Experiences of Forced Migration:

An understanding of coping, adaptation and resilience strategies of the Hazara community in Oxford

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This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

Signed ~~FATIMA HASHMI~~   **Date** 11/01/2016

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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Statement of Ethics Review Approval

This dissertation involved human participants. A Form TDE E1 for each group of participants, showing ethics review approval, has been attached to this dissertation in Annex 9.

Abstract

Coping, adaptation and resilience strategies of Hazara communities in Britain are one of the research areas that have not been much explored. The purpose of this study is to build knowledge in this domain, particularly focusing on the city of Oxford, by examining the literature on the various mechanisms developed in order to cope, adapt and be resilient to life in a new environment. 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 social capital (bonding/bridging/linking), transnationalism, religion and refugee community organisations and the research investigated their influence on coping, adaptation and resilience strategies of the Hazara community in Oxford. The findings of the study revealed several mechanisms similar to the ones discussed in the literature and in most cases traditional rituals and rites of passage which provide a sense of belonging during the liminal phase and exile. The two major elements found extremely important were: (a) the significance of social capital, particularly bonding capital being the most prominent one but also linking social capital through their own refugee community organisation and transnational links with other Hazara communities; (b) the impact of Britain's asylum and immigration policies on the coping, adaptation and resilience strategies of the Hazara community. However, the result on religion draws a contrasting conclusion. Research revealed that the said community did not find religion as an adaptation strategy, rather they were found to be less religious than in their country of origin. In addition, the concept of social capital sheds lights on how communities access and use resources, such as community networks across borders as more than merely tools of survival but also agents of change and social transformation. These tools help in the formation of innovative refugee community organisations and cultural identities, while still managing to adapt in the new environment. This kind of theoretical basis enables us to view refugees as active agents of change who are capable to survive by developing strategies such as coping, adaptation and resilience.

Acknowledgments

In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

Acronyms

ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights / 1950 Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
EU LAW	Law of the European Union
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
HAO	Hazara Association Oxford
ILR	Indefinite Leave to Remain
IRRI	The International Refugee Rights Initiative
LEJ	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAU CONVENTION	1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa
RCO	Refugee Community Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCAT	1984 United Nations Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
1967 PROTOCOL	1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees
1951 REFUGEE CONVENTION	1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees

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Chapter One – Introduction

1.1. Research Background

The recent years have witnessed a sharp increase in the number of people fleeing their homes from wars, conflict and persecution to seek protection elsewhere by making treacherous journeys through land and sea. According to the UNHCR's Global Trends report (2015) there are 19.5 million refugees worldwide, of which 86% are hosted in developing countries. The current refugee crisis in Europe has witnessed Turkey taking the lead in hosting the largest number of refugees. Beforehand, Pakistan was the world's top-refugee hosting country, the majority from Afghanistan. And for nearly thirty years Afghanistan was the top refugee producing country in the world, which Syria has recently surpassed. On the contrary, Britain is home to only two percent of the world refugees (Refugee Council, 2012), receiving only 25,020 asylum applications by March 2015, compared to the European countries who are looking after significantly more individuals seeking asylum (Refugee Council, 2015).

Regardless of these statistics and the harsh realities of the traumatic experience of war, conflict and persecution, refugees are portrayed as underserving of protection and welfare (British Red Cross, 2013). Moreover, too often refugees are assumed to be helpless and passive victims of circumstance (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Essed *et al.*, 2004), and therefore are always rooted in the discourse of vulnerability (Ager, 1999). However, such experiences should not predetermine their future who are survivors by definition (Anderson and Woodrow, 1989:72). A growing number of authors have emphasized the need to look beyond refugees as passive victims of circumstance, rather as active agents of change (Jacobsen, 2005; Harrell-Bond, 1999; Kibreab 1993). In fact, the academic discourse tends to homogenize refugee experiences which have been investigated by various scholars (Malkki, 1995; Turton, 2003; Turner, 2010).

This dissertation seeks to gain an understanding about the experiences that forced the Hazara community to flee to Oxford from Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. As such, the research ensures that the said community members have the opportunity to share their unique experiences living in exile. The research endeavours to contribute to an understanding of what it means to cope, adapt and be resilient as a refugee, and as a refugee community in Britain today, presenting the collective and the individual dimension.

1.1.1. The Hazara People

The origin of Hazaras is variating according to different theories but the most common legend is that they are the descendants of the army of Genghis Khan. The majority of Hazaras belong to the Shia sect of Islam, although some are Sunni and others, originating from Afghanistan.[1] The persecution against the Hazaras late 19th century marked the first wave of migration to Iran and Pakistan, followed by a second wave during the Saur Revolution in 1978[2] and consequently the third wave between 1992 and 2001. The World Factbook (CIA, 2015) estimates that around 2.9 million Hazaras still reside in Afghanistan; making up the third largest ethnic group there (Monsutti, 2004). According to various sources the exact figures of the Hazara population in exile are not exactly known as it ranges between 0.5 and 1.5 million both in Iran and Pakistan (Mackenzie and Guntarik, 2015:63; Minahan, 2014:102; World Hazara Council, 2015; Olszewska, 2013). In recent years' thousands have fled to Australia, Europe, UK, Canada and the USA as a result of persecution, threat to be killed and also other forms of discriminations in Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan.

The focus of this research is on the Hazara community residing in Oxford consisting of migrants and refugees living in a complicated situation where the adults are finding it hard to integrate in the society while keeping rooted to their culture and traditions. Meanwhile, the youth have provided the first generation with the opportunity to link with host society through educational institutions. The population of the Hazara community in Oxford is kept up to date by the community leader who was happy to share the list with me. The first few came for higher education during the 1990's and are in the medical field but in essence the community was slowly established just over a decade ago when they gradually started coming to Oxford from dispersal areas. This dissertation endeavours to add value to a more informed understanding of the actualities of what it means to cope, adapt and be resilient to as a Hazara in the UK today; particularly, in relation to housing and employment as they play a key role in integration and the facilitating factors to become integrated (Cheung and Phillimore, 2013; Zetter *et al.*, 2005). In addition, Britain's asylum and immigration policies on housing and employment sets the backdrop to develop coping, adaptation and resilience strategies (Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Dwyer and Brown, 2005).

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[1] Muharram is the first month of the Islamic Calendar. Shia and Sunni are the two main branches of Islam with a political and spiritual difference of opinion on who should have been the successor after Prophet Muhammad. Whereas the Ismaili's break away from the main body of the Shi'as on the seventh imam (political and spiritual successors to Prophet Muhammad).

[2] The second month in the Persian calendar is 'Saur' and the revolution refers to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) who seized power in a coup from the country's prime minister.

The motivation for this dissertation emerged from being raised within a Hazara community in Quetta by my maternal grandparents of Hazara descent. [3] The timeline in Annex 1 highlights the historical journey of my family which begins with my great-grandfather's forced migration at the end of the 19th century. I grew up listening to the stories of how my great-grandfather fled from Afghanistan and how he coped in Quetta as a refugee. The ways in which he attempted to manage any situation never once gave me the sense that he was a victim, but rather a survivor because of the remarkable resilience and the ways in which he adapted to the new environment. Consequently, the reason for focusing on Oxford came by chance at the first visit to the Ahlul-Bayt Centre (2012) in Oxford, during the month of Muharram last year.[4] Chatting with the Afghan, Pakistani and Iranian Hazara women at the centre got me intrigued on the mechanisms they have developed to cope, adapt and their resiliency in the new environment after fleeing their countries.

1.2. Research Question

The motivation explained above and the cultural factors in forced migration that instigate changes in human behaviour, resulting in various strategies such as coping, resilience and adaptation (Berry, 1997) led to the underpinning of the research question and sub-questions:

Research Question:

What are the coping, adaptation and resilience strategies of the Hazara community in Oxford?

Sub Questions:

- What are the main factors which contribute to Hazara community's coping, adaptation and resilience strategies in order to adjust in Oxford?

- How do those factors impact to the demands of living in a new society during their adaptation process in Oxford?

- How do the Hazaras express adaptation through their sense of belonging in Oxford?

- Has transnationalism helped the Hazara community as a resilience strategy and whether it helped in regaining their sense of belonging?

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[3] Quetta is the capital city of Balochistan province which is located near the Afghanistan border.
[4] Ahlul-Bayt Centre is the Shia mosque in Cowley, Oxford Annex 3 .

1.3. Aims and Objectives

The dissertation aims to draw attention to the coping, adaptation and resilience strategies of the Hazara community in Oxford, arising from forced migration. The study intends to contribute in addressing the gap in the literature on Hazaras within the UK context, specifically focusing on Oxford. Furthermore, it is an attempt to understand how Britain's asylum and immigration legislation and policies impact upon the coping, adaptation and resilience of the Hazara community. The objectives of this research are as follows:

(i) To determine the coping, adaptation and resilience strategies of the Hazara community in relation to the formal and informal support structures.

(ii) To examine if the adaptation strategies of the Hazara community have the values of their culture and traditions and how these have evolved in order to maximize living in a new environment?

(iii) To provide an insight and an informed understanding of the typology of social capital (bonding/bridging/linking) of the Hazara community.

(iv) To develop an understanding of the ways in which Britain's immigration and asylum policies affected the lives of the newly arriving Hazaras in Oxford and the longer term impact of funding cuts on integration.

1.4. Significance of the research

Several researchers (Brahmbhatt *et al.,* 2007; Cederberg, 2012; Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011; Hynes, 2011; Merone, 2012; Williams, 2006) have studied the various mechanisms of coping amongst refugees bringing new information to existing literature. However, there seems that there is no specific research focusing on the mechanisms of coping, adaptation and resilience on Hazara communities in Britain. Therefore, this research aims to improve the understanding of the issue by focusing specifically on the Hazara community in Oxford, especially faced with the funding cuts for the refugee voluntary organisations which also have an impact on the refugee community organisations (RCOs).

According to Foster (1997) *coping* comes in the immediate defensive response to a stressful event which is short term; *adaptation* goes beyond the initial reaction in response to the demands of the society which can be extended over a medium period of time; and *resilience* phases over a longer period of time, which is the positive transformation arising from coping and adaptation. As such it was important to understand the following elements as this is

where coping, adaptation and resilience are most commonly found in refugee/migrant communities.

Table 1 – Coping, Adaptation and Resilience	
Coping	**(i)** The emotional and practical support available through social networks.
Adaptation	**(ii)** How much their culture and traditions have changed during acculturation period.
	(iii) If religion as adaptation helped in mitigating acculturative stress amongst the Hazara community in Oxford.
Resilience	**(iv)** The role of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) amongst the said community and their interaction with other groups in Oxford.
	(v) The transnational networks and how they benefit from transnationalism.
	(vi) The capabilities of the Hazara community in Oxford enhanced or hindered by the Refugee Community Organisation (RCO).

1.5. Limitations

The main difficulty when initiating this research was framing the research question without revealing sensitive information about the community which was pointed out by some of the community members. My supervisor was very helpful in helping me rephrase the research question. In all honesty, the community was very kind, friendly and extremely cooperative.

Whilst conducting my research I sometimes found it difficult to understand the dialect of Afghan Hazaras which is slightly different to the one spoken in Quetta, which I am accustomed to. However, Wahida Tahmasi, an Afghan Hazara girl helped me throughout my research to translate the words I could not understand.[5] She was the facilitator in all of the focus groups which helped me immensely in conducting the discussions.

One of the other limitations that I came across towards the end of the research was recruiting participants for women's focus group. I was aiming for a mix of Afghan, Iranian and Pakistani

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[5] I met Wahida, who has a degree in Journalism, at her home for one of the Executive Committee meetings of Hazara Association Oxford which is a refugee community organisation (RCO). She has given the permission for her original name to be used in the research.

Hazara women but I found it quite challenging for them to participate in together. In the end the focus group discussions were split into two groups (Afghan/Pakistani).[6]

Being a young researcher also had its limitations because finding data and relevant information would have been impossible without being referred by senior experienced academics. Seeking advice from the experts contributed immensely to the knowledge, learning and development. Together with meaningful research methods, such as participant observation, focus groups, life history interview and questionnaire; I sought frequent and constructive feedback from my supervisor about the themes that were emerging from the complex data.

1.6. Structure

The remainder of the dissertation is divided into five chapters. **Chapter Two** provides a brief overview of the UK immigration and asylum policies and legislation that sets the context for the Hazara community to develop coping, adaptation and resilience strategies. It then looks at the historical background of Hazaras and the waves of migration since the 19th century.

Chapter Three begins with the conceptual and theoretical background to the research which uses a dual framework of the capability approach and the acculturation model to explore refugees' coping, adaptation and resilience strategies. The various studies in the literature highlight different strategies developed by refugee communities that have helped individuals cope in their new environment.

Chapter Four comprises of the methodology using a qualitative research paradigm. The primary data gathered by different methods forms the basis of this study; such as participant observation, focus groups, life history interviews and a questionnaire. The collected data transcribed into written format allowed for the thematic analysis to be conducted using a qualitative data analysis software.

Chapter Five comprises of the findings and discussions from my primary research. The content of this chapter is based partly on the theoretical background and predominantly on the different methods used to collect data.

Chapter Six presents the conclusions that can be drawn from this research and reflects the capabilities of individuals to cope, adapt and resiliency during life in exile.

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[6] The sub-community division amongst the Hazara women is reflected in detail in chapter five.

Chapter Two – Historical Background and Context

2.1. Introduction

This chapter begins by outlining the international refugee regime. This will be followed by an examination of Britain's immigration and asylum policies that sets the context for the Hazara community in Oxford to develop various strategies of coping, adaptation and resilience, specifically when faced with housing and employment barriers. The chapter then looks at the Hazara people and their history including the waves of forced migration they have faced in the last three centuries.

2.2. Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees

The right to seek and enjoy asylum is enshrined in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948). Article 14 of UDHR played an important role in the drafting of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Refugee Convention), which distinctly provides the principle of *non-refoulement*[7] and the international legal definition of a refugee as someone who:

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

The 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees removed the geographic and temporal limits contained within the 1951 Convention (UNHCR, 2010). As such, these two lay the fundamental mechanisms governing international refugee protection.[8] However, as forced migration has become a crucial issue of the 21st century, the Convention has drawn negative

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[7] Prohibition on the forced return of a refugee.
[8] Albeit simultaneously overlapping with other important legal regimes for the international protection of refugees (Mole and Meredith, 2010). The law of the European Union (EU law); the 1984 United Nations Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (UNCAT); and the 1950 Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) and its protocols. The international refugee definition has been advanced within regional refugee instruments, such as provided by the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, known as the OAU Convention and the 1984 Cartagena Declaration.

criticism; such as, being outdated and inflexible (Millbank, 2000; UNHCR, 2005), impeding the global fight against terrorism (Security Council Resolution 1624) and lack of protection for 'climate refugees' (Methmann and Oels, 2015).

2.3. UK Immigration and Asylum Policies

In the course of the last two decades Britain's policy on immigration and asylum has become one of the most debated topics in public policy (Orchard, 2014). The media coverage, public and political sphere have fueled anxieties about immigration and asylum, instigating negative portrayal of asylum seekers who take advantage of the welfare system (McDonald and Billings, 2007). The reason behind individuals seeking asylum in a particular country has less to do with welfare as more importance is given to knowing that the destination country is '*democratic and free*' (Spinks, 2013:22). In addition, better job prospects, existing networks, past experiences of members of the community, mental image of the country, previous links between their country of origin and the country of destination are some of the reasons for selecting the particular destination. Here it is important to highlight the difference between forced migration and economic migration, which are two distinct categories, dependant on the motivation behind the migration:

> '***Forced migration*** *refers to migration flows, where for reasons of national disaster, war, civil war, ethnic, religious or political persecution people are forced to flee their home. Whereas,* **economic migration** *can be further subdivided into three main categories: legal permanent settler migration (Asian minorities in Britain), legal temporary migration (education, business, tourism and employment), and illegal migration of people from one country to another'* (Bali, 2008:471).

Britain is party to the 1951 Refugee Convention which was incorporated within its domestic law under the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993 (Hynes, 2011). However, the White Paper entitled *Fairer, Faster and Firmer* proposed a comprehensive and integrated strategy for immigration control (Home Office, 1998). It was implemented by a radical overhaul of the immigration and asylum system with the introduction of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, influenced by the Human Rights Act 1998 (Clayton, 2014). This came as a result of the backlog in asylum claims, replaced mainstream welfare benefits with voucher system and

introduced compulsory dispersal to accommodate asylum seekers (Clayton, 2014). [9] The recent funding cut in English-for-Speakers-of-Other-Languages (ESOL) has also raised a cause for concern for refugee integration (Hubble and Kennedy, 2011).[10] Moreover, housing and welfare provisions have been drastically changed over the years with the continued immigration and asylum legislations Annex 2 , giving rise to destitution amongst forced migrants (ICAR, 2006).

