Stigmatisation processes and populations' responses in turbulent environments:

A multi-site case study of the Hazaras in Quetta, Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena, Colombia

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Abstract

This thesis explores the lived experiences of stigmatisation processes amongst the Hazaras in Quetta (Pakistan) and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena (Colombia) and how do these diverse dynamics shape the experiences of stigmatisation in each community. The study also analyses the responses to stigmatisation through absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies at the individual and community levels. In addition, it also explores how these strategies differ or overlap due to the differing historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts of each community. Utilising constructivist grounded theory through qualitative-driven research, the study explores the different processes of stigmatisation and response strategies.

This research is based on fieldwork conducted during two extended field trips to Pakistan (Jan-Apr 2019) and Colombia (June-Sep 2019), including a pilot study in Colombia in Jan 2018. In total, 95 semi-structured interviews were conducted with the Hazaras and the Afro-descendant individuals, including 20 with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). Unstructured observation of four areas were conducted that included Marriabad and Hazara Town in Quetta as well as Nelson Mandela and San Fernando in Cartagena. The research methods also included four in-depth interviews and 16 focus group discussions with the communities, utilising photo elicitation technique and stigmatisation tree exercises.

The findings of the research revealed different kinds of 'segregations' that act as physical and sonic markers of area stigma. Thereby, accentuating inequalities and highlighting the symbolic limits of the areas the communities reside in. The thesis further proposes that the two groups living in the four areas have external markers associated to 'visibility' due to their physical features and cultural manifestations. The research emphasises on individual and collective resilience strategies such as 'self-empowerment', 'processes of resignification', 'raising awareness', 'sonic appropriation', 'appropriation of space', 'blaming', 'pride', 'acceptance', 'confrontation', 'avoidance' and 'tactics'. As a result, the thesis adds to our knowledge of absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies that communities use to respond to stigma. The thesis contributes to the understanding of stigmatisation by concentrating on the contextual factors of forced migration, violence, and armed conflict.

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Dedicated to the memory of my beloved grandmother

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Glossary

Term	Definition
Aghil	One aghil is made up of a number of houses that can range from 7 to 70.
Alam	Flag
Alayhi as-salāmu (A.S)	Peace be upon him.
Ashura	The 10th day of Muharram for mourning the martyrdom of the grandson of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).
Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (ANUC)	National Association of Peasant Users is a non-profit organisation that seeks to integrate the peasant community to exert pressure on State entities and achieve a better standard of living and greater support for their production.
Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC)	United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia, a right-wing paramilitary organisation in Colombia, that was active from 1997 to 2006.
Bandas Criminales (BACRIM)	Criminal gangs, a term used by the Colombian Government for the members of the AUC that grew out of the demobilisation.
Bandé	A language of African origin
Bazaar	Market
Barrio	Area of the city
Barrios populares	Popular areas are the 'invaded' settlements that the residents have built themselves to provide a roof. In that sense, they are those urban development units formed by the grouping of individual properties, with some common areas that are mostly of a residual nature, have been built by the people themselves - hence the popular - through a process that takes several decades and that implies a huge collective effort (area) and also family (house). These characteristics distance them from other types of areas, such as residential ones for more wealthy social classes or working-class areas produced by the State.
Bruto	Less intelligent
Cambuches	Dwellings built with provisional nature and materials such as old wood and plastic amongst others
Campesinos	Peasant farmers
Cimarrones	Maroons
Cimarronismo	Marronage: Cimarronismo in its political essence is the resistance against social and racial oppression.
Comunidades negras	Black communities
Consejo Nacional de Política Económica y Social (CONPES)	The National Council for Economic and Social Policy was created by Law 19 of 1958. This is the highest national planning authority and acts as an advisory body to the Government in all aspects related to the economic and social development of the country.

Consejo Communitario	Community Council
Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (CODHES)	The Consultancy for Human Rights and Forced Displacement is a non-profit organisation established in 1992 by academics in human rights and international humanitarian law who sought peaceful alternatives for Colombia, with an emphasis on the individuals and communities directly affected by the armed conflict.
Dambura	Musical instrument
Displacement 'Colombian Legislation'	The condition where people are forced to migrate within the national territory, abandoning their place of residence or habitual economic activities, because their life and physical integrity are violated or threatened by situations of public order such as violence, internal armed conflict or violations of human rights. Law 387/1997 (Art.1)
Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN)	National Liberation Army, a leftist guerrilla organisation, formed in 1964. ELN was originally a nationalist movement influenced by the Cuban revolution.
Ejército Popular de Liberación (EPL).	The Popular Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Colombian Communist Party was founded in 1967 to oppose to the Colombian Government.
Emir	Ruler
Ethno-education	The education for ethnic groups, offered to communities that comprise the Colombian nationality, who have a culture, a language, traditions and some autochthonous jurisdiction of their own.
Fatwa	Religious edict
Frontier Corps (FC)	A Pakistani paramilitary force that was set up in 1878 to keep law and order and watch the country's borders with Iran and Afghanistan. They are currently serving in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia—Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP)	The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army was founded in 1964 as the armed wing of the Communist Party. Now known as a political party: 'Common Alternative Revolutionary Force'.
Ganj-e-Shuhada	The area of cemetery where the majority of the Hazara martyrs are buried. The name derives from Karbala where the martyrs are buried.
Ghair mulki	Foreigner
Guerra de los mil días	The Thousand Days' War
Guerreros	Warriors
Hawala	Informal financing
Hazar	One-thousand
Hazara Qawmi Jirga	Assembly of Hazara Taifa leaders
Higher Education Commission (HEC),	A legislative organisation responsible for financing, managing, regulating, and certifying the country's higher education institutions.

Instituto Distrital de Deporte y Recreación (IDER)	District Institute for Sports and Recreation, having the legal status of a decentralised organisation with administrative independence, and autonomous assets, it promotes sports, recreation, leisure and physical education in Cartagena
Inter Board Committee of Chairmen (IBCC)	IBCC verifies the certificates of equivalence for the ones at universities, professional colleges, and organisations where they want to study or work.
Imambargha	*Shia* mosque
Jihad	Struggle, effort, or a holy war waged on behalf of Islam as a religious duty.
Juntas	Councils
Juntas de Acción Comunal (JAC)	Community Action Boards are non-profit civic, social and community organisations of local management with legal status and its own assets. They are voluntarily integrated by the residents of an area to join efforts and resources to seek an integral, sustainable and sustainable development.
Kafir	Infidel
Kalan-e-qawm	Tribe leader
Kalashnikov	Soviet automatic rifle also known as AK-47
Karbala	A city in Iraq. The Karbala narrative refers to the Battle of Karbala, which took place on the 10th of Muharram.
Khoshdel	Cheerful/happy
Kot	Fortress
Kuagros	Age groups
La Legión del Afecto	Legion of Affection
La limpia	Empty lands
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)	A *Sunni* militant group in Pakistan against the *Shias*.
Lumbalú	Nine-night wake, funery ritual of the Palenqueros.
Madrassa	Islamic religious school
Mandeleros	Inhabitants of the Nelson Mandela are of Cartagena.
Maidan-e-Shuhada	Martyr's Square
Matam	Lamentation, beating the chest when mourning and grieving.
Meke	The waves from the speakers of a picó that produce vibrations beyond the audible.
Mestizo	Descendants of Amerindians and whites
Mingan	Thousand
Movimiento 19 de Abril (M-19)	19th of April Movement, a guerrilla group was formed in 1974, and became a political party in the late 1980s.
Muhalla	A traditional neighbourhood unit
Muharram	The first month of the Islamic Calendar
Mujahideen	The ones engaged in jihad
National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA),	An agency that is independent and under the control of the Interior Secretary of Pakistan. It is in charge of government databases and the sensitive registration database of all Pakistani citizens.
No Objection Certificate (NOC)	A legal document that shows that a programme or project is approved and backed by the Government.
Palenques	Free towns for escaped slaves

Palenquero	Creole language spoken by the Palenquero community.
PBHM	Peach be upon him
Picó	Colombian adaptation of the English word Pickup. *Picó* is an extremely large sound system.
Proceso de comunidades negras – PCN	Black Communities Process is a network of organisations formed in 1993. It is in charge of strengthening Afro - Colombian cultural identities, access to and use of natural resources that are environmentally sustainable, as well as the recognition of ethnic, cultural, territorial, social, economic and political rights in black communities.
Proof of Registration (PoR) cards	Afghan refugees can stay in Pakistan legally if they have a Proof of Registration Card. This card is a form of identification that shows who you are.
Qabristan	Cemetery
Qawm	A polysemic term, qawm, refers to the group of solidarity linked by agnatic kinship territorially and socially with the levels of reference dependent on lineage, tribe, ethnicity, or religion
Quaid-e-Azam	Great Leader
Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA)	The National Learning Service is a public educational establishment in Colombia that offers free training in technical, technological and related fields.
Sharia	Islamic law
Shia	*Shia* derives from the phrase *Shiat Ali* (Partisan of Ali)
Shuhada Chowk	Martyr's Square
Sialdari	Showing off
Son Africano	The name referring to a *picó* sound system
Stigmatisation Tree (ST)	Stigmatisation tree was conceptualised by Dr Brigitte Piquard
Taifa	Tribe
Talib	Seeker of knowledge; student.
Tanzim-e-Nasl-e-Naw-e Hazara	Non-governmental organisation of the new generation of the Moghul Hazaras, based in Quetta.
Tazkira	Identity document
Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	Alliance of militant networks formed in 2007 to unify opposition against the Pakistani military.
Unidad para las Víctimas	Victims Unit is an institution that was created in 2012, based on Law 1448 (victims and land restitution), by which measures of attention, assistance and integral reparation are dictated to the victims of the internal armed conflict.
Watani	Watan means the homeland, watani in Quetta is used as a derogatory term referring to people who come from villages.
Zaireen	Pilgrims
Zanjeer zani	Self-flagellation

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Stigmatisation is sticky, multi-layered and problematic. It limits the life chances of the populations who are subject to it. People may be able to absorb, adapt and even transform stigma into something that strengthens their identity within the constraints. Nonetheless, fundamentally, stigma is reproducing inequality and preventing people experiencing it from developing their lives to their full potential. The Hazaras in Quetta, Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena, Colombia, are two cases of populations experiencing different forms of stigmatisation daily. However, they are also responsive through their absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies.

The Hazaras[1] and the Afro-descendants[2] have particular nuances. They have different contexts, historical backgrounds, languages, customs and traditions, and context-specific power dynamics. However, the minority groups from both Pakistan and Colombia are marked by a long history of discrimination, forced displacement and conflict. The Hazaras' presence in Quetta dates back to the 1800s when they fled Afghanistan under duress. There are two Hazara communities in Quetta: the Pakistani Hazaras with Pakistani citizenship and the Hazara Afghan refugees. These two communities reside in different areas, i.e., Marriabad and Hazara Town. Whereas in Cartagena, the largest colony of the Palenqueros is San Fernando. Cartagena has also been one of the major receptor sites for the displaced populations from regions of armed conflict, primarily residing in Nelson Mandela[3], named after the South African President.

This thesis explores the lived experiences of stigmatisation processes by the two groups residing in the four different areas. I analyse individuals' and groups' response strategies by focusing on the contextual aspects of forced migration, sectarian violence and armed conflict. The thesis then contributes to a deeper understanding of absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies as a response to stigmatisation, mainly due to its global extension and the focus on the global south.

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[1] Both Pakistani Hazaras (locals) and Afghan Hazaras (refugees)
[2] In this study, when I do not directly refer to the communities as Palenqueros or Mandeleros, the term afro-descendants will be used.
[3] The inhabitants of Nelson Mandela are called Mandeleros

1.2 Significance of study

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the concept of territorial stigmatisation, placed-based stigma, production of stigmatisation and response strategies (Wacquant, 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Wacquant *et al.*, 2014; Larsen, 2014; Bresnahan & Zhuang, 2016; Slater, 2017; Butler-Warke, 2020, 2021; Larsen & Delica, 2019; Sisson 2021; Pattison, 2022). However, there is limited research on the different forms of stigmatisation of areas and communities and how the negative qualities assigned to the space are transferred to people, particularly in the context of forced migration, sectarian violence and armed conflict. In this thesis, I identify these shortcomings by presenting the contextual aspect of the processes of stigmatisation in turbulent environments. This thesis investigates the lived experiences of stigmatisation and response strategies amongst the Hazaras in Pakistan and the Afro-descendants[4] in Colombia.

The theoretical frameworks and empirical concepts that serve as the basis for this study include literature from sociology, anthropology, linguistics and human geography, amongst other disciplines. I review the current literature on territorial stigmatisation, place-based stigma, production of stigma and response strategies. In addition, the theoretical dimensions of stigmatisation are discussed with the historical conceptualisation of stigma and the models pertinent to this research (Jones *et al.,* 1984). The many definitions and linkages between stigma and stigmatisation are clarified, leading to a discussion of the social aspects of the concept and its influence. By doing this, I develop a framework with the components of stigmatisation, and by drawing on them, I show their application in this study. In addition, the thesis borrows inspiration from studies on territorial stigmatisation and place-based stigma (Wacquant, 2007a, 2007b; Butler-Warke, 2020, 2021). To this end, the research proposes the interconnectedness at the individual, social and structural levels as well as the elements of history, culture and power that influence the experiences of stigma, which are led by prejudicial attitudes, further leading to discriminatory behaviours (Tyler & Slater, 2018). In addition, I discuss how these processes are based on the idea of distinctiveness between groups, which implies a comparative look where specific cultural manifestations are chosen and highlighted to differentiate themselves from the rest by negative attributes (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Jones *et al.*, 1984; Crocker *et al.*, 1998).

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[4] In this thesis I use the term Afro-descendants when referring to the Palenqueros and Mandeleros in Cartagena.

Regarding the responses to stigmatisation, the resilience strategies of absorption, adaptation and transformation are explored. Both stigmatisation and resilience are deeply intertwined with social dynamics, reflecting the relational nature of human experiences within social contexts. Stigmatisation manifests through societal labelling and categorisation, resulting in the marginalisation or discrimination of individuals or groups based on perceived differences or deviances. This process underscores the importance of social interactions and power dynamics in shaping individuals' identities and opportunities. Conversely, resilience is nurtured through supportive social relationships, community resources, and networks that bolster individuals or groups in navigating adversity and maintaining well-being. These supportive networks and resources highlight the significance of communal ties and collective action in fostering resilience. Ultimately, stigmatisation and resilience are intricately linked to individuals' interactions with others and their broader social environment, emphasising the relational nature of human experiences within society.

As this study aims to contribute to knowledge production on people's strategies in responding to stigmatisation, I define and apply the concept of resilience. The concept is discussed as a shift in paradigm that, rather than studying the pathological repercussions of adversity, tackles the qualities that enable absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies, resulting in personal development and progress. I suggest drawing on the range of academic fields interested in resilience, broadening to the point that it has become transdisciplinary. By exploring the definitions and conceptualisations of resilience, the thesis contributes to resilience strategies such as absorption, adaptation and transformation at the individual and community levels. The study's significance lies in exploring stigmatisation processes in turbulent environments, particularly amongst communities with a history of forced displacement. Whilst existing research has addressed aspects of territorial stigmatisation and place-based stigma, there remains a gap in understanding how these dynamics manifest within communities affected by forced migration, sectarian violence, and armed conflict. Through an interdisciplinary approach drawing from sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and human geography, the thesis builds upon theoretical frameworks and empirical concepts to develop a nuanced understanding of stigmatisation.

The broader theoretical discourse surrounding stigmatisation delves into the societal contexts in which these processes unfold, encompassing their conceptualisation and the political economy of countries like Pakistan and Colombia. It is essential to grasp the structural power dynamics within these nations, as they act as agents producing stigma for vulnerable communities such as the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants. Understanding the varied experiences of stigmatisation amongst individuals and communities entails considering intersecting factors such as ethnicity, gender, race, religion, and socio-economic status. This intersectionality lens reveals the intricate ways in which multiple dimensions of identity intersect and interact to shape experiences of stigma and marginalisation.

It's important to explore how intersecting identities interact with broader social structures and power dynamics to produce inequality for the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants. The Hazaras have faced historical persecution and marginalisation, stemming from ethnic and religious differences. Centuries of discrimination and marginalisation have shaped their socio-economic status and political representation. Intersecting identities such as ethnicity and religion intersect with socio-economic factors to produce inequality amongst the Hazaras. (Afzal *et al.,* 2012). Limited access to education, employment opportunities, and healthcare perpetuates socio-economic disparities within the community. Moreover, the political dynamics in Pakistan have often marginalised the Hazaras, with limited representation in government and exclusion from decision-making processes. Intersecting identities of ethnicity and religion intersect with political power dynamics to perpetuate unequal political representation.

The Hazaras also face discrimination based on both their ethnicity and *Shia* Muslim faith. Cultural norms and discriminatory practices contribute to the marginalisation of Hazara communities, with instances of targeted violence and exclusion from mainstream society. An intersectional analysis reveals how factors such as ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic status intersect to shape Hazaras' access to resources and opportunities. These intersecting identities intersect with broader power structures to perpetuate inequality and marginalisation within the Hazara communities.

In the case of the Afro-descendants in Colombia, they have a history rooted in slavery, colonisation, and land dispossession. Centuries of systemic racism and discrimination have shaped their socio-economic status and political representation. Intersecting identities

such as race and socio-economic status intersect to produce inequality amongst the Afro-descendant communities. Limited access to education, land ownership, and economic opportunities perpetuates socio-economic disparities within the community. Whereas, the political dynamics in Colombia have often marginalised the Afro-descendants, with limited representation in government and exclusion from decision-making processes. Intersecting identities of race and socio-economic status intersect with political power dynamics to perpetuate unequal political representation.

In addition, the Afro-descendants face discrimination based on their racial identity, with pervasive colourism and stereotypes contributing to their marginalisation (Restrepo, 2004). Cultural norms and discriminatory practices intersect with intersecting identities to perpetuate discrimination and exclusion within the Afro-descendant communities. An intersectional analysis reveals how factors such as race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status intersect to shape Afro-descendants' access to resources and opportunities. These intersecting identities intersect with broader power structures to perpetuate inequality and marginalisation within the Afro-descendant communities.

Additionally, media biases can perpetuate stigma, further entrenching social hierarchies and inequalities. Moreover, the armed conflict, assassinations of community leaders and forced migration contextualise the stigmatisation processes for the Afro-descendants. Cartagena's port provided a key role in the transatlantic slave trade, and the Palenqueros were the first enslaved Africans who escaped to San Basilio de Palenque, the first free town in the Americas (Lovera *et al.* 2017; Cunin, 2003ab). Since the armed conflict, the Palenqueros have been migrating to Cartagena for multiple reasons, including education, employment and as victims of the armed conflict.

The groups in this study are particularly significant examples of the lived experiences of stigmatisation. As I show in Chapters 2/3, there is a considerable body of knowledge about the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants in the context of forced migration, violence and armed conflict. However, there has not been much research regarding the stigmatisation of these areas before, and the thesis brings significant empirical insights. As such, the thesis focuses on two forms of stigmatisation: area and community. Prioritising area and community stigma offers a holistic understanding of spatial dynamics affecting stigmatised communities. By focusing on these aspects, we move beyond the physical boundaries of territory to explore broader social, cultural, and economic influences on spatial stigma. This

approach enables a thorough examination of the mechanisms driving stigmatisation and resilience within specific geographic contexts. Analysing labels, stereotypes, prejudices, and discrimination in certain areas reveals the complex interplay between spatial and social dynamics. This illuminated how spatial stigma shapes social interactions, power structures, and historical contexts, ultimately impacting social inclusion, economic opportunities, and overall well-being.

Additionally, using terms like 'area' and 'community' instead of 'territory' reflects considerations of inclusivity, flexibility, cultural sensitivity, conceptual clarity, and interdisciplinary engagement, allowing for a comprehensive examination of spatial dynamics whilst acknowledging the cultural significance of territory for stigmatised communities. Recognising the symbolic significance of 'territory' for the Afro-descendants in Colombia underscores their historical struggles, cultural identity, and aspirations for autonomy and recognition. In summary, prioritising area and community stigma is essential for understanding spatial dynamics within stigmatised communities holistically and culturally sensitively. Finally, using terms like '*mantaqa*' [area] by the Hazaras and '*barrio*' [area/district] by the Afro-descendants in their respective languages highlights the importance of these concepts in their lived experiences. In the next section I position myself as an insider and outsider in both sites.

1.3 Insider-outsider positionality

Epistemologically, constructivism emphasises the relationship between the researcher and the subject of study based on a subjectivist position, where there is an interaction between the researcher and the research participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mills *et al.*, 2006). In this study, intersubjectivity was the way to access it, given that reality is constructed within the meanings the communities build. I was not an objective observer but a part of the research endeavour, which focused on understanding the different forms of stigmatisation and responses. Considering qualitative approaches, observing in part is a construction by the observer; it is necessary to recognise the influence of the presence and personal profile of the researcher.

Based on this observation, it is necessary to understand the emic (insider)/etic (outsider) theoretical framework, initially developed by Pike (1967) and then enriched by Harris (1964). However, scholars have further developed this notion (Berry, 1989; Left, 1990;

Peterson & Pike, 2002) to understand the forms of prior knowledge and its influences on access to the field and the choice of a conceptual and methodological framework (Joannides, 2012; Headland *et al.*, 1990). Keeping in mind the possibility that the degree of pre-existing knowledge before the beginning of the research may influence the design of the study, I reflected on this before conducting the fieldwork for the distance required to permit a rigorous research process (Woods, 1992; Mullings, 1999; Holmes, 2012).

Nonetheless, both positionalities have unique advantages and disadvantages (Dwyer & Bucker, 2009). For instance, an insider can access a hard-to-reach population where gaining access to the community is complex, such as refugee communities (Stevenson & Willott, 2007; Hashmi, 2016). An insider researcher is considered a member of the field under study with prior knowledge of the subject. In contrast, for an outsider researcher, the observed community will, at best, only have second-hand knowledge. These elements fit into this study because I was an insider (Pakistan) and an outsider (Colombia) at the beginning of the fieldwork. However, these positionalities became somewhat blurred by the end of the fieldwork, as explained below.

Regarding the fieldwork roles, Adler and Adler (1987) illustrated three typologies of the membership role of the researcher: (i) *Peripheral*: close interaction without participation (ii) *Active*: central position in the field with responsibilities (iii) *Comple*te: fully immersed in the field. Considering that participant observation was not utilised in this study, it was still essential to consider my role as a researcher. Whilst taking the images of the significant places and areas, there was some level of participation in the field as it was impossible not to interact in such contexts. Also, the cultural environment in Quetta was such that for a female researcher, it was not possible to walk in the area alone because I am part Hazara and from Quetta. This meant there were members of the community present with me. Similarly, as I was a complete outsider and unfamiliar with the areas in Cartagena, it positioned me in a situation where a community member and gatekeepers were present whilst taking images. This scenario put me in between a peripheral and active membership role.

The study is conducted with a multi-site case study design using qualitative-driven constructivist grounded theory for two reasons: Firstly, I selected the Hazaras (Quetta) case, considering my upbringing in Quetta by my maternal grandparents of Hazara descent. Also, conducting my Master's research on the Hazara community in Oxford enabled me to

investigate populations' response strategies. My background as a Hazara and my experiences in Colombia inspired me to know more about the stigmatisation processes and the differences and similarities between the two groups. For example, the element of historic persecution exists but is very different; the contexts are very different, yet both countries have experienced violence. This instigated further questions, such as: what are the similarities of the phenomena? Are any of the factors of the processes similar? Do they have a similar pattern of the phenomena with such different contexts and historical backgrounds? As such, a multi-site case study design promoted the richness and depth drawn from the trajectories of the individuals/communities of varying age groups, contexts and cultures, which help one understand the phenomena of stigmatisation and populations responses shared amongst the two cases.

Frequently visiting home, in some way, normalised my way of thinking regarding the root causes of the processes of stigmatisation, the situation of the Hazara community and the turbulent environment of Quetta. Secondly, this way of thinking was quickly altered when I conducted an action-research fieldwork in Colombia-2016 as part of a team of students and staff of Oxford Brookes University. The theme was the stigmatisation of people and places, which allowed me to focus on the different forms and processes of stigmatisation. This led me to select the Afro-descendants that makeup Colombia's ethnic and racial diversity as the second case study. The pilot study conducted in January-2018 identified the second site, Cartagena, as I felt the need to choose another site to help increase understanding of the stigma of areas, physical appearances and cultural manifestations. Most importantly, there is a lack of research on the lived experiences of stigma and responses amongst the Hazaras in Quetta and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena.

Belonging to the Hazara community in Quetta, I knew the language, customs, ways of life, explicit and implicit routines, and community functioning rules before commencing the fieldwork. The planning process before conducting the fieldwork varied as an insider and an outsider. Considering that I am part Hazara (maternal side) and part Punjabi (paternal side), my positionality as a researcher in Quetta was at times of an insider and other times, there seemed to be an ambiguity of status between insider/outsider. In Quetta, I introduced myself as a PhD student from Oxford Brookes University to test the participants level of trust in participating in the research. However, by the end of the interviews, the

participants would ask me and/or my gatekeeper whether I was the daughter of Dr Ruquiya Hashmi (Box-1).

Box 1: Field Journal (Quetta)

> *I was advised to introduce myself as the daughter of a Hazara, who is well known in the community, for it will help with building trusting relationships. The first ten interviews were conducted without informing them about my background and context, to which they seemed hesitant to respond openly to all my questions. Upon revealing my identity, they said, 'we would have been more open to you if we knew who you were'.*

January, 2019

I asked these particular participants if they would be willing to participate in another interview, to which they agreed. Without a doubt, the responses were less restrictive and more open, without the need to prompt them any further on specific questions. Having this position of an insider had several advantages. The community members were interested in participating in the research because my family background provided a level of trust and comfort, as was the case with previous research conducted on the Hazara community of Oxford and familiarity with the language, culture, and norms. I found that the embeddedness I had as an insider, the higher the risk of consequences for my family. I was more conscientious so as not to offend the elders with my questions, as well as when I was asked by some of the elders why they were not selected for in-depth interviews. I had to be mindful of how I responded. However, the outsider status crept up whenever elements of religion and ethnicity were involved in the conversations, considering that I am maternally *Shia*/Hazara and paternally *Sunni*/Punjabi or a '*su-shi*'.

Also, the participants assumed I knew exactly what they were talking about when they referred to incidents of target killings with dates or religious days, to which I would feel somewhat ashamed to ask them what they meant. However, I constantly reminded them I had not lived in Quetta for decades, so if they would be okay with being precise. They were more than happy to go in-depth with those particular events. This helped me uncover their narrative rather than those others wrote and portrayed in the media.

My first encounter as an outsider during the pilot study was in Cali when a participant assumed I was white Colombian. The interpreter impromptu introduced me to the participant, saying I was a Pakistani student conducting a pilot study in Cali on the Afro-

descendant community[5]. When prompted, the participant advised that it would be best to reveal my identity before being introduced to the community studied for the main fieldwork. As the pilot study's findings revealed, identity plays a substantial role in the Afro-descendant community in Colombia, particularly in Cali. At the same time, Cartagena is a *mestizo* [mixed-race] city and the central touristic city of Colombia.

In Cartagena, various categories intersect to influence social dynamics and identity formation, reflecting the complexity of its social fabric. The term *'costeño'* specifically refers to individuals from Colombia's coastal regions, including Cartagena, carrying distinct linguistic, cultural, and social connotations. Moreover, class plays a pivotal role in shaping the city's social landscape, impacting access to resources, opportunities, and social mobility. Ethnicity, gender, and age further intersect with class, contributing to the multifaceted experiences and identities of individuals in Cartagena. Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality framework provides valuable insights into understanding these dynamics. By examining how different social categories such as ethnicity, gender, age, and class intersect, we can better comprehend the complex interplay of power dynamics and social inequalities within Cartagena. This intersectional approach allows for a more nuanced analysis of how various forms of privilege and disadvantage intersect to shape individuals' lived experiences and identities in the city.

Nonetheless, as an outsider, I lacked knowledge of the multiple types of Afro-descendant populations in Cartagena and the language barrier. Although I had a general understanding of the context and the history of armed conflict in Colombia, the Mandeleros deemed it necessary to enlighten me on their particular regions of displacement and what they experienced. Meanwhile, for the Palenquero community, the community leader planned my visit to San Basilio de Palenque to witness first-hand where they come from, their rituals and traditions, and where they settled in Cartagena. I was reminded throughout my fieldwork to be mindful of how I narrate their history, rituals and traditions. This sheds light on the challenges to the stigma concept for researchers '*who do not belong to stigmatised groups, and who study stigma, do so from the vantage point of theories that are uninformed by the lived experience of the people they study*' (Link & Phelan, 2001:365). This may result

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[5] I enrolled in Modular Associate Course at Oxford Brookes University U63500 Spanish A1 (Sep 2017 – Dec 2017) and was **Awarded:** Cert Credit Modular (Distinction). This was free to PhD students taking A1 courses.

in misinterpretation of the lived experiences of the communities and individuals who are stigmatised and how people stereotype their cultural manifestations.

Dessing (2016) states that it may be easier to enter the scope of study regarding the migratory context if the situation of being a foreigner is shared. I navigated between the two positionalities when I introduced myself as belonging to an ethnic minority group from a tribal region whose ancestors experienced forced migration, persecution and target killing of a family member. As a researcher, these shared experiences allowed me to relate to the participants where they felt comfortable with me. This was particularly important in Nelson Mandela when I explained that my paternal grandfather fled India in 1947 and my maternal great-grandfather from Afghanistan in 1931, creating a feeling of affinity. Meanwhile, for the Palenquero community, belonging to a tribe and being from a tribal region helped break the barrier of an outsider. These were moments where I felt entirely at home and part of their communities, which somewhat blurred the boundaries of my positionality as an insider/outsider (Box-2). The positionalities were evolving during the research process – I was an insider at the start of the research in Pakistan.

Box 2: Field Journal (Cartagena)

'*How, as an insider and outsider, one has to learn the security landscape and how one can move through those landscapes at different stages of feeling protected and not feeling protected. I felt more protected as an outsider because people looked out for me. The challenges of researching my community as an insider and an outsider have led me to learn more as a researcher. It is much easier to enter an unknown context where you can play with your identity differently.*

July, 2019

However, I distanced myself, also realising all that I needed to learn, and in Colombia, I was an outsider but slowly embedded in the communities. There were also more similarities than we can believe in both cases. In both sites, reflective thinking throughout the data collection and analysis helped to keep enough distance to avoid missing either by being too far away or too close and disregarding it. In the next section, I focus on the research aims and questions.

1.4 Research aims and questions

Processes of stigmatisation and response strategies have been widely explored within the theoretical framework of territorial stigmatisation and place-based stigma. Most of this work has focused on social housing estates, ghettos, and French *banlieues* in post-industrial societies (Wacquant *et al*., 2014; Butler-Warke, 2021). I propose that the lived experiences

of stigmatised populations and their response strategies contextualised to turbulent environments such as forced migration, sectarianism and armed conflict have been inadequately researched. There have been some exceptions where the literature has been explored amongst informal settlements in Dhaka, Bangladesh (Fattah & Walters, 2020); 'ghetto' in Nairobi, Kenya (Kimari, 2018); Rio de Janeiro's port district, Brazil (Broudehoux & Monteiro, 2017). As such, this study contributes to the lived experiences of the populations through multi-sited research in Pakistan and Colombia, particularly focusing on turbulent environments such as forced migration, violence and conflict.

My overall aim in this thesis is to identify and assess the different forms and processes of stigmatisation and analyse how populations respond in a multi-site case study in turbulent environments, focusing on the Hazaras in Quetta, Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena, Colombia. As such, the main research question guiding this thesis is:

Main Research Question: What forms and processes of stigmatisation can be identified in the study areas, and how do populations respond to stigmatisation, considering different processes at play between the Hazara community in Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Colombia?

In doing so, the thesis utilises four qualitative research methods to answer the following research sub-questions:

Question 1: What forms and processes of area stigmatisation are found amongst the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, and how do these diverse dynamics shape the experiences of stigmatisation in each community?

Question 2: What forms of community stigmatisation exist for the populations, and how do the contexts of Pakistan and Colombia influence the emergence and perpetuation of individual and community-level stigma?

Question 3: How do the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants develop absorptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience strategies in response to stigmatisation, and how do these strategies differ or overlap due to the differing historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts of each community?

1.5   Thesis Outline

This chapter introduces the thesis and is followed by Chapter 2, which outlines the contextual background of Pakistan. In the first section, I provide a brief historical background of the Hazaras, their internal organisation, status, decision-making power and the multiple waves of forced migration from Afghanistan. The second section sketches the turbulent environment of Pakistan, focusing on forced migration, sectarian violence and structural power dynamics. In the third section, I discuss the city of Quetta, where the Hazaras are settled in the two areas of Marriabad and Hazara Town.

Chapter 3 presents the contextual background of Colombia; the first section provides the regional distribution of the Afro-descendants in the Pacific and Caribbean regions of Colombia. The second section discusses the context of Colombia by reviewing the armed conflict as one of the leading causes of stigmatisation processes for the Afro-descendants. I then analyse the recognition of the Afro-descendants in the Constitution of Colombia. The third section provides an overview of how the Palenqueros and Mandeleros arrived in Cartagena's two areas of San Fernando and Nelson Mandela due to forced displacement and armed conflict, their socio-cultural organisation, and cultural manifestations.

Then, in Chapter 4, I discuss the theoretical framework by outlining the key concepts and theories to understand the processes of stigmatisation and responses. The first section outlines the theoretical dimensions of stigmatisation, conceptualisation and impacts. Then, I discuss how the concept can be applied to this research. In the second part, I explore absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies and how they are applied to the theoretical framework.

Chapter 5 explores the qualitative methodological approach of the thesis. I justify the multi-site case study design using constructivist grounded theory. I then explore the two research sites in detail and the data collection methods of semi-structured interviews, unstructured observation, and focus groups utilising photo elicitation and stigmatisation tree exercise. I then review the sampling technique and how the data was analysed. I also discuss some of the ethical challenges in both sites.

The first analytical chapter, Chapter 6, looks at the daily lived experiences of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants. I identify segregation through area stigma as the first form of stigmatisation with physical and sonic markers. I ground the contextual factors of forced

migration, sectarian violence and armed conflict. I build on this by considering the different types of segregation, such as 'forced, intimidated and sonic', which directly answer Q1. These findings relate to the literature on area stigma, adding to the literature about the contextual aspect of the processes of stigmatisation, particularly turbulent and volatile environments in the global south.

In Chapter 7, I detail the second form of stigmatisation by arguing that area stigma also leads to stigmatisation of the residents through the visibility of their physical appearances and cultural manifestations in specific areas, answering Q2. The chapter also explores the components of stigmatisation in both sites through labelling, prejudice, stereotypes, distancing and discrimination whilst at the same time identifying the relational process of stigmatisation between the stigmatised and the stigmatisers.

In the final empirical chapter, I look at the responses to stigmatisation through absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. Chapter 8 addresses the main aim of the research by answering questions directly to Q3 and exploring the similarities and differences in the responses at the individual and community levels.

Chapter 9 explores the contributions of this thesis to understanding the different processes of stigmatisation and how populations respond, adding the contextual aspect of forced migration, sectarian violence and armed conflict. For future research, I suggest looking at the stigma-producing agents for reducing stigma, contextualising stigmatisation, and exploring the processes and responses at the institutional and structural levels.

CHAPTER 2: Pakistan's Sectarian Conflicts and the Hazaras

2.1   Introduction

Stigma depends on the history that influences the stigmatisation processes and sets the context for response strategies. In this chapter, I lay the groundwork for understanding the Hazaras' social, religious and political power dynamics in Pakistan. I first summarise the origin of the Hazaras from Afghanistan and their ethnic and religious identity before looking into the three waves of forced migration to Quetta (Pakistan). In the second section, I contextualise Pakistan's struggle for constitutional democracy. In the third section, I provide an overview of the turbulent environment of Pakistan by discussing the notion of sectarian violence. In the final section, I discuss the Hazaras insertion in Quetta and their socio-cultural structures.

2.2   The Hazaras

The academic literature on the Hazaras has almost entirely focused on Afghanistan, with an emerging body of research on the Hazaras in Australia. The classic historical works on Afghanistan, such as those of Dupree (1973) and Gregorian (1969), mention the Hazaras in passing when considering the ethnic composition of Afghanistan. Apart from the brief typical passages and articles, only two books are written in English by Hazara authors (Poladi, 1989; Mousavi, 1998). The works in question were part of an attempt to raise awareness and broaden horizons by presenting Afghan history from an 'insider' perspective rather than the usual 'outsider' point of view, such as the Pashtun aristocracy and Western academic sources. The other most cited works are those of Kristian Berg Harpviken (1996; 1998), Robert Canfield (1972; 1973; 2004), Niamatullah Ibrahimi (2009; 2012; 2017) and Alessandro Monsutti (2005; 2006; 2007; 2008). In particular, Monsutti captured the lived experiences of the Hazaras in Quetta during his extensive periods conducting ethnographic research in the early 90s. The chapter is also based on other literature besides the studies cited above.

Glancing at the history of the Hazara people, one can say that they are shrouded in mystery but are commonly described as people of Turkish-Mongol origin. Regarding the language they speak, some claim that they speak a dialect of the Persian language, whilst others consider it as the oral language of *Hazaragi*, characterised precisely by the presence of

many Turkish and Mongolian words (Mousavi, 1998; Ibrahimi, 2012). The Hazaras have been described as traditionally inhabiting the mountainous plateaus of central Afghanistan with distinctive Mongoloid features, an identifying mark and a criterion of differentiation (Canfield, 1973). The traditional explanation links the term Hazara from the Mongol word *Mingan* [thousand]. According to popular belief, when Genghis Khan retreated from the ancient Bactria lands[6], he left 1000 men in the Hazarajat mountains.[7] The descendants of the Mongol garrisons, established in the area in the 13th century, later came to be known as the Hazaras, which, according to the literature available, points to its origins in the Persian word *Hazar* [one-thousand] (Poladi, 1989; Mousavi, 1998). However, there has been much debate in academic circles about this legend. Habibi (2003) notes that the word stems from the ancient Aryan meaning *khoshdel* [cheerful/happy]. Seen in this way, the popular etymology is partly responsible for maintaining the myth of the Mongol descent of the Hazaras. The ethnogenesis of Hazaras is still today subject to a series of theories and subject to speculation. Myths of origin are crucial; they constitute the identity of the community in question and the capacity to understand oneself as an ethnic community. For the Hazaras, however, there is no consensus on the myth.

Mousavi (1998), in his extensive review of the different theories of Hazara origins (Mongol, Turkish, mixed ethnicities), concludes that the Hazaras were initially the Indigenous people of Khorasan [ancient Afghanistan], the native settlers of Bamiyan in Hazarajat. The Hazaras today are, Mousavi (1998) argues, a mixture of different ethnicities and races, which include the Mongol soldiers of Genghis Khan and his descendant Amir Timur. Given the ambiguity of the Hazara origin and to prevent distortion of the historical facts of the Hazara people, Deljo (2013), through a narrative method of historiography, agrees with Mousavi (1998) and concludes that the native ancestors of the Hazaras mixed with the descendants of Central Asia form the modern-day Hazara population. It is also important to note that claiming land ownership is perhaps one of the causes of the myths of origins. In Afghanistan, for the rest of the population, the Mongol origin can be seen as not belonging to the land in the first place. Hence, the Indigenous dimension counteracts the claim to the land as native settlers of Bamiyan. Therefore, they are entirely justified when, along with other tribes, they claim to be amongst the original settlers in Afghanistan. However, where

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[6] The historical region in Central Asia, located in modern Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.
[7] The territory inhabited by the Hazaras in the central and southern highlands of Afghanistan.

the Hazaras, and for that matter, all other Afghan tribes, including Pashtuns, Tajiks, and Uzbeks, originally came from is a matter of conjecture.

This identity around autochthony, for the Hazaras, is precisely for recognising their full rights as legitimate inhabitants and possessors of land and property in the regions they traditionally consider having always inhabited. It is an undeniable fact that the distortion of the Hazaras from their historical, social, and cultural identities has left a general disregard for their human and social rights, and there are even cases of insult and humiliation in their cultural, historical, ethnic and religious identity (Hashmi, 2016).

The identity of the Hazaras is a sense of belonging that stems from a common origin and a long experience of social, political, economic and religious marginality, which is located historically and has been constructed politically over the years (Adelkhah, 2017). Monsutti (2007) notes that the Hazaras' conversion to *Shia*[8] Islam remains ambiguous, dating back to the 13th century and later influenced by the Safavid dynasty. Another theory points to the claim that the early inhabitants of these regions were Buddhists. When Imam Ali (A.S.), the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) cousin and son-in-law, arrived with his companion, some Hazara tribes converted to *Shia* Islam during their stay and over an extended period after him (Gulzari, 2021). During that period, being a *Shia* meant declaring allegiance to Imam Ali (A.S.) and his family. However, over the centuries, the various Muslim communities and clans became more radicalised as they began stressing the importance of tradition and identity to underline the differences between *Shia* and *Sunni* Islam, which has always been the dominant force in the Islamic world. Whilst the majority of Hazaras belong to the *Shia* sect of Islam, there is also a small minority of Hazaras who are *Sunni* and *Ismaili* (Mousavi, 1998; Ibrahimi, 2012). In the next section, the chapter will examine the different waves of their forced migration from Afghanistan to Pakistan, particularly Quetta.

2.3   Afghanistan: Wars, Conflict and Forced Migration

The continuous reinforcement of the ethnic identity and the echo it finds amongst the Hazara population in Quetta result from a socio-historical process linked to several factors through multiple waves of migrations (see Map-1), as I explore in this section.

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[8] *Shia* derives from the phrase *Shiat Ali* (Partisan of Ali)

Map 1: Hazaras Migration Routes and Destinations
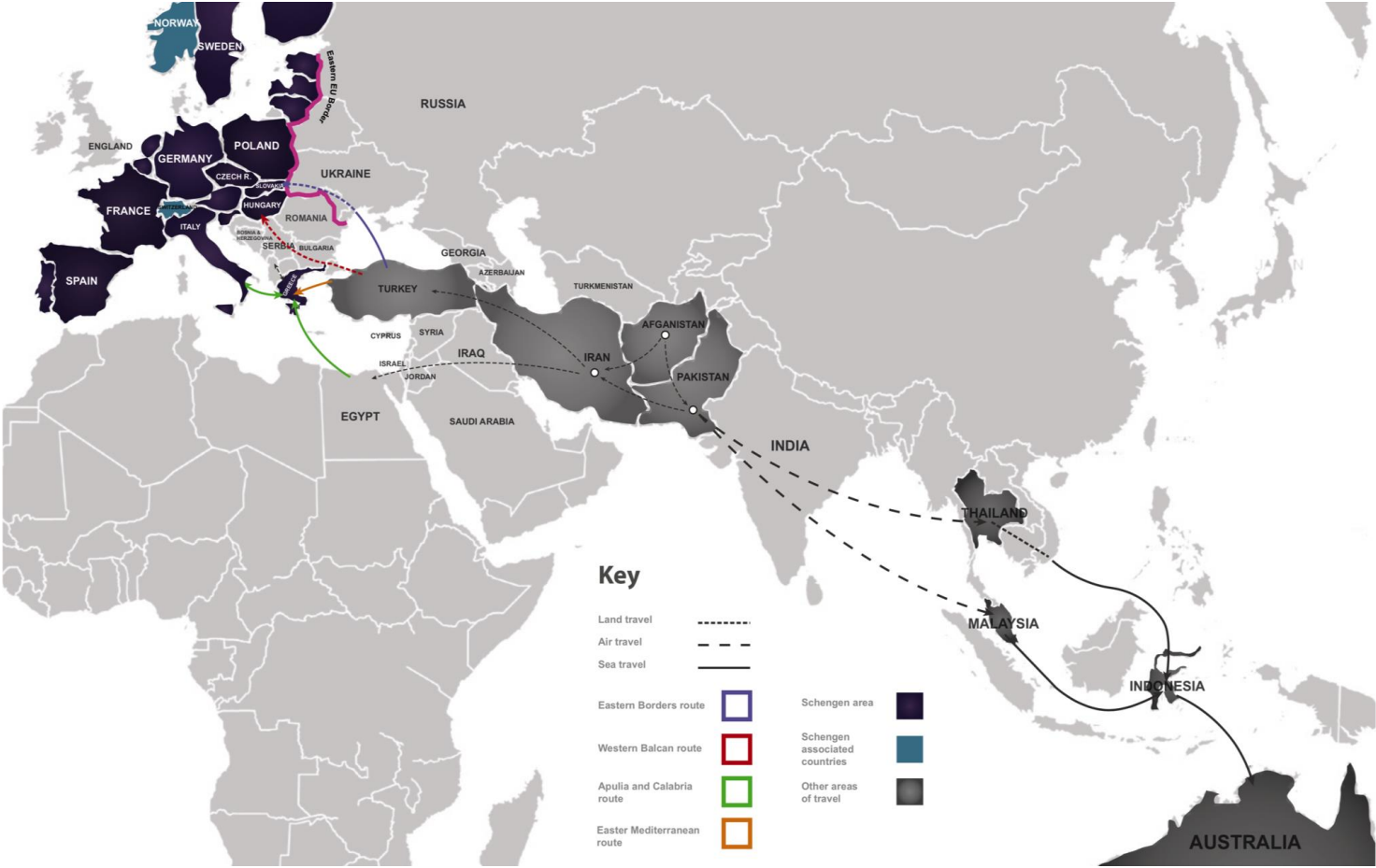
Hashmi, 2016

First, it is important to distinguish between the categories of forced migration and displacement (Table-1). In the thesis, I use all these different categories because of the contextual factors of Pakistan and Colombia.

Table 1: Definition of Terminologies

Forced Migration	The movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects.
Conflict-Induced Displacement	People who are forced to flee their homes for one or more of the following reasons and where the State authorities are unable or unwilling to protect them: armed conflict including civil war; generalised violence; and persecution on the grounds of nationality, race, religion, political opinion or social group.
Refugee	A refugee is someone who 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of [their] nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail [themself] of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of [their] former habitual residence, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it'.
Migrant	An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons.

IASFM, 2022; 1951 Convention (art 1); IOM, 2023

2.3.1 First Wave to Quetta

The Hazaras' presence in Quetta and Mashhad, Iran, is consequential to significant waves of migrations, which began at the end of the 19th century due to economic reasons as seasonal workers (Monsutti, 2007). The second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80) paved the way for the first settlements of the community in Quetta who, under the British rule, worked in labour-intensive employment as construction labourers for the roads and Bolan Pass Railway (Mousavi, 1998). In addition, the gradual transformation of Afghanistan towards an ideal of a modern nation-state resulted from the colonial dynamic known as 'The Great Game' that opposed the Russian Empire to the British Empire. Once Afghanistan became a British protectorate, a stable Afghan State was needed. *Emir* [ruler] of Afghanistan (1880-1901) Abdur Rahman Khan was equipped with the political intelligence to ally himself with the British in the sphere of international politics against the Russians whilst securing the support of a population very hostile to any internal foreign domination. Backed by the

British Military's advisors, Abdur Rahman initially pressured the Hazaras politically and economically. Soon after, in the face of their resistance, he proclaimed war against all *Shias*, declaring them as infidels, the majority of whom were Hazaras. Violence was exercised in the form of massacres and the military campaign of 1891-1893 by opening the Hazarajat region to the Kuchi nomads, who were virtually deported to colonise and destroy the Hazara sense of unity and independence (Adelkhah, 2017).

The growing opposition of the Hazaras and the Government's inability to impose its will on the Hazaras led to military intervention in Hazarajat aimed at suppressing the rebellion. The Hazara resistance turned into a three-year frontal war and ended in a total defeat for the Hazaras. This period gave rise to atrocities, including slavery, persecution and mass killings of the Hazara population, causing a significant exodus to Quetta (Pakistan) and Mashhad (Iran) to seek protection. During this period, the infantry regiment of the British Indian Army, the 106th Hazara Pioneers, was formed in Quetta, and they went on to serve in the regiments during the First World War (Mousavi, 1998). Once again, in 1939, under the 1st Battalion 4th Hazara Pioneers, the Hazaras were recruited into the British Indian Army. Some were also raised to commissioned ranks and served in the Second World War, including General Muhammad Musa Khan, appointed as the 4th Commander in Chief of the Pakistan Army (1958-1966). During this period, the Hazaras of Pakistan, descendants of the first generation who fled to Quetta, were declared Pakistani citizens in 1962 by the Government of Balochistan (Owtadolajam, 2006).

2.3.2 Second Wave to Quetta

The famine of 1971 most badly affected the Hazarajat region, causing further escalation between the Hazaras and the Pashtuns. Threatened with starvation, considerable losses of livestock and increased deaths instigated a significant migration to Quetta (Monsutti, 2007). On the other hand, Iran was also an essential destination for the Hazaras fleeing the conflict where the majority of the population shared their religious affiliation. Map-2 shows the main border crossings from Herat (Afghanistan) to Mashhad (Iran) and Kandahar (Afghanistan) to Chaman (Pakistan).

Map 2: Border crossings – Mashhad (Iran) and Chaman (Pakistan)
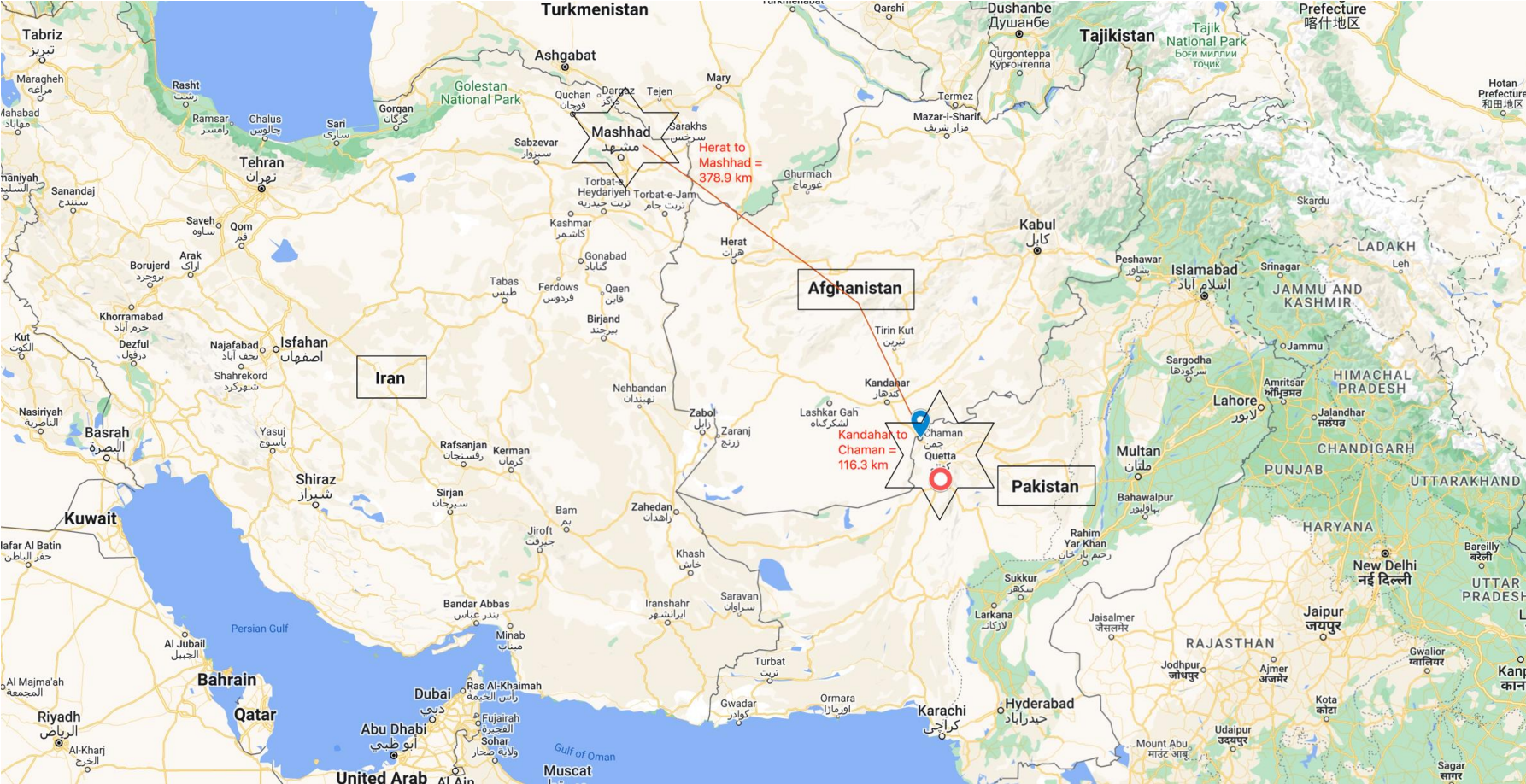
Google Maps, 2023

Shortly after, Afghanistan was declared a Republic in 1973, marking the end of the Pashtun kings' reign. This new political regime also failed to meet the fundamental needs and aspirations of the people. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 was a breeding ground for the dynamics of violence. It marked the beginning of 25 years of suffering and continual strife, transforming the country into a desolate land again (Ibrahimi, 2017). The rich cultural heritage of Afghanistan also began to disappear gradually, as did the Afghan people's hopes of recovering some sort of life, a decent income and a reasonably secure existence. Violence integrated into the structural and cultural system in terms of ethnic intolerance as well as economic, political and social instability, in which non-recognition and domination by coercive means were normalised within social relationships.

The process through which violence took place as a result of Afghanistan's internal conflict and the Soviet invasion triggered one of the worst humanitarian crises of that time. These developments heightened the need for the Office of the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Pakistan, which became one of the world's largest and longest refugee-hosting countries. However, the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1989 did not mean the end of the war in Afghanistan. The roots of the *Taliban* movement date from the resistance to the Soviet invasion in the 1980s when the *Talib* [students] of *madrassas* [Islamic religious schools] joined the *Mujahideen* [those engaged in jihad] in the fight against the Russians. In Quetta, a similar scenario was present with the explosive growth of *madrasas* (Siddiqi, 2012). Monsutti (2007) notes that the *Saur* [April] Revolution, followed by the Soviet war, caused another exodus of the Hazaras to Quetta, and the area of Hazara Town began to be populated with Afghan Hazara refugees. Hazara Town, since then, has become an important hub of transnational networks, migration, cultural activities and *hawala* [informal financing].

By migrating in a massive and multidirectional way, the Hazaras created new social, political and economic perspectives they could not previously hope for. Now, to overthrow unjust social structures and rebuild a new social order, music became a forum for awakening and political mobilisation. *Hazaragi* music has been an age-old tradition and has always carried the promise of better days to come. *Dambura*, already a vital identity symbol for the Hazaras, was now viewed as a medium of expression of the Hazaras' experiences. *Shia* clergy was against any form of instrumental music, of which the *Hazaragi Dambura* was the main target, as it was considered un-Islamic. Quetta became the hub for the *Hazaragi*

Dambura players, influential singers, intellectuals and writers who were persecuted by the Islamist groups in Iran and Afghanistan (Ibrahimi, 2012). The musical and cultural revival with the launch of Radio Hazaragi in 1975 in Quetta was broadcast throughout Hazarajat. It grew in popularity amongst the diaspora and became a tool to provoke political manifestos. Ibrahimi (2012:15) reminds us that '*the Dambura itself acquired a powerful political significance for the Hazaras*'.

2.3.3 Third Wave to Quetta

Monsutti (2005) notes that the impelling cause behind the third mass migration to Quetta began during the Afghan Civil War (1992-1996), followed by the *Mujahideen-Taliban* regime (1996-2001). Afghan Hazara refugees were already settled in Hazara Town, and *Shia* resistance parties had headquarters in Quetta. The *Taliban* declared war on the Hazaras and instituted a reign of terror through the stringent interpretation of *Sharia* [Islamic law]. The *Taliban's* external behaviour lies in the logic of violence, especially in the form of *fatwa* [religious edict], which, word-for-word, was practically the same as the *fatwa* issued by the *Emir* (Marie, 2005). This time, based entirely on their religious affiliation, the Hazaras were labelled infidels, instigating a heightened level of violence through the massacres of the Hazaras in August 1998, May 2000 and January 2001 (HRW, 2001). The *Taliban's* oppression against the Hazaras echoed the massacres of the 1890s war and re-opened the wounded memories of persecution and the consciousness of being victims of ethnic cleansing.

By the late 90s, the Hazara population grew considerably in Quetta. During that period, nearly 3.5 million Afghan refugees fled to Pakistan, including Tajiks and Pashtuns (UNHCR, 2000:116). Unlike the Hazaras, who had developed their spatial identity and transnational social networks in Quetta, most of the Pashtun Afghans were in Peshawar and with the 'burden sharing' system all over Pakistan, whilst others sought refuge in camps and villages through the assistance of UNHCR (Ibrahimi, 2012; Müller, 2016). In more than twenty years of conflict and despite some military setbacks, the Hazaras recovered their lost autonomy of a hundred years. In addition, the Hazaras developed political demands in ethnic terms and gained a more significant role than the Government that came into being in the past following the fall of the *Taliban* regime (Ibrahimi, 2017). Next, the section will explore how Pakistan's politics and policies, as well as geopolitical processes concerning Afghanistan, have determined the stigmatisation of the Hazaras.

2.4   Struggle for Constitutional Democracy

Pakistan is a Federal State composed of four provinces: Sindh, Balochistan, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). In addition, Pakistan has one Federal Territory (Islamabad Capital Territory), two semi-autonomous territories, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Gilgit-Baltistan region. However, the National Assembly of Pakistan has passed the 25th Amendment Act (2018) to merge the KPK province with FATA, thereby abolishing the historic status of FATA as a tribal area (Wasim, 2010). At the same time, the territory of Kashmir that is under Pakistani control is administered by Islamabad through the Secretariat for Azad Jammu and Kashmir. In Pakistan, ethnicity is characterised by distinct linguistic, cultural, and regional identities. Whilst religious identity, particularly Islam, serves as a unifying force, ethnic affiliations remain influential. The nation boasts significant ethnic diversity, with prominent groups corresponding to the provincial division, including Punjabis, Pashtuns, Sindhis, Seriakis, Muhajirs[9] , and the Baloch.

According to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (2022), there are nine main languages spoken in Pakistan: Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, Brahvi, Kashmiri, Seraiki and Hinkdo. There are also religious minority groups present in Pakistan who make up four per cent of the country's total population, including Ahmadis, Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Baha'i, Sikhs, Buddhists and the Kalashi of Chitral. According to the US Department of State (2022), *Sunnis* are reported to constitute between 80 and 85 per cent of the Muslim population. *Shia* Muslims, including ethnic Hazaras, Ismailis, and Bohra (a subgroup of Ismaili), are reported to account for 15 to 20 per cent of the population. Regarding the extent of minority religious groups, unofficial estimates vary drastically.

The history of Pakistan provides the foundation to understand the underlying factors behind the situation of the Hazaras in the country. Pakistan, founded as a secular state and a pluralistic society, still today, is a country of diverse ethnicities, languages and religious minorities. The turmoil wrought by the historic partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 led to troubling consequences for people of all religions, accompanied by one of the largest human exoduses in history. The sudden partition was marked by neither party being prepared organisationally to manage the challenges implied by the new situation. It was comparatively more straightforward for India to absorb this considerable number of

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[9] Muhajirs were the Muslim Urdu speaking immigrants from India who settled in Sindh after partition.

refugees due to its size, resources, and better preparation concerning infrastructures. Pakistan struggled, where one in ten of its inhabitants was a refugee during their first years of existence. The Radcliffe line, named after Sir Cyril Radcliffe, was the boundary line between India and Pakistan, which saw an outflow of Hindus to India and an inflow of Muslims to Pakistan (Jalal, 1994). During the years that followed its birth, post-independent Pakistan faced several challenges. Beginning with the passing of the first Head of State, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, in 1948, and later, the assassination in 1951 of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan. These events destabilised the new country and led to conflicting views on the ideological direction (Bolitho, 1954).

Shortly after independence, the history of Pakistan was marked by traumatic events, primarily related to the borders as spaces of contestation and the continuous geographical reconfiguration of its sovereignty. Pakistan underwent several challenges, from building a country that did not inherit the political/military institutions, administrative organisation and financial resources (Jalal, 1995). At the political level, the ruling class faced an absolute lack of institutional infrastructure and had to change roles quickly.

During the first decade, the political organisation was established as a parliamentary democracy. Pakistan took nine years to enact its first Constitution (1956) to regulate the form of government, the role of the judiciary and the army. The current Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (1973) reflects the strong influence of the Islamist design in the legal and political spheres. The Constitution recognises the identity of minorities and guarantees their autonomy in some specific regions. It establishes Islam as the state religion (art.2) and *Urdu* as the official language (art.251), although it is the mother tongue of a minority population.[10] Certain fundamental freedoms were explicitly granted to the citizens: they can profess, practice and propagate their faith freely. These religious freedoms are nevertheless '*subject to the law*', which means that other laws may regulate these rights for reasons related to order and public morality (Hassan, 2002). Freedom of speech and expression has the legality of restrictions *'in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan*' (art.19).

However, a constant characteristic in the history of Pakistan that acquired relevance from its origin was the weakness of the political parties. Even during the democratic periods, the

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[10] The Mughals created the Urdu language in the 16th century as the lingua franca of the vast empire that they came to dominate (Brass, 1974).

limited power of the parties was based on the leader's personality, not on a stable structure. Afterwards, the new parliamentary system experienced its first crisis, and in 1958, General Ayub Khan organised the first military coup in Pakistan and declared Martial Law (Rahman, 1974). 1951-1958 saw the dismissal of seven prime ministers (Shafqat, 1989), and to date, not a single prime minister has completed the entire five-year tenure.[11] As such, reflecting the weakness of the political class and the limited scope of action of the political parties on the domestic stage. In 1960, General Ayub Khan became President, and two years later, the second Pakistani Constitution enshrined the military's dominance over politicians. General Muhammad Musa Khan served under President Ayub Khan, and given his Hazara ethnicity, he was concerned about the lack of recognition of the Hazaras as local citizens of Pakistan. As a result, in 1962, the Afghan tribes residing in Quetta since the 1800s (**Hazaras**, *Durrani, Yousufzai, Ghulzai*) were declared as local tribesmen of Quetta Division by the Government of Balochistan (Owtadolajam, 2006:155). This was the period when the Hazaras were recognised as Pakistani citizens.

This period marked the consolidation of the civil-military bureaucratic elite at the expense of the political class, which they considered ineffective, preventing the normal development of democratic channels (Murphy, 2014). From that moment, the chaos caused by the inability to impose itself in the second war with India in 1965 and increasingly tensed relations with Eastern Pakistan gradually undermined General Ayub Khan's authority, eventually forced into resigning in 1969 when the Army Chief, General Muhammad Yahya Khan declared Martial Law (Ziring, 1971). The first national elections of democratic character took place in 1970 (Cohen, 2004). However, the results were poorly received in Western Pakistan, and power was not transferred to elected leaders. This created the framework for a new institutional crisis and a rift between Eastern and Western Pakistan. During the Bangladesh Liberation War in East Pakistan, from 3 December 1971 to Pakistan's surrender in Dhaka on 16 December 1971, India and Pakistan engaged in armed conflict. This was when the India-Pakistan war ended, marking the emergence of East Pakistan as an independent country under the name of Bangladesh (Jalal, 2004). General Yahya Khan resigned as President after the war and yielded the leadership to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto[12]. The founder of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, became the

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[11] At the time of writing, this has also been the fate of Prime Minister Imran Khan.
[12] Former Prime Minister of Ayub Khan.

first civil administrator of Martial Law (Raza, 1997). However, he was overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq, who declared the third Martial Law in 1977 until 1988. The last military coup was in 1999 under the regime of General Pervez Musharraf.

In Pakistan, military supremacy is a result of different historical factors. One of the most significant markers of the legacy of British colonial rule was the establishment of a bureaucratic-military oligarchy, whose influence and power grew after the colonial departure (Alavi, 1972). During the formative years, the consolidation of military dominance was due to several causes, such as the weakness of the civil and political institutions and the longing of the military elite to have its armed forces capable of facing the Indian army. There has always been an issue regarding democracy, where the army should be just an instrument rather than a central component in the country's power structure. More than an instrument of the State, it has become the guarantor, either directly whilst it holds the executive power through military coups or indirectly in times of civil government.

> *'There are armies that guard the nation's borders, there are those that are concerned with protecting their own position in the society, and there are those that defend a cause or an idea. The Pakistan Army does all three'.*
>
> Cohen (2004:105)

Its dominant character is partly due to its preponderance in the power structure but also to the weakness and fragmentation of democratic institutions incapable of constraining the army's influence. The military has remained the only fully functional institution throughout the last decades (Ahmad, 2016). Notably, the Armed Forces of Pakistan is ranked amongst the largest and most influential in the world (O'Sullivan, 2015). However, its strength and influence are not limited to the purely military level. The Pakistani army sees itself as the only institution capable of defending the country, given the turbulent and hostile environment (Haqqani, 2016). In the next section, I will look at the power dynamics regarding religion that have influenced the stigmatisation processes of the Hazaras.

2.5   Religious Power: Sectarian Violence and the Hazaras

Since the creation of Pakistan, for Muslims, it has been challenging to integrate all ethnic groups under the 'Pakistani ideology'. However, the country's founder, *Quaid-e-Azam* [Great Leader] Muhammad Ali Jinnah, mobilised the Islamic referent in non-specific and often contradictory ways. Nonetheless, his vision was for Pakistan to be a democratic

Muslim-majority state where all minority groups and people from all religions had the right to practice their faith, cultures and customs with a clear separation between the State and religion. In his first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11 August 1947, Jinnah addressed the nation:

> *'You are free; you are free to go to your temples. You are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.'*
>
> Allana, 1969:408

However, far from being a factor of national cohesion, the omnipresent Islamic repertoire of politics has instead played the role of fragmentation of authority. Designed by the British as a way to limit conflicts between the various religious communities of the subcontinent, the Penal Code (1860) subsequently strengthened and extended during the gradual process of Islamisation, which started under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and further led by President General Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s (Jalal, 1995). The more paradoxical results of this policy of Islamisation lay in the strengthening of ethnic divisions under the banner of Islam and changed completely the legal and social frameworks. Gugler (2012:38) notes that '*with about 30 million, the second largest Shia population, after Iran, is located in Pakistan*'. As such, another issue has been the *Shia/Sunni* divide in Pakistan, which is not only against the Hazaras but has led to riots and killings in many parts of the country. Sectarianism has become a critical destabilising factor in the political, social, and religious security spheres of Pakistan (Afzal *et al.*, 2012). All of these changes have favoured the Muslim majority and relegated members of religious and ethnic minorities to the rank of second-class citizens.

These elements have been the root causes of the target killings of the Hazaras in Quetta since the 1980s (Siddiqi & Mukhtar, 2015). In addition, the adverse effects of the conflict with the Soviets and Pakistan's interference in the Afghan wars left Pakistan with millions of refugees, religious extremism, sectarian violence and terrorism in its territory. The juxtaposition of these factors produced the roots of a radicalised culture throughout the region, placing Pakistan at the epicentre of it (Giustozzi, 2012). The sectarianism between *Sunnis* and *Shias* is well-known (Cooperman *et al.*, 2009).

The policy of Islamisation and the revolution in Iran contributed to a radicalisation of identities and the rise of sectarian violence in Pakistan (Nasr, 2000). Feeling threatened by the newly acquired pride and unity amongst the *Shia*s incited sectarian feelings against the

two groups. The 1980s saw the emergence and generalisation of these groups as a result of the agenda of Islamisation (Murphy, 2014). In addition, the *Sunni* groups began demanding the transformation of Pakistan into a *Sunni* State in which the *Shias* were seen as a non-Muslim minority (Hussain, 2009). The processes implemented during this period assumed a radical turn in the relations between the two branches of Islam present in the country, initiating an escalation of violence that has remained constant for decades (Mir, 2010). Consequently, the *Shia-Sunni* divide during this era initiated the resistance of the *Shia* population (ICG, 2011). The present-day situation of terrorism has deep historical roots. It is connected with the internal political processes, in which the balance of power is positioned precisely on the military leadership's side.

The *Mujahedeen* resistance parties were based in Pakistan (Peshawar/Quetta) for over a decade. They influenced both the Islamisation process and the culture of violence, 'Kalashnikov culture', named after the AK-47s, as a result of the Soviet-Afghan war. Gradually, the *Taliban* replaced the *mujahedeen,* and many Pakistani *Taliban* groups emerged in response to the fabric of the *mujahideen* after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the overthrow of the *Taliban* regime of Mullah Omar. The Afghan *Taliban* movement inspired the vast majority of Pakistani *Taliban*, and the enormous fragmentation of these groups came to be remedied by the creation of the *Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan* (TTP) at the end of 2007. Thereby constituting a sporadic organisation around a series of regional commands, with different degrees of autonomy (Giustozzi, 2009). Its organisation is based mainly on networks woven around loyalties to specific figures born of the heritage of the conflict and the culture of war in the camps and the field. These warriors, trained for *jihad* [holy war], established numerous militant groups that, consequently, influenced the appearance of combatant factions that gave rise to the Pakistani *Taliban* movement (Abbas, 2008).

Nonetheless, there were different waves of *Taliban*, such as Afghans, Arabs and the Pakistanis. This was also when the *Taliban's* 'capital city' in Afghanistan moved from Kabul to Kandahar and why they settled in Quetta, Pakistan, which remains the symbol of *Taliban* power in exile (Khan, 2009). In Pakistan, this is where the first contacts with the *Taliban* movement were made to try to find a political solution to the Afghan war. At the end of 2001, a good part of the leaders of the Afghan *Taliban* movement resettled in Pakistan, particularly in and around Quetta. The *Quetta Shura* makes strategic decisions for the

entire *Taliban* insurgency in Afghanistan and has authority over other regional insurgency commissions (Siddique, 2014).

External factors have also been fundamental to the activation of sectarian violence and the groups that emanated from it. The rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia to achieve supremacy in the Persian Gulf and the Muslim world, thus extending this struggle to the domestic sphere of other countries according to their interests (NCHR, 2018). Besides, Afghan *jihad* against the Soviets was another external factor engendering sectarian violence in Pakistan. All these elements served as a powerful *Sunni Mujahideen* infrastructure, and Pakistan became the main battlefield for the struggle for *Shia-Sunni* supremacy. Amongst the factions of the *Sunni* groups, *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi* (LeJ) is a *Sunni* militant group that has been targeting the Hazaras in Quetta (Stanford, 2012).

Pakistan remains a transition point of exile and migration that has characterised the Hazara reality from the last decades until today. The new elements of sectarian violence and target killings have re-opened the wounds and traumas of the past, exacerbating identity consciousness. Being a minority with distinct physical attributes, ethnic background and religious affiliation, the Hazaras have fallen victim to sectarian violence perpetuated by *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)*. However, it has been noted that throughout history, the ethnic marker has played an additional role in the specific attacks on the Hazaras, which dates back to the historic ethnic rivalry between the Pashtuns and the Hazaras (Canfield, 1972; Harpviken, 1996; Poladi, 1989; NCHR, 2018). The fear and uncertainty remain high against the Hazaras, whilst there have been no convictions for these killings so far. In Quetta, Pakistani Hazaras are mostly settled in Marriabad, and Afghan refugee Hazaras are in Hazara Town. It is estimated that in the past 20 years, around 2,000 members of the Hazara community were killed, with estimated victims of over 10,000, including the widows, children and the injured. Since 2008 alone, over 550 victims were killed and more than 1000 injured (HRW, 2014).[13]

Human Rights Watch (2014:2) documented several incidents of brutal target attacks. It noted that *'approximately one-quarter of the Shia killed in sectarian violence across Pakistan in 2012 belonged to the Hazara community in Balochistan. In 2013, nearly half of*

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[13] At the end of the fieldwork and during the time of writing more incidents took place. See: BBC, 2021; Home Office, 2019.

the Shia killed in Pakistan were Hazaras'. Following the historical persecution of the Hazaras, *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)* have always accepted the target killings of the Hazaras. In an open letter, *LeJ* publicly threatened the Hazaras in 2011 (Figure-1), declaring them infidels.

