



# JOGI and CHORI FROSH communities

A Story of marginalization



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## Acronyms

AIHRC	Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission
CBS	Community-based school
CFS	Child-friendly school
DoE	Department of Education
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
KII	Key Informant Interview
KIS	Kabul Informal Settlement
MoE	Ministry of Education
Mol	Ministry of Interior
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nation Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The present study tells a story of marginalization. Its purpose is to unveil a forgotten reality: the situation of the Jogi, the Chori Frosh and other segments of the Jat population as the most marginalized communities in Afghanistan. These communities suffer from a status of complete outsiders in the Afghan society and have remained almost entirely invisible to Afghan authorities, international donors and academics alike. Jogi, Jat and Chori Frosh children are the primary victims of this exclusion. As UNICEF now aims at targeting the most vulnerable children in the frame of its Equity strategy, time has come to include these communities and their children in the analytical and strategic framework of both Afghan authorities and international organizations.

In order to fill in these gaps , the present study proceeds in four main steps:

Based on academic sources and empirical observations, it first identifies and defines these communities in Afghanistan. As 'endogamous socio-economic groups characterized by a specific marginal status in the society', the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities belong to the Jat ethnic minority. These populations amount to approximately 20,000 to 30,000 individuals in Afghanistan and have recently sedentarized on the outskirts of the main cities of Northern Afghanistan. The various sub-groups of the Jat populations share the following main characteristics:

- Residual semi-nomadic practices
- Despised non food producing occupations
- A common status of outsiders and a strong marginalization in the Afghan society.

The report then provides a socio-economic profiling of these communities in order to build knowledge and assess their degree of integration and marginalization in the Afghan society today. Qualitative and quantitative data strongly supports the claim that Jogi and Chori Frosh communities suffer from an important marginalization. The latter is three-fold:

- Economic: the average income of Jogi and Chori Frosh households amounts to half the one of the urban poor living nearby, with respectively 5,939 AFA against 10,079 AFA for each category monthly. They have two main sources of income: begging for women, which amounts to almost 40% of the households' income and daily work for men. Both these occupations only provide very low and fluctuant income and trap these communities in dire living conditions and an economic model of subsistence.
- Social : Jogi and Chori Frosh communities keep very distinctive identities, traditions and norms, which do not melt easily in the Afghan context. The symbol of this distinctiveness is the tradition of women labour. 60% of surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh households have at least one woman working, against 5% for the rest of the Afghan society. This particular identity contributes to their social exclusion.

- Political: the Jogi are among the only 'stateless people' in Afghanistan. In 80% of Jogi households, no one is registered and has any ID. The Ministry of Interior currently refuses to grant them citizenship, perpetuating a form of institutionalised discrimination. This impacts every areas of their daily life, hindering their access to social services, to governmental education and to land ownership.

Third, the present study addresses the specific issue of out-of-school children among these communities. Empirical observations – both qualitative and quantitative – confirmed without ambiguity that the problem of out-of-school children is more acute for Jogi communities than it is for the rest of the Afghan society. In Mazar-e-Sharif, 83.9% of Jogi children are out-of-school, compared to a rate of 47.2% of out-of-school children in the non-Jogi urban poor living in the same areas. The assessment of the main internal and external obstacles to education for these children reveals that:

- Household's poverty significantly hinders the access to education for children of these communities, as child labour – especially for girls – is an important strategy to ensure livelihoods within these communities.
- Contrary to common perceptions, these communities are not hostile to education but rather support very much the school enrolment of their children. Education is considered as one of their only available strategy to break the cycle of poverty and exclusion in which they are trapped.
- The absence of tazkira and the consequent impossibility to own land are undoubtedly among the most significant obstacles to education for children of these communities.
- The obstacles to education impacting the rest of the Afghan society are rather secondary for these communities, as neither security, distance to school or gender appeared as significant obstacles compared to the impossibility of registration.

Finally, the present report proposes recommendations to expand on the local projects UNICEF has developed in Mazar-e-Sharif for Jogi and Chori Frosh children and articulate a sound strategy to address the challenge of out-of-school children within these communities. The issue of out-of-school children is typically multi-faceted. It requires the articulation of the local and national levels of action, and the coordination of different UN agencies. In particular, UNHCR and UNICEF should work hand in hand to tackle at the same time the problem of statelessness and the problem of out-of-school children within these communities. These two issues cannot be dealt with independently. **Through the articulation of an ambitious educative project, which would ensure Jogi and Chori Frosh children the same access to education than other Afghan children, UNICEF would play a major role in triggering the necessary redefinition of the identity of Jogi communities as plain Afghan citizens.**

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1 INTRODUCTION ..... 7
  - 1.1 Background of the study ..... 7
  - 1.2 Project description ..... 8
  - 1.3 Methodology ..... 9
  - 1.4 Constraints and Limitations..... 12
  - 1.5 Structure of the Report ..... 12
- 2 WHO ARE THE JOGI AND CHORI FROSH COMMUNITIES? ..... 13
  - 2.1 Definitions and taxonomy ..... 14
  - 2.2 Historical background..... 16
  - 2.3 Numerical estimation and indicative mapping ..... 18
- 3 PROFILE OF THE JOGI AND CHORI FROSH COMMUNITIES.....21
  - 3.1 Demographics..... 21
  - 3.2 Economics..... 23
  - 3.3 Community Lifestyle..... 29
  - 3.4 Political status ..... 32
- 4 UNDERSTANDING THE PHENOMENON OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN WITHIN JOGI AND CHORI FROSH COMMUNITIES ..... 36
  - 4.1 Definitions ..... 36
  - 4.2 Access to education..... 37
  - 4.3 Internal obstacles to education..... 42
  - 4.4 An institutionalized discrimination? ..... 47
- 5 RECOMMENDATIONS – ARTICULATING A SOLID STRATEGY FOR UNICEF INTERVENTION ..... 50
  - 5.1 UNICEF-supported CBSs in Mazar-e-Sharif ..... 50
  - 5.2 Recommendations at the local level: upgrading the existing projects .....56
  - 5.3 Moving forward - Articulating a national strategy ..... 60
- APPENDIXES ..... 63

# Introduction

## 1.1 Background of the study

In 2010 UNICEF operated an important shift in its global strategy by relaxing the conventional tenet of its interventions, which posited that targeting the most marginalized children was too costly. As this premise was proven wrong by UNICEF analysis, the organisation shifted towards a more equitable strategy, which concentrates on reaching the most disadvantaged and marginalized children in the world<sup>1</sup>. In this context, Afghanistan appears as a central target for UNICEF's effort, as Afghan children have been violently exposed to the multifaceted consequences of decades of conflict<sup>2</sup> and represent a highly vulnerable population.

Significant progress was achieved in the country during the last decade in terms of education, child health or child protection. Unfortunately this progress was unequally distributed throughout the country<sup>3</sup>. In the area of education these discrepancies are blatant. While the number of Afghan children attending school rocketed from 1 million to 7 million in 10 years, the UN still deplores in 2011 a 'silent crisis for 5 million children – 42% of all children – not in school due to vulnerability and poverty'<sup>4</sup>. One of the tenant of UNICEF's new strategy in Afghanistan aims at reaching these 5 million out-of-school children through the identification and the reduction of existing barriers to education for Afghan children.

The label of out-of-school children gathers various kinds of realities and types of vulnerability in the Afghan context. While some situations of child vulnerabilities – such as girl education – begin slowly to be addressed through specific initiatives, some less visible vulnerable populations have been widely neglected by both international donors and Afghan national authorities. Among them, the Jogi and the Chori Frosh communities have received very little support. Yet the vulnerability of these semi-nomadic communities of Northern Afghanistan, and even more of their children, is compelling. Their fragility has been fuelled by a strong economic and social marginalization and by a very poor access to aid.

In the frame of its Equity Programme, UNICEF's purpose is to act on this blatant inequality and to address the specific needs of children from Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. To do so, UNICEF supported a first small-scale initiative with the DoE of the Balkh province in 2010 and established community-based classes for Jogi and Chori Frosh children in Mazar-e-Sharif. UNICEF then commissioned the present study to upgrade the existing project and expand the scope of its action with the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. The present study seeks to fulfil three main objectives: (1) to build precise and up-to-date knowledge on the socio-economic profile of these communities in Afghanistan, (2) to assess the specific barriers constraining

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<sup>1</sup> UNICEF (2010), Annual Report 2010, p. 4-5.

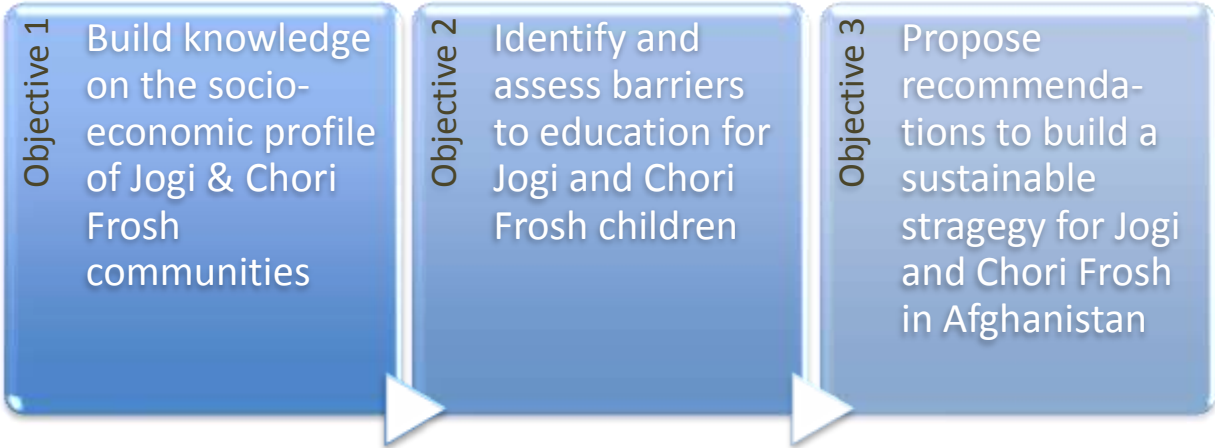
<sup>2</sup> Watchlist on children and armed conflict (2010), *Setting the Right Priorities: Protecting Children affected by armed conflict in Afghanistan*, p.3.

<sup>3</sup> Save The Children (2011), *Afghanistan in transition: Children at the heart of development*. p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> UNSC (2011), *The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for international peace and security: Report of the Secretary General*. New York City: United Nations Security Council. According to the Afghan MoE , 4.5 million children are out-of-school in Afghanistan in 2011. Cf. *Response to the EFA Monitoring Report 2011 – Afghanistan section*.

access to education for Jogi and Chori Frosh children, (3) to draw the main lines of a sustainable and rationalized strategy to address the needs of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities at a national level.

**Figure 1.1 – Study Objectives**



### 1.2 Project description

To get a full understanding of the issues faced by the targeted communities, this study had to articulate different levels of analysis. First and foremost, a large part of the study focused on a small-scale analysis, through the units of analysis of the individual, the household and the community. A large survey and focus group discussions were used to get an accurate picture of the characteristics of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. This could provide an in-depth knowledge of their lifestyles, economic conditions and social integration. A special attention was also put on the perceptions of the Jogi and Chori Frosh individuals about their situation within the Afghan society. On the other hand, the project was designed so as to include in the analysis the determinants, on a macro level, of the poor situation of these communities. This was done through key informant interviews with individuals active in organizational and strategic levels, both at the district and national levels of Afghan authorities and of the international community. A desk review of pertinent literature supported this analysis shedding light on the anthropological and social characteristics of these communities, despite the scarcity of existing information on the subject.

A team of two international consultants and one national consultant collective quantitative and qualitative data mainly in Mazar-e-Sharif but also in Kabul, with a team of seven national interviewers (three women, four men) for the quantitative survey.



## 1.3 Methodology

The baseline information about the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities was collected through a quantitative survey during 9 days of fieldwork in Mazar-e-Sharif, complemented by a one-day survey in Kabul, from 24 October to 3 November. To refine our understanding of the actual challenges faced by these communities, 8 focus group discussions were conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif aiming at collecting information on the communities' lifestyles, economy, norms and main needs. Key informants' interviews were also conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul with Afghan authorities, NGOs and UN agencies to triangulate information and get the perceptions of main stakeholders on these communities' specific issues.

### Quantitative Methodology

In order to get a refined representation of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, 3 different questionnaires were designed:

- One 30 minute long questionnaire was specifically designed to survey Jogi and non-Jogi children.
- One 45 minute long questionnaire for the Jogi and Chori Frosh households
- One 45 minute long questionnaire for the non-Jogi and Chori Frosh households.

### Survey sample

Following UNICEF's indications, the main part of the fieldwork was conducted in the city of Mazar-e-sharif. There our team targeted the three main locations where Jogi and Chori Frosh live: Karte-e-Khurasan, Baba Qambar and near Bandari Shiberghan. The sample responded to a snowballing logic: from preliminary discussions with UNICEF and the DoE, the team of interviewers started with the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities living nearby UNICEF community-based schools. From these communities, they could get information to identify the main other locations inhabited by Jogi and Chori Frosh populations in Mazar-e-Sharif. They were then included in the survey. 101 Jogi and Chori Frosh households as well as 155 Jogi and Chori Frosh children were surveyed.

This survey was completed by an indicative survey of non-Jogi and non-Chori Frosh households and children in order to get comparative data. We targeted non-Jogi or non-Chori Frosh households and children living close to Jogi and Chori Frosh camps as they are more likely to interact with Jogi and Chori Frosh communities regularly and offer an interesting way to compare their respective living conditions. 100 non-Jogi or Chori Frosh households and 143 non-Jogi or Chori Frosh children were surveyed.

From our discussions with UNICEF, it appeared interesting to get an indicative picture of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities living in other places in Afghanistan than the Balkh province. Following this, an additional indicative survey was conducted in the neighbourhood of Charahi Qamber on the outskirts of Kabul. 52 Jogi households and 9 Jogi children were surveyed in Charahi Qamber.

A total of 551 questionnaires were collected, as detailed below.

## Quantitative Survey in Mazar-e-Sharif

- Representative survey of 154 households Jogi and Chori Frosh
- Representative survey of 175 Jogi and Chori Frosh children

- Indicative survey of 100 non-Jogi or Chori Frosh households
- Indicative survey of 124 non-Jogi or Chori Frosh children

## Quantitative Survey in Kabul

- Indicative Survey of 35 Jogi households
- Indicative Survey of 10 jogi children attending school

Within each surveyed categories, respondents were randomly selected without any gender or age criteria of selection. As showed in table 1.1, overall the gender repartition among the interviewees was balanced. Yet table 1.1 shows that the access to men was a lot easier in the Jogi community than in the non-Jogi communities, as Jogi males are more likely to be found at home than non-Jogi male during day time. On the other hand, access to women and young girls was more difficult among the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities due to their occupations in the bazaar. Table 1.1 shows no significant difference between the two communities in terms of average age of respondents.

Table 1.1 - Quantitative Sample description (gender & average age)

	Households Jogi	Households Non Jogi	Children	Total
<b>Male</b>	55.6%	29%	61.4%	48.7%
<b>Female</b>	44.4%	71%	38.6%	51.3%
<b>Average Age</b>	37	36,2	10.8	

## Qualitative Methodology

### Focus Group Discussions

Eight focus group discussions were organized in Mazar-e-Sharif to complement the quantitative survey. These discussions gathered 6 individuals for an open-ended discussion lasting approximately two hours. Conducted by experimented national consultants, these focus groups aimed at fostering a free discussion and at collecting individual opinions and perceptions on several themes central to this study.

Focus groups were organized based on gender, age and social positions in order to ensure a safe space to share opinions as well as to allow comparisons between the different groups.

### **Focus group repartition**

- 1 focus group with Jogi male adults
- 1 focus group with Jogi female adults
- 1 focus group with Jogi community leaders
- 1 focus group with Chori Frosh community elders
- 1 focus group with Chori Frosh children
- 1 focus group with non Jogi children
- 2 focus groups with non Jogi heads of community from areas neighbouring the Jogi living areas.

### **Key informant Interviews**

In Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul we conducted numerous key informant interviews (KIIs) with a range of stakeholders relevant to the purpose of this study. These interviews consisted of open-ended questionnaires and lasted approximately one hour. These KIIs gave us great insight on the perception of key institutional and political actors on the main challenges faced by the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan. The KIIs in the Balkh province provided information on the management of these communities at a local level, while KIIs in Kabul shed light on policies and obstacles related to these communities at a national level.

KIIs were conducted with the following respondents:

- with UN agencies: UNICEF, UNHCR Mazar-e-Sharif, UNHCR Kabul, WFP.
- with NGOs and implementing organizations: Save the Children Mazar-e-Sharif, Save the Children Kabul, Mercy Corps, Aschiana, Afghanistan Libre, Afghanistan Demain
- with governmental authorities: DoE, AIHCR, focal point for Jogi and Chori Frosh communities
- with scholars : Pr. P.Centlivres et Pr. M. Centlivres, Dr. Ariane Zevaco.

### **School observation**

Finally the fieldwork included a part of qualitative observation of the different kind of schools we encountered. On the one hand, this observation focused on the CBSs set up by UNICEF for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. We also visited school attended by non Jogi/Chori Frosh children of the neighbouring areas in order to get a basis for comparison. These observations were based on the EMIS indicators as demanded by UNICEF.

## 1. 4 Constraints and Limitations

The absence of a precise mapping and the scarcity of information about the locations of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan constrained the initial project to the province of Balkh where UNICEF had pre-existing knowledge of these communities. Following this, this study should be considered as a first entry into the subject that needs to be complemented by a national survey in order to be truly representative on a national scale.

Furthermore, the snowballing method which has led the sampling process may have created biases into the selection as we could survey only the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities which were known by other communities. Even if small, there is a risk that some more isolated Jogi or Chori Frosh households escaped our assessment in the city of Mazar-e-Sharif.

Finally the very low level of literacy of our Jogi and Chori Frosh respondents limited the precision of some of their answers, especially when the questions concerned the history of their community. The answers could easily mix accurate information with mythical narratives. When possible, these information were verified through a crossing with the existing academic literature. Unfortunately the latter is – as already noted – scarce and did not always bring the expected answers on these communities.

