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The DSCA Journal

Danish Society for Central Asia's Electronic Quarterly

In this issue:

Aspects of Modernity in Afghanistan



Erna Andersen:

Addressing Modernity in Afghanistan through International Development Work

Andreas Møl Dalgaard:

Afghan Muscles

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Strengths and Weaknesses in a Process of Globalization

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Fra Afghanistan til Danmark til ...?

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Remnants of the Kafir music of Nuristan - A Historical Documentation

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DANISH SOCIETY FOR CENTRAL ASIA

The Danish Society for Central Asia is a non-profit, non-governmental organization aimed at promoting the interest in, research on, and knowledge of Central Asia in its broadest sense. Topics covered by the Society's scope includes the history, language, culture, religion, art, music, architecture, economy, geography, nature, and environment of Central Asia, as well as contemporary social, political, security, and ethnic issues. The area covered by the Society primarily includes the countries Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan; the province Xinjiang of China; and the northern provinces of Pakistan. Secondly, the Society can also engage in activities focusing on areas adjacent to Central Asia.

The Society's activities currently includes:

- Talks, lectures, and seminars on various topics
- The website www.centralasien.dk
- The DSCA Journal

Please visit our homepage www.centralasien.dk for more information.

Best regards, The Board of Danish Society for Central Asia:

Per Fischer (chairman), Rasmus Elling (vice chairman, secretary), Sten Madsen (treasurer), Marie-Luise Hansen, Nadia Haupt and Adam Hyllested.

Foreword by the Editor

Rasmus Chr. Elling

AS we had hoped and expected, the first issue of The DSCA Journal, which we published in July, showed that there is not only room for but indeed need for a broadly aimed and varied publication on Central Asia in Denmark. Furthermore, the reception abroad – particularly in Europe and Asia, and measured on the amount of feedback, as well as an increase in numbers of visitors to our website and applicants to join our network – has been far better than we could have expected.

On behalf of the Editorial Board, I would like to thank all the people who have shown interest in the Journal; the people who have kindly submitted article suggestions; and particularly the people who have been helpful with suggestions and corrections. Without your help, our tiny band of Central Asia enthusiasts would not have been able to produce The DSCA Journal. We hope for your continued support.

In this Journal, we have chosen to focus on “Aspects of Modernity in Afghan Society”, and under this umbrella, we have put together a collection of interesting articles. We were particularly pleased by the number of articles submitted by Danish contributors, and thus this issue boasts a broad and attractive sample of the material contemporary Danish researchers in Afghanistan are working on.

It is in this context that the Editorial Board has chosen to dedicate this issue to the memory of the late Klaus Ferdinand (1927-2005), the honourable founder of Afghanistan research in Denmark and a respected figure in European ethnology. His research in Hazarajat and Pashtun tribal culture and Afghan nomadism has recently received renewed interest in Denmark, and the coming

four issues of The DSCA Journal will give special attention to the history of Danish and Scandinavian research in Central Asia, including that of Ferdinand. His persistent efforts also led to the creation of Ethnographic Studies in Aarhus, and the establishment of The Ethnographic Collection at Moesgård Museum in the same city. His influence on scholars and the ethnographic research tradition which his endeavours fostered has made a permanent impression on Danish academia. Thus, it is fair to say that several of the contributors to this issue are keeping alive traditions fathered by Ferdinand.

We hope that the memory of Ferdinand, together with the inspiration and motivation this journal might encourage, can help us strengthen interest in Central Asia and Central Asian Studies amongst the people in Denmark, and contribute to the knowledge of this fascinating and increasingly important region of the World. Indeed, this issue bears testimony to the fact that Danish Central Asia and Afghanistan enthusiasts are productive and innovative in a broad scope of fields including academic research, humanitarian assistance programmes, photography, and film-making. There is good reason to be optimistic.



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*Klaus Ferdinand, R.I.P.
1926-2005.*

News Wrap: July-September 2005

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Week 37: 12-18 September

“EU Monitors say vote well-run despite security concerns” ... “Their preliminary report praises the vote as a significant step forward for Afghanistan’s democratic development. But it also says there were security and electoral shortcomings that cannot be overlooked.”

Week 36: 5-11 September

“Afghan voters go to the polls ... to elect representatives to the country’s legislature - the National Assembly (“Melli Shura” in Pashto, or “Shura-ye Melli” in Dari) - and to provincial councils.”

“Kazakhstan began to prepare in earnest for a presidential election, as parliament officially set the poll for 4 December.”

“Nazarbaev is seeking re-election in presidential elections in December. The Kazakh president warned foreign NGOs not to interfere in the country’s politics and threatened to prosecute them if they meddled in the election campaign. But analysts say Nazarbaev is concerned about a repeat of the colored revolutions that have hit other former Soviet states.”

“In separate statements, Turkmenistan’s Foreign Ministry and the U.S. Embassy in Ashgabat denied recent reports ... that the United States is negotiating with Turkmenistan over a possible military base there.”

“The Uzbek Prosecutor-General’s Office presented its report on violence in Andijon on 12-13 May, describing a “meticulously planned act organized by external destructive forces” and aimed at the creation of an Islamic state in Uzbekistan.”

Week 35: 29 August-4 September

“[Kyrgyz] Parliament confirmed Feliks Kulov, head of the Ar-Namys Party, as prime minister.”

“... [t]he OSCE’s representative on freedom of the media, Miklos Haraszti, wrote to Foreign Minister Talbak Nazarov to express concern about “the fate of independent media in Tajikistan, because the majority of independent papers are not published.””

Week 34: 22-28 August

“An affiliate of China National Petroleum Corporation lodged what had all the earmarks of a successful bid for Canadian-registered PetroKazakh.”

“Kazakhstan’s Constitutional Council found two laws on NGOs recently passed by parliament to be unconstitutional.”

“Kyrgyzstan found itself looking to Kazakhstan for natural-gas supplies when Uzbek unilaterally withdrew from a July agreement on gas shipments to Kyrgyzstan after the latter allowed the evacuation of 439 Uzbek refugees to Romania in late July.”

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“Turkmen President Saparmurat Niyazov, who skipped the week’s CIS summit in Kazan, informed fellow post-Soviet states that Turkmenistan intends to scale back its already modest participation in the CIS to the level of an “associated member.””

“The impending closure of a bazaar in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, prompted a protest by traders only days after local residents held a demonstration over plans to relocate them to make room for a road-construction project.”

“... the [Uzbek] Senate voted unanimously to approve the Foreign Ministry’s earlier request giving the United States 180 days to vacate the Karshi-Khanabad air base Washington has used since 2001.”

Week 33: 15-21 August

“A number of the women who have submitted their candidacies for September’s parliamentary elections in Afghanistan say they have been threatened with personal harm.” “Caspian Antiterror 2005 exercises brought together security forces from 10 CIS countries and observers from Iran.”

“Turkmen President Saparmurat Niyazov kept personnel shakeups moving at a brisk pace, dismissing Orazmukhammet Atageldiev from his ministerial post as the head of state-run geology firm Turkmen-geologiya and replacing him with Ishanguly Nuriev.”

Week 32: 8-14 August

“Six suspected neo-Taliban were killed and three U.S. soldiers and their Afghan interpreter were wounded ... in a firefight in southeastern Paktika Province”

“With bird flu reported in four provinces, the Agriculture Ministry [of Kazakhstan]

banned the sale of live poultry and eggs in affected areas and implemented quarantines to contain the outbreaks.”

“Newly elected Kyrgyz President Kurmanbek Bakiev took the oath of office in Bishkek on 14 August, informing a crowd of 10,000 in his inaugural address that he will safeguard Kyrgyzstan’s geopolitical independence, work to revive the moribund economy, and fight regionalism.”

“The trial of Mahmadrusi Iskandarov, the head of Tajikistan’s Democratic Party, continued in the country’s Supreme Court, with Iskandarov telling the court that he confessed under duress to participating in acts of violence.”

“In another courtroom in Dushanbe, nine members of the banned Islamist group Hizb ut-Tahrir received prison terms ranging from three to 13 years.”

Week 31: 1-7 August

“... the UN said Pakistan will close all Afghan refugee camps in tribal areas by 31 August. The UN said those closings will mean some 105,000 refugees being sent back to Afghanistan.”

“[The party] For a Just Kazakhstan obtained official registration from the authorities in what the opposition bloc’s leadership described as a “common victory of democratic forces.”

“Energy Minister Vladimir Shkolnik announced that Kazakhstan will join the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline project in October.”

“[Uzbek] President Islam Karimov signed a decree abolishing the death penalty as of

1 January 2008. Rights groups welcomed the move, but called for the immediate imposition of a moratorium on capital punishment as well.”

Week 30: 25-31 July

“Afghan authorities have confirmed the killing of 10 police officers by Taliban guerillas ... Six of them were decapitated. Twelve other soldiers were killed 10 July by a land mine in Paktiya Province.”

“After [U.S. Defence Secretary] Rumsfeld met with Kyrgyz Defense Minister Ismail Isakov, the latter announced that the U.S. air base in Kyrgyzstan will remain until the situation in Afghanistan normalizes.”

Week 29: 18-24 July

“[The Kazakh] opposition party Alga (Onward) held its founding congress in Almaty with 1,100 delegates.”

Week 28: 11-17 July

“Kyrgyzstan’s Central Election Commission and Constitutional Court officially confirmed the victory of Kurmanbek Bakiev in the 10 July presidential ballot.”

Week 27: 4-10 July

“Human Rights Watch (HRW) urged Afghan President Hamid Karzai ... to set up a special court to try people accused of past war crimes, including some who are serving in his government.”

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Fra Afghanistan til Danmark til...?⁽¹⁾

Nadia Haupt, Helle W. Horsnæs, Jørgen Steen Jensen & Peter Pentz

AFGHANISTAN, landet der ligger mellem de centralasiatiske republikker, Iran og Pakistan er et mødested for verdenskulturerne, og før de ødelæggende krige sidst i 1900-tallet og begyndelsen af dette årti var landet meget rigt på bygningsmindesmærker. De mennesker, der dengang rejste i landet, vendte hjem med indtryk af en umådelig rigdom på kultur minder. Det var baggrunden for den ophidselse, der bredte sig i store dele af verden, da Taliban-styret i religiøs fanatisme ødelagde ansigtstræk og øvrige kendetegn på de berømte, kæmpestore Bamiyan-statuer af Buddha. Også i danske museums-kredse cirkulerede der underskriftslistor, som protesterede mod vandalismen.

Men kulturarv er ikke blot pragtfulde moskeer, gamle huse og enestående statuer. Det er også de mangfoldige genstande, der ligger i jorden og som fremkommer ved udgravninger, både arkæologiske og andre, og som derefter – ikke altid, men dog ofte – mange steder ender på museerne.

Allerede for en lille snes år siden gik der i verdenspressen frasagn, om at det afghanske nationalmuseum i Kabel var blevet plyndret i forbindelse med de daværende sovjetiske troppers tilbagetrækning. Siden har der været sat spørgsmålstegn ved denne plyndring, måske var det i virkeligheden blot en afghansk evakuering af pragtgenstande, hvor rygterne om plyndring skulle beskytte de lokale bankbokse? Men efterfølgende har borgerkrigs- og fremmede hære draget gennem landet, til lands og i luften, og mange kulturværdier er blevet spredt over hele verden, specielt den vestlige verden, hvor der findes både købekraft og antikvitetsinteresse.

I begyndelsen af 1990'erne dukkede der oplysninger frem om et kæmpeskattefund i Afghanistan, over 1/2 million mønter af ædelmetal, som stammede fra århundrederne på begge sider af Kristi fødsel. 'Ejendomsretten' blev afgjort med våben i hånd, og denne afgørelse kostede efter sigende en snes mennesker livet! Siden er mønterne blevet spredt, de vides at være set både i Pakistan og Vesteuropa (London).

Det er klart, at museumsfolk bør – og skal – være overordentlig tilbageholdende med i disse år at erhverve genstande, der har deres oprindelse i Afghanistan. Før man overhovedet kan tænke på noget sådant, må proveniensens undersøges og enhver mistanke om udførsel i den sidste snes år må være væk. I virkeligheden gør man for tiden nok bedst i at følge den vejledning, Kulturministeriet udsendte i forbindelse med krigen i Irak - Hold fingrene væk! Det danske engagement i Afghanistan har også taget en mere aktiv form, dels som en begrænset, vel defineret militær bistand, som ifølge sagens natur er omgivet med en vis diskretion, og dels i form af en ganske omfattende civil bistand, der i 2004 udgjorde 90 mio. kroner, og som i år (2005) iflg. oplysninger fra Udenrigsministeriet ventes at beløbe sig til op imod 100 mio. kroner. Hovedparten af dette beløb går til trykning af undervisningsmateriale. Man kan derfor roligt konkludere, at Danmark har engageret sig i opretholdelse og videreførelse af Afghanistans kultur.

Et lands kulturarv dannes imidlertid af mange faktorer, og på Nationalmuseet er vi et par gange i de senere år blevet gjort opmærksomme på, at der også ad luftvejen foregår en storstilet udførsel af mønter fra Afghanistan. Efterfølgende er vi rykket ud

til Kastrup Lufthavn for at besigtige indholdet af tunge kufferter, som ved eftersyn har vist sig at indeholde massevis af gamle mønter, undertiden også andre genstande af arkæologisk og kulturhistorisk interesse.

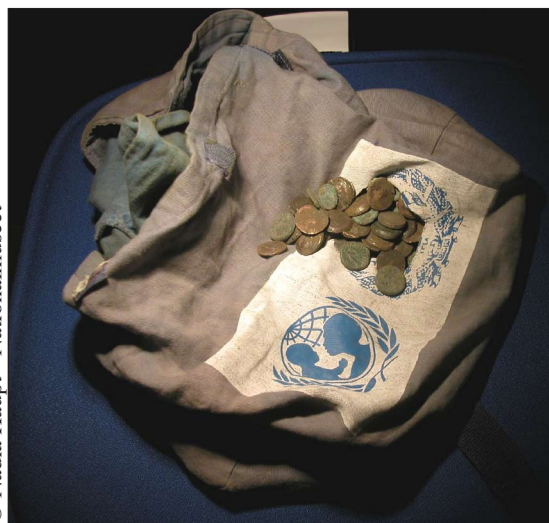
En af gangene drejede det sig om godt 80 kg mønter. Der var ikke tale om moderne skillemønter, men derimod om dele af møntskattefund, som stammede fra Alexander den Stores efterfølgere, kongerne af Baktrien. Desuden herskere fra kushaneriget, parterkongerne, det iranske sasanide-dynasti og diverse, lidt yngre islamiske dynastier. Skattefundene dækkede en periode af mindst 1.500 år, med andre ord en ganske betragtelig periode af Afghanistans historie. I det pågældende tilfælde stammer fundene angiveligt fra Afghanistan, men med en dokumentation, som blev forevist af kufferternes ejermænd, som angav, at møntskattefundene var indkøbt i Peshawar i Pakistan.

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Baktriske mønter fra 2. århundrede før Kristus. De firkantede mønter er meget karakteristiske for denne periode. Motiverne er bl.a. heste, elefanter, ryttere og andre. Indskrifterne er affattet på græsk.

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Sæk med indhold af mønter fra kushan-dynastiet. Sækkens dekoration antyder oprindelseslandet. Til venstre er mærket for UNICEF, FN's børnefond, mens man under mønterne til højre skimter Afghanistans våben.

Man kan spørge, hvorfor de mange afghanske møntskattefund pludselig dukker frem i basaren i Peshawar, men forklaringen er – så vidt vi via professionelle kontakter har kunnet få det oplyst – ganske simpel. I det fredelige Danmark – og andre europæiske lande – går som bekendt ivrige amatører med metaldetektorer og finder mønter, undertiden ganske mange. Men metaldetektorerne er udviklet fra det militære hjælpemiddel, *minesøgeren*. Og minesøgerne har i den senere tid været i flittig brug i landet. Forhåbentlig har man fået strøget mange miner og dermed undgået tragiske lem-læstelser af børn og voksne, men i internationale numismatiske kredse ved man, at en 'sidegevinst' har været 'a huge number of coin hoards', som derefter af finderne (eller andre) er bragt ulovligt ud af landet. Det kan være svært at forholde sig til en angivelse af, at 80 kg mønter dukkede op i Kastrup Lufthavn. Men sætter vi de 80 kg. mønter i forhold til det største møntskattefund, som nogensinde er dukket op indenfor Danmarks grænser, 1300-tals skattefundet fra Kirial på Djursland, med over 80.000 tyske og engelske sølvmønter og en samlet vægt på 33,5 kg, så får vi en fornemmelse af

størrelsesforholdet i en sådan forsendelse. Altså en vægt på mere end det dobbelte af Danmarks største skattefund, men selve antallet af mønter må dog have været mindre end i Kirial-fundet, idet de middelalderlige mønter hver for sig kun vejer en brøkdel af de centralasiatiske mønter.

På Nationalmuseet har vi et fast etableret samarbejde med ToldSkat og har f.eks. holdt kurser for frontpersonalet. Som sagt har vi et par gange rykket ud for at besigtige sådanne transportere, og vi har naturligvis – så vidt vor viden nu har strakt sig – givet en ekspertise til brug for rette vedkommende, i dette tilfælde ToldSkat. Vore kolleger i denne del af Statsforvaltningen har derefter gjort deres embedspligt, nemlig at opkræve moms ifølge landets love og dermed er der sådan set sat et punktum.

Jo, du læste rigtigt, et punktum. Var der blevet fundet et par beskedne genstande, udført i moderne tid af råstoffet elfenben, så var transporten blevet ramt af de regler, der er udformet til beskyttelse af elefanterne, og altså blevet konfiskeret. Men møntskattefundene? Vi røber næppe nogen hemmelighed, når vi oplyser, at et par eller nogle mønter til alle tider er blevet transporteret i folks lommer – måske endda inderlommer – når man vendte hjem fra eksotiske rejser. Sådant har det været i århundreder, og det er vel i sidste instans ofte grundlaget for opbygningen af museernes samlinger, herunder også Nationalmuseets. Det sker, at en af os i ekspeditionstiden må holde en moralprædiken for hjemvendte rejsende, der har ladet sig friste over evne. Sædvanligvis tilføjer vi, at os bekendt er f.eks. tyrkiske fængsler ikke et sted, det er særligt morsomt at komme i nærkontakt med! Undertiden kommer vi også med en bemærkning om internationale traktater og konventioner, som vi råder de pågældende til at overholde!

Men på givne foranledning, og givne foran-

ledning er just de ovennævnte hændelser, så viser det sig – til nogles overraskelse – at gældende lov i Danmark og Danmarks tiltrædelse af internationale konventioner ikke forhindrer den ovenfor beskrevne import af årtusindgamle møntskattefund. Og selvfølgelig skal der betales den relevante moms efter beløbene på foreliggende, lokalt udstedte fakturaer.

Det spørgsmål, som har ligget en og anden på læben, deriblandt også undertegnede, kan sammenfattes i følgende: Er det rigtigt og rimeligt, at der kan foretages en helt ubegrænset indførsel i Danmark af kulturarv fra et land, der er sønderrevet af borgerkrig, krig og invasion og i øvrigt har en kulturlovgivning, der fastslår at genstande som er over hundrede år gamle, tilhører det afghanske folk? Uanset om Danmark fungerer som transitland (hvad vi formoder) eller som endelig destination, bør sådanne en gros-importer af skattefund ikke f.eks. søges returneret til de ansvarlige myndigheder i oprindelseslandet, eller eventuelt overføres til den 'eksilsamling', som UNESCO for tiden opbygger i Schweiz sammen med Afghanistan?



© Nadia Haupt - Nationalmuseet

Mønter fra Kushan-dynastiet, 2. århundrede efter Kristus. Motiverne med de stående og ridende skikkelser er karakteristiske, i øvrigt er netop mønterne den væsentligste kilde til viden om disse centralasiatiske herskere.



© Nadia Haupt - Nationalmuseet

Sølvmonter fra det persiske sasanide-dynasti. Forsiden har herskerbillede, bagsiden et ildalter, et vigtigt element i landets daværende religion. De karakteristiske mønter blev præget i flere århundreder, og fortsatte, let ændrede, i årtier efter at den sidste sasanidiske hersker blev myrdet 651 og landet var overgået til islam.

NOTER

(1) Denne artikel blev først bragt i *Danske Museer*, nr. 4 2005.

This article was first published in Danske Museer, no. 4 2005.

LITTERATUR

På dansk foreligger en rapport fra et skattefunds-symposium i Paris ved Jens Christian Moesgaard, "Verdens største skattefund?", *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, nr. 6/2001, side 113-114.

Jørgen Steen Jensen, Helle W. Horsnæs, Nadia Haupt og Peter Pentz; *Fra Afghanistan til Danmark og videre til ? Danske Museer*, nr.4 2005.

