



Jogi and Chori Frosh Out-of-School Children

A Story of Marginalisation

Contacts:

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Research team:

Camille Hennion

Project Manager

Samuel Hall

Kabul: +93 793 603 899

camille.hennion@samuelhall.org

Hervé NICOLLE

Partner

Samuel Hall

Kabul: +93 796 606 028

Paris: +33 666 48 88 32

herve.nicolle@samuelhall.org

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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 Organisation
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 marginalisation. 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 marginalised communities in Afghanistan. These communities suffer from a status as complete 'outsiders' in 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, within the framework of its Equity strategy, the time has come to include these communities and their children in the analytical and strategic framework of both Afghan authorities and international organisations.

In order to fill in the information gaps regarding the Jat population, 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 characterised 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 sedentarised on the outskirts of the major cities of Northern and Eastern Afghanistan. The various sub-groups of the Jat populations share the following main characteristics:

- Residual semi-nomadic practices
- Despised non food producing activities
- A common status of outsiders and a strong marginalisation by Afghan society.

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

- Economic: the average monthly income of Jogi and Chori Frosh households amounts to half that of the urban poor living nearby, with respectively 5,939 AFA (120.1 USD) and 10,079 AFA¹ (203.8 USD) per month. They have two main sources of income: begging for women, which represents almost 40% of household income, and daily work for men. Both of these occupations only provide very low and fluctuant incomes 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 into the Afghan context. The symbol of this distinctiveness is the tradition of women labour; Sixty percent of surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh households have at least one woman working, compared with 5% in the rest of Afghan society. This distinctive identity contributes to their social exclusion.

¹ Exchange rate: 1USD = 49.47 AFA

- Political: the Jogi are among the only 'stateless people' in Afghanistan. In 80% of Jogi households, no one is registered or has any ID. National authorities currently refuse to grant them citizenship, perpetuating a form of institutionalised discrimination. This impacts every area of their daily life, hindering their access to social services, to government-provided 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 Afghan society. In Mazar-e-Sharif, 83.9% of Jogi children are out-of-school, as 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 poverty significantly hinders 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; rather, they very much support the school enrolment of their children. Education is seen as one of their only available strategies to break the cycle of poverty and exclusion in which they are trapped.
- The absence of tazkira and the consequent impossibility of owning land are undoubtedly the most significant obstacles to education for children of these communities.
- The obstacles to education impacting the rest of Afghan society are secondary concerns for these communities, as security, distance to school and gender did not appear as significant obstacles compared with 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 to 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 both 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 education project, which would guarantee 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 full Afghan citizens.**

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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 marginalised children was too costly. As this premise was proven wrong by UNICEF analysis, the organisation adopted a more equitable strategy that aims at reaching the most disadvantaged and marginalised children in the world². In this context, Afghanistan appears as a key target for UNICEF's effort, as Afghan children have been violently exposed to the multifaceted consequences of decades of conflict³ and represent a highly vulnerable population.

Significant progress has been achieved in Afghanistan over the last decade in terms of education, child health and child protection. Unfortunately this progress has been unequally distributed throughout the country⁴. In the field 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 a 'silent crisis for 5 million children – 42% of all children – not in school due to vulnerability and poverty' in 2011⁵. 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 vulnerabilities in the Afghan context. While some situations of child vulnerabilities – such as the education of girls – are slowly starting 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 and their children is compelling. Their fragility has been fuelled by a strong economic and social marginalisation and by very limited access to aid.

Within the framework of its Equity Programme, UNICEF's purpose is to act on this 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

² UNICEF (2010), Annual Report 2010, p. 4-5.

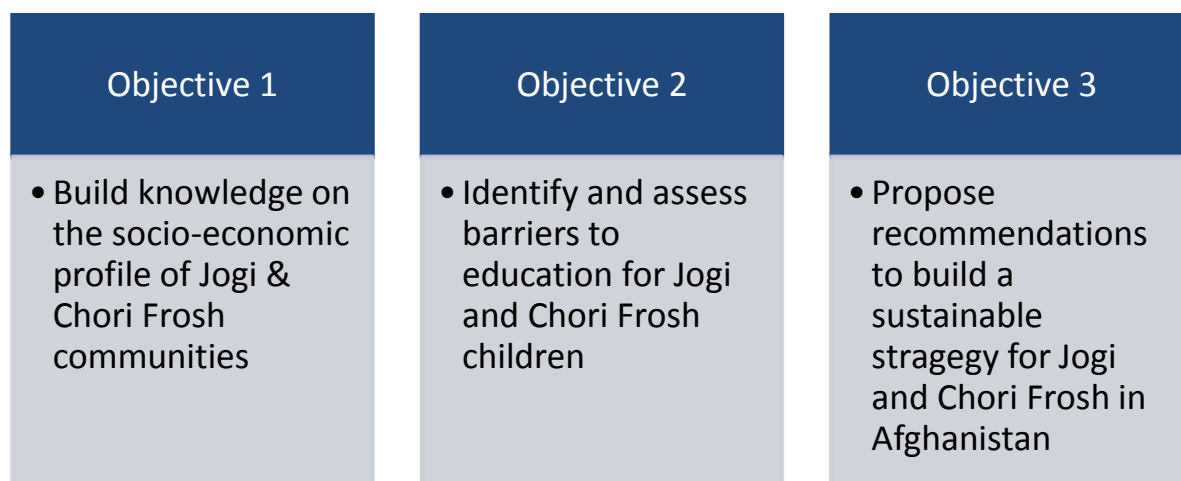
³ Watchlist on children and armed conflict (2010), *Setting the Right Priorities: Protecting Children Affected by Armed Conflict in Afghanistan*, p. 3.

⁴ Save The Children (2011), *Afghanistan in transition: Children at the heart of development*. p. 5.

⁵ 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 rationalised 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, at an individual, household and community level. A 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 lifestyle, economic conditions and social integration. Special attention was also placed on the perceptions of the Jogi and Chori Frosh individuals about their situation within Afghan society.

To complement the aforementioned micro level analysis, the project was designed to also include macro level analysis of the poor situations of these communities. This was done through key informant interviews with individuals active in organisational 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 collected quantitative and qualitative data primarily 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 nine days of fieldwork in Mazar-e-Sharif, complemented by a one-day survey in Kabul, from 24 October to 3 November. To enrich understanding of the actual challenges faced by these communities, 8 focus group discussions were conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif. These discussions allowed the research team to collect information on the communities' lifestyles, economy, norms and main needs. Key informant interviews were also conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul with Afghan authorities, NGOs and UN agencies to triangulate information and gather perceptions from main stakeholders on these communities' specific issues and concerns.

Quantitative Methodology

In order to obtain a multi-dimensional representation of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, three different questionnaires were designed and implemented:

- 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 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, the research team targeted the three main locations where Jogi and Chori Frosh live: Karte-e-Khurasan, Baba Qambar and near Bandari Shiberghan. The sample followed a snowball 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 other main locations inhabited by Jogi and Chori Frosh populations in Mazar-e-Sharif. They were then included in the survey. Adults in 101 Jogi and Chori Frosh households as well as 146 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. The research team 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. One hundred non-Jogi or Chori Frosh households and 143 non-Jogi or Chori Frosh children were surveyed.

In order to get an indicative picture of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities living in other places in Afghanistan, an additional survey was conducted in the informal settlement 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 101 Jogi and Chori Frosh households
- Representative survey of 146 Jogi and Chori Frosh children

- Indicative survey of 100 non-Jogi or Chori Frosh households
- Indicative survey of 143 non-Jogi or Chori Frosh children

Quantitative Survey in Kabul

- Indicative survey of 52 Jogi households
- Indicative survey of 9 Jogi children attending school

Within each surveyed category, respondents were randomly selected. As shown in table 1.1, the overall gender distribution among the interviewees was balanced. Yet table 1.1 shows that the access to men at their homes was 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 men during daytime hours. 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 surveyed.

Table 1.1 - Quantitative Sample Description (Gender & Average Age)

	Households Jogi	Households Non Jogi	Children	Total
Male	55.6%	29%	61.4%	48.7%
Female	44.4%	71%	38.6%	51.3%
Average Age	37	36.2	10.8	

Qualitative Methodology

Focus Group Discussions

Eight focus group discussions were organised in Mazar-e-Sharif to complement the quantitative survey. These discussions gathered six individuals for a discussion with open-ended questions lasting approximately two hours. Conducted by experienced 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 organised 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 men
- 1 focus group with Jogi women
- 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 community leaders from areas neighbouring the Jogi living areas.

Key informant Interviews

In Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul, the research team conducted numerous key informant interviews (KIIs) with a range of stakeholders relevant to the purpose of this study. These interviews consisted of open-ended questions that lasted approximately one hour. These KIIs provided great insight into the perception of key institutional and political actors of 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:

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

School observations

The final element of the fieldwork included qualitative observations of two different kinds of schools. This observation focused on the community-based schools (CBSs) supported by UNICEF for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. The research team also visited a school attended by non Jogi/Chori Frosh children of the neighbouring areas in order to get a basis for comparisons. These observations were based on the Education Management Information System (EMIS) indicators as demanded by UNICEF.

1. 4 Constraints and Limitations

The absence of 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. Therefore, this study should be seen as a first entry into a subject that needs to be complemented by a national survey in order to be truly representative on a national scale.

Furthermore, the snowball method used for 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. There is a small 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 responses, especially when the questions concerned the history of their community. The answers could easily mix accurate information with mythical narratives. Whenever possible, this information was verified through crosschecks with 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 into five chapters and structured as follows. 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 distribution as well as their main anthropological characteristics.

The third section is based on the findings of our fieldwork and will provide an in-depth analysis of the socio-economic characteristics 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 of 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. Firstly it will propose some potential improvements at the local level. Secondly, it will propose some tracks for the implementation of a rationalised and systematic strategy towards Jogi and Chori Frosh communities at a national level.



A Chori Frosh 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 characterised by a specific marginal status in the society'⁶. These two groups count respectively – and approximately – about 1,500 and 350 households scattered in Northern and Eastern Afghanistan.