Figure 1: LeJ's Open Letter to the Hazaras

All Shias are wajib-ul-qatl (worthy of killing). We will rid Pakistan of [this] unclean people. Pakistan means land of the pure, and the Shias have no right to be here. We have the fatwa and signatures of the revered ulema in which the Shias have been declared kaafir [infidel]. Just as our fighters have waged a successful jihad against the Shia-Hazaras in Afghanistan, our mission [in Pakistan] is the abolition of this impure sect and people, the Shias and the Shia-Hazaras, from every city, every village, every nook and corner of Pakistan. Like in the past, [our] successful Jihad against the Hazaras in Pakistan and, in particular, in Quetta is ongoing and will continue [in the future]. We will make Pakistan their graveyard — their houses will be destroyed by bombs and suicide bombers. We will only rest when we fly the flag of true Islam on this land. Our fighters and suicide bombers have [already] successfully operated in Parachinar, and are awaiting orders to operate across Pakistan. Jihad against the Shia-Hazaras has now become our duty. Our suicide bombers have successfully operated in Hazara Town on May 6, and now our next target is your houses in Alamdar Road.
-The Principal, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi Pakistan

Janis, 2012

Siddiqi (2012) notes that the collaboration of the different networks, such as the *LeJ* and *Quetta Shura,* is the reason behind the increased escalation of sectarian violence in Quetta, targeting the Hazaras. Moreover, it is as *Shias* that the Hazaras are targeted (and thereby easily identified) by *Sunni* extremist groups. These groups are contributing to the production of stigmatisation towards the Hazaras where others, i.e., the different ethnic groups, feel unsafe around the Hazaras because of the attacks. Thereby initiating the different components of stigmatisation such as stereotypes, prejudices, labelling, distancing and discrimination towards the Hazaras.

Besides, there has been no form of help or support for their rehabilitation and psychological therapy for the victims, nor have there been any concrete actions taken by the State for the victims regarding their needs (Business Recorder, 2018; NCHR, 2018). Hundreds of the Hazaras are buried in two cemeteries of the Hazara community, namely *Ganj-e-Shuhada*, mounted with pictures of the martyrs.

In a region dotted with military checkpoints and strict vigilance by the Pakistan Army, such attacks have raised questions about the seriousness of the authorities to counter groups behind such sectarian violence. So far, I have analysed the historical factors of stigmatisation processes by looking at the conditions, cultural norms and policies that put into context why populations respond. In the next section, the chapter will look at the city of Quetta and its strategic location.

2.6   Quetta: Capital of Balochistan Province

It is essential first to understand the strategic location of the province of Balochistan and its capital. Quetta, a city of multiple identities, is the capital of the province of Balochistan, the largest yet least populous of Pakistan's four provinces. Quetta operates as the province's main city, connecting the Sindh province's plains through the Bolan Pass, Afghanistan, by the Khojak tunnel to Chaman, Iran, through the Quetta-Taftan Railway Line and national highway. The Fruit Garden of Pakistan, Quetta, derives from the Pashto word *Kot* [fortress] (BHC, 2018). Rightly so, the city is nestled 5,500 ft above sea level between four mountain ranges[14], a great significance for the British Indian Army as a military garrison. The Command and Staff College, inaugurated on 1 June 1907, is an essential academic and military training institution (Pakistan Army, 2022). Quetta hosts military bases for the Pakistani Armed Forces (PAF) and the much controversial Shamsi Airfield Base, used by the US, located about 200 miles west of the city. In addition, the Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate (ISI) maintains a significant presence in Quetta.

Balochistan is, therefore, a major economic and security issue for Pakistan, which the conflict in Afghanistan has only exacerbated. Gazdar *et al.* (2010:35) describe how Quetta has evolved over the decades '*from an empty buffer zone, to a colonial enclave, and finally an urban hub*'. Moreover, faced with the Afghanistan war, Quetta has suffered tremendously. These elements have impacted the city's security, yet Quetta maintains its role as an important but under-stated buffer zone.

In 2001, the administrative structure of Pakistan was revised, and Quetta has since become a City District, split over two towns, each consisting of a group of Union Councils (BHC, 2018). The environment of Quetta city is quite fragmented. With a 143% increase in

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[14] Murdaar, Chiltan, Zarghoon and Takatu

population since 1998, Quetta district's population equates to 2.3 million, with the Baloch and the Pashtuns as two of the dominant ethnic groups (PBS, 2018).[15] Both the Baloch and the Pashtun communities come together in Quetta more than they mix, each living in their part of the territory. The massive arrival of Pashtun refugees from Afghanistan may overthrow the demographic balance in Quetta, where there are more Pashto-speaking people than Balochi, according to the most recent census (Khan, 2017). The other ethnic minority groups include the Punjabis, Muhajirs and the Hazaras, as well as religious minorities of Christians, Hindus and Sikhs. In the next section, the chapter will explore how the two areas of Marriabad and Hazara Town were established in Quetta.

2.7   The Hazaras of Marriabad and Hazara Town

The population of the Hazaras in Mariabad, who are eligible to vote, account for roughly 50,000. There is a growing population of Afghan refugee Hazaras in Quetta, most of whom reside in Hazara Town. Given the movement between the borders of Kandahar-Chaman, a high-risk route for the community, and the well-established Hazara community in Quetta, it is impossible to record the total Hazara population (Afghan/Pakistani). In addition, objections were raised against the delimitation of constituencies in the Quetta district, and there were reservations about the serious undercounting of the Hazara population in the 2017 census (DRI, 2014; Raza, 2018).

The insertion of the Hazara population in Quetta corresponds to the history of their arrival. They formed a prosperous community in Mariabad and the surrounding area of Alamdar Road and became a well-established host for the next arrivals. Monsutti (2007) notes that the newly arriving refugees and migrants occupied a relatively subordinate position in increasingly peripheral areas of Hazara Town (Map-3).

At the end of the 20th century, the Hazara population grew three times more numerous than thirty years earlier and represented a community population of more than 100,000 people (Hashmi, 2016). These two groups, the first and second waves of migrants,

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[15] The Baloch, originating in northern Syria have ties to the Kurdish ethnic group. The various nomadic waves eventually established this group in a region that is in the current Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Whereas, the Pashtuns trace the pre-Islamic origins of their people to the great Hebrew kings David and Solomon. Since the 1700s, after the collapse of the Mongol rule, the Pashtuns ruled Afghanistan for nearly 200 years and conquered considerable parts of what are today eastern Iran, Pakistan, northern India and Uzbekistan.

maintained asymmetrical relations and, despite permanent contacts, did not contract marriages.

Map 3: Quetta City
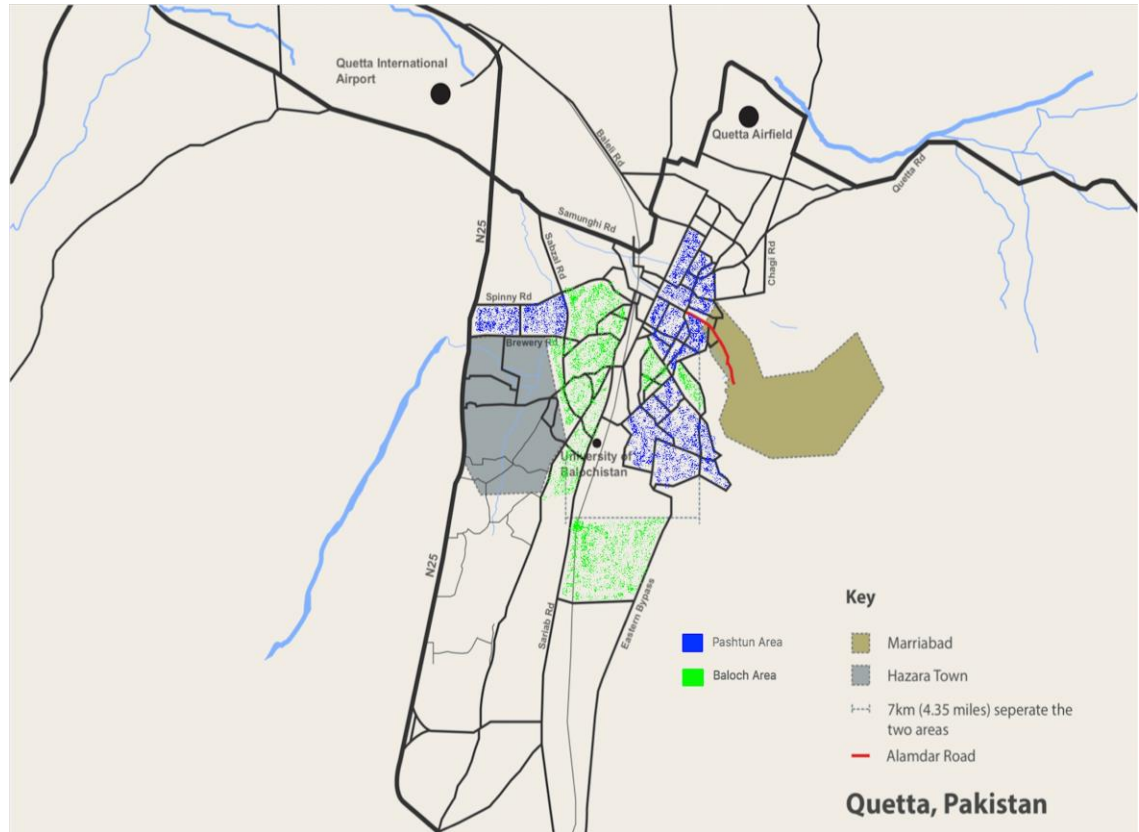
Between the two communities, the tribal and ethnic affiliation contributed to the rise of networks of solidarity and feelings of belonging to a broad ethnonational identity (Ibrahimi, 2012). Most of these migrants maintained contact with Afghanistan. However, there were tensions between the community members of the two areas.[16] The newly arriving Hazaras were seen as backward and labelled as 'the new Hazaras' or *watani,*[17] which contradicts the ethnic register of solidarity expressed throughout the scholarly research on the Hazaras.

Regarding the element of confinement, with the continued arrival of the Hazaras from Afghanistan and the increased events of target killings, the Hazara population now live within the two areas of Mariabad and Hazara Town[18] (Hashmi, 2016), and both areas are

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[16] Personal Interview with Sayed Askar Mousavi 06 May 2015
[17] Watan means the homeland, *watani* in Quetta is used as a derogatory term referring to people who come from villages.
[18] UC 14 & 16 come under Hazara Town with an extension of New Hazara Town.

affected the same way. Map-4 pinpoints the different types of attacks committed and the out-of-bound routes for the Hazara population within proximity of the two communes, with only one route considered safe.

Map 4: Current situation of the Hazaras in Quetta
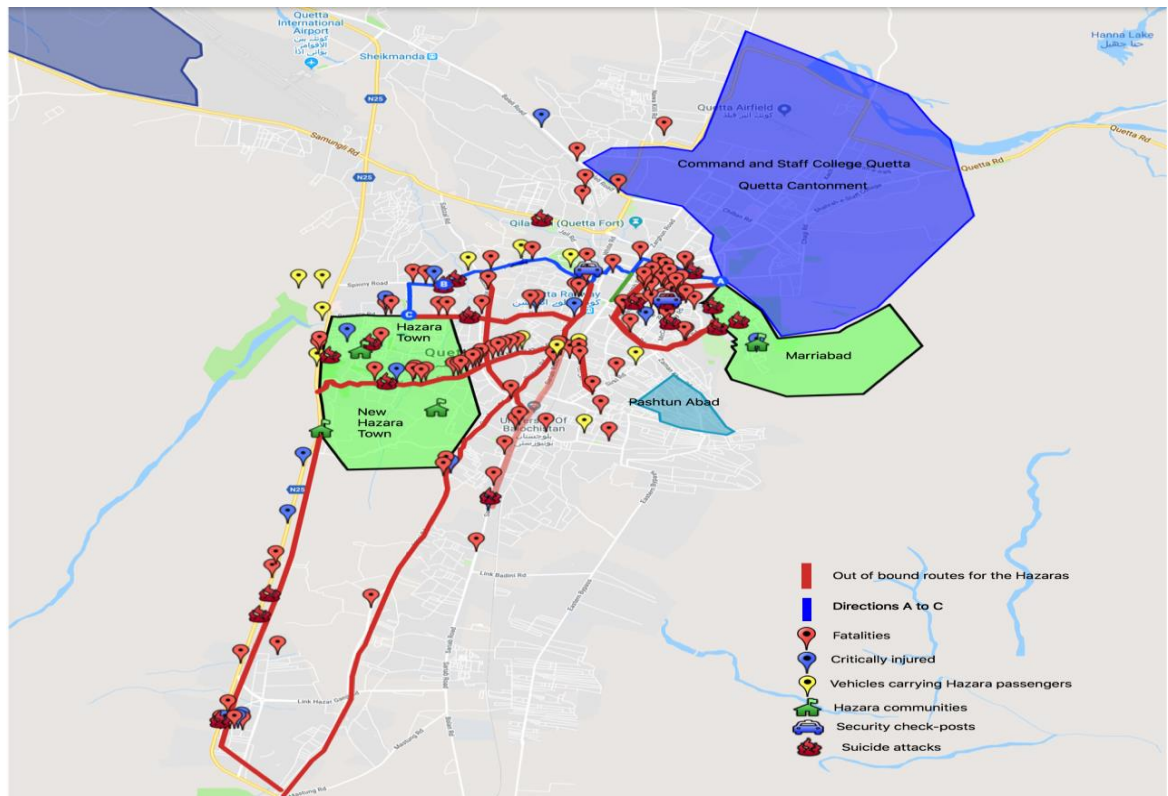
The two cordoned-off areas of Hazara Town and Mariabad have high walls, marking the physical boundaries as out-of-bound areas for outsiders. The access roads have paramilitary guards who stop and identify all individuals entering Mariabad and Hazara Town. Once inside these communes, the streets narrow, and certain areas higher up in the mountains have no vehicle access; the only route is by foot.

Also, the numerous security checkpoints have made accessing economic and professional activities challenging. Before they maintained their generational skill as cobblers, they had shops in the city selling Iranian rugs, gold jewellery, and groceries, and they were employed in top civil service jobs. However, the main areas for businesses and employment are located in what is considered dangerous for the Hazaras (Map-4), making it impossible to go outside the two areas. In addition, Quetta's landscape brings different modes of residence, social networks, and social capital for the Hazaras, which are concentrated in the two areas.

Today, it is impossible to study the Hazara society without looking at the different places where the Hazara communities are evolving: central Afghanistan, Quetta (Pakistan), main cities of Iran and Australia. In Pakistan, the Hazaras have also been migrating to cities such as Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Islamabad and Rawalpindi (Nawaz & Hassan, 2015). Their insertion in multiple countries began to take shape at the beginning of the 1980s when a growing number of Hazaras migrated to Europe and North America, which, during the *Taliban* era, snowballed to an increase in the migration level and pattern (Koser, 2013). The sectarian violence in Quetta further deteriorated their living conditions, and many Hazaras living in Quetta have since fled to all parts of the world (see Map-1).

Regarding their socio-cultural organisation, in Quetta, the Hazara individuals and families belong to two structures concretised by financial contributions: its *qawm*[19] and its *muhalla*. A polysemic term, *qawm*, refers to the group of solidarity linked by agnatic kinship territorially and socially with reference levels dependent on lineage, tribe, ethnicity, or religion (Monsutti, 2004). Meanwhile, *muhalla* is a locality based on units such as family, *aghil* and *taifa*. Within a *muhalla,* there are several *aghils*. One *aghil* is made up of several houses that can range from 7 to 70. The purpose of the *aghil* is, for example, if there is a funeral, the funds collected from the houses are then given to that family to help with funeral costs.

The Hazaras use their lineages to self-identify, which associates with the region of their initial inhabitancy. Such a semantic richness highlights the dependency of relevant identity register on the context and the supposed knowledge that the community members in the presence lend themselves to each other. Cooperation develops within sociologically diverse groups. What is decisive is the territorial proximity, such as residence for *muhalla* and lineage for *qawm*. *Muhalla* fulfils a critical function, but not as daily and vital as the community links of the village of origin.

In addition, the *Hazara Qawmi Jirga* [assembly] constitutes a fundamental element in the Hazara society where each tribe member participates in an organised fashion, and everyone sits in a circle as a sign of equality. Everyone has the right to speak, although the *kalan-e-qawm* [head of the tribe] has a greater weight. This is where crucial matters are brought to the *jirga* to discuss and resolve disputes and decisions about important issues

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[19] A polysemic term, *qawm*, refers to the group of solidarity linked by agnatic kinship territorially and socially with the levels of reference dependent on lineage, tribe, ethnicity, or religion (Monsutti, 2004).

that affect the Hazaras. Decisions are made by consensus per the custom and are respected by the community members. For instance, since the escalation of sectarian violence, the *Hazara Qawmi Jirga* realised the importance of raising awareness to the international human rights community of their situation. As such, the *jirga* decided to produce a report in collaboration with Minority Support Pakistan, which conducted a 5-day fact-finding mission in Quetta in 2011 (Janis, 2012). Another vital structure amongst the Hazaras of Quetta is the *Tanzim-e-Nasl-e-Naw-e Hazara* [Party of the new generation Mongolian Hazara]. In addition to classrooms and concerts, it is a political and cultural organisation founded at the beginning of the 70s.

Although there are several Hazara diasporic communities that each have difficulties and characteristics according to the place of reception, it remains that when questioned about their identity, they will claim the Hazara identity first and not as Afghan or Pakistani, whether it is the first identity presented or not (Monsutti, 2007). Within the Hazara community, the *ethnoscape* (Smith, 1996:5) manifests as a deep-rooted connection to specific geographic regions with historical and cultural significance. This connection is not merely geographical but is laden with layers of cultural heritage, traditions, and shared experiences that define the Hazara identity.

2.8   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the factors that influence power dynamics because '*stigmatisation is entirely contingent on access to social, economic and political power that allows the identification of differentness*' (Link & Phelan, 2001:367). The chapter shed light on how the radicalisation of the tribal areas and the waves of sectarian violence have redefined Pakistan's stakes at three different paradigms: strategic, economic and geographical position. As this chapter has shown, the sectarian phenomenon has followed the evolution of the socio-political climate; the dynamics and characteristics of this sectarianism have been modified over time. There are also differences at the local level, giving different patterns of sectarian behaviour depending on the geographical area in which it develops. These differences reflect the provincial, ethnic and socio-economic varieties of Pakistan. Yet, at the same time, these dynamics provide the basis for stigmatisation to take shape.

The Hazaras are targeted not only because of their religious affiliation but also because the historic ethnic rivalry has always played a role in their persecution, making them susceptible to twice the targets. After centuries of unrelenting persecution, the Hazaras' sense of bitterness is undoubtedly justified. However, what is striking is their determination to reveal their roots and show they are intimately intertwined with the rich heritage of Afghanistan. Likewise, external factors have contributed to the religious atomisation of the country. All this is linked to the movements of the revitalisation of Islam that emerged from the identity crisis due to the loss of power in the region, the marginalisation felt by the colonisers, and the structural issues that remain today. The following chapter looks at the historical context of Colombia and the power dynamics that influence the stigmatisation processes of the Afro-descendant populations.

CHAPTER 3: Colombian Armed Conflict and Cartagena

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with the purpose of understanding the Afro-descendant population and their regional distribution in the Pacific and Caribbean regions. Then, the chapter focuses on the armed conflict in Colombia that provides the root causes of stigmatisation as well as the historical phenomenon of forced migration and the devastating impacts it has caused. Next, the recognition of the Afro-descendants in the Colombian constitution is analysed. Later, the section focuses specifically on the Afro-descendant populations. Finally, I look at the two areas in Cartagena where the Afro-descendant communities reside and explore their socio-cultural organisation and traditional production systems that provide the context of their response strategies.

3.2 The Afro-descendant population: Pacific and Caribbean Realities

Colombia boasts diverse ethnic groups, including Mestizos, Afro-descendants, Indigenous peoples, Raizales, Romani people, and White Colombians. Each group brings unique cultural traditions, languages, and identities to the country's multicultural landscape. Mestizos, with mixed European and Indigenous heritage, form the largest ethnic group, whilst the Afro-descendants, descendants of enslaved Africans, enrich Colombian culture with vibrant traditions. Indigenous peoples inhabit various regions, and Raizales have distinct Afro-Caribbean roots. Romani people and White Colombians also contribute to Colombia's rich ethnic tapestry, collectively reflecting the nation's multicultural heritage.

Restrepo (2004) and Wade (2009) offer valuable insights into the concept of ethnicity for the Afro-descendants, highlighting its multidimensionality and complexity. Ethnicity encompasses racial identity and cultural, social, historical, and political dimensions. Restrepo (2004) emphasises the process of ethnicisation, wherein blackness becomes imbued with cultural and political meanings, shaping the Afro-descendant identities and experiences. This process involves various actors, including academics, activists, and community members, contributing to constructing ethnic imaginaries. Wade (2009) similarly underscores the multifaceted nature of blackness in Colombia, arguing against essentialist viewpoints that reduce ethnicity to biological traits. Instead, he advocates for

understanding blackness as an evolving dynamic and socially constructed identity. Both scholars emphasise the importance of recognising the diverse cultural practices, social relations, historical experiences, and political struggles that inform the Afro-descendant ethnicity.

Colombia has the second largest Afro-descendant population in Latin America after Brazil. Despite this, there is still a lack of knowledge about individuals, families, and communities of the Afro-descendant population that make up the country's ethnic and racial diversity. Through the process of slavery and acculturation, the Afro-descendant communities settled in different geographical areas of the Pacific and Caribbean regions, establishing free territories as a form of resistance to the slavery regime, known as *cimarronismo* [marronage]. Regarding the escape spaces, the *cimarrones* [maroons] movements gave life to numerous *palenques* [Free towns for escaped enslaved people] (Guillen, 2021). Rebel enslaved people founded these rural communities to acquire political and territorial autonomy. Between the 17th and 18th centuries, several *palenques* proliferated near Cartagena, but all were progressively assimilated and reconquered by the Spanish Empire (Wade, 2010). The only one that resisted the imperial reaction was what is now recognised as San Basilio de Palenque.

Moreover, the Afro-descendant population amounts to 10.5% of the national population and is categorised into three groups according to their geographical locations: First are the *comunidades negras* [black communities][20] located in the Colombian Pacific corridor, distributed in collective territories (Table-2) that occupy 4% of the national territory, concentrating in the Departments of Cauca, Chocó, Nariño, Valle del Cauca and Bolívar (DANE, 2007; Ojulari, 2015). Second are the Raizales of the Archipelago of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina, who possess a strong Caribbean identity and socio-cultural and linguistic features differentiated from the rest of the Afro-descendant population by using the *bandé*[21] as their language and being mostly Protestants. Finally, the third are the

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[20] Law 70 of 1993 (art 2 para 5) apply to *comunidades negras* (black communities) defined as: … *the group of families of Afro-Colombian descent who possesses its own culture, shares a common history and has its own traditions and customs within a rural-urban setting and which reveals and preserves a consciousness of identity that distinguishes it from other ethnic groups.*
[21] A language of African origin.

Palenqueros of San Basilio de Palenque[22], located in the Mahates, Department of Bolívar, who use the *palenquero*[23] language that identifies them.

Table 2: Community Councils by Region

Region	Distribution of councils	No. of councils
The Pacific and the valleys	48.7%	132
The Caribbean region	38%	103
The Orinoco and Amazon region	12.5%	34
The Middle Magdalena	0.7%	2

Lovera *et al.* (2017)

Barbary *et al*. (2004) provide a detailed account of the regional distribution that had taken shape since the 19th century when most settlement regions were formed around a fluvial-mining economy and cattle ranches. Soon after slavery was abolished, peasantisation of the Afro-descendant population was widespread throughout the Pacific and the Caribbean region. These two socially constructed ideas of race marked the regional social structures of the settlement (Wade, 2010). Later, agro-industrial crops (sugarcane, banana, African palm) were introduced, accelerating industrial processes and urbanisation. From then on, Quibdó, Barranquilla, Cali, Buenaventura and Tumaco became the main cities of the Afro-descendants, whereas Cartagena kept its importance as the most populous Afro-descendant city (Barbary *et al*., 2004). As such, throughout the 20th century, urbanisation of the Afro-descendant population represented the socio-demographic difference according to regional patterns, aligned with the social structures of the regions and their transformations. It was not until the mid-20th century that the most important historic Afro-descendant settlements were established in four large geographic regions. The first largest Afro-descendant concentration was held in the extensive Pacific region, followed by the second largest concentration in Cali and its metropolitan area that includes the South and North of Valle del Cauca; the third, Cartagena and the Northern municipalities of the Department of Bolívar; followed successively by the Department of Sucre and other municipalities of Bolívar; and the Department of Córdoba. In the next section, the chapter

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[22] Hereafter Palenque
[23] Creole language

will explore the armed conflict in Colombia that has had devasting impacts on the Afro-descendant populations.

3.3 Colombia: Armed Conflict

In the case of Colombia, Cárdenas-Rivera *et al.* (2003) state that the armed conflict is characterised by a series of structural factors, including violence against decision-making in political matters, and a series of conditions of social inequality and exclusion, does not necessarily explain the conflict but does contribute to its formation. However, there are several determining causes for the armed conflict, as I discuss in this section. Although there is no consensus on the origin of the conflict in Colombia, there is a general agreement that the armed conflict is one of the oldest and most prolonged in history. It was one of the most important manifestations of violence affecting the civilian population, and it involved various actors in defending or achieving social, ideological, political, and/or territorial objectives. Nonetheless, Colombia has become one of the Latin American countries with a broad and respectable democratic tradition (Hristov, 2014).

The development of the armed conflict has had different stages in its intensity and geography, particularities of the political frameworks, and other economic and social processes. Colombia has experienced three distinct periods of violence through internal armed conflict and guerrilla struggle, each with its peculiar fundamental characteristics. Below, I discuss the different phases of armed conflict that integrate several characteristics and elements.

3.3.1 Phase One

The first period of conflict developed between the independence (July 20, 1810) and the mid-20th century, characterised by deep power struggles and divisions between the two political parties, known as *la violencia*. It was a time marked by civil wars, which led to the displacement of close to 400,000 peasant families, signifying a historical and key event for the constitution of violence as the central cause of displacement (Pinto & Reyes, 2010). Then, the period of the Civil Wars began, generated by the internal rivalries between the ruling classes. Thereby laying the foundations for the birth of the traditional Colombian political parties, the Conservative and the Liberal, following the independence of the Spanish colonial power that lasted from 1899 to 1902, known as *Guerra de los mil días* [thousand days' war]. Consequently, the Liberal and Conservative parties appear to reflect

social divisions that have arrived in politics. Initially, they emerged as two opposing organisations composed of regional groups pursuing the same interests. The Liberals were composed of merchants and artisans who, for the first time, were part of the political landscape and advocated a separation of the Church and State, free trade and federalism. Meanwhile, the Conservatives comprised large landowners, the clergy, and traditional families in the country (Gechem, 2009).

In this regard, it is convenient to observe the era of the 1920s in which a new phase in the development of Colombian society began to take shape, marked by the entrance of North American investments, which suffered more significant ruptures with the Great Depression of 1929 (Rippy, 1931). From the perspective of the capitalist development of Colombian society, two social projects were challenged: one, based on the valuation of land ownership and the second, with the proposal to construct a national economy supported by industrial developments in rural regions. This last project manifested itself clearly in agrarian reforms between 1932 and 1936 in the debates on the proposals around the Land Law of 1936 (Act-No. 200).

3.1.1 Phase Two

For the decade of the 1940s, the *El Bogotazo* riots occurred as a result of the assassination of the Liberal leader Jorge Gaitán. This event divided the country's history into two, and it was a day that would define the country's political and social arena in the following decades (Ortiz, 1990). This period of conflict, which took place in some regions of the country, was a complex process of State terror. Combined with anarchy and peasant uprising, it further deepened the social and political relations and institutionalising violence (Sánchez & Meerteens, 1983:13). Oquist (1978) notes that two million people were evicted by violence and thousands of plots of land abandoned, instigating rural-urban internal displacement. In the course of this conflict, there is a common feature with the wars of the first period: the ideological direction was exercised by the ruling classes through the two traditional parties; however, the confrontation on the ground was supported by the popular masses, i.e., *campesinos* [peasant farmers] manoeuvred by the parties themselves. Therefore, it can be stated that it was a period of frontal political confrontation in which the mere fact of identifying with a political party was sufficient to be executed in the worst way (GMH, 2016).

The most important destabilising elements of the two periods of conflict, which emerged during the first decades of the last century, can be characterised as displacement and the considerable social diversification caused by urbanisation phenomena (Barbary *et al*., 2004). On the one hand, this provoked a decline in agricultural production and, on the other, the emergence of a large population in areas with extreme poverty due to internal displacement (Bennett *et al.,* 2017). As such, violence increased over the years and led to the establishment of a military dictatorship led by Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in the 1950s.

3.1.2 Phase Three

The third period of conflict developed in the 1960s with the guerrilla movements. Fajardo (2014) places the agrarian factor as the trigger of the confrontations between the State and the guerrillas. Land is a fundamental axis in understanding the conflict since the possession of land is directly related to three basic needs: housing, food, and work/income, to the extent that the State fails to guarantee these needs. It legitimises the right of citizens to rebellion, which, when taken to its maximum point, explains the emergence of the insurgency.

Capitalism is another explanatory cause pointed out by various experts, including Cruz (1990), who maintains that the class struggle derived from the imposition of a capitalist order engendered deep social conflicts that, for Colombia, meant the rise of insurgent armies. In addition, the role of the United States and the international context in the emergence and development of the Colombian conflict cannot be ignored. The United States was not a mere external influence but a direct actor in the conflict due to its prolonged involvement during a large part of the 20th century. Meanwhile, the influence of the Cuban Revolution and the expansion of communism led to the emergence of Colombian guerrillas (González, 2004). Moreover, Duncan (2014) states that the explanation for the conflict arises from the relationship between the variables of exclusion/inequality with crime, especially with the practice of kidnapping and drug trafficking. These variables shaped the dynamics of the insurgent groups, both guerrilla and paramilitary. They redefined the relations between the centre and the periphery since the State could not offer adequate protection in the regions, allowing the construction of alternative power structures in those territories. Finally, the institutional weakness of the State as a result of a disorderly and chaotic process of constitution and consolidation can also be viewed as one of the triggers.

Inspired by the Cuban Revolution, the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC) [The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] began to organise itself in 1966 as a revolutionary movement dedicated to guerrilla warfare, with its own General Staff, and in 1982 the group adapted its name to the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia— Ejército del Pueblo* (FARC-EP) [The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People's Army]. Also, during this time, the legal basis for forming self-defence groups under the auspices and control of the armed forces was established through Legislative Decree 3398 of 1965, which was converted into permanent legislation by Law 48 of 1968 (Hristov, 2014). Later, through Resolution 005, the Military Forces issued 'Counterguerrilla Combat Regulations' to guide the fight against destabilisation (Cardona-Angarita, 2020).

Moreover, nested guerrilla violence was born at the end of the *la violencia* period, between 1964 and 1967. Violence was exercised by the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* [ELN, National Liberation Army], the FARC-EP[24], *Movimiento 19 de Abril* [M-19, April 19 Movement] and the *Ejército Popular de Liberación* [EPL, Popular Liberation Army]. The paramilitaries, as opposed to the guerrillas, were a product of the State that emerged on the national scene in the 1980s and were another expression of violence (Hristov, 2014). During this time, in the context of the peace policy promoted by President Belisario Betancur Cuartas (1982-1986), the military, the right and drug traffickers considered that the State had granted inadmissible advantages to subversive organisations. Interests were considered to be forced to assume the establishment's defence, and for this, they promoted, created, and financed paramilitary groups as a counterinsurgency strategy (Cardona-Angarita, 2020).

The counterinsurgent militias known as the United Self-Defence Groups of Colombia (AUC) became one of the most prominent paramilitary groups in the 1990s. This marked a significant peak in the displacement of the Afro-descendants, with the expansion of the AUCs through the highway corridors of the Caribbean coast. This affected the Palenquero people, with a massive displacement in the village of La Bonga (Bolívar) in 2001, for which they were recognised as subject to collective reparation, especially the *Ma Kankamaná* Community Council (Truth Commission, 2022). In the Colombian Caribbean, and particularly in the subregion of Montes de María and in the Department of Magdalena, between 1999 and 2001, the pattern of action of paramilitary groups against the Afro-

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[24] Now known as a political party: 'Common Alternative Revolutionary Force'

descendant population was repeated within the framework of counterinsurgent alliances of interests in the territory and State negligence to safeguard communities.

The AUC was dissolved between 2003 and 2006 in a process of demobilisation undertaken by the Justice and Peace Law (Law 975/2005), promoted by the Government of President Álvaro Uribe Vélez. According to data from the Victims Unit, between 1995 and 2005, there were 1,582 homicides, 13,956 threats, and 552 forced disappearances against members of the Afro-descendant population. However, by 2006, new actors, namely *BACRIM* [criminal gangs], evolved in the scene as some factions not attached to the demobilisation process recognised by the Colombian Government of their existence by 2014 (Stanford, 2015).

Regarding the actors that intervened in the armed conflict, two types of actors can be identified, which establish different relationships or connections amongst themselves as strategies to strengthen the actions of one of the actors or as strategies to counterattack one of them. Amongst the apparent relations, two connections can be observed. In the first relationship between the Government and the guerrillas throughout the years, several attempts have been made at negotiations with the FARC-EP in search of peace under different historical scenarios. Still, these attempts have ended without any success. One of the most historical ones is the breakdown of talks between the Colombian Government and FARC-EP in 1997 under President Andrés Pastrana in the municipality of San Vicente de Caguán.

Moreover, after several moments of tensions, negotiations and truce, the end of the peace process on February 20, 2002, by the Government of President Andrés Pastrana and with the arrival of President Álvaro Uribe, marked a period of significant increase in the number of victims and internally displaced persons (Álvarez, 2015). This led to Plan Colombia (1999), a joint anti-narcotics strategy between Colombia and the United States, implemented between 2000 and 2006. As an alibi, the objectives focused on eliminating illegal drug production, protecting human rights, ending human rights violations, and promoting social and economic development.

The embeddedness of the drug trade in politics and the economic system had several impacts. The narco-bourgeoisie that included drug cartel, paramilitaries, such as the AUC, were an essential component of Colombia's narco-military network and politicians. Economic globalisation and rising international political pressure also contributed to the

drug trade. Villar and Cottle (2011) note the dependency of the Colombian Government on narco-trafficking:

> *'Many regional and local political systems in Colombia became intertwined with the drug trade, especially when individuals from these well-established families served as mayors, senators, and governors and could provide political protection to the drug-trafficking networks that enriched them'.*

<div align="right">Villar and Cottle (2011:68)</div>

As Colombia's illegal enterprises continued to expand and flourish, they became more ingrained in society, the political scene, and the economy. Brown (1996) understands an internal armed conflict like the Colombian one as a violent confrontation rooted mainly in domestic factors rather than factors linked to the international system and in which the armed conflict takes place essentially within the limits of a single state. However, because of the particular roots that drug trafficking represents for the Colombian case, Bloomfield and Leiss (1969) define it as an armed conflict with significant external involvement by narcotrafficking and the US politics of influence.

In practice, the intensified aerial spraying of illegal crops caused additional internal displacement of the rural population—the adverse social and economic effects led to environmental issues and food insecurity (Franz, 2016). Looking at the second relationship between drug trafficking, guerrilla groups and the paramilitaries have not only been a source of funding but also actors with their interests. Molano (2015), in recognising the link between drug trafficking and the war economy, stresses that the FARC-EP armed movement, which until then was purely rural, became a substantial military force.

In addition to identifying the actors, it is also important to highlight the dimension of the armed conflict, which accounts for the number of people affected and the remote affected spaces (Map-5). To establish social control and allow the creation of para-institutional forms of violence, the paramilitary groups were encouraged, organised and protected by the very organisms of the State and financed by economic groups (Medina, 2011).

Map 5: Colombia

Affected Areas

Department of Bolívar

CODHES (2015); GMH (2016)

The actors spread terror and death amongst civilians, murdering leaders of major social movements using strategies of intimidation and control of the Afro-descendant populations and territories. To understand this point, it is necessary to establish that '*threats are one of the most abused tactics in negotiation… threats can lead to counterthreats in an escalating spiral*' (Fisher *et al*., 2011:68). Violence against physical integrity was the distinguishing feature of the paramilitary. In contrast, violence against freedom and property defined the guerrillas. In other words, the paramilitaries killed more than the guerrillas, whilst the guerrillas kidnapped more and caused much more destruction than the paramilitaries. Palacios (2008) notes that to finance their activities of attacks, combats, massacres and intimidation; the paramilitaries resorted to mechanisms similar to those used by the guerrillas, such as kidnappings, extortions, illicit crops and

appropriation of municipal revenues, amongst others. Gutiérrez (2015) links the growth of kidnapping and extortion to the rapid expansion of the guerrilla groups because of the stream of revenue, thereby increasing recruitment, multiplied by the reaction of the victims triggered the formation of the paramilitary groups.

The escalation of the conflict reached a median escalation between 1988-1994, coinciding with the implementation of economic and institutional reforms (Hoffman, 2004). Massacres and homicides were used as punishments by the armed actors in response to the social mobilisation in the country and as a rejection of decentralisation and democratisation. Giraldo (2015) observes that the chronic weakness of the State with little institutional presence was also a source of fuel for the armed conflict due to the three interrelated components: effectiveness to obtain the resources necessary for the proper functioning of public institutions; the size and quality of the security forces; and the effectiveness to integrate the territory with appropriate infrastructure.

The escalation of the conflict spirals upwards between 1996-2002. The period of peace talks between the Government and the FARC-EP was characterised by an increase in abductions, massacres, homicides, forced disappearance and forced displacement. This concerned the struggle to control the territories mainly belonging to the Indigenous and the Afro-descendant populations (GMH, 2016). Despite the turbulent process, Restrepo (2012) highlights the importance of demobilisation between 2003-2009 through the *Ley de Justicia y Paz* [Justice and Peace Law], enacted in 2005. It was specifically designed to address the demobilisation and reintegration of members of paramilitary groups operating in Colombia, representing a fundamental shift towards the transition to peace (Yaffe, 2012).

Moreover, the situation of the Afro-descendant population was affected systematically and disproportionately by the armed conflict. As such, the displaced population pursued new spatial relocation, new occupations that guaranteed their livelihood, and new cultural and territorial identities. However, in most cases, the uprooting was not resolved satisfactorily. It resulted in the uncertainty of life forms, given that the Afro-descendant population were already amongst the highly vulnerable populations before the conflict.

Land grabbing became part of the political and military control strategy of armed actors seeking to consolidate their territorial control, develop or control the production of illicit goods and ensure arms trafficking, amongst others (Pinto & Reyes, 2010). Other methods

were also put in place because the armed actors constrained the Afro-descendant population to work in the production of illegal products without any possibility of escape from the area to protect their lives, integrity and freedom (CODHES 2012).

The years 2009-2013 present an armed conflict of high and stable intensity. This period was characterised by the expansion of criminal gangs and their consolidation in the national territory in dispute with the guerrillas. In 2013, there was evidence of a de-escalation of the armed conflict, the result of the cessation of hostility achieved in the negotiation with the FARC-EP guerrilla in Havana, Cuba. Then, 2013-2016 represents the greatest de-escalation of the armed conflict, registering at the end of this period the lowest levels in the intensity of armed actions.

Moreover, in 2015, the National Afro-descendant Peace Council [CONPA, *El Consejo Nacional de Paz Afrocolombiano*] was created in response to the shared concern over the absence of collective Afro-descendant voices and proposals during the negotiation process between the Government and the FARC-EP. Despite the efforts of some organisations to send communications to Havana, they received no response. On March 8, 2016, CONPA allied with the National Indigenous Organisation of Colombia [ONIC, *Organización Nacional Indígena de Colombia*], which led to the creation of the Ethnic Commission. This inter-ethnic alliance constituted a fundamental reference for the negotiation table in Havana to accept the participation of a delegation of the Indigenous and the Afro-descendant peoples. They presented a proposal for ethnic peace, and the inclusion of the Ethnic Chapter was agreed upon. It included a series of considerations, principles, safeguards and guarantees for an ethnic and cultural perspective in the interpretation and implementation of the Final Agreement for the Termination of the Conflict and the Construction of a Stable and Lasting Peace between the National Government and the FARC-EP, signed in November 2016.

However, according to Cárdenas *et al.* (2022), around thirty FARC dissident groups are active across Colombia. The integration of the FARC dissidents has been, from the outset, one of the biggest challenges to the total peace that the Government was pursuing. More than one faction withdrew –at different times– from the talks in Havana that led to the peace agreement sealed at the end of 2016. This newer generation of dissident factions has hampered the implementation of the peace treaty with unintended consequences for national security and local peacebuilding. For instance, as these organisations have grown,

they have come into deeper conflict with one another, with other armed groups like the ELN[25] and with the Colombian military forces. Consistent with HRW (2021), this has resulted in heightened precariousness, leading to confinement and internal displacement in some places. In addition, the killings of social movement leaders also increased (Ángel & Ball, 2019). Of the 217 social leaders assassinated between 2015 and 2019, only in 2017, 77 were Afro-descendants (Truth Commission, 2020). These groups have also attacked ex-FARC-EP soldiers, prompting requests for additional protection to help them adapt to civilian life.

According to the Truth Commission (2022), when reviewing the data from the JEP-CEV-HRDAG[26] by the end of the year 2020, over a million people who identified themselves as Afro-descendants were registered as victims, which corresponds to 38.38% of the total. In addition, 98% of Palenqueros and 37.5% of Afro-descendants of the country were displaced by the armed conflict. For the Truth Commission, these data make up an important finding on the invisibility of the acts of violence suffered by the Afro-descendant people during the conflict. Nonetheless, the armed conflict arising from the consolidation of drug trafficking and the rise of paramilitaries, as well as the need to protect the lands of the Afro-descendant population in the Pacific with abundant natural resources, were some of the factors that led to the constitutional change in Colombia. Their settlements in the different geographic regions can be better understood by exploring their legal recognition in the next section.

3.2   Differential Approach: Recognition of the Afro-descendants

For the first time in the history of Colombia, the country recognised the population's ethno-cultural diversity. It granted new rights to the Indigenous and the Afro-descendant populations through the Constitution of Colombia (1991), with several amendments since its enactment. The recognition of the Transitory Article 55 of the Constitution (1991) marked the first step for the legislative development of the rights of the Afro-descendant

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[25] The ELN (National Liberation Army) is a guerrilla organisation in Colombia, known for its leftist ideology and armed struggle against the Government. The ELN has been involved in Colombia's decades-long internal conflict, advocating for social justice and Marxist principles.

[26] The JEP-CEV-HRDAG Project is a data integration and statistical estimation project of the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP), the Truth Commission (CEV) and the Human Rights Data Analysis Group (HRDAG for its acronym in English), carried out during the period 2020-2021 and published at the end of June 2022 in the delivery of the final report of the CEV.

communities. The Special Commission for Black Communities was created through Decree 1332/1992, which later became Law 70/1993 *Ley de negritudes* [Law of Blackness]. Recognising the Afro-descendant communities on the banks of the Pacific Basin, the right of collective ownership over their territories and establishing mechanisms for the protection of their ethnic identity, the State has issued several CONPES (National Council of Economic and Social Policy) public policy documents through the National Department of Planning.

Focusing on land titling, ethno-education and political representation, the Afro-descendants were recognised as an ethnic group *'comunidades negras'* [black communities]. This recognition is closely associated with the intellectual and activist discourse surrounding *Afro-Colombian* and *Afro-descendant* terminologies (Wade, 2009; Restrepo, 2016). Arguably, it is one of the most comprehensive legislations for the Afro-descendants in Latin America (Paschel, 2011; 2013). However, cultural diversity and collective rights were found difficult to implement due to the internal armed conflict of which most of the victims belong to ethnic groups.

The legislative innovations were based on the recognition of an agrarian and ethnic specificity of the inhabitants of the Pacific. This can be viewed as a limitation of Law 70/1993, leaving out those communities living in the territories in diverse situations linked to transient economies, survival, conflicts, displacements and relationships established with the rest of social and institutional groups. The restriction of titling in areas of the municipalities does not correspond to the purpose of Law 70/1993, which aims to establish mechanisms for the protection of cultural identity and the rights of the Afro-descendant communities of Colombia as an ethnic group. Currently, a significant number of people recognised as Afro-descendants are settled in marginal areas of cities such as Cali, Cartagena, Buenaventura, Bogotá, Barranquilla, Medellin, Tumaco, Quibdó and Turbo. Whereas, in the Caribbean region, Palenqueros from San Basilio de Palenque were granted the exclusivity of an ethnic group (Wade, 2009; Cunin, 2000), i.e., *'comunidades negras'* defined as:

> *'The group of families of Afro-Colombian descent who possesses its own culture, shares a common history and has its own traditions and customs within a rural-urban setting and which reveals and preserves a consciousness of identity that distinguishes it from other ethnic groups'.*

> Law 70 of 1993 (art2/para5)

In Colombia, blackness is a multidimensional concept encompassing more than just physical traits; it also includes cultural, social, and historical dimensions. Scholars like Wade (2009) challenge essentialist perspectives that reduce blackness to biological characteristics, advocating for an understanding of it as a dynamic and socially constructed identity. This perspective recognises the complexity and diversity of experiences within the Afro-descendant communities, highlighting the need to move beyond simplistic notions of race and ethnicity. In discussing Restrepo's (2004) work on ethnicisation, it's crucial to highlight its significance in understanding the dynamics of the Afro-descendant identities in Colombia. Ethnicisation refers to the process through which blackness becomes imbued with cultural, social, and political meanings, shaping the Afro-descendant identities and experiences. It is not a static phenomenon but a dynamic process that evolves. By examining how various actors, including academics, activists, and community members, contribute to the construction of ethnic imaginaries, Restrepo (2004) sheds light on the contested nature of the Afro-descendant identities in Colombia.

Nonetheless, Law 70/1993 is one of the main instruments of public policy favouring the Afro-descendant populations. It is, therefore, one of the most important legislative developments of the 1991 Constitution. Moreover, as an organ for the protection of fundamental rights, the Colombian Constitutional Court has adopted a series of decisions related to the situation of the Afro-descendant communities, enacted by the executive and legislative powers, regarding the 1991 Constitution and international law of human rights.[27]

Law 1448/2011 (Law of Victims and Land Restitution) demonstrates the set of interests that have historically revolved around the problem of land in Colombia. It seeks to fulfil the rights of truth, where all the information referring to the facts violating the rights must be known, or in case of death or disappearance of the victim, it is necessary to reveal their fate or whereabouts. In addition, it seeks the right to justice, through which the appropriate investigations are carried out that allow the clarification of the facts, the identification of

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[27] For example, the Constitutional court ruling T-025 of 2004 found the current situation internal displacement as an '*unconstitutional state of affairs*' and emphasised that it is the obligation of public entities to ensure the full development of the fundamental rights of the displaced population. This led to ruling T-005 of 2009 where the court issued comprehensive measures to the State for the situation of the Afro-descendant displaced population or at risk of displacement and noticed high underreporting in terms of knowledge of their situation, amongst other reasons, because registration systems failed to include Afro-descendants as victims of forced displacement.

those responsible, the application of the respective sanction, and the right to integral reparation. Law 1448 defines a victim as:

> *'Those persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered damage due to events that occurred as of January 1, 1985, as a consequence of violations of International Humanitarian Law or serious and manifest violations of the norms. Human Rights Internationals, which occurred during the internal armed conflict'.*

Law 1448 (art 3)

Through humanitarian aid, measures of attention, assistance and integral reparation to the victims of internal armed conflict, Law 1448/2011 utilises a differential approach through Decree 4635/2011 (art.18), in which special attention has been paid to the Afro-descendant population. Based on the principle of differential approach, all actions and measures taken should tend towards the physical and cultural survival of the Afro-descendant communities, allowing the conservation, reproduction and transmission of values, traditions, practices and institutions that sustain their ethnic identity.

The recognition of the victims of the armed conflict, specifically the Afro-descendant victims, through Decree 4635/2011, is significantly advanced. This recognition is primarily due to the implementation processes of the Afro-descendant organisations at the national and ethno-territorial levels. The demand for greater recognition of civil and political rights has been permanently on the agenda of Afro-descendant organisations. An important part of the demands of these organisations points to the transformation of legal mechanisms, compliance with international agreements, the questioning of politically legitimised racial hierarchies and, ultimately, effective participation in political life. In some cases, quotas or mechanisms of positive discrimination are being demanded, which allow greater representation and political visibility of the Afro-descendants (Grueso *et al*., 2008).

Given that the Afro-descendant population has historically faced racial, social, political, economic and cultural marginalisation and discrimination, the current conditions are still unfavourable in comparison with the rest of the population as the Afro-descendants suffer higher rates of poverty, illiteracy and mortality. These factors will be analysed in detail in the next section, beginning with the phenomenon of forced migration, explicitly focusing on the Afro-descendant population and the impacts generated by displacement.

3.3   Forced Migration: The Case of the Afro-descendants in Colombia

In Colombia, internal displacement caused by the prolonged armed conflict and, in recent years, climate change has triggered a new wave of internally displaced persons (IDPs), making it one of the world's most severe humanitarian crises in the Western Hemisphere. The armed conflict caused catastrophic impacts leading to stigmatisation, exclusion, dispossession and denial of fundamental rights. In the last 20 years, the magnitude of forced migration has reached a level that allows the phenomenon to be recognised internationally. By the end of 2017, after Syria, Colombia ranked second with the highest number of internally displaced persons, with 17% corresponding to the Afro-descendant population (CODHES, 2015). The percentage of displacement of the Afro-descendant communities is due to the high expulsion rate from the Departments where the population is concentrated. Although 1999 and 2002 had the greatest displacement rates, the forced displacement has continued despite the FARC-EP peace accord signed in 2016 (Unidad de Víctimas, 2013; El Tiempo, 2021; UARIV, 2021).

More than 70,000 Afro-descendants fled in 2010 due to armed confrontations, threats, incursions by armed groups, homicides, torture, forced recruitment of minors and dispossession (CODHES, 2011; 2017). Between the years 1984-2012, nearly 500,000 Afro-descendants were victims of forced displacement, with Antioquia, Bolívar, Chocó, Nariño and Valle del Cauca as the most affected Departments (Ospina & Gomez, 2013). In addition, these Departments are important due to their strategic positioning for the exploitation of natural resources and increased pressure from armed actors and national and multinational companies.

Today, 80% of Colombia's internally displaced live below the poverty line, including 35% in extreme poverty (Bennett *et al.,* 2017). Of the Colombian population that has been displaced by violence, the Afro-descendants, followed by the Indigenous people, have been proportionally affected. The few skills and knowledge regarding the livelihoods in the cities have made it difficult for them to enter the economic and labour dynamics since they were peasant farmers [*campesinos*].

Considering the phenomenon of displacement as a process, the damages caused by the events before displacement since the 1990s were marked by threats, fear, loss of autonomy and the transformation of historical and habitual forms of production,

movement, use of the territory and socialisation practices. Throughout the decades, the Afro-descendant communities witnessed the assassination of their leaders. For example, opposing the presence of armed groups or denouncing abuses—has made them a target of attack. Others have been killed during more general attacks by armed groups against the civilian population.

However, the assassinations of human rights defenders in Colombia are a complex problem that a single national dynamic cannot explain. Due to the limited presence of the State in primarily rural areas, social organisations—including *Juntas de Acción Comunal* [JAC, Community Action Boards], Afro-descendant and Indigenous councils—often play an essential role in carrying out tasks usually assigned to them by local government officials, including protecting populations at risk and promoting government plans. This increases the visibility of leaders of social organisations, including human rights defenders, and exposes them to risks (Meza, 2022).

The core problems of controlling the territories and lands where the Afro-descendant population predominates have a direct and internal connection with the conflict generated by the historical concentration of land in Colombia (Reyes, 2009). Concerning agrarian inequality, Gutierrez (2015) draws attention to three elements: (i) ownership of land rights as per agrarian reforms by large landowners and armed groups; (ii) the continued agricultural expansion into forest areas, instigating further violence because of conflicts over occupied territories; and (iii) the combination of political representation and significant land ownership.

Moreover, Yaffe (2012) notes that at first, the armed groups penetrated isolated areas of economic production centres where they could establish a relationship between poverty, guerrilla presence and absence of the State. However, since the 1980s, the geographical locations of the guerrillas relocated to strategic regions with abundant natural resources and great economic potential. The expansion of guerrilla groups was related directly to the struggle for the control of production facilities of various wealth, including processing areas for illicit crops, areas rich in gold, coal, oil, banana, livestock and coffee, the domains of both the Afro-descendants and the Indigenous (Pizarro-Leongómez, 2004). Hoffman (2002) explains the emergence of ethnic conflicts after the constitutional reform of 1991, which produced an interpretative and rights-based disjuncture between territorial and ethnic laws, giving way to different realities, as discussed in the previous section.

In the next section, the chapter will focus on the insertion of the Afro-descendant populations in Cartagena due to forced migration.

3.4   Department of Bolívar: Cartagena

The Department of Bolívar has a unique geographic importance for bordering seven Departments: Antioquia, Atlántico, Cesar, Córdoba, Magdalena, Santander and Sucre (Map-5). Abundant in natural resources with high and flat areas and strategic corridors such as the San Jorge and Magdalena rivers, which constitute an important outlet for coca produced on the Caribbean coast. The armed actors have tried to control the region in its different geographical points. The Department is known for its history of resistance in the colonial era and for having Creole language, *Palenquero*.

The armed conflict in the Department of Bolívar presents a particular dynamic due to extreme poverty and the history and development of the armed actors. The guerrillas presence in the Department dates back to the 1970s, who managed territorial control and political influence on its inhabitants in Montes de María and Southern Bolívar. Meanwhile, the paramilitaries entered the region a decade later and strengthened after the end of the 1990s. The appearance of the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* [ELN, National Liberation Army] in the region coincides with the period of the peasant movement instigated by the *Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos* [ANUC, National Association of Peasant Users] for the equitable distribution of land, concentrated in the hands of a few large landowner families of the region (Isschot, 2015).

This was followed by a confrontation between the armed actors for territorial control in 1997—some of the worst massacres recorded in the regions of Montes de María and the South of Bolívar. Since 1999, the Department saw an increase in assassinations, massacres, disappearances, sexual violence, forced recruitment of minors, displacements and torture, as well as confrontations in rural areas by 2003. Moreover, the level of homicides in the Department was above the national level (Ortiz, 2007).

Between the years 1998 and 2009, the highest number of victims because of the territorial dispute was recorded in the Department. By 2016, the Department ranked second nationally for the number of internally displaced persons (Gobernador de Bolívar, 2016). The dimensions of the confrontation of the guerrilla groups included attacks against the energy and transport infrastructure, recruited minors, performed selective homicides and assassinations and interfered in local public management. Likewise, amongst other actions, they subjected the civilian population to abuses and different manifestations of violence, including the use of antipersonnel mines. Meanwhile, the armed actors in the Northern area of the Department have historically disputed control of cities such as Cartagena. They disputed the control and domination in strategic sectors of the city to cover power spaces and regulate its inhabitants' social, political and economic dynamics (Mendoza, 2011).

The massacres perpetrated by the guerrillas and paramilitaries throughout the Department of Bolívar affected the population's cultural heritage. They modified the map of the armed confrontation in the region by expanding palm oil (Hurtado *et al.*, 2017). These economic, political, social and cultural subjection strategies through forced displacement impacted their autonomy and organisational forms.

Cartagena is the capital of the Department of Bolívar, the country's fourth national industrial centre and fifth according to the size of its population (CEPAL, 2010). It also has a remarkable relevance as a seaport. It is one of the most important tourist epicentres in Colombia and the second most important city in the Colombian Caribbean. It is a dynamic city in economic terms, and in the last few decades, it has become one of the most important destinations in Colombia. However, despite the city's magnificent economic and productive development, high poverty rates are reported (Serrato, 2009). It is the third city with high poverty rates amongst the thirteen main cities. This is surprising considering that Cartagena is one of the cities with the most significant contribution to the national gross domestic product, with dynamic sectors such as industry, tourism, ports and construction (García & Roca, 2017).

A colonial enclave, Cartagena was one of the most important ports through which the enslaved Africans arrived. The city represents a specific reality of the Afro-descendants in a tri-ethnic population with distinct cultural groups and the complexity of ethnic identity for the Afro-descendant population who have been historically segregated (Lovera *et al.* 2017). There are two main identities of the Afro-descendant population: one linked to the

concept of *mestizaje* [miscegenation] as a result of the migrations of the Afro-descendant population; the other linked to the communities of Palenqueros and Raizal, the result of institutional multiculturalism, arising from the Constitution of 1991 (Cunin, 2003(a)(b); Cunin & Hoffman, 2013). More than one-third (36.5%) of the population of Cartagena identifies itself as Afro-descendant, which is 7.4% of all Afro-descendants of Colombia (DANE, 2005).

Some of the other consequences of internal displacement on the Afro-descendants have led to the lack of access to basic services, economic impact due to employment in the informal sector, social implications due to housing issues leading to increased marginality, and environmental impacts due to residing in flood-prone soils as shown in Figure-2 (Lozano, 2015). These impacts, in turn, have detrimental consequences for the Afro-descendant populations residing in Cartagena.

Figure 2: Internal Displacement Impacts
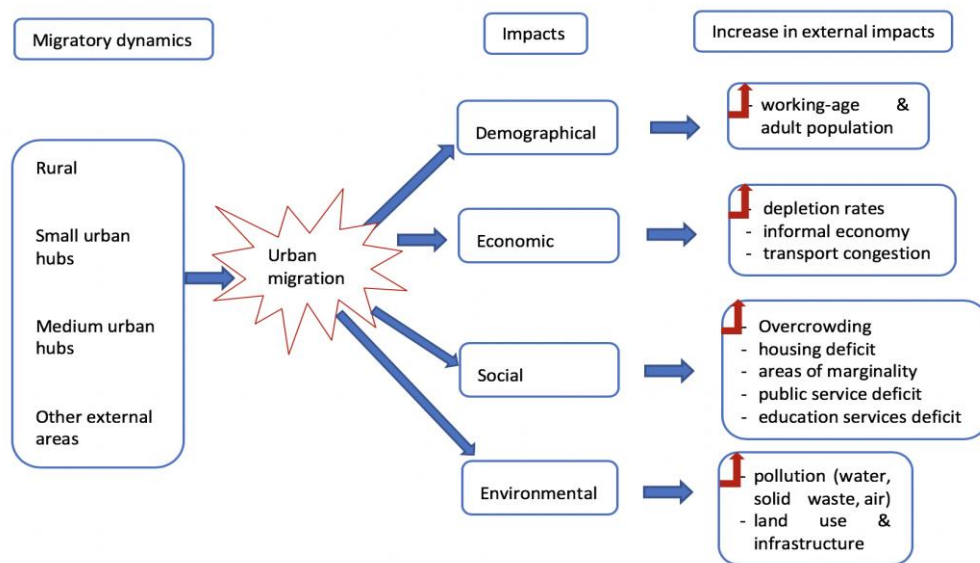
Adapted from Lozano (2015)

With the presence of the Afro-descendants, mechanisms of identity formation began with the advent of the *champeta* from the late 1970s, a musical and cultural genre linked to San Basilio de Palenque and influenced by genres from African colonies and the African continent. This kind of music manages to synthesise an 'afro-universal' belonging, declined by the socio-cultural context of the listeners (Giraldo & Vega, 2014). The work by Leonardo Bohórquez (2002) considers that in the face of the historical discrimination towards the African heritage, cultural manifestations have been reproduced through time as rebellions

that gave birth to the *palenques*, amongst others, and a new expression of these cultural manifestations expresses the reproduction of the *champeta* in the popular areas of the walled city.

The historical, social, economic and political processes have shaped the Afro-descendant identities of the Caribbean region, beginning from the colonial period through to the Constitution of 1991 and towards the post-conflict transition. That is one of the socio-historical determinants of understanding the important concentration of the Afro-descendant population in the city today (DANE, 2005). In the next section, I will contextualise the areas of Nelson Mandela and San Fernando in Cartagena and the different socio-cultural and administrative organisations of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros.

3.7.1 Mandeleros of Nelson Mandela

Mandelero is the name of Nelson Mandela's inhabitants – one of the areas selected for this study in Cartagena [28]. The area's name is in honour of the former South African President. It is one of the largest settlements in Cartagena, emerging in 1994 as a concentration of communities displaced by armed conflict. Cartagena became a receptor site for thousands of Colombians displaced by violence, compounded by internal displacement that has been exacerbated since the mid-90s. In particular, the IDPs coming from Montes de María, Chocó and the vast majority of municipalities and smaller administrative divisions in the centre and South of Bolívar where the armed conflict had moved between 1995-2005 (Bello *et al.*, 2008; Pollock, 2013). According to CODHES (2012), between 2004 and 2005, the city occupied fifth place in the reception of displaced persons in Colombia, and to date, it has maintained constant growth above the national rate. In 2005, Cartagena received 3% of the displaced of the country (Moreno & González, 2011). As such, areas have emerged with deficiencies in the provision of public goods and services, particularly the area [*barrio*] of Nelson Mandela, located in *barrios* of stratum 1-2, as shown in Map-6 (García & Roca, 2017).[29]

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[28] Included in the implementation of the peace process.

[29] Since the 1980s, Colombia has implemented a socio-economic stratification system to classify urban areas on a scale of 1-6. Stratum 1 being the lowest income area. The largest displaced population settlements are located in the *barrios* of El Pozón, Nelson Mandela, Villa Hermosa, San Jose de los Campanos, Olaya & Boston (CODHES, 2012; Pacheco, 2013).

Map 6: San Fernando and Nelson Mandela
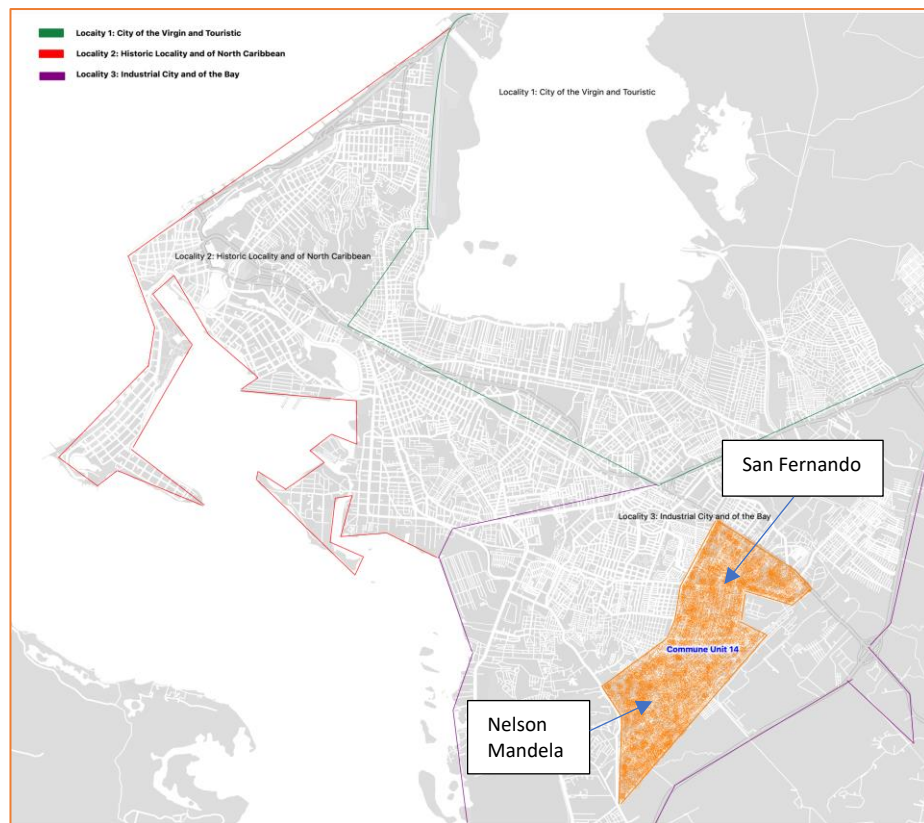
Most initial settlers were community leaders in the regions they fled from. The leaders, already victims of the armed conflict, were threatened to be assassinated several times for their activism, a phenomenon widespread in Colombia. Although in 2014, the area expanded the sewerage and sanitation system's coverage, improving its inhabitants' quality of life, there is still a deficit in electricity, water and gas services (AECID, 2014). It is important to highlight the actions and processes carried out by the community itself, which contributed to improving the area's conditions. Caracol (2020) notes that over the years, Nelson Mandela has acquired numerous enhancements, such as obtaining its route of public transportation, much of the main paved road and sports venues such as in sectors *Los Trupillos, Primavera* and *Las Vegas*, constructed by the District Institute of Sports and Recreation (IDER). However, Cartagena's residential trajectories and demographic and socio-economic characteristics make the Mandelero population face specific difficulties. Moreover, social inequality and the weakness of public housing construction policies have consolidated informal settlements in the city's periphery.

Regarding their social organisation, they fled from different regions of armed conflict with different cultures and customs. Their social organisation and internal administration are in

the form of *Juntas de Acción Comunal* [JAC, Community Action Boards]. JACs were created in Colombia in 1958 under Law 19 of 1958. In the 60s, its actual development began, empowering communities and areas against collective commitment. JAC board members are also the community leaders who have been the target of most of the assassinations and threats. This created a political dynamic and helped organise a structure of political participation to have a political presence in public institutions and voluntarily defend their rights in the form of JACs (Moreno, 2018).

Each sector of Nelson Mandela has its own JAC, a non-profit civic corporation made up of the residents of a sector within Nelson Mandela, who join efforts and resources to seek the solution to the most felt needs of the community. The community members elect the board members, including the president, treasurer, secretary, delegates, and coordinators (infrastructure, health, sport, recreation, education). They also elect a supervisor and a project manager to help with social projects to achieve common objectives that allow them to overcome deficiencies in providing public services, infrastructure, and services for vulnerable populations (Moreno, 2018).

For the social organisation of the Mandeleros through JAC, these organisations have an important factor in enhancing their actions represented in the empowerment of the leaders who direct them, who have assumed their work with commitment and responsibility, even though in most cases they do not have the necessary human, technical and economic resources for its management. Thus, it was possible to overcome many deficiencies in terms of goods, which is essential to improving the members' quality of life through infrastructure projects and in response to social problems present in the territory.

3.7.2 Palenqueros of San Fernando

San Fernando, the second area selected for this study in Cartagena, is currently the largest colony of the Palenqueros. Palenquero Street was the first place they inhabited in San Fernando. Many factors contribute to the migration of Palenqueros from San Basilio de Palenque to the different cities of the Caribbean, particularly Cartagena. The main one was labour's need to guarantee a good life for future generations, which forced many people to migrate in the 50s and 60s. It was not until the mid-90s and last decades of 2000 that another element significantly impacted migration: the armed conflict in Colombia, which is not widely documented amongst the Palenqueros (Moñino, 2017). Montes de María was one of the regions where both guerrilla insurgency and paramilitary army were sheltered,

and from there, they went out to make their incursions in the communities, such as in the case of San Basilio de Palenque.

At the beginning of 2000, there was a massacre in the main square of San Basilio de Palenque. What further sharpened that factor in the late 90s was the selective assassinations of some Palenqueros. Many young people continued their higher education and were obliged to go to Cartagena and Barranquilla. This was because there was the need to enter the university to be professionally trained with a career and then pursue the career in San Basilio de Palenque, who then initiated the process of ethno-education.

In Cartagena, they initially settled in an area of Chambacú, which was gentrified, and the Palenqueros then moved to the *barrio* [area] of Nariño[30]. Upon retirement, they had enough sum to purchase lands in La Candelaria, San Francisco, La Esperanza, La Maria and San Fernando (Reyes, 2011). These factors also significantly impact the migration to the cities where the Palenqueros are concentrated and remain connected in the middle of the traditional organisation, like the *kuagros* [age groups] and the *juntas* [councils]. In contexts such as Cartagena, the *Proceso de Comunidades Negras* [PCN, Black Communities Process] brings together a network of organisations. It is considered one of the most powerful resilience strategies with a strong ancestral component (Grueso *et al.*, 2008).

There are countless studies on Palenqueros of San Basilio de Palenque, as it is known that this has been a unique and exceptional space in terms of the dynamics of slavery and freedom. However, it is also a space where researchers have studied cultural particularities, language, funeral rites, social organisation, and music, amongst other aspects. Once forgotten, at best, most often stigmatised and considered underdeveloped, San Basilio de Palenque has become a symbol of affirmed and valued ethnicity, yet one of the poorest territories in Colombia (Cunin, 2003ab). The construction and use of the idiom *palenquero* are expressions of resilience despite the stigmatisation by public educational authorities that consider it simply to be vernacular. Nonetheless, orality is a powerful means of resilience through which the main ancestral traditions of the Afro-descendant communities residing in the rural areas of the continental Colombian Caribbean are maintained.

For the Palenqueros, life and death are elements of heritage and cultural accumulation, historically identified, as they inherit trades and knowledge passed down by previous

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[30] There is also a Department in Colombia named Nariño but this is a *barrio* located in Cartagena.

generations through oral tradition. These have established norms and values that determine the ethical and moral structures and regulate the dynamic relationship between the natural environment and the community. The extended families act as the axis of community construction where authority is associated with older generations through their knowledge and experience, regardless of gender (Grueso & Galindo, 2011).

The *kuagros* are constituted from childhood and last through the lives of individuals and, in general, are linked to a particular residential sector. In cities, the inhabitants of the areas tend to constitute *kuagro* amongst them. Each *kuagro* acquires a name that identifies it as such, just as each one is led by one of its most prominent members. This leadership is gained from the actions that constitute the daily life of the *kuagro*. Leadership can be disputed and lost; it is not a position that, once achieved, is maintained until death. Belonging to a *kuagro* is associated with a set of rights and duties towards the other members of the *kuagro*, the right to participate in its collective activities. This participation permanently reactivates membership in the *kuagro*. Faced with illness or death, the members of the *kuagro* respond by contributing financially in money or kind and emotionally supporting the sick or ritually the deceased through the funerary practice of *lumbalú*. This is the most characteristic feature of the funeral rituals in San Basilio de Palenque, linked to the context of the wake and the dead. *Lumbalú*, more than a dance, is a set of songs of melancholy and pain in the accompaniment and farewell of the loved one who leaves this world. This rite is carried out when a person dies in San Basilio de Palenque and is mourned employing songs and dances around the corpse, with a leading voice spontaneously accompanied by a choir for nine days and nine nights. This is how the *lumbalú* converges much of Palenque's cultural and social conceptions, as dances, music and singing are manifested (Camargo & Lawo-Sukam, 2015).

Unlike the *kuagro*, the *junta* comprises people of different age groups; a father and his son can belong to the same *junta*. Unlike the *kuagro*, the juntas are constituted by a defined purpose and disappear once fulfilled. It is common to have meetings to help each other in case of illness or death of each of its members or their closest relatives. The rules and fees of each of its members are clear. However, the meetings to cover the illness or death of its members are not the only ones: there are meetings to promote a candidate for a position of popular election or to raise funds with a defined objective. Solidarity and reciprocity with

the other members are part of the duties of the members and are manifested in the most everyday activities and the most extraordinary situations.

For the Palenqueros, in the long process of re-adaptation and cultural reconstruction, they built the foundations of their worldview, a particular way of seeing the world that allowed the characterisation as an ethnic group (Law 70/1993). To implement ancestral justice, the Palenqueros have appropriate instruments, such as the *Ma-Kankamaná consejo comunitario* [Community Council] in San Basilio de Palenque. It is the highest local administrative and organisational authority responsible for safeguarding, managing, protecting and defending the ancestral territory (Camargo & Lawo-Sukam, 2015). The Board focuses on social, political, economic, cultural, environmental, religious and educational aspects. It also provides training and education to its members and community leaders to improve the quality of life of the Palenquero community, with the support of governments at the local level, as well as regional, national, and international cooperation. The Community Councils [*Consejo Communitario*] comprise a Board composed of a legal representative, president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and an attorney. The Community Councils are the recognised ethnic authority for the communities in Law 70 of 1993 and Decree 1745 of 1995. The community elects the members of the Board of the Community Councils for three years under Law 70/1993. The distribution of the Community Councils, out of which 36 are located in cities (Lovera *et al.*, 2017).

