Chapter One

Girls' Access to Education in Rural/Remote Tajikistan

> Tajikistan is a signatory of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. It has established the National Commission on Child Protection and developed the National Plan of Action for Children. The Government has declared that the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education is to be achieved by 2015. Thus, education is a major concern in Tajikistan.
>
> (d'Hellencourt, 2004:vii)

This is the opening statement in a report on the findings from '*An In-Depth Analysis of the Reasons Girls Drop out Of School*' in Tajikistan conducted by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) in 2003/2004. It captures the stance of social justice that underpins this study. Connected to this vision are a number of discourses, such as school, family, gender relations, development, feminism, policy analysis and the education of girls, all of which inform this research project.

Introduction

The impetus for this research project emerged from my experience teaching at a Tajik/Turkish joint venture school in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. My classrooms were populated predominately by boys, so I started to ask where the girls were. Curiosity and the desire to find these girls took me out of my teaching environment and into the world of development when I expanded my search through contacts in the local and global Non Government Organisations (NGOs) operating in Tajikistan. Thus, this thesis details an investigation into the situation of girls' access to basic education in two

remote/rural areas of Tajikistan, in light of the education reform agenda presented by Tajikistan's Ministry of Education at the 4th Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan (CARK) Education Forum held in June 2005. The guidelines for education reform in Tajikistan, as in other developing countries, come from the National Plan of Action for Education For All (EFA) (Marshall and Arnot, 2006:7). This document comprises the country's strategic plan for meeting the EFA goals and targets as set out in The Dakar Framework For Action, Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments (hereafter referred to as The Framework), which presents 'the standardised world visions' (Marshall and Arnot, 2006:3-4) for the achievement of education development by 2015. Thus, Tajikistan's National Plan of Action for EFA outlines the specific problems that need to be addressed to improve the country's education system, of which the following proposals have direct relevance to this study:

1. Provision of state guarantee for access to education at all levels; and
2. Development and implementation of target oriented measures for ensuring gender balance and reducing number of girls not attending school.

(Ministry of Education, 2005)

The aims and objectives stated in the National Plan of Action for EFA represent the country's commitment to the global EFA campaign for education reform and as such represents the rationale for allocating budgetary funds to the educational sector, which for Tajikistan is 18 per cent of total government expenditure (Fennell, 2006:9).

This research project aims to provide data that will assist stakeholders in gleaning a more detailed picture of the present situation of girls' access to education in Tajikistan, especially as reliable data within the education sector is not readily available (Ministry of

Education, 2005). I acknowledge that 'although graduate students may have a short-term immediate need to conduct research for a thesis or dissertation, a long-term result of the research experience should be that they become better professional educators and that they use research results increasingly in decision making' (Wiersma, 1986:2). I, therefore, hope that the results of this study will help those involved in the education reform process understand what is happening at the 'grass roots' level in order to better match development programmes with specific contexts relative to diverse community needs across the country, something that The Framework shows limited acknowledgement of as it markets a largely single homogeneous commodity called 'education' that demands all recipients to buy into the same menu (Andolan, et al., 2003).

It has been argued that The Framework 'does not represent the world and education "as it is", but rather discursively constructs education so as to be more amenable to inscription by neo-liberal agendas' (Tamatea, 2005a:215). Tamatea (2005a:214) suggests that The Framework 'has a Matrix-like effect in that it potentially closes out other ways of thinking about and practicing education … [and that this] … Matrix-like effect succeeds not because *The Framework* lies, but because it doubly exploits the very same ambivalence in liberal-humanism that facilitated the European control of "Others" in an earlier era of globalisation'. Thus, The Framework can be seen as guiding the world towards the 'correct' way in which education must be provided, in this case from a 'Western' perspective grounded in 'colonial roots' (Wright, in Marshall and Arnot, 2006:6). Foucault (1983:221) sees this form of coercion as:

> Government … [referring not only to the] … political structures or to the management of states: rather it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. (Foucault, 1983:221)

This study investigates the relationships of control that Foucault refers to through a critical analysis of The Framework in order to understand what its 'agenda' is and how this impacts girls' access to education in rural Tajikistan. Exposing the mechanisms of control embedded in such policies as The Framework opens up possibilities for the organisations working on education development in Tajikistan to dismantle the 'hegemonising aspects of metropolitan knowledge in social science' (Connell, in Fennell and Arnot, 2009:5) and promote local specificities regarding equitable gender strategies for the education reform agenda.

The Research Focus

This study aims to critically analyse how girls in two diverse areas of Tajikistan, Panj and Khorog (see Appendix 1) access education in the context of the government's pledge to reform its education system to meet EFA goals and targets set out in The Framework (UNESCO, 2000a:8). The Framework outlines a 'global master plan' for the 'development' of education by 2015 and is supported by major stakeholders like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the G8 (the world's eight most industrialised nations), the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Tamatea, 2005a:1). In Tajikistan:

> The key organization responsible for the education system … is the Ministry of Education, Government of Tajikistan. All institutions such as the schools,

> universities, … [and] … teacher training institutes are directly or indirectly under the Ministry of Education. (Ministry of Education, 2005)

Tajikistan's education reform process is guided by its National Plan for Action for EFA, presented at the 4th Annual CARK Education Forum on Quality and Access to Education through Reform Process held in Dushanbe, Tajikistan in June, 2005. This national strategy paper is supported by multilateral development and finance agencies, local and international NGOs, civil society groups and local community members who have been actively involved in assisting Tajikistan's Ministry of Education in formulating its education agenda. Thus, Tajikistan has confirmed its commitment to providing 'an education that will meet their … [all children, young people and adults] … basic learning needs' (UNESCO, 2000a:8) by outlining how the government proposes to achieve the EFA goals and targets embraced at the World Education Forum held in Dakar, Senegal in April 2000. However, it is this possibly uncritical acceptance of a Western development model, I argue, that constrains girls' access to education in Tajikistan.

The Framework was produced in response to a comprehensive evaluation of the progress towards achieving universal basic education made by the international community following the initial World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtien, Thailand in March 1990. At this inaugural meeting 'agencies were asked to consider ways to assist with basic education' (UNESCO, 2000b:8). UNESCO considers basic education to be 'basic learning needs' as set out in The Declaration and Framework adopted in Jomtien in 1990, promising:

> Basic learning needs of all include both essential learning tools and content. The fulfillment of these needs is required for humans to survive, to develop their full potential, to live and work in dignity, to make informed decisions and to continue learning. Basic learning needs include early child care and development opportunities; relevant, quality primary schooling or equivalent out-of-school education for children; and literacy, basic knowledge and life skills training for youth and adults. (UNESCO, 2000b:15)

For the purpose of this study I use the definition of 'basic education' outlined above to include the compulsory years of schooling mandated by Education Law in Tajikistan that states that the youth of the Republic of Tajikistan have the right to receive nine years of free and compulsory general basic education, that is, from Year 1 (seven year olds) to Year 9 (15 year olds) (Ministry of Education, 2004). The nine years of compulsory education are split into four years of primary education and five years of lower secondary education (Falkingham, 2000:57). It is the five years of lower secondary education that this study is concerned with.

After ten years of implementing initiatives geared towards achieving universal basic education, an assessment of the '*Funding Agency Contributions to Education for All*' was carried out and the findings were presented at the 2000 World Education Forum. This report outlined ways that international funding agencies, taken to mean 'organisations with differing status, notably ministries within the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) governments, multilateral bodies such as UNESCO and international development banks, such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB)' (UNESCO, 2000b:9) had helped to meet 'basic education through budgetary support, the provision of technical co-operation, revitalized partnerships and a

supportive policy content' (UNECSO, 2000b:8). Thus, The Framework was written in response to the findings presented in the EFA 2000 Assessment. Tajikistan, a United Nations (UN) member state, accepted The Framework, thus locking itself into 'achieving education for every citizen in every society' by 2015 (UNESCO, 2000a:3). In order to meet EFA goals and targets, Tajikistan must reform its education system under the auspices of largely 'Western' direction and control. The term 'Western' is used in this thesis as used by Said (2003) in his discussion on Orientalism, but is extended beyond meaning European domination to include domination by the developed countries of the world. It is therefore my aim to argue that within the discourse of development, policies such as The Framework maybe acting as a Foucauldian 'mechanism of control' through their capacity for 'surveillance', which permits surveying of many by a few (Vinson and Ross, 2001) in developing countries. The influence of the developed world over the developing world maybe seen as ongoing in a variety of ways not the least of which include education and development.

In exploring this possibility, this study provides a critical analysis of the issues surrounding girls' access to education in Tajikistan. It specifically focuses on discussing the language strategies used by The Framework, which underpins Tajikistan's National Plan of Action for EFA, and also the discourses used by two groups of girls in two remote/rural regions of Tajikistan who describe their experiences of access to education in their communities. These texts are analysed using theories from the field of critical

discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) and gender studies to unpack the discourses informing the policy agenda and the subject positions of the girls. For Foucault:

> Discourses can be understood as language in action: they are the windows, if you like, which allow us to make sense of, and 'see' things. These discursive windows or explanations shape our understanding of ourselves, and our capacity to distinguish the valuable from the valueless, the truth from the false and the right from the wrong. (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000:31)

Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse 'enables us to understand how what is said has its own social and historical context and is a product of specific conditions of existence' (Brooks, 1997:49). Discourse is thus understood as an overarching network of ideas, values and beliefs that produce the way we see the world and act out our lives in each role we play and as such is embedded in the language we use, whether it is spoken or written – as a form of 'social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258).

The data collected from the participants in this study is analysed, discussed and compared with how girls access education in other developing countries. UNICEF previously conducted a basic investigation into the barriers to girls' education in and around Dushanbe, the capital city of Tajikistan (d'Hellencourt, 2004). The findings from this UNICEF report are therefore used as the starting point for the research project outlined below, which argues that the 'one size fits all' approach to education reform, as outlined in The Framework, is no longer appropriate. Rather 'a more pluralistic model which focuses … on more democratic processes at the local community level … in schools, their neighbourhoods and communities' is needed (Taylor, 2003:64). Furthermore, one of the possible consequences of a universal approach is the homogenising effect that global neo-liberal policies are inflicting on developing

countries. Neo-liberal policies encourage governments to look for ways to 'retain legitimacy by instituting reforms to improve education while, at the same time, reducing education funding as part of the overall plan to reduce governmental expenditures on social services and, if possible, to privatize them' (Hursh and Martina, 2003:1). This demand for policies based on market-driven trends, which now informs world development strategies (White, 2002:410-11), may be contributing to 'Western' control over the developing countries that are purportedly being helped under the guise of 'development'.

The Problem and Background Information

Under Soviet Rule

Many factors contribute to the problem of education, especially for girls in Tajikistan (Baschiere and Falkingham, 2009), the smallest and poorest of the five Central Asian Republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Olcott, 2005:113). Prior to 1991 Tajikistan was part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), becoming the Tajikistan Soviet Socialist Republic in 1929 (Jonson, 2006:35), following the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 (p.34) when 'the creation of a series of sovereign Soviet republics began' (Nahaylo and Sworboda, 1990:25) and resulted in 'Central Asia … [being] … delimited into territories defined on a national basis' (p.35). In 1921 Lenin began the process of making the USSR a 'totalitarian dictatorship', which he declared was the only path that 'could secure the "transition to socialism"' (Service, 2007:62) and ruthlessly eliminated any opposition (Nahaylo and Sworboda, 1990:71-72). Stalin

continued in Lenin's footsteps after his death in 1924 and by the end of 1939 'almost 99 per cent of all cultivated land had been pulled into collective farms' (Service, 2007:145). The repressive nature of the state apparatus led to a distinct lack of basic freedoms, as life was constantly over-shadowed by secret police (KGB - USSR Intelligence Agency) activities. Towards the end of the Soviet era there were frequent food, goods and housing shortages (Service, 2007:145), unemployment was high and available arable land could not meet local demand for private plots (Collins, 2006:120). Such declining socioeconomic conditions were the result of the inefficiencies of a centrally controlled economy run by vast and often corrupt bureaucracy that were 'riddled with practices of patronage' (Service, 2007:104) based on family and clan loyalties. Thus, according to Bunce (in Collins, 2006:131), the Central Asian republics 'can be seen as colonies of the Soviet empire and victims of its totalitarian ideology'.

Independence

Following *Perestroika* (Russian for restructuring) (Haghayeghi, 1995:41), which was initiated by Russian president Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989, economic reforms aimed at reforming the political system by opening up a limited market economy were introduced (p.68). Then, in August 1991 a group of political and military elite, scared of losing their power, led a coup against Gorbachev 'to restore Leninist rule over the Soviet Union' (Haghayeghi, 1995:69). This uprising was defeated by Yeltsin, who was then the President of the Russian Republic, but the damage had been done and the Communist Party and its centralised political power had been discredited. The Baltic States declared

independence, other states followed suit and the Soviet Union collapsed (Haghayeghi, 1995:69). Thus, on September the 9th 1991 Tajikistan was thrust into independence and joined the CIS shortly afterwards.

Poverty

Before Tajikistan gained its independence most Tajiks 'had been content to live within the material parameters afforded them by the [Soviet] regime' (Harris, 1998:656) and many still refer to that time as the good old days when they had food, clean water, regular electricity and gas supplies, jobs and a good education for their children (Niyozov, 2002:14). Moreover, according to Rubin:

> Even more than in other post-Soviet states, the standard of living in Tajikistan, the poorest of them all, has plummeted since independence … [as most of the country is] … locked into the cotton economy and subsistence farming … [and] … continues to suffer from vast underemployment and chronic shortages. (Rubin, 1994:222)

One of the reasons for the situation described above is that during Soviet times:

> Tajikistan was the most dependent [of the former Soviet states], with Union transfers amounting to 47 percent of revenues in 1991. All republics except energy-rich Russia, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan ran deficits on interrepublic trade, but Tajikistan's deficit was proportionately the largest of all. Thus the independence of Tajikistan created the greatest shock to the republic that could least afford it. (Rubin, 1994:208-209)

Consequently, once economic links with Moscow had broken down the new state was unable to continue paying wages and providing services to its people (Jonson, 2006:40; Tadjbakhsh, 1998:180), which, in conjunction with the IMF's demands to 'free price controls' (Kaser, in Harris, 1998:654), led to a dire economic situation for the majority of Tajiks.

Regional Alliances

As conditions in Tajikistan deteriorated some began to take advantage of the circumstances and the collapse of former strict control over political power led to a rise in warlordism (Tadjbakhsh, 2004:17). This eventually brought the country to civil war in the spring of 1992. However, the warlords then allied themselves with outside influences, as:

> The presence in Tajikistan of a mainly Slavic security force answering to command centres in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, and Moscow provided a source of arms and support for one side. The proximity of Afghanistan provided a source of arms and money (from the drug trade) for the other side … (Rubin, 1994:208)

This bloody conflict split the country into regional alliances, as the population resorted to defending itself in the only way it knew: armed struggle based on 'ethnic and clan affiliations' (Rubin, 1994:207) with:

> The Kulobis on the winning side, along with Hujantis, Hissoris and other smaller groups, and the Gharmis and Pamiris on the losing side. As a consequence, members of these last two regional groups, whether or not they took part in the war, have been seriously discriminated against and subjected to a good deal of violence over the last few years. (Harris, 1998:656)

Thus, Tajikistan found itself caught in the throws of a fierce battle as the various ethnic minority groups struggled to gain political power.

Tajikistan has a multi-ethnic identity that stopped Tajik nationalism from unifying in order to form a strong and effective alternative to the communist ideology present under Soviet rule (Rubin, 1994:208). Statistics from the 1989 census show how the population in Tajikistan was divided into different groups:

> 62 percent … [were] … Tajik, … Uzbeks accounted for 24 percent, … Russians totaled 7 percent … [and] … the total European population came to 10 percent. …

> [However] residents of the autonomous region (oblast) of Gorno Badakshan (covered by the Pamir Mountains) speak eastern Iranian languages distinct from Tajik, and unlike other Tajiks, who are Sunni Muslims, they follow the Ismaili sect, a dissident form of Shi'ism. … [Furthermore] … many of those classified as Tajiks in the southern province of Kurgan Tiube consider themselves to be Arabs by decent. (Rubin, 1994:210-211)

It was not surprising that there was no national identity on which to build a nation state (Simpson, 2006:19), especially, as the Tajiks have never had a sovereign state of their own in modern times (Wennberg, 2002:405). After five years of conflict the UN helped broker a peace deal between the factions. A peace accord was signed in June 1997 that agreed to a coalition government (Jonson, 2006:45-46). However, there are periodic confrontations between the President, Emamoli Rakhmanov, and the former warlords (Jonson, 2006:47), particularly during the run up to political events such as parliamentary elections. Furthermore, according to the International Crisis Group (ICG) (2004:2), despite having a coalition government, Rakhmanov has managed to 'replace dozens of officials at virtually all levels of government, effectively removing most of the former opposition members left in power and increasing his own allies'. Thus the ruling regime has developed into an authoritarian dictatorship, where power is centred around the presidential family and entourage (Roy, 2007:vii). This is an important fact to note when considering how development and reconstruction resources are distributed across the country.

Post-conflict in Tajikistan

Tajikistan's population is characterised by ethnic and clan affiliations (Collins, 2006:8) and relies on these ties for coping with life in post-conflict times, especially as

many regions in Tajikistan had to start their recovery process from 'scratch' (Tadjbakhsh, 2004:173). Moreover, the ability of the country to recover is seriously hindered by factors such as:

> The deeply entrenched regionalism; the omnipresent patron-client networks (which are often based on regional origins); the dire socio-economic constellation; the threat of Islamic unrest; the high dependence on income from labour migration, drug money and international donor money; a growing inequality of access to land; and most importantly, the threat of a break down of the elite coalition that form the core of President Rakmanov's rule.
>
> (Koehler, 2004:20)

Tajikistan's 'dependence on Moscow has largely been replaced by reliance on the international community, supplying advice as well as food, agricultural and medical aid, and at the national level, major contributors of cash' (Harris, 1998:664) and there seems to be no alternative for the time being.

Under such conditions the distribution of resources from international donors seems compromised by a combination of power relations informed by regional and clan ties. In particular Gomart (2003:92) notes how 'a few warlords and their localist clans profited inordinately from privatization opportunities for trade and enormous amounts of poorly targeted humanitarian assistance'. Furthermore, 'political antagonisms and regional-clan networks pitilessly excluded those outside the clan system' (Gomart, 2003:92). Thus, Tajikistan has undergone a socio-economic transition that has provided unimaginable wealth for a few, meanwhile causing tremendous impoverishment, misery and hardship for many (Niyozov, 2002:5).

Tajikistan's Education System

Tajikistan, like the other Central Asian states, inherited its education system from the USSR, when education was free (Falkingham, 2000:3) and considered a fundamental right of both sexes (Waljee, 2008:89). However, during Soviet rule:

> The level of educational attainment in the adult Tajikistani population was below the average for Soviet republics. Of the population over age twenty-five in 1989, some 16 percent had only primary schooling, 21 percent had incomplete secondary education … 55 percent had completed a secondary education … [and] … some 7.5 percent of inhabitants had graduated from an institution of higher education, placing Tajikistan last among Soviet republics.
>
> (Curtis, 1997:244)

Furthermore, towards the end of the Soviet era the quality of education in areas such as mathematics and science was rated as poor, as only between 10 to 25 percent of students in Tajik-speaking schools had teaching materials or text books in their own language; infrastructure was failing so that schools had to provide triple shifts in many districts in order to accommodate the number of students; and graduates from vocational education institutions were far less prepared for technical jobs than students in other republics (Curtis, 1996:245). Moreover, since independence there have been severe cuts to government spending on social infrastructure and as a result Tajikistan's current education system has deteriorated, rendering it unsustainable and ineffective, with provision being uneven in quality, relevance and access (Waljee, 2008:90). The WB (in Niyozov, 2002:7) has found 'several major structural and cultural problems … [such as] … deterioration of the quality of education; inequitable access to school; inadequate management capacity; insufficient funding; unsatisfactory school facilities; and a serious shortage of textbooks'. Likewise, a report from the Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) news agency claims:

> Education … [in Tajikistan] … has suffered greatly … [since the collapse of the Soviet Union] … from lack of resources and many skilled teaching staff have left or are not entering the profession due to poor wages and conditions … [and] … declining standards are threatening to make Tajikistan one of the few countries where the new generation may lag behind their parents in education.
>
> (IRIN, 2003)

Unfortunately, this potential outcome seems likely to occur as the years following independence have not been easy for most Tajiks; recent data indicates that 64 percent of the total population live in households with a per capita consumption of less than US$2.15 a day (Falkingham and Baschieri, 2004:12). Hence, the problem is that under the present conditions in Tajikistan the Ministry of Education seems unlikely to be able to meet any of the EFA goals and targets set out in The Framework, of which the following goal and target has particular relevance to this research project:

> Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality. (UNESCO, 2000a:8)

EFA and the Millennium Development Goals

In the same year as the EFA goals and targets were endorsed at the 2000 World Education Forum, the UN unveiled eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that ranged from 'halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education – all by the target date of 2015' (UN, 2005:3). The MDGs also represent a global master plan for development, including education, that demands all world leaders agree and commit to achieving the desired results, which may be seen as another example of Foucault's 'mechanism of control' (Vinson and Ross, 2001) enabling the minority to exercise control over the majority. The third MDG has direct relevance to

this study as it overlaps with the EFA goal discussed above: promoting gender equality and empowerment of women, which has as its target the elimination of 'gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015' (UN, 2005:14). Thus, whilst not directly addressing the MDGs in this research project I acknowledge their links to the EFA campaign. This notwithstanding, this research project asks in relation to girls' education in Tajikistan: What are the constraints upon access to basic education, which may impede achievement of EFA's gender related goal?

Limitations

This study is limited by a number of factors, such as time: I was constrained by time available under the conditions of living and working in Tajikistan whilst conducting the study; finances: the study was self financed so was limited in its ability to conduct extensive research; demographics: Tajikistan does not have reliable statistical data available and what information is available is often contradictory; geography: Tajikistan is 93% mountainous which limits ability to travel to remote and rural communities; climatic conditions; many communities are cut off for six months of the year due to snow falls, avalanches and land slides; the legacy of Soviet times: due to the oppressive regime experienced during Soviet rule many people are wary of 'official' business and I consequently experienced some reluctance from informants to speak freely during the interview process and very few people responded positively to the idea of completing written questionnaires as they had the potential to act as an official record of what was

said and by whom so I had to rely on qualitative data alone; translation: all data was provided through an interpreter so there may have been some misinterpretation during the interviews and author bias: I acknowledge that during the data analysis stage analysis may be subject to bias as I am an outsider looking in from an Anglo, middle class, Christian, liberal democratic, female, 'Western' position. The design of the research focus, however, delimits the investigation to aspects of education development, only, namely 'access to education', meaning the capacity and 'right to attend an educational institution in the first place' (Davies, 1989b:2). This capacity is constrained by 'rules of exclusion … [which] … operate through legislation, through institutional structures and practices, through funding practices and so on' (Davies, 1989b:2). This study which focuses upon the discourses operationalised in relation to girls' education, identifies these constraints, and moreover, those informed by Tajik social and cultural capital.

Research Questions

The specific questions, which this research project investigated, are:

1. What discourses frame girls' access to education in rural and remote Tajikistan?
2. Is there a policy disjuncture between the discourses in the global Dakar Framework and girls' experience of access to education in the local context of rural and remote Tajikistan?

Thesis and Structure of Argument

Towards the investigation of these two research questions, Chapter Two provides an overview of the literature concerning girls' access to education in Tajikistan and other countries that either border Tajikistan or are culturally connected through history,

language or context. The countries reviewed in this literature shared common issues pertaining to girls' access to education and are relevant to this study by virtue of their similarities, differences or their position as developing countries situated within the discourse of 'development' and thus subject to the demands of The Framework and the MDGs.

Chapter Three outlines the theoretical framework underpinning the analysis of the data collected during participant interviews, which is used to explore and understand girls' access to education in Tajikistan. The project of 'modernity' is examined in order to account for the transition from a planned economy to a market-driven economy, and the paradox resulting from the need to return to a traditional and less-modern way of life following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, while simultaneously aspiring to compete in the new world order. Theory from the fields of feminist post-structuralism are introduced which, it is argued, offer the capacity to understand how 'gendered power relations and gendered subjectivities are produced in specific sites' (Lee, 1994:27), with regards to girls' access to education. Finally, the discourse of 'development' is examined with regard to the possibility that neo-liberal policies are continuing the domination that colonial rule previously held over developing countries.

Chapter Four outlines the methodology used in this research project. A case study approach to research guided the fieldwork. I visited two rural/remote towns in Tajikistan, namely Panj and Khorog, and interviewed twenty-one girls about their experiences of

access to education. The complexities of this method of data collection are discussed and explained. This study uses Norman Fairclough's (1995) work on CDA as the main method of data analysis. Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA is employed to analyse the interview data exposing the discourses circulating in each community with regard to girls' access to education. A computer programme – *Leximancer, version 2.25* – was used to code the large corpus of data collected from the interviews. The use of *Leximancer* is detailed in this chapter.

Chapters Five and Six comprise data analysis chapters and thus analyse the interview data using Fairclough's approach to CDA outlined in Chapter Four. These chapters present initial findings drawing on the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Three. CDA is used to identify the discourses available to the participants. How these discourses work, in a hegemonic fashion, to control the girls' access to education is explained.

Chapter Seven discusses the findings generated from the analysis outlined in Chapters Five and Six, which reveals that girls are encouraged to access education but only in so far as they perform the 'correct' gender role expected in the context of post-conflict, post-colonial Tajikistan, which in this case signals a return to traditional cultural and social values that have 'enjoyed a renaissance' since Independence (Falkingham, 2000:9). Similarities and differences between the experiences of girls' access to education in each research site are identified. These comparative findings are then

compared with findings from other studies concerning girls' access to education in other 'developing' countries in conjunction with critical reflection on how global education policy such as The Framework impacts gender equity in education.

Finally Chapter Eight recapitulates on the findings and discusses their implications with regards to critical awareness of the possibility that the discourse of development, which is manifest as education development in this study, is continuing the domination of the developing world by the West as was once associated with colonialism. Girls are accessing education in rural/remote Tajikistan but attendance at school does not equate to equality for girls over boys within the broader social structure of Tajik society, thus confirming the disjunction between the global construct of education and the local reality of girls' access to education in Panj and Khorog. Multiple discourses, discursive practices, and social and material factors circulate and coalesce around girls' subjectivities, positioning them differently to boys with regard to access to education. Consequently, this chapter also provides recommendations and suggests areas of further research possibilities in the hope that this identification of the controlling nature of development discourses will promote improved access to alternative strategies for education development that are more 'in tune' with diverse local contexts, such as Tajikistan.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced this study and provided the background information that informed the generation of the research questions. This research project explores girls' access to education in rural/remote Tajikistan in light of The Framework's goals in relation to girls' education. This study is specifically interested in the discourses informing girls' access to education and how they shape material and social practices, which otherwise constrain access. As noted, UNICEF's research into the barriers to education that girls face in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan represents the first step of an investigation into gender equity - relating to education - in this former Soviet Republic. The results from this initial UNICEF project are used as the starting point for this study and will be expanded upon further in the following chapter. They are revisited in the concluding discussion as a 'yardstick' against which the findings of this study are compared.

Chapter Two

The Context of Girls' Access to Education in Rural/Remote Tajikistan

Introduction

Chapter One argued that there is a need to examine how girls in two diverse contexts in Tajikistan experience access to education under direction from The Framework in its capacity as a global education development policy. Tajikistan's Ministry of Education developed its National Plan of Action for EFA according to guidelines set out in The Framework. Current trends in international education policy were discussed in light of the suggestion (Tamatea, 2005a) that policies such as The Framework provide a global vision for education development by 2015. Thus, The Framework can be seen as a 'regime of truth' that has been created by the 'West' which has the capacity to continue the domination of the 'Rest' of the world by demanding that all follow the one 'reality' of education, a capacity that Tamatea (2005a:214) claims has the 'potential to constrain our ability to construct education, self and community in other ways'. In exploring this possibility, this research project is grounded in recognition that 'language produces many of the most powerful technologies for the production of regimes of truth within which individual subjects are positioned' (Lee, 1994:32). Therefore, asking 'how language practices position subjects within regimes of truth and how individuals come to take up, more or less non-coercively, particular subject

positions, and thus to produce themselves and the world through language' (Lee, 1994:32) is important to this study.