The terms 'Jogi' and 'Chori Frosh' are neither clear ethnic categories nor names originally used by the communities themselves; rather, these labels are 'exogenous denominations, which show a globalising – and sometimes abusive – vision.'⁷ For Afghans, these terms refer to a confusing mix between ethnic categories and professional categories⁸. There are three main components defining Jogi and the Chori Frosh communities in Afghanistan:

- (1) A common ancestry external to Afghanistan⁹.
- (2) The occupations they perform, which include begging; fortune telling; trinket selling; and fabricating and selling drums, bird cages or sieves. Stereotypical views about these communities also associate them with abortion, blood letting and prostitution¹⁰.
- (3) Strong marginalisation by Afghan society. The status of 'outsider' is central to the definition of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. This marginal status is linked both to the pervasive perceptions of other Afghans towards them and to their own desire to preserve a distinct identity

According to A. Zevaco, these communities qualify 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 in¹¹.

⁶ Based on the interview of Pierre and Micheline Centlivres, November 2011.

⁷ 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

⁸ 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

⁹ Based on the interview of Ariane Zevaco, December 2011. Translations of the author.

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ Ibid.

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

The Jogi and Chori Frosh communities are sub-groups of the 'Jat' minority 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'¹². It is not a clearly delimited ethnic entity but rather a 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 Mussali¹³. The term Pikraj or 'Paki Raj' is another term to designate the Chori Frosh communities. For Rao (1986), the Jogi is a sub-group of the Jalali community present in the North of Afghanistan¹⁴. There are numerous overlaps between these various denominations, as a myriad of local names 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' 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 surrounding society¹⁵, echoed by a 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 their grouping 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 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 to be 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 marginalised within Afghan society.

¹² Hanifi, J. (2009), 'Jat' in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jat>

¹³ Idem.

¹⁴ Rao, A. (1986), Roles, Status and Niches: A Comparison of Peripatetic and Pastoral Women in Afghanistan," *Nomadic Peoples* 21/22, 1986, pp. 153-77.

¹⁵ 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'¹⁶. 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 improperly. 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.'¹⁷ 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 shown in the following excerpts of focus group discussions, there is no consensus within the community itself about the name 'Jogi', object of 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 10th century AD 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 an old legend about their arrival in the Persian world¹⁸.

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*

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ Hanifi, J. (2009)

¹⁸ al-Isfahâni, H. 961, "Tarikh fi Muluk al-ard" in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, s. v. Lûlî.

arrived, Bahrâm gave each one an ox and an ass-load of wheat so that they could live 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."¹⁹

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 lack of information on the subject, ethnologists more or less agree on a Penjabi origin of these populations²⁰. This population was then 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 old presence in the region, these groups never assimilated within the society they inhabited; rather, their identity as strangers remained vivid throughout centuries. Until today, these communities have been seen as 'coming from outside'²¹ and have kept their specific identity within each national context.

On a more recent note, 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 back and forth between these two regions, irrespective of national borders, at least until the beginning of the 20th century. There are several different narratives about their final establishment in Afghanistan and the chronology remains uncertain²². 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 border²³. 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 then sell in the bazaars in various cities of Afghanistan.

Contemporary dynamics

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 as intermediaries between city centres and rural areas for information and petty trade. Consequently, they are increasingly adopting a sedentary or semi-sedentary lifestyle.

Furthermore, these communities were deeply impacted by the chaotic fate of the country over 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

¹⁹ Gatelier, K. (2004). See also Digard, J-P (2002), "Gypsies i. Gypsies of Persia" in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gypsy-i>

²⁰ See for example Rao, (1982) and Khakimov, N. (2010), *Mugaty – Skital'tsy v Poiskakh Schast'ya. Obryady i ritualy Luli*, Swiss Cooperation Office, Khujand.

²¹ 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.

²² Estimations provided by Jogi on their settlement in Afghanistan varied from 300 years to 100 years ago.

²³ Based on interview with Jogi community leaders, Mazar-e-Sharif, 30.10.2011.

impact on these vulnerable communities²⁴. 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 fled the country to take refuge in Pakistan, Iran and Tajikistan, following 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. Assisted returnees represented 43.3% of these households, 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, as the only existing data dates back to the end of the 1980s. Following this, any estimation must be taken with caution.

Table 2. 2: Numerical Estimation of the main Jat sub-groups in Afghanistan²⁵

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	approx. 400 households
Gorbat Jats	Kabul, Herat, Kandahar	approx. 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	approx. 150 households

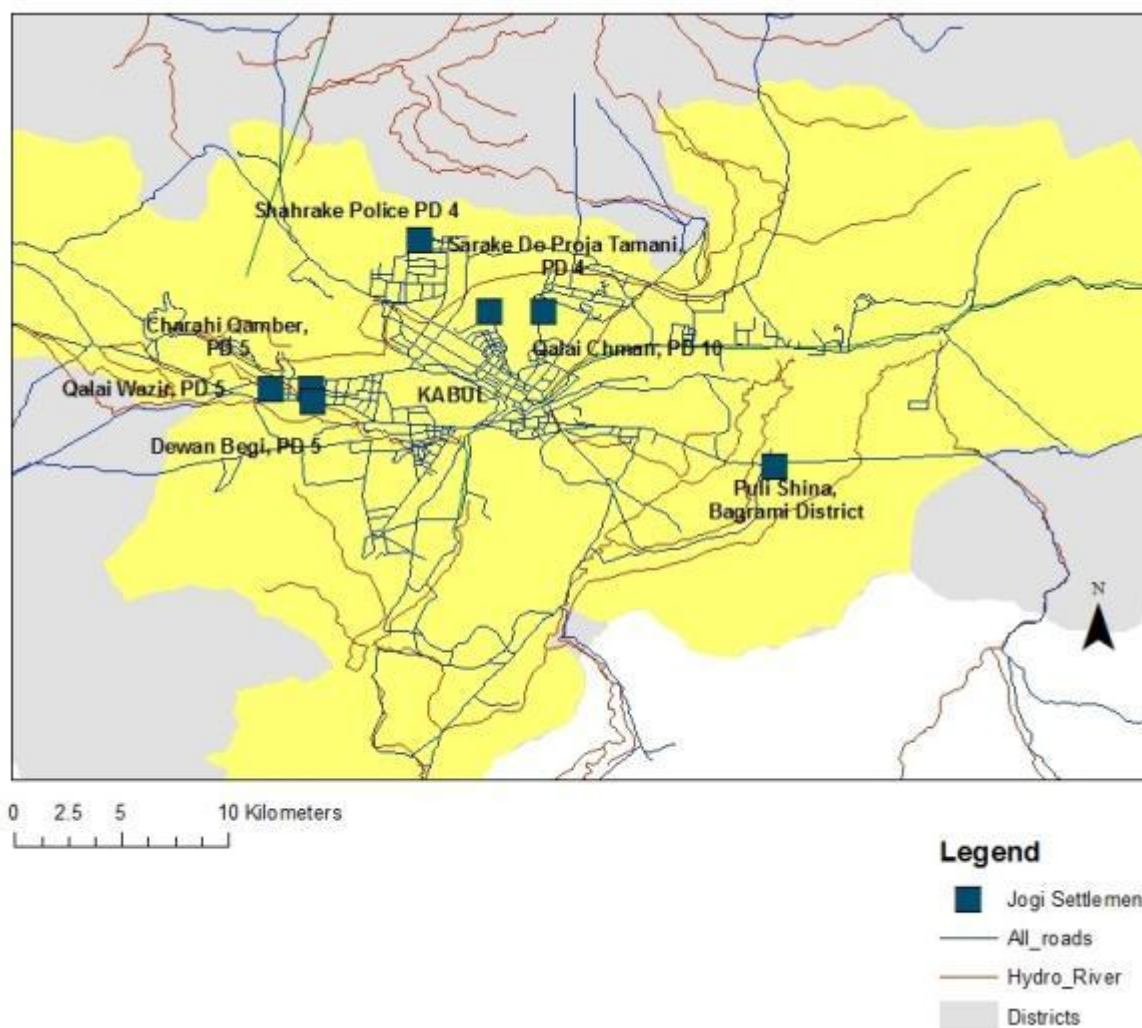
Given the political situation of the country during the past decades, it is very likely that important reconfigurations occurred in the geographical repartition of these communities. A precise survey is necessary to measure these numerical and geographical evolutions but a first observation shows that the geographic scope of these communities' movements has contracted in recent years. They now prefer urban dwellings, especially in cities such as Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kunduz and Jalalabad.

²⁴ Rao. A (2004), p. 273.

²⁵ Based on Rao, A. (1986), modified according to empirical observations.

Regarding the Jogi today, an estimation of approximately 1,000 to 1,500 households currently living in Northern Afghanistan seems like a plausible hypothesis, with around 600 Jogi households living in Kabul²⁶ and 150 households in Mazar-e-Sharif²⁷ and in the Balkh province.

Indicative Mapping of Jogi communities in Kabul



²⁶ Based on UNHCR Kabul data and on an interview with Eng. Mohammad Yousef, Director of Aschiana.

²⁷ 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 evidence provided by the fieldwork conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif and complemented in Kabul. As shown 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 characterising these communities, compared to the rest of the Afghan population, a specificity that reinforces their marginalisation. 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 in which they live. The flexibility and adaptability of these communities have long been among their main strengths²⁸ to resist the numerous political and social challenges they have to face. Data from the field sheds light on some of these current evolutions characterising 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 that is usually associated 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, a homogeneity that is reinforced by their endogamous practices²⁹.

Table 3.1 Languages Spoken by Jogi and Chori Frosh

Dari	84.2%
Pashto	0.7%
Urdu	0%
Turkmen	0%
Uzbek	0%
Other dialects or 'secret languages'	19.6%

As shown 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 the survey, 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 sources³⁰.

²⁸ Gatelier, K. (2004), p. 284

²⁹ Interview of P. & M. Centlivres, November 2011.

Household composition

The average size of households in the Jogi community is surprisingly low compared to the average size of households in the rest of Afghan society. Jogi households average 5.3 individuals per household, with an average of 2.8 children per household. In comparison, a recent survey conducted with other non-Jogi segments of the population in the city of Mazar-e-Sharif found an average of 9 individuals per household³¹. 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 Afghan society, where an extended definition of the family prevails. Jogi children leave their parents' household earlier than in the rest of Afghan society.