The territories of the Palenqueros were acquired through maritime struggles and as part of the agreement between the Spanish crown and the *Palenques* (Satizábal & Batterbury, 2018). The cultural elements of the Palenqueros are exercised in a specific geographical space, which constitutes their territoriality, where they develop their customs, traditions, ways of thinking and sense of belonging. Much of this territoriality reflects traditional production systems, understood as the set of techniques and practices of the communities through which they relate to nature and transform it sustainably for subsistence (Llerena & Colón, 2011). The relationship with the land and natural resources is closely related to their culture, expressed as a source of life. It represents the natural habitat and offers protection, livelihood, identity, affection, freedom and recreation. The multiple relationships with the community and nature are characterised by the collective and solidarity elements expressed in the laws of utilising and managing the natural habitat. The territory is fundamental to these communities' physical and cultural survival, and they have

unique ways of using the diverse spaces constituted by the forest, mangroves, rivers, hills, and the ocean (Escobar, 2010). As such, obtaining collective titles becomes a fundamental step in achieving the interests and objectives as a community, which are put in place through the ethno-development life plans of the Community Councils based on the use and management of their territory (Morgantini & Vaz, 2018).

3.8   Conclusion

In this chapter, I glanced at the different Afro-descendant populations in Colombia's Pacific and Caribbean regions. I then provided an overview of the different phases of the armed conflict. In doing so, beyond the different views on the historical origin of the conflict, no one today would deny the two main characteristics that it qualifies as a protracted and complex conflict. Whether it starts with *la violencia* or the emergence of the guerrillas in the 1960s, the Colombian armed conflict constitutes the third oldest in the world, according to the acceptance of its initiation date. Its complexity depends on structural causes, the heterogeneity of the actors involved and the different dynamics with which the conflict has manifested itself in the different regions of the country and different historical phases.

The strong inequalities, poverty and exclusion of the Afro-descendants, the absence of institutional measures to guarantee distribution and social justice, have played a key role in perpetuating conflict. It is impossible to define the Colombian conflict only as an armed conflict as the social and economic inequalities cannot be ignored. What today defines as an armed conflict corresponds to a political, social and economic conflict that has caused numerous victims. The chapter also provided insights into the Afro-descendant's recognition as an ethnic group through the Constitution of Colombia, as well as the impact of forced displacement. Lastly, looking at the areas of Nelson Mandela and San Fernando offered an understanding of the different socio-cultural organisation systems of the Palenqueros and the Mandeleros.

CHAPTER 4: Theoretical Framework

4.1   Introduction

The theoretical chapter aims to review existing theories and concepts of area and community stigmatisation and how populations respond. The study aims to contribute to this growing area of research by exploring the concept of 'territorial stigmatisation' as conceptualised by Wacquant (2007a, 2007b, 2008) and the 'stigma' of Goffman (1963). There are two parts to this chapter. The first section focuses on the historical conceptualisation of stigma and the different models related to this study. I then explain the various definitions linked to stigma and stigmatisation, as well as notable relationships between the concepts, leading to the social elements of the concept and its impact. Then, the chapter places this study into a broader perspective, exploring the connections between the particular conceptual frameworks and the more significant theoretical discourse that serves as the foundation for them. Next, the stigmatisation of individuals, communities and areas are explored. Then, the framework built with all the elements of the notion of stigma and how it can be used specifically for this research is presented.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the strategies put in place to respond to the processes of stigmatisation. First, the section begins with absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. Second, the intersecting levels of resilience are analysed. Third, emphasising the notion of social capital, the chapter explores some of its uses. Finally, the processes of resilience as a response to stigma are applied to the theoretical framework.

4.2   Stigma: Concept and Definition

The classic explanation of stigma stems from psychology and focuses exclusively on developing attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, prejudices, and discriminative behaviour (Allport, 1954). The social constructionist perspective, rooted in symbolic interactionism, emphasises that stigma is a socially constructed phenomenon dependent on cultural norms and values. Goffman's seminal work (1963) laid the foundation for this perspective. It aligns with the broader theoretical discourse on symbolic interactionism, which explores how individuals derive meaning from interactions and symbols.

Furthermore, Goffman (1963) exposes the idea that society establishes the means to categorise people and the set of attributes or characteristics that most of the community perceives as belonging to the members of each category. In the presence of a stranger, the human being reacts by attributing to him, depending on his appearance, certain characteristics that make up the social identity. Stigmas emanate from an attribute and stereotype where attributes indicate a mark, defining membership in a stigmatised category of persons such as physical deformities (age, gender, disability), character blemishes (addiction, dishonesty, sexual orientation, mental disorders, unemployment) and tribal associations (nationality, race, ethnicity, religion).

Meanwhile, psychological and medical models of stigma delve into the individual-level experiences and consequences of stigma (Link & Phelan, 2001). These models are grounded in psychological theories of coping, self-esteem, and mental health, linking stigma research to broader psychological frameworks. Since researchers approach the concept from various theoretical frameworks, it has produced a diverse range of conceptualisations of stigma (Table-3). Gradually progressing from a psychological focus towards the social elements, the concept has also been linked to the original works on prejudice and discrimination. For example, expanding on the notion that stigmatisation confers power, Phelan *et al.* (2008:365) review key conceptual models in the disciplines of stigma and prejudice and propose a typology of functions - '*exploitation and domination (keeping people down), norm enforcement (keeping people in) and disease avoidance (keeping people away)*'. As such, stigma refers to external markers, i.e., the condition or status considered deviant (Goffman, 1963). On the other hand, '*stigmatisation is the social process by which the mark affects the lives of all those touched by it*' (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015:91).

In addition, examining structural and systemic stigma extends the analysis beyond individual-level stigma to scrutinise how institutions and societal structures perpetuate stigmatisation (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). This framing aligns with critical theories that critique power dynamics and systemic inequalities, connecting stigma research to broader discussions on social justice.

Table 3: Ways of Conceptualising Stigma

a) Basic Concepts	
Stigma	(i) A relationship between an 'attribute and a stereotype' defines stigma as a 'mark' (attribute) that links a person to undesirable characteristics (stereotypes). (ii) Stigma is processual and generated through structural power, which appears in multiple components, including labelling, negative stereotypes, isolation, loss of status, emotional responses, individual discrimination, and structural discrimination.
Prejudice	Endorsement of negative beliefs and attitudes in stereotypes.
Labels	Officially sanctioned terms applied to conditions, individuals, groups, places, organisations, institutions, or other social entities.
Stereotypes	Negative beliefs and attitudes are assigned to labelled social entities.
Discrimination i. Direct ii. Structural iii. Socio-psychological	Behaviours that act to endorse and reinforce stereotypes and disadvantage those labelled. It is exercised by people who reproduce the stereotyped belief (refusal to grant a job or rent a home, rejection by education or health services). Persistent discrimination suffered by specific groups, not only as a product of their stigma but as a manifestation that affects people's lives. The person feels devalued as less trustworthy, less intelligent and less competent.
Stigmatisation	A social process embedded in social relationships that devalues through prejudices, labelling and stereotyping.
b) Types of Stigmas	
Territorial Stigma	Urban marginalisation occurs from above in the journalistic, political, scientific and bureaucratic fields and below in the ordinary interactions of daily life.
Tribal stigma	Stigmas emanate from 'an attribute and stereotype' where attributes indicate a 'mark', defining membership in a stigmatised category nationality /race/ethnicity/religion
c) Theoretical Dimensions of Stigma	
i. Visible	'Marks' that are visible or not concealable; often used with ascribed characteristics, e.g., race/ethnicity.
ii. Course/changes	Change over time
iii. Disruption	Impede interpersonal relationships between the stigmatised and non-stigmatised.
iv. Blame	Attributing the responsibility of their condition to the person marked; expressed agreement with stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination.
v. Fear/Risks	Expectations of experiencing prejudice and discrimination amongst the stigmatised.
vi. Aesthetics	Attribute provoking disgust

Adapted from Pescosolido & Martin (2015); Jones *et al*., (1984); Stafford & Scott (1986); Crocker *et al*. (1998); Link &Phelan (2001); Wacquant (2007a)

One of the most important arguments against the use of the concept is that many studies of stigmatisation fail to take into account the producers of stigmatisation (Power *et al*., 2013, 2021; Schultz Larsen, 2014; Slater, 2017; Tyler & Slater, 2018; Butler-Warke, 2020, 2021; Sisson 2021). For instance, Link and Phelan (2014) consider 'stigma power' as a political force that legitimises the structures, procedures, and justifications of power, thereby enabling stigmatisation processes.

As such, both stigma and stigmatisation are dependent on the co-occurrence of its components conceptualised by Link and Phelan (2001), who view stigma as processual, generated through structural power, appearing through the convergence of the interrelation of four components: labelling, negative stereotypes, otherness, discrimination. In addition, Tyler and Slater's (2018:736) article on the understanding of stigma argues for a better understanding of '*where stigmatising attitudes come from, how and by whom is stigma crafted, mediated, produced and why, what social, political and economic functions stigmatisation might play in particular historical and geopolitical contexts, and how has stigma been resisted*'.

Applying Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality framework helps elucidate the complex dynamics of inequality experienced by the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants. Crenshaw (1991) coined the term 'intersectionality', emphasising that cultural identity intersects with other identity dimensions, such as ethnicity and gender, contributing to unique experiences. Historically, the Hazaras have endured persecution and marginalisation, primarily driven by their ethnic and religious identity. This intersection of ethnicity and religion compounds disparities within the Hazara community, impacting various aspects such as education, employment, and healthcare access. Moreover, the political landscape in Pakistan further marginalises the Hazaras, leading to limited governmental representation and exclusion from decision-making processes, thereby perpetuating their unequal standing. The discrimination faced by the Hazaras, rooted in their ethnicity and religious affiliation, is reinforced by cultural norms and discriminatory practices, exacerbating their marginalisation.

Similarly, the Afro-descendants in Colombia have grappled with systemic racism and discrimination stemming from a legacy of slavery, colonisation, and land dispossession. Here, the intersection of race and socio-economic status contributes to internal inequalities within Afro-descendant communities, affecting access to education, land

ownership, and economic opportunities. Political dynamics in Colombia exacerbate this marginalisation, with the Afro-descendants facing limited representation in government and exclusion from decision-making processes. Additionally, discrimination based on racial identity, colourism, and stereotypes compounds the marginalisation of the Afro-descendant communities, further entrenched by cultural norms and discriminatory practices.

Through an intersectional lens, it becomes evident that factors like race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status intersect to shape access to resources for both the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants. This analysis underscores the role of broader power structures in perpetuating inequality within these communities, emphasising the need for targeted interventions that address the multifaceted nature of discrimination and marginalisation they face.

For instance, in the case of refugees, Stein (1981) acknowledges the role of institutional factors. His analysis suggests that the effects of stigma and identity are central to understanding the outcomes of resettlement schemes. Institutions like government policies or humanitarian organisations may inadvertently reinforce or mitigate these effects. Similarly, when refugees are labelled and categorised within a particular institutional framework, it can lead to ambiguous or complex identities amongst hosts and refugees (Abbasi & Monsutti, 2023). Zetter (1991) has explored how bureaucratic processes shape and transform refugee identities, emphasising the categorisation and labelling of individuals as refugees within public policy and humanitarian practices. Similarly, Harrell-Bond (1986) has addressed humanitarian labelling and assistance to displaced populations and made significant contributions to studying refugee issues and the complexities of labelling within this context.

Moreover, the literature on displacement and stigmatisation also underscores the intersectionality of stigma, with refugees often facing compounded stigma based on their intersecting identities (Cunin, 2003b). This intersectional approach highlights the need to consider how factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, and social class intersect to shape experiences of stigma within displaced populations. Furthermore, structural barriers to employment, housing, education, and healthcare can exacerbate the stigmatisation of refugees and contribute to their social exclusion (Oslender, 2008). Critical perspectives on displacement, labelling, and stigmatisation interrogate power dynamics, systemic

inequalities, and the intersectionality of identity. Hathaway (1991) reconceives refugee law as a framework for human rights protection, challenging dominant narratives of displacement and asylum. Additionally, Müller (2016) examines the role of refugee camps as sites of humanitarian governance, critiquing how they reproduce power structures and perpetuate stigmatisation.

The examination of displacement, refuge, and asylum is inherently linked to the concept of stigma, as displaced populations often face social exclusion, discrimination, and negative stereotypes. Refugee camps, as discussed by Jacobsen (2005), can become sites of stigma, where individuals are marginalised and labelled based on their refugee status. Similarly, Gammeltoft-Hansen's (2013) exploration of the asylum label underscores how refugees may be stigmatised based on societal perceptions of asylum-seeking. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's (2016) investigation into the politics of survival amongst displaced communities highlights how gender and religious identities can intersect with stigma, influencing the experiences of refugees. Lastly, Chatty and Mansour's (2017) analysis of displacement in the Middle East illuminates how socio-political factors contribute to the stigmatisation of refugees in the region. Overall, these studies reveal the interconnectedness between displacement, refuge, and asylum and the pervasive impact of stigma on the lives of displaced individuals and communities.

As such, it is important to look at the larger theoretical conversation that underpins the concept of stigmatisation, such as the kinds of societies within which the processes of stigmatisation occur, as well as their conceptualisation and the political economy of the countries, such as Pakistan and Colombia. Also, what kind of structural power dynamics exist in these countries that are the stigma-producing agents for the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants?

Pakistan, officially known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, was founded in 1947 after gaining independence from British India to provide a homeland for Muslims. Islam plays a central role in shaping the nation's identity and values. The country exhibits a wide range of religious practices and beliefs, and religious identity and sectarianism issues have deep historical roots. Pakistan's society is characterised by its diverse ethnic groups, including Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtuns, Baloch, and more, contributing to its rich cultural diversity. Linguistic diversity is also prevalent, with Urdu as the official language alongside numerous regional languages. Regarding the political economy, Pakistan has a mix of agrarian and

industrial sectors and a significant service sector. However, the nation faces economic challenges such as fiscal deficits, inflation, and a substantial informal economy, which remain areas of concern (Ahmad, 2016).

Furthermore, the historical context of Pakistan is fundamental in comprehending the underlying factors contributing to the challenges faced by the Hazara community within the country. Pakistan, established initially as a pluralistic and secular state, remains home to numerous ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities. Regrettably, these minority groups, whether religious, ethnic, or linguistic, often encounter obstacles related to religious, social, economic, and political power dynamics (Afzal *et al.,* 2012). The Hazaras, an ethnic and religious minority in Pakistan, predominantly *Shia* Muslims, face profound challenges stemming from their minority status. Sectarian violence, orchestrated by *Sunni* extremist groups like *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi* (LeJ) due to their *Shia* faith, has led to recurring deadly attacks and heightened stigmatisation (DFAT, 2022).

Political marginalisation is a historical issue for the Hazaras, with limited representation in national and provincial legislatures, resulting in a muted political voice (Raza, 2018). Socially, their unique physical features, notably Mongoloid traits, have sometimes labelled them as 'outsiders' within Pakistan, subjecting them to exclusion and prejudice (Canfield, 2002). Economic disparities also persist due to limited opportunities and insecurity in Quetta. Geographic segregation amplifies their marginalisation, restricting access to services and reinforcing the perception of being under siege (see Chapter-2). Extraordinary security measures are a necessity but add to their isolation, and some have sought asylum abroad, adding another layer of forced displacement to their complex identity (DFAT, 2022). In essence, the Hazaras grapple with multifaceted stigma and power dynamics, encompassing ethnicity, sectarianism, politics, social status, economics, and security, rendering them one of Pakistan's most marginalised and vulnerable communities.

On the other hand, Colombia, known for its diverse culture and geography shaped by the Indigenous, African, and European influences, has grappled with historical conflicts involving guerrilla groups and drug cartels. In recent years, progress towards peace and stability has been notable. The nation's political economy comprises various sectors, including agriculture (notably coffee, flowers, and bananas), mining (coal and emeralds), manufacturing (textiles and chemicals), and services (finance and tourism). Whilst agriculture has traditionally played a significant role, and natural resources like oil and

minerals contribute substantially to the economy, income inequality remains a pressing issue. Socio-economic disparities persist, especially between urban and rural areas, partly due to the lasting effects of internal conflicts involving guerrillas, paramilitaries, and drug cartels (Franz, 2016). Colombia has undertaken peace negotiations and agreements to address this legacy. Still, a considerable portion of the workforce remains in the informal economy, posing labour rights, social protection, and economic stability challenges.

In Colombia, race and region are closely linked, and the historical, social, and cultural factors have resulted in powerful racial connotations associated with different regions. These dynamics continue to shape the lived experiences of the Afro-descendants and influence social, economic, and political structures within the country (Wade, 1993). Historically, racial and ethnic hierarchies have heavily influenced social power dynamics, with lighter-skinned individuals and those of European descent often holding more social power. At the same time, the Afro-descendants and the Indigenous communities have faced stigmatisation and social exclusion (Cunin, 2003b). Within the context of the Afro-descendant communities in Colombia, socio-economic class emerges as a critical determinant of social power dynamics (Telles, 2015).

Political clout also proves pivotal in either addressing or perpetuating stigma, as communities boasting greater political representation tend to be more adept at advocating for their rights and contesting stigmatisation. Notably, economic disparities are intimately entwined with the experience of stigma, as labour market discrimination and limited economic prospects for marginalised groups serve to reinforce the cycle of stigmatisation (Oslender, 2008). Economic status further dictates access to essential resources, including healthcare, education, and housing, thereby endowing those with greater economic means with enhanced resilience against the effects of stigma. Additionally, the media can either bolster or challenge prevailing stigmatisation, with media outlets owned by influential individuals or groups potentially harbouring biases that perpetuate stigma (Dennis,2006). Having examined the broader theoretical discourse that forms the foundation of the stigmatisation processes within different types of societies, the following two sections focus on the stigmatisation of communities and areas.

4.3 Stigmatisation of individuals and communities

Community stigma here is based on the idea of the tribal stigma of Goffman (1963). Still, I have adapted it by mainly using the community side, i.e., a set of individuals with various common elements, such as the areas they inhabit, culture, traditions, language or religion. In this thesis, I am not focusing on ancestry and blood relations. I have explained these elements in Chapters 2/3 as to what constitutes a community for the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants. What is interesting about tribal stigma is that Goffman (1963) uses race, nationality, religion, and ethnicity. This grouping as a community is significant in this study as I want to focus on the two communities, i.e., the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, residing in two countries and four different areas rather than a race or ethnicity in general terms.

Stigma is not only associated with differences or deviations; there are also theoretical dimensions to identify stigma (Table-4). Amongst the various dimensions, those indicated by Jones *et al.* (1984) describe a stigmatised individual and groups and signify the interaction between the stigmatised and non-stigmatised individuals/groups. Despite using non-stigmatised and stigmatised terms, stigma does not entail a set of separable individuals in two distinct categories. It contains a more complex social process of two roles, in which each individual participates in both, at least in certain phases of life. Practice theorists maintain that social processes and human behaviour are interconnected with institutions and actors in the dynamics of lived experiences and the construction of identity, knowledge and reality (Bourdieu, 1977: 1990; Foucault, 1977).

Additionally, the dimension of power is central to the study of stigmatisation, not from considering the categories of stigmatised people but from analysing the different categories of people according to their insertion in power structures (Link & Phelan, 2014). Stigmatisation fundamentally concerns social inequalities, thereby triggering discrimination, an additional consequence and dimension of stigmatisation (Link & Phelan, 2001; Parker & Aggleton, 2003).

Table 4: Theoretical Dimensions of Stigma

Visible characteristics: It refers to the degree to which the differentiating and stigmatising characteristic can be hidden or disguised by blending in. However, characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and obesity are traits that cannot be hidden, whilst suffering from disease/illness, having criminal convictions or being an internally displaced person would be of more easily concealed characteristics. The consequences of the visible characteristics of stigma in social interactions are evident in the tendency of people to conceal, whenever possible, this disqualifying or socially undesirable difference. Certain minority groups such as the ones under study are easily distinguishable due to their physical features, therefore at risk of race /ethnicity-based rejection (Major & O'Brien, 2005). One of the roles played by physical appearance in the process of stigmatisation is that it generates an effective response given its highly visible nature, although this response can take different forms (Howarth, 2006).

Course: It refers to the possibility of change over time of the differentiating characteristics. Regarding this dimension, it is necessary to distinguish between a real change of characteristics and beliefs about change. This dimension can be linked to the locus of control of an individual, depending on how an individual or groups perceives their future. People whose actions are focused on the longer term possess a more internal locus of control, thereby, exhibiting future oriented decisions (Rotter, 1990). Such individuals or groups hold *a more adaptive perspective and are more likely to meet challenges that can help them to recover and rebuild their lives.* On the contrary, foreseeing to focus on attaining short term goals are likely to perceive in external factors beyond their control and their actions as the key influences on the future outcomes.

Disruptiveness: This dimension refers to the elements of the stigmatising characteristic i.e., the negative or bad meaning of the stigmatised individuals/communities, which impede or hinder interpersonal relationships between the stigmatised and non-stigmatised. In fact, this dimension is interlinked with the other dimensions of stigma. Thus, the most visible, dangerous and unsightly feature will be the one that most hinders social interaction. And in most cases, it refers to the distortions that occur in the interaction due to the characteristics of the stigma itself.

Origin: This dimension reflects on how stigma is created through the processes of stigmatisation focusing on the components of labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination. It also reflects the processes of social exclusion for possessing discredited attributes influenced by identity, cultural contexts and rituals. In addition, beliefs play an important role in the consideration and social treatment of people carrying a negatively differentiating stigma. A characteristic responsibility is attributed to the stigmatised. The fact of attributing the responsibility of their condition to the person marked, a form of blaming, is a self-protection mechanism for people who stigmatise, as they are not seen in the moral obligation to have to help.

Peril: This dimension suggests what kind of fear is associated with the stigma and how imminent and serious it is. It is the sense of fear that the stigma induces in others. The essence of stigma lies in the fear it provokes in others. The fear can be physical (fear of contagion of a disease), psychological (fear of mental imbalance) or social (threat in compliance with social norms).

Aesthetics: With the aesthetic quality, it is highlighted to what extent the attribute that causes the person to be stigmatised 'violates' the aesthetics of a society.

Adapted from: Jones *et al*. (1984)

This can affect individuals' and communities access to housing, education, healthcare and employment. Not to mention the consequences of stigma causing social division with inadequate provision of public services (Wacquant, 2007a;2008;2010;2011).

Visibility also plays an important role in the beginning of an interaction with non-stigmatised individuals. That is why it is important to highlight the concept of intersectionality in understanding the complex interplay of various identity markers and their impact on individuals' lives. Collins (1990) argues that religious identity intersects with ethnicity, gender, and social class, leading to distinct societal experiences and roles. An individual's accent or dialect can intersect with ethnicity, region, and social class, influencing perceptions and experiences. Waters (1999) examines accent as a marker of identity and the intersection of language with ethnicity.

These intersections are essential for understanding the complexity of individuals' experiences and how various aspects of their identities interact to shape their lives. For instance, within the framework of humanitarian programmes, the labels *'IDPs', 'returnees', 'refugees'*, or *'host communities'* are often essential. They may clash with how communities perceive themselves, potentially exacerbating divisions. REACH (2023) conducted a research project to delve into the perspectives of South Sudanese communities regarding these labels. It highlights the intersection between these labels and the lived experiences and identities of the communities affected by displacement. Similarly, Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont (1988) delve into the multifaceted nature of identity amongst Afghan refugees, shaped by factors such as displacement, conflict, and the host country's policies. The identity of Afghan refugees is portrayed as ambiguous and fluid, influenced by both their Afghan heritage and their experiences in Pakistan.

Examining the intersectionality of labels such as *'IDPs', 'returnees', 'refugees',* or *'host communities'* with individuals' lived experiences and identities through Crenshaw's (1991) framework provides a deeper understanding of how power dynamics operate within humanitarian aid systems and the potential for certain groups to be marginalised or privileged based on these labels.

Within Crenshaw's (1991) framework, structural intersectionality refers to how social structures and institutions intersect to create unique experiences of oppression or privilege. In the context of humanitarian aid systems, the labels assigned to individuals intersect with broader social structures such as legal frameworks, policies, and institutional

practices. For example, refugees may be subject to international legal frameworks that afford them certain rights and protections, whilst IDPs may be governed by national laws and policies that vary in their level of support and assistance.

Political intersectionality involves examining how power operates within political systems and institutions, shaping individuals' access to resources and opportunities. The labels *'IDPs', 'returnees', 'refugees'*, or *'host communities'* can reflect political decisions and priorities that determine who receives assistance and support within humanitarian programs. Political dynamics at the national and international levels can influence the allocation of resources and the implementation of aid programs, impacting the lived experiences of individuals belonging to different labelled groups.

Crenshaw's (1991) framework also emphasises the intersectionality of identity, highlighting how individuals' multiple identities intersect to shape their experiences of oppression or privilege. The labels assigned to individuals within humanitarian aid systems intersect with various aspects of their identity, such as gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and age. For example, refugee women or children may face additional vulnerabilities and barriers due to their intersecting identities, impacting their access to resources and their experiences within aid systems.

By examining the intersectionality of these labels with individuals' lived experiences and identities, we gain insights into how certain groups may be marginalised or privileged within humanitarian aid systems. Marginalised groups, such as refugees or IDPs from minority ethnic backgrounds, may face barriers to accessing resources and assistance, exacerbating their vulnerability in humanitarian contexts. Conversely, host communities or individuals labelled as '*returnees*' may receive preferential treatment or support, reflecting underlying power dynamics and inequalities within aid systems.

In addition, Kusow's (2004:195) research on Somali immigrants in Canada exemplifies the perspectives of stigma by moving beyond Goffman's (1963) analysis by distinguishing '*the social and social structural conditions that shape those processes of identity management'*. Similarly, Adeeko & Treanor (2022) critically examine the intricate process of identity formation amongst refugee women entrepreneurs in the UK. These women often face the burden of being labelled as refugees, a stigmatised identity that can lead to disadvantages and discrimination. Focusing on the refugee identity in the Czech Republic, Burnett (2013) explores the nuanced relationship between the *'refugee'* label and identity that can vary

amongst different groups of refugees. As I discuss in the next section, the stigmatisation of individuals and communities is interlinked with area stigma.

4.4 Area Stigma

Area represents a space where culture and knowledge meet, constituting the pillar of the community that allows cultural recreation. For the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, an area comprises chores, places inhabited and travelled, and constructing their way of living, feeling and being. The sense of belonging, attachment and appreciation of the area strengthens whenever historical and ancestral uses renew and come alive in the actions and uses of the younger generation. This is how identity is built, in the process of transforming, embracing and inhabiting the area. Therefore, it is a practice that is stored and retained in memory. The identity is transmitted in everyday life through stories and rites of passage, such as rituals and ceremonies where ancestral customs are remembered and reconstructed.

The concept of territorial stigmatisation developed by Wacquant (2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009) stems from the experiences in the black 'ghetto' of Chicago and working-class *banlieue* in Paris. With the purpose of including place in the social, political and institutional process of creating stigma based on discredit, Wacquant (2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009) takes up Bourdieu's (1991) theory of symbolic power and merges with Goffman's (1963) conceptualisation of management of spoiled identities (Slater, 2017). The fusion of these two theorists led to the understanding of how stigmatisation of areas occurs '*from below, in the ordinary interactions of daily life, as well as from above, in the journalistic, political and bureaucratic (even scientific) fields*' (Wacquant, 2007a:67).

Most importantly, media intertwined with other social forces creates and reinforces exaggerated negative stereotypes (Arthurson *et al.*,2012). This can jeopardise the area's reputation where the inhabitants reside, triggering a stigmatisation process. Moser and McIlwaine (2004) refer to this as '*area stigma*' in Colombia and Guatemala by exploring the meaning of violence and insecurity. As such, in this research, area stigma refers to exercising power by containing communities within specific areas, such as the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, through socially constructed limits. It is worth reaffirming that the social construction of identity takes place in contexts characterised by continuous conflict and power relations, shaped by history, geography, economy, politics, religious revelations

and collective memory (Lamont *et al.*, 2016). The process of globalisation has generated, on the one hand, new identities as a result of the opening of borders and, on the other, asserting one's identity, on the part of certain groups that refuse to abandon their cultural manifestations such as the Afro-descendants and the Hazaras. This makes it essential to consider the experiences and subaltern knowledge of the local economy, environment and culture, giving way to understanding the notion of areas.

Looking more closely at area stigma, in conflict and post-conflict situations, the victims endure symbolic dimensions of stigmatisation, which leads to normalising stigma (Pécaut, 1999; Oslender, 2007; Piquard, 2016). On the contrary, Mckenzie (2012:471; 2015) noted that St Ann's residents shared a strong sense of belonging to the area with *'strong systems, resources, and social capital'*. As such, adding the notion of the area to the theoretical model will help understand the collective space of life where the communities develop their customs, traditions, ways of thinking and feeling. This strengthens cultural manifestations and the relationship that communities maintain with the area.

It will be interesting to explore the stigma of areas and communities, focusing on the external markers, such as the ethnicities of the communities, through the theoretical dimensions of visibility (Jones *et al*., 1984). For example, in Colombia, certain areas are stigmatised by conflict, such as Trujillo and Florida, which were distinct red zones (Piquard, 2014). Outsiders fear social interactions with members of groups from the red zones, mainly prevailing between the Afro-descendant and Indigenous groups. However, it also pertains to farmers, coffee producers and internally displaced people (IDPs) who fear being identified by the area they belong to (Piquard, 2014:2016). As highlighted by Wong (2008), the displaced communities from the rural areas in Colombia are often stigmatised as sympathisers of armed groups and seen as a threat to the host community. They often face persecution if they cannot show legal identification cards upon request (Shultz *et al*., 2014). Consequently, such communities are denied access or transit to specific areas limited by 'invisible borders', leading to further exclusion and marginalisation (Piquard, 2016).

In keeping with the information presented above, Lamont *et al*. (2014) observe that one of the implications of stigmatisation is that it contributes to the unequal distribution of resources. This can contribute to the legitimisation of stigmatisation of people, communities, and areas, which then gives rise to a '*process of normalisation*' (Piquard,

2016:69). This is why the stigmatised people and communities '*so often accept and even internalise the stigma that they are subjected to*' (Parker & Aggleton, 2003:18).

To recap, this section focused on where the stigma comes from, how it developed as a body of research and the significant critiques against using the concept. In the next section, I will develop the theoretical model further.

4.5   Processes of Stigmatisation: Application in this study

Goffman's and Wacquant's work has served as an inspiration and starting point for the realisation of a multitude of empirical works and conceptual frameworks for understanding the processes of stigmatisation. Similarly, this study will focus on the stigma of areas and communities as the research intends to understand the processes and forms of stigmatisation experienced daily by the populations. The contemporary research on stigma has undergone essential shifts towards stigmatisation as territorial, social, cultural and structural processes. However, many of these frameworks have neglected the perspective of the stigmatised communities and lack focus on the existing social inequalities at the individual and community levels that are different, such as physical appearances and cultural manifestations.

Focusing on the communities and their social interactions corresponds to the elements treated by Goffman (1963) as the characteristics on which the processes of stigmatisation as well as the elements that come to influence perception. Concerning the community level, it is, for its part, formed of interactions of people stigmatised with social groups (communities, social networks, families) or even institutions or organisations with which they have relationships. Social networks can reduce the stigma they suffer to the extent that the possibility of mutual support would mitigate the impact of the negative judgments of which they are the object. Most of the research examines the stigma associated with one circumstance at a time, in an '*independent existential way*' (Link & Phelan, 2001:377) and the interaction between the different sources of stigmatisation (Parker & Aggleton, 2003). For this reason, it seems more helpful to refer to the concept as processes of stigmatisation.

Furthermore, this explanation of stigma provides a critical analytic lens for understanding the processes of stigmatisation, which are dependent on social, economic and political power (Link & Phelan, 2014). Thus, focusing on the agents of stigmatisation and the

intersecting stigmatised identities of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, the concept of stigma is particularly pertinent to this study. Crucially, the shared experience of displacement amongst these groups significantly contributes to the genesis of stigma. This stems from the specific stigma associated with individuals displaced by conflict and the perceived threat they pose. The role of historical displacement in shaping stigma is paramount, highlighting how stigma is produced within social systems and perpetuated at individual and group levels. This analysis aligns with intersectionality framework by recognising the interconnectedness of various forms of discrimination and their impact on marginalised communities (Crenshaw, 1991). As Friedman *et al*. (2022:5) noted, '*stigma is a social process and a system of demeaning cultural distinctions that often originates at higher levels of the social system but which is also manifested, experienced, maintained, and reproduced within individuals and small groups*'.

The issue of power is embedded in the apparatus of the state, further stigmatising marginalised groups. Social inclusion and exclusion can be envisioned as instruments of stigma, instilling a problem of more significant concern in people living on the margins and contributing to power and control. This can also be seen through the misuse of power in the light of military strategies, further stigmatising particular groups, such as in the case of Colombia, where specific populations are stigmatised as guerrilla collaborators and obtain control of land, property and people (Bouvier, 2016). Similarly, in Pakistan, the Islamisation of the 1980s led the militant groups to persecute the Hazaras for their religious affiliation (see Chapter-2).

As Philips (2011:181) notes, for the Hazaras, '*belonging to an oppressed minority, their memories are historically rooted in modern Afghanistan's founding violence*'. As such, examining the stigmatisation of their cultural manifestations is vital. In this regard, it is essential to highlight that for Goffman (1963), stigmatisation occurs when a person possesses in a real way, or according to the gaze of others, some characteristic that produces a negative or devalued social identity within a specific context and that affects their full social acceptance, which shapes how individuals are seen and how they see themselves. In this way, '*we construct a stigma theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents*' (Goffman, 1963:14).

Based on the above, stigmatisation of people assigned by the dominant culture negatively affects their identity, social relationships and other vital aspects of their lives (Major &

O'Brien, 2005; Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). In this regard, the external markers play a role in the attitudes of others, which are consequences of a sense of threat that arises in the face of something unknown that is not easily understood, especially when it also threatens the values, ideas or norms that prevail in that specific society.

This brings us closer to understanding the systems of meanings that individuals, groups or communities have to interpret, make sense and communicate with the world around them. By this, I mean the social experience (political, economic, social organisation and culture) that affect their socialisation processes and shape their trajectories of exclusion and social inclusion. This approach assumes that identity construction is through a reflex, dialectical and conflictive process in which stigma plays a fundamental role. In this sense, it can impact social boundaries, collective identity, social networks and sense of belonging within the territories of the minority groups. Because stigma is relational, originating from interactions with others in society, stigmatised individuals frequently develop resilience strategies to manage and cope with the stigma they encounter. These strategies enable them to navigate social interactions and relationships whilst preserving their self-esteem and overall well-being, even in the face of stigma. These unique processes provide the backdrop to explore groups' responses to stigmatisation, for which it is essential to examine the strategies of resilience.

4.6   Resilience: Concept and Definition

Understanding the responses to stigmatisation is only possible through understanding the interactions between the social phenomenon of stigmatisation and the distinctive social and cultural environments of the stigmatised groups. In delving into the exploration of stigma and resilience, it is essential to situate these concepts within a broader frame that elucidates the rationale behind their focus. As noted earlier, stigma encapsulates a multifaceted process stemming from societal power dynamics, labelling, negative stereotypes, and discrimination (Link & Phelan, 2001). Stigmatisation often intersects with other forms of marginalisation, such as race, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status, exacerbating its effects and perpetuating inequalities (Paradies *et al.*, 2015). As such, social identities and systems of power cannot be understood in isolation but must be analysed in relation to one another to grasp the full complexity of discrimination and inequality (Crenshaw, 1991).

In light of these considerations, resilience emerges as a focal point for investigation, offering insights into how individuals and communities navigate and respond to the challenges of stigma. As conceptualised by Masten and Narayan (2012), resilience encompasses not only the ability to withstand adversity but also the capacity for growth, adaptation, and positive transformation in the face of adversity. By examining resilience within the context of stigma, we gain a deeper understanding of how individuals and communities mobilise their resources, coping mechanisms, and social support networks to mitigate the detrimental effects of stigma and foster well-being (Wexler & DiFluvio, 2009).

Therefore, the focus on stigma and resilience in this research is driven by recognising their profound implications for individuals' and communities' experiences and outcomes. Given that the study aims to seek an understanding of the strategies put in place as a response to stigmatisation, I will first define the concept of resilience. I will develop the theoretical framework of resilience as a response to stigmatisation to understand absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies.

The disciplines interested in resilience have increased to make it a transdisciplinary activity par excellence. Advancing through psychology, with multiple origins and meanings, the definitions and conceptualisation of resilience have received extensive attention in the humanitarian and development context, shifting the focus from the risk approach to the resilience focus (Rutter, 2012). From an ecological perspective, resilience is the capacity of an ecological system to absorb changes and maintain its existence after being subjected to adverse circumstances. Later, the authors add that the system must maintain its structure and function to be considered resilient because ecological systems are dynamic and continuously evolve (Olsson *et al.*, 2015). From this perspective, resilience has been applied to studying how groups/communities come forward resilient after natural catastrophes such as floods, droughts, earthquakes, etc.

However, there is a substantial critique against using the concept of resilience from the neoliberal understanding. Chandler and Reid's (2016) contribution stands out in the analysis of the ideological nature of resilience. According to the authors, the 'straitjacket' built through neoliberal discourses on resilience. It has turned their human subjectivity into political subjectivity. The primary trend in the academic debate is likely to view resilience as subscribing to a neoliberal perspective of how individuals and communities behave. Walker

and Cooper (2011:154) remark that '*the success of [resilience] in colonising multiple arenas of governance is due to its intuitive ideological fit with a neoliberal philosophy of complex adaptive systems*'. In addition, Ungar (2008) explores resilience from a cross-cultural perspective, highlighting how resilience manifests differently in various cultural contexts. He discusses the importance of cultural factors in understanding resilience and emphasises the need for culturally sensitive approaches to resilience research and interventions. The article provides valuable insights into the complexities of resilience across different cultures, shedding light on its diverse manifestations and implications for practice.

According to Zebrowski (2008), one of the most valuable approaches to understanding resilience is to view it not through its assertions about the changing nature of security threats but rather as a sign of the evolving organisational structure of advanced liberalism. Conversely, Evans and Reid (2014) argue that neoliberal models of government are required for people experiencing poverty to stay resilient. These schools of thought maintain that contemporary neoliberalism and resiliency are compatible, notably in their shift of accountability onto people and societies (Joseph, 2018; Foucault, 2008). On the contrary, Clark (2022), utilising semi-structured interviews in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Colombia and Uganda with victims of conflict-related sexual violence, examines how 'everyday' resilience is represented inside and across vastly different social ecologies. Similarly, Hopwood and O'Byrne (2022) argue the importance of being resilient in 'everyday' life. Whereas, amongst refugee women entrepreneurs in the UK, Adeeko & Treanor (2022) investigate how these women engage in dynamic identity work to reinvent themselves as entrepreneurs to counteract the stigma associated with their refugee status.

Michael Rutter (2006:2), one of the prominent theorists in the field of resilience, defines it as '*an interactive concept that is concerned with the combination of serious risk experiences and a relatively positive psychological outcome despite those experiences*'. Another conceptualisation of resilience as an interrelation between elements is that of Edith Grotberg (1995:4), who defines the concept as '*the human capacity to face, overcome and be strengthened by or even transformed by the adversities of life*'. Moreover, the strategy is shaped by the agency of individuals and communities, frequently viewed as an activator of resilience, focusing on the actions of the individuals/communities when faced with adversity (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:971). Considering the populations' agency, the study

will focus on the three forms of resilience strategies, i.e., absorptive, adaptive and transformative, as I explore next.

4.7 Absorptive Strategies

Absorptive strategies refer to thoughts and actions that enable people to handle difficult situations immediately as a first response. Jeans *et al*. (2017:3) define absorptive strategy as *'ensuring stability because it aims to prevent or limit the negative impact of shocks on individuals, households, communities, businesses and authorities*.' Folkman and Lazarus (1985) evaluate a complete series of thoughts and actions that are carried out to manage a stressful situation, covering at least eight different absorptive strategies (Table-5).

Table 5: Absorptive Strategies

1) **Confrontation**: attempts to directly solve the situation via direct, aggressive, or potentially risky actions.
2) **Planning**: think and develop mechanisms to solve the problem.
3) **Distance**: attempts to get away from the problem, not think about it, or prevent it from affecting you.
4) **Self-control**: efforts to control one's feelings and emotional responses.
5) **Acceptance of responsibility**: recognise the role that one had at the origin or maintenance of the problem.
6) **Escape-avoidance**: use of an unproductive unreal thought (e.g., '*I wish this situation had disappeared*') or strategies such as eating, drinking, using drugs or taking medication.
7) **Positive re-evaluation**: perceive the possible positive aspects that the stressful situation has or has had.
8) **Search for social support**: go to other people (friends, relatives, etc.) to seek help, information or also understanding and emotional support.

Folkman & Lazarus (1985)

The main absorptive functions have been proposed by Lazarus and Folkman (1986):

(i) **Problem-focused** is aimed at facing the stressful situation directed to the problem, which translates into limiting and defining the problem, searching for information, considering alternatives, choosing solutions, exploring resources, etc.

(ii) **Emotion-focused** is aimed at regulating the subject's emotional response and is responsible for reducing the degree of emotional disturbance, such as positive thinking, denial, avoidance, selective perception, distancing, minimisation, evasion and extraction of positive values of adverse events between others.

However, there are also negative absorptive strategies in the form of normalisation, such as those found in Colombia for the youth who have never lived outside of the conflict (Piquard, 2016). Normalisation can also be positive in absorption, allowing one to keep going. Negative absorption can be a short-term decision that allows survival but jeopardises long-term strategies. Foucault (1977:183) explains normalisation as a powerful feature of modern society used to '*compare, differentiate, hierarchise, homogenise and exclude*'. Normalisation can be seen as the by-product of symbolic dimensions of stigma, a process of unselfconscious violent behaviour of social structures normalising discriminatory and dominating practices (Foucault, 1980).

Various investigations have documented absorptive strategies in people who have been exposed to situations of violence. Specifically, in a study conducted by Kline and Mone (2003) with young victims of violence in Sierra Leone, the researchers observed three characteristics in young people who presented adequate absorptive strategies: they maintained an intact sense of purpose, able to approach the traumatic memories with understanding and in a careful way; and thus, regulating their behaviour, affection and effectively protected against loneliness. In the case of maintaining purpose in life, these young people had significant self-satisfaction. They recognised the value and meaning of life, thinking that the conflict had not destroyed this. They also controlled their emotions, behaviour, and cognition about the conflict, investing more time in educational, vocational, and social activities. Finally, they established positive relationships with others who helped them in situations of hopelessness and despair. This makes it essential to explore the adaptive strategies that fall within the resilience strategies and move beyond the notion of absorption.

4.8   Adaptive Strategies

According to Berry (1997:13), adaptation within the acculturation framework '*refers to changes that occur in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands. These adaptations can occur immediately, or they can be extended over the longer term*'. Here, the focus is on the adaptation strategies employed by individuals and groups to respond to adversity. However, there is a lack of research on minority groups' adaptive strategies who encounter processes of stigmatisation in the context of turbulent environments and forced displacement.

Firstly, religion stands out as one of the most frequently mentioned adaptive strategies. This entails seeking spiritual guidance, emulating others as spiritual role models in dealing with challenges, searching for meaning in difficult situations and utilising religion as a form of distraction (Wachholtz & Pearce, 2009). Similarly, Sachs *et al.* (2008) note that distraction from adversity by drawing on religion is also used as a strategy, where people try to keep their attention away from the problem by thinking about other things or doing some activity. On the contrary, the research conducted on the Hazara community in Oxford found that education was an adaptive strategy rather than religion (Hashmi, 2016). This highlights that such strategies are indeed an interlinked process where the place of the given society plays a significant role in the strategies employed by the communities. To elaborate further, the research on the Building Sumud Project in Palestine identified several contributing factors to the locus of control: positive and negative absorptive strategies, adaptations, and future perceptions that included education, art and communication (Piquard, 2014).

Additionally, many variables can interfere with the process and outcome of adaptation (Cohen & Edwards, 1989). For instance, one documented adaptive strategy involves reassessing the initial perception of the situation, learning from challenges, identifying its positive aspects, building tolerance towards the problem, and fostering positive thoughts to address it (Gantiva *et al.*, 2010). For this reason, an important construct is the locus of control, which refers to the degree to which an individual believes in controlling their life and the events that influence them. The concept is widely used in psychology, and it affects the point of view of an individual and the way they interact with the environment. The locus of control as a personality trait was proposed by Julian Rotter (1954; 1966; 1990) through the Theory of Social Learning. According to Rotter (1954), human behaviour occurs through continuous interaction between cognitive, behavioural, and environmental determinants. Therefore, a person's perception of control or non-control about the events that occur around them is essential for their own lives (Bandura, 1997; 2006). There are two extremes of the continuum: internal and external control locus.

> *'When a reinforcement is perceived … as the result of luck, chance, fate, as under the control of powerful others, or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him…we have labelled this a belief in external control. If the person perceives that the event is contingent upon his own behaviour or his own relatively permanent characteristics, we have termed this a belief in internal control'.*

> Rotter (1966:1)

Understanding an individual's locus of control can provide insight into their resilience and adaptive responses to adversity. In the next section, I will delve into transformative resilience strategies.

4.9   Transformative Resilience Strategies

Walker *et al.* (2004:5) define transformative resilience as '*the capacity to create a fundamentally new system when ecological, economic, or social structures make the existing system untenable*'. Transformative resilience strategies are also shaped by the dimensions of individualism or collectivism that can take various forms, such as in-group solidarity, cohesiveness, claiming cultural membership, and raising awareness (Allport, 1954; Lamont *et al.*,2013; Tyler, 2018). In contexts of forced displacement and turbulent environments such as Pakistan and Colombia, when individuals and communities bounce back, they keep the root causes intact. As such, rather than bouncing back, the individuals and communities transform their environment to address the root causes through a transformation to try and find a sustainable solution (Piquard, 2017). So, in both contexts (Pakistan/Colombia), the classic definition of resilience as bouncing back or bouncing back better does not apply; instead, it is the transformation of the environment (Pasqualotto *et al.*, 2015). Given the nature of this study, the transformative resilience strategies will focus on the cultural manifestations of the communities as a response to stigmatisation processes.

In essence, cultural manifestations can be viewed as knowledge constructed historically by cultural groups. Embedded in the collective memory of its members to provide resources of understanding and explanation, ethical initiation of actions and meanings of life, cultural manifestations stimulate a sense of belonging and reinforce the attachment to the place. Cultural manifestations allow the accumulation of meanings and social interpretations of a particular culture. These are cultural forms of communication, highly codified, that tend to link people together in communities, generating a shared identification. In Turner's (1977:63) sense, culture is processual as it is assigned meanings through '*ceremonial action*', where transformative resilience strategies '*to sudden and persisting environmental changes*' can be found.

In the context of forced displacement, cultural manifestations continue in the new environment, such as the Hazaras who still commemorate *Ashura* in Oxford (Hashmi,

2016). These strategies have been widely documented as factors that contribute to the transformation of the environment to aversive events (Bonanno, 2004). It should be considered that the cultural manifestations embedded throughout the generations may also serve as a catalyst for transformative resilience. For example, research conducted on community resilience in Chile by González-Muzzio (2013) confirmed the relationships between the quality of the interactions and interrelations of group members and the possibility of a resilient process. Populations in these countries that faced environmental or socio-political crises proved more likely to overcome and rebuild than other groups. This is because they maintained an organised participation around community networks, established institutions, and the natural and constructed environment of community interaction.

Edith Grotberg (1995) agrees that resilience, to develop, needs the interrelation of essential protective factors to contribute positively. These come from intersectional levels: social capital, personal strength and the enabling environment. In this study, I will focus on the social capital of the four communities as one of the protective factors of resilience. Similarly, Turan *et al*. (2019:1) observe that such '*intersectional approaches also highlight protective factors, such as social support, resistance, and adaptive coping strategies, that emerge when people with similar identities unite*'. With this, the behaviours related to resilience are individual expressions that concern human potential, constituted in the interaction of the person with their natural and human environment (Rutter, 1987; Stainton *et al*., 2019). At the same time, the construct of community resilience originally developed by Suárez Ojeda (2001) refers to community characteristics as exchange practices that seek shared well-being through social cohesion and solidarity actions for the common good. This description fits perfectly with the theoretical framework, so adding cultural manifestations as a protective factor for community resilience will be an essential element to investigate in this study.

Cultural manifestations are the set of expressions and feelings of a community that can be tangible (typical foods or artistic expressions) or intangible (legends and myths, musical rhythms or dances). Clark's (2022) Sentient Ecology Framework for resilience offers a comprehensive perspective that goes beyond traditional ecological models by emphasising the interconnectedness of human beings and the natural world. This framework provides valuable insights into fostering resilience within ecosystems and human communities,

promoting sustainable relationships with the environment. This dynamic process of resilience (Rutter, 2012; Stainton *et al*., 2019) is best explained through the ecological-transactional model of Bronfenbrenner (1987), who recognises that this dynamism of resilience is susceptible to temporal changes, where the environment and the individual interact, allowing the person to adapt. It is based on the fact that the individual is immersed in an ecological framework (Figure-3) formed by different levels interacting.

The ecological perspective of resilience extends to recognising the ability of people to organise themselves collectively. Its particular characteristic is transforming adversity into personal, relational and collective growth by strengthening the existing social commitment and developing new relationships with collective actions. In this sense, it will be essential to explore the social networks and the social conditions of the areas in both sites of the study to understand if these conditions help in generating mutual support and protection mechanisms that allow for better development of resilience strategies that I will discuss later (Turner, 1969; 1977; 1982).

Figure 3: Ecological Framework of Resilience

Ecosystem: Where public policies, legislation favour the promotion of resilience

Macrosystem: The relations with the community, its norms and cultural patterns

Meso system: Connection between the structures of the individual's microsystem (e.g. participation and interactions within the neighbourhood)

Exosystem: Larger social system (e.g. relationships with the extended family, community services, etc).

Microsystem: Relationships and interactions with immediate surroundings (e.g. family, neighbours, etc).

Source: Brofenbrenner (1987)

4.10   Social Capital

The first systematic analysis of the concept of social capital was conceptualised by Pierre Bourdieu (1986:248), who defines it as '*the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more of less institutionalised*

relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition'. Constituting a social differentiation mechanism and class reproduction, Bourdieu (1986) proposes the construction of sociability in a double sense: objective relationships (of social fields) and incorporated structures (the habitus or the dispositions of the actors) to create resources associated with participation in groups and social networks. The study's approach to resilience aligns closely with Bourdieu's (1986) social capital framework, which emphasises the importance of social relationships and networks in providing individuals with resources and support. Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of social, cultural, and symbolic capital offer valuable insights into how marginalised communities facing stigmatisation develop strategies to withstand adversity.

Firstly, the study acknowledges the pivotal role of social networks and resources in enhancing resilience. Drawing upon Bourdieu's (1986) work, it recognises that marginalised communities, such as the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, rely on their social networks to access crucial resources like job opportunities, educational support, and emotional assistance, bolstering their capacity to withstand stigmatisation. Secondly, the study highlights the significance of cultural capital in resilience strategies employed by the communities. Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital, encompassing knowledge, skills, and cultural resources, illuminates how communities draw upon their cultural heritage and collective identity to strengthen resilience. By tapping into their cultural traditions rooted in historical resistance to oppression, such as the Afro-descendant community's resilience practices in Colombia, marginalised groups reaffirm their agency and fortify themselves against stigmatising narratives. Through these resilience strategies, communities accumulate symbolic capital, challenging stereotypes and reshaping perceptions to promote social inclusion and foster collective action and solidarity.

In addition, the concept of 'embeddedness', introduced by Granovetter (1985), is a network of reciprocal commitments that fosters trust and kindness in small groups and is particularly relevant here (Polanyi, 1957; Waldinger, 1995). As noted by Xin & Qin (2011:1), the ability to attain resources *'is contained in interpersonal relationships: social capital is the result of embeddedness'*. Kitsos *et al.* (2019:11), on examining the role of local industrial embeddedness on economic resilience, suggest that *'embedded systems seem to enjoy the positive externalities of complexity that are geographically constrained'*. As such, it will be

interesting to explore the role of embeddedness in the resilience of the communities within their areas.

Moreover, advancing in the context of rational choice theory, Coleman (1990) emphasises the power of social capital as a link between actor and structure. This identifies it as the set of socio-structural resources that constitute an individual asset, interacting to strengthen institutions of communities' social capital. At the same time, it defines it in functional terms, raising its conceptual value that identifies specific aspects of the social structure by their functions, whilst '*actors establish relations purposefully and continue by providing some kind of benefits*' (Coleman, 1990:105).

Putnam (1993; 2001) defines social capital as a deposit or communal reserve corresponding to the set of intangible factors (values, norms, attitudes, trust, networks) that exist within a community and facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefits. As such, community-based organisations increase social trust amongst the individuals who form them, creating a social environment that demands and promotes greater responsiveness and accountability to the common good. In this context, social capital is seen as an asset accumulated historically by a community from the organised action of its members. This is based on specific social norms of cooperation, internalising values such as trust, solidarity and reciprocity and the existence of networks of engagement that make up a substantial social fabric (Mckenzie, 2012; 2015; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Conversely, Mouw (2003) argues there is not enough evidence that the use of one's social networks has an effect on wages or on the occupational prestige of the jobs that are found, nor that the use of informal channels is better, by itself than other ways, especially formal ones.

Social capital is expressed in three forms of relationship (bonding/bridging/linking), which depend on the different nature of social groups in a community. These intertwined networks can also be applied to the network ties of families or kinship groups which go beyond the borders and the ways of life that arise from migratory movements that serve as a survival strategy. In fact, '*transnational connections have considerable economic, socio-cultural and political impacts on migrants, their families and collective groups, and the dual (or more!) localities in which they variably dwell*' (Vertovec, 2001:575). This implies that households are divided into different countries and have two places of residence. For example, Monsutti (2008) found that the Afghans' economic, environmental and forced migration, particularly the Hazaras, has produced transnational ties over centuries, further

strengthening their culture and identity. Transnational networks have also instigated transnational activism through institutions and actors in the form of social movements in Colombia for the Afro-descendant communities (Paschel, 2011; 2013). Similarly, for the Hazaras, the social movements giving rise to political groups originating from the epicentre of *Shia* religious education centres based in Iran and Iraq highlight the importance of social capital beyond territories. In the next section, I develop the theoretical model of response strategies.

4.11   Response Strategies: Application in this Study

Resilience in this study is seen as '*systematic self-help*' (Milliken, 2013:1), reflecting the conception of strategies at the individual and community levels (Hopwood & O'Byrne, 2022). These strategies activated by the agency, amongst others, of the individuals and communities include (i) absorptive: to absorb a negative external impact without suffering consequences and with a short-term impact; (ii) adaptive: may also need to perform particular adaptations to be able to maintain against impacts typically of greater power over medium-term period; and (iii) transformative: can finally be transformed. This has a longer-term impact, arising from the absorptive and adaptive strategies of transforming the environment. The process goes from a short-term to a long-term, reactive reaction to a proactive and defensive response. It also goes from an individual reaction to a societal reaction.

Focusing on the absorptive strategies, they are activated by stresses, strains and hassles, which can have lasting consequences of beneficial or detrimental nature. The function of absorption is oriented to adapt the individual to the changes experienced by individual/s in their environment so that they can give an adequate response, either problem-focused or emotion-focused. Wacquant (2008) has since created a framework for the submissive and reactive responses to stigmatisation, including individual absorptive strategies of lateral denigration and hiding their address (Wacquant *et al.,* 2014). In addition, other studies have analysed how inhabitants from various stigmatised areas respond to area stigmatisation (Slater & Anderson, 2012; Garbin & Millington, 2012; Kirkness, 2014). At the same time, Fleming *et al.* (2013) found that individual absorptive strategies as a response to stigmatisation by African Americans included confronting, deflecting conflict, and managing the self.

Meanwhile, for adaptive strategy, the focus is on the strategies that the individuals and groups employ to respond to adversity. Both internal elements (habitual absorptive styles and certain personality traits) and external factors (financial resources, social support, and the performance of other concurrent stressors) can influence an individual's response to the different forms of stigma. For example, Wacquant *et al.* (2014) have noted 'pride' as an adaptive strategy, applicable at both individual and community levels. This is where the locus of control comes into play as a personality variable representing the attribution that a person makes regarding whether their efforts are contingent on their behaviour. For instance, individuals often turn to religion as a means of understanding challenging aspects of life, such as death, illness, suffering, and the meaning of life. Moreover, having experience in a formal or non-formal education setting enhances the learning and cognitive aspects of an adaptive strategy.

Using a comparative design through in-depth interviews, Guetzkow and Fast (2016) demonstrate the role of symbolic boundaries in shaping the stigma process and responses to stigmatisation. Highlighting the structural, historical, and political bases of cultural perceptions of the difference between the two marginalised communities in Israel, the study found that the Palestinians regarded their ethno-religious solidarity and education as paramount as a means of collective advancement. Meanwhile, the Ethiopian Jews sometimes stood up against stereotypes aside from frequently practising silence and demonstrated their competence through hard work, thereby claiming equality within the Jewish society.

Moving to transformative resilience strategies, cultural manifestations are fundamental to understanding the guidelines that explain the qualities of the network of meanings. At the community level, resilience reflects community-wide actions the populations employ as transformative resilience strategies. This can be understood through the Palestinian notion of *sumud* [steadfastness], '*an ideological theme and strategy that first emerged among the Palestinian people that aims to foster perseverance*' (UNDP, 2016:6). For instance, Ryan (2015:300) argues that *sumud 'can be used to … challenge the logic of framing resilience within the language of neoliberalism*'.

Cultural manifestations can be seen as *Ashura*[31] processions during *Muharram*[32] in Pakistan. To this day, the Karbala[33] narrative is still used to resonate with the emblem of martyrdom. Similarly, the music festivals in Colombia[34] are the cultural manifestations of the Afro-descendants for visibility and recognition as members of the society. Folke *et al.* (2010:5) highlight that the elements of transformative resilience include '*actor groups, and networks, learning platforms, collective action*' amongst other resilient attributes. For instance, one of the transformative resilience strategies identified in Colombia concerning land was through the formation of farming and Indigenous associations and projects directed at tourism and local farming (Piquard, 2016). In other instances, transformative resilience strategies include resisting territorial stigmatisation (Maestri 2017; Tyler, 2013;2015), claiming membership within the dominant group in Israel (Mizarchi & Herzog, 2013), educating the ignorant (Fleming *et al.,* 2013). As such, these insights will be valuable for this research to understand how the populations use various resilience strategies in turbulent environments such as Colombia and Pakistan.

Moreover, the strength of the relationships within the community is an essential component of resilience and serves as the foundational support structure for the expansion of any community's social capital. The emphasis should, therefore, be placed on the importance of reciprocity, of bonds between individuals, of networks of trust, of cooperation, all the elements that can be established in lasting, formal or informal social relations and bring an advantage to the individual and the community to which they belong to. This is where the notion of 'embeddedness' comes in, a web of mutual obligations that build trust and altruistic behaviour in close-knit communities (Polanyi, 1957; Waldinger, 1995). Amongst the Hazaras, their social organisation of ethnic solidarity, bonds of kinship and reciprocity reflects the '*web-like character that explains their remarkable resilience, which has been repeatedly confirmed by its capacity to resist and survive threats to its existence*' (Maley, 1998:5). These elements of reciprocity, kinship and trust through embeddedness play an essential role in the formation of social capital. This sheds a

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[31] It is a day of mourning the martyrdom of the grandson of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The 10th day of Muharram is called the Day of Ashura.

[32] Muharram is the first month of the Islamic Calendar.

[33] Karbala is a city in Iraq. The Karbala narrative refers to the Battle of Karbala, which took place on the 10th of Muharram.

[34] E.g., the annual Petronio Alvarez Music Festival in Cartagena. Carnival de Barranquilla: Recognised by UNESCO as one of the 'World Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity' for the safeguarding or promotion of the cultural spaces, expressions and practices.

fascinating light on the communities under investigation, as both the Hazaras and the Afro-descendant communities reside within their areas. Although this reflects their group solidarity, it will be essential to investigate how social capital affects the communities socially excluded from society.

It is precisely the notion of resilience from an individual and community perspective pursued in this study as a response to the different forms and processes of stigmatisation faced by the four communities. Butcher *et al.* (2019:13), in an academic literature review of resilient communities, remind us that '*community resilience is both a characteristic and a process, it recognises how individuals embedded within communities experience enhanced collective resilience through increased access to resources and capacity to act together*'. In this context, societies provide protection mechanisms, acting as buffers in adversity (Rutter, 1987). Here, we can remind ourselves about the cultural manifestations of a community/group, who, in the face of everyday stigmatisation, build trenches of resistance and survival through the cultural materials to build a new identity and transform the social structure (Lamont *et al.*, 2013).

4.12   Conclusion

The chapter presented the theoretical framework of the research by exploring the processes of stigmatisation and the possible strategies of resilience. In doing so, I analysed that stigma is a critical element, producing and reproducing social inequalities and determining vital opportunities within society. I considered the three important aspects of stigma: stigmatising attributes, stigmatisation processes and stigmatising dimensions, which are the social interactions in specific contexts where discrimination against stigmatised people occurs. However, the representation of stigma is constructed in each society in the historical, political and cultural context (Lamont *et al.,* 2016). The dominant groups have constructed different stigmas (determining the characteristics or marks of the stigmatised group and associating some stereotypes and prejudices) that have established the borders, the limits between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal'. Therefore, it can be said that a stigma is a differentiating characteristic or mark. This negative or abnormal attribute reduces the person who possesses it to inferior attributes, unable to fully participate in the social and civic engagement of the society. Thus, the theoretical framework focused on the

theoretical dimensions of stigmatisation for which stigma of area and individuals/ communities are important elements.

The strategies put in place as a response to the processes of stigmatisation can be conceptualised through the resilience strategies, which include absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience. Within these strategies are the elements of the internal and external locus of control of individuals, the cultural manifestations, and the social capital of communities. This implies that the concept of resilience is an evolving and dynamic process. It is a strategy to face adverse experiences by resisting and strengthening them. This strategy is not innate or acquired but is the consequence of a process of which individual, family, social, and cultural factors are part.

Therefore, despite the fact that resilience is presented individually, it is mediated by the interaction of the individual within the environment in which it functions. In this sense, it is perceived that the socio-community context also becomes relevant in its formation. This is precisely why it becomes even more relevant to understand the strategies of resilience, the components involved, and their relation to the uniqueness of the minority groups under study. In summary, the multidimensionality of this term is evident since, on the one hand, it involves individual, family, and community factors as well as societal, systematic, and environmental factors. On the other hand, situations of adversity are never static but change and, in turn, require changes in resiliency. Likewise, the complex character of resilience indicates that it is more than the ability to adapt to change since it also involves transformation, which encompasses the capacity for learning, innovation, renewal and reorganisation.

Within the context of forced migration and turbulent environments, the extant scholarship has largely overlooked the concept of area and community stigma and resilience strategies. Addressing this gap, the study draws on multi-sited research with the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants in Pakistan and Colombia to examine the stigma-producing agents as reflected in Chapters 2/3, how community stigma is experienced and embedded in daily life and the resilience strategies.

CHAPTER 5: Methodology

5.1   Introduction

The chapter begins with the reasoning for deciding on a qualitative approach to conduct this study. Then, I unfold the approach to the field, justifying the multi-site case study design, the paradigm most suited for this study. I discuss the constructivist grounded theory and employ it as a methodology. I follow this by justifying the logic of choosing the two areas in Pakistan and Colombia as a multi-site case study. This leads to the research design in Pakistan and Colombia, followed by the sampling technique, utilising snowball sampling to initially identify the participants and theoretical sampling that directed me towards the right participants, depending on the targeted populations. In the next section, I discuss the data collection methods, i.e., semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, unstructured observation and focus group discussions. Later, I highlight the theory generation by utilising constructivist grounded theory tools such as coding and categorising, memoing, clustering and freewriting that helped in the data analysis conducted throughout the research process. Subsequently, I address the influence of the gatekeepers/interpreters. Next, I address the complexities of researching in volatile environments. Finally, I provide insight into ethical considerations and the quality and relevance of the findings.

5.2   Methodological Approach

This study takes a qualitative approach that recognises the perceptions and meanings that participants attribute to their experiences as part of knowledge production (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The characteristic of qualitative research seems the most pertinent to approach the study's objectives due to its inductive nature and ability to adapt and evolve, as it is building knowledge about the reality studied (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). It is an approach that seeks to describe, explore and understand social phenomena, with objectives not determined by probability but by explaining the characteristics and relationships between the phenomena and the perceptions and feelings. According to the above, the selection of the participants in qualitative research does not focus on the

number of individuals, cases or situations but on the selection under specific criteria coherent with the research objectives (Suter, 2012).

Through the chosen qualitative approach, it is possible to understand the different forms and processes of stigmatisation and their impacts on social life. As such, it is possible to recognise, in the two specific contexts, the construction of a reality that the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants have experienced. In addition, this approach helps to understand the reality around the relationships between individuals and how they apply it in their lived experiences, which is why it requires understanding how the field and fieldwork are defined.

5.3   The field, case study design and paradigm

In the field, the co-production of knowledge transpires when a researcher conducts the fieldwork with particular people and learns from the participants through conversations, jointly creating new insights. The collective production of knowledge allowed me, as a researcher, to acquire knowledge. The researcher is constantly engaged in such encounters, which are part of defining what the field is. However, the field is not just one city or an administrative boundary; it is the particular relations the researcher is engaged in. Agreeing with Gupta & Ferguson (1997), the field does not necessarily have to be place-based or a territory but a spatial unit whose boundaries are continuously negotiated and reconstructed. In this study, the field does not refer to a geographical space. This enclosure defines itself from its natural limits[35] but as a continuity of encounters across space and time with a diverse range of people.

The field in this study consists of a multi-site case study that helped to uncover a diversity of processes of stigmatisation and the populations' responses. A case study investigates a phenomenon from which one wishes to learn within its everyday context. One of the seminal methodologists, Yin (1984:23), defines the case study research method as '*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used*'. Considering the robustness of the multiple-case design (Yin, 1984), I could understand the multiple perspectives of the participants in

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[35] Check points, streets, walls, areas.

different contexts with various interpretations of realities influenced by their social, local and historical aspects (Stake, 1995; Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

As such, the paradigm most suited to this study is constructivism[36], which captures multiple perspectives of both groups in understanding the processes of stigmatisation and the populations' responses. In this sense, the researcher and the participants construct the knowledge of stigmatisation and responses when interacting with their environment. Considering the multi-site case study design, in contrast to Yin's (2009) positivist/post-positivist paradigm for approaching case study, Stake (1995) approaches this method through an interpretive/constructivist paradigm. Constructivism deals with the proposal that knowledge is not as absolute and accumulated since phenomena are constantly evolving in the social sphere (Gergen & Gergen, 2007). Next, I explore my methodological position.

5.4 Methodology

Using constructivist grounded theory, I examined the processes of stigmatisation and populations' responses (Charmaz, 2000). Initially coined by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory is an open method for constructing theory. Within this approach, the researcher mentions, in the beginning, its purpose of generating a theory. The term saturation reflects the number of interviews supported by procedures such as memos and codes for handling information necessary to cover a full range of perspectives (Creswell, 1998).

The original grounded theory has undergone modifications with two schools of thought, the Glaserian and the Straussian (Stern, 1994). On the one hand, Glaser (1978; 1992) always remained faithful to the minimisation of preconceived ideas about the research problem. Corbin and Strauss (1996) recognised the interpretative character of all theoretical formulation, considering human beings as active agents in their lives. Subsequently, with flexible guidelines, Charmaz (2000; 2006) insists on incorporating the researcher's experience, decisions and interpretations in all phases of the research process to understand to what extent their interests and assumptions influence it (Mills *et al.*, 2006). In this way, I had prior theoretical knowledge, having conducted a literature review and

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[36] Frequently used in combination with interpretivism.

preconceptions of the topic and context (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Thus, grounded theory refers to both the action and the effect of the research; it is a process and product, although generally referred to only as a research methodology (Charmaz, 2005). However, what continues to define its character is the simultaneous collection and analysis of data, both processes influencing each other and the openness to different ways of understanding the data.

Strongly influenced by the reflective turn in the social sciences, the assertion of the active role of the researcher in the collection process, selection and interpretation of qualitative information is the central premise of constructivist grounded theory. According to constructivist grounded theory, there are two objectives: (i) make explicit the process of intersubjective construction of the data and (ii) show the relationships of power and trust that are subject to the process of gathering information (Charmaz, 2012). That is to say that the researchers' perspectives and their grounded theories are constructions of reality. Understanding the processes of stigmatisation and responses requires entering into everyday reality, offering readers a panoramic view of the relevant areas of life by the participants. From this image, one can focus on its various elements from a distance, but this should only be done by considering the broader context in which the fragment of life unfolds as I explore next.

5.5   Multi-site Case Study: Pakistan and Colombia

For Brun (2013:133), fieldwork constitutes '*encounters between the researcher and the research participants, often with the involvement of research assistants and other actors who function as gatekeepers and resource persons*'. Given my engagement as a researcher in the field, it is vital to highlight the responsibility and reflexivity involved in the fieldwork, which is about understanding the inter-subjectivity, ethics and power encompassed in producing knowledge (Dowling, 2010; Dowling *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, I was attentive when engaging with participants, cautious and sensitive to the effects of the presence in the field. I tried to identify these effects to benefit the analysis and the validity of the results. In addition, earning the participants' trust and ensuring confidentiality throughout the data collection period enabled a comfortable environment where they could share their impressions, feelings, and thoughts (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001).

In a notable article, Marcus (1995) argued that traditional ethnography, which just describes a place or people, isn't enough to study the complex connections in today's globalized world. He suggested that as globalization increases, we need to go beyond just understanding how local communities fit into the global capitalist system. Instead, we should explore how different parts of the world are interconnected. For this, Marcus (2011) suggested an interdisciplinary approach and various heuristic strategies such as following people, following things, following metaphors, following myths or stories, following biographies and following conflicts. These strategies have proven fruitful and have given rise to multi-sited ethnographies of enormous interest, such as Vogt's Lives in Transit (2018), which describes the transit of suffering and violence of Central American migrants on their way to the United States. Knowles's (2014) work on producing and distributing sandals (flip-flops) also shows unusual international connections between large Asian corporations and small African smugglers.

However, in practice, the possibility of carrying out a multi-sited ethnography has been questioned by different authors, who point out the impossibility of studying geographically and culturally diverse enclaves with the same depth or the methodological difficulties, logistics and economics associated with this approach (Falzon, 2009). For example, Hage (2005), drawing on his ethnography of Lebanese migrants in different sites, prefers a geographically discontinuous site to a multi-site when dealing with diaspora populations. Nonetheless, it is essential to highlight that 'transnational migration' or 'diasporas' is not the focus of this study but the phenomenon of stigma and responses in two different contexts.

Contrary to the findings of van Duijn (2020) regarding the challenges of multi-sited ethnography, I did not face difficulties in gaining access to the sites, being everywhere and nowhere at once because I spent just the right amount of time on each site as well as a break in between the sites to gain distance; and making sense of the data as interviews were transcribed whilst conducting fieldwork and data analysis had already begun. Given that the similarities and differences in the concept of stigma and responses could only be uncovered by studying multiple sites rather than one, a qualitative multi-sited approach, in this case, clearly had its merits (see: Stutterheim & Ratcliffe, 2021).

As shown in Chapters 2/3, the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants share a brutal history of slavery, marginalisation, persecution and violence. In addition, the particular contextual

nuances made it very interesting to look at these two cases at individual and community levels. Considering the differences between the contexts and the minority groups, see Table-6 for some general characteristics.

