Identity crisis in the wake of mass migration:
A study of identity crisis and acculturation strategies of Hazara diaspora living in Arendal.

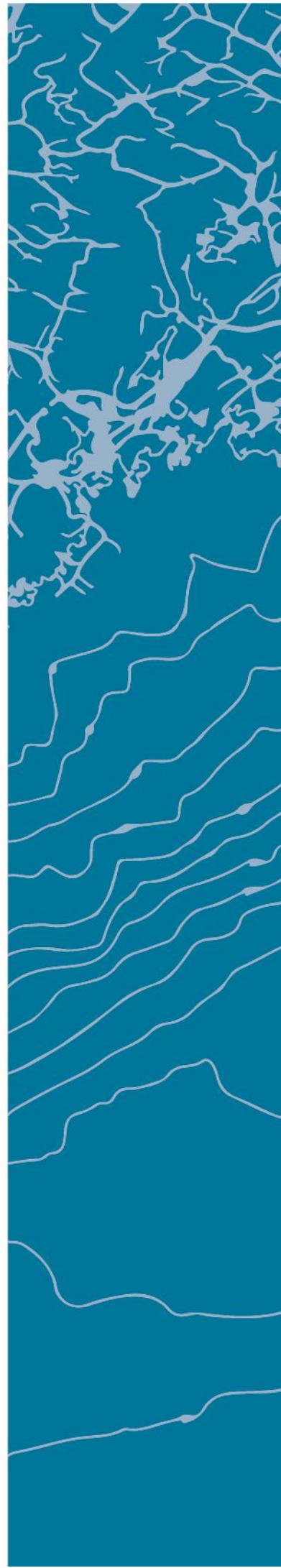WRITTEN BY:
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Abstract

In 2015-16 a record number of migrants applied for asylum in the 28 member states of the European Union, Norway and Switzerland– nearly double the previous high water mark of 1992 after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union. This scenario raised a number of questions for researchers and development practitioners in understanding and managing the migration issues and acculturation processes develop in the aftermath of the scenario. Keeping in view this situation, the aim of this dissertation is to ascertain the consequences of migration on a group of people or community belonging to an underdeveloped country who migrated to a developed country such as Norway. In this study the target group is Hazara community who have migrated from Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan and settled in the city of Arendal. The main objective of the study is to evaluate the challenges they face in Arendal and more specifically understanding how the migration of people belonging to Hazara ethnic group into the developed world affect their traditional identity. Although the impact of the migration differ from individual to individual yet here the hypothesis is based on thoughts and activities of general majority because of the nature of study. Using a qualitative paradigm, the primary data was collected mainly through ethnographic methods of participant observation and life history interview. Four main areas of discussion for the study deriving from the theoretical background were forced migration, acculturation, ethnic identity and social capital. The findings of the study revealed several mechanisms similar to the ones discussed in the literature. In order to understand the migration and acculturation processes of the Hazara community, there were two major elements that I found extremely important. Firstly, their past experiences of socio-political and economic deprivations in their home country. Secondly, the acculturation strategies of Hazara community in the host country where they can enjoy all types of human rights and freedom underpinned by Norway's asylum and immigration legislation. It may be mentioned here that there is room for further inquiry into the matter as it was not possible to comprehend the views of Hazara diaspora living in other localities and regions.

Acknowledgement

Conducting this dissertation has truly been an enlightening journey to self-discovery which could not have been possible without the guidance and support of a number of people.

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Declaration by Candidate

I, Ali Raza, hereby declare that the thesis "Identity crisis in the wake of mass migration: A study of identity crisis and acculturation strategies of Hazara diaspora living in Arendal has not been submitted to any other Universities than University of Agder, Norway for any type of academic degree.

Place   **Ali Raza**   **Date**

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Forward/Background

I belong to Hazara minority community living in Pakistan. My grandparents migrated from central areas of present day Afghanistan called Gazni province because of political turmoil in the country. During my teen ages, when I was in class tenth, I heard about a terrorist attack on our then Minister for Education, Sardar Nisar Ali Hazara in which his driver was died. The driver was father of my best friend. From that time onward constant terrorist attacks ruined our community in all sphere of life. The Hazaras have never been having satisfactory life status in Afghanistan and Iran as well. These circumstances have grabbed my attention and compelled me to learn more about the ethnic group. After I arrived in Norway I got a chance to live with the Hazara diaspora living in Arendal and observed their livelihood. During my two years stay I realized that the Hazara community living in Arendal have been experiencing social problems but unlike the people living in the global south. Besides, during the same period a huge number of people mostly Syrian, Afghans and from various African countries started migrating to Europe including Norway and Sweden for political asylum. These circumstances perpetuated my intention to study migration related issues and their impact on migrants. Therefore, I decided to study identity crisis in the wake of mass migration.

Chapter One - Introduction

1.1. Introduction

After more than a century long war and bloodshed in Afghanistan most significantly in the aftermath of 11th September incident in USA millions of Afghans fled across the globe. Among those is the Hazara ethnic group, who bears a distinct identity and/or political ideology, makes a significant contribution because of their vulnerability and marginalization on ethnic premises (Ibrahimi, 2012). Hazara identity is most commonly stereotyped into five central features: phenotype, religion, territory, social status and dialect; mark the ethnic boundary of Hazara identity (Ibrahimi, 2012, p. 2). However, Canfield (2004) and Ibrahimi (2012) believe that political developments under the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul and the emergence of anti-Soviet organizations among rural Hazaras during the 1980s have perpetuated to the rise of a broad trans-local ethnic identity what has been described as a specific 'Hazara ideology' as opposed to internal and localized identities (Ibrahimi, 2012). A significant number of empirical studies establish the distinct identity of Hazara is the main reason of their vulnerability in the course of enduring ethnic cleansing (M. A. Gulzari, 2001; Hussain, 2003; Ibrahimi, 2012; Karkunan, 2016a). A sufficient literature and media accounts are available on the lives of Hazara immigrants living in developing countries such as Iran and Pakistan (Ibrahimi, 2012) but few studies investigate what happens to the immigrants in developed world who have developed in one cultural context and attempt to re-establish their lives in another (see for example (Drydakis, 2012, p. 389; Hashimi, 2016).

Figure 1.1 Life vests damaged during a coastguard raid lie discarded under a tree at the refugee launching point on the Turkish coast (Kusmez, 2015)

Figure 1.2 Young Hazara refugees often travel to Europe alone to escape persecution and help support families left behind (Kusmez, 2015)

The purpose of this anthropological study is, therefore, to evaluate lives of the Hazaras after migration into a developed country such as Norway. In order to comprehend the study, it is felt necessary to narrow down the range of study and focus on the lives of Hazara refugees living in Arendal, Norway, as a case study, who are believed to be living with all comfort and satisfaction to live in accordance to their religious belief, cultural identity and political ideology (see for example Berry et al (2006, p.33-34). The main objective of the study is to evaluate the challenges they face in Arendal and more specifically understanding how **the migration of people belonging to Hazara ethnic group into the developed world affect their traditional identity.** It may be mentioned here that in this study 'identity' is referred to demonstrate the way groups and individuals define themselves and are defined and identified by others on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion, culture, common history and language (Mubarak Ali, 2015). It is assumed that the ethnographic study of Hazara diaspora in Arendal brings forth not only the complexities of and opportunities for migrants in the global north but also explains various theories of social sciences including socio-cultural diversities, cultural construction; acculturation; and concepts of migration and ethnic identity.

1.2. Problem Statement, Research Objectives and Questions
1.2.1 Problem Statement

Migration is a worldwide phenomenon that poses both opportunities and challenges for migrants (John W Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). At the present time there are about 180 million people living in countries other than their country of birth along with almost equal numbers of children of these immigrants who are often perceived as immigrants despite having been born in their country of residence, and hence are officially 'migrant'(John W Berry et al., 2006). A record 1.3 million migrants applied for asylum in the 28 member states of the European Union, Norway and Switzerland in 2015 – nearly double the previous high water mark of roughly 700,000 that was set in 1992 after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the collapse of the Soviet Union (PewResearchCenter, 2017).

In recent years, researchers have taken keen interest in evaluating and theorizing the concept of migration (Kurekova, 2011) and subsequently acculturation processes develop as a result of migration (Drydakis, 2012, p. 389). In the area of migration determinants research, there are currently a variety of theoretical models or perspectives which employ varying concepts,

assumptions, frames and levels of analysis (Arango 2000 as cited in Kurekova, 2011). However, in the case of Hazara diaspora the concept and theory apparently suitable for explaining causes of their migration is the network concepts which posits that the existence of a diaspora or networks is likely to influence the decisions of migrants when they choose their destinations (Vertovec 2002; Dustmann and Glitz 2005 as cited in Kurekova, 2011) and push-pull theory propounded by Lee which explains that people migrate for two reasons: either the push factors that motivate to move out of a region such as political instability, war and famine, and the pull factors that attract to move into a destination region such as political stability, economic opportunities and social security. All those that come in between the push and the pull factors are intervening obstacles. This negates the possible assumption that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations.

During the course of immigration the concept of ethnic identity becomes particularly meaningful given that there is a sufficient cultural distance between the home and the host country (Drydakis, 2012, p. 389). For the Hazaras who have experienced constant migration across the globe; preservation of ethnic identity has become a significant challenge among other acculturation processes. In fact, ethnic identity is an important factor in the rise and fall of Hazaras in the course of history. It has remained an important factor in exploitation of their socio-political interests in the Asiatic region such as Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan (M. A. Gulzari, 2001; Hussain, 2003; Ibrahimi, 2012; Karkunan, 2016b). There they have been facing atrocities and social discrimination such as brutal executions, extortions, and lack of access to basic human rights (Minorityrights.org, 2016; Muhammad, 2016). Some scholars like Bacon and Mousavi believe that Hazara people are known by their belief as Shiite Muslim and because of their belief and facial features they have always been victimized and offended in Asiatic countries and are compelled to displacement internally and externally (Mubarak Ali, 2015). In order to be able to understand the complexities of immigration of Hazaras in developed countries, it is important that a case study be conducted to determine the causes of their immigration to developed countries, impacts of migration on their traditional ethnic identity and acculturation processes.

1.2.2. Research Objectives

The objectives of this research include:

- To evaluate key factors behind the process of migration of Hazars to Norway.

- To analyse the challenges that Hazara traditional ethnic identity face when living in Norway.

- To analyse their acculturation strategies.

- To measure both possibilities and constraints for Hazara for adapting to a new type of life in their host country.

- To study the impacts of migration and acculturation on women empowerment.

1.2.3. Research Questions

The specific research questions the study will raise are:

- What factors are involved behind the process of migration of Hazaras to Norway?

- In terms of identity, what challenges Hazaras are facing in the developed world?

- How do they preserve their traditional identity while integrating in a new society?

- What are the possibilities and constraints for Hazara for adapting to a new type of life in their host country.

- What are the impacts of migration and acculturation on women empowerment?

1.3. Research area

Arendal, a city and municipality; and administrative centre of Aust-Agder county of Norway, is selected as a research area because of its convenient participant observation, significant for qualitative research strategy, with the assumption to generalize the outcome in the greater context such as the global North because Hazaras are distributed all across Europe and Australia forming a network society[1] (see for example (Monsutti, 2005)). It is located in the southern part of the country bordered in the southwest by Grimstad, in the northwest by Froland, and in the northeast by Tvedestrand municipalities (Kommune, 2016). About 44 000 people live in Arendal (Kommune, 2016). Approximately, about 100 Afghan families are living in Arendal out of which about 50 families belong to Hazara ethnic group.

Norway is one of the most developed countries attracting emigrants from around the globe. Today, the population of Norway stands at 5.2 million containing about 700 000 immigrants

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[1] Network society is a social group distributed across many geographical boundaries with strong social bonding. The term has been extracted from Monsutti (2005).