Having glanced at the international refugee regime and Britain's immigration and asylum policies that sets the context for the Hazara community in Oxford to develop coping, adaptation and resilience, the next section glances at the origin of the Hazara people and their history including the waves of forced migration they have faced in the last three centuries.

2.4. Origin of the Hazara People

There are many theories and legends on the origin of Hazaras; the most widespread legend is that it originated from the Mongol word 'Mingan', a unit of one thousand Mongol soldiers of Genghis Khan left behind in Afghanistan in the first quarter of the 13th century (Bellew, 1880; Bacon, 1958; 1959; Poladi, 1989; Mousavi, 1998; Rashid, 2001). Other theories are that the Hazara people descend from several ancestral human gene pools (Khavari, 2003) and that Hazaras are the indigenous people of ancient Afghanistan who were the native settlers of Bamiyan (Mousavi, 1998:43). Nonetheless, having grown up in the Hazara community, I know that they attribute their ancestry to Genghis Khan, which Ferdinand (1959:37) also noted in his fieldwork. Their strong distinctive Mongoloid feature makes them stand out from the Pashtun population of Afghanistan (Canfield, 1972; Harpviken, 1996; Ibrahimi, 2012), whereas Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmens have similar features. In addition, the Hazaras speak in Persian Dari dialect called 'Hazaragi' (Bacon, 1958; Theisger, 1955), which includes Turkish and Mongolian words (Ibrahimi, 2012) and is more noticeable in the mountainous regions of Afghanistan (Canfield, 1972).

There is also an uncertainty on their conversion to Shia Islam. It is speculated that some may have converted in the 13th century, while the remaining ones were most likely influenced by

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[9] The dispersal accommodation is managed by UK Border Agency and still often referred to as 'NASS support'-National Asylum Support Service. The European Race Bulletin (IRR, 1999) published an article warning about the consequences of placing asylum seekers in already deprived areas of Britain, resulting in social exclusion, isolation and vulnerability to racism.

[10] Introduced in a strategy document 'Further Education New Horizons: Investing in Skills for Sustainable Growth' (BIS, 2010)

the Safavid dynasty (Monsutti, 2007; West, 2009).[11] Importantly, Harpviken (1998) and Ibrahimi (2012) mention that this localised Shia identity scale of the Hazaras was expanded to a more political one with the emergence of the four political elite groups contending for the Hazara leadership (Table 2). The Sheikh and Ulema educated in the religious educational institutions helped in expanding the Hazara identity by connecting them to the wider Shia community.[12] However, the internal struggle among the Ulema, the Mir and the Sheikh gave way to the transformation of ethnic identity of the Hazaras where the Mir and Syed as traditional leaders became marginalised. Meanwhile the Ulema were able to take over the leadership of Hazaras and later experienced key shifts in their political directions.

Table 2 – Political Elite Groups	
Mir	Traditional tribal Hazara leaders within the rural population.
Syed	Descendants of Prophet Muhammed (PBUH), established on a horizontal social structure. They are not seen as Hazaras but share Shia identity, giving them the authority to represent the Hazaras.
Sheikh	Religious leaders trained in the religious institutions of Qom (Iran) and Najaf (Iraq) and began to make social and political impact in the mid-twentieth century.
Ulema	Graduates of Shia educational centres in Qom and Najaf in combination with modern schooling and higher education that produced an intellectual class amongst them.

Sources: Harpviken, 1996, 1998; Ibrahimi, 2012

2.5. History of Hazara Migration

The history of Hazaras is a story of migrations consisting of several waves which began when Amir Abd-al-Raḥman Khan came to power (1880-1901) and declared Jihad against the Shia's, in particular the Hazaras, with the assistance of British military advisers (Timurkhanov, 1980 cited in Mousavi, 1998:126).[13] Consequently, the Amir formed a unified Afghan government and decentralised the autonomy of ethnic groups. When the Hazara tribes rebelled against the Amir, they were subjected to atrocities including slavery (Mousavi, 1998:126), leading to

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[11] Although the majority of Hazaras still practice Shia Islam in the Hazarajat region of Afghanistan, which is predominantly Sunni, there are also Sunni Hazaras and a significant number of Ismaili Hazara communities

[12] Note: Here the word Ulema refers to the literate Shia Hazaras and not Sunni Ulema.

[13] Amir/Emir: Title given to military commanders, governors, and princes.

unparalleled turmoil and persecution (Mackenzie and GuntariK, 2015). As a result, '*more than half of Hazara population was destroyed or forced out*' (Mousavi, 1998:136).

2.5.1. First Wave

Following the unsuccessful revolt, thousands of Hazaras fled to the bordering countries, Pakistan (Quetta) and Iran (Mashhad), marking the first wave of Hazara forced migration (Mousavi, 1998; Monsutti, 2007; Ibrahimi, 2012). This included my great grandfather who fled to Quetta in 1892 from Malistan, Afghanistan. The ones who stayed back suffered socio-economic loss, lack of access to education and increased taxation, compared to the Pashtun's (Mackenzie and Guntarik, 2015).

Moreover, Monsutti (2004) asserts that the Hazaras have also migrated for economic reasons throughout the 20th century to Quetta and Mashhad as seasonal workers. However, their arrival in Iran and Pakistan[14] was followed by the formation of transnational communities and different ethnic identities which were subject to the social, political and economic factors of the host communities (Ibrahimi, 2012). For example, when they first arrived in Iran, they were referred to as '*Berberi*', a derogatory term meaning barbarian (Owtadolajam, 2006:145).[15] By contrast, the conditions for the ones who fled to Quetta were more hospitable, such as the formation of an infantry regiment of the British Indian Army, the 106th Hazara Pioneers who participated in the First World War Annex 3 (Mousavi, 1998; Owtadolajam, 2006).

2.5.2. Second Wave

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).[16] 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).[17]

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[14] Then part of British India
[15] Later changed to 'Khavari' - people from the East
[16] Iran and Pakistan were unable to cope with the large influx of refugees which led to the establishment of the Office of the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Iran (1989) and Pakistan (1979).
[17] Within this figure, Hazaras were the ones who fled in majority. In addition, since the war and conflict in Syria, Afghanistan dropped to the second leading producer of refugees.

Table 3 – Hazara Population in Iran and Pakistan		
Pakistan	**Year**	**Population (Estimate)**
	1971	40,000
	1975	50,000 – 60,000
	1995	100,000 – 120,000
	2015	650,000 – 15,000,000
Iran	2015	350,000 – 15,000,000

Sources: Monsutti, 2007:178; Mackenzie and Guntarik, 2015:63; Minahan, 2014:102; World Hazara Council, 2015

This wave of movement coincided with the migratory movements of the Hazara coal miners who migrated in the winter seasons to Quetta during the early 1970s and to Iran for longer periods to work in menial jobs (Monsutti, 2004; 2008; Ibrahimi, 2012). However, their presence in Iran signified a new era, characterised by the formation of Hezb-e-Wahdat[18] in 1989 (Ibrahimi, 2009; 2012). This marked an important step for the Hazaras in their political transformation, which was centred at eliminating historical discrimination and repression against them. The unification of the mainly Hazara political groups into Hezb-e-Wahdat signified as the central hub of the rising sovereignty of the Hazara clergy (Harpviken 1998; Canfield 2004; Marie, 2013). [19]

2.5.3. Third Wave

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 (Monsutti, 2005) which labelled them '*infidels*' and terrorised them to covert to Sunnism (HRW, 2014). A report by Human Rights Watch (2001) offers in depth descriptions of the Hazara massacres that took place in May 2000 and January 2001. Still, Hazaras face constant discrimination in Iran and sectarian attacks in Pakistan Annex 4 . [20]

Focusing on Pakistan, while the Pashtun Afghans were living in the refugee camps and villages, the Hazaras had the advantage to settle in Quetta with the help of the previously settled Hazaras (AREU, 2006; Ibrahimi, 2012). As a result, Quetta became the focal point for the spatial identity and the transnational social networks of the Hazaras (Monsutti, 2007;2008). In addition, Monsutti (2004) states that this constant migratory movement has helped extend their solidarity based on kinship to local solidarity with the community in Iran and Pakistan.

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[18] The Islamic Unity Party of Afghanistan
[19] The groups still maintained their individual organisational identities and faced with internal tensions it underwent a major division in 1994 (Ibrahimi, 2009).
[20] The detailed accounts of discrimination and sectarian violence are highlighted in Annex 4

2.6. Third Country Resettlement

For the Hazaras, exile and transition has been a constant part of their lives for centuries. During the 1980s and 1990s a growing number of upper and middle class Hazaras fled to Europe, North America. This increased drastically during the Taliban era (Koser, 2013; Mackenzie and Guntarik, 2015). However, in recent times they have risked and for many lost their lives crossing illegally to Australia in small boats. It is believed that Dandenong, Australia is now '*the third largest Hazara city-based centre in the world*' (Mackenzie and Guntarik, 2015:63).[21] It is estimated that around 20,000 Hazaras are now settled in Australia, the majority of whom are from Quetta (Mackenzie and Guntarik, 2015).[22]

The countries where the Hazaras have fled to Annex 5 , in particular the city of Oxford where around fifty Hazara families are residing, is the focus of this research.[23] This dispersion of the Hazara communities have further created multiple registers of solidarity through remitting money to Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan via hawala, based on social networks and trust. [24] As a result, this has not only become an effective tool for the reproduction of social ties but also enhanced strong transnational networks proving their adaptive capabilities (Monsutti, 2004;2006;2008).

2.7. Concluding Remarks

Before continuing to the literature review chapter, it was worth examining the UK immigration and asylum policies which introduced tougher control on housing and welfare in order to help understand why refugee communities rely on their families and social support networks. As a result, these communities develop certain mechanisms in order to start a new life and have a sense of belonging in the host community. The origin of the Hazara people and their history of migration in three waves allowed setting the background of the discrimination, persecution and atrocities they have faced in the last three centuries. The next chapter reviews the various literatures on the strategies developed by refugee communities on coping, adaptation and resilience.

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[21] Located 30 kilometres south-east of Melbourne's central business hub.
[22] According to the Hazara community in Australia, there are at least 60,000 to 100,000 persons residing there. It may be that not all are registered; some may have not introduced themselves as Hazara but Pakistani or Afghans. So, there may be Hazaras who have not been counted in the census and its quite likely that the reality is somewhere in between 20,000 to 100,000.
[23] Annexes 5.1; 5.2; and 5.3 highlight the Hazara population worldwide, Europe, UK, Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan.
[24] Informal banking system

Chapter Three – Literature Review

3.1. Introduction

Given that the aim of the research is to seek an understanding of the various strategies of the Hazara community in Oxford, it is essential to move beyond the discourse of vulnerability towards resilience, coping and adaptation. In doing so, we will first define these terms (Table 4). This will be done by developing a conceptual framework using the Capability Approach of Amartya Sen (1992) and Berry's (1997) Acculturation Model. The former will serve to identify factors allowing refugees to become active agents in the social dynamics of the host communities, where they have developed strategies of coping, adaptation and resilience to overcome obstacles; while the latter will allow an examination of how resilience and coping are affected in forced migrants. With the conceptual framework in place, existing literature will be reviewed relevant to the coping, adaptation and resilience of forced migrants globally.

Table 4 – Definitions of Coping, Adaptation and Resilience	
Coping	*'Coping is a complex response to a stressdul or challenging situation that is often defensive in character. The types of stimuli that activate coping processes are usually delineated as stresses (major life events and transitions), strains (less severe ongoing events or pressures), and hassles (ordinary unpleasant daily events that may have cumulative impact)'*
Adaptation	*'Broader term than coping, moving beyond defensive or protective responses to ones that deal with improving or maximizing environmental fit'*
Resilience	*'Positive changes in maintaining active or latent coping and adaptation capacities through various mechanisms that may not be immediately apparent but become evident over time'*

Source: Foster, 1997:190

3.2. Conceptual Framework

3.2.1. Capability Approach

Sen's (1992) capability approach provides a valuable understanding of well-being, which focuses on the '*the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value*' to achieve valuable '*functionings*' (Sen, 1992:31). Moreover, Sen's open list of capabilities allows researchers and scholars to use it in a wide range of fields including refugee studies (Ho and Pavlish, 2011; Zeus, 2011; Landau, 2008; Clarke, 2013,2014; Kim, 2012). The basic concept of this approach can be understood in the following three key terms:

Table 5 – Three Key Terms of Capability Approach	
Functionings	The various things people value in '*doing*' and '*being*', for example having a good job, being safe, educated and being part of the community.
Capability	A person's freedom to achieve '*functionings*' by converting resources into valuable opportunities.
Agency	A person's ability to achieve outcomes that one values and someone who brings change.

Source: Alkire and Deneulin, 2009:31

In the light of this research, focusing on how the Hazaras cope under the current housing and employment policies, the capability approach provides a people-centred framework. It reminds us that the *processes* through which individuals pursue their achievements, for example the social opportunities, depend on their *functionings*, such as relations with host community and state policy. As stated by Dreze and Sen (2002:6) '*We shall be particularly concerned with those opportunities that are strongly influenced by social circumstances and public policy*'. This two-fold emphasis on both processes and outcomes will be ideal for exploring Hazara refugees' access to and outcomes from the strategies they have developed.

To emphasize, the capability approach asks whether people have access to *functionings,* such as a high-quality educational system, political participation and community activities, to convert into *capabilities* that help them cope with everyday struggles (Robeyns, 2005). Exclusion from participatory processes may be the reason some refugees keep away from personal and economic interactions with the host communities. Instead, they interact across transnational networks of their community as a form of strategy and subsequently the host community is unable to capitalise on these networks (Landau, 2008). Papadopoulous and

Hilderbrand (1997) acknowledge that perceiving refugees as victims ignores their inherent potential and resourcefulness.

This framework allows for acknowledging refugees' resilience and capabilities. It also promotes conditions in which refugees can increase '*their effective opportunities to undertake the actions and activities they want to engage in, and be whom they want to be*' (Robeyns, 2005:95).

3.2.2. Acculturation Strategies Framework

So as to comprehend the influences determining refugees' resilience and their capacities to convert resources into capabilities, it is necessary to consider the acculturation strategies framework (Berry, 1997;2005). In fact, the theoretical underpinning of the acculturation approach is based on the anthropological and sociological theories of Park and Burgess (1921); Redfield *et al.* (1936); and Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) psychological theory of stress and coping (Ward, 2001).

Berry (1997) states that acculturation is the process people go through to deal with the daily stressors and obstacles resulting from migration/forced migration and prolonged contact with the host culture. However, acculturation has a considerable impact on an individual's ethnic identity, behaviour patterns, values and attitudes. In this sense, refugees develop coping strategies to mitigate '*acculturative stress*' or '*culture shock*' caused by the acculturation experience (Berry, 1997).

Equally important, the four acculturation strategies (Table 6) are the product of two intersecting dimensions **(1)** embracing receiving-culture **(2)** retaining heritage-culture, taking place individually and/or in groups resulting in coping strategies which end in long-term *adaptation* (Berry, 1997).

Table 6 – Acculturation Strategies			
		Heritage Culture	
		Positive	**Negative**
Host Culture	**Positive**	**Integration:** Embracing host culture and maintaining heritage culture	**Assimilation:** Embracing host culture and rejection of heritage culture
	Negative	**Separation:** Rejection of host culture and maintaining heritage culture	**Culture Pluralism / Marginalisation:** Rejection of both host and heritage culture

Source: Based on Berry (2003)

It is the inaccessibility of resources as noted in the capability approach, such as political freedom or economic opportunities that create the process of *adaptation* amongst refugees. Dona and Berry (1999) suggest that *adaptation* depends immensely on the individual's coping strategies, the attitude of the host community and the availability of social support. Consequently, coping, acculturation and adaptation seem to be interlinked for those experiencing transition and cultural change (Kou, 2014).

Hence, the dual framework of capability approach and acculturation model fits well within the structure of the research, which will seek to understand how the capabilities of the Hazara community members in Oxford are influenced during the acculturation process and their period abroad.