## 1. 5 Structure of the Report

The report is divided in five chapters and structured as follow. The first section provides contextual information as well as a description of the methodology used for the project. The second section of the report focuses on defining and identifying the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in the Afghan context. Based on the existing literature and the interviews we conducted this section will briefly describe the history of these communities in the country, their geographical repartition as well as their main anthropological characteristics, similarities and differences.

The third section is based on the findings of our fieldwork and will provide a in-depth analysis of the socio-economic conditions of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Mazar-e-Sharif. In order to draw significant conclusions, these findings will be compared with the socio-economic profile of the surrounding non-Jogi and non-Chori Frosh communities as well as with Jogi communities in Kabul.

The fourth section will focus on the issue of education and out-of-school children. After identifying the main features of these communities in terms education, we will assess the various internal and external obstacles that hinder access to education for their children.

The last section of this report will concentrate on recommendations. This final section will be two-fold. First it will assess the existing UNICEF projects in Mazar-e-Sharif and propose some potential improvements. Second, it will propose some tracks for the implementation of a rationalized and systematic strategy towards Jogi and Chori Frosh communities at a national level.



A Chori Frosh young girl – Mazar-e-Sharif

## 2. Who are the Jogi and Chori Frosh in Afghanistan?

### 2.1 Definitions and taxonomy

#### Definition

The Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan are 'endogamous socio-economic groups characterized by a specific marginal status in the society'<sup>5</sup>. These two groups count respectively – and approximately – about 1500 and 350 households scattered around Northern Afghanistan.

The terms 'Jogi' or 'Chori Frosh' are neither clear ethnic categories nor names originally used by the communities themselves. Rather, these labels are 'exogenous denominations, which show a globalizing – and sometimes abusive – vision.'<sup>6</sup> For Afghans, these terms refer to a confusing mix between ethnical categories and professional categories<sup>7</sup>. There are three main components defining Jogi and the Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan:

- (1) A common ancestry external to Afghanistan<sup>8</sup>. The status of 'outsider' is central to the definition of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. It relates both to the pervasive perceptions of other Afghans towards them and to their own will of preserving a distinct identity.
- (2) The occupations they perform such as begging, fortune telling, trinket selling, fabricating and selling drums, bird cages or sieves. Stereotypical views about these communities also associate them with abortion, blood letting or prostitution<sup>9</sup>.
- (3) The strong marginalization they are subjected to within the Afghan society.

According to A. Zevaco, these communities could be defined as 'ethnic minorities'. This term highlights their existence as a specific social group defined by distinctive criteria (language, values, ancestry, territory), their consciousness of belonging to this particular group as well as their minority status in the society they live in<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Based on the interview of Pierre and Micheline Centlivres, November 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Gatelier (2004), K. La représentation des Mugat dans les sources écrites: réalité de leur mobilité et de la sédentarité" in *Cahiers d'Asie centrale*, 11/12. Online since 23.06.2009 <http://asiecentrale.revues.org/index703.html>. p.269

<sup>7</sup> Rao, A. (1982), *Les Gorbats d'Afghanistan, Aspects économiques d'un groupe itinérant Jat*. Bibliothèque iranienne no 27. Editions Recherche sur les civilisations. p. 213

<sup>8</sup> Based on the interview of Ariane Zevaco, December 2011. Translations of the author.

<sup>9</sup> Zevaco, A. & Dudoignon, S. (2009), 'Sur le Mail des Rhapsodes: Sociabilités traditionnelles, groupes de statut et ethnies minoritaires en Asie Centrale soviétique' in *AS/EA LXIII 2-2009*, 273-321.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

### **Jogi and Chori Frosh: sub-groups of the Jat population in Afghanistan**

The Jogi and Chori Frosh communities are sub-groups of the category of people called Jat, living in Afghanistan. The term 'Jat' is a 'contested and ambiguous label for several non-food producing, peripatetic, itinerant communities in Afghanistan and the surrounding region'<sup>11</sup>. It is not a clearly delimited ethnic entity but rather an heterogeneous group composed of various ethnic communities. There is no agreement on the boundaries of the category Jat among scholars. The Encyclopedia Iranica includes the following communities in Afghanistan under the Jat category: Baluch, Gorbat, Jalali, Shadi baz, Pikraj, Vangawala, Jogi, Shaykh Mohammadi and Mussali. The term Pikraj or 'Paki Raj' is another term to designate the Chori Frosh communities. For Rao yet, the Jogi should be seen as a sub-group of the Jalali community present in the North of Afghanistan<sup>12</sup>. There are numerous overlaps between these various denominations as a myriad of local appellations exist to designate them. For example the Chori Frosh of Mazar-e-Sharif designate themselves as Paki Raj but consider their ethnicity to be Baluch.

These groups are called 'peripatetic' in the literature to describe their form of nomadism, which differs from more traditional – and more studied – pastoral nomadic lifestyles. The academic knowledge about these peripatetic communities, including the Jogi and the Chori Frosh, is very limited. As stated by Rao, these communities suffer a double marginality: a political and social marginality imposed by the enviroing society<sup>13</sup>, echoed by an complete academic marginality. This entails a certain fuzziness in the anthropological taxonomy about these communities. Yet, Jogi and Chori Frosh as well as other groups mentioned above, share a few common characteristics justifying to gather them under the larger label of 'Jat':

#### **Common characteristics of Jat sub-groups**

- They have had traditionally semi-nomadic lifestyles, moving periodically in order to ensure economic subsistence.
- Most Jat claim to be Sunni. Only the Gorbat sub-group appears to be Shi'a.
- They live in houses in cities and in white tents in rural areas, as opposed to the traditionally dark goat's hair tents of pastoral nomads like Kuchi.
- They do not produce food and do not breed livestock.
- They are collectively considered as outsiders coming from India even if their ethnical origins are more varied, including Tajik and Iranian backgrounds.
- They have been associated with occupations considered undesirable or unclean.
- They are strongly marginalized within the Afghan society.

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<sup>11</sup> Hanifi, J. (2009), 'Jat' in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jat>

<sup>12</sup> Rao, A. (1986), Roles, Status and Niches: A Comparison of Peripatetic and Pastoral Women in Afghanistan," *Nomadic Peoples* 21/22, 1986, pp. 153-77.

<sup>13</sup> Rao, A. (1982), p.13.

Denominations like Jat, Jogi or Chori Frosh are not genuine names of communities but rather 'imposed on a group of disparate communities, which have in common their marginality'<sup>14</sup>. These terms correspond to a popular terminology and have very pejorative connotations in Afghanistan. '*Misl e jat asti*' in Persian – 'you are like a Jat' – is a way of accusing someone of behaving badly. The term Jogi also carries a very bad connotation as it has become a synonym for beggars and an insult in Afghanistan. Members of these groups used to refuse these externally imposed names. As such 'these labels do not analytically qualify as ethnonyms but are reference to social categories to which no one wants to belong.'<sup>15</sup> Yet, as a result of a recent evolution, members of these communities themselves have recently started to increasingly use exogenous terms such as Jogi to define themselves.

As showed in the following excerpts of focus group discussions, there is no consensus within the community itself about the name 'Jogi', showing both pride and rejection.

#### Excerpts from FGDs

Ex 1: "*Some of the people call us Jogi as a way of insulting us. They think that we are begging and we hate begging. We hate ourselves because we are begging*". Rawat, Jogi woman, Mazar-e-Sharif, 29.10.2011

Ex 2: "*I am proud that people call me Jogi. Because our ethnicity is Jogi. Jogi means ziorat, it comes from the name of a shrine.*" Mohammad Ulla, Jogi man, Mazar-e-Sharif, 28.10.2011

Ex. 3: "*Some people call us Jat, Jogi, Chori Frosh because our women sell Chori in the Bazaar. When they call us like that, we are very sad. We call our community Paki Radj.*". Mohammad Sahel, Chori Frosh child, Mazar-e-Sharif, 26.10.2011

## 2.2 Historical background

### A long tradition of migratory movements in the region

The historical path of the Jat groups in Afghanistan corresponds to a succession of migratory movements in the region. Once again, historical sources on the origins of these populations are extremely scarce and suggest various hypotheses.

The first mention of the ancestors of Jogi and Chori Frosh in Central Asia can be traced back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC, when they first appeared in literary sources of that time under the name of *Luli* or *Luri*, depending on sources. Authors of this period relate a legendary account of their arrival in the Persian world<sup>16</sup>.

Bahrâm the Shah of the Persian Kingdom was once told that the poor of his kingdom did not have music. To change this situation, the Shah asked Shengil, the King of India, to send to Persia 10 000 Luri musicians, also called *Zott* or *Djatt*. "When the *Luris* arrived, Bahrâm gave each one an ox and an ass-load of wheat so that they could live

<sup>14</sup> Centlivres, P. (1976), 'L'Histoire récente de l'Afghanistan et la configuration ethnique des rovinces du Nord-Est' in *Studia Iranica*, 5, p. 255-267.

<sup>15</sup> Hanifi, J. (2009)

<sup>16</sup> al-Isfahâni, H. 961, "Tarikh fi Muluk al-ard" in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, s. v. Lûlî.



on agriculture and play music gratuitously for the poor. But the *Luris* ate the ox and the wheat and came back a year later with their cheeks hollowed with hunger. The king was angered with their having wasted what he had given them, ordered them to pack up their bags on their asses and go wandering around the world."<sup>17</sup>

If based on legendary narratives, this account is still significant as it highlights the Indian origin of the *Jat* group, to which the *Jogi* and the *Chori Frosh* belong. Despite the scarcity of information on the subject, ethnologists seem to agree on a *Penjabi* origin of these populations<sup>18</sup>. This population then was scattered all over the region from the Iranian *Loristan* to *Tajikistan*, *Uzbekistan* and *Afghanistan*. A large number of *Jat* people also remained in *India* and *Pakistan*. Interestingly, despite a very ancient presence in the region, these groups never assimilated within the society they inhabited. On the opposite their identity of strangers remained vivid throughout centuries. Until today, these communities have been considered as 'coming from outside'<sup>19</sup> and have kept their specific identity within each national context.

On a more recent perspective, the *Jat* groups differentiated along national lines and took distinct names according to the countries they inhabited. As for the *Jogi*, they are the descendants of the *Luri*, who settled in *Tajikistan* and in the North of *Afghanistan*. The *Jogi* communities used to travel forth and back between these two regions, irrespective of national borders, at least until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are several different narratives about their final establishment in *Afghanistan* and the chronology remains uncertain<sup>20</sup>. But one plausible hypothesis seems to be that the establishment of the Soviet regime in *Tajikistan* greatly restrained the mobility of the *Jogi* between the two countries, forcing the *Jogi* communities to settle on either side of the border<sup>21</sup>. The *Chori Frosh* on the other hand came from *Pakistan*, with which they keep strong ties. The men are usually going back regularly to *Pakistan* to buy the bangles that the women will then sell on the bazaar in various cities of *Afghanistan*.

### Contemporary dynamics

The *Jat* society and lifestyles in *Afghanistan* were profoundly transformed by the recent introduction of modern roads and the development of urban environment. These transformations, if still limited, increasingly challenged the itinerant lifestyle of these communities by weakening their role of intermediaries between city centres and rural areas for information and petty trade. Consequently, they growingly adopted a sedentary or semi-sedentary lifestyle.

Furthermore, these communities were deeply impacted by the chaotic faith of the country during the past 35 years, and by the degradation of the security context and the collapse of the state structure. The Soviet occupation, the civil war and the Taliban regime had a drastic

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<sup>17</sup> Gatelier, K. (2004). See also Digard, J-P (2002), "Gypsies i. Gypsies of Persia" in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gypsy-i>

<sup>18</sup> See for example Rao, (1982) and Khakimov, N. (2010), *Mugaty – Skital'tsy v Poiskakh Schast'ya. Obryady i ritualy Luli*, Swiss Cooperation Office, Khujand.

<sup>19</sup> Rao, A. (2004), "Strangers and Liminal Beings: Some thoughts on Peripatetics, Insiders, and Outsiders in Southwest Asia" in Berland, J & Rao, A, eds, *Customary Strangers: New Perspectives on Peripatetic Peoples in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia*, London, 270-298.

<sup>20</sup> Estimations provided by *Jogi* on their settlement in *Afghanistan* varied from 300 years to 100 years ago.

<sup>21</sup> Based on interview with *Jogi* community leaders, Mazar-e-Sharif, 30.10.2011.

impact on these vulnerable communities<sup>22</sup>. Some members of these communities fought with the Mujahedin during the Soviet invasion. But, given their long habit of mobility, most of them naturally opted for migration and flew the country to take refuge in Pakistan, Iran and Tajikistan, following in this the same migratory paths as their compatriots. A survey conducted in 2010 by the UNHCR in the informal settlement of Chahari Qamber in Kabul illustrates their recent migratory trajectories. It shows that only 1,7% of Jogi households of this settlement remained in the country, while 98,3% left during the conflict and the Taliban regime and returned in Afghanistan from 2003 onwards. 43.3% of these households were assisted returnees, 16.1% returned spontaneously and 38.9% were deported.

### 2.3 Numerical estimation and indicative mapping

#### Numerical estimation

In his 2009 article in the Encyclopedia Iranica, Hanifi stresses the absence of any reliable sources about the number of Jat, Jogi or Chori Frosh in the country. The general lack of reliable surveys in Afghanistan is even more blatant for the Jogi and the Chori Frosh communities. Following this, any estimation must be taken with the highest precaution. Unfortunately the only existing data dates back to the end of the 1980s.

**Table 2. 2: Numerical Estimation of the main Jat sub-groups in Afghanistan<sup>23</sup>**

Jat Sub-group	Main Locations	Numerical Estimation
Jalali and Jogi	Kabul, Mazar, Balkh province, cities (Fayzabad, Khunduz)	1000 – 1500 households
Pikraj Jats also called Chori Frosh	Balkh province, Baghlan, Fayzabad, Khunduz, Taloqan	300 – 350 households
Jat Baluch	North and North West of the country, Herat	app.400 households
Gorbat Jats	Kabul, Herat, Kandahar	app. 1000 households
Vangawala	South of Hindu Kush mountains, Bamian Valley, large cities	450 – 500 households
Sadibaz/Sadiwan	Kabul, Jalalabad, Parwan, Logar	250 – 300 households
Shaykh Mohammadi	Lagman province, Alisang valley	app. 150 households

Given the political situation of the country during the past decades, it is very likely that important reconfigurations occurred in the geographical repartition of these communities. A precise survey is necessary to measure these potential numerical and geographical evolutions but it seems that the tendency has been a contraction of the space of wandering of these

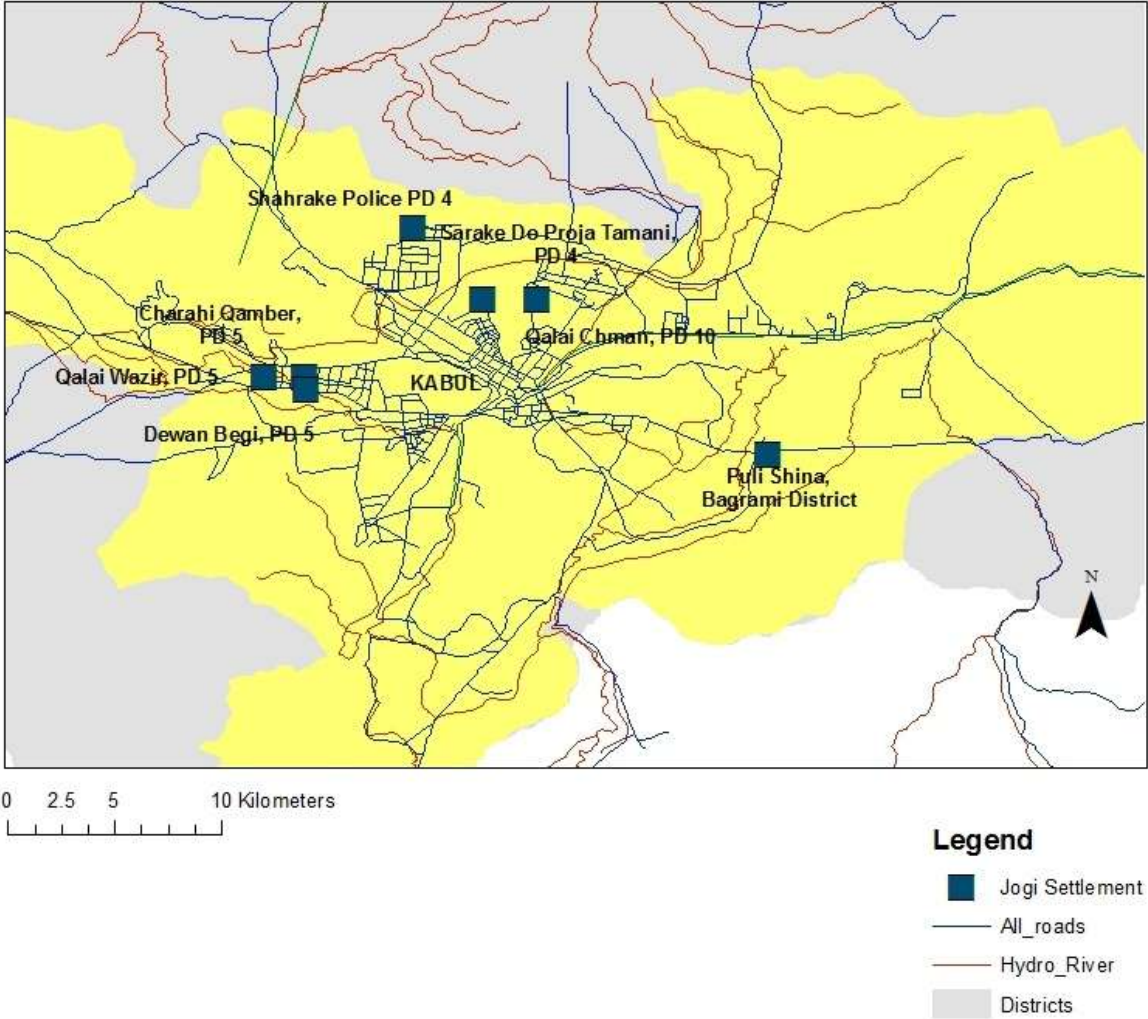
<sup>22</sup> Rao. A (2004), p. 273.