(Statistics Norway, 2016). In 2015 about 49000 people migrated to Norway among which 9221 are the refugees mostly from Syria and Afghanistan (Statistics Norway, 2016). The social-democratic country; Norway, has a prosperous mixed economy, with an important private sector, a large state sector, and a functioning social safety net (Hirosha, 2016). In addition, Norway is a peaceful country with respect to human rights (ibid). These factors have attracted immigrants from Europe Asia and Africa over the years (ibid).

1.4. Significance and expected output of the proposed research:

The following statement of Castels (2003, p. 13) clearly describes the significance of the study. In addition, there are several social issues which can be unveiled by the study.

> *"Forced migration – including refugee flows, asylum seekers, internal displacement and development-induced displacement – has increased considerably in volume and political significance since the end of the Cold War. It has become an integral part of North–South relationships and is closely linked to current processes of global social transformation. This makes it as important for sociologists to develop empirical research and analysis on forced migration as it is to include it in their theoretical understandings of contemporary society."* *(Castles, 2003, p. 13)*

1 Study of migration of Hazaras and their identity challenges would help understand general behaviour of an ethnic group specially Hazaras in a majority society.

2 Understanding of lifestyle of Hazara refugees would also help understand acculturation processes which are significant discourses in social science.

3 Most importantly, such a study also helps to explore gender related issues and their development from socio-economic and political standpoint.

1.5. Thesis outline:

This study is presented in six (6) chapters. Chapter One presents an introduction to the topic of concern that sets out the context and focus of the study. It outlines the research questions and objectives and clarifies the terms and concepts as applied in the study. Further, it presents the study area and social problem that have necessitated the research work. The Chapter Two, narrates the detailed account of history of Hazara ethnic groups and their origin to examine the historical background of the Hazara ethnic group and their process of migration from time to

time. The Chapter Three, the literature review, discusses in detail international and national data regulations on the status of migrants and refugees which are of relevance to the study. It presents the theoretical framework associated with the identity and migration of people which guide in the presentation and analysis of the research findings. The Chapter Four, methodology, explains and justifies the choice of research strategy. The sampling techniques, tools for data collection, ethical issues and the challenges encountered during the fieldwork are also discussed in this chapter. The Chapter Five discusses findings from the field work in the light of the theoretical framework presented in the literature review and it presents an analysis of the key research findings in view of the study's objectives. The Chapter Six concludes this study by showing how the research findings relate to some pertinent issues raised in the introduction of Chapter One.

Chapter Two – Context and historical background

2.1. Introduction and context.

The **Hazaras** are a Hazaragi-Dari-speaking people who mainly live in central Afghanistan called Hazarajat (Burgutt, 1987; Lewis, 2010; Mubarak Ali, 2015) however large populations also live in Pakistan, Iran, Australia, America and in the Europe (Burgutt, 1987; Saikal, 2012). Hazaragi which is more precisely a part of the Dari dialect is a Persian dialect and is mutually intelligible with Dari (Burgutt, 1987). The Hazaras differ entirely from all the other races of Afghanistan and had occupied a very extensive area of Afghanistan, extending from the borders of Kabul and Ghazni to those of Herat in one direction, and from the vicinity of Kandahar to that of Balkh in the other prior to the fall of Hazarajat in 1890 (Bellew, 1880, p. 113). They are overwhelmingly Shia Muslims and make up the third largest ethnic group in Afghanistan (Lewis, 2010; Mubarak Ali, 2015; Saikal, 2012). Ethnically, the Hazaras resemble East Asia's Mongols and Turks (Burgutt, 1987; Mubarak Ali, 2015, p. 195). In Afghanistan they live in the mountainous central region of the country, covering almost 50,000 square km of land, which is known as Hazarajat (Burgutt, 1987; Lewis, 2010; Mubarak Ali, 2015, p. 195). Hazarajat has never been precisely delimited (Burgutt, 1987). Both the region and the people, in many aspects, are the most backward of the country, which in itself is one of the most underdeveloped nations of the world (Burgutt, 1987). They are also scattered in other parts of Afghanistan such as Badghis, Mazar-e-Sharif, Badakhshan, Sar-e-Pul, Juaozjan, Panjshir, Samangan, Herat, Helmand etc. (Burgutt, 1987).

2.2. History of Hazaras:

Hazaras are the primitive dwellers of the present day Afghanistan (Haber M et al., 2012). Although there are contrasting views among the historians and researchers about the ancientness and genealogy of the people yet recent genetic examination of the inhabitants of Afghanistan establish their origin as far as Neolithic period (Haber M et al., 2012). The history of Afghanistan is so interlaced with the history of neighbouring countries that there existed no independent record of the actions of its rulers and its people (Malleson, 1879 p. vi). There are very few sources which can give a detailed account of history of Hazaras in Afghanistan. Although historians have always remained under criticism for what they present yet there are few

contemporary historians such as Ferrier, Faiz Muhammad Katib, Zaheer-ud-Din Babur whose narratives can be attested by most modern historians due to the fact that they were not only contemporary writers but also free from biases (Malleson, 1879). Almost all the modern historians cite their works for evaluating the history of Hazara ethnic group. Mallenson (1879), a contemporary English author who visited Afghanistan before Amir Abd-al-Rahman's invasion (1890), has described the geographical boundaries of Afghanistan in the contemporary era. He has presented the landscape but slightly described ethnic differences in Afghanistan (Malleson p. 1-35). Regarding Hazaras Malleson (1879, p. 44) observed:

> *The Hazaras and the Aimaks dwell in the lofty regions of north-western Afghanistan, stretching as far as the country above Herat. The Hazaras are Tartars by descent, simple-hearted, and differ much from the Afghan tribes. In physiognomy they more resemble the Chinese. Although Mohamedans, they belong to the Shiah persuasion, and give but a qualified allegiance to the Amir (contemporary Afghan king). The Aimaks are a cognate tribe, of Moghol origin.*

Bacon (1958) and Ewans (2004) consider Hazaras as the remnants of Mongols. Bacon claim that Hazaras are the descendants of Chagatai Mongol – one of the four sons of Genghis Khan – who remained isolated for centuries after the retreat of Mongols (Bacon, 1958).

Though Hazaras have lived in the centre of Afghanistan for at last seven or more centuries yet their origin is much debated (Hussain, 2003, p. 8). Since power in Afghanistan remained in the hands of Pashtuns (Saikal, 2012) who remained hostile to the Hazara people during the last two centuries, the study of latter had until the past two decades been discouraged to the extent that they have remained unknown as a people to many of their fellow countrymen and to the rest of the world (Hussain, 2003, p. 8). What little was written about the Hazaras by foreign scholars, diplomats or travellers usually formed part of larger, general studies of Afghanistan and in most cases, presented a view of their history and origin in accordance with the position of the government of Afghanistan (ibid). In the past two decades, however, works by some Hazara intellectuals such as Mousavi, Poladi and the Tajik scholar Temirkhanov provide a very detailed account of description and history of Hazara people (Hussain, 2003, pp. 8-9; Temirkhanov, 1993)

Figure 2.1 Central and Southwest Asia (Ewans, 2004, p. 8)

Figure 2.2 map of Hazarajat (Lewis, 2010)
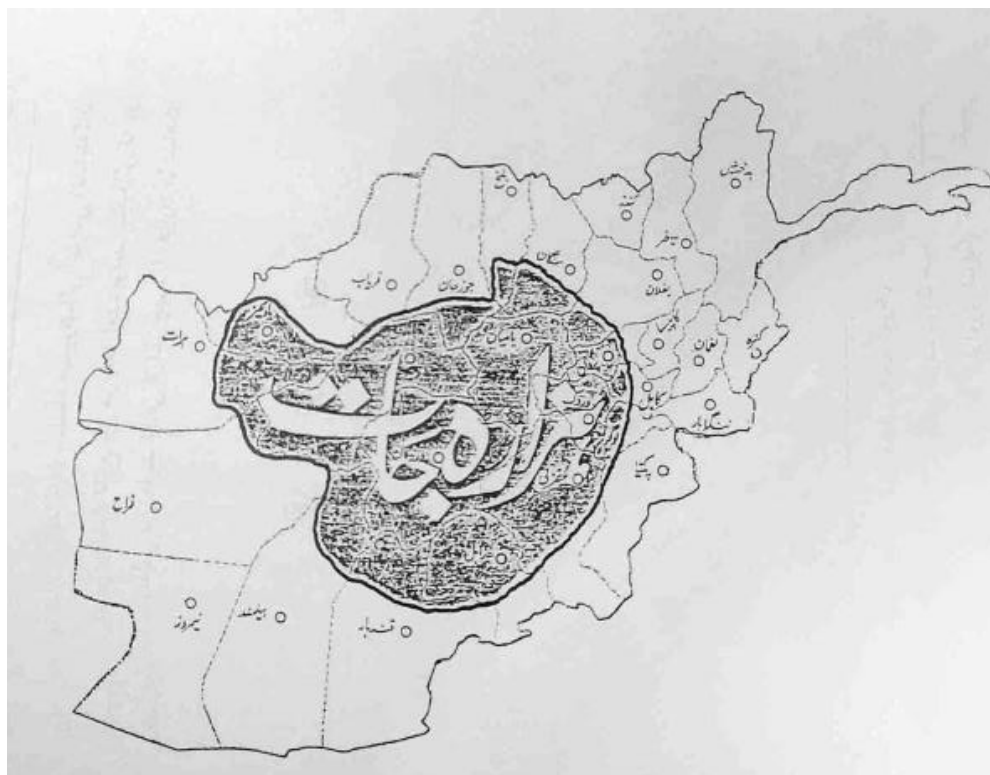
Figure 2.3 map of Hazarajat (Temirkhanov, 1993, p. 54)

2.3. The origin of Hazaras:

Babur, founder of the Mughal Empire in the early 16th century, is the first who records the name Hazara in his autobiography (Hussain, 2003, p. 9). He referred to the populace of a region called Hazaristan, located west of the Kabulistan region (ibid). Yet, there is a long standing debate among the historians on the origin of the name "Hazara". As per some historians, the word Hazara in itself carries the description and origin of Hazara people in history. Some historians such as Abu-al-Fazl, a historian of the court of Akbar, the Mughal emperor, believe that Hazara people are the leftovers of Mongol army who invaded the land of present day Afghanistan in the early thirteenth century (Habibi, n.d). However, Habibi (n.d) disqualifies the assumptions made by Abu-al-Fazl on the bases of historical and linguistic factors and explains that the word is as old as the time of Zoroaster, around three thousand years ago. According to his assumption; Hazaras are inhibiting in Hazarajat since the time of Alexender, the Roman emperor (Habibi, n.d).

According to Abu-al-Fazal who is followed by many lateral historians; the word *Hazara* derives from the Persian word "Hazar" which means *Thousand (Habibi, n.d; Hussain, 2003)*. It may be the translation of the Mongol word *ming*, a military unit of 1,000 soldiers at the time of Genghis Khan (Habibi, n.d). With time, the term *Hazar* could have been substituted for the Mongol word and now stands for the group of people (Habibi, n.d). But Monsieur Fushe observes as to how can an army of 1000 people stay in such a harsh land and how did they form such a large group of people (Habibi, n.d). To underpin the claim of the ancientness of Hazaras in the land, Habibi (n.d) refers to the two ancient writers/travelers who visited the land: Hsuen Tsang and Ptolmey. He ascertains that Hsuen Tsang, the Chinese traveler, on his return from India on 25 June 644 A.D recorded "*hosola"* as the name of the land where these people were dwelling (ibid). He further refers to Ptolmey, the famous roman geographer, who visited the central Asian region at the time of Alexender and mentioned the name Ozala to be located in the same spot and says it lies southeast of Aracozia (ibid). He narrates that these words transformed in the course of history and became "Hazara" (ibid). Because of the physical attributes that is facial bone structures and parts of their culture and language; it is impossible to rule out the origin of Hazara's as Turko-Mangolic descent (Habibi, n.d). Temirkhanov (1993) ascertained that Hazaras originated as a result of composition of Mongol army with the local inhabitants who contained a

significant proportion of Tajik element and the Turks, resided in Afghanistan long before the Mongol invasion, alongwith Pashtoons (probably Indo Aryan) who might have little contribution in the origination of Hazaras than Mughal and Tajiks; formed Hazara ethnic group (Temirkhanov, 1993, pp. 41-42).

