

T.C.

**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**GENDER AND MIGRATION FROM AFGHANISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF
WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND MIGRATION**

M.A THESIS

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**Department of Political Science and International Relations
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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results, which are not original to this thesis.

Farahnaz RAHMANI

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The work in this thesis is based on several books, papers that were published as journal articles, conference papers, reports, weblogs, and my own qualitative based research through conducting interview. I would like to express my gratitude to the authors, researchers, conference organizers, discussants and reviewers for making these resources available and making this thesis possible.

FOREWORD

This thesis is not just the result of an individual efforts. I have not accomplished it alone; rather many people contributed to this. On top of all, my advisor has remained quite supportive during the whole process of writing this thesis which lasted for seven months. She has always been available to provide technical and conceptual supports with kind and professional manner, both in person and through email. Thank you Professor Hatice Deniz YÜKSEKER for your time, dedication and patience in terms of providing me with regular guidance and feedback.

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Farahnaz RAHMANI

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ABSTRACT

The recent history of Afghanistan has witnessed complicated and conflictual events which have challenged living conditions of people and forced them to make international movements around the world, particularly to neighboring countries such as Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan. Likewise, there is also Afghan migration to Turkey. Among the moving groups, women make up a considerable group, and therefore, there is a need to pay deeper attention to their vulnerable situations. In addition, it is important to address issues related to the rights of migrant women and their changing social roles.

This research is focused on Afghan women's migration to Turkey and its impact on their living conditions and empowerment status. This work is concentrated on migration from Afghanistan with a brief overview of Afghan women's migration from the historical perspective. This work overviews the causes of Afghan women's emigrations to Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. The subject is considered important since a huge number of Afghans have fled to these countries.

Debates on Afghan women's migration is integrated with the concepts of 'empowerment' focusing on health, education and labor & domestic work status. Based on qualitative interviews with Afghan women living in Istanbul, the thesis discusses their living conditions in Turkey, the process through which they migrated to Turkey and whether migration has empowered these women .

Keywords: *Afghanistan, Women's Migration, Women's Empowerment, Turkey.*

ÖZET

Afganistan'ın son 40 yıllık tarihi, insanların yaşam koşullarını olumsuz etkileyen karmaşık ve çatışmalı olaylara şahit olmuş ve onları, özellikle İran ve İslam Cumhuriyeti

gibi komşu ülkelere, dünya çapında uluslararası göçe zorlamıştır. Aynı şekilde, Türkiye'ye de Afganistan'dan göç yaşanıyor. Göç eden Afganlıların arasında kadınlar önemli bir grubu oluşturuyor. Dolayısıyla, kadın göçmenlerin kırılma durumlarının incelenmesine ihtiyaç var. Ayrıca, göçmen kadınların hakları ve değişen toplumsal rolleri üzerinde durmak da önemlidir.

Bu tez, Afgan kadınların Türkiye'ye göçüne odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, Afganistan'dan göçlere tarihsel olarak kısa bir bakış ile Afganistan'dan kadınların göçü üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Bu çalışma, Afgan kadınlarının Pakistan, İran ve Türkiye'ye neden göç ettiklerini irdelemektedir. Yakın veya komşu olmaları nedeniyle, bu ülkelere yoğun bir Afgan göçü yaşanmıştır. Dolayısıyla, konu önemlidir.

Afgan kadınların göçüne ilişkin tartışmalar, sağlık, eğitim ve iş gücü ve ev içi çalışma durumuna odaklanan "güçlendirme" kavramlarıyla bütünleşmiştir. Bu tezde, Afgan kadınlarla yapılan nitel görüşmelere dayanılarak, Türkiye'ye göç etme nedenleri, Türkiye'deki yaşam koşulları ve göç sonucunda güçlenip güçlenmedikleri tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Afganistan,, Kadın Göçü, Kadın Güçlenmesi, Türkiye*

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ABBREVIATIONS

UNHCR :United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

JWF	:Joint Way Forward
EU	:European Union
SBM	:Sustainable Business Model
IOM	:International Organization of Migration
IDP	:Internally Displaced People
UNDESA	:United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNFPA	:United Nations Fund for Population Activities
BAFIA	:Bureau for Aliens and Foreign Immigrants' Affairs
CRP	:Comprehensive Regularization Plan
DOWA	:Democratic Organization of Afghan Women
AREU	:Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit
WFP	:World Food Program
AVA	:Afghan Voice Agency
KNOMAD	:Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development

1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview and introduction to the thesis topic and importance of it and outlines the structure of the whole thesis. This thesis is written in seven chapters. Chapter one explains the overall structure and contents of the thesis and provides explanations about importance of the topic. It gives an idea to the reader about why this topic is chosen to be studied and which sources and literatures are reviewed on the topic. Chapter two reviews refugee studies and explains migration theories. Chapter three links the two concepts of migration and women and studies women's migration. In chapter four, the phenomenon of migration is studied in the context of Afghanistan through reviewing historical events that increased emigration flows from the country. For the reason that since 1980, the biggest emigration flows from Afghanistan took place in two neighbor countries of Iran and Pakistan, chapter five studies Afghan women migrants and refugees post-1980, including discussions about Afghan women's refugee life in Pakistan and Afghan women's refugee life in Iran. Chapter six is written about Afghan migrant and refugee women in Istanbul. This part of research is based on interviews conducted with Afghan refugees and migrant women based in Istanbul and contains data and analysis of data about women's challenges and empowerment issues. The last chapter of the thesis discusses conclusion and future researches.

1.1 Goals

This thesis is about women's migration from Afghanistan, with a focus on women's empowerment as a result of migration. I am interested in this topic because I am curious to learn about the experiences and observations refugee woman had till they settled down in the host societies. My inspiration towards selecting this topic is to assess women's movements/displacements and their motivation for migration. I also want to explore different migration experiences and outcomes of women. Women's migration has been

on the rise in the last several decades.

The goal of this thesis is to analyze the situation of the Afghan migrant women and to find out migrant women's motivations towards leaving home countries. This thesis tries to find out Afghan women's immigration to Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey. Since Pakistan and Iran are located in the neighborhood of Afghanistan, once the major conflicts were raised in Afghanistan first by the Soviet Union and then by the Taliban, huge migration flows were made to these two countries. In this research, Turkey is also chosen to be studied in term of Afghan women's immigration, for the reason that this country is also a big migrant receiving country from Afghanistan. Afghan people have chosen to get settled in Turkey due to its cultural and religious ties with Afghanistan and due to the historical friendship relations both sides hold since 1921 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and King Amanullah Khan. Recently, women chose to get settled in Turkey for the reason that Turkey has played a role in the promotion of women in term of military knowledge and military professionalism in Afghanistan, through military educations provided by the Turkish Armed Forces to the Afghan female soldiers.

1.2 Research Questions

Since the thesis tries to find out the connection between women and migration and the impacts of migration in terms of empowerment of women, it focuses on answering these three questions.

Does migration empower or disempower Afghan women?

In what ways do cultural norms have an impact on migrant women's empowerment and/or disempowerment?

What are the challenges and opportunities that Afghan migrant women face in Turkey?

1.3 Importance of the Subject

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate and study the causes and consequences of the feminization of migration and to analyze women's contributions to the development of communities, as well as to study and analyze migration impacts on women's status including education, health and other social roles in destination countries.

This study is important due to the fact that both regular and irregular migration is increasingly becoming a vast phenomenon in today's world politics. Afghans comprise a big proportion of the registered and unregistered refugees around the world. There are hundreds of thousands of other Afghan migrants, who have not been registered as refugees; this means that apart from Afghans with asylum and refugee statuses, there are big proportions of Afghans traveling as other types of migrants such as economic migrants and student migrants. Since a significant proportion of displaced people are women, comprehensive studies are required to investigate women's situation, specifically, what the challenges/ obstacles, opportunities and needs they face are. Although there are some studies on the topic, a comprehensive work that could assess Afghan migrant women's status from a broader perspective, is absent.

1.4 Literature Review

The topic studied in this thesis has been previously studied by numerous scholars.

Martin (2003) provides her work considering concepts such as Migration and Mobility and studies how this movements affects women. Her conceptual paper addresses a number of discussions and questions, one of which is the impact of mobility on women's roles and gender relations.

Manchanda (2004) studies the case through her work addressing how gender conflicts could affect displacements and she studies the forced migrant women. Her investigation is done based on gender sensitive perspective and focuses on ways a woman as a refugee is considered as a non-person and besides this, she studies the south Asian politics in which women are being given the secondary status in term of their citizenship and other forms of challenges.

Seifi (2017) provides data about the feminization of international migration and studies the causes and consequences of women's migration by emphasizing the challenges and solutions; her calculation in this work emphasizes over understanding the causes of immigration and providing solutions to ease the challenges and increase the opportunities. She believes that this could help the process of migration more logically and more safely and this could lead the advancement of better opportunities for immigrants.

Bonifacio (2012) explores the intersections of the two concepts of migration and feminism by answering to the question: does migration empower women? The scholar studies the case in both western and non-western contexts.

Jackobson (2003) assesses the offensive impacts of war and dislocation that women suffered. Her study extremely considers the situation of refugees, the majority of whom are women with children or single women. She provides three case studies, one of which is Afghanistan women's case in which the experience of violence that women systematically experienced as targets of the enemy, refugees, or internally displaced citizens are brought down together.

Helm, Boyle, Cheng & Knight (2015) conduct a joint clinical study to assess maternal health and pregnancy outcomes among women of refugee background (Women born in Afghanistan, Bhutan, Iraq, and Myanmar) and non-refugee background. Their study is conducted in Australia and aims to comparing medical status of both mentioned categories of women.

Heyder, Noor & Tsui (2007) conducted their research about violently cases of Afghan refugee women living in camps in Pakistan. The study is accomplished through qualitative interview method in which 20 women explained about home conflict happen and how marriage traditions causes conflicts.

Lipson & Miller (2009) provide their work by studying social challenges Afghan women face in United States in Northern California.

Rostami (2007) Explores about Afghan women's diasporic experiences in Iran, Pakistan, UK and USA. Her book is also contains stories about how women promoted themselves at home during the Taliban war.

Sherif (2006) writes about Afghan women before and during war time and justifies that women were social actors not the passive victims, contrary to media presentations.

A number of other articles assessing the correlation of gender, poverty and migration is also studied in this paper. The major studies are conducted over Asian women's migration because there are very few articles written specifically about Afghan women's migration. Through assessing Asian women, the researcher tries to draw up a correlation and connection between Afghan women and women of other Asian countries throughout

some common cultural, religious and social similarities. In order to fill the lack of research gap in academic sphere, this research is considered important.

1.5 Methods

The methods used in this thesis are secondary sources analysis and qualitative methods. A part of the data was collected through conducting interviews. First, questions were developed. Interview questions cover interviewees' general introduction such as age, marital status, number of siblings, educational degree, place of residence in home town and in Turkey, and occupation. There are also questions covering women's experience of their journey from Afghanistan to Turkey, women's experience of domestic abuse or violence (in case they have), women's income sources, women's labor and domestic work experiences (if they have), and women's contribution to the development of their communities.

The second stage was the establishment of a voice recording method. To do so, I used my cell phone recording option. The most important part is selection of participants. Selection was done based on Snowball Sampling method. Recommendation of women was made based on identifying them as the ones who could provide me the richest data and information possible. The number of participants was six Afghan women based in Istanbul. Sample selection is based on three criteria (age, status, and education). Selected women's age was different, ranging from 18 years old, to 40 years old or higher. Participants were holding different educational and legal backgrounds, including women with higher education, women with lower level of education, irregular migrant women, women with residence permit and women with asylum seeking or refugee status based in Turkey. Interviews are conducted face to face. Before interviews were conducted, I received Ethics Committee's approval from the Social Science Institute. All of the participants signed the informed consent form before starting the interview. In order to conduct further research, the snowball sampling was used.

2 MIGRATION THEORIES AND REFUGEE STUDIES

This chapter discusses migration theories and refugee studies. Since refugee status is defined in the 1951 Convention on refugees, a part of this chapter is devoted to the 1951 Refugee Convention.

To the social scientists, migration is a social phenomenon which is related to the social process, patterns, actions, measures and consequences, which through examination, all lead to the understanding of human life.

Migration is defined as moving of people from one place to another for different purposes such as living or working (Huzdik 2014 as cited in Wimalaratana 2017).

To explain the initiation and beginning of the international migration, a variety of theoretical perspectives and models have been proposed. Even though the proposed theories try to explain the same issue, they favor totally different assumptions, perspectives, concepts, frames and positions. For instance, neoclassical economics theory concentrates on the degree of differences in countries in term of conditions of employment, wages and costs. In general it looks on movement as a result of individual decision for the purpose of income generation and maximization in labor markets (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouauchi, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993).

In micro level, individual characteristics of migrant describes migration volume, migration flows and processes. According to Lee, individuals are the rational actors who take migration decisions based on cost and benefit and based on individual's perceptions about existence of positive factors at places of destination and existence of negative factors at places of origin. These factors determine the degree of difference of opportunities between the places of origin and places of destination (Lee 1966 as cited in Piché 2013).

In contrast to the neoclassical theory, the new economics of migration theory focuses on conditions not only in the labor markets, but also in a variety of markets. Contrary to the neoclassical theory, the new economics theory perceives migration as a household

decision taken in order to dominate capital shortages in the households and for the purpose of minimizing risks to the family revenues. In contrast to the above two theories that emphasize on micro level decision process, the ‘dual labor market theory’ and the ‘world systems theory’ largely emphasize on macro level forces that operate at higher levels (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouauchi, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993).

In macro level, Lee claims that international migration increases in time and in the context of globalization. The increase of migration streams is due to the growing economic gaps and differences between developing and developed countries. It is also due to training and education opportunities, technological progress remarkably in transportation and communication (Lee 1966 as cited in Piché 2013).

This last theory perceives migration as an outcome of globalization of economics, however the first two theories link migration to the structural requirements in the modern industrial markets (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouauchi, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993).

International migration happens basically due to political and economic factors, natural disasters and family reunification. Major examples of emigrations due to political conflicts are from countries such as Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq and Syria. People also migrate because they are in search of employment opportunities and in search of better living conditions in the host societies. This type of emigrations are seen from the developing countries usually to the developed countries, in which people are in seek of comfortable lives. The reason why international migration happens speedily is because of the flow of information among people and due to availability of more travel options for people (Wimalaratana 2017).

2.1 Migration Studies

The term immigrant is commonly used for the people who migrate to another country due to some common reasons such as access to better career or educational or economic opportunities or for the purpose of family reunion, mostly more than one year. This kind of immigration is not typically by force, rather it is voluntarily; whereas asylum seekers and refugees are in the category of forced migrants. An asylum seeker is someone who claims to be under persecution due to his/her political beliefs, religious beliefs, race, nationality and other reasons and looks for international protection. Those who are given refugee status, they are entitled for some rights and assistances by the UNHCR; those

asylum seekers who are not entitled the refugee status, they are deprived of the rights mentioned in the Geneva Convention 1951 (Simsek & Anik 2018).

After the emergence of the nation-states, not only religious conflicts existed but also other types of conflicts such as cultural, political, ethnic differences as well as the national identity have also come into being. The conditions coming up after the first and the second world wars, the colonialisms, the regime changes (such as in Iran), the instabilities (existing in Afghanistan), the conflicts in the Middle East and Africa have made remarkable proportions of migrations around the world. Migration flows has been different in types such as frontier transits, international movements, rural-urban and urban-urban (Johnston 2000 as cited in Bonifacio 2012).

Among the whole population of the refugees, around half of the proportion is comprised by women and children. (Simsek & Anik 2018). As of 2018, there are 40 million internally displaced people, 25.4 million refugees, and 3.1 million asylum seekers. Among the whole population of refugees, 57% of them come from three countries, which are South Sudan (2.4 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million) and Syria (6.3 million). Among the highest refugee receiving countries worldwide are the Islamic Republic of Iran (979,400), Lebanon (1 million), Pakistan (1.4 million), Uganda (1.4 million) and Turkey (3.6 million). Detailed figures of international displacements is provided in the Table 1 below (UNHCR 2018).

Table 2.1: Detailed figures of International Displacements

Forcibly Displaced People Worldwide (2018)				
Refugees	Asylum	Seekers	Internally displaced persons	Refugee Returns
25.4	Million	31	Million	124.100
Three major refugee sending countries in 2018				
Syria		Afghanistan		South Sudan
6.3	Million	2.6	Million	2.4
				Million
Top Refugee Hosting Countries in 2018				
Turkey	Uganda	Pakistan	Lebanon	Islamic Republic of Iran
3.5	million	1.4	million	1.0 million
				979,400

Afghanistan (Population of Concern 434,685)

Refugees	Asylum Seekers Internally	Displaced Persons	Refugee Returnees
75,121	524	343,341	15,699

Afghan Refugees Around the World (Mid 2018)

Pakistan	Islamic Republic of Iran	Germany	Austria	Sweden	Italy
1.4 Million	951,000	116,700	30,000	27,300	17,100

Source: UNHCR, 2018

Since international movements have increased, more concepts have been covered by the migration debates. In the contemporary period, migration exhibits feminization of migration, globalization of migration, diversification of migration routes and new types of migrations (Castles and Miller 2009).

2.1.1 Theories of Migration

Migration is usually a collective and familial decision and action, which happens as a result of social, political and economic changes and affects societies of both sending and receiving places.

In immigration studies, there are several theoretical stands. Scholars have classified migration theories based on different perspectives; some scholars have classified and analyzed migration based on levels such as Micro-level, Meso-level and Macro level; other type of classification is discipline based analysis including Sociological, Economic, and Geographical perspectives. Theories that help explain migration in the 21st century includes Behaviorist and Equilibrium Model, Historical Structural Model, Labor Market Theory, and Migration Systems which contains Network Theory, Institutional Theory, and World System Theory (Wimalaratana 2017).

2.1.1.1 Functionalist Theory

Among the theories, there are two clusters of theories, the “functionalist” and the “historical-structural”. The “functionalist” theory perceives the society as a collection of interdependent parts such as actors and individuals. Scholars perceive migration as a positive phenomenon because it responds to the needs and interests of people and contributes equity between societies. This theory contains the push-pull models and the neoclassical theory. From the several approaches, the push and pull factors are the ones

connected to economics. The push factors are the dearth of economic opportunities and the demographic pressure and the political repression. The pull factors are economic opportunities, demand for labor and the political freedoms. The push factors push the people get out of the countries of origin, while the pull factors pull the people into the destination regions. The detriment with the push and pull model is that it is difficult to understand how the different factors coming together cause the movement of populations. There are more factors that contribute to migration and bringing all those factors as a list requires more efforts and establishment of proper frameworks (Castles, Haas & Miller 2014).

The new economic theory of migration acknowledges the role of push and pull factors in terms of determining the role of individuals and other intervening variables that either facilitates or holds back migration. Within this process, the movement and settlement of migrants are facilitated by the broader networks of family and friends through emotional and financial support. Migration process is also facilitated through brokers, middlemen, agencies and contractors. However the result of the push and pull factors has to be examined in the framework of their role in either enabling or holding back migration. Within this process, individual's emotions and feelings matter too; this refers to the time of pressure on making decisions about whether to leave home, family, friends, or not. Not only individual characteristics but also the ways and conditions in which these anticipations and attitudes are shaped over time, through communities, culture and communication, are considered (O'Reilly 2015).

In the course of explaining push and pull factors, Martin (2004) says: "these factors are like battery poles; both are necessary to start a car or a migration stream. Once started, intervening variables such as networks influence who migrates where". (Martin 2004 as cited in O'Reilly 2015).

The notion of neoclassical migration analysis comes from the theory of resource allocation and the broader equilibrium analysis. Neoclassical economics with regards to labour migration means that labour streams from the high unemployment and low wage regions to the low unemployment and high wages regions, as a result it comes up with an equilibrium state (Mitze & Reinkowski 2010).

In other words, the neoclassical theory perceives migration as a tool coming into being due to the geographical differences in terms of supply and demand for labour. The wage differences result in encouraging labor to move from the labor surplus and low wage regions to the labour scarce and high wage regions. This theory matters a lot in term of cost and benefit calculations meaning that migrants are individual and rational actors who decide to move based on the notion of maximizing their income. The assumption of this theory is that migrants with potentials, have enough knowledge of employment opportunities and wage issues such as taxes, charges, rates and tariffs in the host societies and that markets are reachable for the poor. Since the central assumptions of this theory is not based on a realistic nature, it is criticized. This theory is not able to clarify the real life migration patterns, especially when migration happens due to highly restrictive conditions such as poverty (Castles, Haas & Miller 2014).

2.1.1.2 Historical-Structural Theory

The second approach to the study of migration is the historical- structural type. This approach perceives migration as a tool of globalization and connects the elements of migration to structural change in global markets. This approach criticizes the neoclassical approach and argues that since individuals are fundamentally constrained by structural forces, so they don't have a free choice, rather they are forced to move (Castles, Haas & Miller 2014).