Girls' Access to Education in and around Tajikistan

The significance attached to discourse in this research project's investigation of girls' access to education in Tajikistan commences in this chapter, which explores the literature pertaining to girls' access to education in developing regions and gender equity in countries that are closely connected to Tajikistan, either by their proximity, context or by their cultural and linguistic ties. In particular this comparative literature review chapter will discuss the barriers to education that girls face in Tajikistan and other developing countries in Central Asia and adjoining regions. These countries share cultural, contextual and regional links as well as similar development concerns: poverty is rife and consequently many families allocate their scarce resources, both human and capital, to survival needs rather than education in the current global neo-liberal climate of market driven development policies. Research indicates, however, that basic education:

> Particularly of girls, has been found to be highly correlated with improvements in health, as well as reductions in fertility, infant mortality and morbidity rates. Education can empower women to play a greater role in decision-making, as an individual woman within her family, as well as at community and society level.
>
> (Hulton and Furlong, 2001:2)

Thus, it is argued that an investigation into the situation of girls' access to education in diverse but similar contexts is relevant to the current discussion of development and education in Tajikistan. It is in this respect that this review focuses on the many myriad factors contributing to the gender gap in formal education settings in order to highlight

the specific challenges that girls face, which limit their access to education, relative to boys.

Discourse of Development

There has been much research conducted in Tajikistan under the umbrella of 'development', however, information relating to girls' education or more specifically the EFA goals and targets or the MDG pertinent to this study, is limited. Those working within the discourse of development view education as only part of the dire situation present in Tajikistan. In this study, discourses, are understood to comprise:

> Forms of knowledge, which work like languages … [in order to] … promote certain kinds of people and behaviour and in which regulatory apparatuses develop to police and discipline their members to conform to these prescriptions.
> (Bilton et al., 1996:488)

Researchers working within the discourse of development are generally connected to multilateral organisations, NGOs or government departments involved with implementing polices in projects targeting multiple aspects of society in Tajikistan, including, but not limited to education, poverty reduction, health issues, land rights reform, and civil society development. Thus, despite the fact that The Framework states that 'education is the key to sustainable development and peace and stability within and among countries, and thus an indispensable means for effective participation in societies and economies of the twenty-first century, which are affected by rapid globalisation' (UNESCO, 2000a:8), education research has so far only had a minor though important role to play in development discourse in Tajikistan. Moreover, I argue that global

strategies, such as those 'offered' by The Framework, operate within the discourse of development by enforcing:

> Prevailing forms of knowledge … [that] … exercise power over us because they provide us with the language we are obliged to use in order to think about the world, and thereby 'know' it; discourses constitute us because we have to use their vocabularies in order to make sense of events and phenomena.
>
> (Bilton et al., 1996:488-89)

Hence, global policies such as The Framework potentially act as:

> Disciplinary devices (or apparatuses) … [that] … promote these discourses, and the extent of a discourse's capacity to constitute identity and construct behaviour is a reflection of the regulatory power of these devices. (Bilton et al., 1996:489)

Reports published in the name of development 'are the windows, if you like, which allow us to make sense of and "see" things … [and as such] … our thoughts and actions are influenced, regulated and to some extent controlled by these different discourses' (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000:31). Hence, when reading development reports that include aspects of education it is important to critically analyse what is being said and by whom in order to understand the hidden agenda or 'true' implications for education reform in Tajikistan.

Development and Education in Tajikistan

Arguably, the following reports could be considered public examples of what Foucault sees as 'individual acts of language … [or] … language in action … [which] … draw their authority from their capacity to speak the truth about a situation' (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000:31-37). *The Curse of Cotton: Central Asia's Destructive Monoculture*, was published in February, 2005 by the International Crisis Group (ICG) and outlines the problem of non-attendance at school due to child labour, highlighting at

least one reason why children in Tajikistan do not go to school regularly (ICG, 2005). However, while this report does not specifically concern child labour as a gender issue, as it affects both girls and boys, it does provide insight into the dynamics of school absenteeism by explaining the extent of state control over all aspects of society because Education Law in Tajikistan outlaws child labour (Ministry of Education, 2004). The fact that children are forced to work instead of going to school indicates that the state is not ensuring access to compulsory general basic education for all children. Ministry of Education officials (unofficially) demand that schools close during the cotton picking season so that students can work[1]. The Central Asia – Caucasus Analyst (2004) confirmed that 'although Tajik legislation prohibits child labor, they harvest up to 40 percent of the cotton for paltry wages and to the detriment of their health and education'. This information is particularly relevant to this study as The Framework states that:

> We ... [the participants in the World Education Forum] … hereby collectively commit ourselves to the attainment of the following goals: ... ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality. (UNESCO, 2000a: 8)

This goal will hardly be attainable if children in cotton-growing areas spend months picking cotton. The Framework's second goal contains a list of the ways in which 'all children must have the opportunity to fulfill their right to quality education in schools' and states that 'child labour must not stand in the way of education' (UNESCO, 2000a:15). This disjunction between what the government produces at a policy level and what is actually happening 'on the ground' could possibly indicate the level of corruption

[1] Many interviewees stated that their schools closed during the cotton picking season.

in Tajik society (Simpson, 2006:19), particularly in light of the fact that Tajikistan is ranked 148th out of 158 places in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index for 2005 (Ambrose, 2005:5).

The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) *Strategy of Central Asia 2003-2005* was published in 2003 and whilst not discussing education directly, it acknowledges 'the widespread breakdown of social services and infrastructure' (UNDP, 2003:25) and confirms UNDP's commitment to helping prepare and implement the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). PRSPs typically comprise neo-liberal strategy requiring that 'national governments develop economic policies that emphasize economic growth and property rights over social welfare and personal rights' (Hursh and Martina, 2003:4) as a condition of loans from the US dominated IMF and WB. This report provides information on poverty in Tajikistan, which has important ramifications for this study in light of The Framework's call for:

> Governments, organizations, agencies, groups and associations … [to] … promote EFA policies within a sustainable and well-integrated sector framework clearly linked to poverty elimination and development strategies. (UNESCO 2000a:8)

The Framework is thus linking the success of education development with the elimination of poverty that apparently can only be achieved within the Western model of development informed by neo-liberal oriented outcomes.

Analysis Research Consulting (ARC) produced a report for a German Embassy Programme in Dushanbe entitled '*Assessing Peace and Conflict Potentials in the Target Region of the GTZ Central Asia and Northern Afghanistan Programme to Foster Food*

Security, Regional Cooperation and Stability' in 2004. Although not directly related to education, it highlights education as 'the key to influencing awareness of life opportunities' (Koehler, 2004:57), which is particularly relevant to this study as The Framework states that education must be 'geared to tapping each individual's talents and potential, and developing learners' personalities, so that they can improve their lives and transform their societies' (UNESCO, 2000a:8). This type of mandate that global polices like The Framework make may indicate that indigenous knowledge or 'truth' is not needed as lives must be 'improved' and 'transformed' into something new based on 'Western' guidelines and perspectives that view 'our' way as *the* way. Thus the discourse of development informing The Framework has what Foucault calls 'power' as it produces 'what is deemed to be "real" and "true" … [and as a result] … determines what is included and what is excluded, so what cannot be named may not even be noticed' (Foucault, in Lee, 1994:29). Furthermore, according to McNay (in Lee, 1994:29) 'every social body produces its own truths, its own discourses which have a normalizing and regulatory function'. Hence, with this possibility in mind, this study investigates the discourses, which inform girls' access to education in two rural/remote locations in Tajikistan.

The prescriptions for development in these diverse reports generally show how the discourse of development has become a global phenomenon, with agencies such as the WB and the IMF playing leading roles in 'shaping educational policies in the Third World' (Stromquist, 2001:52). For Foucault this kind of 'surveillance represented [sic] a

disciplinary power built out of the (eventually automatic and invisible) possibilities of the many being visible to the few' (Vinson and Ross, 2001). Those who are developed watch while those who are under-developed are the watched. Consequently, reports written in the name of development, to the extent that discourse constructs social realities, are possibly helping to produce the problems they purport to, largely because:

> The power of all discourses lies in the definitions they promote; they do not simply intervene into an already existing reality but they construct this reality – things become what the discourse defines them as being. (Bilton et al., 1996:492-93)

Arguably, The Framework identifies what the 'West' sees and constructs as the problem with education around the world, which in turn validates the West's provision of universal solutions, because, apparently:

> Without accelerated progress towards education for all, national and internationally agreed targets for poverty reduction will be missed, and inequalities between countries and within societies will widen. (UNESCO, 2000a: 8)

Post-conflict and Education

Other research, reports and discussion address education in relation to the problems society is facing following the post-Soviet/conflict situation in Tajikistan. For example, G. Smith (1999) outlines the devastation that civil war caused and provides a detailed account of the peace process followed by an analysis of the political situation, including a description of the different alliances operating within the country, which is particularly relevant to this research project given the reliance that Tajiks place on clan and regional affiliations. The Framework acknowledges that 'countries in transition, countries affected by conflict, and post crisis countries … must be given the support they need to achieve more rapid progress towards education for all' (UNESCO, 2000a:9). G.

Smith (1999) concludes that 'there is no easy solution to these problems', a sentiment felt by many living in the country, who, despite the grave economic difficulties they face, hold 'a certain nostalgia for the Soviet system (Roy, 2007:xiv). Many people are experiencing a backlash from 'the serious economic problems that have closed state enterprises, caused massive layoffs and brought most people's monthly earnings down to considerably less than the lowest amount needed for survival … [and] … making ends meet remains a constant struggle for all but a fortunate few' (Harris, 2004:2).

Harris (1998:655) discusses life in post-Soviet Tajikistan by examining the 'lifestyle changes of the inhabitants of a group of villages in the southern province of Khatlon'. She outlines a detailed picture of how Tajiks lived through the ravages of civil war and provides an in depth view of village life in a war-torn area, the Gharmi villages of Khatlon, which are in the same region as Panj, one of the sites in this study. These people fled during the height of the war. Their whole life changed on their return as many had been killed, particularly the young men. Their houses had been destroyed; everything had been stolen while all chance of employment was gone. The residents of these villages, and others, are now dependent on international aid for their survival. However, although Harris (1998:663) notes that this type of development work is discouraging people from helping themselves, under the present system, there is no incentive for either the government or the people to help themselves and any change in the way development work is conducted is a long way off.

The dire situation outlined above by G. Smith and Harris indicates that infrastructure built up under Soviet rule has broken down, including both the material and the human. Poverty is rife: 63.7 percent of the population is estimated to be poor (UNESCO, 2005), and education is suffering. Students must now make informal payments just to get graded for their exams (Keller, 2007:262) and there is 'widespread, but undocumented, practice of levying charges for public schooling and the consequent exclusion of poor children from education' (Tomasevski, 2005:18) despite the education law noted above. The Framework's first strategy calls for governments to 'allocate sufficient resources to all components of basic education … [which] … will require increasing the share of national income and budgets allocated to education' (UNESCO, 2000a:17). Tajikistan allocated just 2.8 percent of its annual budget to education in 2004 (UNICEF, n.d.), which is considerably lower than the recommended amount of 6 percent in 2005 (EFA Monitoring Report presented by UNESCO, 2005). Thus, despite The Framework's statement that 'there is a powerful correlation between low enrollment, poor retention and unsatisfactory learning outcomes and the incidence of poverty' (UNESCO, 2000a:13), it is clear that people living in Tajikistan are suffering extreme hardships and education is often, perhaps mistakenly, viewed as the least of their worries.

Like Tajikistan other countries are trying to recover from conflict and destruction. Zulfika (2008) conducted an in depth study into why girls in post-tsunami Sri Lanka are not returning to primary schools following the 2004 Asian Tsunami. Using a critical ethnographic case study approach she interviewed a small sample of girls from two

diverse communities in the Kalmunai Educational Zone. This particular area, like Tajikistan, was also subjected to war and conflict prior to the 2004 tsunami disaster. Data was mainly collected from tsunami surviving girls through individual case studies. The findings from this research project indicate that the barriers to girls' access to education in this post-conflict – post-tsunami context are 'informed by the marginalisation of their cultural, social and economic capital, which locates them within an impoverished and constricting habitus' (Zulfika, 2008:206). 'Habitus' is identified by Zulfika (drawing on work by Painter) as a 'durable system shared by others, comprising conditionings and dispositions informing thought and action, which though engendered by objective conditions nonetheless, tends to be transportable and persist following change in those conditions'. Zulfika (2008:262) further notes that restrictions or barriers to girls' access to education are also influenced by factors including: 'poverty, geographic isolation, ethnicity, fragility, caste, gender, disability and orphans'. Some of these barriers have been identified as constraints to girls' access to education in Tajikistan.

Girls' Education in Tajikistan

A report published in 2004 by UNICEF entitled '*Qualitative Survey on Issues in Girls' Education in Tajikistan: An In-Depth Analysis of the Reasons Girls Drop out of School*' offers the most comprehensive literature on the situation of girls' education in Tajikistan. It examines the decline revealed by official statistics in the proportion of girls who remain in secondary school (d'Hellencourt, 2004:vii). In conjunction with the Ministry of Education and the technical working group on girls' education, UNICEF

designed and conducted the '*Qualitative Survey on Issues in Girls Education*' in order to identify reasons for the drop-out rate of girls prior to completing the nine years of compulsory education mandated in the education law of Tajikistan. In this report UNICEF limits its research to four schools, two in deprived districts of Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, and one school in each of the towns of Hisor and Vahdat, which are not far from Dushanbe. This investigation comprised:

> A first step in a wider inquiry that would cover a greater diversity of geographical, regional, ethnic and socio-economic variables … [and] … is a preliminary effort in the elaboration of a strategic plan to achieve education for all. (d'Hellencourt, 2004:vii)

In this project UNICEF collected both qualitative and quantitative data, which was analysed with a view to understanding why girls are dropping out of school. Analysis of the data revealed that there are four underlying factors related to the 'attitudes of families vis-à-vis the education of girls which seem to be the root causes of the exclusion of girls from school:

> 1. Family expenditure priorities in a context of poverty, 2. gender socialization, 3. the roles and functions of school within a gender perspective, and 4. religion as a buttress of community integration and a pretext for gender discrimination. (d'Hellencourt, 2004:23)

The results of this study provide a detailed explanation of girls' education in the four specific sites and recommendations are offered based upon the report's findings. However, despite the recommendations outlined representing '*only*'[2] an initial step in understanding the deeper reasons for the problems in the education of girls in the country' (d'Hellencourt, 2004:viii), the report provides a valuable starting point for this

[2] Emphasis added.

research project, which expands the focus to investigate rural, remote and ethnic minority communities in other regions of Tajikistan.

Girls' Education in Similar Contexts

While outside of Tajikistan there is a wealth of information on education, particularly girls' education and the application of EFA policies, in other 'developing' countries, due to the constraints of space in this thesis further discussion of relevant literature is limited to countries with either regional or cultural connections to Tajikistan. Tajikistan shares a common historical trajectory with large parts of Central Asia dating back hundreds of years, giving this region of the world a similar cultural heritage (Jonson, 2007:18). During the 9th and 10th centuries the Saminaid Empire, which is regarded as the first Tajik state, ruled most of Central Asia and parts of present-day Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan and India (Jonson, 2007:18). Tajikistan has a secular government and a predominantly Sunni Muslim population of the Hanafi school (Haghayeghi, 1996:xx). It is bordered by the following countries: Afghanistan, the Peoples' Republic of China, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, however, to the south there is only a thin strip of land about 12 km wide belonging to Afghanistan separating Tajikistan from Pakistan and although Iran does not border Tajikistan it has strong historical ties as Tajiks are of Persian descent (Mathew, Plunkett and Richmond, 2000:426). Mehran (2003:1) presents a discussion of the paradox between tradition, as the desire to 'educate women for their proper role in the family and society', and modernity, which is 'reflected in the political will to increase female access to schooling and to reduce gender

disparities in the educational sector', in post-revolutionary Iran. Mehran provides a detailed analysis of Iranian society since the 1979 revolution and explains the dual position now allocated to women. The arguments provided in support of this juxtaposition of tradition and modernity are based on empowerment theories where:

> Education has the potential to transform the lives of individuals, including women, and to enable them to challenge the prevailing social order that has placed them in a subordinate position. (Mehran, 2003:2)

Mehran makes the distinction between Iran as an 'Islamised' country where society 'is marked by politicized Islam governing both the private and the public lives of individuals' (2003:3) and an 'Islamic' society, where the population of a country is predominantly Muslim who hold Islamic beliefs and demonstrate Islamic practices in their private lives, as in Tajikistan (Harris, 2004:30). Mehran further equates the differentiation between 'Islamic' and 'Islamised' to the distinction between modernisation, which is taking place in Iran with its 'realization of the importance of industrialization, technological advancement and more recently, political development' in its drive to modernise, and Westernisation, where 'a modern society is not viewed as necessarily a Western one' (2003:3). Official documents from the education sector are examined in order to confirm the paradox between modernity and tradition. Mehran outlines a new approach to the view of girls' education given by President Khatami, who believes that education is a means to empower women for their own sake rather than as a vehicle of tradition, modernity, or revolution (2003:9-10). This heralds the end of Iranian women as passive recipients of welfare measures and enables them to use the 'opportunities created by the interplay of tradition and modernity to become active participants in educational endeavors' (2003:12). Mehran's findings thus provide an

insight into the challenges associated with how women in Iran negotiate the discourses available to them in their dual role as New Muslim Women who are 'asked to be traditional and modern at the same time' (Mehran, 2003:3). Iranian women are beginning to realise the major goals of the women's movement that argues for the same civil, political and social rights for women as men (van Vucht Tijssen, 1990:145) by their active participation in education, whilst they are still practicing the traditional expectations of Iranian culture, such as veiling, commonalities that women in Tajikistan face in post-Soviet, post-conflict Muslim Tajik society.

In 1998 The Asian Development Bank (ADB) supported a project in Pakistan that worked towards addressing the disparity between the levels of school education attained by girls compared to boys. The report outlines numerous social and cultural reasons for the disparity such as 'poverty, early marriages of girls, cultural attitudes towards female mobility and gender discrimination in households' (ADB, 1998:1), reasons similar to those identified by d'Hellencourt (2004) for Tajikistan. The NGO Khwendo Kor (or Sister's House) is described in the ADB report as trying to 'break the silence surrounding such gender inequity by mobilizing community support for girls' education and advocating for policy reform' (ADB, 1998:1). The aims of the project were:

- To create an enabling environment for girl's education.
- To establish a provisional and divisional level education network.
- To increase social pressure to bring about positive change in education policy.
- To develop a database of organizations and institutions working on girls' education.
- To stimulate informed debate and public consultation on girls' education.
- To promote girls' education through publications and the media. (p.5)

The ADB report discusses the outcomes of the work undertaken and provides a summary of the results, among which the following key constraints to girls' education in Pakistan are identified:

- Poverty, unemployment and the cost of education. When resources are limited families choose to invest in their sons' education.
- Child labor within families, particular[ly] the use of daughters to assist with domestic chores and child minding.
- The practice of early marriage.
- Educated girls seen as more likely to break away from 'tradition' and to challenge father's and husband's authority.
- Distance of schools from home and restricted mobility of girls.
- Education and work not seen as a priority for girls, in contrast to marriage and motherhood.
- Low quality of teachers, teaching resources and facilities. (p.4)

Significantly, these findings appear similar to those identified in other reports (d'Hellencourt, 2004; Falkingham and Baschieri, 2004; ICG, 2005) detailing girls' access to education and gender equity in Tajikistan.

The ADB, along with UNDP, was also involved in conducting a study into '*Gender Issues and Stereotypes Presented in Traditional Textbooks of Public Schools of the Republic of Uzbekistan*' in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan in 2002. This research aimed to examine the gender stereotypes represented in traditional textbooks used in schools in the Republic of Uzbekistan (Alimdjanova, Kim, and Ganeyeva, 2002) and ascertain if the stereotypes reflected public opinion about gender roles. The investigation used quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data from two communities: one Uzbek-speaking and the other Russian-speaking, living in Tashkent. The data was analysed using content analysis for the books and discourse analysis for the views of the sample population. The findings indicate that:

> Gender stereotypes in the textbooks reflect the opinions and set-ups existing in public consciousness with respect to sex-substantiated behavior and perception of masculine and feminine notions … [which] … mainly applies to so called traditional models of social behavior usually ascribed to the persons of one or another sex … [where] … men are ascribed to a much more [sic] range of social activities, including a "set" of occupations and personal qualities, than women are.
> (Alimdjanova, Kim and Ganeyeva, 2002:6)

This gender stereotyping appears similar to that in Tajik society. Olcott (2005:28) notes that 'there has been a strong sense of kinship across national lines' in Central Asia as 'their fates are more closely intertwined than any other cluster of neighbors' (p. 207). A recent report from the Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) on Women's Perspectives explains how a former parliamentarian, Rano Samieva, was told by male colleagues that 'women should stay at home and listen to their husbands, not go out to work' (Kasymbekova, 2005), suggesting that Tajik women are expected to put family and home before career. Indeed, The Framework states that 'schools … usually mirror the larger society. Hence efforts in support of gender equality should include actions to address discrimination resulting from social attitudes and practices …' (UNESCO, 2000a:19).

Finally, a paper published by the World Health Organisation (WHO) outlines a 2002 UNESCO project piloted in Cambodia, China and Kyrgyzstan (the latter two border Tajikistan). Entitled '*ICT-based Training in Basic Education for Social Development*' it aims 'to strengthen human resources and build capacity among families, women, youth and ethnic minorities in promoting sustainable social development, using the potential of information and communication technology (ICT)' (Kaga and Kanno, 2002:1). The project also aimed to increase awareness of 'gender issues related to childrearing and

socialisation' (Kaga and Kanno, 2002:1) in order to address the roles young children learn before entering formal schooling, which is particularly relevant to the situation in Tajikistan as 'the family remains the site where the "ruling ideas" of Tajik society are internalised by children of both sexes, where they learn the appropriate gender performances' (Harris, 2004:39). By including early gender awareness in the project UNESCO hopes to help achieve 'Goal 1 on "Early Childhood Care and Education" and Goal 5 on "Gender Equity and Equality in Education"' as outlined in The Framework (Kaga and Kanno, 2002:2). The report explains the stages of the project's implementation and provides the long-term objectives along with suggestions for specific activities and experiences recommended for implementation in family education, which is important because:

> Gender-biased treatment of girls and boys exists in all societies and is shaped by traditions, customs, laws, values, … [and] … beliefs found in the society at large and conditioned by changing socio-demographic and economic situations.
> (Kaga and Kanno: 2002:3)

According to this report, if gender relationships can be tackled in the informal setting of the family before formal schooling there will be a:

> Small but concrete contribution to promoting a just and empowering environment, whereby girls and boys are valued equally and given opportunities for … learning, to possess a positive self image and to respect each other as human being[s] with equal rights. (p. 4)

Conclusion

The problem of educating girls seems to comprise a global phenomenon following a common theme: girls are being disadvantaged in access to schooling, which reproduces the disadvantaged situation experienced by women more generally. This

disadvantage is highlighted by the research reports reviewed above which show that socio-economic contexts, as far as they impact gender and education, in countries surrounding or tied to Tajikistan are characterised by dynamics similar to those that inform the context in Tajikistan from which the research problem investigated by this research project emerges. The limited research data currently available from Tajikistan shows that there is a growing need to investigate this problem, particularly as the information discussed above indicates that multiple, interconnected and complex factors are involved, which are generally linked through poverty to the process of development. The discourse of 'development', as used in these reports, has emerged over the last half century into a world-wide approach to solving what is seen by the 'West' as a universal problem that needs to be 'fixed' under the guidance of a global master plan.

Neo-liberal framed policies, such as The Framework and the MDGs, have emerged over the last fifteen years, and aim to cement governments into uniting to reach universal basic education for all. This has placed enormous strains on those involved, particularly poor countries like Tajikistan (Leach, 2000:337; Stromquist, 2001:52), which have limited natural resources available for exploitation and widespread poverty. The crumbling remains of Soviet rule has left Tajikistan in a desperate situation, which ultimately has ramifications not just for education but also for all aspects of development. The void left by the Soviets means that there is no longer any financial or ideological support from the ex-superpower. Children are forced into labour by the family and the state (Haarr, 2005), while the government can no longer provide essential social services

and infrastructure (Baschieri and Falkingham, 2009; UNDP, 2003; Swanström, Conell and Tabyshaliev, 2005).The recent civil war brought unrest, leading to the division of Tajikistan into regional and clan related ties that have limited the development of Tajikistan as a unified nation state (Rubin, 1994; Simpson, 2006).

As a consequence Tajiks find themselves living in an Islamic society with a secular government, which, compounded by the corruption endemic in this society (Simpson, 2006:19) means that girls, and to some extent the boys, are facing barriers to education such as: access restraints relating to school location, lack of resources both human and material, stereotypical behaviour expected from girls, the cost of education in the form of 'fees' for grades or opportunity costs, early marriage of girls and the low value placed on education because it is not seen as a priority for girls (Baschieri and Falkingham, 2009; Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst, 2004; d'Hellencourt, 2004; ICG, 2005 and UNDP, 2003). While the literature above highlights that 'similar' contexts such as Iran have resisted the 'Western' education and development paradigm in relation to women and education (Mehran, 2003), what emerges as most significant in the literature, is not only the shared experience of poverty and disadvantage, but more specifically the lack of research data from Tajikistan and in particular from the two rural and remote case study contexts to be explored by this research project. This research project thus contributes towards filling this research gap. The following chapter, however, develops a theoretical framework for understanding the context of this research study and the relationships between discourse, gender and education revealed through the data.

Chapter Three

Social Theory Framework

Introduction

This chapter develops the theoretical framework that underpins the analysis of the data collected in relation to the following two research questions:

1. What discourses frame girls' access to education in rural and remote Tajikistan?
2. Is there a policy disjuncture between the discourses in the global Dakar Framework and girls' experience of access to education in the local context of rural and remote Tajikistan?

As signaled by these questions, this research project is concerned with discourse and its effects; particularly its social and material effects with regard to girls' access to education. Fairclough describes discourse as having two dimensions, such that:

> On the one hand, discourse is shaped and constrained by social structure in the widest sense and at all levels: by class and other social relations specific to particular institutions such as law or education, by systems of classification, by various norms and conventions of both a discursive and a non-discursive nature, and so forth. … On the other hand, discourse is socially constitutive. … Discourse contributes to the constitution of all those dimensions of social structure which directly or indirectly shape or constrain it: its own norms and conventions, as well as the relations, identities and institutions which lie behind them. Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning.
>
> (in Lee, 1994:29)

Following this understanding of discourse this chapter provides a broad overview of the conceptual tools argued to be valuable to the investigation of the research questions presented above. These conceptual tools include: 'colonialism', 'modernity', 'globalisation', 'capitalism', 'Orientalism', 'development discourse', 'neo-liberalism' and 'gender relations'. However, whilst acknowledging the these concepts are distinctly

different they coalesce to inform the factors influencing girls' access to education in Panj and Khorog and are relevant to this project due to the legacy of 'colonial power' in relation to the 'Soviet state which foundered … at the end of August 1991' (Roy, 2007:xvi). Significantly it will be argued that the present day context of education and development in Tajikistan cannot be separated from the larger history of development informed by colonialism, modernity, capitalism and globalisation. A common theme that ties together many of these conceptual tools, however, is that of 'discourse'. Most are grounded in a particular discursive construct of reality, which holds consequences for social and material practices and relations. Importantly, it will be argued that understanding girls' access to education in Tajikistan requires not only an appreciation of the power of words – as discourse – but also an appreciation of the social and material relations of power which discourses produce and reproduce, particularly at the global level with policies such as The Framework and the MDGs and at the local level through real-life stories from the grassroots of two Tajik communities.