<sup>23</sup> Based on Rao, A. (1986), modified according to empirical observations.

communities. They are now privileging urban dwellings, especially in cities such as Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif and Kunduz and Jalalabad.

Regarding the Jogi today, an estimation of approximately 1000 to 1500 households currently living in Northern Afghanistan seems like a plausible hypothesis, with around 600 Jogi households living in Kabul<sup>24</sup> and 150 households in Mazar-e-Sharif<sup>25</sup> and in the Balkh province.

**Indicative Mapping of Jogi communities in Kabul**



<sup>24</sup> Based on UNHCR Kabul data and on an interview with Eng. Mohammad Yousef, Director of Aschiana.

<sup>25</sup> Based on empirical observations.

# 3. Profile of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities

The following section details the demographic, economic and social profile of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, based on evidences provided by the fieldwork conducted in Mazar-e-sharif and complemented in Kabul. As showed throughout this section, the fieldwork confirmed a strong marginalisation of these communities, both in social and economic terms. It showed some very specific social and economic features characterizing these communities, compared to the rest of the Afghan population, a specificity that reinforces their marginalization. Yet this rather pessimistic picture has to be refined as the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities are not fixed entities. Rather these communities are capable of adapting and evolving in response to the social context they live in. The flexibility and adaptability of these communities have long been among their main strengths<sup>26</sup> to resist the numerous political and social challenges they have to face. Data from the field sheds light on some of these current evolutions characterizing these communities in the Afghan context today.

## 3.1 Demographics

### Ethnic identity

When asked about their ethnic identity the Jogi and the Chori Frosh respond without ambiguity: 76% claim to be Tajik, 23% claim to be Jogi and 1% to be Uzbek. The only ambiguity lies in the choice of the term to define themselves, between 'Tajik' and 'Jogi'. As we saw earlier, these two terms are not mutually exclusive. The term 'Jogi' does not represent exactly a specific ethnic group but rather a socio-economic category. For these communities, to declare themselves Tajik is a way to avoid the contempt, which usually comes along with the terms of Jogi or Jat.

The interesting point here is the very strong homogeneity of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in terms of ethnicity, an homogeneity that is reinforced by their endogamous practices<sup>27</sup>.

**Table 3.1 Languages**

Dari	84.2%
Pashto	0.7%
Urdu	0%
Turkmen	0%
Uzbek	0%
Other	19.6%

As showed by the table 3.1, the Jogi and Chori Frosh populations speak mainly Dari within their own households, confirming the vast predominance of their Tajik background. According to this table, 19.6% of Jogi and Chori Frosh respondents claimed to use another language within their households. This confirms the existence of some specific dialects only known by the members of these communities, corroborating the use of 'secret languages' acknowledged by academic sources<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Gatelier, K. (2004), p. 284

<sup>27</sup> Interview of P. & M. Centlivres, November 2011.

<sup>28</sup> Gatelier, K. (2004), p. 270

### Household composition

The average size of households in the Jogi community is surprisingly low compared to the average size of households in the Afghan society. Jogi households count on average 5.3 individuals per household, with an average of 2.8 children per household. A recent survey conducted on other non-Jogi segments of the population in the city of Mazar-e-Sharif found an average of 9 individuals per household<sup>29</sup>. An explanation of this difference might be a different understanding of the notion of household within the Jogi community, where the nuclear family is more important than in the rest of the Afghan society, where an extended definition of the family prevails. Jogi children leave their parents' household earlier than in the rest of the Afghan society.

**Table 3.2 – Household composition by age and gender**

	< 15		15-24		25 +		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<b>Jogi/Chori Frosh</b>	24.4%	21.4%	13.5%	9.3%	14.9%	16.5%	52.8%	47.2%
<b>Non-Jogi<sup>30</sup></b>	22%	21.8%	13.3%	10.8%	18.4%	13.7%	53.7%	46.3%
<b>Settled population<sup>31</sup></b>	23.3%	22.9%	9.2%	8.4%	18.8%	17.5%	51.2%	48.8%

Table 3.2 shows that the basic demographic characteristics of the Jogi population are similar to those of the non-Jogi and of the settled Afghan population. Jogi communities present the same small gender imbalance, which exists in the rest of the overall population. In total, 47.2% of the Jogi and Chori Frosh population are women and 52.8% are men. For both Jogi and non-Jogi population, the most represented category is male aged less than 15 year old (respectively 24.4% and 23.3%). Table 3.2 suggests notably that the Jogi communities are increasingly characterized by a lifestyle comparable to the one of settled populations. The demographic profile of the Jogi and Chori Frosh populations is increasingly converging with the rest of the population.

<sup>29</sup> Priestley, P. (2011): 'Economic Assessment and Labour Market Survey of Mazar-i-Sharif, Pul-i-Khumri, Kandahar City and Kunduz city'. Samuel Hall Report Commissioned by Mercy Corps.

<sup>30</sup> Based on the survey of non-Jogi households living in the same areas than the Jogi and Chori Frosh.

<sup>31</sup> Based on the Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook, 2008-09. Published by the CSO.

## Age structure

Table 3.3 provides a breakdown of both Jogi and non-Jogi households by age brackets.

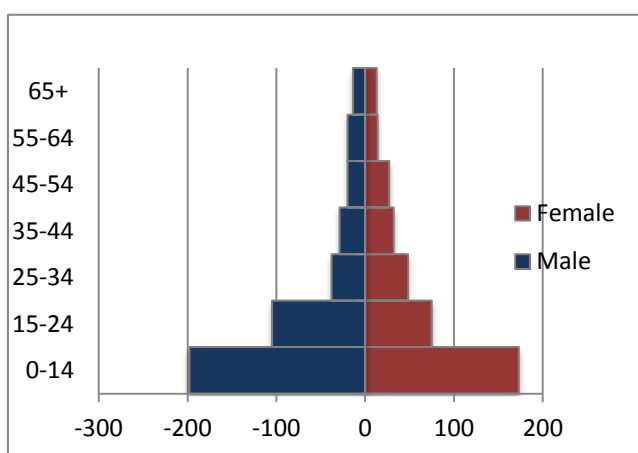
**Table 3.3 – Households' composition by age brackets**

Age	< 15	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	>64	Dependency Ratio <sup>32</sup>
<b>Jogi</b>	46.3%	22.2%	10.6%	7.5%	5.8%	4.2%	3.3%	98.5%
<b>Non-Jogi</b>	43.9%	24.1%	11%	10.1%	5.8%	2.8%	2.2%	85.5%

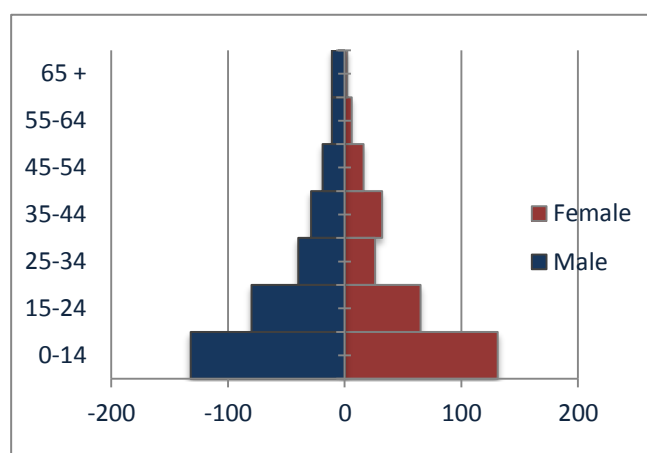
Of particular note from the age breakdown:

- There is a relative conformity between the Jogi age structure and the surrounding non-Jogi communities. Both groups are characterized by a very large disproportion in favour of young people, as in both cases, under 25 people represent more than 68% of the communities.
- The dependency ratio of both Jogi and non-Jogi is then above 85%, which represents a very high pressure on the productive population. This is especially the case within the Jogi community, where the dependency ratio amounts to 98.5%. It must be noted that the surveyed non-Jogi population is mostly urban poor, which entails a stronger dependency ratio (85.5%) than in the rest of the Afghan population. This strong pressure is visible in both cases on the age pyramids below:

**Figure 3.1 : Age Pyramid Jogi**



**Figure 3.2 Age Pyramid non-Jogi**



<sup>32</sup> The dependency ratio is the age-population ratio of those not in the labour force and those in the labour force. It expresses the level of pressure imposed on the productive population by the non-productive population. The international definition of the productive population comprises all individuals between the age of 15 and 64. Under and above these ages is the non-productive population.

## 3.2 Economics

The following section analyses the economic profile of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities surveyed in Mazar-e-Sharif. While basic demographic data exposed some convergences between the demographic profile of these two communities and the general demographic profile of the population, the economic profile of these communities shows some clear distinctive features.

### Household Income

**Table 3.4 Average Monthly income per age and gender category (AFA)<sup>33</sup>**

	Male children	Female children	Male adult	Female adult	Average household income
<b>Jogi &amp; Chori Frosh</b>	2,696	2,320	4,991	3,320	<b>5,939</b>
<b>Non-Jogi &amp; Chori Frosh</b>	240	0	9,614	215	<b>10,079</b>

Table 3.4 details the average monthly income per household as well as each category's participations in the household monthly income. The average monthly household income within Jogi and Chori Frosh communities amounts to a bit less than 6,000 AFA. This level of income is noticeably low. By comparison, the surrounding non-Jogi communities for example declared an average monthly income of slightly more than 10,000 AFA per household. A recent survey conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif with a population of employers and employees found an average monthly income of 19,704 Afs per household<sup>34</sup>.

Data from the field confirms the scarcity of monetary resources and the poverty of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities.

Furthermore table 3.4 provides information on the categories contributing to the household income. The differences between Jogi and Chori Frosh and non-Jogi communities are significant in this matter. Male adults are responsible for approximately 95% of the household income in non-Jogi households. Other categories, namely female adults and children, participate only very marginally in the household income. In the case of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, the contribution to the income is shared more equally among different members.

Three main points are worth noting:

- Despite common stereotypes about Jogi and Chori Frosh men, the male adults appear as the main contributors to the household incomes with an average contribution of almost 5,000 AFA.
- Contrary to the situation in non-Jogi households, Jogi and Chori Frosh women take an active part in economic life. In the surveyed communities, they earn on

<sup>33</sup> Based on the levels of income declared by the surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh households in Mazar-e-Sharif.

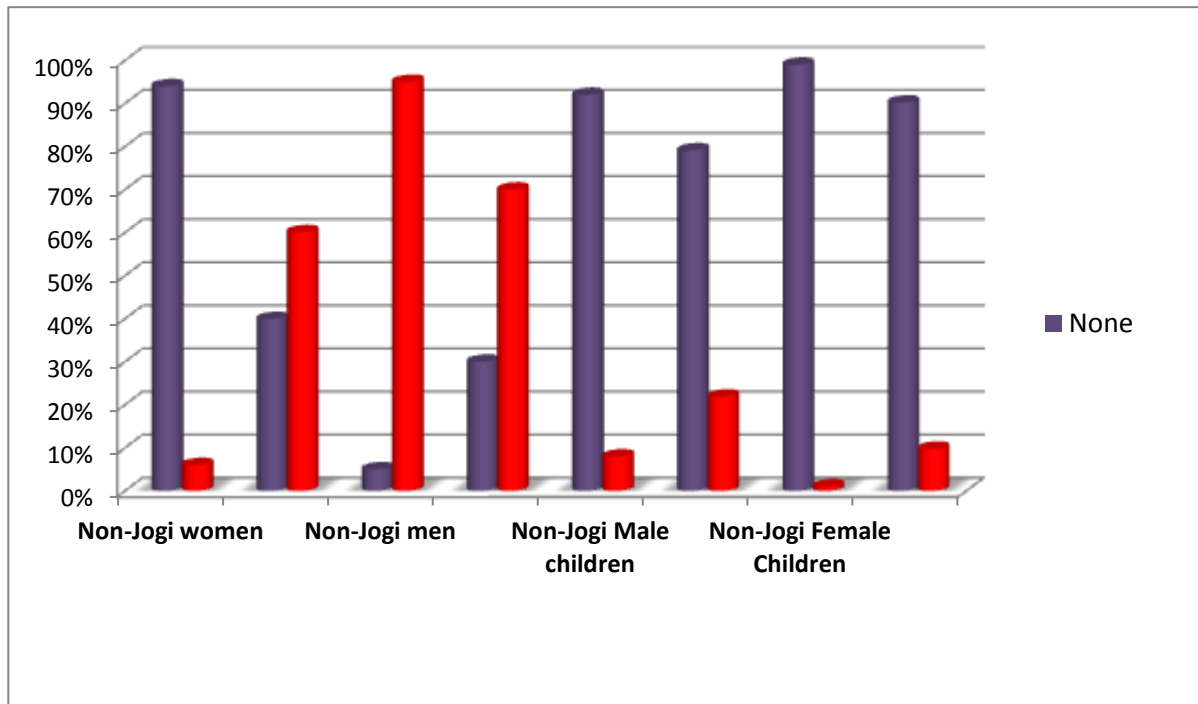
<sup>34</sup> Priestley, P. (2011)

average 3,320 AFA per month. Cases of participation of non-Jogi women in income generating activities were almost non-existent.

- Also differently from non-Jogi households, Jogi and Chori Frosh children – both male and female – also partake in income-generating activities, earning on average respectively 2,696 and 2,320 AFA.

The following figure illustrates graphically these significant differences between Jogi and Chori Frosh communities on the one hand and non-Jogi communities on the other hand in terms of participation to the economic life. This figure notably shows that in about 60% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, one woman or more earn money for the household, whereas in more than 90% of non-Jogi households none does.

**Figure 3.4 Participation in the household income (breakdown by age category and gender)**





### Household sources of income

Both Jogi and non-Jogi respondents were asked to identify their main sources of income, as listed in figure 3.4.

**Table 3.4 Respective share of income-generating activities in household income**

Income-generating activities	Jogi and Chori Frosh	Non-Jogi
Begging	38.4%	0%
Construction (daily labour)	27.6%	28.5%
Street vending	4.7%	9.5%
Wood sale	4.4%	11.5%
Household workers	4.1%	0%
Car washing	2.9%	0%
Transportation, storage	2.8%	7.8%
Fortune telling	1.5%	0%
Administration, government	1 %	6.3%
Construction (skilled labour)	0.8%	8.1%
Car repair	0.3%	3%
Sewing, tailoring	0.2%	2.1%
Electricity, plumbing	0%	1.7%
Carpentry, furniture	0%	1%
Military service	0%	1%
Agriculture (sale)	0%	0.25%
Other	6.1%	10.1%

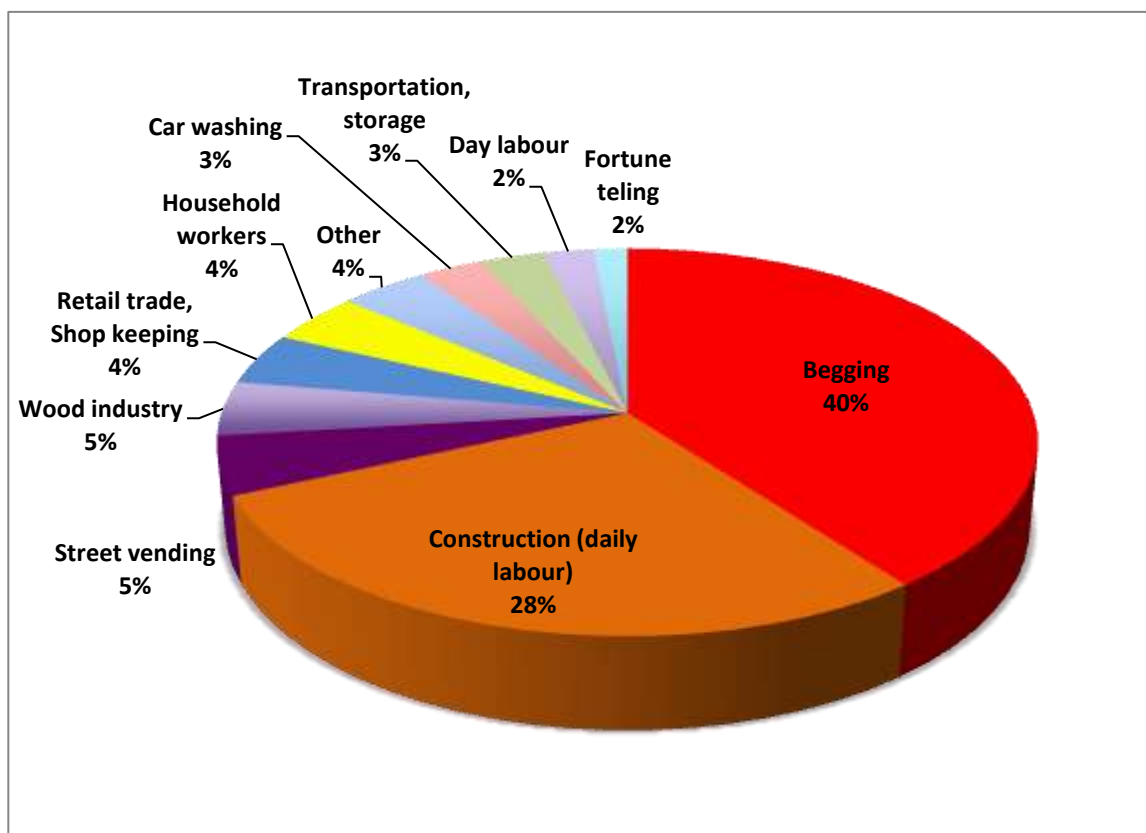
Of particular note from figure 3.4:

- First and foremost, field data confirms that the primary source of income for Jogi and Chori Frosh communities is the practice of begging. The specialization of Jogi communities in this activity is very clear as revenues from begging contributes 38.4% to their income. On the opposite, begging is not practiced by any of the surveyed non-Jogi households. Empirical observations showed that begging activities are almost exclusively performed by Jogi women and children.
- Interestingly, daily unskilled labour in the construction sector appears as an important source of revenue both for Jogi and Chori Frosh communities (27.6%) and non-Jogi communities, for which it is the primary income-generating activity (28.5%). This sector provides employment for Jogi and Chori Frosh men and brings an important share of the household revenues. Jogi and Chori Frosh men appear to have the same occupations than non-Jogi men living in the same areas, mostly in the construction and wood sectors (respectively 4.4 and 11.5%). This indicates a relative integration of the Jogi and Chori Frosh men in the economic life of their neighbourhoods, where they seem able to access the same kind of jobs than their non-Jogi counterparts.