The assumption of this theory is that different groups and classes don't have equal access to capital and resources. It means that political and economic power is not equally distributed among the rich and the poor societies (Castles & Kosack 1973, Cohen & Sassen 1988 as cited in Castles, Haas and Miller 2014).

The problem to this approach is that the actions and motivations of the individuals and groups are ignored. It is viewed as an approach which denies the individual choice in term of making migration decision (de Haas 2008).

2.1.1.3 Migration Network Theory

This theory was the central theory to the migration theory since 1980s. This theory argues that sources of information about the situation in the destination regions and personal contacts are among the influencing factors in term of migration decision (Lee 1966 as cited in Piché 2013).

Network theory is about set of interpersonal links that connects current migrants with former migrants and/or non-migrants in places of origin and destination throughout relationships and friendships, in order to access resources. This theory explains how migrants create and sustain social connections with families and friends at home and through social capital. Migrant networks are formed by migrants in order to decrease the social, economic and psychological costs of migration through providing information, finding house and work opportunities, helping in terms of integration, organizing travels and helping in settlement in the new community or environment (Castles, Haas & Miller 2014).

2.1.1.4 Migration Systems Theory

The third approach to the migration studies is the migration systems theory discussed by scholars. Since the two mentioned theories are pointed out with gaps, this theory is developed as a relatively wide-ranging and comprehensive theory. Since the various theories in migration such as 'network theory', 'world systems theory', 'theory of cumulative causation' and 'institutional theory' are characterized with incomprehensiveness, therefore it is proposed that migration flows require a measure to ensure structure and stability over time and space. This opens the way for the proposition and recognition of a stable international migration system, which is characterized by broader exchanges of capital, goods and people between certain countries and lesser exchanges of all these between other countries. This interaction of exchanges happen between the countries marked as core receiving regions and the countries linked to it through flows of immigrants, as the sending regions (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouauchi, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993).

This theory argues that migration is a dynamic which is aimed at self-perpetuation and self-sustainability. There are factors that contribute and facilitate this dynamic. These factors include networks, culture of migration, and distribution of human resources and capitals and stigmatization of jobs (Arango 2000 as cited in Kurekova 2011).

According to this theory, interaction among the countries does not have to be limited to the regions that are located close to each other geographically, because rather than physical ties, political and economic ties and relationships matter more (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouauchi, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993).

According to this theory, migration flows takes place in response to the previously existing links between receiving and sending countries. Examples of such links are as trade or investment and colonial ties (Castles & Miller 2009 as cited in Kurekova 2011).

One of the proposition of this theory is that systems get evolved by economic and political changes. Therefore stability of systems does not predicate a single fixed structure, rather it can imply to other structures too. Countries have the option to join or abandon systems based on certain conditions such as political upheaval, economic fluctuation or social change (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouauchi, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993).

2.1.1.5 Globalization theory

Among the several definitions and approaches to globalization, one of the approaches define it as broadening, developing and speeding up of interconnectedness in several features of the modern social life in global level (Held 1999).

Globalization refers to a global society in which the technological and economic forces create a shared social space, and development in one part of the world have impacts and consequences on individuals and communities in term of life chances and opportunities on the other part of the world. Globalization is defined by two wide contexts. The economic context and the non-economic context. The non-economic context comes up from the historical, political and socio-cultural dimensions of globalization (Sengupta, 2001).

The rapid increase in cross border flows in terms of economics (trade and finance), cultural values, democratic values, media products and people; all are the indicators of globalization. Among them, economic is the major primary indicator (Petras & Veltmayer 2000 as cited in Castles, Haas & Miller 2014).

Since the world is in an era of computerization and in an age of technological and scientific revolution, therefore it plays a part in formation of globalization and due to this concept, globalization is new and inevitable. Apart from economic and technological indicators, political (normative and ideological) indicators exist too. Historically, the impacts of globalization over migration is seen based on transformations in agriculture in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gradually, in absence of the nation states, nations and the various dimensions of nations such as ‘cultural and geographical’ were helpful in understanding of the notion of migration. The presence of nation states have widely

contributed to understand migration in terms of migratory and non-migratory policies in wide variety aspects such as public order, citizenship, social welfare, education, taxation, health service and labor market. The transformations from the economic perspective is mainly based on labour market, production structure and social inequalities. The critique of this theory is that globalization is an outcome of the evolution of the capitalist world economy. It is argued that globalization is not an exclusive new world order (Castles, Haas & Miller 2014).

2.1.2 Migration and Development

There is a huge debate on the link between emigration and development in emigration regions, rather than debate on situation in immigration regions, in the contemporary researches. Although from the point of view of some of the authors, the axis of discussion is the remittances which as an impact of migration based on the links between emigrants and sending regions. Despite of the ongoing debates, it is still difficult to determine the exact effects of money transfer/remittances on the economy of the rural regions, which helps the productiveness, diversification and development of agricultural and not agricultural regions. These remittance are invested in education, housing, health, wealth and construction of the places or people left behind in the sending places of origin or the villages (Piché 2013).

According to some scholars, international migration is perceived as a positive phenomenon because it helps improve the development of the receiving countries because in this case, migration brings experience, knowledge and services of the unskilled and skilled labour forces. As already mentioned, migration brings knowledge to the receiving country but in the sending country, skilled labor heavily outflows and the country suffers from the big misery of brain drain; in spite of the fact that the sending countries receive remittances (De Haas 2005).

Examination of cash flows through the remittances showed that in 2010, it totaled about USD372 billion, although with respect to 2014, the amount increased by USD467 billion in the developing countries. These numbers have shown that migrants play an active and effective role in development processes (Faist 2008 as cited in Piché 2013).

The transnationalism characteristic of migration also plays as a development tool in the developing regions, through maintaining networks between the host societies and the

home societies. This characteristic helps bring more people of various nationalities under single social roofs and fields and cuts that facilitates more affinity among nations and states (Piché 2013).

2.1.3 Levels of Analysis of Migration

The micro, macro and meso levels are distinguished according to the level of analysis. In micro level, individual and his/her desires, expectations and values matter. Individual values and expectations could be improving and securing status, wealth, survival, stimulation, autonomy, morality, affiliation and comfort. Macro structure brings up extensive institutional factors, such as the interstate relations and policies and political economy of the world market. The macro level opportunity structures are in terms of economics (unemployment and income differentials), politics (this level matters in two levels: first: ethnical, religious and national conflicts; and second: regulation of mobility through international regimes and nation states), cultural settings (dominant discourses and norms) and demography and ecology (level of technology, availability of land and water and population growth). The meso level is about collective and social networks. It matters about social ties and symbolic ties. Social ties are about families, households and networks and symbolic ties are about national, ethnic, kin, political, religious organizations and morality (Olejarova 2007).

2.2 Refugee Studies

Seeking protection from persecution is a fundamental right of persons according to international law; however, international laws on refugees have not been universally accepted by all countries. According to international law, it must be recognized whether there is fear of persecution for reasons of race, nationality, religion, or membership of social groups and having particular political opinions, or not. Since during the period of claiming asylum, the applicant is denied from the support of his/her government, he/she cannot be considered as a citizen of the country concerned. On the other hand, the receiving government has not yet accepted the applicant as a refugee, and he/she is not entitled to receive necessary protection; therefore he/she receives 'asylum'. Each applicant is initially an asylum seeker and asylum seekers can be titled as a refugee once the person is recognized as a refugee based on the 1951 Convention on Refugees (Mousa Zada and Azad Pendar 2018).

2.2.1 The 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees

The 1951 Convention highlights the definition of refugees in terms of protecting them from the persecutions. In Article 1, the Convention defines refugee as “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” The UN Convention of Refugees was first adopted in 1951 and it came into force in 1954. Since the Convention had two limitations, therefore the 1967 Protocol was signed in order to remove the chronological and geographic limits of the Convention. Since the Convention was an instrument after the Second World War, it was limited in two scopes: 1) people fleeing events before 1 January 1951 and 2) people within Europe. The 1967 Protocol dissolved the two limitations and gave universal coverage to the Convention. The Convention is based on the principles of non-discrimination and non-refoulement, which means that refugees should not be sent back to the country from where they escape due to fear of prosecution and in which they face threats. This Convention is applicable without any discrimination based on race, country of origin or religion (UNHCR n.d.).

The Convention includes the rights of the refugees in terms of access to the primary education, to the courts, to work, and travel document in passport form. There are some limitations to the Convention. It is not applicable for those who committed war crimes and/or war against humanity or if the crime is in the form of serious non-political crimes or when the refugee is guilty of any acts that are in contrast to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. The other limitation is that this Convention is not applicable to those who are under protection of other UN agencies other than UNHCR (Sabel 2012).

Since the rate of forced displacements are always high, UNHCR tries to work with governments to help find solutions for such a crisis around the world. Some of the efforts were made in order to classify countries in terms of either safe or not. This kind of classification could help reduce the cases of asylum in countries and could avoid unwanted refugees. This trend is challenging in countries such as Afghanistan, Libya and Iraq, where high rates of violence are experienced. The efforts were made to classify the countries either as war-torn or as peaceful countries. In 2016, EU and some non-EU states have classified Afghanistan as the post-conflict country and at the same year, the Joint Way Forward (JWF) agreement, which was committed to facilitate the deportation of

Afghan asylum seekers who were at the European borders. Some reports show that before the Brussels aid summit in 2016, the EU was planning to threaten Afghanistan with a decrease in the EU aids in case it did not take back the 80,000 Afghan deportees (Sajjad 2018).

Apart from agreements, UNHCR has also offered some solutions, which the first one is the voluntary return of refugees back to the home countries. This solution was not practicable because of the ongoing wars and conflicts in refugees' home countries and return was not possible. The second solution is the local integration and change in legal status of the refugees; this solution is not practicable too, because most of the countries do not allow this to happen. The last solution recognized by the UNHCR, is the resettlement in a different country other than the first country of asylum (UNHCR 2016).

Since refugee flows increasingly widens, simultaneously their living conditions gets concerning. However, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees does not have the resources to provide basic needs in such a long time but it keeps trying to provide opportunities in order for refugees to meet their needs. Through the development strategies and by bringing the competencies of both UNHCR and the companies together, UNHCR initiates working conditions and opportunities for refugees to get involved in, for the livelihood purpose. Since job seeking is the primary meanwhile major concern of refugees, therefore UNHCR initiates some business models by which it tries to build durable links between global markets and the skilled and competent refugees who are artisans. One of the examples of such efforts, is the Sustainable Business Model (SBM) through which all three sides gain income. UNHCR also tries building artisan refugees' capacities. The SBM is a unique model because it helps building a win-win solution aiming at bringing financial benefits for UNHCR, companies, and the refugees (UNHCR 2016).

Refugee Artisans are the ones who are considered as self-reliant individuals. UNHCR defines self-reliance as: "ability of people, households or communities to meet their basic needs and enjoy social and economic rights in a sustainable and dignified way. By becoming self-reliant, refugees and displaced persons lead active, productive lives that contribute to society and they are able to build strong social, economic and cultural ties with their host communities. Self-reliance can assist in ensuring that persons of concern

are better protected by strengthening their capacity to claim their civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights.” (UNHCR 2016).

2.2.2 Refugee Concept

Labelling is a part of the scholarships in migration studies in which the main question is that who should be labelled as a refugee, who should be labelled as an economic migrant, who should be called an irregular and what should other types of displaced individuals of foreigners be called. The deployment of labels to migrants is either due to cultural, social or medial threats that causes victimization and vulnerability of the migrant, or due to increasing security problems that challenge stability and social order. Any individual who is labelled as an alien or a foreigner, he or she is the responsibility of the state in which he or she is displaced to. The labelling discussion is important due to the fact that individuals are behaved with based on the specific labels they receive from the states and based on the labels they receive, specific set of power relations are implicated to them. The set of power relations matters in term of rights and regulations. Power relations are not implied about individual migrants, they also matter about those related to the individuals through the politics of belonging; for example those immigrants who acquired citizenship, their children are labelled as second-generation immigrants. The consequences of the power relations about these types of immigrants is that they are denied of the protections and the rights that are guaranteed to the citizens of the host state (Sajjad 2018).

Labelling politics help categorize migrants as either regular or irregular individuals. Since the 1990s, Europe has made different efforts to avoid irregular migrants through building walls, signing agreements, using technology, using military and semi-military forces and other types of efforts to stop receiving irregular individuals both through land and sea. For example Europe has built 1,200 km wall with 500 million euros cost in order to avoid receiving irregular migrants (Sajjad 2018).

It should be pointed out that refugees are different from immigrants because they are people who escape from persecution, conflict and abuse or harassment of their human rights and according to international law, they have asylum rights in other countries. Many refugees take the risk of difficult journeys because they suffer from problems such

as not having access to the livelihood resources or failure in sustaining the resources in their first asylum countries (UNHCR 2016).

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on international migration from a theoretical perspective. Since migration obtains a more global character, therefore within a wide range of researches it has specified an area of the popular research to itself. Since international migration includes disciplines such as Sociology, Law, Economics, Culture, Political Science, Psychology, Demography, and International Relations, therefore it is difficult to come up with a single theory on this phenomenon. The efforts made by scholars in term of studying and analyzing migration from the different perspectives has led to the emergence of a multitude of theories on international migration, explaining the various dimensions existing in the migration concept in detail.

Migration perspectives and theories help explain and identify the diverse flows of migration and examination of emigration and immigration phenomenon in the broader networks and systems. They help theories mobility, movements and processes of it. They also help explain and theorize the contemporary phenomenon of ‘transnational movements’ and ‘migration of women’ and even who stay behind and do not migrate, but still affected by migration process or migration systems. Besides these discourses, scholastic efforts are ongoing in order to create a mixture of approaches to come up with a unified approach to migration (O’Reilly 2015).

To conclude, although this is obvious that migration has happened due to several conditions such as household strategies, wage differentials, global market and demands by receiving countries, but the causes arising from these processes, they function independently. These factors are independent of individual and structural factors that were the original causes of migration.

3 WOMEN & MIGRATION

Since this thesis focuses on women's migration concepts such as gender, feminization of migration, empowerment and their interdependency among each other will be discussed. Since international migration flows were dominated by men in the earlier times and in its primary forms, but gradually shifted towards the gender balanced, or even majority female streams, therefore social science academics have studied a long-term feminization in relation to immigration (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan & Pessar 2006). This chapter includes two parts, 'Feminization of Migration' as part one and 'Migration, Women & Empowerment' as part two.

3.1 Feminization of Migration

Women's remarkable migration flows have increased concerns about basic policies on the adaptability of women immigrants in the urban and security settings and ensuring women's rights in migration processes (Seifi 2017).

Some scholars define feminization of migration as women's migrations independently from men. In the past women's migrations were dependent and alongside men; while recently women can migrate independently and sometimes with their children (Gouws 2007).

Feminization of migration matters in both qualitative and quantitative aspects; the quantitative aspect would mean women's more than 50% increased participation in migration flows while the qualitative facet would be about women's non-subordinate or independent migrations. Since the nineteenth century, the two diverse phenomena of migration and feminism have been widely linked with the factors such as political, environmental and economic which remains an important subject among the receiving countries in terms of citizenship, national identity, security, welfare and so on (Bailey 2008).

Feminization and migration has been significant political agenda in United States, New Zealand, Australia, Western Europe and Canada and later on, it has become a high political agenda in Asia and Africa too (Castles and Miller 1998).

Women migrants comprise a high proportion of migration in recent years; for example the percentage of Asian migrant women working as labors outside their country of origin has reached to 1.5 million. Although women comprise half of the migrant population over 40 years, but only recently serious discussions have been made over the topic by the scholars (Zlontik 2003).

Since women's care work and domestic service has become more significant, women's migration became more important in the global economy. Women workforce has remarkably become demandable from developing countries (basically due to exploitation and vulnerability) to the developed countries for the works and services such as nannies, caregivers, nurses, and etc. Some forms of women's migration has been due to women's trafficking for the purpose of marriages and sex (Amir & Beeks 2006).

Other kinds of women's transitional migrations has been for the purpose of seeking better opportunities such as employment, safety and etc. Women's few or no legal protection in term of employment, puts them under the risk of exploitation, abuse and trafficking in the country of origin, in transit and in destination regions (Maymoon 2017).

A very comprehensive study to widely address correlation between immigration and feminism is lacking in the scholarly researches and popular discussions, and there is a gap in the migration studies in term of gender issues. Feminist organizations haven't been able to fully recognize working or labor women's rights in the host societies (Sotelo 2000). For this reason there have been movements by some migrants in the host societies to ensure their rights. For example Filipino domestic workers in Canada protested for their rights to be insured by feminist organizations (Kelly 2011). Likewise, there has been form of discriminatory acts against the Muslim women who migrate with hijab in the host countries, particularly western countries (Haddad & Smith 2002).

3.1 Theorizing Gender in Migration

Many scholars have criticized the lack of existence of gender values in classical political theory and they insist on bringing in the theories of justice with in gender concepts in the

political spheres. An interesting statement has been made in term of calling men as the core power and they are considered as state; state is where the power comes from; men as the decision making power force, have been influencing women in terms of deciding conditions, deciding living spaces, speaking out from their side and so on (Mackinnon 1983).

In order to represent women's voice from once specific reference, west women were taken into consideration for this purpose but later on, in 1980s, this has created massive controversies between the western white women and the the black women in the third world. The scholarship explores how gender identities of migrant women is formated and transmitted in the transit, through the basements of social identities and the descriminations in terms of race, sexuality, occupition, education, religion, culture and so on. Since the 9/11 attack, Islam has become sensitive in the eyes of the west, this has created division between Muslim women and the non-Muslim women. Since then, scholars have been concerning about Muslim womens status, emerging and integration in the regions with Muslim minorities. They are being consiered as victims of the patriarchal cultures and their emergence in social sphere is often being concerned by the feminsits. Debates coming up together in political sphere about Hijab shows that migrant women cannot avoid their identities, values, norms, culture, traditions and priorities from one side and their gender from the other side (Barbera 2007 as cited in Bonifacio 2012).

The politics of Location matters when women's social interaction and their subordination in specific contexts are being calculated or determined throughout the socio-cultural dimensions. It is related to address that how, when, where and under which circumstances migrant women fight against discrimination in the specific residing in which they live. This could also be the "transit" location which contains the within/out specification; meaning that this is more general and contains the both women of moving out of the transit and the women coming to the transit point. The women from third world countries who live in the west, are the best practicing sources for the meaning of "transit" for the reason of being Muslim, black and women since they had to struggle against discrimination for the reason that they face social exclusion not only from their country of origin but also at their country of destination (Lygate 1996 as cited in Bonifacio 2012).

3.2 Gender Composition in Migration

Despite the efforts that scholars made in order to understand the social consequence of migration gender balance, it has been a challenging work because it shifts from time to time and across nations and cultures. Scholars failed to notice female migrations before 1960 and afterwards, and the global patterns of migration has been difficult to be understood over the centuries. Before the first World War, since the borders were open and there were less restriction on migration, therefore nation-states had not paid attention to categorization of migration and the typology was basically based on race and ethnicity but gradually in twentieth century, nation-states started to create restriction based on creating complex typologies such as professional or skilled workers, tourists, labor migrants, artists, travelers, refugees, international students, asylum seekers, trailing spouse, adopted children, displaced people, trafficking victims and so on. The difference made based on data collection by the authors, they found out two types of migrations. One type is based on labor needs that brought out workforce, servants and contract workers; the other type is based on biological and reproductive integration of the migrant and receiving society throughout marriages and family creations. This distinguish provides mechanism to understanding the gender composition of migrations (Donato & Gabaccia 2015).

Although Historians and scholars had studied several types of movements or mobility to study the role of movements on bringing civilizations across the world such as China's big wall and the pyramids in Egypt but the scholarly studies about migration was developed later on. For the first time, Francis Bacon suggested rules on counting populations and evaluating the sizes in order for the state to better govern them-this suggested contained counting populations based on sex (Donato and Gabaccia 2015).

Ravenstein was a German born geographer who migrated to England and there he became naturalized citizen. He is known as the father of modern migration studies and he studied migration and sex broadly not only in England but also in other countries. His studies of sex and migration claims that primary forms of women's migrations were more about short-distance movements; for example women's mobility to husbands' household of farm. When it comes to domestic or private concerns, he associates it with women migrant's morality. For example, some widow women's migration has been made due to the demand for them in the spa towns, some moved due to their husbands' absence in

military roles, some were just released to live indolent lives by their husbands. Through other sections of his argument, it is claimed that more women were likely migrating based on demands for manufacturing, kitchen services and textile works, as men were required to go on for works where there were demand for mining and industry workforce. Irish women are an example of migrants for the domestic services demands (Ravenstein 1885 as cited in Donato & Gabaccia 2015).