Thanks to the modern genetic science which helps understand the chain process of human expansion across the globe. A study of genetics of Afghans conducted by a number of experts and proficient organizations found interesting revelations about the diversity of Afghan ethnic groups. The study conducted by Haber M et al. (2012) reveal that:

> "all the major Afghan ethnic groups (Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara and Uzbek) largely share a heritage of a common ancestral population that emerged during the Neolithic revolution (10000-7000 BC) and remained unstructured until the Bronze Age (43000-700 BC). The first genetic structures between the different social systems started during the Bronze Age accompanied, or driven, by the formation of the first civilizations in the region. Later migrations and invasions to the region have been differentially assimilated by the ethnic groups, increasing inter-population genetic differences, and giving the Afghan a unique genetic diversity in Central Asia. Besides, language adoption of these ethnic groups does not correlate with the formation of their genetics. Hazara's language, like Pashtun and Tajik, belong to the Indo-Iranian group of the Indo-European family, while the Uzbek language is in the Turkic family. It is possible that language differences in Afghanistan reflect a more recent cultural shift."

Monsutti (2003) further adds that series of foreign invasions from Central Asia followed by Mongols, Ilkhanate, Timurids and Persians all of whom settled in Hazarajat and mixed with the local, mostly Persian-speaking population, formed a distinct social group 'Hazara' (Monsutti, 2003). Nevertheless, group identity is not defined by objective traits and does not follow from a common origin or even a common culture; it is, rather, the result of a constant process of social interaction by which a boundary is created and maintained in an enduring way (Monsutti, 2003). In the case of the Hazāras, the feeling of belonging to one group does not proceed from a supposed Mongolian origin, but from a process of marginalization which started several centuries ago (Monsutti, 2003). Hazāra identity is thus reinforced by the evocation of past injustices and protests against social exploitation and discrimination (Monsutti, 2003).

Figure 2.4: Hazara girls in Hazaragi cultural dress (Pinterest, n.d)

2.4. Socio-political and economic discriminations:

Hazaras have been remained victim of mass massacre, genocide, cruelty and discrimination due to their distinct identity of their physical features and religio-cultural characteristics not only in Afghanistan but also in Pakistan and Iran (M. A. Gulzari, 2001). Gulzari (2001) and Monsutti (2005) has reproduced and narrated a number of heart wrenching stories of various acts of hostility and atrocities faced by Hazaras in Afghanistan. Such an exposition to hostility undermined not only the growth of the people but also to the entire region. Hussain (2003) describes the situation as "the Hazaras, who inhabit the central highlands of Afghanistan and constitute around 20% of the national population, have not only been marginalized economically and socially, but have also been denied a place in the history of the country" (Hussain, 2003, p. ii). These terrible circumstances caused for intermittent migration of Hazara aboriginals of Afghanistan across the globe becoming a cultural model largely independent of external

circumstances; and it is unlikely that it will come to an end, even in the most optimistic scenario of a return to normality (Monsutti, 2005, p. xv). Therefore, Khuda Nazar Burgutt, a Hazara scholar and intellectual appeals from the world community by saying, 'The world should accept this fact and recognize them (Hazaras) as a people of distinct religion, culture, language and race and let them be masters of their own.' (Burgutt, 1987).

Figure 2.5: People are protesting against the targeted killing of 14 ethnic Hazaras in Quetta (Tribune, 2011).

Figure 2.6: Thousands of people marched in Bamyan city against the systematic genocide and discrimination of Hazaras (HNP, 2012).

Figure 2.7: A minor girl is protesting against the killings of Hazara people (PaksitanToday, 2017).

2.5 Several Waves of Migration of Hazaras:

2.5.1 Context:

Besides economic reasons, the Hazara diaspora from Hazarajat is proportionately related to enduring war, political turmoil and geo-strategic tension in the region (Hashimi, 2016; Mohammadi, 2014; Monsutti, 2005). In response to the series of wars and bloodshed, the mass migratory flows of Hazaras have been classified into several waves and phases. Martin Ewans (2004) a retired British diplomat argues that the series of wars that Afghans experienced were largely the result of diplomatic failures, misconceptions, or short sightedness of great powers in which events often outpaced reason (Barfield, 2007, p. 494; Ewans, 2004). Afghanistan itself was never the prize that was sought, but it was always a pawn in some larger great powers geostrategic rivalry (Barfield, 2007).

2.5.2 First phase of mass migration (1891 to 1901):

The subjugation of Hazarajat by Abdur Rahman, between 1891 and 1893 (M. Gulzari, 1994, p. 40), triggered a mass exodus of Hazaras to Turkestan, Khorasan and Balochistan (Monsutti, 2005, p. 103). During much of the 19th century British were afraid of tsarist Russia's expansion into central and south Asia which often verged on suspicion, into what became known as the great game (Barfield, 2007, p. 494). Subsequently, the British planned to occupy Afghanistan to limit tsarist Russia's expansion to Transoxiana[2] which led to the series of Anglo-Afghan war (Ewans, 2004; Mohammadi, 2014). The war ended after Amir Abdur Rahman Khan replaced Amir Sher Ali Khan by the British support to consolidate Afghanistan; making a buffer zone between British India and tsarist Russia (Mohammadi, 2014). Consequently, the Amir formed a unified Afghan government and decentralised the autonomy of ethnic groups (Hashimi, 2016). When the Hazara tribes rebelled against the Amir, they were subjected to atrocities including slavery, leading to unparalleled turmoil and persecution (Hashimi, 2016; Hazara.net, 2018; Mohammadi, 2014). Consequently, a large number of Hazaras fled to take refuge in neighbouring countries (M. Gulzari, 1994; Mohammadi, 2014) and their lands were distributed among the Afghan (Pashtun) Kochies (Monsutti, 2005, p. 103). This letter (Appendices 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3) is a confession of the distribution of Hazara lands to the Pushtun refugees following the

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[2] The land beyond the Oxus river in Central Asia.

ethnically cleansed of over 60% of Hazaras and thousands of Hazaras sold as slaves (Hazara.net, 2016; Saikal, 2012).

2.5.3. Second phase of mass migration (From 1971 to 1978 and onwards):

The second large wave of migration dates from the early 1970s (Monsutti, 2005, p. 104). First off, in 1971 drought led to a terrible famine, whose full force hit the north-east and center of Afghanistan (ibid). At the same time, the afghan government made scarcely any effort to improve the social and economic situation of the Hazaras which compelled them to migrate to Quetta for better job opportunities (ibid). Secondly, after 1978, following the Communist coup in April 1978 and the Soviet intervention in December 1979, the migratory movement assumed hitherto unprecedented dimensions (ibid). In the second half of the 20th century it was the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that took center stage (Barfield, 2007, p. 494). Similar to the Britishers, this time United States alongwith its allies took part to counter the Soviet Union's expansion in Afghanistan. Consequently, internal conflict and civil war erupted which is named as 'Sour Revolution' by proponents and 'Sour Coup d'état; by opponents. The historic exodus of Afghan refugees to Iran-and-Pakistan marked the second wave of forced migration for the Hazaras, resulting from the Saur-Revolution in April-1978, followed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Monsutti, 2007; 2008 cited in (Hashimi, 2016, p. 11)). It is estimated that by December 1990 there were 3.3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and 3 million in Iran, making Afghanistan the leading producer of refugees (UNHCR, 2000:116 cited in (Hashimi, 2016, p. 11)).

2.5.4. Third Phase of mass migration (1990s):

The collapse of the Soviet Union appeared to end Afghanistan's geostrategic importance, and the country fell into anarchy that attracted minimal international attention or assistance (Barfield, 2007, p. 494). Such a failed state, however, proved the perfect habitat for radical Islamists who plotted the 9/11 attacks on the United States (ibid). The 1990's was an intensified decade of persecution for the Hazaras, giving rise to the third wave of mass migration to Iran-and-Pakistan. This was as a result of the civil war in 1992-1996 and the Taliban regime in 1996-2001 which labelled them '*infidels*' and terrorised them to convert to Sunnism (Hashimi, 2016, p. 12; Mohammadi, 2014; Stone, 2008). A report by Human Rights Watch (2001) offers in depth

descriptions of the Hazara massacres that took place in May 2000 and January 2001 (Hashimi, 2016).

2.5.5. Fourth phase of migration (2001 and onward):

After 9/11, the American invasion to displace Taliban put Afghanistan back in play, not as a geographic buffer state but as an ideological one (Barfield, 2007, p. 494). Despite the presence of international forces in Afghanistan terror of Taliban militants could not come to end for Hazaras till date. This time a systematic genocide of Hazaras not only continued in Afghanistan but also persisted in Balochistan, Pakistan in full extent (Mohammadi, 2014). Till date about fifteen hundred Hazara men, women, children and elderly people have been killed in Quetta (Mohammadi, 2014; Muhammad, 2016). These developments forced Hazara ethnic group to the third country resettlement (Hashimi, 2016). Hazaras fled to Europe, North America and Australia. They risked and for many lost their lives crossing illegally to Australia in small boats (Batoor, 2016; Hashimi, 2016). It is believed that Dandenong, Australia is now '*the third largest Hazara city-based centre in the world*' (Mackenzie-and-Guntarik, 2015:63 cited in (Hashimi, 2016)).

Chapter Three – Literature review

3.1. Introduction and context:

Every individual and ethnic group in the universe has distinct identity based upon their unique personal characteristic (Mubarak Ali, 2015) and the situations of conflict and migration are especially favourable to the emergence and strengthening of ethnic distinctions (Monsutti, 2005). Mubarak Ali who conducted his research on 'Thoughts of Hazara youths on Hazara identity' for Asian Journal on Scientific Research concludes that indigenous people of Hazarajat believe that Hazara's identity is defined by their language, pedigree, name, culture, history and their specific oriental facial features such as pointed cheek bones, Asian eyes, nose and many more Asian physical traits and also by their belief (Mubarak Ali, 2015). They are mainly Shia-Muslims and therefore, suffered considerable discrimination in Afghanistan (Ewans, 2004, p. 12). However, Ibrahimi (2012) ascertains that political ideology, arose with the start of the 1978 Soviet Invasion, is more significant in the identity of Hazara ethnic group (Ibrahimi, 2012) because it perpetuated revival of political ideology and social status.

> *"The evolution of Hazara self-consciousness as an ethnic group is a dynamic historical process. It is the product of external forces as well as of responses from within the community to external actors. Incorporation of the Hazarajat into the Afghan state in 1890s and subsequent political marginalization, economic dispossession and mass migration of Hazaras did not only politicize the ethnic and sectarian boundaries but also added "low socio-economic status" as a new marker of Hazara identity."* Source: (Ibrahimi, 2012, p. 17)

Whether it is a first world[3] or a third world[4] country diaspora people face numerous challenges in a new setup (Drydakis, 2012). For example; research suggests that at least some immigrants faced discrimination in the Swedish labour market (Nekby & Rödin, 2010, p. 37). History is a

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[3] The term "**First World**" refers to so called developed, *capitalist*, industrial countries, roughly, a bloc of countries aligned with the United States after World War II, with more or less common political and economic interests: North America, Western Europe, Japan and Australia (Nationsonline, 1998-2016).