- Finally the data shows that the activities of fortune telling (1.5%) and street-vending (4.7%) represent a surprisingly unimportant source of income for Jogi and Chori Frosh households. From the field observations, fortune telling seems to be a rather marginal activity within these two communities. In the case of street vending on the other hand, the low figure is probably due to the sampling, which targeted more Jogi than Chori Frosh households. Qualitative fieldwork confirmed that the main occupation of Chori Frosh women was to sell the bangles that their husbands bring back from Pakistan.

Figure 3.5 illustrates graphically the average sources of income within Jogi and Chori Frosh households.

**Figure 3.5 Main Income Generating Activities: Jogi and Chori Frosh communities**



The sources of income detailed in the preceding figure 3.5 explain the economic marginalization and the poverty of Jogi and Chori Frosh households. The main income-generating activities to which they have access are exclusively unskilled occupations providing only low income perspectives. Given the religious context of the country, begging might offer a low but relatively stable income. On the other hand, daily labour or street vending provide only versatile revenues. These activities can hardly provide decent livelihoods for these households and expose them to an important economic insecurity as their revenues are subjected to important variations. More importantly, they show that the Jogi and Chori Frosh are confined in an economic model of subsistence. None of these income-generating activities is sufficient to offer perspectives of development to the communities. In this context, they

research other paths to break the reproduction of the cycle of poverty from generation to generation. In their discourse, education is the first of them.

**Living conditions**

The scarcity and variability of income naturally impact the living conditions of these communities. As detailed in the figure 3.6 below, Jogi and Chori Frosh households have significantly more frequently difficulties to meet their food needs than the non-Jogi households living in the same areas.

**Figure 3.6: How often did your households have problems meeting its food needs?**

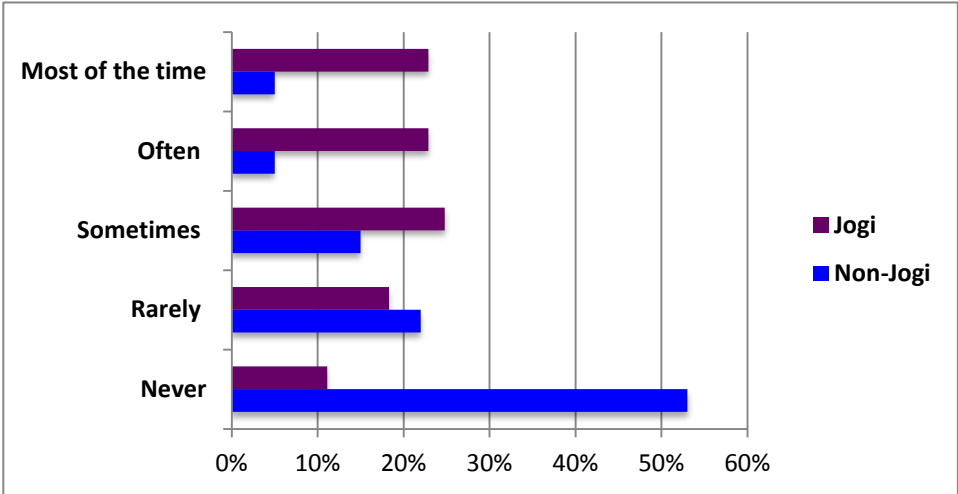


Figure 3.7 shows that while 75% of non-Jogi households declared never or rarely encountering problems to meet their food needs, 70.6% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households declared it to happen sometimes (24.8%), often (22.9%) or most of the time (22.9%). This fact illustrates quite sharply the difficult economic situation of both Jogi and Chori Frosh populations. A large majority of non-Jogi respondents (61%) acknowledged that their economic situation, if not satisfying, was better than the Jogi and Chori Frosh living nearby. As for Jogi and Chori Frosh, 93.5% perceive their economic situation as worse than the surrounding non-Jogi households.

The observation of Jogi and Chori Frosh housing conditions confirmed that these communities are in a state of important destitution. Their mud houses are in most cases neither provided with public electricity (94%) nor water (99%). The most common source of water is a community shared well (60.8%) but the focus group discussions showed that these wells often belong to other surrounding communities. This often creates inter-community tensions. Jogi and Chori Frosh children, usually in charge of collecting water, are often insulted and harassed on their way forth and back to the well.



Jogi Camp – Mazar-e-Sharif



Jogi Camp – Mazar-e-Sharif

### 3.3. Community Lifestyle

#### Declining nomadic practices

Empirical evidences challenged common knowledge about Jogi and Chori Frosh nomadic lifestyles. When asked directly if their family is nomadic or sedentary, 100% of the Jogi and Chori Frosh households surveyed answer – quite surprisingly – that their household is sedentary. In the communities surveyed, the average duration of stay in Mazar-e-Sharif was around 3 years and a half. The focus group discussions confirmed that nomadic practices are disappearing within these communities. In the discussion with Jogi adult women for example, all participants claimed to be sedentary. Moreover most of their families had not moved at all from Mazar-e-Sharif during the past twelve months. The male adults confirmed this tendency. According to these FGDs, the Jogi want to stay in Mazar-e-Sharif because the city is rather calm and provides relatively good income opportunities, especially in the surroundings of the Blue Mosque.

This indicates a movement of sedentarization of Jogi and Chori Frosh populations, similar to the current evolutions of other nomadic populations in Afghanistan, such as the Kuchi<sup>35</sup>. Yet, the peripatetic practices have not completely disappeared. Their forms have rather changed. FGDs showed that there are still practices of temporary migrations to cooler rural areas during summer. These temporary movements occur mostly in direction of Pul-i-Khumri or Kunduz. But the difference is that these migratory movements are now operated only by one or two members of the households while the rest remains in Mazar-e-Sharif throughout the whole year. Furthermore the frequency of these short migratory movements is decreasing.

There are a few factors explaining this important evolution in the lifestyles of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities:

- The degradation of the security context constrained the possibility of movements and significantly increased the costs of migration.
- The – relative – modernization of roads in the country has facilitated the interactions between urban and rural areas, making the Jogi and Chori Frosh function of intermediaries irrelevant or redundant.
- Importantly for our study, some of these communities have associated their nomadic practices with a restrained access to education. As education is considered as one of the few keys for their social and economic development, some household consider sedentarization as a way to get access to education. This stabilization effect of education has been an important factor in the sedentarization of other nomadic communities in Afghanistan, such as the Kuchis<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> Priestley, P. (2011), *A study of the Kuchi Population in the Greater Kabul Development area*, Samuel Hall Report commissioned by JICA.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Finally it must be noted that the question of nomadism and sedentarization cannot bring clear-cut answers. As explained by Rao, 'the nomad-sedentary dichotomy is an ethnographic construct whose rigidity is not borne out by empirical data on re-nomadization and oscillation between sedentary and migratory lifestyles. The peripatetic groups are good examples of cross-cutting ties between analytical categories'<sup>37</sup> This means that the current trend towards sedentary life does not entail a definitive disappearance of the nomadic habits of these communities. Rather oscillations between periods of nomadic life and – sometimes long – periods of sedentary life occur regularly as a response to the external context. Even if their mobility fades away for several decades, it might reappear in case a new crisis occur<sup>38</sup>. The nomadic practices of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities have entered in a period of latency.

### **Flexible internal social organisation**

As a consequence of their nomadism and cultural traditions, the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities also present a specific social organization. Contrarily to the rest of the Afghan society, these two groups have rather flat and unstructured internal social organizations. The traditional organization of these communities is based on principle of relative equality and does not present real hierarchies<sup>39</sup>. According to Gatelier, this internal flexibility can be related to the fact that 'to perpetuate itself, the group has to find its livelihood in an environment upon which they have no influence at all. These groups had to develop a great structural flexibility to adapt in every situation and to make use of any individual skills available<sup>40</sup>. The fact that Jogi and Chori Frosh children and women contribute to the livelihoods also limited the development of patriarchal hierarchies as strong as in the rest of the Afghan society. On the field, we observed directly this lack of hierarchies and organization. We had some difficulties in finding leaders, who would speak for their community. Notably, the role of community elders appeared less central than in other Afghan communities.

Community elders do gather sometimes if an internal conflict occur between community members but they do not have the habit of dealing with social and political issues, and even less to represent the interests of the community with authorities or leaders of other communities. During our visit to the Jogi area of Karte-e-Khurasan in Mazar-e-Sharif, the main interlocutor appeared to be the non-Jogi leader of the neighbouring community rather than a member of the Jogi community itself.

### **Role of women in the community**

Among all Jogi and Chori Frosh peculiar features in the Afghan context, the most visible is undoubtedly the role allocated to women within these communities. As mentioned in the previous section, Jogi and Chori Frosh women are actively taking part in the economic life of their communities. Through their economic activities, begging or selling bangles in the bazaar, they are compelled to work on the public space in various Afghan cities, such as Mazar-e-Sharif, Kabul or Jalalabad. Because of these activities, they are also led to interact with men much more often than other Afghan women.

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<sup>37</sup> Rao, A. (2004), p. 273.

<sup>38</sup> Gatelier, K. (2004), p. 282.

<sup>39</sup> Rao, A. (1982), p. 173.

<sup>40</sup> Gatelier, K. (2004), p. 285.

Figure 3.7 illustrates this striking difference between Jogi and Chori Frosh women on the one hand and non-Jogi or Chori Frosh women on the other hand in terms of participation in economic life:

**Figure 3.7: Participation in the household income (breakdown by communities)%**

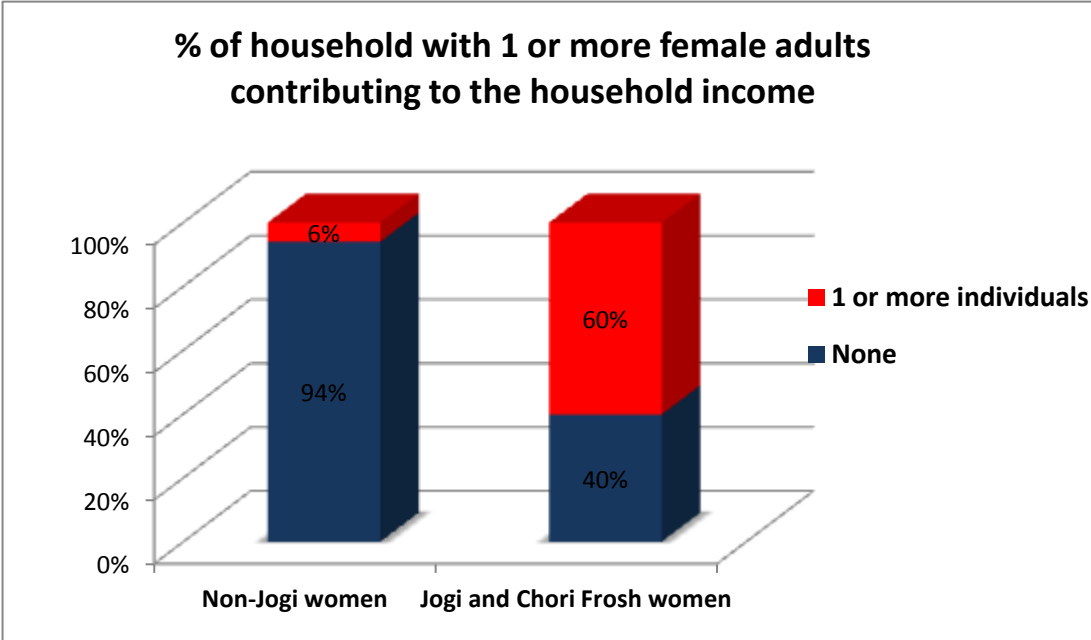


Figure 3.7 shows that in 60.1% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, one or more women contribute to the household income. This figure is ten-fold higher than in the non-Jogi communities living in the surrounding areas. This specific position of women contributes largely to the bad reputation of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in the rest of the Afghan community and to the prejudices that exist against them.

Interestingly there seems to be an evolution in the normative framework of these communities, especially in the case of Jogi. According to traditional Jogi norms, it was shameful for a Jogi woman to have her husband being forced to work outside the household to earn money. She was considered lazy or inefficient at providing livelihood for her family. This appears in complete contradiction with the norms of the rest of the Afghan society. Yet, focus group discussions showed that Jogi men are increasingly rejecting this traditional repartition of role within the family. This increasing unease was articulated by a 18 year old Jogi in Mazar-e-Sharif: *'It is very difficult for us to let our women work outside our houses. A lot of people say bad things about our women because they work outside. We don't like it because people see our women.'*<sup>41</sup> Another evidence of this is the fact that the few Jogi men who achieved some social success made their women stop begging and stay in their houses.

<sup>41</sup> Focus Group Discussion, 28.10.2011. Mazar-e-Sharif.

### 3.4 Political status

The Jogi and Chori Frosh life conditions are highly shaped by their political and social marginalisation. This marginalisation is the result of a dual process: the exclusion of these communities from the Afghan society by external actors on the one hand, the will to preserve the community homogeneity and identity of Jogi and Chori Frosh themselves on the other hand.

#### **Social exclusion of Jogi and Chori Frosh**

As mentioned earlier, one of the main features that unites the different Jat sub-groups is the common marginalization from which they suffer within the Afghan society. The origin of this marginalization is unclear but it is likely that the economic marginality of these groups led them to engage in very despised – and yet useful – occupations, which in turn reinforced the general feeling of disdain towards them. These occupations include begging, fortune telling, trinkets selling, making and selling drums, playing music, showing monkeys or other animals... To these real occupations, were increasingly added rumours about prostitution, child abduction, blood letting or abortion.

Focus group discussions showed that this representation of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities is still present in the Afghan society. For example, the non-Jogi children explained the fact that they are not playing with Jogi and Chori Frosh children by declaring that children from these communities 'are dirty', 'wear old and dirty clothes and don't wash themselves', 'play with dogs and animals, or gamble.'<sup>42</sup> These stereotypes are not only children talk. Members of a community living near a Jogi camp in Baba Qambar in Mazar-e-Sharif also expressed their reluctances in welcoming a Jogi community in their area. They considered the Jogi responsible for the abduction of a young girl that had occurred last year and refused to accept the presence of the Jogi unless their landlord would give the guarantee that he would not let any trouble happen. The qualitative fieldwork confirmed the status of social outcast of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities.

Yet this rather pessimistic picture must be moderated as the fieldwork also showed various degrees of exclusion suffered by the Jogi and Chori Frosh. In the areas where Jogi and Chori Frosh communities had been living close by for a rather long period, they had succeeded in establishing satisfying and even friendly relationships with the surrounding non-Jogi communities. This was notably the case in the neighbourhood of Karta-e-Khurasan in Mazar-e-Sharif. There, Jogi and non-Jogi community members interacted rather often and took part in respective social events, such as weddings, funeral or prayers. When asked about their relations with Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, 11% of surveyed Afghans answered that they had very bad or bad relations with Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, 27% thought these relations were good while 56% declared having good relations with these communities.

This means that the social status of these communities is open to evolutions. Through interactions and cohabitation, Jogi and Chori Frosh can be slowly accepted in the neighbourhoods they settle in.

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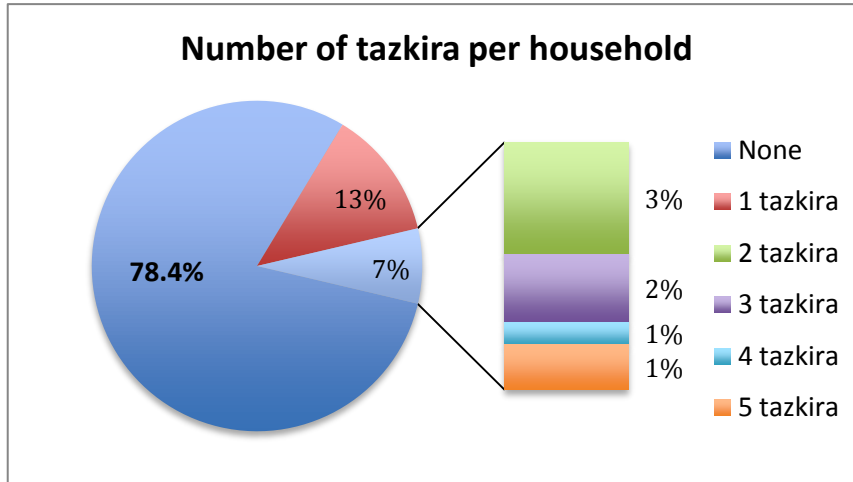
<sup>42</sup> Focus Group Discussion with non-Jogi Children, 29.10.2011, Mazar-e-sharif.



### Political exclusion from the Afghan society

If the social status of these communities can improve, the main obstacle to their integration in the Afghan society is political. It lies in the almost complete impossibility for Jogi and Chori Frosh to obtain an identity card – a *tazkira* – from the Afghan authorities.

Figure 3.8 Number of *tazkira* per households (Jogi and Chori Frosh)



As detailed in figure 3.8, in 78.4% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, no one has an identity card. In the surveyed non-Jogi communities, only 8% of households claimed not to have any *tazkira*.