Colonialism

To understand girls' current access to education within Tajikistan's National Plan of Action designed to promote the EFA initiatives and the relevant MDGs, it is arguably necessary to also understand the historical context that these international guidelines for education were produced in. Contemporary global policies are being generated in response to the current global neo-liberal economic environment (Fairclough, 2001a:207) that emerged during the 'Reagan-Bush administrations in the United States and the

Thatcher-Major governments in the United Kingdom' (Friedman, in Harris and Sied, 2000:13). Following the Second World War America took over from European powers as the world leader in economic expansion. But during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries European explorers traveled the world searching for new lands to conquer, control, exploit and use to expand their Empires. The ensuing domination of 'Other' people was undertaken in the name of 'colonialism'. As the reach of European might spread it subsumed many of the world's populations and with this came new ways of thinking about people and society. In about the middle of the eighteenth century a group of European thinkers started to move towards distinctly 'modern' forms of thought (Hamilton, 1992:18).

During this 'Age of Enlightenment' these philosophers set the scene for modern empirical research that was based on science and reason. The transition from traditional thinking to modern thinking began the movement towards modernity, which ultimately produced the binary classifications of 'First World' or 'developed' and 'Third World' or underdeveloped societies – as opposed to the pre-modern Christian classification of 'saved' and 'fallen' (Hamilton, 1992:30). Hence, modernity provided the foundations for the discourse of 'development', which frames girls' access to education in developing countries. I contend, however, as stated in Chapter One, that the discourse of development, as it appears in documents such as The Framework, reproduces the domination of colonialism by the West.

'Colonialism' is not a new concept. Indeed colonialism can be traced to ancient times (Appadurai, 1993:325; and Welensky, 1964:146) and 'has been a recurrent and widespread feature of human history' (Loomba, 2005:8). During the second century AD the Roman Empire ruled from Armenia to the Atlantic; in the thirteenth century Genghis Khan led the Mongols on a conquering quest through the Middle East and China; between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries the Aztecs and the Incas established their Empires in South America; in the fifteenth century many of the Indian kingdoms fell to the might of the Vijaynagara Empire; the Ottoman Empire expanded its control from western Turkey into most of Asia Minor and the Balkans and was still in control of much of the Mediterranean down to the Indian Ocean at the beginning of the eighteenth century; the immense Chinese Empire was the largest force that Europe had ever seen (Loomba, 2005:8) and the Maritime Empires that were centered in Indonesia lasted until the end of the fourteenth century (Wikipedia, n.d.). Stories of these great Empires and the power they held over their colonies were legendary and provided 'real or imagined fuel for the European journeys to different parts to the world' (Loomba, 2005:8) that signaled the start of European colonisation of Asia, Africa and the Americas at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The European colonial powers of the time included Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal and Italy (Welensky, 1964:146). The colonial encounters these countries orchestrated invariably involved domination of the invader over the original inhabitants or 'natives' hence changing indigenous societies. Loomba argues:

> The process of 'forming a community' in the new land necessarily meant *un-forming* or *re-forming* the communities that existed there already, and involved a wide range of practices including trade, plunder, negotiation, warfare, genocide, enslavement and rebellions. (2005:8)

Each colonising power used different approaches to controlling their empires (Loomba, 2005:7), ranging from:

> Downright exploitation to an enlightened approach which had the objective of advancing what were often very backward (sic) people to a stage at which they would be able to manage their own affairs based on the concept of Western traditions and ideals. (Welensky, 1964:146)

Marxist theories about colonialism make the distinction between earlier colonialisms and European colonialism as the first being 'pre-capitalist … [as opposed to] … modern colonialism … [which] … was established alongside capitalism in Western Europe (Bottomore, in Loomba 2005:9). Appadurai (1993:325) describes this version of colonialism as being 'the basis for a permanent traffic in ideas of peoplehood and selfhood, which created the imagined communities of recent nationalisms, throughout the world'. Thus, as the territories of the colonial powers grew people, ideas, raw materials and goods flowed around the world, producing a world-system based on economics.

Western colonialism was responsible for the start of the slave trade as slaves were sent to the Americas and West Indian plantations to produce sugar and other commodities for consumption in cosmopolitan centres and colonial territories. Cotton produced in India, transported to England and manufactured into cloth, was sold back to the producers at inflated rates (Loomba, 2005:9). This type of colonialism involved large-scale movements of material and human capital on a global scale, which sent profits to the metropolis of each Empire. Thus, colonialism, as Loomba (2005:7-9) argues 'locked the

original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history … which altered the whole globe in a way that … other colonialisms did not'. A new world system based on exploitation in the name of economic productivity was set in place, which arguably is still active today, though now run by transnational corporations (Harris and Seid, 2000:5).

Western colonialism was further justified on moral grounds in that the 'Europeans and those people of European descent who settled in other parts of the world … defined themselves as different from and superior to the peoples of the … continents they colonized' (Weedon, 1999:188). Weedon (1999:188) argues that because of this racialised distinction, 'colonized people became the "white man's burden"'. Emerson (1969:3) defines this type of western colonialism as 'the imposition of white rule on alien peoples inhabiting lands separated by salt water from the imperial centre'. Nonetheless, and regardless of the reasons justifying colonial domination, 'all of them produced the economic imbalance that was necessary for the growth of European capitalism and industry' (Loomba, 2005:9-10), and witnessed 'a technological explosion, largely in the domain of transportation and information' (Appadurai, 1993:325) to facilitate the flow of all forms of 'traffic'. Thus, colonialism refers to 'the process by which European powers (including the United States) reached a position of economic, military, political and cultural domination in much of Asia, Africa and Latin America … [and it] … reached its apogee between 1900 and the end of World War I (at which point Europe had colonized roughly 85% of the earth) …' (Stam and Spence, 2006:109). Colonialism, therefore, can

be seen as having dominated the planet on a global scale by providing the vehicle through which the West transferred its values, both social and cultural, economic system and other institutional structures to the 'rest' of the world (Appadurai, 1993:325; Stam and Spence, 2006:110). The desire of Western powers 'to reduce all valid possibilities for understanding the world to those hegemonic in Western society, at once reduced the status of the "native" or the Other, on the grounds that it was they who were the ambivalent slippage from the universal "truth", as it was thus constructed' (Tamatea, 2005a:228). I argue, as Tamatea (2005a:230) does, that the strategies used by The Framework, in its position as a blueprint for global education development, potentially contribute to and reproduce colonialist-like relationships similar to those experienced by the 'native' in an earlier era of colonialism and empire.

Colonialism, at its height in the 1900s, meant that most of the world was under the control of the Europeans (Carnoy, 1974:78). Through this Europeans 'revolutionised lives around the globe, relocated societies in new spaces, and transformed their historical trajectories to the point where it makes no sense to speak about history without reference to Eurocentrism' (Dirlik, 1999:13). Consequently, Eurocentrism, as produced by colonialism, is intimately associated with the construction of Europe's 'Others' (Said, 2003). However, critiques of Said's work claim that Orientalism ignores the fact that 'cultural stereotypes – constructed as "Others" – are considerably more ambivalent and dynamic than Said's analysis allows' (Ghandi, 1998:77-8). This criticism notwithstanding, Said's (2003:12) notion of 'Orientalism' facilitates understanding the

relationship between this continuing colonialism, the homogenising power of The Framework and the local context of education for girls in Tajikistan. The Framework, it is argued, acts to control education development from the perspective of the 'West', where the 'less powerful recipient ("partner") nations are largely compelled by various means to accept the vision of education "offered" by wealthy donor states and supranational funding bodies' (Tamatea, 2005a:230). As a poor recipient ('partner') of humanitarian aid, Tajikistan is one of the nations subject to Western 'help', if not 'enlightenment'.

Enlightenment

In the mid-eighteenth century a number of forward thinkers, including the Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire, David Hume and Adam Ferguson (Hamilton, 1992:18), began to look at the world differently. These thinkers or *les philosophes* (Woodruff, 2005:142), introduced 'a new group of ideas about society and the realm of the social … [which allowed people] … to think about society in a different way, as something open to change and transformation' (Hamilton, 1992:19). They were concerned with critical rationalism which 'combines the application of reason to social, political and economic issues with a concern with progress, emancipation and improvement, that is consequently critical of the status quo' (Hamilton, 1992:20). While this is outlined further in the next chapter, the key ideas that came out of the Enlightenment 'make up what sociologists call a "paradigm", a set of interconnected ideas, values, principles, and facts which provide both an image of the natural and social world, and a way of thinking about it' (Hamilton, 1992:21). Essentially, 'the Enlightenment was the creation of a new framework of ideas

about man [sic], society and nature, which challenged existing conceptions rooted in a traditional world-view, dominated by Christianity' (Hamilton, 1992:23). Thus this new way of thinking influenced all areas of life, such as technological innovations for agriculture and manufacturing, ways of waging war and new forms of government based on sovereignty as opposed to absolute monarchy.

Enlightenment thinkers introduced a new language, if not discourse, for talking about, and indeed constructing the world, based on science and 'reason' using specialised vocabularies and mathematical terms. The transition towards new areas of study and innovative forms of knowledge ultimately:

> [H]elped the process by which secular intellectual life became the province of a socially and economically defined group. They were the first people in western society outside the Church to make a living (or more properly a vocation) out of knowledge and writing. (Hamilton, 1992:24)

The emergence of specialised knowledge helped form distinct areas of study 'compartmentalized into bounded domains' (Hamilton, 1992:24) that eventually became the property of skilled experts. O'Brien and Penna (1998:9) confirm that 'it is difficult to understand the significance or development of contemporary (natural and social) sciences without an appreciation of the place of the Enlightenment in their formation and organisation'. The 'age of Enlightenment' (Hamilton, 1992:25) signified an abandonment of:

> The authority of tradition and religious thought … [and] … saw the rise of faith in Reason as the means through which order and progress can be achieved. … [It] … seemed to promise freedom from dependence on nature through the application of scientific knowledge; freedom from the political tyranny of inherited monarchial authority through the development of rational government;

> and intellectual freedom to challenge the fixed precepts of established wisdom through newly developed, human-centred philosophies.
>
> (O'Brien and Penna, 1998:11)

During this time major transitions were happening across Europe and its colonies as new ways of thinking about the world took hold that were uniquely modern, based on science and its use of experience, experimentation and reason. Thus, 'in contemporary social theory the Enlightenment represents the transformation from the pre-modern to the modern world' (O'Brien and Penna, 1998:12) which, according to Hamilton (1992:37) 'would move human society onwards and upwards to a more enlightened and *progressive* state' – the project of modernity. The emergence of modernity was not without significant implications for how the West related to its 'Others'.

Modernity

Modernity is a term used to describe 'modes of social life or organization, which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence' (Giddons, in Loyal, 2003:115). This was a time when 'the voyages of discovery were the beginning of a new era, one of world-wide expansion by Europeans, leading in due course to an outright, if temporary, European … domination of the globe' (Roberts, in Hall, 1992:280). This period heralded a distinct break from traditional notions of life (Giddons, in Loyal, 2003:115) and has 'been identified as synonymous with the emergence of modernity' (Smart, 1990:16). It was a time of change that 'implied … [by virtue of its inherent binary discursive logic] … a contrast with other "ages" that were not modern, epochs that had gone before, that were out of date, whose moment had passed' (Smith, D., 1999:6), and which brought with it

modern trends and ideas, such as the decline of feudalism; the expansion of trade, commerce and the market; the emergence of centralised monarchies; improved productivity; better standards of living; increases in population; and the explosion in art known as the Renaissance (Hall, 1992:281; Habermas, in Kellner, 1989:3). The transition from old to new ways of knowing the world equated to living in a 'modern age' (Hall, 1992:281) and was 'associated with innovation, change, novelty, and critical opposition to tradition and dogmatism' (Kellner, 1989:3). Luke explains that:

> [T]o be modern … is to participate in or share in one kind of sociocultural totality, namely an advanced technological, state or corporate capitalist, secularized society such as has mainly developed in the Northern Hemisphere … [where as on the other hand] … to be premodern … is to participate in another less complex social totality. (1990:220)

This binary separation between a traditional and a modern way of life was also used as a rationale for the seemingly humanist approach that many of the European colonisers used to legitimise 'reform' of their colonies. The irony is, however, that it can equally be applicable to the use of The Framework to guide education development in contexts such as Tajikistan, seemingly modern liberal-humanist discourse 'must be understood as a text, which … [in fact] … does not represent the world and education "as it is", but discursively constructs the world and education so as to be more amenable to inscription' by the coloniser's – in this instance neo-liberal – agendas (Tamatea, 2005a:215).

Thinking about the world in a 'modern' way provides a distinct system for classifying groups of people, colonies or countries within a bipolar or binary model that discriminates according to difference: 'traditional' verses 'modern' (Kandiyouti,

2002:280). Huntington describes the difference between modern and traditional societies in terms of control over the natural and social environment, which is,

> [D]irectly related to the expansion of scientific and technological knowledge … [which means that] … modern society is characterized by the tremendous accumulation of knowledge about man's [sic] environment and by the diffusion of this knowledge through society by means of literacy, mass communications, and education. (2000:145)

This system of classification distinguishes on the grounds of a society's ability to understand and amass knowledge about themselves and the world around them. Max Weber used a similar bipolar model when he contrasted traditional with capitalist societies in his account of modernity (Sztompka, 1993:70). Weber claimed that 'at all events, capitalism is the same as the pursuit of profit by means of continuing rational capitalistic enterprise: that is for the constant renewal of profit, or "profitability"' (Webber, in Sztompka, 1993:70-71). Thus at the far end of the capitalist development continuum are the developed or 'rich' countries of the world who, by virtue of their position as capitalist sources of funding, have the power to manipulate global education policies such as The Framework according to their currently neo-liberal designs.

Using the above mentioned binary system of differentiation constructed a relationship of power, which produced and eventually led to colonialism being accepted as normal and taken-for-granted as the way things should be in a global system ruled by modern Western powers. Baykan (1990:138) asserts that 'in the case of non-Western societies modernization … has become synonymous with Westernization … [and as such non-Western societies] … are then placed in opposition to the European ones characterized as rational and politically and socially differentiated'. Thus, those in the

world-system of colonialism who were not modern, were not Western, and in order to become modern, non-Western societies had to become Western, though paradoxically this was never fully obtainable by the Other - White but not quite. This meant that non-Western societies like Tajikistan had to 're-culture themselves according to the always rapidly advancing [and mostly unobtainable] Western model, no matter what the human price or how great the resistance' (von Laue, 1987:266), in order to join the 'single, evermore interdependent global community' (von Laue, 1987:263), or 'global village' (McLuhan, in Appadurai, 1993:325).

Globalisation

The colonial Empires of Europe established colonies all over the world, expanding the reach of Western influence, which as Appadurai explains has now expanded further in today's climate of technological advancement so that 'we have entered into an altogether new condition of neighborliness, even with those most distant from ourselves' (1993:325). Henry and Taylor (in Gough, 1997:12) argue that 'there is a good deal of hype around the notion of globalisation'. The term encompasses many different levels of ideas, processes and changes that are having profound implications on a planetary scale (Langhorne, 2001:1; Monkman and Baird, 2002:497; Singh, 2004:103) and it is becoming increasingly more complex to define (van Ginkel, 2002:2). Like colonialism, globalisation is not a new concept and predates the capitalist era (Ellwood, 2001:3; McMichael, 2000:275); it is the terminology that is new not the idea (Holton, 1998:21). Furthermore, Holten (1998:23) asserts that (ironically) 'theorists of

globalization … turn out to be mostly Western and historically located at some point in the past 250 years', which he claims:

> [T]ends to exclude the thought of the non-Western world from consideration, but also fails to explain how and why the distinction between the West and the rest emerged in the first place. (p. 23)

Holton (1998:25) cites research by Abu-Lughod on the history of globalisation which indicates that world economic systems or interconnections existed between Europe and Asia long before the ships from the colonial powers sailed out on their voyages of discovery, as during the 13th century Chinese ships engaged in long distance trade on a regular basis. Curtin (in Holton, 1998:25) further argues that cross-regional and cross-cultural long distance trade was practiced as far back as between 2500 to 1500 BC, indicating the former economic dominance of the 'East'. Nonetheless, and despite the origins of global trade in the East, Holton explains that:

> Over subsequent centuries, the arena of change moved outward from the Mediterranean and point[ed] East to the Atlantic and North-West Europe … the Western invasion and colonization of much of Asia established new mechanisms of global interconnection. (1998:25-26)

Holton (1998:31) provides further evidence that this early intercivilisational approach to globalisation predates Western domination as the:

> [C]entrality of non-Western sources of dynamism in areas such as trade, technology, and science … [were] … placed in different regions over time … [with the] … Hellenic civilization holding the key role between 500 BC and AD 200, the Indic region that from AD 200 to AD 600, the Muslim world that from AD 600 to AD 1000, and the Chinese that from AD 1000 to AD 1500. (p. 31)

In spite of these facts this version of history has largely been hidden from more recent accounts of globalisation by the expansion of the West as the main exporter of

innovation in modern times. Thus, globalisation is now entrenched in terms of colonisation from the perspective of the West. Moreover, Holton confirms that a:

> Historical understanding of globalization has been distorted by the representation of 'Europe', or 'the West', as the dynamic force behind the development of a single world … [where] … the historical contribution of non-European regions to the history of globalization is marginalized … [which] … leads to the ironic presumption that the non-Western world can only participate in the global … [system] … by assimilating to 'Western' practices, many of which actually originate outside of the West. (p. 31)

Notwithstanding the above, the 'West' has been constructed as the leading force in the discourse of globalisation and as such represents 'dominant forms of global power' (Holton, 1998:32) over the 'Rest'. Hence, a Western oriented globalising structure emerged during the sixteenth century when Europe started to accumulate capital, 'particularly from long distance trade such as the transatlantic slave-based triangular trade and the … exploitation of Mexico and Peru' (McGowen and Kordan, 1981:45), initiating a new world-system/order based on commerce and competition for profit: capitalism.

This new 'modern' version of globalisation is associated with the flow of 'traffic' in the form of people, capital, technology, ideas and images (Appadurai, 1993:326). Appadurai (1993:329) conceptualises 'globalization in terms of a series of flows along "-scapes" that include the ethno- (people), finance- (capital), techno- (technology), ideo- (ideas), and media- (images) scapes'. In Appadurai's (1993) elementary framework for conceptualising contemporary globalisation, the *Ethnoscape* comprises people and their movement around the world, the reasons for their movement, the effects of their movement and the laws put in place to regulate this movement. The *Technoscape*

comprises the increasing movement of technology and technical experts around the world that transcend previously impassable state borders. The *Finanscape* involves the increasing rate at which global capital is transferred around the world, the relationship between the economic system and other -scapes and how this relationship is unpredictable as each component is subject to its own regulations and motivations, whilst simultaneously impacting on the ongoing flow of the others. The *Mediascape* comprises the transmission of electronic media around the world, beaming images and ideas from one place to another anywhere on the planet. The *Ideoscape* comprises the linking of series of images that show ideas, often associated with power relations and the Enlightenment worldview discussed above. These flows account for the way people, money, technology, media and ideas move around the world, between and across borders, acting at global and local levels, and often resulting in tensions manifest as local cultural disruptions (Appadurai, 1993). Central to this model of globalisation, however, is the disjunction often present between the various flows. Flows along the various -scapes are not isomorphic. Rather flows along one -scape can have unforeseen and unintended consequences upon the flows along other -scapes. The subsequent disjuncture results in paradoxical outcomes at the local where global inflows are variously appropriated and re-interpreted (Appadurai, 1993). The data presented in the following chapters points to a disjuncture with regard to the prescriptions of The (global) Framework and its on the ground (local) realities in Tajikistan.

Capitalism

A modern economy is one of the many multifaceted characteristics of complex modern societies (Brown, 1992:129). As discussed, the project of modernity brought many changes, such as an increase in the pace of economic life (Brown, 1992:130). Brown (1992:130) states that the eighteenth century was seen by those living in it as 'the age of "commerce", the apex or culmination of a long period of social development in a country's manners, laws and government, as well as in its productive powers and patterns of consumption'. This period is also understood by some to represent the 'birth of a consumer society' (McKendrick et al., in Brown, 1992:131) as it was a time 'when social emulation manifested itself in a fast-moving fashion-consciousness in dress and in household goods'. Thus, society became more commercially framed as demand for goods and services increased in contemporary modern life. Brown (1992:138) explains 'that a "pre-modern" economy is one where agriculture is more important than industry, whereas a "modern" economy is one where industry is more important than agriculture'. Consequently, this necessitated changes in the behavior of European societies' employment and production.

One of the prominent *philosoph*es (emphasis in original) of the eighteenth century and considered to be the founder of modern economic theory (McMurtry, 1999:42) Adam Smith wrote *The Wealth of Nations*, which detailed a new way of thinking about the economy (Brown, 1992:148). Smith provided 'a new understanding of the economy … that enabled the "economy" to be regarded as a separate domain or area of social life … largely distinct from the political power and moral duties of the state' (Brown, 1992:148).

Smith argued that 'the market mechanism works by allocating goods and resources by the free interplay of demand and supply, and so goods are produced only if they are thought to be profitable' (Brown, 1992:147). He explained that:

> Every individual is continually exerting himself [sic] to find out the most advantageous employment for whatever capital he can command. It is his [sic] own advantage, indeed, and not that of society, which he has in view. But the study of his [sic] own advantage naturally, or rather necessarily leads him [sic] to prefer that employment which is most advantageous to society. … By directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he [sic] intends only his [sic] own gain, and in this, as in many other cases, he [sic] is led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.
>
> (in McMurtry, 1999:42)

This description of the market used the metaphor of an 'invisible hand' at work, which acted as a mechanism that enabled the 'competitive market … [to] … harness the natural self-interest of every individual person in such a way that the well-being of the society as a whole is promoted' (Brown, 1992:148). While Smith set out a number of *'powerfully qualifying conditions'* that needed to be adhered to for his theory of the 'free market' to be successful, McMurtry (1999:45) argues that 'every one of Smith's … principles of the free market has been turned into its effective opposite' by 'a single value system … [that] … is presupposed as normal' (McMurtry, 1999:21) in today's climate of 'transnational corporate rule'. McMurtry avows that:

> Smith's famed principle of the invisible hand whereby capital investors' private profit promotes the social good has been, in these ways, stripped of every condition and qualification upon which it was based, and perverted that money-profit maximization is a final good in itself, whether or not it meets any of the founding doctrine's original provisos of social and productive accountability.
>
> (p. 45)

McMurtry's analysis of the global 'free market' compares Adam Smith's theory with the current global market, arguing that the 'free market' (as arguably advocated by

The Framework, a descendent of the Washington Consensus) is not in fact 'free' but is only taken for granted as being free. International trading is controlled by organisations such as The World Trade Organization (WTO) and the European Union (EU) (McMurtry, 1999:48). Thus, McMurtry puts forward a systematic case for understanding how the global market, which he refers to as a money-to-more-money sequence (1999:132) is substantially different from the free market model anticipated by Adam Smith, insisting that:

> It operates to produce an opposite outcome – not, in general, more material prosperity and well-being, but ever more money demand for the top-end, and ever wider and deeper deterioration of life-conditions for the bottom half of humanity and for the global biosphere and civil commons in general.
>
> (p. 81)

McMurtry (1999:83) cites evidence from around the globe showing that many of the world's people are starving; many of the world's children are suffering from malnutrition; the number of unemployed people is increasing, with many who are employed working long hours for low wages; most of the world's natural resources are used by private corporations; many species are loosing their habitats and becoming extinct; many countries are experiencing famine and drought conditions, whilst other areas are experiencing depleted ozone in the stratosphere or desertification; and global warming is a phenomenon that has developed over the last fifty years. Hence it can be inferred that there is a 'global pattern of systemic life devastation without historical precedent … [that is] … both connected and explicable, and traceable back to a systemic disorder in the master programme' – namely neo-liberal capitalism including its development agendas (McMurtry, 1999:83-84). North America, Europe and the other

countries belonging to the WTO are now part of 'a single transnational investment regime' (McMurtry, 1999:79) that have as their flagship the OECD and follow the 'secretly negotiated terms … to protect the rights of money investors as absolute across still more national borders, the 29 nations of the OECD' (McMurtry, 1999:79). McMurtry strongly contends that:

> The objective now was to recode the law itself of sovereign nations in the global market system. This was to be performed by blanket institution of a transnational regulatory framework of private corporate ownership and trade as a sovereign order with the supra-constitutional power to override national, regional and municipal jurisdictions and laws. It crystallized on the level of world rule the still emerging demands of the mutant market order as a design of permanent world rule. (p. 79)

Unfortunately, the current global market system is now taken for granted by people as being natural.

In short, capitalism as envisaged by Adam Smith has mutated into a new global market system that 'seeks unconditional or "free" access to every society's local markets, resources and jobs' (McMurtry, 1999:59). This new strain of faceless multinational corporate capitalism, which started to emerge when America came to the fore as the new super power following WWII, and following the collapse of Keynesian economics, is equated by McMurtry (1999) to a cancer spreading throughout the world with its sole purpose being 'to *keep* governments indebted on a permanent and rising basis, while continuing to selectively feed on and dismantle social sectors' (McMurtry, 1999:78). This form of capitalism is neo-liberalism, and those who are furthest from, or on the periphery of the power centre of the modern global market system, like Tajikistan, are

more violently affected than those at the centre, which, in this system, means that the most developed nations benefit at the expense of the rest (Harris and Seid, 2000:5).

The 'West' and the 'Rest'

So far this chapter has examined the history behind the emergence of a new type of society, one that is advanced, developed, industrial and capitalist in structure. The journey that modern society has taken to get where it is now, is more commonly known as 'modernity' (Hall, 1992:276). Originally the western European discoverers sailed in a westerly direction to get east, where they believed they would find riches. However, today the west is more than a geographical reference or compass point and is used to refer to 'a type of society, a level of development' (Hall, 1992:276). The West has become more of an idea or a classification system that 'provides a standard or model of comparison' which can be used as a 'criteria of evaluation against which other societies are ranked and around which powerful positive and negative feelings cluster' (Hall, 1992:277). This concept of 'the West', as discussed above, developed out of a particular historical process: the project of modernity, and:

> [O]nce produced, became productive in its turn. It had real effects: it enabled people to know or speak of certain things in certain ways. It produced knowledge. It became both the organizing factor in a system of global power relations and the organizing concept or term in a whole way of thinking and speaking. (Hall, 1992:278)

In relation to this, Edward Said (2003) uses the Italian philosopher Vico's argument that:

> Men [sic] make their own history, that what they can know is what they have made, and extend[s] it to geography: as both geographical and cultural entities – to say nothing of historical entities – such locales, regions, geographical sectors as 'Orient' and 'Occident' are man-made [sic] … [to frame his own contention that] … as much as the West itself, the Orient is an idea that has a history and a

> tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West. The two geographical entities thus support and to an extent reflect each other. (p.5)

Using the Enlightenment period as a starting point, Said examines how the Orient came to be understood and provides a detailed description of how colonial powers came 'to terms with the Orient, that is, based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience' (Said, 2003:1). Said (2003:3) states that the concept of the Orient was produced by 'making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'. However, it is noted that criticism of Said's work claims Said's argument that there 'can be no "truths" … only formations or deformations' (Windshuttle, 2000:23), argues that Said does not sufficiently account for the 'reality' of those under study by Orientalism, or the relationship between epistemology and ontology. Nonetheless, as Roberts (in Hall, 1992:278) confirms:

> 'Modern' history can be defined as the approach march to the age dominated by the 'West', where the 'West' as we know it today comes from Europe's contact and self-comparison with other, non-western, societies (the Rest), very different in their histories, ecologies, patterns of development and cultures from the West … [which] … was … [used as] … the standard against which the West's achievement was measured.