Table 6: Characteristics of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants

Ethnic Group	Quetta: Receptor site of Hazara refugees since the 1800s	Cartagena: Transatlantic slavery; Receptor site for the Afro-descendants since the 1990s and one of the largest concentrations of the Afro-descendants
Research Sites	Turbulent	Post-agreement
Cultural Manifestations	Storytelling, funeral rituals, the procession (Hillman, 2011; Phillips, 2011; Monsutti, 2007; Janis, *2012)*	Storytelling, funeral rituals, and music festivals (Dennis, 2012; Gaviria-Buck, 2012; Lozano, 2012; Mentjox, 2014; UNESCO, 2006)
Ethnic Persecution	History of persecution and forced displacement (Mousavi, 1998; Hashmi, 2016); lack of access to education, healthcare, and employment (Amnesty International, 2017); Identifiable group of people (Canfield, 1972); Sectarian violence (HRW, 2014; Riikonen, 2012).	History of persecution and forced displacement (LaRosa & Mejía, 2017); Human rights abuses (Kantor, 2016); direct, structural and symbolic forms of violence (McGee & López, 2016); Identifiable group of people (Ng'Weno, 2007); Lack of access to education, healthcare, employment (Rodríguez-Garavito *et al.* 2008).

5.6 Research Design

In the following sub-sections, I further explain my research choices and decisions. First, I present the attributes of each phase of fieldwork. Then, I delve into the use of the four methods of investigation and the glitches and tactics of access and sampling for specific methods. Data collection took place in Pakistan and Colombia during two extended field trips. The first fieldwork period was in Pakistan (Jan–April 2019). The second was in Colombia (June–Sep 2019), with an initial pilot study in January 2018. In each country, I visited two areas based on similar trajectories of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants who had lived there for at least ten years. The fieldwork in both countries did not differ considerably, and the duration of stay was the same. However, the approach differed regarding accessing the participants, considering my insider/outsider status. Despite the different ways of access, both sites had similar research methods.

5.6.1 Fieldwork-Pakistan

I began the fieldwork in Quetta, considering my family home is there, my close knowledge of the local context and my belonging to the Hazara community.[37] I also had existing previous contacts that I established during my Master's dissertation on the Hazara refugee community in Oxford (see Appendix-1). Data collection took place in two areas: Hazara Town and Marriabad, considering there are only two Hazara communities, i.e., Afghan Hazara refugees and Pakistani Hazaras (Figure-4).[38] Pakistani Hazaras are recognised as an ethnic minority group by the Government of Pakistan, as noted in Chapter 2. Marriabad is where the Hazaras settled in Quetta in the 1800s from Afghanistan.

Figure 4: Data collection sites in Quetta, Pakistan
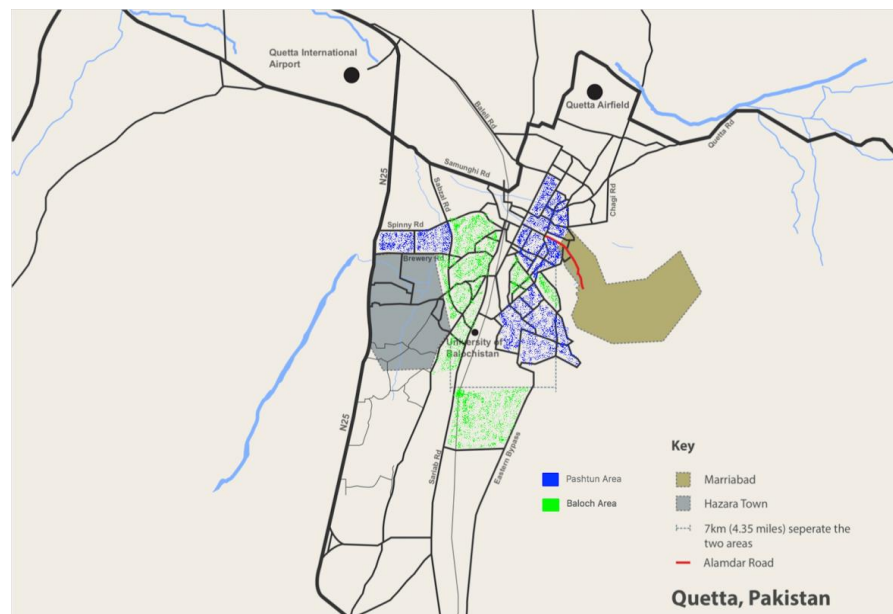
Adapted from Hashmi, 2016; Janis, 2012

35 semi-structured interviews were conducted with the Hazara participants from Marriabad, 20 from Hazara Town, two local non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and three community-based organisations (CBOs). Some aspects required further investigation, and additional meeting(s) took place with the participants. In addition, two in-depth interviews supplemented the interviews. I utilised unstructured observation of the areas,

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[37] Initially, the fieldwork was designed to begin with an introduction to the research by holding a meeting with the tribal council (*jirga*) as a gesture of respect and permission from the elders of the community. However, at the time of fieldwork the Jirga was temporarily inactive, considering the leader had recently passed away. At the time of writing, there was still no new Jirga leader elected.

[38] The majority of Hazara refugees reside in Hazara Town. However, there are also Pakistani Hazaras living there as in recent years the property prices have peaked in Marriabad. Also, Afghan refugees who can afford the rent in Marriabad have moved to that area. For the refugees, their kinship and pre-established network in Quetta allowed them to live in camp free situation (Hashmi, 2016).

which included taking photographs and making notes in a journal of the significant places and everyday social interactions at the community level. Eight focus group discussions were conducted with 4-6 participants in each group, incorporating the photo-elicitation technique and participatory exercise. Four focus groups were with participants from both areas, aged 18-30 (male-female in separate groups), who participated in a problem tree exercise, to which I return below. The other four focus group discussions took place with adult males and females in separate groups, aged between 30-85. The transcription of the interviews began soon after the initial interviews, and the remaining was completed upon my return to the UK for two months. The initial analysis was critical, considering the language barrier and my little understanding of the local knowledge in Cartagena, Colombia.

5.6.2 Fieldwork-Colombia

The fieldwork in Colombia followed a previous visit to Cali, Bogota and Barranquilla (Jan-Feb 2018) to identify the city in Colombia for the main fieldwork and to test some of the participatory methods. The visit helped identify the most suitable site in Colombia, which influenced the choice of Cartagena as the second site of the study. Most importantly, the continued relations upon my return to Oxford with the contacts I had established in Cartagena were beneficial for gaining access to community-based organisations and identifying possible interpreters and gatekeepers for the main fieldwork (see Appendix-2).

Based on the two types of communities I worked with in Quetta, I decided to also select two types of communities in Cartagena with similar trajectories, i.e., the internally displaced residing in the area of Nelson-Mandela and the Palenqueros in San Fernando (Figure-5). Considering the multiple types of Afro-descendant communities in Cartagena, I recruited participants from Nelson Mandela who identified themselves as being of African descent and associated themselves with a community of displaced population, distinguishing them from other minority groups.

During this second fieldwork, 20 semi-structured interviews took place with the Palenquero participants from San-Fernando, 21 from Nelson-Mandela, one local NGO and four CBOs. Some participants required additional meeting(s). Moreover, two in-depth interviews took place, and unstructured observation of the areas. Eight focus group discussions, four per area segregated by age and gender, were conducted, featuring the photo-elicitation

technique and problem tree exercise. Four focus groups, aged 18-30, participated in a problem tree exercise; the other four were participants aged 30-85. The meetings took place in Spanish with the help of my gatekeepers/interpreters. The transcription of the interviews was slower than the ones from fieldwork in Quetta due to the added element of interpretation. Upon return to the UK, I transcribed the remaining interviews.

Figure 5: Data collection sites in Cartagena, Colombia
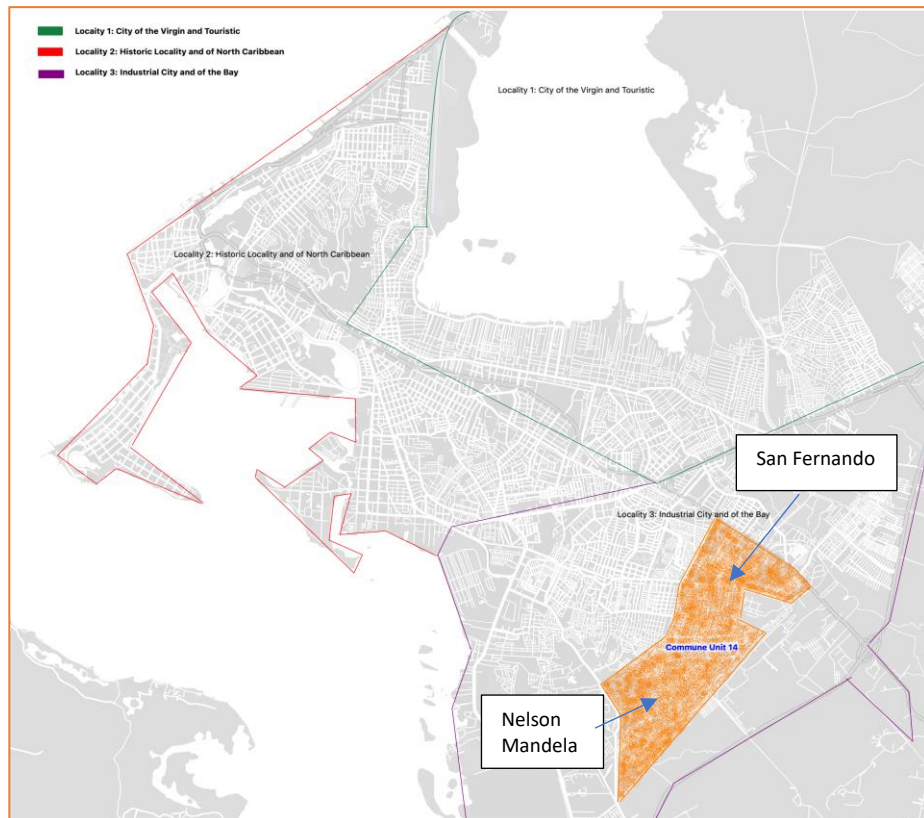
Google Maps, 2022

5.7   Sampling and Theoretical Saturation

To '*make full use of all the sources of information*' (Harrell-Bond 1967:450), the initial participants were recruited, with a balance in age and gender, using a multiple chain referral method (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). Theoretical sampling helped to explore a better understanding of the categories emerging from the data. In constructivist grounded theory, theoretical sampling refers to '*purposive sampling carried out so that emerging theoretical considerations guide the selection of cases and/or research participants*' (Bryman, 2016:697). From the standpoint of purposive sampling, for Cartagena, apart from snowballing and considering my outsider positionality and no pre-established contacts, I reflected on alternative ways to recruit participants and gain access. I employed multiple

recruitment strategies to contact participants: experts, gatekeepers, community leaders,[39] CBOs/NGOs, educational institutions and snowballing (Appendix-2). They were valuable contacts who helped identify further participants and provided the places to conduct the interviews, such as the educational institutions and sharing important literature in Spanish.

I contacted the experts, NGOs, and community leaders in Colombia by emailing them my research aims and asking if they could provide some input and any contacts. The preparation was a year-long process, including contacting the experts and finding gatekeepers/interpreters (see Section 4.11). The experts responded immediately with further questions, literature and contacts, enhancing my knowledge and understanding of the context. I then emailed all the other contacts about my research project, and they also acted as my referral points to recruit further participants (Appendix-2). Contacting them before the fieldwork helped me understand the context and current realities and limited my reliance solely on gatekeepers for accessing the participants.

In addition, engaging with participants through community leaders and other community members, i.e., snowballing, demonstrated efficiency in developing the trust to participate in the study (Bryman, 2016). Upon invitation, I also participated in seminars, music festivals, and conferences that allowed me to identify more participants (Table-7). I kept a record of all the contact details of the participants, including the time and date, venue and type of interview, and who referred them.

Table 7: Events in Cartagena

El festival de la champeta, Los Zapatos Viejos, Cartagena (**14 July 2019**)
Acoso sexual y violencia de género [Sexual harassment and gender violence], Universidad de Cartagena, Colombia (**10 July 2019**)
Racismo y lucha de clases [Racism and class struggle], Cartagena (**22 Aug 2019**)
Seminar: '*Esclavitud, visibilidad y memoria: prácticas de reactivación*' [Slavery, Visuality, and Memory: Reactivation Practices], Universidad de Cartagena (**26-29 June, 2019**)
Conference: '*Women Economic Forum - Latin America*', Cartagena (**1-3 Aug 2019**)
Caminemos por la vida de los lideres y las lideresas de Colombia [Let's walk through the lives of the leaders of Colombia] Plaza de la Paz, Cartagena (**26 July 2019**)
Newsletter: *Algo se Mueve* published by *Plataforma Ciudadana Hijos de Mandela* (**9 Aug 2019**)

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[39] Including human rights defenders, social activists, cultural managers both young adults and older adults.

In Quetta, chain referral through participants helped in recruiting participants. My gatekeeper, pre-established contacts, family network, NGOs/CBOs, and educational institutions played a vital role in recruiting participants and/or using their spaces to conduct interviews (Appendix-1). Section 1.3 reflects these approaches since they relate to my insider/outsider positionality and gaining access. In addition, I participated in multiple events upon invitation (Table-8).

Table 8: Events in Quetta
Skill-building Workshop: Youth Enlightenment, (**24 February 2019**) Women Initiators, KB Science College, Hazara Town
First International Women's Day seminar organised by the Women Political Wing of Hazara Democratic Party (HDP), Arus Mehel Community Centre (**8 March 2019**), Marriabad
Participatory Workshop: Education Ladder (**10 March 2019**) Meritorious School, Hazara Town
Two-day Awareness Session: CybHer 'Speak up against cyber-bullying', Society for Sustainable Development (SSD), Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) & UKAID (**13-14 March 2019**) Major Nadir Auditorium, Marriabad
Hurmat-e-Niswa Welfare Society, Women's Achievement Award (**25 March 2019**), Major Nadir Auditorium, Marriabad

As the fieldwork progressed and with it an expanding group of participants, the inductive process included any new emerging elements to better understand the categories by abstracting common themes, ensuring a good relationship between them and the progressive emergence of themes based on the data (Charmaz, 2014). This iterative collection and analysis process took place until theoretical saturation was reached. The new data collection no longer provided additional or relevant information to explain the existing categories or discover new ones (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2008). It is important to note that data saturation occurs when repeated observations reveal the same pattern. In contrast, theoretical saturation is '*the conceptualisation of comparisons of these incidents which yield different properties of the pattern, until no new properties of the pattern emerge*' (Glaser, 2001:191). As such, protecting the participants' privacy became crucial. I avoided giving any identifying information, particularly when the study no longer benefitted substantively from additional data (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003).

In the following sections, I justify conducting four data collection methods at each site.

5.8   Data Collection Methods

5.8.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Conducting semi-structured interviews, a widely used technique in research, provided valuable information in the initial period of the fieldwork at each site. The interviews with the community members shed light on individual experiences of prejudice, labelling, categorising, stereotyping, and discrimination underpinned by forced, intimidated, sonic segregation and visibility. This method opened up reflective spaces about the process of investigation. The interviews also provided data at the individual level about people's thoughts by discovering their daily lives and the social relationships they established. It is related to understanding individuals' beliefs and experiences, which contribute to understanding their social and cultural context.

These interviews also helped me unpack the resilience strategies that were, at times, on a continuum that I explain further in Chapter 8. At the individual level, the absorptive strategies included 'blaming', 'confrontation', 'avoidance', 'tactics' and the transformative strategy of 'self-empowerment'. I found that 'pride' as an adaptive strategy was at the individual and community levels. In addition, the interviews revealed the significant areas and practices regarding their cultural manifestations and how the populations at the community level responded through adaptive and transformative resilience strategies of 'appropriation of space', 'processes of resignification' and 'sonic appropriation'. 'Raising awareness' at the individual and community level was found to have all three resilience strategies. The interviews and unstructured observation of the areas confirmed these strategies. The reason for choosing the NGOs/CBOs to participate in the research was their roles in the communities. Interviews with the NGOs/CBOs gave a more panoramic view of the communities and areas. They uncovered the direct discrimination faced by the communities, such as access to recreational spaces, employment and education.

In total, I conducted 95 semi-structured interviews, lasting between 1-1.5 hours per interview, recorded with the consent of the participants. Table-9 summarises the methods of data collection and the number of participants in each country. The degree of structure varied in the interviews according to the degree of control, content and process (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). This allowed to uncover the motivations behind the decisions/behaviours of

the participants, as well as their attitudes and beliefs and the consequences of certain events.

Table 9: Summary of Research Methods

Country/ Method	Pakistan January 2019 – April 2019	Colombia June 2019 – September 2019
Unstructured Observation	Hazara Town & Marriabad	Nelson Mandela & San Fernando
In-depth Interviews	Interviews with the Hazaras in Marriabad (N=2)	Interviews with Mandelero and Palenquero community leader (N=2)
Semi-structured interviews	Individuals in Hazara Town (N=20) Individuals in Marriabad (N=35) NGO/CBO, Hazara Town (N=5) NGO/CBO, Marriabad (N=5)	Individuals in Nelson Mandela (N=20) Individuals in San Fernando (N=20) NGO/CBO, Nelson Mandela (N=5) NGO/CBO, San Fernando (N=5)
Focus Group – Photo Elicitation Group 1 (30-85)	Adult Men, Hazara Town (N=4) Adult Women, Hazara Town (N=4) Adult Men, Marriabad (N=4) Adult Women, Marriabad (N=4)	Adult Men, Nelson Mandela (N=4) Adult Women, Nelson Mandela (N=4) Adult Men, San Fernando (N=4) Adult Women, San Fernando (N=4)
Focus Group – Stigmatisation Tree Group 2 (18-30)	Young Adult Males, Hazara Town (N=4) Young Adult Females, Hazara Town (N=4) Young Adult Males, Marriabad (N=4) Young Adult Females, Marriabad (N=4)	Young Adult Males, Nelson Mandela (N=4) Young Adult Females, Nelson Mandela (N=4) Young Adult Males, San Fernando (N=4) Young Adult Females, San Fernando (N=4)
	Participants = 99	Participants = 84
The total number of participants across the research = 183 Cities visited in Pakistan = Quetta Cities/towns visited in Colombia = Cali, Barranquilla, Bogota, Cartagena, San Basilio de Palenque		

The topics covered were pre-selected (Appendix-3). However, during the interviews, I decided on the order and how to ask the questions, which were modified with each participant and included new questions (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). Therein lies the wealth of such interviews as not being strict; it allowed me to test the flexibility of the script. It focused on trust, spontaneity and eye contact with the participants, so it was essential that the choice of questions was relevant and that my attitude was receptive to hearing the participants and connecting with them (Leech, 2002). Consistent with the characteristics of the interviews noted above, its use in this study helped facilitate flexible conversations with the participants, moving away from the hierarchical, rigid and standardised exchange of questions and answers. In this sense, the interviews with the community members covered their everyday experiences, physical surroundings, access to services, and how they responded to the different forms of stigmatisation. The discussions

included specific historical moments, spaces, and the negative attributes that fall on the community members of the particular areas.

With the staff members of NGOs/CBOs, the question guide started exploring their role in the organisation, the programmes and projects provided, their perception of the area and notably, how they established links with the community and connected the community members to institutions. All the interviews ended by asking the participants if they wanted to share something that needed to be covered. This was an interesting experience as the interview space allowed the process of personal reflection for the participants who emphasised their concerns and as a healing process through communication and dialogue (see Chapter 8).

5.8.2 In-depth Interviews

In-depth interviews entail repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and the participants. The aim is to understand the perspectives and meanings that the participants have about their lives and their experiences, expressing them in their own words (Taylor & Bogdan, 1987). In-depth conversations aim to learn more about a topic deeply and thoroughly. It differs from other techniques mainly because it allows one to enter and understand the participant's experience through a detailed conversation. During in-depth interviews, the participant's lived experience, feelings, and/or perspectives may be prodded further to uncover the phenomenon and/or concepts the researcher then examines to develop a theory about the study topic. Compared to semi-structured interviews, however, in-depth interviews give the participant more freedom to talk and a chance to provide more details. Continuous analysis during the conversation is another of its essential features that allows the researcher to stop and delve into the details that appear whilst the participant answers the questions.

The flexible and dynamic nature of in-depth interviewing allowed me to understand the stigmatisation processes and the responses better, producing different knowledge compared to semi-structured interviews. For example, it helped to delve into the historical contexts of the areas and communities, which would not have been possible to uncover with semi-structured interviews. In-depth interviews highlighted historical, socio-economic and institutional influences such as armed conflict, sectarian violence, and forced displacement, i.e., stigma-producing agents. As such, in-depth interviews represented a

different function than semi-structured interviews by enhancing my understanding of the differences and similarities of stigmatisation and responses. In addition, this method was beneficial in understanding the cultural manifestations of the communities. Because of the time constraint regarding the period of fieldwork, only four in-depth interviews took place, two in Pakistan and two in Colombia. The participants were selected using purposeful sampling to identify individuals with extensive first-hand experience or insight into the topic of interest (see Section 4.7). Knowledge and experience were vital in identifying the participants who were available and eager to participate and who could articulately express one's thoughts and reflect on one's own experiences.

The use of in-depth interviews provided the information to those questions that eluded the observable. These included no-go areas, danger, land/home ownership, and the significance of social and recreational areas. Through in-depth interviews, the reality was defined and determined by the participants who experienced the processes of stigmatisation and responded to this phenomenon. This reality was reconstructed or signified by representing the symbolic forms dependent on a specific social context, a shared history, and a worldview in a given space. Each interview took, on average, 1.5-2 hours and occurred in parallel with the semi-structured interviews. The participants for in-depth interviews were different to the semi-structured participants. As such, this allowed me to ask more questions during in-depth interviews that came up in semi-structured interviews and unstructured observation.

5.8.3 Unstructured Observation

To supplement the interviews, I utilised observation of the areas by walking around, hanging out in the areas and having informal conversations, including taking photographs and making notes in a journal of the significant places and everyday social interactions (see Appendix-4). In qualitative research, '*photo diaries, photos elicited from research participants and photo journals have become central to depicting place and developing new conceptions of place*' (Dowling *et al*., 2016:681). I knew I should only take photographs of the general area and not directly of individuals without their informed consent. Any images used in the focus groups with people's faces were pixelated. Unstructured observation of the areas helped to understand the different types of segregation, such as forced, intimidated and sonic.

The knowledge gained from unstructured observation allowed for understanding the community members' observable social interactions and how they interacted with each other, highlighting their social capital and networks that provided them with a sense of place and identity in their area. The significant places and everyday interactions were striking factors of the surrounding area. These included infrastructure, social spaces, memorials, monuments, religious places, cordoned-off areas, the presence of security forces, and the behavioural actions of the community members. These were some of the elements that facilitated social activities and interactions. It was helpful to see the presence of facilities, such as their access to educational and health facilities.

Observation as a research method has affirmed itself as a prerequisite for constructing knowledge in social sciences. Drawing on the sociological tradition of the Chicago School, Diaz (2005) and Yin (2011) note that several notable authors have contributed to the research methods of observation and participant observation (Thrasher, 1963; Whyte, 1993; Hughes, 1993; Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1962; Becker, 1963). However, observation and participation provide different perspectives of the same reality; neither can the researcher be 'one more' amongst natives, nor can their presence be so external as not to affect the field and its participants in any way (Moeran, 2007).

For Bryman (2016), observation indicates the technique for collecting data in a non-verbal behaviour (non-participant, unstructured, simple and contrived). Given that the study included two sites and the limited time frame, it was not feasible to employ participant observation as immersion in the communities' social environment requires an ethnographic approach (Hashmi, 2016). Walliman (2011:101) notes that observation '*can be a quick and efficient method of gaining preliminary knowledge or assessing its state or condition*'.

Given the topic's sensitive nature, the primary purpose of these images was to use them during the participatory focus group discussions, referred to as photo-elicitation (Harper, 2002; Meo, 2010). The photos in Quetta were selected based on the initial categories emerging from the data, including street names, squares, cemeteries, walls, educational centres, National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA), processions, and recreation. Cartagena's photos included infrastructure, moto-taxi, recreational spaces,

Unidad para las Víctimas [Victims Unit][40], no-go areas and music. Appendix-4 reflects the routes taken, observing community members' significant places and interactions during the unstructured observation of the areas, informed by field journal and memoing.

5.8.4 Focus Group Discussions

I embedded photo-elicitation and participatory exercises within the focus group discussions. Participatory research methods are one of the methods that give voice to the participants, particularly in conflict settings (Piquard & Swenarton, 2011). I also found that these methods were suitable for tackling some ethical considerations when studying stigmatised groups such as the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants (Müller-Funk, 2020). A focus group is '*a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research*' (Powell & Single, 1996:499). Conceptualised by Merton (1987) and widely used in social sciences, the focus group constitutes a group dynamic in which a group of people discuss a specific theme that affects them to be able to compare responses and see the influence of the selection criteria (Bryman, 2016). Likewise, the main objective was to obtain information from the participants about their disagreements, opinions, perceptions, attitudes and experiences as members of a specific group. At the same time, the categories and themes derived from the other research methods must be confirmed.

I utilised two types of focus groups: photo-elicitation (Box-3) and stigmatisation tree exercise (Box-4). To guide the discussions, the gatekeepers/interpreters were appointed as moderators in all focus group sessions to encourage the generation of the maximum number of ideas, remaining neutral at all times before expressing their opinions. Segregated by age and gender, the stigmatisation tree exercises suited young adults (18-30). At the same time, the older adults (30-85) were more comfortable with photo elicitation.

I borrowed the stigmatisation tree exercise invented for the different field trips in Colombia (Appendix-5)[41]. For the stigmatisation tree exercise, the participants used chart papers and markers. This began with a brainstorming session on the central issue of stigmatisation. Produced by the group with assistance from my gatekeepers/interpreters and me, the

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[40] A system of reparations in Colombia
[41] As part of MA-DEP, CENDEP staff and students. Stigmatisation tree conceptualised by Dr Brigitte Piquard.

groups drew a tree. They wrote the starter problem on the trunk, i.e., stigmatisation through these cause-effect linkages, which originates from the action research of 'tree diagrams' (Kesby, 2000). Through this linkage, the group could identify the problems in focusing on the research objectives. To achieve this, the participants used the metaphor of a tree to organise the impacts and consequences of stigmatisation, inscribing them in the tree's main branches. Each person had 3-5 blank cards and wrote down one cause per card to ensure full participation. To focus on the root causes of stigmatisation, the group discussed the factors that possibly contribute to it by continually asking the question 'why' until reaching the primary root cause. The causes linked each other, and these connections became the tree's roots. A similar procedure took place to determine the effects or consequences experienced individually and as a community, which then became the branches of the tree.

The stigmatisation tree exercise aimed to have an open flow of discussions once the exercise was complete. However, in ideal terms, the participants' contributions stimulated the emergence of shared problems, which was the ultimate goal of the technique. The visible diagram helped discuss sensitive topics the participants would not have otherwise discussed '*within a culturally specific context*' (Kesby, 2000:430). This technique helped confirm the link between '*champeta*' and 'popular areas' in Cartagena, including the categories of '*loudness*' that led to the theme of 'sonic segregation' that I analyse in Chapter 6. Most importantly, the young adult Palenqueros identified the labelling of '*fighters*', which some participants mentioned during the semi-structured interviews due to their cultural manifestations. However, their physical appearances, i.e., 'visibility', were also noted during the exercise as *'being black'*.

In Quetta, this technique confirmed the automatic '*Shia*' affiliation to the Hazaras because of the 'visibility' as Hazaras, leading to the labelling and discriminatory processes. Additionally, the young adult Hazara participants corroborated the impact on their education due to 'forced and intimidated segregation', highlighting the category of 'distancing' by blaming their community members. However, in both sites, the exercises shed light on the significance of educational institutions where the young adult participants could engage in self-empowering workshops, yet at the same time, a space for dialogue and 'awareness raising' for others.

The other technique I used was photo-elicitation by presenting images to the participants, which '*evokes information, feelings, and memories that are due to the photograph's particular form of representation*' (Harper, 2002:13). Images can appear as conversational and communicational tools (Rose, 2014). For Ketelle (2010), photography in social research responds to the advances of the qualitative paradigm and, more specifically, to narrative approaches where the visual language of photography articulates with the verbal language of the participants.

Box 3: Group 1 (Ages 30-85)

There were two adult male and female groups in each area in both sites, making it 8, with 4 participants in each group. The groups were asked to reflect upon the images taken of the places that reflect stigmatisation/responses. Images offered flexibility for the discussion to evolve and for the participants to share their experiences of stigmatisation and responses to stigma, as well as personal stories and cultural manifestations. The images were shown to the groups on a laptop. In Marriabad, the sessions were conducted at my late grandmother's house, located in the same area, as it was easily accessible for the participants with all the facilities. In Hazara Town, the focus group discussions were conducted at Women Initiators, an adult learning centre, and Meritorious School. In San Fernando, the discussions with the adult females were conducted at a community leader's home, and the discussions with the adult males were conducted at the educational institution *Mercedes Abregos*. In Nelson Mandela, these sessions were conducted at *El Redentor* School.

Box 4: Group 2 (Ages 18-30)

The young adult males and females were placed in separate sessions to identify and assess the different forms and processes of stigmatisation and their impacts on social life, given that the young adults are amongst the most stigmatised, such as access to education and employment. There were, in total, 8 groups in both sites, with 4 participants in each group.

When the groups conducted the exercise, I listened to the discussions and answered their questions. However, before the fieldwork, I had not considered that listening in Colombia would be challenging, considering the language barrier. As such, during fieldwork in Quetta, I improvised and requested the groups to present the findings of the stigmatisation tree exercise at the end of the session. I found that this was a better way of concluding the focus group discussion as it meant that the young adults were fully engaged in the exercise from the beginning of the focus group.

In Hazara Town, the sessions were held at the Meritorious School, on the rooftop of the building, and in Marriabad, these were conducted at my late grandmother's home. In San Fernando, the exercise with the young adult males was conducted at a community leader's home and with the young adult females at the educational institution *Mercedes Abregos*. All the focus group discussions in Nelson Mandela were conducted at *El Redentor* School.

Using photo-elicitation enabled the participants to reflect upon the images of the most important places or places that reflected stigmatisation and/or responses. Images offered flexibility for the discussions to evolve, allowed the participants to expand on ideas and allowed me to prompt and direct the interactions with some degree of freedom. This also encouraged the participants to continue sharing their experiences of stigmatisation and responses, as well as their observations as they went along, and to share personal stories

and anecdotes. The visual prompts helped in eliciting views by prompting memory that other research methods did not reveal.

During the initial analysis, the categories of 'cemeteries', 'squares' and 'street names' in Quetta were linked more to their 'being *Shia*'. I gained rich insights into these locations through photo-elicitation, such as an 'appropriation strategy' as a response. Agreeing with Hurworth (2003:3), this technique can '*challenge participants, provide nuances, trigger memories, lead to new perspectives and explanations, and help avoid researcher misinterpretation*'. In addition, the photo of adult language centres brought more profound insights into the theme of 'self-empowerment' through education, particularly amongst the women as well as the images of walls and checkpoints provided a rich understanding of 'forced segregation' and 'visibility' linked to their 'physical appearances'.

Meanwhile, in Cartagena, the photos generated a verbal discussion that enriched the data on the notion of 'distancing' amongst the Mandeleros by showing images of moto-taxis and recreational areas. Interestingly, the technique helped identify the category of '*loudness'* when the music image was shown to the participants and helped me understand the notion of 'sonic segregation' resulting from soundscapes. Additionally, the participants could associate and elaborate on meanings when the image of educational institutions was shown, which helped them gain deeper insight into the notion of 'self-empowerment' through workshops. In the next section, I will discuss the steps I used to generate the theory using constructivist grounded theory.

5.9   Generation of Theory

The ultimate goal of constructivist grounded theory is to develop explanatory theories of human behaviours. Constructing a theory implies presenting the research findings as a set of interrelated concepts through statements to explain a specific social phenomenon, such as the processes of stigmatisation and responses (Fuhse, 2022). I began transcribing all the interviews during fieldwork in Quetta by importing them into NVivo-12 and organised by cities (Quetta, Cartagena), areas (Marriabad, Hazara Town, Nelson Mandela, San Fernando), reference groups (Hazaras, Mandeleros, Palenqueros, NGOs, CBOs) and data collection methods (semi-structured/in-depth/participatory focus groups/unstructured observation). I found this process quite emotionally challenging, mainly whilst transcribing some participants' experiences of armed conflict and/or sectarian violence. Although I

could take the Wellbeing and Counselling Service provided by the University, exercise and positive social interaction helped immensely.

Table 10: Theme Development

Main Research Question	What forms and processes of stigmatisation can be identified in the study areas, and how do populations respond to stigmatisation, considering different processes at play between the Hazara community in Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Colombia?		
Sub-questions	**1.** What forms and processes of area stigmatisation are found amongst the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, and how do these diverse dynamics shape the experiences of stigmatisation in each community?	**2.** What forms of community stigmatisation exist for the populations, and how do the contexts of Pakistan and Colombia influence the emergence and perpetuation of individual and community-level stigma?	**3.** How do the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants develop absorptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience strategies in response to stigmatisation, and how do these strategies differ or overlap due to the differing historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts of each community?
Themes	**Area Stigma** Segregation: • Forced • Intimidated • Sonic	**Community Stigmatisation** Visibility: • Cultural Manifestations • Physical appearances	Blaming Pride Acceptance Appropriation of space Self-empowerment Processes of resignification Sonic appropriation Confrontation Tactics Avoidance Raising awareness
	Community Stigmatisation Visibility: • Cultural Manifestations • Physical appearances	Awareness building for other Appropriation of space Pride Processes of resignification Sonic appropriation	Awareness building for other Confrontation, avoidance and tactics Challenging stigma
Categories	Restricted Access Confined Spaces Walls Invisible borders No-go areas Red-zone danger Prejudice Labelling Stereotyping Aesthetics Mobility Issues Isolation Social Relations Misconceptions Internalised fear Reverse stigma-related processes	Physical appearances Accents Being black Being *Shia* Infidel Barbaric Blackness China town Ugly Backward Less intellectual	Workshops Embeddedness Education Entrepreneurship Lack of awareness Uninformed Dialogue Misconceptions Establish connections Remittances Digital/social media Transnationalism Embeddedness Knowing their rights Processions Funeral rituals Festivals Protests Arts Music and dance

The data analysis took place in several phases. This included familiarising myself with the data, identifying themes through coding each transcript, rereading the themes to search for any reoccurrences that helped create new sub-themes, and defining/naming the themes and sub-themes. The theoretical framework that guided this study also emerged

from the data itself (Table-10). To do this, I utilised an analytical induction based on specific data, which included the process of coding and categorising, as I discuss in the next section.

5.9.1 Coding and Categorising

This stage consisted of the systematic collection and analysis of data. Coding the categories helped to identify repetitive patterns of behaviour. This method of analysis, which contributes to developing a theory based on data, is based on a coding process divided into three phases: initial, focused and theoretical (Charmaz, 2006).

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), this stage allows the researcher to simultaneously code and analyse the data to develop themes and concepts by identifying their properties, exploring their inter-relations and integrating them into a coherent theory. I began with a systematic interrogation through generative questions that related concepts, theoretical sampling, systematic categorisation, and coding procedures. I followed up on some proposed principles to achieve conceptual development (see Figure-6). Coding is when the information obtained during an investigation is analysed and grouped into categories (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Whereas '*categorising is how we get 'up' from the diversity of data to the shapes of the data, the sorts of things represented. Concepts are how we get to more general, higher-level, and abstract constructs*' (Richards & Morse, 2007:157).

Figure 6: Conceptual Development – Coding and Categorising
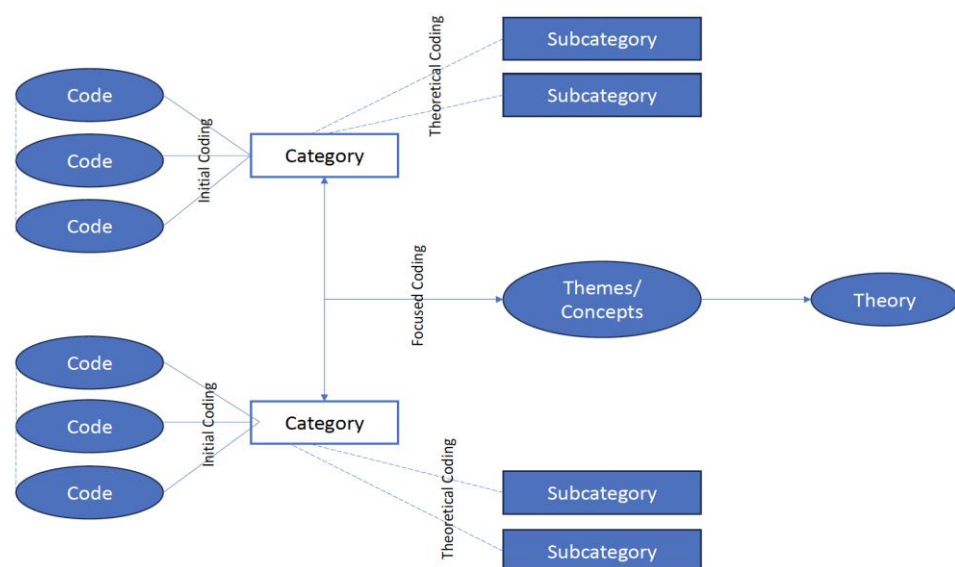
Adapted from Saldana (2010); Corbin & Strauss (2008)

5.9.2 Coding: Initial, Focused, Theoretical

The initial coding consists of dividing and coding the data into concepts and categories (Creswell, 1998;2014). I coded the different incidents into categories during this analysis stage using NVivo-12. Intermittently, through the coding process, some data sections included more than one node with common characteristics. Labelling each code with descriptions kept altering throughout the coding process since nodes were constantly re-ordered and refined for the ones that proved unnecessary. I used NVivo-12 to import all the diagrams of the stigmatisation tree exercises. Exploring the frequency of words in the trees and linking the transcription of each focus group to each word on the tree helped with the coding and finding the relationships between the links. I also linked the audio and transcription to the project in NVivo-12[42]. Importantly, data analysed from Quetta helped inform Cartagena's research methods and interview questions.

Concerning what gets coded, there were multiple categories (see Table-11). It was helpful to observe participants' responses to different forms and processes as well as the causes and consequences arising from the data (Saldana, 2010; Lofland *et al*., 2006). In addition, when utilised in combination with cognitive, emotional and hierarchical aspects, it was essential to keep in mind the social life within which appears '*the intersection of one or more actors (participants) engaging in one or more activities (behaviours) at a particular time in a specific place*' (Lofland *et al*., 2006:121).

Table 11: Categories

Cultural Practices	Everyday activity, social and religious beliefs, human capital
Episodes	Role reversal within family, loss of family member, migration, loss of livelihood, etc.
Encounters	The stigmatised and non-stigmatised, with service providers such as education, healthcare, housing, etc.
Roles and social types	Within the family (father, mother, son, brother, daughter/in-law) extended families and power dynamics, community leaders
Social/personal relationships	Family relations, community relations, tribal social networks, etc.
Groups and clans	Congregations (church/mosque), youth groups, families, schools, tribes, sub-tribes
Organisations	Community-based organisations, informal banking system (*hawala*), social movement organisations (*PCN*), traditional assembly of leaders (*jirga*)
Settlements/habitats	Areas, connection with the land and nature, place-making, sense of belonging
Subcultures/lifestyles	Rituals, processions, oral traditions, solidarity networks, festive traditions

Adapted from Saldana (2010); Lofland *et al*. (2006)

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[42] To re-familiarise with the software, I completed another course of NVivo-12 (Part 1), offered by Oxford Brookes IT Services 16/10/2018.

Subsequently, the focused coding consisted of comparing the new data with the categories resulting from previous comparisons (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). By relating the categories to each other (focused coding), subcategories were developed by answering questions such as '*when, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences*' (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:125). When the established relationships were insufficient at this stage, I continued with theoretical sampling '*to sample across substantive areas*' to search for new contacts that could provide more information, explain the concepts, and clarify the theory (Charmaz, 2006:106). The research then continued with theoretical coding by integrating the categories to reduce the number of concepts and thus delimit the theory. Theoretical coding helped select the core category, i.e., themes/concepts, which gave meaning to all the data and their relationships (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The simultaneous collection and analysis of the data helped identify gaps that demanded a more significant investigation and allowed, through theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation, to explore the emerging categories leading to generating a theory (Charmaz, 2014).

5.9.3 Memoing, Clustering and Freewriting

Parallel to the coding process, I wrote memos of any impressions, reflections, theoretical questions, and summaries of codes and categories that were recorded (Jones & Alony, 2011). Memo-writing was conducted throughout the research process and helped describe ideas about the process of theoretical sampling and any aspects related to the collection and analysis of the data. They were also valuable in presenting the participants' voices in theoretical outcomes and providing information on codes, categories and their relationships (Mills *et al*., 2006). Memos were central to the overall research methods, helped identify and keep track of the data's themes and patterns and moved from initial to focused coding. In addition, the memos helped with the selection of new participants to provide new data and helped with the development of the theory.

Memo writing began early during fieldwork, starting with the first interview, using a journal to summarise the interviews and make sense of the connections. The memos included notes on reflective thinking, such as aspects related to theoretical saturation, insider/outsider perspectives, and the social interactions of the communities in both sites through unstructured observation. In addition, the journal was supplemented by writing

field notes on Evernote with my smartphone[43]. This was a practical tool to record initial thoughts, reflections, and observations and chart the encounters whilst conducting unstructured observation of the areas (Boxes 1-2, 5-7). It is also valuable for the subsequent data collection phase, as participants from initial interviews would set off impromptu interactions whilst in the areas. During these moments, memo writing on Evernote became a helpful tool for logging interactions and essential quotes from the chats, as reflected in Chapters 6/7/8.

Regarding some valuable strategies in the memo-writing process, Charmaz (2006) advocates pre-writing exercises such as clustering and freewriting. As the data analysis advanced, I began freewriting without attending to the composition of sentences and paired this with the clustering technique using PowerPoint (Appendix-6). As an implicit part of the data analysis process, memoing, clustering, and freewriting helped enhance my reflective skills and theoretical coding from the data. In addition, I immersed myself in revisiting the data from both sites by rereading the interview transcripts, memos, and freewriting[44]. This fostered sensitivity towards the participants' everyday experiences when interacting with the stigmatisers, enabling an understanding of their perceptions of self and others, which gave way to internalising stigma.

The constant comparison of initial, focused and theoretical coding from the beginning of the data analysis phase facilitated early categorising and identifying patterns specific to each field site and community. Outcomes of the second stage of analysis included eleven prominent themes - segregation: forced, intimidated and sonic; visibility: cultural manifestations and physical appearances; distancing; pride; appropriation of space; self-empowerment strategies; processes of resignification; sonic appropriation; raising awareness for others; confrontation, avoidance and tactics. Analysing the themes individually through memo-writing and clustering helped develop theoretical insights and organise findings by relating themes to research questions. In the next section, I reflect on the presence of my gatekeepers/interpreters.

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[43] The notes were uploaded to Google Drive each evening
[44] Diagrams of relationships

5.10 Gatekeepers and negotiating access

In Quetta, I established contact with my gatekeeper, a writer and an educationalist, in 2015 when conducting research for my Master's dissertation that focused on the Hazara community in Oxford. He accompanied me to almost all interviews, sharing any literature and adding anything he felt was essential to my knowledge. His presence at the interviews made the participants, particularly the adult men, feel more comfortable and open, considering the tribal culture and my presence as a female researcher.

Before conducting fieldwork in Cartagena, I was mindful that the gatekeepers, who also functioned as my interpreters, had yet to be tested. Also, it was vital to have two interpreters present during the interviews for any inconsistencies. During my pilot study, one of the aims was to find gatekeepers/interpreters in Cartagena. My supervisor arranged a meeting with a professor from *Universidad del Norte in Barranquilla*, who introduced me to an educationalist with a degree in foreign languages. Her organisation focused on the social integration of the Afro-descendant population in Cartagena, with a particular focus on women. She agreed to act as my gatekeeper/interpreter for the main fieldwork via email by signing the data compliance forms for interpretation services and moderation of focus groups. Upon my arrival in Cartagena, I met with a young adult male Palenquero from Nelson Mandela with a certificate in translation program who was my second gatekeeper/ interpreter.

Keeping in mind the complexities and the influence that the gatekeepers/interpreters may have in the research process, I maintained contact with my gatekeepers from Quetta/Cartagena pre-fieldwork for a year via Skype, email and WhatsApp (Bergen, 2018). This was vital to provide background information about the research, plan and organise the fieldwork, anticipate concerns and risks during fieldwork, and strategise possible responses. In addition, maintaining contact allowed me to build rapport with the gatekeepers and detailed discussions about the interview protocols and their expectations as my gatekeepers/interpreters. Additionally, it was beneficial that, pre-fieldwork, I gained an understanding of the personal/professional interests of the gatekeepers. This helped me to reflect on who and why the gatekeepers referred certain participants for interviews, as they may be pursuing their particular interests related to their agenda. This was the case during both fieldworks during the first week, which made me realise how useful it was to contact as many people as I did pre-fieldwork. The snowballing technique was vital in

finding the right participants rather than relying on the gatekeepers (Box-5). Researchers have also recognised how much control and influence gatekeepers can have on the research (Bergen, 2018; Suurmond *et al.,* 2016). Section 4.7 reflects how I gained access to not rely only partially on them.

Box 5: Field Journal (Cartagena)

> *I found that one of the gatekeepers had her interests when referring me to some of the contacts because of how she described them regarding social leaders and women's rights. I did interview one of the contacts she provided. During our debriefing, I reminded her that as my gatekeeper/interpreter, she should focus on the aims and objectives of this research project. Thus, the interview was not transcribed and/or analysed.*

July, 2019

Nonetheless, in Cartagena, I relied on interpretation during fieldwork. One of the critical challenges within one month of the fieldwork was careful negotiations with my gatekeepers to continue to be part of the research, considering the added benefits of establishing contacts and their organisation's visibility. This highlights the dynamics of power, trust and negotiations during the gatekeeping process and the '*balancing act required between friendship, professionalism and avoiding the appearance of arrogance*' (Turner, 2010:216; Crowhurst & Kennedy-Macfoy, 2013).

In addition, the literature recognises that gatekeepers/interpreters may influence data collection such as '*assuming the interviewer's communicative role, editorialising information, initiating information-seeking, taking control of the interview, and taking over the role of the respondent*' (Suurmond *et al*., 2016:174). To enhance the data collection quality and minimise their influence, I fully briefed the gatekeepers/interpreters with careful instructions before each interview. Most importantly, I emphasised not pursuing personal or sensitive information unless initiated. In both sites, after each interview, the debriefing sessions with the gatekeepers/interpreters were key in reflecting on their roles during the interview, discussing any issues, feelings or concerns, brainstorming ideas and giving feedback on their experiences (Box-6). During these sessions, I gained incredible insight by learning unfamiliar vocabulary or anything that needed more clarification, particularly regarding the cultural manifestations of the Hazaras, Palenqueros and Mandeleros.

Box 6: Field Journal (Quetta)

> *After the focus group session with the adult females, I noticed he was upset whilst debriefing with the gatekeeper. When I asked if he was alright, he could not hide his emotions and found it difficult to hear the narratives of the widows and the challenges they faced. I offered him support and to take a break for a week. This is when I interviewed some of the female participants without his presence. I did not find any new emerging themes in these interviews, indicating that his presence did not impact the interviews with the female participants.*

March, 2019

In Quetta, Urdu and Hazaragi were the modes of communication, whichever the participants found most comfortable. As I did not require interpretation in Quetta, I faced particular challenges in Cartagena. I reminded the interpreters that if the participants raised any unforeseen concerns or if there were words that had no equivalent interpretation, they should consult me before continuing with the interview. I was mindful of the body language of the interpreters and the participants and prompted them during the interviews if I felt that the interpreters were engaging more than intended. This was possible because I had a basic understanding of common Spanish words, phrases, and expressions and had worked with interpreters on other research projects[45]. Nonetheless, it is also essential to recognise the crucial contribution of the interpreters (Box-7). In the following section, I discuss my research experiences in turbulent environments.

Box 7: Field Journal (Cartagena)

> *Today was the first focus group session in Cartagena, and I had many thoughts going through my mind that needed reflecting on the roles and positionalities of the interpreters and that their presence may change the dynamics of the focus group. However, the session was productive, and we worked well as a team. During stigmatisation tree exercises, the interpreters helped bridge the different understanding nuances and mediated the meanings. With their collaboration, the interpreters were part of the knowledge-production process.*

August, 2019

5.11   Researching in volatile environments

For Quetta, I had to obtain a No Objection Certificate (NOC) as requested by the UK Foreign Office, considering I am a dual national[46]. In Quetta, the journey from my home in Cantonment to Marriabad included two security checkpoints, one upon exiting Cantonment, heavily guarded by Army personnel and second upon entering Marriabad by Frontier Corps (FC), a paramilitary force of Pakistan in charge of monitoring the borders.

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[45] I enrolled in Modular Associate Course at Oxford Brookes University U63500 Spanish A1 (Sep 2017 – Dec 2017) and was Awarded: Cert Credit Modular (Distinction). This was free to PhD students taking A1 courses.
[46] It is a legal document to prove that a research project is authorised by the Government of Pakistan, which is a requirement for certain regions of Pakistan such as Balochistan.

My driver and I had to stop at the checkpoint, and the FC personnel would ask my driver where we were going and the address, along with his identification (ID) card. We were never asked to leave our IDs behind at the checkpoint or searched in the segregated security rooms, visible with the long queues to Marriabad.

In Cartagena, the means of transport for Nelson Mandela included private taxis, considering cab drivers often refused to go to Nelson Mandela[47]. My gatekeepers always accompanied me. However, the infrastructure in Nelson Mandela was such that Transcaribe[48] only operated on the main avenue, whereas vehicles were also limited to the main roads. Travelling to other sectors mainly required moto-taxi. For San Fernando, I travelled in a private taxi.

In Quetta, I started the interviews with the Hazara community in Marriabad and in Cartagena with the Palenquero community in San Fernando, as it was easier to enter the areas and I had the pre-established contacts since the beginning of the research study. Most interviews in Marriabad and San Fernando took place in their family homes. A few of the interviews occurred at the participants' workplaces. At the same time, NGO/CBO staff were interviewed mostly at their workplaces and schools. The focus groups took place at the end of the fieldwork in both sites in safe places such as educational institutions in Nelson Mandela and San Fernando. In Marriabad, the focus group discussions were conducted at my late grandmother's home as the participants could safely and conveniently get there. However, all focus group discussions occurred at educational institutions in Hazara Town.

For the in-depth interviews in Quetta, both participants were from Marriabad due to security issues whilst travelling to Hazara Town. I had instructions on avoiding having a daily routine and the timings for travelling to Hazara Town and in different vehicles. In Cartagena, the in-depth interviews took place at *Institución Educativa Antonia Santos*[49]. For safety reasons, Javier from Nelson Mandela offered the interviews at *Fundación Grupo Social*[50]. By visiting these places, I was able to find more contacts and participants, particularly witnessing workshops and social projects being developed (Chapter-8).

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[47] An adult male Palenquero from San-Fernando who offered to provide the service. He had good knowledge of both the areas.
[48] Metro
[49] An ethno-educative school located in Pie de la Popa area
[50] Located at Los Alpes area

Despite the differences in the limits of Nelson Mandela (Cartagena) and Hazara Town (Quetta), the context of forced migration was similar to the factors that influenced the negative stereotypes about the areas and the red zones. These were perhaps why the interviews took place in safe spaces in both areas[51]. This partly reflects on the context of the two areas because, on the one hand, the population of Nelson Mandela have experienced armed conflict and assassinations. On the other hand, Hazara Town was where the Hazaras' target killings took place whilst commuting to Marriabad (Chapter-2).

5.12   Ethical Considerations

Oxford Brookes University gave the study full ethical approval in December 2018. The research methods occurred after the oral informed consent.[52] The gatekeepers were contacted via email using a cover letter, including a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix-7) with an explanation of the research, also provided to all the NGOs/CBOs/experts. Whilst obtaining oral consent, I also verbally shared it with the participants, as not all participants could read, write and/or sign documents (Czymoniewicz-Klippel *et al.*, 2010). This included the purpose and aim of the research, definition of stigmatisation and resilience, reason for inviting them to participate, what would happen if they volunteered to take part, how long the interview or focus group discussion would take, withdrawal from the study and ensured of their anonymity and confidentiality.

Additionally, in turbulent environments such as Pakistan/Colombia, requesting people to sign a document creates fear, suspicion, and sometimes distress and could potentially harm the research process, creating an imbalance in power relations (Müller-Funk, 2020). Nonetheless, after negotiating with the University Research Ethics Committee, I ensured informed consent would take place verbally after the introduction to the research project by explaining the aim of the project, what would happen with the information and how it would be stored. To document the oral consent, I used a spreadsheet and took the consent form to the interviews to read it to the participants orally (Appendix-8). This was explained

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[51] El Redentor School in Nelson-Mandela and Meritorious School in Hazara Town.

[52] Data was stored directly on Oxford Brookes Google Drive during the fieldwork. In the event of lack of internet connection, security code encrypted laptop and memory sticks were used. They were stored in a locked cabinet away from the data collection site and access to computer files were available by password or other appropriate levels of protection.

to the participants to confirm the terms of the research contract and obtain their oral consent to participate. Also, the participants received an explanation of the anonymity issues and that they did not need to answer questions if they did not want to. I explained that they had the right to retract from the research at any time. By re-conceptualising the consent procedure, I found that the participants had more trust in me and were very open during the interviews.

I asked for permission from the community leaders as a sign of respect and to obtain their consent to photograph significant places and everyday social interactions. This way of approaching the areas comes from my own Hazaragi upbringing, where the respect and consent of the community leaders are always vital, instead of 'othering' the community members marked by my positionality as a researcher of power and privilege. In addition, community informed consent through community leaders made individual informed consent possible. However, I was mindful that the participants did not feel 'forced' to participate as individual consent was obtained from each participant. Drawing diagrams and giving examples to the participants helped them understand the meaning of stigmatisation and their responses. Some aspects required further investigation, so additional meeting(s) with some participants occurred.

All information collected was kept strictly confidential, and all participants were anonymised by assigning pseudonyms to protect their identity and confidentiality. I was also mindful of limiting any possibility of generating any potential risks to the participants when asked about the forms of stigmatisation. The type of questions asked were not particularly sensitive. However, on rare occasions, some participants became distressed; these were the times when participants narrated their experiences of armed conflict and/or sectarian violence. These were not part of the questions, but the participants felt it was important to share their lived experiences of the violence they had suffered. Drawing from my past research experience with asylum seekers, refugees, and internally displaced people, I've cultivated a mindful approach, listening to their stories with compassion. This enabled me to pose questions thoughtfully, minimising any distress. Moreover, my research questions were centred around understanding how these populations respond to stigma. Through this experience, I've learned that discussing response strategies empowers

participants, giving them a voice and prompting them to reflect on their resilience as individuals, families, and communities.[53]

Moreover, as Powles (2004), I also found, the research methods enabled the participants to speak the truth and to dialogue in a safe space about their past and present as a way to heal and self-empowerment. Nonetheless, I still signposted the participants who needed emotional support to the appropriate groups and organisations with the help of my gatekeepers/interpreters. I also reminded the participants that they could end the interview or focus group discussion at any point or not answer a question if they felt uncomfortable.

At the request of the NGOs/CBOs/experts/community leaders who helped and provided their spaces to conduct the interviews, I left the identities unchanged for their involvement in the communities' response strategies upon their request. In both sites, there were several individual semi-structured interviews where the participants began with a more contextualised introduction, and the responses were quite open, so much so that there were a lot of 'off the record' conversations. This information was omitted from transcription, providing contextual insights into the data analysis process.

5.13   Quality and Validity of findings

Throughout my research journey's various phases and steps, I diligently sought out themes, categories, and patterns. By employing qualitative research methods and adhering rigorously to constructivist grounded theory principles, I aimed to ensure coherence between the research objectives, analytical framework, and research outcomes. To uphold the integrity of my research, I meticulously aligned the analytical framework with the research design, objectives, methodology, and findings. Additionally, the ongoing analytical process of deriving meaning from the data underscored the significance of my research endeavours (Charmaz, 2006).

Constructivist grounded theory (CGT) is a qualitative research approach focused on developing theories grounded in participants' perspectives (Charmaz, 2014; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Ensuring quality is paramount for generating credible and trustworthy

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[53] Oxford-2015, Colombia-2016, Lebanon-2017

findings in this methodological framework. CGT quality assurance involves meticulous attention to validity, reliability, and credibility throughout the research process.

Moreover, validity is a primary concern in CGT research, emphasising accurately representing participants' experiences and the phenomenon under study (Charmaz, 2006). To establish validity, I employed multiple strategies, including prolonged engagement with the data, member checking, and peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I immersed myself in the data through prolonged engagement, gaining a profound understanding of participants' perspectives. Moreover, sharing preliminary findings with participants, known as member checking, ensured the accuracy and interpretation of the data. Peer debriefing involved seeking feedback from supervisors and colleagues to minimise biases and consider alternative interpretations.

On the other hand, reliability, another vital aspect of CGT research, relates to the consistency and dependability of findings (Charmaz, 2006). Whilst traditional reliability measures may not directly apply to qualitative research, CGT researchers enhance reliability through rigorous data coding and analysis procedures (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Throughout the research process, I maintained transparency through memoing, clustering, and freewriting.

Furthermore, credibility, synonymous with trustworthiness, is critical in CGT research, signifying the believability and authenticity of findings (Charmaz, 2006). My reflexivity involved ongoing reflection on biases, assumptions, and preconceptions, enhancing the credibility of my research. Triangulation emerged as a crucial strategy for verifying sources' credibility, involving using multiple methods to clarify meaning and identify different processes and responses (Stake, 2003; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Goetz & LeCompte, 1988).

In conclusion, maintaining quality in constructivist grounded theory research necessitates careful attention to validity, reliability, and credibility (Charmaz, 2006). By employing strategies such as prolonged engagement, member checking, systematic coding, reflexivity, and triangulation, CGT researchers can generate credible findings that contribute to a deeper understanding of complex social phenomena.

5.14   Conclusion

To conclude, the chapter began by highlighting the qualitative methodological approach to the study. The chapter discussed constructivist grounded theory methodology, the logical reason for the two sites as case studies and the main paradigm utilised in this study. Working with the participants' voices implies putting into play alternative research methods that favour dialogue and the production of meanings around the different forms of stigmatisation and response strategies. In this sense, the methodological perspective focuses on the logic of working with the participants for the co-production of knowledge. From this perspective, the visual research methods in a participatory setting were particularly appropriate for addressing the voices of the Hazaras, Palenqueros, and Mandeleros. I then outlined the multiple research methods and described data analysis through an inductive and iterative process.

The combination of in-depth interviews with unstructured observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group data collection strategies elicited insights into the trajectories of the areas and the communities' cultural manifestations. In addition, I gained a rich and detailed understanding of the responses to the stigmatisation processes by merging within the resilience strategies, e.g., music, dance, processions, festivals, embeddedness, entrepreneurship, education and raising awareness. For example, in the case of the Palenquero community, their customs and rituals are renowned for their orality but were stigmatised and documented by academics with stereotypical narratives. The Palenqueros began to change this dynamic by studying their community and correcting the stereotypes. Amongst the Hazaras, almost all participants used idioms and proverbs in Hazaragi, which they used to engage in stigma-related processes. The absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies were also analysed through in-depth interviews and on a continuum.

In summary, the multi-site case study design informed by constructivist grounded theory allowed a deeper understanding of the processes of stigmatisation and populations' responses from a sociological perspective of individuals and communities. The theoretical model helped to uncover the general trends, similarities and differences of the phenomenon of stigmatisation and how populations respond. The multi-site fieldwork promoted the richness and depth drawn from the trajectories of the individuals and communities of different age groups, contexts and cultures, which helped understand the

phenomena of stigmatisation and responses shared between the two cases. Within the research process, the modalities of stigmatisation and response strategies manifested at different scales of inquiry and during different phases. This diversity of contexts, communities, phases and modalities necessitated a multi-level conceptual framework to capture the processes of stigmatisation and populations' responses.

More specifically, combining unstructured observation with interviews and participatory methods facilitated the '*understanding of what stigma does to people and how it can be addressed*' (Kleinman & Hall-Clifford, 2009:418). Finally, I have aimed for my reflexivity about my interpretations as a researcher and of my participants throughout the research process. Having the methodology presented, the first empirical chapter that follows will lay the groundwork for understanding the stigmatisation of areas in Quetta (Marriabad/Hazara Town) and Cartagena (Nelson Mandela/San Fernando).

CHAPTER 6: Area Stigma – Forced, Intimidated & Sonic Segregation

6.1 Introduction

In the first section, I briefly describe what area stigma refers to in this study and its connection with the stigmatisation of community, which I explore in detail in the next chapter. Then, I discuss the social landscapes of Marriabad and Hazara Town, differentiated by the different forms of segregation such as 'forced segregation': walls, roadblocks, and security checkpoints; and 'intimidated segregation': red zones, no-go areas. In the next section, I explore 'sonic segregation': soundscapes and 'intimidated segregation' in the context of Nelson Mandela and San Fernando. I do so by outlining the characteristics of the four areas. To explore these characteristics, the chapter aims to identify and assess the different forms and processes of stigmatisation, and how do these diverse dynamics shape the experiences of stigmatisation in each community (Q1). I argue that the stigmatisation of areas and communities is interlinked. The chapter discusses how the segregation through 'forced, intimidated and sonic' characteristics provides the grounds for constructing labels that fall on the areas. In particular, I emphasise how the different communities experience those socially constructed limits that, without being material, impose limits on interaction, resulting in certain specifics and classifications that order area demarcations.

I also emphasise that specific aspects of identity take on greater salience when experiencing stigmatisation. Drawing upon the intersectionality framework, it's crucial to underscore how various communities navigate socially constructed limits that, whilst intangible, profoundly shape their interactions and experiences. These limits impose boundaries and classifications that delineate societal spaces and hierarchies, contributing to the marginalisation of certain groups. This means that individuals from marginalised communities, such as the Hazaras and Afro-descendants, may face heightened discrimination and scrutiny based on intersecting factors like ethnicity, religion, gender, and socio-economic status (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). For instance, within these communities, the intersection of ethnicity with other identity markers can exacerbate experiences of stigmatisation. Members may find themselves subjected to multiple layers

of discrimination, where their ethnic background becomes a focal point for marginalisation and exclusion. Moreover, the socially constructed limits influence how communities interact within societal spaces. These boundaries shape the allocation of resources, access to opportunities, and overall social dynamics, reinforcing existing power structures and inequalities.

By recognising the intersectionality of identities and the impact of socially constructed limits on experiences of stigmatisation, we can better understand the complex interplay of factors that contribute to marginalisation. I further discuss the labelling of areas as *'violent'*, *'disorderly'*, *'dangerous'*, and *'loud'* and the distancing of others. I highlight how segregation contributed to the stigmatising markers and the different place-making activities contributing to their sense of belonging.

6.2 Forms of Area Stigma

> *"Territory is a geographical space in which everyone develops their daily lives. How can you start your customs and cultural practices? How can you start relations with others? The territory is a space which reflects your daily life; it is not directly linked to land; it is about space and relationship with the others and how you continue your ancestral practices".*
>
> Benkos_Ku_Suto_Cartagena_2019

As noted in Chapter 4, in this study, an area is a meaningful environment that expresses the social, cultural, historical, economic, administrative and social components in multiple ways. Area stigma involves associating people of particular locations with undesirable characteristics, which can spread from individuals to communities (Kornberg, 2016; Piquard & Montoya, 2014; Turan *et al.*, 2019). For clarity, area stigma in this study refers to how stigma attaches to and contours areas with a spatial taint (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004). Therefore, I will use the notion of 'area stigma'. The characteristics of the community are more important than, strictly speaking, the space or the territory. However, sharing the area is one of the characteristics of the four communities. Most importantly, the processes of stigmatisation are, without a doubt, context-specific in which the historical, socio-economic, and institutional elements play an influencing role (Lamont *et al.*, 2014; 2016; Paradies *et al.*, 2015). As such, the taint of stigmatised areas trickles down and attaches to the inhabitants.

Most of the literature on territorial stigmatisation, as conceptualised by Wacquant (2007a, 2007b, 2008), such as the black American ghettos, the French working-class *banlieues*,

Europe's social housing estates, etc., focuses on marginalised areas in Western countries. There is recent literature on territorial stigmatisation within the Global North (see Pinkster, 2020). However, the areas in the literature included communities or groups of people sharing some social characteristics, such as '*resurging class inequality, welfare state retrenchment, penal state expansion, and spatial polarisatio*n' (Wacquant *et al.*, 2014:1272). As such, the territorial (physical) dimension was much more important than the communities (social) residing there.

One of the significant contributions of this study is looking at the production of stigma, the interaction between the physical space (area) and the people (communities), mainly looking from the inside, with communities sharing the same characteristics in each area. As such, the concept of area stigma has helped in understanding the processes of stigmatisation in the four areas: Marriabad and Hazara Town (Quetta), Nelson Mandela and San Fernando (Cartagena).

As I explore in this chapter, from the interviews in Quetta and Cartagena, area stigma appeared in the participants' narratives as a constitutive element of their lived experiences. That is to say, the power structures played a crucial role in producing the stigmatisation processes by 'containing' the communities within the areas (Sisson, 2021). This instigated further misconceptions and the threat of the unknown for both the stigmatised and the stigmatisers, appearing in the participants' narratives as predominant elements during the daily encounters with the stigmatisers. However, in all four areas, I found that their ethnicities played a significant role in the context of area stigma. I identified that unlike area stigma, which geographic mobility and tactics can conceal, stigmatisation of communities belonging to a specific ethnicity required a more reflexive process of identity formation and performance. In Chapter 8, I discuss those nuances and how people manoeuvre and use tactics.

The notion of 'threat' emerged as a constant theme in the participants' narratives both in Quetta and Cartagena. These perceptions appeared significant in shaping the stigma attached to their areas. As such, I briefly discuss the notion of threat in the context of 'forced, intimidated and sonic segregation', then explore how these segregations turned into labelling the areas as *'violent'*, *'dangerous'* and *'loud'*. 'Threat' in this context is understood through one of the components of stigmatisation, i.e., prejudice, a negative value judgement, which Link and Phelan (2001) view as an emotional reaction of the

stigmatisers. Stigma studies base prejudice on a pre-existing belief rather than experience. The description of the areas helps to exemplify how some of the factors above shaped the stigmatisation of the areas. For this, I used unstructured observation of the areas as a tool for analysis and interpretation, in conjunction with semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions using photo-elicitation techniques and stigmatisation tree exercises to gather information about the meanings people attribute to their areas.

6.3 Forced & Intimidated Segregation: Identity Markers

6.3.1 Marriabad, Quetta

Marriabad, an area within the city limits of Quetta, is surrounded by barren mountains and a Military Cantonment densely populated by Pakistani Hazaras (Image-1).[54] Over the years, Afghan Hazaras have also moved there with other minority groups, primarily the upper-middle class, who found refuge within Marriabad's walled enclosure of Gulistan Town. The area's growth was visible with the construction of houses built on the mountain slopes that lit up at night and were accessible only by foot. I noted down in my observation notes that the journey from my home in Cantonment to Marriabad included two security checkpoints, one upon exiting Cantonment, heavily guarded by Army personnel with face recognition cameras and the second upon entering Marriabad by Frontier Corps (FC), a paramilitary force of Pakistan (Image-1). The strictly controlled checkpoints and barbed-wired walls surrounding Marriabad were constructed in 2013 after target killings and bombings peaked (see Chapter-2). The datasets in this category were focused on restricted access, confinement, red-zone, walls and checkpoints leading to the category of 'forced segregation'.

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[54] Recognised as a tribal group and Afghan Hazaras as refugees. However, in both cases, they recognise themselves as Hazaras first.

Image 1: Marriabad & Entrance to Cantonment

Author in Marriabad, 2019   **India Narrative, 2023**

During my observations and interviews, I noted that the community suffered repressive practices and control by the security forces, making other areas unsafe. Through the participants' narratives, I found that the stigma attached to Marriabad resulted from the 'forced segregation' labelled as red zones. The labelling of the area as 'dangerous' for the outsiders due to 'threat' was because of the target killings and bomb blasts. I expected to feel this sense of threat throughout my fieldwork for various reasons, including ethical dilemmas and emotional reactions to participants' stories. Members of other ethnic groups also felt threatened to enter Marriabad as there were a few incidents where the Hazara community members confronted them. As such, others developed a sense of threat, in this case, resulting in 'distancing'. In addition, the participants noted that the extra protection provided to the community led to the label '*Hazara Cantt*'[55], the perception that the Army favoured the Hazaras. It is pertinent to point out that the social exclusion from the participants' voices allows us to identify that the signs transfer to other areas of life, such as work, obtaining credits and the repeated refusal by transport officials (Parker & Aggleton, 2003). In addition, other types of services that do not want to access Marriabad affirm the danger of entering the area, excluding them from the possibility of obtaining resources that allow them to improve their living conditions.

Semi-structured interviews with the community members encompassed discussions on their daily encounters, environmental conditions, availability of services, and their reactions to various manifestations of stigmatisation. The conversations focused on specific historical events, locations, and the adverse characteristics associated with the community

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[55] Short for Cantonment

members residing in those locales. For instance, Amira[56], a civil servant, expressed her experience of this threat that the outsiders developed when a bomb blast on a university bus from Marriabad to Buitems University:

> *"Sardar Bahadur Khan University has a specific bus that only girls can use to travel towards the Marriabad area. During that time, girls of other ethnic groups would not sit on that bus because of the feeling that the bus would be targeted. They began to say this directly to us".*

<div align="right">Amira_M_2019</div>

Here, intersectionality plays a role as gender and ethnicity intersect (Crenshaw, 1991). Girls from different ethnic backgrounds were navigating their identities as both females and members of specific ethnic groups. This was echoed during the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult male participants. For instance, Maaz, a refugee student enrolled at Buitems University, expressed:

> *"The Hazara community does not accept a Pashtun or a Baloch, and the same happens when we go to the non-Hazara area, then they don't accept us. These are the foundations of distancing from the others, to the point that we don't have any communication".*

<div align="right">Maaz_Young_Adult_Males_M_2019</div>

The 'no-go areas' for the Hazaras were where most of the target killings took place in Quetta, and the areas of the Pashtuns and Baloch caused threatening feelings amongst them. In a reciprocal process of stigmatisation, the Pashtuns and Baloch also 'distanced' themselves due to the 'threat' of target killing because of the presence of Hazaras in their areas or the city. However, the relational process of stigmatisation was evident amongst the narratives of the participants, e.g., '*each time a Pashtun walks by us, we speed up and drive off*', '*we also feel threatened by them as they have instilled this sense of vulnerability in our minds*', '*they stopped coming here, and we stopped going to their areas*'. I found that threat, in this case, was not founded on prejudice but rather 'peril' as noted by Jones *et al.* (1984), i.e., the danger others perceive, considering the actual incidents that took place targeting the Hazaras, signifying the interaction between the stigmatised and non-stigmatised. This insight was gained through engaging with the participants' narratives and experiences in a way unburdened by stereotypes or preconceived judgments. Instead of looking for evidence to confirm existing assumptions, I approached the data with a genuine

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[56] Pseudonyms assigned to all participants.

desire to understand the complexities of their lives. For instance, the dimension of attributing the 'responsibility' of their condition to the Hazaras was recurrent amongst the participants' narratives, '*our society started believing that the Hazaras have an intrinsic problem*'.

Marriabad was also labelled as the '*area of refugees*', considering the context of forced migration in Hazara Town, which also trickled down to Marriabad, labelling all Hazaras as '*refugees*' (see: Canfied, 2002). As such, I found a blurred line between the stigmatisation of area and community. It is important to note that the participants used the terms '*refugees*' and '*muhajir*' interchangeably. Whilst '*muhajir*' has religious and historical significance, it also serves as a means of self-identification as refugees under international law (Abbasi & Monsutti, 2023; Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont, 1988). I am aware that the label of 'refugee' is influential and carries significant implications for both defining and categorising individuals who are forced to flee their home countries due to persecution, conflict, or other forms of danger. Whilst the label confers legal protections, Zetter (1991) sheds light on the complexities, limitations, and power dynamics inherent in the labelling process.