På Internettet, kan man bl.a. finde følgende kilder:

Feroozi, Abdul Wasey (director general of

the National Institute of Archaeology at Kabul), "The Impact of War upon Afghanistan's cultural heritage"; foredrag ved Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 2004, 18 p.: http://www.archaeological.org/pdfs/papers/AIA_Afghanistan_address-lowres.pdf

Bopearachchi, Osmond (Directeur de Recherche, C.N.R.S., Paris), "Vandalized Afghanistan", *Frontline* vol. 19 – issue 6, March 16-29, 2002, 6 p.: <http://www.flonnet.com/fi1906/19060660.htm>

Omland, Atle & Prescott, Christopher: "Afghanistan's cultural heritage in Norwegian Museums?", *Culture without Context, The Newsletter of the Illicit Antiquities Research Centre*, Issue 11, Autumn 2002, 5 p.: <http://www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk/IARC/cwoc/issu11/afghanscrolls.htm>

ABSTRACT

In the last couple of years the staff at the Danish National Museum has been called to the airport in connection with Afghan coins and other artefacts intercepted in customs control.

In one case it turned out to be roughly 80 kilos of coins dating from the period of the successors of Alexander the Great, thus spanning a time period of at least 1,500 years of Afghan history. Even though the coins were Afghan, they were, according to the documentation, purchased in Peshawar in Pakistan, so after the "importers" had payed customs dues the cases were closed.

The 4 staff members from The Danish National Museum wonder how it comes that in spite of Denmark having agreed upon four international conventions this doesn't prevent Denmark from being used as a transit country for these transports as long as due taxes have been paid to the Danish Customs.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Denmark, the Danish involvement in education and rebuilding of Afghanistan this year will roughly amount to 100.000.000 DKK (more than 16.000.000 US\$). Does this rebuilding effort not include the guarding and safe keeping of Afghan national treasures such as these coin collections?

Strengths and Weaknesses in a Process of GLOBALIZATION

by *Birthe Frederiksen*



© Birthe Frederiksen

ABSTRACT

Globalization – the increasingly rapid flow of information, capital, images etc. across nation-state boundaries – is generally seen as homogenizing societies, where local cultures are deemed either to disappear or survive in some form of hybridity.

Yet, the global only exists in so far as it is reproduced by human beings living in localities with very different social forms. The author analyses how members of the Afghan tribe, Hazarbus, deal with the opportunities and threats of globalization. It is a case, which gives insight into one aspect of the modernization process of Afghanistan: The interaction of Afghans living in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Western Europe/North America/Central Asian countries. First it is explained how the Hazarbus, who originally were nomads, became successful businessmen in Afghan society up to 1975. Then the challenges and threats posed by family members who fled to Pakistan and later arrived to Western countries are described. A striking aspect about the Hazarbus are their innovative behaviour and, that despite living in many different countries with international business, they continue to be a well-integrated group with a strong social cohesion. The Hazarbus adapted socially and economically to the altered conditions building upon and developing the structures and organizational forms, which existed already when they were trade nomads.

GLOBALIZATION – the increasingly rapid flow of images, capital, people, information, and goods across nation-state boundaries – is generally seen as homogenizing societies. We live in a world, where distance is becoming less important and where local cultures are deemed either to disappear or survive in some form of hybridity. Yet, because the reproduction of human populations and cultures takes place at the local level, initially in households and families, with all their specificities and peculiarities of language,

belief, custom, and adaptation to the local environment, global cultural circulation depends on the local, culturally specific sites of production and on local differences (Hylland Eriksen 2003; Meisch 2002).

In this article (1) I will show how members of the Afghan tribe, Hazarbus, deal with the opportunities and threats of globalization. It is a case, which gives insight into one aspect of the modernization process of Afghanistan: The interaction of Afghans living in Afghan-

istan, Pakistan and Western Europe/North America/Central Asian countries. First of all we will look at the factors that made the Hazarbus relatively successful businessmen in Afghan society up to 1975, and how they adjusted to the challenges posed by family members who moved to Pakistan and to Western countries.

A striking aspect about the Hazarbus is that, despite having spread from Afghanistan to Pakistan and many Western countries, they continue to be a well-integrated group with a strong social cohesion. The Hazarbus adapted socially and economically to the altered conditions without losing their social solidarity: they continued to build upon and develop the structures and organizational forms, which existed already when they were trade nomads.

Hazarbus – a traditional tribe succeeding in a traditional society

During the first three quarters of the 1900s the different governments of Afghanistan made several attempts to modernize the country, but the programmes were mainly confined to the urban centres. In the 1970s, Afghanistan still had an economy and society bifurcated between a rural, largely subsistence economy and an urban economy dependent on a state that drew most of its income from links to the international state system and market. The state was unable to transform or govern most of rural society (Gregorian 1969; Saikal 2004). Postal, telegraphic, and telephone services were poorly developed in the 1920s and the roads remained in poor condition. By 1935 the major urban centres of the country had been linked telegraphically to Kabul, but connections were not always reliable and to the more remote areas not possible.

The Hazarbus of the Mohmand are a Pash-

tun tribe from Eastern Afghanistan, comprising approximately 1400 families. Originally Hazarbus were pastoral nomads involved in trade and caravaning between British India (Pakistan) and the Emirates north of the Amu Daria River, especially to Bukhara, one of the side routes connected to the Silk Road. Initially they worked only as carriers, but since the 1920s they began trading themselves, which led them to gradually giving up nomadism in the process. In 1975 Hazarbus were a well known group of traders selling tea in the Kabul Bazaar, importing tea directly from India, China, Kenya and Sri Lanka and selling it in the northern regions of Afghanistan, where their stay became of longer and longer duration. By 1975, they had nearly monopolised the trade of tea to northern Afghanistan, which became their most important market. A more detailed description of the process is presented in my book: *Caravans and Trade in Afghanistan* (Frederiksen 1995/96).

The British anthropologist Abner Cohen argues that trade relations between different regions can take place only if certain fundamental technical problems are solved:

“The regular exchange of information about conditions of supply and demand between traders... The creation and maintenance of relations of trust between large numbers of traders and intermediaries who are involved in the chain of the trade and the creation of regular credit arrangements without which the trade will not flow, the organization of an efficient system of arbitration and adjudication in business, and the development and maintenance of an authority structure which is backed by sufficient power to enforce order and respect for contract and for judicial decision” (Cohen 1971: 266).

That the Hazarbus were successful in establishing themselves in a rather traditional Afghan society as importers, wholesalers and partly retail tea traders is not surprising: a

short benchmarking of their characteristics against the success criteria defined by Cohen shows a high degree of compliance.

Firstly, Cohen concludes that in pre-industrial societies with several ethnic groups these technical problems seem to be most effectively resolved by ethnic groups who are able to control all the links in the trading chain. "An ethnic trading network consists of smaller communities who are linked closely together socially, but live dispersed. The network combines stability of structure, but allows a high degree of mobility of personnel" (ibid: 267). The Hazarbus fulfil these conditions. The Hazarbus are organized according to certain specific principles, the Pash-tun descent system (2), which has practical significance for cooperation and coordination of work relations and trade.

Secondly, Cohen observes that as a rule the group with the monopoly competes with other ethnic groups and is therefore forced to organize itself politically in order to resist external pressure. It has an informal political organisation of its own which takes care of stability of order within the one community and coordination of the activities of its various member communities in the struggle against external pressure. It tends to be autonomous in its judicial organisation. An important institution among Pashtuns is the advisory council of elders, *jirgah*, which discusses internal and external matters of concern for the whole tribe.

Politically the Hazarbus also have a well-functioning apparatus at several different levels, with 'Great Khan', *Khan* (3), and *Malik* (4), each of whom represents the tribe to outsiders, to the official and local authorities, but the system is informal and positions are not hereditary. The present Great Khan is extremely respected by Hazarbus and a role-model for the younger Hazarbus. He

is rich, cares about his tribal members, favours education, a wise mediator in internal and external tribal conflicts and he is heavily involved in the rebuilding of Afghanistan.

Thirdly, Cohen underlines that the group must be able to coordinate its member's input toward common objectives and to establish a network of support and communication lines reaching those group members who live in different locations and are involved in the trade. Only the wealthiest Hazarbus businessmen had phones installed in 1975, but Hazarbus were constantly on their way to or from the northern regions, and oral or written information were transmitted. Trade was organised by having one Hazarbus in Kabul, a second in north Afghanistan who would stay there for six months to one year, while a third would go to India, staying there for two or three months in order to buy the tea. After a while they would shift positions. Through the rotation principle all would become familiar with the tasks in the trading chain. In this way a common culture of trade is created and transmitted from generation to generation.



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Fourthly, the members of the group form a moral community, which constrains the behaviour of the individual and ensures a large measure of conformity with common values

and principles. Their traditions derive their strengths from two sources. Firstly, being devoted Muslims Islam (5) provides Hazarbus not only with answers to spiritual questions, but also gives clear precepts to what is good and evil, right or wrong in this world. Secondly, as Pashtuns they have an additional code of conduct – known as *pashtunwali* - which comprises notions of honour and shame as well as personal and family independence and autonomy. Women are central in this connection as they both reflect and affect the status of honour of the family. One aspect of this is that women must subscribe to strict *pardah*, and they only leave the house completely veiled, accompanied by a male member of the family. Hazarbus observe strict endogamy, and in this way Hazarbus distinguish themselves as a group from other Pashtuns.

Trust is a valuable commodity when doing trade (McKewon 2000), and Hazarbus state, that for them the most important word in trading is *zamanat*, which in Pashto and Persian means ‘trust’ or ‘guarantee’. According to Hazarbus, trust within the tribe and also to others is not a problem if one is a good Muslim. Loan and credit arrangement is also essential for doing trade and among Hazarbus it is a well-developed institution, which relates to their nomadic way of living.

Fifthly, the group has its own institution of general welfare and social security. In the case of the Hazarbus it is Islam which operates as a tether for them with its precepts that one must give *zakat* to the poor. Big amounts of money are given to the poor Hazarbus in Pakistan, also from Hazarbus living abroad.

Yet, in 1975, some Hazarbus encountered problems in enlarging their business. Other merchants in the Kabul Bazaar commented

on Hazarbus saying that they were traders, “but what you have to be today is a businessman”. Problems would arise in the future, if they did not change their way of doing business. The necessity to maximize profits would require the use of more rapid and effective trading methods. In 1975 I was of the opinion, that the development of more modern trading methods would weaken the function of kinship bonds, and that practices such as in-group relations would disappear with the spread of modern capitalism, which would be not ethnic, but national. The speed with which this detribalization occurred would depend, however, on the overall developmental process in Afghanistan (Frederiksen 1995/1996).

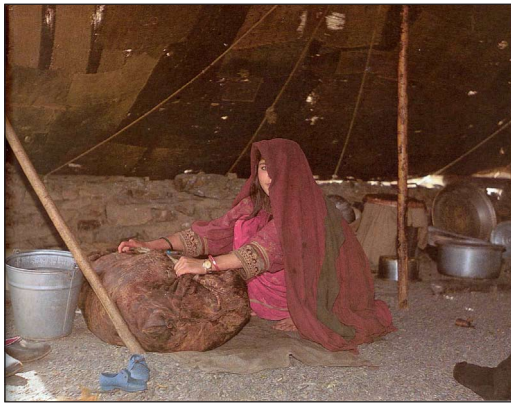
Hazarbus – adjusting to life in exile in Pakistan

THE German economist Conrad Schetter, who has analysed the Afghan economy in relation to the war economy, defines it as a

“Bazaar economy ’where the capitalistic free-market economy regulates all economic activities in the absence of state regulation. Private trade constitutes the most important economic activity, while the production of real goods and the influence of a public sphere almost completely disappear. Furthermore the ‘bazaar economy’ on the Afghan territory is not contained by its national borders, but interwoven with the world market through an informal transnational network” (Schetter 2002: 109-128).

After the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979, influential Hazarbus had to escape to Pakistan. In 1983, the winter village of Hazarbus, located in the province of Nangarhar in Eastern Afghanistan, was bombed by the Soviet troops, and 200- 300 families fled. In 1988 about half of the tribe, some 500 -600 families were living in and around Peshawar

and in 1996 I was told that the whole tribe was living there. In the beginning of exile some Hazarbus had to live in refugee camps, but thanks to the intervention of the 'Great Khan' of the Hazarbus, they were moved to a settlement near Peshawar, so that all Hazarbus could live relatively close to each other. The *purdah* (of women) was upheld even more strictly than in Afghanistan and unity and cohesion of the tribe constantly stressed.



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Though living in Pakistan the Hazarbus never gave up their economic stronghold in Afghanistan, and the trading diaspora was just extended to a new country. In general their business was organized as before with elderly family members (those who did not have to do military service) staying in Kabul and the younger members in Peshawar. Goods were imported to Afghanistan, and part of it sent to Pakistan. Increasing sales volumes also enabled Hazarbus to engage in direct import of these goods from the manufacturer to Pakistan. In addition, the Hazarbus vastly increased their portfolio of trading goods. Other goods were in demand in Pakistan and a part from selling tea Hazarbus quickly switched their supply to kitchen utensil, electronics, batteries, chewing gum, cigarettes, shampoo, soap, TV recorders etc. "If entrepreneurial spirit means innovation, astute business decisions and hard work" (Meisch 2002: 248), Hazarbus

really proved this when they came to Pakistan.

Some Hazarbus became very successful businessmen in Pakistan. They got offices in a big trading area outside Peshawar and in the centre of town. In 2005 these offices had been improved with Internet, several telephone lines, fax machines and TV. Not all Hazarbus prospered. Half of the tribal families stayed poor, surviving only thanks to the help from their tribal kins and a little bit of work here and there.

Very few Hazarbus had formal secular education when they arrived to Pakistan. The German geographer Dietrich Wiebe explains:

"The bazaar merchants' lack of interest in educating themselves is a result of the fact that tribal affiliation and continued material welfare still accord higher social status level. The monetary incentive to acquire more education was lacking, and inasmuch as ethnic identification was a more important criterion for obtaining a position than some abstract educational level, a change in the existing situation seemed unlikely" (Wiebe 1978: 120, author's translation).

It was an unpleasant experience for Hazarbus to discover that they had to manage their business in an environment where people had education, spoke English and Urdu and where their social status no longer was attributed only to wealth. Those who could afford it sent their young boys to private schools and colleges. As refugees Hazarbus may not attend the ordinary Pakistani schools. Today Hazarbus value education very much. They are proud of the two schools financed by a wealthy Hazarbus in 2000, in the two settlements where the poor Hazarbus are living. Also girls are attending school until they are 10 -12 years old. Some of them continue with a private teacher at home.

Hazarbuz – adjusting to life in Western countries

IN 1993 the first Hazarbuz left for England to study. After two years he returned shortly to Peshawar to marry, going back without his family to England to work. In 1997-98 10 Hazarbuz arrived in London and during the next years many more followed. In 2005 about 500-600 Hazarbuz are living in England, most of them in greater London. A few Hazarbuz live in other European countries, in USA, Canada, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, China, and Dubai. In all countries, the Hazarbuz are young men, who live without their families, except for one Hazarbuz family in USA and one in Germany.

The main reasons for leaving were political and economical. Many young men got an education in Pakistan, but in spite of that, they could not get a job according to their qualifications, as they are still Afghan refugees after 25 years in Pakistan. Hazarbuz also encountered difficulties doing business as their ability to travel freely was limited because of their Afghan passports; entrance is prohibited to Afghan nationals in many countries. To reach Europe and live there was a possibility to obtain a European citizenship, and thereby travel more freely all over the world.

“Right from the beginning it was on my mind that I had to get my own business”, or “business is in our genes”, as Hazarbuz usually say. In England the entry job for young Hazarbuz men is typically as workers in restaurants, shops or as taxi drivers. After three to four years they buy a business – a pizzeria, a corner shop or a take-away. They buy the business together with a brother or Hazarbuz cousin. Some receive money from home to start up the business, but mainly investments are financed by money saved up in England. The Hazarbuz compensate

for low income - by working long hours, and a workday of 16-18 hours is very common. It enables Hazarbuz to earn quite well and they manage to transfer up to one third of their income to their relatives in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The household (consisting of family members in Afghanistan/Pakistan and Europe) is still the economic unit. The single member is working for himself, but money earned belongs to the whole household with the oldest male member in charge. Plans and decisions might be delegated to younger members who have more up-to-date experience and force. Money, information and people (when the stamp in the passport allows it) constantly circulate between Afghanistan/Pakistan and England within the tribal network. Such relations can be highly effective in a globalized world. Studies of trading networks among the Chinese, the Jews, Cubans, Ecuadorians and many other groups show that these networks can reduce transaction costs, facilitate quick market decisions, grant credit or loans more easily and quickly compared to formal banking systems, and advice and support are always at hand through the network (Mitchell 2003; Guarnizo & Smith 1998; Keyle 2000; McKeown 2000; Meisch 2002).



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Immigrant jobs do not have high status. Hazarbuz feel that they receive some compensation for this and the hard work when they go home to Pakistan for vacation. If they

can afford it they try to go each year. Vacations are often spent during winter time, the season when Hazarbus celebrate their weddings. These weddings also demonstrate to the public the cohesion of the Hazarbus tribe, and for those taking part it confirms and renew kinship bonds.

Marriage raises a difficult question for couples where the husband is living outside Afghanistan/Pakistan – and in fact for the future of the whole tribe: Should the wife join her husband and (or) leave the tribe? The older generation, which dominates the discourse at the centre of the diaspora, will not allow the women to go to England. They are afraid that the tribe will be divided if the women leave and that the cohesion of the Hazarbus will be destroyed. They do not consider it a problem if the wives stay behind in Pakistan, and the men live alone in England. Daily life has been like this for generations among Hazarbus – as the men have been trading and caravaning in northern Afghanistan and other areas. “England is just other areas, other fields”, as an old woman told me. But the question is contested. In the spring of 2005 the first Hazarbus woman went to London to join her husband, against her parents will.

Hazarbus – and their adjustments: Feed-back on life in Afghanistan/ Pakistan

THE adjustments of the life of the Hazarbus can be analyzed from the point of view of economic, educational, and cultural adjustments and family relationships.

The relative economic success of the Hazarbus within a globalized world with free market forces is without doubt due to their occupational background as traders with common trading methods. As a trading di-

aspora spanning more nations they can function as intermediaries between the developing and the developed world – between traditional and modern business. Such networks can be useful for the developing countries, because local entrepreneurs can use and pool resources quickly and effectively from family members abroad. This is the case for Afghanistan, which again has become a country worth investing in (6). Hazarbus never gave up trading inside Afghanistan though living in exile, and today they have expanded their business area, being heavily involved with construction, rebuilding serais, investing in factories and branding their products through TV commercials and big posters in Kabul city.

Young Hazarbus and their parents value education very much today. This change in attitude among the Hazarbus is part of the modernization process which they have been through living in Pakistan and necessary in order to do international trade. They are of the opinion that this modernization process would also have taken place, if they had been living in Afghanistan, but much slower. If Hazarbus could state one positive thing about the civil war in Afghanistan, it is that Hazarbus men under twenty now are educated. Some Hazarbus living in England even stress the tribes involvement in education in an Internet homepage which reads: “Now young generation is more into education and trying to build up Afghanistan, which has suffered from civil war” (<http://www.hazarbus.tripod.com>). These Hazarbus wish to position themselves as global, educated people who would like to help their country.

As with all diasporas, Hazarbus continue to recognize the centre - the families living in Afghanistan and Pakistan - and to acknowledge at least some obligations and responsibilities to it, and to the larger whole. One

obligation of the Hazarbus living abroad is to earn money and send it back to support their families. A family of 8-10 persons can live on money received from a family member in England. But family bonding might also become family bondage. Though the Hazarbus value education very much, it is still considered to be something you do for yourself – as long as you cannot earn sufficient money to support the family back home. If the Hazarbus is to enlarge their business and make it even more mainstream they have to invest more resources and efforts into education. Well-educated people are in high demand for the rebuilding of Afghanistan.

Birthe Frederiksen (b. 1949) has a Master Degree in Social Anthropology from Aarhus University. As part of the Carlsberg Foundation's Nomad Research Project, she published the book: *Caravans and Trade in Afghanistan* (1995/96) and has recently resumed her research on Afghanistan at The Ethnographic Collections, Moesgård Museum, Aarhus.

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NOTES

1. The research project is a continuation of the research on nomadic people, which has taken place at the Institute of Ethnography and Social Anthropology at Aarhus University since 1957 by the late Klaus Ferdinand, former Head of Department, who unexpectedly died January 5, 2005. Klaus Ferdinand, who has been my teacher and advisor for many years, was actively involved in the project when it started in 2004. The project has been part financed by a grant from the Carlsberg Foundation.

2. The Pashtun descent system is a segmentary patrilineal lineage system where the founder of one segment, the eldest male, is the founder of the nearest superior segment. A brother or cousin may be head of a lateral segment at the same level.

3. *Khan* is a title used among Mongol and Turk nomads to refer to the equivalent of a lord or prince. It was formally used as an official title for tribal leaders in Afghanistan, but is now widely used as part of a person's name, without the connotation of a title. The Great Khan is the leader of the Hazarbutz tribe. He should be courageous, articulate and clever. He ought to possess all the attributes of a charismatic leader.

4. *Malik*. Official title given by the government to an appointed and elected representative of a tribal group or local community.

5. Hazarbutz are devoted Muslims and comply with Islam's duties of praying five times a day (*namaz*), paying tax (*zakat*, which is a certain percentage of the income for the poor) going on pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mekka, fasting (*ruzah*) during the month of Ramadan.