[4] "**Third World**" are all the other countries, today often used to roughly describe the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The term Third World includes as well capitalist (e.g., Venezuela) and communist (e.g., North Korea) countries, as very rich (e.g., Saudi Arabia) and very poor (e.g., Mali) countries (Nationsonline, 1998-2016).

witness that after decades of resettlement to neighbouring countries such as Pakistan and Iran; Hazaras are living a dilapidated life similar as they are living in Afghanistan (Hashimi, 2016). Iran was the first choice of destination for the Hazaras to flee to due to shared religion, language and an established community in Mashad called the Khawarij (Hashimi, 2016; Monsutti, 2005). However, in Iran, after several decades of settlement they neither enjoy Iranian citizenship rights nor they have right to formal education, job opportunities, freedom of movement and access to medical facilities (Hashimi, 2016, p. 76; May, 2016; Strickland, 2016). As a result, Hazaras often find themselves fleeing to Quetta the capital city of Balochistan province of Pakistan where they have formerly established migratory networks (Hashimi, 2016; Monsutti, 2005). However, since 1999, the Hazara-Shia community in Quetta has faced escalating sectarian attacks claiming the lives of thousands of people but the government has failed to prosecute the culprits (Batoor, 2016; Hashimi, 2016; Mirzaie, 2016; Siddiqa, 2016). A recent report by Human Rights Watch (2014) states that the target killings and attacks on the Hazaras in Quetta has strongly affected their socio-economic human rights by being confined in the two areas of Quetta (Mariabad and Hazara Town) (Hashimi, 2016). This study, therefore, is aimed to follow up the same diaspora group and evaluate their lifestyle, perception of their identity and challenges; and characteristic and behaviour living in a town in one of the most developed countries in the world.

Figure 3.1: The district of Behsood, in the central province of Wardak, is now a scene of devastation with dozens of burned, looted and deserted by Taliban nomads(Coghlan, 2008).

*Figure 3.2: The Hazara community protest against ban on
Iran road travel (Pinterest, n.d)*

*Figure 3.3: Ruqsana Bibi at the cemetary in Quetta where her
sons are buried (Azhar, 2013)*

3.2. The concept of Migration:

In the area of migration determinants research, there are currently a variety of theoretical models or perspectives which employ varying concepts, assumptions, frames and levels of analysis (Arango 2000 as cited in Kurekova, 2011). Ravenstein (1885) Fairchild (1925) are considered among the first to present a general theory of migration (Monsutti, 2005, p. 9). According to Raventstein's Law of migration; migrants move mainly over short distances, those going longer distances go for industry and commerce and major causes of migration are economic (Jain, 2016).

At present, the dominant theory in explaining causes of migration is the neoclassical theory with its underlying assumption that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological (Todaro and Smith 2006, 342 as cited in Lucia Kurekova, 2011 p. 4). However, in the case of Hazara diaspora the concept and theory apparently suitable for explaining causes of their migration is the network concepts which posits that the existence of a diaspora or networks is likely to influence the decisions of migrants when they choose their destinations (Vertovec 2002; Dustmann and Glitz 2005 as cited in Kurekova, 2011) and push-pull theory propounded by Lee which explains that people migrate for two reasons: either the push factors that motivate to move out of a region such as political instability, war and famine, and the pull factors that attract to move into a destination region such as political stability, economic opportunities and social security (Jain, 2016).

Other than push and pull factors; there are intervening opportunities and obstacles; and distance decay which are equally important factors in the pattern of migration. Intervening opportunities are the opportunities nearby which are usually considered more attractive than equal or slightly better opportunities farther away, so migrants tend to settle in a location closer to their point of origin if other factors are equal (NGS, 2005). However, there is a general concept of distance decay which means that as distance from a given location increases, understanding of that location decreases, therefore, people are more likely to settle in a place about which they have more knowledge than in a place about which they know and understand little (NGS, 2005). Due to globalization of socio-economic activities and prevalence of network societies the theory of

distance decay needs reconsideration. This study gives special consideration to the concept of distance decay because Hazara migrants among others prefer intracontinental migration rather than intercontinental or internal migration. For example, in recent years they prefer migration to Australia and Europe rather than Iran and Pakistan.

3.2.1. Hazara diaspora is a Migrant or Refugee?

Despite the clear-cut definitions of migrant and refugee provided by UNHCR, there is still room to debate the status of migrants and refugees in general (PewResearchCenter, 2017) and with respect to the Hazara in particular. Human migration is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary (NGS, 2005). UNHCR recognizes that the tendency for migration is stimulated by a mixture of fears, uncertainties, hopes and ambitions which are quite difficult to unravel. In the words of UNHCR's refugee status determination (RSD) handbook (UNHCR Rev 1, 2007):

> *A migrant is a person who voluntarily leaves his country in order to take up residence elsewhere. He may be moved by the desire for change or adventure, or by family or other reasons of a personal nature. If he is motivated exclusively by economic considerations, he is an economic migrant and not a refugee (UNHCR Rev 1, 2007, p. 4).*

The status of refugees has also been mentioned in international conventions ratified by Norway (UDI, 2016). The right to seek and enjoy asylum is inscribed in Chapter 1: General Provisions of the 1951 Convention of UNHCR relating to the Status of Refugees (1951-Refugee-Convention), which distinctly provides the principle of non-refulment and the international legal definition of a refugee as someone who (Hashimi, 2016; Monsutti, 2005; Refugee Convention, 1951):

> 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such a 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, unwilling to return to it'. (Refugee Convention, 1951, p. 14)

These juridical approaches distinguish migrants and refugees, necessary for the action of aid agencies and host country governments, however in the case of Hazaras all forms of migration overlap with one another (Monsutti, 2005). The Hazaras do not appeal for international agencies to help them return to Afghanistan and have not benefited from any repatriation measures (Monsutti, 2005, p. 168). Although migratory movements of Hazaras acquired an unprecedented scale during the war in Afghanistan, they have existed for a long time in one form or another and have remained in the memory of Hazaras (Monsutti, 2005, p. 146). Keeping in view the Hazaras situation in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, the concept of "economic migrant," "political refugee," "country of origin," "host country," "voluntary" or "forced migration," or even "return" appear singularly reductionist (ibid). The fact is that all these categories overlap in the Hazara context, with its combined presence of political, cultural, economic and ecological factors (Monsutti, 2005, p. 146). Therefore, in this study the term migration of Hazaras is interchangeably used with taking refuge, forced migration and voluntary migration etc (see also (PewResearchCenter, 2017).

3.2.2. Norway's national policy for immigrants:

Norway is one of the most refugee coming countries in the world. In 2005 Norway had a low level of immigration, with 6.7% of its total population of 4.5 million born outside the country. In 2012, the number of persons with a refugee background increased by 8200; of these 6000 were principal applicants, while the remainder, 2200, came as dependents (SSB, 2017b). The largest increase was among persons from Somalia, Eritrea and Afghanistan with 2900, 1800 and 800 respectively, making Afghans the third largest group of refugees coming to Norway (SSB, 2017b). In 2013 a total of 171600 persons with a refugee background were living in Norway which made up 3.4 percent of the total population and 29% of total immigrants in Norway (SSB, 2017b). In 2016 the number of immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents rose to 850000 making 16.3% of total population (SSB, 2016).

East-Agder is one of the most immigrant receiving provinces (Arendal Kommune). Arendal, the capital city and district of East-Agder where I collected data the total number of immigrants is a little over 6000 in 2016 making 13.46% of total population (SSB, 2017a). In 2016 the number of Afghan immigrants rose to 254 making 0.57% of total population (SSB, 2017a). Hazara diaspora of Afghanistan makes the largest of all other Afghan ethnic groups in Arendal, however, it is not possible to get the exact number of Hazaras because they are dispersed all around and Norwegian society and government authorities cannot distinguish the different ethnic groups of Afghanistan. According to Atif, an interviewee who is working with refugees, more than a 100 Hazara adult and more than 50 Hazara adolescent immigrants are settled in Arendal.

3.2.3 Acculturation, identity and adaptation in Norway:

The following paragraph is mainly based on Berry et al (2006, p.33-34) who conducted a research on 'Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national context of Norway':

Since 1975, Norway invites refugees, asylum seekers, and allowed family reunifiers to come to Norway. Dispersion is encouraged, accomplished by compensating municipalities for the extra efforts, facilities, and costs they incur for settling immigrants in their districts (such as housing, education, child care, primary health care, and social benefits). The educational system is comprehensive and free of charge for 6-15-year-olds, followed by vocational training or academic streams leading to university study. Both mother tongue and Norwegian language training are available for immigrants. After having lived 3 years in Norway immigrants are allowed to participate in local elections, however, national elections are only open to naturalized immigrants. Although giving up cultural heritage is not required, its maintenance is not encouraged, except by mother tongue instruction that is available for children. Formally, the government adopts an integration policy in which the principle of equal opportunities is central. However, Norwegians are in favour of assimilation. They generally have a positive attitude toward immigrants and accept that immigrants may maintain their own culture as long as it does not interfere with the public life of the society.

(John W Berry et al., 2006, pp. 33-34)

3.3. Socio-cultural change:

Human migration affects population patterns and characteristics, social and cultural patterns and processes, economies, and physical environments (Castles, 2003, p. 18; NGS, 2005). It destroys economic resources, undermine traditional ways of life and break up communities because a community seeks its continuity and existence according to the environmental conditions of its surrounding (Taga, 2007). Culture is the product of human society and the society saves its culture by changing and transmitting to the next generation (Taga, 2007, p. 158). Acculturation is a significant concept in understanding the socio-cultural changes.

3.3.1 Acculturation:

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (John W. Berry, 1997, p. 7). Thus acculturation refers to the individual changes in attitude, behaviours, values and customs due to long-term intercultural contact (Nekby & Rödin, 2010, p. 36). The focus of acculturation is on how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new context that result from migration (John W. Berry, 1997, p. 6). In this context immigrants either embrace receiving-culture or retain heritage-culture. Those who embrace receiving-culture can be classified as integrated and assimilated while those who retain heritage-culture become either separated or marginalized (Nekby & Rödin, 2010). In this way four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization are formed which are explained by Berry (1997, p.9) as:

> "From the point of view of non-dominant groups, when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *Assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the *Separation* alternative is defined. When there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture whilst adapting dominant culture for better interaction, *Integration strategy* is defined. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and

little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) then Marginalization is defined."

These acculturation attitudes are assessed differently by various researchers such as Berry et al (2006) and Nekby & Rodin (2010). Berry et al (2006) assessed them across five domains: cultural traditions, language, marriage, social activities and friends about which immigrants in intercultural contact situations are likely to have preferences (John W Berry et al., 2006, p. 75). However, Nekby & Rodin (2010) assessed the acculturation attitudes by observing employment probabilities of immigrants who accordingly found that those with non-European background that immigrated after school-start are more likely to be separated and marginalized rather than assimilated in a European society (Nekby & Rödin, 2010, p. 42). The separated and marginalized people are associated with significantly lower probabilities of employment relative to assimilated men (Nekby & Rödin, 2010, p. 44). Although both the methods of assessment are different yet their concept of assessment is common that is they focused on the perception of ethnic identity.

The study observes ethnic identity, socio-cultural activities and behaviors of Hazaras in the dominant culture to assess their acculturation attitudes with respect to the dominant society. Following Nekby & Rodin (2010) the study observes as to how the Hazaras acculturate in their host culture in terms of education and employment opportunities and social relationships. Following Berry et al (2006, p.72), the study also considers the attitudes that Hazara immigrants adapt to deal with their experiences of host culture, specifically, their perception as to how they wish to retain their ethnic culture and wish to become involved with the larger society. The study observes their social contacts with peers, their language proficiency and use, their job and their perception of the discrimination that they experience.