3.3. Refugees' Coping, Adaptation and Resilience

Studies have shown that Britain's policies for asylum seekers and refugees on housing and employment sets the context to develop different strategies, depending on their situational context (Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Dwyer and Brown, 2005). Specifically, the housing dispersal policy (UKVI, 2015) has an impact on the newly arriving refugees, consequential to lack of access to social networks, liminality and no sense of belonging (Hynes, 2011). What is more, Molyneux (2001) acknowledges that the current immigration policies have created negative impacts on social integration, thereby forcing refugee communities to develop strategies of coping, adaptation and resilience (Griffiths *et al.*, 2005; Zetter *et al.*, 2003; 2005).

3.3.1. Social Capital

The collective *capabilities* of individuals, which are built on collective action, are referred to as '*social capital*'. Placing the definition in the refugee context explains why forced migrants form social networks. 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). The community structures are best described by Robert Putnam (1995), the prominent advocate on social capital in the following typology (Zetter *et al.,* 2006; Elliot and Yusuf, 2014).

Table 7 – Typology of Social Capital	
Bonding	Family connections / same ethnicity
Bridging	Looser connections with other groups
Linking	Community / public agency

Looking more closely at bonding capital, Haezewindt (2003) and Cantle's (2005) theory of community cohesion found that bonding capital has negative consequences leading to social fragmentation. In addition, Putnam (2000:22) stresses that strengthening of ties within individual social groups is necessary for '*getting by*'. Most significantly, a recent study by Cheung and Phillimore (2013) found that bonding capital did not have the negative consequences described by Cantle (2005). Given the complex interplay of integration, bonding social capital can have positive or negative outcomes. Nannestad *et al.* (2008) argue 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. This throws a very interesting light on the Hazara community in Quetta. In the wake of the sectarian violence, the Hazara community lives within the neighbourhoods of Marriabad and Hazara Town (HRW, 2014) Annex 6 . They have their own community events and rituals, marking rites of passage as theorized by Gennep (1960). As a result, bringing members of community together which demonstrates their ethnic solidarity and strong bonding social capital, yet socially excluded from the society in general.

The literature on bridging capital draws a contrasting conclusion. Ethnographic fieldwork on Yugoslavian refugees (Korac, 2005) discovered that bridging capital allowed successful integration. However, there was still an aspect of neither being accepted nor rejected by the host community, bringing the feeling of '*otherness*'. What is more, a qualitative study using literature review and interviews by Zetter *et al.* (2006) found that women of refugee

communities generated more bonding capital than men; in relation to educational and health access when negotiating with public agencies. As a result, this led to linking social capital with the provider institutions and agencies. Likewise, Castles (2000) agrees that bridging capital allows refugees to '*cluster together*' with the host community and as a result link with the mainstream social frameworks (Korac, 2009).

3.3.2. Refugee Community Organisations (RCOs)

RCO's provide a key role in creating strong bonding and linking social capital (Kellow, 2010) and '*are established by the refugees themselves or by their pre-established communities*' (Zetter and Pearl, 2000:676). They not only provide financial and emotional support, but also help with housing and employment barriers. As such, refugees rely heavily on trust and kinship within the social networks of the refugee communities (Bloch, 2002). With regard to why refugee communities trust RCOs, using an ethnographic approach*,* Simich *et al.,* (2004) and Williams (2006) have convincingly argued that, because of inadequate information on service provision, in addition to housing, economic and cultural barriers (Crawley *et al.,* 2011), refugees were more inclined to stay within their social groups for support. It must also be noted that RCOs help in developing refugees' capabilities, evident by their contribution to social integration strategies (Griffiths *et al.,* 2005), while maintaining their cultural identity. However, it is necessary to highlight that RCOs have inadequate resources for long-term local integration of refugees (Phillimore and Goodson, 2010; Zetter *et al.,* 2004; Zetter and Pearl, 2000), which can be resolved in partnership with specialist agencies (Amas and Price, 2007).

While it is generally agreed that RCOs provide strong bonding and linking social capital (Kellow, 2010), Bloch (2004) argues that they create a form of dependency on informal networks, such as low-paid employment causing restricted ambition (Gilchrist and Kyprianou, 2011; McCabe *et al.*, 2013). This makes it evident that, in the absence of formal housing and employment support, informal networks provide refugees with access to accommodation and the labour market within their trusted community. It is unfair to blame RCOs or the informal networks solely for underpaid jobs, as Phillimore and Goodson (2006) assert that even when the refugees are permitted to work, they remain one of the communities with the highest level of unemployment. Some of the factors of unemployability include lack of qualifications, non-recognition of overseas qualifications and lack of English fluency (Bloch 2004; 2008; Phillimore and Goodson, 2006). Interestingly, a recent study by Clarke (2014) revealed some astonishing results on RCOs' contribution to refugees' capabilities, challenging the perception that RCOs have a negative impact on refugees' education prospects and employability. The

findings revealed significant positive effects from the informal education and employment training provided by the RCOs' limited budget.

As a member of the Hazara community, it is important to highlight that education has been of utmost priority to Hazaras as evidenced by the high literacy rates (Larson and Hazelton, 2008; Minahan, 2014:102). Spending time with the Hazara community in Oxford has so far revealed that the ones who discontinued their education after forced migration did so to earn a living for their continuingly growing families. As such, most of them have resorted to driving taxis, which could be as a result of any of the unemployability factors mentioned above, forcing them to seek alternative ways to access the labour market. It is hoped that the research findings will reveal more details on their routes into employment before and after they were granted the refugee status.

3.3.3. Transnationalism

Faist (1998;2000) and Vertovec (2007:20) assert that '*transnational social spaces*' have potentially broadened the *assimilation* and *culture pluralism* trajectory as proposed in the acculturation strategies. The concept of '*transnationalism*' has been studied in the refugee context by several researchers (Conway and Cohen, 1998; Massey, *et al.,* 1998; Meyers, 1998) defined as, '*the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement*'(Glick Schiller *et al*., 1992:1). In the case of the Hazaras, their dispersed communities worldwide play a vital role in building transnational networks. By and large transnationalism allows them to stay in touch with their culture and identity in a new environment, yet keeping their eyes firmly on their roots. Remittances also provide strong transnational connections which forced migrants send to their country of origin (Conway and Cohen 1998; Massey *et al*. 1998; Meyers 1998). Similarly, as personally experienced, the socially excluded Hazaras of Quetta rely heavily on the Hazara community in Australia, UK, Europe, Canada and the US (Koser and Marsden, 2013).

Resilience as a coping strategy demonstrated in Williams' (2006) ethnographic fieldwork on UK forced migrants found that bonding capital not only existed from networks within Britain but also transnationally. Some researchers view this transnational social space (Markley, 2011; Faist, 1998; Faist *et al.,* 2013) as *'transnational social capital'* (Eckstein, 2006; Levy *et al.,* 2013). Remarkably, Monsutti's (2008) study on Afghans' migratory movements between Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan found that transnational networks are one of their historically rooted strategies, owing to lack of employment, to escape drought or to flee war. For instance, Quetta is the central hub for Hazara migratory networks in Pakistan (Monsutti, 2008). As a

result, they have established several transnational networks based on religious, social and ethnic ties (Monsutti, 2004).

While refugees continue to feel strongly tied to their roots, nonetheless, they have the *capabilities* to develop a new lifestyle, resources and social ties within the host community. Likewise, Monsutti (2004) affirms that Hazaras have created new social, economic and political possibilities using their cultural assets through migration, signifying their adaptive capabilities. Equally important factors contributing to the Hazara transnationalism are historically rooted in the significant Shi'a religious educational centres deriving from the four elite political leadership groups which gave Hazaras their spatial identity (Ibrahimi, 2012; Harpviken, 1996).[25]

▌ 3.3.4. Religion and Religious Institutions

Creasy's (2009) ethnographic research focusing on Quetta Hazaras revealed that Imambargah's play a vital role in providing a sense of identity, cohesiveness, and social and emotional support.[26] Similarly, using mixed methods, Liev (2008) found that religion/religious institutions were significantly important mechanisms for the Cambodian refugees in New Zealand, providing space and voice. Most importantly, Baker and Smith (2010) demonstrate in their quantitative research within the UK context that '*religious capital*' was associated with valuable bonding social capital that did not impede bridging with the host community. On the contrary, Dunn (2004) argues that the creation of such spaces may be perceived as a threat to the lifestyle of the host community, who as a majority do not share the same religion.

Hazaras rely heavily on religion to cope with daily stressors in Quetta enabling them to foster their personal identity and purpose. Benson *et al.* (2012) demonstrated how religion helped in alleviating acculturative stress amongst newly-resettled Hindu Bhutanese refugees in the US. This shows that not only does religion/religious institutions provide individuals with a sense of identity and space to process acculturative stress (Kamya, 2009), but they also play a role in building resilience amongst refugee communities (Pargament *et al.,* 2000; Sossou *et al.,* 2008; Khawaja *et al.,* 2008; Hutchinson and Dorsett, 2012).

Moreover, social networks by religious ties also help refugees with employment and housing provision, as established by Cheung and Phillimore (2013) in their study on new refugees in Britain. Looking through the lens of the capability approach, it is worth noting that the

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[25] See Chapter Two: Historical Background and Context
[26] Shi'a mosques which are most commonly referred to as 'Imambargah' (The court of Imam)

literature allows us to explore what the functions and activities of religious institutions *do* to the refugees.

3.4.   Concluding Remarks

The use of the capability approach enabled me to explore the coping, adaptation and resilience of refugees in an open-ended framework. It allowed me to understand the impact of the particular services available and how these facilitate the '*doings*' and '*beings*' of refugees. Contrary to the dependency syndrome often associated with refugees, research studies discussed in this chapter aim to recognise them as agents with values and goals, capable of coping through different mechanisms during their acculturation period. As a result, the acculturation model helped in understanding the concept of acculturation and its trajectories that provide the basis for refugees to develop coping, adaptation and resilience strategies*.* Given the research on Hazaras, this framework will assist in understanding whether the process of adaptation increased acculturative stress or enhanced their opportunities in Oxford.

In summary, several studies revealed that social and family support (Gorman *et al.,* 2003; McMichael and Manderson, 2004; Schweitzer *et al*., 2006, Jasinskaja-Lahti *et al*., 2006), transnational networks (Williams, 2006; Monsutti, 2004; 2008; Vertovec, 2004;2010; Schiller *et al*., 1995; Faist, 1999) and religion (Pargament *et al*., 2000; Khawaja *et al.,* 2008; Dorais, 2007; Baker and Miles-Watson, 2010) provide the basis of resilience amongst refugees. In the next chapter, I discuss the methods used in this research, the methods of data collection and analysis.

Chapter Four – Methodology

4.1. Introduction

Using a qualitative research paradigm, this chapter focuses on the primary data gathered by different ethnographic methods, forming the basis of this study. Triangulating data sources through the analysis of multiple types of data allowed seeing multiple interpretations of a situation. Then the main methods are discussed in detail which includes participant observation, focus groups, questionnaire selected on systematic random sampling completed by twenty persons and one in-depth life history interview. Cautious of the methodological limitations and challenges, methods of data collection, sampling and ethical considerations have been addressed accordingly in this chapter.

4.2. Research Methods

In research, combining methods or data triangulation helps in giving greater credibility to the findings and most importantly they complement each other (Festinger *et al.,* 1963; Patton, 2001; Guthrie, 2010). With this in mind, using mixed methods of participant observation, focus groups, questionnaire and in-depth life history interview, the research findings are expected to draw similar results (Reeves *et al.,* 2013). Given the limited time to conduct the research, Festinger *et al.* (1963:179) assert that, '*employing such a multitude and apparent confusion of diverse techniques*' is necessary in order to study an entire community.

4.2.1. Participant Observation

An interesting aspect of participant observation was that it enabled me to observe, question, listen and experience (Bryman, 2004) the various strategies of the Hazara community in Oxford, by being fully immersed in their social environment. However, Walliman (2006:96) warns that while this method can be '*quick and efficient in gaining preliminary knowledge*', it is necessary that the observation is constant. Bearing this in mind, I had already spent six months with the Hazara community in Oxford prior to conducting the research and built a trusting relationship as part of their community member who became fully aware of the research once I began conducting the research.

The community has shown its generosity by inviting me to their homes, celebratory events, women's Iftar parties and dinner gatherings.[27] I participated to the extent where the community got used to my presence, making them feel comfortable and act naturally (O'Reilly,

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[27] Iftar is the breaking of fast by Muslims after sunset during the month of Ramadan.

2005:96). In addition, time spent with the community as a Hazara researcher lessened the occurrence of reactivity, *'where the active presence of the researcher potentially influences the behaviour and responses of informants, thereby compromising the research findings'* (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003:192). As note taking was one of the most important aspect of participant observation (O'Reilly, 2005), I found one strategy particularly useful, to use a phone application called Evernote (2015). Instead of using pen and paper, note taking on the phone was less distracting when chitchatting with the community and had less impact on the flow of participant observation. This allowed me to write down all the information I needed, without losing the focus of the discussion. Earlier on into the study, every time I was taking notes in my paper diary, the individuals would become suspicious on what was being written about them, which Jackson (1990, cited in K. DeWalt and B.R. DeWalt, 2011, p.163) describes as objectifying and uncomfortable for the interviewees.

Equally important, the nine observational categories (Table 8) of Spradley (1980) have been very useful for generating questions whilst observing the social settings of the Hazara community, which also helped to explore the field notes.

Table 8 – Nine Observational Categories		
1	Space	Physical layout of the place(s)
2	Actor	Range of people involved
3	Activity	Set of related activities that occur
4	Object	The physical things that are present
5	Act	Single actions people undertake
6	Event	Activities that people carry out
7	Time	The sequencing of events that occur
8	Goal	Things that people are trying to accomplish
9	Feeling	Emotions felt and expressed

Source: Reeves *et al.* (2013:1370)

4.2.2. Focus Group Discussions

The focus groups consisted of four categories; women, men, girls and boys which lasted for approximately two hours each.[28] Focus group discussion was employed to see how much gender and age has an impact on how the community was coping, adapting and being resilient in the new society. Hughes and DuMont (1993:776) describe focus groups as '*in-depth group interviews employing relatively homogenous groups to provide information around topics specified by the researchers*'. This method allowed me to triangulate and improve results from participant observation (Morgan, 1988), which was not totally refined and as a way to get research response from the community amongst the population, according to their gender and age. It focused on their experiences of the journey made, dispersal areas, informal housing and employment, religion, transnationalism, parent-child role reversal and rites of passage which helped transpire the coping, adaptation and resilience strategies.

The focus groups began with an introduction to the research topic, what is expected out of it and why the research is being conducted. Also, to ensure the consent of the interviewees, they were reminded of the confidentiality. Given that it is a small community, I reassured them that I will not unintentionally disclose any information that can become privy to as a result of the study (Fisher *et al.*, 2002). I also made them aware of how the information will be used, where and how it will be published.

As it was impossible to take notes and observe changes in interviewees' behaviour simultaneously (Walliman, 2006), Wahida offered to provide the role of a facilitator, which is crucial in terms of facilitating interaction (Gibbs, 1997).[29] An essential issue highlighted by Smithson (2000) in using this method lies on the impact of the moderator's attributes on the group interaction. As a result, having a facilitator and a moderator of similar background helped facilitate the discussion and allowed the group members to feel at ease. As such, O'Reilly (2005:133) asserts that focus groups adhere to the understanding that '*feelings, perceptions and attitudes*' are generated by interacting with other group members.

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[28] The women's group was split in two focus group discussions (Afghan's and Pakistani's).
[29] See Chapter One: Introduction

4.2.3. Life History Interviews

It must also be noted that in-depth life history interviews give a voice to refugees by listening to their untold stories, which is possible through building relationships with the interviewees by regular visits (Ghorashi, 2007). Choosing this method has been essential to this research because of the significance the interviewees' place on the events in their lives (O'Reilly, 2005:128), which as a Hazara researcher was easier to understand because of the shared historical roots. This method provided a deeper insight into the bridging, bonding and linking social capital of the community with other groups. In addition, life stories were very useful for the trajectories of the Hazara community, as people in transition to capture life before, during and after forced migration.

For the life history interview I selected Mumtaz Khan, firstly because he had a life very representative of other Hazaras and secondly since the beginning of the research we developed a trusting relationship and his views were always unbiased.[30] Throughout the research he has helped me gain better access to the community, particularly where some community members were a bit hesitant to participate.[31] I started transcribing the interview after each session, to capture the accurate meaning expressed in his words. The meetings consisted of many sittings which took place at both our homes and quiet cafes, so as to minimise the audio recording being garbled and lasted between one to three hours. As asserted by Atkinson (2002), this is what makes life story interview time-consuming, yet at the same time brings out the unique voice and experience of the narrator.