6. John F. Jungclaussen: Afghanistan Das hung-
rige Land in *Die Zeit*. 15.9.2005.

RESUME

Globalisering – den stadig hurtigere strøm af informationer, mennesker, kapital, billeder etc. på tværs af nationalgrænser – betragtes generelt som en proces, der medfører en homogenisering af samfund, hvor lokale kulturer enten vil forsvinde eller overleve i en hybrid form. Det globale eksisterer dog kun i den udstrækning, at det reproduceres af mennesker, som lever i lokaliteter med vidt forskellige samfundsformer. I artiklen analyseres, hvorledes den afghanske stamme Hazarbutz håndterer globaliseringens muligheder og trusler. Det er et eksempel, som giver et indblik i et aspekt af moderniseringsprocessen i Afghanistan: Samspillet mellem afghanere, der bor i Afghanistan, Pakistan og Vesteuropa/Nordamerika og lande i Centralasien. Først gøres der rede for hvorledes det lykkedes Hazarbutz, der oprindeligt var nomader, at blive succesrige forretningsfolk i det afghanske samfund op til 1975. Dernæst beskrives de udfordringer som mødte stammens familiemedlemmer, da de måtte flygte til Pakistan og senere kom til Vesten. Et slående aspekt ved Hazarbutz er deres innovative adfærd, og at de fortsat er en velintegreret gruppe med et stærkt socialt sammenhold til trods for at de er spredt til mange forskellige lande med internationale forretninger. De har formået at tilpasse sig socialt og økonomisk til de ændrede forhold ved at bruge og udvikle sociale strukturer og organisationsformer, som allerede eksisterede, da de var handelsnomader.

ADDRESSING MODERNITY IN AFGHANISTAN



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through International Development Work

by Erna Andersen

ABSTRACT

The collapse of the Taliban regime in November 2001 had a great impact on the political as well as civil society in Afghanistan. It resulted in massive attention from the international community and subsequently UN-agencies, governmental as well as non-governmental organizations invaded the country. In Kabul there are more than 2000 organisations registered, who in many different ways are working on developing the country in a sustainable direction. In order for this to succeed high expectations are put on cooperation between the development organisations and the government, which however can seem to be a complicated matter.

Development projects are being defined and implemented in every province of Afghanistan, under the conditions of a country being placed in extreme poverty caused by three decades of war and years of drought. This article focuses on how the Danish non-governmental organisation, Danish Committee for Aid to Afghan Refugees (DACAAR), approaches two areas of development which hold top priority by the Afghan government, namely within gender and combating poppy economy.

DACAAR has since the period of Taliban insisted on approaching women's needs within its rural development programme, particularly through a project which has as primary purpose to teach women in basic health and hygiene. The focus on women has now been possible to expand within the new political environment which legitimizes establishing contact with women. Activities within every level of society are being initiated, but in an extremely conservative, Muslim country as Afghanistan, it is very important for DACAAR to carry out any new intervention according to local traditional rules. This must necessarily put strong emphasis on methodology and strategy within the implementation of every new activity in terms of cooperation and negotiation with the local community.

The same is the case for another project of DACAAR which is carried out in two different provinces of Afghanistan and has the purpose to define alternatives to opium poppy production and economy. The project implies in-depth research of the natural resource based livelihoods in the project areas as well as the social and cultural aspects in order to be able to define sustainable alternatives to the all-embracing opium economy. The success of this project also depends on a constructive cooperation with the local community as well as governmental institutions.

The article is based on my experiences from two research projects within DACAAR carrying out anthropological fieldwork as a MA student of anthropology at University of Århus as well as a six months employment as a Livelihoods Analyst in the DACAAR livelihoods team. Central to the article is the emphasis on DACAAR as an international development organisation with a specifically defined mission statement and strategy, which becomes embedded within the local, traditional society and thereby becomes a social actor along with the traditional actors. This actively influences the traditional power structure and consequently a space is created in which social change is possible.

Introduction

SINCE the collapse of the Taliban regime in 2001, Afghanistan and its population have as a consequence of the American-led attacks and the subsequent attention from the international society, experienced radical political and societal changes. These changes, which were advanced by the installation of Hamid Karzai as the leader of an interim government, are still developing, which has resulted in the first democratic presidential and parliamentary elections and the passing of a new constitution.

The fundamental changes in the political environment of Afghanistan must necessarily also imply changes in the Afghan civil society which reflect the values and ideas that are presented and sought adopted. This can only be realized through massive support from the development organisations which have invaded the country and in particular its capital, Kabul. Apart from various UN agencies, there are more than 2000 governmental, as well as non-governmental organizations, registered in Kabul, which in various ways are working on developing the country towards a sustainable direction. What should point to an advantageous re-

lationship between the Afghan government and the development community is in reality a complicated matter in which the government seeks to control the development community through a recently passed so-called NGO-law in which ambiguous rules are put forward regarding financial support and cooperation.

The overall purpose of this article is to give a general insight into the new reality in which Afghanistan is placed and which is based on a dominating presence of international organisations, and their demand for political as well as societal changes. They do this through their policies and programme strategies. I will give a comparison of two different development activities within the Danish Committee for Aid to Afghan Refugees (DACAAR), which in particular ways approaches two projects that are of high priority to the development of civil Afghanistan. These two projects are concerned with issues regarding women and gender and counter measures against narcotics respectively, both being known to create the most difficult constraints to any actors of development in Afghanistan. In particular, I want to focus on the methodological background, which the two projects have in common.

The conceptual background is based on a participatory approach to development research through the application of the relatively new concept of livelihood. Through a description of the strategy behind the definition and implementation of the projects, I want to discuss the impact of the projects on the local communities and their influence on traditional roles and responsibilities among the local population.

The discussion in this article is based on the extensive research material collected during two research trips conducting anthropological fieldwork as a part of my master's thesis in anthropology at the University of Århus as well as six months of employment at DACAAR in 2004. The focus of my first fieldtrip in 2003 was an analysis of the interface between DACAAR and the local, traditional community in rural Afghanistan as observed through the Health Education project which has the purpose of teaching women basic health and hygiene principles. The second field trip which was carried out from May to July this year focused on a project within Research in Alternative Livelihoods Fund (RALF) in which DACAAR has as its main purpose the introduction of saffron to traditional opium poppy growers in Western Afghanistan.



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DACAAR

DACAAR was established in 1984 as the flow of Afghan refugees crossing the border to Pakistan continuously increased. In Afghanistan the war between militant groups led by different ethnic warlords also known as the "Mujahedin", which is directly translated to be "the holy warriors", and the Soviet communist army, who had occupied the country since 1978, made life dangerous for thousands of Afghans, and these chose to flee from both urban and rural Afghanistan primarily to the Pakistani city of Peshawar. DACAAR today is a committee of three Danish non-governmental organisations; the Danish Refugee Council, Danish People's Aid and MS-Danish Association for International Cooperation. DACAAR is working on two main programmes; The Water and Sanitation Programme and the Rural Development Programme (RDP). RDP focuses on re-establishing the local economy in each project area through supporting rural livelihoods, and it is within this programme the projects described here are based (1).

The Livelihoods Approach

IN order to secure a sustainable approach in any new intervention, DACAAR recognized the need for applying a livelihood approach in the preliminary processes of project identification and implementation. The concept of livelihood is a relatively new concept operating within the Afghan development context. It was introduced to the Afghan development community four years ago by representatives from British development research institutions. In short, the concept is defined as the income-generating sources of a population, but in a broader perspective focuses on all socio-economic and cultural institutions which constitute society (2). Drawing attention to all aspects of cultural life in Afghan society was needed in order to

secure a balanced implementation of projects on the background of a solid knowledge base about the local culture. This resulted in the decision by DACAAR to establish a livelihoods team, consisting of a livelihoods advisor, a livelihoods analyst and an Afghan surveyor in order to carry out research applying participatory methods in the project areas, which was to be used as background for discussions on new interventions. The livelihoods approach has now become the underlying principle of any new intervention not only within DACAAR, but also throughout the development community in Afghanistan. This is the reason for describing two different projects within DACAAR, in which the livelihoods approach is reflected.

Women's Programme

THE object of my first fieldwork, the Health Education project, has as its overall objective to provide better health conditions through education (3). The target group of the project includes women living in the project areas served by the Rural Development Programme, but it is mainly older women and women of childbearing age, who participate in the lessons with the female community worker. The objectives of Health Education are a result of the recognition of the poor health awareness prevailing among the Afghan population. Due to poor hygiene conditions the Afghan population suffers from a very high rate of maternal and child mortality and the project seeks to raise awareness about the occurrence of diseases and how to prevent them. At the same time, the social objectives of Health Education are to strengthen the village organisations established by DACAAR and especially to motivate group formation amongst the women in order to provide a forum for women's participation in decision-making.

Health Education started originally as a

project during the Taliban period, which prohibited the development community to establish contact to women. DACAAR insisted on contact with the women by making Health Education a compulsory part of the overall intervention plan in a village. In order to establish contact to the women, DACAAR have employed Afghan couples to be based in the project areas. The woman is the primary employee of DACAAR, assigned to be a female community worker, but in order to establish contact to the women in the community she is obliged to be accompanied by a close male relative, *mahram*, which is the responsibility of the husband. DACAAR negotiates with the village organisation to achieve permission to contact the women, who are then invited to attend meetings in selected houses of a village. The female community worker applies a system of representation to ensure that every household in a village receives the messages given during the meeting.

The projects for women have been and are today still managed as a separate part of the spectrum of activities carried out in the areas where long-term projects are planned. Today Health Education is becoming a part of what will be a list of activities approaching women's needs in rural Afghanistan. This is achieved through the National Solidarity Programme (NSP), which is government managed, and World Bank funded, a national development programme working through national and international development organizations in every province. This programme includes the establishment of village organisations both among men and women in order to coordinate and discuss cooperation on future activities between the local population and the implementing institution. This has resulted in the formation of a few women's resource centres in which women from a cluster of neighbouring villages can gather and receive training or

education in subjects such as adult literacy, sewing and carpet weaving.

The Meeting

I have carried out the analysis of the Health Education project as well as the NSP activities through a thorough description of the dynamics between the project and the local community in which it operates. The event in which the women are gathered by the Afghan woman, employed by DACAAR, the female community worker, is called the "majlis", meeting. The study of the meeting, which is the arena where the intervening institutions meet the local organization, is the study of interface (4). It is possible during the meeting to observe the power relations between the women from the village as well as the role the female community worker has in the local community. The meeting embodies both the development organization as one arena and the local community as another. Those two arenas combined create a third arena where power relations are created and reinforced and is thus defined as the interface. The female community worker, who is placed between the two intersecting institutions, the local community and DACAAR, embodies the concept of interface through her dual position as an outsider and an insider in the community. The position she holds in the society as a female community worker is a position established by DACAAR in order to implement the project, and it had not existed until her arrival to the community. The female community worker is therefore a new position in the local community, which has been established in the context of legitimate processes according to the local set of values. This leads to the observation that the creation of other positions in the society may be open and so is the possibility of change. The traditional hierarchy is not static but subject to negotiation and there is the possibility for DACAAR to create

new positions in the social structure.

In the following I will move to a description of a project differing widely in its scope and purpose from the women's programme as described above. However, the introduction of a second project will serve the understanding of the broad range of initiatives currently being carried out in Afghanistan. This will further illuminate how the development organisation seeks to become an actor in the local, traditional context.



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Research in Alternative Livelihoods Fund

TO combat opium poppy production is one of the top priorities of the Afghan government. Afghanistan has again become the world's largest supplier of opium, in 2003 supplying approximately 75 per cent of global production, and poppy production has increased in 2004 in terms of both quantity and geographical spread, as the cultivated

area has increased by 60 percent. Poppy is now produced in all 34 Afghan provinces. The new Afghan government is committed to reducing poppy cultivation, but recognises that eradication campaigns should go hand in hand with the successful development of alternative ways to sustain the livelihoods of the rural population (5).



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Among the various initiatives to approach this problem, DACAAR is working on Research in Alternative Livelihoods Fund (RALF). RALF is a component of the UK's development assistance programme to Afghanistan administered and funded by the Department for International Development (DFID). The purpose of RALF is to develop and promote innovative alternative livelihood options for rural Afghans currently economically dependent on opium poppies, which will contribute to the overall goal of sustainable elimination of opium poppies in Afghanistan. The overall scope of RALF is

applied research and promotion of natural resource based livelihoods, including post-harvest processing and services specifically directed at farmers and other rural stakeholders in areas currently affected by poppy production.

DACAAR is committed to work on two different projects within the frame of RALF, which is managed by the International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA). The projects are carried out in the DACAAR programme areas of RDP where poppy production is particularly influential on the local economy. In the eastern Afghan province of Laghman, where an estimated 90% of all fields are covered with poppy during the poppy season, the first project of RALF has been launched. The purpose of the project is to implement activities to provide the local farmers with alternatives to poppy in terms of their natural resource base. A research team from Washington State University consisting of an agronomist and a sociologist has been assigned to carry out research in order to clarify which activities will provide viable alternatives. The research is thus conducted both in terms of the existing agricultural resources in the area and their social impact on the society. This preliminary research has resulted in the proposal of various activities within the promotion of agricultural products.

The object of the second project is research in production and marketing of saffron as an alternative to opium poppy cultivation in the Western province of Afghanistan, Herat. Whereas the former project was seeking to give alternatives to poppy cultivation within the local community in terms of already existing agricultural products and practices, the second project is based around the development of saffron as a cash crop. In terms of identifying profitable and otherwise at-

tractive alternative crops, saffron has been selected as having an excellent potential as a high profit, low risk crop suitable to the climatic conditions in the West of Afghanistan. Apart from that, saffron has a number of comparative advantages over crops such as wheat in terms of being relatively resistant to disease and requiring less irrigation. The saffron product is of high value, even comparable to the value of poppy, and it is easy to transport. However, the local demand for saffron is limited, so the success of the project depends on the identification of markets abroad and on the establishment of mechanisms to ensure that the final product meets the requirements of these markets.

The project will be organised into four general activities:

1. Survey of farm economics in relation to saffron production, carried out with male and female community organisations in the target area in order to establish an understanding of risks and opportunities.
2. Analysis of the national and international potential for marketing of saffron.
3. Training of DACAAR staff and potential producers in methods of saffron production.
4. Establishment of producers' associations and mechanisms for quality control and marketing (6).

At present the project is at the stage of conducting research in the project areas in order to plan the actual implementation of saffron production. The research has been conducted using both quantitative and qualitative methods in cooperation with Afghan staff, which received training in survey and interview techniques. The success of the project is not only to be measured through the amount of saffron being produced and to which extend it has replaced the production of opium, but particularly in terms of its social impact on the target community.

The establishment of farmers' associations is a central element of the project, which will contribute to the empowerment of farmers, enabling them to deal more efficiently and effectively with outside agencies and thus to improve the terms of trade within which they engage in the market. Also, the introduction of saffron should enable the whole community including women and landless people, which thus puts emphasis on developing questions regarding the monitoring and evaluation of the project.

An important aspect of the implementation of the project is the cooperation with the national and provincial government through the partnership of the Afghan Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (MAAHF). By involving MAAHF both at producer level, through workshops, farmer field days and other participatory methodologies, and in the establishment of procedures for saffron bulb certification, the intent is to build ministerial capacity to deal with all aspects of saffron production and marketing. In this way DACAAR has become the link between the local population and the government in order to facilitate the successful cooperation and integration.

Conclusion

Afghan society today is struggling to absorb modern ideas and institutions, which are often perceived to be intruding and dominating traditional Muslim values in a negative way. Afghanistan being a conservative, Muslim country is however in a process where it is obliged to accept certain modern, Western ideas in order to overcome the constraints which the country has been suffering through three decades of war. This is a struggle not just between the Afghan population and the foreign, Western countries that are introducing and, more importantly, funding the development of the country and

thereby claiming the acceptance of certain ideas. It is also a struggle among the Afghan population itself, relating to the group of highly educated Afghans and those returned from an exile in Western countries, who all claim to adopt modern values. This struggle is observed through the politics of the government, which is trying to control the development community. This calls for the development organisations to be particularly conscious about how to assess their programmes.

I have in this article given a brief and overall view on two main areas of interest within the whole arena of development work in Afghanistan. DACAAR, as one out of many institutions must carefully plan new interventions according to local rules and traditions in order to secure a sustainable implementation that is widely accepted and supported by the local population. Achieving local accept means for DACAAR to become embedded into the local, cultural structure and take active part in roles and responsibilities in the community. Only if the development institutions through legitimate processes can become an actor in society can they achieve accept and participation from the people which is necessary for any change to succeed.

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NOTES

1. For further information on DACAAR and programmes, please see www.dacaar.org
2. Best known for the inspiration to livelihoods research within development work is Chambers, R. and G. Conway (1992) "Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century". IDS Discussion Paper 296. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies. See also Ellis, F. (2000) *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. For an excellent discussion on the livelihoods approach today, see de Haan, L. and A. Zoomers (2005) "Exploring the Frontier of Livelihoods Research" in *Development and Change* 36(1) Institute of Social Studies 2005, Blackwell Publishing
3. DACAAR IAD Strategy Implementation Guidelines, 2003; 31
4. The inspiration for the study of interface is from Long, Norman: "Development sociology: Actor perspectives". Routledge, London, 2001.
5. Source: DACAAR press release "Poppy eradication and alternative livelihoods in eastern Afghanistan", Kabul 17 January 2005.
6. According to: "Project Agreement between the International Center for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA) and Danish Committee for Aid to Afghan Refugees (DACAAR) concerning RALFO2-02: Research in production and marketing of saffron as an alternative to opium poppy cultivation."



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RESUMÉ

Siden det berygtede Taliban-styres fald i 2001, efter at USA som konsekvens af terror-angrebene d. 11. september angreb Afghanistan samt den efterfølgende, massive opmærksomhed fra verdenssamfundet, har landet og dets indbyggere oplevet en radikal politisk og samfundsmæssig forandring. Denne forandring, der blev sat igang med indsættelsen af Hamid Karzai i en overgangsregering, er til stadighed i rivende udvikling, hvilket har medvirket til gennemførelsen af det første præsidentvalg i landet, udarbejdelse af en ny forfatning og i skrivende stund afventes det første parlamentsvalg.

Sideløbende med denne gennemgribende forandring i det politiske miljø må nødvendigvis også medfølge en forandring i det civile samfund, der afspejler de værdier og principper der præsenteres og søges optaget i befolkningen. For at dette projekt kan gennemføres kræves en massiv indsats fra de mange hjælpeorganisationer, der nærmest har invaderet landet og i særdeleshed hovedstaden Kabul. Udover FN er der over 2000 registrerede statslige og ikke-statslige organisationer, der på forskellig vis arbejder på at udvikle landet i en bæredygtig retning. Hvad der umiddelbart tegner sig til at være et fordelagtigt ægteskab mellem regeringen og hjælpeorganisationerne er i virkeligheden et kompliceret had-kærlighedsforhold, hvor regeringen kontrollerer de økonomiske midler og udvikler en ngo-lov der opstiller tvetydige krav og regler for deres arbejde.

Inden for disse rammer defineres og implementeres udviklingsprojekter i alle provinser af landet. Denne artikel vil fokusere på hvorledes den danske hjælpeorganisation Danish Committee for Aid to Afghan Refugees, DACAAR, imødekommer to højt prioriterede punkter på regeringens dagsorden: kvinder og bekæmpelse af opiumsproduktion og handel. Siden perioden under Taliban, har DACAAR insisteret på at imødekomme kvinders behov i deres rurale udviklingsprogram, primært igennem et projekt, der har til formål at undervise i grundlæggende sundhed og hygiejne. Dette fokus er det nu blevet muligt at udvide og omfatte aktiviteter, der involverer kvinder i alle samfundsmæssige niveauer. Selvom det er officielt legitimt at imødekomme kvinders behov i hverdagen, er det meget vigtigt for DACAAR at arbejdet bliver udført i overensstemmelse med de kulturelle regler, et ekstremt konservativt, muslimsk samfund sætter. Dette stiller store krav til metode og strategi for implementering af ethvert projekt i form af forhandling og tæt samarbejde med det lokale samfund.

Dette gør sig også gældende for et projekt, som DACAAR udfører i to forskellige provinser i Afghanistan, der har til formål at definere alternativer til opiumsproduktion. Projektet forudsætter en grundig undersøgelse af de landbrugsbaserede ressourcer i projekt-områderne samt indgående kendskab til sociale og kulturelle forhold for at kunne definere nye og bedre produkter som alternativer til den altomfattende opiumshandel. Projektet forudsætter også et tæt samarbejde med regeringsinstitutioner for at sikre en bæredygtig fremtid.

Artiklen vil trække på min erfaring fra syv måneders feltarbejde hos DACAAR i 2003 efterfulgt af seks måneders ansættelse som Livelihoods analyst i 2004 samt en speciale-rejse fra maj til juli i år. Centralt for redegørelsen er fremhævelsen af DACAAR som en international organisation med en specifikt defineret målsætning og strategi, der indgår i en lokal, social sammenhæng og derved bliver en social aktør på lige fod med de traditionelle aktører. Derigennem påvirker de aktivt den sociale og kulturelle magtstruktur hvorved der åbnes et rum for mulig forandring.