3.4 Ethnic Identity:

Ethnic identity determines characteristic of a group of people sharing a common culture or national heritage and often sharing a common language or religion (ethnic, n.d). For Barth (1981), "Ethnic groups are categories of identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people" (Monsutti, 2005, p. 226). Ethnic identity is essential and significant concept in understanding and recognizing a group of people, tribe or nation and help knowing who they are and what characteristics they bear in a given situation in order to make them definable and recognizable from a sociological and

psychological standpoint (Hogg & Abrams, 2006, p. 7; Mubarak Ali, 2015, p. 196). Ethnic identity of an individual encompassing racial, cultural, religious and social characteristics and behaviours also defines privileges and discriminations he/she gets in a given social setting (Mubarak Ali, 2015, p. 196). For example, one's facial features or culture determines whether he/she is eligible to enjoy social benefits such as employment opportunities, education, social status, economic privileges, and political rights in a given time and space or not (Mubarak Ali, 2015, p. 196). One's social position is determined by his/her facial feature and culture no matter how much he/she feign because of the uniqueness and distinctive features and at certain occasions these feature cause marginalization and vulnerability to discrimination which in social terms called the process of alienation (Chandra, 2006, Marx, 2013 as cited in (Mubarak Ali, 2015, p. 196) .

3.5. Social Capital:

Lyda Hanifan referred to social capital as "those tangible assets [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit"(OECD, 2016). Social capital is defined by the OECD as "networks together with shared norms, values, institutions and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups and that bind the society together"(OECD, 2016; Øyhus, 2016). Placing the definition in the refugee context explains why forced migrants form social and migratory networks (Hashimi, 2016, p. 18).These are created by trust, solidarity, social cohesion and resources within various '*community structures*', which have an impact on all aspects of social life (Glanville, 2009; Putnam, 1993 as cited in (Hashimi, 2016, p. 18)). Varieties of social capital has been divided into three main categories:

Bonds	Links to people based on a sense of common identity ("people like us") – such as family, close friends and people who share our culture or ethnicity.
Bridges	Links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates.
Linkages	Links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder.

Source: (OECD, 2016)

Some scholars like Bordieu has a positive view on social capital; it creates advantages for individuals to belong to networks and have access to the social capital embedded in the members of the network (Øyhus, 2016). While others like Portes argues that social capital may have clear negative outcomes because the ties that bind some people together exclude others (Øyhus, 2016). In other words social networks can restrict access to opportunities (Øyhus, 2016). The study evaluates the pros and cons of social capital of Hazara diaspora and how it works in acculturation processes.

Chapter Four – Methodology

4.1 Introduction:

Before embarking on the issue of research strategy it is felt necessary to evaluate the basic perceptions of crafting knowledge which would further clarify as to why and which research method and design best suits the study. This chapter, therefore, is a holistic examination of the crafting of knowledge including epistemological and ontological considerations; strategies and methods; and research design and techniques used in the collection and analysis of the data from the field of study. A brief argument is presented on the study of social reality which is rooted in epistemological and ontological considerations. It further discusses and justifies the choice of research strategy. It explains the choice of research design together with the challenges encountered during the field work.

4.2 Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

There are mainly two reasons for conducting a research: filling knowledge gap and problem solving (Badewi, 2013). Based on these objectives, knowledge in the social world is constituted within two main paradigms namely epistemology and ontology (Sherry, 2011, p. 34). Epistemological consideration is concerned with what should be regarded as acceptable knowledge and whether social phenomenon be studied on the principal of positivism or interpretivism (Bryman, 2012, p. 27). On the other hand, an ontological consideration is concerned with the nature of social entities (hospital, school, country or money etc.) as to whether they should be regarded as external (objectivism) or a part of social realities (subjectivism) (Bryman, 2012, p. 32).

4.3. Essential differences between positivism and interpretivism:
4.3.1 Positivism:

An epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality is 'positivism' (Bryman, 2012, p. 28). The researchers who are envisaged to fill the gap in knowledge are prompted to employ pure scientific approach called positivism. This approach seeks to examine relationships between two or more concepts. For the

purpose they adapt quantitative research strategy to craft knowledge based on universal laws. The data collection tools for this paradigm (i.e. quantitative research strategy) usually involves some form of structured investigation through the use of questionnaires, surveys, structured interviews and observations (Sherry, 2011, p. 34).

4.3.2. Interpretivism:

A strategy that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action is regarded as interpretivist (Bryman, 2012, p. 30). The researchers of this paradigm share a view that the subject matter of the social sciences such as people and their institutions is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences (Sherry, 2011, p. 28). The study of the social world therefore requires a different logic of research procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order (ibid). The researchers of this paradigm seek to solve problems of social sciences by creating and induction of knowledge and theories. The data collection tools for this paradigm usually involves unstructured or semi structured interviews. They usually follow qualitative research strategy.

4.4. Essential difference between objectivism and constructivism/subjectivism

In research activities; objectivism and subjectivism are the two main analytical categories to approach the question of crafting interpretation (Rye, 2016, p. 2).

4.4.1. Objectivism

"Objectivism is an ontological position that implies that social phenomena which confront us are external facts that are beyond our reach or influence" (Bryman, 2012, p. 32). In objectivism, reality is understood as something that exists outside the human mind and has its own existence (Rye, 2016, p. 2). It means that social phenomena and the categories that we use in everyday discourse have an existence that is independent or separate from actors (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). Taking the example of culture, Bryman (2012, p.33) explains as it is a set of values and customs into which people are socialized so that they can function as good citizens or as full participants. Culture compels us because we internalize its beliefs and values. It acts as something external to

the actor and as having an almost tangible reality of its own. It has the characteristics of an object and hence of having an objective reality.

4.4.2. Subjectivism

In subjectivism, the world is considered a result of how we observe it and how we possess our observations (Rye, 2016, P.4). Bryman (2012, p.34) refers to Becker (1982) suggesting that:

"people create culture continuously. . . . No set of cultural understandings . . . provides a perfectly applicable solution to any problem people have to solve in the course of their day, and they therefore must remake those solutions, adapt their understandings to the new situation in the light of what is different about it".

4.5. Research method and strategy

4.5.1 Qualitative Research Method:

Qualitative research strategy leads to a deeper understanding on human behavior as well as to find out the motivations behind these behaviours (Iris et al., 2016). The Hazaras who have experienced constant migration across the globe; preservation of ethnic identity has become a challenge among other acculturation processes. Therefore, it is aimed to study the Hazara immigrants' ways of life within the context of their identity issues in Arendal using qualitative method. In addition, the qualitative research enables the researcher to exercise a degree of flexibility if, for instance, data collection needs to be done again after a certain degree of analysis (Iris et al., 2016, p. 6). Since human experience is the main crux of the inquiry, qualitative research is the most appropriate design as it delineates the narratives, emotions, dispositions and personalities from interviews, focus groups, and participant observation which are the main data collection methods for this research (Iris et al., 2016, p. 6). However, to better understand the background and history of Hazara emigrants; articles, documents and data published by academics, multi-lateral organizations and NGOs is used as the secondary sources of data.

4.6 Data sources:

Multiple sources have been investigated to collect data including qualitative interviewing, focus group discussion and participant observation.

4.6.1. Qualitative Interviewing:

Qualitative interview is an important technique of data collection in qualitative research strategy. It saves much time of the researcher as compared to the participant observation method because the researcher can directly get information from a member of the setting without wasting time to live for a long period to observe the phenomenon (Bryman, 2012, ch.20). In this study semi-structured interviews are conducted. Qualitative interviewing tends to be flexible, responding to the direction in which interviewees take the interview and perhaps adjusting the emphases in the research as a result of significant issues that emerge in the course of interviews (ibid). In addition, qualitative interviewing in this case is significant for enhancing the validity of the research. It prompts internal reliability of a qualitative research by crosschecking theory-conclusion relation or literature review-conclusion relation. It also gives an up to date information required for crafting knowledge.

4.6.2. Focus group discussion:

The focus group discussion method is a form of group interview in which several participants discuss on a specific topic (Bryman, 2012, p. 501). In focus group discussions, only selected people are interviewed who were known to have had a certain experience in a relatively unstructured way about that experience (Bryman, 2012, p.503). In this project five groups discussions were conducted; comprising three to six participants each to discuss the research questions, more importantly, gender related issues. This is significant to identify the impacts/ pros and cons of migration on the identity of the ethnic group. In focus groups participants were able to discuss the core issues in relation to the topic that they deem to be important and significant (ibid). In a focused interview; individuals often argue with each other and challenge each other's views. This process provides the opportunity that the researcher may stand a chance of ending up with more realistic accounts of what people think, because they are forced to think about and possibly revise their views (ibid).

Figure 4.1: A selfie after a focus group discussion with the
Hazara youths residing in Arendal.

4.6.3. Participant Observation:

Participant observation or ethnography is an important technique of data collection in qualitative research which is used in this study. Participant observation in qualitative research is a method of data collection by conducting interviews for seeing through the eyes of the people being studied in their own setting (Bryman, 2012, p.432). In this study, the researcher is assumed the role of an observer in which the researcher not only conducted interview but also observed ground realities with naked eyes and made snapshots as records for prompting reliability and validity of the research. This role is very useful in having a firsthand impression of the impact of migration on the people. Corroborating with Hashimi (2016), employing participation observation as one of the methods made it essential to take notes, whilst constantly retracting my steps where something of interest surfaced.

4.7 Method of Data Analysis

Once the data was collected by qualitative method, it was transcribed into written format in order to familiarise with the data and for the thematic analysis to begin (Hashimi, 2016, p. 29). The data collected through various sources have been triangulated to achieve credibility to the findings. Data triangulation or combining data helps in giving greater credibility to the findings (Festinger-et-al., 1963; Patton, 2001; Guthrie, 2010 as cited in Hashimi (2016)).

Thematic analysis is one of the common approaches to qualitative data analysis (Bryman, 2012, p. 578). Braun and Clark (2006:6) describe thematic analysis as one of the foundational techniques for qualitative analysis in 'identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data'(Hashimi, 2016). Following Bryman's (2012) conceptualization, themes have been constituted by categories identified through the data that relates to the research question. They have been built on codes identified in transcripts and/or field notes, and they have provided the research with the basis for a theoretical understanding of the data that can make a theoretical contribution to the literature relating to the research focus (Bryman, 2012, p. 580). For the purpose, qualitative data analysis software Nvivo is used to obtain thematic analysis of data. It is easier to work with NVivo software as all the transcriptions were in one place and it was much organised than coding on paper.

4.8 Sampling techniques:

For most qualitative studies, purposive sampling technique is used in which subjects are selected based on their relationship with the research question (Bryman, 2012, p. 416; Sherry, 2011). In this regard, focus in this study is on middle generation immigrants who born abroad and immigrated to Norway. Snowball sampling is another type of sampling technique in which the researcher samples initially a small group of people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants propose other participants who have had the experience or characteristics relevant to the research (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). Accordingly, initial contacts were made with some known Hazara refugees who were relevant to the research questions; experienced pre-migration and post-migration era in their life and can compare the challenges they faced; who further helped identifying others for individual interview and focus group discussions.

4.9. Research Design

Research design can be understood as the framework in which data is collected and analyzed (Bryman, 2012, p. 46). The data collection methods are dependent on what information the researcher is looking for as well as what research design that is chosen (ibid). Among others, the case study is a research design that entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, 2012, p. 66). Bryman (2012) asserts that a "case" is a term used to denote the study of a community or an organization with an emphasis on a detailed examination of the setting (Bryman, 2012; A. B. Sherry, 2015, p. 6). Since it is aimed to conduct a comprehensive study of a community, therefore, case study design is used in this project.