As I wanted to delve deeper into understanding the historical context of the Hazaras residing in Quetta, I prodded further during the in-depth interview with Faeq (Pakistani Hazara) regarding the confinement of the Hazara community. This helped to exemplify how some of the factors above contributed to the area stigma in the context of Marriabad. Faeq's family fled from Jaghori (Afghanistan) to Quetta in the 1950s during the Cold War and settled in Marriabad. They did not know anyone in Quetta. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the Hazaras had pre-established networks in Quetta since the 1800s. Homeownership is a sign of glory, honour and esteem amongst the Hazaras, so his family built a house in Marriabad, highlighting the importance of place-making processes and a sense of belonging.

Due to the increased sectarian violence, Faeq's brothers fled to Australia, using their savings. After my fieldwork, Faeq also fled and has since received refugee status. He expressed how the security officials at the checkpoint questioned his citizenship as a Pakistani, stereotyping him as a refugee:

> *"When I showed my ID card, he said, 'Ah alright, you are from Alamdar Road! This is a fake. You people from Alamdar Road are all fake; you make these ID cards through bribery'".*

<div align="right">Faeq_M_2019</div>

From Faeq's narrative, his identity is shaped by both his ethnicity and place of residence. Faeq further described how the walls and confinement cut off all the ties with other ethnic communities who were living in Marriabad and nearby areas, creating double-edged emotions, from harmonious ethnic diversity to ethnic segregation:

> *"Not only did the routes in and out of the area shut down but there were also other ethnic communities who were affected because they had been living alongside the Hazaras for decades. Some still live inside the wall and have difficulty accessing their homes. We are out of society and stuck".*

<div align="right">Faeq_M_2019</div>

Although Faeq was trying not to show his emotions, his tone could not hide his frustration when explaining the questioning at security checkpoints to enter Marriabad as a form of interrogation. This was noted during unstructured observation, where the community members were stopped and searched. I found this very unsettling, and I was mindful of my prestige and power dynamics not to influence my observations. In his narrative, he explored the social dynamics of area stigma, expressed in particular ways, through the attribute of control by the State in the form of checkpoints and walls, leading to a feeling of threat for the outsiders to access Marriabad. The 'forced segregation' can be viewed as what Jones *et al.* (1984) in the context of mental health stigma referred to as the negative '*aesthetics*' or danger associated with it.

As such, Marriabad became a no-go area and was labelled a 'red zone' for outsiders unless they had a reason to enter, such as to visit friends or access the hospital.[57] Viewed in this way, the checkpoints and walls as a form of 'security' provided by the State cease to designate neutrally, giving rise to prejudice against the Hazara community due to the threat instilled amongst the outsiders. Faeq described these as preventing reliable and constant access to Marriabad and establishing dissenting and commiserating relationships between the community members (insiders) and the residents of the rest of the city (outsiders). I noticed this during my daily visits to the area and whilst observing the social interactions.

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[57] See: Geo News (2013)

He further explained why the community had to relocate all their businesses and shops from outside the walls within the vicinity of the area:

> *"We feel like prisoners as if to ask for their permission to move freely…we are asked every corner, every step where are you going? Why are you going? Do you have a car? Are you walking?"*

<div align="right">Faeq_M_2019</div>

Moreover, almost all participants described their feelings about living in prison. I also noticed during unstructured observation that once inside the walled enclave, there were multiple formal and informal business activities. In addition, Faeq mentioned the threat of going outside Marriabad, '*we cannot do business outside our area'.* However, the ones who commuted for work and other reasons to what they considered the 'red zones' expressed the difficulties they faced because of the checkpoints. As such, during semi-structured interviews, I wanted to explore the different ways the community members faced disruptions. For instance, Farha, a 38-year-old teacher, explained when the target killings were at their peak, the security at the checkpoints also increased. As such, the pick-and-drop from her house provided by the employer also stopped.

> *"Once the situation got slightly better, I was asked to walk up to the checkpoint, as they would not pick me up from my house in Marriabad. I would walk up to Musa checkpoint".*

<div align="right">Farha_M_2019</div>

A non-Hazara staff member of an NGO also noted that it was very common for organisations and government departments to discriminate against the Hazaras for jobs because of the security of the staff and their building. Most participants highlighted that the employers '*refused to take them on because of security risk*', framed by the stigmatisation of the area and the community. This allows the interpretation to follow a series of ideas aimed at fabricating and identifying areas as dangerous and, in that identification, stigmatising them, keeping them at a distance, and excluding them (Phelan *et al.,* 2008).

The above is what I propose as 'intimidated segregation', which in the dataset included categories of invisible borders, danger, no-go areas, and fear. This extends the threat because of the fear of going outside the area to educational institutions, work, or recreation due to the red zones. Whilst travelling between Hazara Town and Marriabad, I also felt scared because I had to travel in different vehicles and was not allowed a routine. However, I knew I should not reveal my emotions to the participants. Slater (2017) refers

to this as the 'stigmatising influences' of places shaping the opportunities accessible to community members. It is important to note that in the past, the Hazara youth actively participated in sports such as football, hockey, boxing, karate, etc., at the national and international levels. Before the 'forced and intimidated segregation', the Hazaras could freely commute to the multi-purpose Ayub National Stadium. Located at one of the red zones, Spinny Road, the Hazara community can no longer access the stadium since the assassination of a Pakistani Hazara boxing Olympian, Syed Abrar Hussain and other incidents. I observed that during interviews, every time the names of red zones came up, the participants would pause as though they were reliving the trauma.

Considering the lack of recreational areas, such as parks, my observational notes recorded a striking factor: young adult males and females walking with badminton rackets on their backs to indoor sports centres, such as the TajiKhan Complex and Qayum Papa Stadium. Young adult females walked in groups to the language and computer centres, whilst young children went to the *Imambarghas*[58] for lessons. The staff member of Wahdat Guardian, during a semi-structured interview, reflected on the need to utilise the *Imambarghas* as indoor recreational areas:

> *"There is no space for the youth... there are no parks. When I look at the children on the streets, I always wonder that the Imambarghas are where people go to pray. What is the other activity there? Why don't they make some space? They could continue the prayers downstairs and upstairs to have indoor games. Children are so energetic. Where should they go to transfer this energy?"*

<div align="right">Wahdat_Guardian_Quetta_2019</div>

Similarly, at the end of the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult male participants, when they were presenting their diagrams, I noticed that the element of control made it difficult for non-residents to enter. This included patients who were non-residents and needed to access the Benazir Hospital located within Marriabad:

> *"Other community members find it very difficult to come to us and often say that rather than us coming to you, it is better you come here. They are questioned a lot. When my friends do visit, I go to the checkpoint to verify them. They [security officials] usually keep their ID cards and hand them over upon their return from the area".*

<div align="right">Young_Adult_Males_M_2019</div>

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[58] *Shia* mosque

At the time of the fieldwork to enter Marriabad, there were six checkpoints[59] and roadblocks for the State to provide them 'protection' from the threats and a way to control the 'type' of people who entered and those getting out. However, all the peripheral roads were blocked by walls built by the Government of Balochistan, disconnecting them from other communities. This was noted during unstructured observation at the cemetery, commonly known as Hazara *Qabristan* [cemetery], which has a symbolic significance for the community for multiple purposes (Image-2).

Image 2: Cemeteries

Hazara Town   **Marriabad**

Fieldwork, 2019

The data highlighted one of the starkest findings regarding cemeteries, particularly places of togetherness. This was also noticed during a focus group exercise with adult females when I showed them the photo of the cemetery:

> *"So many rituals are taking place at the cemetery. They go there for festive and religious days, to visit their loved ones, to buy fruit and vegetables; everyone crosses it regularly because it is near the area where people go for picnics"*.

Adult_Females_M_2019

The photo-elicitation technique displayed photographs I had taken during unstructured observation and displayed them to the participants. I found that this method elicited information, sentiments, and memories attributable to the specific representation that the pictures possessed. I was also aware that there could be instances where some of the photos may make the participants emotional. The participants shared how it was a place for the remembrance of loved ones and an additional area, *Ganj-e-Shuhada*, dedicated to the ones who lost their lives to target killings with pictures and *Alams* [flags]. Through embodied interaction, community members generate, articulate, and consolidate a socialised environment through uses and meanings, nurturing a sense of belonging to the area (McKenzie, 2012; 2015). This aspect will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 8 to

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[59] (1) Musa check post, (2) Toghi Road, (3) Alamdar Road, (4) Lordi Maidan, (5) Qalandar makaan/Ghilzai Road, (6) Kasi Road.

demonstrate a means of place-making. There was also a trampoline, a Ferris wheel for the children, and an informal vegetable market, which used to be in the city before the target killings (Image-3). These can be linked to the lack of recreational area for the community, considering the new walls built near the cemetery by the Army, enclosing the community further and marking it the Army's territory. Before the building of the walls, the community had access to the Army polo ground, which at the time of fieldwork was within the Army side of the wall. One striking element was the presence of trucks lined up in front of the new walls, where there was a newly built barbed-wire factory for fencing the Afghan-Pakistan border (Image-3). It is important to note that the Hazara community was not consulted about the factory.

Image 3: Informal Vegetable Market, Walls & Barbed Wires

Fieldwork, 2019   **Fieldwork, 2019**
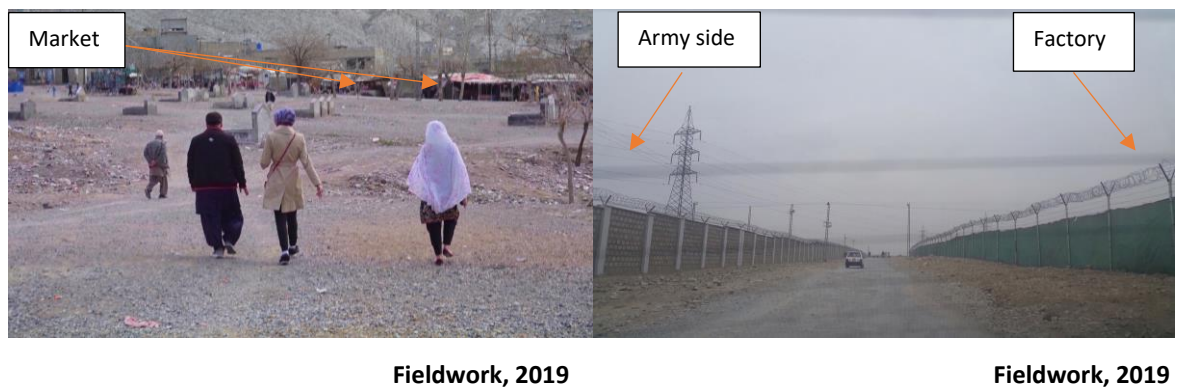
This highlights some of the structural power dimensions and offers insights for future research into the modalities of stigmatisation at the structural level. In the case of Marriabad and Hazara Town, the findings revealed that the area and the community encountered both 'forced and intimidated segregation', as I will explore in the next section in the context of Hazara Town.

6.3.2 Hazara Town

Hazara Town is located at the foothills of the mountains on the Western outskirts of the city (Image-4). Hazara Town acquired its name because a Pakistani Hazara, Haji Ali Ahmed, bought the land. This social production of habitat appeared in the 80s, and the Hazara refugees who fled from Afghanistan during the second wave of forced migration were the initial population (Chapter-2).[60] Currently, this settlement, a transit point for the Hazara refugees, includes significant other ethnic groups residing within the walled area and

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[60] In academia such areas are labelled as informal settlements or *kachi abadi.*

Pakistani Hazaras who relocated from Marriabad due to increased house prices in recent years. The participants I interviewed noted that although refugees primarily inhabited Hazara Town, there were local Hazaras and irregular migrants. Like Marriabad, home ownership for the Afghan Hazaras is of utmost importance. Although refugees cannot purchase properties in their names, given the trust and solidarity amongst the Hazaras through kinship and lineage, it is not uncommon for them to buy properties in their Pakistani relatives' names.

Image 4: Hazara Town

Fieldwork, 2019

Whilst travelling to and from Marriabad and Hazara Town for interviews and unstructured observation, I also had to stop at the security checkpoints with my driver (Image-5). We travelled via different routes, including multiple red zones.[61]During this time, I reached a pivotal moment where I consciously decided to set aside any assumptions I could have about the participants and the challenges they might face. This was not an easy step, as we all carry certain preconceived notions based on societal narratives and experiences. However, I recognised that I needed to approach the data with a fresh perspective for my research to be truly meaningful and unbiased.

In addition, the cemetery, located next to the Western bypass, a no-go area for the Hazaras, also had a different feel than the one in Marriabad. This was utilised purely for remembrance and had a symbolic significance, prominent with *Alams* [flags] and pictures of the martyrs. One of the significant areas was named *Maidan-e-Shuhada*[62] [Martyr's Square] after the second major attack, followed by the twin bombing at *Shuhada Chowk*[63] in Marriabad (DFAT, 2022). This was a busy market street with pictures of the martyrs

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[61] Spinny Road, Hazara Double Road, Western Bypass, Sabzal Road, Joint Road and Kirani Road
[62] It used to be a vegetable market
[63] See: Al Jazeera (2013)

displaced at the entrance, exit and midway point of the street, the majority of whom were women and children. It was striking to notice young and adult females walking with books to English language centres, which I explore further in Chapter 8.

Image 5: Checkpoints

<div align="right">**Fieldwork, 2019**</div>

In addition, there were multiple independent schools, such as Meritorious School, where most of the interviews took place, and schools for refugee students up to the secondary level. Moreover, it was noticeable during fieldwork that Hazara Town was accessible via six security checkpoints and, similar to Marriabad, was walled from all sides, i.e., the negative aesthetics according to the stigma framework (Jones *et al.,* 1984).[64] During a focus group discussion, when I showed the picture of checkpoints and walls, the Hazara refugee women highlighted that not all the Hazara refugees have Proof of Registration (PoR) cards.[65] Conducting interviews with the Hazara refugees, I was mindful of acknowledging my cultural biases and how these may influence the types of questions asked or the interpretation of responses. For instance, Rukhsana, an Afghan refugee who resided in Hazara Town for 12 years, was waiting to join her husband in the UK and had obtained a PoR card. Whereas Shazia, an elderly Afghan refugee, did not have one. They both expressed the difficulties they faced at checkpoints when travelling to Marriabad:

> *"When we go to Marriabad, the security personnel stop and search us. Once we show them the ID card, that should be enough. Why must they search for us in the women's search facility at the checkpoint? They make us walk to that room where a lady officer conducts the search".*

<div align="right">Rukhsana_Adult_Females_HT_2019</div>

> *"The rickshaw drivers are local Hazaras; they have CNIC cards. Refugees like me mostly rely on them to get past the checkpoints. Once they asked us to come out of*

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[64] 2 A-one City [Arif hospital, Bolan Medical College], 1 Faisal town, 1 Railway Society [Infront of Sardar Bahadur Khan University], 1 Western By-pass, 1 Kerani Road.

[65] The Proof of Registration (PoR) card is issued by the Government of Pakistan that provides temporary legal stay and freedom of movement for the registered Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

the vehicle, they asked for ID. My husband told me to show the police verification certificate".

Shazia_Adult_Females_HT_2019

Utilising the photo-elicitation technique, the participants felt more comfortable continuing to talk about their experiences with the stigma, their observations during the process, and their own stories and anecdotes. Rukhsana's and Shazia's narratives highlight how the intersection of their ethnic identity as Hazara women and their legal status as refugees or locals affects their experiences at checkpoints (Stein, 1981). This intersectionality influences how they navigate these checkpoints and interact with authorities. Their Hazara ethnicity exposes them to discrimination and marginalisation due to historical and socio-political factors, whilst their legal status further complicates their experiences, as refugees may face additional scrutiny and restrictions compared to local residents (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2013). Therefore, it is the intersection of these identities that produces their specific positions and shapes their interactions at the checkpoints. In essence, whilst intersectionality underscores the interconnectedness of identities, it is the positions generated by this intersection that determine individuals' experiences and interactions within societal structures and institutions.

Moreover, Shazia, who had applied and was waiting for her PoR card, only had a police verification certificate as a form of ID. The participants also mentioned how common it was for their relatives to visit from Afghanistan for a couple of months without a passport, a common trend considering the easy border crossing ever since the migratory flow between Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan (Hashmi, 2016). Most young adult participants explained that after completing secondary schooling, they travelled back to Afghanistan to obtain the *Tazkira* [identity document], an academic certificate issued by the Government of Afghanistan.[66]

The participants who shared the above experiences were all born in Quetta and cardholders of PoR. Most of them went to Buitems University through a German-funded scholarship[67], but it took them at least two years to verify all the certificates. Refugees can apply at the Inter Board Committee of Chairmen (IBCC) in Islamabad or the Higher Education Commission (HEC) in Quetta. However, when prompted for preferring to travel

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[66] They can also apply at IBCC in Islamabad or in Quetta at the Higher Education Commission
[67] DAFI scholarship [The Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative Fund]

to Afghanistan for the *Tazkira*, most of the participants noted that considering the location of the HEC in Quetta, surrounded by red zones, they found it safer to travel to Afghanistan at the time of target killings. This highlights the mobility restrictions due to threat through 'intimidated segregation'.

Compared to Marriabad, where I could walk through the areas of symbolic significance during unstructured observation, that was not the case in Hazara Town, considering the multiple red zones around the area. I initially grappled with a deep sense of fear whilst conducting unstructured observation in Hazara Town. This fear was not about my physical safety but rather the fear of encountering 'no-go areas' within the research process. These are the uncharted territories, the sensitive topics, and the emotional depths that I had to navigate as I engaged with participants and their stories. The fear of 'no-go areas' serves as a reminder of the importance of ethical considerations and reflexivity in constructivist grounded theory. This second type of segregation was labelled as 'red zones' and 'no-go areas', rendering the areas invisible from the internalised threat of the others. For example, the university stopped its transport service for the Hazara female students after the bus attack in front of Sardar Bahadur Khan Women's University, close to Hazaras Town (see Chapter 2).

The context of forced migration and its labelling as 'dangerous' due to the incidents within the area led to negative stereotyping of Hazara Town (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004). Comparing my interpretations with the participants' perspectives, I noted that threats and suspicions about the Hazaras materialised under a network of meanings that shaped the discourse on Hazara Town. I, too, was instructed not to travel to Hazara Town on a daily routine, as noted in Chapter 5. In addition, people in Hazara Town were suspicious of my driver because he was a non-Hazara, and most participants would say, '*it's best he is not seen outside*', '*he should come inside so people don't find him suspicious*'. There were also moments when I would wait in the car with the driver, and pedestrians would stop and stare at him.

Another element the participants frequently spoke about was how the walls disrupted the social relations between the Hazaras and non-Hazara families in Hazara Town, similar to Marriabad. The interviews also yielded individual-level data on people's thoughts by uncovering insights into their everyday lives and the social connections they formed. For

instance, Sibtain, a lawyer and human rights activist, highlighted this during a semi-structured interview:

> *"There is a wall in between Faisal Town and Hazara Town. They have been living side by side for the last 30 years. The wall that was erected, on one side, there is a Pashtun family. On the other, there is a Hazara family. The relationships and social connections the two families had amongst themselves have been destroyed by erecting the wall".*

Sibtain_HT_2019

These accounts emphasise how the checkpoints further discouraged those not residing in Marriabad from visiting it. In this same sense, continuing their relationships with their relatives in Marriabad deepens the homogeneity of the social networks. Whereas the walls cut off all social ties with the other community members, leading to prejudices, stereotypes, labelling and distancing where the area appeared under the expression of the 'dangerous' within the framework of an increasingly exclusive society (Wacquant, 2007a). Moreover, within the interconnected elements of stigma outlined by Link and Phelan (2001:363), the '*isolation*' results from the categorisation that separates '*us*' from '*them*' and attaches negative traits, without actively challenging these negative perceptions. Consequently, many individuals allow this perception to influence their behaviour.

As such, the stigmatisation of the area due to the negative aesthetics and the associated danger disrupted the interaction with others (Jones *et al.,* 1984). The above narratives suggest a set of operations, distinguishing between the inside and outside, public and private, us and them. This forces the inhabitants to '*retreat into the private sphere, and flight into the outer world as soon as one acquires the means to move'* (Wacquant, 2009:117). So far, I have explored the negative aesthetics of 'forced and intimidated segregation' that resulted in the danger associated with the areas. This was possible through open and dialogical exchanges with the participants. I actively sought input and feedback from the participants, allowing them to shape the research process. This dialogical approach helped uncover nuances and alternative viewpoints related to area stigma. In the next section, I reveal another type of aesthetics that falls into the areas such as 'sonic segregation'.

6.4 Intimidated & Sonic Segregation: Identity Markers

6.4.1 Nelson Mandela

Nelson Mandela, one of the largest areas in the city with 24 sectors, located in the Southwest of Cartagena, is reachable in one hour by car or Transcaribe, 15 km from the Historic Centre of Cartagena (Image-6). Nelson Mandela came into existence due to the armed conflict in the 90s, populated by displaced persons who recognise themselves as Mandeleros and a large population of Palenqueros. I interviewed participants displaced from different regions of armed conflict, such as Magdalena, Mahates, Antioquia, Bolívar, and Sucre, as well as some born in Nelson Mandela. Dionisio Miranda, a community leader and Palenquero lawyer who defended the rights of the Mandeleros, chose to honour the former South African President by naming the neighbourhood after him.

Image 6: Nelson Mandela

Fieldwork, 2019

Similarly, the names of some of the sectors occurred on the commemorative date of their settlement and a football field in honour of an assassinated community leader. Interestingly, this resonates with the place naming of Hazara Town in Quetta, symbolically identifying the area based on collective experiences of forced migration and place-making activities.

No walls or checkpoints at the entrance separated Nelson Mandela from other areas, relatively invisible walls. The difference was visible, considering how densely populated it was, with limited infrastructure and a peri-urban feeling at first glance. Access to the Transcaribe and local buses was through the paved main street. Whilst walking around the streets, the different modes of informal businesses were most visible, from renting home appliances to street vending and selling mobile data minutes. The main avenue was full of small grocery stores, stationery shops, pharmacies and barber shops. The access to *El-*

Retendor school was by foot due to the non-paved street, giving it a more rugged and stony terrain.[68] Considering the lack of infrastructure, the population relied heavily on moto-taxis as they were the only accessible mode of transport apart from walking.

However, the Mandeleros' precariousness was exposed: a demolished health centre forced the community members to travel to nearby areas such as San Fernando or Villa Hermosa. In addition, the infrastructure was in poor condition, with deteriorated and sloping houses at risk of collapse and uncovered roads, some full of mud and others with stagnant water. Apart from cement and brick houses, there were many *cambuche*s [dwellings built with provisional nature and materials such as old wood and plastic, amongst others]. Diego, an artist, noted on land ownership:

> *"I see the process as though we are reclaiming the land rather than invading. We bought the land from the first person living there who had marked the land. It was very cheap to buy".*

Diego_NM_2019

Diego's narrative signifies that the *'disorderliness'* of the area was also caused by the labelling of the land as 'invaded' by the displaced population rather than the community members' collective identities through place-making actions.[69] At this point, I consciously set aside any assumptions I could have about displaced populations and what challenges individuals might face. This allowed me to approach the data with a fresh perspective and discover themes that challenged stereotypes. For example, the participants I interviewed highlighted the significance of land ownership as they were empty lands, regardless of the type of material used to build their homes, considering the integration into city management and planning processes.[70] It represents both a symbol of independence and family fulfilment and contributes to generating a sense of subjective well-being.

For the residents of Nelson Mandela, the burden of stigma intensified in multiple ways due to their ethnic identity and place of displacement. The participants noted that they were frequently labelled as internally displaced despite having lived there since the 90s because the displaced population inhabited Nelson Mandela due to the armed conflict. It draws attention to how these designations interact with the identities and lived experiences of

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[68] Where all the interviews took place.
[69] Referring to informal settlements such as pirate urbanisation.
[70] Through the Geographic Institute Agustín Codazzi, the entity of the Government of Colombia responsible for producing the official maps.

the displaced groups (REACH, 2023). For example, when interviewing the *Instituto Distrital de Deporte y Recreación* [IDER, District Institute for Sports and Recreation], one of the staff members mentioned the difficulties in opening sports grounds:

> *"Nelson Mandela is a red zone; there is a social problem because many people came from regions of armed conflict, and it is very difficult to understand what happens there. Initially, they will be playing football, but at the same time, there exists micro-trafficking, gangs and displaced people".*

<div align="right">IDER_Cartagena_2019</div>

From the above account, 'red zone' is a phrase that served to account for the area and defined notions of reality associated with various images and meanings considered negative, materialising threats and suspicions about the Mandeleros. Despite the differences in the limits of Nelson Mandela (Cartagena) and Hazara Town (Quetta), the context of forced migration (IDPs and refugees) were similar factors that influenced the negative stereotypes about the areas. In addition, both had red zones within the limits of the areas, in particular, marked by the assassination sites. These were perhaps why the interviews were conducted in schools rather than at homes, as in the case of Marriabad and San Fernando. Additional understanding and increased theoretical complexity of this category of 'red zone' was acquired through unstructured observation of the area. The area's recurring characteristics were the churches and CBOs. Most participants highlighted that the churches and international NGOs provided the initial humanitarian relief upon the arrival of the displaced people. Another significant feature of the area was the *Jesús Maestro* educational institution, funded by the church. Utilising unstructured observation provided insights into the observable social interactions of community members and their interconnections, revealing their social capital and networks that contribute to their sense of place and identity in the area.

I discovered that many children in the educational system stopped attending classes and dropped out of all educational activities. Due to insufficient financial resources, they could not purchase supplies and uniforms. Many youths found it necessary to sell fruits on the streets or on public transport to help their parents for the sustenance of their homes. The deficiency in terms of road infrastructure was another factor that discouraged them because the streets were unpaved. In the rainy season, the mud prevented them from passing to their respective schools and colleges. There were a few educational institutions in the area for the high demand of children and young people. In addition, the most

prevalent level of schooling of young people corresponded to primary and secondary studies with little possibility of accessing university studies due to low income. Commuting to and from the area was another factor for the lack of access to colleges and universities. During unstructured observation, whilst pointing at the infrastructure, Lucas, a community leader, mentioned:

> *"It is difficult for the youth who want to work or study outside the area, and they cannot return because the taxi drivers refuse to take them. The only way we can have a taxi driver is someone we know from the area, or the other is a collective taxi".*

Lucas_NM_2019

This scenario highlights how multiple aspects of identity (age, geographical location, social connections, and economic status) intersect to create barriers for these young adults. From the above account, apart from the infrastructure, Nelson Mandela was blemished as 'dangerous' by taxi drivers downtown. In addition, Transcaribe and taxis were some of the participants' most expensive means of commuting. During fieldwork, I also experienced difficulties accessing the area by taxi drivers downtown who refused to take me to Nelson Mandela, which is why I had a private Palenquero driver. Other times, I used the Transcaribe or, on occasion, the moto-taxi. Anytime I felt scared, the fear served as a motivator for deepening my reflexivity as a researcher. It compelled me to continuously examine my assumptions, reactions and biases throughout the fieldwork. Reflexivity became a tool for acknowledging the power dynamics, ensuring I did not exploit the participants' vulnerability, and recognising my role in co-constructing knowledge.

For instance, the notion of 'intimidated segregation' is expressed in the narrative of Javier, a community leader and social worker who fled from Urabá, Antioqueño, at 16 years of age when the paramilitary threatened his father. During the in-depth interview, he reflected on the community's perceived identity (geographical background) and how others view them illustrates the convergence of social factors shaping individuals' experiences (Chatty & Mansour, 2017). The shared experience of coming from regions of armed conflict forms the basis of the community's collective identity and trust network. However, external perceptions, lacking understanding of the community's historical context, led to the area being labelled as dangerous. This discrepancy highlights how intersecting social factors, such as geographical background and societal narratives, influence both internal dynamics within the community and external perceptions. It underscores the complexity of identity formation and perception within social contexts, emphasising the importance of

considering multiple intersecting factors in understanding individuals' experiences and interactions:

> *"We came from regions of armed conflict, and Nelson Mandela became the red zone. So, we created a community network by trusting each other because we knew that we all came from similar regions. But they did not know our historical context, so they labelled the area dangerous".*

<div align="right">Javier_NM_2019</div>

The in-depth interview revealed the significant impact of historical, social, and institutional factors, such as armed conflict and forced migration, which act as agents that produce stigma. These elements were further prompted during semi-structured interviews, and the data set included 'threat' and 'disorder' categories. Such as Franco, a 23-year-old who runs a local CBO, fled to Nelson Mandela from Mahates, Bolívar, with his family when he was ten years old after the assassination of his relatives. During a semi-structured interview, he expressed the element of threat and disorderliness attached to the area when they first arrived in Nelson Mandela:

> *"We used to hear many things, that people who live here get killed, robbed, all part of the disorder of the area. The image was that if you go to those areas, you enter but don't leave in the same way".*

<div align="right">Franco_NM_2019</div>

The accounts of Javier and Franco facilitate discussion of the 'danger' and 'threat' associated with Nelson Mandela because of the displacement of people from regions of armed conflict (see Chapter 3) or the risk they carry in bringing danger to 'others' by distancing themselves (Chatty & Mansour, 2017). From the above narratives, the components of stigma as proposed by Link and Phelan (2001) can be distinguished: (1) labelling the area as *'dangerous'* and *'disorderly'* whilst keeping in mind the social and cultural context; (2) stereotyping the area as *'people who live here get killed, robbed'*, (3) separating 'us' from 'them' as inhabited by displaced people *'from regions of armed conflict'*; (4) as a *'dangerous'* and *'disorderly'* area, the community members experience discrimination, rejection and exclusion, leading to negative outcomes such as *'for the youth who want to work or to study outside Nelson Mandela'*.

Regarding the red zones in Nelson Mandela, these were within the area due to the presence of youth-at-risk[71], micro-traffickers and the assassination sites of the community leaders.

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[71] Youth-at-risk in this study refers to young adults who are members of a gang.

At the same time, the *'disorderliness'* of the area was translated into discriminatory practices by institutions such as employers who refused to employ individuals from Nelson Mandela, which reproduced area stigma (Rodríguez, 2006). In addition, almost all participants noted that mainstream media strengthened the narratives of stigmatisation and created grounds for discrimination by describing the area as populated by '*violent*' people.

One of the striking features of walking in the streets of Nelson Mandela was the sound of *champeta* music through the *picó*[72] sound system heard in the street corners, shops and houses. For most young adults, the street corners were areas to travel in the company of their peers, generating comfort within the scope of their youth practices, such as meetings, parties, courtships, and generally, a way of being together. Considering the lack of recreation areas, I noticed that the young adults hung out in groups socialising on the street corners.

I reflected on the emerging categories of '*loudness*', '*loud*', and '*disorderly*'. During my time in the area and data analysis process, *'loudness'* was a recurring word amongst the participants' narratives, how others labelled them *'loud'* and *'disorderly'* for their music. Music and dance powerfully influence geographical disputes, marking the areas as '*loud*'. As such, people and places were distinguished through sonic differences. During my fieldwork in Cartagena, it was my responsibility to challenge the stereotypes and approach *champeta* with cultural sensitivity and respect. Instead of conforming to these stereotypes, I was committed to engaging with the music and its cultural context in a nuanced and open-minded way.

Schwarz's (2015) case study of the socially heterogeneous area is one of the few studies based on sonic stigmatisation because '*loudness and engagement in specific sonic practices are ascribed to groups and read as identifying markers*' (Schwarz, 2014:2035). As such, different soundscapes coexist in Cartagena that function as an instrument to delimit areas. Many facets of life, from socialising to parties and religion, integrated music. The stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult females who were born in Nelson

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[72] Colombian adaptation of the English word Pickup. *Picó* is an extremely large sound system (See: Seward, 2020).

Mandela revealed the link between *champeta* music and *barrios populares* [popular areas][73]:

> *"This is the place where we were born, where we grew up and the musical taste like champeta, which is for people living in popular areas. They say that we are loud, we like to fight and are violent because we listen to champeta".*

<div align="right">Young_Adult_Females_NM_2019</div>

The stigmatisation tree activity allowed the participants to discuss complex themes they would not have addressed in a culturally particular setting. For example, the power of the *picós*, associated with *'loudness'*, has its explanation in that it refers to a sense of identity and belonging to the place. The reference to '*the musical taste like champeta*' points to the community's cultural identity. *Champeta* is a music genre associated with popular areas, and the community's preference for it is an integral part of their cultural identity. As a result, this music from areas such as Nelson Mandela and San Fernando was devalued compared to other genres, associating it with violence. There were also temporary legal measures to control public order in these areas.[74] Considering that Nelson Mandela had one of the fewest places for recreation and access to health, education and security, it is unsurprising that the *picó* achieved such centrality, particularly for young adults. Juan, a young adult male Palenquero, expressed the reasoning behind his retreat during a semi-structured interview:

> *"I spend time at home, watching movies or I meet my friends in other places. But I usually don't go out because the police stop and search us. They perceive us as gangsters. I play football occasionally because you have to pay money per hour. We [youth] don't have that amount of money".*

<div align="right">Juan_NM_2019</div>

As a relational process of stigmatisation, during a semi-structured interview with the staff members of IDER, they highlighted the reasons for limited football grounds:

> *"Synthetic field is an investment; you cannot throw a cultural party there. They have many things in common with African descent, especially in the way people think, music, and behaviour. They keep their own identity in terms of champeta music".*

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[73] Popular areas are those 'invaded' settlements that the residents have built themselves to provide a roof. In that sense, they are those urban development units formed by the grouping of individual properties, with some common areas that are mostly of a residual nature, have been built by the people themselves - hence the popular - through a process that takes several decades and that implies a huge collective effort (area) and also family (house). These characteristics distance them from other types of areas, such as residential ones for more wealthy social classes or working-class areas produced by the State.

[74] Decree No. 1096 of 2010

Overall, this highlights the importance of culture and music in shaping the identity and cohesion of the Mandeleros. It reflects how they use cultural practices to express their uniqueness and maintain a connection to their African heritage. The accounts also shed light on the different forms of segregation, separating the good from the bad because of the necessity of maintaining a safe distance from transgressors. Distancing can become permanent to the point of denying contact with the other by '*keeping people down [..]keeping people in [..]keeping people away'* (Phelan *et al.,* 2008). It is significant to acknowledge that '*stigma arises and stigmatisation takes shape in specific contexts of culture and power*' (Parker & Aggleton, 2003:17). From Goffman's (1963) perspective, there is a predisposition to find in the stigmatised attributes that differentiate them.

Moreover, when applied in sociology, the categories of labelling, prejudice, stereotyping and distancing include the stigma dimensions of Jones *et al.* (1984). These are the social interactions with others (disruptiveness), the context of forced displaced as being responsible for the area stigma (origin) such as *'loud', 'violent', 'disorderly'* (aesthetics) and of threat/danger (peril). Meanwhile, the communities residing in those areas relate directly to the 'visible characteristics' of the stigma dimensions noted by Jones *et al.* (1984). As such, leading to a deterioration in the interaction between those inside and those outside the areas (Bourdieu, 1990). In the next section, I explore these interactions further by addressing 'sonic segregation' in the San Fernando and the Palenqueros context.

6.4.2 San Fernando

San Fernando, also located in the Southwest of Cartagena and close to Nelson Mandela, currently holds the largest colony of the Palenqueros (Image-7). South of Cartagena reflects the marginalised location in the city, bureaucratically stratified between 1-3[75], corresponding to the standard of living, house prices, and the cost of gas, electricity and water. In the 60s, they began migrating to Cartagena to work in public enterprises and formed a large colony in Nariño[76]. Compared to Nelson Mandela, where forms of violence did manifest, that was not the case in San Fernando. However, the Palenqueros'

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[75] Since the 1980s, Colombia has implemented a socio-economic stratification system to classify urban areas on a scale of 1-6. Stratum 1 being the lowest income area.
[76] However, Chambacú that was gentrified was the first reception site. Areas like San Francisco and La Canderlaria also had a significant population of Palenqueros.

migration from Nariño was due to similar manifestations of violence, micro trafficking and youth-at-risk.

Image 7: San Fernando

During unstructured observation, I noticed that San Fernando felt similar to Marriabad, where there were no restrictions on walking freely. I also observed the social interactions of the community members. The infrastructure was not as limited as Nelson Mandela's. However, not all the streets were paved, making moto-taxis the best mode of transport. Multiple cafes, restaurants, chemists, barber shops and small grocery stores existed. Although there were football venues, these were not easily accessible to the community members.

What was interesting to note was my initial presence in San Fernando; people thought of me as a 'white Colombian', and the community members engaged in the stigma-related process of prejudice. During the first few interactions, whilst walking around, I was asked, '*why do you (referring to my skin colour) want to research us?*' (see Chapter 5). It was not until I shared with them that I belonged to an ethnic group with our language, traditions and customs. This highlights the difficulty of studying the concept of stigma when not belonging to a stigmatised community (Link & Phelan, 2001). During my time in San Fernando, I noticed the area was not visited by others from the North of Cartagena, making it a no-go area for outsiders. It seemed like an ethnic enclave of Palenqueros based on kinship and lineage, a gradual configuration of their dynamics as Palenqueros.

One of the most common sounds in the area was music, Creole *champeta* playing through *picó* sound systems (Image-8). As noted in Chapter 3, music is symbolic and part of the Palenqueros' cultural manifestations and ethnic identity (Bell, 2009). The fieldwork revealed the strong influence of *champeta*, with places for *picó*, night club such as Dubai

VIP for young adults, and production studios, in addition to the *picó* owners. It was a daily celebration so central to the Palenqueros.

Image 8: Owner with his *picó*

Like Nelson Mandela, the participants in San Fernando used the words '*loud*' recurrently when referring to music. During the stigmatisation tree exercise, the young adult females noted that their colleagues and class fellows linked their choice of music to loudness:

> *"Picó is a cultural expression. It is for popular people. They say we listen to music so loudly and music that damages their ears… that we make them deaf with the music, people say that we are causing disorder".*
>
> Young_Adult_Females_SF_ 2019

Fieldwork, 2019

The stigmatisation tree exercise facilitated the verification of the connection between '*champeta*' and 'popular places' within the specific context of Cartagena. It encompassed the examination of 'loudness' as a determining factor that contributed to the concept of 'sonic segregation'. Another guiding factor in the emerging theme was reflexivity, where I made a constant effort of self-awareness and critical reflection on my own biases and assumptions. In addition, *champeta* was initially viewed as controversial, stigmatised as '*loud*' and linked to *'violence'* in Cartagena, identified amongst the participants' narratives. These categories also came up in discussions during semi-structured interviews. For instance, Valeria, a 23-year-old nursing student, noted this when she visited places like Bocagrande, Crespo, or Centro (downtown):

> *"Many people say that champeta is so loud, and people complain about it. Sometimes we cannot have parties with picó in some places in the city. People say that we dance horribly, it is vulgar. That it is out of the normal patterns and that we are bandidos [bandits]".*
>
> Valeria_SF_ 2019

Similarly, José, a 23-year-old university student who was born and raised in San Fernando, expressed the stigma associated with *champeta* by his paternal family, who were non-Afro-descendants:

"I have had many problems with them because they don't know this culture. When they see that I go to picó or listen to champeta, they say it's bad because most people who go to picó are gang members".

José_SF_ 2019

Within the intersectionality framework, José's experience exemplifies the convergence of cultural identity and stereotyping, shedding light on how social factors intersect to shape individual perceptions. As a 23-year-old university student from San Fernando, José encounters stigma from his non-Afro-descendant paternal family regarding his appreciation for *champeta*, a genre associated with Afro-descendant culture. Their disapproval stems from a stereotype linking *champeta* and participation in criminal activities, highlighting the intersection of cultural identity with prejudicial narratives. This intersection underscores the complex dynamics at play, where José's cultural practices intersect with societal perceptions, influencing familial attitudes and interactions. Similarly, my pre-existing knowledge of the significance of music for the Palenqueros in Cartagena further emphasises the intersectionality of cultural identity and societal contexts, highlighting the importance of understanding these intersections in examining experiences of stigma and identity.

However, my analysis of the participants' narratives of both the Mandeleros and Palenqueros suggested that *champeta*, as music and dance, became part of the stigmatised cultural expressions. First, we can see from the participants' narratives that *champeta* relates to popular music, i.e., music of the *barrios populares* as such lacking aesthetic value. The second characteristic is the peril or danger associated with popular music, labelling the area as *'loud'*, *'dangerous'* and *'violent'*. Agreeing with Schwarz (2015:229), '*sonic differences … are used to characterise people and places*', the findings reveal the stigmatisation of area links to the community. Another key dimension is that *champeta* music through the *picós* took place in a gathering of people within the area, with restrictions imposed in the tourist or walled city. This reflects what Link and Phelan (2001:375; 2014) refer to as 'stigma power' because '*stigma is entirely dependent on social, economic, and political power – it takes power to stigmatise*', as such focusing on the *producers* of stigma (Power *et al.*, 2013, 2021; Schultz Larsen, 2014; Slater, 2017; Butler-Warke, 2020, 2021; Sisson 2021).

The stigma was primarily due to the consolidation of gangs in the city between the 80s and 90s (see Chapter 3). Acts of violence that developed between gangs in the festivals

reaffirmed the negative links to popular music, as Jones *et al.* (1984) refer to as 'peril'. 'Peril' in this case is the associated risk of threats with the area, i.e., the sense of threat it provokes in others. Constantly reproduced were these negative connotations, where the terms *picó* and *champeta* denoted instruments of 'violence'. We can observe some aspects of stigma in the participants' narratives. It is characterised by sonic characteristics such as customs and traditions followed along with the negative or bad meaning of the stigmatised area, also linked to the 'disruptive' dimension of stigma (Jones *et al.,* 1984). Generalised knowledge that circulates as socially rooted truths encourages power relations and perceptions that validly justify the hierarchical structuring of society. In this sense, the symbolic construction of those who reside in the area tends to reproduce stereotypes based on discursive narratives and, in turn, replicate images that associate the inhabitant of precarious areas with illegality, crime and danger.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I grappled with my worldview, prestige and power as a researcher, as they can influence what one sees or hears. For instance, there were plenty of warnings to '*take care in those environments', 'be aware of theft and fights', 'do not go alone to such dangerous places'*, and stories from people who excluded themselves from being part of the popular events, because only '*gang members, thieves and drug addicts go there'*, thereby further isolating the area. The attitudes of rejection towards the Palenqueros and the negative social image of San Fernando raised additional social barriers that increased the risk of isolation and exclusion. The social representations and imagination that fell on San Fernando and the Palenqueros configured negative meanings of the area, generalising and associating its inhabitants.

Moreover, within the interrelated components of stigma proposed by Link and Phelan (2001:363), '*isolation'* was found to be a consequence of the intimidated and sonic segregation. In addition, these had repercussions for public policy since the restrictions for the organisation of musical performances were severely constrained with a well-grounded belief, which implied *champeta* music + youth = violence. The area suffered the attacks of those discourses that built an inferior image, who were considered different: '*at the end we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living or dying, as a function of the true discourses which are the bearers of the specific effects of power'* (Foucault, 1980:94).

Between the stigmatisation and the sublimated exoticism, the music was identified according to the geographical areas it occupied in the city. In its spatiality, passing through the city, I could perceive the changes between the different areas. So, it is possible to resort to different enclaves within Cartagena, constituting soundscapes that refer to ancestral memories and cultural identities. In the San Fernando context, the stigmatisation processes were identified through the specific sonic marker, labelling the area as '*loud*'. In contrast, *picó* gatherings had a reputation for being places where members of rival gangs engaged in violent acts against one another. Thereby resulting in the sense of feeling threatened by the outsiders to keep at a distance, leading to 'intimidated segregation'.

In the case of San Fernando, the findings revealed that the Palenqueros managed to reduce the stigma of their place through geographic mobility, i.e., from Nariño to San Fernando. However, their musical tastes were strongly stratified, and *'loud'* music from the *picós* characterised as Afro-descendant areas. Although studies on territorial stigmatisation such as those of Wacquant (2007a; 2007b;2008;2009;2010;2011; Wacquant *et al.*, 2014) have acknowledged the visual markers of identity and difference of spatial hierarchies, literature on territorial stigmatisation has neglected 'sonic segregation' as virtual markers of stigma. Interestingly, as I will explore in the next chapter (7) on accents, it has been studied in depth within sociolinguistic studies as a sonic marker. However, 'sonic segregation' as a form of area stigma gives insights into the invisible structure of places captured through music related to the communities' sense of belonging.

6.5 Conclusion

By presenting an analytical and contextual investigation of the different forms of stigmatisation, this chapter advances the analysis further to the differences and similarities in the production of area stigma. Using constructivist grounded theory, I analysed the data gathered through multi-site qualitative methods, focusing on the everyday experiences of stigma amongst Hazaras and Afro-descendants. In this context, through the data, it was possible to learn and to understand better the difference in experiences related to 'forced and intimidated segregation' amongst the Hazaras in Quetta and 'intimidated and sonic segregation' amongst the Afro-descendants in Cartagena. Walls, security checkpoints and roadblocks were the physical identity markers that instigated the processes of

stigmatisation leading to 'forced segregation'. At the same time, red zones and no-go areas represented the symbolic characteristics of area stigma.

The multi-sited methods further advanced the analysis by suggesting that 'sonic segregation' was a sonic identity marker, establishing stigmatisation as a dynamic process that qualitative methods can shed light on. These included the notion of threat and labelling the areas as '*dangerous, violent, disorderly, and loud*'. Others perceived the areas as the 'red zones' due to the negative 'aesthetic' of the areas and the 'peril' or danger that the areas represent, causing '*disruptiveness*' or interaction with others. The findings suggest that area and community are interlinked components when studying the different forms of stigmatisation (Piquard & Montoya, 2014; Kornberg, 2016).

In addition, multi-sited methods played a valuable role in untangling the complexities of area stigma by capturing the various contextual factors within the data, highlighting the complexities of stigma and its myriad manifestations (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015; Stutterheim & Ratcliffe, 2021). For example, there were areas of renowned tradition and meaning, such as street corners, recreational areas, and cemeteries. In this sense, the street corners and cemeteries constitute a favourable place for youth activities, children's play environment, and a suitable area for community events.

Throughout this study, reflexivity has served as a guiding compass, illuminating the complexities of my subjectivity and its impact on the research process. By continuously interrogating my perspectives and acknowledging the influence of personal biases, I have navigated the terrain of data collection and analysis with sensitivity and transparency. Moreover, the commitment to self-awareness has fostered an environment of open-minded inquiry. By setting aside preconceived notions and embracing a stance of receptivity, I have engaged in meaningful dialogues with participants, allowing their voices to shape the narrative authentically. In essence, this research journey has epitomised the collaborative spirit of constructivist grounded theory, where reflexivity and self-awareness have enriched the depth and validity of findings and fostered mutual understanding and co-construction of knowledge. Through this lens, the nuances of stigmatisation have been unveiled, contextualised, and understood within the participants' lived experiences. In the next chapter (7), I explore the stigmatisation of people and communities, arguing the link with area stigma.

CHAPTER 7: Community Stigmatisation – Cultural Manifestations and Physical Appearances

7.1   Introduction

In Chapter 6, I proposed that to understand stigmatisation processes fully, this research needs to address both the area and community dimensions of stigmatisation, as they mutually influence each other. This chapter specifically explores the individual and community levels of the stigmatisation processes, investigating how specific identities linked to communities impact these processes. The lived experiences of all communities are situated and explored within each theme, highlighting the similarities and differences between each group and each context. Guided by the research question (Q2) to identify and assess the different forms of stigmatisation and how do the contexts of Pakistan and Colombia influence the emergence and perpetuation of stigma, I argue that the community stigmatisation in both countries was also marked by the particular identities associated with the communities. I reflect on how the communities internalised community stigmatisation.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, I briefly outline the notion of community stigmatisation through the theme of 'visibility'. Second, I discuss 'visibility' through the cultural manifestations of the Hazaras in Quetta, which was linked to their religious affiliation and cultural practices. Third, I explore the second dimension of 'visibility' through the physical appearances of the Hazaras by looking at their accent and distinct phenotypes. Fourth, I examine how the theme of 'visibility' fits into the context of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros through the cultural manifestations that marked them. Fifth, I identify the physical appearances of the communities in Cartagena that were external markers of the stigmatisation processes, particularly the accents and physical features.

7.2   Community Stigmatisation: Visibility

In this study, I utilise the notion of community stigmatisation based on the concept of Goffman's (1963) 'tribal stigma' (race, religion and nation) with cultural manifestations as well as physical appearances of the communities. At the individual and community levels, the socio dynamics of area stigma were expressed in a particular way through the attributes

of negative significance that fell on the communities. These were labels, preventing reliable and constant access to the areas and establishing dissenting and commiserating relationships between the community and the city's residents. Nonetheless, residing in stigmatised areas due to 'forced, intimidated, and sonic segregation', as discussed in the preceding Chapter 6, positioned the communities as potential bearers of threat and insecurity for the entire city. This was evident in the challenges faced in accessing opportunities, the constant threat of violence, and the limited educational prospects confined to local schools and colleges, hindering progression to higher levels of education.

A cross-cutting theme emerging from the interviews in both countries was the 'visibility' of the community members belonging to a minority group, thus making it difficult to accept them in social and cultural life. 'Visibility' here has been adapted from one of the stigma dimensions of Jones *et al.* (1984). It is defined as the degree to which the stigma is visible based on external characteristics that are difficult to hide. Therefore, people with them are aware that others will often judge them through the stereotypes and prejudices associated with their stigma (Crocker *et al.,* 1998). However, the specific ways the 'visibility' was experienced varied considerably amongst the communities studied due to the different contexts. The theme of 'visibility' that emerged in the narratives of the participants was characterised by two dimensions with some differences in each group: (i) cultural manifestations and (ii) physical appearances.

The research findings showed that the communities were often labelled based on symbolic, physical, and linguistic attributes, particularly belonging to certain areas. As such, community stigmatisation was interlinked with area stigma through 'forced, intimidated and sonic segregation' (Chapter 6). As noted by Tyler & Slater (2018:740), '*stigmatisation is never a static nor a natural phenomenon, but rather a consequential and injurious form of action through collective representation fastened on people and on places'.* These collective representations were found to be in the form of cultural manifestations, which I explore next in the context of the Hazaras in Quetta.

7.2.1 'No one asks us if we are *Shia*. One might be an atheist who knows': Cultural manifestations of the Hazaras

Despite differences in Afghan and Pakistani Hazaras, the marks of 'visibility' were constant in the accounts of both communities. Visibility emerged as '*being a Shia*' and '*looking like a Hazara*', in the sense that to appear Hazara is already to appear *Shia*. This was found to be because the Hazaras have distinct physical features from the rest of the society. Also, the media and scholarly articles have always focused on their religious affiliation (see Chapter 2). Members of both communities in Hazara Town and Marriabad have been affected by community stigmatisation due to their religious affiliation as *Shia*. 'Visibility', a social construct, was a determining factor in establishing the difference between ethnic groups (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Therefore, this fostered a sense of 'otherness' by attaching negative attributes to cultural expressions, which served as significant indicators of stigmatisation processes. It is important to highlight that othering always creates different categories of people. Still, othering is used actively in creating that stigma, but it is the attributes attached to that group through 'visibility' (Link & Phelan, 2001). In terms of social perceptions of stigma, the attribution to the Hazaras becomes significant within the social dimension of meaning and value. This aspect reflects how individuals and society interpret reality based on their reference systems and the resulting relationships they establish.

'Visibility' as a category appeared in the datasets focusing on 'blame' for being labelled '*kafir*' [infidel] and '*Shia*'. The participants constantly referenced their image as damaged by the Iranian religious scholars and the *zaireen* [pilgrims] coaches in Marriabad, adding to the negative aesthetics (Jones *et al.,* 1984). Multiple travel agencies within the vicinity of Marriabad offered visas and travel packages to holy sites in Iran, Iraq and Syria to the pilgrims. Although a lucrative business, when the coaches leave Quetta, and upon their return, the entire city is put in a deadlock due to the high level of security provided.[77] Therefore, amongst the narratives of the participants, it was observed that the Hazaras were increasingly singled out by others, attributing blame to them for the inconvenience experienced by the entire city. This attribution occurred despite the presence of a Standard Operating Procedure (SoP) provided by the Home Department of Balochistan for the safety of *Shia* pilgrims (Jones *et al*., 1984) (Image-9).

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[77] 410 FC personnel, 310 Police personnel, 393 Levies personnel, 126 Vehicles, 16 Jamming vehicles, and 7 Levies APCs, provided on permanent basis for the safe movement of *Shia Zaireen* enroute from Quetta to Taftan and back.

Image 9: Coaches of Pilgrims

Amira's account of the roadblocks in Quetta illustrates the 'blame' towards the Hazaras. As an official in the police force, she explained Marriabad as a vital stop for the *Zaireen* en route from Quetta to Taftan. These include the *Shia* community of all ethnicities across Pakistan, as per the SoP.

> *"It causes inconvenience for the entire city, and the others don't like it… those who live near the bazaar start hating you. The majority come from Gilgit Baltistan, Sindh, and Punjab. But the Hazaras get sworn at…. the hatred is only towards us…. already living in a jail".*

Amira_M_2019

The above account captured during a semi-structured interview directly relates to the hate and prejudice towards the Hazara community by others who already felt threatened as a result of 'forced and intimidated segregation' and distanced themselves (Chapter 6). Amira was also deployed for duties during the *Ashura* processions, the 10th day of *Muharram*, to enforce the security of the Hazaras. She explained that the route of the processions has high-level security, and people residing along those routes are not allowed to come out of their homes. Whereas Frontier Corps (FC) personnel take positions on their rooftops, and sniffer dogs are taken inside the homes of other ethnic groups who live in the city outside Marriabad and Hazara Town, giving more reasons to blame the Hazaras. Considering Quetta is a tribal region, FC personnel armed with weapons going into their homes where there are women and children highlight the relational process of stigmatisation, i.e., the reasoning behind their (others) sense of feeling threatened. This relates directly to the area stigma of the Hazaras residing in Marriabad and Hazara Town (Chapter 6), as their cultural manifestations were also provided enhanced security just as their areas were forcefully

segregated. As such, the characteristics of their religious affiliation were also linked to their religious practices, which hold a symbolic significance for the Hazaras.

The first component of the stigmatisation process, as conceptualised by Link and Phelan (2001), can be highlighted in the context of the Hazara community by how others distinguished them due to their ethnicity but also labelled them as '*Shia*'. The second negative stereotype and prejudice linked to their cultural manifestations (Geertz, 1973; Major & O'Brien, 2005); is the practice of *matam* [mourning] and *zanjeer zani* [self-flagellation] because it contains visual practice discredited by others and considered '*barbaric*' due to self-harming using sharp knives. During a semi-structured interview with Farhat, a law student, I explored this visual practice further, revealing insights into how he and his colleagues perceive their cultural practices:

> *"They get scared of us, thinking what kind of barbaric tribe are we. They ask why do we practice such barbaric acts?".*

<div align="right">Farhat_M_2019</div>

This interaction prompted a reflection on my ethical responsibility as a researcher. Farhat shared personal experiences and narratives related to his identity, highlighting the dimension of aesthetics in stigma, i.e., the extent to which certain cultural practices provoke rejection and disgust (Jones *et al*., 1984). Specifically, the displeasing nature of the rituals resulted in others feeling threatened by the Hazaras and accepting the '*barbaric*' label. This exemplifies how the threat element in others instigates different forms of stigmatisation. This exploration underscores the relevance of constructivist grounded theory, which prioritises understanding the subjective experiences and interpretations of participants in shaping theoretical constructs.

The stigmatisation of Hazaras extends beyond their individual qualities or characteristics; it also encompasses the relationships formed based on negative attributions, contrasting them with a normalised societal standard (Foucault, 1977). In accordance with Goffman (1963), the concept of stigma is inherently relational. When examining the stigma associated with the Hazara community and its disqualifying attributes, these attributes gain significance when they are contrasted with the perceived normality of others.

During my time with the Hazara community, I noticed increased praying rituals for fulfilling wishes compared to my early years in Quetta.[78] The participants frequently mentioned in the interviews that the reason behind these increased rituals was mainly linked to their male family members fleeing to Australia and losing contact upon embarking on dangerous boat journeys from Indonesia. I prodded this category of increased rituals during a semi-structured interview with Gul, a 23-year-old university student who explained when her paternal uncle made the journey:

> *"We didn't know when he would reach. That's when the praying rituals intensified so much that it felt like I was being introduced to a new culture".*

> Gul_M_2019

Gul further mentioned that these rituals stopped in her house as soon as her uncle reached Australia, signifying that the rituals and processions were a response to their own historical and ongoing persecution and a sense of group identity (Monsutti, 2007; Hashmi, 2016), as I explore in the next chapter (8). Interestingly, most of the young adult participants did not agree with the increased rituals and processions as they caused a hindrance to their education with roadblocks and traffic, particularly during examinations.

The attitude of rejection towards the Hazara community cannot be addressed without taking into account the historical process, i.e., the 'producers' of stigma (Sisson 2021). For example, amongst the narratives of the participants, they referred to 6th July 1985 during the Islamisation of Pakistan and following the Iranian Revolution. The date when the image of the Hazaras was spoiled when they clashed with the security officials, and multiple lives were lost at the religious procession (Chapter 2). The dataset included emerging categories of stigma such as 'prejudice' and 'labelling': since the incident, the Hazaras were blamed as ones who posed a threat. In examining Faheem's experience, a 57-year-old Hazara government official, during a semi-structured interview, we recognise the convergence of religious identity and regional perceptions within a specific context:

> *"The Shia affiliation also damaged us a lot. Aren't there Shias in the Punjab? Jhang has a huge population of Shia. No one asks us if we are Shia…one might be an atheist who knows".*

> Faheem_M_2019

Faheem's account illustrates how the Hazara community's religious identity intersects with broader regional stereotypes and prejudices, particularly following the incident on July 6th.

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[78] Such as: *Dastarkhwan-e-Musa-e-Kazim, Khatam-e-Salawat, Khatma-e-Amma Yujeeb*

This intersectionality involves the overlapping of religious affiliation with regional biases, resulting in the community being labelled as *'rebellious', 'infidels'*, and identified as *'Shia'*. Whilst this may not conform directly to Crenshaw's (1991) original formulation of intersectionality, it underscores the complexity of social identity and its intersections within specific contexts. The interplay between religious identity and regional perceptions highlights how multiple dimensions of identity interact to shape experiences of stigma and discrimination within marginalised communities like the Hazaras. Thus, whilst it may not align precisely with Crenshaw's (1991) initial concept, it still reflects the broader notion that individuals' experiences are shaped by the convergence of various social factors and power structures.

Similarly, Sohail, a policeman, narrated that he was on duty at Prince Road and made an arrest after six Hazara men were shot at the shoe-making shop (HRW, 2014). However, his supervisor changed his duty to the vicinity of Marriabad:

> *"He said, 'you are a Hazara, a kafir, lower than us', and how dare a Hazara put his hands on one of them".*

<div align="right">Sohail_M_2019</div>

During my interaction with Sohail, I remained highly reflexive, continuously monitoring my biases and reactions, in line with the principles of constructivist grounded theory. Through this process, I observed that Sohail's account highlighted how attributions regarding the occurrence of historical events significantly influenced perceptions and behaviours toward the Hazara community. Particularly noteworthy was the tendency to associate them with a *Shia* identity, despite the existence of *Sunni* Hazaras.[79] Most of the participants noted that linking the Hazaras with the *Shia* affiliation demarcated them as 'the other', further intensifying the process of stigmatisation. In particular, the accounts of the participants I interviewed reflected that the general perception of the Hazaras is that they are all *Shia* and labelled as '*kafir* [infidel], raising misconceptions against the Hazaras. The demarcation of otherness was also noted during the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult male participants who experienced discriminatory behaviours at university:

> *"In the washrooms of the university mosque, we can see forms of these campaigns [graffiti] such as 'Shia kafir, Pashtun-Baloch united, Hazara kafir'. Our class fellows said that they don't eat the meat of a goat from the hands of a Shia because when*

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[79] Hazara *Qabristan* renamed as *Bahisht-e-Zainab*, further marking them with the *Shia* identity.

they sacrifice the goat, they swear at holy people. They say we are very rigid because of our religious beliefs. Even wearing the colour black is linked to Shia people".

Young_Adult_Males_HT_2019

In addition, a common theme emerged from the narratives of staff members at a local NGO[80], highlighting the connection between non-compliance with norms or social conventions and the intersecting influences of religious and cultural elements in shaping community identity. This observation emphasises how various aspects of identity, such as religion and culture, intersect and interact to shape individuals' experiences within their communities:

"The Hazaras, most of them, when I ask them, they say our timings are like this because we are going to the madrassas. They have very strong religious views. For example, we had an opening ceremony, they were very much into religious hymns, which is good, but they are very focused on religious rituals…they are very rigid".

BFD_Quetta_2019

From the above narrative, it becomes evident that the perception of the Hazaras by others is rigid and often associated with blame directed towards the Hazara community. The semi-structured interview with the NGO staff member prompted that the perception of the outside is nuanced and restricted by the social boundaries that classify and, in synthesis, determine the relationship with the 'other'. Considering community stigmatisation is a profoundly discredited attribute of a relational nature generated during social situations between the stigmatised and the stigmatisers, the processes of stigmatisation can be conceived as a social distinction between the ones considered normal and abnormal with social discredit (Goffman, 1963). As such, paying particular attention to these interactions that occur in social settings in which the presence of people and their communication instigate the processes of stigmatisation.

As the participants asserted, the 'visibility' ended up with an evaluative positioning where the distinctive characteristics of the Hazaras and their cultural manifestations were taken as a representative of *Shiism*, leading to different forms of stigmatisation. In this regard, the cultural manifestations of the Hazaras have a symbolic value for the community, inscribing their presence in the city and making their 'visibility' as a form of contestation of public areas due to 'forced and intimidated segregation' (Chapter 6). For the participants I interviewed, discriminatory attitudes occurred in all walks of life, such as employment,

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[80] Note: Both the NGO staff members did not belong to the communities under study.

government offices, the *bazaar* [market], etc., as a result of their 'visibility' as '*Hazara Shia*' (see: Rodríguez, 2006). For example, during a semi-structured interview, Farha, who used to teach at a school, said that as soon as the transport service stopped from Marriabad due to the threat and forced segregation (Chapter 6), she was not allocated a class for three days. When she enquired, her employer mentioned that they were receiving threatening calls against her, thereby labelling her a '*kafir*' and making reference to her 'visibility':

> "'*Not only are you Hazara, but you are a Shia'. Who are they to decide what religion I belong to?*"

<div align="right">Farha_M_2019</div>

The above narrative indicates that others reject the Hazaras as a community, portraying them as deviant and evoking a sense of threat in others as a result of 'forced and intimidated segregation' (Chapter 6), resulting in further processes of stigmatisation such as prejudice, stereotype, labelling, categorisation and discrimination. In addition, amongst the narratives of the participants, the findings revealed that the Hazaras also participated in the stigmatisation processes during encounters with the Pashtuns; the only difference was they lacked the power to discriminate against them. For example, Mir, a journalist, reflected on the prejudice, labelling and stereotyping of the Pashtuns: '*We have a saying: again, you have done this wrong like a Pashtun'.* Interestingly, considering my insider (Hazara) and outsider (Punjabi) positionality, the participants routinely stated: '*Your mother is Shia, and your father is Sunni; what are you?*'. My response that I am a '*su-shi*' was not considered correct or what they felt was the standard religious affiliation. I was acutely aware of the limitations of my insider positionality. I recognised that my experiences may not fully align with my participants. There were historical narratives and community dynamics that I may not have experienced or fully comprehended.

Furthermore, the rigidity of the norms of behaviour imposed on the Hazaras implies that a distinct community must conform to specific standards, resulting in many behaviours, attributes, and characteristics being deemed deviant. This automatic categorisation allows 'others' to know how to deal with it, perhaps feeling threatened, which translates into a set of stipulated behaviours that involve language, gestures, and actions. This mechanism allows us to identify the third component of stigmatisation, known as 'otherness', which consists in attributing negative qualities. It entails experiencing a sense of social and cultural difference, contributing to the construction of social identity by delineating boundaries between 'us' and 'them' (Link & Phelan, 2001). As such, the construction of

differences can be a reproducer of prejudices and stereotypes that reinforce otherness, discrimination and rejection/social distancing.

The community stigma of the Hazaras manifests as a profoundly discrediting attribute in a language of relationships and interactions, mediated and maintained by presumptive perceptions, imaginary practices and discourses (Jones *et al.*, 1984). The Hazaras actively construct, reproduce, question, and potentially transform the meanings associated with these attributes through their everyday communication practices, shaping and redefining their identities. By aiming at the personal interactions of the community members, this would correspond to the components Goffman (1963) considered as the characteristics on which the processes of stigmatisation influence perception. Prototypical images shape how we perceive others and serve as benchmarks for social information. These images often serve as stereotypes influencing how people perceive and categorise others. These include the external markers, such as clothing, everyday language, physical features and cultural manifestations. Examining these external markers is crucial, as they indicate various disqualifications. In other words, the same sign infers different attributes.

Community stigmatisation, an external marker, emphasises my understanding of 'visibility' to highlight the difference as at least two groups are distinguished. 'Visibility' correlates to Goffman's (1963) 'tribal stigma' and Jones *et al.* (1984) dimensions of stigma in the sense that appearing as a Hazara is already appearing as *Shia*. I recognise that social settings provide a favourable situation for materialising stereotypes, prejudice, differentiation and discrimination, but 'visibility' has a prominent effect on maintaining a relational process. However, 'visibility' was also categorised under physical appearances such as phenotype, accents and clothing, as I explore in the next section.

7.2.2 'Whatever you do, you will always look like a Hazara': Physical Appearances

The research found that physical appearances were the Hazaras' external markers (visibility), a determining factor in establishing difference. To be recognisable as a Hazara, therefore, became a discredited attribute. The Hazaras' phenotype stands out due to their immediate visibility, with the colour of their skin serving as an indelible mark. The perception of otherness, marked by negative attributes, arises from an awareness of differences commonly observed in intercultural contact. This positioning concerning the

perception of one's own identity and that of others can be based on physical appearances, such as phenotype, skin colour, eyes, hair, accent and dress (Image-10).

The physical appearance of the Hazaras was the factor upon which others relied to legitimise their prejudices and construct a sense of difference. It was one of the most explicit markers that appeared during the interviews. The stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult female participants reflected how Hazara identity was not solely defined by one aspect but rather resulted from the intersection of various factors, including physical appearance, cultural practices, and social perceptions that influenced how the Hazaras were perceived and how they navigated their identity within their broader society:

Image 10: Zainab Jaan (Late grandmother)

Image by Muhammad Mushin, 2010

"Whatever you do, you will always look like a Hazara. Even when you wear sunglasses, the fair skin will tell others you are a Hazara. Even our eyebrows are different, they are not thick. Even our clothing shows we are Hazaras from a distance".

Young_Adult_Females_HT_2019

From the narratives of the participants, phenotype and clothing immediately signified '*being a Hazara*', placing them in a lower social category and generated discrimination.

Similar feelings were highlighted by the Pakistani Hazaras residing in Marriabad. However, the labelling of all Hazaras as '*refugees*' was more common in the narratives of the Pakistani Hazaras. This can be explained by the discrimination that the participants refer to in the interviews and that I explore further about the identity of the Hazaras labelled as '*refugees*'. The reason for using 'visibility' in the context of refugees is because the physical appearance of the Hazaras makes the difference. However, being a refugee is more linked to nationality.

Furthermore, it is significant to highlight that their physical appearances as Hazaras relate to stigma's aesthetics and visibility dimensions (Jones *et al.,* 1984). However, in the context of refugees and IDPs, they can hide their identity for fear of being persecuted (UNHCR, 2017). Nonetheless, this is not the case in the Hazaras context, as their physical appearance is quite distinct from that of other ethnic groups in Quetta. All Hazaras were labelled as '*refugees*', considering the forced migration of the Hazaras from Afghanistan settled in Hazara Town. This highlights the relationship between bureaucratic processes and the development of refugee identities, as noted by Zetter (1991). There are also Afghan Pashtuns residing in Quetta. Almost all participants mentioned the difficulties they experienced in getting and/or renewing identity documents. This was because government officials require them to prove that they are Pakistani Hazaras by providing documentation before the 1970s, as they had legal recognition as an ethnic tribe of Pakistan in the 1960s (Chapter 2). This led to many of the community members' identity cards being blocked and involved lengthy verification procedures from different entities.

In both communities, the Hazaras experienced discriminatory behaviours in government departments, educational institutions and by security officials. For example, Shabir's account sheds light on the discriminatory attitudes of the traffic police: '*best when giving tickets…number one are the Hazaras*'. I recognise that discussing topics related to segregation and heightened visibility can be deeply personal and potentially painful. I was mindful of the emotional impact of these discussions. It was observed that this approach evoked emotions ascribed to the particular representation that the images referred to as 'forced segregation' as a prison. It expressed the attitudes of the FC personnel at the checkpoints:

> *"It is like when you take food for a prisoner, it is the same for every household; they go out to get food, and when they enter, they are stopped and searched".*

Adult_Males_M_2019

In the case of 'visibility', the stereotype that all Hazaras are *'refugees'* was found to be the *'characteristic that conveys a social identity that is devalued'* (Crocker *et al.*, 1998:505), with the label *'refugee'* linking them *'to a set of undesirable characteristics that form the stereotype'* (Link & Phelan, 2001:369).

As such, the process of stigmatisation involves a label and a stereotype. Another recurring factor amongst the accounts of the participants concerning their area and as Hazaras was the *'refugee'* label and the danger of foreign governments who might think that they will apply for asylum when they arrive. As such, they were refused visas when applying for higher education, visiting family or tourism by different embassies. This shows the consequences of area stigma through 'forced and intimidated segregation' and 'visibility' such as physical appearances as Hazaras.

It is essential to note the relational process of 'blaming' the Afghan Hazaras, considering the encounter with others always includes the aspect of Hazaras as *'refugees'*, a cascading effect also noted in the previous Chapter (6) where Marriabad was labelled as the *'area of refugees'*. In this way, the particular articulation of the attributes that define identity from the perspective of the individuals is described. At the same time, recognising those stigmas that cross it, as noted by Farha, *"all Hazara women are labelled as 'Australian Dollar' when they go shopping"*. The last decade saw an increase in remittances from Australia and Europe, particularly evident in the multiple branches of the main banks on Alamdar Road. This is consistent with Vertovec's (2001:575) findings that *'transnational connections have considerable economic, sociocultural and political impacts'*. For example, the ones not relying on remittances, particularly women who lost the male members of their families, highlighted how the shopkeepers interacted, as noted by Fauzia: *"they say 'if you open your purse, you will only see dollars, and you are haggling over Rs 200'"*.

Here, it is convenient to return to the work of Wade (2010), according to whom races are sociocultural constructions based on phenotypic variability. When social relationships are structured by the meanings associated with the phenotypic characteristics, this process of signification results in the definition and construction of human groups. Most people have created stereotypes in which the phenotype (facial features or skin colour) is equated with

geographical ancestry, and with this, it is believed that the differences are more or less innate. Therefore, the community and areas were found to carry the same categorisation. Their phenotypic variations as negative attributes were used as markers to create social categories that, in turn, were used to include (in-group) or exclude (out-group) (Allport, 1954). The sociocultural construction of skin colour is established more clearly when considering that its evaluation is not objective but depends on the context and who perceives it. The same skin colour can receive different evaluations depending on the environment.