REFUGEES - RETURNEES



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migrations and transformations

by Christian Vium

ABSTRACT

Refugees are the refuse of globalization. They are both the cause and effect of modernity and the contemporary world's dynamic processes. Few place is this so visible as in Afghanistan and Pakistan, where millions of people experience the traumas and conflicts that come into existence together with mass migrations and flows of refugees. However, it is not only the individual refugees who suffer – the societies from and to which these mass migrations occur are under enormous pressure, both socio-economic and political. This article gives a general insight into the elements, that constitute refugee migrations, with a particular, empirical focus on the Afghanistan/Pakistan context.

Introduction

MIGRATIONS constitute an important element in the world today, be it in the form of tourism, working migrants, political, and or economical refugees.

The list of subdivisions is long, and migration studies have become an important field in the social sciences. Inspired by the sociologist Zygmunt Baumann I entered "migration" in the search bar of the dominant web browser, Google. In 0,15 seconds 116.000.000 sources on migration were found. A similar search on "refugee" gave

32.500.000 sources in 0,14 seconds. In comparison, the word "globalization" gave 50.700.000 sources in 0,14 seconds. I don't know whether such numbers have any meaning, but I think it is safe to say that migration is an important subject. In the following essay I shall concentrate solely on what is characterized as refugee migrations.

After an outline of general discussions on refugee migrations, I move towards an elaboration on the Afghan case, which is considered one of the most severe refugee cases history to this day. In the Afghan context, as elsewhere, migrations constitute a central

element in the intense socio-cultural transformations taking place in a more and more complex society, where the borders between the local and the global have become increasingly blurred.

Refugees

BECOMING 'a refugee' means to loose:

"... the media on which social existence rests, that is the set of ordinary of things and persons that carry meanings – land, house, village, city, parents, possessions, jobs and other daily landmarks. These creatures in drift and waiting have nothing but their 'naked life' whose continuation depends on humanitarian assistance." (Agier, 2002:94).

These "outcasts of modernity" (Baumann 2004) represent perhaps the most marginalized people in this world. They are examples of what Richmond calls "reactive migrants"; migrants who migrate as a reaction to circumstances in their surroundings (1). There are numerous possible motivations for "becoming a refugee", which all involve a form of combination of political, economic, ecologic, social and psychological variables. These range from civil war, state-sponsored genocide, ethnocide as well as natural disasters and their consequences (Richmond 1994:61)(2): "...a reasonable hypothesis would be that when societal institutions disintegrate or are weakened to the point that they are unable to provide a substantial section of the population with an adequate sense of group inclusion, trust, and ontological security, a refugee situation is created." (Ibid.:55).

A common social reaction to crisis is flight. Flight entails separation and fragmentation of communities (3). "Disruptions (wars, disasters, forced population movements) tear apart the invisible social fabric which surrounds the victims and gives meaning to

their lives. It is this social fabric which requires better understanding, with its distinctive features within a certain culture, a certain society" (Benoit 1998:1). The social fabric consists of relations to other people, interaction, family structures, places of identification and the sense of belonging in a place and in a community.

"When flight includes crossing an international boundary, "refugees" are placed in a "liminal" state. In anthropological terms, refugees are people who have undergone a violent "rite" of separation and unless or until they are "incorporated" as citizens into their host state (or return to their state of origin) they find themselves in transition, in a state of "liminality". This "betwixt and between" status may not only be legal and psychological, but social and economic as well. Moreover, encoded in the label "refugee" are the images of dependency, helplessness, and misery" (Ibid.:16) (4). The refugees find themselves in a state of disequilibrium, and their identity markers become governed by fluidity and uncertainty (5). They are between worlds or "*aux bords du monde*" (Agier 2002).

Most literature on forced or re-active migration (6) distinguishes between three stages in the experience of dislocation: the pre-displacement period, the nature and experience of displacement, and post-displacement or adaptation to the new environment. In addition to this one can distinguish a fourth stage: that of return and the challenges this entails as well as the transformation it generates, with regards to individual and collective memory, as well as in relation to the society in general.

In the following I shall discuss these four stages, with particular reference to the refugee/returnee situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan. My analysis is partly based on em-

pirical data (interviews, field notes, photographs and audiovisual material) collected during research in August and September 2003 and August – October 2004 in Kabul City and Kabul Province in eastern Afghanistan. Short field trips to Herat province in Western Afghanistan were conducted a number of times (7).

“For anthropologists, knowledge should be gained regarding a reality which is situated on the level of locality, the place where individuals, as social beings, live their daily lives” (Benoit 1998:1).

WHAT makes anthropological studies of refugee situations challenging is the fact that often there is no fixed location, since the refugees find themselves in a state of flux or movement. An entirely sound analysis should be based on empirical material from the point of departure, the flight itself (the migration), the time spent in the host country and the homecoming (the return migration) and the re-integration into the local society of origin (if a such eventually occurs). My analysis is less ambitious. It is grounded in personal interviews with returnees and observations of their everyday life after returning to Afghanistan, and my information regarding the time in exile (post-displacement period) and the actual flight (displacement period) are based on their stories as well as monographs, historical accounts, essays and reports from anthropologists, historians and developmental organisations and reports from organizations such as Human Rights Watch (8) and Amnesty International (9). To the extent possible I have double-checked my data with other sources, but acknowledge the fact that the short duration of my stay affects my findings. Nevertheless I feel that some reflections based on personal experiences might help to put in perspective and illustrate the theoretical discussions presented in the course of this

article. Empirical data and theoretical reflection are sides of the same coin, mutually interdependent and interrelated. Neither has value in itself.



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The Afghan Context

AFGHANISTAN is a country in a state of disequilibrium. Twenty-four years of conflict, four consecutive years of severe drought between 1998 and 2002, and a repressive government largely unconcerned with economic development or other basic communal needs combined to produce the exodus of altogether over six million people from Afghanistan between 1980 and 2001 (10). An estimated one million Afghans were thought to be internally displaced as well, a number that increased during the early weeks of US military action in Afghanistan in the fall of 2001 (11). Since the final collapse of the Taliban in early 2002, around two million refugees have returned to Afghanistan (12). According to Serge Malé, the director of the UNHCR mission in Afghanistan (13), around 1.9 million Afghans returned between March 2002 and September 2003 (14). But not all have returned “home”: According to some estimates close to 50 percent of the returnees have gone to Kabul, and the immediately surrounding areas (15).

All in all this leads up to a conflict which haven't seen its equal in the last three decades. With an estimated population of 29 million inhabitants in 2003, every one in five Afghans will have experienced the trauma of being a refugee. Needless to say, an exodus of this magnitude has consequences, not only to the individual, but to the society at large. It is hard to even imagine the consequences such mass migrations have for a war torn country like Afghanistan. The reintegration efforts are immense, but must be considered in a long term perspective. Afghanistan continues to struggle with internal conflicts and regional insecurity in the majority of the country's provinces. An immense number of returnees now find themselves internally displaced due to this.

The pre-displacement period: Motivations for fleeing

ACCORDING to Patrick, the majority of the refugees who fled did so during the years of the Taliban regime, between 1994-95 and 2001 (16), but this is not to say that they fled because of the Taliban alone. Other incentives for flight in this period were prolonged drought in the rural areas (17) where approximately 85% of the population live, as well as ethnic conflicts (18) and fear of persecution from local warlords in the provinces (19).

Flight can be seen as an example of a "coping strategy" (20) in the sense that "people make choices, even in the most violent, insecure and destitute conditions. To the extent that flight is the result of deliberation and follows the logic of a strategic move to survive, such decisions are not simply based on calculating the danger – its intensity, its magnitude, and the resources available to move. Calculations also include a consideration of memories of past displacements, the whereabouts of relatives and friends

(i. e. the possibility of mobilizing social networks), and the particular socio-political conditions which may make flight a higher risk than staying" (Benoit 1998:23).

Most people will only resort to flight as a last alternative. In many cases flight involves leaving not only one's house, land, village and country, but also family and relatives. In short, to leave most of the things that constitute one's identity. Obviously one does not do this without considering the alternatives thoroughly in advance.

By far the majority of the Afghans who fled have taken refuge in the neighbouring countries of Pakistan and Iran. Serge Malé from the UNHCR cautiously estimated that between 2.5 and 3.5 million Afghans were living as refugees in these two countries. So even though 1.9 million Afghan refugees returned from Pakistan and Iran between February 2002 and July 2003, the majority were still living in exile at this point (Personal interview, UNHCR office, Kabul, September 13 2003).

Most of the returnees whom I spoke to explained that their decision to leave Afghanistan was based on fear for their lives and that of their families. Some left just after the Soviet invasion in 1979, others in the 1990s during the fighting between the Taliban and the Northern Alliance and other groups. Decisions to flee vary according to where in the country the people lived. In the east many people fled in the 1990's, especially those living on the Shomali Plain and in the Salang Valley north of Kabul City, where the fighting between Taliban and the Northern Alliance was particularly intense. Many people who fled Kabul City did so between 1992 and 1996, where the city was a regular war-zone with hourly rocket attacks and fighting in the streets.

To a large extent the people who fled from the southern provinces were of other ethnic origins than Pashto, most notably Tajik, Uzbek and Turkmen. Presumably this is due to the fact that the Taliban regime, which originated in the south and southeast, and its supporters were mainly Pashto, whereas the Northern Alliance was mainly Tajik, Uzbek and Turkmen. Thus those of other origin than Pashto experienced considerable persecution and harassment in the southern areas. Likewise in the northern areas, people of Pashto origin found it necessary to migrate to the south or into Pakistan where a strong Pashto community has been present since 1947 when the geographical borders were redrawn, following the "construction" of Pakistan and the end of the British colonial empire in the region.

Thus, a reoccurring explanation for fleeing was the fear of harassment by other ethnic groups and the general fear connected with living in an instable society not knowing what the future holds.

The displacement period: The nature and experience of displacement

MANY informants had traumatic stories of the actual flight itself: The departure and saying farewell to family and relatives, not knowing whether they would ever meet them again as well as the hardships and uncertainty experienced when crossing the border and entering the country of exile, perhaps without knowing where to end up and how to survive (21).

This liminal phase, where the individual is detached from his place of origin and the place of destination is in itself a violent change, which leave many people disoriented and frightened. But once this first phase is over, new challenges confront the

refugees upon arrival in the country of exile. The following section deals with the post-displacement period, in other words the period spent in exile.

The post-displacement period: Living in exile

"Surviving long-term displacement requires dramatic responses to radically new social and economic environments. Refugees represent the most dramatic case of coping in exile" (Benoit 1998:23).

MOST of the refugees living in Pakistan live in refugee camps in the border area near Afghanistan and in cities like Peshawar, Islamabad and Quetta (22). One of the first challenges upon arrival is accepting the role of being a refugee, with all the negative connotations it entails. For most Afghan people freedom is of a high priority and the ability to preserve this freedom is connected to the notion of honour, one of the most important concepts in Afghan identity. Edwards, who conducted 18 months of fieldwork among Pashto refugees in Peshawar argues that the most important identity marker in Pashto society is the preservation of honour and courage, this is called *ghairat*: "A man who possess *ghairat* is a man who determines his own destiny, who follows his own compass despite the attempts of others to limit and circumscribe his activities" (Edwards 1986:315). Being a refugee means to be a marginalized minority (23) who doesn't own land or animals. It means having little or next to nothing. It means to be dependent on others for survival, and this feeling of helplessness and dependency is often very challenging for the proud and fiercely independent Afghans who have taken refugee in Pakistan (24).

The response of different peoples to the experience of dislocation varies tremendously

as does the ability of different social groups to maintain their cultural identity and their traditional social structure and institutions (25). "With the reorientation of economic and social life away from independent subsistence farming towards dependent ration collection, the ethos of self-determination is being subtly undermined. Instead of looking to oneself, to one's kinsmen, and to the land for subsistence and survival, it is now possible and, for some, necessary to look to an external agency for assistance and, in doing so, to abandon the core values of Pashto society" (Edwards 1986:321).

Transformations in the conception of space and time.

BECOMING a refugee also has repercussions on perceptions such as conceptions of space, time and their consequences on identities. Space and time are two essential notions in anthropology, particularly in the anthropology of the contemporary (26). As humans we perceive our surroundings in relation to the spatial dimensions among other things. An integral part of social organization is "the symbolisation of space". The aim of the symbolisation of space is to clarify for those who share the same location a certain number of organizing schemes, ideological and intellectual references, in order to organize the social fabric. "The symbolisation of space helps the definition of the internal and the external, the "self" and the "other", identity and alterity" (Benoit 1998:31) (27).

For refugees the symbolization of space takes place in surroundings that are new and foreign to them. They are faced with the challenges of rebuilding or constructing their identities in places that hold no actual memories for them. In this sense the anthropological concept of *lieux de mémoire*, or memoryscapes (28) is useful, since it functions as a constitutive element in the iden-

tification process experienced by refugees. *Lieux de mémoire* are not present in the country of exile, so new *lieux de mémoire* must be constructed through the symbolization of space (29).

Fundamentally the symbolization of space is an integral part in constructing a "collective memory" within a social group. This entails constructing the idea of common souvenirs. According to Benoit "The historical authenticity of those souvenirs does not really matter. The most fundamental need is the internalisation of references as well as a constituent imagination that has built up a collective "fabulation", a myth, from a "territory", a "moment" or an event" (Benoit 1998:33). For refugees claims of space of reference become a search for an "imaginary" to tie together the collective existence of a group, to give a meaning, a reason to live together and become a "community of destiny", that is to say, a group of persons brought together by external circumstances and forced to socialize together (30). A. P. Cohen calls this process "the symbolic construction of community" (31).

Most Afghan refugees in Pakistan correlate the loss of land (homeland) to the loss of social links. Many live in camps in the outskirts of urban areas and this has resulted in basic changes in social and mental structures of the refugee population. The main modification has been that the social space has become heterogeneous, regrouping different kinships, different ethnicities and persons from different backgrounds. This entailed major adjustments in their cultural relationships. One has to imagine that many refugees come from small-scale communities of ethnic homogeneity, where they shared a common history and perception of space and time, rooted in traditions developed over time. The experience of displacement needless to say became a *primus*

motor in the following socio-cultural transformations.

Thus, from the beginning of the life in exile, the refugees are confronted with a serious identity dilemma. Then come the challenges of interaction and communication with the residents in the country of asylum.



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Interaction

THE establishment of Pakistan in 1947 and the following restructuring of the Afghan borderlines entailed the division of related kin groups living on each side of the border. But whether or not refugees have the advantage of historically affined ties, their first encounter is with the host population with whom they must negotiate their social, economic and political space (32).

”Coping in exile forces people to face the challenges of accommodation and adaptation to a social, economic and political context in which they are “handicapped outsiders”, who are often destitute. Adaptation involves the challenge of communication. Successful communication does not only involve fluency in the language of the host, it requires understanding of the cultural signs” (Benoit 1998:27).

The cultural contact that evolves when refugees arrive in their country of exile, or host- country, is a highly dynamic process.

The American anthropologist, G. Bateson noticed three main possible reactions in the case of cultural contact: Groups can fuse together, groups can be eliminated and it is also possible that the society becomes more complex as all groups survive and learn to live together (33). I would argue that the last scenario is the case in Pakistan, and, as I shall discuss later, it is definitely the case in Afghanistan at the moment.

In Pakistan, the Afghan refugees are generally living in two different sorts of environments; refugee camps, or in the outskirts of the main cities. Those in the cities organize themselves in neighbourhoods dominated by refugees (34), and thus find themselves in an environment where the symbolization of space and the construction of identities happen in interaction with other refugees sharing common experiences in their nature as people who have had to flee their native country. But, as earlier mentioned, many different ethnic groups are living together in these areas, and this sometimes leads to conflicts.

Ethnic interaction and conflicts

ETHNIC conflicts often appear when different ethnic groups inhabit the same local area and compete for the same resources. Living in exile add another dimension to this ethnic interaction: the constant presence of concerns for the troubles in the native country and concerns for family and relatives who are still living there. In addition to this, many refugees are met by intolerance and racism as well as opposition to integration from the local hosts (35).

In his studies on interaction and ethnicity the Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth (36) argues that in the interaction between different ethnic groups the individual and collective identities are being reinforced and

reconstructed through a constant dialectic between "us" and "them". In other words through an identification and categorization founded in the differentiation between internal and external (37). In short it is in the meeting of cultures that identity is being created, maintained and transformed through the interaction between individuals. Needless to say this is a highly dynamic process governed by individual and collective actions undertaken on the basis of different world visions and cultural backgrounds (38).

As mentioned earlier, there are several ways of coping with exile. The construction of "imagined communities" (39) and the promotion of traditional and cultural values through internalization of references, symbolization of space and the invention of lieux de memoire and collective memory (40) is mixed with an internalization or appropriation of new cultural concepts and actions attained through interaction with the culture in the host country.

Thus, migration, whether voluntary or forced, pro-active or re-active is to a large extent a prerequisite for the dynamic process of culture change. If there was no such thing as human migration, there would be no intercultural interaction – in my mind an impossible situation.

Cultural change: Changing identities and new challenges

IN Pakistan, Afghan families are exposed to a society which, although largely similar to the Afghan, contains some very markedly aspects.

As the area of Peshawar is predominantly Pathan (Pakistani name for the Pashto), and as the majority of refugees are also Pashto, it would be possible to say that culturally most

of the Afghans have adopted some Pashtun cultural habits (41). For example, the *pardah*, "traditional, Islamic dress code", are now practised by both Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns. This has particular impact for women. Surrounded by strangers in a foreign country, the *pardah* tradition is practiced in a more radical way. Women who never wore even a simple veil before the war, now feel the need to respect the seclusion and the diminution of their living space (42).

Thinking back to the theories of Gregory Bateson evoked previously, I believe it is possible to conclude that mainly the third reaction of the juxtaposition and diversities of polarizations can be applied to the Afghan context. Different bases for an identification process now exist. The "clashes" witnessed between different factions of the population might also have the purpose of integrating all groups in a society previously predominated by the Pashto, as now everybody is claiming their share of the national power. A dynamic process can rarely take a peaceful path. The actual developments in Afghanistan cause the anticipation of increasing violence (43).

"For anthropologists, the issue of identity is intricately tied to the criteria of group membership. In this sense, to be someone is to be a member of the clan, the tribe, the ethnic group or nationality" (Piquard 1998:41).

Modernism defines particular identities in terms of contexts, as features of the social order (44) or as cultural constructions invented or developed in particular situations, most notably those which challenge the survival of the group (45). The most influential formulation of this position is that of Fredrik Barth (46), who defines group distinctiveness as an ongoing process of social and political change within regional systems, thereby undermining the "closed world" view of cultural identity. Member-

ship is a relational rather than an absolute term that presupposes an opposition between “we” and “them”.

“To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for the purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense [...]. The critical point of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary of the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses” (Barth 1969:14-15).

The relevance of Barth’s model in the explanation of social group interaction in exile is evident in many refugee situations. The process through which “the invention of tradition” (47) allows for an inter-group boundary to be drawn between themselves and the host population, while, on the other hand, it establishes an intra-group boundary that segments and distinguishes between those who are in the camp and those outside in terms of their interests. It also reveals the processes of ethnic formation as an adaptive strategy and demystifies the assumptions evident in everyday social and political discourse which construe ethnic and national allegiances as clearly definable and historically fixed units (48).

Indeed, neither ethnic groups nor national groups are essential or fixed. Both types of identity must be understood as a process (49). It is important to acknowledge that identity is a plural term – *identities* – since different identities exist. Individuals promote and understand their identity(ies) according to the specific context (50). The following reasoning by Richmond aptly illustrates the difference between a non-refugee and a refugee:

“An ontologically secure individual is able to integrate different facets of self-identity into a consistent whole. Anxiety-creating situations threaten that sense of wholeness and continuity through time and space. Modern social life

tends to be pluralistic and segmented. It is also changing rapidly and involves risk. This can lead to the fragmentation of identity.” (Richmond 1994:21).

The construction of ethnic identity in exile provides a basis for group membership, loyalty and mutual support – crucial aspects of security and belonging, specially for refugees.

Upon return: New changes - new challenges

“You cannot repair 25 years of conflict in a year or a year and a half. That is the reality. Unfortunately you can destroy something you need twenty years to build in ten minutes. But once it is destroyed to rebuild it again- and I am not just talking about infrastructure but also of networks and the confidence which has been destroyed between people. All this. Yes it takes time” (Personal Interview with Serge Malé of the UNHCR, Kabul, September 13 2003).

SERGE Malé, the director of the UNHCR mission in Afghanistan sums up the core of the problem, considering the repatriation of refugees from neighbouring countries. The unforeseen numbers of refugees who have returned to Afghanistan during 2002 and 2003 have put enormous pressure on Afghanistan. UNHCR, who have been the main responsible organ in the “voluntary repatriation process” (51), have been criticized by among others Human Rights Watch for encouraging refugees to return home although the security situation in Afghanistan wasn’t ready for it (52). Serge Malé is aware of the critique, but argues that the refugees were not forced, they came back in their own free will with the intention of helping to rebuild the country and lead it into the future: “It is true that the refugees don’t have much when they return, but they knew that it would be that way. They knew that it would be hard, but they have chosen to

return to help reconstruct the country and create peace...(...)...people that come back are not just a problem. They also have resources, and they have put their resources at the disposal for Afghanistan”.