Table 3.2 – Household composition by age and gender

	< 15		15-24		25 +		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Jogi/Chori Frosh	24.4%	21.4%	13.5%	9.3%	14.9%	16.5%	52.8%	47.2%
Non-Jogi³²	22%	21.8%	13.3%	10.8%	18.4%	13.7%	53.7%	46.3%
Settled population³³	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 years old (respectively 24.4% and 23.3%). Table 3.2 suggests notably that the Jogi communities are increasingly characterised 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.

³⁰ Gatelier, K. (2004), p. 270

³¹ 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.

³² Based on the survey of non-Jogi households living in the same areas than the Jogi and Chori Frosh.

³³ 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 surveyed 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 ³⁴
Jogi	46.3%	22.2%	10.6%	7.5%	5.8%	4.2%	3.3%	98.5%
Non-Jogi	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 characterised 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 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

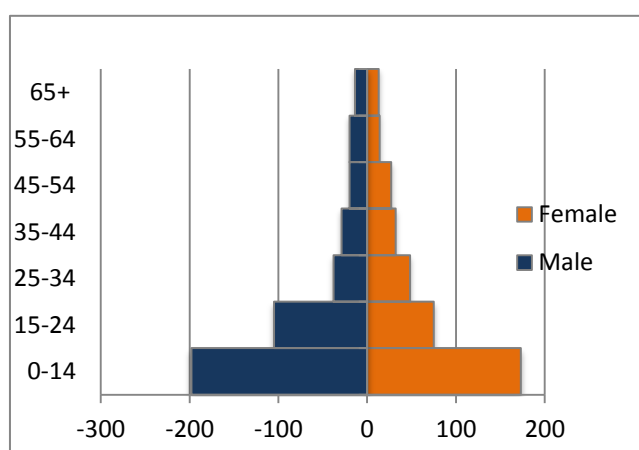
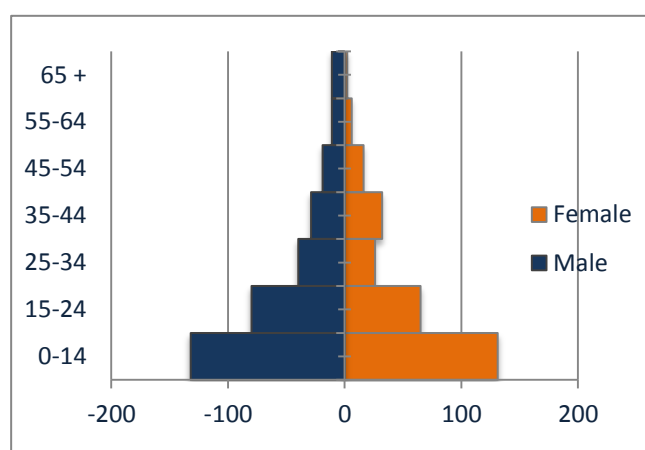


Figure 3.2 Age Pyramid non-Jogi



³⁴ 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)³⁵

	Male children	Female children	Male adults	Female adults	Average household income
Jogi & Chori Frosh	2,696 (54.5 USD)	2,320 (46.9 USD)	4,991 (100.9 USD)	3,320 (67.1 USD)	5,939 (120.1 USD)
Non-Jogi & Chori Frosh	240 (4.9 USD)	0	9,614 (194.3 USD)	215 (4.3 USD)	10,079 (203.8 USD)

Table 3.4 details the average monthly income per household as well as each category's average contribution to 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. The non-Jogi average household income is higher than the average income of each age category because there are usually more than one man earning money in the household. A recent survey conducted in Mazar-e-Sharif with a population of employers and employees found an average monthly income of 19,704 AFA per household³⁶. 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 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 marginally in the household income. In the case of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, the contribution to income is shared more equally among different members.

Three main points are worth noting:

- Despite common stereotypes about Jogi and Chori Frosh men being economically inactive, the male adults appear to be the main contributors to the household incomes with an average contribution of almost 5,000 AFA per month.

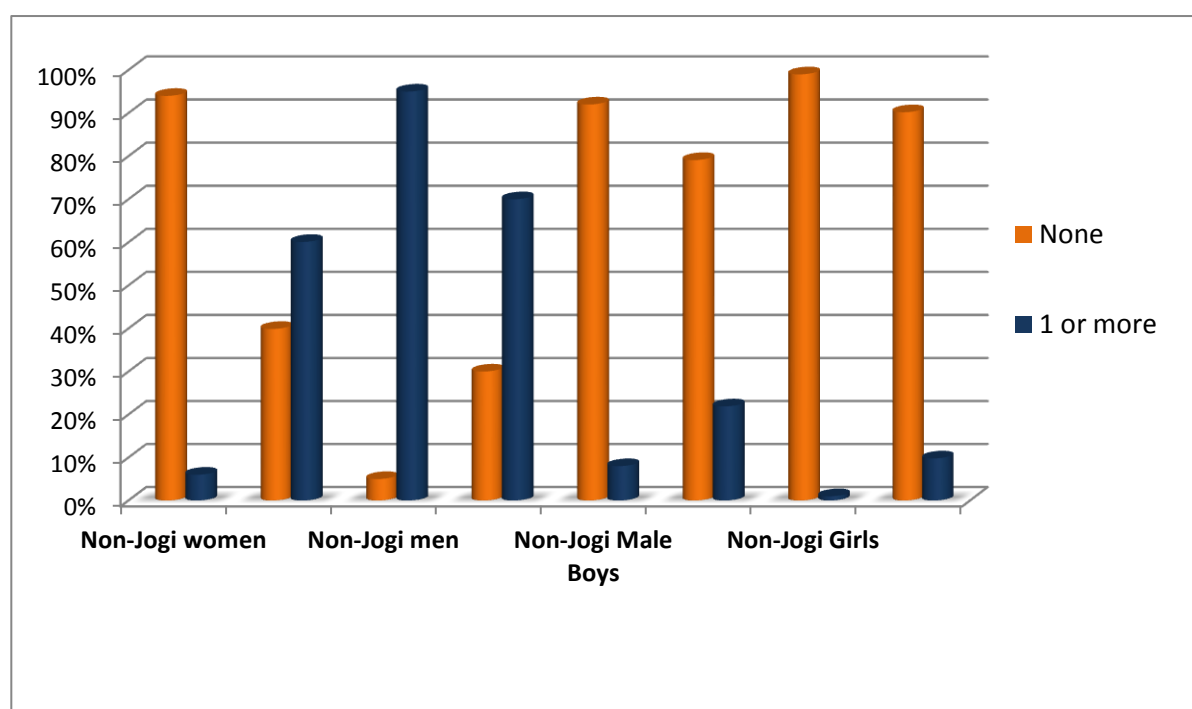
³⁵ Based on the levels of income declared by the surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh households in Mazar-e-Sharif. Exchange rate: 1 USD = 49.47 AFA.

³⁶ Priestley, P. (2011)

- Contrary to the situation in non-Jogi households, Jogi and Chori Frosh women take an active role in the household's economic life. In the surveyed communities, they earn on average 3,320 AFA per month. Cases of participation of non-Jogi women in income generating activities were almost non-existent.
- Jogi and Chori Frosh children – both boys and girls – also partake in income-generating activities, earning on average 2,696 and 2,320 AFA respectively.

The following figure illustrates these significant differences between Jogi and Chori Frosh communities and non-Jogi communities in terms of participation in economic life. This figure notably shows that in about 60% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, one woman or more earns money for the household, whereas in more than 90% of non-Jogi households no women are economically active.

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%

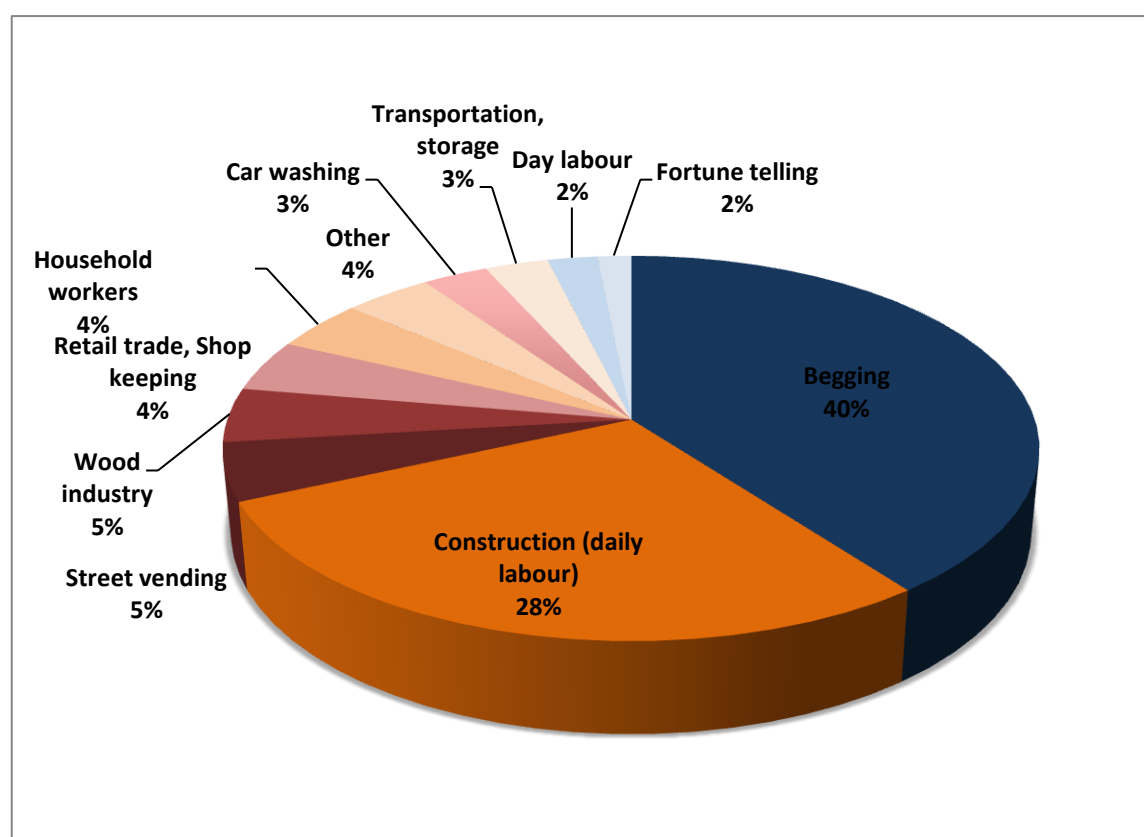
Of particular note from table 3.4:

- First and foremost, field data confirms that the primary source of income for Jogi and Chori Frosh communities is the practice of begging. The specialisation of Jogi communities in this activity is very clear as revenues from begging contribute 38.4% to their income. By contrast, 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 as their non-Jogi counterparts.