Gradually, the powerful countries in Western Europe came to think of 'themselves as part of a single family or civilization – "the West" as opposed to "the rest"' (Hall, 1992:289). Different European cultures were united 'by one thing: the fact that *they are all different from the Rest*. Similarly, the Rest, though different among themselves, are represented as the same in the sense that *they are all different from the*

West' (Hall, 1992:280). Consequently, the world was divided, not literally but figuratively as it was not an even division (Said, 2003:12), with 'the West' on one side and 'the Rest' on the other, according to a constructed definition of 'difference' that came from 'a growing systematic knowledge in Europe about the Orient; knowledge reinforced by the colonial encounter as well as by widespread interest in the alien and unusual' (Said, 2003:39-40). This type of homogenising discourse – that of Orientalism – produced those under colonial rule as a 'fixed reality, at once "other" and yet entirely knowable and visible' (Bhabha, 1996:41). Defining the different colonial powers in Europe as 'the West' helped produce a new identity for Europeans and amplified their sense of superiority, which Roberts (in Hall, 1992:291) calls a '"Eurocentric" view of the world', confirming Said's contention 'that Europe was always in a position of strength, not to say domination … [as] … the essential relationship, on political, cultural, and even religious grounds, was seen – in the West … to be one between a strong and a weak partner' (Said, 2003:39-40). Eurocentrism, if not Orientalism, as outlined by Said (2003) thus helped produce a way of speaking about the world, and indeed constructing the world, by distinguishing between 'us' and 'them' that used a particular type of language, or discourse based on the elaboration of largely incommensurable and potentially insurmountable difference.

Discourse

As European domination extended a new language, or discourse, emerged that 'Europe began to … describe and represent the difference between itself and these

"others" it encountered in the course of its expansion' (Hall, 1992:291). Discourses, according to Ball (1990:17) are 'about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority', as they:

> [E]mbody meaning and social relationships, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations. Discourses are 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. … Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in practice of doing so conceal their own invention'. (Foucault in Ball, 1990:17)

Therefore, discourse is the way that language is used in specific contexts for economic, political and social purposes (Blunt, 2004:5). As such, van Dijk argues discourse 'is never free from the sociocultural influences and economic interests in which it is produced and disseminated' (in Blunt, 2004:5). Tamatea (2005a:216) suggests that 'as an instance of language as social practice, The Framework's discourses inform … who is now authorized to talk about education, when and how'. Furthermore, Davies (1989a:12) argues that:

> Social structure is not separate from the individuals who make it up. It is not a 'thing' that can be imposed on individuals. It nevertheless has material force. Individuals cannot float free from social structure. They can choose to act on and transform structures, but structures must always be recognised as constraining individual and social action.

Thus, 'language is never "innocent"; it is not a neutral medium of expression' (Layder, 1994:97), as those who possess the specialist knowledge related to particular discourses, such as within development or education, hold control over those who do not have access. Development experts are therefore able to make statements about the 'Third World' using specialist knowledge, whilst those in the 'Third World' must accept the expert's word and comply. Consequently, the discourse of development 'becomes a means through which a power relation between … [expert and non-expert] … is

established and maintained' (Layder, 1994:97). Luke (1999: 163) confirms that the power relationships embedded in discourse are the medium through which control is exercised and legitimated, thus they can be seen as having both disciplinary and disciplining effects. Foucault calls this type of control by a professional discourse 'bio-power' as it 'normalise[s] certain practices, habits and routines, whilst creating deviations and perversions out of those that … [it] … exclude[s] (Layder, 1994:101). As such, social structures are shaped by the myriad of discursive practices that individuals participate in and which can only be altered by 'a refusal of certain discursive practices or elements of those practices, and by practicing new and different forms of discourse' (Davies, 1989a:13).

Said uses Michel Foucault's notion of discourse to provide 'a way of looking at language which discloses how language permits, legislates and perpetuates discriminations of otherness and sameness' with regard to the Orient – in which Tajikistan is located (Bhatnagar, 1986:13). Because without looking at 'Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and even produce the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period' (Said, 2003:3). Hall notes that using the term discourse in this way provides:

> A particular way of *representing* 'the West', 'the Rest' and the relations between them. A discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e. a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the

> discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. (1992:291)

Hence, both 'the West' and 'the Rest' were (and are) 'hedged on all sides by social determinations … produced through social discourses (language, thought, symbolic representations) which positioned … [them] … in a field of power relations and within particular sets of practices' (Layder, 1994:95). Importantly, discourse such as Orientalism is not just about possession of knowledge, but the capacity to validate knowledge and make others act in relation to it. The Framework 'not only speaks about education, it defines, describes and delimits what education is, and is not', and what's more holds the material power to make others act in relation to this (Tamatea, 2005a:216).

Knowledge

When the colonial powers of Europe returned from the New Worlds they brought with them a wealth of information about the strange new lands and people. They described and represented what they 'discovered', and produced a body of knowledge that used a certain type of vocabulary. Their knowledge about 'the Rest':

> [C]onstitutes a kind of power, exercised over those who are 'known'. When that knowledge is exercised in practice, those who are 'known' in a particular way will be subject (i.e. subjected) to it. ... Those who produce the discourse also have the power to *make it true* – i.e. to enforce its validity, its scientific status.
>
> (Hall, 1992:295)

The new sciences that emerged as a consequence of modernity produced new disciplines that enabled experts to study, discuss and analyse people with the authority of 'knowledge'. Foucault (1977:191), for example, discusses how the:

> [B]irth of the sciences of man [sic] … [developed out of the] … modern play of coercion over bodies, gestures and behaviour … [that used the] … simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination.

It was the examination that enabled people to be 'described, judged, measured, compared with others ... and … trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded …' (Foucault, 1977:191). Foucault believed that:

> Side by side with the major technology of the telescope, the lens, and the light beam, which were an integral part to the new physics and cosmology, there were the minor techniques of multiple and intersecting observations, of eyes that must see without being seen; using techniques of subjection and methods of exploitation, an obscure art of light and the visible was secretly preparing a new knowledge of man [sic]. (Foucault, 1977:171)

Hence, as Olssen (2006:177) states, the new 'sciences … defined new ways of relating to the world, new means of administrative control, new ways of defining and talking about people, and so on – in short, new means of normalization and surveillance by which order and discipline in modern Western nations is made effective'. In the case of colonialism, once governments could identify who was normal, i.e. desirable or Western, they could determine the abnormal and put in place policies to address these. The knowledge gained from different scientific disciplines produced a particular discourse that formulated 'a way of organizing the world and in doing so it positions people in relation to the categories and classifications it constructs' (Olssen, 2006:181). A consequence of the modern disciplinary construction of 'truth', has been as Luke (1990:237) affirms, that any knowledge, values or beliefs unrelated to science and technology are denied entrance to the metropole-dominated world system. As discussed above, 'Orientalism' is an example of one discipline to come out of modernity that not only constructs the West and the Rest, but also discursively validates the maintenance of asymmetrical power between the two.

However, as also noted, Orientalism comprised more than words or discourses. It comprised as Said (2003: 12) claims 'an uneven exchange with various kinds of power'.

Indeed Foucault, who Said draws upon in his discussion of Orientalism, is concerned with the power/knowledge relationship present in society, particularly in the period following the 2nd World War. Poster (1989:108) provides 'an account of the nature of modes of domination or "technologies of power"'(Laydar, 1994:96) enacted in modern societies. He argues 'against all forms of humanism which centralise the individual as the "source" of meaning and as the building block for social analysis … [and claims rather] … attention should be given to the objective social forms which constitute society and "construct" the subjectivities of individuals' (Laydar, 1994:96). Central to Foucault's theory on discourse is the 'view of language as the heart of critique, one that he calls discourse (Poster, 1989:109). Foucault calls this coercion of a society 'power':

> It [power] brings into play relations between individuals (or between groups) … [either as] … relationships of communication (whether in the form of previously acquired information or of shared work) … [or as] … power relations (whether they consist of obligatory tasks, of gestures imposed by tradition or apprenticeship, of subdivisions and the more or less obligatory distribution of labor) … [or of] … finalized activities (even if only the correct putting into operation of elements of meaning) … produce effects of power. (1983:218)

Thus, a government can mould its populace according to its agenda using (modern) techniques that Foucault refers to as disciplinary practices through the power/knowledge relationship present in different institutions (Donald, 1985:221) such as development or education. Furthermore, this modern 'technology of power', which in the first instance eschews direct physical violence, forms the basis of what Foucault considers to be the way society is made governable, in the sense that 'it designates the way in which the

conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick' (Foucault, 1983:221). Development discourse such as that in The Framework is arguably grounded in various technologies of power (Tamatea, 2005a; Escobar 1984).

Discourse of Development

Shortly after the end of World War II 'a new world order was constructed through the Bretton Woods agreements, and various institutions, such as the UN, the WB, [and] the IMF … were set up to help stabilize international relations' (Harvey, 2005:10). In 1949 the WB sent an economic mission to Colombia in order to assemble a 'comprehensive development strategy for the country' (Escobar, 1988:428). This humanitarian act was prompted by the discovery of mass poverty in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Escobar, 1999:382) and a fear of 'the re-emergence of inter-state geopolitical rivalries that had led to the war' (Harvey, 2005:10). Thus the postwar period saw:

> [A] reorganization of power at the world level (which included the breakdown of old colonial systems in Asia and Africa, the successful march of Chinese communism to power, and the beginning of the 'cold war'). … [Furthermore,] … [i]mportant changes had occurred in the structure of production and they had to be made to fit the requirements of accumulation of a capitalist system in which the countries of the "Third World" occupied an increasingly important … role.
>
> (Escobar, 1984:385)

As a consequence, Western post-war powers developed a strategy for dealing with the many post-war transitions they envisioned happening around them. This took the form of a:

> [R]adically new approach to the management of the social and economic affairs of a country … [that aimed to] … create a society equipped with the material and organizational factors required to pave the way for rapid access to the forms of life created by industrial civilization. (Escobar, 1988:429)

The concept of 'underdevelopment' emerged from a new discourse around the idea that certain countries, non-Western countries, needed to become 'developed' and the West was going to 'provide … the necessary categories and techniques to do so' (Escobar: 1988:429), a process that Luke (1990:223) refers to as 'modernization' and which Kandiyoti (2002:280) describes as the 'process of transformation from "traditional" to "modern" societies'. Escobar (1988:429) argues that 'economic development, trade liberalization under the aegis of the nascent giant corporations, and the establishment of multilateral financial institutions (such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, founded in 1944) were to be the main instruments … [that would] … advance the new strategy' of development.

Very quickly development became a way of thinking and doing that 'bombarded' poor countries with 'an endless number of programs and interventions that seemed to be inescapable and that ensured their [western] control' (Escobar: 1988:430). This produced a new body of knowledge collected by experts who examined, calculated, measured, and compared all aspects of the social and economic life of these countries, which Said (2003:291) claims has contributed to keeping 'the region and its people conceptually emasculated, reduced to "attitudes", "trends", statistics: in short dehumanized'. Understanding development in this way draws upon Foucault's theory of discourse and provides an insight into the way policies and procedures implemented in the name of

'development' have shaped and ultimately constructed the concept of development as it is perceived today, confirming Escobar's (1995:4) view that the current situation of 'massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression' has been produced by the very 'discourse and strategy of development' espoused by those in power at the end of the 2nd World War, namely Western governments and large multinational institutions. Consequently, Luke (1990:225) contends that the dominant countries and large international organisations that are situated at the centre of the modernised world continue to use their political and economic policies to force their own culture, economy and way of life onto the subjugated dependent countries that are standing in the wings of the world stage, as if waiting for the era of Pax Americana to draw them in.

In 1951 the UN published a report detailing the policies and measures suggested 'for the economic development of underdeveloped countries', which according to Escobar (1995:4) called for the 'total restructuring of "underdeveloped" societies'. Hence, the discourse, disciplines and practices of development were born and by the early 1950s the concept of 'development' had 'become hegemonic at the level of the circles of power' (Escobar, 1995:4), meaning:

> Governments … [were] … designing and implementing ambitious development plans, institutions … [were] ... carrying out development programs in city and countryside alike, experts of all kinds … [were] … studying underdevelopment and producing theories ad nauseam. (Escobar, 1995:5)

Within the discourse of development, 'specialists' were busy studying, measuring and describing the 'Third World' and its peoples as having:

> [F]eatures such as powerlessness, passivity, poverty and ignorance, usually dark and lacking in historical agency, as if waiting for the (white) Western hand to help subjects along and not infrequently hungry, illiterate, needy and oppressed by its own stubbornness, lack of initiative, and traditions. (Escobar, 1995:8)

This type knowledge production and description of people categorises them as a homogeneous group and implies that there is only one way to know and one way to understand: 'our' way.

Indeed central to the WB's policy agenda is 'development', which according to Peet and Hardwick:

> [I]s a founding belief in the modern world … [where] … all modern advances in science, technology, democracy, values, ethics, and social organization fuse into the single humanitarian project of producing a far better world … [by] … using the productive resources of society to improve the living conditions of the poorest people. (1999:1)

But, according to Carmen:

> [S]uch views, propounded by professionals, arrogate the right to reconstruct and reclassify a number of countries as underdeveloped and poor, and to project them as problem cases to be solved. (1996:58)

This single-minded study of development produced the discourse that justifies some areas and people of the world becoming represented in a particular way, as - 'underdeveloped'. This type of study and classification comprises a 'mechanism of power' (Escobar, 1995:5). As a result of the logic inherent in this classification, the West exercises power over the 'Third World' by bringing:

> [I]nto play relations between individuals (or between groups) … in which certain actions modify others … guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome … [as] … it designated [sic] the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of … communities. (Foucault, 1983:217-220)

The power of this 'logic' is not without consequence. Through the discourse of development produced by Western circles of power:

> Most people in the West (and many in parts of the Third World) have great difficulty thinking about Third World situations and people in terms other than those provided by the development discourse. (Escobar, 1995:12)

As such, development is dominated by one way of knowing, that of the Western way, which has ultimately marginalised and rendered all other forms of knowledge as value-less and untrue (Escobar, 1995:13). This outcome, it is argued, suggests that key development institutions, such as the WB, continue to construct and maintain their client populations through their policies that place the Third World 'in a classic position of dependency vis-à-vis industrialised nations' (Altbach, in Carmen, 1996:67). This outcome continues because:

> Those who are the objects of development have been kept out of the decision-making process and/or are prevented from participating at every level except, perhaps, the token level of participation in benefits.
> (Cohen and Uphoff, in Carmen, 1996:64)

However, it must be noted that this view of development that relies on the 'colonial metaphor' is not shared by all, and it is argued that this conception of development 'leads some post-development writers to overly aggregate the operation of power, to ascribe intentionally to a singular historical force such as "the Americans", and to take an untenable oppositional stance' (Brigg, 2002:433).

A Neo-liberal Agenda

Recent scholarly critique of neo-liberalism identifies a shift in the policy agendas of liberal-capitalist governments that is Euro-centric in origin and which 'calls for

reducing the economic roles of government in providing social welfare, in managing economic activity at the aggregate and sectoral levels, and in regulating international commerce' (MacEwan, 1999:4). This new approach to global control is:

> [M]otivated by an extreme economic rationalism that views the market not only as a superior allocative mechanism for the distribution of scarce public resources but also as a morally superior form of political economy. (Peters, 1996:80)

Neo-liberalism is described by Torres (2000:7-8) as a 'term used to designate a new type of state which … promote[s] notions of open markets, free trade, the reduction of the public sector, the decrease of state intervention in the economy and the deregulation of markets'. This means that 'the state should participate less in the provision of social services (including education) … and that these services should be privatized' (Torres, 2000:8), a situation that will not be welcomed by the majority of Tajiks, who 'consider their current government inferior to the Soviet one' (McMann, 2007:233).

Much current development policy in the West, though based on human capital theory, is subsequently moving towards market driven practices, such as privatisation and decentralisation (Ahmad, 1998:462; Brady and Kennedy, 2003:48; Brown et al., in Lingard, Hayes and Mills, 2002:8). It is now characterised by an emphasis on management, which Marshall and Peters (1999:xxv) call 'new managerialism'. This shift is evidenced in policy documents such as The Framework, with its claim to manage what countries should do regarding the education of their population, stating that:

> To compliment the efforts of national governments, UNESCO, as the lead agency in education, will *co-ordinate* and *mobilize* all partners in national, regional and international levels: multinational and bilateral funding agencies, non-government organizations and the private sector as well as broad-based civil society organizations. (UNESCO, 2000a:3- Emphasis added)

Furthermore, Marshall and Peters note that:

> One of the major tenets of 'new managerialism' is that, as there is nothing distinctive of education, it can be conceptualized and managed like any other service or institution, and the 'offerings' of institutions commodified like any other item on a supermarket shelf. (1999: xxviii)

Where this 'model' has prevailed, education has been relegated to a commodity and can no longer be thought of as being provided free, for the good of all by the state (Kuehn, 1999:2). In the current climate of neo-liberal policies the provision of education is all too often accompanied by certain conditions, such as structural adjustment strategies imposed on 'developing' countries (Harris and Seid, 2000:11; Ilon, 1994:95; Leach, 2000:337; Simon, 1997:186; Stromquist, 2001:41).

New managerialism is characterized by aspects identified in Foucault's notion of governmentality, which is concerned with a regime of practices as 'places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted, meet and interconnect' (Marshall and Peters, 1999: xxix). As Peters explains:

> Neoliberal policies of the privatization of state assets and commercialization of the public sphere have led to a minimal state, or at least to a significant downsizing, … [however] … the state has retained its institutional power through a new form of individualization where human beings turn themselves into market subjects under the sign of 'Homo economicus' … [which is someone 'who is educated for productive roles in the commercial world and successful engagement in the labor market' (Daly and Codd in Blunt, 2004: 11) and as such] … is the basis for understanding of the 'governmentality of individuals' in education as a technique or form of power that is promoted through the adoption of market forms. (1996:81)

Moreover, and in relation to this research project's key questions, Tamatea (2005a:219) asserts that 'as a welfare service provided by the state … education has become a site of reconstruction as a conduit for capital's reproduction'. In more recent times 'neo-

liberalism has become increasingly authoritarian', which can be seen as manifest in global policies such as The Framework by their 'discursive construction of education and society more generally as objects of surveillance, transparent to the gaze of neo-liberal supranational funding agencies and their conduit states' (Tamatea, 2005a:220). Thus, The Framework, whilst claiming to espouse a rights-based agenda through its aims and goals, potentially has – as an embodiment of development discourse – another less explicitly stated neo-liberal agenda to be manifest through its implementation strategies (Tamatea, 2005a:219).

Gender Relations

Feminist theories grew out of a distinct political movement called the Women's Liberation Movement that emerged in the late 1960s (Weedon, 1987:1). The movement is active in issues relating to women in 'education, welfare rights, equality of opportunity, pay and conditions, the social provision of childcare, … the right to choose freely whether and when to have children, … [and] …the way in which the oppressors of patriarchy are compounded for many women by class and race' (Weedon, 1987:2). Patriarchy concerns the way in which the structure of society is geared towards 'power relations in which women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men,' (Weedon, 1987:2). These patriarchal power relations emanate from the 'social meanings given to biological sexual difference' (Weedon, 1987:2), thus it is argued that any positions gained by women, such as the right to education, have only been reached under terms designed for men, who, due to their biological difference, are not 'saddled' with ties to

motherhood, child care or domestic labour. Under the patriarchal conditions often present in modern society feminists attempt to fight their oppression through three main types of feminism: liberal feminism, social feminism and radical feminism.

Liberal feminism is explained by Weedon (1987:2) as viewing the oppression of women in the patriarchal structure of society to be a result of the fact that 'women are "*naturally*" quipped to fulfill different social functions, primarily that of wife and mother'. Liberal feminists look for ways of reaching full equality for women in all areas of life without any radical changes in the existing social and political order. Social feminism, however, explains the oppression of women in relation to their subject positions within the discourses they take part (Weedon, 1987:2). Thus, girls learn what and who they should be through social institutions, such as the family and school, and the social practices that they interact with and are part of, which in most societies means that they learn to see their primary role as that of a wife and mother. Social feminists call for a full transformation of the social system in order to change the way gender is socially produced. As an alternative, radical feminism, holds that the only way for women to become autonomous individuals is to remove themselves from the patriarchal structure of society and form a new social order (Weedon, 1987:4).

More recently critical feminist theory has asked 'how and where knowledge is produced and by whom and of what counts as knowledge' (Weedon 1987:7). This 'critical' theory is therefore able to:

> [R]ecognise the importance of the *subjectivity* in constituting the meaning of women's lived reality, … address women's experience by showing where it comes from and how it relates to material social practices and the power relations which structure them, … account for competing subjective realities and demonstrate the social interests on behalf of which they work … [by] … understanding how particular social structures and processes create the conditions of existence which are at one and the same time both material and discursive. (Weedon, 1987:8)

In light of Weedon's argument with regard to critical feminism and its relationship to subjectivity, this research project analyses The Framework in conjunction with what girls say about their access to schooling, with the aim of understanding the mechanisms of power operating in Tajik society and the possibilities for change (Weedon, 1987:10). Critical feminist theory, which aims to give 'empowerment, voice, emancipation, equality and representation for oppressed groups' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:53), is used to foreground issues of power by questioning the possible oppression, exploitation and disempowerment of girls in Tajikistan, that may arise from the cultural traditions imposed through family expectations and from the effects of the global policies surrounding education reform. While the focus of this study is girls' access to education, understanding the praxis of sexual politics is fundamental to understanding girls' access to education in two rural communities of Tajikistan. Typically the 'family has been the centre-piece of the sociological analysis of sex roles … [however] … gender relations are present in *all* types of institutions. They may not be the most important structure in a particular case, but they are certainly a major structure in most' (Connell, 1987:119-120).

Gender, however, is a term 'commonly used by feminists to indicate the social construction of masculinity and femininity, as opposed to the biological male/female

sexed bodies (Harris, 2004:14). Using gender as a classification system 'divides humans into two categories: male or female' (Cranny-Francis et al., 2003:1; Greene, 1993:241) that is 'generally understood as a natural fact of the real world rather than something that we have learned to see as natural' (Davies, 1993:7). Assigning gender roles separates the population into a binary relationship (Gorgan, 1996:35) where male and female are opposites, but related to one another (Biklen and Pollard, 1993:1). But by constructing male and female as binary opposites, it is also possible to 'discover the way in which they take their meaning through the exclusion of the other' (Davies, 1992:3), where any overlap can expect to be unthinkable and consequently subject to repression or ritual. Thus the gendered practices experienced by the girls participating in this study as they engage with and negotiate the discourses available to them and the institutions and social practices which support them, inform how these girls position themselves as fundamentally opposite to boys (Weedon, 1997:97).

Central to the concept of gender are notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' and how these roles are played out in different social institutions. In this research project the term 'gender' means the social, historical and political construction of masculine and feminine identities, or subjectivities. Hence this study is concerned with investigating the way that gender is acted out through repeated patterns of behaviour that inform girls' access to education; something that Butler (in Harris 2004:15) calls 'performance' or how these actions are 'taken up' through various systems of meaning embedded in different discourses and their relationship to social practice in general. Butler (in Harris, 2004:15)

states that 'each social group has its own ideas of how men and women should behave, and articulates its expectations accordingly'. Most societies have clear guidelines for what are considered to be female roles and male roles, which in Tajikistan are based on the honour-and-shame system (Harris, 2004:20), and although gendered 'identities are not historically fixed entities, … they are subjected to the continuous interplay of history, culture and power' (Hall, in Mac an Ghaill, 1994:9).

Indeed, as soon as a child is born it is generally classified as a boy or a girl and from that moment is 'constrained within a range of norms … inculcated into them' that become a natural part of their psyche, or subjectivity (Butler, in Harris, 2004:15). The norms that people perform are attached to different versions of masculinity and femininity which are ultimately established '*through a stylized repetition of acts*' (Butler, in Harris, 2004:15), that are replicated continuously until they appear to be normal or natural. Then 'once this stage has been reached it is only a small step before what seems natural acquires regulatory force' (Butler, in Harris, 2004:15). Once the performance of gendered norms becomes like second nature in a society it becomes ever more important not to go against it, 'as this will appear almost like going against nature' (Harris, 2004:15). Indeed 'the behavioural patterns that upon repetition form norms, are not a matter of arbitrary choice but are directly related to a society's hegemonic ideology' (Gramsci, in Harris, 2004:15).

Conclusion

The discussion above provides a broad overview of a set of theoretical tools, that whilst it is acknowledged that these tools are unique in their search for truths, it is argued that they are valuable to analysing, interpreting and understanding the data collected at the case study sites. These conceptual tools have included: 'colonialism', 'modernity', 'globalisation', 'capitalism', 'Orientalism', 'development discourse', 'neo-liberalism' and 'gender relations', and form the basis of a cohesive system for analysing the situation of girls' access to education under the direction of the global blue-print for education development, namely The Framework. Significantly it has been argued that the present day context of education and development in Tajikistan can not be separated from the larger history of development informed by colonialism, modernity, capitalism and globalisation. A common theme that ties together many of these conceptual tools, however, is that of 'discourse'. Most are grounded in a particular discursive construct of reality, which holds consequences for material and social practices and relations. Importantly, it has been argued that understanding girls' access to education in Tajikistan requires not only an appreciation of the power of words – as discourse – but also an appreciation of the material and social relations of power to which discourse produce and reproduce. This critical and post-structuralist set of conceptual tools will, as shown in chapters Five, Six and Seven, not only facilitate analysis of the texts circulating in *Khorog* and *Panj*, but also a comparison of these local texts with that of The (global) Framework to identify the potential disjunctions between the global and the local.

Chapter Four

Methodology: Research in a Cross-cultural and Cross-Language Context

Introduction

The focus of this study, the problems from which it has emerged and the need for further research were outlined in Chapter One. While the literature review in Chapter Two revealed that some research has been conducted on girls' access to education in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, it was argued that a more detailed study would help reveal how girls in other regions of the country are negotiating the discourses available to them as they fight for equal access to education.

This chapter, however, outlines the methodology used in this research project, which broadly comprises a case study. In this study, interview data were collected from two research sites in rural/remote Tajikistan using translators as research colleagues and local mediators as the researcher did not speak the research participants' language. Using the theoretical framework outlined above, this study draws on Fairclough's three dimensional approach to CDA to deconstruct the interview generated texts produced to identify the discourses and relationships between text and context informing girls' access to education.

Research Paradigms

Research is defined by Kerlinger (in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:5) 'as the systematic, controlled empirical and critical investigation of hypothetical propositions about the presumed relations among natural phenomena' and in sociology it is guided by different paradigms, or 'views of the world' which mold and organise 'both theoretical reflection and empirical research' (Corbetta, 2003:11). Three paradigms have traditionally been used in educational research. The first grew out of the Enlightenment period, as discussed in Chapter Three, which is generally accepted to have commenced in the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Hamilton, 1992:24), when *les philosophies* began to think about the world differently. This era was referred to by Kant (in Hamilton, 1992:26) as the 'Age of Enlightenment' as it brought with it the 'creation of a new framework of ideas about man [sic], society and nature, which challenged existing conceptions rooted in a traditional world-view, dominated by Christianity' (Hamilton, 1992:23). The *philosophies*' thinking was guided by the 'pursuit of knowledge and science was the supreme form of knowledge because it seemed to create secure truths based on observation and experiment' (Hamilton, 1992:27). They believed that 'experimentation was … the way that would allow social researchers to unlock the mysteries of nature, and to gather "truths" about society; it ultimately became accepted into the system of science' (Sarantakos, 1998:2). Thus, it was this new scientific method, which could be applied to all areas of life that would enable the *philosophies* to 'understand and by understanding, master nature' (Hamilton, 1992:27).

The Positivist Research Paradigm

In 1848, French social philosopher, August Comte, described what he called a 'positive method' for studying society when he wrote in an essay that 'scientific methods … were the most appropriate tools of social research' (Sarantakos, 1998:3). His theory, now known as positivism, 'became the backbone of social sciences in Europe' (Sarantakos, 1998:3). This was a time when the social sciences were evolving into a distinct discipline but still used the methods of the natural sciences. A positivist approach comprises:

> The study of social reality utilizing the conceptual framework, the techniques of observation and measurement, the instruments of mathematical analysis, and the procedures of inference of the natural sciences. (Corbetta, 2003:13)

This method of research is also 'objectivist' as it treats the social world like the world of natural phenomena, seeing it as hard, real and external to the individual (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:6). It relies on laws or law-like generalisations to understand the social world through mostly quantitative techniques of data collection and employs inductive reasoning, that is, 'moving from the particular to the general' (Corbetta, 2003:15). Positivism expanded into the US in the early twentieth century, where many research centres were established. England and Australia followed suit and the social sciences remained dominated by positivistic theory and methodology, which typically used survey methods and experiments that were directed towards collecting quantifiable, statistical data, until the 1960s. However, this positivist approach began to receive criticism from alternative schools of thought, which questioned 'most theoretical points of positivism, especially its methodology and its perception of social reality' (Sarantakos, 1998:4). One complaint was that 'quantitative empirical research leaves out too much of

what is human and important in our attempt to understand pedagogy and education' (Soltis, 1984:6).