Malé argues that it will take a long time and effort to rebuild Afghanistan and re-integrate the returning refugees into the society and he believes that the returning refugees understand this aspect: ”Most probably they are building Afghanistan for their children or their grand children – not for themselves – it will take a good generation at least.” Malé believes that one of the main problems is that ”many of the social networks that existed in Afghanistan before the war - let’s say in the Eighties - have been affected by the conflict. There is a level of mistrust that has been installed within the society. In some cases even within the families. People do not know who they should trust anymore. This is worrying” (Personal Interview, Kabul, September 13 2003).

Afghanistan is in a period of socio-cultural transformation. The challenges for the future are enormous (53), and it is difficult to predict what will happen in the next years. In the following I will discuss the role of the returnees in this dynamic process and outline their present situation.

Kabul: Change and Challenges

RETURNING from exile the refugees are once again thrown into a phase of uncertainty and fluidity. Many of them do not know how things are in their areas of origin, and they have become used to live in another culture under different circumstances. When I asked Serge Malé how he thought their return would affect the development in Afghanistan he said: ”It is true that the way they (the refugees who have now returned to Afghanistan) have lived in Pakistan is

probably completely different from how they lived in Afghanistan. Some were even born in Pakistan. They know Pakistani culture much better than the Afghan culture. They have never been here. Probably some of their way of life is surprising to many of the Afghans who have lived here all of their life. Will these two issues conflict or will they develop progressively?” (Personal Interview, Kabul, September 13 2003). In short they go through the transformation process they experienced when fleeing Afghanistan once again. They don’t know what they are returning to, since Afghanistan has changed considerably over the last decades.

In 2002-2003 around 1.1 to 1.2 million of the total 1.9 million returnees came back to the central region in Afghanistan. About 400.000 settled in Kabul and the majority of the rest settled in Kabul Province. Kabul Province is by far the area which has been most affected by the mass return, which is understandable since it is from this area that most of the refugees fled. It was in this region that the heaviest fighting took place (54).

Kabul City itself has been in a state of conflict for around 20 years, and this has left the city in a state of degradation in terms of infrastructure and general maintenance: ”It is no wonder that there are problems here” (Malé). Alone the number of people returning constitutes a major challenge. At the moment around every fifth or sixth person in Kabul city is a newly returned refugee. Many of the refugees live under poor conditions and find it increasingly difficult to support themselves and their children (55).

”I am living here [a “tent village” in Kabul] because I have nowhere else to go. I returned to Afghanistan almost 7 months ago with the help of UNHCR. I returned to my village, but the village leaders told me that there was no room for

me and said that I had to come to Kabul. I lived in that village many, many years ago, before the war with the Russians. We rented a house and land, and then 17 years ago, I moved to Kabul. My husband was killed in a rocket attack five years ago, and after that we went to Pakistan. Now I am a widow with five children without land or a house. It gets very cold here at night, and we don't have enough food" (Interview with an Afghan returnee in: Refugees International 2003).

Walking around Kabul and especially in the outskirts of the city I visited many refugees living in tent camps and occupied houses. The living standards are extremely poor and the people who are living here are mainly returnees who have not been able to return to their homes or their villages and internally displaced persons migrating to the city to avoid ethnic harassment, escape drought and to look for job opportunities in the capital (56).

When you ask the people about their living conditions you get stories of misery and despair. One thing is what the people tell you and another is how things actually are. According to Serge Malé it is true that many people live in tents and occupied buildings (57), but there are also many stories of people who only stay there during the day and sleep at relatives places during the night. During my interview he said that "the tents are used for calling attention – they are quite clever, I mean, they are human, I don't have anything against that. Last year we had a winterization programme in Kabul, that was essentially to support the most vulnerable in order to give them a little a bit of food and non-food items in order for them to go through the winter in a little bit more dignified way. And of course those who were under the tents saw that the tents were a quite good way to attract attention and they knew that being in the tent made them visible to journalists and people passing by and they

thought that that was probably a good way to attract attention and become the beneficiaries of this winterization programme. I think that some of these people received the packages two or even three times. But that is human. That is not a major issue, but they know how to call the attention of the international community and defend themselves – and that is fair enough" (Personal interview, Kabul, September 13 2003). It is hard to check up on this, but it is plausible that many poor people do everything they can to attract the attention of potential donors. With reference to Barth one could categorize this coping strategy as a way of trying to maximize one's values and make the best out of the situation (58).

In the same sense it seems plausible that Serge Malé has an interest in downplaying the actual problems concerning returnees seen in the light of the aforementioned critique of the UNHCR repatriation programme. Many of the returnees I talked to in the tent camps in the outskirts of Kabul blamed UN and other organizations for not listening to them and helping them.

"My name is Sultan Muhammed, my family consists of 16 persons, Our home has been demolished. We have spent 5 years as refugees and now we have returned. We don't have a place to stay or anything to do" (Sultan Mohammed, resident in a tent camp in northern Kabul, September 2003).

At the end of the day it is obvious that many refugees face enormous challenges upon returning to Afghanistan. According to Amnesty International "Many returnees are simply unable to return to their original homes, either because their homes have been occupied while they were in exile, or because they have had to go to urban centres to find work. The life of a returned refugee is hard, made harder still by the fact that years of exile have often weakened the

bonds of community” (Amnesty International 2003:2)

Sustainable development is a long-term project, which implies many challenges. From what I saw UNHCR, which is responsible for the repatriation of refugees and facilitate coordination between other governmental and non-governmental (NGO) organs, did what they could to better the situation. Through participatory approaches (59) and bottom-up approaches they focus on capacity building programmes (60) as well as mass information programmes in local and isolated areas (61) UNHCR tries to bridge the gap between humanitarian assistance and developmental projects by enabling the beneficiaries to reach the goals they have set themselves for the future. Serge Malé himself sums up the situation in Afghanistan as follows:

”What Afghanistan actually needs is a really good development programme, and we are not. We at UNHCR are essentially a relief humanitarian organisation. We can help in facilitating transport and smaller projects. But this is not sufficient in a situation where development is needed. So if you wish, we bridge a gap. During this gap which is needed for the good development agencies, for the government and for the good development to develop needs plans. The government can not come up with these plans immediately, they need a little bit of time also to develop their own capacity. So we believe that in the first one-two-three years of a post-war conflict is the time the government needs to build its capacity, to build the capacities of the provincial, and to build the capacity of the ministries and the line-ministries and to have the big international development organisations coming and supporting the government in order to have the country ready for this development phase which will go on for the next 25-50 years. So our role is very much limited, we know we don’t change all things, but at least we bridge a gap. At least we help the people to initially reintegrate and then hopefully there will come agents and agencies of

development which they would need. So there we are in this phase: We are in the phase of capacity building”.

Conclusion

MIGRATION is a fundamental aspect of the human nature whether it is pro-active or re-active, and it is one of the major catalysts of cultural change in our world today. Migration implies communication and interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds, different codes of behaviour and different worldviews. In the interaction process individuals construct and reconstruct their identities in a constant dialectical process between the internal and the external. The construction of social and ethnic boundaries is a result of this process and shares the same dynamism. Becoming a refugee is a severe experience of rupture that further intensifies and complexes these identification and categorization processes.

Judging from the last fifty years where major military interventions, civil wars, religious conflicts and humanitarian crisis have been part of the everyday life for many millions of people it seems safe to say that worldwide mass-migration will continue to be a major force of change and a potential source for conflicts in the future, just as it is today (62).

”We must recognize that our post-modern society is a global one, the survival of which requires the institutionalization of universal values respecting human rights, including the right to asylum(..)..It will be necessary to determine priorities, develop rules, allocate resources, and take appropriate preventive and rehabilitative action to create new global structures” (Richmond 1994:71).

This is a major challenge and the complexity this problem entails is far beyond the scope of this paper. I have presented and

discussed some of the aspects of migration and the following cultural change, with a specific focus on the situation in Afghanistan. As a student of anthropology I believe that the best basis for all discussions is an insight based on personal experience, and thus I have incorporated my own data in this essay. Through the process of writing this paper I have delved into new material concerning the subject. Hopefully someday I can help to contribute to at least some sort of improvement of the situation. For the lack of better words I end this paper with a quotation by Richmond:

"In the postmodern world we must all learn to live with ethno-cultural diversity, rapid social change and mass migration. There is no peaceful alternative" (Richmond 1994:217).

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NOTES

1. Clear examples of reactive migrants are slaves, refugees, stateless persons and forced labourers (Richmond 1994:61).
2. "Generally, the precipitating event is one that disrupts the normal functioning of the system and thus destroys the capacity of a population to survive under the prevailing conditions" (Richmond 1994:65). See also Benoit (1998:24) and Du Toit (1975:3).
3. Benoit 1998:15).
4. See also Agier (2002).
5. Baumann (2004:75-89).
6. Loizos (1981); Harrell-Bond (1986); Hirshon (1989); Malkki (1989); Voutira (1991); Agier (1994).
7. Along with four fellow anthropological students I spent 2 months working on a series of documentaries depicting everyday life in Afghanistan. In the course of this work I conducted interviews among returnees in the outskirts of Kabul, visited the UNHCR encashment centre at Pol-E-Charki and interviewed the director of the UNHCR mission in Afghanistan, as well as employees, international and local. In September 2004 I returned to Afghanistan, to conduct further interviews, examining the impact of return migration in Kabul City and Province. All in all I spent four and a half month in Afghanistan.
8. see www.hrw.org.
9. see www.amnestyinternational.org.
10. Patrick (2003); UNHCR (2003); Human Rights Watch (2003a+b).
11. Patrick 2003.
12. UNHCR (2003); Thompson (2002:1).
13. Mr. Malé was later replaced in 2004.
14. Information from personal interview with Serge Malé, UNHCR headquarters, Kabul, Afghanistan 13 september 2003. See also UNHCR (2003) and Patrick (2003).
15. Patrick 2003:1; UNAMA 2002:16.
16. Patrick (2003:1). I have not been able to find exact statistical facts that confirm this statement, and I am not sure whether such data exists, given the uncertainties such statistics would entail, let alone the challenges in obtaining them.
17. FAO and UNHCR estimates that around 80% of all livestock died as a consequence of the droughts in 1998-2002, which are considered the worst in 150 years (UNHCR 2003).
18. Human Rights Watch (2002)
19. Constable (2004:14).
20. Benoit (1998:23)
21. Any crisis or disaster involving loss of property and means of livelihood necessarily brings about changes in the modes of subsistence and the social organisation that regulates them. (Benoit 1998:17).
22. UNHCR (2003).
23. Baumann (2004); Benoit (1998:28)
24. Edwards (1986).

25. Benoit (1998); Edwards (1986:314-321).
26. Benoit (1998:31). See also footnote 42.
27. See also Barth (1966 & 1969) and Cohen (1986).
28. See Balandier (1985), Althabe (1998), Augé (1994), and Maffesoli (1988).
29. Ibid.
30. Benoit (1998:34).
31. Cohen (1986).
32. Benoit (1998:26).
33. Bateson (1977).
34. A common reaction among refugees all over the globe is to organize themselves in areas where people in the same situation resides. In her brilliant study on refugees in Tanzania Malkki explains that "the relationships refugees pursued were with people who would understand what their pre-war life was about and share the same meanings" (Malkki 1989).
35. Richmond (1994).
36. Barth (1966; 1969).
37. Jenkins (1995; 2000).
38. Cohen (1986).
39. Anderson
40. Anderson (1991), (Augé 1994), Barth (1966), Cohen (1986), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Piquard (1998), Richmond (1994).
41. This is an example of cultural hegemony: "The term 'hegemony' describes a situation in which a dominant class or group is able to influence the symbol systems of a society in such a way that their own position is accepted as legitimate with a minimum of doubt or opposition" (Gramsci, 1988).
42. Piquard (1998:38)
43. Ibid.:39.
44. Gellner (1983).
45. Cohen (1971; 1986).
46. Barth (1969).
47. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1978).
48. Bringa (1993).
49. Barth (1969); Eriksen (1993).
50. Richmond (1994:21).
51. A process which began in early 2002 and facilitated around 1.9 million returns between 2002 and July 2003. The process is intended to help refugees return safely to their areas of origin and provide them with the means for reintegrating themselves in the local areas. (UNHCR 2003).
52. Human Rights Watch (2003b). Amnesty International has also argued that Afghanistan is not yet ready to assist the large numbers of returning refugees. (Amnesty International 2003:1).
53. Amnesty International (2003:1); Thompson (2003:1); Human Rights Watch (2003:1a; 2003b)
54. UNHCR (2003).
55. Thompson and Brown (2003).
56. "Lack of employment opportunities in rural areas is one of the most urgent problems facing rural returnees and has fostered the rural-to-urban migration that is overwhelming the cities.**" (Thompson and Brown 2003:1).
57. "According to our surveys between 1500 and 2000 families live in destroyed houses or tents around Kabul" (Serge Malé 2003).
58. Barth (1966).
59. Chambers (1983).
60. "Our privilege if any is to give the people the capacity to rebuild by themselves what they believe should be their country" (Serge Malé, personal interview, Kabul September 2003).
61. UNHCR (2003).
62. Baumann (1998&2004): Richmond (1994) Agier (2002).

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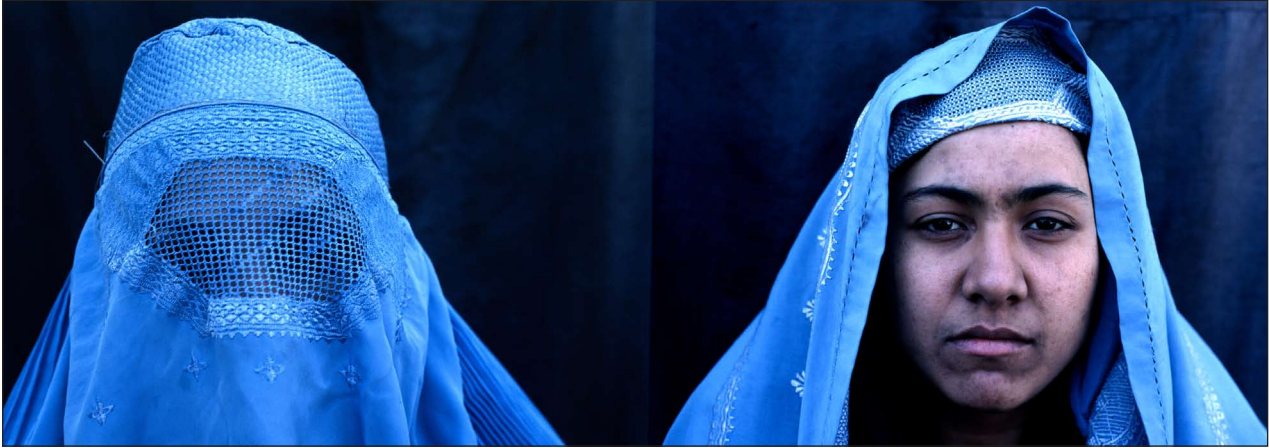
RESUMÉ

Flygtninge er globaliseringens affald. På en og samme tid modernitetens og nutidens dynamiske interaktionelle sociale processers årsag og effekt. Få steder ses dette tydeligere end i Afghanistan og Pakistan, hvor millioner mennesker oplever de traumer og konflikter som opstår i forbindelse med masse migrationer og flygtningestrømme. Men det er ikke blot de enkelte flygtninge der lider – de samfund fra hvilke og til hvilke disse massemigrationer foregår er under enormt pres – socio-økonomisk og politisk. Denne artikel giver et generelt indblik i de elementer der udgør flygtningemigrationer, med et særligt empirisk fokus på Afghanistan-Pakistan konteksten.

IMAGES: blue series

by Christian Vium

all photos © Christian Vium



A young woman in Kabul wearing the controversial *burqa*, which was once a sign of nobility in Afghanistan. Westerners often ascribe the *burqa* negative connotations and it has become a rather stereotypical symbol of the oppression of women. The actual cultural or traditional meanings ascribed to the aspect of the veil is rather more complicated. Initially, the *burqa* was in particular worn by noble women to protect themselves from the "polluting" glances of strangers. Since then it has become a widespread practice all over the country. The cultural practice surrounding the female veiling is related to the ideas of honourable presence and protection of family values. But, lately, many women have begun to question this practice and voice discontent with the *burqa*. In Kabul and other larger cities more and more women are seen wearing the more moderate veil covering only the hair.

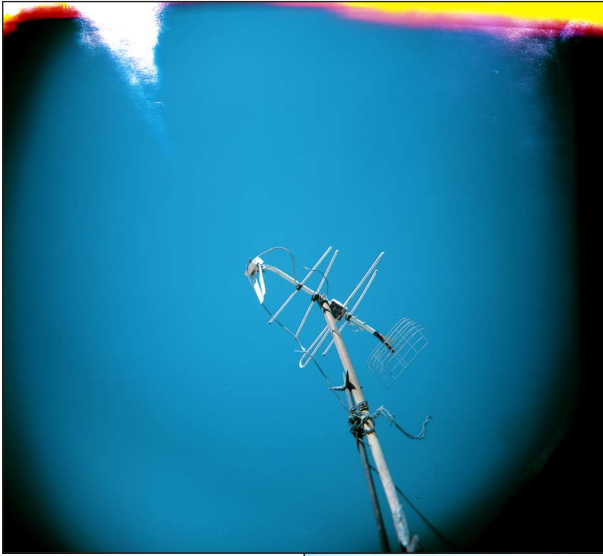


Restaurant sign in Herat, western Afghanistan, September 2003. According to radical readings of the Qur'an, depictions of living beings is blasphemy. The Taliban exercised strong regulations on this and other issues. Here, the face has been scratched away.

Women praying in a holy shrine in Kabul, september 2004. Wednesday is reserved for the women in the shrine. Outside, husbands are waiting to escort their wives and female relatives back home when the prayer is over.



all photos © Christian Vium



An improvised television antenna in a small village near Charikar a city situated on the Shomali plain north of Kabul. Perhaps one of the strongest forces in the modernization of Afghanistan, the growing access to television has brought about widespread transformations in the way the Afghan people imagine their surroundings and the world as such. Apart from more classical programmes with music, and national news, access to foreign produced media greatly influences everyday life in many areas of Afghanistan.

A young mother and her child are waiting for a health check at the Danish-sponsored health clinic Gozarath, just outside Herat in Western Afghanistan.



Not far from Kabul Cinema in the central Shahr-E-Now neighborhood, a young boy is eating a piece of bread. He is one of a still growing number of homeless children roaming the streets of the Afghan capital in search of a little money or some food. The phenomenon is rather new in Afghanistan and it threatens to become an even greater problem in the future, since many of the children have lost one or both of their parents in the civil war and have few options but to beg on the street.

IMAGES: portraits of five Afghan women, 2003

all photos © Christian Vium



IMAGES: camera obscura, 2003-2004

This series was taken with an Afghan camera obscura during 2003 and 2004. The series is part of an ongoing project on everyday people in Afghanistan. The project is a collaboration between Christian Vium and the young Afghan photographer Ahmed Ramez.

all photos © Christian Vium



IMAGES: nomad - Obbeh District - 2004

all photos © Christian Vium



Young boy herding the camels some kilometers from the nomad camp where he lives with his family and relatives. The nomads continue to migrate seasonally from low- to highland pastures in this isolated region near the borders of Iran and Turkmenistan.



AFGHAN MUSCLES



by Andreas Møl Dalsgaard

ABSTRACT

The production of the documentary "Afghan Muscles" began in the summer of 2003, during my first visit to Afghanistan. I was fascinated by this society which was so full of contrasts; Large mosques and Bollywood cinemas side by side, cars and horse carriages, extreme poverty and wealth, tradition and modernity together but not united. First of all the many large posters of Arnold Schwarzenegger and other famous bodybuilders surprised me. I soon found out that the many posters were actually commercials, representing different gyms around the capital. Muscles are modern and bodybuilding is big business. With the picture of a burqa passing by a 3x4 meter sign of an almost naked muscleman in the back of my head, I was bound to make a movie about this subject.

The past 3 years I have followed a group of men in Kabul, thereby seeking to create a picture of Afghanistan and a subculture, which has gained great popularity since the fall of the Taleban. It is a culture of young men seeking modernity in their very own way, trying to be successful and gain a name and fame in the cultural chaos of postwar Kabul. This article will discuss the contents of the project, and some of the thoughts and concerns that I have come across working with this subject.

