF BALOCHISTAN  
PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT  
DEPARTMENT.

Dated Quetta, the October 03 ~~199~~ <sup>2007</sup> :

**NO OBJECTION CERTIFICATE**

The Government of Balochistan has no objection to M/S Sofie Changezi in conducting her field works at Quetta.

The Government of Balochistan will extend all possible cooperation in her fieldwork.

( Qayyum Nazar Changezi )  
Additional Chief Secretary (Dev.)