More problematic than not having a *tazkira* – a situation shared by many non-Jogi Afghans – Jogi and Chori Frosh do not

have the possibility to get one, should they undertake the labyrinthine administrative procedures to obtain one. Afghan central authorities do not consider the Jogi as Afghans citizens and refuse to register them. The AIHRC office in Mazar-e-Sharif has attempted to change this situation but its initiative was blocked by the MoI, in charge of these questions<sup>43</sup>. The process seems to have reached a dead-end, as the AIHRC was answered that the law had to be changed by the Afghan parliament in order to grant citizenship to the Jogi community. Presently and despite a century-long presence in Afghanistan, Jogi and Chori Frosh people are '*de jure* stateless persons' in Afghanistan, that is 'persons not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law.'<sup>44</sup>

The impossibility to obtain a *tazkira* is highly resented by the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. It is the main grief that they expressed repeatedly during in-depth discussions. For example, Amanullah, representative of a Jogi tribe stated: 'We have a problem with official authorities. They don't give us *tazkira*, they don't give us land, they don't care about our community.' Beyond the symbolic exclusion that this impossibility imposes on their communities, it also hinders very concretely their social integration. As will be detailed above, the absence of *tazkira* significantly restrains their access to social services, land ownership or to governmental education. In this matter, the situation of the Jogi and Chori Frosh is exceptional and differs for example from the Kuchi communities. The latter were able to make their needs and rights recognized by Afghan authorities. A Directorate for Kuchi Affairs was established to directly address their specific issues. In the 2004 Constitution, the Kuchi were awarded ten seats for their representatives. Two representatives of the Kuchi are appointed by the President to the Upper House. The Jogi community on the other hand did not benefit from any specific institutional arrangements.

<sup>43</sup> Based on the interview of M. Same, Director of AIHRC – Mazar.

<sup>44</sup> UNHCR (2008), *Statelessness: a Framework for Prevention, Reduction and Protection*.

### Box 1 - Overlapping status: Returnees, IDPs and Jogi

- **Jogi as returnees**

Almost all Jogi families fled to Pakistan or Iran during the civil war and the Taliban regime. In the settlement of Chahari Qambar on the outskirts of Kabul, 43.3% of Jogi households are assisted returnees while 38.9% are deportees from Pakistan. They mostly came back after the fall of the Taliban regime, between 2003 and 2007. In Mazar-e-Sharif also, empirical observations confirmed their status of returnees. Following this, some Jogi households in Kabul are covered by the UNHCR specific programmes of humanitarian assistance for assisted returnees.

- **Jogi living among returnees and IDPs**

While returning from Pakistan or Iran, Jogi families settled in the same informal and illegal settlements than returnees and IDPs<sup>45</sup>. In Mazar-e-Sharif, the community surrounding the Jogi camp in Karta-e-Khurasan is composed of IDPs from Faryab. The Chori Frosh in the camp of Bandari Shiberghan live among Pashto returnees from Pakistan. In Kabul, Jogi are to be found within illegal settlements (KIS) such as Qalai Wazir, Chahari Qamber, Dewan Begi, Qalai Chman, Sharake Police, Sharake do Proja, Puli Shina, where they live among communities of IDPs and returnees.

- **Jogi facing similar challenges**

These status overlaps explain that Jogi communities face challenges similar to the ones of returnees and IDPs living in informal settlements on the fringes of Afghan cities. This includes dire poverty, lack of access to basic services and education, under-employment, social marginalization, threat of expulsion and problematic access to land.

- **Jogi specific status: stateless people**

Despite these overlaps, Jogi keep the particularity to lack any form of documentation and not to be able to access Afghan citizenship. As such, they qualify as *de jure* stateless people. This differs from IDPs and refugees who are potentially able to register. The impossibility of registration hinders Jogi access to assistance because some criteria of eligibility to UNHCR programmes include the possession of a *tazkira*, as for example in the case of the land allocation scheme.

#### Dilemma between integration and acculturation

The marginalization of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities is a complex phenomenon. It would be too simplistic to reduce it only to the prejudices of non-Jogi Afghans. The internal logic of these communities has also involved the preservation of a distinct community and the will to keep control on the interactions with non-Jogi<sup>46</sup>. This is visible in the use of specific dialects, coined 'secret languages' by anthropologists, as acknowledged by 20% of our Jogi and Chori Frosh respondents. The highly endogamous practices of these communities also reinforce their cohesion.

Lately it seems that the will to preserve the community its distinct identity has decreased, while the will to integrate more completely within the Afghan society has increased in parallel.

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<sup>45</sup> Majidi, N. (2011), 'Research study on IDPs in urban settings – Afghanistan' For the World Bank.

<sup>46</sup> See Rao, A. 1982, p. 173

The progressive abandonment of semi-nomadic practices, the growing discontent towards women labour or the demand for access to education are signals of this recent trend.

Yet this evolution is still ambiguous and subject to contestations within the community. An example of this regards the question of inter-marriage. During FGDs, Jogi men and women expressed very different views on this point. Women seemed rather enthusiastic at the idea of inter-marriages with people from other communities. Jogi men, on the other hand, were a lot more reluctant at the idea of giving their daughters to non-Jogi families, illustrating the current tension between dynamics of integration and the fear of acculturation within these communities. The desire to integrate more fully within the Afghan social structures has been accompanied by the first signs of a more assertive political identity. While academic authors all stressed the political apathy and passivity of these communities thirty years ago, the more recent fieldwork conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif contradicted this idea. On the issues of tazkira, of education and of land ownership, the members of Jogi communities have started articulating a coherent set of political demands. If their access to political institutions is still almost non-existent, they are now more aware of the discriminations they are subjected to. The AIHRC in Mazar-e-Sharif, which has developed some specific initiatives to help the Jogi in the Balkh province, has also observed this evolution and a promising – if still very limited – form of empowerment of the Jogi in the current context<sup>47</sup>.

Section 3 described the demographic, economic and social features of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan. It confirmed their marginality both in the social and in the economic arena. In every aspects, the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities can be seen as 'outsiders'<sup>48</sup> in the Afghan society. Their lifestyle – and most particularly the role of their women – is very much considered deviant by the rest of the society. The various forms of their marginality – social, political, economic, normative – reinforce each other. Yet these communities have been able to adapt and to develop strategies to cope with this marginality. A timid process of integration and of self-affirmation seems on its way.

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<sup>47</sup> Corroborated by the interview of Mohammad Sameeh, Director of AIHRC – Mazar.

<sup>48</sup> Becker, H. 1966. *Outsiders: Study of sociological deviance*. Simon & Schuster

# 4. Understanding the phenomenon of Jogi and Chori Frosh out-of-school children

## 4.1 Definitions

UNICEF and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) developed a common methodology to measure accurately the phenomenon of 'out-of-school children' around the world and address the issue. 'The concept of out-of-school children implies that there is a group of children that should be in school but is not. This group is recognised both nationally and internationally as primary school-age children'<sup>49</sup>. In order to get a clear definition, five components have to be clearly defined according to each context:

- The levels of education constituting school in the country
- The definition of primary education
- The school-age population to be considered
- The definition of 'in school' children
- How is 'in school' measured?<sup>50</sup>

The Afghan educational system is structured as below:

Level of Education	Grades	Ages
Primary Education	Grade 1 to Grade 6	From 7 to 12
Lower Secondary Education	Grade 7 to Grade 9	From 13 to 15
Upper Secondary Education (or High School)	Grade 10 to Grade 12	From 16 to 18

The internationally agreed definition requires children of primary school age to be counted as 'in school' when they are participating either in primary or secondary education. School age children attending pre-primary education are counted as 'out of school'. In Afghanistan, the school age population comprises then all children between the age of 7 and 12.

Children attending non-formal education are considered as 'out of school' unless their programme is officially recognized as equivalent to the formal system. In our case, UNICEF has contracted agreements with the MoE granting its CBSs a full recognition. Children attending CBSs supported by UNICEF will then be counted as 'in school'.

Are considered 'in school' all children who had exposure to school during the year and 'out of school' those who had no exposure to school during the same period. It should be noted that the exposure to school, also called 'participation', is different from school enrolment. This is especially relevant in our case because most of Jogi children are not allowed to enrol at school

<sup>49</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), *Children Out of School. Measuring Exclusion from Primary Education*. p.13

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 12

and would be missed by this criteria. For the purpose of our assessment, the following definition of 'out of school' children will then be used in this study:

All children between the age of 7 to 12 who have no exposure to either primary or secondary education, be it within the formal educational system or within community-based classes recognized by the MoE.

Yet, in the frame of this study, we considered important to include in the scope of the analysis children both below and above the age range of the international definition. First because, children below the age of 7 are sometimes attending the community-based school where they get some primary education. Second, because UNICEF and UIS suggest that measuring the rate of children excluded from lower secondary school is important. In the Afghan context, children are legally allowed to start working at the age of 15, which is also the age of the end of lower secondary school. We will then also consider children aged 5 to 7 and children aged 12 to 15 in our overview of school enrolment among Jogi and Chori Frosh children.

## 4.2 Access to education for Jogi and Chori Frosh: Evidences from the field

### In school and Out-of-school children in Mazar-e-Sharif

72% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households surveyed in Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul declared having none of their children attending school, while 28% have one or more children attending school. On the other hand, only 44% of non-Jogi households living in the surrounding areas have none of their children attending school. Quantitative data confirms the high difficulty for Jogi and Chori Frosh children to access school education, as detailed below.

**Table 4.1 Rate of in school and out of school primary school age children in Mazar-e-Sharif**

	In school			In secondary school			Out of School		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Jogi children	22.8%	9.4%	18.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	77.2%	90.6%	83.9%
Non-Jogi	65.1%	36.7%	50.5%	10.5%	7.8%	9.2%	34.9%	60%	47.2%

**Table 4.2 Rate of in school and out of school Jogi and Chori Frosh children (Geographic breakdown)**

	In school			In secondary school			Out of School		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mazar-e-Sharif	22.8%	9.4%	18.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	77.2%	90.6%	83.9%
Kabul	76.0%	70.0%	73.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	24.0%	30%	27%

Of particular note from tables 4.1 and 4.2:

- In Mazar-e-Sharif, the issue of out-of-school children is far more acute for Jogi children than it is for the non-Jogi children living in the surrounding areas. Within the Jogi community, 83.9% of children are out-of-school. For non-Jogi communities the rate of out-of-school children is still important (47.2%) but less extreme than for the Jogi.
- The rate of out-of-school children within Jogi and Chori Frosh communities living in Mazar-e-Sharif is significantly higher than the national rate of out-of-school children in Afghanistan, the latter revolving around 42% of school age children<sup>51</sup>.
- The situation of Jogi children in Mazar-e-Sharif differs greatly from the one of Jogi children in Kabul. This can be explained by the existence of a specific project run by Aschiana near the Jogi camp in Kabul. The success of this school is visible in the fact that 73% of Jogi children in the camp of Charahi Qamber are in school.
- Overall, 36.6% of the school age children in the Jogi and Chori Frosh households surveyed are attending primary school on a regular basis. The gender breakdown indicates that 33% of school age girls and 39% of school age boys attend primary schools within the surveyed communities.

These figures confirm that Jogi and Chori Frosh children are the primary victims of the marginalization encountered by these communities with a rate of primary school age out-of-school children significantly higher than their non-Jogi counterparts. The situation of Jogi is yet greatly context-dependent. When proper measures exist, as it is the case in Chahari Qamber in Kabul, the rate of out-of-school children can drop dramatically. As mentioned above, it is interesting for our study to expand the scope of the analysis and observe the access to school of children below 7 and above 12. Table 4.3 below details the rate of children attending and not attending school for each age category.

**Table 4.3 Access to school (age/community breakdown)**

Community	Jogi and Chori Frosh			Non-Jogi		
Age category	< 7	7-12	13-15	<7	7-12	13-15
Attending school	15.6%	36.6%	12.5%	22.8%	52.2%	65.9%
Not attending school	84.4%	63.4%	87.5%	77.2%	47.8%	34.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Of particular note from the age breakdown:

- For both Jogi and non-Jogi children, some form of schooling is possible before the legal age of 7, with respectively 15.8 and 22.8% of children age 5 to 7 attending primary schools. A relative informality in the administration of schools leaves space for under-aged children to attend school. In these

<sup>51</sup> Save the Children, (2010), Afghanistan in Transition: Putting Children at the heart of development. p. 20

cases, primary schools perform the function of both pre-primary and primary education. The presence of these underage children, if potentially beneficial for children, increases the pressure on already crowded schools.

- The rate of secondary school age out-of-school children is very high for Jogi and Chori Frosh communities (87.5%). On the other hand, for this age category, the rate of out-of-school children for non-Jogi communities, is relatively low (34.1%). This reveals different patterns of access to education between the two communities. While non-Jogi children are likely to be late entrants at school, Jogi and Chori Frosh children have most chances never to enter school at all.

Among the three main patterns of out-of-school children defined by UNICEF and the UIS – late entrance, drop out or no entrance at all<sup>52</sup> – the Jogi and Chori Frosh out-of-school children are characterized mostly by the last one. Among the surveyed Jogi out-of-school children surveyed, none of them had been ever attending school in the past, and cases of late entrance are rare. This signals that the main issue is the first entrance at school, rather than a phenomenon of drop out or of late entry.

#### Absence of education beyond grade 2 for Jogi and Chori Frosh children

Table 4.4 In-school children (breakdown by grade)

	Out of school	Literacy courses	Grades 1 and 2	Grades 3 to 6	Secondary Education
Jogi	73	10	24	0	0
Chori Frosh	2	0	34	1	0
Non-Jogi	0	0	28	92	18

Table 4.4 highlights the fact that Jogi and Chori Frosh children have no access at all to the educational system beyond primary school. Strikingly, the surveys showed that no Jogi nor Chori Frosh children have access to education beyond grade 2, be it in Mazar-e-Sharif or in Kabul. The only classes, which they have the opportunity to attend, are either specific literary courses or grades 1 and 2. On the opposite, 75% of the non-Jogi children surveyed attending school were above grade 2, with a concentration of 64% of them in grades 3 to 5.

This is related to the type of schools to which the children have access. Almost 100% of non-Jogi children go to governmental school. On the other side 85% of enrolled Jogi and Chori Frosh children attend community-based classes, where the offer is usually limited to grades 1 and 2.

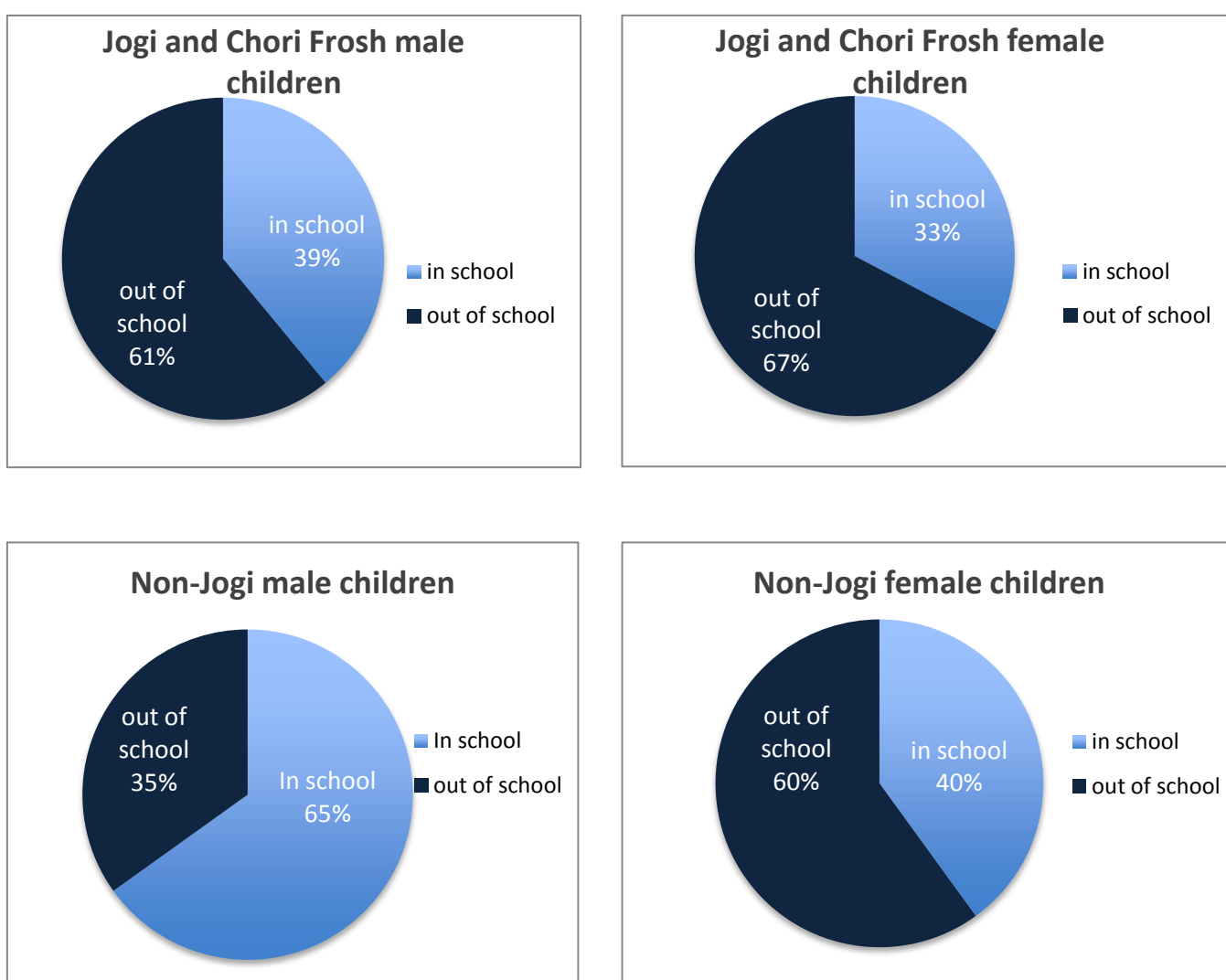
To conclude, beyond their poor access to primary education, Jogi and Chori Frosh children cannot progress beyond grade 2. This substantially limits the level of knowledge and literacy that Jogi and Chori Frosh children could ever expect to achieve.

<sup>52</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), p.27

### Gender repartition of in school and out-of-school children

Based on the overall survey of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, it appears that the rate of Jogi and Chori Frosh in school boys (39%) is slightly superior than the rate of Jogi and Chori Frosh girls attending school (33%). Figure 4.1 shows that gender has an impact but is not a strong determinant in the access to education for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. Respective enrolment rates do not differ significantly compared to the situation in the non-Jogi communities. For non-Jogi children, 65% of school age boys are considered 'in school', while the rate is only 40% for school age girls.