4.10. Ethical consideration and challenges

In order to conduct this research, there were important ethical issues that were considered in all phases. Most importantly, I was mindful not to cause any distress to the interviewees which can arise from talking about their refugee experience and keeping the principle of '*doing noharm*' central to the research (Hashimi, 2016, p. 30). Researchers prefer to obtain the informed consent of research participants by getting them to sign informed consent forms (Bryman, 2012, p. 140). This study is no exception in this regard; I got informed consent form (see Appendices) signed by the participants before interview and focus group discussion. The advantage of such forms is that they give respondents the opportunity to be fully informed of the nature of the research and the implications of their participation at the outset (Bryman, 2012, p. 140). Further, the researcher has a signed record of consent if any concerns are subsequently raised by participants or others (ibid). As the Hazara community is fairly small in Arendal, individual's identities are strictly described in a manner so as not to reveal specific details easily recognised by other members of the community, thereby preserving their anonymity. From an ethical perspective, continuous assurance and trusting relationships with the community assisted the interviewees to disclose even sensitive information regarding their legal status, which will not be included in the research. It is important to highlight here that given the small-scale of this research, although valuable, it does not claim to be representative of all Hazara communities residing in Norway.

A number of challenges and hardships other than time and money have been encountered during the entire dissertation. These challenges are various in nature including managing and organizing interview, focus group discussion, participant observation and finding relevant and authentic text and document because of the non-availability of desired people and material resources at the time of dissertation. It is difficult to communicate with female among Muslim communities in Arendal not only because they are outnumbered by male but also due to their cultur. One cannot disregard the possible limitations associated with the nature of self-reporting in such an ethnographic study. In addition, it was not possible to communicate with a wide array of people to get their views regarding the specific ethnic group. Above all, during the dissertation I got a number of unavoidable personal problems with mental turmoil which greatly hindered my work and caused for a long delay in finalizing the dissertation. Because of these limitations the findings cannot be generalized to the larger population (BCPS, 2016).

Chapter Five – Findings and analysis

5.1 Introduction:

As discussed in chapter four, the data was triangulated by analyzing multiple types of sources including participant observation, focus group discussions, personal interview and text and document. However, the findings are mainly from participant observation which corroborated the focus group discussions and interview. In addition, interview from focal persons of Arendal Kommune and Red Cross gave a more detailed account of refugees behavior and the integrations strategies of Norway. They allowed to capture the refugee experience consisting of pre-flight, flight and resettlement phase. The data was analyzed through NVivo data analysis software to conduct the thematic analysis. In order to understand the migration and acculturation processes of the Hazara community, there were two major elements that I found extremely important. Firstly, their past experiences of socio-political and economic deprivations in their home country. Secondly, the acculturation strategies of Hazara community in the host country where they can enjoy all types of human rights and freedom underpinned by Norway's asylum and immigration legislation.

5.2 Process of Migration

In order to explore a phenomenon of displacement of one social group belonging to one socio-political and cultural environment to another socio-political and cultural environment it has worth to mention the entire process of migration including travel rout, causes of migration and the distance covered by them.

5.2.1 Travel Rout of Hazara diaspora to Arendal:

For Hazaras' process of migration has become hereditary. They have been migrating generation after generation from Afghanistan forming migratory networks across the globe and transnational society. This network plays the role of a torch bearer for new comers providing guidance and information throughout the journey. The Hazaras most commonly travel from Afghanistan to Europe via Iran, Turkey and crossing Mediterranean Sea to enter Greece. Iran is like a bridge through which most Afghan diaspora cross to reach Europe. There they can stay, reside, work and earn money for rest of the voyage but they cannot settle permanently in Iran.

Similar to Pakistan, Iran is the home for millions of Hazara diaspora who are residing for decades. In Iran, they neither enjoy Iranian citizenship nor basic human rights such as access to quality education and health facilities. The Hazaras are working on low wages in Iran. Opportunity for them to integrate in Iranian society is very meager because of the restrictions by law and also due to wrath of contempt of Iranian society. Although Iran is a Shia state and Persian is the national language which are some key factors in attracting Hazaras to migrate to Iran but as they see no future prospects to settle in Iran and enjoy equal rights as an Iranian national they prefer to flee from Iran as soon as they get a chance. From Greece, they find their way to countries of Europe including Norway. The decision to seek asylum in a country in Europe depends on the information they get in Greece and along the journey. After arriving in Norway, it is in the prime disposal of Norwegian authorities to decide to distribute them to various districts.

5.2.2. Reasons of migration:

As discussed in chapter three, the process of migration is not only stimulated by push factors which force the Hazaras to flee out of Afghanistan including political turmoil, economic hardships, social discrimination and environmental hazards but also pull factors that attract them to Europe specifically to Norway such as political peace and stability, economic opportunities, social support and better environmental conditions. Although each of the push factors is compelling for migration of people from Afghanistan but in the case of Hazara diaspora political turmoil and social discrimination seems to have greater part due to their vulnerability of their specific ethnic identity. Almost all the participants claimed that they were feeling insecurity, discrimination and lack of access to basic human rights in their country of birth for being Hazara. One participant said;

> *"I migrated from Afghanistan 12 years ago; mainly because we (Hazaras) have no*
> *security. Secondly, because of poverty as I am a Hazara and job opportunity for Hazaras*
> *are meager. The third reason that forced me to migrate to Europe was the choice either*
> *to remain in Iran and cross the Afghan-Iran border illegally every year or to settle to*
> *Europe to get rid of that terrible life forever. However, I am not very happy to live in*
> *exile as a refugee and living far away from my family. If I got the opportunity to live*

peacefully and could get a subsistence livelihood in my country I would never prefer a
diaspora life in Europe to earn a thousand a day."

Regarding their qualification and education in Afghanistan; almost all the respondents belonging to various locations of Afghanistan described themselves as illiterate or poorly literate. None of the participants completed high school in Afghanistan. They recalled that education was not accessible in Afghanistan for them as there was no government school in their vicinity nor suitable and safe transport was available to go far away for getting education. Some participants got informal or religious education only. This indicate that they were living a life under constant ethnic discrimination and lack of access to basic human rights compelling them to migrate from Afghanistan in search of better life opportunities. Changez, one participant, described his information,

"In Europe there is democracy, every citizen have equal rights and one can enjoy all
types of human rights. When I was in Iran I had read, and heard from others that this
country (Norway) is the most peaceful place in the world. Everyone is equally treated
under the law regardless of race, gender, religion, color and ethnicity without
discrimination. In Norway I have the same rights as a Norwegian. There is no contempt
of religion, race or nationality or language."

5.2.3. Distance Decay:

The Hazara-Afghan immigrants travel thousands of miles and cross many political boundaries to reach Norway. Upon the question as to why did they chose Norway to flee to rather than any neighboring countries of Afghanistan; almost all of them had some bitter experiences in the neighboring countries in their life. On the other hand they had some knowledge of better life opportunities in Europe especially in Norway. One participant described his experience in Iran. He said that the Afghan people specially the Hazara have terrible life in Iran.

"People abuse them as Afghan Khar (Afghan donkey) or Kassafat (dirty people). The
Hazara try to hide when they see a cop because if they are caught they are either
deported to Afghanistan or freed after giving bribe."

Some respondents said that before fleeing their country of origin they had the knowledge that Europe is a peaceful democratic place where they could begin a peaceful life. However most of them had not known as to where they would settle. Many of them said that they made their mind to go to Norway along the way both because of its peaceful environment and also its good

economic opportunities. This underscores that due to globalization and existence of network across the globe people are more aware of the distant places such as Norway than their predecessors who used to settle in Iran or Pakistan.

5.3. Ethnic identity and its challenges in a different culture - Acculturation

5.3.1. Ethnic Identity of Hazaras:

In response to the question regarding the origination of Hazaras and their history in Afghanistan almost all Hazara immigrants were confused. Almost all of them relate Hazaras to descendants of Mongols who came in Afghanistan in the 13th Century but they had no clear answer about ancient sculptures of Budhas of Bamyan which they also believe that belong to the Hazaras. During the discussion some time they call themselves as Turks sometimes as Mongols. However, they were clear to the point that Hazaras are living in Afghanistan for many centuries. This is not the matter of humiliation rather it determines the fact that they have been deprived of quality education and lack of historical documents.

As discussed in the introduction and literature review, the Hazara is identical by their physical appearance, language, origin in Afghanistan and religious belief. The introduction, description and identification of the respondents themselves and their physical feature are almost identical with what Ibrahimi, 2012 described.

> *They bear central Asian physiognomy of relatively flat nose, broader face and narrower eyes. Most of them practice Shia Islam in a predominantly Sunni country. The Central Highlands of Afghanistan, known as Hazarajat or Hazaristan is almost entirely inhabited by Shia Hazaras. A low social status as a marker of Hazara identity resulted from political marginalization and economic deprivation that came with extension of state control over the Hazarajat in the end of the nineteenth century. The Hazaras speak a particular dialect of Farsi, known as Hazaragi, which contains significant Turko-Mongolic vocabulary.*

Source: (Ibrahimi, 2012, p. 2)

5.3.2 Identity challenges of Hazaras in Norway – Integration and marginalization
Norway is a socially democratic country and strictly following and implementing the laws of international human rights. All people are equal before the law regardless of one's race, religion or ethnicity. Besides Norway has a very soft policy to integrate the immigrants in the Norwegian society. However, despite all the policies defined by the state refugees in general perceive social discrimination. The Hazaras in general have no identity issues to be vulnerable of discrimination and loss of identity for being a Hazara. Yet most of them perceive discrimination for being a refugee and immigrant and for being a Muslim. During the discussion the participants unveiled that it is difficult for them to find a job of their desire for being from a different social group. One participant said,

> *"I applied for jobs many times but most of time I was not called for interview by the hiring organizations. I realized that most of the time they did ignore my curriculum vitae (CV) just because it contain a Muslim name."*

This notion supports the findings of Berry et al (2006), that "Norway has both the lowest scores on the integration factor and the highest levels of discrimination. He concludes that integration tends to correspond to better adaptation, whereas discrimination is detrimental to it (John W Berry et al., 2006, p. 225).

Cultural differences is a big challenge for Hazaras in Norway. Hazara women in Afghanistan, Iran or Pakistan do not go out without veil or hiding their hair. This practice is part of social norm and culture of the Hazara. In Norway, they do not bother much about the veil. Those who belong to a religious family are strictly abiding by the rules set in Islam to cover their head however others do no take it much serious. Most Hazara female do not veil their heads as well. They tend to adopt traditional Norwegian culture. Mariam, a respondent, describes her experience in a workplace.

> *"I work in medical store and I have observed many times that our clients hesitate to ask me for medicine because I wear the veil and they know that I am a Muslim women. They wait till my other colleague of Norwegian origin could be available instead of asking me. Many Muslim women do not wear the veil because they know that they would not get the job if they do so."*

The observation support remarks of Berry et al, (2006) that a culturally confused person may be more susceptible to discrimination than a person with strong bonds in his or her own ethnocultural group (John W Berry et al., 2006, p. 224).

The study also observed rise in domestic issues such as mistrust, clash and subsequently divorce in the family. These are some major concerns of Hazaras living in Arendal. There are diverse perceptions about these issues. Some believe that cultural diversity is the main cause of this problem while others believe that they are in response to the inequalities and injustices that happen with women in Afghanistan. For example Mariam says,

> *"In Afghanistan many women get marriage forcefully. They cannot get divorce and cannot live independently. Some of them are so brutally treated that sometimes they burn themselves to death. These women when get the opportunity to live independently, here in the west, they break up with their husbands to live independently."*

In response to that her husband said,

> "*that most Hazaras are illiterate and do not understand how to tackle family relationship. When they arrive in Norway they quickly change and senselessly adapt the negative impacts of cultural diversity. They try to go ahead of independency and liberty of even the Western society."*

5.3.3 Preservation of traditional identity while integrating in a new society - Integration

Similar to the findings of Berry et al (2006 p. 215) the Hazara immigrants in Arendal show strong integration attitudes as they show strong support for the maintenance on their ethnic culture alongwith involvement in the national culture. These results clearly attest to the importance for most Hazara immigrants of holding on their heritage culture. During my stay in the community I observed the following traditional activities of Hazaras which shows that the Hazara diaspora living in Arendal Norway are keen to preserve their cultural values and ethnic identity.