The early migrating groups in 19th and 20th centuries were men who were demanded to migrate temporarily due to colonial clues and for the purpose of building infrastructure and working on plantations and in heavy industries. Gender relations were often totally imperceptible in early migration researches. Up to the 1980s, the gender blinded and male dominated characteristic of migration research leads to a highly remarkable analytical flaw. This leads to poor aggregation of the various motivations, agencies, characteristics, and relations of women and men, when it comes to analysis, explanation and description of migrations; it finally comes up with a big failure in term of indicating migration behavior of either sex. The early mid of 1980s was the first era in which silent was kind of broken through researches. In 1983, “The One Way Ticket” by Annie Phizacklea had a contributing part in this regard. Since the first wave did not fully explore the gender relations within the migration process, therefore new explorations were taken through the second wave; in which more transformative interpretations of female migrations were formulated; this wave contained studying structures of both constraining and enabling in 1990s (Phizacklea 1998 as cited in Penninx, Berger & Kraal, 2006).

Since the mid-1920s, the increase in immigration regulations has impacted over global immigrants towards gender balance in many countries. Women and families formed a larger share of the immigrant population from the time when national laws increasingly started to restrict the male dominated labor migration. While the share of women in global migratory flows increased, it had leaded movements of women basically to the developed nations, such as the United States. Gender balance has helped to identify many migrations in the global level by the first decade of the 21st century. Migrants in the first decade of the century 21, gender balance, identifies many immigrants around the world. Between 1960 and 2010, women make up 47 to 48 percent of all international migrants. Women comprise 52.3 percent of recent immigrant in the United States. Meanwhile the feminization of the workforce is small agricultural areas are also explored in global

assembly plants in Asia as well as in the wealthy nations looking for foreign women as domestic workers (Houstoun, Kramer & Barrett 1984).

Feminization is defined in many respects when used in the field of immigration. Some scholars use this term to refer to an increase in the number of female immigrants or the rise of percentage within two years or (multiyear) periods in order to reflect recent changes in the role of women or to highlight the increase in the number of women among all immigrants. Feminization is also defined as a shift from typologies of gender composition such as shift from greatly male to male predominant and from the male predominant type to the gender balanced type. Researchers use different tools of measurement in order to balance men and women and to measure femininity in migration. Among the international migration, the difference in the balance of men and women migrants was not only across the time but also from region to region and from country to country. As an example, in Africa most of the migrations were made from the male predominant regions rather than other regions to America but some data shows that women slave workforces were considered more valuable for their reproductive capacity than men who were considered for their productive capacity. Taking all global trends into consideration, migrant flows vary in their composition and direction and women were more plentiful at particular parts of the world at certain periods of times. The size, extend and the composition of global migration trends varies a lot in the current era. The current era shows that the numbers of people involved and the numbers of people living outside of the country of birth are higher than the previous eras. Nonetheless the case is sometimes different when it comes to study the refugee women. There are some restrictions that deprive them from some movements (Martin 2004).

The main source of hardships about women refugees is coming from the structural weaknesses existing in the international protection system which either directly or indirectly impact women and even deprives women of either not willing or are not allowed to go for risky journeys through the Mediteranean; so they are stayed in the transit countries-the neighboring developing countries while their men are able to move to the destination country. Ironically, the developing countries are less likely developing protective policies to facilitate the integration ways to the refugees-due to the reason that refugees' stay is temporarily; therefore it is difficult to get integrated to the local labor markets and there are more chances of harassment if they go out of their camps. From the

other side, since men aren't always able to get access to education and enter the labor market, they get into violated relation with women. These cases have been widely recorded by the UNHCR for the countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq, who are being known as instable, war affected and livelihood disrupted countries (Martin 2004).

When it comes to discourses about refugee women, within some efforts to improve asylum policies, it has been seen that women are pointed as a uniform category. This means that they are often lumped in with groups such as children, disabled people, elders and other categories-underestimating the fact that women and girls are a certain group with specific needs and specific protections in the policy and political levels. In regard to this discourse, there are two caveats; the first is that women should not be brought in line with other disabled/ marginalized categories, rather they should be addressed specifically. Unlike popular studies that address migrant women as deprived groups, the caveats claim out that women aren't always looking after the male bread-winners; they are also bread-winners and capable although they are suffering from the several unfair circumstances from displacements. Second, when it comes to discussing deprivations, masculinity should also be brought in; because it is not only women who suffer it, men are also involved in (Carling 2005).

3.3 Types of Women's Internal and International Migrations:

Reviews of some earlier migration flows exposed that women had been able to migrate as independent individuals, sometimes on their own, sometimes together with, or apart from, their male counterparts (Gray 1996 as cited in Rinus, Berger & Kraal, 2006).

There are four foremost types of female migrants, illustrious by women's marital status and their causes for migrating: 1) married women migrating to seek employment; 2) unmarried women migrating to seek employment; 3) unmarried women migrating to seek marriage; and finally, 4) married women involved in associational migration without thinking about employment (Hugo 1993 as cited in Martin 1993).

As for women's international migration, there are individual, familial and societal level that contribute as the factors. The individual factor is comprised of race, ethnicity, age, urban/rural origins, birth order, reproductive status, marital status, working and educational status. Familial factors are such status, size, sex, structure and etc. The

societal factors are those that determine if women can migrate or not; if yes, how and whom with and in which frame and cycle (Boyd & Grieco 2003 as cited in Martin 1993).

3.4 Causes and Consequences of Feminization of Migration

Since factors motivating women is different from the factors motivating men, therefore men and women's participation rate is also not equal. Men's migrations is mainly based on economic motivations while women's migrations are based on social and cultural reasons; this means that women migrate largely in order to escape from the familial and structural restrictions imposed on them and to escape gender discrimination and social control over them (Sadeqi & Wildond 2016 as cited in Seifi 2017). The statistical data shows that there were about 224 million migrants around the world in 2015, in which women made 48% of the population (UNDESA 2016 as cited in Seifi 2017). Refugees make 8% of the whole mentioned number of international migrant population among which women and girls made 47% of this proportion (UNHCR 2016 as cited in Seifi 2017).

Historical data show that women's primary types of migrations were basically due to joining their families. Women used to intensively immigrate to the United States of America to join their husbands. Huge number of female immigrations to Australia, Canada, Europe and New Zealand is for the purpose of family reunification. Based on surveys conducted in India, the data show that 89% of the rural based women and 59% of the urban based women migrate for the marriage purposes; likewise census data conducted in 2001 in Nepal showed that 42% of women's internal migrations are based on marriage reasons. According to UNFPA reports, around 80000 Russian women immigrated to the United States and to the Western Europe (from 1995 to 2005) in order to get married. The rural farm working men in Taiwan, Japan and China are more inclined to marrying with Philippines, Vietnamese and Thai women (Fleury 2016).

Divorced and widow women from Guatemala and Maldives migrate in order to escape social stigma. Srilankan and Philippines women consider migration more acceptable than divorce. Philippines women migrate in order to avoid families' control on them specially when its about forced marriage. 23% of the young Eutopian girls migrate to escape early marriages. States who fail to protect it female population against violence, migration is

more likely seen there alongside an increased risk of the human trafficking (Oneil, Fleury & Foresti 2016). Interview based data with the migrant women indicates that women are being treated exploitatively and are paid very few wages in the labour market in Ireland. The women who remain after the migrant husbands could gain more authority (specially in term of financial expenditure) and decision making power in the households. Manifestly migration is not always about positive sides; it could also mean the vice versa form of it. Politicians in media and peoples' discussions among the public would subject migrants to smuggling, stealing, addiction and AIDS vulnerable masses. Likewise, the irregular migrants who are accused to violating laws, they are not being protected by the laws (Porazizi 2012 as cited in Seifi 2017).

3.5 Challenges on Migrant and Refugee Women

Women's forced migrations make a huge concern for the international community particularly when it comes to their legal and physical needs and protections. The international definition of women refugees is not based on forced migration due to race, religion, ethnicity, political opinion, and nationality and so on; rather the gender component of international migration is hugely based on persecution due to widow burning, rape, domestic violence, honor killing, forced marriages, security threats, expulsion, and torture and so on. Women facing such kinds of exploitations are called women-at-risk by the UNHCR and they need special protection; some countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand have developed specific women-at-risk programs in order to ensure their protection. The exploitations does not only exist in pre-migration stage, it does exist in during the movement process too; there are huge exploitations existing through the trafficking of people; particularly when migrants fail to pay the smuggling fee to the smugglers, women and children are being sold for the business for the slavery and sexual exploitative jobs. Sometimes smugglers give false good job-finding opportunities for the women and provide them with false travel documents. After they migrate, they are brought to the imposed work markets and to the sex industries with less paying and they are forced to drug use, rape, starvation, unprotected sex a large number of partners and so on. Once they get mental and physical breakdowns or transmit sexual disease such as HIV and AIDS, they are not being provided medical care and are even killed sometimes (Martin 2004).

Women's legal status is another issue concerning women. Women admitted legally as migrants or refugees enjoy rights and services as other residents but women having asylum seeker status often receive less services and social facilities for the fact that their situation is not assessed and they are awaiting to hear the decision about them (Martin 2004).

Among the aspects of migration process, the return dynamics are greatly gendered. Studies examined that despite a general desire for returning home by both male and females, women are more unwilling to go back because for women return would mean giving up and losing freedoms and returning to a position where conservative social conditions limits women's social relations and freedoms and female employment opportunities are lacking (Rinus, Berger & Karaal 2006).

3.6 Poverty and Women's Migration

A study conducted about Asian women's migrations, it discusses about internal and transnational migrations and that which factors are dominant on women's migrations. The migration of women is linked with the poverty factor and this leads to social exclusion; social exclusion is the perspective by which poverty is being understood through a dynamic framework containing agency, process and other multi-dimensionality of disadvantage. It insists that transnational migrations are widely influenced by the state policies; meaning that state policies the in-flow and out-flow migrations of women; states policies is of course effective in terms of promoting migrations of women, how do the results come out, how could it control the exclusion and deprivation and are the policies assuring protective support or not. Since women's migrations are basically not only due to poverty but also due to the sexual division of labor in the sector of the private jobs. The migration of women is influenced not only due to sending countries' social, political and cultural context but also due to the receiving countries' contexts of customs, cultures and traditions. All dimensions coming together creates migrant women's identity and their experiences. State policies are basically made considering its beneficiary vision; for example for the positive economic benefits such as enhancing cheap labor force or for remittances or so on. Migration is highly institutionalized for the employment reasons. Migrant women, due to existence of exploitations migrate in search of job and some get to fancies with the middlemen in the transit. In order to eliminate exploitation from the

workplaces, the both sending and receiving countries are responsible to develop standardized policies to ensure working women's rights (Narayanswamy 2003 as cited in Arya & Roy 2006).

The both countries are also responsible to develop informational tool so that the migrant women could be well informed of the working conditions and circumstances related to their work. Besides this, there should be specific approaches to listen the women's problems realistically. Also, while developing policies, women's participation in negotiations and policy making is important. In regional migrations, women migrate from rural areas to the urban areas to seek jobs in factories, construction, trading sexual services, piece work, under the exploitative and insecure work conditions (Shah 2006 as cited in Arya & Roy 2006).

In India, women migrate from rural to urban regions based on specific circumstances and mainly for the purpose of survival and supporting families (Karlekar 1995).

For the poorest women, movements are due to their dependency and for survival, while for other women its better opportunity to gain and save capital; while for the poorest women among the poor, women are being paid the lowest wages and they are appointed for the hardest unskilled jobs. Studies assessing nexus between women's migration and development both in national and international migrations show that women contribute to remittances more than men; even although women are being paid less than men. For example: in South Africa women make 25% higher contribution in remitting than men (Collinson 2003 as cited in Martin 2004).

Poverty is an important factor of women's migration. Filipina women's documented profiles show that they were mainly young, unmarried and between 20-29 ages. The elder women are normally those who are educated and they carry parental responsibilities. Studies show that migrant women have more tendency to feeding up the household by sending them money, unlike boys. Women's migratory success is either due to the families' support in the household or due to the personal and social network that women make and this helps them access to the supportive information. The success is also due to existence of Filipino migrants' organizations and/or existence of responsive consular office in the countries (Guerrero 2001 as cited in Roy & Arya 2006).

Considering the positive aspects of Filipino women's migration, it shouldn't be underestimated that there have also been exploitative situations such as the story of a Filipino domestic woman who migrated in the age of 14 and was later imprisoned in Saudia Arabia due to killing her employer after he made efforts to rape her. Women's movement and their economic role creates a possibility for the cultural change. This means that women who contributed to the economy of the household, they have been treated differently-although it does not mean that power is shifted from their male spouses to them; it only means that there have been power negotiations between male and female household members (Roy & Arya 2006).

In Sri Lanka, women comprise a big proportion of workforce in Free Trade Zones and in the plantations. Women aging among 18 to 25 were being appointed for the Sweatshop jobs and women between 16 to 45 years old. For over two decades, there have been high unemployment of women than men and there were less educated women although education conditions were equally available to both men and women (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1999).

During the oil crisis in the West-Asian countries, Sri Lanka had promoted around 970.000 of its population hired as workers in Kuwait, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Lebanon (SLBFE 2002 as cited in Roy & Arya 2006).

The proportion of women increased from 40% in 1994 to 70% in 1999; these women were the most remarkable example of exploitation who worked overseas. The reasons of women's poverty is due to women's deprivation from the state-land ownership and women's deprivation from owning the property left after the death of parents. This is entitled to the son/s of the families. But there is a shift from the gender roles in the societies-it's when women in large number contribute to the earnings. These women are mainly the wives who migrate overseas and they send money to the household; they build house, they invest and send children to the good schools. These women have challenged the societal norms which make the gender roles and responsibilities. These were the women who wanted to return back home after they make an earning from their migration. This shift, despite of its positive aspect, it have also had its negative impacts-the men whose wives migrated abroad, they were no longer made attempts to get employed; this

way they lost their authority on household and they turned to drugs and alcohol (Silva 1997 as cited in Roy & Arya 2006).

Among the migrant women, there have not only been the Indian and Sri Lankan, there have also been the Filipino women who comprise the 60% of the migrant workers of the Asian region by 1990s. Their participation have been mainly for the reproductive work reason such as nurturing and caregiving (Guerrero 2001 as cited in Roy & Arya 2006).

Major migrations has been made to Japan. The main reasons for women's migrations were the political instability (during presidential elections) and the economic crisis (the peso-dollar peak). Philippines government have been making attempts to bans in order to deploy women's domestic works; although the receiving countries have not fully ensured women's protection and have not developed women's empowerment policies; therefore Filipino have made efforts (such as developing policies and programs) to decrease the stuck in the domestic work. In some Asian countries, once migrant women become domestic worker, she is no more able to go for better jobs even if she is qualified for it. Women's migration in and from Nepal is not explicitly available because studies conducted on migration in Nepal is not segregated based on gender; this has created difficulty in term of analyzing women's migration in term of remittances and foreign labor as well as due to this gap, there is no specific data to show how women migrated and what kind of challenges they faced while migrating domestically and globally; few existing data show that women have been compelled to foreign migrations because they were not considered qualified for the army jobs as well as for the civil and governmental jobs (Roy & Arya 2006).

The disadvantages and discriminations are different in kind when it comes to women's migration in Nepal; some of the factors are counted as low education level, lack of confidence, lack of access to resources and information, lack of financial independency and so on. There are rare cases in which women own lands and properties by which they can make income and take movement decisions. The limitations are not only about these limitations; there are several more. Traditional perceptions and traditions plus the discriminatory procedures and laws existing in Nepal add to the restrictions on women. Women are not able to get citizenship and passport by themselves unless they take a male

member such as father or husband with them to facilitate the process for them. According to the Foreign Employment Act 1985, women are sent for foreign employment only when they are being allowed by their guardians (Singh 1990).

In 1998 women were banned to work in the Gulf countries because a huge kind of exploitations such as sexual abuse and death have been seen out there. In other countries women were only appointed for caretaking, nurturing, housekeeping and kitchen jobs; while only few of them were appointed for the factory jobs. The study shows that it is difficult for the poorest of the poor women to migrate. (Gurung 2003).

The poor women could migrate but to different forms of migration; they moved intending to work in factories, textiles and restaurants but were lured by the agencies and were taken to brothels in other countries-as for the seasonal migrations. It is now normal to proclaim that women's increased economic independence is reflected in migration flows. The assessment and efforts on a detailed investigation on why some countries send men and some send women, or both, it is being questioned that why and how gender composition of migrants varies at different times and in response to different conditions. Pointing the slavery era to the global age, the feminization of migration is not a contemporary development but it has a long, complex, often manipulative and troubling history, as per young women has moved to find employment as domestic servants or farm workers and have been marketed as sex slaves for several years (Donato and Gabaccia 2015).

3.7 Migration and Women's Empowerment

There are three interrelated dimensions coming together as the tools of exploring the concept of empowerment: agency, resources and achievement. Power is meant as an ability to make choices and disempowerment means to be starved of the ability to make choices; in order to help denied ones obtain the ability to make choices, empowerment comes into being as a process. Agency signifies a process in which a set of choices are made. Resources are the tools that help the agency get exercised and finally achievement is defined as the outcomes of the agency. The three dimensions are comprehensively studied over three major indicators contributing to women's empowerment if they are being practiced effectively and efficiently. These indicators are education, employment and political participation of women (Kabeer 1999).

Empowerment is a concept that connects individual strengths and capabilities, and proactive manners towards social change and social policy (Rappaport 1984).

An academic research defines empowerment of women as a possession in term of having access to and control on the relevant resources and information and access to the choices. Choice matters in three levels. Existence of choice: existence of a range of options among which choices are made by women; Use of choice: women's decision making power; Achievement of choice: having the capability to achieve wanted results (Narazani, Mara, Basic & Stojilovska 2015).

Through another literature, empowerment is studied from the important aspect of consciousness which means that women should develop self-consciousness and stay active and struggle for positive change and welfare (Freire 1973). Within this concept, empowerment contains women's self-respect and efforts to challenge the existing power structure thoroughly (Ashfar 1998). To do so, empowerment strategies should be carefully formed in a way to help build on "the power within" for women to promote their capabilities to access and control resources as well as to be able to determine agendas and to have the ability to make decisions (Kabeer 1994).

Another research argues that women's empowerment is not just about the ability of making decision, rather it is about the means that help facilitate empowerment through the process by which women consider and realize themselves as powerful and capable of making decisions (Rowlands 1997).

International migration of women (from traditional society to the industrialized countries) affects women's roles in the household and in the communities. Since they become familiar with new norms, opportunities & rights, modern values through their experiences living abroad, specifically through their employment, they make financial contribution to the household and while return they gain more authority and power (Martin 2004).

Asian migrant women have been able to save 61% of their employment income. They could send about 46% of their income to their families and to the husbands. Women attending work in high paying countries were receiving more respect from the society. Women could gain a considerably high degree of fame, prestige and respect as they went abroad for employment and contributed to their independency (Roy & Arya 2006).

3.8 Conclusion

Feminization of migration streams means that women play a progressively important role in migration process, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The feminization debate means recognizing the increased participation, independence and agency of women in migration flows (Rinus, Berger & Kraal, 2006).

The researches show that women migrants have been partially successful in escaping traditional patriarchal structures and through earning wages, they could gain some independence at home. Through this, they could create division of labor inside their houses and could avoid sex segregations in public and social spheres (Brettel 2000).

4 MIGRATION AND REFUGEE FLOWS FROM AFGHANISTAN

Mobility has been an important portion of Afghan history. Historical records show that Afghans have been migrating to the other countries, especially to the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan for centuries due to specific reasons either by force or voluntarily.

This chapter examines closely the crucial link between migration and the historical patterns in the context of Afghanistan. In other words, it aims to give a comprehensive overview of the migration situation in Afghanistan. For this purpose, the paper starts by overviewing the historical events and moreover by taking up the cases of Afghans to Pakistan and Afghans to Iran migration links throughout highlighting the major waves of migrations.

In this chapter, I first explain the three waves of Afghan migrations under the historical review section, followed by analysis of the reasons and motivations on why Afghan migrants decided to flee out the country and seek protection abroad. Later on, by exploring the consequences, the impacts, the opportunities the challenges and the return decisions, I further try to clarify the waves and in conclusion I try to illustrate a comparison between the two migration cases of Afghans to Pakistan and Afghans to Iran fleeing destinations.

4.1 Historical Overview of the Afghan Migration

Afghan migration consists two episodes: the pre 1978 era of migration and the post 1978 era of migration.

4.1.1 Afghan Migration pre 1978 (before the Soviet invasion era)

When the Afghan migration discussion comes out, people spontaneously think about Afghan peoples' migrations in its forced sense particularly due to the wartimes. But the case of migrations doesn't start from the wartimes; although later on war become the main

reason. In point of fact, the primary forms of migrations were practiced due to some other factors which existed within the Afghan history, leading Afghans to migrate to the neighboring countries voluntary (Stigter 2006).

For the fact that Afghanistan holds a significant geo-strategic location, throughout the history it seized a key location on the Silk Road trade way and it draws a trading line between east and west. This significant characteristic of Afghanistan provided the people with the opportunity of migration to the neighboring countries either for the trade purpose or for any other purposes. Therefore migration is an important part of the historical uniqueness of Afghanistan.