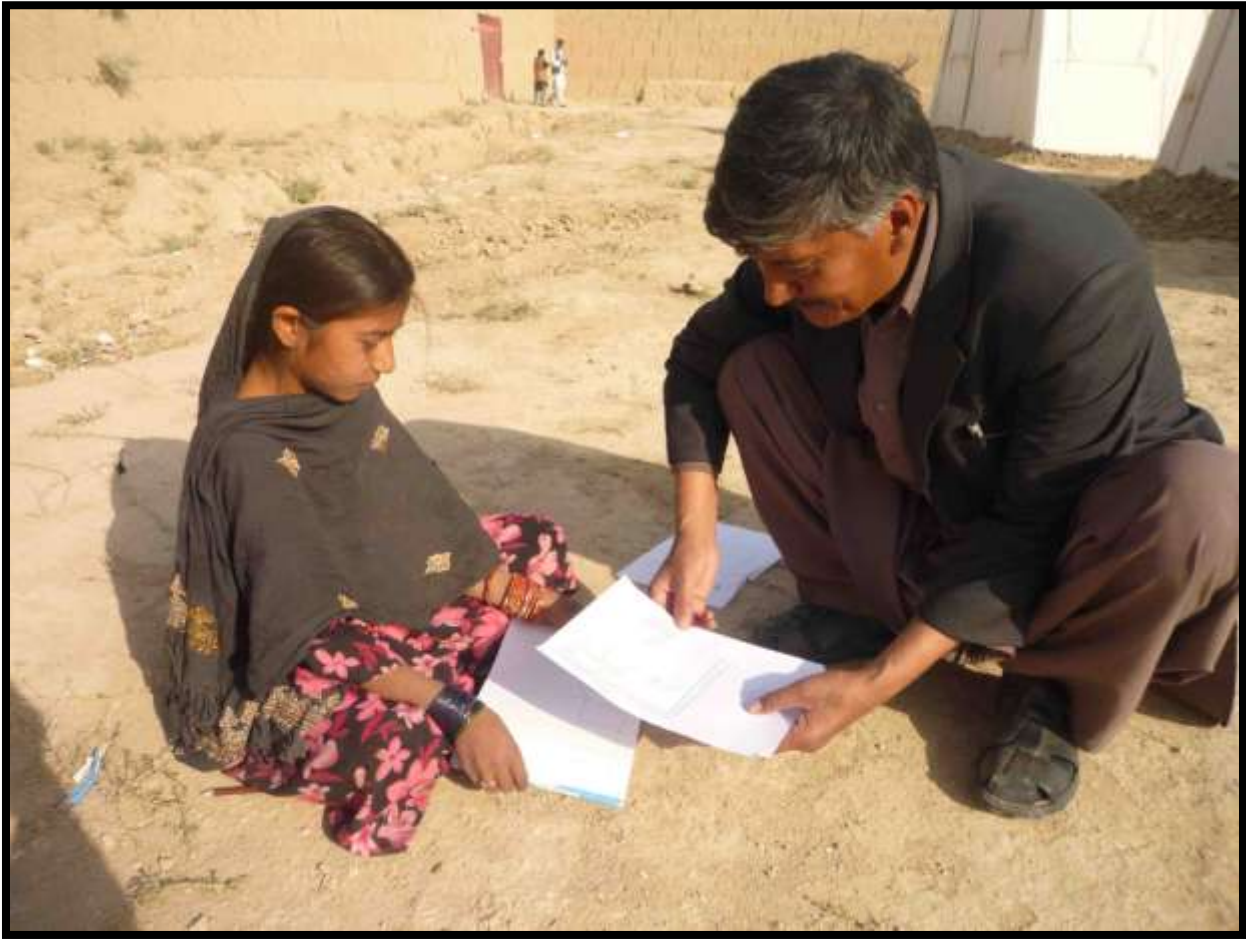
Figure 4. 1 – Out of School children (breakdown by gender and by community)<sup>53</sup>



<sup>53</sup> Based on the Jogi and Chori Frosh households survey – Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul.



Other indicators confirmed that the access to education for girls and boys is relatively equal within Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, even if low for both. In the Chori Frosh communities, the gender balance within enrolled children is slightly in favour of girls, with 55.3% of girls against 44.7% of boys in the UNICEF-supported CBS for Chori Frosh in Mazar-e-Sharif. The gender balance in terms of access to school leans in favour of Jogi and Chori Frosh boys but the gender gap appears less important than in the overall Afghan society.



CBS – Chori Frosh – Mazar-e-Sharif

## 4.3 Internal obstacles to education

The phenomenon of out-of-school children has to be considered as the result of a multi-causal dynamic. To ease comprehension, the analysis of these causes will be divided in two main parts. Section 4.3 considers the obstacles to education internal to Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. Section 4.4 will examine the external obstacles imposed on these communities hindering their access to education. This division should not be overrated as internal and external causes sometimes overlap.

The UIS identified 5 main variables significantly determining the rate out-of-school children in various countries:

- Age (treated in 4.2)
- Sex (treated in 4.2)
- Place of residence (i.e urban or urban settings)
- Household wealth
- Mother's education<sup>54</sup>

These variables are undoubtedly useful to understand out-of-school children in Afghanistan. But in the specific cases of Jogi and Chori Frosh children, some other determinants need also be considered.

### Household Poverty and Child labour

Poverty is a powerful obstacle to education, which concerns the Afghan society as a whole. 'As so many households struggle to make ends meet, the education of their children must be seen in the context of larger economic considerations. In most families, children are an integral part of the household livelihoods through providing support to income generation activities<sup>55</sup>. As was detailed in section 3, the level of wealth of Jogi and Chori Frosh households is lower than the non-Jogi living in the same areas, with an average income only half the one of non-Jogi households. Food insecurity is highly distressing for these families. 45.8% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households declared that they had had problem 'often' and 'most of the time' to meet their food needs during the past 12 months. In this context, the trade off between children education and child work is hard to avoid. This concurs with AREU conclusions on child labour in urban setting. While trying to go beyond the unique factor of poverty to explain child labour, this study acknowledges that 'low paid and irregular earnings activities' are strongly related to the work of children. This is especially the case in households, which income 'is dependent on informal sources of self-employment, leading to very variable income flows.<sup>56</sup> This is precisely the case for Jogi and Chori Frosh households, as detailed in section 3. When threatened by irregular income, households adopt diversification strategies, one of them being child labour. AREU report stresses the fact that poverty is not the only factor explaining child labour and that the lack of a male earner, gender norms or previous experience of education also enter into play<sup>57</sup>. In our case yet, gender norms play in

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<sup>54</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), p.35-48

<sup>55</sup> Joint Briefing Paper – High Stakes (2011), *Girls' Education in Afghanistan*.

<sup>56</sup> Kantor, P. & Hozyainova, A, 2008: 'Factors influencing Decisions to Use Child Labour: A case study of poor households in Kabul.' In Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit – *Case Study Series*. p. 10

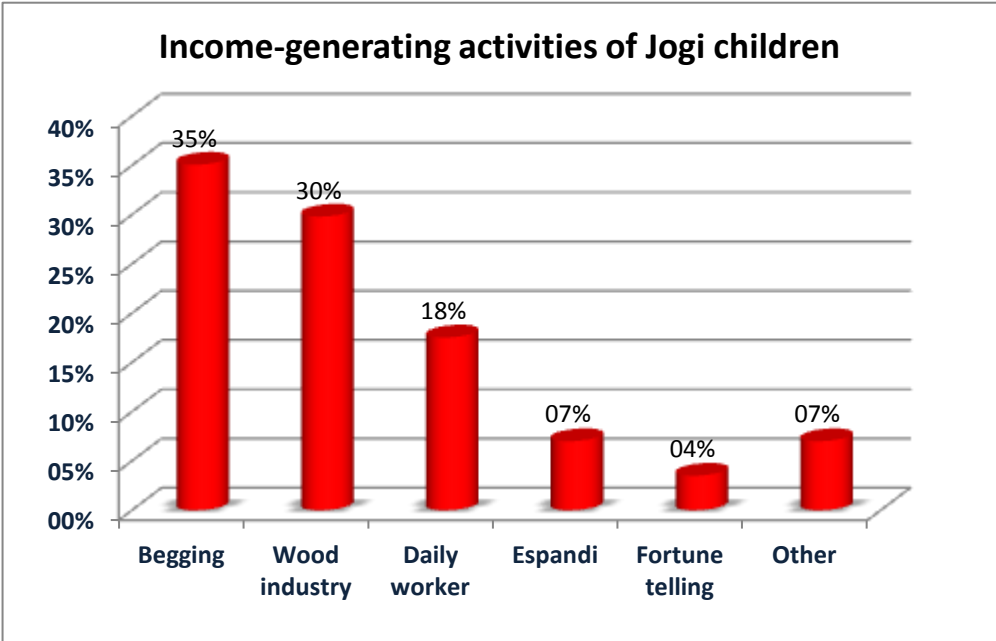
<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p. viii.

the other direction, as they favour female labour over male labour. The result is still that in many cases one of the adult does not earn money, increasing the pressure for child labour.

Qualitative observations confirmed that Jogi and Chori Frosh children, both girls and boys have to work, usually in the bazaar and around the Mosque. 54% of Jogi children surveyed declared that they are working to help their family. During FGDs, Jogi adults explained that they needed to send their children to beg in order to gain sufficient income for the household. There is a gender repartition of activities, with young girls begging while boys are more often working as daily workers. There seems to be a consensus within households on the issue of child labour and it appeared as an evidence that children had to work to help their family.

Yet quantitative data did not provide cutting-edge answers on the issue of child labour. Child labour is most probably underestimated in the quantitative data for two main reasons. First because it was more difficult to access Jogi and Chori Frosh girls, who were working daytime in the bazaar. Second because begging was not precisely considered as 'an income-generating activity' by the surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh households. To verify the scope of child labour within these communities, we double-checked the data. The results of this verification confirmed the importance of child labour within these communities, especially for girls, who start working earlier. Figure 4.2 details the main-income generating activities performed by Jogi children.

Figure 4.2 Income generating activities of Jogi children



The impact of household poverty and child labour on Jogi and Chori Frosh education is then crucial, even more than in the rest of the Afghan society. Child labour is considered as the second most important obstacles to education by Jogi adults. Interestingly it appeared as a more acute problem for girl education than for boy education, confirming the fact that Jogi girls are expected to earn money for the household.

Yet, the obstacle of child labour must not be overestimated as a lot of Jogi children and Chori Frosh are able to combine school education and labour. Jogi adults confirmed this combinability: 'Most of our children go early in the morning to work in the bazaar and come back around 8 or 9 for school.' Chori Frosh children also had the habit to combine school and labour. They would go to school until 10 am and then leave for work for the rest of the day until 5 pm.

### **Parental literacy**

The UIS considers parental education as an important determinant for out-of-school children throughout the world. 'If the head of household has formal education, children are more likely to be in school, and the likelihood increases with the level of education of the parents'<sup>58</sup>. Education has an intergenerational effect as its presence or absence also impacts the following generations.

In the surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, the levels of literacy of adults are – unsurprisingly – extremely low, with 99.2% of Jogi and Chori Frosh women and 96.2% of Jogi and Chori Frosh men completely illiterate. The difference with non-Jogi communities in terms of parental education is significant. For comparison, in the surrounding areas, 83.9% of non-Jogi women and 59.1% of non-Jogi men were completely illiterate.

Jogi and Chori Frosh children grow up in an environment almost completely free of any forms of literacy and formal knowledge. This naturally reduces their access to education and impacts their abilities to learn quickly once they enrol. Aschiana encountered for example this issue in their own project with Jogi children in Kabul. According to its director, one problem for the project implementation is that the Jogi have 'no experience at all of education. Everything is new for them with education. They have to learn everything from scratch, including to learn the use of a pen or of a notebook.'

The expected result of the illiteracy of Jogi and Chori Frosh adults should be a sort of indifference towards children education and a prioritization of child labour over school in the communities. Yet, on the opposite, positions towards education within these two communities were highly supportive, as will be detailed below.

### **Cultural norms and community's perception of education**

The issue of cultural norms was raised by several key informants as an important obstacle to the education of Jogi and Chori Frosh children. These cultural norms are supposed to imply a form of natural reluctance of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities towards children education. In the common narrative about Jogi and Chori Frosh, this defiance has several causes:

- A supposed indifference of Jogi and Chori Frosh adults towards education.
- A reluctance to let girls study as it would entail a reduction of the household income.
- A reluctance of Jogi girls themselves toward education as earning money for the household is important for their social status in the community.

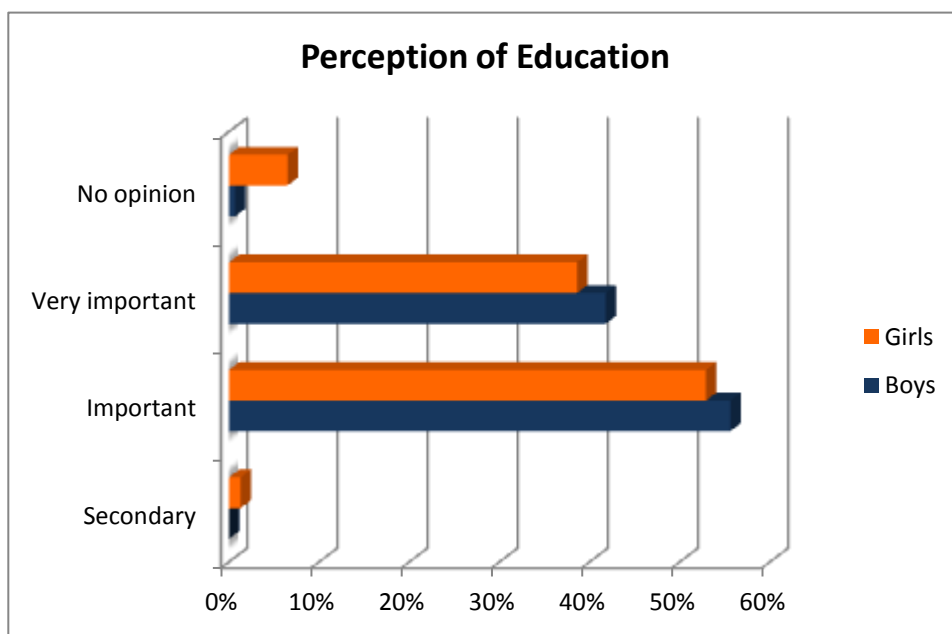
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<sup>58</sup> UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), p.51

- A will of the community to protect itself from outsiders' interference as education can be perceived as a threat for their identity and for the homogeneity of the group.
- A will to preserve a lifestyle based on begging and street vending and some reluctance towards the introduction of change in the group's habits.

These common views about Jogi and Chori Frosh communities have had some veracity in the past but empirical observations showed that the perceptions of education within these communities have changed dramatically in the past years.

**Figure 4.3 Perception of Education by Jogi and Chori Frosh adults**



As detailed by figure 4.3, children education is now considered of the first importance among the surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh households. Education for boys is considered important or very important for 97.4% of Jogi and Chori Frosh respondents. Interestingly, there seems to be no discrimination between girls and boys in terms of importance of education. For 91.5% of respondents, education for girls is either important or very important. When asked if they wished their boys and girls to be literate, respectively 99.3% and 96.2% of Jogi and Chori Frosh respondents answered positively.

This confirms the relative equality of treatment, which seems to exist between boys and girls within these communities. This should not be over-estimated as it is possible that Jogi and Chori Frosh adapted their answers to their interlocutors, knowing the importance of girls' education for donors. Still, during the qualitative fieldwork, the same tendencies were observed. For example, one Jogi father told us 'we would like both our boys and our girls to have an education: both are humans and have the right to go to school. There is nothing more important than going to school for our children. Then they can have a good job. And their own

children will go to school and will not beg in the street. We will get rid of begging by getting educated.<sup>59</sup> All the parents surveyed articulated the same rationale about their children's education, linking it to the access to a good job and the end of begging. The same level of enthusiasm for education characterizes Jogi and Chori Frosh children, with nearly 100% of children respondents affirming that they like a lot going to school. Mohammad Sahel, a seven-year-old Chori Frosh child, expressed the general feelings of the children about school: *'I like a lot going to school. I want to become literate. I come to school because I want to go out of this miserable life.'*

As shown by these observations, the Jogi are conscious about the potential benefits of education for their children. Above all, education is clearly considered as one of the main opportunities to break the circle of poverty and marginalization, from which these communities suffer. A learning process took place within these communities over the past years. When they were first approached by Save the Children to set up a schooling programme in 2005, the Jogi manifested very little interest for the project. Only 13 boys were allowed to participate and the communities refused to let any girl participate as they were partly responsible for the household income<sup>60</sup>. Now, on the other hand, both Jogi and Chori Frosh communities were deploring their poor access to school and were very much in demand for a better education, which would include boys and girls. This evolution relates to the increasing awareness of these communities about the discriminations they suffer and to the increasing assertiveness they developed in their demands to the Afghan authorities. Field observations confirmed that access to education is now considered as a major bone of contention for these communities against the Afghan authorities.

### **Community lifestyle**

As detailed in the previous section, the nomadic practices of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities are now marginal. Yet nomadism is still considered by a lot of stakeholders as one of the main obstacles to education for these communities. It is for example the analysis of UNHCR Mazar-e-Sharif, who sees nomadism as hindering education for two reasons. First, because naturally mobility makes it difficult to enrol children in one fixed school. Second, indirectly, because nomadism is an obstacle to getting an ID card as the process must be started in one's province of origin. Yet this vision is not entirely relevant anymore as nomadic practices are now residual in most Jogi and Chori Frosh households.