Certainly, belonging to stigmatised areas and communities is relevant in terms of social identity since the Hazaras live with the permanent feeling of being under suspicion. They bear the judgment from the external gaze because of their physical appearances, as Malik, a 30-year-old teacher from Hazara Town, noted during a semi-structured interview: *'at bazaar, people stare at us with strange looks'.* From the appearance of the community, one might infer a specific origin attributed to the Hazaras, leading to associations with particular religions, cultures, or languages. As such, accent and language were found to be a marker for social perception amongst the narratives of the participants I interviewed. Hazaragi[81] and Urdu accents were associated with the Hazaras, with an origin as much as or more than some characteristics or physical features. In the case of Hazaragi, in addition to associating it with a specific origin, it was found to be a language due to the stereotypes assigned to the Hazaras who use it.

Nonetheless, amongst the participants' narratives, tactics to hide their 'visibility' were found to be a common theme, as I will explore in Chapter 8. However, even when they employed different tactics to hide their faces or change their dress, their accent were the markers of their 'visibility'. The perception and recognition of Hazaragi was found to be accompanied by a categorisation of its speaker, i.e., the Hazaras, as it appears in the account of Shareef: *'It is only when I speak in Hazaragi that they find out that I am Hazara'.* This shows that Hazaragi, considered nonstandard by the majority, revealed social information about the Hazaras: area, cultural manifestations, physical appearances, and the stereotypes attributed to them.

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[81] Hazaragi is spoken by the Hazaras. There is also a difference in the dialect amongst the Pakistani and Afghan Hazaras, as over time for the Pakistani Hazaras Urdu language has had an influence. However, Hazaragi is still in oral form and not as yet alphabetised.

Therefore, the way a language is expressed indicates the speaker's identity. In addition, amongst the narratives of the participants, the findings revealed multiple words with negative connotations that others used for the Hazaras, such as '*Tata*', '*Tati*', and '*Hazaragai*', referring to their distinct Mongoloid features. Interestingly, the participants also noted that they had words for the Pashtuns with negative connotations, such as '*Kako*' and '*Aogho*'. The participants identified that they also humorously used these terms with the Pashtuns that they interact with regularly. This is where prejudices and stereotypes were commonly seen as humour, as noted during a semi-structured interview with Shahbaz, an Afghan Hazara, whilst interacting with his Pashtun friend: *'they call me 'ghair mulki' [foreigner] because of my accent'.* Although the jokes were found to be heavily loaded with stereotypical ideas about the Hazaras, the participants noted that they drove the humour in the jokes. Similarly, during interviews, when I spoke in Hazaragi, it was common for the participants to laugh at my accent. In line with the principles of constructivist grounded theory, these interactions shed light on how social constructs and perceptions are constructed and reinforced through everyday interactions. The humour surrounding accents and stereotypes reflects the shared meanings and cultural norms within the Hazara community. By examining these interactions, we can better understand how social identities and stereotypes are perpetuated and negotiated in everyday life.

It was also recurrent amongst the participants, the condition of insecurity and, with it, the danger attributed to the Hazaras and their areas, based on the assignment of stereotypes that have been generalised. This link of areas with the people appeared throughout the interviews, as Gul affirms: '*the Pashtuns have named Gulistan Town as 'China Town' because of our facial features'.* During the stigmatisation tree exercise with young adult male participants, they highlighted how they adapt their appearance in response to identity-related challenges:

> *"We were having food at a restaurant, and people started saying in Pashto, 'these people are Hazaragai Shia; if anything goes wrong, we will also come under fire'. People avoid being near us. That is also why my friends and I grew beards".*
>
> Young_Adult_Males_HT_2019

In the context of the stigmatisation tree exercise with young adult male participants, the concept of intersectionality is applied to understand the layered nature of stigma experienced by the Hazara community. The participants' accounts reveal how their appearance adaptation, such as growing beards, is influenced by intersecting factors of

ethnicity and religious beliefs. Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality framework suggests that individuals with multiple marginalised identities may face compounded forms of discrimination and stigma. In this case, the Hazara participants are not only stigmatised for their ethnicity but also for their religious affiliation as *Shia* Muslims. This intersectional form of stigma illustrates how multiple aspects of identity intersect and interact to shape individuals' experiences of marginalisation and discrimination within society (Collins, 1990). In addition, the others feeling threatened can be observed as the findings revealed that the others distanced themselves from the Hazaras with the perception that '*they should not be seen outside their areas*' [forced/intimidated segregation] for the safety of others and themselves (see Chapter 6). Amira emphasised during a semi-structured interview, '*our society believes that Hazaras have an intrinsic problem…we are not seen as victims, as if we deserved it'.* This can be linked to Jones *et al.'s* (1984) dimension of stigma, which is a way of blaming them for their condition.

In addition, amongst the participants' narratives, the notion of otherness due to negative attributes, prejudices and stereotypes was articulated with social relations of power and submission, that is, superiority/inferiority. Thus, the attitudes of others can be of indifference, contempt, or hatred and can be interpreted together with other variables that drive each attitude, such as political, cultural, and economic power. Consequently, the Hazaras were interpreted and classified around the assigned attributes, constituting a concept of 'others', different, threatening, and a '*virtual social identity*' (Goffman, 1963) based on assumptions and stereotypes attached to the Hazara community. Therefore, a series of concepts and ideas are elaborated on the Hazaras that may or may not coincide with their '*real social identity*', understood according to Goffman (1963), as the attributes that belong to an individual. To such a point of converting the person into someone less attractive, one ceases to see them as ordinary people to reduce them to an undervalued being. In this sense, the external gaze that falls on the areas and that is partly internalised by the Hazaras becomes a social construction of negative attributes.

As such, in the next section of the chapter, I further explore the theme of 'visibility' of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros and how their particular cultural manifestations influence it. Next, I discuss the physical appearances of the communities that were the visible markers such as phenotype, clothing and accent. In doing so, I explore how cultural manifestations

and physical appearances are intertwined with area stigma experienced through 'intimidated and sonic segregation'.

7.2.3 "They say 'black, black, black'. They associate us with someone who steals, part of gang because of *champeta*": Cultural manifestations of the Afro-descendants

Unlike the case of Quetta, where both Afghan and Pakistani Hazaras' 'visibility' materialised as *'being a Shia'* and *'Hazara'*, some differences were found in the context of Cartagena. This was mainly because, in Cartagena, many different types of Afro-descendant communities exist (Chapter 3). Added to this dynamic is that the Nelson Mandela (Mandeleros) population originated from different regions affected by the armed conflict, where they had their customs, traditions and ways of speaking. On the other hand, the Palenqueros are recognised as an ethnic minority group per the Constitution of Colombia (1991). They speak in the Palenquero language, a dialect of Creole with distinct features and have their own customs and traditions.

As noted in the previous chapter (6), the 'sonic and intimidated segregation' of the areas was marked by the *picó* sound system, playing '*loud*' music and *champeta* linked to *'violence'*. In this chapter, the area stigma blurs with that of the communities through music as a cultural manifestation as well as with physical appearances, as I explore in the next section. In addition, the Palenquero and Mandelero communities were marked by community stigma due to their ethnicity and cultural manifestations.

The theme of 'visibility' in the case of the Palenqueros and the Mandeleros emerged as *'being black'*, which was found to materialise in negative attributes of their otherness, leading to avoidance, ethnic identification and objectifying their cultural manifestations (Image-11). So much so that to '*be black is to be from popular*' areas, located on the periphery of the city, and the one who listened to *champeta* '*the music of the blacks*' with associations that go from '*badly dressed*' '*violent*' and '*gang members*'. This establishes a direct association, i.e., the process of stigmatisation, in collective representation, between music, violence and the communities. To truly understand the implications of this statement, I recognise how the intersection of ethnicity, cultural identity, and geographical location contributes to the stigmatisation experienced by the Palenqueros and Mandeleros.

Image 11: The Afro-descendants of Cartagena

Author with community leader and gatekeepers, 2019

Thereby, the cultural differences were found to manifest themselves visibly through aesthetics, dimensions of stigmatisation processes. 'Visibility' emerged amongst the narratives of the participants as leading to the blame for being labelled '*black*'. Unsurprisingly, *champeta* music, a musical genre with a marked rhythm, was immediately associated with San Basilio de Palenque. As noted in the previous Chapter (6), *picó* parties were considered 'dangerous' by others as a result of the historical link with the fights between gangs. Similarly, with *champeta,* the findings revealed a historical link that the participants blamed for the *champeta*-violence association.[82] For example, *champeta* is a word in Creole, the language spoken by the Palenquero community, which means worn machete.

According to the participants, *champeta* is an old knife used mainly by Afro-descendants at the popular Bazurto market[83] to clean fish and cut fruit. I wanted to delve further into the historical context of *champeta* for a better contextualisation. As such, during an in-depth interview, Eduardo explained:

> *"They were called 'champetuos' in a pejorative way, referring to those who went to the dances in marginalised areas carrying a champeta as a weapon to be used in fights".*

> Eduardo_SF_2019

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[82] Which corelates with the Hazara's being labelled as 'kafir'
[83] Famously known as The Mecca of *Champeta*

He added that the danger of these songs was that they transgressed the social order due to the contagious property of these rhythms and their corporality. The music heard in these dances was called *champeta* music. Since then, the association between '*champeta*' and violence has become entrenched, further reinforcing existing processes of stigmatisation, particularly considering that the audience of this genre primarily consisted of Afro-descendants. Music contributes to the generation of stereotypes that delineate social and ethnic distinctions, erecting barriers that separate one group from another. Thus, in Cartagena, through the music they listened to, some defined themselves within acceptable normality and the others were marked as '*champetúos*'. This symbolic charge was found to be penetrated beyond the divisions by social strata, and many people from the popular areas shared the image of violence, as noted by Emilia during a semi-structured interview, a 60-year-old Palenquera[84] housewife:

> *"Sometimes you will find many disorders at picó events. There are many young children who go to picó, they forget their education".*

Emilia_SF_2019

Interestingly, most of the participants did agree with the above account of Emilia, thereby accepting the reasoning behind why *picó* events were linked to 'violence'. The particular aesthetics of *champeta* were considered 'dangerous' due to their transgressive character and the subversive character of the hegemonic order. During my time in Cartagena, one of the most widely reported images in the media about these rhythms, sometimes condemning their styles and sometimes celebrating them, was that of dancing in a highly 'sensual' way. This was because the aesthetics showed off that bodily bass through performative movements and lyrics that brought the most intimate bodily practices to the public sphere. This relates to what Wade (2005) refers to as the 'tropicalisation' of Colombia through music.

I was aware that, as a researcher, my perspective and biases must be acknowledged. I refrained from imposing external judgments on the cultural expressions I encountered. Instead, I strived to understand the local perspectives and meanings attached to these dances and rhythms. As such, my findings revealed that these were instead ritualised and complex aesthetic exercises. During the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult

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[84] For clarity, 'a'-ending Spanish terms are feminine, whilst 'o'-ending words are masculine.

female participants from Nelson Mandela, it was noted how their experiences were shaped by their intersecting identities, including their race and class:

> *"They say expressions like 'coleta's, bandida's, because you go to picó, you listen to champeta. You like to fight, and you are so violent. You make us deaf with the music".*
>
> Young_Adult_Females_NM_2019

It highlights the tension between their cultural identity and the stereotypes imposed upon them based on their music preference. The *picó* and *champeta* had a subversive character felt by the others, partly due to the way of dancing and music. This correlates with Link and Phelan's (2001) processes of stigmatisation, where the Palenqueros and Mandeleros were distinguished ethnically due to their taste in music and dance, labelled as *'loud'* and *'violent'*. It can be said that the sense of threat in others resulted from the 'sonic and intimidated segregation' because it was in those areas where *champeta* music was played via the *picó* sound systems, associable with latent 'danger'. The above account also relates to the visibility through cultural manifestations that generated a *'disorder'* and *'social disruption'*, associated with negative stereotypes and social prejudices.

However, spending time with the communities, I discovered that it was, in fact, a sum of cultural, economic, socio-historical and aesthetic aspects, accompanied by its infrastructure that motivated the community members to attend the *picó* every weekend in an almost sacred way, to reaffirm themselves. This involves the *champeta* dance, which operates as a strong social marker of ethnic identity that can *'draw people together and symbolise their sense of collectivity and place'* (Cohen, 1995:436).

Through the participants' accounts, I found that *champeta* as a musical product was not strictly so in terms of its musical or dance qualities. Still, it condensed intense social meanings rooted in the history and place logic of the Colombian Caribbean. Meanings that were not fully expressed in explicit discursive manifestations also occurred in an important way within non-verbal, bodily, and performative semiotic processes that marked the dynamics of belonging and identification of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros.

Interestingly, I was intrigued to understand the elements of their cultural manifestations, such as music and dance, that caused 'disruption' for the others, as noticed in the case of the Hazaras when the city was locked down for the cultural manifestations, 'disrupting' the daily lives. At one of the *champeta* events I attended downtown with the group of young

adults, I was constantly asked: '*Do you feel the meke?*'[85] A *picó* is not just any party; according to the participants I interviewed, its charm is to feel the music physically in the body, which they called the *meke*. It means then that the audience seeks to feel the bass in their guts, to feel the blow that the vibration of such a low frequency produces. The *meke* of the *picós*, this rumbling power, was found to be one of the factors that caused 'disruption' and that continuously interrupted the city's tourism projects. The others saw this '*loud*' musicality as a provocation, mainly referring to the power of sound vibration. For example, when I attended a conference in Cartagena, whilst interacting with a government official and introducing my research, he expressed that '*they make the whole city listen to the recital of their picós*'.

The tensions between what the hegemonic culture considers correct musicality and the popular festive expressions reverberating at full volume and indiscriminately throughout the city generated a struggle for the soundscape in which the *picós* took the lead. For this reason, 'sonic and intimidated segregation' of the areas was found to be intertwined with the stigmatisation of the community. This was partly because, having lived at the periphery of the city, the physicality of the Palenquero and Mandelero communities provided an easy means by which others identified and stigmatised them. This distinctiveness through ascriptions of negative attributes maintained the sense of differentiation by others, resulting in the third component of stigmatisation of otherness (Link & Phelan, 2001).

Moreover, the findings revealed that the Palenqueros' cultural manifestations linked to religious rites were also stigmatised, which in the case of the Hazaras was the *Muharram* rituals. Music has symbolic importance for the Palenqueros and was found to be present in all daily activities, from funeral rituals to different forms of fun and recreation, divided into the traditional Palenquero music and the Creole *champeta*. I observed this during my daily visits and time spent with the community. As an essential means of expression, the body was found to be the physical vehicle of communication with the world and the manifestation of social and political processes that have been culturally incorporated and reflected in aesthetic exercises. In these musical expressions, the participants I interviewed expressed a marked influence of its social representations, experiences and cultural institutions. Therefore, music within the Palenquero community encompasses all facets of

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[85] The waves from the speakers that produce vibrations beyond the audible.

daily life, including meals, games, the sale of traditional sweets, hairstyles, and houses, amongst other elements that constitute the Palenquero context.

I engaged deeply with these narratives and reflected that my identity and positionality might influence my interpretation of these narratives, and reflexivity was crucial. One noteworthy observation was the prominence of 'visibility' in addition to '*being black*' emerged as '*being a Palenquero*'. As with the Hazaras, the Palenquero phenotype has also been maintained for over three centuries due to their structural endogamy. Their 'visibility' as Palenqueros highlighted the different forms of stigmatisation they experienced compared to Mandeleros. For example, others distinguished the Palenqueros due to their ethnicity, yet at the same time labelled them as '*ugly black Palenquero*', which relates directly to their physical appearances, as I will explore in the next section. Amongst the participants' narratives, their solidarity was the cause of being labelled as the ones who '*always like to fight*'. Elena, a 20-year-old logistics student and Julieta, an 18-year-old nursing student, highlighted how the perceptions were likely influenced by the intersection of race, ethnicity, and cultural identity during the stigmatisation tree exercise:

> *"People say 'If you are going to rob a Palenquero person, don't do that because then all of the Palenquero people will gather together and will fight' [laughter]".*

> Elena_SF_2019

> *"Palenquero people don't get robbed because we have an image and people are afraid of us [laughter]".*

> Julieta_SF_2019

Elena's and Julieta's accounts shed light on the relational process of stigmatisation where being labelled as a '*fighter*' seemed to be a proud notion for the Palenqueros that symbolises the unity, solidarity and support as a Palenquero community. This observation aligns with Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality framework, which emphasises how intersecting identities shape individuals' experiences and perceptions within society. This was noted amongst the participants' accounts who constantly referenced Antonio Cervantes, alias Kid Pambelé, the first Colombian boxing world champion from Palenque. In addition, as part of the *kuagro* inauguration, the *kuagro* competes with the other *kuagros* for the best dance and costumes. The fists are a vital part of the *kuagros* and provide the setting for the affirmation of each group and, within it, each individual.

From the above narrative within the process of stigmatisation, the relationship between an attribute and a stereotype can be observed regarding the cultural manifestations of the

Palenqueros (Goffman, 1963). The attribute or the mark can be seen as their cultural manifestation of fist-fighting that linked the Palenqueros to undesirable characteristics or stereotypes as '*fighters*' (Major & O'Brien, 2005). This also relates directly to Link and Phelan's (2001) second component of the stigmatisation process of negative stereotypes and prejudices linked to their cultural manifestations. Another cultural manifestation concerning their traditional music was also found to be against the grain of the aesthetic and social conventions of acceptability associated with other Colombian music. During the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult female participants, Catalina, a student at *Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje* [SENA, National Learning Service],[86] explained this during her interaction with the class fellows:

> *"They laugh at how Palenquera women cry at funerals. They say, 'you don't cry as a normal person; you are celebrating'. They make fun of our traditions and customs".*

> Young_Adult_Females_SF_2019

Catalina's narrative directly relates to the prejudice based on stereotypical beliefs and negative attributes in a way that their cultural manifestations are considered deviant (Major & O'Brien, 2005), e.g., '*fighters*' and '*celebrating funeral*'. Furthermore, recognised by UNESCO (2006) for their social, medical, religious, musical and oral tradition, I was intrigued when I constantly heard the phrase at the beginning of the fieldwork from the community leaders to '*be mindful of how you narrate our cultural manifestations*'. The community leaders' advice to exercise mindfulness in narrating the community's cultural manifestations is a profound reminder of the complexities of conducting CGT research within a cultural context. Being mindful of the power dynamic was crucial to ensure that the community's voice was central to the study. In addition, it is essential to highlight that for the Palenqueros, music and dance govern their lives, and *lumbalú* is a faithful reflection of that, to bid farewell to their loved ones with music, dances and songs. As Jesus, an anthropologist, noted: '*this ritual is not joy, it is sadness and pain*'.

Interestingly, during my time with the community and amongst the participants' narratives, they blamed academics as the initiators for others stereotyping their cultural manifestations. They were the ones who studied the Palenquero traditions and language and portrayed their cultural manifestations and accents stereotypically. This instigated the

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[86] A Colombian public institution aimed at the development of professional programs for education and employment.

community to study their cultural manifestations and traditions, as I explore in detail in Chapter 8. This can be seen as negatively categorising the Palenqueros by others as a result of a sense of threat established due to their image [*fighters*], their musical taste [*champetitos*] and cultural manifestations [*lumbalú*]. From this categorisation, we can see Link and Phelan's (2001) third component of the stigmatisation process of otherness, which is part of the identification and stereotyping process as a result of their social and cultural difference, thereby defining boundaries of us and them due the negative attributes assigned. As such, these differences were the factors of prejudices and stereotypes leading to distancing and rejection.

Whereas, for the Mandeleros, their 'visibility' apart from '*blackness*' was linked to their '*displacement*', affiliating with their specific region of displacement, which in this study is also considered community stigmatisation. As discussed in Chapter 3, Colombia presents one of the worst situations in the world regarding displacement and '*the category of the 'displaced' as a normalised phenomenon in Colombian society*' (Oslender, 2007:756). Unlike in the case of the Hazaras, where both Pakistani and Afghan Hazaras were labelled as '*refugees*', this was not found to be the case with the Palenquero community. Being displaced was only linked to the Mandeleros in the context of Cartagena. In both young and older adults, the aspect of blame was the historical event of displacement from regions of armed conflict, the presence of armed groups and assassinations of the community leaders, marking the community as '*dangerous*' and '*violent*' (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004; Wong, 2008). For example, during a semi-structured interview, David, a 34-year-old who fled from the Department of Magdalena with his family and witnessed the formation of Nelson Mandela by the displaced population, explained:

> "*People joke 'what do you want? Go to the line, they are going to give you something'… they call us 'lazy, undisciplined, little things, beggars'*".

> David_NM_2019

David's account sheds light on the labelling of the displaced population of Nelson Mandela as *'lazy', 'undisciplined', 'little things', and 'beggars'.* I am aware of the negative connotations associated with these labels, and raises questions about who has the authority to assign such labels and how these power dynamics influence the experiences of the community members. However, it is important to engage with the perspectives of the participants themselves. CGT emphasises the co-construction of knowledge, ensuring

that the voices of the community are central to understanding their experiences of stigmatisation.

As such, the labels attached were about the long queues surrounding the entire block in front of the Victims Unit, which I witnessed daily en route to Nelson Mandela. The participants in the reparation process mentioned that they would start queuing at 3 am. Cecilia, who fled from El Salado after witnessing one of the most violent massacres in Colombia, mentioned during a focus group discussion with the adult females:

> *"The process requires a lot of documents. I didn't ask to be displaced. We are victims and are re-victimised by this entity".*

> Cecilia_Adult_Females_NM_2019

Cecilia's experience highlights the multiple intersecting identities and the challenges she faces compounded by other factors such as gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic status (Telles, 2015). In addition, amongst the narratives of the participants, the findings revealed the discriminatory attitudes of the staff of the Victims Unit, who denied them as victims. This was expressed throughout the fieldwork, as Carlos, one of the community leaders who fled from Urabá mentioned the experience of his father when he declared himself as a victim:

> *"They said my father was lying and took him out of the system of the registry of victims. They took away his dignity. It is not good to be around there begging for assistance".*

> Carlos_NM_2019

Carlos further highlighted that the displacement from regions of armed conflict, such as Urabá, also instigated a sense of threat in others because the region was associated with *guerreros* [warriors] and a criminal gang in Colombia called *Urabeños*.[87] He recalled how others would say to him: *'maybe you are here because we don't know who you have killed in Urabá, maybe you escaped'.* This can be linked to Jones *et al.* (1984) dimension of the stigma that relates to holding them responsible for their mark, in this case, displacement. As a relational stigma process, this relates to the stigmatisers' self-protection mechanism by justifying their reason for displacement. This reflection underscores the importance of examining stigmatisation, suspicion, and fear narratives within the CGT framework. It

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[87] The *Urabeños* are the main criminal paramilitary force in Colombia. Otherwise known as *El Clan del Golfo*.

emphasises the need to explore how these narratives shape identity and community dynamics.

Furthermore, the findings revealed that the Mandeleros were perceived as '*suspects*' as the precise reasons for their presence in the city were unknown. Doubts about the Mandeleros covered them as victims of the armed conflict (Wong, 2008). Some of the perceptions of the displaced were linked to the conflict, either because they were attributed to the practices of the armed forces or because they were seen as manipulated in the settlements by various armed actors (Corporación AVRE, 2008). It was also perceived as a problem insofar as they came from the countryside, which was seen as a territory of '*backwardness*'. In addition, the others blamed the Mandeleros for their suffering and held them responsible for the painful situations, accusing them of '*having affiliation with the very armed groups that caused their displacement*' (Shultz, 2014:21).

During my time in Cartagena, there were many encounters with taxi drivers, apartment neighbours, government officials, and NGOs. As soon as I explained my research study, they constantly referred to the Mandeleros as '*they come with their culture and their ignorance*', '*they have changed the norms and progress of the city*', '*they are not all victims*'. I continuously reflected on my biases and assumptions whenever confronted with such narratives. The image of Mandeleros was constructed, linking them to the countryside, poverty, armed conflict, the destruction and degradation of the city, and attitudes highlighting dependence, particularly on the State. Such narratives reminded me that the participants' identities are multifaceted and shaped by various factors.

On the contrary, a striking factor that came to light in the participants' accounts was hiding their status as displaced because they were seen as '*suspects*' by their origin, exposing the stigma and being classified as belonging to one or the other side. Most of the participants that I interviewed had experienced such prejudices and stereotypes. Therefore, in some cases, they did not claim their rights because Cartagena did not represent a haven for them either. I wanted to explore this element further during a semi-structured interview with Jorge to gain a rich exploration of the participant's experiences, emotions, and perspectives related to stigmatisation based on rural origins, and it aligns with the principles of CGT in capturing the complexities of their narratives. Jorge, a 32-year-old artist, was displaced from Montes de María at the age of 18 after a close encounter with the FARC-EP and was re-victimised when he came to Nelson Mandela by the paramilitary.

> *"I was denied by the Victims Unit because they wanted me to talk about who was the person who did the violent things, but I could not say that. It was a denying process to be part of the process of victims of the armed conflict".*

Jorge_NM_2019

Jorge's narrative sheds light on the sense of threat that some displaced people had to speak publicly about their situation, and that forced them to face their displacement without State support. Warnings were also presented about the dangers of registering as a victim. The witness statement would include details of their place of origin due to its implications in identifying with some armed groups, making them potential victims. Amongst the narratives of the participants, I found that they felt threatened for life by the armed actors who had access to or some form of relationship with government agencies through which they could access information.

Faced with this sense of threat and danger, they remained silent, '*a stigma which often remains unspoken'* (Tyler & Slater, 2018:737) by not declaring their situation and distrusting official entities, particularly the Victims Unit (Stein, 1981). In addition, it was recurrent amongst the participants' narratives, the complexity of the system, feeling threatened and the requirements imposed by the Government, which many times did not correspond to the reality of the conflict. This feeling of threat by the community members was also noted at the beginning of the fieldwork. However, shared experiences of forced migration, belonging to a stigmatised community and a turbulent environment such as Quetta, helped me understand the study concept primarily '*by the lived experience of the people*' (Link & Phelan, 2001:365).

Amongst the Mandeleros, there were certified displaced persons who could receive humanitarian aid and had priority in some State programs such as education, employment, housing, and access to the health system immediately and free of charge. On the contrary, I also found some Mandeleros were non-certified displaced because they did not meet the criteria established by the State. They experienced a long and complicated path, generally remaining for long periods without access to health care, further exacerbating the significant vulnerability to which they were exposed in Nelson Mandela. As such, '*silence*' due to the sense of threat and labelling as displaced extinguished any possibility of social recognition of the condition of the non-certified displaced participants. This resonates with Harrell-Bond's (1986) exploration of how humanitarian labels and aid are provided to displaced communities, illuminating the intricate nature of labelling in such contexts.

Agreeing with Wong (2008), the participants I interviewed constantly referenced the labels they were assigned by relating them to the conflict as '*informants*', '*guerrillas*', and '*bandits*'. The representation of the '*displaced bandit*' is part of the general idea and the commonplace according to which if someone was threatened and had to leave everything, it was because of some unpaid debt. As noted in Chapter 3, the displaced were not seen as victims but as '*actors*' in the armed conflict who were involved with either side (Bouvier, 2016). The idea that they were not '*trustworthy people*' was generalised. They were associated with '*criminals*', and their arrival in Nelson Mandela was perceived as a source of '*insecurity*', linking to the notion of 'intimidated segregation'. As such, the stigmatisation that surrounded the Mandeleros forced them to remain '*silent*' about their condition and suffering. This was because of the threat of the different armed actors and the lack of protection against their threat as well as the shame of acknowledging the situation in which they found themselves. This suggests power dynamics related to the presence of armed actors and the lack of protection and how power structures influence the experiences of Mandeleros.

In line with the above, Goffman (1963) considers that society establishes the means to categorise people. This is why attributes and norms are spread, which individuals of a specific category must support and carry out. In this sense, stigma is directly related to social perceptions and valuations about the individual or group whose identity is questioned. It is recognised that stigma is based on the allocation of attributes, making an individual different from others until the point of reducing and discrediting it. Although the idea of a singular attribute or characteristic leads to recognising the presence of difference, it should be clarified that it is not just the manifestation of something different but the existence of a latent relationship of inequality with the double function of stigmatised one. Furthermore, the stigmatiser's normality is affirmed through the negative attributes that have characterised the Mandeleros and Palenqueros, as these attributes have become socially accepted and generalised within their respective communities. As such, the area stigma was also extensive to its inhabitants, affecting their daily lives (Pescosolido & Martin, 2015).

7.2.4 'We are different! Our dressing, skin, hair, expressions': Physical Appearances

The visibility that marked the Palenqueros and Mandeleros due to the community stigmatisation was also linked to their physical appearances, another differentiating factor. In daily interactions, attitudes and behaviours permeated by stigma and discrimination were found to be apprehended and assimilated, which were reproduced in the form of discriminatory practices. The ethnicity of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros became a discredited attribute. The findings indicated that the Palenqueros and Mandeleros were associated with a lifestyle diverging from society's normative standards, as discussed earlier. This included distinctive forms of sociability characterised by their cultural expressions. In addition, their phenotype, skin colour, and ways of dressing and speaking were also distinguished by their immediate 'visibility', serving as a reference for discriminatory behaviours, thus creating the perception of otherness.

Interestingly, the findings from the present study show that a wide range of sources instigated discriminatory experiences. Some types of perceived discrimination involved a denial of identity and competence. Many participants described situations where they felt their competence in standard Colombian Spanish or their identity was questioned or denied. Such experiences included Mandeleros being labelled as '*displaced*', being told that '*you speak badly'*, and their physical features such as skin colour and hair were seen as '*causing disorder*'. This category reveals instances where the participants felt their identity and competence were questioned or denied. The labelling of Mandeleros as '*displaced*' reflects the impact of displacement on identity. The experiences described reflect the intersectionality of race, language, appearance, and social status.

Other types of discrimination involved differential treatment in which participants perceived they were treated differently because of the '*way they speak, dress and their physical features*'. These included: *'being ignored', 'being treated with less attention' or* with *'less respect', 'being verbally attacked', 'being made fun of', 'being excluded from places or activities', and 'being considered less for employment'.* Specifically, many reported experiencing discrimination when interacting with someone with authority. For instance, during the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult female participants from San Fernando, they expressed observing discriminatory behaviours of the professors whilst studying at SENA:

"We don't get good academic results or stop attending the lectures because the professors discriminate against us. They make bad jokes in front of the class because of our accent. They touch our hair and say, 'this is not acceptable; it is causing disorder'".

Young_Adult_Females_SF_2019

The narrative sheds light on their experiences of discrimination within an educational context. This aligns with the CGT principle of exploring how individuals construct meaning and navigate social interactions based on their experiences and identities. From the above narrative, it can be observed that the ways of speaking, far from serving only the objective and neutral transmission of meaning, were linked to the ethnicity of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros because of their distinct physical features. Their skin colour, hair and phenotype were found to be the immediate signifiers of '*being black*'. During the stigmatisation tree exercise, the young adult male participants from Nelson Mandela discussed the connotations of '*being black*':

"They say 'you have bad hair, you are filthy, dirty, smelly' and pointing towards our skin colour. They use the word 'black' to make us feel oppressed. We are Afro, we are not black".

Young_Adult_Males_NM_2019

This narrative sheds light on the ethnicisation process, where individuals are labelled and discriminated against based on perceived racial characteristics. In Colombia, ethnicity is often linked to racial identity, particularly concerning Afro-descendant communities, who face discrimination and stigmatisation based on their African heritage. These narratives underscore the impact of ethnicisation on individuals' experiences of stigma and discrimination.

From the narratives of the participants, just as in the case of the Hazaras, the community stigma based on their ethnicity can be observed. Despite our exposure to people of different backgrounds and ways of speaking, accents and dialects remain socially significant. With less attention paid in stigma literature, research on accent stigma has been conducted within the fields of sociolinguistics studies and language attitudes research (Harwood & Giles, 2005; Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013; Marlow & Giles, 2010; Marlow, 2016; Dragojevic *et al.,* 2021). Accents convey social information about a speaker that may be linked to stereotypes about groups sharing that accent/dialect. When these pertain to

negative attributes, a way of speaking becomes devalued and stigmatised (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010).

Consequently, the standard accent/dialect is typically that of native speakers, who often constitute a majority in their geographical area. Conversely, nonstandard accents/dialects come from the speakers of a language constituted as a minority (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013). This brings support to the notion that minority groups are typically most commonly targets of prejudice, particularly amongst the said populations who also have the added attribute of distinct physical characteristics in addition to their cultural manifestations.

Nonetheless, the accents/dialects were found to be the most explicit markers of their '*intellectual and social inferiority*'. Amongst the narratives of the Palenquero participants, they recognised the stigmatisation of others when speaking. Whilst the younger generation may not actively speak Creole in everyday communication, its influence on the community's linguistic patterns and accent remains significant. This influence stems from exposure to older generations who still use Creole in specific contexts, such as familial or cultural gatherings. Interestingly, experiences in which the participants felt their identity and competence were denied or questioned represent the most common form of perceived discrimination reported by the participants; psychosocial consequences (reduced language confidence) reflect this.

For some, however, perceived accent stigmatisation occasionally reinforced their identity and sense of belonging, which will be delved into more detail in Chapter 8. In the context described, the linguistic dynamics can be better understood through the lens of basic sociolinguistics, which examines the relationship between language and society. Rather than strictly adhering to the concept of 'diglossia', which may oversimplify the situation, a more nuanced approach considers language variation, language contact, and dialectology. Regional backgrounds, social contexts, and historical interactions influence these variations. Instead of viewing language as a binary distinction between high and low varieties, sociolinguistics recognises the continuum of linguistic variation and the social meanings attached to different ways of speaking (Ball, 2010).

For the Mandeleros, however, it had more to do with their ways of speaking and expressions related to their dialects. Colombia has many regional dialects, and the upper-middle class mainly speaks standard Colombian Spanish. As such, the Mandeleros also had different dialects and ways of expression, which revealed their social information, such as

region of displacement and automatically Nelson Mandela. Amongst the participants' narratives, I found that it was not the linguistic or aesthetic differences but stereotypes and prejudices related to the Mandeleros who spoke in different dialects that played a crucial role in stigmatisation. They elicit reactions from individuals in society, as well as opinions and prejudices. This was reflected during a semi-structured interview with Julia, a 49-year-old Palenquera residing in Nelson Mandela and a victim of the armed conflict whose brother was assassinated in Palenque:

"People say bad things, like 'Palenqueras are brutos [stupid]'".

Julia_NM_2019

Julia's account emphasises the significance of physical appearance as a key aspect of identity intersecting with her gender and her status as a victim of the armed conflict, which highlights how multiple aspects of identity intersect to shape individuals' experiences and perceptions within society. From this, we can observe the stigmatisation process through the negative meanings of the labels assigned to them. In addition, certain characteristics of the talking mode functioned as markers of stigma. This was reflected during a focus group exercise with the young adult male participants using the stigmatisation tree exercise:

"People laugh at our accent. We are afraid to apply for a job because we don't want others to laugh at us. They say, 'you sing rather than speak...that's not good...I don't like it'. So, we started speaking the way they want us to speak".

Young_Adult_Males_SF_2019

From the participants' accounts, their accent was found to be a characteristic of their place of origin, i.e., San Basilio de Palenque. This suggests their way of speaking was closely associated with their regional identity. As such, the participants were subjected to negative attributes related to area stigma due to 'intimidated and sonic segregation'. They were symbolically reduced to the extent that they perceived themselves as responsible for their image, which can be linked to acceptance as a form of absorptive strategy (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985). The participants made constant reference to how others mocked their accent, especially for allegedly using '*badly spoken*' Spanish and therefore were '*bruto'* [less intelligent]. These practices are associated with an alleged condition of '*inferiority*' and '*backwardness*', a form of distinction. As such, speaking in Spanish activated intergroup hierarchies, reducing their chances of educational and occupational success, and it was found to have significant implications in social interactions (Goffman, 1963).

I wanted to explore further during semi-structured interviews how accents often serve as markers of a person's geographical or cultural background and how they can play a significant role in shaping how others perceive and stereotype individuals. Regional accents are a natural part of language diversity, reflecting different areas' linguistic and cultural nuances. However, these accents can sometimes lead to stereotypes, biases, or discrimination, as others may make assumptions about a person's background, education, or intelligence based on their way of speaking. This association between accent and regional identity can impact various aspects of a person's life, including social interactions, educational opportunities, and employment prospects. For example, the stereotypes attributed to them were '*poorly educated*' and '*stupid*' as it appears in the account of Sergio, a 30-year-old Mandelero:

> *"When I was studying history at the university, other people were making fun of the way I spoke because I come from a coastal region; I speak differently. They were making jokes that 'you are stupid'. They mimicked me and laughed".*

<div align="right">Sergio_NM_2019</div>

In exploring the term *'costeño'* amongst residents of the coastal region, particularly in Nelson Mandela, an intersectional framework illuminates the intricate dynamics of cultural, linguistic, and regional identities. The term not only signifies geographical origins but also carries deep cultural and linguistic connotations associated with Colombia's coastal heritage. For individuals from Nelson Mandela, being labelled as *'costeños'* adds layers to their identity, emphasising their connection to the coastal region and its diverse cultural fabric.

Moreover, the linguistic features attributed to being *'costeños'*, such as accents and dialects, intersect with their Afro-descendant identity, creating a multifaceted experience of discrimination. The experiences of the participants underscores the complex interplay between ethnicity, regional identity, and linguistic biases. As Mandeleros, individuals navigate through various dimensions of discrimination, grappling with the complexities of their identity shaped by both ethnicity and regional affiliation. This intersectional analysis emphasises the need to consider the convergence of multiple factors in understanding the lived experiences of marginalised communities. By examining the intersecting influences of ethnicity, regional identity, and linguistic characteristics, a more comprehensive understanding emerges, shedding light on the diverse and nuanced nature of discrimination faced by the Mandeleros. As a researcher, I acknowledge the influence of

my own biases and assumptions on the interpretation of Sergio's experience. This underscores the need for researchers to critically examine their own perspectives and assumptions when analysing participants' narratives, ensuring that the research remains true to the participants' subjective experiences and the social construction of meaning.

In addition, the linguistic component was found to be key in the majority of the jokes that the participants mentioned. For example, Paula, one of the Palenquera community leaders, noted:

> *"In Cartagena, others make a joke about someone 'dirty' or 'ignorant' they start with 'here comes bruto [stupid] fish smelling Palenquera'"*

<div align="right">Paula_SF_2019</div>

Sergio's and Paula's narratives during semi-structured interviews shed light on the relationship between humour and social and linguistic discrimination. When a group makes jokes about another group systematically and refers to negative characteristics of the same, it is indisputably discriminating against it. Thus, the joke as a speech act constitutes one of the most evident forms of social and linguistic discrimination. By breaking the order of the standard Spanish, the dialects, accents and ways of speaking were found to be a discredited attribute, feeding negative attitudes. The standard dialect was considered better than other dialects, not because it was objectively better or more attractive to speakers than others, but because it was used by the social group with more prestige and power.

Through the narratives, we can observe that, on the one hand, the way of speaking gives sufficient information to the receiver about the speaker so that they can assign them an identity. Indeed, accents reveal social information about the speaker: the speaker's geographic origin, ethnicity, social class, and even stereotypes attributed to the accent/dialect in question. Therefore, the way a language is expressed indicates the speaker's identity. As such, the stigmatisation of accents/dialects encourages the creation of categories mutually exclusive between 'us' and 'them', a subtle tool of exclusion. This has been noted in sociolinguistics studies (Harwood & Giles, 2005; Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013; Marlow & Giles, 2010; Marlow, 2016). Attributing an identity or negative characteristics to those with a nonstandard accent exaggerates and rationalises differences between the self and those with accents that diverge from the norm.

In addition, the notion of 'threat' and 'distrust' from others emerged recurrently during the interviews, leading to discriminatory behaviours towards them. This was particularly when interacting outside their areas, e.g., educational institutions, shopping centres, and public transport. For instance, during the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult male participants in Nelson Mandela, Juan and Esteban expressed:

> "They keep their distance. I can feel the body language changes [smiling]. If we sit beside them on a bus, they just stand up and go. They don't want any association with us".

> Juan_Young_Adult_Male_NM_2019

> "When you are in a queue, they are always looking at you, your clothes and looking around, as if you are going to steal something from their bag [smiling]".

> Esteban_Young_Adult_Male_NM_2019

The relational element of stigmatisation can be noted from the above accounts by smiling as a way of acceptance (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985; Foster, 1997) when narrating their experiences. This constant emotion throughout the fieldwork in Cartagena suggests the notion of threat in others. I also noticed this during my time in Cartagena with my gatekeeper, a 23-year-old male Palenquero, when the mall's security guard questioned his presence. There were other incidents, e.g., at one of the universities in Cartagena, I attended a seminar, and I noticed the guards asking for ID cards only for the Afro-descendant students/guests. Surprisingly, I was never once asked for my ID as I visited the university regularly. Witnessing such incidents of discrimination prompted reflexivity. I needed to reflect on my biases, assumptions, and emotions that may arise in response to these incidents. I was careful not to let my personal experiences overshadow the participants' voices and perspectives.

Furthermore, being questioned for ID was a constant theme amongst the participants' accounts when entering malls, banks, universities and by police. This can be observed in the account of Mario, a 35-year-old Palenquero who, during a semi-structured interview, noted that:

> "They associate us with someone who steals and robs or part of a gang. When the police see my skin colour, they see me as 'bandido'".

> Mario_SF_2019

Mario's account sheds light on the perceptions that nurture the threat becoming a social problem, perpetuating the stigma towards the Palenqueros and Mandeleros, regardless of

the evidence or personal experiences. Notably, the participants recognised the stigmatising attributes in themselves and found justification for the qualification of the external ones. In this sense, referring to the stigmatised person, Goffman (1963:7) points out that, '*the stigmatised individual tends to hold the same beliefs about identity that we do; this is a pivotal fact*'.

Agreeing with Stafford and Scott (1986), the study has shown that within these categorisations is the stigma, the characteristic contrary to the shared belief of behaving in a certain way at a precise moment that governs a social unit. As such, it can be said that stigma is manifested in the first place in the social stereotypes consisting of knowledge learned and shared by the social majorities, and later, these beliefs are translated into social prejudices, which include emotional reactions, attitudes and evaluations. These communities' stigmatisation revolves around a series of discourses and images that legitimise and justify their otherness. This gives way to effective discrimination in which negative behaviours are manifested that position the stigmatised individuals and communities in a situation of social disadvantage. Discrimination here can be seen as a cognitive and social exercise that focuses on a firm demarcation between groups, which is burdened with judgments, leading to hierarchical positions and inequality.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have identified the different processes of stigmatisation in communities. I explored how these links with each other and allow us to understand community stigma interlinked with area stigma experienced through 'forced, intimidated and sonic segregation'. In the first part of the chapter, I briefly outlined the notion of community stigmatisation of the Hazaras that served as the external markers, characterised by two dimensions of 'visibility'. The first dimension was their cultural manifestations, which were found to be the external markers of the stigmatisation processes. The second dimension of 'visibility' in the case of the Hazaras was their physical appearance, such as their accent and distinct phenotype. The second part of the chapter explored the dimension of 'visibility' in the context of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros, for whom their cultural manifestations, such as music and dance, were the external markers. Whereas the other dimension of 'visibility' was linked to their physical appearance, including accents and phenotype.

Agreeing with Link and Phelan (2001), these processes were found to be interlinked with different components. It included being distinguished by others due to their community and area stigma that led to different labels. However, by comparing the differences and similarities of the four communities, I build on area and community stigmatisation, reinforcing the notion that stigmatisation is a complex and relational social phenomenon.

The utilisation of constructivist grounded theory principles enriched the multi-sited methodology employed in this study, enabling a comprehensive exploration of the stigmatisation processes. By adopting a reflexive stance and engaging in open dialogue with participants, I embraced the co-construction of knowledge, acknowledging the diverse perspectives and lived experiences within these communities. The multi-sited methods enabled me to identify, from the perspectives of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants with multiple stigma identities, cultural manifestations and physical appearances that influenced the experience of stigmatisation (e.g., religious processions, music, dance, phenotype, accent). Additionally, the data acquired through participatory methods yielded insights of the Hazara and the Afro-descendant community members. In this context, through the data, I learned about nuances in how the community members experienced stigmatisation. I could better understand differences in experiences related to cultural manifestations and physical appearances. As such, the qualitative multi-sited methodology helped to map and untangle the complex stigmatisation processes.

For this reason, to understand the processes of stigmatisation, it was vital '*to take into consideration factors, such as history (time), geography (place), politics and economic conditions …. which shape the emergence of stigma in everyday contexts*' (Tyler & Slater, 2018:731). However, in all communities, the starkest finding was the relational process of stigmatisation where the Hazaras, Palenqueros and Mandeleros also participated in the stigmatisation processes with the others through prejudices, stereotypes and labelling. In addition, the community-level processes of stigmatisation have addressed one of the challenges to stigma research, which '*has had a decidedly individualist focus*' (Link & Phelan, 2001:366). As such, in the next Chapter (8), I look at the responses to the processes of stigmatisation and explore the similarities and differences.

CHAPTER 8: Responses to Processes of Stigmatisation

8.1   Introduction

The chapter aims to identify the various responses to processes of stigmatisation and how do these strategies differ or overlap due to the differing historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts of each community (Q3). I highlight the intersectional identities when analysing responses to stigmatisation. For example, the participants' experiences of stigmatisation differed based on ethnicity, race, gender, culture, religion and other social identities. I conceptualise the individual and community responses to area stigma and stigmatisation of the communities. I argue that the notion of 'embeddedness' played a crucial role in enhancing the responses. In addition, the responses were on a continuum from absorption and adaptation to transformation. The main methods that helped analyse the responses were the unstructured observation of the areas, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions using photo-elicitation techniques and stigmatisation tree exercises.

Section 8.2 explores the Hazaras' responses to area stigma as a result of 'forced and intimidated segregation'. I outline three resilience strategies: 'blaming, pride, acceptance', 'appropriation of space', and 'self-empowerment' strategies. The absorptive strategy of 'blaming' at the individual level included 'blaming' the Afghan Hazaras for the negative image of their area and 'blaming' the ones practising religious rituals. 'Pride' as an adaptive strategy at the individual and community level deflected the area stigma by encompassing their areas as somewhere they belong, strengthening their sense of belonging. On the other hand, 'acceptance' of responsibility as an adaptive strategy for the spoiled image of their areas was concerned with cultural manifestations. At the community level, 'appropriation of space' by renaming the streets, sit-ins and processions were found to be adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. Here, we can reflect on the sense of belonging to their areas, an influencing factor for transformative resilience. At the individual level, the transformative resilience strategy included 'self-empowerment' through adaptive strategies of formal/informal 'entrepreneurship and education'.

The second section (8.3) discusses the Hazaras' responses, focusing mainly on their cultural manifestations and physical appearances. The responses included 'raising awareness for others' and 'confrontation, avoidance and tactics'. 'Raising awareness for others' was

found to be on a continuum of the three resilience strategies. Beginning from the absorptive strategy of dialogue with others led to the adaptive strategy of 'raising awareness' by using digital media to share their lived experiences that compelled the Government to take action, i.e., transformation as the end product of 'raising awareness'. On the other hand, 'confrontation, avoidance and tactics' were the absorptive resilience strategies at the individual level that did not lead to adaptation or transformation.

Section 8.4 focuses on the responses of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros as a result of 'intimidated and sonic segregation'. The main response strategies included 'blaming and pride', 'processes of resignification and sonic appropriation', and 'self-empowerment strategies'. For Mandeleros, at the individual level, the negative absorptive strategy of 'blame' was found to concern the lack of recreational spaces and the presence of youth-at-risk. In comparison, the adaptive resilience strategy of 'pride' at the individual and community levels was because of the attachment to their area and their identification as Mandeleros. For the Palenqueros, the adaptive strategy of 'pride' was at the individual and community level because of the sense of belonging to their area and solidarity.

For the Mandeleros, the 'processes of resignification and sonic appropriation' were adaptive and transformative resilience strategies at the community level. As noted above, a sense of belonging to one's area contributes to long-term transformative resilience; hence, both strategies were on a continuum. The notion of representation was found at the community level, i.e., how communities strive to portray themselves and their areas (Howarth, 2006). The adaptive strategies of documentary film-making, art, murals, and parks provided counter-narratives of their area, which led to the transformative resilience strategy of the 'process of resignification'. Meanwhile, the transformative resilience strategy of 'sonic appropriation' involved participating in musical activities. In the case of the Palenqueros, at the community level, their adaptive resilience strategy was to maintain their Palenquero identity through the *kuagros* and *juntas* and visit San Basilio de Palenque. This, in turn, led to the transformative resilience strategy of 'sonic appropriation' as a response to the '*loudness*' of their music by sonically manifesting their presence. Amongst the Afro-descendants, 'self-empowerment' as a transformative resilience strategy was possible through adaptive strategies of formal/informal 'entrepreneurship and education', as in the case of the Hazaras.

In section (8.5), the responses to the cultural manifestations and physical appearances of the Afro-descendants emerge through the overarching theme of taking action by 'raising awareness' and 'confrontation'. 'Confrontation', at the individual level, is an absorptive strategy, and it was found to be through 'dialogue' by speaking in their accents with the others. Therefore, we can say that some phenomena can have different strategies.

8.2   Quetta: Responses to Area Stigma

Area stigma is understood, in this research, as an exercise of power by 'containing' the communities in the form of socially constructed limits such as 'forced, intimidated and sonic segregation'. As noted in Chapter 6, the historical, socio-economic and institutional elements influenced area stigma, impacting social relations by attributing negative characteristics and discriminatory behaviours to communities related to a particular geographic area. For the Hazaras who faced 'forced and intimidated segregation', their responses included individual absorptive strategies such as 'blame' and adaptive strategy of 'acceptance' as well as at individual and community level adaptive strategy of 'pride'. At the community level, their responses were both adaptive and transformative through 'appropriation of space' and 'self-empowerment', which was found to be a transformative resilience strategy at the individual level.

8.2.1 Blame, Pride and Acceptance

As explored in Chapter 6, the labelling of Hazara Town as an '*area of refugees*' had a cascading effect and resulted in Pakistani Hazaras being stereotyped as '*refugees*' as well as Marriabad, highlighting that area stigma is interwoven with community stigmatisation (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004). Amongst the narratives of the participants, within the absorptive resilience strategy, there was a repetitive reference to 'blaming' the community members for the stigma attached to the areas at the individual level. There was a persistent reference that most people, without intending to generalise, live according to their situation because of themselves and the indifferent acceptance of the rest of the community. This notion of 'blaming' others and not themselves is what Wacquant (2008) termed as '*lateral denigration*', a form of negative absorptive strategy and an impact, leading to '*mutual distancing*'. This involved distancing from the Afghan Hazaras because of the entire community being labelled as '*refugees*'. Their multiple waves of migration from Afghanistan to Pakistan can be seen as the producer of stigma, particularly their

insertion in Hazara Town, as noted in Chapter 2. For example, when interacting with others at government departments and educational institutions, amongst the narratives of the participants who were Pakistani Hazaras, they blamed the Afghan Hazaras for the area stigma. This observation resonates with the findings of Abbasi and Monsutti (2023), highlighting how institutional labelling can shape perceptions and attributions of stigma within refugee communities. Shareef, a Pakistani Hazara residing in Hazara Town, expressed this during a semi-structured interview:

> *"At university, they say to us, 'you all are refugees; you Hazaras pick and choose when you want to become local'. It is because of our own mistakes in bribing the officers; it is people like them [Afghan Hazaras] who have created these monsters in NADRA[88] , and we are labelled refugees. My father has an ID card from 1974. My uncle was martyred. Still, we are refugees?"*

> Shareef_HT_2019

This highlights a struggle with their identity and a perception of being treated differently based on their refugee status. This raises questions about the ethical complexities surrounding refugee label and how they might affect individuals and communities (Zetter, 1991). In general, negative evaluations regarding the areas were persistently identified, demonstrating the link between the community and the area, as Shareef explained further:

> *"Before going to the NADRA office, we are fearful that our ID cards will get blocked, although we have all the required paperwork. Even if we try to hide our face, we can't hide the address on our IDs".*

> Shareef_HT_2019

The semi-structured interview format provided a conducive environment for Shareef to express his experiences, perceptions, and challenges openly. This flexibility facilitated a richer understanding of Shareef's perspectives regarding the Hazara community's identity and legal status (Burnett, 2013). Shareef's account highlights that one of the most common individual absorptive strategies of 'concealability' was not found to be the case as the Hazaras were distinctly known to be from either Hazara Town or Marriabad (Foster, 1997; Jones *et al*., 1984). Moreover, his narrative also emphasises the labelling of all Hazaras as '*refugees*', and with that, their areas also carry the mark of '*area of refugees*'. Yet, at the same time, the participants avoided the Afghan Hazaras as they viewed them as spoiling their image and the bad reputation of the area. The interviews showed that the Pakistani

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[88] National Database & Registration Authority (NADRA).

Hazaras resorted to the negative absorptive strategies of resilience by internalising the stigma and trying to avoid it by 'blaming' others, which is how Wacquant (2008) described '*lateral denigration*'.

In addition, 'blaming' was also found concerning the ones who practised religious rituals of symbolic importance—as such, resulting in '*mutual distancing*' amongst the ones who practised increased religious rituals and the ones who did not (Wacquant, 2008). One of the most noticeable aspects during fieldwork was religious practices that increased in recent years, as mentioned in Chapter 7. This can be seen as a strategy to distract themselves from the stigmatisation processes, as Sachs *et al.* (2008) noted. During unstructured observation in Marriabad, it was a common site to witness the coaches of the pilgrims parked on an empty plot of land. This was frequently noted in the participants' narratives, further adding to the negative aesthetics of the area. During the interviews, the participants indicated that most business owners in Marriabad shut their shops when the coaches leave for the pilgrimage to Iraq and Iran. This element was found recurrently amongst the participants' narratives, which impacted access to education and livelihood and difficulties paying rent, salaries, and purchasing stock. This context underscores the importance of understanding the broader socio-economic dynamics, as discussed in Chapter 2 and how external factors, such as religious events, can positively and negatively affect the local economy and people's livelihoods.

Nonetheless, agreeing with Wacquant (2008), amongst the participants' narratives, 'pride' as an adaptive resilience strategy was found concerning their sense of belonging to the areas, individually and as a community. According to Folkman and Lazarus (1985), this is a way of positive re-evaluation. This dimension, in turn, was found to be a process of interaction that took place between the people and the physical environment/area. Through these processes, the area was charged with meaning and perceived as its own by the individuals and communities. At the same time, they felt that they belonged to the areas, considering it a representative element of their individual and collective identity, so the physical characteristics of the environment enhanced the formation of the sense of belonging. For example, during an in-depth interview with Mir, an author and cultural critic, the significance of the cemeteries in both areas (as discussed in Chapter 2) became apparent. Families of the victims utilised the burial sites not only for interment but also as

memorials. Each grave was adorned with pictures of their loved ones, transforming the burial grounds into poignant memorials named *Ganj-e-Shuhada*:

"As the number of our graves has increased, so has our relationship with this land".

Mir_M_2019

As mentioned in Chapter 6, the cemeteries functioned as an area for the community members to socialise, given the lack of mobility issues and recreational areas for the youth and further cordoning off the areas. It was where the community raised their voices for recognition and offered their respect to the loved ones. Mir's narrative sheds light on the significant locations (intersections, cemeteries, memorials) and the social and aesthetic sense that strengthened their sense of belonging. These were squares, parks, streets, and public and private spaces that had social significance and the ability of the communities to transform conditions (Olsson *et al.,* 2015).

In this context, utilising the CGT framework helped me uncover how cemeteries serve as multifunctional spaces within the community. It also sheds light on how these spaces contribute to the community's sense of belonging and identity and the cultural and historical significance attached to them, grounded in the experiences and perspectives of the community members. Through these actions, the Hazaras created meaningful places in which they became attached, fostering a sense of belonging. Various studies on ' territorial stigmatisation' have noted this notion of 'pride' as an adaptive strategy (Jensen & Christensen, 2012; Slater & Anderson, 2012; Wacquant *et al.*, 2014).

The individual adaptive strategy of 'acceptance' was noted in the participants' narratives about why others had prejudices and stereotypes against their cultural manifestations (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985). Fawad, a young adult male participant, explained during a semi-structure interview how the coaches that leave from Marriabad impacted his education as the Musa checkpoint gets blocked and causes disruption in the city:

"I had my exam the day they blocked the road. It took one hour to reach, which is a 15-minute journey on normal days. They don't realise that our education is affected".

Fawad_M_2019

This also echoed during the stigmatisation tree exercise with the young adult male participants with an added element of being labelled as '*infidels*' by the ones who participated in the religious rituals if they spoke up about it. This religious affiliation as *Shia*

and the sectarian violence against the Hazaras by *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi* (LeJ), who declared
them as infidels, can be viewed as one of the stigma-producing agents (see Chapter 2).
Muzhir expressed this during a semi-structured interview:

> *"No one can even speak up about this issue to them, and they label us infidels that we
> are coming in the way of their beliefs. Everyone is carrying a stamp in their pockets to
> label anyone an infidel".*

<div align="right">Muzhir_HT_2019</div>

Through the narratives of the participants, I found that there was a split within the
community regarding their religious practices, leading to '*mutual distancing*' (Wacquant,
2008) with labels towards the ones who did not practice the rituals as much as the others,
such as '*communist*', '*secular*', '*atheist*', '*infidel*'. For some participants, these rituals had
never existed in their households before. In addition, the participants noted that the
increased rituals were practised mainly by the ones receiving remittances as a way of
sialdari [showing off]. This was common amongst the narratives of the participants who
were not remittance dependent. For example, during a semi-structured interview,
Shahbaz, a refugee from Hazara Town, mentioned:

> *"These rituals began when my brother was leaving for Australia. My mother said, ' I
> want my son to reach safely, and I will do this each year'".*

<div align="right">Shahbaz_HT_2019</div>

The above account highlights that feeling threatened was found to be one of the reasons
for the increased religious rituals, as explored in Chapter 7. This relates to their external
locus of control (Berry, 1997; Synder, 2001; Wachholtz & Pearce, 2009; Gantiva *et al*.,
2010). In contrast, the findings revealed that the ones with a strong internal locus of control
also triggered entrepreneurship skills, as I discuss in the responses to their cultural
manifestations (Section 8.2.3). Next, I explore the responses to area stigma through
'appropriation of space', fostering their sense of belonging.

8.2.2 Appropriation of space

As explored in Chapter 6, the stigma attached to their areas because of threat instigated
different processes of area stigma. For example, they were labelled as '*dangerous*',
stereotyped as areas of '*refugees*', isolated from others through checkpoints and walls, and
as a result, they faced discrimination, leading to negative consequences (Link & Phelan,
2001). In this section, I examine the participants' sense of belonging through 'appropriation

of space' as a response to area stigma. 'Appropriation of space' can be understood as an adaptive and transformative resilience strategy at the community level, involving transforming the physical environment and the community (see Piquard, 2017; Masten & Narayan, 2012).

According to Clare *et al.*'s (2018) analysis of Latin American territories, the residents contest and resist (power to act) the dominant practices (power to control) through their everyday actions. As such, the communities *'materially and symbolically appropriate their space'* (Zibechi, 2012:19). As I outline in this section, I describe the tactics and resilience strategies through which the Hazaras appropriated the areas of Marriabad and Hazara Town. A sense of belonging to their areas has influenced both adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. These were on a continuum, considering they are interconnected strategies and mutually reinforcing (Jeans *et al.*, 2017; Rutter, 2012; Stainton *et al.*, 2019). These actions helped them construct a sense of belonging by asserting their identity. This was noted throughout the narratives of the participants, and during an in-depth interview, Mir expressed:

> *"I, too, feel strange; everywhere I go, I read street names and the pictures in the cemetery. The positive sense is that people from outside should know the magnitude of the atrocities that have forced us to live within the checkpoints, unable to move freely".*

Mir_M_2019

From the above narrative, the first form of 'appropriation of space' can be identified, which was also noticeable during unstructured observation of the areas. In addition, the CGT framework helped uncover the nuanced meanings and motivations behind these acts and their impact on the Hazara community's sense of identity, resilience, and cultural manifestations. For instance, the majority of the street names were changed to the names of the ones who lost their lives to sectarian violence. After the two major incidents that took hundreds of lives in Quetta (Chapter 2), the community named an intersection as *Shuhada Chowk* [martyrs square] in Marriabad and a marketplace *Maidan-e-Shuhada* [field of martyrs] in Hazara Town with the pictures of all the victims (Image-12). These can be seen as community-wide actions, as Ryan (2015) noted whilst framing resilience through the Palestinian notion of *sumud* [steadfastness] about Palestinians' resistance. *Shuhada Chowk* has become one of the most significant areas for the Hazara community, where the

community united in solidarity after recurrent acts of sectarian violence on multiple occasions (see Hopwood & O'Byrne, 2022).

Image 12: *Maidan-e-Shudada & Shuhada Chowk*

Hazara Town   Marriabad

Fieldwork, 2019   Fieldwork, 2019

As such, activating *communitas* in Victor Turner's (1969; 1982:48) sense that '*flash of lucid mutual understanding on the existential level*'. The relationship to the area was significant in the choice of the gathering place. Re-naming the streets transformed the '*official discourse of history into a shared cultural experience*' (Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010:459). These strategies were, in turn, adaptive and transformative since they represent responses to situations that can directly or indirectly influence the development of daily life activities and the conditions of the place, such as 'forced and intimidated segregation'.

This links directly to the second form of 'appropriation of space' where the Hazaras protested in the form of sit-ins with the dead bodies of their loved ones in below-freezing temperatures for four days. They lost their lives as a result of target killing (HRW, 2014)[89]. Perhaps a unique form of sit-in, which has not been witnessed before, resonated with the Greensboro lunch-counter sit-in by African-American students in 1960, the first of its kind that began the movement of 'sit-in' (Tyler, 2018). During fieldwork, I explored how the Hazara community organised these sit-ins successfully, where the attendees included men, women and children. For example, the neighbours of each *muhallah*, part of their socio-cultural organisation (Chapter 2), took turns preparing food and sit-in, highlighting their substantial bonding social capital (Málovics *et al.*, 2019; Suárez Ojeda, 2001). Several criteria relating to spatiality then come into play, in particular, the accessibility of the place and its morphological capacity to accommodate a relatively large number of people (making public places common places of gathering). Also, the visibility of the place

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[89] At the time of writing two more sit-ins took place.

guarantees the visibility of the action carried out or the possibility of producing an identity space (historically marked by demonstrations, a symbolic place that materialises the struggle waged, etc.).

The third type of 'appropriation of space' was the increased rituals in processions during the month of *Muharram*, highlighted by all participants. Within the fields of ethnic and migration studies as well as social and cultural geography, appropriation of public space has been studied from the perspective of religious rituals amongst migrants (Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri, 2014; Pedersen & Rytter, 2017). Nonetheless, for the Hazaras, the processions mark a rite of passage for the youth (van Gennep, 1960), a symbolic reference to their historical persecution, as well as a social moment of engagement to strengthen their sense of belonging further (Monsutti, 2007; Philips, 2011; Hashmi, 2016). Interestingly, the head of a local CBO, during a semi-structured interview, described the presence of security along the route of the processions as a result of the sectarian violence:

> *"There are barbed wires everywhere, and you must follow the security protocol because these processions are usually a high-security risk. Now, there is only one way to go and the same way to come back".*

> Wahdat_Guardian_Quetta_2019

From the above narrative, getting together in a religious procession implies the procession's route through the no-go areas (Chapter 6). In addition, the intersectionality of religious and community identities, as exemplified by the processions and their impact on the use of public space, illustrates how various dimensions of identity can intersect and shape an individual or group's engagement with their surroundings. For instance, disruption of the functional use of the city, diversion of street furniture, presence of the demonstrating body in public space, visibility and audibility through writing - signs, flags - and sound – chest-thumping rhythm and chanting poems of lamentation. Again, this can be seen as community-wide actions where people become attached to places through association and linking their cognitive and emotional experiences with the socio-physical environment where these experiences occur (Collins, 2004; Ryan, 2015). This response to area stigma was also linked to their cultural manifestation, as explored in Chapter 7. In addition, self-empowerment strategies provoked investment practices in the community and the areas and feelings of ownership and belonging through entrepreneurship and education as I explore next.

8.2.3 Self-empowerment Strategies: Education and Entrepreneurship

For the Hazaras in Marriabad and Hazara Town, one of the responses to area stigma at the individual level was 'self-empowerment', a transformative resilience strategy. This was possible through individual-level adaptive strategies of entrepreneurship and education (formal/informal). I define self-empowerment as a construct that includes personal attributes such as a sense of competence, influence and self-efficacy, which initiate behaviours oriented to achieving results and specific goals, enhancing the ability of people to transform their environment positively. As such, 'self-empowerment' can be viewed as an end product of transformative resilience strategies aimed at exploding the field of possible actions both from the point of view of personal recourse and those of the environment.

The theoretical framework (Chapter 4) indicates that social capital influences community resilience. Agreeing with Waldinger (1995:561), '*the embeddedness of economic action in ethnic communities generates social capital because the social connections within those communities help resolve the uncertainties involved in economic exchange*'. Research in immigrant entrepreneurship has demonstrated that interpersonal ties enrich entrepreneurs' ability to be successful (Granovetter 1985, 1995; Waldinger, 1995; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Kloosterman, 2010). This was mainly possible through traditional organisations such as *taifa*[90] [tribe], as noted in Chapter 2, to help each other and give back to the community, such as giving circles (Ho, 2004). They were able to engage in individual adaptive strategies such as formal and informal entrepreneurship, especially in the face of discrimination and barriers to entry into the labour market (Chapter 6). This also influenced the type of labour insertion and the installation spaces in the areas. The participants found incentives to establish their businesses in the face of the different modalities of stigmatisation.

As such, the main resources were found to be constituted by their cultural manifestations and social networks (Galende, 2004; Maley, 1998). The dynamics occurred through strategies established in the complex interactions between the structures of opportunity and the resources of the Hazaras, as explored in Chapter 6. The 'forced and intimidated segregation' provoked investment practices in the community and areas and feelings of

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[90] It is based on units. The basic unit is family, then Aghil, Taifa and then the community such as the Hazara Jirga. There are in total 27 tribes.

ownership and belonging. Within the field of organisation studies, Garcia-Lorenzo *et al.* (2018) have shown that '*a bonding over and above formal social bonds can spontaneously emerge from liminality through the support of those involved in a similar process and can play a significant role in ensuring a smooth transition towards a reaggregated (entrepreneurial) state*'.

As such, the 'entrepreneurship' action was possible by learning new skills through formal and non-formal 'education'. Both education and entrepreneurship are individual adaptive strategies that can lead to individual transformative resilience strategy of 'self-empowerment', '*where people return not only to their previous level of welfare, but transcend this to become empowered*' (UNDP, 2016:3). In addition, during unstructured observation of Marriabad and Hazara Town, I noticed there were multiple English language centres. The young adults tried to set up adult education centres where the parents and other community members can learn language, mathematics, skill training, workshops, and community and social organisation through their entrepreneurial skills. The theme of 'self-empowerment' was grounded in the experiences and narratives of the community members rather than reflecting my preconceptions. I constantly reflected on the broader socio-economic, cultural, and historical context in which the educational and entrepreneurial initiatives occurred and how this context may influence the community's actions and decisions. This can be noted in the narrative below with a staff member of an NGO during a semi-structured interview:

> "*They are mostly set up by the youth, a group of friends so they can earn a little. Unlike before, where they could go to good places to study, they are now confined, making the best use of the confinement*".
>
> BFD_Quetta_2019

Most importantly, education as an adaptive strategy provided them the opportunity of exposure and the possibility to foresee alternatives i.e., '*cultural capital*' as termed by Bourdieu (1986;1977;1990;1991). For example, when shown the image of language centres during a focus group discussion with the adult females, Nafiza explains how learning a language and being able to read and write gave her a sense of freedom and independence:

> "*Now I can write my name, my father's name. I can read my bills and understand how much the bill is. My daughter motivated me as she teaches English at the centre*".
>
> Nafiza_HT_2019

Nafiza's experience underscores how her identity as a Hazara woman intersects with her opportunities for empowerment. By belonging to the Hazara community and being a woman, Nafiza navigates multiple layers of identity that influence her experiences and opportunities. Through her engagement with adult education and language learning, she not only gains practical skills but also experiences a transformation in her identity and sense of agency. This illustrates how empowerment is not solely determined by one aspect of identity but rather emerges through the intersection of multiple dimensions, including gender, ethnicity, and access to education. Nafiza's story highlights the complex interplay between identity and empowerment, emphasising the importance of recognising and understanding these intersections in fostering individual agency and social change (Bandura, 1997; 2006; Adeeko & Treanor, 2022). Interestingly, the young adult Hazaras pursued further education in law, human rights, film-making, arts, etc. Sibtain, during a semi-structured interview, explained the reason why he became a lawyer:

> *"We were less represented in the law profession, and none of the lawyers would appear before the court if the law enforcement agencies arrested any terrorists. After I became a lawyer, that motivated others to join this profession, and now there are around ten young lawyers, including two female lawyers".*

<div align="right">Sibtain_HT_2019</div>

The narrative above sheds light on the possibility of setting goals and objectives, which triggered the desire to make plans, to take paths to achieve the projections they have devised for their future and to move forward despite adversity. In addition, the young adult participants expressed the importance of getting out of the cordoned-off areas, including pursuing further education across Pakistan (see Chapter 2). As such, enabling them to gain confidence, communicate with others, as well as to give back to the community, as explained by Ayaan, who is a member of The Future is Bright:

> *"Most of my colleagues have studied in Lahore, Karachi, etc. and lived there for 6-7 years. That is why we had this thinking in our minds that we have to do something here. If we don't, no one can save the community from drowning".*

<div align="right">The_Future_is_Bright_Quetta_2019</div>

In addition, Ayaan added that during half-term, the young adults conduct seminars and workshops upon their return to Quetta to share their knowledge with others. When prompted about the reason for organising these workshops, they noted the crucial gap to fill, considering the mobility issues, lack of educators, and lack of guidance and support for

the young adults. As an adaptation strategy, the workshops were the starting point for the emergence of the young adult Hazara network, which comprised groups of students from different universities and colleges in Quetta, Islamabad, Karachi, and Lahore. As noted in Chapter 2, the Hazaras have also migrated to different cities in Pakistan (Nawaz & Hassan, 2015). In addition, whenever they get an opportunity for someone visiting from the UK, USA or Australia, they request them to conduct a workshop. During fieldwork and whilst conducting interviews, the young adults also asked me to hold a session focusing on my research topic.

In addition, they offer their members a unique way of meeting physically to exchange ideas, knowledge and experiences. These range from sessions on human rights, photography, helping with university admissions, science, health, leadership, history, career counselling, etc. The group also involves community-based organisations that conduct workshops such as the Career Counselling Fair to help raise awareness on university subjects and how to apply for scholarships. The element of social capital (Putnam, 2001) is reflected quite clearly in the young adult Hazaras, with the help of CBOs, who form a link with educational institutions. These institutions are also significant because young adults can conduct different social projects and strengthen their identities. Agreeing with Howarth (2006:448), educational institutions '*provide a social and psychological space where people can develop collective strategies to challenge the operation of stigma*'. For example*,* the founder of an informal art school who participated in the Oxford Human Rights Festival, 2020 (Hashmi, 2019) expressed that art was the best form of activism. As a social entrepreneur, he wanted to transfer his knowledge and skills to the young adults:

> *"My students have the power and the ability to convert their feelings and emotions onto the canvas. The best option is to begin the process of catharsis within ourselves, and the best way for catharsis is to paint, do poetry, write essays, fiction and novels".*
>
> Sketch_Club_Quetta_2019

These environments allowed them to establish connections with other groups, where they could address misconceptions about each other through communication and dialogue. In this regard, it is essential to note that the Meritorious School in Hazara Town was a key location for the interviews and for the young adults to conduct workshops. The networks of organisations were helpful for the communities to organise themselves; the community members were able to establish connections with other groups by forging links with the local government, CBOs, and NGOs, who provided various workshops. As mentioned by

Folkman & Lazarus (1985), support from family, peers and social networks becomes one of the protective factors (Rutter, 1987; Stainton *et al.,* 2019) that counteract the risk and allow more possibilities. The factors that favour the visualisation towards the future are internal control, autonomy, a positive vision of the personal future, flexibility and learning capacity.