The Interpretive Research Paradigm

Those opposing positivism were 'united by their common rejection of the belief that human behaviour is governed by general, universal laws and characterized by underlying regularities' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:19) and agreed that 'the very perception of reality is not an objective picture, … in the sense that even the simplest recording of reality depends on the researcher's frame of mind, and on social and cultural conditioning' (Corbetta, 2003:19). In the positivist approach the object being studied 'consists of a reality that is external to the researcher and remains so during the course of the study', where as an alternative approach, initiated by Max Weber, aimed to interpret or 'understand the purpose of the action and grasp the intentional element in human behaviour' (Corbetta, 2003:22), which, according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2002:21) 'can only be understood by the researcher sharing their frame of reference: understanding of individual's interpretations of the world around them has to come from the inside, not the outside'. This approach is thus 'subjective' and does not use the quantitative tools developed in positivism. Consequently, the interpretive school of thought developed its own set of qualitative research procedures, observation techniques and ways of analysing data. However, this approach also had its critics, who argued that 'while it is undeniable that our understanding of the actions of our fellow-beings necessarily requires knowledge of their intentions, this, surely cannot be said to comprise

"the" purpose of a social science' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:26). This approach was thought to overlook the power that others possess in order to enforce their own meanings and understanding of situations on to the participants.

The Critical Research Paradigm

Whilst the positivists were criticised for their macro-approach, interpretivists were criticised for their micro-approach to sociology and thus a third paradigm emerged in the 1960s to guide and shape social research strategies and techniques that were claimed could better account for social behaviour. This new critical approach to social research was influenced by Habermas and suggested that whereas 'much social research is comparatively trivial in that it accepts rather than questions given agendas for research … [research should be political and include] … the emancipation of individuals and groups in an egalitarian society' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:28). Furthermore, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2002:28) state that in doing this, critical research aims to identify 'the "false" or "fragmented" consciousness that has brought an individual or social group to relative powerlessness or, indeed, power, and it questions the legitimacy of this'. Soltis (1984:7) also stresses 'the need for inquiry that takes into account the historical-ideological moment we live in and the influences it has on us'. This type of critical social research is typically small scale and involves participant researchers in understanding, interrogating, critiquing and transforming actions and interests of those being studied with a view to emancipating them. It is with the aim of 'emancipation' that this critical

approach is used to guide this study of girls' access to education in two rural/remote Tajik communities.

The Case Study

The research method used in this investigation of girls' access to education comprises a case study, which, according to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2002:182) is 'particularly valuable when the researcher has little control over events', as was the situation in this project. A case study 'provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:181). The data gathered within this case study provided descriptive evidence from the viewpoints of the participants, including their lived experience, thoughts, feelings and desires, which produced a 'snap-shot' of the situation of girls' access to education in each community. Thus, this chapter outlines how a case study was used to investigate factors affecting girls' access to education over boys in two rural/remote villages of Tajikistan, the poorest of the former Soviet Republics in Central Asia. This study adds to the field of research on gender equity in education and builds on similar research conducted by UNICEF (d'Hellencourt, 2004) in and around Dushanbe, the capital of the country.

A case study was conducted in two diverse communities in Tajikistan. I visited each site for 5 days in 2005-2006 where I talked with various members of each community. The meetings took place in the company of a female translator who was

both known by me and from each community so that participants felt more at ease in the presence of a foreigner. Due to the legacy of secrecy surrounding KGB activity, many people were still nervous of official information gathering. I responded to this through using a translator from each community as a member of the local neighbourhood group. As such the translator had the suitable clan affiliations that Tajik society holds strong reliance on. Twenty-one girls between the ages of ten and nineteen were formally interviewed. Two or three teachers (depending on availability), a school director, two or three parents and two or three local community members also provided background information through informal interviews, in that they provided their opinions through conversations rather than recording them in a formal interview situation. These numbers were limited due to time constraints as the interviews took place in people's homes, each taking two to three hours, as guests must participate in the hospitality traditions particular to Central Asia. Guests are always treated to a full meal, regardless of their reason for visiting. Informal meetings and conversations took place in the local school, on the street through chance encounters and at social gatherings in my translators' houses as many people were invited to visit each family whilst I was staying with them.

The Context of the Case Study

The context of this research project was particularly amenable to the requirements of a case study. Through the use of a case study it was possible to establish cause and effect or at least conditions of possibility by observing 'effects in real contexts, [thus] recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both cause and effects' (Cohen,

Manion and Morrison, 2002:181), a relationship which is of fundamental interest in critical research. Furthermore, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2002:181) state that because each context is 'unique and dynamic … case studies investigate and report the complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance'. The specific contexts for this case study were:

1. Panj - a rural town in the region of Kurgon Tiube that borders Afghanistan on the Amu Darya river; and
2. Khorog – a remote town in the region of Gorno-Badakshan, which is in the Pamir Mountain range and borders Afghanistan on the Amu Darya river.

The case study approach facilitated investigation of rich and vibrant sources of data in each site including: access to family life on a first-hand basis, as I was staying with local families, and inside information from local informants who were willing to talk to me informally through social interaction when they visited the families whilst I was staying with them. In Panj I stayed with my translator's brother and his extended family for three days the first time and two days during a second visit. They live in a three-roomed mud-brick house relatively close to the centre of town, which was re-built after the civil war. One room is used for the female family members to sleep in, one for the male family members to sleep in and one for the owner and his new wife. The number of people sleeping at the house varied on a daily basis depending on who was in town. Tajik custom dictates that any family member must be welcomed into your home and provided

for when necessary. The house has glass in the windows and a front door but the only furniture inside the house is an old television set on a rickety table, a wood burning heater/stove in the corner of one room, two traditional Tajik wedding chests and numerous hand-made cotton mattresses that are typical to Tajik homes and act as multi-purpose seats, mattresses and quilts according to the time of day and time of year. The kitchen comprises an open fire outside and there is a long-drop toilet in an outhouse at the far end of their vegetable plot. Electricity is only available for two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening and no running water is piped to the house; water must be fetched from a pump about 500 metres away – by donkey and cart. They have a small plot of land adjoining the house in which they grow vegetables for their own consumption while their neighbour has a cow that they share. They consider themselves to be comfortable and are well respected within the community, as their father was a collective farm manager during Soviet times. During my visit many people came to the house to pay their respects and talk to me. I also met and talked to the school director and a member of the local education department whilst visiting the local school, which my translator had attended during her school days, where one of her sisters is now employed as a teacher.

In Khorog I stayed in my translator's house with her husband. He was unable to work as he recently suffered a heart attack. The house is large, with four rooms, an inside kitchen and a full bathroom with flushing toilet. There are no problems with piped water or regular electricity supplies and the house is centrally heated. Each room is well

furnished to 'Western' standards as it is usually rented out to foreigners living and working in the area. This family is now in a good position within the community as my translator was a doctor working in an international organisation in Dushanbe, so earned more in one month than any one working locally earned in a year. I stayed in Khorog for five days so was able to visit many families and meet many community members. I visited a local school and was invited to look around the classrooms by the school's director. Most of the students spoke some English and the school seemed well resourced due to the strong support provided for this community by their spiritual leader, The Aga Khan.

From the contexts described above I was able to blend the description of events with the analysis of them; focus on individuals and groups of participants in order to understand their perceptions of events; gain a clear understanding of the specific events that are relevant to each community; become integrally involved in the cases, and in so doing work towards representing the fuller dimensions and intensity of each case when writing up the results and findings (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:182). Using the natural environment of the participants of this research study is also a measure recommended to guarantee ecological validation as it takes 'into consideration the life and conditions of the researched' (Sarantakos, 1998:80). During the course of the case study, attention was directed to comments made during the interviews, whilst simultaneously looking for connections to and relationships with the context.

This case study critically analyses the common and yet potentially diverse phenomena that make up the two groups studied so that wider generalisations can be made. In order to conduct the case study a local translator, as noted, was used during all interviews as neither group spoke English as their first language. In the first site, Panj, the community is predominantly Uzbek speaking. In the second site, Khorog, the majority of people speak Pamiri, a language of Iranian descent. Thus, this case study required the use of a third party to ensure that information was clearly understood by all involved in the interviewing process, ensuring cultural validity was maintained through 'sensitivity to the participants, cultures and circumstances' (Morgan, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:111), an important factor in cross-cultural research. Case studies 'need to be concerned with rigorous and fair presentation of empirical data' (Yin, 1994:2), so whilst conducting interviews a tape recorder was used to record conversations. Recording the data helped to enhance validity by 'avoiding inaccurate or wrong reporting of data' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:117). However, due to suspicion of 'officials', tape recorders were not an option when speaking with the adult members of each community. In these instances I relied on substantive field notes. The interviews were semi-structured and guided by a set of research questions in order to maintain consistency and reliability (LeCompte and Preissle, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:119) between sites, and to help the interviewer 'get the richest evidence within the limits of time available' (Stenhouse, 1984:4). Moreover, the use of a case study approach enabled the researcher to gather two sources of evidence by direct

observation and by systematic interviewing (Yin, 1994:8), which was useful for analysis of both text and context.

In order to conduct a successful case study, Cooper (in Yin, 1994:9) states that it is necessary to engage in a lot of preparation; the literature needs thorough reading in order to prepare 'sharper and more insightful questions about the topic', as although the majority of the interviews were semi-structured where the researcher referred to issues listed in Appendix 2, when speaking with participants it was often necessary to delve deeper into issues that arose during the course of each interview. It is further noted that conducting a case study can lead to a significant amount of documentation (Yin, 1994:10). Hence, once meetings and interviews were finished, notes of the proceedings and transcripts of the tapes were made, indexed, then stored in a confidential manner in keeping the University of New England ethics requirements (Code of Conduct for Research, n.d.:online).

Types of Interviews

While there is extensive literature about using interviews as a research tool, and there are many types of interviews (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:270; Fontana and Frey, 2000:640; Freed, 1988:315), the type of interview used depends on the purpose of the interview and the nature of the information required. Patton (in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:271) describes four types of interviews, and outlines their characteristics, strengths and weaknesses. The first comprises 'the informal conversation interview',

where questions emerge from the context during the interview. This open type of interview is free flowing but lacking in direction. This does not, however, allow for consistency across interviews. There are no predetermined questions so unless a question arises naturally, avenues of enquiry can be lost. This interview type provides data that is unorganised, which can make its analysis difficult.

The second type of interview described (Patton in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:271) is 'the interview guide approach', which enables the interviewer to decide on the topics and issues to be discussed in advance. It has the flexibility to match the sequence and wordings of the interview questions to the context during the interviews. The interviewer uses an outline to guide the interview process, which increases the comprehensiveness of the data collected and helps ensure that the same type of data are collected from each respondent. However, the interview still remains fairly conversational and relevant to the context so it is important for the interviewer to follow the guide in order to make sure that important and salient topics are not inadvertently missed out or that any changes in order or wording do not result in substantially different responses from each participant.

Patton's third interview type is the 'standardized open-ended interview' (in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:271), characterised by its standardised format. All interviewees are asked the same basic questions using the exact wording and sequence of questions for each interview. Thus there is no flexibility as respondents must answer the

same questions in the same order and are not given any opportunity to deviate from the pre-determined questions provided. As each interview process is identical the results can easily be compared which facilitates unproblematic organisation and analysis of the data. However, this structure restricts the interviewer's ability to relate the interview to particular individuals and their circumstances.

The final type of interview discussed by Patton (in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:271) is the most restrictive, namely 'closed quantitative interviews'. In this style both the questions and the response options are determined in advance. All interviewees are asked the same questions in the same order but this time they are provided with a number of responses to choose from. This ultimately limits data collected to ideas set by the researcher. Respondents' feelings and experiences must align to the researcher's categories, which could be irrelevant to the research participants or mean that they select answers that do not actually match their desired responses. However, this type of interview provides data that is simple and easily compared, as the responses only have to be counted. This method of data collection is quick and easily administered as no formal interviewing technique is required.

The structural design of the interview types discussed above operates along a continuum, ranging from flexible, open-ended or qualitative features to closed, standardised or quantitative techniques (Kvale, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:270). This case study required me to compare data between participants, across the

project and with previous research conduced by UNICEF, as discussed in Chapter Two. Therefore I required a method that would elicit personalised information in an organised methodical way. To do this I needed to use an overarching framework across the case study that would maintain consistency but also provide flexibility to cater for the varying contexts. Due to the nature of this case study I did not want to limit answers by providing a rigid question and answer script, nor did I want the interviews to be completely free-flowing and without direction. Instead I needed a technique that offered a certain amount of freedom so that interviewees could answer and respond to questions in their own words. I also wanted to ensure that each respondent understood the questions in the same way, as respondents might otherwise interpret very differently, particular questions. Rather than using an interview method characterised by standardised or closed questions, I selected a more qualitative technique allowing me to decide on the wording and sequencing of questions during the course of each interview. Furthermore, Strauss and Corbin claim:

> Qualitative methods can be used to better understand any phenomenon about which little is yet known. They can also be used to gain new perspectives on things about which much is already known, or to gain more in-depth information that may be difficult to convey quantitatively. (in Hoepfl, 1997:online)

Thus, as the primary aim of this project was to investigate girls' access to education, using their own words to identify and explain the factors, which they believed to be most important to them, a qualitative interviewing technique that would foster 'illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations' (Hoepfl, 1997:online) was adopted. This method, or semi-structured interviews was used, as arguably a quantitative

or statistical method 'is not able to take full account of the many interactional effects … in social settings' (Cornbach, in Hoepfl, 1997:online).

Semi-structured interviews were used to probe into the lives of girls living in two rural/remote communities. This method uses an outline of core questions that specify the issues and topics in advance. I prepared a list of key questions (see Appendix 2) based on the research previously conducted by UNICEF, my own experiences of teaching in Tajikistan and local knowledge from interpreters. I knew what I wanted to investigate and used the predetermined questions as a guide during each interview, thus making the data collection somewhat systematic. Using this interviewing technique allowed me to vary the pace of the interviews, determine the wording and sequence of questions, expand on core questions, ask additional questions, give explanations, and answer questions the respondents asked. The girls were motivated to participate in this case study as they were given the opportunity to speak for themselves, knowing that what they said was taken seriously. Through semi-structured interviewing, participants discussed their experiences of schooling, disclosing rich details and information surrounding access to education in their communities. Moreover, Reinharz asserts:

> By listening to women speak, understanding women's membership in particular social systems, and establishing the distribution of phenomena accessible only through sensitive interviewing, feminist interview researchers have uncovered previously neglected or misunderstood worlds of experience.
>
> (in Chatzifotiou, 2000:online)

Semi-structured interviews produced first-hand data across this study (Patton, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:271) as they 'enable[d] participants … to discuss

their interpretations of the world in which they live, and to express how they regard situations from their own point of view' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:267). Most participants in this study attend school regularly. They recognise the importance of going to school as it could lead to getting a 'good' job that would ultimately help their families. This confirms Kvale's (in Sewell, n.d.:online) argument that through qualitative interviews the researcher 'attempts to understand the world from the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, [and] to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations'. Taylor and Bogdan (in Botha, 2002:13) describe this type of interview 'as repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed toward understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words.' This type of in-depth probing for information was made possible through the use of semi-structured interviews.

Semi- structured Interviews

Interviewing has become one of the most commonly used methods of collecting data in qualitative research studies, with the 'one-to-one' interview arrangement predominantly used (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006:484) within a semi-structured format (del Barrio et al., 1999:online). Britten states that:

> Semi-structured interviews are conducted on the basis of a loose structure consisting of open ended questions that define the area to be explored, at least, initially, and from which the interviewer or interviewee may diverge in order to pursue an idea in more detail. (1995:online)

This type of focused interview is used in wide-ranging research settings and takes a variety of forms in its application, such as length of time, the role of the interviewer, and

the amount of direction given by the interviewer. However, there are basic guidelines to consider when conducting semi-structured interviews. For example, del Barrio et al. (1999:online) suggest that 'an interview script is used, consisting of a set of questions as a starting point to guide the interaction'. Furthermore, as the researcher seeks to 'generate data, which can give an authentic insight into people's experiences' (Silverman, in Crouch and McKenzie, 2006:485) it may be necessary to add new questions to 'capture as much as possible the subject's thinking about a particular topic' (del Barrio et al., 1999:online). Moreover, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to focus on gathering specific information from a participant's 'subjective responses to a known situation in which she has been involved and which has been analysed by the interviewer prior to the interview' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:273). The questions used in this case study provided focus and kept the interviews 'on track' as there were many instances during each interview when participants 'strayed' from the main topics or elaborated with details of events that happened to them or in their neighborhoods. For example, one girl described how her neighbor had tried to commit suicide by setting herself on fire when her family had been unable to pay for her graduation photographs. Stories like this, however, were valuable embellishments, which contributed to deeper understandings of the context. After such digressions the interviewer referred to the list of core questions to continue the interview. Thus, semi-structured interviewing enhanced access to 'the richest evidence within the limits of time available' (Stenhouse, 1984:4), whilst providing a consistent and focused, yet flexible data collection method.

Conducting qualitative interviews requires expertise from the interviewer, such as monitoring interview technique, noticing how questions are asked, giving respondents time to answer, maintaining control over the interview (Britten, 1995:online), managing outside interruptions and always remembering that you are the data collection medium and must, therefore, not allow personal biases, opinions or curiosity interfere (Tuckman, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:279). Hence, Tuckman (in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:279) suggests the following guidelines for conducting interviews:

- brief interviewee on the nature and reason for the interview;
- try as much as possible to help the interviewee feel at ease;
- explain how responses to questions will be recorded;
- gain consent and ensure confidentiality; and
- be courteous.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2002:279) recommend that interviewers should be mindful of the 'interpersonal, interactional, communicative and emotional aspects of the interview', which includes non-verbal communications and 'active listening'. The interviewee should also be kept interested by not asking too many demographic or background questions (Patton, in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:280). Moreover, Kvale (in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:279) adds that interviewers should address the dynamics of the interview by keeping the conversation going, encouraging participants to share their experiences, and dealing with the asymmetry of power involved in interviewing. This was particularly important in the context of this research project as the interviewer was an 'outsider' from a white, female, western, Christian,

middle class, English-speaking background, factors which 'all exert an influence on the interview itself' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:280). Consequently, interviews are not neutral tools for data gathering but 'active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results' (Fontana and Frey, 2000:646), and immediately place participants on an unequal footing. Therefore, any interview 'is prone to subjectivity and bias on the part of the interviewer,' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:269).

The Role of an Interpreter

The research interview is defined by Cannel and Kohin as:

> [A] two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research relevant information, and focused by him [sic] on content specified research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation.
> (in Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:269)

Interpreters were used to facilitate the interviews in this case study, however, just as 'the characteristics and behaviour of the interviewer can influence the respondent' (Khan and Cannell in Jentsch, 1998:277), Temple (1997:608) advises extending this acknowledgment to include the influences that using a third party (or interpreter) to translate brings to the interviewing process. The interviews in this case study were conducted through a local interpreter from each village, as Twinn (in Irvine et al., 2007:53) recommends using the respondents' first language in order to 'maximise the quality of data' in cross-cultural research. Furthermore, Werner and Campbell (1973:408) argue that 'an interpreter/translator would be chosen on the basis of his [sic] competence in the target language rather than in English'. In this project, however, working with an

interpreter was difficult. It took time to develop the turn-taking role needed to facilitate effective translation. This was particularly important, as neither translator had mediated an interview before. I knew each interpreter well and spent time discussing the case study with each. Thus, they were both familiar with the aims and context of this research project. Furthermore, these interpreters were not only a familiar face to the participants who spoke the same language, they had also been through the same education system, which enhanced their capacity for empathy with the participants. This encouraged the girls to talk freely and 'honestly' about their experiences. When working with people who do not speak English, English-speaking researchers need to involve their interpreters in the research process as 'there is no way in which it is possible to separate them [interpreter] from their text, they are part of the context of data production' (Temple, 1997:608). Thus, in the context of this case study, where the researcher and interviewee did not share a common language or culture, the researcher relied heavily upon the interpreters for both their translation and their cultural knowledge (Temple, 1997:608; Temple, 2002:847).

The interpreters were involved in drafting the core questions prior to commencing the interviews. We discussed the issues I wanted to investigate and I listened to the interpreters' advice on accessing this information. For example, they each gave a detailed explanation of the typical hierarchy inherent in family life within their communities, which in both cases meant that the eldest male is the 'head' to whom the rest of the family are subordinated. With this knowledge I was able to phrase my

questions about decision making more appropriately. Once the questions were finalised a plan was drafted in consultation with the interpreters concerning how they would conduct the interviews, which outlined clear roles for each in relation to when to speak, translate or listen. Acknowledging an interpreter's role in this way, brings 'the figure of the translator/interpreter out from behind the shadows' (Temple, 1997:610), which as Temple (1997:610) argues, is necessary when conducting research that requires translation because 'in much the same way as a researcher cannot ignore the material circumstances of their position as researchers, the circumstances of the translator may have [equally] powerful influences on the form of their translation'. Consequently, the use of interpreters in this research project was premised upon the acknowledgment that 'there is no neutral position from which to translate' (Temple and Young 2004:164).

An interpreter from each community was used in this case study so that they would be fluent in the participants' first language. They were also both female Muslims, with a university education, who spoke English to a reasonable standard. Temple and Edwards (2002:online) state that while 'particular stress … [has been] … laid on interpreter and interviewee being of the same sex … culture, religion and age are also … important within the hierarchy of suitability', thus, these translators were suitable for this research project. Furthermore, it is the matching of these (above) characteristics that leads to 'accurate' and 'truthful' data dialogically flowing between the interviewee, interpreter and the interviewer (Temple and Edwards, 2002:online). Both interpreters were keen to be part of research into girls' access to education in their home villages, so,

although they were not qualified interpreters, their position as 'insiders' gave them access to each community.

An untrained interpreter is called a 'lay interpreter' (Jentsch, 1998:277) and, as such, they have advantages and disadvantages when compared with professional interpreters. For example, Jentsch (1998:282) suggests that using a lay interpreter, especially one known to the interviewee, would encourage the respondents to be 'more willing to talk to us and … more generous with the data they provided than they would have been had [a] professional interpreter been used'. Alternatively, using an interpreter known to the respondents has, as experienced in this research project, certain drawbacks. For example, because they were familiar with the situation they occasionally answered questions without asking the interviewee (Jentsch, 1998:284) or added their own examples and personal opinions (Jentsch, 1998:285). Beyond this, they may have, it is suspected, missed information by summarising what the informants had said, disregarded vital cues from respondents that could have extended the data (Jentsch, 1998:285) or, 'heaven forbid, act[ed] like a human being and simply ask[ed] her own questions, in effect taking temporary control of the interview' (Andrews, 1995:80). These constraints notwithstanding, using the respondents' first language provided an environment that was less threatening and helped alleviate regional differences in dialect (Ervin and Bower, 1952-1953:599). Using lay interpreters from each community meant that the interviews flowed easily, although as Andrews (1995:79) notes, 'the inability to make small talk' for

oneself was difficult to overcome and consequently caused a few uncomfortable pauses during the interviews.

Both interpreters made the arrangements for visiting their villages. They negotiated access, scheduled interviews and gained consent from the participants and their parents (see Appendix 3.1-3.6). Thus, the process of data collection relied on interpreters for more than translating, recognising them as colleagues in the interviewing process, which confirms Werner and Campbell's (1973:408) argument that 'an interpreter is not an adjunct to a cross-cultural-cross-language project, he [sic] is central to its success'. During the interviews a triangular relationship developed; the researcher asked a question, the interpreter translated it, the respondent answered, and the interpreter translated the answer, although 'the complexities of this triangulation went deeper, of course, intruding into the substance of the research itself' (Andrews, 1995:79), as each transaction had the potential to misrepresent the data. The interpreters often took control of an interview by taking time to check, clarify or summarise answers before translating. This meant that much of the dialogue was between interpreter and respondent and only a small part was translated for the researcher. Such instances were discussed with the interpreters later when the data was transcribed, and any information missed or not translated was added to the transcript. Thus, the final records of data collected were jointly negotiated between researcher and interpreter, a process that supported research validity by minimsing bias from 'misconceptions on the part of the interviewer of what the respondent is saying' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:121).

Temple and Young (2004:164) argue that if you subscribe to a view of social reality where 'knowledge and how it is produced acknowledge that your location within the social world influences the way in which you see it … then translators "must" also form part of the process of knowledge production' and we should, therefore, 'treat interpreters as "key informants" rather than as neutral transmitters of messages' (Edwards, in Temple and Young, 2004:170-71). Furthermore, Temple and Edwards argue that:

> Like researchers, interpreters bring their own assumptions and concerns to the interview and the research process. The research thus becomes subject to 'triple subjectivity' (the interactions between research participant, researcher and interpreter), and this needs to be made explicit. (2002:online)

The possibility of 'triple subjectivity' informing data collection was, in this research project, responded to by, as Temple and Edwards (2002:online) advise, discussing with each interpreter their personal experiences, their relationship with their community and the issues they considered important in relation to the context of this case study in order to acknowledge all possible biases that might influence decisions on translation. As both interpreters had female family members at schools in each village, they brought prior knowledge of the situation with them to the role of interpreter. The researcher, as outlined above, also discussed the interview questions with each interpreter prior to the interviewing process, which were then translated into each target language. This was done to check for cultural appropriateness and to help ensure validity and comparability across the study (Cohen, Manion and Morrision, 2000:119). Following each interview there was a de-briefing session where the data were discussed and translation issues and

transcription difficulties were 'ironed out'. Larkin, de Casterlè and Schotsmans (2007:471) observe that 'decisions about translation have a direct impact on the trustworthiness of research', particularly as 'the translator has the potential to influence research significantly by virtue of his or her attempt to convey meaning from a language and culture that might be unknown to the researcher' (p. 468). Hence, according to Temple and Young:

> The translator always makes her mark on the research, whether this is acknowledged or not, and in effect some kind of 'hybrid' role emerges in that, at the very least, the translator makes assumptions about meaning equivalence that make her an analyst and a cultural broker as much as a translator. (2004:171)

The translators were situated within the context of this case study and used their experiences to frame their translation. They often asked respondents to elaborate on issues that led to a richer and more detailed picture of the situation. This would not have been possible without the services of such insightful translators. So, although I was living in the region I enlisted local interpreters and acknowledge that they not only helped with interpreting what was said but gave their perspectives on the context as well, thus trying their utmost to render the interviews successful (Jentsch, 1998:280). It is important to recognise the role and possible influence of both researcher and interpreter when conducting cross-cultural research (Larkin, de Casterlè and Schotsmans, 2007:468; Temple, 2002:844; Temple and Young, 2004:164) as both have a part to play, which can manipulate the data. For example, many of the girls expressed a desire to complete school and go to university in order to become either a doctor or a teacher, possibly because one translator was a teacher and the other a doctor, thus providing participants with appropriate female role models.

Recording the Data

The interviews were recorded using an audio tape-recorder. The respondents were made aware of this and provided consent to participate, which also involved gaining consent from parents. Before commencing, interviewees were provided with a consent form and letter detailing the study (see Appendix 3.1-3.6), a sound check and an explanation of how the interview would proceed. Recording the interviews meant that the interviewer was free to concentrate on the process of conducting the interviews. In this case study where the interviews were transacted through an interpreter, the interviewer had to direct the conversation and modify it in response to the answers given through a third party. To do this I had to be well prepared (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002:280), which meant being clear about what data was required, anticipating what probes and prods would provide this data, and responding appropriately to the interviewee with both verbal and non-verbal feedback, whilst being recorded.