## **4.4 An institutionalized discrimination? The issue of Tazkira and its impact on education for Jogi and Chori Frosh children**

### **Institutional barriers: lack of ID and absence of land ownership**

As was examined in section 3, a central issue for Jogi people is their impossibility to get the Afghan citizenship, as the issuance of tazkira is not allowed for them. On this issue, the situation of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities differs. The Chori Frosh encounter obstacles as well when they try to get registered, mainly because of their semi-nomadic lifestyle. Yet a

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<sup>59</sup> Based on FGD with Jogi adults, 28.10.2011, Mazar-e-Sharif. (LOCATION)

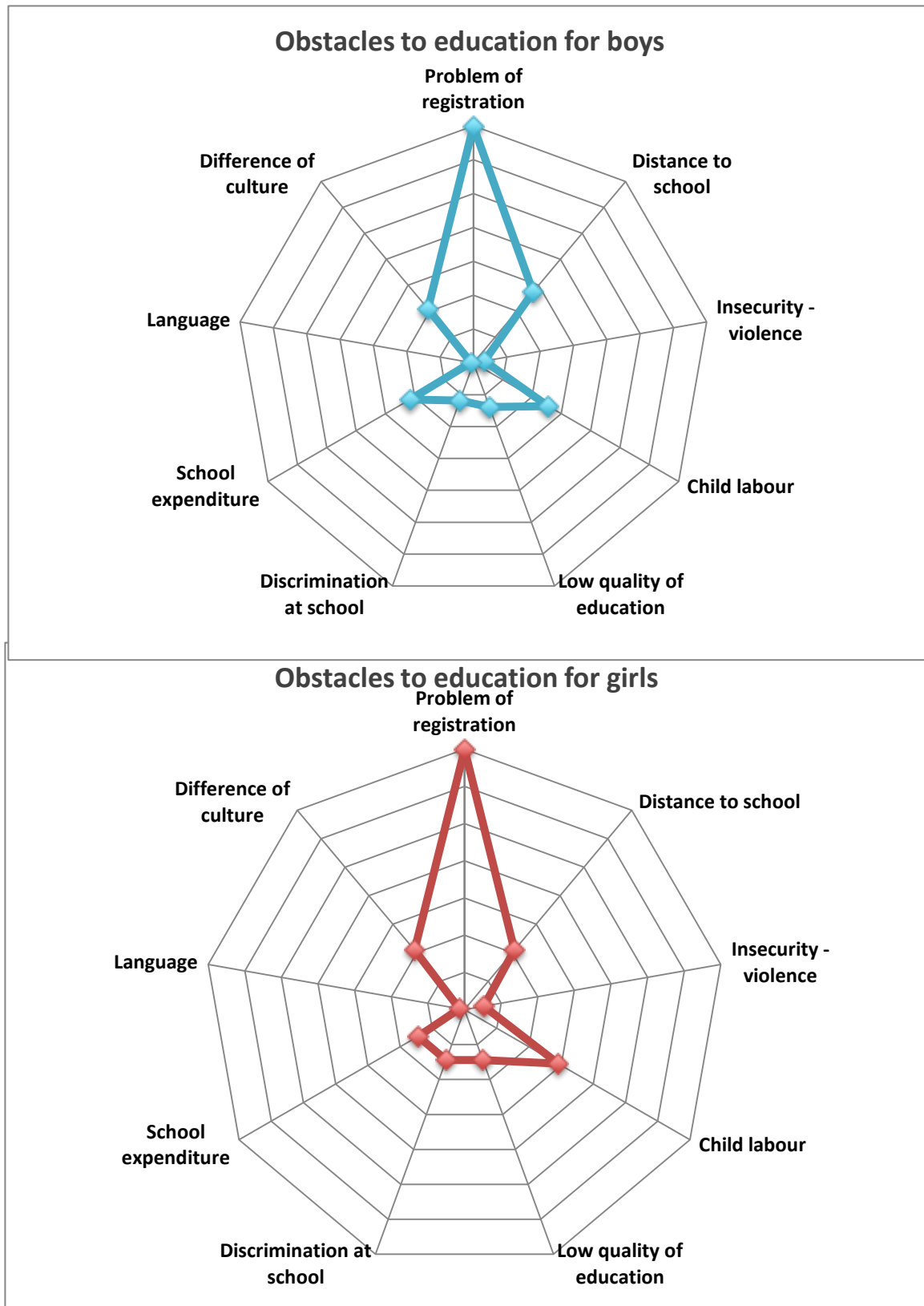
<sup>60</sup> Based on the interview of Mohammad Qati, former responsible for the project with Jogi at Save the Children Mazar. 28.10.2011

large proportion of Chori Frosh households managed to finally get at least one tazkira for the household. On the other hand, the Jogi keep being refused any registration not only because of their supposed nomadic lifestyle, but also because they are not considered Afghan by national authorities. More than 80% of Jogi households do not have any form of official registration.

The impact of the issue of registration on the question of out-of-school children is two-fold. First as a direct consequence of the absence of tazkira, Jogi children are legally not allowed to register in any governmental school and to enter the formal education system at any stage. Afghan children have to either present a tazkira or to present their father's one to register in a governmental school. Jogi children are not able to present either. This institutional discrimination towards Jogi children hinders greatly their access to education and keep them out-of-school.

As showed by figure 4.4 below, registration is by far the prime obstacle faced by Jogi children – boys and girls – according to the perceptions of their parents. On this figure are detailed the specific causes of out-of-school children phenomenon for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. The context of insecurity, the issue of language or distance to school appeared as very minor causes for the surveyed households compared to the issue of tazkira, which is the main problem for almost 70% of respondents. 93% of out-of-school children cited this issue as the main obstacle to their schooling. By comparison, the issue of registration was cited as a major issue only by 7% of respondents within non-Jogi households.

Figure 4.4 Obstacles to education for Jogi children<sup>61</sup>



<sup>61</sup> Based on households' survey.



Interestingly, the determinants explaining out-of-school Jogi and Chori Frosh children are very similar for boys and girls, confirming the previous observation that gender is not as a crucial obstacle to education in these communities as it is in the rest of the Afghan society.

Interviews with key informants revealed that it had been sometimes possible to get round the barrier of the absence of tazkira, based on a tacit agreement of provincial education authorities to let Jogi and Chori Frosh children access the formal system<sup>62</sup>. But the number of Jogi children who could enter governmental schools is marginal and this system works on a case by case basis. This cannot be considered a sustainable way of dealing with the phenomenon of out-of-school children among Jogi and Chori Frosh communities.

Second, the absence of tazkira entails the impossibility for Jogi households to buy lands and own properties. Among the surveyed Jogi households in Mazar-e-Sharif and in Kabul, 88% do not have any property deeds for the land they occupy. The situation is different for Chori Frosh, of whom 55% of Chori Frosh own their land and have a property title. The impossibility for Jogi to own land creates an important uncertainty in their future. It impacts education both on the demand and on the supply side. On the demand side because Jogi know that they could be forced to leave suddenly and have then less incentives to invest in children education, which is by definition a long-term project. On the supply side because this issue is raised by Afghan authorities and NGOs alike as an obstacle to the sustainability of any education projects launched with the Jogi. For the provincial Department of Education, the absence of land property is more determinant than the absence of tazkira in hindering access to education for Jogi children.

Two main kinds of internal obstacles to education were tested through field observations and data: first the socio-economic conditions of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, second the cultural traditions of these communities. The data proved that the socio-economic situations of these communities is undoubtedly an important determinant in the phenomenon of out-of-school Jogi and Chori Frosh children. On the opposite, the cultural norms of these communities towards education seem to have greatly evolved in the past years from defiance to a full support towards children education.

Yet, the main obstacles to education for these communities are political and legal. The absence of tazkira and the following impossibility to buy land are important determinants to the phenomenon of out-of-school children, most particularly in the Jogi community.

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<sup>62</sup> Based on the interview of the Director of the Education Department of Balkh Province, Mr. Khais.

## 5. Recommendations – Articulating a solid strategy for UNICEF intervention

### 5.1 The local level: UNICEF-supported CBSs for Jogi and Chori Frosh children in Mazar-e-Sharif

#### Genealogy of the project

The Jogi, the Chori Frosh and other segments of the Jat population have remained largely outside the realm of NGOs and international donors' actions until 2005. That year, a small-scale initiative, funded by Save The Children New Zealand was set up in Mazar-e-Sharif to start tackling the problem of out-of-school children within the Jogi communities. 13 Jogi boys took part in the programme and received some pre-school courses. Then they were enrolled in the formal education system, after the DoE agreed to let them in, despite their lack of tazkira<sup>63</sup>. This initiative was modest but paved the way for future projects by shedding light on the marginalisation and the specific barriers to education faced by these children.

After an interruption between 2006 and 2009, a joint initiative was set up to tackle the specific issue of Jogi and Chori Frosh children. The provincial DoE established CBSs for these children with the financial and technical support of UNICEF. Other stakeholders were initially involved and a protocol was signed between the Provincial Department of Education, different UN agencies and NGOs detailing the share of responsibilities of each organizations. (See Protocol translated in Appendix 1). This protocol notably included UNICEF Mazar-e-Sharif, WFP, the Swedish Committee, Aschiana and UNESCO. Save the Children was also initially part of the project.

Three community-based classes for Jogi and Chori Frosh children were launched at the beginning of 2010 and two other classes were opened in 2011 in the city of Mazar-e-Sharif. Four classes were set up for Chori Frosh children on the outskirts of Mazar-e-Sharif in the area of Bandari Shiberghan, in a school officially called school 'Nawabad Turkmania Number 2'. One class was set up for Jogi children in the area of Karte-e-Khurasan. Rather surprisingly, a lot of initial actors of the project quickly abandoned it. Save the Children, which was at the origin of the project withdrew its participation after a few months of implementation. This left UNICEF and the Provincial Department of Education as the main actors of the project. On principle, UNICEF provides tents, teaching and learning material, notebooks, school bags, stationary floor mats and blackboards to the CBSs. It also pays for the training of the teachers. The Department of Education is in charge of recruiting teachers as well as paying for the rent of the land where classes take place. The detailed characteristics of the two CBSs set up by UNICEF are to be found in Appendix 2.

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<sup>63</sup> Based on the interview of Mohammad Akbar Qati, former responsible of the project at Save the Children – Mazar.



Boy Class – Chori Frosh CBS – Bandari Shiberghan, Mazar-e-Sharif

### A laudable initiative facing numerous challenges

The projects launched by UNICEF to cope with Jogi and Chori Frosh out-of-school children in Mazar-e-Sharif has two very significant qualities. First, it is one of the only initiatives nationwide specifically targeting these marginalized children<sup>64</sup>. Second, it responded to a genuine bottom-up approach. The Department of Education of UNICEF Mazar-e-Sharif was able to identify the specific problems faced by Jogi and Chori Frosh children, based on their refined knowledge of the field. Then it managed to put into motion an initiative to respond to it. This triggered the interest of UNICEF in developing a wider initiative to tackle the issue of out-of-school children among these communities. Following this, the existing projects should be considered as promising pilot-projects opening opportunities for a more systematised action of UNICEF with these communities.

This experimental status explains both the strengths and the weaknesses of the existing projects.

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<sup>64</sup> With the notable exception of Aschiana in Kabul.

- **Communities' perceptions**

The opinions of communities about the CBSs supported by UNICEF diverge quite significantly. The Chori Frosh community – both adults and children – is overall satisfied by the CBS set up for them within their living area, despite suggesting some potential areas of improvement. The main impression is that of relief to finally get a schooling structure accessible to their children. FGDs with the children attending the CBS for Chori Frosh showed their high level of satisfaction regarding the teachers and their teaching methods. Despite stressing the shortcomings of their educational environment, Chori Frosh children expressed a clear enthusiasm about their school and stressed the rather conflict-free atmosphere existing within the school. More specifically, the children did not appear to suffer from forms of marginalization within their CBS. Rather they seem to consider it as a relatively safe and welcoming environment compared to places outside school, where they reported forms of harassment or insults from other children.

**Table 5.1 – Excerpts from Chori Frosh FGDs**

*'We are very happy about UNICEF school and we are satisfied with their teachers. We appreciate the fact that UNICEF has made a school for our children'. Chori Frosh adult.*

*'I like everything at school, especially the lessons. But one thing I dislike is sitting on the ground because we are a lot of students under the tent. And nobody help us with this situation.'* Nik Mohammad, 11 year old, Chori Frosh.

On the other hand, the Jogi community seems more doubtful about the UNICEF and DoE joint initiative in the area of Karta-e-Khurasan. From the parental perspective, teacher absenteeism and a poor education environment appeared as the main obstacles to the project success. The initiative created expectations and hopes at the beginning but the project did not live up to the community's expectations. This created a classic phenomenon of frustration within the Jogi community. The Jogi have become sensitized to education issues by the 2005 and 2010 projects, which is in itself a positive achievement. They now expect some substantial improvements in the implementation.

**Table 5.2 – Excerpts from Jogi FGDs**

*'My brother and sister go to school but unfortunately the teacher does not come everyday. Sometimes he comes and wastes his time and does not teach anything. It's been two years that they are going to school and both of them cannot write their names. And we want them to go to governmental school.'* (Jawid, 21 year old, Jogi).

*'My children go to school. But the teachers don't teach them correctly. We want mixed classes, we want our children to go to government school.'* (Mohammad Ullah, 20 year old, Jogi).

- **Educational environment**

According to UNICEF CFS's model: 'educational environments must be safe, healthy and protective, endowed with trained teachers, adequate resources and appropriate physical, emotional and social conditions for learning'<sup>65</sup>. To date, the projects do not entirely satisfy these requirements in terms of material conditions and educational environment.

To prove this, the following matrix proposes a comparison with similar projects for marginalized children in Mazar-e-Sharif and in Kabul. The CBSs supported by UNICEF were compared with a CBS set up by Aschiana for Jogi children in Chahari Qamber settlement in Kabul, with the centres for street children set up by Afghanistan Demain in Kabul and with a centre for street working children implemented by Save The Children in Mazar-e-Sharif.

**Table 5.2 – Comparison of material conditions in various CBS projects in Afghanistan<sup>66</sup>**

CRITERIA	ASCHIANA – Project Kabul	STC Mazar	Afghanistan Demain	UNICEF – Chori Frosh	UNICEF – Jogi
Surrounding wall		√	√	√	
Durable building		√	√		
Tent	√			√	√
Classroom floor	√	√	√		
Tables	√	√	√		
Chairs	√	√	√		
Blackboard	√	√	√	√	√
Chalk	√	√	√	√	√
Textbooks	√	√	√		
Notebooks	√	√	√	√	√
Clean playground		√	√		
Source of clean water		√	√		
Toilets		√	√		
APPR. BUDGET (per month / per child)	N/A	\$90	< \$30		
Total budget (per month)	N/A	\$19,000	\$ 3,500		

The above matrix exposes clearly some of the limits of the CBSs supported by UNICEF in Mazar-e-Sharif in terms of material conditions. The absence of proper classrooms and covered floor have a significant impact on the educational environment. It is impossible for Jogi and Chori Frosh children to have class as soon as the weather is rainy, windy or too cold. The teaching time throughout the year is drastically reduced. The children themselves regret the absence of fixed classrooms. For example, during FGDs, Allah Mohammad, 11 year old, stated: 'I like the school but I dislike the fact that we have to sit on the ground to study. It is very

<sup>65</sup> [http://www.unicef.org/education/index\\_focus\\_schools.html](http://www.unicef.org/education/index_focus_schools.html)

<sup>66</sup> Based on empirical observations and on interviews with managers of each of these projects.

dusty, especially when the weather is windy. We should have classrooms like any other students.' Despite WFP's participation in the initial protocol, all the children deplored the non-provision of clean water or food incentives within the CBSs.

As detailed in the matrix, even with reasonable budget, it is possible to set up quality programmes, where children can study in a satisfying and child-friendly environment. Naturally, must be taken into account the fact that it is easier to gather funding and momentum for projects with disfavoured children in Kabul than it is for Jogi or Chori Frosh children in Mazar-e-Sharif. But this matrix should be seen as an indication of the possible material improvements available to upgrade the existing UNICEF projects and for the development of similar initiatives with Jogi and Chori Frosh children.

- **A main challenge: the quality of education**

One important challenge for the existing CBSs in Mazar-e-Sharif relates to the quality of teaching provided to the Jogi and Chori Frosh children. On this issue, there is a clear divergence between the two CBSs supported by UNICEF. Chori Frosh children are taught by four teachers. Among them, three are students at the Balkh university and one is graduate from Grade 16<sup>th</sup>. The children expressed enthusiasm about their teachers. The level of commitment and of teaching of the staff is overall satisfying. In the case of the Jogi children, the quality of education received by the children is questionable. There was a shared feeling of frustration within the community towards the teaching received by their children at the CBS. Our own observations confirmed that the Jogi children's writing skills remain very poor.

This is based on a common problem of absenteeism of the teaching staff that was observed in both CBSs. We could observe the absence of teachers in both schools, when our visit was not expected. According to the children, in the Chori Frosh school, teachers might usually be absent once per week. In the Jogi CBS, the problem seems more worrying. As testified by Daoud, 19 year old Jogi, 'my brother goes to school but the teacher does not teach them. During these two years they did not learn anything. Sometimes the teacher comes and plays football with other children'. This reflects a general feeling of frustration in the Jogi community.

The main cause of the low quality of teaching is a rather unsatisfactory mechanism of monitoring of the projects. The monitoring process is based on two focal points, belonging to the Provincial Department of Education, and who liaise the two institutions. Following this, the monitoring is delegated to the DoE, with which UNICEF has developed excellent relations. This is an extremely positive basis to initiate projects and enhance capacity-building among the Afghan administration. But the monitoring system of the projects does not appear entirely efficient on the ground and requires strengthening. The absenteeism and the level of commitment of teachers should be better evaluated and controlled in order to provide the best teaching possible for the children.

- **Sustainability of the project**

In terms of sustainability, the current projects raise some questions.

The informality of the project is striking. This informality undoubtedly helped to initiate the project at its origins. This poses two major problems:

- First the division of responsibilities between UNICEF and the DoE is not formally delineated. The only existing document of reference specifically detailing this project is the sub-mentioned protocol, which has not been firmly respected. From our discussions with the DoE, it appeared that they did not have the same idea of their responsibilities in the implementation of the project than UNICEF. For example, the rent of the land where classes for the Jogi take place has not been paid by any organisation. UNICEF Mazar claims it is under the responsibility of the DoE while the latter seemed unaware of this. The owner of the land where the Jogi CBS takes place threatens to close the school. The lack of clear strategy for the project also left space for the sudden disengagement of organizations like Save the Children or the Swedish Committee, to the detriment of the projects.
- The internal documentation on both these initiatives is extremely parsimonious. Information on the origins, the objectives, the timeline or the action plan is very rare. This makes the project dependent on individual commitment within UNICEF rather than on the organization itself as it should be. The rationale of the project and the lessons learned throughout its implementation are likely to be lost as time goes by. It explains the current state of semi abeyance of the projects.