As I delved deeper into the motivations, aspirations, and practical outcomes of formal/informal education, I approached these narratives with an understanding of how education shapes individuals' abilities, opportunities, and life paths. For instance, regarding the individual-level adaptive strategy of entrepreneurship, remittances aided in setting up small formal businesses such as game zones, salons, restaurants, cafes, estate agencies and tourism (Portes & Fernandez-Kelly, 2015; Mercer *et al.*, 2008; Ho, 2004). These were also visible during unstructured observation of the areas (Chapter 6). As such, the adaptive strategies through entrepreneurship led to the physical transformation of the area through 'self-empowerment'. This reflects how transformative resilience is represented amongst the Hazaras through '*systematic self-help*' (Milliken, 2013:1), which varies across different social ecologies, as Clark (2022) noted. Although the study found that remittances were extremely useful in setting up small enterprises, the utilisation of remittances was a recurring theme that would require further research. The participants' accounts emphasised their internal locus of control, where they were aware of the events around them. They absorbed more information and analysed it to take advantage of the opportunities in their environments. This resonates with Piquard's (2014) research in Palestine, which identified contributing factors to an individual's locus of control. As such, a positive correlation between possession of the internal locus of control and the entrepreneurial spirit can be observed (Penhall, 2001).

Given the different forms of stigmatisation they faced, the narratives reveal how they adopted specific behavioural characteristics, such as dedication to work hard, the feeling of belonging to their ethnic group, the acceptance of risk, respect for social values and solidarity. The dynamics driven by strategies to achieve success in ventures were dependent, on the one hand, on the structure of opportunities existing in the area, but, on the other, resources to be able to create and organise themselves through 'embeddedness', as noted in the theoretical framework (Chapter 4). In this sense, they developed strategies and used networks to maintain themselves between the various spaces (Wexler & DiFluvio, 2009). Agreeing with Butcher *et al.* (2019:11), community

resilience '*recognises community capacities, empowerment, adaptiveness and transformative potential*'.

Interestingly, the influencing factors for the adaptive (education/entrepreneurship) and transformative resilience strategies (self-empowerment) were technology and social media. Some small start-ups included online delivery, including food, gifts, and groceries, because of mobility issues due to area stigma (Chapter 6), pick and drop service where women prepared home-cooked traditional meals on order. The meals were collected and dropped at the customer's door. Some young adults opened their photography studios and documentary filmmaking consultancies. In addition, adult learning (education), workshops (art, documentary film-making, social media, photography, music, human rights) strengthened their communication and relationship with others, the search for alternatives for solving problems, being able to express what they felt and regulate their emotions through social activities. The participants were empowered as they became informed and actively engaged in the process. By learning and gaining awareness of their surroundings, they empowered themselves to make internal changes. This process facilitated learning and development amongst the participants, fostering interaction between individuals and their communities.

In addition, through 'self-empowerment', that is to say, transformation within, they were able to transform the environment by 'raising awareness' (Section 8.3.1). In the next section, I explore the responses of the Hazaras when faced with stigmatisation of their cultural manifestations and physical appearances. These were found to be through 'raising awareness' for others and 'confrontation, avoidance and tactics'.

8.3   Responses to Cultural Manifestations & Physical Appearances

8.3.1 Raising awareness for others

As I navigated between the narratives of the participants, I was regularly exposed to the individuals referring to the affirmation of their minority identity, which was reflected in their behavioural responses to stigmatisation. In choosing to reaffirm their identity, the participants allowed themselves to upkeep their collective and personal self-esteem, protecting themselves from the negative consequences of stigmatisation. They described feelings of solidarity, affiliation or comfort with ingroup members. Some explicitly stated that shared minority struggles strengthened their feelings of affiliation. Agreeing with

Lamont *et al.* (2013:145), '*collective identity and vision of a common past serves as a buffer against stigmatisation…. that can act as resources that sustain social resilience*'. These responses allow the exploration of identity processes not only as a factor for adaptation necessary to maintain a positive sense of self (Giddens, 1991) but also through shared experiences of stigmatisation. As explored earlier, they have managed to empower themselves (inner transformation) individually. As noted in Chapter 4, community resilience is reflected through the lived expressions that challenge the argument of neoliberal resilience (Ryan, 2015; Clark, 2022).

The emphasis on dialogue and non-violent forms of action appeared in the participants' narratives. It was associated with (or in the form of) 'raising awareness'. Guided by the CGT framework, I continued to seek to understand their motivations, experiences, and the outcomes of these dialogues. For instance, during a semi-structured interview with Shareef, a young adult male participant expressed his feelings, which were quite clearly directed at 'raising awareness' to the uninformed because of their lack of knowledge about the Hazaras:

> "*When they questioned my identity ', you all are Hazara refugees; why are you here in this university?' I told them that 'you are all educated individuals. You should not talk like this because how would you feel if I called you a Pashtun refugee? This will make our relations worse'. They understood and apologised*".

<div align="right">Shareef_HT_2019</div>

Shareef's account exemplifies the intersectionality inherent in his experiences, involving his Hazara identity, refugee status, and interactions within the university setting. Shareef expressed his frustration at being questioned about his identity, particularly regarding his Hazara background and refugee status. His response reflects a desire to raise awareness amongst others, highlighting the importance of understanding and respect in intergroup interactions. By invoking the hypothetical scenario of labelling others based on their ethnic identity, the narrative emphasises the need for empathy and sensitivity towards marginalised communities like the Hazaras. This narrative underscores how multiple facets of identity intersect to shape individuals' perceptions and interactions within social contexts (Crenshaw, 1991).

For Shareef and amongst the narratives of most participants, in their view, this was a formative and educational process of 'dialogue' as a form of absorptive strategy between them and the stigmatisers to 'raise awareness' because this is a lack of knowledge on their

part. In this way, people can listen to and understand their contexts. In addition, the participants also noted that communicating with others enabled them to forge good relationships with the ones who stigmatised them, particularly within the educational environment. This was recurrently discussed during the stigmatisation tree exercises with the young adults in both areas. For example, the young adult female participants addressed the significance of the university environment to be able to communicate with others. Most importantly, the findings revealed that misconceptions about cultural manifestations existed mutually that instilled threats amongst the Hazaras and others:

> *"When we started communicating with them, we got to know them. My friend is Sunni, and she said because Shias curse us, we will then also curse you. We cleared the misunderstanding that not all Shias are cursing you. If some are brainwashed, it doesn't mean all will do it. After listening to this, they became more neutral towards us".*

Young_Adult_Females_M_2019

Similarly, the young adult male participants from Hazara Town expressed:

> *"There was a discussion on this topic in our sociology class. A lot of my class fellows did not know that we had been living in Pakistan before the partition. My class fellows think that all Hazaras are refugees. The ones who had this perspective, I clarified that we came when it was the sub-continent, not Pakistan or India".*

Young_Adult_Males_HT_2019

According to the young adult participants, educational institutions were significant for conducting workshops and developing projects to strengthen their identity, memories, opportunities, and an environment where they could dialogue with different ethnic groups. Through dialogue, complex relationships, negotiations, and cultural exchanges were possible, which led to interactions between culturally different people, knowledge, and practices. The interaction recognised the social, economic, political and power asymmetries and the institutional conditions limiting the possibility that the Hazaras could be considered individuals with identity, different agencies and the capacity to act (Olsson *et al.,* 2015).

In addition, they also utilised social media to 'raise awareness' about their experiences of the different forms of stigmatisation and broadcast live coverage of their responses, such as sit-ins. At the individual level, the absorptive strategy of dialogue led to the adaptive strategy of using digital media to circulate positive representations of their areas and community. Thereby, transforming the context of stigmatisation through action, such as triggering the legislators to take action, as I will discuss below. Here, we can see that

transformation occurs at the end of the adaptive strategy; hence, all three strategies are on a continuum.

As such, through social media, they were able to 'raise awareness' about their historical context that '*not all Hazaras are refugees*' but also triggered legislators to change their behaviour and take action. For example, Mir explained the importance of social media during an in-depth interview:

> *"I once wrote that 'if social media did not exist, our voices would have remained in these four walls'. It is social media that helped our voices to reach internationally. We began to think of it as our tongue, that if we say something on social media, we will be heard because mainstream media was not covering the events".*
>
> Mir_M_2019

Mir's account highlights how social media played a key role in raising awareness about the Hazaras, forcing the national media and journalists to document the sit-in, invoking the Governor's rule under Article 234 of the Pakistan Constitution[91]. Again, this reminds us why the notion of resilience, as discussed in the theoretical framework (Chapter 4), can be seen as a self-help mechanism, rather than a top-down neoliberal resilience approach (Milliken, 2013). At this point, they utilised the powerful platform of social media to highlight the historic sit-ins through live coverage, which forced the national media to give the coverage they deserved. The diasporic Hazara communities worldwide mobilised to protest in front of the Pakistan High Commissions and Embassies through hashtag activism on Twitter, i.e., transnational activism (Paschel, 2011; 2013) or '*transnationalism*' (Vertovec, 2001). Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and WhatsApp were all utilised as a platform for communication, not only to share and discuss their view of the situation but also to participate and learn about the views others held. However, the participants'' narratives also gave accounts of a set of responses when faced with stigmatisation of their physical appearances. These included individual absorptive strategies of confrontation, avoidance and tactics, as I discuss in the next section.

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[91] Under Article 234 also a declaration of emergency may be made if the President, upon receipt of a report from a Governor in a Province, is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the Provisions of the Constitution.

8.3.2 Confrontation, Avoidance and Tactics

Through the participants' narratives, it was possible to identify that they tried to properly handle situations, looking for the best way to face them and how to react. It is for this reason that some preferred 'avoidance'. Others searched for alternatives and visualised the future, such as 'avoidance' and 'tactics' (Rotter, 1954; 1990), so as not to act impulsively. These correlate with some of the absorptive strategies identified in Chapter 4 by Folkman and Lazarus (1985). As discussed in Chapter 6, the Hazaras experienced different forms of stigmatisation regarding their cultural manifestations and physical appearances. As such, the findings revealed that they employed several 'tactics' as a response and/or to avoid stigmatisation, considering their phenotype and accent (Chapter 7). For instance, the Hazara women changed their traditional Hazaragi clothing so that they were not recognised when travelling to the no-go areas or shopping because the shopkeepers overcharged them, as they were labelled as '*Australian Dollar*' (Chapter 7).

For others, the 'tactics' included changing their accents, learning to speak in Urdu and Pashtu, changing their outlook such as clothing, men wearing a helmet to hide facial features as well as growing a beard to go past the no-go areas so as not to get recognised as a Hazara. These 'tactics' were also employed when going to the no-go areas, such as the market, to buy merchandise for shops. However, Zaid, a young adult male participant from Hazara Town who employed all the 'tactics' to hide his identity, expressed frustration when he had to go to the passport office. The staff rejected his application even though he had all the correct documentation. This was recurrent amongst the narratives of the participants who referred the government departments and other institutions as '*mafia*': Zaid explains the tactics in the following way:

> *"It is an easier way to earn money from the Hazaras. At the passport office, they said, 'give me Rs70,000, and your passport will be ready'. I confronted him, but after a few moments, I thought to myself that this is not an educated part of the society; they are ignorant, and they do not have the knowledge that not all Hazaras are refugees".*
>
> Zaid_HT_2019

The above narrative doesn't directly involve intersecting identities in the traditional sense of intersectionality. Instead, it highlights how Zaid's Hazara identity intersects with his experience of corruption and discrimination within a bureaucratic system. Whilst not explicitly about intersecting identities, this scenario illustrates how aspects of one's identity

can intersect with broader societal structures and power dynamics to shape experiences and opportunities. In this case, Zaid's Hazara identity intersects with systemic issues such as corruption and discrimination within bureaucratic institutions.

In my role as a researcher, reflexivity played a crucial part in understanding and interpreting the narratives shared by participants like Zaid. For instance, when Zaid recounted his experiences with discrimination and corruption at government institutions, my reflexivity prompted me to consider how my own background and worldview that might shape my understanding of his narrative. It reminded me to approach his story with sensitivity and awareness of the broader social, cultural, and political context in which it unfolds. By remaining reflexive throughout the research process, I aimed to maintain transparency, ethical integrity, and a critical awareness of my own positionality. This enabled me to engage with Zaid's narrative in a thoughtful and nuanced manner, ultimately contributing to a richer understanding of the complexities of stigma and discrimination experienced by the Hazara community.

Most of the participants' narratives shed light on being proud of their identity because they did not accept the negative stereotypes and attitudes that the stigmatisers held towards their community and considered the stigmatisers as lacking awareness regarding the history of the Hazaras, as discussed in the previous section (8.3.1). As such, agreeing with Fleming *et al.* (2013), 'confronting' the stigmatisers and adopting legal measures were some of the individual absorptive strategies commonly cited by the participants. For example, Iman described how she defended her family and spoke up at a government department office, making the stigmatisers aware of the power of social media that their rights were being violated:

> *"When the staff stopped my family members, they said, 'we have our documents!'. The staff member yelled at them and said, 'shut up, you Afghan'. I turned around and confronted the staff member. I said, 'why? are Afghans not human? He responded, 'I am not talking to you'. I said, 'but I am talking to you'. I threatened him that I would record his video and upload it on Facebook".*

<div align="right">Iman_M_2019</div>

However, the direct approach some participants advocated was not the most common way of 'confronting'. More commonly, participants argued that our response should be polite and non-aggressive. However, there were instances when the Hazaras also labelled staff members of NADRA '*he looked like a Taliban*' [laughing]. At such moments, I did my best to

acknowledge and manage my reactions to the participants continuously. In an attempt to conceal their stigmatised identity, the participants revealed how they 'pass' as members of the non-stigmatised group. These are some of the absorptive response strategies noted in the theoretical framework (Slater & Anderson, 2012; Garbin & Millington, 2012; Kirkness, 2014; Fleming *et al.,* 2013).

Most young adult participants noted the importance of ID cards for sitting examinations, and the ones whose ID cards were blocked had to wait many years to continue their higher education. Others also noted that the educational institutions deliberately gave the Hazara students lower marks, so they still found ways to become position holders. Malik explained:

> *"Others find ways to block your way, but we have tactics to get the job or pass the exams with top marks. I dropped two subjects in the first year, and then in the final year, I took them along with the other papers and got the top position. Another is to change your role number with a Pashtun class fellow".*
>
> <div align="right">Malik_ HT_2019</div>

However, in some situations, the participants felt they could put their jobs at risk or simply felt without the energy to 'confront' because they saw no solution; 'avoidance' was the preferred individual-level absorptive strategy. In this case, the participants did not directly 'confront' the stigmatisers. The findings also revealed that although the Hazaras were able to 'pass' or 'conceal' their identity by changing their outlook, they did not fit into the category of a 'concealable identity' due to their external markers, which can have a devastating impact on psychological health (Jones *et al.,* 1984; Ainlay *et al.*1986; Major & O'Brien, 2005; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009; Pearce, 2012). As noted in the participants' accounts, the strategies they deployed by 'avoiding' were '*because of the great rewards in being considered normal, almost all persons who are in a position to pass will do so on some occasion by intent*' (Goffman, 1963:74).

The results of this study, like those of Marlow and Giles (2010) and Marlow (2016), indicate that these might include behavioural strategies like 'avoidance'. Similarly, Jaspal and Sitaridou's (2013) study amongst the Andalusian-Spanish speakers found that stigmatised individuals employed various absorptive strategies, mainly cognitive or 'intrapsychic' in nature (e.g., focusing on group distinctiveness, reframing stigma with humour, finding external explanations for stigma) to help protect their identity when faced with stigma. Most importantly, the individual absorptive strategy of 'avoidance' was through self-control and by being non-reactive that came as a result of exploring ways to strengthen

their identity and culture that '*generates solidarity and symbols of group memberships*' (Collins, 2004:7). The following section explores the responses of the Mandeleros and the Palenqueros.

8.4   Cartagena: Responses to Area Stigma

The first part of this chapter discussed the Hazaras' responses to the different forms and processes of stigmatisation. The discussion shed light on how the Hazaras blamed the Afghan Hazaras as an absorptive strategy. Nonetheless, their narratives also demonstrate the adaptive and transformative resilience strategies at individual and community levels through 'self-empowerment' and 'appropriation of space'. At the same time, other forms of individual absorptive strategies were found to be through 'confrontation, avoidance and tactics', including 'raising awareness' at the individual and community level that was found to be on a continuum.

This section explores the responses of the Mandeleros and the Palenqueros. In some cases, these were similar to the Hazaras and, in other cases, different because of the differences in contexts. For the Palenqueros and Mandeleros who experienced area stigma due to 'intimidated and sonic segregation', the findings revealed similar responses as the Hazaras. However, 'blaming' was found to be only in the context of the Mandeleros. This can be related to the fact that San Fernando did not have the manifestations of youth-at-risk, assassinations, etc, that the area of Nelson Mandela faced.

On the other hand, the notion of 'pride' was evident in both communities. The transformative resilience strategies at the community level were through 'processes of resignification' and 'sonic appropriation'. This included music, performances, documentary filmmaking and murals to contest stigmatising representations of their areas. The third type of response to area stigma included individual transformation of 'self-empowerment' through 'education and entrepreneurship' as a form of individual adaptive strategy.

8.4.1 Blame & Pride

Amongst the narratives of the Mandeleros, the negative absorptive strategy of 'blame' at the individual level was described from various arguments. The datasets in this category were focused on infrastructure, distancing, youth-at-risk, IDPs, violence and drugs. The first strategy was 'blaming' the area and the lack of recreational areas, which underlies the organisation and planning of the city in the framework of broad processes. This is noted

within the theoretical framework (Chapter 4) as what Wacquant (2008) refers to as '*lateral denigration*', also narrated by the Hazara participants. It reflects a detriment to the quality of individual and community life as the last place that should be inhabited. It is precisely this situation that reveals signs of dissatisfaction and discomfort with the area. The second form of 'blame' alluded to a normalising discourse (Foucault, 1977; Pécaut, 1999; Oslender, 2007; Piquard, 2014, 2016). This links directly to what Crocker and Major (1989) call '*self-protective properties of ingroup comparisons*', leading to 'distancing' from the ones they view as the cause of their stigmatisation. For example, the youth-at-risk and the displaced people from regions of armed conflict were 'blamed'. These became evident during semi-structured interviews with the young adult male participants. Aware of power dynamics and my prestige, I took care not to allow them to affect my observations during these times. For instance, Javier, a community leader, expressed how he felt when he arrived in Nelson Mandela:

> "*I don't feel proud being from Urabá because there exists a gang in Cartagena and the Caribbean. It is called Urabeños. People relate the ones from Urabá with Urabeños. They are criminal gangs who have expanded all around the country, including drug trafficking and arms*".

> Javier_NM_2019

Javier's account sheds light on the extent to which he internalised the stigma. As such, exercising a symbolic domination of social categories made up of certain types of people that reproduce, similar dynamics are practised against them. It is not strange to find that in the same speeches, there is a repetitive reference to 'distancing' from specific community members (Wacquant, 2007; 2008). For instance, there was a persistent reference that most people, without intending to generalise, live according to their situation because of themselves and the indifferent acceptance of the rest of the community. When the image of moto-taxis was shown to the adult female participants during a focus group discussion using the photo-elicitation technique, the participants expressed:

> "*Most of the moto-taxi do that for a living. After that, they rob as well. We live in quiet sectors in Nelson Mandela. In the los pinos sector, you can find many gangs who always fight for the territory*".

> Adult_Females_NM_2019

My approach during this discussion was rooted in openness and respect for the participants' perspective. Avoiding language or behaviour perceived as blaming or perpetuating stereotypes was crucial. As noted in Chapter 3, Mandeleros' displacement from regions of armed conflict serves as the stigmatising factor for insecurity. So, the participants and outsiders share similar views of the area, but they differ in their reasons and relationships tied to these views. Some participants hold negative stereotypes about the area, especially in how they talk about it.

On the contrary, amongst the responses shared by many participants, they did not engage in a negative absorptive strategy of 'blame'. Their narratives encompassed the area as an opportunity for displaced people to access a place to live and own the land, as captured in Chapter 6. Javier, one of the community leaders, noted:

> *"This barrio was named after Nelson Mandela because, when he came out of prison, displaced people were invading this area. Dionisio Miranda, a Palenquero lawyer, resembled him and helped us fight for our land".*

<div align="right">Javier_NM_2019</div>

Javier's account provides insight into how identity, activism, and historical context intersect to drive meaningful and symbolic actions within communities. By naming the neighbourhood after Nelson Mandela, a figure synonymous with resistance and liberation, the community sought to reclaim their space and assert their identity in the face of displacement. This narrative illustrates how multiple dimensions of identity, including ethnicity, activism, and historical context, converge to shape collective action and resistance strategies. Additionally, it highlights the importance of recognising and honouring individuals who embody shared values and aspirations within marginalised communities. By resisting 'mutual distancing' and 'lateral denigration', as described by Wacquant (2007, 2008), the community reinforces solidarity and resilience in the face of external challenges.

Amongst the participants' narratives, the adaptive strategy of 'pride' was found at both individual and community levels. This was in respect to what Nelson Mandela stood for, a symbol of struggle, and the participants identified themselves as: *'Mandelero! Someone who comes from Nelson Mandela!'.* Identifying themselves as Mandeleros reflects their 'pride' and solidarity, highlighting a '*positive group distinctiveness'* (Slater & Anderson, 2012; Dovidio *et al.*, 2000). Agreeing with Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993:1329),

> *"The more distinct a group is in terms of phenotypical or cultural characteristics from the rest of the population, the greater the level of prejudice associated with these traits, and the lower the probability of exit from this situation, then the stronger the sentiments of in-group solidarity among its members and the higher the appropriable social capital based on this solidarity".*

Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993:1329)

At both individual and community levels, this adaptive strategy of 'pride' (Wacquant, 2008) was also reflected amongst the Palenqueros in San Fernando. Amongst the participants' narratives, they expressed that the Palenqueros' principal worry when they came to Cartagena was how to survive the different forms of stigmatisation linked to their cultural manifestations. As such, they continued their dynamic of the social-political organisation through *kuagros*, a civic and participatory culture (Chapter 3), as explained by Rosario during a semi-structured interview:

> *"When someone used to come from Palenque to Cartagena, they used to look for information such as where other Palenquero people and families lived to live near them, in order to live in a colony. They wanted to strengthen their solidarity links".*

Rosario_SF_2019

This concept of *kuagros* demonstrates the intersectionality of social, cultural, and geographical identities, where individuals navigate their experiences based on various intersecting factors such as race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status. All the Palenquero participants I interviewed mentioned with a sense of 'pride' that they belonged to a *kuagro* and explained that the spirit of belonging, participation and solidarity of the Palenqueros goes beyond parties and life. For example, when someone dies, the members of the *kuagro* contribute to the expenses required for the nine-night wake (*lumbalú*). Their solidarity links directly with their cultural manifestations, such as music and dance. As such, the responses to area stigma and cultural manifestations were found to be interlinked. For example, as explored in Chapter 6, 'sonic' practices and sounds emerged in the data as central components, dividing the city and segregating the areas of the South, strongly influenced by the *picó* and *champeta*. In the next section, I further explore these responses through 'sonic appropriation'.

8.4.2 Processes of Resignification and Sonic Appropriation

The research found that the Palenqueros and Mandeleros performed creative ways of responding to the processes of stigmatisation as a result of the 'intimidated and sonic segregation'. In Chapter 6, I explored the different labels, prejudices and stereotypes assigned to the areas of Nelson Mandela and San Fernando that led to the discrimination faced by the community members. For example, the areas were blemished as *'loud'*, *'dangerous'*, *'invaded'*, *'violent'*, *'fighters'*, etc. In this section, I explore the participants' resilience strategies to area stigma through adaptive and transformative resilience strategies at the community level. This was regarding resignifying the areas associated with the aesthetic image, contributing to their sense of belonging. The actions allowed the communities to express their identity and attachment to their areas. As compared to Marriabad and Hazara Town, where the responses focused on 'appropriation of space', the findings revealed similarities and differences between Nelson Mandela and San Fernando. This may be due to the different historical contexts of the two areas.

I will first begin with Mandeleros' responses when faced with area stigma. During my time in Nelson Mandela, the participants expressed their community-level adaptive strategies, such as creating art, murals and parks (Image-13). This suggests the transformative resilience strategy of the 'process of resignification' by contesting and rejecting the negative value of Nelson Mandela, reminding us that resilience manifests through community-wide actions, as noted in Chapter 4 (Ryan, 2022). Nayak (2019) refers to a similar response to area stigma, that of *'re-scripting place'* or *'counternarratives'* (Fattah & Walters, 2020; Garbin & Millington, 2012) by offering alternative narratives with strong attachments to place (Broudehoux & Monteiro, 2017). Jorge, who fled to Nelson Mandela without his family from Montes de María at the age of 18, explained why it is so vital for the Mandeleros to resignify the area stigma through art:

> *"As the area is stigmatised because of the paramilitary, armed groups and the assassinations that took place here, I am trying to socialise my paintings outside of the area so that Cartagena can recognise that here we are trying to maintain our identity".*

> Jorge_NM_2019

Image 13: Arts & Murals

Artwork of a participant, 2019   **Fieldwork, 2019**

For Jorge, displaying artwork outside the area was vital in opening up opportunities for the
community to reconstruct the memories of violence, access political spaces and contest
area stigma through 'resignification' of the area. In addition, at the community level, their
adaptive strategies included documentary filmmaking, which was disseminated through
YouTube videos, Facebook, and Twitter. These were also some of the tools community
members used to resignify the area through '*self-help*' measures (Milliken, 2013).
Contesting the stereotypical representations of Nelson Mandela, particularly in the media
where '*stigma is not just associated with the neighbourhoods but also the individual
persons who live there*' (Arthurson *et al.*, 2012:2).

Jorge's account highlights that by displaying the paintings in schools, universities, museums
and mayors' offices outside the area was an effort to change the stigmatised image
attached to Nelson Mandela and the Mandeleros. However, another form of
'resignification of area' that highlighted their transformative resilience strategies at the
community level was found in the form of murals, noted during the unstructured
observation. I wanted to explore further, during a semi-structured interview with Jorge,
the motivations, experiences, and perceptions of individuals involved in this artistic and
educational endeavour. I was aware to recognise the agency of Jorge and acknowledge that
individuals and communities are not passive subjects but active agents in constructing their
identities and responding to societal challenges:

> *"When we finish the mural, we socialise for the new generation to help them
> understand the history of Nelson Mandela and what is happening now.. to highlight
> that we want Cartagena to recognise that those armed groups caused damage here
> inside the community that we as Mandelero people we are not bad people, we are
> good people".*

Most of the participants interviewed expressed that the murals helped form a sense of belonging to the area. From the discourse, it can be noted that artistic manifestations from the Mandeleros [community itself] were key tools to 'resignify the area', highlighting the transformative resilience at the community level. Also, the memory reconstruction processes can be done by helping the youth remember and the population of Cartagena to recognise. This is quite the opposite of the '*retreat into the private sphere*' as pointed out by Wacquant (2010:217) and echoes the findings of Maestri (2017:51), who identified one of the responses to area stigma of Roma migrants in informal settlements as '*resisting through solidarities*'. Similarly, Tyler (2013; 2015; 2018) has reconceptualised stigma on how area stigma is resisted through classificatory practices and everyday struggles (see Chapter 4).

In addition, the location of the murals was the central feature of the art, where most of the assassinations took place as a way to demarcate the boundaries of the area. The murals were part of an initiative to carry out a participatory reconstruction of historical memory in collaboration with a non-profit organisation, CODHES[92], an important form of social capital that is a way to engage in truth and dialogue politically. The murals, the project's first phase, were nourished by a participatory community process carried out with the area's inhabitants. Interestingly, two more were in the city centre/downtown, created with community members from other areas. The symbolic significance of reconstructing historical memory was another modality identified by the participants in Nelson Mandela. At the time of fieldwork and writing, the community was in the second phase of building a memorial park. In this regard, Nelson Mandela was included in implementing the peace process (CONPES, 2017). With the memorial park, the aim is to organise annual events where other community members will be able to participate.

Whereas, for the Palenqueros, their adaptive and transformative resilience strategies at the community level were reflected through 'sonic appropriation' because *pićo's* were considered as '*loud*' and *champeta* labelled as '*violent*', '*causing disorder*'. 'Sonic appropriation' refers to taking over the spaces not only physically but also acoustically or

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[92] *Consultoría para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento*: a non-profit organisation established in 1992 by academics in human rights and international humanitarian law who sought peaceful alternatives for Colombia, with an emphasis on the individuals and communities directly affected by the armed conflict.

sonically, manifesting their presence in the area. This relates directly to the theoretical framework (Chapter 4) of the resilience strategies reflecting community-wide actions. As such, *champeta* demonstrates a history of mobility and the musicalised history of the Palenqueros settled in the periphery of Cartagena. During unstructured observation of the area, I found that one of the significant environments for the older adults was *son Africano*[93], originating from Nariño. *Son Africano* is also the name of the picó, as shown earlier (Image-8). Amongst the participants' narratives, this was cited as the most characteristic location for the Palenqueros in San Fernando. This is where the Palenqueros met every Sunday for *champeta* and conducted the *junta* [Board] meetings (Image-14).

As such, they utilised it to practice their culture and rituals and for important community meetings for social projects (Bigger, 2009). Keeping the principles of CGT in mind, I was respectful of their cultural manifestations and acknowledged its significance. The participants reflected that heritage was not only associated with material but also with the creation and recreation of memories, as well as giving new meanings to their cultural manifestations, such as *champeta,* a sonic identity marker of the Palenqueros. As such, the stigma of area was linked to the community (Arthurson *et al.*,2012), for instance, with the geographic reference to San Basilio de Palenque since the Palenqueros were the first to invent Creole *champeta.*

Image 14: Junta meeting

Fieldwork, 2019

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[93] The name referring to a *pićo* [sound system], a non-spatial way of appropriating space.

From the participants' perception, it was vital to continue strengthening the Palenquero identity because numerous social factors put the preservation of these manifestations at risk. Eduardo's perspective, during an in-depth interview, highlights how various aspects of identity intertwine to form a cohesive sense of belonging and cultural continuity within the community:

> *"The sense of belonging with the land, the community…. It is the music. On weekends you will see people meeting each other on the corner of the streets. This is where we were born, where we grew up and also the musical taste".*

<div align="right">Eduardo_SF_2019</div>

By recognising the interconnectedness of land, community ties, and musical traditions, Eduardo emphasises the multifaceted nature of identity formation and the role of shared experiences in fostering cultural resilience. This highlights how factors such as land ownership, communal bonds, and cultural practices intersect to shape individuals' sense of identity and belonging. It underscores the importance of acknowledging the complex interplay of various identity markers in understanding community dynamics and resilience strategies.

Eduardo further noted that the *juntas* met once a month or every two months to raise funds for solidarity moments such as a wedding, funeral, during an illness, as well as to organise recreational activities for San Basilio de Palenque, i.e., the annual Festival of Drums and Cultural Expressions of San Basilio de Palenque[94], visiting grandparents, the House of Culture and the House of Knowledge. Regarding the Drums Festival, Fernando, a Palenquero anthropologist, expressed during a semi-structured interview that:

> *"Champeta was a form of resistance; it was stereotyped as music for gangs, for the periphery of Cartagena."*.

<div align="right">Fernando_SF_2019</div>

Fernando further added that in response to 'sonic segregation' interlinked with their cultural manifestations, the Drums Festival was found to be a strategic resignification of their cultural manifestations by contradicting stereotypical representations. Here, the adaptive and transformative resilience strategies are on a continuum. The adaptive strategy includes maintaining their identity through the *kuagros* and *juntas* and frequently visiting San Basilio de Palenque. This leads to the transformative resilience strategy of

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[94] From here on: Drums Festival

'sonic appropriation', considering that resilience strategies are multimodal dynamic processes (Rutter, 2012; Stainton *et al.*, 2019). For example, the Palenqueros have transmitted their history and culture by word of mouth, and that orality has been the essential source of their identity. Amongst this was the African music that highlighted the sacred symbols of the nobility of the drum within the framework of the percussion ritual. As noted in Chapter 3, it held a privileged position alongside funeral rites known as *lumbalú* [funeral rites]. However, in the last four years, the organisers of the Drums Festival embarked on publishing a book about the themes proposed in every edition of the festival with researchers, cultural promoters, and community leaders with countless poems and three articles about the festival as highlighted by Fernando during a semi-structured interview:

> *"Publishing a book yearly from the festival is going to be an important jewel in fifteen years to come because there's going to be a memory collected in texts, videos and documentaries filmed in the festival framework".*

Fernando_SF_2019

The reference to the festival's impact on Palenquero youth regarding identity integration aligns with CGT's focus on understanding how individuals and communities negotiate and construct their identities. For instance, this was possible through the help of the Palenquero community leaders, artists and academics to reconceptualise the Palenquero identity linked to music, away from labelling as *'loud', dangerous', and ' violent'* (Chapter 6). In recent years, the Drums Festival has created spaces dedicated to academic dissertations about the cultural manifestations of the Palenqueros. Agreeing with Sisson's (2021:45) ethnographic study on public housing in Sydney, these responses of the Palenqueros *'articulate counter representations that contest territorial stigmatisation by critiquing and contradicting dominant representations'*. For the Palenquero youth, this process led to identity integration, how to reinforce their identity, and how to create activities to visit San Basilio de Palenque, to think about music from its role of denunciation, historical reconstruction, and political empowerment.

However, *champeta's* most significant role was not only enjoyment but also as strategies of 'sonic appropriation' for both the Palenqueros and Mandeleros, i.e., the walled city that has historically been denied. They organised themselves through folk music that enabled them to enter many spaces in Cartagena, which they could not before. In this regard, visiting other areas, Samuel, during a semi-structured interview, noted how identity, art,

and engagement can be powerful tools for driving social change and connecting with others:

> *"We are a group of youth who want to change the reality by living, seeing and feeling. We get dressed in skirts, flowers, makeup and wigs. We play the drums and other instruments. Music and dance are a way of communication to attract the community and a form of language".*

<div align="right">Cuerpo_y_Tambor_Cartagena_2019</div>

As explored in Chapter 6, the young adult participants reflected on their presence in Cartagena, which objectifies *champeta* music based on discriminatory connotations. Agreeing with Cohen (1995:443), '*music is thus bound up with the struggle for power, prestige, place. It reflects but also influences the social relations, practices and material environments through which it is made*'. Nonetheless, the above narrative and the participants interviewed also echoed that *champeta* is one of the hymns that represents them. This was most noticeable during my visit to Bazurto market in Cartagena, which is famous for its *picó* parties. The artisan sound systems were locations of social and economic encounters, and they 'sonically appropriated' the space (power to act) to raise demands, rights, and world views (Image-15).

Image 15: Bazurto market, Cartagena

<div align="right">**Fieldwork, 2019**</div>

Through the participants' accounts, I also found that *champeta* has been exploited and exoticized in recent years to make the tourist package and material heritage more attractive. Hence, during my time in the walled city of Cartagena, it was recurrent to see folk dancers and musicians entertaining political and business congresses, weddings and other events. This was expressed during a focus group discussion with the adult male participants when the image of music was shown. Antonio, a 36-year-old teacher who came to Cartagena from San Basilio de Palenque at the age of 16 and lived in Nelson Mandela for ten years before moving to San Fernando, noted:

> *"People want it to be disappeared, but when the politicians are campaigning, they use champeta music as a tool to be close to us. They hire champeta singers, pićo's. Champeta is a powerful tool for their campaigns".*

<div align="right">

Antonio_SF_2019

</div>

Overall, this statement provides valuable insights into Cartagena's multifaceted relationship between culture, politics, tourism, and identity. CGT framework facilitated a deeper exploration of these dynamics by engaging with the participants to understand their interpretations and experiences in the context of *champeta's* transformation and use. For instance, through artistic creations, the young adults participated in celebratory events in the city centre and found it a great source of opportunity for making connections with other groups by sharing information and accessing resources. Participation provided opportunities to learn, improve, and put into practice relational skills in decision-making and problem-solving. For example, through the connections, they were able to seek formal employment, contrary to the findings of Mouw (2003), as well as the opportunity to foster relationships with other community members. This was highlighted during an in-depth interview with Eduardo, a Palenquero historian:

> *"In Cartagena, music and dance are the instruments that allow the poor and the rich to bring them together, giving social mobility and breaking scenarios. The government or institutions cannot do any event without the presence of a music group, particularly champeta".*

<div align="right">

Eduardo_SF_2019

</div>

In addition, the young adult participants noted that they had transformed *champeta* with rap, hip-hop and reggaeton. Kirkness and TijéDra (2017), for instance, highlight the appropriations of stigmatised areas in France through rap artists' music. This was also noted amongst the narratives of the young adult participants because, through *champeta* music, they could narrate the realities of their areas and were proud of their identities. From the above narratives, it can be said that arts, music, and dance were some of the tools and potential sources for generating links with institutions and other community members. This allows for the achievement of benefits that, without such relations, cannot prosper (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 1993; 2001). They resort to strategies of doing everyday things that allow them to survive, such as informal jobs and entrepreneurship, and use existing networks of social relations through 'embeddedness'. The notion of 'embeddedness' builds on the literature on social capital explored in Chapter 4 (Polanyi, 1957; Waldinger, 1995; Xin & Qin, 2011). However, I argue that 'embeddedness' played a

key role in enhancing the responses, particularly 'self-empowerment' through 'education and entrepreneurship', as I discuss in the following section.

8.4.3 Self-empowerment: Entrepreneurship & Education

For the Mandeleros and the Palenqueros, one of the recurrent themes within the individual level transformative resilience of 'self-empowerment' was of 'embeddedness'. The element of 'embeddedness' generated social capital as it facilitated access to resources and created social value in the community. As noted in Chapter 3, in the case of the Palenqueros, it is important to highlight the notion of 'embeddedness' through their social organisation based on family networks and age groups (*kuagro*). Amongst the Palenqueros, the most popular entrepreneurship skills were as *picó* party organisers and tourism packages to Palenque. However, there were also shops, grocery stores, restaurants and cafes within San Fernando, including nightclubs for the young adults. Interestingly, the findings also revealed how 'entrepreneurship' was linked to 'education' as an adaptive strategy, highlighting their internal locus of control linked to educational achievement (Cohen & Edwards, 1989; Rotter, 1990).

During most interviews with the young adults, it was observed that the social entrepreneurs/community leaders significantly impacted their future orientation, which is why the young adults were dedicated to their formal education (Rotter, 1954). Leadership played a prominent role in 'self-empowerment' as it contributed to the empowerment of the community in two ways: direct, referring to the influence that leaders can have on members, and second, indirectly through the ability of leaders to motivate and influence those who regularly interact with the majority of their members. The contribution of the social entrepreneurs consisted of generating 'self-empowerment' in their communities. The ability to create participatory leadership and the exercise of effective democracy in daily decision-making were indicated to be important for the configuration of community resilience (Suárez Ojeda, 2001; González-Muzzio, 2013; Maldonado & González, 2013). Agreeing with Folke *et al.* (2010:5), '*transformational change often involves shifts in perception and meaning, social network configurations, patterns of interactions among actors including leadership and political and power relations, and associated organisational and institutional arrangements*'. As such, social entrepreneurs play key roles as generators and promoters of 'self-empowerment', which can be seen as an individual-level

transformative strategy. During a focus group discussion with adult male participants, they highlighted this aspect when they were shown the image of their community leaders as:

> *"Those kinds of results are equal to achievements. It means we can also get into many spaces, those and more spaces of power. It represents the achievements of the Palenquero people. They are the ones who implemented the Palenquero language. I want to thank all of them because they have done a great job for us and generated many opportunities for the youth. It is a message for the young generation to keep moving forward".*

Adult_Males_SF_2019

From the above narrative, it can be said that 'education', as an adaptive strategy, was the best way to achieve social mobility for second generations. It highlights the role of achievements in shaping the community's identity and inspiring future generations to continue their cultural preservation efforts. Most of the young adult participants highlighted the importance of education. They are currently studying to become lawyers, teachers, and nurses, whilst also actively engaging with their Palenquero language and culture through frequent visits to Palenque. As highlighted in Chapter 4, this was found to be in agreement with Guetzkow and Fast's (2016:163) research in Israel, who found '*the solidarity and education as a means for group advancement and power*' when encountered with stigmatisation. At the same time, the young adult female participants expressed that they sold fruit and candies, an ancestral practice of the Palenquera women, which helped pay for their higher education. This was notable during the visits to the walled city, particularly the young adult female Palenqueras, enabling them to accumulate knowledge, behaviours, and skills (Bourdieu, 1986;1991; Mizrachi & Herzog, 2013; Emirbayer & Mische, 1998).

Interestingly, within the findings, a correlation was found between choosing the field of study and the processes of stigmatisation. For example, for the first generation of Palenqueros, the focus of study was history, economy, and anthropology because they were explicitly stigmatised for their accent, physical features, and cultural manifestations. They wanted to study their community and write about their history, context and cultural manifestations. This has given way to two formations: ethno-education[95] through Law 70 of 1993 and the Festival of Drums and Cultural Expressions of San Basilio de Palenque as a

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[95] Article 55 of Law 115/1994 'The General Education Law' defines ethno-education as "*the education for ethnic groups, offered to communities that comprise the Colombian nationality, who have a culture, a language, traditions and some autochthonous jurisdiction of their own*".

reaction to strengthen the identity and revendicate the right to ethnicity and culture. For example, during an in-depth interview with Eduardo, a Palenquero historian and Principal of an ethno-educative school, explained the significance of being a social entrepreneur:

> *"There were many expectations from me and others like me who got the opportunity to go to universities in Cartagena, Barranquilla. Most of the teachers and people in roles of Directors wanted to strengthen the ethno-education process, and the Palenquero people can contribute a lot to the process".*

> Eduardo_SF_2019

Eduardo's account depicts the importance of travelling out of the stigmatised area for education and learning. The exposure enabled him to foresee alternatives. He further mentioned that as a member of *proceso de comunidades negras* [The Process for Black Communities-PCN], he was able to apply his learning and skills within the community through different projects. It also highlights the significance of social/recreational areas (Chapter 6), conducting workshops and creating an environment for learning to strengthen their identity, memories, and new opportunities. Here, intersectionality comes into play because these individuals were not just students pursuing higher education but also representatives of their cultural group. Their experiences are shaped by the intersection of their educational pursuits and their ethnic identity.

Agreeing with Cheung and Phillimore's (2017) findings, the data revealed that educational institutions fostered bridging and linking capital. For example, whilst conducting a semi-structured interview with a young adult male participant who delivers workshops as part of the organisation, expressed the significance of the school as an environment for encouraging the young adults for political participation:

> *"The political participation and formation are important. We do that here so that people can imagine themselves as a political subject in the city and participate in many collective spaces and discussions about the city, laws for black communities, awareness and knowledge of different public policies and how to participate in those processes".*

> Benkos_Ku_Suto_Cartagena_2019

In this regard, it can be said that the process of individual adaptive and transformative resilience strategies depends precisely on multiple factors, as noted by Grotberg (1995). It was found that social entrepreneurs played an essential role in generating these processes. This highlights the significance of a contextually grounded understanding of how young adults' engagement shapes identity, awareness, and community empowerment. With their

novel, original and creative ideas, adapted to the context and economic possibilities of the people, they managed to establish different social practices, especially of support and collaboration. The theoretical framework (Chapter 4) clarifies that social capital plays a role in community resilience. However, I found that 'embeddedness,' or the embedding of the economy in society, was a recurring theme that created social capital and made entrepreneurship possible (Kitsos *et al.,* 2019). According to studies conducted in the field of immigrant entrepreneurship, interpersonal links have been shown to increase an entrepreneur's chances of success (Granovetter 1985, 1995; Waldinger 1995; Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993; Kloosterman 2010).

In the context of Nelson Mandela, those who used their savings and received support from family and/or community members managed to start their informal/formal businesses such as moto-taxi, renting home appliances, mobile minutes, street vendors, grocery stores, and chemists. However, one of the noticeable elements in the area was of community leaders of all ages and genders (see Chapter 3). These community leaders were empowered to become social entrepreneurs through workshops focusing on young peacebuilders, later transforming into social and political actors. As observed by Emirbayer and Mische (1998:1007), '*actors who are positioned at the intersection of multiple temporal-relational contexts can develop greater capacities for creative and critical intervention'.* For example, during the unstructured observation and amongst the participants' narratives, the *Jesús Maestro* educational institution provided a communicative environment. As such, children and young people could freely express themselves, exchange ideas and establish participation processes in the community, turning them into promoters of the communication process and social entrepreneurs.

Most participants, particularly the young adults, expressed the importance of learning arts, music and instruments to stay away from youth-at-risk. This correlates with the elements in the theoretical framework (Chapter 4) of art and education (Piquard, 1024; Guetzkow and Fast, 2016). Within the framework of CGT, I delved into the transformative potential of communicative environments within educational settings. By examining how these environments shape youth empowerment, community engagement, and the acquisition of social entrepreneurship skills, I gained a deeper understanding of the mechanisms through which education can drive positive change and foster social innovation. This approach

enabled me to uncover the intricate dynamics at play within educational contexts and their broader impact on individual and community development.

Moreover, the ones who received training in skills development at adult education centres or formal educational programmes managed to start their income-generating businesses. For example, Mateo, a former youth-at-risk leader, fled from María La Baja at the age of 13. He feared being recruited as a child soldier after his cousin was forced into it by the armed groups. Becoming a barber helped him get out of the cycle of gangs, so much so that he began to teach young people from Nelson Mandela:

> *"The only thing that could help them to get out of this cycle was to give them tools to generate an income. They saw the barbershop as an opportunity to get out of fights. I receive and teach them, some at no cost, others pay for the classes".*

> Mateo_NM_2019

Similarly, Jorge, a young adult male artist and member of a local NGO *Corporación Colombia Nueva,* explained that when he fled to Nelson Mandela, he saw art as an income generation tool, later realising its full potential:

> *"I realised it was a way to contribute to the peace and transform the society. We conducted workshops on paintings intending to allow them to spend time doing different things and not have free time standing on the corner of the streets or thinking about taking drugs. We wanted them to utilise their time doing something productive".*

> Jorge_NM_2019

Based on the above, it becomes evident that initiatives like painting workshops serve as crucial interventions in fostering peace and societal transformation. Providing constructive activities play a vital role as social productions that mediate the interpretation of challenges and contribute to the resilience of both individuals and communities, ultimately promoting social development. Beyond why some individuals resist adversity better than others, it is important to ask about the social and community processes that support and promote individual adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. For example, during an in-depth interview, Javier, one of the community leaders, explained that he received training in nonviolent conflict transformation as an exchange student in Sweden.

> *"There was a student exchange programme. They were taking two young people to Uppsala University in Sweden. It was a significant experience because I was shown the statistics of countries creating weapons, countries against the creation of weapons, and neutral countries".*

Upon his return, through his CBO, they motivated two youth-at-risk groups to create spaces for reflection and coexistence, resulting in a peace pact. This was possible through a creative and non-violent transformation project of conflicts with young people belonging to gangs. Youth activism as a response to area stigma in Nairobi's harshest geographies has also been highlighted by Kimari (2018). This reflects a transformative resilience strategy with a continual interface with the environment (Walker *et al.*, 2004; Pasqualotto *et al.*, 2015). After a long process of sensitisation and training through artistic expressions, recreation and sports, a pact of social coexistence was consolidated. This included the cessation of hostilities between the parties and finding new options for life, expression, and relationships that allowed them to insert themselves into the fabric of their communities proactively. This was particularly evident amongst the young adults, who managed to transmit their knowledge through the help of NGOs. In this way, Javier expressed that the learning opportunities allowed for individual and community growth where artistic expressions replaced the confrontations, allowing the construction of present and future imaginaries to continue growing together.

The organisations (CBOs, NGOs, associations) empowered them with learning about rights and defending themselves as well as community and social organisation. This search for social support as an adaptive strategy, in turn, enabled their capacities towards change, leadership and practical awareness (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985). Similarly, another staff member of a CBO who runs workshops for young adults and adults expressed:

> *"The workshops were on community participation, how to manage community organisations and the tools for the community organisations. Those workshops were conducted to identify the problems and how, with those tools, they could solve all their difficulties; with their answers, they could solve them. It was important to work from the inside and determine their limitations. It was their first time revealing their feelings, which led to thinking of a life project".*

Los_Hijos_de_Mandela_Cartagena_2019

According to the above narrative, the process reflects an individual adaptive resilience strategy. They strengthened their capabilities through the support of CBOs/NGOs, contributing to adapting their reality. So much so that the individuals could rethink their actions against the context and look for alternatives to continue with the metamorphosis of their environment and reconstruct their life projects. For the young adult community

leaders, 'education' was in the form of workshops focusing on young peacebuilders, later transforming into social and political actors.

Interestingly, three modalities were found within social entrepreneurship: the participation of the young adults in their environment, the role of adults through accompaniment, help and encouragement, and the physical locations where the projects were developed. Kline and Mone (2003) identified in their study about adaptive strategies amongst young Sierra Leonean refugees in a Liberian camp, i.e., maintaining an intact sense of purpose, effective control of traumatic memories, and successful protection against destructive social isolation. Although their study refers to conflict situations amongst the young adults, the case can also apply to adults who actively participate in educational, health, and psychosocial programs.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Fernández-Kelly's (1995) findings that social capital is also dependent on the physical and social location '*toponymical*', my research also reveals that the areas where the studied populations resided greatly impacted the bridging and linking capital. These environments enabled the young adults to build social relations with other communities and for both young adults and adults to educate themselves in learning languages, human rights, and skills development provided by NGOs and CBOS. These individual actions resulted in their social mobility (Coleman, 1990). Such links functioned to access information, widen their networks, and foster the emergence of youth organisations without the material and symbolic needs of the communities (McKenzie, 2015; Merklen, 2005). As such, 'self-empowerment' was found to be an essentially dialogical and participatory process. Dialogic skills were found to be a dimension that characterised 'raising awareness' by effectively engaging in difficult dialogues with the stigmatisers, as I discuss in the next section.

8.5   Responses to Cultural Manifestations & Physical Appearances

8.5.1 Increasing awareness and Confrontation

In this section, I illustrate further how the Palenqueros and Mandeleros responded to the stigmatising attributes of their cultural manifestations and physical appearances. In addition, challenging stigma through 'confrontation' was found to be a recurrent response amongst the participants' narratives. As explored in Chapter 7, the Palenqueros' 'visibility' emerged in '*being black*', labelled as '*fighters*' for their solidarity, and their cultural

manifestations marked as '*dangerous*' and *lumbalú* as '*celebrating funeral*'. Again, here we can see how the stigma of communities is linked to the areas. Juan, a young adult male participant from San Fernando, expressed how discrimination was directed at him because of various aspects of his identity, such as skin colour, accent, and likely his ethnic background:

> "*Someone who has the intention to say something about me, I just stop him and say, 'What's up? What's happening? We are like you...we are human beings. It doesn't matter if we have different skin colour or different accents..we are like you!' The people who discriminate against us are uninformed. When people know more about us, they will stop discriminating because they will know where we are from*".

<div align="right">Juan_SF_2019</div>

Although the lack of knowledge of the historical background of the stigmatised groups was the most common response to stigmatisation, knowing their rights was also fundamental in confronting the stigmatisers (Fleming *et al*., 2013). As discussed in Chapter 4, 'confrontation' can be seen as the individual-level absorptive strategy. Antonio, an adult male participant, explained during a semi-structured interview that he used to work for an NGO that led a campaign on the rights of the Afro-descendant communities. When he went to a bank once, the security guard stopped him and questioned the reason for entering the bank, followed by the arrival of the police:

> "*They asked for my documents. I said, 'as I know my rights, if you do it with everyone in the bank, I will give you my ID. But if you don't do that with all the other customers, I won't! Why me? '... We should not leave our rights just on paper. It becomes dead rights. Learning your rights helps break the vicious circles of discrimination*".

<div align="right">Antonio_SF_2019</div>

This narrative highlights the significance of discussing rights within the context of stigmatisation, prompting me to recognise the crucial role that awareness and assertion of rights play in breaking the cycles of discrimination. Antonio further explained the importance of rights that the laws and rights exist but are not implemented. As such, he responded to the negative stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination by 'confronting' the stigmatisers, a form of individual absorptive strategy. It can be said that amongst the participants' narratives, learning about their rights developed a conscience of a social experience accompanied by positive self-esteem. Those who learned about rights were empowered to demand their rights and challenge the ones stigmatising them. This can

partly be due to the legislative developments of the 1991 Constitution and an increased sense of awareness amongst the Afro-descendant communities, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The option to 'confront' the stigmatising incident included situations in which the participants said that they had responded or reacted in a polite, formal or violent manner. The act of 'confronting' was often presented as an ideal response to make stigmatisation visible, which, according to some participants, was particularly important, where the different forms of stigmatisation are often subtle and masked (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985; Fleming *et al.,* 2013). Considering their cultural manifestations (see Chapter 7), during a semi-structured interview, Gloria, a 53-year-old Palenquera, shared her responses when she moved to Cartagena and was mocked for her accent:

> *"Whenever they say something, I tell them, 'every country has different cultures and people from the centre of the country have a different accent. You say nothing to them, so why are you saying that to me? You have to accept me for who I am'. I make it a point that 'you may not know this, so let me teach you and help with your ignorance".*

<div align="right">Gloria_SF_2019</div>

Gloria's response takes into account her intersecting identities, such as ethnicity, regional origin, and language (Waters, 1999). From the above narrative, continuing to speak in her accent through dialogue as an absorptive strategy with the stigmatisers can be seen as a form of 'confrontation', for example, discussing discriminatory terms. This type of discourse was found mainly in those with greater political and/or social interest or participation. In addition, 'confrontation' allowed the participants to actively take control of the stressful events, providing them with a strong sense of efficacy and strengthening their strategies for control, communication and understanding of social reality (Bonanno, 2004; Fleming *et al.*, 2013).

For its part, failure to confront stigmatisation also has its consequences. On the one hand, it can lead members of stigmatised groups to experience feelings of inconsistency between their behaviour and their values, which in turn can have negative cognitive and emotional consequences. On the other hand, it was found that the participants who suppressed the emotionally charged experiences, i.e., emotion-focused (Huijts *et al.*,2012), such as listening to racist jokes, had an impact on their psychological functioning. This resulted in having recurring thoughts about stressful events and increased negative emotions (Pearce, 2012).

Meanwhile, the Mandeleros' visibility materialised as '*being black'* and '*displaced'*, as explored in Chapter 7. Mateo, a barber in Nelson Mandela, explained that it is not just the Palenqueros who have an accent but also the displaced community members in Nelson Mandela who still maintain some vocabulary and words from their region of displacement.

> *"I tell them that 'if you don't like my skin colour, you will receive the same treatment as you are giving me, I won't like yours as well. If you don't like the way I speak, I won't like yours. If you don't like my hairstyle and hair texture, I don't envy yours'".*

> Meteo_NM_2019

Mateo's reflection on the intersectionality of identity and discrimination prompted me to consider the multifaceted nature of stigmatisation experienced by individuals like him in Nelson Mandela. As a researcher, this narrative encouraged me to critically reflect on how intersecting identities shape experiences of discrimination and resilience within marginalised communities. Mateo's assertion of his rights and dignity in the face of discrimination serves as a powerful reminder of the importance of reflexivity in understanding and addressing the complex dynamics of stigmatisation. His words emphasise the need for dialogue and advocacy to combat discrimination and promote social justice (Hathaway, 1991).

Furthermore, other forms of dialogic competency included communicating with others in a non-confrontational manner. For example, during a semi-structured interview, Paulina, a young adult female participant whose father was assassinated in Nelson Mandela, expressed that through the absorptive strategy of dialogue, she was able to help 'raise awareness' about the armed conflict in Colombia:

> *"When I go outside and say I am from Nelson Mandela, they always say something. I tell them first and teach them about our history, why we are in this process, why the consequences. When we re-appropriate something, we have to defend it. It is a sense of belonging because I belong to this place, and this place belongs to me. I have to defend it in any way I can".*

> Paulina_NM_2019

Whilst the narrative primarily focuses on the intersection of place-based identity and discrimination, it also implies that Paulina's response may involve aspects of her racial, ethnic, or cultural identity. Paulina's response reflects a broader understanding of human rights within the context of displacement and discrimination (Hathaway, 1991). Later in our discussion, Paulina explained that the reason for speaking up came as a result of her

process of getting to know what happened in terms of the assassinations of the community leaders. This led her to be more interested in learning about human rights, the history of her area, the victims and the armed conflict. These perspectives coincide with Lazarus and Folkman (1986), where a vision focused on the '*cognitive and behavioural efforts*' of individuals coexists with a supportive context such as family, peers and also social organisations so that individuals can confront, resist and recover from the adverse situation (Bronfenbrenner, 1987). In sum, here resilience can be seen as the conception of individual and community level absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies, resulting from the interaction of individual characteristics and relational and social aspects, transforming the individuals and the environment.

8.5 Conclusion

By providing an analytical and contextual analysis of the varied resilience strategies of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, the chapter adds to our understanding of how resilience reflects the strategies and advances the theoretical understanding of responses to stigma. In this chapter, I have identified resilience as the responses to the different forms of stigmatisation, including area, cultural manifestations and physical appearances. The analysis of the participants' accounts suggested that the experiences of the communities in both countries respond to stigmatisation processes dependent on their historical and geographical context. The data acquired through participatory research yielded deeper insights into the areas and the communities. In this context, through the data, the chapter discussed the nuances of how the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants responded to stigmatisation and better understood the similarities and differences in response strategies. In addition, when analysing responses to stigmatisation, it is crucial to highlight intersectional identities. For instance, the participants' experiences of stigmatisation varied based on ethnicity, race, gender, culture, religion, and other social identities (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). This intersectionality underscores the complexity of their experiences and the diverse ways in which stigma intersects with various aspects of their identities. As such, I was prompted to recognise the interconnectedness of these strategies and the need to approach them holistically.

In the exploration of resilience strategies amongst the Hazaras and Afro-descendants, my reflexivity as a researcher played a crucial role in framing and interpreting the findings

within the constructivist grounded theory framework. By acknowledging my background, biases, and preconceptions, I sought to engage with the data in a way that allowed for a deeper understanding of the participants' experiences. This reflexivity guided my analysis of how resilience manifests in response to stigma, particularly concerning area, cultural, and physical stigmatisation.

Using multi-sited qualitative methods played an important part in charting and untangling resilience strategies in response to stigma and helped produce rich data that captured and communicated contextual aspects (Creswell, 2009; Pescosolido & Martin, 2015). For instance, for the Hazaras in Marriabad, the 'blaming', a form of individual absorptive strategy, towards Afghan Hazaras was context-dependent because Hazara Town was stereotyped as the '*area of refugees*'. Again, that reminds us of the multiple waves of forced migration from Afghanistan to Pakistan as a source of producers of stigma. Similarly, religion was 'blamed' because all Hazaras were labelled as *Shia* and the aspect of the contextual factors of sectarian violence. The Hazaras have always taken 'pride' in being homeowners. As such, the sense of belonging to the area influenced deflecting the area stigma, which was evident in the participants' narratives.

However, 'blaming' did not come up amongst the Palenqueros because of their strong solidarity as a Palenquero community and lack of presence of youth-at-risk in San Fernando. Whereas, Mandeleros blamed the moto-taxis, youth-at-risk and the displaced people from certain regions of armed conflict. The adaptive strategy of 'being proud' of their areas in both Nelson Mandela and San Fernando reflected their sense of belonging and a positive group distinctiveness through maintaining their identities and land and home ownership (Dovidio *et al.*, 2000).

The data derived from multi-sited methods on the resilience strategies shed light on the absorptive, adaptive and transformative strategies within various areas of life (e.g., work, education, and public spaces) and showed how those experiences and responses differed between contexts. This was evident in participants' narratives about the 'appropriation of space' to contest 'intimidated and forced segregation' in Quetta and with an added dimension of 'resignification processes' responding to the 'intimidated and sonic segregation' in Cartagena. Both in Quetta and Cartagena, the individual transformative resilience strategy to area stigma also included 'self-empowerment' through adaptive strategies of formal/informal 'entrepreneurship and education'. The findings revealed that

the notion of 'embeddedness' was a pivotal factor for the 'processes of resignification', 'appropriation of space' and the 'self-empowerment' strategies for the communities.

The Hazaras' responses to their cultural manifestations and physical appearances were found to be in two dimensions: 'raising awareness' for others, and 'confrontation, avoidance and tactics'. Initiating an individual-level absorptive strategy of dialogue, the Hazaras were successful at 'raising awareness', an individual and community-level adaptive and transformative resilience strategy, through digital media. Thereby triggering and compelling the Government to take action. Here, we can see 'raising awareness' as an adaptive and transformative resilience strategy.

In the context of Cartagena, the communities took action by 'raising awareness' and 'challenging stigma'. Like the Hazaras, the Palenqueros and Mandeleros used 'dialogue' as an individual-level absorptive strategy that led to individual and community-level adaptive and transformative strategy of 'raising awareness'. On the other hand, confrontation as an absorptive strategy included dialogue with others when their accents were mocked, or there was a lack of knowledge about the history of the Palenqueros and Mandeleros, including the armed conflict. The findings revealed that all three strategies were on a continuum because one strategy did not belong to one type of resilience. Hence, the idea is that there can be one strategy, which can be a bit adaptive and transformative simultaneously.

For the experiences of area stigma for the Hazaras, the important elements were the understanding of '*particular historical and geopolitical contexts'* such as forced migration, religion and homeownership that shaped their particular response strategies (Tyler and Slater, 2018736). Agreeing with Turan *et al*. (2019) and Kusow (2004), the data revealed that communities can have multiple stigmatised identities. These findings dialogue with the literature on responses to area stigmatisation such as 'lateral denigration', 'hiding their address', 'pride' (Wacquant *et al.,* 2014), 'confronting', 'deflecting conflict', and 'managing the self' (Fleming *et al.,* 2013); 'deflecting, counternarratives' (Fattah, 2020); 'deflecting' and 'displacing the language of spatial stigma' (Kirkness, 2014).

CHAPTER 9: Discussion & Conclusions

9.1   Introduction

In this thesis, I have identified and discussed the processes of stigmatisation and how populations respond, focusing on the Hazaras in Quetta (Pakistan) and the Afro-Descendants in Cartagena (Colombia). In doing so, the thesis sheds light on the populations' absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies as a response to the stigmatisation processes. Moreover, the study has contributed to literature on area stigma by adding the different types of segregation (*forced, intimidated and sonic*) that were the physical and sonic markers concerning in the context of turbulent environments. The findings revealed that the external markers for the communities in the four areas were linked to their 'visibility' due to their physical appearances and cultural manifestations. In addition, the thesis identified the responses to area stigma and stigmatisation of cultural manifestations and physical appearances through blaming, acceptance, pride, confrontation, avoidance and tactics, processes of resignification, sonic and space appropriation, self-empowerment, and raising awareness.

In this chapter, firstly I discuss the empirical findings by answering the three research questions that link to the main research aim. Secondly, I identify the gaps in area stigma research in regard to the contextual aspect and research methodology. Thirdly, I address the characteristics that limited the research and suggest the scope for future research, focusing on the institutional level, self-stigmatisation of communities, different types of segregations and the stigma producing agents. Finally, I synthesise the importance of contextualising communities' lived experiences of stigmatisation and responses to living in settings in the context of turbulence and forced migration.

9.2   Empirical Findings

In this thesis, I have sought to identify and assess processes of stigmatisation and populations' responses in a multi-site case study in context of forced migration and turbulence, focusing on the Hazaras (Pakistani/Afghan) in Quetta, Pakistan and the Afro-descendants (Mandeleros/Palenqueros) in Cartagena, Colombia. The findings are presented by answering the research questions analysed in Chapters 6, 7 & 8. In the thesis,

I contribute to the research on area stigma, highlighting the importance of the contextual aspect of stigma when studying communities in turbulent environments.

9.2.1 What forms and processes of area stigmatisation are found amongst the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, and how do these diverse dynamics shape the experiences of stigmatisation in each community?

In Chapter 6, the research delved into the differentiation of areas studied, highlighting forced, intimidated, and sonic segregation as physical and sonic markers of area stigma, directly addressing Q1. The segregations were found to be influenced by historical, political, and power dynamics (Sisson, 2021; Butler-Warke, 2021; Phelan *et al.,* 2008). These contributions deepen our understanding of the multifaceted nature of area stigma.

Whilst the concept of 'territorial stigmatisation' has been predominantly associated with phenomena such as gentrification, council housing estates, ghettos, and French *banlieues* in post-industrial societies (Wacquant *et al.*, 2014), Chapter 6 extends its application to the contexts of forced migration and conflict. By contextualising stigma processes within these distinct socio-political environments, the research contributes to the literature conducted in the Global North by broadening the conceptual framework of territorial stigmatisation (see Fattah & Walters, 2020).

Moreover, the comparative analysis employed in this study enhances our understanding of the complexities surrounding area stigma. By juxtaposing the experiences of the Hazaras in Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Colombia, the research not only highlights commonalities in stigmatisation processes but also underscores the contextual nuances that shape these phenomena within different geographical contexts. For example, in Pakistan, the stigmatisation primarily stems from ethnic and sectarian tensions, exacerbated by historical conflicts and ongoing violence. The Hazaras are often targeted due to their *Shia* faith, leading to forced and intimidated segregation and restricted access to resources and opportunities. On the other hand, in Colombia the Afro-descendants experience stigma linked to racial discrimination and socio-economic marginalisation (Telles, 2015). Their stigmatisation is influenced by historical legacies of slavery and colonialism, as well as contemporary factors such as poverty and urban violence.

In addition, the thesis uncovered the multifaceted nature of stigma and how different aspects of identity interact within the broader context of societal inequalities. By highlighting how factors such as ethnicity, migration status, and socio-economic background interact with area stigma, the study uncovers the complex web of inequalities that shape individuals' experiences of stigma. This nuanced understanding is crucial for developing interventions that address the multiple forms of discrimination faced by marginalised communities.

Chapter 6 further explored the interconnectedness between residing in stigmatised areas and its impact on residents' access to essential resources and opportunities. In Pakistan and Colombia, these complexities are intricately linked with the 'stickiness' of area stigma, which firmly embeds itself within the community fabric (Pinkster *et al.*, 2020). By elucidating how area stigma affects individuals' access to education, employment, recreational activities, and more, the research underscores the profound implications of stigma for community well-being. This understanding is essential for designing interventions that address not only the stigma itself but also its broader socio-economic consequences.

Furthermore, the research sheds light on how the 'aesthetics' of these areas, including security checkpoints and cultural manifestations, served as potent sources of labelling and discrimination (Jones *et al.*, 1984; Link & Phelan, 2001). As such, the study expands our understanding of stigmatisation processes beyond spatial boundaries (Diagram-1).

Diagram 1: Area Stigma
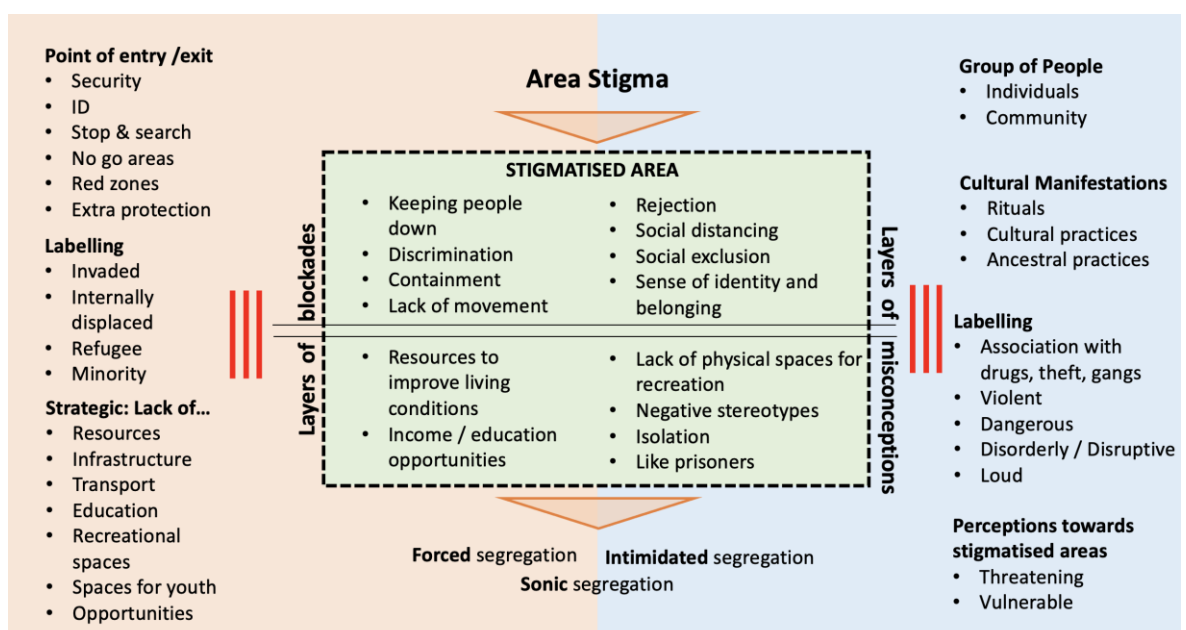
This insight prompts critical reflections on the underlying mechanisms driving stigma and calls for interventions that address the systemic inequalities reinforced by these markers. By examining these intersections, we gain insights into the structural inequalities that underpin stigmatisation and how they are reproduced and contested within society. The implications of this research are far-reaching. Firstly, it underscores the importance of context-sensitive interventions to address area stigma and its underlying causes. By understanding the specific historical, political, and socio-economic factors influencing area stigma, policymakers and practitioners can develop targeted strategies to mitigate its impact and promote social inclusion.

Secondly, this research highlights the need for interdisciplinary approaches to studying stigma, drawing on insights from sociology, geography, anthropology, and other relevant fields. By integrating diverse perspectives and methodologies, researchers can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics of stigmatisation processes and their effects on individuals and communities.

9.2.2   What forms of community stigmatisation exist for the populations, and how do the contexts of Pakistan and Colombia influence the emergence and perpetuation of individual and community-level stigma?

In this thesis, I have argued that the 'visibility' of the communities was identified based on their areas, cultural manifestations, and physical appearances. The thesis demonstrates this in Chapter 7, and the results discussed answers Q2. As it has been argued throughout the thesis, communities are characterised through their 'visibility': physical features, the colour of the skin, the religion, customs and traditions followed. This form of stigmatisation also impacts the communities as they are blamed as the ones who pose a threat, and how specific historical events are the producers of stigmatisation. This explicit focus on the contextual aspect within the processes of stigmatisation builds on previous work on territorial stigmatisation, placed-based stigma and the production of stigmatisation (Wacquant 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Wacquant *et al.*, 2014; Butler-Warke, 2020, 2021; Larsen, 2014; Slater, 2017; Larsen & Delica, 2019; Sisson 2021).

Chapter 7 offers valuable insights into the visibility and stigmatisation, mainly through the lens of 'community stigmatisation.' By examining the experiences of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, the chapter provides a comparative analysis of how stigma manifests in diverse socio-cultural contexts. One significant comparative contribution lies in exploring historical events and their lasting impact on stigma formation (see Butler-Warke, 2020). Whilst the Hazara community in Quetta grapples with the legacy of the July 6th, 1985 incident, the Afro-descendants face stigma rooted in their cultural heritage and historical associations. By juxtaposing these experiences, the research highlights the nuanced ways historical narratives shape perceptions of marginalised communities.

Moreover, identifying stigma-producing elements, such as media representations and cultural expressions, adds another layer of complexity to the analysis. By examining how these elements intersect with historical associations, the chapter reveals the intricate mechanisms through which stigma operates within different communities. Firstly, the research reveals how cultural manifestations and physical appearances intersect to shape stigma. Whilst the Hazaras face stigmatisation due to their distinct ethnic features and practices, the Afro-descendants confront stereotypes associated with their visible ethnicity.

Furthermore, the chapter uncovers the systemic nature of stigma, which infiltrates various facets of individuals' lives, including access to education, opportunities for employment, and interactions within social spheres. It elucidates how stigma influences perceptions and attitudes and shapes the material conditions and opportunities available to marginalised communities. For instance, stigmatised groups may face barriers to quality education and employment opportunities due to prejudice and discrimination, perpetuating cycles of marginalisation and socio-economic disadvantage. This deeper understanding enables us to develop more effective interventions and support systems to address the root causes of stigma.