From among the reasons leading Afghanistan people towards mobility, the major indicators are recorded as the low-income feature of the country which was later on followed by war and instability throughout the last century (Stigter 2006).

Within the 1960s and 1970s, industrialization problem remained negligible and the Afghan people faced insufficient employment opportunities. As a consequence, the oil boom in 1973 attracted many Afghan labor migrants fleeing to Pakistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran and to the other Middle Eastern countries.

The foremost factor was the ethnic ties Afghanistan had with some of its neighboring countries-particularly with Iran and Pakistan. The reason why Afghans migrated to Pakistan was due to the ethnic tie in term of Pashtun tribes existing in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. There are 20% Pashtun populations residing in Pakistan; likewise about 30% Pashtuns residing in Afghanistan. The Pashtuns of the both countries are separated from each other through the Durand Line (Monsutti 2005 as cited in Kuschminder and Dora 2009).

Likewise Afghans mostly from the Hazara tribe, residing in the west and the northwest provinces which shared border with Iran, they migrated to this country. Not only the common border issue mattered but other ties such as cultural and linguistic ties were also significant. Religious ties existed too; Afghans residing on the west parts are usually the Shi'a Muslims. While Afghans migrating to Pakistan are hugely the Sunni Muslims. These ties led to the cross border migrations between Afghanistan-Pakistan and Afghanistan-Iran (Monsutti 2005 as cited in Kuschminder and Dora 2009).

Some studies have also pointed the seasonal emigrations from Afghanistan for the weather reasons. It was most likely made during the winters because based on meteorological researches, Afghanistan is characterized as a cold and heavy snowing country during the winters (Stigtr 2006 as cited in Kuschminder and Dora 2009).

Nonetheless migrations were also for the purpose of exploring employment, Since Afghanistan was of a poor economic country. During the oil boom in 1973 a number of Afghans fled to the Middle East countries and to Iran to invest for employment and businesses.

Transnational setups existing between Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, made the movement of Afghan individuals to seek work, to escape drought and later on, to flee war (Monsutti 2006).

4.1.2 The First Wave of Afghan Migration

International Migration post 1978 (The Soviet invasion era): This wave happened during the 1979 Soviet invasion. Some refugees left Afghanistan to seek safety and security. The unstable environment was as a result of continuing conflict between Soviet soldiers, Afghan soldiers and the Mujahideen that created an unstable environment which was not appropriate to work or raise a family. During the first wave, about 6 million Afghans were forced to migrate. About 3.5 million moved to Pakistan, 2 million fled to Iran, and the rest migrated to other countries (Dimitriadi 2013).

In this historical juncture, Afghanistan witnessed the first huge refugee movements to the neighboring countries, particularly to Iran and Pakistan. Gradually, several social, political and cultural challenges were emerged within the context of the country, among which civil war was the primary form of them followed by other problems such as destruction of trade setups and infrastructure, lack of economic opportunities and inadequate access to social services such as education and healthcare. Likewise, other types of limited livelihood opportunities were also from among the reasons; so all reasons coming together made people to migrate in order to escape insecurity and seek protection out of the country borders (Stigtr 2006 as cited in Kuschminder and Dora 2009).

Steadily after the withdrawal of the Soviet rule in 1988 migration flows increased by 6.2 million refugees from Afghanistan. (Jazayery 2002).

Later on, as a result of the collapse of Najibullah government in 1992, the repatriation movements were made; subsequently, by the beginning of 1994, the refugee population in Pakistan fell down from 3.2 million to 1.47 million. Due to the continuance of the civil war though, the flow in repatriation was short lived (Grare & Maley 2011).

Although later on, due to emergence of anarchy, the refugee flows started again as civil war declined and especially when the Taliban came into power in 1996 (Monsutti 2006).

4.1.3 The Second Wave of Afghan Migration

The Taliban Regime (1996-2001): the second wave is followed by the withdrawal of the Soviet group and later on, with the start of the civil war in which several groups wanted to impose their leadership; as a result of anarchic situation, Taliban emerged and took the power with the vision of unifying the country and restoring security. This wave begun with the occupation of the Taliban under the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in 1996. The Taliban were an extremely conservative group, used to govern in an oppressive way such as human rights abuses and killings meanwhile targeting the political leaders mainly coming from the Hazara ethnic minorities. This period was accompanied by another wave of migration due to the systematic persecution they faced. It is estimated that, at the time, almost 1 million people (only from the Hazara ethnic) fled the country (Dimitriadi 2013).

The triumph of the Mujahedeen group in 1992 resulted the second wave of migration wave out of Afghanistan in 1992. This was the era when mainly the educated groups coming from the middle classes residing at the urban regions of Afghanistan fled towards the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan (Stigter 2006 as cited in Marchand, Siegel, Kuschminder, Majidi, Vanore & Buil 2014).

Since 1994, as the Taliban regime was oppressively raising and living condition was getting more threatening, more flows of movements were made toward Pakistani and Iran and this wave continued till 2002. During this period, almost 300.000 Afghans fled to Pakistan. This was the time when UNHCR stopped providing livelihood aids to the Afghan refugees in order to spread them around the cities to seek employment. Meanwhile Iran closed its border with Afghanistan to avoid receiving more refugees. It even stopped providing educational and health services to the Afghan refugees to make them go back home. As a result of the aggressive policies, Iran finally deported 190.000

Afghans by justifying that they were undocumented (Shavazi 2005 as cited in Marchand, Siegel, Kuschminder, Majidi, Vanore & Buil 2014).

4.1.4 The Third Wave of Afghan Migration

Oust of the Taliban regime (2001): This was the era when the 11 September 2011 attacks took place by the Taliban terrorists. This brought the US operations against the Taliban and led to the US-Taliban war in Afghanistan; during which the insecurity was remarkably expanding and people had no other choice but to migrate again to the neighboring countries of Pakistan and Iran. These two countries were trying to avoid receiving refugees; as a result of which Pakistan closed its refugee camps and Iran announced no employment chances for Afghans. As a result of oust of the Taliban regime by the international community, between 2002-2005, large numbers of refugees were repatriated; a 2.7 million refugees returned from Pakistan and around 800,000 refugees returned back home from Iran (Marchand, Siegel, Kuschminder, Majidi, Vanore & Buil 2014).

4.1.5 Afghan Migration to Islamic Republic of Iran & Pakistan: Causes and Motivations

The motivations and causes for Afghan migration have been different; among which, the popular ones have been war and conflict, population growth, drought, uneven economic growth, limited rule of law and the mixed motivations.

To flee from the war, bombing and fighting was the original reason for Afghan migrations followed by other causes such as deterioration of living standards, escape from military service, lack of security, worsening of the economic situation, decrease in livelihood opportunities, destruction of transport infrastructure and to avoid physical violence associated with war. Respondents have reported that the Soviet troops had fired their farms and ruined their irrigation channels. In Pakistan the existence of refugee camps being supported by international community attracted refugee flows, unlike Iran. In Iran labor market provided opportunities for Afghans to work and earn their livelihood (Monsutti 2006).

Some Afghans left the country to earn some money in order to feed their families and to live in a society where there are greater opportunities and more chances of economic development; availability of promoting opportunities for women and girls was one of the other motivations. Many of the Afghan single boys travelled alone in order to send remittances to their families and in order to pay off the debts (Galustov 2013).

The census conducted during the Soviet invasion and then the second one which was conducted in 1979 shows a high increase in the size of the Afghan population which was estimated as 15.5 million. While the population was increasing, the economy and agriculture growth was declining. For instance, with the passage of time and new generations, the lands were divided as inheritance among them and later on most of the lands were being captured so the remaining population were remaining landless. From the other side agricultural work was also down. During the Soviet conflicts, the irrigation system was destroyed and plants got diseases and the usage of the low quality seeds decreased the productivity of harvests; the long lasting conflict did not only devastate Afghanistan's infrastructure, but also weakened the rule of law, government institutions and violation of human rights; for the lack of freedom plus limited economic opportunities, people needed to seek livelihood opportunities abroad (Monsutti 2006).

Of course motivations for migrations have been different in different stages and historical periods but it has been difficult to understand all of the causes of the Afghan migrations based on ethnicity identity, gender and age; because categorization of migrations based on these indicators are not specifically made out due to the reason that some of the variables are neglected such as the planned multi-location of families, complementarity of places of residence and employments and the kinship groups; although some other indicators such as geographical and ethnic origin, occupational experience, educational level, time of departure, reasons for decision and political involvement reasons are appraised and studied by scholars but still coming up with an exact and comprehensive data is missing (Monsutti 2006).

4.1.5.1 Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

To escape the Taliban oppressive regime, a huge number of Afghans fled to Pakistan. Pakistan reached an agreement with the United Nations, through which it could receive

financial supports by international community; thereby it could provide services such as basic livelihood needs to the Afghan refugees (Monsutti, 2006).

Studies on cross-border population movements demonstrate that movements for economic and social purposes increased refugee movements into Pakistan. Afghan labor force helped Pakistan to expand economically; for this reason, the efforts for the continuation of war and conflicts is continuously made by Pakistan through supporting the Taliban. Pakistan did so in order to keep the Afghan workers to stay and contribute to the development of Pakistan (Grare & Maley 2011).

Afghan laborers were not paid equal rights for equal work. They were forced to accept lower wages than ordinary Pakistani laborers. For example, if a Pakistani laborer had received 20 rupees for his work in construction, the Afghan construction worker had earned 15 rupees (Emadi 1988).

The positive thing about migration to Pakistan was that Afghans were offered access to education and were allowed to mobilize and create their own schools and educational centers. Likewise freedom of movement and settlement was provided by open access to the labor market, which was later a key reason for migration to Pakistan. The latter therefore, became an option in the targets for immediate source of income which could supply the family in the short and medium term with financial support. Afghans were working in unskilled or low-skilled jobs with limited and unstable earnings (Danish Refugee Council 2013).

Citizenship problems have also existed; despite of considering the large number of Afghan refugees who remained in Pakistan for decades, the number of Afghans gaining Pakistani citizenship was very low because according to the article 14 of the 1951 Pakistani Citizenship Act, Pakistan does not recognize dual citizenship. Afghans could get citizenship in these four cases: birth-place, blood, naturalization and marriage (Gilani 2016).

The remarkable era of change in Pakistan's policy towards the Afghan refugees dated on 1st of January 2000, when the government of Pakistan announced that new arrivals from Afghanistan would no longer be considered as the refugees. The fighting between the Taliban; later on it decided to close the border with Afghanistan in an attempt to cut off

the refugee flows. In 2001, for the first time, the Pakistani government announced its new decision of arrest and deportation order for newly arrived Afghans; meanwhile it asked the UNHCR to stop issuing identity cards in the new refugee camps for Afghans, especially if the new movement is based on economic migrations rather than refugees (Dimitriadi 2013).

Although Pakistan issued new strict policies, for several reasons people were not ready to return back home mainly due to lack of infrastructure, employment and security (Saito & Hunte, 2007 as cited in Dimitriadi 2013).

From among the biggest refugee and migrant accepting cities in Pakistan, Karachi is the remarkable one. Karachi is the commercial and industrial hub of the national economy and it provides more employment opportunities to the new arrivals in transport, construction, wholesale and other workplaces. Since the 1980s almost 500,000 Afghans, particularly Pashtuns have been living in this city.

Peshawar is a big city in Pakistan maintaining border with Kabul-the capital of Afghanistan. It is a trading center having exports of stones and semi-precious stones, hand woven carpets, dry fruit and wood furniture. Afghans chose to settle in Peshawar for the reason that both sides had common linguistic, cultural and social environment ties. Based on census conducted in 2005, reports showed that from among the total 3.5 million Afghan populations residing in Pakistan, 20% of them are based in Peshawar. The repatriation of Afghans from Peshwar negatively impacted the economic sectors particularly the carpet crafts and the transportation.

A huge population of Afghan refugees were based in Quetta but there aren't specific data to show the exact number of Afghans residing there. Quetta is a large but least developed city, in which Afghans' labor contribution impacted economic development. Quetta's commercial ways connect some of the provinces in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran with each other; hence it is considered important in term of bringing in goods such as Cumin from Hazarajat (a mountainous city located in the central highlands of Afghanistan), hides and iron from Herat (a city in the western part of Afghanistan) and fruits and wool from Kandahar (a province based in south of Afghanistan). Quetta was transit point for Afghans to the destinations such as UAE, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Australia and Europe (Monsutti 2006). The US State Department once noted that there were some types of exploitations

against the Afghan refugees in Quetta. It claimed that refugees did not always have access to courts and legal services and they were harassed by the intelligence agencies, or were asked by police to pay bribes. It added that many parts of Pakistan were insecure, and Quetta was a dangerous place for Shiite Hazara refugees as it has become a source of activity for the Afghan Taliban who are extremely Sunni Muslims and mainly the Pashtuns (Grare & Maley 2011).

4.1.5.2 Afghan Refugees in Iran:

Iran is another country in which many refugee flows took place from Afghanistan. During 1880-1901 a huge proportion of Afghans from the Hazara ethnicity fled to Iran from north and northwestern parts of Afghanistan. Based on article 17 of the 1951 Convention of Refugees which was ratified by Iran, Afghans were permitted to work in sectors such as brick making, construction, tile making, agriculture and glass blowing (Azizi, Hosseini & Basavaraju 2017).

In Iran, refugees are entitled the rights such as, freedom to travel, residency permit, access to court and employment. Afghans contributed to the huge labor market gap at the time when Iranians went to fight against Iraq in 1980s (Azizi, Hosseini & Basavaraju 2017).

During the first flow, Iran greeted the Afghan refugees as a hosting country. These countries provided social facilities to the Afghans; for example: Iran gave the refugees with identification cards, and provided them with opportunities to access to social services such as work, food, health-care, primary and secondary education for free and etc. They were also given the right to settle where they chose (Monsutti 2006).

Afghans in Rey city of Iran: Rey is located in the southeast of the capital of Iran in which almost 150,000 Afghans used to work as farmers, laborers, stonemasons and tailors. This city was receiving more migrants because the rent costs are low there.

Afghans in Mashad city of Iran: This city is the second big destination point for Afghans after Tehran. There exists almost 31,804 households and about 155,893 individuals.

Afghans in Zahedan city of Iran: The major Afghan population migrating to this city, were coming from the rural areas. As of 2005, almost 98,064 documented Afghans were living there. This town is a frontier point based near to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Afghans used to work in informal economy as laborers, grocers, construction and workers but their

live was often with fear of deportation and arrest because they did not have work documentations (Monsutti 2006).

4.1.5.3 Iran's Border Closure Foreign Policy towards Afghans

After the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan, Iran acted restrictively about Afghans and it rejected receiving more migrants; therefore if it was receiving a new Afghan migrant, he/she was treated as an irregular comer (Shavazi 2008 as cited in Dimitriadi 2013). The negative outcome of Iran's close border policy created a new challenge in the common borders such as the border between Herat (a city in Afghanistan) and Mashad (a city in Iran) which later on, it turned to a smuggling border operated by smugglers (Strand, Suhrke & Harpviken 2004 and Khosravi 2011 as cited in Dimitriadi 2013).

Some media reports show that Iran's treatment of Afghans in that country is in contradiction with international law; the reports claim that Iran has failed to fulfill its obligations under international law in respect of the Afghans residing in that country.

Afghans are subject to persecution and arrest in Iran. Violated actions such as the theft of money and the separation of their family members from each other, prohibition of travel in prohibited areas and the prolongation of the residence permit is commonly practiced against the Afghan refugees. Therefore one of the serious recent concerns of Human Rights Watch is the persecution of children in Iranian detention centers. The organization noticed that children are kept together with adults and forced to do some difficult work (Wahedi 2019).

Marriage obstacles: Over the past four decades, many Afghan citizens have married Iranian nationals due to linguistic, cultural and geographical affinities. Lack of registration of marriages, failure to acquire Iranian citizenship for the children, lack of guarantees for couple adherence to paternity assignments, including alimony payments, sometimes the husband's return to Afghanistan or migration to the Western countries, indefinite custody and guardianship of children and inheritance in the event of the death of parents, children's identity problems, obstacles to pursuing legal issues and lawsuits against a couple due to the absence of marriage and etc, are among the problems raised from the transnational marriages.

As a result, the multitude of children born of these marriages wander in an uncertain atmosphere of identity and results in lack of enjoyment of many civil rights, including the labor, economic, educational, cultural and political rights (AVA 2017).

Iran currency crisis: from among the challenges impacting migrants in Iran, one is the unprecedented fall of Iranian currency (Toman) against the dollar as a result of which the wave of travel of Afghan immigrants (those who were holding businesses) from Iran has begun. Afghan settlers in Iran's metropolitan areas are mainly engaged in the production of bags, shoes, clothing and buildings; the businessmen had to leave Iran and their businesses for the currency problem and they had to migrate to other destinations (Euronews 2018).

4.1.5.4 Legal Status of Afghan Migrants in Iran over the Last Two Decades

Although in theory, newly arriving Afghan asylum seekers should be able to lodge refugee claims with Iran's (BAFIA) Bureau for Aliens and Foreign Immigrants' Affairs, but in practice even since 2007, it has been impossible for newly arriving Afghans to lodge claims. The so happened problem was because Iranian government has not had an efficient asylum system that would allow the newly arriving Afghans to seek protection. But later on, the government launched the Comprehensive Regularization Plan (CRP) in 2010. In July 2012, the (BAFIA) reported that 560,000 Afghans were regularized with their status; although it was not clear whether all 560,000 had received Iranian visas or not. Later on, in 2013 the no renewal of the visas announcement was issued according to which anyone without a valid visa would be deported. Hereby the deportation waves was started and many people were sent back home (Galustov 2013).

4.1.5.5 Iran's Discriminative Actions against Afghans

Iran practiced several types of discriminations against Afghan in order to make them return home back after the Taliban regime in 2001. Among the discriminations, closing the door of schools was on the top. This is manifest that education is extremely important for the young generation but for Afghans, this opportunity was banned and even in 2002 the government cancelled the license of those Afghan schools, through which the residency of the Afghans were encouraged. Later on, by 2004 the education grants for Afghans in Iranian schools was eliminated; as result of which an entire population was left outside of the education system and that's why so many of them are illiterate today;

only few families who had better financial status could support their children's education with fee, the rest of them were marginalized (Dimitriadi 2013).

Since 2007 onwards, Iran kept up its systematic attempt to re-register the Afghan refugee population, again for the purpose of emphasizing them towards voluntary return. 'Amayesh' was the process by which refugees were registered. Within 2011 Iran asked the recognized refugees who held blue cards to re-register. During this process, the blue cards were collected from the refugees and they were asked for the temporary document fee cost of 5\$ per person. During this process other fees were also charged on Afghans such as taxes and municipal taxes of approximately 170\$ per family. The collection of the blue cards and issuance of new temporary residence permit plus different fee charges made the population vulnerable to future exclusion decision from Iran. The extra payment decisions by the Iran government was not only in term of the residence permit but also for additional services such as health care, education and nutrition. Additional to this, the irregular Afghans were prohibited from having a bank account, insurance, and property. Irregular migrants therefore, were excluded from the majority of social benefits and services. The raise of day to day new challenges bored the Afghan population and this resulted in with the decisions of migrations to the third countries and to Greece (Dimitriadi 2013).

4.1.6 Psychological Impacts of Migration on Afghan People:

Depression is highly dominant among individuals of a refugee background, particularly those from Afghanistan. The existence of decades of displacement experienced as a result of long lasting conflicts, has impacted depressions on the migrating individuals. For this reason, depression is a known concept in the Afghan culture. In the Dari language depression is termed as (afsurdagi), meaning low mood, misery, and sadness. Afghanistan experienced war trauma, torture and combat during resettlement in Pakistan, Iran and other migrating points. Although majority of the refugee populations depression, only few proportions were insulated from the effects of war; because this group of expats were better educated and wealthier and had the means to easily obtain food and other livelihood necessities which provided them with a benefit in physical survival during wartime. Evidence show that there is serious negative impact of trauma related with civil war, displacement, resettlement and even the post migration socioeconomic difficulties on the

mental health of several generations of Afghan refugee families, with their children suffering from unrecognized psychological problems (Ho 2018).

Traumatic impacting sources were not found to be different between Afghan men and women. Both groups were found to be depressed by mild traumatic experiences, especially the negative memories of being a refugee in Pakistan. A set of influencing factors such as cultural conflicts and adjustments plus interpersonal challenges, such as not having close families around or not having peers of a similar age and culture to socialize with, uncertainty about the future, language difficulties, transportation challenges, and losing culture and identity are among the reasons caused depressions (Ho 2018).