4.2.4. Questionnaire

Finally, the use of a questionnaire for personal interviews involved structured questions with response categories Annex 7 . The specific aim of the questionnaire was to corroborate findings with a wider audience. Once themes started emerging from the mixed methods, the use of questionnaire helped to explore how the themes applied in general amongst the Hazara community. This generalizability is one of the main strengths of using questionnaires in research, although designing and developing the questions can be time-consuming to make sure the questions are simple to understand (Walliman, 2006).

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[30] Mumtaz was happy for his real name to be used in the research.
[31] I was interested to know why the community referred to him as the community leader which did not take long to witness; he was always at the forefront to improve the community and everyone went to him for every kind of help and support. Throughout my time spent recording his interview, on almost all occasions I witnessed people calling him asking for help and guidance, mostly revolving around application forms, housing, employment and legal matters.

4.3. Sampling

Participants for the focus group discussions were selected through snowball sampling with a balance in age and gender, which began with a multiple chain referral process to avoid any sample selection bias (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). Harrell-Bond (1967:450) asserts that it is best if '*the researcher makes full use of all the sources of information*'. Keeping this in mind, a very informative initial contact with the Hazara community was made possible through the Secretary of the Ahlul-Bayt Centre, belonging from the Punjabi population, who introduced me to the Hazara community leader. From that point forwards given my Hazara family background and the fact that it is such a globally tight knit community where everyone knows of each other's families, the Hazara community was easily accessible.

Working as a research intern for Dr. Barbara Harrell-Bond, became the second referral point when her conversation with a Hazara cab driver led to the understanding that the entire community by this point knew that I was conducting this study. An effort was made to get acquainted to the cab driver Ibrahim[32], who is undertaking his postgraduate study in Oxford. He introduced me to his wife and children and this led to the invitations to women Iftar parties, initiating participation observation. Another important informant was Wahida, who provided useful contacts for focus groups and other community members.

For the questionnaire, systematic random sampling of twenty individuals out of fifty Hazara families in Oxford were selected. The accuracy in the number of Hazara families including family members was available from the community leader who has kept an up-to-date list of the families. The '*sampling fraction*' (Laerd Dissertation, 2012) as shown below tells how the twenty participants were selected i.e. sample size selected (n) divided by the population size (N). This meant that the head of household of two in every five families was selected.

$$Sampling\ Fraction = \frac{n}{N} = \frac{20}{50} = \frac{2}{5}\ (i.e.\ 2\ in\ 5)$$

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[32] Pseudonym

4.4. Data Analysis

Given the social science and mainly ethnographic nature of this study, the data from participant observation was analysed through an iterative-inductive approach which Becker (1970:27) terms as sequential analysis, where '*important parts of analysis being made while the researcher is still gathering data*'. The aim of such an analysis was to focus on the most important issues, whilst simultaneously taking steps backward when interesting data came to light that required further investigation. O'Reilly (2009) describes this approach as '*iterative-inductive*' analysis, where data collection, analysis and writing take place concurrently.

Without a doubt, employing participation observation as one of the methods made it essential to take notes, whilst constantly retracting my steps where something of interest surfaced. One such example is when I noticed how important it is for the community to make decisions as a unit at the Hazara Association Oxford (2015) meetings, instead of acting individually. This raised questions to investigate further the bonding social capital of the community, in turn leading to more data collection and analysis.

Once the data was collected from the mix methods, it was transcribed into written format in order to familiarise me with the data (Riessman, 1993) and for the thematic analysis to begin. 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*'. As such, the six phases as outlined in Table 9 were a useful guide in conducting thematic analysis.

Table 9 – Thematic Analysis: Six Phases	
Phase 1	Familiarising yourself with your data – Transcription of data set
Phase 2	Generating initial codes - Codes refer to the basic component of the raw data that can be evaluated into meaningful groups to form themes.
Phase 3	Searching for themes – Themes emerging from sorting codes with the help of tables, mind-maps, thematic maps or data analysis software such as NVivo.
Phase 4	Reviewing themes – (i) Refinement of the candidate themes by creating new sub-themes (ii) Re-read entire data set
Phase 5	Defining and naming themes – Clear definition and identification of themes
Phase 6	Producing the report – Final analysis and report write up

Source: Braun and Clark (2006)

I was interested in using a qualitative data analysis software for which I took a three-hour training course in NVivo 10-Part 1, covering the basic functions of the software.[33] I was able to code by storing data in nodes through which themes started emerging and running queries allowed to search for sub-themes (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). Moreover, I found it easier to work with NVivo once I got used to the software as all my transcriptions were in one place and it was much organised than coding on paper.

John and Johnson (2000) assert that the use of computer software facilitates in the accuracy of data analysis, although Gilbert (2002:218) warns that such software may give too much closeness to the users who can get caught in '*the coding trap*'. Mindful of this, I made sure to pause and reflect on my responses to the transcriptions and coding by adding a description to the nodes. Using models also helped me gain distance from my data which led to emerging sub-themes and I kept going back to the model to make changes during the different stages of coding.

4.5. Ethics

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 no harm*' central to the research. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) caution the increased risk associated with using snowball sampling which can reveal sensitive information to the members of the community. As the Hazara community is fairly small in Oxford, 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.[34]

Growing up in a Hazara community enabled me to learn their cultural etiquettes which were very useful while conducting the research. That is why as a traditional sign of respect it was fundamental to first meet the Hazara Jirga in Quetta to get their blessing and approval. [35] As a result, the community in Oxford became aware of the research prior to being formally introduced.[36] Nonetheless, I made sure to get full informed consent from the interviewees. Most importantly, inaccuracies resulting from translation did not have a direct impact on

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[33] The training course was attended at Headington Campus, Oxford Brookes University.
[34] For the ones who want to remain anonymous.
[35] Jirga is a traditional mechanism of conflict resolution and a powerful channel of communication among the Hazaras, consisting of twenty-two Hazara sub-tribes.
[36] This highlighted how fast information travels across borders through transnational links.

validity (Birbili, 2000) of the research as the interviewees had the benefit of communicating in Hazaragi.

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 Britain.

Lastly, in reference to the limitations of the different methods used, I found them to be extremely useful as they enabled me to see multiple interpretations of a situation. Nonetheless, if I had to do the research again, I would change the balance slightly by adding more life history interviews for the opportunity to compare different experiences.

4.6. Concluding Remarks

In summary, this chapter firstly looked at the ethnographic approach to different qualitative data collection methods. Participant observation and life history interviews as a method gave a holistic representation of the Hazara community, offering deeper understanding of their trajectories, cultural and social system. Combining these with focus group discussions allowed to gain access to different aspects of the Hazara community members experience and to assess the results from participant observation and life history interviews. Whereas, the use of questionnaire helped in providing basic background information and also offered the participants the chance to reveal information that they might not have felt comfortable sharing in a group. Secondly, snowball sampling allowed to select participants for focus group discussions through various chain referral process to avoid any bias during selection. Whereas, systematic random sampling was used for questionnaire where every second head of household was selected in every fifth family. Thirdly, the iterative-inductive approach was more of a journey to discover the data by analyzing and note taking simultaneously. Lastly, thematic analysis using six phases offered a useful guide and the ethical considerations were also addressed accordingly. In the next chapter the research findings and discussions are presented.

5.1. Introduction

As discussed in chapter four, the data was triangulated by analyzing multiple types of sources through participant observation, focus group discussions, life history interview and questionnaire. However, the findings are mainly from participatory observation which corroborated the focus group discussions and questionnaire. In addition, life history interview gave a more detailed account of informal housing provision, employment in informal economy, transnationalism and the refugee community organization (RCO). It allowed to capture the refugee experience consisting of pre-flight, flight and resettlement phase. The data was analyzed through NVivo data analysis software in order to conduct the thematic analysis.

In order to understand the coping, adaptation and resilience of the Hazara community, there were two major elements that I found extremely important. Firstly, the importance of social capital (*bonding, bridging and linking*) existed within the community, some overlapping with others. Bonding social capital within the Hazara community was the dominant one but also was the link with the Hazara communities dispersed worldwide, including the country of origin, thereby broadening social capital across borders. In addition, Hazara Association Oxford as a refugee community organisation has helped to link the community with UK organisations and other communities of migrants. The second major point that influenced the coping, adaptation and resilience of the Hazara community was the impact of Britain's asylum and immigration legislation.

5.2. Coping

5.2.1. Oxford as the destination

The first and foremost information the participants talked about was how they made the journey from Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan Annex 8 . The data brought to light that the Hazara men, who were already married, made the journey from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran without their families. The wives and children came once the men received the Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR). The ones who came as bachelors married Hazara women who were Afghani, Pakistani or Iranian nationals, including European Hazara women. The decision to flee without family was because they knew the journey would be long and dangerous. They did not want their wives, parents or children to face the ordeal they had heard of through the Hazara

transnational network. Instead they preferred to take the risk themselves first and then call the families over. One participant talking about his journey said:

> *'You don't know the language in Russia and end up in the hands of gangsters who keep passing you onto the next gang member and the movement continues. Compared to the Turkey and Greece route, the Russian route is more dangerous, because if you get arrested by police, they beat you and lock you up in a cell.'*

Since the day I discovered the Hazara community in Oxford, I was intrigued to learn why they had chosen to reside in Oxford since it is not a dispersal area, and therefore statutory housing is not provided.[37] The most frequently shared reason for choosing Oxford as the destination was the xenophobic environment of the dispersal cities, which can have a profound impact on acculturation. One participant shared his experience in Sunderland:

> *'They used to throw eggs at the front door. When we would go out in the evening, people used to beat us up. It wasn't the best area to go to when you are new to this country. I was scared to leave the house.'*

Interestingly, leaving the dispersal areas whilst seeking asylum, the Hazara men bypassed the challenging process of finding alternative accommodation within 28 days of receiving ILR that can often lead to destitution, as asserted by Doyle (2014). The help and support of the Hazara community, particularly sharing of information, gave the newly arriving individuals a head start in learning the complex welfare system of Britain.

Having an established Hazara community in Oxford and being able to communicate in Hazaragi gave them a sense of belonging during the liminal phase, not knowing what the future might hold. As such, during this period, being closer to the community and listening to others who went through similar process made liminality a little easier to deal with.

Better employment prospects, good education for the children and the culturally diverse environment of Oxford were also some of the pull factors. I was reminded of Sen's (1992) capability approach because the Hazara community have been able to convert their *functionings* (access to education; employment and community activities) into capabilities, helping them to manage with the daily stressors. For example, the positive benefit of solidarity network that has opened up the economic and employment opportunities within the Hazara

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[37] Dispersal cities some of the participants have lived in: Stoke-on-Trent, Blackburn, Sunderland, Newcastle upon Tyne

community, particularly the Hazara youth who are benefiting from the informal Hazara Youth Group with transferable skills training Annex 3 .[38]

5.2.2. Emotional and Practical Support

The data further revealed that individuals benefited from emotional, moral and financial support from the community members. Strong social ties with the community also enabled individuals to cope with the process of seeking asylum such as visa information, filling application forms and correspondence with the Home Office. In addition, community members refer new arrivals to their trusted accountants, solicitors, mortgage brokers and letting agencies, displaying their strong ethnic solidarity which goes well beyond kinship and lineage.

5.3. Adaptation

The changes that have and continue to take place for the Hazara community in Oxford appear to have the values of traditional rituals and rites of passage but it has also been tweaked in order to meet the demands of living in a new society. These rituals illustrate the desire for keeping their traditions alive, although the meaning might have changed slightly through generations.

5.3.1. Rites of Passage

Every new family arriving in Oxford is welcomed with house warming gifts such as kitchen appliances, utensils, etc. Each Hazara family pays a visit to their homes which helps the new family with financial costs and also brings the community members together.

I was reminded of Gennep's (1960) rites of passage, which are special rituals employed by communities to mark transition from one phase of life into another. I was invited to a couple of such community events, such as celebrating the birth of a child by inviting all the community members to a community centre. The guests come bearing gifts, participate in Hazaragi dance and are served traditional food. These events and rituals are part of the Hazara tradition still practiced in Afghanistan and Pakistan called Shaw-Shini. The women stay up all night dancing, singing and celebrating the birth of a child, whereas the men play cards and other games. It was interesting to notice that the community practices traditional Shaw-Shini rituals at home in Oxford, whilst adapting to the new culture in the form of arranging a party at a community centre Annex 3 . As such, these rites of passage bring the community members together, further enhancing their cultural identity.

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[38] CV writing, leadership skills, presentation skills, confidence building, debating.

Participating in such events also revealed that the community constitutes different sub-communities, particularly noticeable amongst the Hazara women of Afghan and Pakistani nationalities. However, the ones who fled to Pakistan during the Taliban era seem to bond with both sub-communities. When I was invited to Iftar parties during the month of Ramadhan, I noticed that the women attending the Iftars were all from Quetta.[39] Similarly, I witnessed this grouping in other community events where women from Quetta sat separately to the Afghan women. As such, I was intrigued to know on which grounds were they divided. Spending time with them, I picked up on the difference in dialect, dressing and culture. The ones from Quetta are more accustomed to Pakistani culture and it seems that the national origin has more influence than ethnic affiliation. This was also noticed amongst the boys, girls and men. But the only difference is that they have good relations with Hazaras (Afghani, Pakistani or Iranian) and non-Hazaras (Pakistani), particularly noted amongst the boys.

> *'The Pakistani Hazara boys get on with non-Hazara Pakistani boys because of the same country background and language. We play football every Friday and other activities we do together. That's why we are closer to them. Our parents on the other hand only meet the Pakistani community in the mosque but they don't come to each other's homes. They are quite segregated probably because of the different cultures they come from'.*

In addition, Quetta Hazara women are generally more educated as education was more accessible to the girls than in Afghanistan due to years of conflict and war. However, it is important to note that education is of utmost priority for the Hazaras. I learnt this from a young age through my maternal grandfather's narrations of how my mother acted as an agent of change through her education, enabling them to lift out of poverty. Parents encourage their children from a young age to pursue higher education.

5.3.2. Religion

In the recent years I noticed in Quetta that the Hazaras relied on practising religious rituals to cope with the loss of their loves ones as a result of sectarian violence. When I began conducting my research, I naturally assumed that the same religious practice must have helped in alleviating stress caused by the refugee experience. In addition, many studies (Liev, 2008; Benson *et al*., 2012, Kamya, 2009; Pargament *et al.,* 2000; Sossou *et al.,* 2008; Khawaja *et al.,* 2008; Hutchinson and Dorsett, 2012) in the literature review revealed that most of the refugee communities use religion to cope and adapt in a new society that helps in alleviating stress. On the contrary, the research revealed that the Hazara community in Oxford are

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[39] Pakistani Nationals

actually less religious than they were in the country of origin or more aware of the religion. I also found it very interesting that although the community as a whole may be less religious but the way of being less religious varies amongst age groups. The first generation men are too busy to practice religion because of long working hours. Women on the other hand practice religion but they were not any more religious than they were back home. For some it has remained the same, whilst others felt they did not have the time to practice religion due to childcare responsibilities.

The data brought to light one of the starkest findings on their views of practicing religion. The second generation have been exposed not only to different forms of critical thinking but also different religions at school. They are more critical on religion and religious rituals. One girl describes her position on her critical thinking:

'I needed to learn about my religion here when I was introduced to Christianity and other religions in school. You become more aware of your religion. Also, there are a lot of atheists in my class who question God, so that makes you more inquisitive about your religion. You ask more questions; you learn more'.

However, I noticed that they practiced Muharram rituals religiously. The martyrdom of the Prophet Mohammad's grandson, Husayn-ibn-Ali is central to Shia theology, particularly the 10th day of Muharram.[40] Participating in Muharram rituals in Quetta, I have always observed the mourning ceremonies also serving a symbolic reference to their own suffering. This has been documented by Monsutti (2007) in Quetta and Philips (2011) in Brisbane. I have also observed a similar occurrence amongst the community in Oxford during mourning rituals performed at the Ahlul-Bayt Centre. Although, I felt that Muharram still has the traditional historical significance but it has also become a way of remembering the past harrowing stories passed on through generations; recent sectarian violence and what they have lost by living in exile. Agreeing with Monsutti (2007:191), the Ashura mourning is a rite of passage marking the difference between generations and perhaps a social moment where they can stick to their identity and remember the past much more than strictly practicing Muharram rituals.

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[40] The 10th day of Muharram is called the Day of Ashura.