As such, these insights contributed to answering Q2 regarding the forms of community stigmatisation. Considering that stigmatisation is a relational process and context-dependent, the thesis exposed that the stigmatised individuals also engaged in offensive humour and jokes whilst interacting (see Goffman, 1963; Link & Phelan, 2001; Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013). However, the thesis identified that the dominant groups have the

additional factor of power to discriminate, which can lead to serious consequences for the stigmatised groups.

The thesis contributes significantly to accent stigma literature by unveiling the role of accents and dialects as potent sources of stereotype and prejudice within marginalised communities (Diagram-2). Through its exploration, the research highlights how accents are explicit markers reinforcing discriminatory practices, thereby deepening our understanding of the complexities of identity and social interaction with others (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Freynet *et al.,* 2018). By elucidating the negative repercussions of accent-based discrimination on communities such as the Palenqueros, Mandeleros, and the Hazaras, the thesis underscores the urgent need for increased awareness and sensitivity towards linguistic diversity. This contribution not only enriches our comprehension of accent stigmatisation but also underscores the importance of fostering environments that celebrate linguistic differences and promote inclusivity.

Diagram 2: Community Stigma
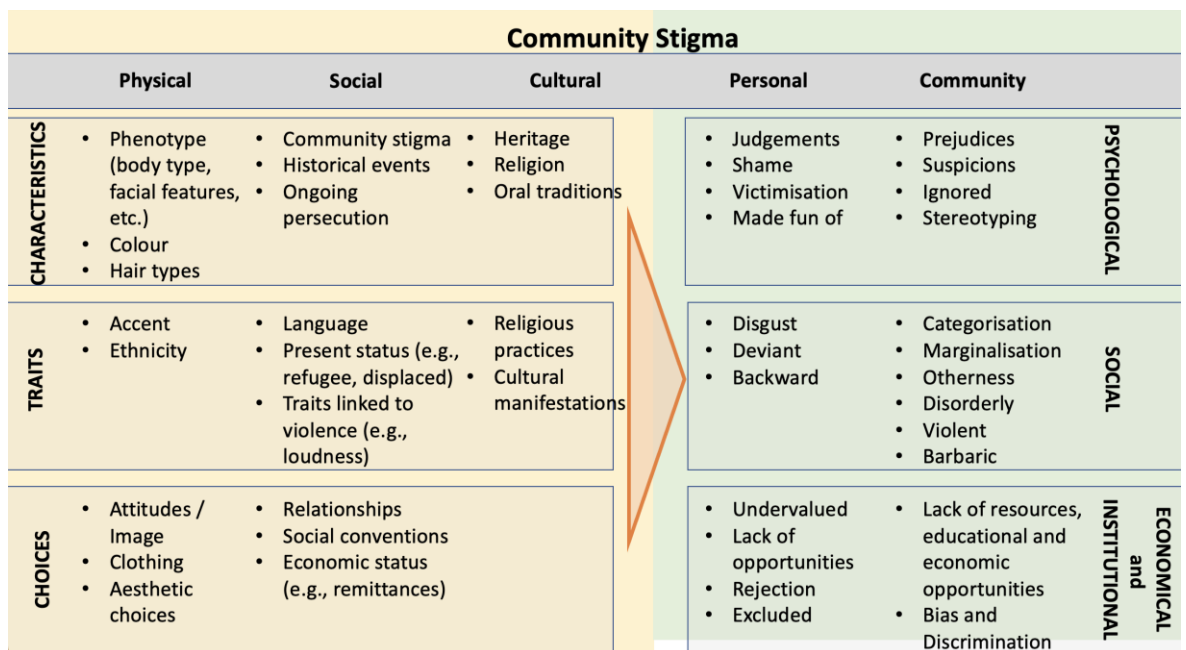
As I have argued, the stigmatisation processes include not only the stereotypes present in social life but especially because a labelling process occurs by choosing specific characteristics to identify and arbitrarily generalise the stigmatised with associated traits of highly negative attributes. In this thesis, the findings highlight the interconnection between area and community stigmatisation, producing a real separation between 'us' and 'them', in which the consequences are part of the daily lives of the communities,

strengthening discrimination with multiple manifestations. This insight answers the overall main research question and Q2. Overall, this thesis advances our knowledge of community stigmatisation by thoroughly examining its forms, mechanisms, and consequences.

9.2.3 How do the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants develop absorptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience strategies in response to stigmatisation, and how do these strategies differ or overlap due to the differing historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts of each community?

The responses to stigmatisation processes are marked by the residents' experiences of area stigma and stigmatisation of their cultural manifestations and physical appearances. This thesis's unique contribution depends on the notion of 'embeddedness', introduced to broaden the current understanding of how ordinary resilient strategies are represented. Emphasising the interconnectedness of social, cultural, and political factors advances insights into how marginalised communities develop and deploy resilience strategies in response to stigmatisation. This concept offers a more holistic framework for analysing resilience, moving beyond individualistic perspectives to consider the broader context in which resilience is situated.

There is a notable gap in research regarding resilience strategies amongst marginalised groups, such as the Hazaras in Quetta and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena, especially in response to stigmatisation. The thesis fills this gap by comprehensively examining absorptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience strategies deployed by these communities. By shedding light on these strategies, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of how marginalised communities navigate stigmatisation in their everyday lives. The results show that 'embeddedness' can take many forms, including social links, associative structures, cultural norms, political settings, etc., all of which significantly impact how opportunities and restrictions for people and groups are shaped. Through the idea of 'embeddedness', the thesis gives valuable insights that add to the debate about resilience as the response strategies of individuals and communities. The thesis challenges prevailing notions of resilience as solely individualistic or neoliberal. By highlighting collective and community-level responses to stigmatisation, it underscores the importance of considering resilience's social, cultural, and political dimensions. This challenges

traditional narratives of resilience and offers a more nuanced understanding of how resilience is manifested and sustained within marginalised communities.

In exploring responses to stigmatisation, the thesis delved into resilience strategies of absorption, adaptation, and transformation, acknowledging the intersectionality of identity within social dynamics. This approach recognises that individuals and communities experience stigmatisation differently based on various intersecting factors such as ethnicity, gender, race, religion, and socio-economic status. For instance, the Hazara community in Pakistan and Afro-descendants in Colombia face unique layers of stigma influenced by their distinct historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts.

Considering these intersecting identities, the thesis comprehensively understood how stigmatisation impacts individuals and communities and how these complex intersections shape resilience strategies (Zebrowski, 2008). Whilst the concept of intersectionality traditionally emphasises the interconnectedness of social categorisations and their influence on individuals' experiences, its application here suggests an acknowledgment of how various factors intersect to shape responses to stigmatisation. However, it's essential to note that the specific mechanisms through which intersections shape resilience strategies may vary depending on the context and the individuals involved. Therefore, whilst intersections of identity contribute to the complexity of stigmatisation experiences and resilience strategies, further exploration is needed to understand the nuanced relationships between intersecting factors and resilience outcomes.

The notion of resilience served as a crucial framework in my research endeavour for several compelling reasons. Firstly, it offered an invaluable analytical lens through which to investigate the responses of individuals and communities to stigmatisation and discrimination, facilitating a methodical examination of absorptive, adaptive and transformative strategies. Secondly, the concept allowed to adopt a multidimensional approach, incorporating psychological, social, economic, and cultural factors, thereby providing a nuanced understanding of the complexities inherent in experiences of stigmatisation. Thirdly, it underscored the agency of the communities, empowering them to shape their responses to adversities and challenges actively. Finally, using the notion of resilience encouraged a holistic approach that considered individual and community-level factors, thereby providing a comprehensive understanding of stigmatisation dynamics. However, researchers must maintain a critical perspective on applying resilience,

acknowledging its limitations, such as oversimplification and the potential to overlook structural inequalities (Ungar, 2008; Walker & Cooper, 2011). Whilst Evans and Reid (2014) argue that neoliberal models of government are necessary for people experiencing poverty to remain resilient, this may not directly apply to the Hazaras and Afro-descendants, given their unique socio-political contexts.

Chapter 8 explored the absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies in response to the different forms of stigmatisation, responding to Q3 and the overall research question. The similarities and differences amongst the responses I present in this thesis are context-dependent. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, Pakistan and Colombia have structural causes of stigma producers in relation to forced migration, sectarian violence and armed conflict, as well as minority groups with distinct physical and cultural characteristics. This research demonstrated that there were multiple sources of producers of stigma, such as media, institutions, government departments, historical events, and bureaucratic and journalist fields. Using a multi-site case study of the different forms of stigmatisation, I further demonstrated the similarities and differences in the communities' responses.

The research's comparative contribution lies in exploring individual and group absorptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience strategies across different cultural contexts affected by stigma. By identifying various responses to area stigma, such as blaming, acceptance, and pride, the study reveals how marginalised communities navigate and confront stigma. These responses vary in their absorptive and adaptive resilience strategies, with blaming often leading to distancing and acceptance, potentially fostering transformative resilience efforts. Additionally, pride emerges as a key adaptive strategy, promoting a sense of belonging, positive group identity, and solidarity within stigmatised communities. The study contributes valuable insights into the complex interplay between individual and collective resilience strategies in challenging stigma and fostering community cohesion across diverse cultural settings (Diagram-3).

Diagram 3: Resilience Strategies to Area Stigma (a)
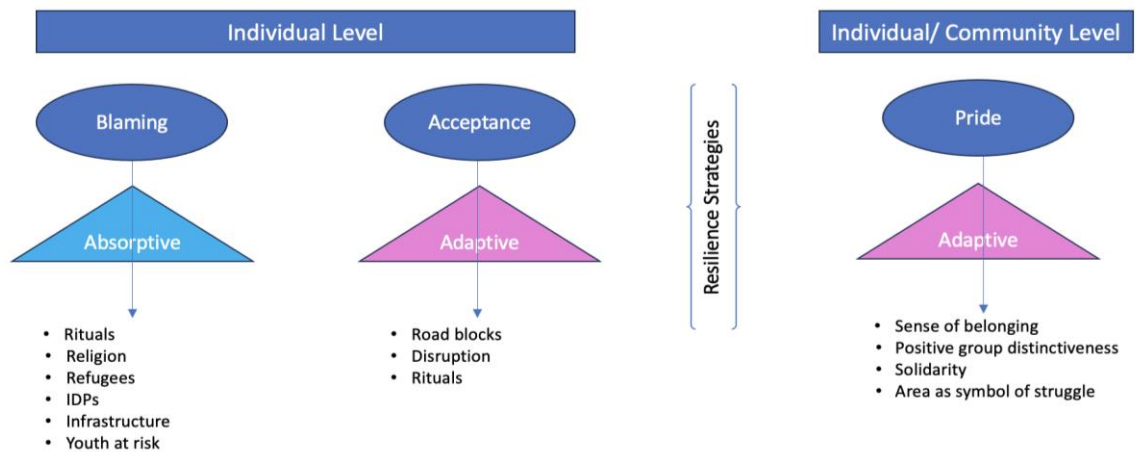
By elucidating the diverse forms of embeddedness and their effects on individuals and communities, the study deepens our understanding of how social, cultural, and political contexts influence resilience-building processes (Diagram-4). Additionally, by emphasising the importance of 'self-empowerment' as both a process and an outcome of transformative resilience at the individual level, the research underscores the potential for collective actions to drive community-level transformations.

Diagram 4: Resilience Strategies to Area Stigma (b)
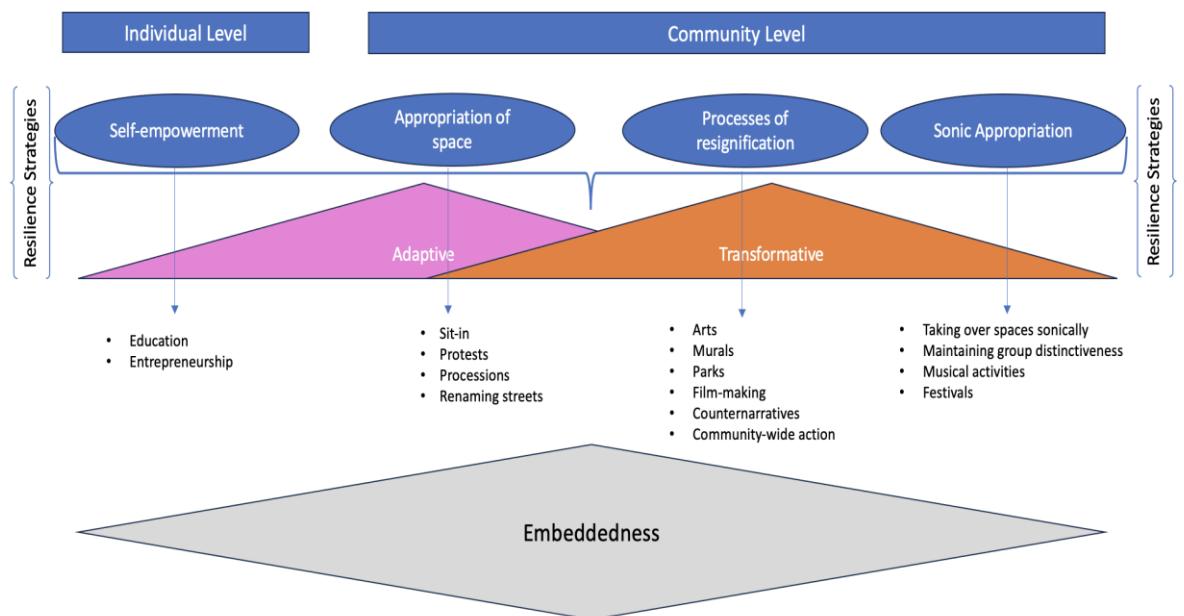
Moreover, by identifying strategies such as space appropriation, resignification processes, and sonic appropriation as means of community resilience, the study provides practical insights for addressing area stigma and fostering resilience in marginalised communities. Overall, this research enriches our understanding of resilience in turbulent environments

and offers valuable insights for policymakers, practitioners, and communities striving to promote empowerment and resilience.

The comparative contribution of Chapter 8 lies in examining responses to cultural manifestations and physical appearances as forms of stigmatisation, contrasting with area stigma. At the individual level, the absorptive resilience strategies of 'confrontation', 'avoidance', and 'tactics' are identified as responses to community stigma. 'Confrontation' manifests in various forms, from leveraging social media and legal frameworks to more direct or confrontational approaches. This strategy aims to make stigmatisation visible whilst asserting identity through cultural markers. Conversely, 'avoidance' involves non-reactivity, self-control, and reframing stigma with humour, whilst 'tactics' entail identity concealment to evade stigma, such as changing accents or adopting mainstream cultural practices. Furthermore, responses at the community level include 'raising awareness' through dialogue in social spaces and digital media, aiming to transform perceptions and understanding of stigmatised communities' historical backgrounds and contexts. (Diagram-5).

Diagram 5: Resilience Strategies to Community Stigma
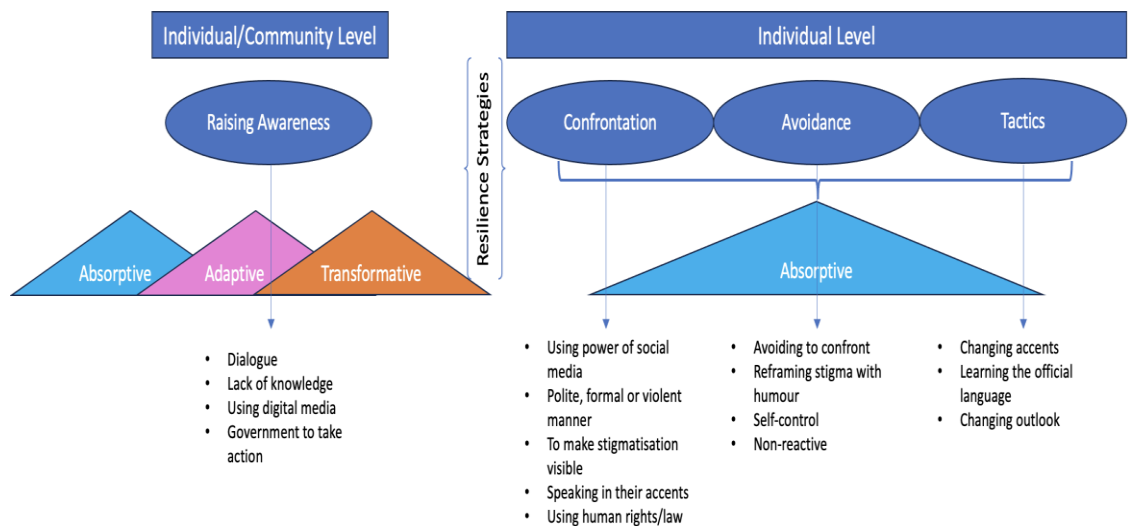
9.3 Theoretical, Empirical and Methodological Considerations

This thesis draws from knowledge across multiple disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and human geography, amongst other related disciplines. By understanding the processes of stigmatisation amongst the minority groups in Pakistan and Colombia, this thesis contributes to a growing literature on the production of stigma, territorial stigmatisation, placed-based stigma and responses to stigmatisation (Power *et al.*, 2013, 2021; Larsen, 2014; Slater, 2017; Butler-Warke, 2020, 2021; Sisson 2021).

9.3.1 Theoretical & Empirical Contributions

This study's theoretical and empirical contributions extend beyond recognising similar dynamics of stigmatisation across the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants. Several key findings emerge by delving into the contextual nuances of stigmatisation processes and their relation to the conceptualisation of community experiences.

For instance, understanding the historical background of each community enriches our comprehension of the roots of stigmatisation. Whilst the Hazaras in Pakistan have endured persecution and displacement for centuries, the Afro-descendants in Colombia have contended with the enduring legacies of slavery, colonisation, and more recent conflicts. Variations in language, culture, and traditions between the two communities shape the manifestation of stigmatisation. For example, the Hazaras' distinct cultural practices and linguistic heritage yield different experiences compared to the Afro-descendants in Colombia. Additionally, the meaning of 'ethnic' and the processes of ethnicisation vary significantly between the two countries. Ethnic identity in Pakistan is influenced by religious affiliation, historical migration patterns, and geopolitical dynamics, whereas in Colombia, it is more closely linked to racial categorisations originating from colonial legacies.

The contextual nuances inherent in community experiences have profound implications for their conceptualisation. By acknowledging the diversity of identities and experiences within each community, influenced by factors such as gender, socio-economic status, and geographic location, it becomes evident that a nuanced understanding of stigmatisation requires an intersectional approach. This intersectional perspective recognises that individuals within a community may navigate stigmatisation differently based on the intersecting aspects of their identity. Factors like gender dynamics, economic resources, and geographical context can profoundly shape one's experience of stigma and resilience

within the community. By adopting an intersectional lens, we can better grasp the complex interplay of various social factors in shaping stigmatisation experiences. This approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of how power dynamics, systemic inequalities, and identity intersections converge to influence individuals' experiences within their respective communities.

In addition, examining power dynamics inherent in stigmatisation processes sheds light on how certain groups are systematically marginalised and excluded from social, economic, and political opportunities, with variations influenced by the differing power structures in Pakistan and Colombia. Understanding the cultural specificity of stigmatisation processes emphasises the importance of contextually adapted interventions and support mechanisms, highlighting that one-size-fits-all solutions may not effectively address the unique needs of each community.

These findings contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of stigmatisation processes and community experiences by contextualising them within broader socio-historical contexts. They underscore the significance of recognising and learning from the differences between marginalised communities, emphasising the need for tailored approaches to address stigmatisation and promote resilience and empowerment.

By distinguishing between area stigma and community stigmatisation, the research moves beyond traditional approaches focused solely on physical spatial characteristics. Instead, it reveals how these two forms of stigma interact and mutually reinforce each other, providing valuable insights into the social and spatial dimensions of stigmatisation processes (Wacquant, 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Wacquant *et al.*, 2014). Through a rigorous exploration of community narratives and engagement with multiple stigma producers, the research offers nuanced insights into the diverse processes of stigmatisation and the multifaceted ways in which communities navigate and respond to it. This contribution significantly expands the existing body of knowledge focused on stigma production, stigmatisation processes, and responses (Larsen, 2014; Slater, 2017; Butler-Warke, 2020, 2021; Larsen & Delica, 2019; Sisson, 2021; Pattison, 2022).

By foregrounding the lived experiences of stigmatisation and responses, the study sheds light on commonalities in stigmatisation processes across different countries. It underscores the crucial role of contextual factors such as armed conflict and forced migration in shaping these experiences. This contextualisation aspect adds depth to the

stigma literature, emphasising the need to consider local dynamics and historical events in understanding the complexities of stigmatisation processes and response strategies (Butler-Warke, 2021).

Additionally, the thesis extends the conceptualisation of stigmatisation by introducing the notion of 'embeddedness' and its significance in shaping resilient strategies in turbulent environments. Through this conceptual lens, the research offers valuable insights into how individuals and communities navigate stigmatisation and develop absorptive, adaptive and transformative responses. By emphasising the importance of community resilience over top-down approaches, the study contributes to ongoing debates about effective strategies for addressing stigma and promoting social inclusion.

The implications of the thesis are multifaceted and extend to various stakeholders, including researchers, policymakers, community organisations, and individuals affected by stigmatisation. The thesis offers valuable insights into the complex dynamics of stigmatisation processes and response strategies. Policymakers and practitioners can use this knowledge to design more effective interventions to address stigma and promote social inclusion. By understanding the interplay between stigmatisation of areas and communities, interventions can be tailored to target specific social and spatial dimensions of stigma, enhancing their relevance and impact.

By foregrounding the voices and experiences of stigmatised communities, the thesis empowers these communities to articulate their needs, challenges, and resilience strategies. This can foster a sense of agency and empowerment amongst community members, enabling them to actively engage in efforts to challenge stigma and promote positive social change. Moreover, the thesis contributes to the academic literature on stigmatisation processes, response strategies, and community resilience. Researchers can build upon this work to further explore the complexities of stigma and resilience in diverse socio-cultural contexts. This can include investigating additional factors influencing stigmatisation processes, exploring the effectiveness of different resilience strategies, and deepening our understanding of the long-term impacts of stigma on individuals and communities.

The thesis promotes cross-cultural understanding and dialogue by comparing stigmatisation experiences across different countries and contexts. This can help break down stereotypes and misconceptions about stigmatised communities, fostering greater

empathy, solidarity, and collaboration across diverse cultural and geographic boundaries. The thesis findings can also inform policy advocacy efforts to address structural inequalities and systemic discrimination that contribute to stigmatisation. Advocates can push for policy reforms that promote social justice, equity, and human rights by highlighting the social, economic, and political factors driving stigmatisation processes. Overall, the implications of the thesis extend beyond the academic realm to have a real-world impact on policy, practice, and social change efforts to reduce stigma and promote the well-being of stigmatised communities.

9.3.2 Multi-site Research Methodology

Integrating constructivist grounded theory principles into this study facilitated a nuanced exploration of stigma research methods, mainly through utilising multi-site case studies spanning two countries and four communities. By adopting a constructivist approach, the research prioritised individuals' lived experiences, feelings, and perceptions within volatile environments, thereby shedding light on the complex dynamics of stigmatisation. Whilst the semi-structured and in-depth interviews provided insights into the individual and group experiences of prejudice, labelling, stereotyping, othering and discrimination, and response strategies, they also showed the advantages of pairing with focus group discussions and observation of the areas (see Chapter 4).

Furthermore, utilising qualitative multi-sited methods helped to understand the complexities of stigma in particular ways and the underlying processes of experiencing stigma. Most importantly, through the multi-sited methods, the findings revealed how the different forms of stigma kept individuals in, out, or down in the context of Quetta and Cartagena, bringing empirical insights to the Hazaras in Quetta and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena. Additionally, the research expands the understanding of the resilience strategies of the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants at the individual and community levels. Charting and detangling resilience strategies in response to stigma was greatly aided by multi-sited qualitative methodologies, resulting in rich data that captured contextual factors. The data from multi-sited methodologies on resilience strategies offer insight not only into absorptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience strategies within diverse life contexts (e.g., employment, school, and public places) but also into how those stigma experiences and responses varied across the contexts of Quetta and Cartagena.

Moreover, employing constructivist grounded theory through multiple data collection methods allowed to capture the similarities and differences in stigmatisation and absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. Thereby, in this thesis, I have identified the communities' own perceptions of their daily experiences of the area and community stigma whilst simultaneously allowing me to capture the continuum of response strategies. Utilising unstructured observation of the areas enabled an understanding of the social interactions and sense of belonging to their areas. Utilising four different methods across the two sites allowed the participants to share their lived experiences of stigmatisation and response strategies (Chapter 5). This also enhanced the understanding of the differences and similarities of stigmatisation dependent on the contextual aspects of armed conflict, sectarian violence and forced migration, stigma-producing agents and responses.

However, combining multiple data collection methods presented methodological and ethical considerations, including negotiating access and using gatekeepers (Stevenson & Willott, 2007). Notwithstanding these limitations, the study suggests that the boundaries of insider/outsider positionality of researchers can be somewhat blurred when encountering participants. My Hazaragi background from Quetta gave the research a particular perspective and enhanced the understanding of the lived experiences of stigmatisation and responses. Finally, the type of knowledge production needed in regard to conducting stigma research is the experiences of the populations centred on their practices and ways of responding to stigma.

9.4   Limitations and Future Research

This research extends our knowledge to the different processes of stigmatisation and response strategies in turbulent environments in the context of forced migration and armed conflict. The research methods also contribute to understanding stigmatisation and response strategies and the conceptualisation of stigma-producing agents, impacts, and forms of stigma by exploring the absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. However, other approaches and methods could have yielded further information in the conclusion. Particularly, participant observation as a method could have been beneficial for a deeper understanding of the stigma-producing agents at the structural level.

In addition, researching in turbulent environments can also have limitations regarding security issues. Applying for the No Objection Certificate (NOC) for Quetta was an asset and a drawback at the same time. Reflecting on my parents' positionality in Quetta as politicians, with the NOC, I became more visible in the eyes of the many agencies and government departments. There was a lot to consider regarding how I would conduct the interviews; I could not have a daily routine or travel in the same vehicle. My focus was on protecting myself and the participants every step of the way. During the fieldwork, I had to temporarily freeze conducting interviews when, in March-2019, the Pakistani forces captured an Indian jet pilot. This led to high security at all the checkpoints, and I resumed the fieldwork after 1-week. I used this time to transcribe as many interviews as I could.

Moreover, in the context of Nelson Mandela, one of the community leaders, during unstructured observation, informed me that some people came disguised as researchers in the past. Later, the ones who had participated in the research disappeared, raising many suspicions against researchers. As such, I was constantly aware of my presence, and the ethics protocol, such as the participant information sheet and oral consent, helped gain their trust.

Nonetheless, more research is needed to understand better the processes of stigmatisation and responses across turbulent and conflict-prone contexts to draw meaningful similarities and differences. Researching other countries would allow exploration of the contextualised stigmatisation experiences of different populations and how absorptive, adaptive, and transformative resilience are put in place as a response to stigmatisation. Therefore, future research should concentrate on a multi-site approach to allow people to share their experiences and responses.

However, it is also necessary to think about how stigma operates globally so that we can use the term without the connotation of it being linked solely to one type of political economy or the temporal aspect. To address this gap, the second line of aim can be to know more about the different structural, socio-economic and political characteristics and how they produce stigma and contextualise the populations' experiences. Considering my limited time in both countries, I would have liked to explore different stigma reduction strategies. This is where the practices of reducing stigmatisation can be further investigated, as there are many stigma-producing agents, and it has to be taken from different points of view and levels.

Lastly, stigmatisation is also a gendered experience, and a study focusing specifically on those gendered differences at the individual level would be an important contribution to the understanding of stigmatisation experiences and response strategies. In both countries, I found that women were the target of double the stigma because of their gender, but I had not incorporated the gender dimension in the research design.

In addition, the institutional level could also be explored, such as law, regional and national administrations, etc. Most of the research on stigma or resilience is conducted at the individual, household, and community levels but not at the institutional level. A fourth line of research can be to explore the self-stigmatisation of communities themselves to raise awareness within and as much cross-learning as possible or at least sharing of experiences across different sites. Finally, to look at the different types of segregations of areas due to the physical and/or sonic markers.

The methodological approach taken in this study reveals an exciting opportunity to advance our knowledge of stigmatisation and responses in areas across multiple sites, extending the work in the global south (Broudehoux & Monteiro, 2017; Fattah & Walters, 2020; Kimari, 2018). Whereas, the theoretical contributions in this thesis to stigma research and response strategies need further research to enhance our understanding of the different forms of segregation to understand the area stigma and visibility regarding stigmatisation of cultural manifestations and physical appearances. These two different forms of stigmatisation also had response strategies with similarities and differences. Future research could look at interventions to change the perceptions of stigmatised areas and the residents and systematise it in some practices that may be transferable in other cases.

9.5 Closing Remarks

This research explored the different forms of stigmatisation and the response strategies in a multi-site case study in Pakistan and Colombia, identifying the similarities and differences of area stigma, stigmatisation of cultural manifestations and physical appearances, and the absorptive, adaptive and transformative resilience strategies. The study offers insights into the different forms of spatial segregation, the communities' visibility, and response strategies. These were dependent on the areas' social, political, and historical contexts, whilst others were related to the communities' cultural manifestations and physical

appearances. The findings from this study also enhance our understanding of the response strategies through 'blaming', 'avoidance', 'pride', 'processes of resignification', 'appropriation of space', 'sonic appropriation', 'self-empowerment', 'raising awareness', 'confrontation, avoidance and tactics'.

Understanding the processes of stigmatisation and response strategies by focusing on two countries is ambitious but more urgent than ever. By understanding the different forms of stigmatisation and responses, this thesis makes a vital contribution in looking at the similarities and differences of the phenomena and how area stigma is interlinked with other forms of stigmatisation.

In addition to the empirical findings discussed in this chapter, it is essential to explicitly detail the contribution to theories and the implications of the thesis. Firstly, by addressing the three research questions that link to the main research aim, this study provides valuable insights into the experiences of stigmatised communities, particularly the Hazaras and the Afro-descendants, and their resilience strategies in response to various forms of stigma.

Secondly, this research identifies gaps in area stigma research, particularly regarding the contextual aspect and research methodology. By highlighting these gaps, the study contributes to the ongoing scholarly conversation on stigma and calls for a more nuanced understanding of how contextual factors shape the experiences of stigmatised communities.

Thirdly, the study acknowledges the characteristics that limited the research scope and suggests areas for future exploration. By focusing on institutional-level factors, self-stigmatisation, different types of segregation, and the role of stigma-producing agents, future research can build upon the findings of this study and deepen our understanding of the complex dynamics of stigma.

Finally, the synthesis of the importance of contextualising communities' lived experiences of stigmatisation and responses to living in settings of turbulence and forced migration underscores the broader implications of this research. By centring the voices and experiences of the stigmatised communities, this study contributes to ongoing efforts to challenge stigma, promote social inclusion, and advocate for policy changes that address the root causes of stigma and discrimination.

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Appendix 1: Experts / Community Leaders (Quetta)

Experts / Leaders (Quetta)

Abuzer Ali Hazara	Social & Sports Activist
Asef Ali Mohammad	Photographer & Documentary Film-maker [UK based]
Ghulam Abbas	Lead Coordinator, Milo Shaheed Trust
Dr Ruquiya Hashmi	Mother, ex-Finance Minister Balochistan Provincial Assembly, Member Hazara Qaumi Jirga, Social Worker
Fida Gulzari	Author
Habib Qasmi	Photographer & Film-maker
Haji Ijaz	Member Hazara Qaumi Jirga, Chairman Hazara Qabristan, Educationalist
Haji Muhammad Gulzari	Hazara Historian [UK based]
Hasan Riza Changezi	Author, Blogger, Political and Cultural Critic
Mirza Azaad	Writer, Poet, Cultural Manager
Professor Nazir Hussain	Scholar and Educationalist
Qadir Nayel	Community Leader, Journalist, MPA Balochistan Provincial Assembly, Hazara Democratic Party (HDP)
Saeed Ahmed Hashmi	Father, Mining Engineer, Senator, Founder Balochistan Awami Party (BAP)
Sardar Sahil	Lawyer, Human Rights Defender
Syed Hashim Mousavi	Community Leader, Leader Majlis Wahdat-e-Muslimeen (MWM) and Religious Scholar

Educational Institutions, NGOs (Quetta)

Educational Institutions	Organisations
Meritorious School, Hazara Town	Balochistan Foundation for Development (BFD)
Pentagon School, Hazara Town	Hazara Football Academy
Raza Math Academy, Marriabad	Hurmat-e-Niswa Welfare Society
Sketch Club, Marriabad	Milo Shaheed Trust
Ummat Public School, Marriabad	Nimso
Women Initiators, Hazara Town	The Future Begins Here

Appendix 2: Experts / Community Leaders (Cartagena)

Contacting experts, gatekeepers, NGOs (2018)

Professor Davide Riccardi [Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla]: During my pilot study, one of the aims was to find gatekeepers in Cartagena. Dr Brigitte Piquard introduced me to him who then got me in touch via email with his colleague Airlin Pérez in Cartagena. Davide has also shared documents and articles relevant to my research.

Airlin Pérez Carrascal [Fundación Untú Raíces]: Airlin agreed to act as my gatekeeper/interpreter for the main fieldwork via email by signing the data compliance forms for interpretation services and moderation of focus groups. I maintained contact with her throughout the year via Skype, email and WhatsApp. As a social leader and a teacher, Airlin had a wide-range of contacts who also became referral points. Upon my arrival in Cartagena, I met with Luis Andres Cassiani Herazo as the second gatekeeper/interpreter. Considering he was a social leader from Nelson Mandela neighbourhood also helped gaining access to the community members.

Professor Peter Wade: A social anthropologist with extensive research focusing on Afro-descendant population in Pacific region of Colombia, ethnic relations and ideas about racial difference in Colombia. Given his extensive fieldwork in Colombia, I emailed him in February 2018 the aims of my research and requested him if he could provide some useful literature. He responded promptly with a list of important literature, particularly focusing on the different realities in Cartagena and the multiple identities and Afro-descendant populations.

Dr Claudia Mosquera: I contacted her via email after reading her articles on the Afro-descendant population in Cartagena, which were shared by **Peter Wade**. We were in touch via WhatsApp and she introduced me to **María Candelaria Sepúlveda Terán**, Project Coordinator for a local NGO **Funsarep.** The NGO was one of the key contacts who introduced me to **Nancy Garcia** and **Luis Montero**, the founding members of **Aprodic**, one of the initial NGOs working in Nelson Mandela for the right of housing at the time the neighbourhood was born.

Dr Elisabeth Cunin: After reading her articles, shared by Peter Wade, I emailed her to request her if she could add to my knowledge about the multiple realities of the Afro-descendant population in Colombia. In fact, she agreed that not much research was conducted on the Afro-descendant population in Cartagena, something I was not too sure about at the beginning of the research. She also shared literature that helped me immensely in gaining an understanding as an outsider about the context as well as a vital contact **Juan de Dios.**

Juan de Dios Mosquera: Director for *Movimiento Nacional Cimarrón*, an NGO working with the Afro-descendants. Juan shared several documents and also referred me to contact **Edwin Salcedo**, the coordinator of the organisation in Cartagena and Palenquera leader **Dorina Hernàndez**.

Alfonso Cassiani: Considering the wide nature of his expertise in Palenquero history, ethno-education and a renowned community leader, I was given his contact details when I emailed **Carlos Rosero**, one of the founding members of ***Proceso de Comunidades Negras*** (PCN) in Bogota. Alfonso shared various literature on the Palenquero people, ethno-education and San Basilio de Palenque. He was one of the first people I met in Cartagena with my gatekeepers and have stayed in touch via WhatsApp since my return.

Leonardo Reales: An Afro-Colombian Academic, Human Rights Advocate and International Cooperation Specialist whom I contacted via LinkedIn in February 2018 and have stayed in touch ever since. He organised for me to attend the International Women's Forum, which widened my network further. He also shared contact details of **Miguel Obeso Miranda,** who was a very important Palenquero contact in Cartagena and extremely helpful in recruiting further participants, providing spaces for interviews and sharing Palenquero literature.

Educational Institutions, Organisations & Experts

Institución Educativa Antonia Santos, Pie de La Popa: Alfonso Cassiani Herrera [Rector, Palenquero Historian, Specialist in Social Sciences, Specialist in Education, Instruction & Design, Design & implementation of Ethnic Education Programs, Expert in Consultation & Research Methods of Collective Memory, Consultant & Researcher in Social, Cultural & Ethnic Issues, Community Leader, Member *Proceso de Comunidades Negras* (PCN)]	**Fundación Untú Raíces**: Gatekeepers Airlin Pérez Carrascal [Human Rights Defender, Social Leader, Educationalist] Luis Andres Cassiani Herazo [Human Rights Defender, Social Leader]
Institución Educativa Jesús Maestro, Nelson Mandela: Shirley Herrera Pérez [Coordinator, Social Worker]	**Aprodic**: Nancy Garcia Escalante [Social Worker, Human Rights Defender]; **Luis Alfonso Montero Escobar** [Lawyer, Human Rights Defender]
Institución Educativa El Redentor, Nelson Mandela: Magali Gutiérrez [Principal]; Dora Zúñiga [Coordinator]	**Funsarep**: María Candelaria Sepúlveda Terán [Project Coordinator, Re-educational Pedagogue] Israel Diaz Acevedo [Advisor for Organisational Strengthening]
Institucion Educativa Mercedes Abrego, San Fernando: *Dimas del rosario De Avila Torres [Former Coordinator, Ethno-educator]*	**Plataforma Hijos de Mandela**: Miguel Angel Correa Martinez [Social Worker, Human Rights Defender, Community Leader]
Cuerpo y Tambor: Walber David Liñan Valdez [Director, Legal Representative of Corporación Cuerpo y Tambor, Musician, Technologist in Social Promotion]	**Graciela Chá Inés** (PCN): Teresa Cassiani Herrera [Director, Ethno-educator, Human Rights Defender]
Corporación Huellas: Maria Teresa Vargas Guerra [Legal representative, Community leader sector Las Colinas, Nelson Mandela]; Luis Miranda [Coordinator environmental, recreation and sports, Community Leader]	**Colombia Nueva**: Miguel Angel Correa Martinez [Social Worker, Human Rights Defender, Community Leader]
Benkos Ku suto (PCN): Pablo Emilio Blanco Merillo [Social Leader]	**Fundación Social**: Miguel Angel Correa Martinez [Social Worker, Human Rights Defender, Community Leader]

Community Leaders / Experts / Contacts	
Edwin Salcedo	Human rights defender, Founder of the Anti-Discrimination Observatory of Cartagena (ODAR)
Dorina Hernández Palomino	Ethno-educator, cultural manager, community leader
Jesús Natividad Pérez Palomino	Palenquero anthropologist, Former Director of the Festival of Drums and Cultural Expressions of Palenque, Member *Proceso de Comunidades Negras* (PCN).
Kairen Margarita Gutiérrez Tejedor	Public Administrator, Specialist in Social Research, Community Leader, Ethnic Rights Defender, Director of the Pedro Romero Social Emergency Plan, Former Mayor Locality II.
Miguel Obeso Miranda	Economist Advisor for ethno-educational and cultural projects. Ethno-tourism cultural manager, Griot of the Palenquera diaspora - Bilingual Creole Palenquera language
William Navarro López	Community Leader El Edén, Nelson Mandela
Luz Estela Martínez Agámez	President *Junta de Acción Comunal* (JAC), Community Leader sector El Edén, Nelson Mandela

Appendix 3: Interview Protocol

Fatima Hashmi

DRAFT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Submitted to Oxford Brookes University's ethics committee for consideration as part of the application of approval of a project involving human participants, data or material.

Note: This draft has been developed from literature and will be modified with data generated during the fieldwork. Final questions (to be translated into Spanish and Urdu) will be based on and modified from the following types of questions:

Personal background:
1. Can you please tell me your age group, where you were born and if you are married and have any children?
2. When and why did you or your family move here? <u>Prompt</u>: What was it like growing up is this area?
3. Do you have family living outside of this city/country? How do you stay in touch? What support do they offer?

Access to services:
4. Are you currently working? What are the possibilities for livelihoods in this city? <u>Prompt:</u> same for others?
5. Do your children go to school/college/university? Are there any difficulties in terms of access to educational settings?
6. Can you access the different services in this town? E.g., housing, labour, healthcare. <u>Prompt</u>: What are the impacts?
7. How would you describe the facilities that exist in your neighbourhood in terms of buying food, local produce, clothing?
8. Does the community promote or raise awareness of a certain issue or set of issues?

Sense of belonging / Oral Tradition:
9. Tell me about your home? In your view what makes a house a home?
10. Are there are specific places (geographic locations and larger networks dispersed geographically) you feel connected to?
11. How would you describe the role and impact of internet, new media and forms of communication as a contributor to social networks?
12. Would you say that it has a strong influence on the identity of your community that perhaps provides a sense of belonging to buffer the effects of stigmatisation?
13. Do you believe that the youth can play an important role of transmitting culture and traditions in the current economic, political and social environment?
14. What are some of the ceremonial activities of your community in regard to cultural knowledge and identity that enables a sense of connection to other community members?
15. Can you describe what role do stories and storytelling play in your culture and tradition?
16. Do stories and storytelling link the generations, transmitting knowledge, values, and a sense of shared identity?

17. Would you like to share a story you grew up listening to, showcasing challenges, survival and persistence?

Everyday life in the city:

18. How would you describe your neighbourhood and the city? <u>Prompt</u>: Potential stigma attached to the area?
19. What are positive/good things of this city and what are the challenges?
20. Do you have family living on the outskirts of your neighbourhood? <u>Prompt:</u> Are there specific parts of the area that you identify more with than others?
21. How would you describe other areas of the city? Prompt: Relations, links, ethnic solidarity between the communities.

Resilience / Social Capital:

22. Do you and your family visit one of the neighbourhood associations/community-based organisations/place of worship?
23. How would you describe the level of trust and interactions with members of your community and groups outside of your community? <u>Prompt</u>: health care professionals, community organisations/NGOs/institutions, government, police, army.
24. How do you get through the adversities? (e.g., locus of control, personal abilities and cognitive strategies).
25. In your view, how has the community absorbed disturbances and reorganised itself during such changes in order to retain community structure and identity, preserving its distinctiveness?

Appendix 4: Unstructured Observation

Hazara Town: Although, both communities were Hazaras, the traditional differences were there. For example, the interviews in Hazara Town, the women shook the hand of my male gate keeper, something I had not witnessed whilst growing up. That is when my gatekeeper informed me that it is the cultural norm amongst the Afghan Hazara women. I was accompanied by two Hazaras young adults, one of whom was from the UK, a professional photographer and the other was learning digital documentary making through workshops.

Compared to Marriabad, where I was able to walk through the significant spaces, that was not the case in Hazara Town, considering the red zones around the neighbourhood. As such, the observation was conducted partly on foot and by car. The observation began at the cemetery, which had a different feel than the one in Marriabad. This was a space purely for remembrance and a symbolic space prominent with *Alams* [flags] and pictures of the martyrs but not as much as displayed in Marriabad.

Then we drove via the Western bypass, a no-go area for the Hazara community, to Masjid Road that used to be a vegetable market, off Kerani Road. This was named *Maidan-e-Shuhada* after the second major attack[1] followed by the twin bombing at Shuhada Chowk. This was a busy market street with pictures of the martyrs displaced at the entrance, exit and midway point of the street, majority of whom were women and children. Older men who were sat outside a shop asked us to take their pictures as well as the informal street vendors selling traditional handmade loofah's, garments and vegetables. There was also a juice and ice-cream parlour, we were invited inside for the traditional *sheer-e-yakh* [cold milk][1]. Whilst indulging in the delicious ice-cream, I noticed women and girls walking with books in their hands. Considering, adult education came up during interviews, I was intrigued to find out and when I asked one of the women, she mentioned she was going to Women Initiators not far from where we were. So, we went along to the centre where I met one of the Directors (Social Entrepreneur).

On our way back to Marriabad, we crossed the security checkpoint and went through Spinny Road, which also came up during interviews as a red zone where numerous attacks took place. However, due to security reasons, we were not able to stop and take pictures. Incidentally, I had been travelling from Marriabad to Hazara Town via different routes, including Spinny Road, Hazara Double Road, Western Bypass, Sabzal Road, Joint Road and Kirani Road. These roads were mentioned throughout the interviews, where the participants would always mention the date of the event and the road name where it occurred. They all mentioned that there was always the element of fear present by passing through the roads for multiple reasons (education, work, visiting families and relatives in Marriabad, government departments (NADRA/Passport), travelling by road to Karachi). However, it was not until I conducted the observation that I began to feel a sense of fear myself, which allowed me to reflect on the mobility issues of the communities. Nonetheless, I followed the instructions given to me by the community members and my family by not keeping a routine, changing my outfits and vehicle. These were also some of the tactics the participants mentioned during the interviews.

Marriabad: Whereas, as I was more accustomed to Marriabad, knowing it was more conservative than Hazara Town, it was difficult to hide my family identity. As such, I was accompanied by two Hazara girls, who I met during one of the events I attended. The people were intrigued by my presence and shortly after we began conducting the

observation, my presence as an insider meant people were coming to me and as a gesture of respect asking me to pass their regards to my mother. Overall, it was a very comfortable feeling.

We began the observation from the cemetery, one of the significant spaces for the community, having multiple purposes. Not only it was a space for the remembrance of the loved ones who lost their lives to target killings, but also a space for the community to meet over green tea and home-made Hazaragi snacks such as *bosraagh*. Adult men playing the traditional stone throwing game *sangerak* just a few yards from the cemetery. There was also a trampoline and a Ferris wheel for the children as well as an informal vegetable market, which used to be in the city prior to the incidents. These can be linked to the lack of recreational space for the community, considering the walls that were built near the cemetery, which enclosed the community further. One striking element was the presence of trucks lined up in-front of the new walls, where there was a newly built barbed-wire factory for the fencing of Afghan-Pakistan border. Almost all of the participants mentioned this during the interviews, the fact that neither was the Hazara community consulted before the gated factory was built, nor did they know what the purpose was. This highlights some of the structural power dimensions, which is not the focus of the objectives for the research. It offers insights for future research into the modalities of stigmatisation at the structural-level.

From the cemetery we walked towards Alamdar Road, another significant place, which was mentioned throughout the interviews as majority of the restaurants, shops, travel agencies, gyms and banks are located. It is important to mention that the community was forced to sell their businesses in the city and relocate within their areas for safety reasons. After passing the hustle and bustle of the street, next, a very prominent poster was visible at *Shuhada Chowk*, which described in detail the events that took place at that spot. We then made our way to Major Muhammad Ali Shaheed Road, which is the entrance to Marriabad with heavy security check point. There were a remarkable number of shops such as car dealerships, real estate, restaurants, ice-cream parlour, etc. The ways migration exerts influence was notable in regard to remittance that facilitated entrepreneurship skills amongst the community members, who also included the ones deported back from Europe and Australia. For instance, a cafe named 'Australian Creamz'. This was followed up by a visit to Qayyum Ali Changezi football stadium, which at the time of fieldwork was closed due to lack of maintenance and a contested space between the Government of Balochistan and the Hazara community. Our walk-about ended back to the cemetery and a visit to one of the girl's homes, right at the top of the mountain.

San Fernando: The unstructured observation was conducted with both my gatekeepers as well as a community member who was requested by the community leader to take us around the neighbourhood. The community members knew who I was and every few steps we had to stop and greet each other. At this point, they would ask '*is this the girl from Pakistan who has come to study us?*' Also, as rightly suggested by the community leader, my visit to San Basilio de Palenque and Nariño neighbourhood highlights how quickly information was shared within the community and for them to entrust me. During the interviews with the Palenquero community, the link with San Basilio de Palenque and Nariño could not be ignored.

The unstructured observation of San Fernando was with a cultural manager who made it very clear from the beginning of the fieldwork, of the significance of the (1) Palenque, the

origin of the Palenqueros, (2) Nariño, the first Palenquero colony and (3) San Fernando, the largest colony of Palenqueros in Cartagena. Hence, the fieldwork included visiting Palenque, Nariño and then San Fernando, in order to understand the historical context. Education and self-empowerment as a response was one of the key findings and reflecting back to the unstructured observation in the case of the Palenqueros, the school in Nariño marked the beginning of the unstructured observation. As such, the significant spaces for the Palenquero community were dispersed between the three localities. Which is why I will include all the spaces that are significant to the Palenquero community, as they are interlinked with each other. I link the significance of the spaces in San Basilio de Palenque with the community in San Fernando.

We began the observation with one of the significant spaces in which the Palenquero people meet, called *Son Africano*. The name refers to a *pićo* [sound system] and in that space the community members meet every Sunday for *Champeta* music and dance. At that time, a meeting of the *Junta* [Board] '*Asociación Afrodescendiente Fermin Salas*' was taking place, which shows that they utilised the space not only to practice their culture and rituals but also for important community meetings for social projects. I was mindful not to disturb their monthly meeting, so I requested if I could ask them a few questions about their Junta. It was fascinating to learn that *Juntas*, a non-profit legal entity certified through Law 70 of 1993, were slightly different from *Kuagros*, because a *Junta* is conformed when they are older from different *Kuagros*. The *Juntas* meet once a month or every two months and it is obligatory to give an amount of money specifically for solidarity moments. For example, the funds are used towards a wedding, funeral, during an illness as well as to organise recreational activities to Palenque. This includes for the annual Drums Festival that takes place in the main square of Palenque, the houses of their grandparents, the House of Culture and the House of Knowledge.

Almost all participants mentioned how their Kuagros planned visits to San Basilio de Palenque to meet their families and participate in the annual Festivals such as the Drums Festival in Palenque. The *Kuagro*, was found to be one of the manifestations of the intangible heritage of Palenquero community, which has ancestrally represented community processes and cultural transmission of the population. In addition, the *Kuagros* and *Juntas* are based on a set of rights and duties towards oneself and the others. We then made our way to *cancha futbol menor* [mini soccer field] and *Estadio de futbol* [football stadium] which came up during interviews that the community members could not easily access those recreational spaces. Hence, the need to create activities to visit Palenque, as a form of recreation. However, when prompted where the young adults spend time for recreational purposes, as most young adult participants mentioned that just like *Son Africano* was the space for the adults mostly, the young adults used Dubai VIP as their space to practice *champeta*, a fundamental response to the rejection of African music. Both institutions Kuagros and Juntas, without a doubt, were found to be mechanisms through which the Palenqueros achieved, by celebrating the dances, a constant relationship with *Champeta* music.

Most importantly, the Junta leader mentioned that they provide certifications for scholarships [academic education as a response]. As such, our next place to visit was *Institucion Educativa Mercedes Abregos* [Educational Institution] where we had the opportunity to attend a workshop on Palenquero Language. It was interesting to understand the context where ethno-education develops its praxis, not only to bring to the school the different cultural manifestations, such as the language, funeral rituals, dances,

music and all the cultural heritage that characterises Palenque, also to analyse the aspects of culture that can contribute to the personal formation of the students. That is, to prepare them for knowing, doing and being from their worldview but leading them to intercultural relationships that facilitate respect and acceptance of differences of any kind. Thus, culture was decisive in all dimensions of development of its members, the way the family is formed, the relationships between its members, conflict resolution, and therefore the way its members are educated, where education must respond to the way of life of each people. This was also found to be a significant space for conducting focus group discussions.

Nelson Mandela: Nelson Mandela was a different experience altogether because I was truly an outsider. The access was possible with the help of community leaders more than the experts. The community leaders have precedence, mostly because they are seen as the ones who raise the voice of the community with all the risks that it involves, given the assassinations of the community leaders in Nelson Mandela. The first instructions were to conduct the observation with one of the leaders, so as I was visibly seen by the community members that they could trust me.

I was not allowed to have a phone or a bag pack with me, instead the community leader was the one who took the photos and my gatekeeper was carrying my backpack. The observation was conducted solely by foot around eight sectors of the neighbourhood with the community leader and my gatekeeper. We began the observation at Los Trupillos that had a synthetic field and park for recreation purposes. I was told that those were contested spaces due to the presence of youth-at-risk. However, the community members along with the Community Action Board (JAC) members and community leaders reappropriated the space by conducting dance sessions, aerobic classes, a strategy to recover the space. We then walked towards sector Nueva Colombia, which had the murals of the assassinated community leaders and I was told that recently at least five community leaders were threatened to death. One of them had agreed to participate in an interview, however, due to security reasons, the interview was cancelled.

Considering that community leaders and leadership was found to be of such significant for the participants, we made our way to sector El Eden. This was one of the significant spaces for the participants as they all mentioned it as an invisible border and corner of death where most assassinations took place of the community leaders. The next most noticeable space was an abandoned health centre, which most of the participants noted during the interviews.

During the walkabout, the element of contested spaces and invisible borders came up frequently, also mentioned by the participants for the notion of fear that still exists because of the paramilitary in the beginning and now the micro-traffickers. However, when walking towards La Conquista field, the community leader mentioned that the reason for the creation of the recreation field was to mitigate the youth-at-risk for using the space where they used to fight.

Moving on to sector Los Olivos, we then walked towards an abandoned community centre CORSONEMA was built a long time ago to serve as a meeting point for all leaders of Nelson Mandela. It was made up of all the JAC representatives of the 24 sectors as a space to meet, debate, discuss, integrate, participate, and make decisions. Due to processes of internal division and problems amongst the same leaders, the community centre was abandoned [significance of space/leadership].

We then walked through sector Francisco de Paula where the headquarters of *Corporación Huellas* was located, one of the initiators for the development of youth leadership strengthening process. The community leader mentioned that members of the CBO were threatened by armed groups as a form of intimidation and weakening of the actions of people and social organisations. Some leaders decided to permanently withdraw and found the new *Colombia Nueva* organisation, which later facilitated accessing projects and contributions of international and governmental cooperation, thus enhancing the organisational base for social development in the neighbourhood.

For example, in sector Los Olivos the outdoor space called *la media torta* cultural centre and *Salon e Productivo* [productive rooms] indoor space for workshops and courses of pedagogy for young adults and adults was through the help of local NGOs such as *Corporación Huellas* and *Colombia Nueva*, member organisations of *Hijos de Nelson Mandela* citizen platform [Reconstruction of historical memory through artistic and cultural expressions]
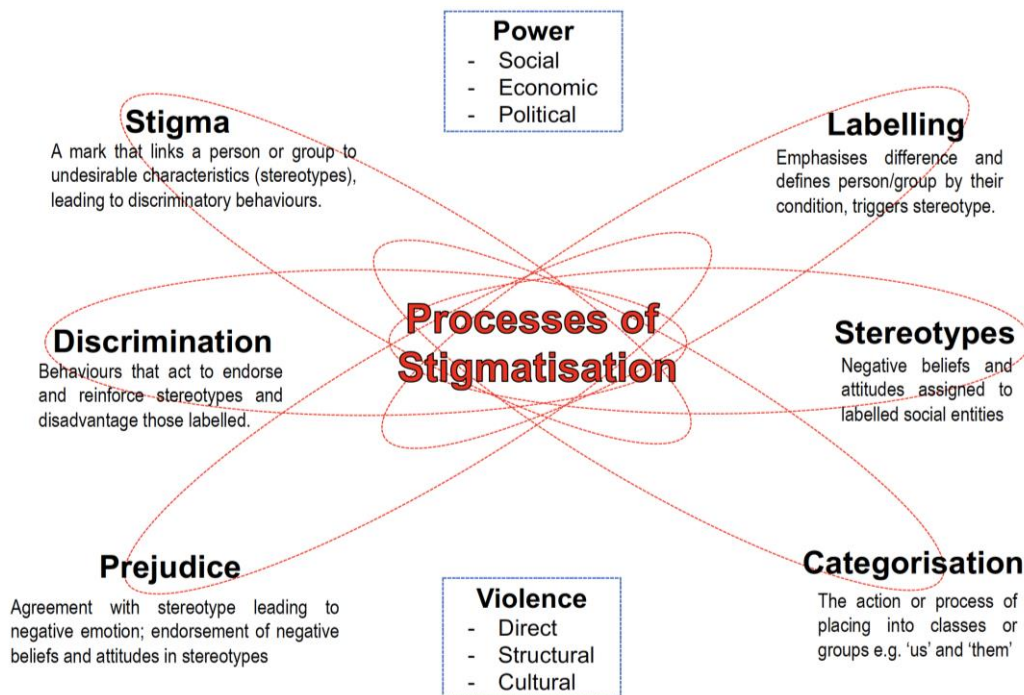
It is important to highlight that these types of organisations were relevant exercises in the context of Nelson Mandela. The new leaderships that emerged from these processes succeeded in renewing the neighbourhood's organisational base, allowing to maintain momentum in community processes [political space]. In these networking initiatives, some characteristic elements of social capital can be highlighted, such as trust, cohesion, solidarity, joint work in search of a common goal.

In fact, the next significant space to visit was the Jesús Maestro educational institution. Most participants, particularly the young adults expressed its importance such as learning arts, music and instruments, considering it was the first Cartagena Orchestral Training Centre in Cartagena. The school provided communicative spaces through which children and young people could freely express themselves, exchange ideas and establish participation processes in the community, turning them into promoters of the communication process and cultural entrepreneurs [self-empowerment].

We then made our way to sector Las Vegas; the first stop was the football ground where community members from all sectors can participate in football championships as well as school children. Considering that Nelson Mandela is a large informal settlement, the District Institute of Sports and Recreation (IDER) could only construct a few football stadiums. The community members have to pay to participate in football games as under Law 181 of 1995 the idea is to give the power to community to manage as it creates a sense of responsibility to take care of the field. During that time, I also got to meet another community leader who volunteers to teach football to the children as a tool in order to empower them to develop their human and social skills. As soon as we left the ground, the community leader pointed towards a street corner where community leader Manuel López Ayala was assassinated who defended human rights and worked for the social development of the communities including the football ground we visited was named after him.

During the walkabout some of recurring spaces were the Churches. In addition, the observation also brought to light the lack of infrastructure for which the community members rely heavily on moto-taxi's as they were the only accessible mode of transport apart from walking. I noticed that majority of the moto-taxi drivers were young adults usually waiting in a group in the street corners. Whereas, young adult males and females were also seen in groups socialising in the street corners. Whilst walking around the streets, the different modes of informal businesses were most visible from renting home appliances to street vending as well as selling mobile data minutes.

Appendix 5: Stigmatisation Tree Exercise

Quetta, 2019

Young Adult Men, Marriabad, 2019

Young Adult Men, Marriabad, 2019

Young Adult Women, Marriabad, 2019

Young Adult Women, Marriabad, 2019

Cartagena, 2019

Young Adult Men, Nelson Mandela, 2019

Young Adult Women, Nelson Mandela, 2019

Young Adult Men, San Fernando, 2019

Young Adult Women, San Fernando, 2019

Appendix 6: Diagrams

Power
- Social
- Economic
- Political

Stigma
A mark that links a person or group to undesirable characteristics (stereotypes), leading to discriminatory behaviours.

Labelling
Emphasises difference and defines person/group by their condition, triggers stereotype.

Discrimination
Behaviours that act to endorse and reinforce stereotypes and disadvantage those labelled.

Processes of Stigmatisation

Stereotypes
Negative beliefs and attitudes assigned to labelled social entities

Prejudice
Agreement with stereotype leading to negative emotion; endorsement of negative beliefs and attitudes in stereotypes

Violence
- Direct
- Structural
- Cultural

Categorisation
The action or process of placing into classes or groups e.g. 'us' and 'them'

Spectrum of Resilience

Resilience Pivots

Social support

Personal strength

Capabilities

Coping
Defence mechanism / response triggered by a stressful event with a short-term impact.
Problem Focused & Emotion Focused

Adaptation
The activation of processes of change over medium-term period
Religion & Locus of Control

Transformative Resilience
Rather than bouncing back, the individuals and communities transform their environment to address the root causes through transformation in order to try and find a sustainable solution.

Arts, education, human rights consciousness, rituals & community practices, significance of places.

Human Agency
- Actions of individuals / communities

Appendix 7: Participant Information Sheet

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE
Oxford Brookes University
Headington Campus
Gipsy Lane
Oxford, UK
OX3 0BP

Name:	Fatima Hashmi, PhD student, Oxford Brookes University, UK
Email:	███████████████████
Telephone:	███████████ , ████████████████
Supervisors:	Dr Brigitte Piquard: ████████████████ ; ███████
	Dr Cathrine Brun: ███████████ ; ████████

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: SERVICE PROVIDERS (HEALTH, EDUCATION, HOUSING, EMPLOYMENT, RECREATION)

Study Title

Stigmatisation processes and populations' responses in turbulent environments: A multi-site case study of the Hazaras in Quetta, Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena, Colombia.

Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?

The research aims to understand the forms and processes of stigmatisation and how people respond to stigmatisation. This is part of the main fieldwork to be conducted in Quetta. The overall aim of this study is to understand the relevant issues that you are concerned about regarding stigmatisation.

The fieldwork will run from Jan 2019 – April 2019. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to talk about all of the different forms of stigmatisation you have experienced in Quetta and how you respond in such situations that shows the resilience of the community.

Why have I been invited to participate?

You have been invited to take part because of the role you provide to the Hazara community and the researcher would like to know from you directly the experiences of stigmatisation, how the community and you as an organisation respond to stigmatisation. You have been referred by another person or organisation as a potential participant.

Do I have to take part?

It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to give an oral consent to

assure you that any data collected will be stored securely, confidentiality of information will be maintained, and your anonymity will be maintained and respected. Your involvement in this study is voluntary and if you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to take part in the study, you will be invited to take part in a face-to-face interview and spend around one hour where you will discuss your experience and your understanding of the situation. But depending on the conversation the interview may last a little longer, if you are comfortable with that, you will decide how much time you can allow to this. The discussion will take place in safe locations, ideally in one of your meetings rooms of your office/building or a local library if that is most suited to ensure privacy and familiarity. The researcher expects to come back in December 2020 and with your consent, the researcher will contact you upon her return to provide the summary of the findings from this study and to ask you if you have any questions or feedback.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There will be no disadvantages or risk to you if you take part, but it will require some of your time. The researcher will try and arrange meetings to suit you as much as possible. Any information you give will be confidential and your anonymity with be respected, please see more information on this below.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The study intends to contribute to bring together the different forms of stigmatisation at the two levels (**1**) individual, family, community; and (**2**) NGOs, community-based organisations, service providers. There is no direct benefit to you as an individual, but it is hoped that it may help with the development of recommendations that can help NGOs, organisations/institutions, support groups to work with communities being stigmatised. It will also help in increasing the knowledge of the different forms of stigmatisation and population's responses.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected will be kept strictly confidential. All participants will be anonymised by assigning pseudonyms so that no one can tell who said what. This information is subject to some legal limitations. Research data will be kept securely at all times. Laptop and other devices are encrypted. The University has a security agreement with Google Drive for any data that will be stored there. In line with Oxford Brookes policies, data generated in the course of this research will be kept securely in paper or electronic form for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project.

What should I do if I want to take part?

If you want to take part, please email or telephone the researcher directly to inform that you are interested to participate in the research.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The information received during this study will be used for the researcher's doctoral thesis. This will be submitted to Oxford Brookes University in the UK. Currently, there are no plans to publish this otherwise. A copy of the whole thesis in English, and a summary of the findings in Urdu will be made available to the local organisations taking part in the study as well as the universities who have offered their facilities.

Who is organising and funding the research?

The research is self-funded as a student of Oxford Brookes University, School of Architecture, Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment.

Who has reviewed the study?

The research has been approved by the University Research Ethics Committee, Oxford Brookes University. This committee checks, amongst other things, that this study is based on a relationship of honesty and mutual respect between the researcher and the participants, that it does not harm anyone taking part and that it benefits the community.

Contact for Further Information

If you need further information, please contact Fatima Hashmi by telephone or by email (details given above). If, at any point, you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, you can contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee of Oxford Brookes University. They can be contacted by email on ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

Thank you for taking time to read the information sheet.

ESCUELA DE ARQUITECTURA
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Nombre: Fatima Hashmi, estudiante de doctorado, Oxford Brookes University, Reino
Unido
Email:
teléfono:
Supervisores   Dra. Brigitte Piquard:
                Dra. Cathrine Brun:

Información del Participante ELLA ET
Cartagena (Colombia)

Titulo de estudio

Procesos de estigmatización y respuestas de las poblaciones en entornos turbulentos: un estudio de caso multisitio de los hazaras en Quetta, Pakistán y los afrodescendientes en Cartagena, Colombia.

Párrafo de invitación

Estás siendo invitado a participar en un estudio de investigación. Antes de decidir si desea participar o no, es importante que comprenda por qué se realiza la investigación y en qué consistirá. Por favor, tómese el tiempo para leer cuidadosamente la siguiente información.

¿Cuál es el propósito del estudio?

La investigación tiene como objetivo comprender las formas y los procesos de la estigmatización y cómo las personas responden a la estigmatización. Esto es parte del trabajo de campo principal que se llevará a cabo en Cartagena. El objetivo general de este estudio es comprender los problemas relevantes que le preocupan con respecto a la estigmatización.

El trabajo de campo se realizará desde abril de 2019 hasta septiembre de 2019. Si decide participar en este estudio, se le pedirá que hable sobre todas las diferentes formas de estigmatización que ha experimentado en Cartagena y cómo responde en tales situaciones que muestran la Resiliencia de la comunidad.

La estigmatización en este estudio se refiere a un proceso social integrado en las relaciones sociales que devalúa a los individuos y grupos a través de la discriminación, el etiquetado y el estereotipo. Esto conduce además a conductas discriminatorias hacia individuos y grupos, que afectan a todas las áreas de sus vidas, como el acceso a la educación, la vivienda, el empleo, la salud y otros.

¿Por qué me han invitado a participar?

Ha sido invitado a participar debido al rol que le otorga a la comunidad afro-descendiente y al investigador le gustaría saber directamente de usted las experiencias de estigmatización, cómo la comunidad y usted como organización responden a la

estigmatización. Usted ha sido referido por una ONG local, una organización basada en la comunidad o un miembro de la comunidad afrodescendiente como un posible participante.

¿Tengo que participar?

Depende totalmente de usted decidir si participa o no. Si decide participar, se le entregará esta hoja de información para que la guarden y se le pedirá que dé su consentimiento verbal para asegurarle que los datos recopilados se almacenarán de forma segura, se mantendrá la confidencialidad de la información y se mantendrá su anonimato. y respetado. Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria y si decide participar, todavía puede retirarse en cualquier momento y sin dar ninguna razón. Si alguna de las preguntas durante la discusión del grupo de enfoque lo hace sentir incómodo, no tiene que responderlas. Retirarse del estudio no tendrá ningún efecto en usted. Si desea retirarse del estudio, informe al investigador a través de los detalles de contacto que se proporcionan arriba. Si se retira, el investigador no retendrá la información que ha proporcionado hasta el momento, a menos que esté contento de hacerlo.

¿Qué me sucederá si participo?

Si decide participar en el estudio, puede ofrecerse como voluntario para participar en una entrevista o en un grupo focal, que con su consentimiento se grabará en audio con el fin de la transcripción de los datos y el investigador tomará todas las medidas para garantizar su Anonimato y confidencialidad. Sin embargo, si prefiere no grabarse en audio, solo se utilizarán notas escritas a mano. Depende totalmente de usted elegir en cuál de ellos preferiría participar.

Entrevista: se le pedirá que dedique aproximadamente una hora a discutir su experiencia y su comprensión de la situación. Pero dependiendo de la conversación, la entrevista puede durar un poco más, si te sientes cómodo con eso, decidirás cuánto tiempo puedes dedicar a esto. La discusión tendrá lugar en lugares seguros, ya sea en una biblioteca local, en espacios comunitarios locales o en instalaciones ofrecidas por la ONG local para garantizar la privacidad y la familiaridad.

El investigador espera regresar en diciembre de 2020 y, con su consentimiento, el investigador se comunicará con usted a su regreso para proporcionarle un resumen de los hallazgos de este estudio y preguntarle si tiene alguna pregunta o comentario.

¿Cuáles son las posibles desventajas y riesgos de participar?

No habrá desventajas ni riesgos para usted si participa, pero requerirá algo de su tiempo. El investigador intentará organizar reuniones que se adapten a usted tanto como sea posible. Cualquier información que proporcione será confidencial y se respetará su anonimato. Consulte más información a continuación.

¿Cuáles son los posibles beneficios de participar?

El estudio pretende contribuir a reunir las diferentes formas de estigmatización en los dos niveles (1) individual, familiar, comunitario; y (2) ONG, organizaciones comunitarias, proveedores de servicios. No hay un beneficio directo para usted como individuo, pero se espera que pueda ayudar con el desarrollo de recomendaciones que puedan ayudar a las ONG, organizaciones / instituciones, grupos de apoyo a trabajar con las comunidades que están siendo estigmatizadas. También ayudará a aumentar el conocimiento de las diferentes formas de estigmatización y las respuestas de la población.

¿Se mantendrá confidencial lo que digo en este estudio?

Toda la información recopilada se mantendrá estrictamente confidencial. Todos los participantes se anonimizarán asignando seudónimos para que nadie pueda decir quién dijo qué. Esta información está sujeta a algunas limitaciones legales. Los datos de investigación se mantendrán de forma segura en todo momento. Ordenador portátil y otros dispositivos están encriptados. La Universidad tiene un acuerdo de seguridad con Google Drive para cualquier información que se almacenará allí. De acuerdo con las políticas de Oxford Brookes, los datos generados en el curso de esta investigación se mantendrán de forma segura en papel o en formato electrónico durante un período de diez años después de la finalización del proyecto de investigación.

¿Qué debo hacer si quiero participar?

Si desea participar, envíe un correo electrónico o llame directamente al investigador para informarle que está interesado en participar en la investigación.

¿Qué pasará con los resultados del estudio de investigación?

La información recibida durante este estudio se utilizará para la tesis doctoral del investigador. Esto se enviará a la Universidad de Oxford Brookes en el Reino Unido. Actualmente, no hay planes para publicar esto de otra manera. Se pondrá a disposición de las organizaciones locales que participan en el estudio, así como de las universidades que han ofrecido sus instalaciones, una copia de la tesis completa en inglés y un resumen de los hallazgos en español.

¿Quién organiza y financia la investigación?

La investigación es autofinanciada como estudiante de la Universidad de Oxford Brookes, Facultad de Arquitectura, Facultad de Tecnología, Diseño y Medio Ambiente.

quién ha revisado el estudio?

La investigación ha sido aprobada por el Comité de Ética en Investigación de la Universidad, Oxford Brookes University. Este comité verifica, entre otras cosas, que este estudio se basa en una relación de honestidad y respeto mutuo entre el investigador y los participantes, que no perjudica a nadie que participa y que beneficia a la comunidad.

Contacto para más información

Si necesita más información, póngase en contacto con Fátima Hashmi por teléfono o por correo electrónico (los detalles figuran más arriba). Si, en algún momento, tiene alguna inquietud sobre la forma en que se realizó el estudio, puede comunicarse con el Presidente del Comité de Ética de Investigación de la Universidad de Oxford Brookes University. Se pueden contactar por correo electrónico en ethics@brookes.ac.uk.

Gracias por tomarse el tiempo para leer la hoja de información.

Appendix 8: Record of Oral Consent

RESEARCHER RECORD OF ORAL CONSENT

Full title of Project

Stigmatisation processes and populations' responses in turbulent environments: A multi-site case study of the Hazaras in Quetta, Pakistan and the Afro-descendants in Cartagena, Colombia.

Name: Fatima Hashmi, PhD student, Oxford Brookes University, UK
Email:
Telephone:

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. ☐

3. I agree to take part in the above study. ☐

Note for PI / Supervisory team:
The following statements should be included if appropriate.
If not, please ***delete*** *from the consent form*:

Please initial box

	Yes	No
4. I agree to the interview / focus group being audio recorded	☐	☐
5. I agree to the interview / focus group / consultation being video recorded	☐	☐
6. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications	☐	☐
7. I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research.	☐	☐

_____   _____

Name of Participant   Date

_____   _____

Name of Researcher   Date