Transcribing the Data

Following each interview, as Freed (1988:317) suggests, the researcher and interpreter listened to the recordings together so that issues could be discussed and clarified. This step was important as misunderstandings arising from the recordings, particularly 'when language is a barrier' can be problematic in terms of getting the most out of the data and ensuring that we reached a mutual understanding of the participants' responses and the meanings inferred. Temple and Young contend that:

> The choice of a structure for people's translated words that they did not use themselves constantly reminds readers that the text is the researcher's view of what the translator has produced rather than any attempt to show that she knows their 'actual' meaning and is therefore ambiguous and open to interpretation.
>
> (2004:171)

In reviewing the data both researcher and interpreter contributed to interpreting the information, as the validity of data collected through semi-structured interviews depends on the extent to which both the researcher and the interpreter are prepared to engage in debate with each other (Temple, 1997:614). I transcribed each recording, using pseudonyms to maintain confidentiality. I then listened to the recordings again with my translator and through joint negotiation of the meaning offered in the text, edited the scripts as necessary. Thus, though time consuming (Bayliss, 2007:online; Britten, 1995:onine) the final transcript was jointly constructed in English.

Analytical Framework

This section outlines the analytical framework used to analyse the data collected in this case study, as discussed above. The theoretical understanding of the nature of discourse and its relationship to subjectivity (see Chapter Three) are drawn upon in this section. The analytical approach outlined in this chapter is that of CDA, while the particular method used is one devised by Fairclough (1989, 1995). This method of CDA is suited to this research context as it uses ideas from Michel Foucault to explain the power relations operating within the social institutions available to the interviewees. Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three dimensional system for engaging with CDA was also chosen because it provides a suitable 'theoretical perspective on language … which gives rise to ways of analysing language or semiosis within broader analysis of the social

process' (Fairclough, 2001b:121). A software programme, *Leximancer, version 2.25,* was used in the first stage of Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to CDA as this type of technology provides a suitable method for analysing a large corpus of text (Kivunja, 2008). Moreover, this method of analysis was used in the initial stage of investigation as it allowed for the non-biased identification of themes and concepts embedded in the data at the text level. Once the data had been sorted and coded by *Leximancer* I engaged in a deeper level of content analysis that examined the links and relationships between what was said, the context in which it was said and the historical perspective from which it developed, thus completing the second and third levels of the analysis cycle using Fairclough's three tired system of CDA. Fairclough (2001a:203) claims that the present 'terrain of domination' is a global phenomenon as 'the national and local level are set within an international frame which shapes them'. Though explored in detail later, of particular importance to this study is recognising that there is a dialectical relationship between what is happening at a global level, with regards girls' education, and at the local level for girls' access to education in Panj and Khorog and other developing contexts.

The participants in this case study are members of social institutions, such as the family, school and community, which Fairclough (1995:27) argues contain 'diverse "ideological-discursive formations" (IDFs) associated with different groups within the institution', where each IDF 'is a sort of "speech community" with its own discourse norms, but [is] also embedded within and symbolized by … its own "ideological norms"',

that is, what is taken-for-granted as being the way things are expected to be in any given context. Thus the girls in this case study are operating within their different group affiliations and 'are constructed, in accordance with the norms of an IDF, in subject positions whose ideological underpinnings they may be unaware of' (Fairclough, 1995:27). This research project therefore aimed to expose the power relations surrounding girls in rural/remote Tajikistan and the patriarchal oppression that is claimed to place females 'in a subordinate position to the males' within Tajik society (Harris, 2004:39).

Critical Discourse Analysis

There are a number of approaches to discourse analysis that 'combine close analysis of language texts with social orientation to discourse' (Fairclough, 2003:12), which Fairclough sorts into two groups: 'non-critical' and 'critical'. The use of a critical approach to analysing discourse will reveal 'how social structures determine properties of discourse, and how discourse in turn determines social structures' (Fairclough, 1995:27). Moreover, Ball (1990:3) states that 'the issue in discourse analysis is why, at a given time, out of all the possible things that could be said, only certain things were said'. Similarly, Foucault (in Ball, 1990:3) wants to know 'how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another[?]' Thus, it is CDA that this study has employed as the analytical framework because it provides an invaluable approach to analysing what is being said about girls' education in that it allows a detailed investigation of 'the relationships between discursive practices, events, and texts; and wider social cultural

structures, relations and processes' (Taylor, 2004:435). CDA 'provide[s] an account of the role of language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality' (van Dijk, 1993a:279), that as will be shown, both confirm and modify the literature on girls' access to education in Tajikistan.

Fairclough's model for conducting CDA, which consists of three interrelated processes of analysis that are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse' (Janks, 1997:329) is used for analysing the texts transcribed from the interviews conducted in this research project. The results of this type of analysis:

> [S]how how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants. (Fairclough, 1992a:12)

According to Fairclough there are three dimensions of discourse: 'the object of analysis, … the process by which the object is produced and received by human subjects … [and] … the soci-historical conditions that govern these processes' (Janks, 1997:329). Each dimension uses a different type of analysis including text analysis, processing analysis and social analysis, respectively. Fairclough presents his three-dimensional framework for conducting CDA as a diagram, which provides a useful way of understanding how the three dimensions are linked and interact in a dialectical way (Fairclough, 1989:23; 1995:9). Figure 1 summarises how social conditions shape the way people produce and interpret texts and are in turn maintained by the socially generated contexts they are transmitted in, which provides an appropriate way of describing, interpreting and explaining a particular text. CDA seeks to explain the 'two major dimensions along

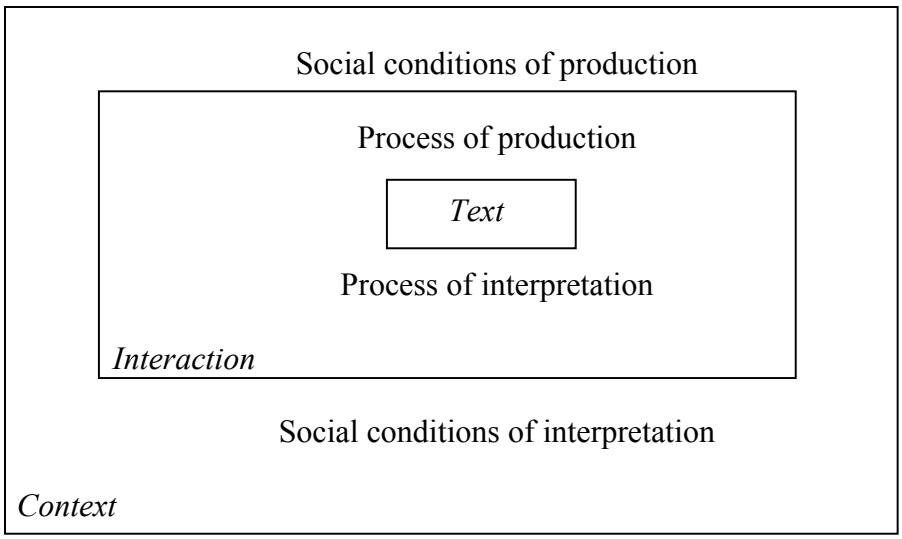

Figure 1: Discourse as text, interaction and context (Fairclough, 1989:25)

which discourse is involved in dominance, namely through the enactment of dominance in text and talk in specific contexts, and more indirectly through the influence of discourse on the minds [and subjectivity] of others' (van Dijk, 1993a:270), as this study uncovered in relation to girls' access to education in Tajikistan.

Luke (1999:170) explains that CDA 'employs interdisciplinary techniques of text analysis to look at how texts construct representations of the world, social identities and social relationships', so that through this analysis the texts produced by the participants in this case study could be 'analyzed in terms of how they structure and stipulate social relations between human subjects' (p. 169). These relationships are never equal as 'we do not have the right to say everything, … we cannot speak of just anything in any circumstances whatever, and … not everyone has the right to speak of anything whatever' (Foucault, 1984:109). Thus, Foucault states that:

> In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality. (1984:109)

In this research project I am interested in discovering how certain ways of thinking and believing become dominant in a society and accepted as normal. Therefore, the history and context of the competing discourses that are informing the girls' experiences of education are of importance to the data analysis process in this research project. These relationships provide a link between social practice and language in the construction of meaning and identities for the girls. The negotiation of discursive practices shape how they are positioned and also position themselves in the unequal power relations they live in. Thus the discourses circulating in the two research sites can be viewed as the ways that people make meaning in language, which are 'shaped by structures and contribute to shaping and reshaping them, to reproducing and transforming them' (Fairclough, 1995:73).

Language is a social act that is meaningful and 'always embedded in a social context and history' (Wodak, 1999:186). The concept of meaning making in language is referred to as 'ideology', which Fairclough (2001a:2) defines as 'common sense assumptions which are implicit in the conventions in which people interact linguistically'. From a post-structuralist point of view one way of explaining ideology is to think of it 'as virtually synonymous with "worldview", so that any group has its particular ideology corresponding to its interest and position in social life' (Fairclough, 1995:17). Fairclough

(1995:17) considers that 'particular representations and constructions of the world are instrumental (partly in discourse) and important in reproducing domination'. Ideology constructed as a worldview comprises:

> [T]he way people mediate their social life and achieve meaning from it. … They develop a view of the world in light of their place in the world … which may be a particular way of viewing the world … [which] … is always forged with subjects in mind, subjects who apprehend social life in particular ways.
>
> (Leonardo, 2003:209)

Hence, as Blomaert and Bulcaen (2000:450) note, 'discourse is seen as a means through which (and within which) ideologies are being reproduced … [and as such] … ideology itself is a topic of considerable importance in CDA'.

Ideologies and Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough (1995:28) explains ideologies in terms of the conditions in which someone does something at any one particular moment, or what they may do habitually given the expectations placed on them within certain situations. This would therefore imply that 'the individual is able to act only in as far as there are social conventions to act within … [which signifies that] … people are enabled through being constrained: they are able to act on condition that they act within the constraints of types of practice – or of discourse' (Fairclough, 1995:28). The ways in which people are thus constrained are described by Fairclough (1995:29) as 'interdependent networks', which he calls '*orders of discourse* and *social orders'*. Social orders are more general than orders of discourse and constitute the more general social institutions within which we operate and is divided into, or '*structured* into different spheres of action, different types of situation, each of which has its associated type of practice' (Fairclough, 1995:29). Furthermore, Fairclough

(1989:31) claims that the practices that people automatically draw upon usually 'embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimize power relations' and where these types of practice operate in such a way as to maintain unequal power relations, then they are functioning *ideologically* (emphasis in the original). Thus by critically analysing the texts produced by the research participants I was able to determine what practices – discursive, social or material – they engaged in, how they engaged with them and what resistance, if any, they had towards them.

Engaging with Critical Discourse Analysis

Once the tape-recordings were transcribed the texts were analysed on two levels; first by reading for the overall picture of what was happening to girls at school, in order to 'systematically examine the many textual and contextual properties of the exercise of dominance … and to provide evidence for such an account' (van Dijk, 1993a:270). Themes of similarity between the sites were identified and the contexts discussed with translators, as outlined earlier. Each text was then analysed in more detail using Fairclough's model, drawing on the following key principles outlined by Fairclough and Wodak (in van Dijk, 1993a:268-280): the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures; the linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power; the power of discourse as it constitutes society and culture, as well as being constituted by them; the particular ways that discourses represent and construct society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation; and the context with relation to the past in order to understand girls' access to schooling in

rural/remote Tajikistan in relation to the discourses informing their experiences. However, it is important to note that 'analysis is not – and cannot be neutral … [and] … indeed the point of critical discourse analysis is to take a position' (van Dijk, 1993a:270), which for the purpose of this study is that of a gender activist.

Analysis of Policy

For the purpose of this thesis, policy:

> [I]s taken to be any course of action (or inaction) relating to the selection of goals, the definition of values and the allocation of resources. … [It] is about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process. (Codd, 1988: 235)

So, it follows that policy analysis attempts 'to interpret the causes and consequences of government action, in particular by focusing on the processes of policy formulation' (Ham and Hill, in Codd, 1988: 235). Codd argues that policy analysis has two aspects; one provides the 'informational base upon which policy is constructed', which Gordon et al. (in Codd, 1988: 235) call 'analysis for policy', and the other is 'the critical examination of existing policies', which Gordon et al. (in Codd, 1988: 235) call 'analysis of policy', which is what this research project is interested in. Furthermore, according to Gordon et al., 'analysis of policy' has two dimensions:

> [A]nalysis of policy determination and effects, which examines the inputs and transformational processes operating upon the construction of public policy and also the effects of such policies on various groups … [and] … analysis of policy content, which examines the values, assumptions and ideologies underpinning the policy process. (in Codd, 1988: 235-36)

Ozga (in Ball, 1994:14) further argues that it is beneficial to 'bring together structural, macro-level analysis of education systems and education policies and micro-level

investigation, especially that which takes account of people's perception and experiences', which is how the process of analysis is structured in this thesis. While Chapters Five and Six discuss the real life experiences of girls' access to education in two developing regions of Tajikistan, Chapter Eight provides a critical reading of The (global) Framework, in light of these local experiences.

Codd (1988:236) argues that policy documents, such as The Framework that are used by the world community ought to be considered 'texts which are capable of being decoded in different ways depending upon the contexts in which they are read', and as such should be considered as both a text and as discourse. Ball (1994:15) stresses this point further by stating that policies should not be conceptualised as 'things' but also as 'processes and outcomes'. Drawing on a post-structuralist approach to the analysis and discussion of girls' access to education, I argue in Chapter Seven that power is exercised through discourse surrounding policy processes and outcomes, of which The Framework provides an exemplar text. When policy is discussed in terms of being a text Ball notes that they (policies) can be seen as:

> [R]epresentations which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context). (1994:16)

Furthermore, Codd (1988:239) explains that 'for any text a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of readings'.

Policy as Text

From a post-structuralist perspective the notion of language is argued to be:

> [N]ot simply a static set of signs through which individual agents transmit messages to each other about an externally constituted world or 'thing'. Rather, language is a set of social practices which makes it possible for people to construct a meaningful world of individual things. (Codd, 1988:241)

This means that language is both a system of signs and symbols and a social practice that is structured and controlled by 'the material conditions in which that practice takes place' (Codd, 1988:241). Furthermore, Codd argues for:

> [A] conception of how use of language can produce real social effects, and how it can be political, not only by referring to political events, but by itself becoming the instrument and objective of power. (1988:241)

Therefore,

> Policy documents … are ideological texts that have been constructed within a particular historical and political context. The task of deconstruction begins with the explicit recognition of that context. (1988:244)

Arguably, then, policy documents such as The Framework can be seen as both a text that uses language to outline the content and as a context in which the text is set to reinforce its disciplining power within the discourse of development.

Policy as Discourse

As discussed earlier, discourse refers to the meanings of language and to the real effects of language use, and as such mediates the exercise of what Foucault calls power by 'go[ing] beyond the meaning of what is said to the act of saying it' (Codd, 1988:241). From a post-structuralist perspective:

> No body of knowledge can be formed without a system of communications, records, accumulation and displacement which is in itself a form of power and which is linked, in its existence and functioning, to the other forms of power. Conversely no power can be exercised without the extraction, appropriation, distribution or retention of knowledge. On this level, there is not knowledge on

> the one side and society on the other, or science and the state, but only the fundamental forms of knowledge/power. (Foucault, in Ball, 1990:17)

Hence it can be understood that 'educational texts construct children, teachers, students and human subjects in different relations of power and knowledge' (Luke, 1999:166), where the dominant discourses overshadow those from minority positions that have been 'silenced historically'. The Framework, it is argued, can be acknowledged as an example of a dominant discourse in the context of education in Tajikistan and other developing countries.

Leximancer and CDA

This project collected a large amount of interview data about girls' experiences of education in rural/remote Tajikistan, which otherwise, as discussed by Kivunja (2008:2) would have been 'quite cumbersome to visually read … carefully noting and coding the key points in the data' in detail. Furthermore, manually sorting through the data and identifying all the concepts that you want to investigate and then assign codes to, 'tends to impose our reality on the data' (Kivunja, 2008:2). In the first stage of the CDA framework outlined above the analyst seeks to discover what aspects of the text are related to the context in which it is produced, however, the methodology outlined by Fairclough generally uses smaller, more manageable amounts of data compared with the corpus collected in this study. Therefore, due to the disparity between Fairclough's examples and the content and style of my data, I used an 'alternative analytical procedure, combining the concordance programme with CDA's traditional qualitative analysis' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995:1). Hardt-Mautner (1995:1) recommends using

computers as they can play a role in 'helping to unravel how particular discourses, rooted in particular socio-cultural contexts construct reality, social identities and social relationships'. This is particularly relevant to this study as according to Fairclough (in Hardt-Mautner, 1995:3) using CDA is more appropriate for analysing 'a small number of discourse samples', where as my data comprised a large corpora of approximately 25, 000 words, which is a 'formidable corpus to take on from a discourse analytic perspective, and one that is definitely too large to be tackled by conventional methods only' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995:4).

Hardt-Mautner (1995:4) argues that manually coding data into categories or themes reduces a linguistic phenomenon to a tick on a page or index card and 'the co-text, so vital for interpretation, is lost, and very often irretrievably so'. Alternatively, a computer programme can identify the lower-level occurrence of concepts or ideas connected to the research focus so that the human analyst can then use these instances to look for and identify the higher-level analysis needed to engage in CDA. Hardt-Mautner (1995:22) argues for the use of computer software to help analyse data and 'the larger the corpus, the more obviously useful the computer's help becomes, and the more versatile the program, the more discovery procedures are at the analyst's disposal'.

The computer programme I used – *Leximancer* – is a type of 'text analytic software that can be used to mine the content of large volumes of qualitative textual documents at super-electronic speeds, and inductively extract information and display the

results in a bird's eye view of the content' (Kivunja, 2008:2). *Leximancer* 'goes beyond keyword searching by discovering and extracting thesaurus-based concepts from the text data, with no requirement for a prior dictionary, although one can be used if desired' so it can identify concepts without using predetermined ideas from the analyst, thus helping to 'avoid fixation on particular anecdotal evidence, which maybe atypical or erroneous' (Smith and Humphreys, 2006:262). I used *Leximancer* as an aid to conducting my analysis on two levels.

Firstly, I employed *Leximancer* in an inductive approach by engaging in a computer-aided examination of the data to discover and describe the participants' conceptual relationships surrounding access to education and the discursive formations in which they interact on a daily basis. At this stage *Leximancer* produced a concept map from the interview transcripts in each research site 'which summarise[d] the key themes in the data, the concepts in each theme, the co-occurrence of the concepts as well as the descriptors of each concept' (Kivunja, 2008:2). Once *Leximancer* produced the concept map for each set of data I was able to see the main concepts emerging from my data and the interrelationships between them. Kivunja (2008:2) states that using *Leximancer* in this way 'enables high quality content analysis and relational investigation to be undertaken'.

Secondly, I used a deductive approach to examine how the participants draw on different discourses available to them, thus recontextualising the results of *Leximancer's* analysis to investigate how these discourses contribute to producing and maintaining the

girls' subjectivity, a vital point of interest in this research project. As Parsons (2008:104) explains, my analysis used a computer programme to help identify how the lexical choices and contextual features of two groups of girls in rural/remote Tajikistan contributes to how they are socially constructed through discourse, whether or not this is done deliberately.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined how data was collected for a case study involving girls from two rural/remote communities in Tajikistan, a former Soviet state. Semi-structured interviews were employed as the principal data collection tool. The interviews were facilitated through local interpreters, who acted as both translator and cultural broker for the researcher. The interpreters were acknowledged as 'key informants' rather than unbiased purveyors of information as they, along with the researcher, had the potential to influence or manipulate data. It was, therefore, vital to the success of this research project involving cross-cultural/cross-language data collection contexts, to bring the interpreter/translator out from behind the scenes and involve her in the research process as a colleague when conducting semi-structured interviews in trans-cultural contexts. The chapter also argued that Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis is the most appropriate analytical framework for exploring the issues surrounding girls' access to education in rural/remote Tajikistan. CDA is best able to provide the tools for investigating the discourses operating within: 1. the context of girls' access to education, 2. the discourses informing The Framework and 3. the relationships

between these two contexts. These discourses and relationships are outlined in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

Chapter Five

Girls' Access to Education in Rural Tajikistan: Analysis and Findings from Panj

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the spoken text that was transcribed from interviews with the Panj girls using the theoretical framework explored in Chapter Three and the methodology outlined in Chapter Four. This chapter explores how girls in Panj engage with the discourses available to them, which frame access to education. With this goal in mind, however, it is useful to review firstly, though in a more limited fashion, key stages of the data analysis strategy, as outlined in Chapter Four, which, relying upon the programme, *Leximancer 2.25,* generated a number of findings from which the following discussion of the discourses impacting girls' access to education emerges. As outlined in Chapter Four the first step in *Leximancer's* processing cycle is to produce a concept map. Then in the different data processing stages *Leximancer's* default settings were adjusted to meet the requirements for this project. For example, in stage four of the data processing procedure *Leximancer's* concept seed editor was used to delete any concepts that I felt were irrelevant, such as the seed words 'give', 'time', 'think' and 'year'. At this stage, I also merged similar concepts such as 'girl' and 'girls', 'teacher' and 'teachers', 'study' and 'studying' and 'student' and 'students'. This meant that *Leximancer* treated the above synonymous concepts as single concepts. In step five, 'thesaurus learning', I adjusted the settings to analyse one sentence segments, since the

default of three sentence segments was excessively long considering the type of data being analysed, where most responses comprised single sentence utterances. Therefore, as most of the dialogue was in short sentence form, using more than one sentence to identify concepts ran the risk of combining two or three answers into one concept, potentially producing a misleading outcome (Parsons, 2008:105), resulting in concepts being merged or missed altogether.

Finally, using the tool bar in the last stage of the analysis procedure I adjusted the programme settings to increase the size of the themes to identify only the five main themes and the concepts contained in each, as shown in Figure 2 (below). Thus, as also shown below, 'school' is the dominant theme with the most concepts contained in it, including 'girls', 'boys', 'study', 'class', 'students', 'village', 'college', 'teachers', 'books', 'lessons', 'home' and 'friends'. Figure 2 also shows overlaps connecting the themes of 'education', 'work', and 'lessons' to 'school', which might suggest that girls access to education at school is framed by the desire to get an education, the work load attached to achieving this goal and the practical context surrounding how this goal is reached, as will be discussed in the next section. Interestingly, though not surprising, due to the patriarchal structure of Tajik society (Harris, 2004), is the presence of 'father' on the top left-hand side of the map, as if 'looking down and keeping watch' over everything. During the *Leximancer* analysis I did not provide instructions on how to code the data. This occurred automatically.

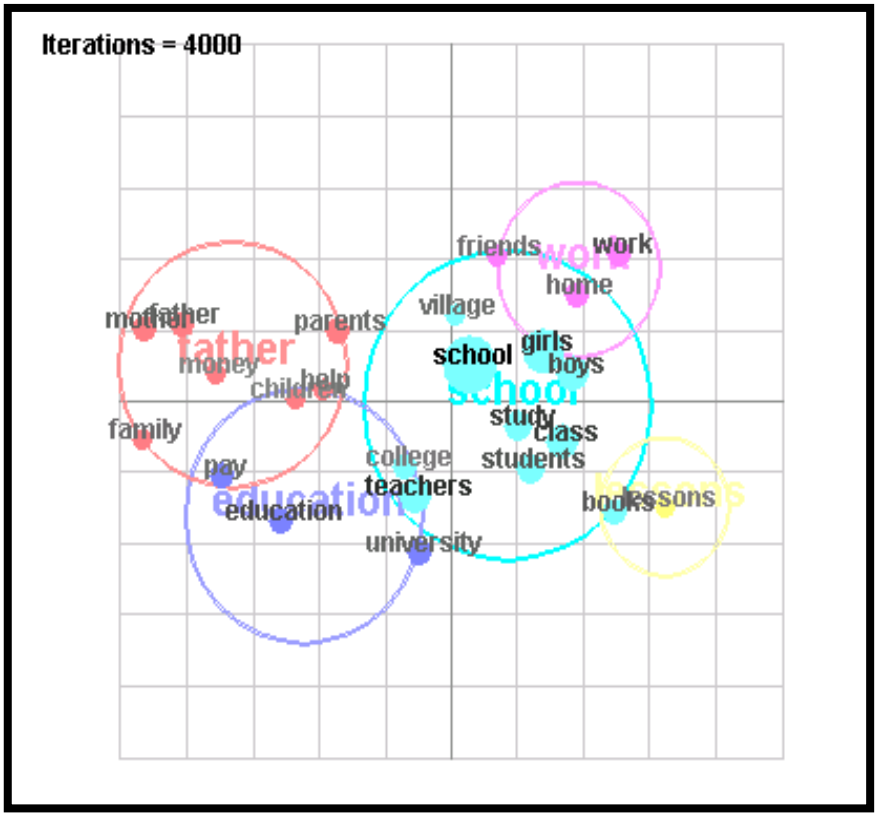

Figure 2: The concepts within five main themes for Panj

Drawing upon this *Leximancer* based analysis of the data, the discussion below will argue that the girls in this case site are subject to the forces of 'biopower'. It will be shown that they have become 'self-regulating subjects whose bodies and minds have been formed and formulated in particular ways, such that they have taken it upon themselves to make sure that they function in these ways, and remain good, healthy subjects' (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000:75)

Discourses Informing Panj Girls' Access to Education

Table 1 (below) lists the discourses identified from the interviews conducted with girls in Panj. I used the main concepts identified by *Leximancer* to signify commonly

occurring ‘seeds’ that have been grouped together according to the discourse of which they are a part. Following Parsons (2008:107) these lexical items are labelled ‘discourse identifiers’. Consequently, grouping the main discourse identifiers into each discourse category facilitated identifying the five main discourses circulating within Panj (and Khorog) that frame girls’ access to education. These discourses comprise ‘school’, ‘family’, ‘gender relations’, ‘neo-liberal capitalism’, and ‘community’ in descending order of frequency. Implicit in each are particular understandings about control as discussed earlier, particularly in Chapter Four.

The most dominant discourse is that of ‘school’, represented by the discourse identifiers ‘school’, ‘teachers’, ‘study’, ‘class’, ‘education’, ‘students’, ‘books’, ‘university’, ‘college’ and ‘lessons’. These particular identifiers frame the discourses and practices exercised in the institution of school, thus arguably framing Panj girls’ subjectivity with regard to education. The discourse of ‘family’, as identified by the following discourse identifiers ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘home’, ‘help’, ‘parents’ and ‘children’ provides insight into home life in Panj. The discourse of ‘gender relations’, which contains the discourse identifiers ‘girls’ and ‘boys’, constructs the subject positions of girls in relation to boys as they negotiate and engage with their particular roles in Tajik society, whether at home, in school or in the wider community. This discourse, which constructs the significance of gender in this context, also maps the ‘limitations to the range of subject positions that girls are able to adopt’ (Baxter, 2003:126) - as students at school, daughters at home and girls in the community. The

Table 1: Discourses identified from participants in Panj

Discourse 1 School: Concepts associated with this Discourse	**Frequency**	**Discourse 2 Family: Concepts associated with this Discourse**	**Frequency**	**Discourse 4: Gender Relations: Concepts associated with this Discourse**	**Frequency**	**Discourse 3 Neo- liberal Capitalism: Concepts associated with this Discourse**	**Frequency**	**Discourse 5 Community: Concepts associated with this Discourse**	**Frequency**
School	230	Mother	29	Girls	81	Work	39	Village	21
Teachers	87	Father	26	Boys	44	Pay	21	Friends	20
Study	62	Family	24			Money	13		
Class	59	Home	24						
Education	47	Help	18						
Students	35	Parents	22						
Books	34	Children	12						
University	25								
College	17								
Lessons	16								
Total[3]	612	Total	155	Total	125	Total	73	Total	41
Percentage	**61%**	**Percentage**	**16%**	**Percentage**	**12%**	**Percentage**	**7%**	**Percentage**	**4%**

[3] The total adds up the frequencies for each discourse identified.

discourse of 'neo-liberal capitalism', which is reproduced through discourse identifiers such as 'work', 'pay' and 'money', frames girls' access education in the presently severe economic conditions in rural Tajikistan. Tajikistan is the poorest of the new Central Asian republics (Beeman, 1999:100), and as discussed in Chapter Two was the hardest hit when the Soviet system collapsed in 1991. The transition to a market economy from a planned economy has forced Tajik communities to re-assess their concept of education as the new ideology replacing communism no longer guarantees them employment as was the case in Soviet times (Waljee, 2008:88). Furthermore, despite Tajikistan's ancient history of trade along the 'Silk Road' (Levi, 2007:18) and the 'basic cradle to grave support' provided by the Soviet Union (McMann, 2007:234), today the people of Tajikistan face extreme economic hardships as their 'new' government increasingly withdraws from its citizens' lives, providing fewer social services than in Soviet times and reduced, if any benefits (p. 235). These shortages are a direct result of reduced government funding, which it is argued is the result of neo-liberal reform in the guise of structural adjustment strategies enforced by global development strategies. The fifth discourse identified in Table 1 (above) is that of 'community', which comprises the discourse identifiers 'village' and 'friends'. However, despite this discourse's (community) seemingly low frequency it arguably has a wide-reaching influence in all areas of Tajik life (Harris, 2004), as it governs how girls and boys are expected to behave within their binary-like subject positions. Thus, as the data in Table 1 suggest, whether consciously or not, school aged Panj girls are, through the production and reproduction of these discourses, potentially subjected to 'uninterrupted constraints imposed in practices

of discipline and training' (Rouse, in Gutting, 1994:94) that exist 'in the social practices of everyday life' (Weedon, 1997:108), within the home, within the school, within society more generally and as recipients of global development discourse. As noted earlier, 'discourses, as realized in institutional practices, for example in the family and the school, construct (repeatedly) the meaning of the physical body, psychic energy, the emotions and desires as well as conscious subjectivity' (Weedon, 1997:109).