- Finally the data shows that the activities of fortune telling (1.5%) and street-vending (4.7%) represent a surprisingly small 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 marginalisation 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 significant economic insecurity as their revenues are subjected to large fluctuations. More importantly, they show that the Jogi and Chori Frosh are confined in an economic model of subsistence. None of these income-generating activities are sufficient to offer perspectives of development to the communities. In this context, they seek

other paths to break the cycle of poverty that is perpetuated over generations. In their discourse, education is perceived as the main way out.

Living conditions

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

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

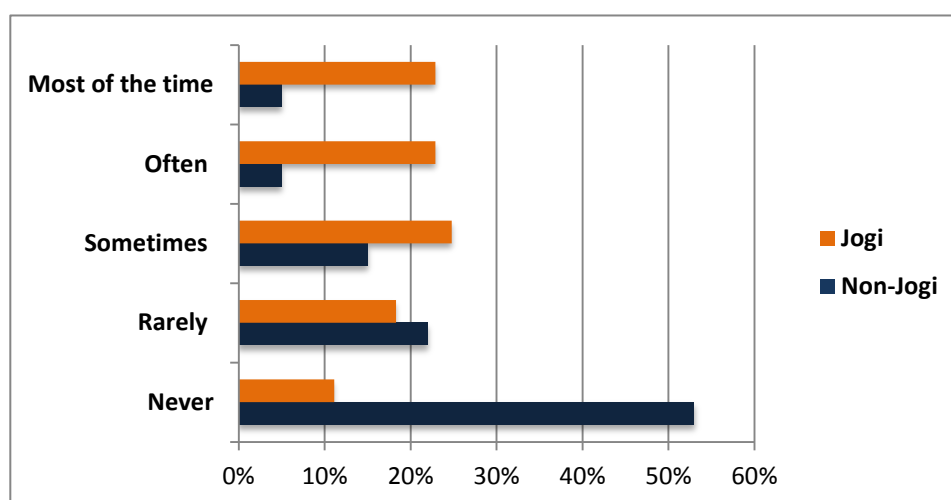
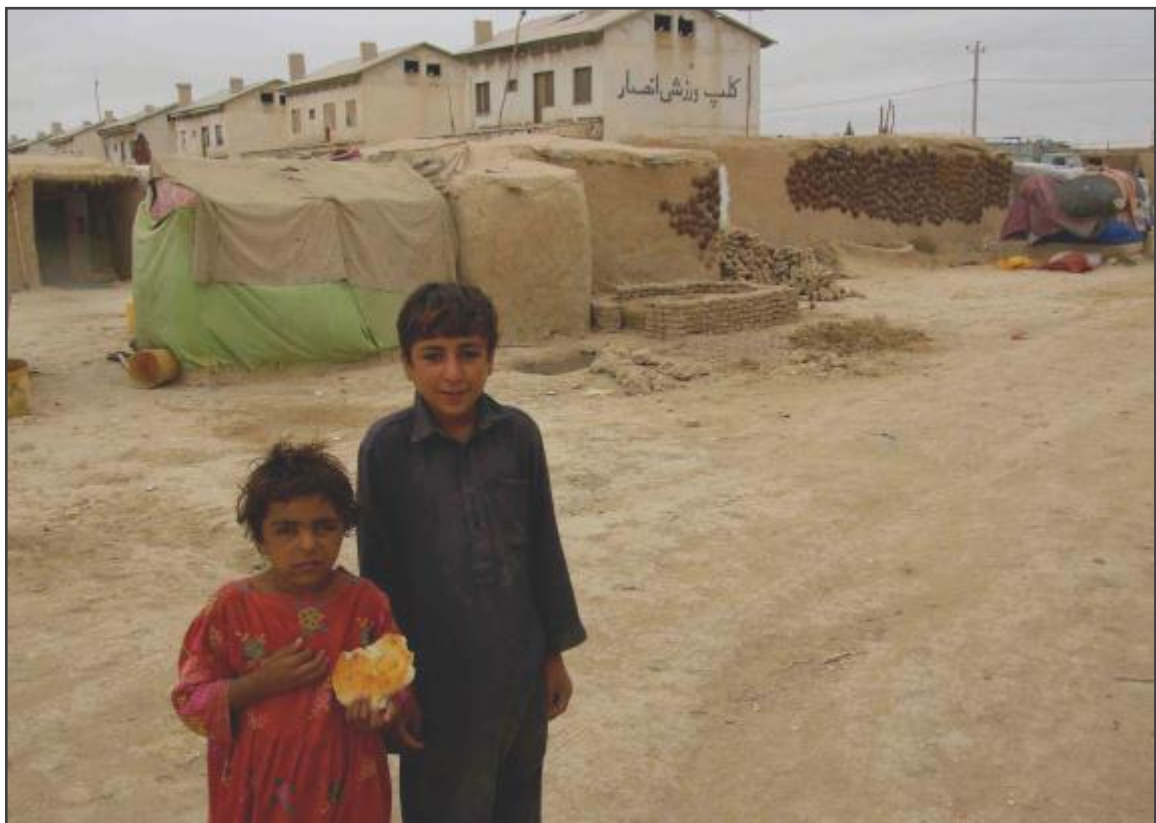


Figure 3.7 shows that while 75% of non-Jogi households declared never or rarely encountering problems to meet their food needs, 70.6% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households declared it to happen sometimes (24.8%), often (22.9%) or most of the time (22.9%). This fact illustrates quite sharply the difficult economic situations 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 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 back and forth to the well.



Jogi Camp – Mazar-e-Sharif



Jogi Camp – Mazar-e-Sharif

3.3. Community Lifestyle

Declining nomadic practices

Empirical evidence 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 heads of households answered – quite surprisingly – that their households are sedentary. Within the surveyed communities, the average duration of stay in Mazar-e-Sharif was around 3.5 years. The focus group discussions confirmed that nomadic practices are disappearing within these communities. In the discussion with Jogi women for example, all participants claimed to be sedentary. Moreover, most of their families had not moved at all from Mazar-e-Sharif in the past twelve months. Adult men 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 sedentarisation of Jogi and Chori Frosh populations, similar to the current evolutions of other nomadic populations in Afghanistan, such as the Kuchi³⁷. 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 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 also 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 constrains the possibility of movements and significantly increases the costs of migration.
- The relative modernisation 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.
- Some of these communities have associated their nomadic practices with a restricted access to education. As they consider education to be one of the few keys for their social and economic development, some households see sedentarisation as a way to get access to education. The stabilising effect of education has been an important factor in the sedentarisation of other nomadic communities in Afghanistan, such as the Kuchis³⁸.

³⁷ Priestley, P. (2011), *A Study of the Kuchi Population in the Greater Kabul Development Area*, Samuel Hall report commissioned by JICA.

³⁸ Ibid.

Finally it must be noted that the question of nomadism and sedentarisation 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-nomadisation and oscillation between sedentary and migratory lifestyles. The peripatetic groups are good examples of cross-cutting ties between analytical categories'³⁹. 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 extended 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 if a new crisis should occur⁴⁰. The nomadic practices of the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities have entered 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 organisation. Contrary to the rest of Afghan society, these two groups have rather flat and unstructured internal social organisations. The traditional organisation of these communities is based on a principle of relative equality and does not present real hierarchies⁴¹. According to Gatelier, this internal flexibility is linked 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'⁴². 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 Afghan society. In the field, this lack of hierarchies and organisation were observed. Leaders who would speak on behalf of their community were difficult to find. Notably, the role of community elders appeared less central than in other Afghan communities.

Community elders do gather sometimes if an internal conflict occurs between community members, but they do not have the habit of dealing with social and political issues. It is even less common that they represent the interests of the community with authorities or leaders of other communities. During the team's 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 the unique features of Jogi and Chori Frosh 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 also interact with men much more often than other Afghan women.

³⁹ Rao, A. (2004), p. 273.

⁴⁰ Gatelier, K. (2004), p. 282.

⁴¹ Rao, A. (1982), p. 173.

⁴² 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 in terms of participation in economic life:

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

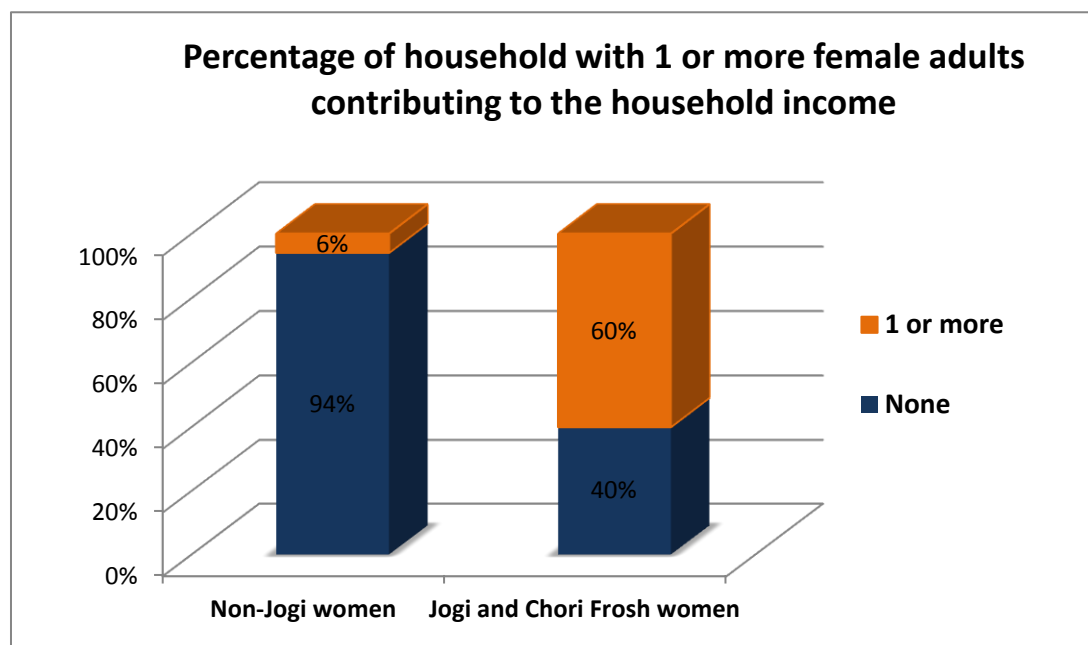


Figure 3.7 shows that in 60.1% of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, one or more women contribute to the household income. This figure is ten-fold that of the non-Jogi communities living in the surrounding areas. This specific position of women contributes largely to the bad reputation of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities in the rest of the Afghan community and to the prejudices which 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 a livelihood for her family. This appears in complete contradiction with the norms of the rest of Afghan society. Yet, focus group discussions showed that Jogi men are increasingly rejecting this traditional division of labour within the family. This increasing unease was articulated by an 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 do not like it because people see our women.'*⁴³ 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.