5.4. Resilience

Throughout my time spent with the community, it has demonstrated resilience despite facing trauma, dislocation and loss. The capabilities of the Hazara community during acculturation is without a doubt attributed to the strategies through which they have been able to build resilience, best displayed through their decision to move to Oxford. In spite of no formal housing provision they prefer being closer to the community, enabling a sense of belonging during the liminal phase. Given the hardships faced and the challenges ahead beyond one's control, the resilience of one individual in particular was remarkable. Upon receiving the ILR status, he shared his realistic view:

'I believe we have all the opportunities to make the best of everything. We are extremely grateful for the free lawyers they provided us; free English lessons; help with job and housing benefits. But now the responsibility lies on our shoulders to make the best use of the opportunities we have been blessed with'.

5.4.1. Community from within: Bonding Social Capital

Bonding capital has been extremely helpful in terms of finding housing and employment. Here I will use the three terms bonding, bridging, linking knowing that they are not exclusive and some elements will overlap. The informal social network of the Hazara community built on collective action created by trust, solidarity, social cohesion and resources has enabled them to gain access to informal housing and employment as discussed in detail below.

5.4.1.1. Informal Housing Provision

Research revealed that at least two families have bought a house on mortgage. One family bought a property under shared ownership whilst the majority live in flats/homes rented by the council and one family recently bought the council property after being a tenant for seven years.

In addition, the most common way to find affordable accommodation in Oxford is through sharing a room with at least two other Hazara men to reduce the monthly rent. These include the ones whose claims have been refused and individuals who are in the process of seeking asylum. However, there are others who cannot afford to pay the rent initially, their friends will let them live in the shared room for free. Life history interview with Mumtaz revealed a similar way he was helped by his friends when he first came to Oxford whilst his asylum claim was under consideration, but still experienced exploitation from the landlady:

> *'My friends let me stay with them, these are the ones I knew from back home. They had taken a room in a house in Jericho. We all stayed in one room. We were not allowed to cook and even in freezing temperatures she would switch off the heating. One day when I came to the house, she asked for deposit. I said I have already paid for the deposit when I came. That made me so upset, just because I was an asylum seeker; she was trying to make money out of me'.*

The data also displayed ethnic solidarity through kinship and lineage amongst the Hazara community members. At times they might not even know the person directly with whom they are sharing a house or room, but they would know their fathers or even grandfathers from the country of origin. Moreover, reciprocal borrowing and lending for mortgage deposit or difficulty paying rent was found to be particularly helpful.

Reliance on the Hazara community originates from trust, moral obligation and strong ethnic solidarity which has been in-built through generations originating from Afghanistan and witnessed in Quetta throughout my life. Another reason for depending on the Hazara community for informal support lies on the familiarity of language and culture which plays an important role in meeting day-to-day needs in a new environment.

5.4.1.2. Employment

Spending time with the community also facilitated me to find out which employment sector the community members were working in and a better understanding of the reasons for choosing the sector. The sectors where some of the men and women are working ranges from nursing, radio broadcasting, tailoring, bus driving, office jobs and public health doctors. However, the research revealed that majority of the men split their work as freezer warehouse operatives and cab drivers due to the lack of qualifications or the unacceptability of overseas qualifications. Some also mentioned that they were unable to access their certificates. Corroborating with Gilchrist and Kyprianou (2011) and McCabe *et al*. (2013) I also found that the strong social ties have created dependency that has functioned to restrict their ambitions. Being a cab driver and working in the freezer with other Hazara men has limited them to search for other jobs or to train and improve their job prospects. They seem more or less happy with their jobs. Nonetheless, unemployment amongst the men was found to be very rare, which has been highlighted by Phillimore and Goodson (2006) that most refugee communites face the highest rate of unemployment in Britain.

I was also interested to find whether they had previously worked in the informal sector and what were the factors that pushed them to work illegally? The voucher system introduced by the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 drove them to find employment in the informal economy for essential food, travel needs and staying in contact with the Hazara community in Oxford. As a result, asylum seekers are often exploited to work long hours and paid below the national minimum wage.

> *'I started working in a Pakistani clothing shop from early morning until evening for £10 a day. It was cash in hand so he exploited many asylum seekers. We couldn't even report him to the police because he knew we weren't allowed to work. So he took advantage of that'.*

Findings also highlighted their anguish on prohibition from employment whilst seeking asylum because of the negative stereotype of asylum seekers taking advantage of the welfare system (McDonald and Billings, 2007). Despite being eligible for housing and welfare support provided in dispersal areas, the majority took the decision to move closer to the community and take employment in the informal economy. This enabled them to pay for the accommodation, send money to families back home through *hawala* and most importantly not to be a burden on the community.

On the other hand, most of the women are stay-at-home mothers because of language barriers, lack of childcare and dependency on husbands. In addition, they seemed to lack the confidence required to build relationships with other ethnic communities or the host population. Another reason for unemployment was that women also felt more secure and comfortable in an environment which they are accustomed to where they can speak in their language.

> *'It is very difficult for us because we grew up in a different culture and society. We never had to do so many of the things we are faced with in this country. So that is why the progress is so slow. There is no one who pushes us. The push factor is missing. We keep busy with cooking, cleaning and bringing up children'.*

5.4.2. Hazara Association Oxford (HAO): Bonding & Linking Social

Data revealed that the connections of the Hazara community to state structures and institutions were through the formation of a RCO, namely Hazara Association Oxford. HAO has been able to help the community to organise itself (*bonding*) and forge links (*linking*) with

statutory authorities (Council), faith based institutions (Shia mosques) and Non-Governmental Organisations (Rights in Exile Programme).[41] This has enabled the association to access a wide range of resources, such as information regarding the purchase of a community centre; all aspects of charity laws and regulations; accounting and reporting requirements. As such they have been able to gain access to resources.

Agreeing with Williams' (2006) and Simich *et al.*'s (2004) research on the reasons why refugees rely on RCOs, my research also confirmed that as a result of the struggles with housing, employment and insufficient information on service provision, the Hazara community registered HAO in 2013.

In addition, corroborating Phillimore and Goodson's (2010) findings that state institutions have failed to provide equal access to services to RCOs, data also revealed that HAO has taken a self-help approach to meet the needs of the community, instead of relying on institutions. It was impressive to witness the solidarity and trust within the community as they have collected adequate resources.[42] Generating substantial amounts HAO is aiming to purchase a community centre with the help of the local council, which can be used for cultural and religious events, meetings, language classes, sports activities, providing help to destitute asylum seekers and a space for children to learn their culture and history. In addition, newly arriving families can have access to resources such as employment and housing through HAO.

An important point raised during the life history interview was that HAO was initially pressed to switch from RCO to an Islamic charity in return for a community centre paid outright. Standing firm on their grounds, HAO still remains a RCO because the Hazaras do not want to be projected with religious stereotypical image. One participant shared his thoughts on this:

> *'We want to be equal citizens and if we fail then no one will know who the Hazaras are or where we came from. As much as we want to learn the new culture, we also want people of this society to see what our culture offers. We don't want to be labelled or seen as the stereotypes you have here these days'.*

Haunted by the oppression, HAO has also met with the local MP Rt. Hon. Andrew Smith to raise their voice in the UK Parliamentary debate against the injustice to the human rights of

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[41] *'**The Rights in Exile Programme** was created to provide access to knowledge, nurture the growing refugee legal aid and advocacy movement in all countries, and encourage active sharing of information as well as expertise among legal practitioners throughout the world. It links refugee-assisting networks both on line and off line, that is, real people meeting real people'* (IRRI, 2015a).
[42] Each family has paid up to £1000 on top of £20 (married) and £10 (single) monthly direct debits.

Hazaras in Afghanistan and Pakistan. I was intrigued to hear his views on HAO and asked him to write a few lines by contacting him through e-mail:

> *'It has been a great pleasure to work with members of Hazara Association Oxford in taking up the issue of the awful oppression and attacks faced by Hazaras, in particular in Pakistan and Afghanistan. I have been greatly impressed by the dedication to the cause of human rights and the vital importance of tackling these unacceptable injustices'.*

Moreover, as the community got to know more about me, they requested to arrange a meeting with Dr Barbara Harrell-Bond to help in finding a pro-bono accountant and guidance in purchasing a community centre. In return they asked Barbara to accept their request to become an honorary member of the central committee. The community leader and the trustee of HAO were extremely grateful for her guidance and promptly acted on creating a website and finding a pro-bono accountant. It must be acknowledged that Barbara was impressed with the funds so far collected; given it is a newly established RCO. She also probed why they wanted a separate community centre only for the Hazaras and not the Pashtuns. This brought to light how historical divisions are carried over even in exile. One community member highlighted this division to her that:

> *'A big fight broke out between the Hazaras and Pashtuns three years go on New Year's Eve party. They don't accept Hazaras and say 'you are minority and our servants, we are not equal'.*

All of the data analysis pointed to the importance of HAO by men and women across all age groups, who saw it as persistent and focused on achieving the objectives envisioned by the community. One participant described why he feels it is vital to have a space where they can provide emotional and moral support to the community members:

> *'For me personally it is so that the men, women and children can get together and provide emotional support to each other in times of need and to celebrate events together as a unit. I think this is one of the most important factors for stress relief'.*

5.4.2.1.   Funeral Arrangements

I noticed one particular activity of the HAO very striking and at the heart of every individual, which is the funeral arrangement. If a family loses a loved one, the burial ritual services are taken care by the HAO and the family is given £300 towards funeral costs. The findings revealed that Muslims have a designated burial area in the main cemetery in Oxford. However,

mostly all families send the corpse of their loved ones to Iran, Afghanistan or Pakistan, depending on their country of origin.

Sharing knowledge through transnational networks has helped the Hazaras in Oxford to provide better services to their community, as one participant commented:

> *'In Hamburg, if someone dies then a Turkish company is used for the amount €300 who take care of the funeral. They don't have a clue how the system works. Unlike us, we were eager to know from day one the procedure of burial in the UK and how to send the dead body back home'.*

The formation of HAO in response to the gaps in mainstream service and welfare provision highlights the community resilience developed through mutual self-help. In addition, HAO has also managed to facilitate bonding social capital for new members and enabled the community to develop connections in gaining access to advice, guidance and resources (employment, housing).

5.4.2.2.   Youth Group

I also noticed whilst spending time with the community that the youth are focused on gaining higher education and are pursuing a wide range of academic disciplines (Broadcasting; Biomedical Sciences; Mathematics and Economics; Politics, Philosophy and Economics; Politics and International Relations; Engineering; Economics and Politics; Sports Science). In addition, data revealed that the youth population are becoming agents of change in the community. The younger generation is capable to engage at parent teacher meetings for their siblings on behalf of their parents as responsible adults. Parents' lack of education and the language barrier impede participation in their children's educational activities. Understanding this gap the Hazara youth have recently formed a Youth Group to provide help and guidance to each other.[43] I also felt that the way HAO has helped and supported the community has inspired the younger generation and they too want to help each other. Currently, they meet at Oxford Brookes every fortnight. What is fascinating is that this initiative has prompted other Hazara youth residing in Britain to create a national platform where the youth, students and young professionals can network for professional development, exchange ideas and share common interests under the Hazara Council of Great Britain.[44]

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[43] Such as: CV writing skills, essays, choosing subjects for GSCEs and A levels.
[44] Hazara Council of GB is an umbrella organization of over 30 Hazara community groups in Britain.

5.4.2.3. Language and Culture

Without a doubt the Hazara youth are focused on achieving a brighter future through education. However, data revealed that the adults were concerned whether the youth will be able to carry forwards the Hazara identity. As such, providing the youth with the opportunity and the space to learn Hazara culture, language and history has played a crucial role in the formation of HAO.

In addition, parents admit that because of the lack of English proficiency it is necessary to utilise the community centre to learn the English language.[45] Given the new culture and society, the drive to learn English and cultural teachings for children derives from their fear of the parent-child role reversal due to language barrier which might create a shift in power dynamics, as witnessed by them in the pre-established Hazara communities in Europe. The fear of today's youth becoming radicalised is also a major concern for the Hazara parents as explained by one male participant:

> 'I don't want my kids to be hanging out in parks or elsewhere associating in the company of kids who would have a negative influence on them. By this I mean the climate we are facing binge drinking or the extremist culture. We want our kids to find a balance and spend any free time they have in sports if anything else'.

Though empirical result does not conclude that there is a radicalization of youth, the fear comes much more from the media, police and the general Islamophobic feeling amongst the population. This means that the parents themselves start worrying that some of the kids could become radicalized. Although it is least likely to happen as they belong to the Shia sect; the youth being more of aware of religion has triggered this fear in parents.

5.4.3. Transnationalism: Linking Social Capital

Transnationalism can also be seen as linking social capital, particularly in the light of migration/forced migration which has led to familial relationships across national and ethnic boundaries.

Data also revealed that trans-migration strategies exist with the help and support from the Hazara community in Australia. Although, many Hazara communities reside in Britain, for the majority Australia is the first option of destination because the third largest Hazara community is there. Australia is seen as having better employment prospects and standard of living compared to Britain. I discovered two types of such strategies: trans-migrating through

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[45] Used to be provided free through English for speakers of other languages (ESOL) prior to the funding cuts in 2011.

marriage within Hazara community or upon receiving ILR. One of the participants explained the trans-migration strategy through marriage for an absconded individual:

> *'Recently, he proposed to his cousin in Australia. I sent him to the solicitor who advised him to call his cousin for a visit. I made the documents and did the paperwork for free and she got the visa yesterday. When the girl leaves back for Australia, the guy will hand himself to the Home Office, where he will be detained. We will then go to the High Court to get a stay order to release him. With that letter we will go to the Home Office that these two want to get married, they need the permission. Once the permission is granted, they will have the civil ceremony and the marriage certificate will be sent to the Home Office'.*

Research also found that the transnational links with country of origin was significant for the community in exile. Sending money to their struggling families back home is one of the reasons the men work long hours. They feel obligated to financially help their family members who are still in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. For most of the men transferring money to their families through '*hawala*' began as soon as they claimed asylum by working in the informal economy. Particularly in the case of Afghanistan, this informal way of money transfer based on trust has enabled their families to survive and form a transnational society. Moreover, the hawala system also acts as a catalyst to maintain social relations as it is mostly sent via Afghan/Hazara links. Initially, the Hazaras used their weaker social ties with Afghans (Pashtuns and Tajiks) to send money and have since managed to develop new transnational cooperation networks.

> *'We used to put money in Qazi's account who used to give us Hawala number and we used to give that number to our family back home. My brother then used to give the number and collect the cash. Then slowly, the Hazaras realised that this is a good business to start and now they are millionaires'.*

It was also fascinating to discover that the transnational links with the pre-established Hazara communities across Europe have helped the Hazara community in Oxford to learn from their experiences, particularly the burial rituals and how the Hazara identity has been passed over to their children. One individual acknowledged this fact:

> *'We have seen and witnessed other Hazara communities in Copenhagen or Germany who migrated more than 40 years ago. We see them and their children and we want to learn from their mistakes. We see that they lost the Hazara identity and culture. When one of my relatives came from Copenhagen, he was astonished to see our community and our vision'.*

It is evident that where the pre-established transnational networks influence the destination choice, they also provide a platform for the newly establishing communities to take advantage of transnationalism, which can be beneficial during acculturation. As such, the various coping, adaptation and resilience strategies described above have enabled them to develop resilience in the form of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking), explained in detail below.

5.4.4. Hazara Men and Women: Linking and Bridging Social Capital

The findings revealed that the Hazara women have been unable to foster bridging and linking social capital due to several reasons, such as language barrier; staying mostly at home to look after the children, interacting only amongst their sub-communities and higher levels of dependency on husbands. The women were unable to find a healthy balance between bonding, linking and bridging social capital, thereby finding the acculturation process more difficult. Focus group discussions and participant observation amongst the girls/women revealed that one of the key factors in preventing them from developing relationships with the host community were the dissimilarity in lifestyle and daily interaction. They described the lack of interaction with their neighbours compared to the way of life in their country of origin.

> *'When I first came here I was so shocked because people don't really interact with each other that much or even with the neighbours. Whereas back home when you have new neighbours you just go to their house with food and welcome them to the neighbourhood. But when I came here, it felt like a prison'.*

In the case of Hazara men who work in the same industry with fellow community members, their long working hours has also contributed to the lack of community cohesion. At the beginning of my research I noticed the Hazara community interacting with the Pakistani (Punjabi) community at the Ahlul-Bayt Centre during Muharram. However, over the past year there have been disagreements amongst the two communities arising from the raise in fees for the Arabic lessons (youth). As a result, they have been organising Muharram events separately.