4.1.7 Tendency to Settlement rather than Return from Iran and Pakistan

Scholars who studied the link between migration and development worldwide, they argue that return means a restoring of natural and social order in the country of origin. They indicate that when the original reasons for migration gets to an end, return means going home to the pre-conflict and pre-migration life. Nevertheless those who studied the causes and motivations of return, they demonstrate that return is not just a process of voluntary or involuntary comeback rather it is a complex decision-making process that goes further than its separations of voluntary and involuntary mobility (Houte & Davids 2014).

The complexity of the issue process was due to the fact that after over two decades of Afghan refugees staying in Karachi, Peshawar, Tehran or Mashhad, they have become urbanized in many ways, and were often not willing to go back to their country of origin. The several kinds of tensions such as social, ethnic, religious and economic, played an influential role in the decision to return, and these tensions made the migrant masses to stay, while other masses returned either voluntary or through deportation. The tensions were coming from the several sources such as if the water supply is rebuilt well or not; since many people used to work on agriculture and had lands, the better water supply system mattered to them. Several Afghans in Pakistan and Iran, despite of the challenges they suffered from, they have also had access to some social services, including medical facilities, education, electricity, water supply and gas. There were some widespread perceptions that such services will not be available to the same extent in Afghanistan. From the other side, some migrants left family members in the country of origin looking

after the land they left behind and they cannot be sure of whether they will have access to their own land if they go back or not. The other major consequence of the decision to return was the new generation and the children who grew up in Iran and Pakistan and they integrated better than their parents, they learned the language and made connections, friends and were enrolled in schools. The new generation had very different aspirations and goals to those of their parents and they did not consider repatriation as a practical option; unlike their parents who felt isolated in the second country and they still maintained links with Afghanistan. The socioeconomic and political networks they had established back to the country meant to them from one side while their children's future also meant from the other side. Afghan women and young generations' willingness to return was negative. They, for several reasons didn't have any willingness to come back home. For them, return meant going to a patriarchal society where they wouldn't be able to practice their rights and freedoms; for them return would mean social pressure to dress and behave in certain ways, an increased workload at home, restrictions on social mobility, few access to education and health opportunities and a costing life (Monsutti 2006).

By the end of 2004, more than 3 million registered refugees had returned, and the government created policies the facilitation of their reintegration. Since the number of unregistered refugees in Iran and Pakistan have highly increased, both countries have deported unregistered populations without fear of international sanctions. Therefore, as voluntary returns have decreased, deportations of unregistered Afghans have increased. Between 2007 and 2015, between 200,000 and 300,000 Afghans were deported annually from Iran and Pakistan (Reid 2017).

4.2 Conclusion

Afghanistan has experienced one of the biggest migration flows in the world within the last four decades. These flows have been multi-layered but have been primarily driven after conflict and insecurity and the underdevelopment in the country. Through the periods of conflicts and later on in a time of reconstruction, migration flows continue to be a key livelihood strategy for the Afghan families.

The webs of migration is complex for Afghans and are widely based on ethnic, social, historical and social networks. The strongest migration relationships Afghanistan experienced is with its neighbors Pakistan and Iran. Throughout the last century, flows from Afghanistan to Pakistan and Iran have occurred several times. During the first wave, the Afghan migrants were welcomed by the host societies in Pakistan and Iran but in contrast to the first migration, Afghans were no longer welcomed by the two Governments.

The established networks contributed to the transmission of goods, capital, money, skills and ideas among Afghans around the world. The remittance system commonly known as Hawala in Afghan language is based on social networks and expands virtually all around the globe, connecting Afghans by means of trade. It is the most widely-used system for Afghans to send remittances and goods back to their country. The social and financial contributions of the Afghan diaspora widely contributed to the reconstruction of the country. From the other side the inevitable truth is that Afghans positively contributed to the economy in both countries Iran and Pakistan; although Pakistan and Iran seek to decrease the rights of Afghan refugees.

There are many similarities in the migration to Pakistan and Iran, while some differences exist too. Until recently, both countries shared extremely permeable borders with Afghanistan. Prior to 1979, both countries received economic migrations from Afghanistan, often in seasonal types. The Pashtun tribes overlap the Afghan-Pakistani border and the Hazara tribe share similarity with the Persian tribes in Iran. Immigration to both of these countries is not only a consequence of the socio-economic situation in Afghanistan but also a result of historical and tribal similarities and links.

Some types of Afghan vulnerabilities seen in Iran and Pakistan is that Afghan men are subjected to forced labor and slavery in the agriculture and construction sectors (UN Office on Drugs and Crime 2012).

In general, refugees were not treated in an equal manner to local citizens. It means the laws were not applied in an equal manner to the refugee and the locals. For example if a dispute was arising between a local and a refugee, often the refugee was blamed by the governments of Iran and Pakistan (Emadi 1988).

In Pakistan, Afghans had freedom of movement and settlement for employment and education purposes. In Iran, registration was systematic. They issued blue cards for

Afghan people that recognized them as refugees, but imposed limitations on freedoms of employment and internal mobility. Likewise, though, in Pakistan they were free to settle in urban centers and for more than a decade they received subsidies for basic social needs such as goods, education and health services. Both Pakistan and Iran sought to return the Afghan refugee population; in an effort to push Afghans towards return, both Iran and Pakistan established and practiced restrictive policies, significantly in term of changing the reception and settlement plan. Pakistan after a while, terminated access to education and ruined the camps and increased controls and deportations of irregular Afghans. Pakistan received international aids to provide social services to the refugees; unlike Pakistan, in Iran the lack of international aids caused lesser attention and assistance to Afghan refugees to meet the needs of Afghans in the financially difficult periods.

5 AFGHAN WOMEN REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS POST 1978

Women's entry into migration is one of the most important trends in migration flows because it has been made by male in its primary forms; unlike today that almost half of the migrations are made by women around the world.

Afghanistan has witnessed vulnerability of women since the Taliban regime, despite the fact that women's status was much better before the Taliban regime, especially when president Najibullah took the lead in 1986. Although the Soviet invasion era was an era of political instability, for women it was a period of improvements in their social status.

During the different political structures, women's legal rights have also changed simultaneously. Before the Taliban regime, Afghanistan was in an era in which the women were given equal rights according to the constitutional law; while during the Taliban rule, women's situation was completely reversed and women were no longer enjoying their rights as human beings. Their rights to receive education, health care and employment were foreclosed. The post-Taliban regime was a new page and a new age for women in which the situation got better and women's status was promoted as the international community focused their attention on the Afghan women and new steps were taken towards their social welfare.

In this chapter, I try to briefly trace Afghanistan women post 1980 (the Soviet invasion period) and subsequently, I attempt to investigate women's status during the Taliban regime. Then, I will make an overview of women's status in Afghanistan beyond 2000. Consequently I will lead the chapter towards exploring the Afghan women migrants and/or refugees in two destinations; Iran and Pakistan. Finally the chapter gets ended with a brief conclusion over comparison of Afghan women's status differences in Iran and Pakistan.

Since this study tries to analyze the extent of Afghan women's empowerment opportunities, therefore the exploration sphere is basically in the scope of women's access

to livelihood facilities such as access to medical services, education and employment, both inside Afghanistan and in the host communities.

5.1 Brief Historical Overview of Afghan Women's Status

Afghanistan's history is associated with several invading experiences. The Soviet invasion took place in 1979, as a result of which a communist regime came to power. Although the communists were the political opponents but some studies state that they developed positive strategies about women by promoting their rights through democratization as long as they remained in power. Women's rights protection efforts were ranging from the right to education and healthcare to employment and mobility. Women of all ages were provided with free education facilities and they were able to employ and take advantage of the variety of jobs that they chose. For example they could get employed as doctors and nurses; there were female professors at universities and there were female agents in airlines and in private corporations (Goleta 2016). Women held chairs and positions as physicians, clerks, governmental workers and teachers. Women were being respected and they were allowed to travel all around the country and abroad independently (Ghosh 2003).

DOAW was the first women's group which was formed under the name of, the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women. Although this organization was formed prior to the Soviet era in 1965, but as Soviet came to power, it paid more attention to this organization. The main goals of DOWA was to reduce the illiteracy rate among women and to ban forced marriages, as well as to eliminate bride price during marriage (Ghosh 2003).

The extension of some freedoms for women, caused Afghan men to withdraw their female family members from Afghanistan. These freedoms were: 1) Amendments were made to the Shirbaha law. Shirbaha is the money paid by groom to the bride's family during marriage. Shirbaha was taken as an honor by the bride's family. If this money was not paid to the bride's family, she was not considered as a valued, respectful and honored woman by the society. 2) Women's compulsory education law: according to this law, women had to attend schools (Sajjadpur & Sosifi 2017).

Later on by the fall of the Afghan communist government in 1992, civil war started in Afghanistan and therefrom, the early forms of women's rights casualty was emerged during the 'Mujahidin' or freedom fighters time and hugely expanded afterwards during the Taliban regime. Several acts of social deprivations were impulse against women; such as women's free mobility was remarkably decreased due to the ongoing conflicts; the day by day increasing battles caused education sector get destroyed, and poverty rate was getting higher and higher since the financial status of people was getting worsened as the incomes were dropping down. The infrastructure was also damaged, and the country became even more insecure and unstable than before. Corruption started to spread out and the rule of law eroded; from the other side sexual violence was widespread by the armed powers; likewise social order got lost over the country. Due to the ongoing social disorder and political instability, the educated proportion of Afghan women who could not bear the situation, they started to flee along with their families to the refugee camps into the neighboring countries particularly to Pakistan and Iran as well as another proportion who held better financial status migrated to the Western countries (Canadian Women for Women in Afghanistan n.d.).

5.1.1 Afghan Women and Reasons of Migration during the Soviet Era

Traditional gender roles are predominant in Afghanistan when it comes to its culture. Based on tradition, women are perceived as representing the honor of their families and tribes. In Afghanistan, women are expected to carry on their traditional roles such as taking care of the household, support the husband and take care of the children; they have to meet the needs of their husband and those who deny doing it, they are blamed for dishonoring her family as well as community; women are responsible for sexual and domestic services and they have to keep honoring their relationship as brides (Nawid 2007).

In Afghanistan, traditional practice related to women contain arranged marriages and often polygyny is applied to them by husbands, if affordable. In Afghanistan's strongly traditional and patriarchal society and culture, women usually get married in young ages, they are less educated than men, and they have many children which are preferred to be boys, and are not allowed to work outside home (Lipson & Miller 2009).

Shirbaha law: since the notion of ‘honor’ of women was prominent in Afghan society, the fear of losing this notion caused Afghan women’s migration decisions by their families. In order to protect this notion, families preferred to send their female members abroad, rather than keeping them under communist democracy. The pushing factor towards Afghans migrations was not just “war”, but it was also due to the communist laws brought in Afghanistan and addressed two major reforming amendments about women, which were perceived as destroying the notion of honor in Afghan society; this means that communist reformist policies were somewhat disappointing for Afghans. These policies took place in a number of specific legal provisions that were of great concern to Afghan men. Amendments were made to the Shirbaha law. Shirbaha is the money paid by groom to the bride family during marriage. The higher the amount of Shirbaha was, the more respect and credibility the brides’ family obtained. According to this amendment, girls’ exchange as goods was disrupted; this amendment in Shirbaha, reduced the credibility of the fathers of the brides in the eyes of people because according to this law, brides’ fathers were no more paid money due to their daughters’ marriage.

Education rights law: according to this law, compulsory literacy for women was severely insisted and women had to go ahead for education. These two cases caused the number of refugees to declare their withdrawal from Afghanistan during the soviet era (Sajjadpur & Sosifi 2017).

5.1.2 Afghan Women during the Taliban Era

The first emergence of Taliban was in 1994 in Kandahar (a famous province in Afghanistan) and later on they found power in the capital (Kabul) too by 1996. As they emerged, they immediately closed female schools and made the women leave their employment and social positions and stay at home with no social contact. Women had to put on burqa all the times and they were not allowed to leave home without any male accompanier from her family members. Women who did not obey wearing long burqa or hijab, they were sent to the prisons (Canadian Women for Women in Afghanistan n.d.).

Burqa was something like a tent put overhead and covered the whole body; it was as heavy as it made women’s physical movement very weighty. It was not only heavy, but also expensive as all women could not afford to buy a burqa; so for the cost reason, women preferred to use the burqa as a shared commodity with other female households. While some women carried on living their lives under the wartime without their family

members or relatives being bombed, many others witnessed watching the painful scenes of their family members such as sons, husbands or other relatives killed or tortured by the Taliban; another part of them, who could, fled with their households to avoid the sad end story of their loved ones by torturing or by imprisonment tragedies (Samuels & Sherif 2008).

Education: While Taliban gained power, they prohibited access to education for women and girls. Around 100 public school were closed and only some women could attend hidden schools in private houses. During this time, Afghan women's illiteracy rate was in third position around the world; around 79.2 percent of women and girls could not read and even the rights over learning Quran was restricted for girls over the age of eight (Roshan 2004).

Employment: During Taliban regime, employment rate fell down to 20% from 60% based on statistics. Educated women who used to hold positions in the past, they were then changed as beggars who either had to beg on the streets or to prostitute in order to feed their children (Roshan 2004).

While few women at the Taliban period were engaged working in the aid agencies and in handicraft and the carpet weaving productions hidden from Taliban; these small businesses were run and lead by the professional women who were educated and could not stay in house without doing anything; so they created working opportunities for women to work in the undergrounds of their houses. This way they could survive and empowered both themselves and other women. The underground activities were included vocational centers providing English and German language courses as well computer skills courses; courses were also provided trainings in handicrafts, honey-making, bee-keeping and animal husbandry (Povey 2007). Some women were supported to run bakeries by the financial aid of World Food Program (WFP); although Taliban were aware of this issue, they did not revoke.

Marriage: A high number of women were subjected to violence; women were first raped and later killed and their death bodies were put in graveyards. A number of other women were forced to get married with Taliban; some women accepted to get married with Taliban but Taliban's brutality was as high as they were committing group sex with the woman that they marry with and in some cases, the married woman were even sent and

sold to the gulf region as the sex workers; some women committed suicide after marriage in order to escape sex work and group rapes. From the other side, women's movement in the streets was prohibited and if women were crossing the road and especially if they were not completely covered, they were beaten hardly by stick and rawhide (Povey 2007).

Although in this dark period, women's movements and mobility was not allowed legally, many women left the country and migrated in order to escape Taliban's harshness (Roshan 2004).

Women fled the war from the borders during the night and could succeed to cross the borders in which Taliban had control and if they were found there, they could be raped or robbed by the insurgents (Samuels & Sherif 2008).

5.2 Afghan Refugee Women in Islamic Republic of Iran & Pakistan

What was Afghan women's overall status such as education, employment and health in the both host societies in Iran and Pakistan?

5.2.1 Afghan Refugee Women in Pakistan

Afghan women in Pakistan worked hard in order to find accommodation, got basic or low paid jobs in order to support their families; meanwhile they learned the local language; some of them even succeeded learning English language; they made any possible and necessary attempt to facilitate their settlement in Pakistan. After they sustained settlement, they joined mosques too, in order to pray together with the local people and established social networks. They did not skip any effort to facilitate social integration as strong women they found necessary social information and exchanged the resources with their families and with other women to promote the quality of their lives and to at least draw a better for their children, if not for themselves (Samuels & Sherif 2008).

From among the social benefits available for migrant women, freedom of mobility, freedom of dressing up and the non-imposed hijab, access to education, hospitals and markets were reported by Afghan women.

Afghan Women's Employment Status in Pakistan: Educated women's participation in employment was different from the uneducated ones. Uneducated women's participation in the labor market is determined by two things: the economic status of

their household and the social restrictions; all women were not able to choose their occupations; only women belonging to some tribes, commonly from Hazara tribe and a few of them from the Pashtun tribe were free of restrictions to go ahead for the jobs that they chose; other women were usually engaged with home based activities such as embroidery, tailoring, carpet weaving, quilt making and as domestic workers. The nature of income-generating works differed from community to community and based on traditions. For example Uzbek and Turkmen women based in Killi Kamaro district, were involved in carpet weaving. Likewise, women residing in Jungle Bagh's district were involved in the thread making work; although the study indicates that since some women were not directly involved in providing their work to the market and in selling their products, they did not have direct control over their incomes and earnings because the products were normally taken by male relatives or contractors to the market. Some women used to work as servants for big houses. There were some vocational centers providing women with arts education. For educated women, employment was normally about teaching to the refugee girls and to the NGO sector. Although social restrictions existed but those households with economic difficulties were allowing women to go and work outside; so the motivations were normally rooting from the socio-economic conditions (AREU 2006).

Some uneducated women were involved in trade route jobs, normally to carry the smuggled goods from one location to another, commonly from the border towns to Quetta, Pakistan. Women were asked for such roles because they were not checked by the police in the borders and crossing the border was easy for them (AREU 2006).

Even though statistics show that as of 1978, female labor force was increasingly contributing to the private and public sectors in Pakistan, but only about 8% of women were receiving income. Many of these were in urban centers, and the majority of them were the professionals, technicians and administrators who were employed by the government. A minor number of them were working as industrial administrators and manufacturers, mainly in textiles, food processing, ceramics and medications. Some of them were self-employed. Unlike some women who even pursued businesses and worked in public careers in the government, were later on imposed restrictions by their families; due to patriarchal roles, it was due to the fact that some girls could not seek education and go on for a career only with the consent of her male family members. Moreover, even if

they were allowed to pursue careers, they were not allowed for social interactions with the people around them or with colleagues at the workplace (Dupree 1992).

Afghan Women's Health Status in Pakistan: Afghan women's quick access to medical services and to the hospitals is an appreciating point for them. While seeking health care was difficult in their country of origin during the Taliban era, this was easy in Pakistan (AREU 2006).

Women had the opportunity to attend medical courses ranging in duration from a couple of months to one year. Although there were some medical education centers for women, but the participation of female health professionals was so down in remote areas to work under difficult conditions and provide medical service to the vulnerable groups. Therefore female medical staff were all Pakistani women because there were very few qualified and motivated Afghan women ready to work with medical institutions. The health improvement indicators for Afghan refugee women was about the benefits of receiving pre-birth care, the early introduction of newborns to health care, immunization, oral rehydration therapy and better preventing awareness on unwanted pregnancies. Based on records, the Afghan refugee population has the highest fertility rate. One-third of women had experienced miscarriages due to which, one-half had lost at least one child. The major causes of mortality among the children was due to serious respiratory infections, water borne toxicities and other gastro-intestinal harms. Poor nutrition is usually due to inappropriate feeding and weaning practices. Skin and eye diseases, malaria and complications of birth are among other problems women faced with (Dupree 1992).

Women's addiction by tuberculosis disease was a big health problem. Apart from the physical health problems, some women were suffering from the emotional problems such as stress and anxiety due to several reasons such as the memories of death and absence of their husband and children during the war time, stress due to the strange environment, stress due to the uncertainty about the future of their children and stress because of lack of activity and social mobilization (Weiner & Banuazizi 1994).

There are evidences documenting that there were poor conditions for women in some areas in Pakistan. It is shown that 41% of mortalities among Afghan women of reproductive age were because of the poor maternal causes. The surveys conducted by the medical research centers reported a high rate of fertility problems and maternal

mortality among the Afghan refugee women in Pakistan. The causes for this problem was usually due to low levels of education and literacy, meaning that over 99% of the women had not attended school. Among the other reasons, high birthrate was also popular; the low rate of planning on use of preventing means by families, as well as the limited mobility experiences by the women and their familiarity and access to health care centers, were also popular ones. Afghan refugee women needed critical health care strategies and services in order to avoid health problems. Based on a research by the Global Safe Motherhood Initiative, three solutions were found to this obstacle; family planning on prevention, skilled care forces for deliveries, and access to emergency obstetric care for women with obstetric complications (Purdin, Khan & Saucier 2009).

Afghan Women's Educational Status in Pakistan: Since the private schools were more competence based and of higher qualification provided in Urdu and English languages, therefore, not all, but some Afghan families could manage to send their children to these schools at all levels starting from kindergarten, primary schools, middle schools, high school and even universities. The availability of some adult educational centers for women with low paying cost was easier and more accessible. There were educational centers under the name of "Shuhada" in which many girls got education and many of them returned back home after the fall of the Taliban (AREU 2006).

5.2.2 Afghan Women in Iran

Afghan women arrived in Iran in different waves of immigration. Although the first wave of immigration after the soviet invasion was one of the flows for a variety of reasons, which the popular one was the compulsory education of children, especially girls, and the new law on marriage based on which girls were entitled to express satisfaction on marriage. This was not acceptable for some men and they preferred moving to Iran. While the flow of women's migration during the Taliban era was due to prohibition of girls' education.

Based on studies, Afghan women's life conditions is reflected as a vulnerable mass in the Iranian society. Social vulnerability is measured with the lack of asset models such as housing, labor, tools of trade, social network and the possessions; the existence of these assets, coming together, handle with vulnerability and prevents from poverty. Actually vulnerability comes up as a result of low access to employment and education facilities.

Afghans in general and women in particular suffer from this unequal access patterns imposed by the government strategies (Salem 2013).