⁴³ Focus Group Discussion, 28.10.2011. Mazar-e-Sharif.

3.4 Political status

The living conditions of Jogi and Chori Frosh are largely shaped by their political and social marginalisation. This marginalisation is the result of a dual process: the exclusion of these communities from Afghan society by both external actors and the will to preserve the community homogeneity and identity of Jogi and Chori Frosh.

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 marginalisation from which they suffer within Afghan society. The origin of this marginalisation is unclear but it is likely that the economic marginality of these groups led them to engage in very despised – yet useful – occupations, which in turn reinforced the general feeling of disdain towards them. These occupations include begging, fortune telling, trinket selling, making and selling drums, playing music, showing monkeys or other animals, etc. To these real occupations, rumours were increasingly spread that these communities also worked in prostitution, child abduction, blood letting and abortion.

Focus group discussions showed that this representation of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities is still present in Afghan society. For example, the non-Jogi children explained why they do not play with Jogi and Chori Frosh children by saying that children from these communities 'are dirty', 'wear old and dirty clothes and do not wash themselves', 'play with dogs and animals, or gamble.'⁴⁴ These stereotypes do not only surface in conversations children. Members of a community living near a Jogi camp in Baba Qambar in Mazar-e-Sharif also expressed their reluctance 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 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 regularly and took part in respective social events, such as weddings, funerals or prayers.

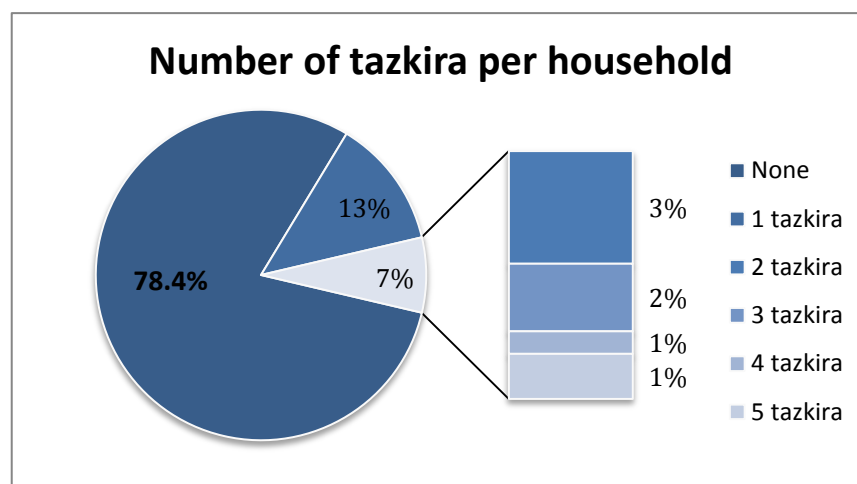
When asked about their relations with Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, 11% of surveyed Afghans answered that they had very bad or bad relations with Jogi and Chori Frosh communities, 27% thought these relations were good, and 56% declared having good relations with these communities. This indicates 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.

⁴⁴ Focus Group Discussion with non-Jogi Children, 29.10.2011, Mazar-e-sharif.

Political exclusion from Afghan society

If the social status of these communities can improve, the main obstacle to their integration in 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*.

Many Afghans do not have *tazkira* because they have not gone through the labyrinth of administrative

procedures necessary to obtain one. What makes the issue of *tazkira* particularly problematic for these communities is that even if they were to go through the procedures, it would be extremely difficult for the Chori Frosh to obtain one and nearly impossible for the Jogi to do so. Afghan central authorities do not consider the Jogi to be 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 Ministry of Interior (MoI), which handles these questions⁴⁵. The process seems to have reached a dead-end, as the AIHRC was answered that the law has to be changed by the Afghan parliament in order to grant citizenship to the Jogi community. At the moment 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 a national by any State under the operation of its law.'⁴⁶

The obstacles to obtaining *tazkira* is highly resented by the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities. It is the main grief that they expressed during in-depth discussions. For example, Amanullah, representative of a Jogi tribe stated: 'We have a problem with official authorities. They do not give us *tazkira*, they do not give us land, they do not 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 below, the absence of *tazkira* significantly restrains their access to social services, land ownership and government provided education. In this matter, the situation of the Jogi and Chori Frosh is exceptional and differs from those of other nomadic communities such as the Kuchis. The Kuchi communities were able to make their needs and rights recognised 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 in Parliament for their representatives. Two representatives of the Kuchi are appointed by the President to the Upper House. The Jogi community on the

⁴⁵ Based on the interview of the Director of AIHRC – Mazar.

⁴⁶ UNHCR (2008), *Statelessness: a Framework for Prevention, Reduction and Protection*.

other hand did not benefit from any specific institutional arrangements.

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, empirical observations confirmed their status of returnees. Given this status, some Jogi households in Kabul are covered by UNHCR programmes for humanitarian assistance for assisted returnees.

- **Jogi living among returnees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)**

While returning from Pakistan or Iran, Jogi families settled in the same informal and illegal settlements as returnees and IDPs⁴⁷. 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 Qambar, 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 why Jogi communities face challenges similar to the ones of returnees and IDPs living in informal settlements on the fringes of Afghan cities. These include dire poverty, lack of access to basic services and education, under-employment, social marginalisation, threat of expulsion and problematic access to land.

- **Jogi specific status: stateless people**

Despite these overlaps, Jogi have the added challenges of lacking any form of documentation and being unable to obtain Afghan citizenship. As such, they qualify as *de jure* stateless people. This situation 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 marginalisation 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 control and limit interactions with non-Jogi⁴⁸. 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 and its distinct identity has decreased, while the will to integrate more completely within Afghan society has increased. The

⁴⁷ Majidi, N. (2011), 'Research study on IDPs in urban settings – Afghanistan' For the World Bank.

⁴⁸ See Rao, A. 1982, p. 173

progressive abandonment of semi-nomadic practices, the growing discontent towards women labour and 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 focus groups, 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 more reluctant at the idea of giving their daughters to non-Jogi families, illustrating the current tension between the 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 context⁴⁹.

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 aspect, the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities can be seen as 'outsiders'⁵⁰ in Afghan society. Their lifestyle – and most particularly the role of their women – is very much considered deviant by the rest of 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.

⁴⁹ Corroborated by the interview of Mohammad Sameeh, Director of AIHRC – Mazar.

⁵⁰ 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 to 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'⁵¹. In order to get a clear definition, five components need to be 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?⁵²

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

Children of primary school age are considered to be “in school” if they participate in primary or secondary education, according to internationally agreed definitions. School age children attending pre-primary education are counted as 'out of school'. So, in Afghanistan, the school age population comprises all children between the ages of 7 and 12.

Children attending non-formal education are considered to be 'out of school' unless their programme is officially recognised as equivalent to the formal system. In our case, UNICEF has made agreements with the MoE granting the CBSs that it supports a full recognition. So, children attending CBSs supported by UNICEF will be counted as 'in school'.

In addition, children who have exposure to school during the year are considered to be 'in school' and those who had no exposure to school over the same period are considered to be 'out of school'. 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 Jogi children are not allowed to enrol at school and would be missed out by this criteria. For the

⁵¹ UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), *Children Out of School. Measuring Exclusion from Primary Education*. p.13

⁵² Ibid. p. 12

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 recognised by the MoE.

We also considered it important to include in the scope of this analysis children both below and above the age range of the international definition. Firstly, because children below the age of 7 sometimes attend the community-based schools, where they get some primary education. Secondly because UNICEF and UIS suggest that measuring the rate of children excluded from lower secondary school is also important. In the Afghan context, children are legally allowed to start work at the age of 15, which is when children finish lower secondary school. Therefore, we will 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 said that none of their children attended school, while 28% have one or more children attending school. In contrast, 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-Sharif⁵³

	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)⁵⁴

	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%

⁵³ Based on the Jogi and Chori Frosh households survey – Mazar-e-Sharif.

⁵⁴ Based on the Jogi and Chori Frosh households survey – Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul

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 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 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, which stands at 42% of school age children⁵⁵.
- The situation of Jogi children in Mazar-e-Sharif differs greatly from that 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 of the surveyed Jogi and Chori Frosh households attend 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 marginalisation 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, the rate of out-of-school children can drop significantly.

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)⁵⁶

Community	Jogi and Chori Frosh			Non-Jogi/ Non-Chori Frosh		
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 15.8 and 22.8% of children age 5 to 7 attending primary schools respectively. A relative informality in the

⁵⁵ Save the Children, (2010), Afghanistan in Transition: Putting Children at the heart of development. p. 20

⁵⁶ Based on the Jogi and Chori Frosh households survey – Mazar-e-Sharif and Kabul

administration of schools leaves space for under-aged children to attend school. In these 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 are likely 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 all⁵⁷ –, the Jogi and Chori Frosh out-of-school children are characterised mostly by the latter (ie no entrance at all). Among the surveyed Jogi out-of-school children, none of them had ever attended school in the past, and cases of late entrance are rare. This means that the main issue afflicting Jogi and Chori Frosh out-of-school children is that, rather than entering school at a late stage or dropping out of the school system, these children never enter school in the first place.