Having identified the key discourses circulating within the context of Panj, the following section explores each participant's 'story' about access to education, particularly in relation to this study's research questions and the issues identified in Chapter One including: who has access to education, how they access education, and importantly, what constrains girls' access to education?

The Girls in Panj

The ten participants from Panj are girls between the ages of 13 and 19, most of who were attending school on a regular basis. Table 2 (below) identifies each according to their name[4], age or year group and interview number. The eldest girl, Dordona, graduated from school in 2003 after completing Year 11. She is now 19 years old and has graduated from the teacher's college in Panj. There are three girls in Year 9, Marjona, Nilufar and Mushtari who like school, study hard and take their education seriously. Mavtuna is in Year 8. She is living with her grandparents because her parents are

[4] All names are coded.

migrant workers in the Russian Federation. She likes school and only misses class if she is unwell or there is a family celebration such as a wedding party in another region. Four girls are in Year 7, Kamola, Shahlo, Irhona and Fayoza. Kamola and Shalo spoke at length about their experience of school. They both like school, are studying hard to reach their goals and want to stay at school as long as possible. Irhona and Fayoza are cousins. Both are shy and quiet. They wanted to talk to me but asked if they could be interviewed together. They are both in the same class, however, Irhona does not like school and wants to leave after Year 9. Fayoza is more active at school, enjoys studying and wants to go on to further education so that she can become a nurse.

Table 2: Participants in Panj

Interview Number	**Participants' Names**	**Class/ Age**
1	Marjona	9
2	Nilufar	9
3	Niso	16 years old
4	Kamola	7
5	Shalo	7
6	Mavtuna	8
7	Dordona	19 years old
8	Mushtari	9
9	Irhona	7
10	Fayoza	7

The final participant from Panj, Niso, is different from the others as she stopped going to school after Year 6. Her experience of education was not positive.

Niso was treated badly by her teacher in Year 6, resulting in stress and anxiety. She refused to continue schooling in Year 7 and her parents, particularly her mother, supported her decision. Niso is now 16 and stays home with her mother and helps with chores around the house. Her mother's open agreement for her to stay at home confirms Butler's (in Harris, 2004:35) contention that 'it is the women who are largely responsible for carrying out the most critical family functions – the running of the home and the social reproduction of its members, that is to say, the production of intelligible social subjects from their boy or girl babies'. In this instance Niso's mother is reproducing the view in Tajikistan that family is more important than school. Harris (2004:39) confirms that 'the family remains the site where the 'ruling ideas' of Tajik society are internalized by children of both sexes, where they learn the appropriate gender performances'. Niso explained that some days she wishes she had continued with her education but on others she remembers how she felt when she was at school and is glad that she stopped attending and is now comfortable doing what is expected of her. She doesn't know what else she could do. The family and household chores are all she is familiar with. Indeed, 'for Tajiks the family circle is the centre of their lives' (Harris, 2004:39).

As noted in Chapter Four, in order to conceal these girls' identities I assigned them code names (Table 2 above) and have changed other details that might identify them in the village, such as the number or name of the school they attend and the names

of teachers and friends referred to in their stories. As members of this community in Panj these girls are united by their well-demarcated regional grouping within Tajikistan (Harris, 2004:9) and, because they all live relatively close to each other they have the added unity of being part of a smaller Uzbek section of the village, which provides them with a sense of belonging to their Uzbek heritage above that of Tajik nationality. These differences were pointed out to me on many occasions when both translator and interviewees referred to themselves or members of this community as being 'Uzbeks' in Panj rather than Tajiks in Tajikistan. This was particularly evident when they spoke of cultural norms. For example, when Marjona was asked if boys and girls receive the same treatment at school she commented that, "In Uzbek families it's the same … for Tajik students I think it is the same but it is the parents who … treat them differently". Further, in response to being asked why boys in her class don't study very well, Kamola replied, "They [the boys] are not being looked after. Their parents don't look after them at all … [They are from] … different families. Tajik families'. Moreover, when Mavtuna was asked about wearing a school uniform to school she explained that:

> Tajik girls don't because their parents don't let them wear a skirt and blouse. So they have got, for example, a dress and on top of the dress a white scarf. … It looks like a uniform but it is different [whereas] Uzbek girls they wear the normal uniform. They are more fashionable … only Tajiks wear a head scarf, Uzbeks don't.

This differentiation between Tajiks and Uzbeks indicates that ethnicity too is a factor that continues to influence access to education.

Discourses Affecting Girls' Access to Education in Panj - School and Related Discourses

Table 1 (above) shows that the most dominant discourse framing the participants' access to education in Panj is that of 'school'. This discourse concerns the discursive, material and institutional practices of school. The discourse identifiers identified by *Leximancer* that relate to school include 'girls', 'class', 'teachers', 'study', 'books', 'boys', 'college', 'village', 'home', 'friends', 'education', 'students', 'father', 'mother', 'parents', 'work', 'family', 'pay', 'children', 'money', and 'lessons' in descending order or frequency. Significant, however, in terms of the discussion and analysis that follows is that elements of this cluster of discursive identifiers are strongly linked with the discursive elements and overlap with some of the lexical clusters associated with the other discourses identified as informing girls' access to education in Panj, showing that within any one discourse, there are multi-layered, inter-discursive interactions and relationships amongst the topics, themes and concepts (Fairclough, 2001b:126). In the discussion that follows, however, the focus will remain upon the dominant discourse of 'school' through which the significance of the other discourses will be identified and explored.

School and Education

When examining the body of data collected from Panj, the largest reported single influence upon access to education is the desire to continue onto further education in hope of gaining employment in a suitable job. This desire for employment emerges from

the struggle to escape the dire economic situation that most Tajiks are now living with. Neo-liberal market-driven policies, outlined in Chapter Three, have forced most of the country's population into extreme poverty and many now face previously unimaginable hardships just to survive, such as parents working away from home, children working as labourers and reduced or minimal social services provided by the state. Tajikistan is one of the poorest countries in the CIS and it is estimated that 80 per cent of Tajiks live below the poverty level (Haarr, 2005:131). The idea that education can offer a way out of this quagmire is a dream many cling to. Most of the participants in this study reaffirmed this desire. When asked, "Why do you think it is important to go to school?" Dordona, for example, explained that, "You need to educate your children and also you need it to get a job, to get a salary, and for life". The reference to educating her children, however, confirms that she expects her own future role to be firstly one of wife and mother. This role (wife and mother) is the life path that girls in Tajikistan are expected to follow according to the cultural norms embedded in Tajik society (Harris, 2004). However, Dordona also referred to the desire to improve her circumstances and believes that earning money is the best way to do that. The need for money has also affected Dordona's mother. Dordona claimed that her mother was once a nurse but, "… she is not working in a hospital [any more] and she now goes to the bazaar. She is selling things in the bazaar". Dordona's mother was forced to leave her job as a nurse in the local state hospital when her wage dropped to the equivalent to $10 US dollars a month[5], compared to $30 US dollars a month that she can make selling fresh produce from their garden and

[5] Informal interview with Dordona's mother.

milk from their cow in the bazaar. The situation described above presents but one example of how neo-liberalism - where governments are constrained by structural adjustment strategies imposed by the IMF and the WB so that they are forced to meet repayment commitments for interest on loans to these international organisations rather than support their own social infrastructure - has changed the way people live in post-Soviet Tajikistan.

Another participant, Nilofar, explained, "Of course school is helpful … when you get an education you can go to university. If you go to university you can get a job, which will help you". Nilofar similarly understands that education has the possibility of providing economic assistance, such that she wants to continue at school until she graduates from Year 11, though her school only goes up to Year 9. Furthermore, community support for education in order to increase life chances is reflected in Nilofar's comments about what she intends to do following Year 9:

> [T]o make it easier for the girls so that they do not have to go to another village … far from their village … they will make … not full-time study but … the kind of study for university … they want to have classes where they go … on Friday and Saturday … like part-time study … for year 10 and 11.

The parent community at Nilofar's school in Panj, as explained above, supports girls' continued school attendance by providing the facilities necessary for additional classes after Year 9. Schools often rely on assistance from parents as 'public spending on education as a percentage of GDP, and as a percentage of overall public spending, has shown a severe decline in the past ten years … in Tajikistan' (Cashin, 2003:1). Furthermore, retaining high school girls in the local secondary school keeps them at

home and under supervision and close scrutiny from both home and community, thus also reinforcing power relations through the their surveillance. Harris (2004:14), using Foucault's ideas, explains 'that power is something that circulates, it functions during everyday interactions at the level of the family, the community, and other basic units of society, through strategies of exclusion and surveillance which he identifies as 'micro-mechanisms of power'. In Tajikistan social control is based on expectations linked to socially constructed gender norms, exercised through what is seen to be 'correct' behaviour for girls and to a lesser extent for boys.

Nilofar's father promised that he would let her go to university in either Dushanbe or Kurgan Tiube, but to do this he will have to find enough money to pay the bribes associated with attending university. Corruption, as manifest in bribes for social services is now a 'taken for granted' aspect of Tajik society (Olcott, 2005:221). The post-communist neo-liberal guided state no longer has the capacity to provide many of the social services once available during the communist era. Hence, many now look back to the Soviet period as the 'golden era' (Kanji, 2002:141). For example, Dordona explained how she was entitled to receive a President's invitation for a free place at university because her family is poor and from a rural area. However, she was afraid that she might not actually receive it so she had to promise to pay for it, because:

> In Panj there is corruption everywhere so you often have to pay a bribe. This outcome seems to be the same all over Panj and the most important things only go to the rich people, or those who have important jobs.

Dordona's statement indicates, as postulated in Chapter Three, that under the present neo-liberal capitalist world system (McMurtry, 1999) where 'governments in developing

countries have reduced their expenditures on education, health and other social services so that they can service the … public sector debts of their countries' (Harris and Seid, 2000:13), the income and living standards of the lower classes are adversely affected. The increasing gap between the rich and the poor caused by neo-liberal policy (Bauman, 2001:114) often means that the 'majority of the population in these [developing] countries' suffer intensified 'inequalities and disparities' as a result of the state's implementation of the very (neo-liberal) policies designed to help them (Simon, 1997:189) and, as Dordona's case shows, through restricting access to education. A common strategy that (as discussed in Chapter Two) Tajiks use to compensate for their dependence on structural adjustment and economic recovery programmes involves reliance on clan networks to sustain household and extended family needs (Freizer, 2005:227), which Collins (2003:186) claims includes 'informally providing access to goods, resources, and jobs'. Thus, those connected to powerful clans, where their clan elites have money and position, can expect to receive political, social and economic opportunities from their kin-based relations, including university places. Ultimately, as Collins (2003:180) postulates, the ability to pay a bribe and your kin connections are becoming the only avenue for socio-economic mobility in Tajikistan.

Other girls including Mavtuna, Mushtari, Marjona, Fayoza, Shahlo, and Kamola all indicated that they understood how important staying at school until Year 11 is and that they wanted to continue on to further education after graduating to get good jobs. Mavtuna stated that, "She likes school because she wants to go to university somewhere.

She wants to be a doctor". Her parents agree with her wish and are working in Russia to provide the financial assistance necessary for Mavtuna to attend the medical university in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan.

Mushtari will have to continue her studies after Year 9 in another school far from her home. She will be allowed to attend this school in the next village despite the fact that it will mean she has to walk a long way as her mother is in agreement with her going to university in order to become a doctor. Marjona similarly explained:

> She wants to be a doctor or a teacher [however] she doesn't know about any other profession. She knows … she has seen a doctor and she has seen a teacher. It's just these females she knows … most females do these jobs, she doesn't even know what other jobs females can do.

This response indicates that Marjona, although wanting to enter a profession, is constrained by what society regards as suitable for women. In this context, other discursive constructions of appropriate female occupations are seemingly unavailable. The caring and nurturing qualities associated with both doctors and teachers means that these professions have often been allocated to the females and are thus the only role models that Marjona and other girls in Panj have had access to. Whilst acknowledging that she doesn't know of an alternative career path, Marjona ultimately reproduces the domination under which women suffer when living in a strong patriarchal society such as Tajikistan (Harris, 2004), which in this instance is manifest as limited career choice.

Fayoza is similarly bound by the expectations placed on girls to conform to community pressure. This pressure to conform emerged during discussion about her

dream of being a nurse - another care based career path constructed to be suitable for girls in her community. These girls' identification of nursing, home duties or becoming a doctor as desired careers confirms Schrijver's (in Harris, 2004:17) argument that 'gender performance is always mediated through the cultural norms of specific social groups'. Although in the context of gender equity it might be considered ironic that girls in Panj are actively encouraged to go to school and continue onto university, it seems however, that this is only in so far as they can follow the socially prescribed path, consistent with the construction of femininity in their village. For Harris:

> What is at stake here is not just the distinctive traits of each social group's specific gender norms, but also the strength of the pressure towards conformity, the range of variations in performance acceptable for each gender and the degree to which performances reflect internalised ideals. Each community is distinctive in respect of these values and they constitute some of the most important features that distinguish societies from one another; in other words, they form the essence of cultural identity. (2004:17-18)

As these Panji girls perform their roles at school by attending class, studying hard and potentially gaining access to further education, they are behaving according to the gender identity assigned them as young girls in Panj. Furthermore, as these roles are defined and displayed publicly such that everyone knows what girls should be doing, their behaviour and subjectivity is controlled by what Foucault calls 'power' (1977), of which the discourse of school is arguably, both 'an instrument and an effect' (p. 100-101).

School and Work

Following the desire to 'get an education' the second most influential dynamic that frames access to education within the discourse of school concerns the ability to go to school, which includes but is not limited to issues such as attending school all the time,

taking days off only when sick or attending a family celebration that requires travelling to another region, the time and work required to support family income, and state enforced child labour. Most participants discussed these issues at length. All agreed that they would rather be at school than doing the activities listed above. Furthermore many of the concerns highlighted in the data are common to girls and boys, as discussed further in Chapter Seven. Nonetheless, Mushtari informed that all the girls in her class go to school every day because, "They like to be serious [about their education]" and she would like to have, "More time to get better at school". Her desire to have more time to go to school so that she can get better at school indicates that she too has learned to perform the sex-appropriate behaviours typical of her social group. According to Harris (2004:19) 'it is only by learning to perform correctly that they … [girls] … can become acceptable members of the Tajik community'. Furthermore, if girls in Tajikistan fail to perform their assigned gender role correctly they will bring disgrace to their father, complicating not only their own future but the future lives of their family (Harris, 2004:19). Thus external pressure from community expectations to conform to correct gender norms may be responsible for the way that Mushtari, and other girls in Panj are socio-economically positioned as young females. Harris (2004:18) notes that 'something all communities have in common is pressure to conform to the norms, of which the most important are usually gender identities'.

Another girl, Shahlo, also attends school all the time, however, she noted regarding boys attendance that, "The boys are often absent from school … probably they

have got work to do … or games, some of them play games and some of them have work. … They do sometimes play a game of football". This description of the boys in her class would seem to further support the argument above that girls' access to schooling is shaped by the different gender expectations held for girls and boys. Shahlo recognises that boys - unlike girls - are allowed to 'act out' by not going to school in favour of a day's work or a game of football. These particular actions are considered appropriate masculine performances and therefore acceptable 'identities' for boys in Tajikistan. Harris (2004:79) notes how important it is for males in Tajikistan to uphold the image of being 'a man' so that playing football or working are seen as acceptable alternatives to attending school. Conversely, the threat of mockery or being accused of being 'womanlike', especially for boys not yet sure of their masculinity, compels them 'to buy into the desirability of living up to the dominant gender norms because to do otherwise is to risk becoming the inferior' (Moore, in Harris, 2004:79). The implications of boys' non-attendance at school is discussed in Chapter Seven.

By contrast another girl, Mavtuna said that she, "Misses lessons only when she is ill or her relations have a wedding celebration". She explained that, "She thinks this won't be often, only sometimes, probably one or two times a year". She also stated that her school has to go into the fields to pick cotton for two months a year (September and October), which is not difficult but, "It takes time, time from their lessons … it is better to study". It is estimated that 'children cotton pickers miss one-third of their classes' and 'pick about 40 per cent of Tajikistan's cotton' (Haarr, 2005:141). The Government of

Tajikistan outlaws enforced child labour, however, it possibly continues to exist as indicated by the stories told by girls such as Mavtuna. As noted in Chapter Three, child labour is one of the barriers to education that both girls and boys face in rural Tajikistan and other developing countries. As cotton is the main crop and a major source of revenue for the country, child labour is seen as unavoidable. Though both necessary and unpleasant, it has become part of life during the cotton-picking season from September to November. Furthermore, due to the number of migrant workers, which include men and women leaving Tajikistan in search of more lucrative positions in the Russian Federation, there remain relatively fewer people available for the domestic workforce (Haarr, 2005:141; Shagdar, 2006:519) that typically pays next to nothing. Those left to pick the cotton crop can expect to receive no monetary compensation for their work but in return for their efforts they are permitted to collect the dried stalks left over from the harvest to use as firewood during the long winter months when other forms of fuel, such as electricity and gas may not be regularly available[6].

Nilofar notes that she and the rest of the students in her class always attend school when they can, but like many other participants, she concurred that, "Every year they go picking cotton in the fields". She also explained that both girls and boys have to work at home now, however, she insisted that the girls' work is more tiring than the boys' work, so that, "When they come to school girls are more tired [but] she thinks … they both have a lot of jobs now". She also revealed that after she finished the household work at home,

[6] Informal conversation with community member.

she prepared for her lessons and in the absence of electricity, did her homework by candlelight.

For Nilofar this situation is compounded by the fact that her family live with her father's older brother. This arrangement means that Nilofar has additional responsibilities to cope with:

> [B]ecause they live with their uncle and she feels guilty about living there. Because the main thing is that her parents are guilty and they … of course … they will worry about it. And the children are guilty as well and they try as hard as they can to help their parents.

The statement above shows that Nilofar conforms to the strict hierarchy of Tajik family life that defers to the eldest adult male as the leader or head of the family. Harris (2004:35) notes that 'to Tajiks this hierarchy appears completely natural' such that Nilofar's parents, especially her father, are under the control of his brother (Nilofar's uncle) and must act accordingly. As her parents feel indebted to the uncle, by extension Nilofar reproduces their submission by sharing their guilt and wanting to help them, which in her case means that she works in the fields during planting and harvesting times. Harris (2004:36) identifies this type of family as an extended patriarchal family because there are several related family units living in the one house/compound with a patriarchal family head, the eldest male adult who is Nilofar's uncle. In this family it is the responsibility of Nilofar's uncle to ensure that the rest of the family conforms to the community's social norms.

School and Lessons

The third dynamic identified by *Leximancer* (Figure 2 above) affecting girls' access to education concerns how education is accessed in the classroom. Many participants confirmed that there is systematic deterioration of the Tajik Government's ability to continue paying appropriate wages to state employees, including teachers as public sector and social services funding is unable to meet the social challenges of sustaining 'even the most modest levels of social security for the population' (Swanström, Conell and Tabyshalieva, 2005:27). For example, Dordona informed that her teachers are not qualified and with respect to one teacher from her village, that she:

> [D]oesn't have any qualification to be a teacher in chemistry and biology and … in chemistry she can't explain the examples … to them because she doesn't understand the subject herself. And she says that other teachers don't understand their subject as well.

Somewhat differently, however, Kamola says that, "Her teachers are good because … all the teachers, even though they are pensioners, their teaching is good". Nevertheless, the fact that so many pensioners are still teaching confirms that they are forced to continue working because the pension provided by the neo-liberal guided state is now too small to survive on[7]. Another reason for pensioners continuing to teach is the 'brain drain' (Beine, Docquier and Rapoport, 2001:276). Many people with formal qualifications, not just in teaching but other professions as well, have left Tajikistan in search of better paying jobs in Russia or other more economically viable countries in the Middle East[8].

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[7] This was an issue that was mentioned on many occasions by members of the community during informal conversation.

[8] Informal conversations with community members in Panj.

Still, Shahlo and Mavtuna, also commented on the low standard of teaching in their schools as though it was the norm to have unqualified teachers and there was nothing they could do about it. The acceptance of this situation was confirmed when Marjona explained that, "All parents know about this [lack of qualified teachers, but] they [the government] don't do anything … the parents can complain when they have a parent teachers' meeting". Thus, this 'new' way of life that forces people to seek out alternative economic options for survival is now working along side traditional constructions of gender based subjectivity for both men and women and operates to restrict access to schooling at varying levels, particularly access to a quality education.

Resistance to Discourses Framing Access to Education in Panj

When asked about picking cotton, Kamola also confirmed that, "Every school has to [pick cotton for] about three months [but] she prefers to study". She, like the girls identified above, reproduced elements of appropriate gender identity discourse by stating that she preferred to study. Like these girls, Kamola has learnt the gender norms expected of her in Tajik society and negotiates them accordingly. Some of the girls, however, were able to provide examples of students who are nonconformist with regard to their community's norms. Mavtuna explained that, "One girl got married when she should have been in Class 9. … She is fifteen years old [and] it is not good".

Similarly, Marjona related a story about a girl in her class who doesn't come to school very often because:

> [H]er father is mad, he became mad. He wasn't before but just lately he became mad when her mother died … that family have some problems. They have stupid children. I wonder if for some reason they don't … they are not at all clever. They are all stupid.

Marjona uses the excuse that the father is mad, or different now, to explain and rationalise why this girl in her class was no longer performing her expected gender identity and passively accepting her role as the hard working, studious daughter. Dordona also described how her father had helped their neighbour's daughter:

> [W]e have got a system for graduation where you get photographs … It is quite expensive and the girl had these photographs taken but she couldn't pay and the director, the school director, she is a woman and she embarrassed the girl in front of everyone. I don't know what she told her but the girl was very embarrassed. And she went to her father and asked for … kerosene. She said she needed it for the lamps in the evening. She also had a rope. First she tried to hang herself but she couldn't and then she wrote a letter. In her letter she said that she did it because of her teacher's words. And she burned herself in the … stable … in the stable and when her sister saw something was burning she was already burnt all over … but it was too late. It was too late because she is now … they took her to hospital and now everywhere is burned, even her face, her bosom, everywhere and it is … The girl has damaged her life for ever.

Unfortunately this is not the only story I heard about students who either tried to or actually committed suicide. Marjona reported that two students in her class the previous year (when they were in Year 8) attempted suicide, "A boy had hanged himself. … He was a normal boy. His mother was good." and the other was her girlfriend who had tried to kill herself but was interrupted just in time. Marjona remembered that, "She [her friend] wanted to go to a party and her mother wouldn't let her and so she decided to burn herself … she tried to burn herself. She got some petrol. Just in time her mother saw her and stopped her".

Each of these events potentially represents an example of resistance, all be it extreme, to the controlling mechanisms connected to negotiating the discourses surrounding life in rural Tajikistan. They possibly demonstrate that in the system of control operating in this community there are some children who have resisted their subordination by parents, having broken away from the dominant discourses available. Harris' (2004:39-40) contention is, nonetheless, that 'it is common in Tajikistan, as in other countries of the region, for serious protest to take the form of attempting or actual suicide'.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the spoken text that was transcribed from interviews with ten girls in Panj, a rural village in Tajikistan. Critical discourse analysis was used to investigate how these girls engage with the different discourses available to them as they access education in their community. The first stage of analysis was conducted at the text level using *Leximancer* to discover commonly occurring themes and concepts, which were then grouped into discourse categories according to their specific discourse identifiers. This classification process facilitated identifying five main discourses framing girls' access to education in Panj.

The most dominant discourse informing girls access to education in Panj is the discourse of 'school', however it blends with the other, less dominant discourses identified from the data of 'family', 'gender relations', 'neo-liberal capitalism' and

'community' to produce the disciplinary practices, rules and procedures, understandings and performances that operate as forms of 'biopower' through the various institutions accessed by participants in this research site. Excerpts from the stories told by the participants and reported by the translator provide evidence of how school aged girls' subjectivity in Panj is constructed by the socio-economic and cultural ideologies circulating in their community.

Within the network of discourses available, three main dynamics framing girls' access to education were identified, namely: 1. the desire to gain an education in order to improve future life chances, 2. the ability to access education at school, and 3. how education is made accessible. Most of the participants in Panj attend school regularly and believe that a post-school pathway geared towards a university education will ultimately lead to improving their economic circumstances so that they can help their families escape the impoverished life they have been forced to live following the break up of the Soviet system. Thus, access to education is facilitated by negotiating the relationships between the discourses informing the subject positions taken up by these girls, and the institutions they engage with, which are historically and culturally specific to this region.

However, regardless of their noted attendance at school these girls constantly negotiate the following constraints to accessing education: limited career choice, work commitments outside of school, reduced social services that provide the means to gain access to education, bureaucratic corruption, clan-based networks, and the 'natural'

difference between boys and girls constructed by patriarchal norms of Tajik society - in order to realise their dream. Notwithstanding these constraints, there is evidence that some girls, and boys, resist the hegemonic constructions of subjectivity 'offered' to this age group in Panj. This rejection of hegemonic subjectivities is enacted through alternative discursive practices that go against this society's social, cultural and gender norms and, although extreme in some cases, represents a small step in the 'emancipation' of this admittedly limited sample of the population in Tajikistan. The following chapter explores the discourses framing girls' access to education in Khorog.

Chapter Six

Girls' Access to Education in Remote Tajikistan: Analysis and Findings from Khorog

Introduction

The preceding chapter explored the discourses, which frame access to education for girls in case study site, Panj. Through the *Leximancer* based analysis five main discourses associated with access to education were identified; within these the discourse of 'school' was most dominant (Table 1 above). Nonetheless, the discourse of schooling was not deployed and reproduced in isolation. Rather, as discussion in Chapter Five shows, this discourse, its themes, topics and identifiers strongly influenced the content of the other discourses, such that in Chapter Five, analysis of the discourse of school facilitated fleshing out aspects of the other key discourses informing girls' access to schooling in Panj. Analysis of this corpus of discourses showed that girls' access to schooling in Panj is framed by a number of factors including: 1. the desire to gain an education in order to improve future life chances, 2. the ability to access education at school, and 3. how education is made accessible to girls.