Afghan Women's employment in Iran: The concept of vulnerability is determined by either a person's weak access to the asset models or the non-useful strategies of the institutions in both public and private spheres, in terms of providing social protection. Women's vulnerability basically comes from their lower participation in the labor market; although women's willing for participation in employment was down, still employment opportunities and motivation rate was also down, however the case should have been reverse (AREU 2005 as cited in Salem 2013). Above all, women were not employed in labor market; if some did so, they were employed in the informal sectors and they lacked having written contract and other work related benefits such as retirement, unemployment or accident insurance.

Afghan women in Isfahan province of Iran were either mostly employed as agricultural workers or temporary day laborers, or were unemployed. Based on an interview conducted with refugee women in the villages, none of the Afghan women participants were working outside of home; they could only work beside their husbands in the farms and agriculture. Afghan men were predominantly engaged in livestock works and they had their own goats and sheep. Afghans did not have any insurance (Salem 2013).

Afghan Women's Educational Status in Iran: Iran's national policies did not only restrict and discourage Afghan women's access to employment, but also limited their chance of education as well as their children's enrollment in schools was also difficult. Children belonging to the registered Afghans could at least get education instead of extra fee payment; while children of the undocumented families could not even get access to schools and the state-run schools were close to them. The harsh policies were applied against refugees after Iran wanted Afghans to return (Justice for Iran 2012).

Afghan Women's Civil Rights in Iran: Women's marginality comes not only as a result of their migrant status, but also due to being 'female'. Lives of women were hugely influenced by gender division of labor, reproductive labor, domestic responsibilities and community roles (Enarson 1998). Institutions' weakness in term of not supporting women ranges from private to public sphere. In public sphere, restrictions are in term of educational and occupational areas, while in private sphere,

marginalization is for instance about the institution of family in term of legal age of marriage or divorce rights restrictions.

Women's empowerment strategies developed by themselves: for the reason that women and children did not have access to education, a number of educated women initiated the idea of establishing self-regulated schools in which young women as well as children could access education. The instructors were the Afghan educated women; Iranian authorities had opposed this initiation and wanted to choose these schools and even the female instructors were at risk of eviction and risk of arrest (Povey 2007).

Afghan Women's Health Status in Iran: Since due to several years of warfare and political upheaval in Iran's neighboring countries, Afghanistan and Iraq, Iran's population got larger and larger from 1976-1986, and by 2002, it reached over 68 million, including both documented and undocumented Afghan and Iraqi refugees. Due to the high population reason, Iran was unable to meet the need of the people; therefore, since 1989, the Iranian government had developed and implemented a family-planning program in order to control population growth within several communities, including Afghans, living in Iran. Although, in order to reduce population, since 2002, repatriation strategies are also developed; but since Iranians asked for contraceptive services, health strategies were more concentrated on. But as this interview based research argues, Afghans did not welcome this strategy for the ethnical and religious reasons; therefore they have large families than Iran people. The day by day extension of the Afghan population increased concerns for the Iranian government thinking that Afghans place a load on Iran's social, economic and health system. The major problem towards not well implementing the family-planning program, is due to the fact that this strategy is based on Shi'ism. Since Iran's population is 95% Shi'a, so strategies are more likely to be dominated by shia'ism; therefore the implementation of this policy is problematic for the minority groups, especially for the Pashtun-tribe Afghans. The family planning programs were more likely promoted and noticed throughout mosques, health clinics, and other mechanisms; the Sunni Afghan communities in Iran were less likely to accept these programs for the reason that many do not accept Shi'a fatwas; therefore they have not followed the program and they still continued to bring out more children (Tober, Taghdisi & Jalali 2007).

The health sector in Iran developed some free health services for its population regardless ethnicity or citizenship issues, meaning that it was offered for all the people living in Iran land. The services included treatment for infectious disease, family-planning service and access to vaccination for all children. Other medical services were by fee, although it was free for Iranian women; for example parental care included costs for Afghan women, unlike Iranian women. The birth giving method for Afghan women was generally traditional based, meaning that baby delivery was done at home by elder baby delivery experienced women rather than in hospitals. Interview results with Afghan women indicate that most of the women, particularly the Pashtun women were not permitted to use the contraception by their husbands; some husbands give permission but after four or five children. Some Afghan women use contraception without their husbands knowing it. Some nurses said that Afghan women had not used the pills properly or could not make their husbands to use the condoms. To imply contraception, women were encourages to use either Norplant, IUDs or Depo Provera injections (Tober, Taghdisi & Jalali 2007).

Migration have not impacted women directly only, it had also developed women's health indirectly, through migration of one of the households of the women. There have also been seen some cases in which women did not migrate, but one of the household members of women had migrated and the knowledge they gained regarding the birth control, they remit it back to the country of origin and transfer it to women who stay behind. Women, whose household members migrated are seen to have better contraceptive knowledge about using methods such as injections, birth control pills and other primary medical skills, unlike the women whose household members have not migrated (Siegel & Roosen 2018).

Violence against Afghan women in Iran: Migration, along with other factors, increased the likelihood of Afghan women become victims; cases such as poor living conditions, frustrated familial affairs, or the death of a spouse, are the examples causing vulnerability to women; these cases have even caused the Afghan migrant women to experience the occurrence of violence such as torturing, selling and sexual violence. In other words, researches indicate that causes of women's vulnerability is not only based on sex and migration factors, it is also based on other factors, such as personal, economic, family and environmental conditions. Among the characteristics of the individual identities of the victim women, education, coverage, and attitudes are the

dominant ones; there is either a direct relationship or reciprocal relationship between them. The more the level of coverage of women, their age and awareness in society is lower, the more they are likely to be harassed, raped, abducted, invaded or beaten. Research findings show that the major reasons for Afghan women's victimization lay under these conditions:

- Women living in downtown and suburban areas have experienced more crimes;
- Women's employment has been damaging, especially in the private sector they are harmful to social exposure;
- Young Women without hijab or proper coverage were more victimized; it is stated that lack of proper coverage can ease the condition for thieves to steal women's things.

Along with other causes, women who experienced delinquency, which was a kind of family disorder, they experienced abuse both within the family and in the outside (Bajnabordi, Saani & Maaldar 2017).

- Early marriages are among other problems Afghan women face in Iran. Early marriages among Afghan women as a result of family decision is not only common inside Afghanistan, but also among migrant population of Afghan in Iran. Early marriages are influenced by the factors such as poverty, social expectations, cultural violence, and gender stereotypes and most importantly due to maintaining traditional marital patterns. Families launch early marriages because they are scared that their daughters would get integrated with the Iranian culture, and if they move to the west, they will get western culture. So the solution to avoid it, was to get their daughters married in early ages.

Increasing the risk of abortion, preterm childbirth, increased maternal and neonatal mortality rates, eliminating opportunities to use education and training opportunities, inappropriate socialization, lack of having the skills to deal with complicated marital life rules, increased psychological problems and depression were reported to be the major negative impacts of women's early marriages in Iran. The solution for such a challenge is to develop women's empowerment strategies through a mutual cooperation of Afghan and Iran governments in Iran (Saeidi 2018).

Violence against women continuous to be a common practice that many of the refugee Afghan women face with; besides the attitudes and beliefs that creates and increases the risk of violence, refugee settings also play a major role. Family settings means high rates of unemployment, poor living conditions and overcrowding living areas, while all led to

refugee families' psychological disorder and creation of tensions as well as resulted in disputes between men and women, especially violence against women by men. According to interview reports, the violence against women had not only been physically, it has also been emotionally. Violence found were ranging from slapping, objections and deprivations to social opportunities, to withholding access to money, insults and humiliating women in front of other people. Among the abuses, sexual violence existed too, but poorly reported by women for the reason that they felt uncomfortable in discussing it. Meanwhile, from among half of the violated refugee women reported several kinds of injuries such as sprains, eye injuries, deep wounds, cuts and dislocations.

While some women were ready to talk about their violence experiences, another proportion of them were not, mainly because they think that violence is normal and by complaining or reporting, they get no benefit. Other portion of women are scared of the possibility of being known as a bad name for them and for their families, if they talk about violence. Some women believe that this might destroy their relationship with their life partners. These women prefer forgetting their experiences rather than reporting them (International Medical Corps 2010).

5.2.2.1 Afghan Women's Motives for Not Willing to Return from Iran

After the Taliban war ended in 2001, Afghans were expected to leave the host country and return back home. Although some Afghan men returned but Afghan women's return intentions from Iran is different than Afghan men. Since women view return as getting into restrictions in terms of public participation, social activities and mobility, they were much more likely to want to stay in Iran and not to return home. Since Iran provided livelihood facilities such as electricity and water facilities for households, therefore domestic workload was less and women viewed living in Iran more flexible than Afghanistan. Women's motivations for remaining in Iran, did not only come from the livelihood facilities, but also from their concern about the security challenges and less opportunities of promotion. They were concerned about their daughter children's honor and they were and/or scared of violations. In this regard, the government of Afghanistan could develop strategies to encourage and support women's return as a positive experience. Another reason for remaining in Iran is the marriage issue. Some Afghan women are brought from Afghanistan as brides of Afghan men in Iran and some women

living in Iran, are taken as brides of Afghan men living in Europe and U.S; so those taken as brides are more likely to remain in Iran due to transnational networks (Shavazi 2006).

From the push and pull factors perspective, Afghan women's not willing to return is based on two reasons:

1) Due to the intercultural issues that reflect the problems and barriers in the traditional and social structure of Afghanistan and practically plays a role in repelling women's return. These barriers include the unavailability of women's education and mobility freedom in Afghanistan and the freedom of selection of spouse in Iran; unlike Afghanistan, women could choose their husband from universities and work-places and could even marry Iranian men.

2) The outside-cultural issues: these factors are related to the conditions that exist in Iran; the absence of war and the absence of Taliban and terrorist groups in Iran is the major reason towards women not returning. Iran's repulsions and attractions, especially the enjoyment of security and greater freedom for Afghan women; these are the effective components for women's not-returning decisions (Sajjadpur & Sosifi 2017).

One of the reasons for not willing to return was the availability of urban amenities such as the existence of inland vehicles, access to large stores, possibility of earning income through jobs such as hairdressing, carpet-weaving, cooking, and so on (Sajjadpur & Sosifi 2017).

5.2.3 Causes and Motivations for Afghan Women's Migrations to Iran and Pakistan

To escape war and conflicts: While a huge proportion of women remain in the wartime Afghanistan, another huge proportion extensively accelerated fleeing the country and started to seek protection abroad particularly in Pakistan and Iran.

Trafficking: The subject of trafficking is reported in four ways in Afghanistan; although specific data collection on women's trafficking is extremely difficult for the reason that it is considered a big social shame for women and many trafficking cases are not recorded; although limited available data show that women's trafficking is seen through prostitution. The other type of trafficking is through the labor service which happens throughout the forced and early marriages of girls and women; Servitude is another form of it primarily occurring in forms of sexual and domestic use from both boys and girls of

young ages usually. Trafficking through the organ removal is also reported but there is no specific evidences to verify these claims (Trafficking in Persons Report 2018).

Forced marriage and child marriage: Forced marriages and early marriages still exist in Afghanistan. Normally marriages are arranged in Afghanistan; although forced marriages are strictly prevented by the international human rights law and the Afghan law, reports indicate that more than 80% of the marriages are arranged by families not by women's decision. The problem with marriages are not only about lack of women's satisfaction but it is also about the age differences between women and their husbands; their age tend to be more larges than women, with an average age difference of 10 years or even more than that as reported by the marriage based vulnerable women. In order for women to be able to advocate for themselves and withdraw themselves from the forced and arranged marriages, they left the country and migrate to get education instead of early marriages. There is also another practice in term of women's marriages known as "Baad" which is practiced by families who want to settle disputes and restore peace after conducting crimes against each other such as murder, thievery or other forms of conflicts among side parties. Through this practice which is commonly conducted in areas where rule of law and state legitimacy is weak; this way, women are used as tools to settle disputes (UNAMA & OHCHR 2010 as cited in Marchand, Siegel, Kuschminder, Majidi, Banore & Buil 2014).

Patriarchal role for women's protection reasons: For many years, the oldest structure of power, has been the males' domination on women; in the phenomenon of migration, this authority is recognizable in a tangible way. The primary motivation of Afghans to retain honor is a clear example of this kind of gender perspective. Even part of the Afghans' unwillingness to return to the country after the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, was the lack of education for Afghan girls and the lack of security for them. These decisions were often made by male members of the families because they did not want the female members of their family to rejoin the unfair environment of Afghanistan for women (Sajjadpur & Sosifi 2017).

5.2.4 Challenges on Women's Empowerment during the Taliban Rule in the Host Societies:

Although studies indicate the high availability of opportunities and easy access to promotion tools in Pakistani society for Afghan women, some studies claim the situation vice versa; they claim that traditionalism created a restrictive situation for women in which movement and promotion of women is not supported. From among the Afghan people even residing outside of Afghanistan, there are some groups, particularly male, who act as spokesmen of Islam and they give themselves the right to define who is a good Muslim woman and who is not. These conservatives claim that if women are allowed to have freedom of movement in the public arena, social norms will be destroyed and sexual anarchy increase and finally society can fall into ruin. These men act as preserving agents of the cultural identity; they want to protect the morality of women in an aggressive way. These religious conservatives vow on their own harsh interpretations through the name of Islam and Shari 'at and implement it on women. They separate men from women in all in every sphere and they claim that any interactions between the men and women outside the acceptable male guardians (such as father, son or brother or husband) are harshly forbidden. These restrictions harshly minimizes women's social activities and promotions, containing access to education, employment and trainings out of domestic areas. The conservatives believe that women's out of home interactions is always corruptive; they believe that secular female schools, are spheres for moral corruption, even if they are separate from boys and taught by female teachers; it is perceived that girls who attend institutions or receive education, they are guilty and are committed sin along with their male guardians. These conservative ideas come up with an emotional stand on the issue of appropriate dressing ways for women, predominantly the compulsory complete covering or wearing of veils/long hijabs. This compulsory coverage was difficult especially for educated Afghan women who practiced modernity and freedom of dressing up before 1978 in Afghanistan. It is highly believed that a woman's place is at home; there is no need for education or movement beyond the family environment. Their overall efforts were to enforce the government to close all female institutions and schools so for the notion to save themselves from the punishment by Allah. As a result of loss of women's talents in a highly restrictive situation, the majority of professional and skilled Afghan women fled to the Western countries (Dupree 1992).

Based on another study, it is argued that Afghan women did not enjoy the freedom of movement compared to Pakistani women. They were settled in the refugee camps in Iran and Pakistan with limited facilities. Their movement were restricted by the governments of the host countries. Afghan women who during the soviet era used to work outside their homes without putting on veils, after getting refugee status, they had to wear veils when they were out of home. This proportion of women are plaintiff of the discriminative strategies of the government of Pakistan in term of not being treated in an equal manner to the local citizens (Emadi 1988).

About women's employment, It is also reported that although women work as skilled and semiskilled refugees as laborers in various development sectors, but they are forced to accept wages which are lower than ordinary Pakistani laborers (Emadi 1988).

The former met discriminatory legislation which was introduced by the former military government in Pakistan which had imposed multiple restrictions later, ranging from denial of access to equal rights, education, mobility, even to marriage and divorce for women. Afghan male-dominated culture was the convenient platform to adapting and imposing such restrictions on women. Some income generation projects for refugee population were not successful; for example, the ten-year \$87 million income generation project for refugee areas, did not even provide a job for a single Afghan refugee woman in Pakistan. This way some Afghan women in some areas of Pakistan remained unpowered (Dupree 1992).

5.2.5 Return Efforts

After the fall of the Taliban regime, several return strategies were formed in order to facilitate women's return from the host communities since the country lacked female workforce and they were extremely needed to contribute to the development of the destroyed Afghanistan after decades of war. Since 1992, the Iranian government developed return policies by which there were some voluntary and forced repatriations (Shavazi, Sadeghi, Mahmoudian, & Jamshidiha, 2012).

International Organization for Migration offered opportunities for women to bring their skills home. For example, the European Union offered a program to encourage migrant women to return home country to work in the private and public sectors. Through this

program women were eligible to receive additional financial support in order to build their capacities and contribute to the development of sectors such as private businesses, rural development and public infrastructure (Martin 2003).

The other source of motivation for women to return was based on the positive information they received about life in Afghanistan through the news reports and through their relatives, included that women are able to attend schools and colleges over again, and they can work in offices as well as they are able to move around the cities without safety concerns (AREU 2006).

Although some women decided to repatriate; some others did not; the major reasons for not repatriating was due to the fear from violence and patriarchal rules in their traditional society from where they escaped (AREU 2006).

5.3 Afghan Women during the Post-Taliban Era

After the fall of the Taliban regime and with the return of some flows of the refugee women to Afghanistan, the Ministry of Women's Affairs was established according to the Bonn Agreement in order to create and promote opportunities and ensure women's advancement in Afghanistan. Women's status in the urban centers become more liberal and they got better access to education and to employment opportunities. Despite there are specific international actions and policies to better women's status, the rights of women still remains a primary concern since the violence against women still exists in Afghanistan (Skaine 2008).

5.3.1 Afghan Women's Employment in the Non-Agricultural Sector after Return

During 2007-2008, women comprised 8% of the wage employment in the non-agricultural segment. Women's easy access to the service sector and their share in industry and labor market is an indicator that measures women's empowerment and gender equality; women could locate themselves in better status through developing their economy and securing better incomes plus overall well-being (Marchand, Siegel, Kuschminder, Majidi, Banore and Buil 2014).

5.4 Conclusion

Many women migrated due to Taliban's patriarchal rules. Castells believes that in the new era, several phenomena have reduced the power of patriarchy. Some of these reasons are the possibility of studying on a scale, access to knowledge and control of fertility, and the setting up for childbirth, the presence of women in income-generating activities and their employment, and familiarity with the idea of equal rights with men due to the expansion of communication that affects the level of women's power in an increased way against men (Eryar, Toktas & Tekguz 2018).

In order to understand women's overall status, it is important to understand and classify the layers and levels of privilege and harassment existing about women in the host communities. To do so, observing women's shared interests and experiences could bring out an understanding about their identities. In order to better understand the impact of the moving experience of Afghan women residing in Pakistan and in the Islamic Republic of Iran as well as to measure the extent to their empowerment, this conclusion draws brief common points and differences between women's status in Iran compared to Pakistan during migrations. Both migration communities have had an intense influence on women's experience of living. Considerably, refugee women in Iran and Pakistan have different experiences impressed from different refugee policies of the states, as well as the combination of refugee communities with the social, cultural and religious values of the host communities. The articles reviewed in this chapter measure women's transfer-based empowerment experiences by investigating a number of key issues, such as education, livelihoods strategy, as well as gender characteristics and family relationships of Afghan women living in Pakistan and Iran. The points below are the common points about women in both host communities (Iran & Pakistan).

- Although Afghan women in Iran and Pakistan had comparatively less access to resources, including citizenship rights (in contrast with the Afghan women in west), Afghan women in Iran and Pakistan were able to break down male-dominations more successfully comparatively to the Afghan women in the west. This is because Afghan women in the West are not engaged with traditionalism (Povey 2007).
- Although studies indicate a high proportion of women's migration, some studies indicate a reduced participation of women comparing to men; from the gender perspective, the

extent of difference on women's participation in migration flows to Iran and Pakistan is basically due to "labor migration". While migrating for employment reasons, Afghan male migrate more than Afghan female. Men's remittances gained from working in Iran, bring a good income to their families in Afghanistan basically working in construction and agriculture. Since Iran has offered work permit for some 200,000 Afghans to work in Iran as guest workers, many male Afghans migrated there, leaving their women home. This contrasts with many of the Afghans in Pakistan, who emigrated with their whole extended families or sometimes with their whole tribal groups. Indeed, there were something of a reverse migration of single Afghan men in Pakistan, who, left their families in Pakistan and returned to Afghanistan in order to get higher-paying seasonal work and to look after family income (Margesson 2007).

- Gender-based violence: violence against Afghan women is a common reality that Afghan refugee women live with all the times and in both countries. Based on studies, the violence roots not only from the dominance of views and traditional attitudes that put many Afghan women under the risk, refugee settings also play role; meaning that unfair refugee locations with few livelihood facilities can lead to an increase in family tension mainly due to poor living conditions, high rates of unemployment, and overloading of population in refugee areas (International Medical Corps 2010).
- Social deprivations: lower income level, limited opportunities, lack of financial security in terms of benefits insurances and benefits, quality and type accommodation, and restricted rights to healthcare and education are some features of livelihoods of Afghan migrant women. The major reason of women's marginalization is due to their female status (Salem 2013).