5.4.5. Youth: Bridging Social Capital

The starkest findings in my research revealed that bridging social capital existed amongst the youth. Educational institutions have played a significant role in the production of social capital amongst the second generation of the Hazara community. Attending schools, colleges and universities have enabled them to maintain good relationships, particularly with the European youth residing in Oxford. One Hazara boy described the difficulties that have resulted in the lack of social ties with the English youth population:

> *'Our age group tends to hang out more with the non-English people, such as the Polish youth. English people are very reserved. We tried communicating with them but they seem afraid for some reason. It's too difficult to talk to English people'.*

Bridging social capital amongst the younger generation has provided the parents with an opportunity to link with the local population and contribute to the resilience of the community. With this I refer back to the parent's fear of the shift in power dynamics that has encouraged them to learn English so they can get more involved in their children's education and be powerful role models. It is this participation of parents in school programmes that will weave its way to bridging social capital with the local population who possess information and resources that can be shared with the Hazara parents. Fully aware of the challenges ahead, the first generation of the Hazara community has demonstrated that indeed they are active agents of change by recognising the opportunity to participate and accessing information.

As explained in Chapter three, bonding social capital has found to be crucial among the studied community in Oxford. Corroborating both Haezewindt (2003) and Cantle's (2005) findings that bonding capital has negative consequences leads to social fragmentation, my research also revealed the lack of integration caused by the strong ties within the Hazara community, particularly amongst the men and women.

5.4. Importance of Immigration and Asylum Policies

The immigration and asylum policies and legislation discussed in Chapter two led to my interest in understanding how the coping, resilience and adaptation may be impacted by the policies on the Hazara community whilst seeking asylum and once upon receiving ILR.

None of the participants in this research were failed asylum seekers apart from one individual who absconded eight years ago when his claim was refused and who relies on the community

to help and support him emotionally and financially because he is at risk of destitution. Refused asylum seekers are no longer provided housing and welfare support and are required to sign in at a police station on a monthly basis. I was particularly interested to understand what made him abscond. Regularly reporting to the police caused this individual to develop a fear that he will be sent to the detention centre (now removal centres) and deported to Afghanistan.

> *'I used to go to Croydon every month to sign in; they didn't even pay for the travel costs. One day I had a feeling they will arrest me and send me to detention centre because I had a weak claim. That scared me because I don't want to go back to Afghanistan'.*

In addition, all age groups highlighted the significance of learning English and unavailability of free ESOL classes due to the recent funding cuts introduced in a strategy document 'Further Education New Horizons: Investing in Skills for Sustainable Growth' (2010). The first generation felt that learning the language is vital for better employment prospects, being able to participate in children's school activities and most importantly to integrate. Women in particular strongly felt the drawbacks of the lack of English fluency, instigating social isolation and barrier to employment. Lack of childcare was also seen as hindering women's to access to services and activities.

The dispersal policy and voucher system with the introduction of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 was another pressing point raised by the men who endured racism in the already deprived dispersal areas. The voucher system made them feel stigmatised compelling them to swap vouchers for cash and work in the informal labour market where they face exploitation. Xenophobia, stigmatization and no sense of belonging drove them closer to the pre-established community in Oxford. In addition, they were unable to access the social capital provided by the pre-established community in Oxford whilst living in dispersal areas.

Destitution arising from delays and gaps in support provision occurring during the transition period within the immigration process was also pointed out by one individual who came to the UK as an unaccompanied minor. The lack of trust in the immigration system arising from such errors was stressed that led him to find work in the informal economy and was destitute for six months.

> *'Apart from the six months of destitution I found the government support to be helpful in the absence of a support network but I never truly trust the system as it had let me down once. For the six months some rules change, it was in 2011. Most of the asylum seekers became destitute'.*

Unlike the majority of the participants this individual had no friends or relatives in Oxford. However, he met another Hazara boy at one of the ESOL classes who introduced him to the Hazara community and since has been a member of the community.

5.5. Concluding Remarks

At the very beginning I was interested by the housing and employment barriers but the field work pushed me to develop many other aspects. The major findings of the research where the first element that was found to be extremely important in order to understand coping, adaptation and resilience of the Hazara community, was the importance of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) in general. In those we could see the link within the communities and with the communities of origin but they have also created a refugee community organisation that has helped them to link with the UK organisations and other communities of migrants. The second element that influenced the strategies of Hazaras was the relation with the existing immigration and asylum legislations.

Subsequently, the following chapter reviews the aspects covered in the literature review and what the findings were, not only about the said community but also the general pattern of refugees in the UK compared to the theories. The section also looks at what lessons can be learnt and what further studies can be undertaken in this subject.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

The research question this dissertation set out to answer was to gain an understanding of the life-changing experiences and strategies (coping, adaptation and resilience) of the Hazara community in Oxford. The literature review revealed that there was a gap in research on the coping, adaptation and resilience of Hazara communities in Britain. This research fills some of the gap by focusing specifically on the Hazara community in Oxford.

From the beginning of the dissertation, I was inclined to move beyond the discourse of vulnerability of refugees and towards coping, adaptation and resilience. The dual framework of capability approach and acculturation model fitted well within the structure of the research, which brought to light how the capabilities of the Hazara community in Oxford are influenced during the acculturation process, particularly in relation to housing and employment barriers.

Through my research using mixed methods of participant observation, life history interviews focus groups, and questionnaire, I found that coping strategies through social networks were crucial for the Hazara community, particularly during the liminal phase. Strong social networks created an environment for individuals to cope with the process of seeking asylum such with visa information, filling application forms and correspondence with the Home Office. In the absence of statutory housing support and prohibition of employment my research found that although support organisations did provide help and support but the informal social networks in particular enabled individuals to gain access to informal housing and employment.

The first major element based on the theoratical background was strong bonding social capital within the Hazara community and the transnational link with their communities dispersed worldwide, including the country of origin. Transnationalism for Hazaras dates back centuries as exile and transition has been a constant part of their lives. Although there was lack of bridging social capital amongst the adult population, nevertheless the younger generation through the educational institutions played a significant role in generating bridging social capital for their parents. RCOs such as Hazara Association Oxford corroborated the literature review in providing strong bonding and linking social capital; which in the case of the Hazara community is the gateway to carry forward their culture and traditions. Similarly, the adaptation, although slightly modified, in the new environment still carries the values of traditional rituals and rites of passage. According to my findings, religion did not play the role that the literature made me believe that it would have played which is quite interesting in this period of radicalisation of young migrants. Though the fear of radicalisation is still very strong

amongst the families, it seems that it is not the reality for the Hazaras. Personally knowing Hazara families in other cities of Britain such as Milton Keynes and Birmingham, I have learnt that those communities are more religious than the ones in Oxford, which brings to light that it may not be the case in other communities of the UK.

The second key point was the impact of Britain's asylum and immigration policies and legislation creating adverse effects upon service provision available to refugees. The dispersal policy and voucher system with the introduction of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 caused the Hazara men to face racism, stigmatisation and exploitation, driving them closer to the community in Oxford. In addition, funding cuts in ESOL affected the parent's participation in school activities and was seen as a barrier to accessing employment. Following the abolition of the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) in 2011, which provided intensive support to help new refugees, there is currently a lack of national co-ordinated service to support newly recognized refugees. As a result, one of the participant's was left destitute with no knowledge of the help and support available.

Overall it seems that for communities in exile bonding social capital plays a vital role in providing access to informal housing and employment. It also provides communities the emotional and practical support which is essential in a new society. However, bridging social capital is crucial for the successful integration of refugee communities with the host society allowing to connect with the mainstream social frameworks; the younger generations of refugee communities can offer the opportunity in bridging social capital through educational institutions. Similarly, RCOs provide the building block for linking communities with state structures to access resources and a space for creating a sense of belonging where communities can strengthen their cultural identity. The formation of RCOs also comes in response to the gaps in mainstream services and welfare provision underlining the resilience of refugee communities through mutual self-help.

Moreover, transnationalism has transformed various social, political, economic and technological processes amongst the refugee communities globally. As such, refugees have shown significant *agency* in the strategies that they have developed, proving their capabilities '*as agents who can do effective things—both individually and jointly*' (Sen, 2013:7).

The public attitude of negativity of refugees as welfare seekers and Britain's restrictionism has a direct impact on refugees who are already experiencing social deprivation and facing legislative measures within a deterrent policy framework. The most recent Immigration Act

2014 has been criticized for further damaging the integration prospects of forced migrants (UNHCR, 2013). It is feared that the latest measures might trigger a climate of '*ethnic profiling*' with measures that requires landlords, banks and health services to validate the legal status of refugees (UNHCR, 2013).

It is important to highlight that individuals fleeing their countries to seek asylum more than welfare benefits give more importance to better job prospects existing networks, past experiences of members of the community, mental image of the country, previous links between their country of origin and the country of destination.

Given that this research was relatively small scale specifically focused on the Hazara community in Oxford, it does not claim to be representative of the refugee experience of all the Hazara communities residing in Britain. As religion plays an important role as a mechanism to cope for other Hazara communities in the UK, points to the fact that the coping strategies of other Hazara communities is likely to differ. Spending time with the community allowed me to understand their unique experiences as survivors rather than victims; their strong ethnic solidarity showed that their resilience while facing life-changing adjustments and stressors should be acknowledged.

It will be interesting to see whether my findings are transferable and if Hazara communities in other parts of Britain cope, adapt and are resilient in the similar way; particularly Australia which has one of the largest populations of the Hazara community outside of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan. In addition, for future research it will be interesting and valuable to study:

> *What role does religion play in different Hazara communities?*

Given that Oxford is an exceptional and unique city with high level of education and where diversity is seen as a wealth than a problem, the other question emerging from my research is:

> *Is Oxford a bubble that impacts migrant and refugee communities differently?*

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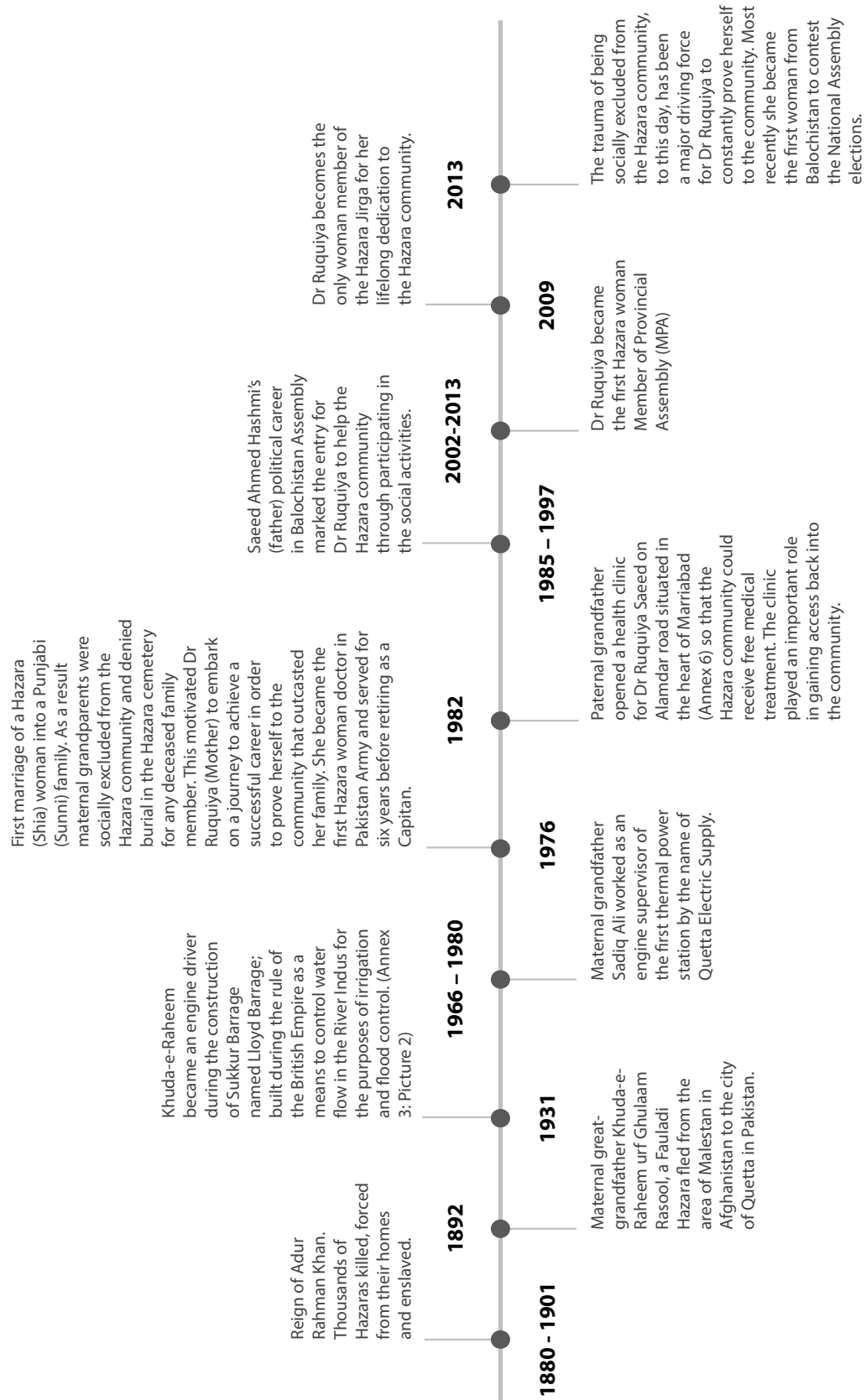
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Annex 1 : Personal Background / Motivation behind the Research undertaken

1880 - 1901
Reign of Adur Rahman Khan. Thousands of Hazaras killed, forced from their homes and enslaved.

1892
Khuda-e-Raheem became an engine driver during the construction of Sukkur Barrage named Lloyd Barrage; built during the rule of the British Empire as a means to control water flow in the River Indus for the purposes of irrigation and flood control. (Annex 3: Picture 2)

1931
Maternal great-grandfather Khuda-e-Raheem urf Ghulaam Rasool, a Fauladi Hazara fled from the area of Malestan in Afghanistan to the city of Quetta in Pakistan.

1966 – 1980
Maternal grandfather Sadiq Ali worked as an engine supervisor of the first thermal power station by the name of Quetta Electric Supply.

1976
First marriage of a Hazara (Shia) woman into a Punjabi (Sunni) family. As a result maternal grandparents were socially excluded from the Hazara community and denied burial in the Hazara cemetery for any deceased family member. This motivated Dr Ruquiya (Mother) to embark on a journey to achieve a successful career in order to prove herself to the community that outcasted her family. She became the first Hazara woman doctor in Pakistan Army and served for six years before retiring as a Capitan.

1982
Paternal grandfather opened a health clinic for Dr Ruquiya Saeed on Alamdar road situated in the heart of Marriabad (Annex 6) so that the Hazara community could receive free medical treatment. The clinic played an important role in gaining access back into the community.

1985 – 1997
Saeed Ahmed Hashmi's (father) political career in Balochistan Assembly marked the entry for Dr Ruquiya to help the Hazara community through participating in the social activities.

2002-2013
Dr Ruquiya became the first Hazara woman Member of Provincial Assembly (MPA)

2009

2013
Dr Ruquiya becomes the only woman member of the Hazara Jirga for her lifelong dedication to the Hazara community.

The trauma of being socially excluded from the Hazara community, to this day, has been a major driving force for Dr Ruquiya to constantly prove herself to the community. Most recently she became the first woman from Balochistan to contest the National Assembly elections.

Annex 2 – Britain's Asylum and Immigration Policies

1.   Distinction between Refugees and Asylum Seekers

For the purpose of this research it is important to highlight the distinction between refugees and the ones seeking asylum within Britain's immigration discourse. An asylum seeker is someone who is in the process of receiving an asylum decision, including individuals whose claims have been rejected. Whereas a refugee is someone who under the 1951 Refugee Convention has successfully claimed asylum and received a refugee status which is either Exceptional Leave to Remain-ELR (Humanitarian Protection) or Indefinite Leave to Remain-ILR (Aspinall and Watters, 2010). Refugee status is regarded under the 1951 Convention as *declaratory* (not constitutive), meaning that recognition is simply legal acknowledgment of a status that already exists. The terms 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' also signifies the distinctive immigration statuses of two categories of a forced migrant, which reflects the housing and welfare provision as well as their permission to work.