I AFGHANISTAN er bodybuildere ikke en obskur minoritet, men derimod højeste mode i de større byer. Klubberne er mødesteder for unge mænd, der samles efter dagens arbejde og træner. De bedste bodybuildere er kendte ansigter, og træner i moderne veludstyrede centre, hvor ejeren betaler dem for deres promovering af stedet. Bodybuild-

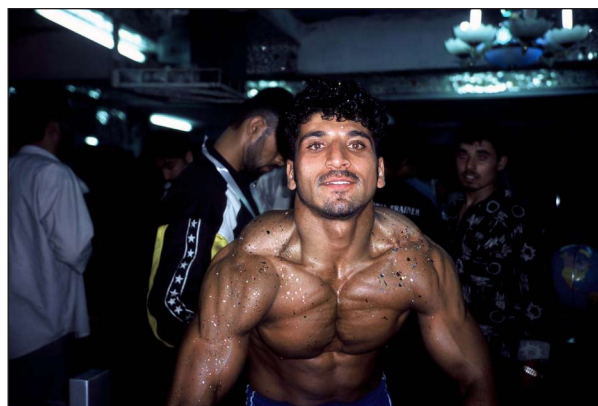
ing er *big business*, og konkurrencen er hård i Kabul, hvor der er registreret i nærheden af 70 træningscentre. Nogle er gamle og slidte, og overlever i kraft af medlemmernes loyalitet til deres træner. Kabul er en storby, hvor etniske og stamme-baserede fællesskaber eksisterer parallelt med den moderne metropols subkulturelle fællesskaber.

I bodybuilding er den traditionelle sociale struktur rykket fra landsbyen ind til byerne, og selvom stamme-bånd mister betydning, fastholdes det traditionelle hierarki i nye former. De traditionelle *patron*-klient forhold mellem khanen og bonden på landet, er i bodybuilding skiftet ud med den velhavende center-ejer og hans medlemmer. Hvert center har sit eget sociale hierarki, med ejeren på toppen og de bedste bodybuildere er hans 'præmietyre' til konkurrencerne.

Whitney Azoy beskriver i bogen *Buzkashi, Game and Power in Afghanistan* (Azoy, 1982) den afghanske nationalsport, hvor mænd på hesteryg kæmper om kontrollen med en døde ged. På samme måde som Clifford Geertz har analyseret balinesisk samfundsstruktur ud fra de populære hanekampe, så analyserer Whitney Azoy reglerne i *buzkashi* som et symbol på landets samfundsstruktur. *Buzkashi* har næsten ingen regler, og heller ingen bane. Alt imellem 20 og 500 ryttere på hesteryg kæmper om den døde ged, og det gælder om at rive sig løs fra flokken med geden under armen. En rytters bedste egenskaber er snuhed og styrke, og han sponsoreres af rige khaner, der samtidig ejer hestene som benyttes. En dygtig *buzkashi*-rytter, som oftest har fattig baggrund, er guld værd for en khan's sociale spil. Konkurrencerne, også kaldet *toi*, afholdes traditionelt på landet, hvor de bliver brugt af lokale khaner som et vigtigt politisk redskab. Størrelsen på en *toi* er et direkte udtryk for khanens magt og position, hvor antallet af deltagere, deres berømmelse, og ikke mindst begivenhedens succes kan forøge khanens rygte og ære (Azoy, 25). Hvis præmierne er generøse og reglerne overholdes i venskabelighed, så er det udtryk for khan'ens effektivitet som leder, og en måde hvor han kan styrke sine alliancer i samfundet.

I Afghanistan danner et stærkt æresbegreb

grundlag for alliancer, og styrer derved det sociale netværk. Idealsamfundet er uden faste politiske strukturer, og de omskiftelige magtstrukturer bygger på forbund og alliancer mellem de enkelte samfundsgrupper. En magtfuld khan's styrke og økonomiske velstand afhænger, af det antal mennesker han har tilknyttet i et gensidigt afhængighedsforhold. Så længe han fremstår stærk og magtfuld, vil folk søge ly under hans beskyttende kappe, hvor han tilbyder dem sikkerhed og økonomisk stabilitet. Hvis æren svækkes og han fremstår svag, så påvirker det alliancernes stabilitet, og den politiske magt og økonomiske handlefrihed svækkes. Penge og politik er på denne måde tæt forbundne i Afghanistan, og den omskiftelige magtstruktur beskrevet ovenfor, er en vigtig årsag til den evigt svage statsstruktur i landet.



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Man kan genfinde samme magtstruktur indenfor bodybuilding miljøet, hvor rige center-ejere tiltrækker stærke bodybuildere, og derved øger antallet af klienter/kunder i sit center. Et centers popularitet afhænger af dets *champions*, og en *champions* loyalitet afhænger af ejerens økonomiske støtte. Støtten skal være stor nok til at fastholde loyaliteten, og samtidig forblive en god forretning for ejeren, som ville miste medlemmer hvis stedets *champion* rejser. Alliancer skifter dog konstant, når de for-

skellige aktører, både *champions* og ejere, udnytter hinanden i deres kamp for succes. Konkurrencerne er i høj grad en arena, hvor denne kamp ses i fuld udfoldelse, og hvor en mands ære tabes og vindes. Det er et spil om status, med paralleller til det traditionelle Afghanistan og frem til nutidens storbykultur i Kabul. Som et mikrobillede på hele landet, kan bodybuilding give en dybere forståelse af landets moderne fortolkning af en traditionel kultur.

Visuel repræsentation kontra skriftlig

DER er stor forskel på at levere en skriftlig præsentation af centrale temaer i "Afghan Muscles", og at skabe en visuel formidling på film, hvor selvsamme temaer formidles dramatisk og spændende. Dette er meget vanskeligt, og i etnografiske film vælges ofte en traditionel brug af objektiv fortællerstemme, gerne etnografen selv. Det lykkes dog meget sjældent at skabe nærhed fra publikum til psykologien hos filmens karakterer. Denne form for repræsentation er problematisk, da den netop fremhæver fremmedgørelsen frem for indlevelsen, fordi publikum ikke føler empati med karaktererne i filmen.

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Kirsten Hastrup kritiserer i teksten "Authority, representation and anthropological knowledge", antropologers ønske om at erstatte skriveblokken med kameraet. Hun beskriver en kulturel begivenhed som hun

overværede på Island, mens hun lavede feltarbejde på en fårefarm. Det er et efterårsritual, hvor egnens mænd mødes for at måle deres bedste væddere, og hvor det vigtigste element i målingen er vædderens testikler.

"Luften var fyldt med sex, og jeg opdagede at udstillingen af væddere både konkret og metaforisk var en konkurrence om seksuel potent. Mændene kæmpede under dække af deres væddere, men meta-budskabet var åbenbart" (Hastrup, 9).

Udstyret med et kamera forsøger Kirsten Hastrup begejstret at indfange denne mærkværdige begivenhed, hvor maskulinitet og sex oses overalt. Skuffelsen er dog mærkbar da hun fremkalder sine billeder, og kun kan få øje på et lille mørkt lokale med væddere og mænd. Oplevelsen var blevet transformeret til et to-dimensionelt billede, en souvenir. Og dette er den centrale problemstilling for Hastrup, netop at fotografi ikke kan formidle mening, kontekst og subtekst, men udelukkende tage billeder af en to-dimensionel overflade.

Jeg vil mene, at en bedre fotograf formentlig ville have haft mere succes med at indfange essensen af begivenheden, men Hastrup har bestemt en pointe. Et billede består af former, på hvilken vi tilføjer mening. Modsat er skrift uden form, og meningen skabes gennem teksten (Hastrup, 10). Tænkning kan ikke ske uden brug af sprog, og de temaer som er beskrevet skriftligt indenfor etnografien, er meget vanskelige at erstatte med billeder. Man kan analysere billeder ved brug af sprog, men ikke omvendt.

Jeg er grundlæggende enig med Kirsten Hastrup i, at den visuelle repræsentation ikke kan konkurrere med den skriftlige på analytisk niveau. De er ikke i konkurrence, men opererer på forskellige logiske niveauer (Hastrup, 21). Men jeg mener også, at hun

overser et meget væsentligt element ved antropologien, nemlig formidling – og her kan man ikke overvurdere filmens kvaliteter. Det kan godt være at mennesket tænker gennem sprog, men man oplever verden visuelt og auditivt. Hvis en etnograf menes at besidde en væsentlig viden om verden, må det være den fornemmeste opgave at formidle denne viden bedst muligt, frem for at afvise visuel og auditiv repræsentation som brugbare metoder.

Vores viden om verden er i høj grad skabt af visuelle indtryk fra medierne, og ofte fortæller billederne det stærkeste sprog. Hvad enten det drejer sig om langskæggede muslimer, kvinder i *burqaer* eller andre, så brænder disse billeder sig fast på nethinden. Men de mangler ofte både subtekst og kontekst. Mængden af information stiger og stiger, men der bliver sjældent skabt et dybere indblik i de mennesker og situationer som billeder præsenterer. For 100 år siden var etnografen ene om at formidle viden om fjerne egne af verden, men dette monopol eksisterer ikke længere. Det betyder at den etnografiske viden og metode i dag skal konkurrere med mange medier, hvis repræsentationer oftest skabes af en overskrift, og uden fordybelse i menneske og samfund.

Etnografer medvirker til at 'skabe' kulturer, og ikke kun til at beskrive dem. Vi har efterhånden anerkendt det faktum, at etnografen er en del af plottet (Hastrup, 17). Men dette gælder også for Coca Cola, Fox News, Al Jazeera, TV-avisen, Anders Fogh Rasmussen og mange andre. Gennem sin faglige erfaring forstår etnografen hvordan viden og virkelighed produceres, og er i stand til at analysere sin egen rolle reflektivt. Men så længe den akademiske formidling kun foregår i elitære videnskabelige cirkler, forbliver den etnografiske vinkel uafhængig af det totale system.

Etnografisk metode som redskab

ETNOGRAFISK metode og analyse er et redskab, hvormed vi kan undersøge og forstå verden. Som etnograf må man vælge at tro på, at denne viden er væsentlig og brugbar for resten af verden. Det tager tid og tålmodighed at opnå forståelse og indsigt, og dette har etnografen forstået. De første indtryk bliver med tiden erstattet af en dybere forståelse, hvor man kan genkende den indbyrdes psykologi imellem de personer og det miljø man studerer. Man ser ikke kun handlinger, men også betydningerne bag. Dette har etnografen lært at formidle skriftligt, da man opererer med en begrebsverden som er sproglig, og som står i modsætning til filmens visuelle fortælleformer. Men en etnograf har ikke lært billedsprog, og hvordan man formidler subtekst og betydning visuelt – dette har dokumentaristen. Montageteknik og filmsprog har en selvstændig tradition, som er blevet forfinet gennem de seneste 100 år, og det er dette materiale som filmskaberne arbejder med. Billeder er konkrete, og formidler i kraft af det specifikke, til forskel fra sprogets refleksivitet (Hastrup, 21).

Den vellykkede etnografiske film lykkes netop, fordi den skaber nærhed og indlevelse hos tilskueren. Men hvis det ikke lykkes for netop den etnografiske film at overskride 'os' og 'dem'-distancen, kan den i stedet få den modsatte effekt på publikum. Gennem levende billeder kan tilskueren opleve og indtage en anden verden mere *direkte*, "ligesom" man oplever sin egen verden, hvis formidlingen altså er vellykket. Det er indtryk som lagres i bevidstheden, og som har stor betydning for, hvordan vi oplever verden omkring os. Styrken ved visuel antropologi er dets evne til at formidle nærhed og indlevelse.

”Afghan Muscles” som projekt

GENNEM arbejdet med ”Afghan Muscles”, er jeg ofte stødt på samme problem, som da Kirsten Hastrup fik sine billeder fra vædderkonkurrencen fremkaldt. Min erindring om de filmede begivenheder, stemmer ikke overens med det videomateriale jeg har med hjem. Intensiteten fra konkurrencerne, lugten af mandesved, skænderierne, nervøsiteten og aggressionerne er enten forsvundet, eller i bedste fald mindre intense end jeg husker dem. Dette kan ikke undgås, tror jeg. Uanset hvor mange timers materiale man tvinger publikum til at se, vil det være lysår væk fra at opleve en afghansk bodybuilderkonkurrence på samme måde, som da jeg selv stod foran scenen.

Film skaber sin egen virkelighed, og lever netop i kraft af denne konstruktion. Det er umuligt at genskabe virkeligheden direkte fra optagelse til gensyn, og det er heller ikke ønskeligt. Den filmiske montage er visuel historiefortælling, hvor løsrevne elementer samles i en historie fortalt af instruktøren. En monografi er løsrevne notater der analyseres af etnografen, og samles til en kontekst. Modsat den skriftlige fremstilling, så er den filmiske montage bundet af sit materiale. Eksisterer billedet ikke, så kan det ikke genfortælles, og der er mange faldgruber undervejs; Blev billedet indfanget korrekt, så betydningen af en handling træder frem? Hvilken indramning valgte fotografen? Hvilken lyd fangede boomen? Hvilken række af klip bruges til at skabe scenen, og hvilken musik benyttes?

”Afghan Muscles” fortæller om en fremmed verden, gennem billeder som er fremmede for publikum. Burqa'en er skiftet ud med tangatrusser og bruncreme. Det er ukendt område for publikum, og den umiddelbare reaktion er oftest undren, afstandtagen eller morskab. Allerede denne reaktion fortæller

meget om fastlåste forestillinger om det afghanske samfund. Afghanistan er populært nyhedsmateriale, men det er en bestemt type nyheder vi modtager, præget af historier om politik, nødhjælp, terror eller undertrykkelse af kvinder. De personlige historier er få, og gerne vinklet i forhold til de kendte negative overskrifter om landet. Mit indtryk er, at dette i Afghanistans tilfælde betyder, at den store informationsmængde ikke medvirker til en dybere indsigt og forståelse om landet. Når man hører om bodybuildings popularitet, passer det ikke til de forståelsesrammer publikum kender i forvejen, og man efterspørger en forklaring på fænomenet.

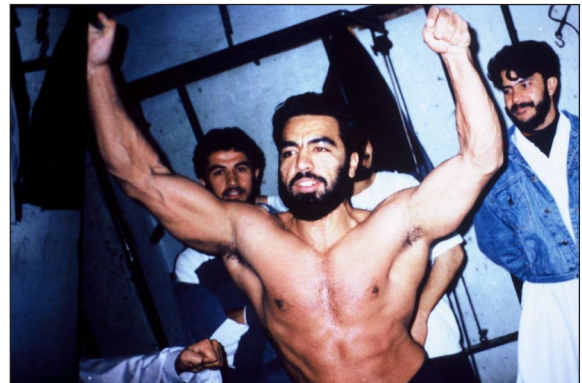


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Filmen søger disse forklaringer, men benytter samtidig bodybuilding som et vindue til indsigt i dette samfunds komplekse natur. Det er en historie om et samfund på godt og ondt, fortalt gennem en personlig fortælling om bodybuilderen Hamids rejse gennem lokale, nationale og internationale konkurrencer. Denne dramaturgiske ramme er filmens drivkraft, igennem hvilken publikum bliver opslugt af den verden vi beskriver. Hver enkelt af filmens karakterer skal afpudses og defineres, den skal have personlighed og motivation, og vi skal fornemme deres sorg og glæde aktivt. Uanset om de er sympatiske eller ej, så skal vi opleve dem som mennesker, og ikke som udstillingsobjekter i den etnografiske zoo. Hvis dette lykkes, så

åbner der sig en fremmed verden for øjnene af publikum, og filmen kan løfte sig fra en historie om mærkværdige muskelmænd, til at blive en fortælling som indrammer et land og dets kultur.

Afghanistan afspejler ikke kun det afghanske folk, men reflekterer verden i al sin mærkværdighed. Enhver rejsende i landet kan nikke genkendende til dette udsagn. Her mødes øst og vest, og få steder er mødet mellem tradition og modernitet så udtalt. Det er et mødested for kulturer, mellem øst og vest, og sådan har det været siden Alexander den Store. Historien om bodybuilding tiltaler mig, fordi den netop rummer muligheden for at beskrive mødet mellem kontraster. Min egen baggrund, med det ene ben i etnografien og det andet i filmens verden, håber jeg vil medvirke til skabe en film der kan overskride 'os-dem' distancen, og skabe et modbillede til mediernes to-dimensionelle dækning af Afghanistan. "Afghan Muscles" er et vindue, hvor publikum kigger igennem og får en flig af sandhed om, hvordan det er at leve og drømme i Afghanistan. For dette land handler om meget mere end burqaer, terrorister, ødelæggelse og fattigdom. Afghanerne er mennesker med stærke personligheder, stort temperament og megen humor, og i filmen vil man møde en farverig palet af karakterer, som hver især kæmper for at finde en meningsfuld tilværelse og dagligdag i Afghanistan.



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Remnants of the Kafir Music of Nuristan - a Historical Documentation

by *Christer Irgens-Møller*

ABSTRACT

In the present article Christer Irgens-Møller presents examples of the music of the Waigal valley, which is generally referred to as the essential Nuristani music. The primary topics are the polyphonic song and the instruments *wadz* - harp and *saringi* - fiddle. The article is based on a comprehensive research in the music of Nuristan recorded by Lennart Edelberg and Klaus Ferdinand on three expeditions in 1953, 1964 and 1970 respectively. The article describes how this work came about.

As an introduction to the narrower subject made up by the music, Nuristan is introduced geographically and culturally. The isolated status of this mountainous region in Afghanistan is a precondition for the maintenance of a music culture rooted in the pagan religion that reigned before the conversion to Islam at the end of the 19th Century in what was then named *Kafiristan* (Land of the Infidels). The music and dances are about the only remnants of the pagan religion of the *Kafirs*. Today we are left with no other traces but the music.

Different types of musical concepts and repertoires are revealed in the huge collection of recordings, mainly from the two valleys, Waigal and Parun, and the village Kushtos in the Bashgal valley. Since the polyphonic singing and the instruments from Waigal are commonly referred to as the Nuristani music, these topics receive a more thorough elaboration.

The polyphonic choir singing is an unparalleled phenomenon in the music of Asia, as well as in the Turco-Arabic musical culture. Thus, this music is unique as well as (are) the two instruments, the harp *wadz* and the fiddle *saringi* and their repertoire.

Examples of the described music from Waigal can be heard at the homepage at www.centralasien.dk, and to broaden the picture, a number of examples of music from the Parun valley and Kushtos are featured at this site.

Introduction

IN 1953-54, Lennart Edelberg and Klaus Ferdinand went to Afghanistan on The Henning Haslund Memorial Expedition. Ferdinand accompanied Edelberg to Nuristan, but focused mainly on the Hazara people of Hazarajat in Central Afghanistan. The Aimaqs, a segment of the Hazara people, was also subject for extensive studies, where Edelberg assisted.

The Nuristan expedition was for Edelberg a follow-up on his participation in the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition led by Henning Haslund-Christensen in 1947-48. These studies were published in 1979 in

cooperation with the English ethnographer Shuyler Jones in the comprehensive study "Nuristan" (Edelberg/Jones 1979).

Fortunately, on these expeditions Edelberg and Ferdinand were supplied with a transportable taperecorder which enabled a documentation of the music cultures of Hazarajat, the Aimaq people, and not least - the abundant musical traditions of Nuristan supplemented by many recordings of the music of Pashtun people as well. The study of Nuristan was continued by Edelberg and his wife, Margot, during two summer expeditions in 1964 and 1970, respectively, and on these tours a considerable number of recordings were made and thus supplied the

initial material of 1953-54. New equipment made longer recordings possible. The material consists of approximately 350 music recordings, all in all.

In 2001, the cobwebs were dusted off the music tapes when these were taken out of the archives to supply examples to be heard at the Afghanistan exhibition at Moesgård Museum, which was launched in 2001 after the terrorist attacks of 9-11. Klaus Ferdinand subsequently discovered that the tapes had a tendency to fall apart in the splices and in some cases the magnetic coating rubbed off. Therefore, it became all the more urgent to restore the collection by transferring the contents to digital media. Furthermore, priority was given to a thorough investigation by a musicologist, since the material had never been subjected to this kind of analysis. The choice of researcher fell upon me and the present investigation set out in November 2002 as a part-time work and focused initially on a selection of the music of the Hazaras. Applications by chief curator of Moesgård, Torben Vestergaard resulted in a grant from "Tipsmidlerne", the Danish State's Gaming Authority, which made a period of concentrated full-time research possible.

An additional grant from the Danish State's Humanities Research Foundation made it possible to continue the work with the comprehensive collection of music from Nuristan. Before this process was completed, in the beginning of this year, to everybody's grief Klaus Ferdinand died, thus making valuable personal experiences of the last survivor of these expeditions inaccessible for good.

In the present article, I have chosen to present examples of the music of the Waigal valley, which is generally referred to as the essential Nuristani music. This part of

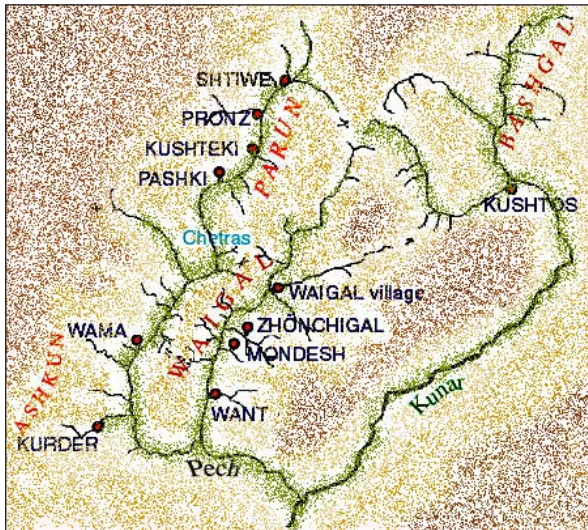
the Nuristani repertoire is summarily described in the main dictionary of music, *The New Grove Dictionary*, by Marc Slobin and John Baily respectively (1). Additionally, in the Edelberg/Jones book on Nuristan mentioned above, Thomas Alvad has made a thorough description of the instruments, and exemplified the music supplied by music transcriptions. These transcriptions are, however, in some cases misleading. The following serves as an elaboration and a corrective of the accessible descriptions mentioned.