1. Hazara people hold cultural events such as 'Mahfil e Dambora[5]' (Hazara's musical concert). A famous Dambora player and singer 'Dawood Sarkhosh' is very popular

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[5] Dambora is a musical ***instrument*** similar to guitar which Hazaras relate to their culture.

among Hazaras. He is constantly moving across the world including Australia, USA and Europe to conduct concerts to keep the Hazaragi culture alive in Europe. Last time he held a concert in Oslo in March 2016 where around 2000 people mostly Hazaras attended the concert. Recently, Katib organization conducted Hazara diaspora meeting (Didar) in Copenhagen, Denmark wherein I was also invited as a guest and at the end of the seminar a musical night 'Mehfil-e-Dambora' was held which was attended by the participants across the globe including those living in Arendal and Grimstad.

*Figure 5.1 Mehfil-e-Dambora organized by Katib organization
in Denmark 2016*

Figure 5.2 Mr. Dawood Sarkhosh on the left is the top Hazara
singer and musician

Figure 5.3. A musical concert in Oslo 2016.

2. Hazaras get to gather on the death funeral of any community member or close relative of any community member even if a deceased have been died abroad and offer prayers for the deceased, showing sympathy, condolence and mourning with the family of the deceased person. After the prayers, food and tea etc are served to the participants in the same way as held in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. This reflects the same cultural activity which is going on from centuries among Hazara ethnic group. In 2016 I attended two such funerals in Arendal. One was held on the eve of death ceremony of the father of Haji Mohammad Ali whose father died in Afghanistan and the other of Haider Ali whose father also died in Afghanistan. In both these gatherings hundreds of people not only Hazaras but also other ethnic groups living in Arendal attended the ceremony. In these ceremonies Holly Quran is recited by the participants to share sympathy and pray for the deceased.

3. Religion is not strictly followed in Norway by Hazaras. Although they have got a community hall for religious purposes, on rent, but very few people attend regularly. During the month of Muharram of Lunar calender people gather in a hall which is called as 'Hussainya' located in the town (sentrum) of Arendal and hold mourning for 10 days to commemorate the Martyrdom of Imam Hussain grandson of Prophet Muhammad by the hand of Yazid some fourteen hundred years ago. I attended the event in 2014 and 2015 when I was in Arendal. Hundreds of people both male and female including children attend the event. Everyday on the eve of Muharram people are served with meal voluntarily. This event is also observed similar to other Shiit communities spread all over the world, however, on the tenth of Muharram people in Arendal are not allowed to organize rally as they do in Afghanistan and many other countries.

4. Hazara boys play sports such as football and volleyball among their own community members. They also frequently join their Norwegian colleagues and also people from other communities for playing. Hazara girls are not visible in playgrounds. Almost all of them are busy either in getting education, learning expertise or doing some sort of jobs.

5. They speak Hazaragi language in their gatherings while they speak Norwegian when communicating and interacting with other ethnic groups living in Arendal including local people. Almost all the Hazaras settled in Norway five years back has learned Norwegian enough to communicate with local people. In fact, all of them feel their prime obligation

to learn the local language for smooth integration in the society. Almost all the participants who got Norwegian residence were fluent to speak Norwegian.

Thus on one hand they are tightly connected to their own social norms and rituals on the other hand they also try to integrate in the dominant society for social development. These daily activities approves the argument of Nannestad *et al.* (2008) that, on the one hand, in certain circumstances bonding social capital leads to the progression of bridging social capital, on the other hand it can cause negative effects on integration (Hashimi, 2016). The Hazaras have their own community events and rituals bringing members of community together which demonstrates their ethnic solidarity and strong bonding social capital, yet socially excluded from the dominant society.

5.3.4. Possibilities and constraints for Hazara for adapting to a new type of life - integration and social capital

In order to integrate in the new society the Hazaras are provided a number of opportunities to thrive and adapt to a new type of life in the host country however there are some challenges which hinder their rapid growth and integration in the society. The state policies are in favour of integration of the immigrants and refugees. It provides free education and Norwegian language courses. This helps the refugees and immigrants to learn the local language in order to be able to interact with the people in the new society and also find livelihood. The notion testifies the findings of Berry et al. (2006) that it is difficult to be financially and professionally successful in a new society without becoming involved in the language and culture of the society (John W Berry et al., 2006, p. 223). It is obvious that the poor immigrants need also subsistence support to learn something before starting a job. For the purpose, the state provides food, shelter and social support for other expenses. These are the basic requirements available to the Hazara immigrants which enable them to adapt in the new society. Social capital is also a blessing for the new comers. Most Hazaras find jobs and solve other difficulties of life through support of their community members.

Despites, there are some constraints for Hazara immigrants for adapting to a new type of life in their host country. Initially most Hazara immigrants are either illiterate or poorly literate at the time of entrance in Norway. The European culture is far more different than the ones they follow. For the Hazara diaspora who hardly can read and write in their own language it is very difficult to quickly comprehend and adopt Norwegian language and culture. This situation

hinders their rapid growth and integration. Most of the Hazara immigrants belong to poor families whom they have left behind. They are dependents of these immigrants and their support is felt social obligation. This situation demands them to quickly find a job and start earning. Therefore, the Hazara immigrants do not continue higher education and instead seek low level jobs to earn money to support their families.

5.3.5 Impacts of migration and acculturation on women empowerment:

One of the significant social development that have been obtained in the wake of migration and living a diaspora livelihood of the Hazara community is women empowerment. Among other acculturation processes, social transformation from low social status to empowerment and freedom is obvious in the lives of Hazara women. Gender inequality is still a matter of great concern in global south specifically in Afghanistan as women are being considered in development discourse as objects of welfare policies, including birth control, nutrition, pregnancy, and so forth. Paradoxically, all the participants male and female do agree that Hazara women are enjoying greater empowerment in Norway as compared to those who are still living in Afghanistan. In Norway, Hazara women can get education, move freely, work with others even with male colleagues and remain without burqa if they desire while they were more restricted to remain in the houses in Afghanistan. During the study it was found that Hazara women do work in Hospitals, shops, and restaurants etc without fear of sexual harassment. Interestingly, male counterparts are quite satisfied with the lifestyles in which women are independent.

In terms of integration and adaptation in the new society Hazara women are not lesser then their fellow immigrants. They are taking part in every social activities. Most Hazara men are accepting these changes open heartedly. Not only Hazaras but other Afghan ethnic groups also praise Hazaras for quickly adapting and integrating in the Norwegian society. One of the respondents named Atif who works with refugees says:

> *"In terms of individual freedom Hazara women have quickly adapted Norwegian society than the other ethnic groups of Afghanistan. Hazara women are working outside home and taking part in social activities just like Norwegian women. However, we also have other Hazaras who are more restricted. Let us categorize them into three groups based on their country of residence before migrating to Norway i.e Afghanistan, Iran and elsewhere mostly Pakistan. Those who have come from Pakistan and elsewhere have succeeded in the field of*

education because they were well equipped with English and therefore face no problem to learn Norwegian. Those who have come from Iran and Afghanistan, unfortunately, face greater challenges in this field. It takes years for them to learn Norwegian because they lack basic knowledge of English. They are religiously fundamentalist and show little tolerance to other religions."

5.4 **Analysis and Conclusion - Are they satisfied in the host country?**

Level of satisfaction is an objective trait that is always measured by quantitative analyses but in this study it has been analyzed by qualitative method. Following Berry et al (2006) I examined two types of adaptation: psychological adaption such as life satisfaction; and sociocultural adaptation such as learning local language and working conditions. Here, we will discuss and compare the circumstances which compelled them to migrate from the home country and the opportunities available for them to thrive in the host country. After a short comparative study we will assess as if they are satisfied in the host country or otherwise.

During the study it was found that all the Hazara immigrants were compelled to flee from their home country for interrelated multi dynamic reasons. Besides having acute economic hardships they were encircled with social, religious and political rift and discrimination with larger community. Almost all the immigrants belonged to poor families who have small farm land in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan. They could not move freely across the country to find a subsistence livelihood and access quality education. They, therefore, moved to Iran and Pakistan for earning or getting education. In Iran and Pakistan also they faced social discrimination and inhuman treatment. In terms of political rights, they had meagre opportunities to take part in the political development of their country of birth. These circumstances perpetuated their life dissatisfaction in their country of birth and compelled to flee to Norway for survival and better opportunities.

After migration to a developed country such as Norway, they are welcomed by dominant society of Norway. They have access to education, job opportunities in a peaceful environment where there is no fear of act of terrorism, extremism and discrimination. They have ability to own property such as houses and vehicles on bank loan which is considered impossible in their home country. After getting primary education and learning the local language they are able to find their desirous jobs. In addition, they can move freely anywhere not only in the country of

residence but also across Europe and many other countries across the globe legally and with very self-confidence.

The new life with sustainable economic growth is far more better than the one's they had earlier. Hence, almost all the respondents of the study were psychologically and socio-culturally adapted in the host country. The participants were strongly against any repatriation plan. This notion supports the findings of Berry et al. (2006, p. 219) that the ways immigrants manage their sociocultural situation is related to how well they adapt in their society of settlement (John W Berry et al., 2006, p. 219).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Every individual and ethnic group in the universe has distinct identity based upon their unique personal characteristic. Ethnic identity of an individual encompassing racial, cultural, religious and social characteristics and behaviours also defines privileges and discriminations he/she gets in a given social setting. The situations of conflict and migration are especially favourable to the emergence and strengthening of ethnic distinctions. Migration is a worldwide phenomenon that poses both socio-political and economic opportunities and challenges to migrants. During the course of immigration the concept of ethnic identity becomes particularly meaningful given that there is a sufficient cultural distance between the home and the host country.

Last few years have been witnessing a record number of people migrating from war torn countries such as Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Erithria, Nigeria and others for seeking asylum in the 28 member states of the European Union, Norway and Switzerland. Among those is the Hazara -the Hazaragi-Dari-speaking community originating in central Afghanistan- make a significant contribution. They have been migrating generation after generation for sociopolitical and economic reasons making a network society across the globe including Pakistan, Iran, Australia, America and in the Europe.

Researchers have been taking keen interest in evaluating and theorizing the concept of migration (Kurekova, 2011) and subsequently acculturation processes develop as a result of migration (Drydakis, 2012, p. 389). In the area of migration determinants research, there are currently a variety of theoretical models or perspectives which employ varying concepts, assumptions, frames and levels of analysis, however, in the case of Hazara diaspora the concept and theory apparently suitable for explaining causes of their migration is Network Concepts which posits that the existence of a diaspora or networks is likely to influence the decisions of migrants when they choose their destinations and push-pull theory which explains that people migrate for two reasons: either the push factors that motivate to move out of a region such as political instability, war and famine, and the pull factors that attract to move into a destination region such as political stability, economic opportunities and social security. All those that come in between the push and the pull factors are intervening obstacles. This negates the possible assumption that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations.

The process of migration does not end shortly after resettlement to a different culture rather it engenders a significant social process of acculturation. It has already been discussed in chapter three that the focus of acculturation is on how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new context that result from migration (John W. Berry, 1997, p. 6). In this context immigrants either embrace receiving-culture: assimilate or integrate; or retain heritage-culture: marginalized or separated in dominant society.