2.   Housing and Welfare Provision

As pointed out in Chapter two, the continued immigration and asylum legislations (highlighted in Table A) have contributed to an overhaul of the housing and welfare provisions with the introduction of dispersal areas. Aspinall and Watters (2010:91) define the term 'dispersal' as:

> *'The process of moving asylum seekers to a different area of residence in the UK so as to share the call on resources and public services among a wider range of local authorities instead of one particular area of the country'.*

The dispersal policy was aimed at destitute asylum seekers awaiting decision on their case, which is why Boswell (2003) argues that the allocation of this hostel style accommodation is voluntary as they have a choice to join their families or friends who can provide accommodation. However, if individuals seeking asylum lack the support network then dispersal seems a no-choice basis, eventually becoming target for abuse and violence (Schuster, 2003:247; Rutter *et al.*, 2007). Those who choose to live outside the dispersal areas, such as those in Oxfordshire, forfeit their right to accommodation (NAO, 2014:11) but still receive subsistence support of £36.95 irrespective of age (Gower, 2015).[1] Regardless of the

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[1] 'On 12 March 2015 regulations were laid before Parliament which introduced a standard rate of asylum support (£36.95) per adult/child' (Gower, 2015:5).

welfare provision, asylum seekers still rely on voluntary organisations such as the ones in Oxfordshire (Table B).

The ones who successfully obtain the refugee status are required to find alternative accommodation within 28 days, which they find quite challenging given the complexity of the welfare system and language barriers, often leading to destitution (Doyle, 2014). The transitional period between being an asylum seeker and a refugee is considered to be a period of 'liminality' or a rite of passage where everyone is '*betwixt and between*' i.e. in a liminal phase (Turner 1964). This further creates a climate of mistrust amongst the forced migrants and institutions such as the NASS system[2], brought on by '*compulsion, control and inefficiency*' (Hynes, 2011:116). In addition, dispersal has led to an increase in the formation of Refugee Community Organisations (RCOs) in new regions (Zetter *et al.,* 2005).

3.   Employment

Asylums seekers have restrictions on employment until they are granted refugee status. However, if the individual seeking asylum '*has waited for more than 12 months for an initial decision and the delay is through no fault of the claimant*', then the individual maybe granted permission to work (Home Office, 2014:3).

Whilst refugees possess both skills and qualifications, they still face high levels of unemployment even with legal permission to work and as a result experience social exclusion, especially in the dispersal areas (Phillimore and Goodson, 2006). There are many factors to the unemployability and underemployment of refugees, such as: non-recognition of overseas qualifications, lack of English proficiency, and employees' failure to understand refugee documentation (Bloch, 2002; 2004; Hurstfield *et al*., 2004; Brahmbhatt *et al*., 2007). In addition, Doyle's (2014) research highlights that the errors and delays triggered by the Home Office and JobCentre Plus also cause inaccessibility into the labour market for refugees. Such conditions compel them to accept '*substandard pay and abusive conditions*' (Taran, 2011:4).

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[2] In 1999 the Home Office Immigration and Nationality Directorate-IND established the National Asylum Support Service-NASS, which was incorporated into the UK Border Agency-UKBA in 2008. Since 2013 asylum support has been provided by the Asylum Casework Directorate-ACD within the UK Visas and Immigration Directorate-UKVI (Vine, 2014:10).

Table A – British Immigration and Asylum Legislation: 1999 Onwards	
Immigration and Asylum Act 1999	Changed the way asylum seekers were housed and supported in the UK with the creation of the National Asylum Support Service (NASS), introduction of dispersal policy and voucher system; greater powers to immigration officers.
Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002	Withdrawal of support rejected appeals; a new system of induction, accommodation and removal centres; introduction of Gateway Resettlement Programme for resettling refugees in the UK; Application Registration Card (ARC) with identity and immigration status; Abolished automatic right to bail hearings; right to work checks introduced.
Asylum and Immigration Act 2004	Entering the UK with invalid identity documents made a criminal offence; further tightening of law in how the claims should be considered; support withdrawn from families who refused to accept voluntary departure to country of origin; compulsory scheme of 'community activities' carried out by asylum seekers in order to access support; individuals seeking asylum wishing to apply for housing outside dispersal area required to show a strong 'local connection' to that area; 'safe third countries' list include countries not signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention; electronic monitoring of asylums seekers and people subject to immigration control.
Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006	Replaced the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996; individuals recognised as refugees no longer awarded indefinite leave to remain in the UK, instead granted five years of refugee status subject to review near the end, who can still qualify for humanitarian protection (HP) or discretionary leave (DL).
UK Borders Act 2007	Greater powers to the UK Border Agency (UKBA), particularly the immigration officers; provisions on powers to detain for immigration and non-immigration offences; introduction of the biometric identity card system; conditions imposed on individuals granted Limited Leave to Remain (LLR); exchange of information between UKBA, HM Revenue and Customs (HMRC) and other agencies.
Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009	Tougher border controls; extension in the time limit to attain citizenship; only British nationals and permanent residents entitled to access full social housing and benefits; 'probationary citizenship' introduced which builds on the concept of 'earned citizenship' in order to receive full permanent status and nationality; UKBA to carry out the functions of HMRC on border-related matters.
Immigration Act 2014	Reduction in immigration appeals; introduction of new provisions allowing private landlords to refuse accommodation if the immigration status of tenants cannot be verified; health surcharge payment to the NHS of £200 for non-EEA migrants; citizen revocation of individuals who pose a threat to the UK; additional powers to immigration officers; prevention of repeat bail applications near removal time.

Sources: Hynes, 2011; Clayton, 2014; Rooney, 2014

Table B – Support Services for Forced Migrants in Oxfordshire	
Asylum Welcome	Provides independent, confidential advice for asylum seekers and refugees.
Refugee Resource	Help provide psychological, social and practical support.
Open Door	Offers advice and referral service including a drop-in facility with music, refreshments, indoor games, leisure activities, newspapers and magazines.
Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB)	Provides free, confidential and impartial specialist advice on immigration and other legal issues, welfare benefits and debt.
Oxford City of Sanctuary	The charity aims to offer spare rooms with the help of people who can offer a room in their own homes, for those who are homeless and without recourse to public funds or who are waiting for benefit decisions.
Refugee Arrivals Project (RAP)	Can provide temporary emergency accommodation for asylum seekers who have an ongoing asylum claim or appeal.
Bail for Immigration Detainees (BID)	Provides a service preparing and presenting bail applications for anyone detained under immigration laws. Offers workshops at Campsfield House to give information to detainees on how to run your own application.
International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI)	Aims to strengthen and expand rights-based advocacy as well as to promote skilled legal aid for refugees. Also provides a list of pro bono legal assistance providers who are able to assist refugees' free of charge in legal matters.
British Red Cross	Provide help in accessing essential services and adapt to life in host community.
Emmaus Oxford	People work full time in the charity's recycling furniture shops once they are signed off all benefits, with the exception of housing benefit, which is claimed to help to support the community.
The Children's Society	Helping children find accommodation and overcome language barriers in new communities.

Sources: Refugee Resource, 2005; Merone, 2012; IRRI, 2015

Picture 1: 106th Hazara Pioneers

Picture 2: Maternal Great Grandfather (Sukkur Barrage)

Picture 3: Meeting with Chairman of HDP Abdul Khaliq Hazara, Quetta

Picture 4: Meeting with Serving and Retired Hazara Bureaucrats, Quetta

Picture 5: Meeting with Serving and Retired Hazara Bureaucrats, Quetta

Picture 6: Ahlul-Bayt Centre, Cowley

Picture 7: Meeting with Dr Mousavi and Muhammad Gulzari on Hazara History

Picture 8: Modified version of Shaw-Shini (St. Luke's Church, Oxford)

Picture 9: Eid-ul-Fitr 2015 Hazara Community (Shotover Country Park, Oxford)

Picture 10: Girls Focus Group Discussion (Oxford Brookes University, Gibbs)

Picture 11: Hazara Youth Group Meeting (Oxford Brookes University, the Terrace)

Picture 12: Hazara Youth Group Meeting (Oxford Brookes University, Library)

Picture 13: Hazara Youth Group meeting with Dr Ruquiya and Saeed Hashmi

Picture 14: Hazara Youth Group meeting with Dr Ruquiya and Saeed Hashmi

Picture 15: Donations for Calais refugees on behalf of HAO

Picture 16: Meeting HAO (Asian Cultural Centre, Manzil Way)

Picture 17: Hazara children playing in a park

Picture 18: Hazaragi Dinner

Picture 19: Mumtaz Khan, Hazara Community Leader (Oxford)

Annex 4 – Discrimination and Persecution (Iran and Pakistan)

According to Mousavi (2015), Iran is 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. However, in Iran, after more than 30 years, there has been almost every year a new case of discrimination, including arrest and deportation (Monsutti, 2008; Mousavi, 2015). One of worst case was in 1998 when the Afghan refugees, majority of whom were Hazaras, were killed by the Iranian forces for protesting their mistreatment in the Safed Sang Camp detention centre in Iran (Javed, 2012).

In addition, Hazara children are unable to access free education and healthcare discrimination in accessing (Safari, *et al.*, 2013, Mousavi, 2015)[1]. The underlying cause of this behaviour towards the Hazaras comes from the fact that the Iranian law prohibits Afghans nationals from employment, free healthcare and education. Even those who fled three decades ago and the children born to Afghan nationals do not enjoy Iranian citizenship rights (JFI, 2013).

As a result, Hazaras often find themselves fleeing to Quetta where they have formerly established migratory networks. However, since 1999, the Hazara and Shia community in Quetta has faced escalating sectarian attacks at the hands of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ).[2] My maternal uncle Dr Abid was one of the *'first victims of LeJ attacks on prominent Shia's in Quetta'.*[3] To date the Government of Pakistan has been unsuccessful to prosecute LeJ who have claimed full responsibility of the attacks (HRW, 2014).

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, as shown in Annex 6),[4] resulting in economic hardship. It has also had a profound impact on access to education, which has been an important feature of the Hazara community (HRW, 2003:72; Canfield, 2004). In addition, Afghanistan saw one of its worst spell of violence in the year 2008, the Hazaras in particular facing severe discrimination where they are still at risk of persecution on the ground of their ethnicity and religion (UN-GA, 2009).

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[1] Interview with Dr Mousavi 06 May 2015, Oxford (Annex-3).

[2] A prominent Sunni militant group in Pakistan that is most known for its anti-Shiite attacks.

[3] It is believed that every Hazara and Shia family in Quetta has been affected by this sectarian violence.

[4] It is important to highlight that Mariabad Hazaras represent the third generation of Afghan refugees living in Pakistan. Whilst the Hazara Town Hazaras are the ones who came during the second and third wave of migration.

Annex 5.1: Map of Hazara Population Worldwide
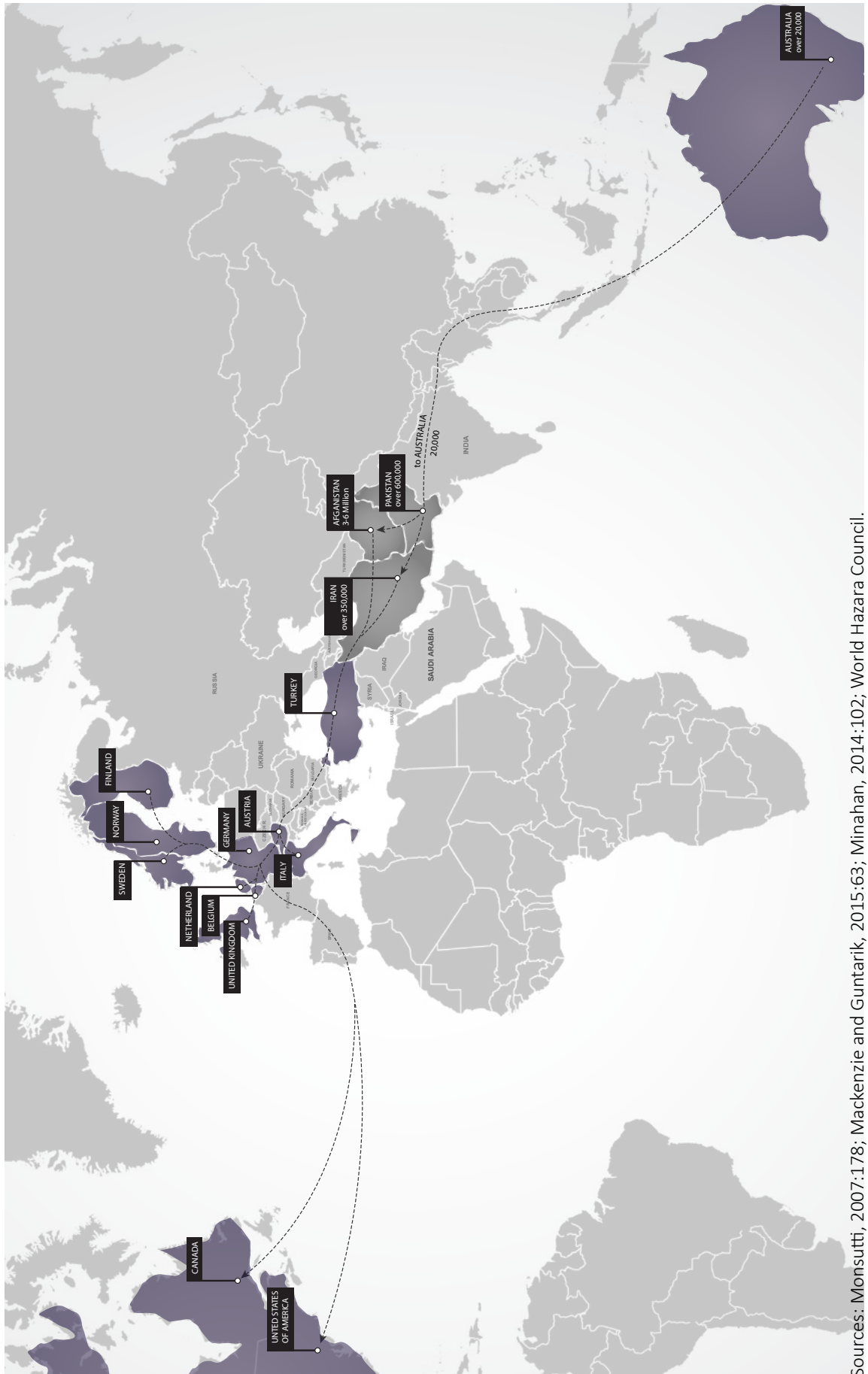
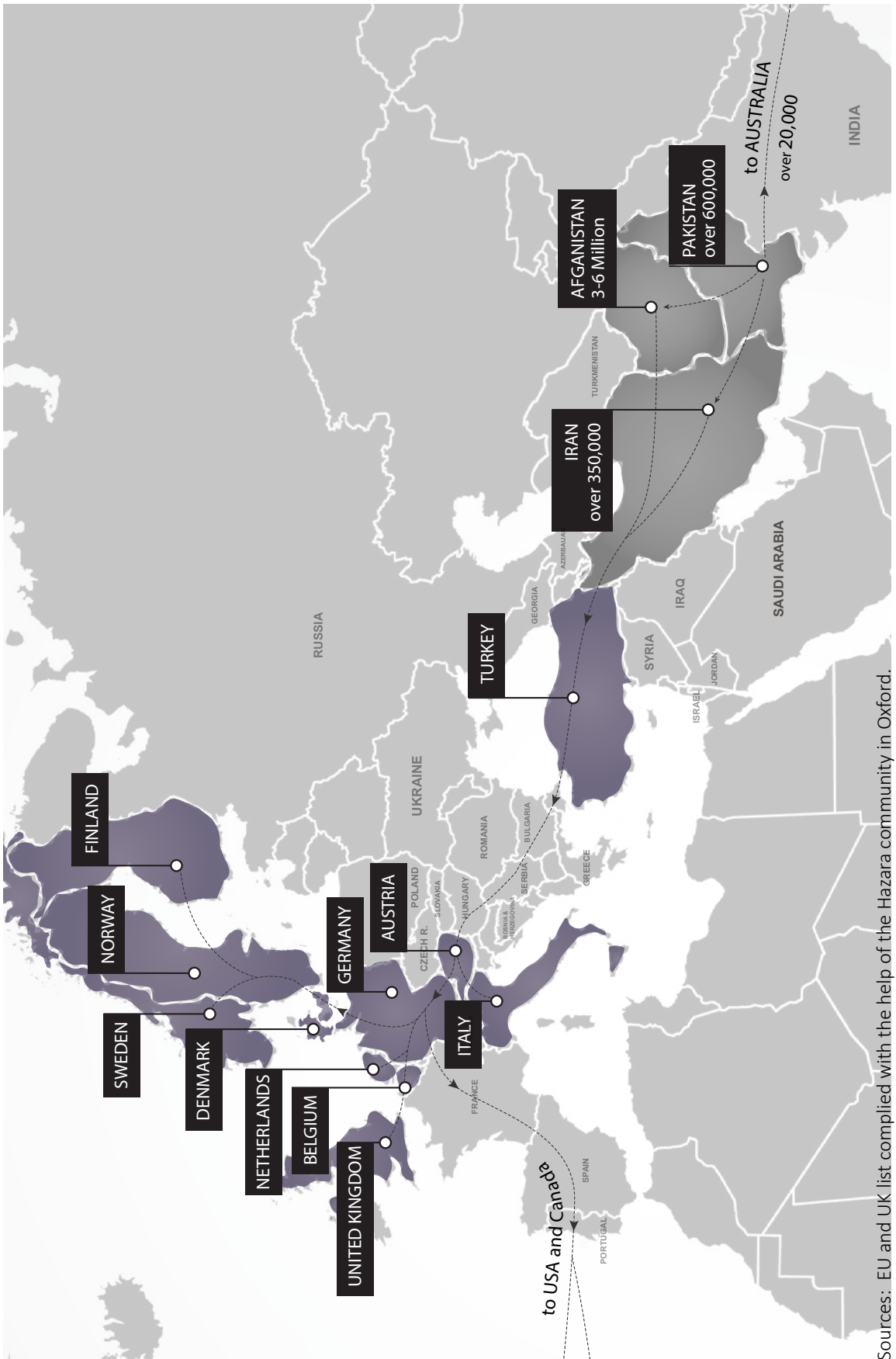# Annex 5.2: Map of Hazara Population Middle East and Europe

AFGANISTAN
3-6 Million

PAKISTAN
over 600,000

to AUSTRALIA
over 20,000

INDIA

IRAN
over 350,000

TURKMENISTAN

RUSSIA

UKRAINE

TURKEY

GEORGIA

AZERBAIJAN

IRAQ

SAUDI ARABIA

SYRIA

JORDAN

ISRAEL

FINLAND

NORWAY

SWEDEN

DENMARK

NETHERLANDS

BELGIUM

UNITED KINGDOM

GERMANY

AUSTRIA

CZECH R.