Jogi CBS – Mazar-e-Sharif

## 5.2 Recommendations at the local level: upgrading the existing projects

The above section showed that the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Mazar-e-Sharif have been sensitized to educational issues and are now expecting some improvements in this key area for their future development. The projects supported by UNICEF offer a good basis to respond to these expectations. Yet, to ensure quality and sustainability, there are three main areas of opportunities on which UNICEF should focus its efforts to consolidate its initiatives.

### (i) Upgrade the educational environment

- **Favour the renting of fixed buildings within communities rather than the provision of tents.** The tents delivered by UNICEF for the CBSs have proved inefficient at providing satisfying conditions of study to the children. Two of them are already completely out-of-use in the Chori Frosh school. The one for Jogi is about to follow the same destiny. These tents cost approximately 20,000 AFA at delivery but have apparently a short life expectancy. On the other hand, real estate prices in the living areas of Jogi and Chori Frosh are low. Renting one of the house of the Jogi camp would cost 500 AFA a month<sup>67</sup>, that is 6,000 AFA a year. It would then be more cost-efficient to rent a fixed building as well as ensure a big improvement in the studying conditions of Jogi and Chori Frosh children. It would also prove UNICEF intention to build up long-term solutions rather than precarious projects with the children of these communities.
- **Implement the initial idea of providing food incentives to the children attending both CBSs.** The high level of poverty of Jogi and Chori Frosh households impacts both the quantity and the quality of food available to children from these communities. The existing CBSs should be considered as prime venue to reach these disfavoured children. Providing food ration and clean water at school, as was originally planned is a good way to tackle the nutritional deficiencies of these children. It also provides incentives to out-of-school children to attend school. The involvement of WFP in the projects should be privileged as the organisation has the expertise on these questions.

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<sup>67</sup> Based on discussions with the landowner of the Jogi area and with the communities.



## (ii) Focus on the quality of education

- **Re-think and adapt the monitoring system of the CBSs.** So far and as agreed in the initial protocol, the DoE has been responsible for the monitoring of the two CBSs through the appointment of two focal points in charge to control the quality of the projects and liaise with UNICEF. Yet this system is not entirely satisfying. Within the DoE, an effort should be made with the support of UNICEF to strengthen the monitoring capacities of the institution. The supervision of teachers, the control of the quality of the teaching and the level of transparency require a more efficient control. UNICEF should reinforce its backing of the DoE monitoring process by appointing someone specifically in charge of the dialog with DoE on the issues of monitoring. A system of unannounced and regular visits of control to the two schools should be set up to certify both the presence of the teachers and the quality of their teaching. The DoE and UNICEF could jointly take part in these monitoring visits.
- **Privilege mixed classes.** Jogi and Chori Frosh children suffer from their social exclusion. Keeping them among themselves is a way of reproducing somehow the marginalization imposed by the Afghan society. The Chori Forsh CBS is an interesting example, where Chori Frosh children are mixed with children of refugees of the area, usually Pashtoon. Traces of tensions within the school were not visible. In the Jogi community, parents support strongly the existence of mixed classes for their children. Mixed CBSs would have the advantage to multiply interactions between Jogi and non-Jogi communities, favouring mutual comprehension. It would also reduce the risk to create resentment among the non-Jogi host communities against initiatives targeting exclusively the Jogi to their own detriment. Given that the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities usually live among refugees and urban poor, the environing communities should be taken into account and if possible included in educational projects.
- **Develop mechanisms of transition between UNICEF-supported CBSs and the formal education system.** The excellent relation between UNICEF and the provincial DoE is an asset on which UNICEF should continue to play. So far, only a mention in the initial protocol and a tacit agreement authorizes Jogi and Chori Frosh children to join the formal education system after their education within the CBSs supported by UNICEF. Yet, on the ground, this transition is almost non-existent. UNICEF, with the assistance of the DoE, should identify the closest formal schools and agree with them on a procedure to accept Jogi and Chori Frosh children in Grade 3. This effort should be accompanied by awareness-raising campaigns within the governmental schools involved to ensure a smooth transition for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. The school management, the teachers and the students should be beforehand sensitized to mitigate the risk for Jogi and Chori Frosh children to find a hostile environment.

### (iii) Sustainability: Enhance the clarity of the project for every stakeholder

- **Clarify strategy, clarify responsibilities.** The informality surrounding the two projects is detrimental to both the quality and the sustainability of the CBSs. This concerns both the overall strategy and the responsibility of each actor. The objectives of the project should then be better articulated. In particular, UNICEF should be clear on whether the integration of Jogi and Chori Frosh children in the formal governmental system is part of the strategy. Also UNICEF should consider making of these CBSs the main venue to concentrate its actions towards the Jogi and Chori Frosh children, in terms of health, of nutrition or of protection issues. A clearer strategy should be the basis of a new protocol delimiting responsibilities among the various actors still involved. The existing protocol is out-dated and does not reflect anything close to the actual project on the ground. The number of actors involved in the first project diluted responsibilities and allowed a low level of commitment from each organisation. A new protocol should include less actors but ensure their long-term commitment to the project. In particular, one person should be identified within each organisation to hold the responsibility of the project. UNICEF should increase its responsibilities in terms of monitoring and control of the advancement of the project. We also recommend the support of WFP to provide food to children.
- **Increase the involvement of Jogi and Chori Frosh adults in the project.** The parents and adults of both communities should be more involved in the project. Regular meetings with parents of both in-school and out-of-school should be instated. These are opportunities to discuss the advancement of the project and to listen to their grieves on the one hand. It is also a good opportunity to raise awareness and try to reach more out-of-school children of these communities. In particular, these meetings would be good opportunity to show the compatibility of child labour and school attendance. In order to raise the feeling of ownership of these communities upon their school, some adults could be directly involved in the functioning of the CBSs. For example, the Chori Frosh CBS has neither lock on the gate nor any gate-keeper. The school is sometimes misused as a space to consume drug or to gamble, endangering the children. One male adult of the community could for example fulfil the role of door-keeper.
- **Build up the memory of the project.** As mentioned earlier, the project is currently under-documented and too informal. In order to ensure sustainability and a coherent advancement, the level of documentation should be dramatically increased. The project needs regular reports to keep traces of the progress and lessons learned as time goes by. This will help keeping the project alive regardless of the employee turnover within various organizations.



Jogi Camp – Mazar-e-Sharif



Chori Frosh CBS – Mazar-e-Sharif

## 5.3 Moving forward - Towards a national strategy for the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan

Despite its beneficial effects on local communities, the projects currently supported by UNICEF with Jogi and Chori Frosh children suffer from the fact that they are not inscribed in the frame of a systematic and rationalized national strategy. Numerous issues faced by the Jogi and Chori Frosh children cannot be addressed at the local level but necessitate a coordinated intervention at the national level. Along the same line, some of these issues do not directly relate to UNICEF's mandate but require the coordinated intervention of other institutional actors. In order to address systematically the issue of out-of-school children, a firm national strategy is now needed. Here are some tracks to develop this strategy towards Jogi and Chori Frosh out-of-school children.

### **(i) Adopt an equitable educative strategy for Jogi and Chori Frosh children in Afghanistan.**

As a first step for any initiative towards these children, UNICEF has to delineate a clear educative strategy. For the time being, the absence of clearly articulated educative objectives for these children has entailed only precarious initiatives. For UNICEF to provide equitable access to education to the most vulnerable and reach out-of-school children, it needs to go beyond the current projects, which hardly provide basic literacy skills to children. Rather UNICEF should make the strong choice of ensuring that these children receive the same level of education as other Afghan children. Implementing an equitable educative strategy for these children would be a powerful way for UNICEF to affirm their right to a normal status in the Afghan society. Through an ambitious educative strategy, UNICEF can have an impact on the very definition of the Jogi identity in the country and attenuate their status of outsiders.

### **(ii) Rationalize targeting and identify potential beneficiaries throughout the country.**

In order to tackle efficiently the problem of out-of-school children, UNICEF must adapt its targeting strategy. So far, there is no underlying logic in the targeting of some groups of Jogi and Chori Frosh children. A rational strategy would target all children from the various types of very marginalized communities identified as 'peripatetic' in Afghanistan. In order to do so, here are the necessary preliminary steps:

- **Mapping** – For the moment, there is a clear lack of knowledge about the precise locations of various groups such as Jogi, Chori Frosh or Jat throughout the country. This deficiency challenges the implementation of any coherent strategy. A comprehensive mapping is a necessary basis to consolidate a coherent strategy towards these communities.
- **Surveying** – Beyond the location, UNICEF needs to build knowledge on the specific socio-economic characteristics of each of these marginalized groups in their different contexts. Naturally the issue of out-of-school Jogi children in rural setting differ from the situation of out-of-school in urban contexts. The social integration

of these communities is also context-specific. A fine-grain survey is necessary to properly delineate the category of the most marginalized in Afghanistan.

- **Assessing needs** – Depending on the context, the number and the characteristics of out-of-school children are likely to vary greatly. A precise need assessment would help avoiding overlapping projects, determine the resilience of nomadic practices and the true needs of Jogi and Chori Frosh children in each context.

### (iii) Recognize the necessity of a holistic approach

In order to build a coherent strategy, there are three necessary premises:

- **Encompass all marginalized peripatetic communities:** Singling out the Jogi and the Chori Frosh was an interesting first step to initiate UNICEF action. But, in order to reach the most marginalized children, it is more logical to up-scale the approach so as to encompass all the various groups belonging to the category of Jat people in Afghanistan. Despite the lack of any reliable survey, a fair estimation of the overall Jat population does not exceed 30,000 individuals in the whole country. A solid strategy to reach the most vulnerable children should include all these various sub-groups in a holistic perspective rather than randomly select some of them.
- **Adopt a comprehensive approach for a cross-cutting issue:** Enhancing access to education is most certainly a priority for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. Yet, as we saw throughout this report, the situation of these marginalized communities depend on multiple issues that cannot be tackled only from the angle of education. To deal with the absence of tazkira or with access to land ownership, the support of other departments within UNICEF – such as the Protection Department – as well as a coordinated approach with other UN agencies are needed.
- **Set up a coordinated action with UNHCR.** As exposed in box.1, there are important overlaps between the situation of Jogi communities and the one of refugees and returnees in Afghanistan. Supporting 'stateless people', such as Jogi, falls under the UNHCR mandate, which could provide expertise both in terms of advocacy and of assistance. UNHCR has experience in identifying and surveying these communities. The only reliable data existing on Jogi communities in Afghanistan has been gathered by UNHCR. UNICEF would then greatly benefit from an increased role of UNHCR in dealing with these communities. UNHCR should notably have a leading role in discussing registration issues and negotiating access to citizenship for these communities with Afghan authorities, especially with the Ministry of Interior responsible for the issue of registration. This pre-supposes an important effort of information sharing and coordination between the two UN agencies. An increased coordination between them on these issues would lead to a mutually beneficial strategy, as UNICEF could take this opportunity to reinforce its educative action in the informal and illegal settlements, where the Jogi mostly live. This would highly benefit other UNHCR beneficiaries.

#### (iv) Articulating the different levels of action

The obstacles faced by the Jogi and Chori Frosh children to access school cannot be resolved at the local level only. UNICEF needs to back up its local initiatives with a firm national strategy to reduce the barriers to education encountered by these children. This comprises:

**At the national level, advocating for the provision of citizenship to the Jogi and for the access to formal education for their children.** This report showed that the first and foremost obstacle to education for the Jogi children – and for some of the Chori Frosh children – is the impossibility to register within the formal education system because they cannot obtain a tazkira. The resolution of this issue is undoubtedly very complex as it requires the approval of a new law by the Parliament in order to grant citizenship to the Jogi living in Afghanistan. Still UNICEF should coordinate with other UN agencies – notably with UNHCR – to build up a strong effort of advocacy in favour of the recognition of the citizenship and of the rights of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan. At the same time, UNICEF should focus its own efforts on the MoE to obtain the official authorization for Jogi and Chori Frosh children to enrol in governmental schools, despite their absence of official documents. There is a long road ahead for Jogi to obtain formal citizenship and official registration. For the time being, it might be fruitful to disconnect the two problems and to concentrate UNICEF's efforts on getting a formal recognition from the MoE of the right of Jogi and Chori Frosh children to access the formal school system despite their lack of registration. Some local arrangements allow Jogi children to access the governmental system thanks to tacit agreements of the DoEs. These local initiatives should be officialised in the frame of a national recognition of the right of Jogi and Chori Frosh children to education.

- **At the provincial level,** UNICEF should draw on its usually very positive relations with Departments of Education to obtain their agreement – at least tacit – to let Jogi and Chori Frosh children enter governmental schools despite their absence of tazkira. UNICEF should also advocate at the provincial level for a better inclusion of the specific issues faced by Jogi, Chori Frosh or Jat on the agenda of the Departments of Education.
- **At the local level,** UNICEF should work with experienced organisations to ensure the best implementation possible of the projects. The will to work closely with the Afghan authorities, namely the Department of Education, is greatly valuable and should be preserved. Yet the current system suffers from important deficiencies and the monitoring of DoEs' activities needs to be reinforced. A triangle of actors should be considered to deal with the trade off between building local capacities and guaranteeing projects of quality. The implementation of UNICEF initiatives should then be based on both DoEs and experimented NGOs working with out-of-school children. Among them, Save the Children, Aschiana, Afghanistan Demain or BRAC have proven widely their ability to address the specific needs of out-of-school children in Afghanistan.

# APPENDIXES

## Appendix 1

### **Agreement between Education Department of Balkh and partner organizations to set up local schools and literacy courses for Jogi and Chori Frosh children and adults Mazar city and Nahri Shahi district - 1388 Hajri Shamsi 2010**

The ministry of education according to the academic objectives and policy of the Islamic republic of Afghanistan, the needs of the Afghan society and international standards provided the basic guidelines in order to increase the level of education of children and teenagers by establishing schools and literacy courses.

In order to reach this objective, to respond to its responsibility before the people of Afghanistan and to implement the Islamic and humanitarian aims of the ministry of education and the Afghan government, The Balkh Department of Education conducted a precise survey of the Jogi and Chori Frosh children in the city of Mazar-e-Sharif with the help of partner organizations. The DoE is determined to bring these children to local schools and literacy courses and takes the responsibility to implement this high objective.

#### **(1) Responsibility of partner organizations:**

- Provide support on financial, technical and humanitarian issues.
- Provide shortly training for teachers.
- Provide textbooks and stationery for children schools and literacy courses.
- Pay and distribute salaries for teachers of both schools and literacy courses.
- Provide the carpet and teaching structure for local schools and literacy courses as well as the fuel necessary for winter .
- Provide cold water in the summer.
- Supervise the schools and literacy courses in coordination with representatives of the Department of Education of Balkh.

#### **(2) Responsibilities of UNICEF:**

- Provide the tent according to the needs of schools and literacy courses.
- UNICEF office supports the above mentioned programs with the help of the Child Protection Office, if necessary.

#### **(3) Responsibilities of Aschiana:**

- Provide food incentives for school children and student of literary courses.
- Provide vocational training for school children and attendants of literacy courses.

#### **(4) Responsibilities of the Swedish Committee:**

- Provide food for the student of local schools and courses.
- Distribution of teaching material under the supervision of the representative of the DoE.
- Provide transportation for supervision members to monitor CBSs and literacy courses.

#### **(5) Responsibilities of WFP:**

- Provide and supply food items for schools and literacy courses students.
- Food distribution under the supervision of the representative of the DoE for students and teachers.

#### **(6) Responsibilities of Care – Pamlarana office:**

- Provide training material if training seminars are held.
- Provide stationery for school students and training courses if these courses are available.

#### **(7) Responsibilities of UNESCO:**

- Follow the children protection program if the school and courses are located in the 2-4-8-10 districts of Mazar city.

#### **(8) Balkh education department responsibilities:**

- Conduct a precise survey of school age children and adults literacy courses with the help of children protection office.
- Monitoring of schools and curriculum.
- Provide reports on the quality of education and transmit information to Afghan Education authorities.
- Distribution of stationery provided by the Office of Child Protection.
- Supervision of teachers' concession.
- Monitor the implementation of the Ministry of Education's curriculum.
- Management of school's classes according to the CBS.
- Ensure a maximum of 20 adults in each literacy class.
- Supervision and cooperation while Aschiana for the distribution of food to student.
- Provide certificate for schools and courses students.
- Enroll CBS children within official schools.

This agreement ensures that each organization knows its responsibilities.



## Appendix 2

### ASSESSMENT OF CBSs supported by UNICEF in Mazar-e-Sharif – EMIS criteria

	Jogi CBS	Naw Habat 2 -Chori Frosh CBS
Number of classes	1	4
Number of students	30	135
Ethnic background of students	Jogi	Chori Frosh & Pashto
Proportion of children from disfavoured communities	100%	75%
Age brackets of children	Between 6 and 13	Between 7 and 12
Grades	Grade 2	Grades 1 & 2
Number of male teachers	1	4
Number of female teachers	0	0
Teaching staff's level of education	Grade 12	University / Grade 16 <sup>th</sup>
Ratio teacher / pupils	1/30	4/135
Number of shifts of teaching per day	1	1
Number of hours per day per child	3h30	3hrs
Absenteeism among teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3-4 times in 2 years<sup>68</sup></li> <li>• 3-4 times per week<sup>69</sup></li> </ul>	App. once per week
Absenteeism among pupils	5 to 10 per day	Between 5 and 7 children per day
Number of administrative staff	0	0
Types of building	UNICEF tent	UNICEF tents
Type of floor	Ground + carpet	Ground + carpet
Wall surrounding the school	No	Yes

<sup>68</sup> According to the teacher himself

<sup>69</sup> According to Jogi adults

Chairs	No	No
Tables	No	No
Kind of toilet facilities	No	No
Source of drinking water	No	No
Usable blackboard	Yes	Yes
Chalks	Yes	Not working properly
Textbooks	No	No
Notebooks	Yes	Yes