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

Table 4.4 In-school children (breakdown by grade)⁵⁸

	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 that they do have the opportunity to attend are either specific literary courses or grades 1 and 2. By contrast, 75% of the non-Jogi children surveyed who attended 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, while 85% of enrolled Jogi and Chori Frosh children attend community-based classes, where the offer is usually limited to grades 1 and 2.

⁵⁷ UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), p.27

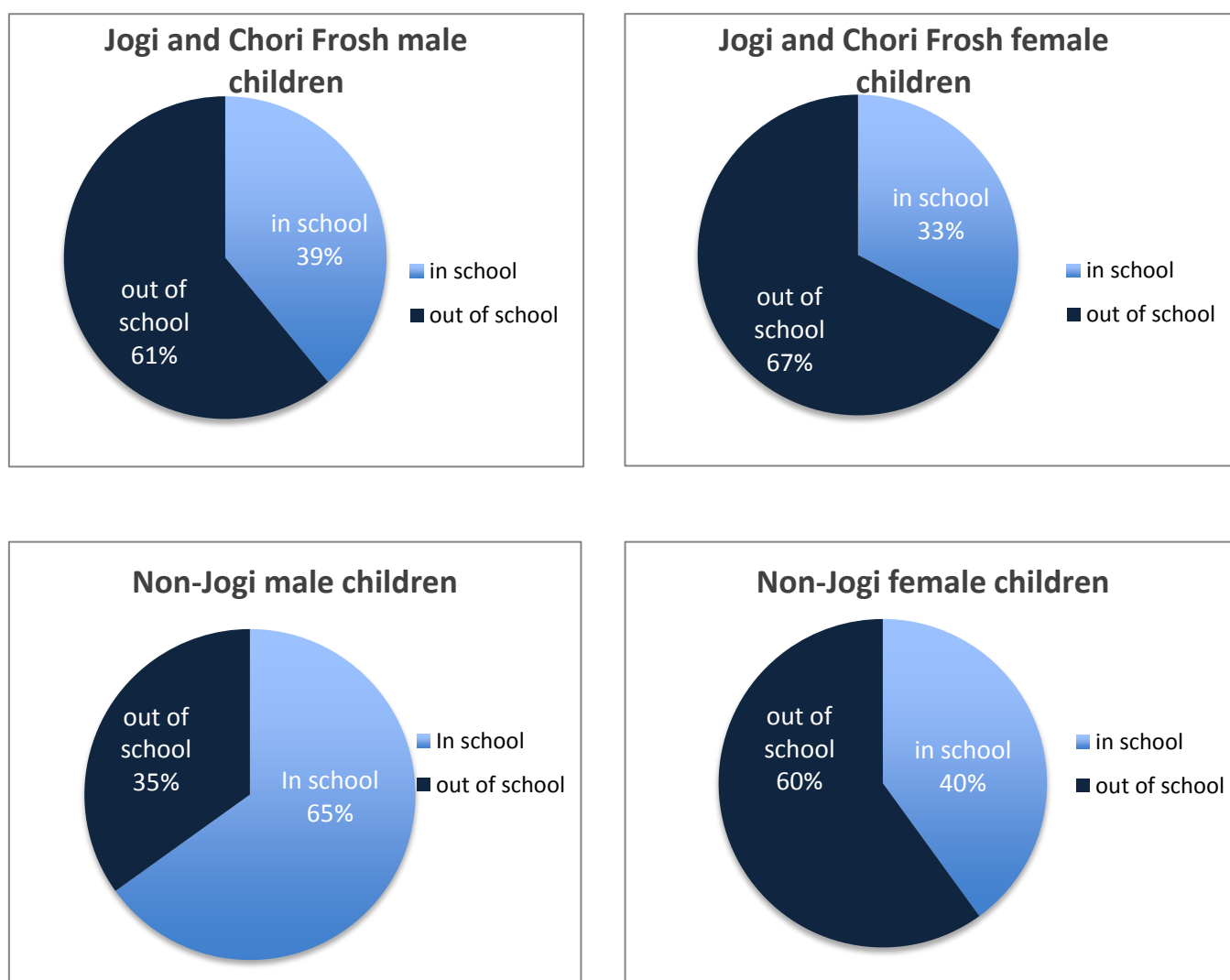
⁵⁸ Based on the children survey.

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.

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

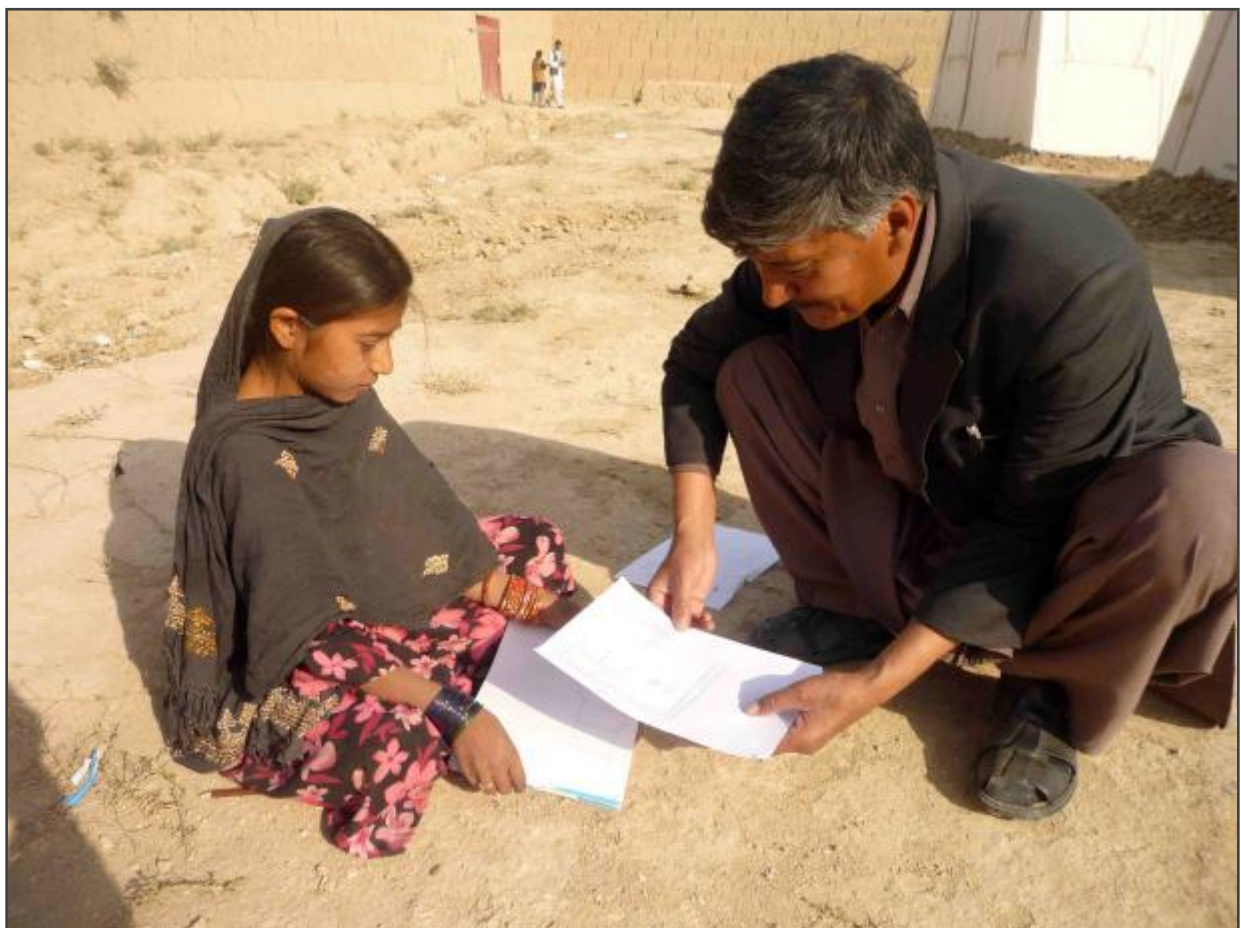
Based on the overall survey of Jogi and Chori Frosh households, the rate of Jogi and Chori Frosh 'in school' boys (39%) is slightly superior than the rate of Jogi and Chori Frosh girls attending school (33%). Figure 4.1 shows that gender has an impact but is not a strong determinant in the access to 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 '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)⁵⁹



⁵⁹ 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 as compared to 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 is complex and multi-causal. To ease comprehension, the analysis of its main causes will be divided into 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 that hinder 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 around the world:

- Age (treated in 4.2)
- Sex (treated in 4.2)
- Place of residence (i.e urban or urban settings)
- Household wealth
- Mother's education⁶⁰

These variables are undoubtedly useful in understanding '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'⁶¹. 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 problems 'often' and 'most of the time' in meeting their food needs during the past 12 months. In this context, the trade off between child education and child work is hard to avoid. This concurs with AREU's conclusions on child labour in urban settings. While trying to go beyond the unique factor of poverty to explain child labour, AREU's study acknowledges that 'low paid and irregular earnings activities' are strongly related to the work of children. This is especially the case in households whose income 'is dependent on informal sources of self-employment, leading to very variable income flows.'⁶² 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. The AREU report stresses that poverty is not the only factor that explains child labour and that the lack of a male earner, gender norms and previous experience of education also enter into play⁶³. In our case, gender norms play in the

⁶⁰ UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), p.35-48

⁶¹ Joint Briefing Paper – High Stakes (2011), *Girls' Education in Afghanistan*.