Finally, Nuristani music has been recorded on two LPs which have not been reissued (2). To get the immediate impression of the sound of the music, it is strongly recommended to listen to the mp3 files to be found on the homepage of the Danish Society for Central Asia, www.centralasien.dk. Additionally, there is music from Parun valley and Kushtos in Bashgal valley, as referred to at the end of the article. These examples widen the scope of musical styles of Nuristani music, but for editorial reasons this article does not allow for description of these examples.

Nuristan - geography

NURISTAN, today a part of Afghanistan, is situated on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush mountain range, with Kabul to the southwest, and surrounded by the regions of Badakhshan to the northwest, Chitral to the northeast and Nangahar to the south. It is a land of high mountains and steep valleys, drained by four main river systems which all eventually empties into the Kabul river to the south by way of the Kunar river. The main valleys from west to east are Ramgal, Parun and Bashgal. Nuristan consists mainly of the northern regions of East- and West-Kati, and the central and southern regions Ashkun, Prasun and Waigali. The material

for the present study stems from the latter three, concentrated on the villages situated in the Waigal and Paruni valleys plus Kushotos in Bashgal. Prasun is generally referred to as *Parun* (3).



Map of the central villages visited by the Edelberg-Ferdinand expeditions. Kushtos was the only village visited in the Bashgal valley, while Mondesh, Zhönchigal (Arrandz) and Waigal villages represent the Waigal valley, and Shtiwe, Pronz, Kushteki and Pashki the Parun valley. Chetras, south of Pashki in the Parun valley, is a mountainous area where the expedition made a night camp in 1953. To the far West the villages of Wama and Kurder represent the Ashkun re-

The mountain valleys of this region are among the most inaccessible in the world. This fact is presumably the main reason why these regions never became an integral part of the great empires of Asia, and also explain why no experienced conqueror ever had success in these parts. Only during the past hundred years has foreign control been established (4).

Nuristan had been known as Kafiristan - Land of the Infidels - until the end of the nineteenth century, when it was conquered by Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan; he forced the conversion to Islam and re-named the area Nuristan - the Land of Light (of

the Prophet). Most of the shrines, temples and a majority of the burial monuments of earlier Kafiristan were destroyed in connection with Islamisation, including the great temple at Kushteki, described in the 1890s as "the most sacred village in the whole of Kafiristan" (5).

Historical records of the Kafirs are scarce. The main sources that can illuminate the history and roots of this people are based on archaeological and linguistic evidence together with the oral traditions of the old Kafirs. The latter includes the musical traditions in particular. Linguistic studies show that the Kafir society bears similarities with the stratum of early Hindu society, and it is possible that it constituted a marginal area within the Indian world (6). This theory was reinforced by the discovery of the ruins of a Hindu temple at the confluence of the Pech and Kunar rivers (7).

One of the most persistent beliefs of the origin of the Kafirs is that the people are descendants of a left contingent of Alexander the Great's troops. In 327 B.C. he traveled along the Kabul valley and sent a force up the Kunar valley, there passing the south-east border of present day Nuristan. Generally, this theory has been rejected, based on the lack of linguistic evidence; even though certain items like the iron tripod in Nuristan have a Greek counterpart, even sharing similar names, such as *pini* in Nuristani and *pinochion* in Greek (8).

The last European visitor to Nuristan who actually experienced the Kafir culture at full blossom was Sir Walter Scott Robinson, the private surgeon of the British agent Algernon Durand in Gilgit, whose post Scott took over in 1894. His book "The Kafirs of the Hindukush" about his time in Kamdesh of the Bashgal valley in 1890-91, which was published 1896, is an indispensable source

in the study of the culture and the religion of Kafirs.

The ethnic groups of Nuristan are speakers of the Kafir and Dardic languages, belonging to the Indo-Iranian stock and sharing religious traditions from Vedic and Avestan texts. Up until the 1950s there were still people alive who remembered the old religious traditions.

In the religious context, even though the textual content is often inadequately conveyed in translation, resulting in a number of ambiguous texts, it is obvious that the music itself is still the well-preserved remains of the performance of traditional Kafir rituals. In spite of over half a century of Islamization (8), these musical traditions were not at all eradicated in the times of Edelberg's and Ferdinand's expeditions. Also, strong traditions had preserved traditional choral singing, and the playing of the characteristic instruments, *wadzh* (harp), *saringi* (fiddle) and *urba* (lute). Furthermore, rhythms played on drums, percussion instruments and clapped, integrated in the musical structures as such, had been preserved as a vital part of the dancing and as a part of music in general. The remaining traces of the traditional religion had a strong attraction, not only to Edelberg and Ferdinand, but also for preceding researchers such as the Norwegian linguist, Georg Morgenstierne, beginning in the 1920s and the German linguist, Wolfgang Lentz, in the 1930s. Professor Georg Budruss has also contributed to the collection of oral traditions. The studies made by these scholars and the cooperation between Morgenstierne and Edelberg have unraveled several layers of the religion.

Music

WHEN juxtaposed to the music of the surrounding regions of Central Asia and the

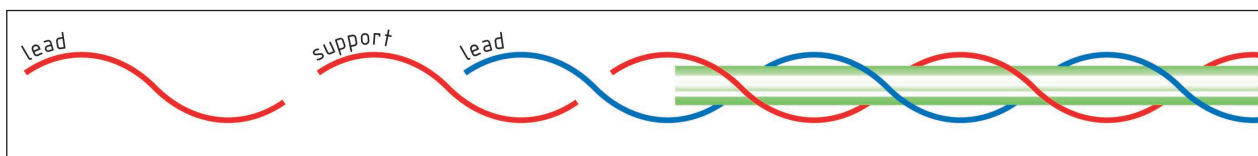
Indian subcontinent, several features of the music of Nuristan are unique. Above all, the dominant position of dance music has resulted in a broad repertoire of songs, plus various flute and drum settings. This aspect of the general music repertoire has conspicuous counterparts in African traditional music, although these common characteristics have no cultural relation whatsoever (10).



Dance performance, Waigal village 1953. Photo: Peter Rasmussen. Ethnographic department, Moesgaard Museum).

Generally, songs are performed in a social setting. In the Waigal valley, one kind of a choral song in particular is recorded in such numbers that it can be designated as the quintessential song, referred to as the Waigali polyphonic song. Alongside the unique polyphony of this particular song type, other principles of polyphony appear in a number of songs. Basically, these forms of polyphony are structured as call-response songs; the parts of these have local names for first voice, second voice and choir. In the present article, these roles are designated *lead* and *support*, two terms borrowed from descriptions of African drum music (11).

In the choral music of the Parun valley,



Above: Fig. 1: Sample Waigal Polyphonic.

Below: "Kamale kimile", Mondesh, Waigal valley 1953. At the bottom all voices and the drum have joined in and the piece continues with the full ensemble.

The text follows: "1. Kamalek (the king Kamalek - came to see the Nuristanis) spoke quietly with me and father. 2. Kolum Sunera (name of a valley) with you, myself, my father - spoke Persian. 3. All the world earthquake - father - fight. 4. Kalash (possibly translates 'king') came to see mija (son of the family) [Music example on www.centralasien.dk: 470-08.mp3].

EAL470-08 **Kamale kimile**
 Mondesh 1953
 poetry by Sune'ra (d. 1952)
 ♩. = ca. 65
 transposed up a small second
 leadvocal, supportvocal, choir and drum

lead vocal
 mil-alôl
 8
 kö - ma - li ka - me - lè im

support vocal
 ât-alôl
 8
 kâ - ma - li ka - me - lè im

choir
 âsamchilog
 8

drum
 dab
 8

2
 ta-to te-chè - lè mè-lâ wâ ku-lu sâ-ne - rami-li dô-su di pa-rè se ma göldu - nuj è-rènjèi-ma

wō da ju mō na wō da ju mō na

again a basic principle of call and response is employed, organised as a solo call and the choir responding with a longer melodic line. Polyphony is also encountered in Parun, mainly as a combination of independent flute parts, stanzaic choir singing and rhythmic chanting.

In the choral music of Kushtos, songs in unison prevail. These songs have unique melodic features that separate them from the style of Waigal and Parun.

Solo singing is particularly connected to the music of the Waigali *wadz* and the Paruni *urba* (lute); the singing is characterised by an introvert style with the voice seeming to be a prolongation of the sound of the instrument.

Melodic structures and the practice of embellishments relate the music of the *urba* of Parun to corresponding lutes in the rest of Afghanistan and Transoxania. Perhaps this relationship is based to some extent on the idiomatic itself, i.e. the left-hand playing and the tuning of the instruments.

Polyphony in Waigal

THE polyphonic song of the Waigal valley appears on 63 recordings out of 106 from this valley. Out of these, about two thirds of the songs is musically the same song, while the texts are individual. The remaining songs are musically based on the same formal pattern, but have melodic variations of the two main melodies that differ from the 'standard' song.

The song is performed by two soloists (a lead and a support singer) and a choir. The examples below are recorded in the village of Mondesh. The choir supports the support singer with a rhythmic chant melody supplemented with clapping and a drum, while

the lead singer sings his own rhythmically displaced melody.

The song always starts out following this scheme: the lead singer "shows" the phrase to the support singer, who repeats it immediately.

(see figure, pg. 52).

Then the lead singer starts his melody setting off from a tone above the last tone of the support singer's phrase, thus filling out the supportsinger's pause. The assembly generally joins in on the fourth or fifth repetition of the two lead singer's phrases, and at the same time a drummer adds his pattern. After some time the choir claps in the pause of their phrase, thus making these two elements complementary. The clap falls on the first beat of the drum pattern. The rhythm is a 9/8, subdivided in three times three. The drum plays the first and the last beat of each subdivision.

What is remarkable is the harmonic concept. The harmonic intervals between voices are dense, resulting in constant clashes between the lead and the support voice and additionally between the support voice and the choir's chanting tone (s). This harmonic concept has in the Western partiture music of 20th century been given the designation 'cluster'. Likewise, the relation between the lead voice and the support may be described by another term from this realm, namely 'bitonal'. On the other hand, these two basic musical principles are unparalleled in traditional music in the rest of the world.

The song texts document that although the melody is the same, the texts are different. Two texts are praise songs, one is a lament and one is a farewell song from a mother to her daughter.

Song text:

[Music example on www.centralasien.dk: 470-02.mp3]

“Ina datina” - I am sad. (EAL470-02/03)

1.0:00

A: [èna da ti nâ si] *I am sad*

B: [meimana ma â na da] *a beautiful house*

2. 0:07

A: [è nâ yè â ta tina] *my own horse*

B: [sè tò grö:sh-atala / ma yâ nan-da] *my cattle with horns my house*

3. 0:13

A: [sè nâ jiéma nurjani] *my only daughter*

B: [Nur-â gal i ava-a böta] *Nurgal ruined*

C: [Nur-â gal i ava-a böta to] *Nurgal ruined*

4. 0:21

A: [o yi bi yâ lâ drâ hâ sa pè zhè]

B: [e ba-nam na-shâ-â-na-bè dar]

C: [â-hâ nâ-me-nâm shâ ma-né-ma gro]
the pasture in the mountain pass is ruined

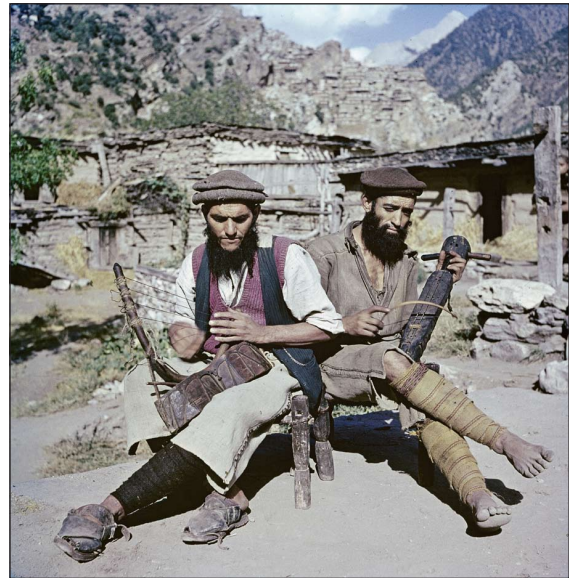
5. 0:29

A: [â yi bi â ma tawè]

B: [â bajar-va kudarwalum-è]

C: [â ya di grö na-a wa-no-o-mè o]
my richness - welcome - ask himself

[Note to the text example: The text of verse 5 was ambiguous for the translator, Georg Morgenstierne, and only translatable words have been written down. Formally, verse 1-2 have two textlines (A-B), while 3-5 have three (A-B-C); in verse 3-4 the line 2 is repeated, and in verse 5 a new line is added. After finishing verse 5, the singer starts all over].

Wadzh and saringi

Wadzh and saringi players in Berimdes, (lower) Waigal village, Oct. 1953. Amir Shah (right) plays saringi and a fellow villager the wadzh on a roof-top. Amir Shah was a craftsman and made musical instruments himself (Ref. from Edelberg/Jones 1979: ill.text 79). The wadzh is held on the lap, the saringi between the knees. Apparently, the saringi player uses his thumb for the high string and one of the other fingers for the low string. Both performers are seated on stools (Photo: Peter Rasmussen. Ethnographic department, Moesgård Museum).

IN a few recordings of the polyphonic song, two instruments accompany the song almost as a prolongation of the interwoven voices and harmonic clustres. These are the *wadzh* (harp) and the *saringi* (fiddle). These two instruments form an obbligato pair, but while the *saringi* is never played solo, the *wadzh* appear as accompaniment for a solo song, sung by the *wadzh* player. This song is called a *proki wadzh alol* - a solo harp song, which is usually sung in a soft falsetto voice [music example on www.centralasien.dk: 471-11.mp3, recorded in Zhönchigal 1953].

Robertson refers to the *wadzh* as an instrument used in connection with dance as “the boat-like stand of which is held between the musician’s knees” (13) - a description that fits the physical appearance of the *wadzh* perfectly.



Wadzh from the Mosegård Collection.

Saringi (see photo below) is a two-stringed fiddle. In physical appearance and as well as in playing technique, it differs from Central Asian and Hindu fiddles. Only the name associates it with the Hindu *sarangi*, and the employment of two strings is the only feature it shares with the Afghan/Uzbek spike fiddle, the *ghichak*.

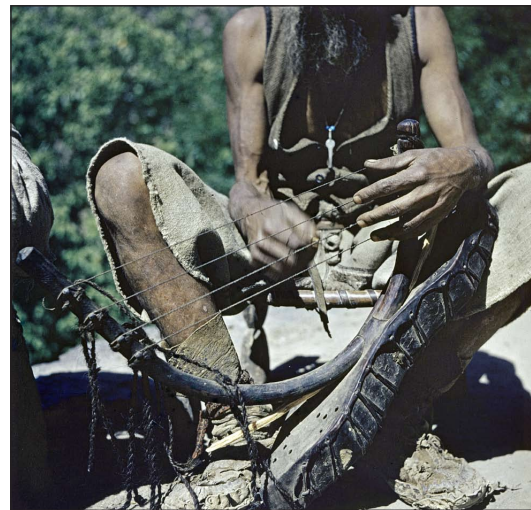
The *wadzh* is often referred to as a 'bowed harp' because of the arched stick that holds the strings. This feature resembles the antique Greek lyre; this type of harp was very common about 2000 years ago according to pottery motifs and carvings from these times. Today, harp types are found to the east in the traditional music of Burma and to the northwest, Svanetia in Georgia (and in Africa as well). A harp with a similar name, *yadzh* existed in India, but a huge number of strings made it a notably different instrument than the *wadzh*.



Saringi from the Mosegård Collection.

The *wadzh* normally has four strings. The tuning varies, and occurs most frequently as a diatonic scale, where small seconds can appear as neuters (12), thus being somewhere between the minor and major second. Although the strings are tuned in a scale, the *wadzh* is played as a chord instrument, with both up- and down-strokes on several strings (see note example below, EAL472-01). This results in a constant flow of clashes or "clusters" of neighbouring tones; in general, it sounds like the clusters frequently consists of more than two tones. As a consequence, generally, up- and down-strokes usually include all the strings.

Muting techniques of varying degrees of sophistication are employed, resulting in a melodic contour of the clusters. Damping implies that the tones that should not sound, are muted with the fingertips of the left hand (see photo).



Wadzh played by a plectrum by the right hand and strings damped by the left hand. One end of the resonator is held between the feet, while leaning against the left leg. Thus, the strings are almost in horizontal position. Photo: Peter Rasmussen. Ethnographic Department, Moesgaard Museum.

In the accompaniment to the *wadzh* tune below (471-07), there is a rhythmic pattern underlined by a contour of the top-note of the clusters. The top-note G₃ is damped

wadh pattern

Arrandz 1953

EAL471-07  =ca. 48


Above; Proki wadh alol, Zhönchigal 1953, wadh pattern in 7/8 metre [music example on www.centralasien.dk: 471-07.mp3].

Below: Tuning of the *saringi* and the *wadh*.

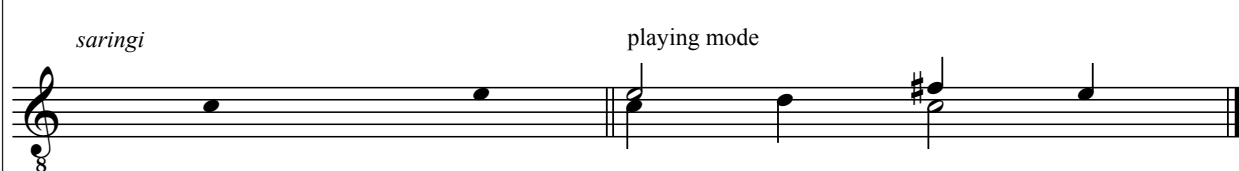
EAL472-01

Waigal villagewadh-saringi
tuning

wadh playing mode



saringi playing mode



muted on the fourth eighth beat in this almost symmetrical seven-eight rhythm. Whether the bottom note D is damped muted on the remaining beats is an open question. The rather sophisticated way of subdividing a seven-meter is 2+1, 1+3.

The *saringi* is tuned to the strings of the *wadh*. The playing technique is determined by a constant sound of the two strings together. The *saringi* is played constantly on both strings without pauses, and the harmonics is defined by the three main intervals. This is a characteristic, which sets this

instrument apart from its counterparts; these are generally played monophonically (one note at a time).

The patterns are defined by the stepwise up- and down-motions, on either the high string or low string. When an accompanying *wadh* is difficult to hear on the recordings, it is often hard to define the rhythms and the periods of this instrument because of the floating character of the bow strokes.

To convey an impression of the diversity of music styles not accounted for in the pres-

EAL472-05
EAL482-08

♩ . = ca. 90

saringi, wadzh

"astañnard"

Waigal 1953

Waramdech, Waigal 1970

period pattern

"Astañnard", Waigal village 1953 and Waramdech 1970. Fortunately, the recording from 1970 is long enough to stipulate the period that makes up the transcribed pattern.

The saringi's two strings are tuned to the second lowest string and the highest string of the wadzh, respectively. According to tonal range, the saringi adds a tone on top of the uppermost tone of the wadzh. The play mode of the wadzh exhibits the tone-clusters when all strings are played simultaneously.

[Music example on www.centralasien.dk: 482-08.mp3].

ent article, the following examples can be downloaded from the webpage www.centralasien.dk:

- Choir song with wadzh accompaniment, Waigal village 1964. (music file: 485-31.mp3).
- Dance song, Kushtos, Bashgal valley 1953. (music file: 473-07.mp3).
- Dance song, Chetras, Parun valley 1953. (music file: 476-20.mp3).
- Urba song, Pashki, Parun valley 1953. (music file: 476-01.mp3).

These examples show that the music of the neighbouring valleys have different concepts for the musical organisation, as mentioned above.

The present article has focused on the Waigali polyphonic song and the two characteristic instruments, wadzh and saringi that had survived in Waigal valley up until 1970. The limited length of this article has determined this priority. The repertoire of Wai-

gal embraces several other choral genres and flute and drum music as well.

The music of Parun and Bashgal valleys consists likewise of a broader repertoire and somewhat different musical concepts. But the basic approach is the same, i.e. the social performance of the music in general and the frequent connection to dance.

Christer Irgens-Møller is Cand.mag., Musician (Avantgarde Jazz and African music) and composer. Field studies in Ghanaese music 1985. Article published in the periodical "Den jyske historiker" 49, 1989 (The Jutlandish Historian) about the *jali* (the troubadour) of Senegambia. Since 2002 associated to Moesgaard Museum in Aarhus as music researcher on the recordings of music from Afghanistan, collected by Klaus Ferdinand and Lennart Edelberg 1953-1970.