Social capital is another important concept in understanding the charaterstics and behavour of emigrants and the process of acculturation. Placing the definition in the refugee context explains why forced migrants form social and migratory networks .

Qualitative research strategy leads to a deeper understanding on human behavior as well as to find out the motivations behind these behaviours.   The Hazaras who have experienced constant migration across the globe; preservation of ethnic identity has become a challenge among other acculturation processes. Therefore, it has been decided to study the Hazara diaspora's ways of life within the context of their identity issues in Arendal using qualitative method. In addition, the qualitative research enables the researcher to exercise a degree of flexibility if, for instance, data collection needs to be done again after a certain degree of analysis. Since human experience is the main crux of the inquiry, qualitative research is the most appropriate design as it delineates the narratives, emotions, dispositions and personalities from interviews, focus groups, and participant observation which are the main data collection methods for this research. However, to better understand the background and history of Hazara emigrants; articles, documents and data published by academics, multi-lateral organizations and NGOs is used as the secondary sources of data.

As discussed earlier, the process of migration is not only stimulated by push factors which force the Hazaras to flee out of Afghanistan including political turmoil, economic hardships, social discrimination and environmental hazards but also pull factors that attract them to Europe specifically to Norway such as political peace and stability, economic opportunities, social support and better environmental conditions. Although each of the push factors is compelling for migration of people from Afghanistan but in the case of Hazara diaspora political turmoil and social discrimination seems to have greater part due to their vulnerability of their specific ethnic identity. Almost all the participants in Arendal claimed that they were feeling insecurity,

discrimination and lack of access to basic human rights in their country of birth for being Hazara. Significantly, during the study it was also revealed that the existence of network also played an important role in motivating the process of migration leading to reconsideration of the concept of distance decay.

Regarding the identity challenges the study reveals that the Hazaras in general have no identity issues to be vulnerable of discrimination and loss of identity for being a Hazara. Yet most of them perceive discrimination for being a refugee and immigrant and for being a Muslim. During the discussion the participants unveiled that it is difficult for them to find a job of their desire for being from a different social group. This notion supports the findings of Berry et al (2006), that "Norway has both the lowest scores on the integration factor and the highest levels of discrimination.

Similar to the findings of Berry et al (2006 p. 215) the Hazara immigrants in Arendal show strong integration attitudes as they show strong support for the maintenance on their ethnic culture alongwith involvement in the national culture. One of the significant social development that have been obtained in the wake of migration and living a diaspora livelihood of the Hazara community is women empowerment. Among other acculturation processes, social transformation from low social status to empowerment and freedom is obvious in the lives of Hazara women. The new life with sustainable economic growth is far more better than the one's they had earlier. Hence, almost all the respondents of the study were psychologically and socio-culturally adapted in the host country. The participants were strongly against any repatriation plan. This notion supports the findings of Berry et al. (2006, p. 219) that the ways immigrants manage their sociocultural situation is related to how well they adapt in their society of settlement.

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Appendix A   *Letter of Amir (King) Habibullah Khan (Hazara.net)*
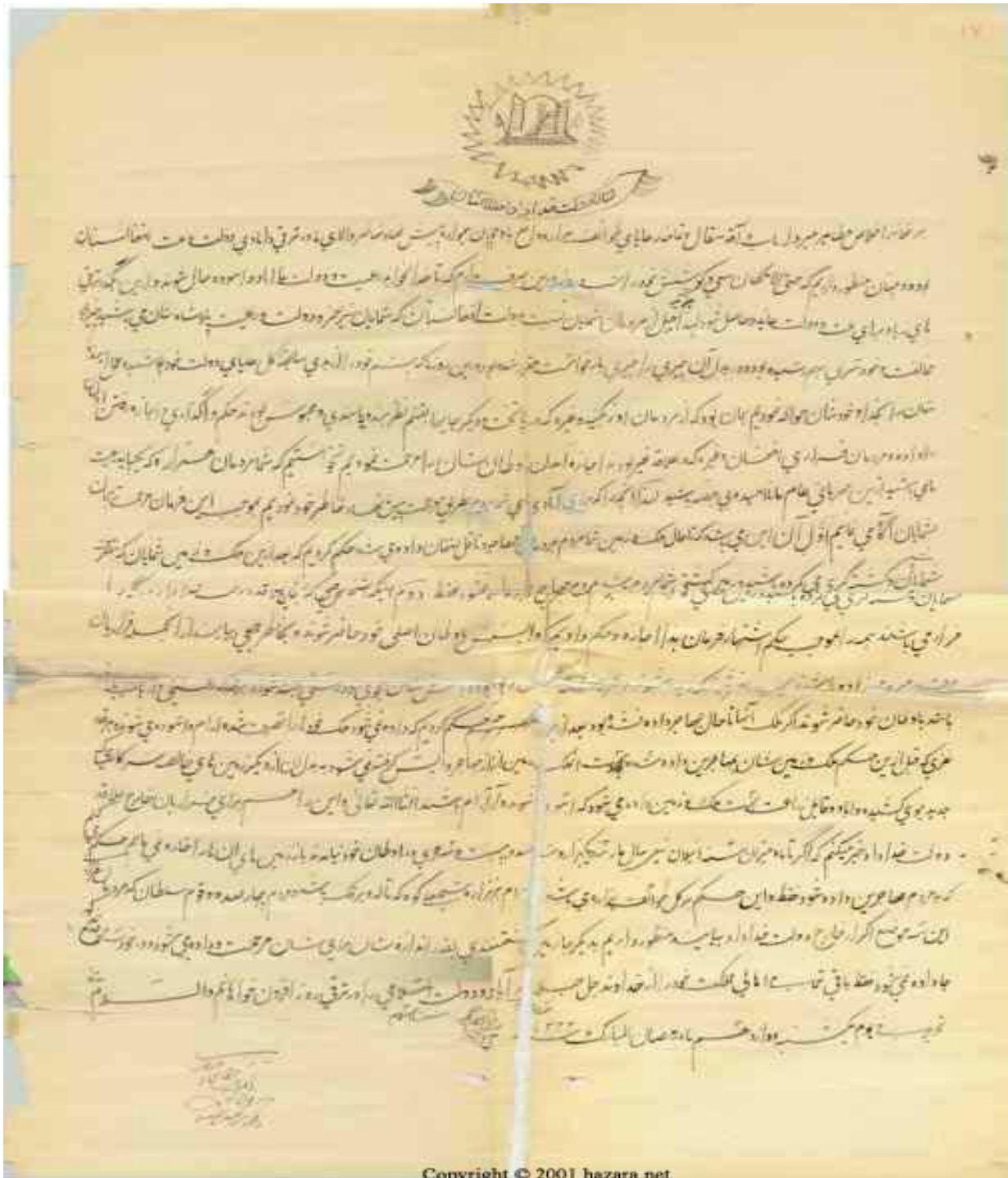
Appendix B   Translation of Letter of Amir (King) Habibullah Khan (Hazara.net)

The Symbol of the God given state of Afghanistan

Let me make it clear to all Hazara Mirs, Arbabs, intellectuals and other subjects that it has always been my wish to develop the government and people of Afghanistan. I have therefore made efforts to the best of my abilities to focus on this objective, so that the people and government, by the grace of Almighty, may prosper and both may benefit from this highway of progress and prosperity. You are also part of the Afghanistan government but since you offered opposition and defiance to this government, this resulted in some punishment to the Hazara people. But since you have disassociated yourself from such past activities, I entrust your future acts to God Almighty and to you. I have released the Uzbeks and others incarcerated in the capital and allowed them to proceed to their ancestral lands. I have also allowed the Pashtun people, who had escaped to the tribal areas, to return to their native lands. I therefore do not want that you Hazara people who are also my subjects, should be deprived from my kindness and generosity. Consequently I order, through this decree, that your lands and properties, which were until now, distributed among the Pashtun refugees, will no more be given to the Pashtun refugees, provided you cultivate such lands. Secondly I also order those Hazaras who have fled to neighboring countries to return to their native lands with complete confidence. All Hazara nobility should also return so that their needs could be assessed. If their lands have so far not been given to the Pashtun refugees, they would henceforth not be so given. They should reoccupy their own lands and begin their prosperity. But the lands which have already been given to Pashtun refugees will not be returned to Hazaras. In their place, the Hazaras will be given lands which have recently been made arable as a result of new canals having been dug, so that they could live a life of prosperity and progress, God willing. I warn those who have fled to neighboring countries that if they do not return to their native lands by the lunar month of Meezan, the year of snake i.e. 1323 Hijri (September 1905), their lands will not be kept abandoned. I hereby order that such lands be given to the Pashtun refugees. This decree is for all the Hazara tribes. If the Shaikh Ali Hazaras of Taala wa Barfag, the Hazaras of Char Sid and Qaom Sultan who have fled Afghanistan return they will be given lands in other parts of the country in accordance with their needs. They will never be given lands in the three areas mentioned above. I pray to God Almighty for the prosperity of the people of my country and the continued progress of this Islamic state.
Wassalam
12 Ramazan 1322 Hijri (Sunday 20 November, 1904)

Royal Stamp of Amir Habibullah Khan

Appendix C   A press clip from Melbourne show that thousands of Hazara captives were sold as slaves.

The Argus (Melbourne, Vic. : 1848 - 1956) (about) ◄ F

(THE ARGUS LONDON AGENCY.)

AFFAIRS IN AFGHANISTAN.

THE LATE HAZARA RISING.

TEN THOUSAND CAPTIVES SOLD BY THE AMEER.

LONDON, Oct. 19.

Last year a serious rising broke out among the Hazaras, an Afghan tribe, against the Ameer, Abdur Rahman. After a good deal of fighting the insurrection was suppressed, a number of the rebels being taken prisoners by the Ameer's troops.

Advices from Cabul state that the Ameer has sold 10,000 of the captive Hazaras as slaves in order to defray the expenses incurred in suppressing the rising.

Appendix D   Study information sheet sample

Study information sheet

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study. This Information Sheet explains what the study is about and how we would like you to take part in it.

The purpose of the study is to understand the livelihood of Hazara refugees living in Arendal including their migration process to the destination.

In order to elicit your views, I would like you to be interviewed by one of the researchers involved in the Study of Global Development and Planning at the University of Agder. If you agree to this, the interview will be audio recorded and will last approximately one hour.

The information provided by you in the interview will be used for research purposes. It will not be used in a manner which would allow identification of your individual responses.

At the end of the Study, anonymised research data will be archived at the UiA website in order to make it available to other researchers in line with current data-sharing practices.

Once again, we would like to thank you for agreeing to take part in this Study. If you have any questions about the research at any stage, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Oddenveien 34 A, 4847, Arendal, Tel: 96993372, email addresses: alir14@uia.no

Appendix E   Interview consent form sample

Interview consent form

• I, the undersigned, have read and understood the Study Information Sheet provided by the researcher, Ali Raza.

• I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the Study of Identity Challenges of Hazara Refugees Living in Arendal.

• I understand that taking part in the Study will include being interviewed and audio recorded.

• I have been given adequate time to consider my decision and I agree to take part in the Study.

• I understand that my personal details such as name and employer address will not be revealed to people outside the project.

• I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages and other research outputs but my name will not be used.

• I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any material related to this project to Mr. Ali Raza.

• I understand that I can withdraw from the Study at any time and I will not be asked any questions about why I no longer want to take part.

Name of Participant: _____   Date:

Researcher Signature: _____   Date:

Appendix F   *Basic profile of participants and respondents to the study*

Name	
Age	
Gender	
Total duration of stay in Norway (in year)	
Duration of stay in Arendal (in year)	
Education (in years) in Afgh/Iran/Pak	
Level of Education in Norway	
Other education or diploma	
Training/practice (in year)	
Present job/work	
Job description	