⁶² 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

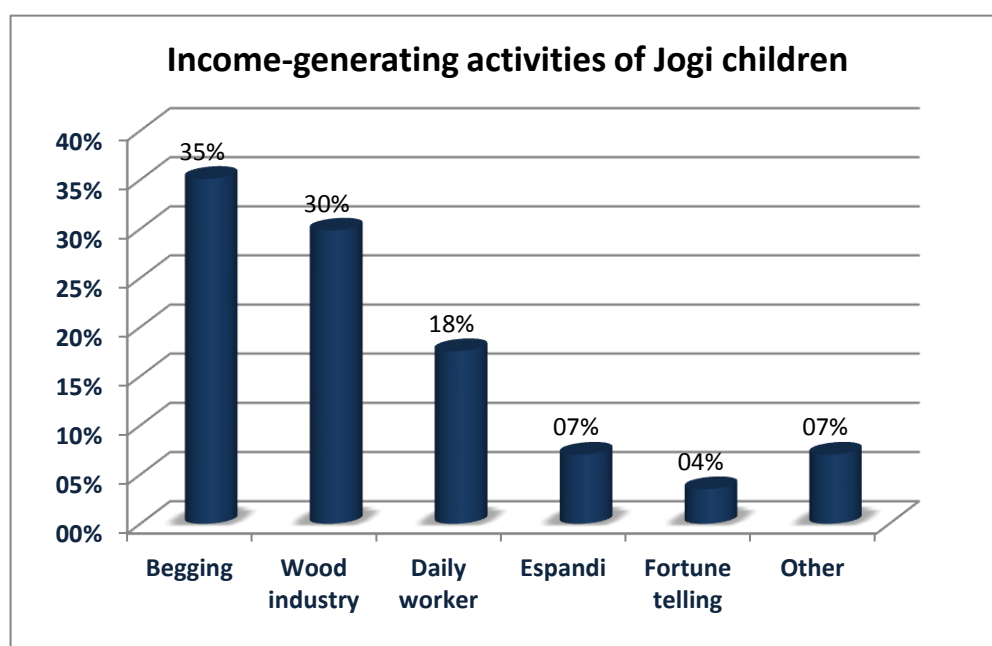
⁶³ Ibid, p. viii.

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

Qualitative observations confirmed that Jogi and Chori Frosh children, both girls and boys, have to work, usually in the bazaar. 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, as it seems obvious that children have 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. Firstly, it was harder to access Jogi and Chori Frosh girls, who were working during the day in the bazaar. Secondly, Jogi and Chori Frosh households do not consider begging to be an actual job. 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 at an early age. 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 so than in the rest of Afghan society. Jogi adults believe that child labour is the second most important obstacle to education. Interestingly, child labour 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 combine school and labour: they go to school until 10 am and then 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'⁶⁴. 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 comparison with non-Jogi communities in terms of parental education is significant. In contrast, 83.9% of non-Jogi women and 59.1% of non-Jogi men living in the surrounding areas 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 reduces their access to education and impacts their abilities to learn quickly once they enrol. Aschiana, for example, encountered 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 how to use a pen or a notebook.'⁶⁵

The expected result of the illiteracy of Jogi and Chori Frosh adults should be a sort of indifference towards children education and a prioritisation of child labour over school in the communities. Yet, conversely, 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 among Jogi and Chori Frosh communities towards child 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.
- 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.

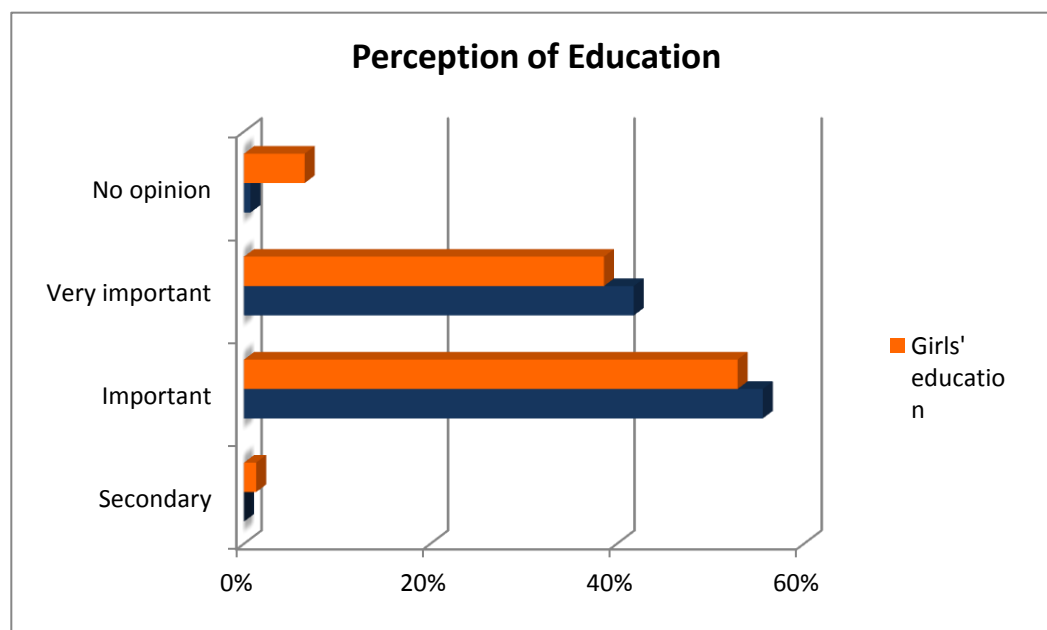
⁶⁴ UNESCO Institute for Statistics, (2005), p.51

⁶⁵ Based on the interview of the Director of Aschiana.

- A will to preserve a lifestyle based on begging and street vending and some reluctance towards the introduction of a 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 perception of education within these communities has changed noticeably in recent years.

Figure 4.3 Perception of Education by Jogi and Chori Frosh adults



As detailed by figure 4.3, child education is now considered to be of primary 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 relatively low difference of treatment that appears 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.⁶⁶ All the parents surveyed articulated the same rationale about their child's education, linking it to the access to a good job and the end of begging. The same level of enthusiasm for education characterises Jogi and Chori Frosh children, with nearly 100% of children respondents affirming that they like going to school a lot. Mohammad Sahel, a seven-year-old Chori Frosh child, typified the general feelings of the children towards school: *'I like a lot going to school. I want to become literate. I come to school because I want to get 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 to be one of the main ways of breaking the cycle of poverty and marginalisation in which these communities feel trapped. A learning process has taken place within these communities in recent 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 girls participate as they were partly responsible for the household income⁶⁷. Now, on the other hand, both Jogi and Chori Frosh communities deplore their poor access to school and demand a better education, which would include both boys and girls. This evolution stems from an increasing awareness among these communities of the discrimination from which they suffer and from the increasing assertiveness with which they make demands to the Afghan authorities. Field observations confirmed that access to education is now considered a major bone of contention between these communities and 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. This, for example, is the analysis of UNHCR Mazar-e-Sharif, which sees nomadism as hindering education for two reasons: firstly, because mobility makes it difficult to enrol children in one fixed school and secondly, indirectly, because nomadism makes the issuance of identity cards impossible - the process must be started in one's province of origin. Yet this outlook is not entirely relevant anymore as nomadic practices are now residual in most Jogi and Chori Frosh households.

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

Institutional barriers: lack of ID and impossibility of land ownership

As was examined in section 3, a central issue for Jogi people is the government's refusal to grant them Afghan citizenship, as the issuance of tazkira is forbidden for them. On this issue, the situation of Jogi and Chori Frosh communities differs. The Chori Frosh encounter obstacles when they try to register, mainly because of their former migrations. Yet a large proportion of Chori Frosh households have managed, finally, to get at least one tazkira for the household.

⁶⁶ Based on FGD with Jogi adults, 28.10.2011, Mazar-e-Sharif. (LOCATION)

⁶⁷ Based on the interview of Mohammad Qati, former responsible for the project with Jogi at Save the Children Mazar. 28.10.2011

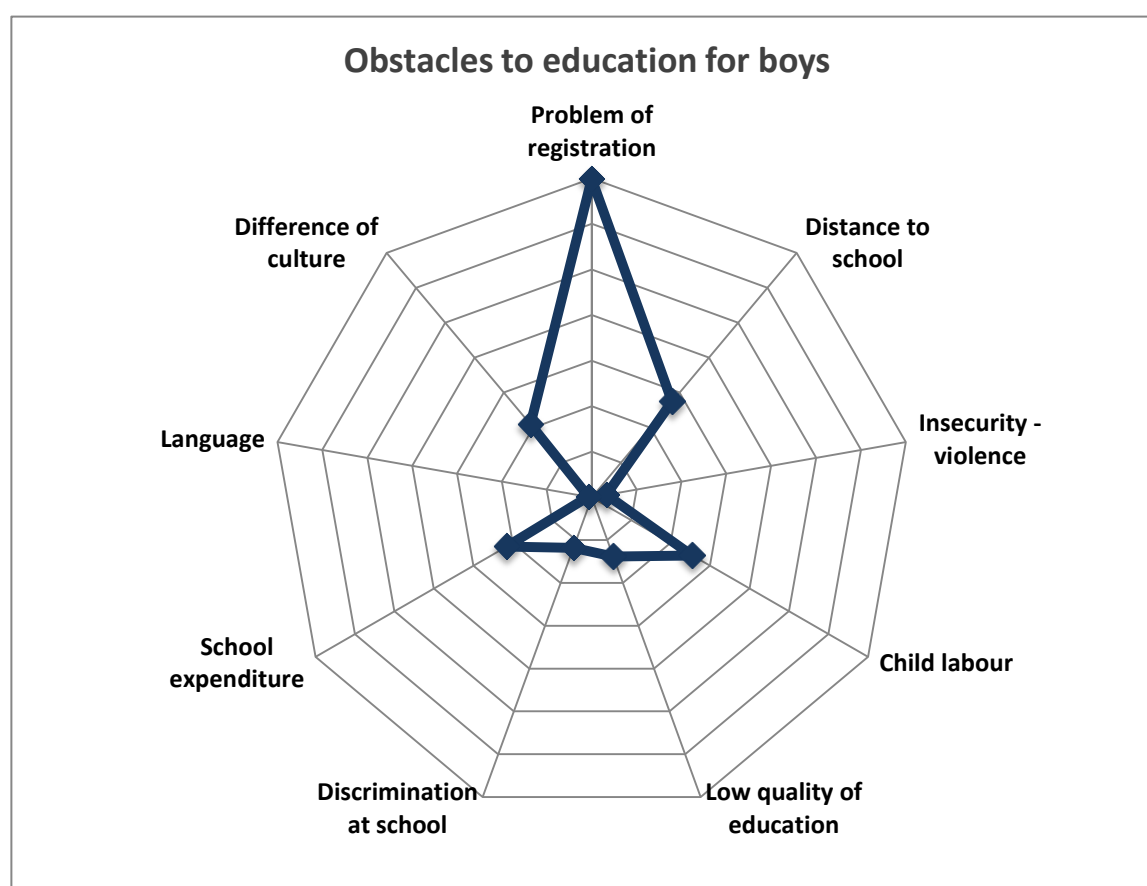
On the other hand, the Jogi keep being refused any registration not only because of their supposed nomadic lifestyle, but also because they are not considered Afghan by national authorities. More than 80% of Jogi households do not have any form of official registration.