NOTES

1. Marc Slobin in *New Grove Dictionary* 1980: 143, and John Baily in *New Grove Dictionary* 2001: 189.

2. Musik aus Afghanistan. Nuristan. Adevaphon 1976 and Musique de la zone interdite du Nuristan. Barclay 1968.

3. Prasun is the local dialect for the name; Parun is the Pashto name for the valley.

4. Jettmar: Introduction pix in Cultures of the Hindukush

5. Robertson 1896: 389

6. Edelberg/Jones 1979:14. Comprehensive linguistic studies have been carried out by Prof. Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo, Prof. Georg Buidruss of Mainz, and Dr. Gérard Fussman of Strassbourg.

7. Ibid: 14

8. Ibid: 16

9. As Robertson points out “It would seem that in Káfiristán the form of religion remain, while the philosophy which those forms were originally intended to symbolise is altogether forgotten. This is not, perhaps, surprising in a country in which there are no records of any kind, and everything depends on oral tradition.” (Robertson 1896:379)

10. The allusion to African music is given by Yves Sommavilla in the covernotes to the LP record from 1968 as a comment to one rather furious and exuberantly fresh six-eight drum and dance rhythm. (“Musique de la zone interdit du Nouristan”, Barclay 1968)

11. Chernoff 1979: 46. Local Waigali terms are accounted for in the chapter on Waigali songs.

12. The region west of the Caspian Sea. Corresponding lutes are the Uzbek *dambura* and *dotar*, the Kazakh *dombra*, the Kyrgyz *komuz*, Kyrgyz and the Afghan *rubâb* .

13. Robertson 1896:628

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Cultures of the Hindukush - Selected papers from the Hindu-Kush cultural conference held at Moesgård 1970. Edited by Karl Jettmar in col-

laboration with Lennart Edelberg. Franz Steiner Verlag. Wiesbaden 1974

Sir Georg Scott Robertson K.C.S.I.: The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush. Karachi. Oxford University Press. London · New York 1975.

Reissue of Sir Georg Scott Robertson K.C.S.I., (British agent, Gilgit): The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush. London. Lawrence & Bullen, LTD. 1896.

Hiromi Sakata: Afghan musical instruments. Afghanistan Journal 1978, Vol. 5. pp.150-151 (Dutar and Tanbur).

John Miller Chernoff: African rhythm and African sensibility. Aesthetics and Social Action in African Musical Idioms, University of Chicago, Chicago 1979.

New Grove Dictionary of Music, 1980 and 2001.

RESUMÉ

Indeværende artikel af Christer Irgens-Møller præsenterer eksempler på Waigal dalens musik, som leksikalsk refereres til som den Nuristanske musik. De primære emner er den polyfone sang og instrumenterne *wadzh* (harpe) og *saringi* (fele/strygeinstrument). Artiklen er baseret på en omfattende undersøgelse af den musik fra Nuristan, som er indsamlet af Lennart Edelberg og Klaus Ferdinand på tre ekspeditioner i henholdsvis 1953, 1964 og 1970. Der gøres i artiklen rede for hvordan dette arbejde kom i stand.

Som en introduktion til det afgrænsede felt musikken udgør, introduceres Nuristan geografisk og kulturelt. Denne bjergrige regions isolerede status i Afghanistan er en forudsætning for oprettholdelsen af en musik kultur med rødder i den hedenske religion som herskede i de daværende Kafiristan (Hedningernes Land) – før omvendelsen til Islam i slutningen af det 19. århundrede. Musikken og dansene er de eneste reminiscenser af den hedenske (animistiske) religion som kafirerne dyrkede. På indeværende tidspunkt har vi blot musikoptagelserne tilbage.

Forskellige typer af musikalsk opfattelse og repertoire er åbenbaret i den kæmpestore samling af optagelser, mest fra de to dale, Waigal og Parun, samt landsbyen Kushtos i Bashgal dalen. Da det er den polyfone sang og instrumenterne fra Waigal som almindeligvis bliver beskrevet som den nuristanske musik, er det disse emner der bliver uddybet.

Den polyfone korsang er uden sidestykke i Asien, såvel som i de tyrko-arabiske traditioner. Således er denne musik ganske unik, ligesom de to instrumenter, *wadzh* - harpe – og *saringi* - fidel (fele/strygeinstrument), og deres repertoire.

Eksempler på den beskrevne musik fra Waigal findes på hjemmesiden www.centralasien.dk og for at komplettere billedet af musikken, er der suppleret med eksempler fra Parun dalen og Kushtos.

Recent Events in The Danish Society for Central Asia

September 22, 2005: Stefan Baums on Buddhist Culture in Ancient Central Asia

On September 22, PhD student Stefan Baums from the University of Washington reported on the spread and history of Buddhism in Central Asia on the basis of manuscript and coin finds, with an emphasis on the first centuries AD, when this spread originated in the Northwest Indian region of Gandhara, and on the interaction of script and culture. Mr Baums also reported on his latest experiences and impressions from an archaeological research visit in Southern Uzbekistan (the northern part of ancient Bactria) where Buddhist ruins are found. In co-operation with local archaeologists, Professor Richard Salomon (also of the University of Washington) and Stefan Baums are involved in the decipherment of inscriptions excavated in the area.

22. september 2005: Foredrag om buddhistisk kultur i oldtidens Centralasien

22. september fortalte ph.d.-studerende Stefan Baums fra University of Washington om buddhismens spredning og historie i Centralasien på grundlag af håndskrift- og møntfund og med hovedvægten på de første århundreder e.Kr., da denne spredning tog sin begyndelse i den nordvestindiske provins Gandhara, og i udvekslingen af skrift og kultur. Baums fortalte endvidere om sine seneste oplevelser og indtryk i forbindelse med et arkæologisk forskningsbesøg i det sydlige Uzbekistan (den nordlige del af oldtidens Baktrien), hvor der ligger buddhistiske ruiner. I samarbejde med lokale arkæologer arbejder professor Richard Salomon (også fra University of Washington) og Stefan Baums med tydingen af buddhistiske indskrifter, som er blevet udgravet i området.



© Stefan Baums

Kampirtepa - ruins of an ancient city/antikke byruiner.

Forthcoming Events in The Danish Society for Central Asia

NOVEMBER

Foredrag: Mumier - Nu også fra Iran ved Niels Lynnerup, ph.d.

10. november 2005, kl. 18.39
Københavns Universitet, Njalsgade 136, lokale 27.0.09

Nye medicinske og naturvidenskabelige teknikker har givet mumieforskningen nye perspektiver. Især muligheden for at foretage "virtuelle" dissektioner af mumierne er blevet meget omtalt, fx i forbindelse med en stor udstilling på British Museum. Vi benytter også disse teknikker på Antropologisk Laboratorium, Københavns Universitet, og forventer at kunne applicere dem på et helt nyt mumiefund fra Chehrabad-bjergene i Iran, som vil blive nærmere omtalt.



© Abolfazl Aali

Iranian Mummy

Lecture: "Mummies - Now Even From Iran" (in Danish) by Niels Lynnerup, PhD

November 10, 2005, 18h30.
University of Copenhagen, Njalsgade 136, room 27.0.09.

Modern medical and scientific techniques have opened new prospects for mummy research. Not least the possibility of carrying

out "virtual" dissections of the mummies has been given a lot of attention, e.g. in connection with a great exposition at the British Museum. We also use these techniques at the Anthropological Laboratory, University of Copenhagen, and we expect to be able to apply them on a recent mummy find from the Chehrabad Mountains in Iran, which will be discussed more closely.

Temadag om internationale organisationers rolle i demokratiseringen af Centralasien

Mere information om tid og sted følger.

Ved OSCE-topmødet i Washington sommeren 2005 blev politisk ordfører og udenrigsordfører for Det Konservative Folkeparti Pia Christmas-Møller, der var observatør ved valget i Kirgisistan, valgt til en af de ni vicepræsidenter i den parlamentariske afdeling af OSCE-organisationen. På baggrund heraf arrangeres en temadag om internationale organisationers rolle i demokratiudviklingen i Centralasien og de øvrige tidligere sovjetrepublikker. Blandt deltagerne vil også være repræsentanter for SILBA (Support Initiative for Liberty and Democracy in the Baltic Area), en dansk tværpolitisk NGO, der støtter demokratiske kræfter i den tidligere østblok med hovedvægt på ungdomsorganisationer og deres projekter. Herudover inviteres journalister, forskere, diplomater til temadagen, der efter en række korte oplæg følges af et debatpanel.

Panel Discussion: "The Role of International Organizations in the Democratization of Central Asia" (in

Danish)

At the OSCE summit in Washington this summer, the Danish parliamentarian and election observer at the Kyrgyz parliamentary elections Pia Christmas-Møller was appointed as vice president of the OSCE parliamentarian section. Christmas-Møller will attend this panel discussion on the role of international organizations in the democratization of Central Asia and the former Soviet Union in general. Among the participants will also be representatives of SILBA (Support Initiative for Liberty and Democracy in the Baltic Area), a Danish cross-political NGO which assists democratic political parties, youth organisations and NGO's in the former Eastern Bloc. Journalists, researchers and diplomats will also be invited.

DECEMBER**Filmforevisning: Dokumentarfilmen "The Xinjiang Mummies"**

Med forord ved Adam Hyllested, MA studerende og historisk lingvist fra Københavns Universitet.

Screening: The documentary "The Xinjiang Mummies"

With foreword by Adam Hyllested, MA student and historical linguist from University of Copenhagen. The film is in English, foreword in Danish.

Foredrag: Danske Ekspeditioner og Rejser i Centralasien

Yderligere information følger.

Lecture: Danish Expeditions to and Travel in Central Asia (in Danish)**PLANNED FOR 2006****Conference: Minorities in China – Uyghurs, Hui, Mongols, and Tibetans in Contemporary China**

Call for papers TBA.

Konference: Minoriteter i Kina – Uyghurerne, mongolerne og tibetanerne i nutidens Kina (på engelsk).

Yderligere information følger snarest.

Symposium: The History of Central Asia Research in Scandinavia

Call for papers and more information TBA.

Symposium: Den skandinaviske Centralasien-forskningshistorie (på engelsk og dansk)

Yderligere information følger snarest.

NEWS From the Society

NEWS FROM THE BOARD

MA Student in Prehistoric Archaeology Nadia Eva Haupt has replaced Muhammad Athar Javed as member of the Board.

NEWS FROM THE WEBSITE WWW.CENTRALASIEN.DK

'The Basement Archives' by Per Fischer (chairman)

When the Central Asian Institute at The University of Copenhagen closed in the late 80'ies the books were placed in a room in the university's basement. The same thing happened with note books, materials for proof reading of manuscripts, loose paper sheets, newspaper cuttings, photographs etc.

Among these things are materials left by the Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen who deciphered the Turkic runes and by Kurt Wulff who assisted Thomsen in his work with the Turkic runes. Apart from these notes there are letters from other great scholars of that time such as the Finnish linguist G.J. Ramstedt and Danish philologist Arthur Christensen.

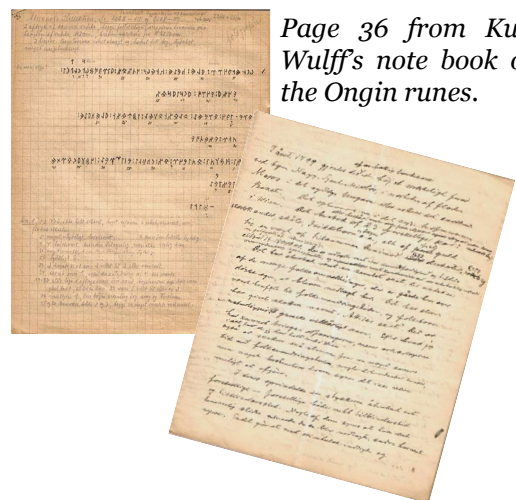
Within the last few weeks we have started scanning these various papers, hoping that they might inspire people to have a look at how scholars of that time worked.

Da Det Centralasiatiske Institut på Københavns Universitet blev lukket i slutningen af 80'erne, blev alle instituttets bøger pakket i et kælderrum under universitetet. Det samme kom til at gælde en del notesbøger,

korrekturmateriale til manuskripter, løse papirlapper, avisudklip, fotos etc.

Det drejer sig blandt andet om materiale efterladt af Vilhelm Thomsen som omkring århundredeskiftet tydede de runetyrkiske indskrifter fra Orkhon, samt materiale efterladt af Kurt Wulff, som i en årrække, inden han fik stilling som sinolog på Asien Institutet på Københavns Universitet, bistod Thomsen i runeforskningen. Der er desuden breve fra andre af tidens store forskere såsom den finske sprogforsker G.J. Ramstedt og den danske iranist Arthur Christensen.

Inden for de sidste uger har vi påbegyndt scanning af disse historiske vidnesbyrd i håb om at turkologer og andre interesserede rundt omkring i verden vil finde den lette adgang til materialet inspirerende og lade sig lokke til gennem disse dokumenter at få et lille indblik i nogle af den tids store forskeres arbejdsprocesser.



Page 36 from Kurt Wulff's note book on the Ongin runes.

One of many loose paper notes made by Vilhelm Thomsen. This particular note deals with the inscriptions of the Nagy-Szent-Miklós gold treasure.

Love in Kabul

On November 1, a section of www.centralasien.dk will be dedicated to the project Love In Kabul by the PeopleVisions.com team. The project boasts photos, essays, and descriptions of the team's recent visit to Afghanistan and their research in the topic "Love in Kabul".

1. november åbner en ny sektion af www.centralasien.dk med titlen "Love in Kabul" skabt af holdet bag Peoplevisions.com. Projektet består af fotoer, essays og beskrivelser af holdets nylige besøg i Afghanistan og deres undersøgelser indenfor emnet "Kærlighed i Kabul".

BECOME A MEMBER



and support the Danish Society for Central Asia's activities
Please visit our website:
www.centralasien.dk
for more details



Stay tuned for the launch of
LOVE IN KABUL!
mini-site

November 1
on www.centralasien.dk
in association with peoplevisions.com

EDITORIAL REMARKS

Central Theme for 2006

The Editorial Board is pleased to announce that the next four issues of The DSCA Journal will contain articles on the theme "The History of Central Asia Research in Denmark and Scandinavia". The reason is the renewed interest in Central Asia research in Denmark, and in the legacy of central figures such as Klaus Ferdinand, O. Olufsen, V. Thomsen, K. Grønbech and H. Haslund-Christensen.

From October 10, you can find details on deadlines, submission of article proposals etc. on our website www.centralasien.dk or by joining our e-mail network free of charge.

The next issue

The next issue of The DSCA Journal, due January 2006, will consist of three themes:

- "The History of Central Asia Research in Scandinavia", part 1
- "Huns in Europe and Central Asia"
- "Modern Buryat Identity"

Call for articles will be issued on October 10 on our website www.centralasien.dk and through our e-mail network.

Submission Guidelines

For all those interested in submitting article proposals, please refer to The DSCA Journal section of The Danish Society for Central Asia's website www.centralasien.dk. It is important that article submission strictly follow the guidelines.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA TO ISSUE 1 (JULY 2005)

Judith Beyer: *It has to start from above: Making politics before and after the March revolution in Kyrgyzstan:*

In the sentence starting at the end of page 8 and ending at the beginning of page 9, a line had fallen out.

"It concludes that the March revolution in Kyrgyzstan did not only mean a shift in the political consciousness of the population."

should read

"It concludes that the March revolution in Kyrgyzstan did not only mean a shift in individual leadership, but also a shift in the political consciousness of the population."

Claire Wilkinson "e-Revolution in Kyrgyzstan":

a) Below the title of the article, the name of the author is spelled wrongly: Wilkison should read Wilkinson.

b) Footnotes 4, 9, 23, 31, 32, 33 had erroneously been omitted from the body of the text, although the footnotes themselves remained.

c) The final sentence in the abstract section "An additional aim ... from the point of view of people, who are not resident in the country" should not have a comma separating "people" and "who".

The corrected articles can be found on our website, www.centralasien.dk, from October 10.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

OCTOBER

Conference: Academy of al-Ma'mun in Khwarazm (X-XI c.), Khwarazm (Uzbekistan).

Uzbekistan is planning to organize an international scientific conference, dedicated to the 1000th anniversary from the establishment of the Academy of al-Ma'mun in Khwarazm.

Date: End of October.

More information: <http://www.beruni.fan.uz>

Contact: Al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of Academy of Science, Tashkent, 81, H. Abdullaev street, 700170 Tashkent, Uzbekistan; Phones: (99871) 162-54-61, 162-42-56; Fax: (99871) 162-52-77; E-mail: beruni@globalnet.uz

NOVEMBER

Conference: 13th International Conference on Central Asia and the Caucasus, Teheran (Iran).

“Regional Developments: Interaction and Encounter of Strategies” Conference organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Islamic Republic of Iran, Institute for Political & International Studies (IPIS)

Date: November 7-8.

More information: <http://www.ipis.ir>

Contact: IPIS Center for the Study of Central Asia and the Caucasus

Post Office Box 19395/1793, Shahid Bahonar (Niavaran) Street, Shahid Aghaei Street, Tehran, Iran; Tel: +98 21 2802656-7; Fax: +98 21 2802649; E-mail: centralasia@ipis.ir

Conference: Reflecting Transformation in Post-socialist Rural Areas, Helsinki (Fin-

land).

The conference addresses a wide array of questions related to the transformation of agriculture and rural areas in post-socialist countries.

The conference concentrates on the post-socialist countries in Europe and the former Soviet Union, but contributions from Asian countries are also welcomed.

This is the fifth in a series of annual multidisciplinary, international Aleksanteri conferences organized by the Aleksanteri Institute. The Aleksanteri Institute (Finnish Center for Russian and East European Studies) is affiliated with the University of Helsinki and operates as a national center of research, study and expertise pertaining to Russia, the countries of the former Soviet Union and post-socialist countries in Europe particularly in the social sciences and humanities.

Date: November 10-11.

More information: <http://www.helsinki.fi/aleksanteri/english>

Contact: Ms. Maarit Heinonen, Aleksanteri Institute, email: maarit.i.heinonen@helsinki.fi; phone +358 9 191 28652; fax +358 9 191 28616

Conference: Gift in Turkic Culture Symposium, Istanbul

The purpose of the symposium is to document and analyse the occasion, function, meaning and types of gifts in Turkic culture. The distinction between gift, sacrifice, bribe etc., the traditional and legal aspects of this differentiation come under the interest of the symposium.

Date: November 16-17.

More info and contact: Dr. Aylin Koc, Secretary to the Symposium; Email: aykoc@turk.net; Marmara Universitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakultesi, Turk Dili ve Edebiyati Bolumu,

Goztepe, Istanbul, Turkey; Work: +90 (216) 347 96 41-1166; Fax: +90 (216) 347 87 83; Cell: +90 (542) 697 13 50

Workshop: Kazakhstan Between East & West, Oxford.

The Oxford Society for the Caspian and Central Asia (TOSCCA), in co-operation with the Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies at St Antony's College, Oxford, will hold a one-day workshop on "Kazakhstan between East and West". The programme will be published shortly.

More information and contact: Paul Bergne, PaulBergne@compuserve.com.

2006

Conference: New Directions in Silk Road Archaeology, Madrid.

The University of Sydney Central Asian Programme (USCAP) is organising a workshop entitled New Directions in Silk Road Archaeology as part of the 5th ICAANE (International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East).

Date: April 3-8, 2006

More information: <http://www.uam.es/otroscentros/asiriologiayegipto/5icaane/default.html>.

Contact: Dr Alison Betts, University of Sydney Central Asian Programme (USCAP), Department of Archaeology, University of Sydney, A17, NSW 2006, Sydney, Australia; E-mail: alison.betts@arts.usyd.edu.au; USCAP Web Site: <http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/departs/archaeology/CentralAsia/homepage.htm>; Tel: 61 2 9351 2090; Fax: 61 2 9351 3918 (attn. A. Betts)

Symposium: Third International Linguistic Symposium LENCA, Tomsk (Russia).

The Grammar and Pragmatics of Complex Sentences in Languages spoken in Europe and North and Central Asia (LENCA-3)

Date: June 27 – June 30 2006.

More information:

<http://www.lenca3.siblang.org>

Contact: Elizaveta Kotorova, Andrey Filchenko, Pirkko Suihkonen; Meeting Email: tomsk@eva.mpg.de

Conference: History & Legacy of the Gulag, Harvard (US).

The Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University with the generous support of the Bradley Foundation will host a major international conference on the history and legacy of the Gulag. Topic areas are broad, and all proposals will be considered: History of the Gulag (including camps, prisons and exile), economy of the Gulag, literature of the Gulag, release and rehabilitation, the legacy of the Gulag in the post-Stalin and post-Soviet periods, the dissident and human rights movement in the Soviet Union, nationalities in the Gulag, the Gulag in comparative perspective, etc.

Call for papers: Please send one-page paper abstracts by November 15, 2005 to: Steven A. Barnes, Department of History and Art History, George Mason University, MS 3G1, Fairfax, VA 22030, USA; E-mail: sbarnes3@gmu.edu; Tel: +1 (703) 993-1247

Date: October 19-22, 2006

More information and contact: See above.