Apart from the mentioned common points, there are also some differences as follows:

- Accommodation: Articles claim that in term of accommodation, Iran allowed Afghan families to reside in the mainland and in the cities, unlike Pakistan, which stored Afghans in the border camps. Therefore, women residing in Iran could gain better integration into Iranian communities. Based on some reports, some Afghans left Pakistan to Iran because they believed that Iran was providing them with better livelihood facilities (Shavazi 2005 as cited in Tober, Taghdisi and Jalali 2007).
- Unlike Iran, Pakistan was provided with international aids in order to settle refugees in the camps. Iran, in contrast did not receive the necessary facilities and aids from the

international community for building refugee camps; therefore, Iran allowed Afghans in the large cities and therefore women in Iran had more freedoms than women in Pakistan. Since at that time, Iran was busy with Iraq war, it could not manage to equip camps and locate more than one million refugees in a short period. From 1979 to 1990, Pakistan received almost \$850 million funds from the international assistance, whereas Iran's part from the international aids was something around \$100 million (Eisenberg 2013 as cited in Esfahani & Hosseini 2018).

The reason why Iran received fewer amount of funds than Pakistan was because international funds were given based on populations living in camps not based on populations active in the labor market.

- Women's situation is reported more traditional in Pakistan than women's life in Iran. Articles claim that in some of the Pakistani regions, traditionalism created a restrictive situation for women in which movement and promotion of women is not supported. This restriction basically came from the Pashtun residing regions where highly conservative people used to live.

6 AFGHAN MIGRANT/REFUGEE WOMEN IN ISTANBUL: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

In getting this chapter written, the qualitative method was used. I conducted interviews in Istanbul, which covered questions on the interviewees' demographic information such as age, marital status, number of siblings, educational degree, place of residence in home town and in Turkey, and occupation. There were also questions covering women's experience of their journey from Afghanistan to Turkey, women's experience of domestic abuse or violence (in case they have), women's income sources, women's labor and domestic work experiences (if they have), and women's contribution to the development of their communities.

I used my cell phone's voice recording option to record the interviews, after getting the permission of the interviewee. The selection of interviewees was based on identifying the women that could provide the richest data and information possible. I interviewed six women based in Istanbul. Sample selection was based on three criteria (age, status, and education). Selected women's age is different ranging from 18 year old, to 40 years old or higher. Participants are holding different educational and legal backgrounds, including women with higher education, women with low level of education, migrant women with student residence permit and women with asylum seeking or refugee status based in Turkey. Interviews were conducted face to face. The interviews process started after I received the approval of the Committee of Ethics from Istanbul Aydın University in order to ensure the primary ethical obligation of the research, which is 'Do No Harm'. Do No Harm includes the anonymity principle which is considered important in order to keep the interviewees' personal details hidden. Therefore, in order to ensure anonymity, the names used in this chapter are the made-up names, not the real names. Before the interviews were conducted, each participant was provided with an informed consent form to read, accept and express their consent to attend the interview through their signature.

In order to conduct further interviews, the snowball sampling was used. The analysis of the interview data was done through carefully reading the transcripts and coding the interviews for various relevant concepts and themes. Interviews were conducted in Persian language, which is the official language of Afghanistan, and the codes were later translated into English.

Conducting qualitative research about Afghan women population is considered essential, for the reason that after the two neighbor countries, Pakistan and Islamic Republic of Iran, Turkey is the third largest Afghan population receiving country. Turkey is home to nearly 4 million refugees, and Afghans constitute one of the large group of them. In Istanbul, one of the biggest refugee receiving zones is Zeytinburu, in which a significant number of Afghan population is noticed while crossing road, specially the ‘Bulvar Caddesi’ where it is known as the little city of Afghans, since Afghans made increased movements in it and started to develop businesses and working condition and obtained better integration within this society. Of course half of the Afghan population is comprised by women, but even yet, no research is conducted to address Afghan immigrant women’s living conditions and experiences in Istanbul. Therefore, this chapter examines the social conditions and adjustment issues of Afghan women based in Istanbul.

6.1 Introducing the Interviewees

This research is based on face-to-face interviews with six women who belong to the different provinces of Afghanistan and come from different backgrounds and different legal statuses.

Hawaa Ahmadi was an asylum seeker in Istanbul for more than 21 years since she came from Afghanistan. She got a citizenship just during the last two years of her stay in Istanbul. She used to live in Iran, before moving to Turkey. She is divorced and has four children, including two daughters and two sons. She finished secondary school in Iran and she graduated from high school in Afghanistan and used to teach Persian language and History in Takhar province, where she used to live all her age when she was living in Afghanistan. The place where she used to live was named Dasht-e-Qalaa, which is in border with Tajikistan, between the two rivers ‘Kooqcha’ and ‘Amoo’. Therefore she is more familiar with Tajikistan culture and male members of the tribe which she belonged

to, some of them were engaged in trade works with Tajikistan. In Istanbul, she lives in Zeytinburnu, Bulvar Caddesi. Since she moved to Turkey, she has only lived in Zeytinburnu, which is familiar with its Afghan population. She likes this region because she feels like this is her own community since each and every Afghan related customs such as Eid days and wedding parties are performed here and any Afghan product is available here. She feels the same level of belonging to this place as she felt in Takhar. During all these years, she was never asked that who she was, by the Turkish police. She chose to live in Zeytinburnu because her mother and brother used to live here. This tie of relationships of the Afghan people has been ongoing since a long time ahead and availability of this tie brought many Afghans to Zeytinburnu and therefore this region hosts a huge population of the Afghan people since then. Migrating groups such as Hawaa and her families, were the primary populations coming to this place.

Mursal has the same feeling of belonging to Istanbul, as Hawaa has. She lives her life with more freedoms in Istanbul, rather than Jeddah; because in Jeddah life was kind of routined and scheduled for her as a chart, from which she was not able to get out of, whenever she wanted. She is a 19 years old, a single woman. She studies Natural Sciences at one of the private universities in Istanbul. She was born and grew up in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia and has been to Afghanistan only once when she was two years old. Although she has not lived Afghanistan for a considerable time, but she has always been listening to Afghanistan news and used to read documentaries to know about it.

Parwin says she could not walk outside after 8:00 pm in Afghanistan, whereas she is free to walk alone outside even at midnight in Istanbul, Ucyuzlu region, where she lives. She is 23 years old, who is an asylum seeker in Istanbul for two years. She was studying Mathematics in Kabul, but she did not continue since her family decided to move to Turkey. She moved with her family members, comprised of her parents, three sisters, and one brother, in 2017 through air travel.

Through hearing the women, this study tries to come up with generalities based on understanding of women's statuses, their traditional roles and conversion of roles from traditional to the new ones in the new societies.

A twenty-seven-year-old migrant woman, who did not wish her name to be mentioned, was interviewed through Skype. She lived in Istanbul for almost a year but then due to

personal reasons, she moved to a third country and sought refugee status, says that: “There is no doubt that by leaving Afghanistan and living my life as a displaced woman in Turkey and then as a refugee woman in the country where I live now, I feel more empowered and more useful person than being in Afghanistan. Where for every small stuff I had to fight and open many close doors. Life for women outside of fear, risk of losing live, limited opportunities, limited rights, away from violence and harassments is always a great opportunity for development. Things that I am able to do outside Afghanistan (in Istanbul and in my current country of residence), I couldn't do it inside my own country easily. For example, I drive without fear of disturbance, I work without fear of getting harassed or abused by my boss. I can live alone in an apartment without fear of judgement and disturbance from people in neighborhood. I go to gym without fear of disturbance and judgements I can focus and stay calm. I have same rights and man in the country. I have opportunities to reach my dreams and goals in life. I can choose which color and what type of cloths as a woman I should wear I have choice and I have right for the decisions in my life for myself. I can choose what to wear what to not. I feel peace and freedom. That what every human dreams about. And I am living the dream although I miss a lot my country where I belong to. As a refugee woman, I have my own fights and struggles but it's not at the same level as Afghanistan”.

6.2 Migration as a Family Decision

Migration systems theory says that immigration is dominated by family decisions. Many people migrated based on decisions of their families; especially the Afghan women, who are not commonly involved in decision making processes. All of the interviewed women moved to Turkey based on family decisions. Hawaa came with her husband and relatives. Although her husband decided to move to Turkey but soon after they moved, he regretted because he started to notice that his wife is getting freedoms. This is because some Afghan men are not in favor of women's access to freedoms such as freedom of going out of home, freedom of work and education and so on. Although Hawaa helped her family with the costs of immigration to Turkey since she used to teach and she gave her savings to her husband.

In case of Mursal, her family chose Turkey, in order for her to pursue higher education. They preferred Turkey because they liked the common cultural ties Turkey has with

Afghanistan. As Mursal continually used to apply for Turkish universities, she was offered acceptance in one of the private universities and she was issued student visa by which she moved to Istanbul. The first time she came to Turkey, it was with her family members in 2018, the second time was again with her family members, however the last time she moved alone.

The 18-years-old poet and novel writer, Aryan, is another participant of this research. She used to work a social worker with street children in Afghanistan; meanwhile she has worked with a feminism network as an author for a social media page named as 'Dukhtaran-e-Rabia', to which migrant women around the world contributed. She moved to Turkey alone in 2017, although her sister was already living in Istanbul. Likewise Parwin, Aryan also could not complete her university in Afghanistan. She had to leave because she realized that her mindset is not relevant and acceptable in the context of Afghanistan. She was not feeling supported by community and due to this, she used to feel depressed. Although she was holding an acceptance letter by one of the Turkish universities, but still she was not being issued her student visa. Once it was rejected, and the second time it took a long time until she was issued with a visa, but it was so late and it was only one day remaining to the mid-term exams. However she travelled and started a challenging chapter of life, due to her long time absence in her courses. She had also experienced short time travels to Iran and Tajikistan for training purposes, before travelling to Turkey. Aryan declares that her parents decided her to travel to Turkey in order to continue higher education. "When my father decided to send me abroad, he was asked to attend an inquisitorial gathering by religious leaders in the mosque to ask him how could he let her daughter travel abroad, although he watches the Turkish movies and notices that girls can smoke and walk uncovered and are more democratized there", Aryan added.

This means that although women are rarely involved in decision making, but they make remarkable contribution to the process of implementing decisions. For instance, although in case of Hawaa, migration was decided by her husband's family, she facilitated the process through her financial contribution. Also in cases of Mursal and Aryan, although their families sent them to Istanbul, the process of facilitating the implementation of decision such as searching for universities, seeking integration information and seeking accommodation processes were done by themselves.

6.3 Afghan Women's Movement Journey to Turkey

Migration from Afghanistan to Turkey is often done through crossing a transitional point in case of Afghan people, normally when it is done irregularly. This normally happens through transitting from Iran. Hawaa used to live in Iran for several years, before marriage. She migrated to Iran after the Soviet occupation and during the government of Najibullah who took the lead from 1986 to 1992. Since Najibullah was being perceived as a communist leader, the freedom fighting groups were opposing him. Due to this opposition, there were civil wars in Afghanistan, due to which people wanted to escape. In this period Najibullah and his brother were tortured by freedom fighters and Afghanistan remained for a new platform of civil wars between leaders, as a result of which masses of people migrated to Iran, including Hawaa and her family. Although they could easily move to Tajikistan which was closer to Takhar province and crossing border was possible with basic transportation tools, but they did not chose to go there since people were not in favor of communist states which was already in power in Afghanistan.

Iran has been another chapter of troubling living conditions for Afghans. They were not being issued residence permit or identity. In case of Hawaa and her family, they got identity after they lost their father. Their father died in a water well in which he used to work for an Iranian. Once he died there, the owner of the well had to advocate for Hawaa's family to receive an identity. Other Afghans were still not issued with an identity. After receiving identity, Hawaa and her brothers could enroll in schools, which was not possible before. Even after graduation from the 9th grade, they were not being issued with a certificate of completion. For other Afghans, if they could attend schools, they had to pay higher than the normal standard fees. For Hawaa, since she had an identity due to her father's death, she could attend school for free.

Afghans were not a welcomed population in Iran. They were being called 'dirty Afghanis' and the rate of freedom has been down. Social rights were not given to Afghans. Hawaa says: "whenever we were standing for waiting lines infront of the bakery to get bread, even if we were coming earlier, we had to stand and wait until Iranians were finished getting bread and at at the end, we could go and buy bread which was normally the remaining cold or burned ones."

Hawaa came to Turkey through human smuggling crossing Pakistan and then Iran and Turkey as the last point of stay. She moved to Pakistan by bus. Then transition to Iran was again by bus; but transition from the border of Iran to Turkey was by walking; the walk that continued for two weeks. The prolongation of the time was because the Iran borders were surrounded by police; so during the day, movements were dangerous; therefore it was done during the nights. The climatae change was another factor endangering peoples' live during movements. From 100 people, three of them died due to weather, hunger and thirst. Hawaa witnessed three people dying due to sun and lack of water and food, while crossing the Iran-Turkey border. Hawaa's situation was more vulnerable because she was holding her one year old daughter who had to get breast-fed by her mother.

So many Afghans had to try human smuggling because getting a Turkish visa has always been a difficult work for the middle and low class families of Afghan. This category of Afghans had to sell thier properties they had in their villages such as lands, gardens and household. Hawaa tried the overwhelming experience of crossing borders by walk from Iran to Turkey, twice. The first time she had only one baby of one year old, the second time, she had four children who were all below 10 years old. The second movement again to Turkey was made after they went back home. The movement back to Afghanistan was decided by Hawaa's husband in order to limit the freedoms that she obtained from Turkey. The level of independence she obtained through the new society was annoying to her husband; therefore he decided to take his wife and children back to Takhar. This time, since Hawaa used to live with some independece in Turkey, she was not happy continuing her past traditional old life again; for this reason she started to ask her husband to take her back to Turkey. Since this was not an acceptable demand for him, he divorced her. She came back to Istanbul with her children alone, experiencing the same dangerous borders again because she still did not have a legal document through which she could make regular movements (she got her citizenship during the recent two years).

Fatima, who also lives in Zeytinburnu, is 39 years old. She has two children, one son, who works in a a restaurant and one daughter, who works in a textile firm. She finished high school in Kabul, Afghanistan. Her father was killed around eight years ago; as a result of which, her husband's tribe members started interventions in her life affairs and were looking to marry Fatima and her daughter by force. Since the people forcing to

marry her by force, related to the Taliban groups, she was feeling threatened. This feeling of fear made Fatima and her two children to move to another country as soon as they could. They moved to Iran first, and like Hawaa, they spent days walking the border to reach to Turkey. She used to live in Kirazli when she just came to Istanbul, but since she was depressed there, they moved to Zeytinburnu where she feels more relaxed because she visits Afghan families here and she has made friends.

6.4 Afghan Women's Labor/Employment Experiences

Irregular migration is not wanted by states. For this reason, lack of access to social protections, the right for working and exploitative labor practices are common about irregular migrants. For the sake of surviving, even irregular migrants have to work. This category usually either go for domestic work or work in uncommon or hidden places.

Since Fatima does not hold a legal document or residence in Turkey, she is an irregular migrant. She lives in the underground of an apartment and works from home. Her work is sewing buttons on sleeves and shoulders of the dresses. She is paid 1 TL for each three buttons she sews on the dresses. She often does beading too. Once she completes her work, she sends it to the textile firm and gets her wage.

Hawaa's living conditions in terms of income was better because she used to live with her husband and mother-in-law, who was owned a land. The land was used for agricultural products. Her husband was a soldier and Hawaa was a teacher in school. She did not have to spend her money for household, since there were other sources of income to afford. For this reason, she could save her money for herself. But in Istanbul, things have changed a lot for her. She was no more holding any land or property and was not a married woman anymore. She had to raise up her four children alone; so she went to work in a small leather wear shop, located underground. Since the source of income from leather wear making was not enough to afford a family, she started to work as a domestic worker in peoples' houses. She used to spend her weekends working for a textile firm and even sometimes during the night, after she was off from her leather making job, she went to work as a cleaner of stairs for apartments. Although life was overwhelming in terms of financial issues, but Hawaa was satisfied because she was no more living under

domination and was not under bondage; she was now more independent about her life, than before.

Women who used to work, or those who still work, they feel more satisfied more confident and more independent about themselves. This independence grant them more courage to go ahead and taking more risks for further promotions.

In case of Mursal, back in Saudi Arabia, since affording life was troubling, she could not rely on her father's income; so she started working a part time job. Between 16 – 18 years old, she used to teach Quran, Arabic and Mathematics to the Chinese students. Mursal believed that her income was granting her the feeling of independence, the independence which was perceived as a power to her. This level of independence can get higher if women believe themselves and courage to take risk to start something. Mursal's father works with carpet weaving industry in Saudi Arabia, though her mother is engaged with sewing handmade crafts at home and sells her products outside.

6.5 Women's Awareness about Social Services

Interview data shows that women have tried to get better interactions and integration with their societies, day by day. The more they were integrated to the society, the more they were informed about their rights in Turkish society.

Mursal is informed of some rights and opportunities through some associations that she was able to know them through her networks with her class fellows. She is satisfied with her accommodation, since she is provided with a public dormitory, although she is a student in a private university. She pays the same as those who study in public universities. Her dorm payment rate is 500 liras per month. Fatima says that if she was holding an international protection document for her stay in Turkey, she could have had 'Kızılay card', through which she could have received 150 TL per month. She also knows about 'Dernek' or associations aiding irregular migrants in terms of food and clothing. She knows about insurance system for those who hold an international protection document.

Parwin is being annoyed about access to hospitals since her asylum document does not contain insurance, due to which she has to pay 80 TL as doctor's fee each time she visits a doctor. Hawaa used to have a similar kind of annoying experience about health sector

services in the past; she says she wasn't able to access healthcare service in Istanbul the first years she just came to Turkey. "It was more difficult to access social services than today, she says. Since she was not holding an identity, a passport or a residence permit, she could not go to hospitals. Although gradually things got better by the passage of time for her. She says that she gradually got to know more refugees' rights, since she got further integration with society, she found out that there are service even to the irregular migrants. There are associations helping migrants without identity. There is 'Misafir Oğrenci Derneği' which helps those irregular students who don't hold an identity. She also found out that there is another medical center named as 'Bizim Alam', located in Vatan Caddesi in Fatih, which helps provide medical care to the irregular migrants in case they hold an Afghan identity at least. This service is applicable to the nationals of other countries too. Hawaa continued living in Zeytinburnu without a legal document for several years. Whenever she was trying to apply for citizenship, her application for citizenship was not signed by her husband for confirmation. Even after separation, he was not signing her divorce documents; finally in order to receive citizenship, and for the sake of children, Hawaa's mother had no other option but to give bribe to the court and get her divorce papers.

6.6 Afghan Women's Perceptions of Discrimination

Discrimination is commonly experienced by refugees in receiving societies. This was rarely mentioned by the interviewees; although there are a few cases of perceptions of discrimination. Hawaa has not yet experienced discrimination in her own case, but she did experience it in case of her daughter when she wanted to obtain scholarship for high school and then for university; but since she did not have a citizenship, she was not being provided with such an opportunity. She had to pay university and dormitory fee and she was not legally allowed to apply for international scholarship opportunities. She still isn't entitled to this right since she still does not have a citizenship. Parwin reports her own discriminative case, while she was looking for a job, she found out that there's an organization which provides job opportunities with an insurance, for asylum seekers and refugees. She was introduced to a transportation company in which she was told that she will be appointed as an administrator; however, when she joined, she was told to work as an office and toilette cleaner and serve tea. She was told that in order to become entitled

for a job with insurance, she has to do these jobs. Due to this reason she left the job. Almost similar case happened to Aryan in a workplace, where she went to seek a job. It was a restaurant; Aryan went there with her friend, who was not covered by veil, although Aryan used to put on a veil which is a custom in Afghanistan. Aryan was rejected for the way of her coverage, however her friend was offered a job.

6.7 Afghan Women and Development

Women comprise half of the migrant and refugee populations. Their education and initiatives could make remarkable contribution to the development of the host societies. Not only this, but diasporic women could contribute to financial stability of families back home, too.

Hawaa believes that women should not perceive themselves as a marginalized population of the society. Even if they are asylum seekers or refugees, they should not perceive themselves as a weaker part of community. Women should stop their needing status from men and seek dominance over men through their own efforts and hard work. Likewise, Parwin believes that women with vision and missions are the managers who are able to set goals, plan life and start implementation. These women are those, whom she believes that their existence is an asset to the societies and Afghan women have this potential to be the managers of their life and leader of societies.

Mursal believes that creating networks among Afghan women could help facilitate women's speedy gain of information about opportunities and this could help them use those opportunities relevant to their skills, talents and abilities. She witnessed that women of other nations such as Yemeni women have groups like this, unlike Afghan women. Mursal noticed that there are very few women studying natural science faculty, although she believes that women are needed to pursue education in this field because they are needed to conduct researches about Afghanistan natural resources and mines that are kept underground for centuries, or are being extracted by west. Mursal insists on women's more education, more networking and more interaction in order to break the long lasting useless taboos.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter is based on qualitative method research. It provides an overview on Afghan women's living conditions, obstacles, challenges, opportunities, and perspectives in Istanbul. Afghan women's migration and refugee movements has happened due to several conditions such as wars, security instability, poverty, prosecution, household strategies, wage differentials, patriarchy, family decisions, education, employment and etc.