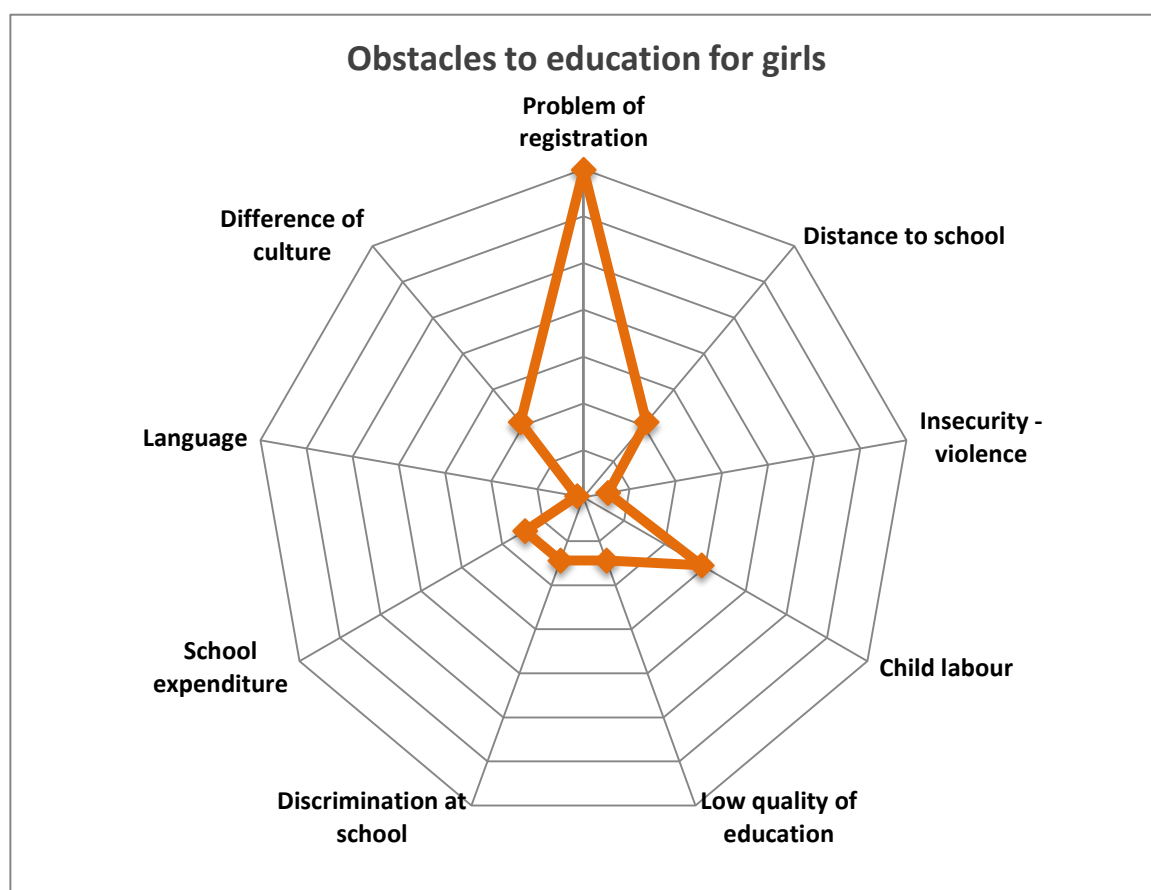
The impact of the issue of registration on the question of out-of-school children is two-fold.

First, as a direct consequence of the absence of tazkira, Jogi children are legally forbidden from registering in any governmental school and from entering 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 greatly hinders their access to education and keeps them out-of-school.

As shown by figure 4.4 below, registration is by far the prime obstacle facing Jogi children – both boys and girls – according to the perceptions of their parents. Figure 4.4 details the specific causes of out-of-school children for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. Insecurity, the issue of language and distance to school appear 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 by only 7% of respondents within non-Jogi households.

Figure 4.4 Obstacles to education for Jogi children





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 crucial an obstacle to education in these communities as it is in the rest of Afghan society.

Interviews with key informants revealed that it is sometimes possible to bypass the barrier of the absence of tazkira due to a tacit agreement of provincial education authorities to let Jogi and Chori Frosh children access the formal system⁶⁸. But this system works on a case by case basis and the number of Jogi children who could enter governmental schools is marginal. It 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 makes it impossible for Jogi households to buy land or to own property. 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% own their land and have a property title. The impossibility for Jogi to own land creates a critical uncertainty over 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 so they have less incentive to invest in child 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.

⁶⁸ Based on the interview of the Director of the Education Department of Balkh Province.

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 and, 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 other hand, the cultural norms of these communities towards education seem to have greatly evolved in recent years from defiance to full support of child education.

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



Jogi CBS – Mazar-e-Sharif

5. Recommendations – Articulating a solid strategy for UNICEF intervention

5.1 Local level

(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. UNICEF tents cost approximately 20,000 AFA at delivery but have 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 houses in the Jogi camp would cost approximately 500 AFA a month⁶⁹, that is 6,000 AFA a year. Therefore, it would be more cost-efficient to rent a fixed building and so ensure a substantial improvement in the studying conditions of Jogi and Chori Frosh children. It would also prove UNICEF's intention to develop long-term solutions rather than precarious projects with the children of these communities.
- **Implement the distribution of 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 venues to reach these disfavoured children. Providing food rations and clean water at school is a good way to tackle the nutritional deficiencies of Jogi and Chori Frosh children. It also provides incentives to out-of-school children to attend school. The involvement of WFP in these projects should be privileged as the organisation has the expertise to implement this recommendation.

(ii) Focus on the quality of education

- **Re-think and adapt the monitoring system of CBSs.** So far the DoE has been responsible for the monitoring of the Jogi and Chori Frosh CBSs through the appointment of two focal points in charge of controlling the quality of the projects and liaising with UNICEF. 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 and the control of the quality of teaching and of the level of transparency require a more efficient control. UNICEF should reinforce its backing of the DoE monitoring process by

⁶⁹ Based on discussions with the landowner of the Jogi area and with the communities.

appointing someone specifically in charge of liaising with the DoE on the issues of monitoring. A system of unannounced and regular visits of control to the UNICEF-supported CBSs 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 the marginalisation imposed on them by Afghan society. The Chori Frosh CBS is an interesting example, where Chori Frosh children are mixed with children of refugees of the area, usually Pashtoon. Traces of tension within the school were not visible. In the Jogi community, parents strongly support the existence of mixed classes for their children. Mixed CBSs would have the advantage of multiplying interactions between Jogi and non-Jogi communities, boosting mutual comprehension. It would also reduce the risk of creating resentment among the non-Jogi host communities towards initiatives targeting exclusively the Jogi. Given that the Jogi and Chori Frosh communities usually live among refugees and the urban poor, the envioning 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 relationship 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 authorises Jogi and Chori Frosh children to join the formal education system after their education within the CBSs that are 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 that are involved to ensure a smooth transition for Jogi and Chori Frosh children. The school management, the teachers and the students should be sensitised beforehand to mitigate the risk of Jogi and Chori Frosh children entering a potentially hostile environment.

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

- **Clarify strategy, clarify responsibilities.** The informality surrounding the educational projects is detrimental to the quality and to the sustainability of the CBSs. This concerns both the overall strategy and the responsibility of each actor. The objectives of the project should 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 these CBSs the main areas in which it concentrates its actions towards the Jogi and Chori Frosh children, in terms of health, nutrition and protection issues. A clearer strategy should be the basis of a new protocol that delimits 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 the 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 children should be instated. These would serve as opportunities to discuss the advancement of the project and to listen to their grievances. It is also a good opportunity to raise awareness of the overall community on issues of education, child labour and protection. It would be a good venue to attempt to reach more out-of-school children. 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.
- **Build up the memory of the project.** As mentioned earlier, the project of education for Jogi and Chori Frosh children is currently under-documented and too informal. In order to ensure sustainability and a coherent advancement, the level of documentation should be significantly increased. The project needs regular reports to keep track of the progress and lessons learned as time goes by. This will help to keep the project alive regardless of the employee turnover within the various organisations.



Jogi Camp – Mazar-e-Sharif



Chori Frosh CBS – Mazar-e-Sharif

5.2 National Level

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 within the framework of a systematic and rationalised 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. Furthermore, 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 necessary. 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 basis 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 led to quite 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. Rather UNICEF should make the clear 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 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) Rationalise 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. In order to do so, here are the necessary preliminary steps:

- **Mapping** – At present 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** – UNICEF and other UN agencies need to build knowledge on the specific socio-economic characteristics of each of these marginalised groups in their different contexts. For instance, 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 marginalised 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, determining the resilience of nomadic practices and identifying the true needs of Jogi and Chori Frosh children in each context.

(iii) Recognise the necessity of a holistic approach

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

- **Encompass all marginalised 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 marginalised 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 reliable data, a first 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 underlined throughout this report, the situation of these marginalised communities depend on multiple issues that cannot be tackled only from the angle of education. To address the issues of tazkira, of access to land ownership and of socio-economic marginalisation, a coordinated approach with other UN agencies is necessary.
- **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. Therefore, UNICEF would 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 granting 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 authorisation 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 would 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 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 has to be improved. A triangle of actors should be considered to deal with the trade off between building local capacities and guaranteeing the quality of projects. The implementation of UNICEF initiatives should be based on both DoEs and experimented NGOs working with out-of-school children. Among them, Save the Children, Aschiana or Afghanistan Demain have proven widely their ability to address the specific needs of out-of-school children in Afghanistan.