POLAND

SLOVAKIA

HUNGARY

ROMANIA

BULGARIA

SERBIA

GREECE

ITALY

SPAIN

PORTUGAL

to USA and Canada

Annex 5.3: Map of Hazara Population Europe and England

UNITED KINGDOM

SHEFFIELD
LEEDS
MILTON KEYNES
LONDON
HULL
OXFORD
NOTTINGHAM
PORTSMOUTH
BIRMINGHAM
BOURNEMOUTH
PETERBOROUGH
MANCHESTER

AFGANISTAN 3-6 Million

PAKISTAN over 600,000

IRAN over 350,000

INDIA

SAUDI ARABIA

TURKEY

RUSSIA

UKRAINE

FINLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
GERMANY
AUSTRIA
ITALY
NETHERLAND
BELGIUM
UNITED KINGDOM
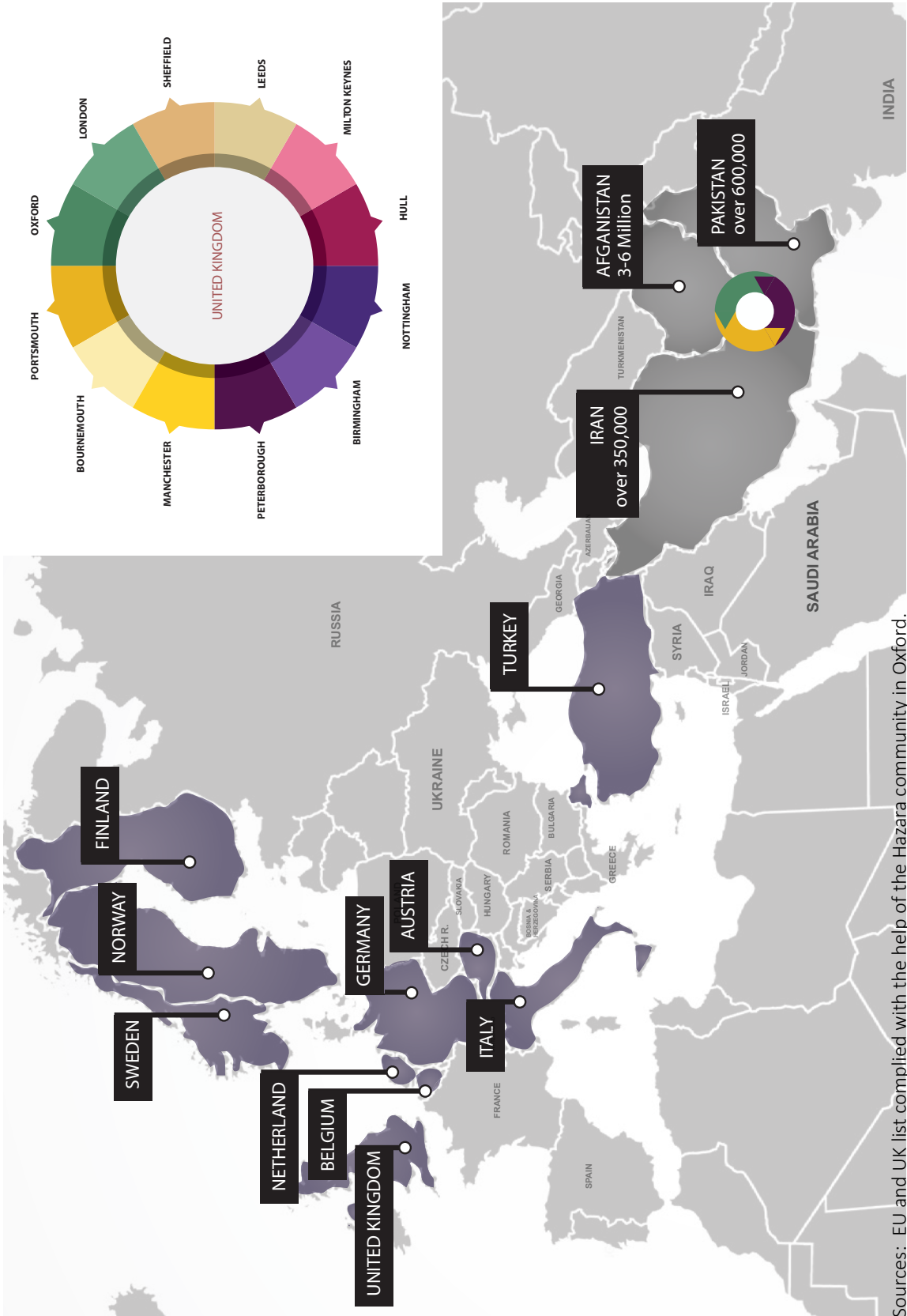
Sources: EU and UK list complied with the help of the Hazara community in Oxford.

Annex 6: Cordoned off Areas - Marriabad and Hazara Town, Quetta

Quetta, Pakistan

Key

- Marriabad
- Hazara Town
- 7km (4.35 miles) seperate the two areas
- Alamdar Road

Quetta Airfield

Quetta International Airport

University of Balochistan

Quetta Rd

Chagi Rd

Baleli Rd

Samunghi Rd

Sabzal Rd

Spinny Rd

Brewery Rd

N25

N25

Eastern Bypass

Sariab Rd

Annex 7: Questionnaire

1. **Date of Interview**

   [   ]

2. **When did you arrive in the UK?**

   [   ]

3. **When did you come to Oxford?**

   [   ]

4. **What made you choose Oxford?**

   Family   Friends   Other

5. **Did you receive legal aid?**

   Yes   No

6. **Did you receive housing and financial support from the government?**

   Yes   No

7. **Who would you say helped you the most with housing, finances and employment?**

   Family   Friends   Community

   Transnational Networks   RCOs

8. **Do you work at Tesco?**

   Yes   No

9. **The main hindrance in finding job elsewhere was because of:**

   Lack of Qualifications   Non-recognition of Overseas Qualifications

10. **Has the reduction in formal support services led you to seek help from family, friends, community and RCOs?**

    Yes   No

11. **Even now are informal networks as important as before?**

    Yes   No   More than before   Less than before

12. Did your belief system or going to Ahlul-Bayt Centre help in overcoming difficulties?

Yes   No   A little

13. Do you use 'hawala' to send or receive money?

Send money back home   Send money to resettlement countries

Receive money from home   Receive money from resettlement countries

14. Has sending money back home slowed down your socio-cultural integration by working long hours in several jobs?

Yes   No

15. Has transnationalism helped provide the basis to cope and transcend in a new sense of multi-local belonging?

Yes   No

16. Until you received the refugee status, did you become destitute or felt you were living in limbo?

Destitute   Limbo   Both   None

17. Do you think Hazara Association Oxford is playing a crucial role in helping the community?
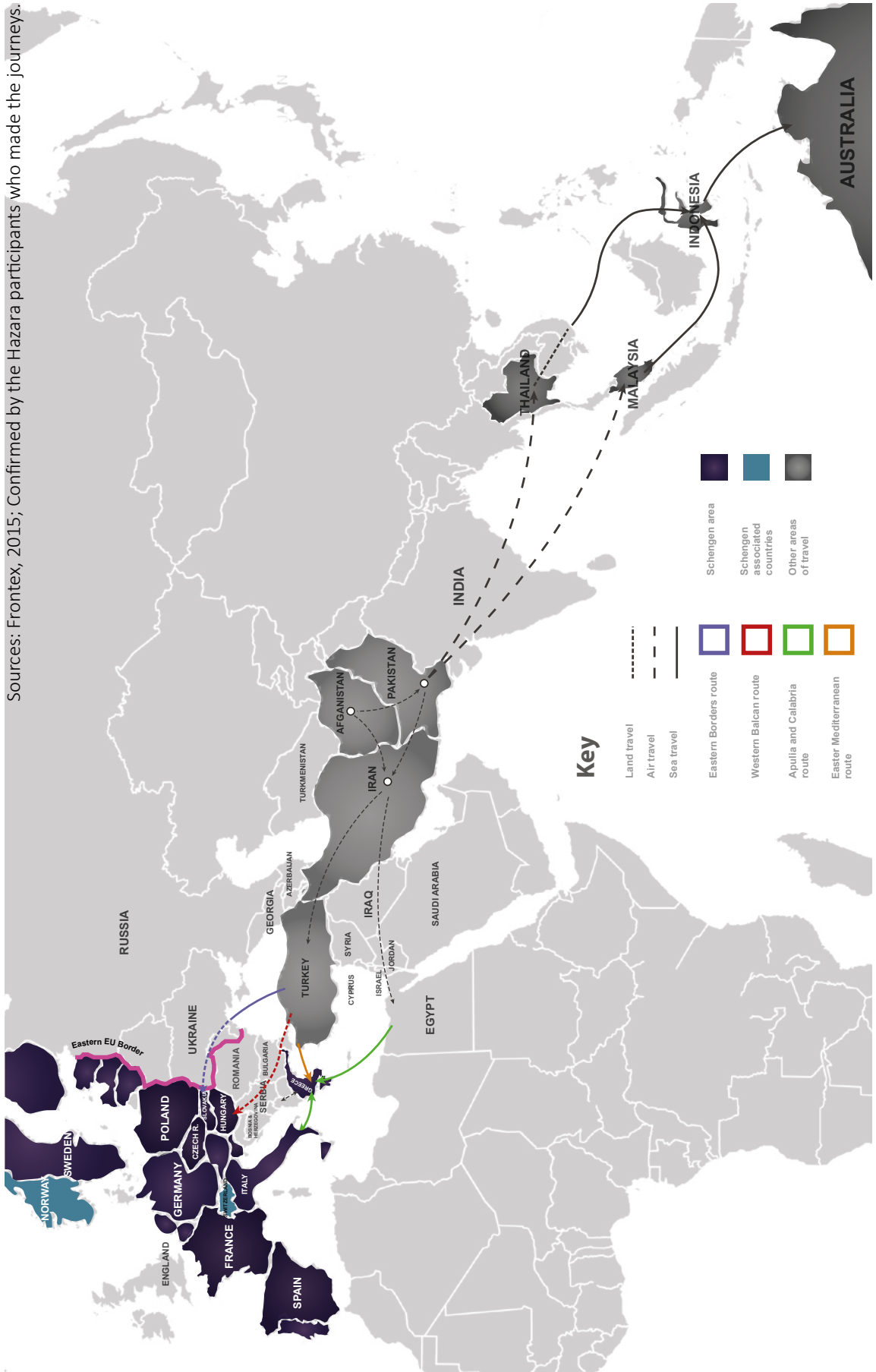
Yes   No

18. Do you see yourself as:

Agents of change   Survivors   Victims

Sources: Frontex, 2015; Confirmed by the Hazara participants who made the journeys.

AUSTRALIA

INDONESIA

THAILAND

MALAYSIA

INDIA

PAKISTAN

AFGANISTAN

TURKMENISTAN

IRAN

GEORGIA

AZERBAIJAN

IRAQ

SAUDI ARABIA

SYRIA

JORDAN

CYPRUS

ISRAEL

EGYPT

TURKEY

RUSSIA

UKRAINE

Eastern EU Border

ROMANIA

BULGARIA

SERBIA

BOSNIA &
HERZEGOVINA

GREECE

POLAND

SLOVAKIA

HUNGARY

CZECH R.

SWEDEN

NORWAY

GERMANY

SWITZERLAND

ITALY

FRANCE

ENGLAND

SPAIN

Key

Land travel

Air travel

Sea travel

Eastern Borders route

Western Balcan route

Apulia and Calabria
route

Easter Mediteranean
route

Schengen area

Schengen
associated
countries

Other areas
of travel

Annex 9 – Ethical Form

OXFORD
BROOKES
UNIVERSITY

Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment

Ethics Review Form E1

This form should be completed by the Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Student undertaking a research project which involves human participants. The form will identify whether a more detailed E2 form needs to be submitted to the Faculty Research Ethics Officer.

Before completing this form, please refer to the University **Code of Practice for the Ethical Standards for Research involving Human Participants**, available at http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/, and to any guidelines provided by relevant academic or professional associations.

It is the Principal Investigator / Supervisor who is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgement in this review. Note that all necessary forms should be fully completed and signed before fieldwork commences.

Project Title:

Principal Investigator / Supervisor:

Student Investigator:

		Yes	No
1.	Does the study involve participants who are unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, unconscious patients)	☐	☑
2.	If the study will involve participants who are unable to give informed consent (e.g. children under the age of 16, people with learning disabilities), will you be unable to obtain permission from their parents or guardians (as appropriate)?	☐	☑
3.	Will the study require the cooperation of a gatekeeper for initial access to groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. students, members of a self-help group, employees of a company, residents of a nursing home)	☐	☑
4.	Are there any problems with the participants' right to remain anonymous, or to have the information they give not identifiable as theirs?	☐	☑
5.	Will it be necessary for the participants to take part in the study without their knowledge/consent at the time? (eg, covert observation of people in non-public places?)	☐	☑
6.	Will the study involve discussion of or responses to questions the participants might find sensitive? (e.g. own drug use, own traumatic experiences)	☐	☑

7.	Are drugs, placebos or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants?	☐	☒
8.	Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?	☐	☒
9.	Is pain or more than mild discomfort likely to result from the study?	☐	☒
10.	Could the study induce psychological stress or anxiety?	☐	☒
11.	Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing of participants?	☐	☒
12.	Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	☐	☒
13.	Will deception of participants be necessary during the study?	☐	☒
14.	Will the study involve NHS patients, staff, carers or premises?	☐	☒

If you have answered 'no' to all the above questions, send the completed form to your Module Leader and keep the original in case you need to submit it with your work.

If you have answered 'yes' to any of the above questions, you should complete the Form E2 available at
http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/Ethics-review-forms/
and, together with this E1 Form, email it to the Faculty Research Ethics Officer, whose name can be found at
http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/Research-ethics-officers/

If you answered 'yes' to any of questions 1-13 and 'yes' to question 14, an application must be submitted to the appropriate NHS research ethics committee.

Signed: _B. PIQUARD_   Principal Investigator /Supervisor

Signed: _FATIMA HASHMI_   Student Investigator

Date: 13.05.13   FATIMA HASHMI