Women migrants and refugees have been partially successful in escaping traditional patriarchal structures and through earning wages, they could gain some independence at home. Through this, they could create division of labor inside their houses and could avoid sex segregations in public and social spheres.

6.9 Findings

The data provided by interviewees in Istanbul shows that migrant women live with different living conditions. This research shows that webs of migration is complex for Afghan women and are widely based on ethnic, social, historical and family networks.

Some of the interviewed women declared that they had living experience in Iran and Pakistan, too. Based on their statements, Afghan women in Iran and Pakistan had comparatively less access to resources, rights and opportunities such as education, employment and citizenship rights, comparing to Turkey.

In terms of accommodation, Afghan women are usually based in Zeytinburnu part of Istanbul due to existence of ties of relationships from the past. Afghans in Zeytinburnu are normally living with poor living conditions, unemployment, and overloading refugee population.

Interview data shows that women's efforts were remarkable in terms of facilitating integration process into the new societies. Afghan women have tried to get better interactions and integration with their societies, day by day. The more they were integrated to the society, the more they were informed about their rights in Turkish society.

Integration process is facilitated by women's higher participation in social affairs. This means that creating networks among Afghan women could help facilitate women's gain of information, speedily, about opportunities and this could help them use those opportunities relevant to their skills, talents and abilities. Women's more education, more networking and more interaction is significant in order to break the long lasting useless traditional taboos.

Reviewing women's stories in this research shows that although women are rarely involved in decision making, but they make remarkable contribution to the process of implementing decisions. For instance, although in case of Hawaa, migration was decided by her husband's family, she facilitated the process through her financial contribution. Also in cases of Mursal and Aryan, although their families sent them to Istanbul, the process of facilitating the implementation of decision such as searching for universities, seeking integration information and seeking accommodation processes were done by themselves.

Afghan women's migration contributed to their independence. The wages women earn from their work is considered important in increasing women's level of self-confidence and their involvement in decision making process. Confidence and power gives women the courage to choose their preferred options and achieve their desired results out of it.

7 CONCLUSION

This chapter provides a summary on the overall chapters of the thesis. This thesis is based on secondary analysis and qualitative method, containing interviews conducted with six Afghan women living in Istanbul with different legal statuses.

This research tries to find out how migration started to become feminized in Afghanistan. In order to understand the causes and consequences of feminization of migration, Afghanistan's history of migration is studied in this thesis.

It does not only study women's vulnerable situations, but also studies women's efforts and contributions towards empowerment, through focusing on health, education and labor & domestic work statuses of women.

This thesis is written in order to support human security approach in terms of refugee women and reduction of economic and political deprivations, and elimination of violence and exploitation against women, who make half of the population of the world.

Feminization of migration streams means that women play a progressively important role in migration process, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The feminization debate means recognizing the increased participation, independence and agency of women in migration flows (Rinus, Berger & Kraal, 2006).

Afghan women's migration and refugee movement experiences are different. Migration conditions vary from wars, security instability, poverty, and fear of prosecution to household strategies, wage differentials, patriarchic conditions, family decisions, education, employment and so on.

Since Pakistan and Iran are located in the neighborhood of Afghanistan, once the major conflicts were raised in Afghanistan first by the Soviet Union and then by the Taliban, huge migration flows took place to these two countries. Afghan people have chosen to get settled in Turkey due to its cultural and religious ties with Afghanistan and due to the historical friendship relations both sides have had since 1921 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and King Amanullah Khan. Recently, some of the young women have chosen to get settled in Turkey for the reason that Turkey has played a role in term of promoting women's military knowledge and military professionalism in Afghanistan, through military education/training programs provided by the Turkish Armed Forces to the Afghan female soldiers.

7.1 Internal Factors Impacting Afghan Women's Empowerment and/or Disempowerment in the Host Societies (Iran, Pakistan & Turkey)

Women's migration is a global phenomenon containing various factors such as economic, social, political, cultural, environmental, health, education and transportation factors.

One of the factors impacting migration is the geographic factor. Asylum seekers and refugees generally migrate to countries geographically close to their country of origin. Over the past decade, Afghan women have been a major source of refugees in Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

Based on news broadcastings, Iran is one of the countries violating human rights values in the world, leading many of its citizens, especially women to seek asylum outside of its borders. This begs the question, if the interior environment was not supportive enough for Iranian women, how it could have been supporting Afghan women (Human Rights Watch 2015).

Exploitation still remains as a problem limiting women's chances of empowerment in the host societies. Efforts need to be made to ensure that standardized regulations and policies are adopted in order to protect the rights of migrant women.

After the fall of the Taliban regime, several return strategies were formed in order to facilitate women's return from the host communities since the country lacked female workforce and they were extremely needed to contribute to the development of the destroyed Afghanistan after decades of war. Since 1992, the Iranian government developed return policies by which there were some voluntary and forced repatriations. Return policies were made by the host societies and supported by the government of Afghanistan and the international society. But women were not in favor of returning back home. The reason for not willing to repatriate was due to the fear from violence and patriarchal rules in their traditional society from where they escaped.

Women's not willing to return was also due to facility of access to electricity, water and mechanical tools which eased their house chores compared to when they lived in Afghanistan. The load of house chores in Afghanistan has made life difficult for women.

On the other hand, technological advancement, both in communications and transport, in addition to the liberalization of labor markets, have had the potential to increase facilities for women to empower themselves. Afghan women based in agricultural regions of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan have had the chance to work in farms and earn wages (Sajjadpur & Sosifi 2017).

Afghan women in Iran, Pakistan and Turkey were to some extent able to break down male-domination because these societies provided them with some freedoms by which access to empowerment tools became easier for them.

Iran's economic and labor migration policies allowed men to migrate to Iran more than women. Iran allowed 200,000 Afghans to work in Iran as guest workers, many Afghan men migrated there, leaving their spouses at home. This created a barrier to women's chances of wage earning; in contrast to men who could gain more, they got more power on women and patriarchal roles still proceeded.

Women who used to live in refugee camps have faced more problems; meaning that unfair refugee locations with few livelihood facilities had led to an increase in family tension mainly due to poor living conditions, high rates of unemployment, and overloading of population in refugee areas. This particularly happened in Pakistan more than Iran and Turkey.

On the other hand, social deprivations such as limited opportunities, and restricted rights to healthcare and education are some features of livelihoods for Afghan migrant women which marginalized them in the host societies.

In Pakistan, Afghan women had freedom of movement and settlement for employment and education purposes. In Iran, registration was systematic. They issued blue cards for Afghan women that recognized them as refugees, but imposed limitations on freedoms of employment and internal mobility.

In Pakistan women received subsidies for basic social needs such as goods, education and health services; but Pakistan after a while, decreased access to education and ruined the camps and increased controls and deportations of irregular Afghans which contained women too. In Iran the lack of international aids caused lesser attention and assistance to Afghan refugee women to meet their needs.

Iran allowed Afghan families to reside in the mainland and in the cities, unlike Pakistan, which stored Afghans in the border camps. Therefore, women residing in Iran could gain better integration into Iranian communities. Some Afghans left Pakistan to Iran because they believed that Iran was providing them with better livelihood facilities. In Turkey, selection of accommodation was based on government decision. Turkey's UNHCR office based in Ankara decides the residence of its asylum seekers and refugees in specific cities and regions. International movements are prohibited according to the refugee policies and internal movements are allowed only if the IOM or International Organization of Migration provides permission (UNHCR Turkey 2018).

Unlike Iran, Pakistan was provided with international aids in order to settle refugees in the camps. Iran, in contrast did not receive the necessary facilities and aids from the international community for building refugee camps; therefore, Iran allowed Afghans in the large cities and therefore women in Iran had more freedoms than women in Pakistan.

Women's situation is reported to be more traditional in Pakistan than women's life in Iran and Turkey. In some of the Pakistani regions, traditionalism created a restrictive situation for women in which movement and promotion of women is not supported. This restriction basically came from the Pashtun residing regions where highly conservative people used to live.

Some of the Afghan women had experienced living in Iran and Pakistan, too. They had comparatively less access to resources, rights and opportunities such as education, employment and citizenship rights, comparing to Turkey. Turkey has been successful in developing short and long term police training courses for Afghan women (UNDP Afghanistan 2018).

In all three destinations women made efforts to facilitate integration process through their participation in social affairs. This means that creating networks among Afghan women could help facilitate women's gain of information about opportunities and this could help them use those opportunities relevant to their skills, talents and abilities and made efforts to empower themselves.

7.2 Summary of Thesis

Chapter one provides an overview and introduction to the thesis topic and importance of the subject, and outlines the structure of the whole thesis, including methods, background and overall outline of the thesis.

Chapter two discusses migration perspectives and theories because theories help explain and identify the diverse flows of migration and examination of migration phenomenon in the broader networks and systems. Theories help theories mobility, movements and processes of migration. They also help explain and theorize the contemporary phenomenon of ‘transnational movements’ and ‘migration of women’ and even who stay behind and do not migrate, but still affected by migration process or migration systems. The theories reviewed in this chapter includes the Functionalist Theory, the Historical-Structural Theory, Migration Network Theory, Migration Systems Theory and Globalization Theory. The second debate of this chapter contains refugee studies and a review on the 1951 Convention on Refugees.

Chapter three outlines women’s participation in migration flows. It discusses feminization of migration, theorizes gender in migration, and classifies types of women’s migration. A part of the chapter is comprised by debates on Asian women’s migration, focusing on their vulnerability, poverty conditions, causes and consequences of their migration and women’s financial independence through their labor and employment efforts.

Chapter four examines link between migration and the historical patterns in Afghanistan. It aims to give a comprehensive overview of the migration situation in Afghanistan through highlighting the three waves of Afghan migrations. It tries to study Afghan people’s migration reasons to Iran and Pakistan and tries to compare between the two fleeing destination cases of Afghans to Pakistan and Afghans to Iran, in terms of living conditions.

Chapter five measures Afghan women’s transfer-based empowerment experiences by investigating a number of key issues, such as education, livelihoods strategy, as well as gender characteristics and family relationships of Afghan women living in Pakistan and Iran.

Chapter six is an interview based research paper conducted in Istanbul. It includes women's experiences and prospects. Interviews contain questions covering Afghan women's experience of their journey from Afghanistan to Turkey, women's experience of domestic abuse or violence (in case they have), women's income sources, women's labor and domestic work experiences (if they have), and women's contribution to the development of communities.

Chapter seven is summary to the whole process of getting this thesis written and discusses the conclusion, shortcomings of the research and avenues for future research.

7.3 Shortcomings and Avenues for Future Research

Although Afghan women's migration flows is very wide in contemporary global society, this subject is not widely studied by the researchers. There are articles available addressing women's refugee statuses in Iran and Pakistan, but there are very rare researches or dissertations available addressing Afghan refugee women's living conditions in Turkey. The platform for future research could be in terms of addressing women's statuses in those cities of Turkey that are located in the Iran-Turkey borders, through which a huge number of women experienced coming to Turkey. Women's movement experiences can better help explain theories of migration and cause and consequences of women's migration. Those locations could be the important sources of data explaining women's displacement/movement phenomenon. This research is conducted in seven months; due to this reason this research could not cover more women to participate and facilitative access to more data. Lack of travelling possibilities to the Iran-Turkey bordering cities was another difficulty, limiting this research. On the other hand, since this research is conducted based on snowball sampling method, women were reached through recommendations. This method could not allow me to access to women with more diverse social and cultural backgrounds. I could have reached richer data if I could have accessed women from various ethnic groups but due to the already mentioned reasons, it was not possible.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Questions

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Appendix C: Ethics Committee Approval Form

Appendix A: Interview Questions



Istanbul Aydin University

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THESIS RESEARCH ON "GENDER AND MIGRATION FROM AFGHANISTAN:
AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND MIGRATION"

Farahnaz Rahmani, MA student in Political Science and International Relations

- 1) Can you tell me about yourself, including:
 - How old are you?
 - What is your marital status?
 - If married, how many children do you have?
 - What is the highest educational degree you obtained and in which country?
 - Can you tell me about your home town in Afghanistan and your place of residence in Istanbul?
- 2) When did you leave Afghanistan? When did you come to Turkey? Can you tell me about the steps of your journey?
- 3) Did you come to Turkey with other family members? With whom?
- 4) How do you provide for yourself in Istanbul? How did you provide for yourself in Afghanistan?
- 5) How does your family provide for itself in Istanbul/back in Afghanistan?
- 6) How would you compare your life in Turkey and your life in Afghanistan? (Also, any other country in which you has stayed for a considerable time)?
- 7) What kinds of social and public services and rights do you have in Turkey? (Healthcare, employment, education, social assistance, etc.)
- 8) What kinds of social and public services and rights do you think you should have?
- 9) As a woman, have you ever faced violence or abuse (physical, psychological, economic, etc.) in Istanbul?
- 10) As a woman, have you faced discrimination and prejudice in Turkey in finding a place to live, in finding a job, in access to healthcare?
- 11) What do you think could help encourage Afghan women's productive activities in Istanbul?
- 12) What kind of contribution do you think Afghan women can make in the development processes of their community in Afghanistan / in Istanbul?

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form



INFORMED CONSENT FORM
QUALITATIVE STUDY ON AFGHAN WOMEN'S MIGRATION

TITLE OF STUDY: GENDER AND MIGRATION FROM AFGHANISTAN: AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND MIGRATION

INTRODUCTION

This research is being conducted by Farahnaz Rahmani, MA student in Political Science and International Relations Department, under the title of 'Gender and Migration from Afghanistan: An Analysis of Women's Empowerment and Migration'.

PURPOSE

We are asking you to participate in this study in order to help the research in terms of information on the living conditions and experiences of Afghan migrant women in Turkey.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked questions on your life experience in Istanbul, how to migrated to Turkey, your life in Afghanistan, and your aspirations for the future.

BENEFIT

You will not be compensated for your participation and contribution in this study. Your participation is voluntary. However, the information that you may provide may help illuminate the conditions of Afghan migrants living in Turkey.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The data and records derived by this interview will be kept as confidential and safe as possible. The information that will be provided by you will be only used in academic articles without mentioning your personal information.

Participant's Initials: _____

Your participation is optional. You may either approve or refuse to participate. If you decide to participate, you can either answer all questions or skip the questions that make you feel distressed. If you decide to discontinue the interview, you can ask the researcher to destroy the answers and information you provided until that stage.

DURATION AND QUESTIONS

Time duration for this interview is 40 minutes. You may ask for clarification in any part and on any question if you wish. You can also ask questions anytime during the interview.

CONSENT

I have read and understood the information provided and I understand that my participation is voluntary. I understand that I will be provided with a copy of this consent letter. I agree to take part in this study voluntarily.

Investigator's Contact Details:

Name: Farahnaz Rahmani
University and Faculty: Istanbul Aydın University, MA student, Political Science and International Relations Department
Phone: (+90) 537 575 1267
Email: farah.malik22@yahoo.com

Signature _____ Date _____

Participant's Initials: _____

Appendix C:

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 26/07/2019-4576

T.C.
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü



Sayı : 88083623-020
Konu : Etik Onay HK.

Sayın Farahnaz RAHMANI

Tez çalışmanızda kullanmak üzere yapmayı talep ettiğiniz anketiniz İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Etik Komisyonu'nun 12.07.2019 tarihli ve 2019/10 sayılı kararıyla uygun bulunmuştur.
Bilgilerinize rica ederim.

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Ragıp Kutay KARACA
Müdür

Evrak Doğrulama İçin : <https://evrakdogrula.aydin.edu.tr/en/Vision.Dogrula/BelgeDogrulama.aspx?U=BE6E3BVF7>

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Unvanı: Enstitü Sekreteri



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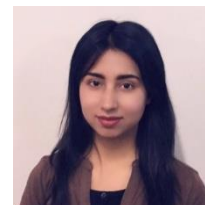
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EDUCATION

Masters of International Relations	Istanbul Aydin University	2019
Bachelor of Law	Gawharshad Institute of Higher Education (GIHE) (<i>Kabul, Afghanistan</i>)	2015
Diploma of Business Administration	Armaghan Institute (<i>Kabul, Afghanistan</i>)	2010
High School Certificate	Surya High School (<i>Kabul Afghanistan</i>)	2010
Certificate in English language	Afghanistan Relief Organization	2009

EXPERIENCE

Customer Service **Melisa Estate Property, Istanbul**

July 2018-Oct 2018

- Responding to the phone calls
- Taking customers to the residential projects
- Conduct social media marketing
- Other tasks given by the company director

Peace Project Coordinator **Peace Centre, GIHE**

Jan 2016 - Jan 2017

- Overall management of the project by the United States Institute of Peace
- Monitoring and evaluation of the project committees
- Supervising Young Peace-building and Conflict Resolution Association
- Planning budget and controlling project expenditures
- Project Monthly reporting to the donor organization
- Supervising peace curriculum and other publications such as journals
- Attending peace classes and ensuring the right use of methodologies

Program Officer **Women's Empowerment Center (Gawharshad)**

Jan 2014 - Jan 2016

The Women's Empowerment Center was established in 2012 to support young women's access to higher education and to establish the gender studies department within GIHE.

- Reporting scholarship projects' monthly ongoing status (achievements, challenges and success stories) to the donor organizations
- Meeting scholarship recipients and responding to their needs and

- problems to the related donor organizations
- Meeting donors to update them about scholarship women's needs and achievements
- Providing updates about scholarship girls' achievements to the donors
- Supervising Gender courses as well English and computer classes
- Arranging events (including, *One Billion Raising Campaign for Justice, AntiSexual Harassment Trainings, Annual Gender Courses and other programs*)

Chancellor's Office Secretary GIHE

2013 - 2014

- Arranging meetings, answering telephone calls and scheduling events
- Facilitating communication between the chancellor and the staff

Graduated Intern CARE International

Dec 2010 - June 2011

- Contributed to HR Department (**HRD**) tasks including recruitment processes, filing, providing general assistance to the program coordinator, publishing employers' ID cards, assisting delivery of training programs held by HRD and other HRD related tasks.

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Facilitator for:

- #standwithrefugees campaign with UNHCR in Kabul, Afghanistan.
- *HeForShe* campaign with Khat Media and UN-Women at GIHE, Kabul - a campaign held in several provinces in Afghanistan to inspire Afghan men to stand for women and support them.
- *Anti-Violence against Women* campaign with UN-Women at GIHE - a campaign aimed to teach women to stand against violence and inform them about the Anti Violence against Women Laws

Presenter of:

- Two day *Anti-Sexual Harassment* training and documentary with Modern Organization for Development of Education at GIHE
- Six weeks *Gender Training* in GIHE with the donation of German Embassy
- *Women's Leadership* training with USAID's *PROMOTE* program in Kabul

Coordinator of:

- Show & Tell program in U.S. Embassy in which the participants at Women's Leadership Training of PROMOTE could share their experiences and lessons they learnt through the three months training
- National Peace Conference in Kabul
- National Conference on Women's Participation in Peace Process with participation of Peace Center representatives and professors from other universities of the provinces in Kabul, Afghanistan
- Student's research/data collection project in Afghanistan provinces.

LANGUAGES AND EXTRA-CURRICULAR

Language	Speaking	Writing	Reading
Dari (mother tongue)	Fluent	Fluent	Fluent
Pashto	Good	Good	Good
English	Fluent	Fluent	Fluent
Urdu	Good	Good	Good
Turkish	Good	Good	Good

- Passionate about women's rights and empowerment, peace building and youth
- Skilled in Microsoft office suite
- Interests include reading books and newspaper, shopping, writing poems and novels, fashion designing and travelling and learning cultures
- Attended the following training courses:
 - Diplomacy Academy one month course by ICYF (Islamic Cooperation of Youth Forum) in Istanbul, Turkey.
 - IMUN 2019 conference by Module United Nations in Istanbul, Turkey.
 - Do No Harm (One day) by CARE International in Afghanistan.
 - Performance Management Process (One day) by CARE International in Afghanistan.
 - Gender workshop by CARE International and Gawharshad University in Afghanistan.
 - Peace building and Conflict Resolution by Gawharshad University in Afghanistan.
 - Leadership training by UN-Women in Afghanistan.
 - Non-Violent Communication training with GIZ (German Agency for International Cooperation) in Kabul, Afghanistan.

PUBLICATIONS

- Impacts of political instability on Afghan youth
<https://www.aa.com.tr/en/analysis-news/impact-of-afghanistans-political-instability-on-youth/1153487>
- Turkey-Afghanistan military relations
thekabultimes.gov.af/2018/07/15/turkey-afghanistan-military-relations-a-review-and-analysis-of-reasons-from-a-historical-perspective/

RADIO INTERVIEWS ABOUT AFGHAN REFUGEES

- With Radio Azadi
<https://da.azadiradio.com/a/29271274.html>
- With Radio Azadi
<https://da.azadiradio.com/a/29571199.html>

REFERENCES

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University Professor and Thesis Advisor