In this chapter, however, the focus is upon the second case study site, namely that of Khorog. Khorog is an isolated town in the Gorno-Badakhshan region surrounded by the Pamir Mountain range, which borders Afghanistan along the Amu Darya river (Alford, Cunha and Ives, 2000:21). The population in this region is '95 per cent Ismai'li

Muslim, a branch or Shi'a Islam owing allegiance to the Aga Khan. This is in sharp contrast to the rest of the nation where inhabitants are Sunni Muslim, or atheists' (Beeman, 1999:101). Furthermore the people of Gorno-Badakhshan do not speak Tajik or Russian as their first language. Rather, they have their own distinct variety of Indo-European languages (Beeman, 1999:101). Discussion in this chapter follows largely the same structure as that in Chapter Five, which explored the Panj context. That is, it outlines how *Leximancer* was used to identify the key discourses informing girls' access to education, and similarly presents the data as processed by *Leximancer* in both Tables and Figures. This data subsequently informs a discussion, which draws upon conversation extracts, as reported by the translator, to flesh out in more detail the dynamics informing girls' access to education as indicated by the *Leximancer* generated data.

The girls participating in this case study in Khorog all attend school regularly, study hard and want to go to university, thus performing their expected gender roles. Furthermore, their obvious commitment to this role is enhanced by the teachings of their community's spiritual leader, the Aga Khan. However, despite these girls' dedication to their assigned subject position, there are factors which negatively affect their access to education, such as limited career choice within the acceptable female professions, the economic situation of their family, reduced government spending on public services, the language of instruction, and the apathy towards education demonstrated by boys in this community.

Leximancer and Khorog

Data from the interviews conducted in Khorog were entered into *Leximancer's* database and a file named 'Khorog 2009' was generated. Once the data had been saved in *Leximancer's* memory it produced a basic concept map. As occurred with the Panj sourced data, a concept map that identified the five most significant themes emerging from the Khorog interviews was generated. The concepts 'class' and 'classes', 'study' and 'studying', 'teacher' and teachers' were merged and the terms 'enter', 'stay', 'understand', 'think', 'time', 'give' and 'difficult' were deleted as they were not relevant to my analysis, being mostly verbs.

Figure 2 (below) shows the five most significant themes that emerged from the data collected in Khorog and identifies the concepts connected to each theme. 'School' is the dominant theme, being closest to the centre of the graph, with 'language' and 'boys' overlapping it, which suggests that these two themes are inter-connected with the discursive practices that operate in school and therefore play an important role in constructing how the girls in Khorog access education. These overlaps between the theme of 'school' and 'language', and 'school' and 'boys', are also different to the links and overlaps identified in the data from Panj. In the Panj data 'education', 'work' and 'lessons' are inter-linked with 'school' in this stage of the analysis (see Figure 1 above), suggesting that girls' subjectivity in Panj is informed by factors such as the desire to gain an education, workload outside of school, and the quality of lessons in the classroom;

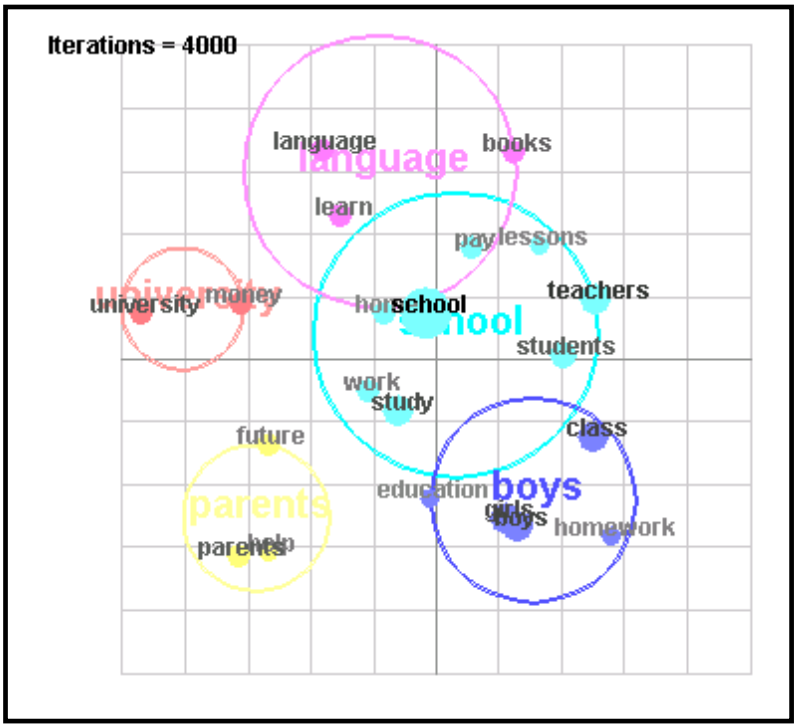

Figure 3: The concepts within five main themes in Khorog

possibilities confirmed through the references to conversation extracts. In Khorog the two themes inter-linking with 'school': 'language' and 'boys' suggests that different factors, such as the language of instruction not being the participants first language and the role boys play in constructing girls' gender performance are more prominent in informing the Khorog girls' subjectivity. Moreover, the role of 'father' as a patriarchal family leader is less dominant in Khorog[9]. This observation is supported by the data, which shows that 'father' has not emerged as a theme in the concept map, as it did in the Panj data set. During the interviews none of the participants mentioned their father, instead referring to either their mother, or to their parents in general and how both parents supported them with making decisions rather than their father dictating and the rest of the family

[9] Informal discussion with interviewees and community members in Khorog.

accepting his decisions. For example, one of the girls, Mahbooba, stated that, "Yes, her parents support her", when asked about completing school, while another, Mariam also confirmed the absence of a dominant 'father figure' stating that, "Her parents agree", when she discussed her determination to go to university after graduating from school.

In the Khorog data set the concepts identified within the discourse of 'school' are 'study', 'teachers', 'class', 'language', 'work', 'students', 'home' and 'pay' in descending order of frequency, again demonstrating that there is always an interplay of competing discourses at work in any institution (Fairclough, 2001b:126). The position of 'parents' in the bottom left-hand corner of the concept map could be seen as symbolising the supportive position that parents provide for their daughters in Khorog. The theme of 'university' is positioned in the upper left-hand quadrant, which might indicate that this is the goal the participants are working towards, with their parents positioned underneath, thereby supporting them as they strive to enter university.

Discourses Informing Khorog Girls' Access to Education

Table 3 (below) lists the discourses identified from the interviews conducted with the participant girls living in Khorog. Again, the most commonly occurring discourse identifiers recognised by *Leximancer* were grouped into their relevant discourses, thus identifying the five main discourses that are informing girls' access education in Khorog. These discourses are labelled as 'school', which constitutes 74 per cent of the discourse frequency identifiers; 'gender relations' at 12 per cent; 'neo-liberal capitalism' at 9 per

cent; ‘family’ at 6 per cent; and ‘development’ at 2 per cent in descending order of dominance. Like the Panj data set, the single largest influence and most dominant discourse informing girls’ access to education in Khorog is that of ‘school’, with nearly seven times the frequency of the next discourse identified; ‘gender relations’. The extent to which ‘school’ dominates the discourses associated with access to education suggests that the participants, their families and the wider community value education and its benefits. In the data from Khorog the discourse of ‘development’ has the lowest frequency, with only one discourse identifier, that of ‘help’, whereas the discourse of ‘community’ has the lowest frequency count in the Panj data.

Comparison between Table 1 and Table 3 shows that 4 out of 5 discourses are the same in both sites, although they are in a slightly different order, and in each site the last discourse is different, being ‘community’ in Panj and ‘development’ in Khorog. This difference between the last two discourses might suggest the possibility that access to education in Khorog is informed more by the discourse of ‘development’ than the discourse of ‘community’, as ‘community’ did not emerge from the Khorog data. This is not to say that the discourse of ‘community’ is not present in Khorog, just that it did not feature highly in the discussions with the participants in this region. The same can also be said for the discourse of ‘development’ in Panj as it did not emerge from the data there. In Panj a stronger influence came from the discourse of ‘community’. This difference in discourses emerging from the data in each research site, I suggest, could be related to the different ethnic make-up of each community, thus confirming that context

is an important factor in this study. Tajikistan is a multi-ethnic republic, as discussed in Chapter One, and cannot therefore be considered as a homogeneous developing country. Rather it is, as a result of the former Soviet regime's policy of redistributing whole groups or villages of people around the republic, a bricolage of ethnic 'nations'. Thus, communities in Tajikistan have varying ethnic populations and, as Collins (2003:186) indicates in her study of the role of clans in Central Asia Uzbeks 'exhibited a stronger sense of ethnonationality than … Tajiks', which supports the contention that Uzbek communities, and others, highly value their ethnic heritage.

The dominant discourse of 'school', as identified by the discourse identifiers 'school', 'teachers', 'class', 'study', 'university', 'language', 'students', 'books', 'learn', 'lessons', 'homework', and 'education' forms the discursive field surrounding the social institution of school which 'consists of a whole group of regulated practices' (Brooks, 1997:50) that determine how girls access education in Khorog. The discourse of 'gender relations', which contains the discourse identifiers 'boys' and 'girls', positions girls, particularly in relation to boys, in the gender roles they perform, thus controlling them through 'micro' operations of power (Brooks, 1997:50) as they access education in their community, though as suggested, perhaps not in the same way as occurs in Panj. The discourse of 'neo-liberal capitalism', identified by the discourse identifiers 'work', 'money', 'future' and 'pay' informs the economic context in which access to education is

Table 3: Discourses identified from participants in Khorog

Discourse 1 School: Concepts associated with this Discourse	Frequency	**Discourse 2 Gender Relations:** Concepts associated with this Discourse	Frequency	**Discourse 3 Neo-liberal Capitalism:** Concepts associated with this Discourse	Frequency	**Discourse 4 Family:** Concepts associated with this Discourse	Frequency	**Discourse 5 Development** Concepts associated with this Discourse	Frequency
School	294	Boys	69	Work	24	Parents	42	Help	24
Teachers	100	Girls	66	Money	24	Home	18		
Class	76			Future	24				
Study	61			Pay	22				
University	52								
Language	51								
Students	43								
Books	40								
Learn	32								
Lessons	21								
Homework	20								
Education	18								
Total[10]	808	Total	135	Total	94	Total	60	Total	24
Percentage[11]	**74%**	**Percentage**	**12%**	**Percentage**	**9%**	**Percentage**	**6%**	**Percentage**	**2%**

[10] Absolute count for each discourse identifier within the Khorog data set.
[11] All percentages are rounded up to the nearest whole number.

negotiated by the Khorog participants. As with the Panj data set, participants in Khorog are faced with similar economic hardships connected with transition from a planned economy to a market economy and the adjustments imposed by neo-liberal policies that seek to reduce government spending on social services (Peters, 1996:81). Accordingly, in this situation, people are forced to re-think their concept of how they will live and survive in these circumstances. Although the discourse of 'family' only includes the terms 'parents' and 'home' in the list of discourse identifiers, it nonetheless emerges during the interviews as having an overarching position of support for the girls as they are subjected to the controlling mechanisms embedded in village life in this region, which, as will be shown, is guided by the community's spiritual leader the Aga Khan, who actively encourages his followers to value education (The Ismaili, online). For example, during a visit to Khorog the Aga Khan encouraged his community thus:

> Educate ourselves and our children, so that they understand the changes that will occur, and can properly prepare for them, and make those changes serve you, the people amongst whom you live and future generations.
>
> (Aga Khan, in Niyozov, 2002:25)

The last discourse identified in Table 3 (above) is that of 'development'. It is associated with a single discourse identifier, namely 'help'. This would seem to indicate that access to education for these girls in Khorog is only partly informed by the discourse of 'development', which is manifest in this community as aid or assistance from various international organisations and NGOs. As will be shown below, the girls in Khorog negotiate the discourses or 'fields' (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000:33) outlined above in various ways, using the rules and procedures, roles and positions, and expected behaviours – or symbolic categories (Donald, 1985:246) – associated with each to

position themselves in the very process which regulates what occurs within in each discourse and as a consequence 'their identity or subjectivity is shaped by the operations of that field' or discourse (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000:33). This role of discourses is therefore an important factor informing girls' access to education that is both unique to each individual and specific to each context, according to the idiosyncratic cultural norms in the local community.

The Girls in Khorog

The participants in Khorog comprise eleven girls between the ages of 11 and 16. They all attend school regularly and most want to continue on to further education in a university, either in Khorog or in Dushanbe. Table 4 (below) identifies each participant according to their grade in school and interview number. The eldest girl, Mahbooba, is in Year 10. She wants to continue at school until the end of Year 11 so that she can go on to university. She attends a local government school that the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) helped to rebuild after the civil war. It is well resourced and Mahbooba likes her school. There are three girls in Year 9, Nasley, Shahnoza and Hanifa who also all like school, study hard and want to stay at school until they graduate from Year 11 so that they can enter into a university. Nasley and Shahnoza wanted to be interviewed together as they are close friends. They go to a large local government school but are in different classes. Their school has not been refurbished since the civil war (1992-97) and they do not have enough books for all the students to have one each. This shortage of text books means that students must share one between two or three in most subjects, which proves rather

difficult when completing homework assignments that require the use of a text book, as students must take it in turns to take the books home. Shahnoza's parents pay 10 somonis (about US $3) per month for her to have extra lessons in history and law so that she will be better prepared for university after Year 11. Hanifa attends the Aga Khan School, a private, fee-paying school established by the AKF in Khorog after the civil war.

Table 4: Participants in Khorog

Interview Number	Participants' Name	Class/ Year
1	Marziya	7
2	Zaytuna	5
3	Mahbooba	10
4	Nasley	9
5	Shahnoza	9
6	Svetlana	7
7	Hanifa	9
8	Muharam	7
9	Vika	7
10	Mariam	8
11	Fatima	6

The fees are 25 somonis per month (about $8 US). It is a large school with well-qualified teachers and good educational resources. Mariam is in Year 8 and attends a local government school, however, she wants her school to be more like the Aga Khan School so that she can study more in English. There are four girls in Year 7, two attend local

government schools; Svetlana and Marziya, whilst the other two; Muharam and Vika, go to the Aga Khan School. They all like school, take their studies seriously and do their homework. Svetlana's school receives some support from the AKF and they now have a computer lab, however, she would like to have more computers, as there are insufficient computers for every student. Moreover, the computer teacher is also the mathematics teacher, because teachers are in short supply in this and many other government schools, as discussed in Chapter Five.

Marziya's school is smaller than most and many boys in her class do not regularly attend, which she claims is due to a number of reasons including illness and lack of motivation. She also revealed that the teachers are increasingly absent. She thinks that the situation is getting worse because most of the qualified teachers have left to look for better paid employment, either as traders in the local bazaar or in Russia where they can join the many other Tajiks, forced to leave their homes and families due to the dire economic situation in Tajikistan. It is estimated that 'at any given moment … several hundred thousand to over 1 million' Tajiks are working illegally in Russia (ICG, 2005:26).

Muharam and Vika both spoke in English during the interview and they study together in the same class at the Aga Khan School. They enjoy school, want to do well in their studies, and like their teachers, in fact they would like to study harder and feel that their teachers need to be stricter with students so that everyone will work as hard as they

do. Fatima is in Year 6 and attends a local government school supported by humanitarian aid from international organisations. Students receive lunch provided at school and have good teachers, however Fatima would like the school to get computers as she wants to learn to use computers. She complained that all the schools have to close down for the month of January due to the cold weather so that the school year in Khorog is reduced by four weeks compared with the rest of the country. The youngest participant is Zaytuna. She likes her school but complains that there are not enough teachers, too few teaching periods and they sometimes do not have enough books. Her parents pay 12 somonis per month for her to attend this school and the money collected has so far been used to repair the school buildings, replace furniture and provide classroom equipment. The school is slowly recovering from the damage caused by the conflict of civil war in this region.

Discourses Affecting Girls' Access to Education in Khorog – School and Related Discourses

School

The dominant theme emerging from the Khorog data is the importance of education and the benefits that being educated will bring to one's self and family, which is the same as in Panj, however, as will be discussed later, there are different factors influencing this theme. In Khorog these include going to school, continuing on to university and the practicalities of attending either school or university. The participants all stated that they wanted to go to school to obtain knowledge and learning that would help them with their future life chances. One of the reasons for this stems from living in

a region 'with limited arable land and harsh climatic conditions, with temperatures below freezing for most of the winter' (Kanji. 2002:139), thus the local population are constantly struggling just to survive, so that, as Kanji (2002:139) claims, the people living in the Pamir Mountains are forced to rely on 'humanitarian assistance from agencies including … ICRC … [International Committee for the Red Cross], … UNHCR … [United Nations High Commission for Refugees], … and the AKF … [in order to] … avert large scale starvation'. Fatima confirms the importance placed on education stating that, "Without learning you can't do well in the future", while Zaytuna claims that, "She goes to school to get knowledge and language and she wants to study better so that she can find a good job and work in the future so that she can take care of her parents". However, whilst acknowledging the benefit that schooling can offer for future prospects, Zaytuna is positioning herself in the typical gender appropriate role of home-based carer, which as argued, is the discursive position assigned to girls in Tajikistan. This juxtaposition of competing discursive practices means that Zaytuna has successfully embraced the range of ways of being a female available to her in Khorog in order to construct her current subject position. She is therefore complying with the dominant norms established by society in Khorog, which include gaining an education that will ultimately benefit the family by providing them with financial support in their declining years.

When asked about her experience at school Mahbooba replied that that she loves her school:

> [B]ecause it gives her lots of things. She will know about everything and she thinks about her school work and her languages all the time because she will need that for the future. Because for the future … she thinks it's better if you have education for your life. It is very important to learn at school.

Shahnoza provided a similar response when asked what she thought about her school, stating:

> [S]chool is very important for our life because at school we understand about life and our future. They tell us about everything and if we don't go to school we will not know anything about our future life. So she wants to increase that and improve her life in the future.

Hanifa also reproduced this discourse of gender roles in school when she claimed that, "School is very important because it's for our future, for our world, for the entire world', as did Svetlana who agreed that, "She goes to … [school] … to learn, to learn more and more. She needs this for her life and her future". These examples of how girls construct the importance of going to school and the reasons they give for attending also indicate their performance of the 'appropriate' gendered role; namely that of the studious daughter, as discussed earlier. However, the drive to perform in this way is possibly also informed by the teachings and guidance of the Aga Khan during his sporadic visits to the region. Consequently, Khorog girls are not only bound by their assigned gender role, as girls in Panj are, but they must also conform to the expectations placed on them by their community's spiritual leader, the Aga Khan, and in so doing, they are set apart from the rest of the population in Tajikistan. Kanji (2002:139) states that 'the Pamiris are descendants of Eastern Iranian people who converted to Shi-ite sect of Ismailism in the seventeenth century … [and] … many, including Tajiks, consider Pamiris to be "outsiders", neither real "Tajiks" nor real Muslims'. Furthermore, the mountain region of GABO (Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, of which Khorog is the capital) is one

of the remotest areas of Tajikistan and therefore isolated from the rest of the country. Hence, as a result of this different historical and geographical context, 'women's lives in GABO have been less regulated than in other parts of Tajikistan' (Kanji, 2002:139). Though performing 'appropriate' gendered roles, perhaps the pressure to perform is less in this community than it is in Panj. The comments of Weedon (1987:92) are significant in relation to this potential difference between girls in Panj and Khorog:

> Different discourses provide for a range of modes of subjectivity and the ways in which particular discourses constitute subjectivity have implications for the process of reproducing … power relations.

In Khorog, unlike Panj, the desire to follow the teachings of a spiritual leader is therefore, superimposed on top of the discursive constructions of appropriate female behaviour expected in Tajikistan, which makes the girls in Khorog considerably less informed by prescribed Tajik gender relations than those in Panj. Furthermore, it seemed from the way girls in Khorog spoke about their desire to access education and its place in improving their future life, that it was as if this is entirely normal, and not something special or unusual. Girls in Khorog are actively encouraged to access education by their families. The Khorog girls all stated that they like school, study hard and wanted to go to university to 'get a good job' in the future.

Many of the participants expressed a desire to go to the medical university in order to become doctors once they graduate from school. Mahbooba explained that her parents are doctors, "So that's why she chose this career. She likes it. She likes this profession. That's why she wants to be a doctor". She is supported by her parents, and although she is keen to further her education, thus correctly performing the expected

gender role in her community, she has limited herself to following in the 'footsteps' of her parents. Like the girls in Panj she has few other discursive options available. A similar situation applies to Muharam who wants to be a doctor when she finishes school and states that she chose this profession herself, however clarifies this statement by informing that, "Her mother is a doctor". Therefore, despite claiming to have made the decision independently, Muharam is possibly still subjected to the expectations of her family.

This positioning of girls in Khorog as family carers, through becoming doctors, is further confirmed by Zaytuna, who stated, as outlined above, that she wants a job in the future so that she can take care of her parents. For Zaytuna this caring position means going to the medical university to become a doctor. Her parents firmly support their daughter at school and even pay 12 somonis per month for her to attend a local government school that should be free. Zaytuna explained that with this money, "We repair the school and so it gets better. … We buy books and other things like that. … It has got much better. … Our parents support our school". By putting money into the school parents are supplementing the local government's education budget, which has been greatly reduced since the break up of the former Soviet Union (Kanji, 2002:139; Klugman, 1999:428). Reduced spending on social services in developing countries is also a side effect of neo-liberal development policies (Harris and Seid, 2000:13) that force those living in Khorog and other developing contexts to supplement their children's education, assuming that such funds are available.

Attending school, studying hard and continuing on to further education, as discussed above, is considered the correct way to behave for girls in Khorog. However, the experience is not the same for each of the girls interviewed and is dependent upon the school attended and the context within each school. Three of the respondents attend the Aga Khan School, considered by many of the participants to be the 'best' school in Khorog as it offers the 'best' education, has good quality teachers with teaching experience and high qualifications, and provides additional classes to support students' chosen career paths. Hanifa is a pupil at this school and confirms that she thinks, "Her school is better than the local government schools". She said:

> [I]n her school they have, if they choose for example to be a doctor, they have the subjects that belong to this … profession. Then they have extra lessons but they do not pay for this. If the teachers say you will come to extra lessons for chemistry or biology, like this, they do not have to pay.

Mariam, however, attends a local government school, which she explains is different to the Aga Khan School because, "They learn in Tajik and Russian … [and] … she wants to learn more in English … like in the Aga Khan School where they are learning in English. … Now she tries to graduate from her school and move to the Aga Khan School'. Mariam will be unable to do this unless her family's financial situation improves as access to education for her, both at school and at university, depends on whether or not her family will be able to, "Gather the money needed … but without money she said she is not sure yet if she will be able to enter into … university". Mariam's access to education is consequently dependent on the current economic situation of her family and as such is informed by the discourse of neo-liberal capitalism that has pushed countries

into implementing 'unpopular fiscal "austerity measures" aimed at reducing public services and privatizing many of the public utilities and state-owned enterprises in … [developing] … countries' (Harris and Seid, 2000:13).

Marziya also attends a local government school, however, she indicated that her school, "Is getting worse and now many teachers have left from school". She believes this is because, "For the teachers … the salary is very low. And that's why they have to move to other jobs. … The young teachers have left … and look for jobs in Russia or in Dushanbe". Again the economic climate in Khorog has forced teachers to seek alternative employment, as the government salary paid is unable to meet daily basic needs. Kanji (2000:142) reports that those who are employed in public service jobs, such as teachers are often paid irregularly and in one household 'a couple who used to be teachers had entirely given up their profession to devote themselves to trading, buying clothing and goods in the capital Dushanbe and selling them in a local roadside stall' in the centre of town. Zaytuna and Svetlana confirm this lack of teachers in government schools. Neither of their schools have enough teachers. In fact Svetlana stated that, "One of the teachers at her school now has to teach them on computers as well as in mathematics". Furthermore, Shahnoza and Mariam, who also both attend local government schools, complain that their teachers are old, thus as discussed earlier concerning the Panj context, teachers in Khorog must also continue working well into their retirement as the government paid pension is insufficient to cover basic living costs.

Furthermore, it was noted by many girls that textbooks are in short supply; yet another consequence of reduced public spending on education.

School and Language

Unlike the data generated in Panj the second most influential dynamic that frames girls' access to education in Khorog concerns the language used in school. This is problematic for girls and boys in Khorog as the language of instruction is not their first. The first language for the participants from Khorog is Pamiri, though the lessons at school and in the universities are taught predominantly in Tajik or Russian, which according to Muharam is:

> [D]ifficult for them, for example, she is not Tajik … If she wants to go to Dushanbe … [to a university there] … she can't speak with Tajik people because it is a different language. In some of the places they are just … they are speaking in their language. In Tajik, that's why it is difficult for us.

Muharam also explains that, "The … [Pamiri] … alphabet is not the same as Tajik. The alphabet in Pamiri is … for some of the letters the pronunciation is like English language; 'their', 'fair' … like this but it is more like the French language, it looks like the French language". Thus, accessing education is further constrained by the barrier of language in addition to gendered community expectations.

Lessons are taught in Tajik, Russian and English, and according to Mariam, should the students need further explanation, "Their teachers explain in Pamiri when they talk". Translating lessons into the students' first language provides access to education for students in Khorog but it is not a strategy that will be useful once they graduate from

school and enrol in university, especially if the university they attend is in a different region such as Dushanbe. It will be unlikely that teachers in other regions will be able to speak the Pamiri language so students from Khorog will be disadvantaged in these institutions. Many of the participants would, therefore, like their lessons to be in English, which is increasingly the lingua franca across the region, particularly if they want to work for an international organisation based in Tajikistan.[12] Shahnoza's parents recognise the difficulties she may face having Pamiri as her first language and acknowledge the benefits of learning to speak English. Shahnoza explained that, "They want her to learn English language and go to university to learn languages". Muharam and Vika were able to converse with me in English during the interviews as they used English at school. Muharam is particularly impressed with her teachers and how they help her to learn English, stating that, "They … [her teachers] … help us all in English and sometimes they just mess about with us in break and we talk to each other in English". These examples of girls desiring to learn English suggest that they believe English language ability to be an advantage in the future job market.

School and Boys

One of the main dynamics framing the Khorog girls' access to education is, as discussed above, the desire to follow the advice of their spiritual leader, The Aga Khan. However, whilst he advocates education, this is not limited to girls but embraces all members of this society, including women, men and boys. The respondents all

[12] Informal discussion with interviewees and community members in Khorog.

commented that they go to school all the time, except when they are ill or have a problem, but when asked if it is the same for girls and boys, the answer was a resounding 'No'. For example, when asked who studies better at school, girls or boys, Zaytuna asserted that, "The girls do their homework, which is good but the boys like to play football, or have work. They often stay at home and do not come to school". Muharam also claimed that, "Some boys don't do their homework because some boys can't do their homework. They don't want to do it or to know anything". Fatima commented that the boys say that:

> Learning is a hobby for girls not for boys but they are not thinking about their future. They will do business, be businessmen and go to other countries and things like this and will be responsible for things like this. They have very high dreams for their life.

This general feeling of boys not needing an education could be, as argued in Chapter Five, because they will use their kin-based connections for employment opportunities[13]. Furthermore, in response to being asked about school absenteeism, Mahbooba stated that, "Of course the boys are absent from school, but she doesn't know why as they haven't any jobs like hard labour. They just go driving somewhere and that's why. They don't have any hobbies". Marziya stated that many students in her class do not come to school, however clarified this saying that, "The boys are not coming to school. … The boys are learning very badly, that's why they are not coming to school. … The boys don't do their homework." The above references to boys' poor school performance, high absenteeism and preference for alternative activities to studying suggests that the expected gender

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[13] Local clan based networks were discussed on many occasions by community members during my visit to Khorog.

roles for boys in Khorog are similar to those in Panj, positioning them in the same binary-like relationship to girls. However, unlike the girls, the boys are not following the teachings of their spiritual leader, the Aga Khan. This is possibly because they believe that through their clan affiliations they will still be able to get a 'good' job. Of significance here, however, is the trafficking of heroin into Russia.[14] Facilitated by the proximity of Khorog and Afghanistan, this 'employment' is becoming a growing concern for the community.

Resistance to Discourses Framing Access to Education in Khorog

As shown above, most of the girls accept the gender role assigned to females in Khorog and are generally easily positioned by the discursive practices embedded in village life in the Pamir Mountains. However, there are some girls who attempt to resist the dominant discourse that recognises care-based professions as the appropriate feminine career path. For example, following graduation from school Svetlana wants to join the police force, Shahnoza wants to become a lawyer, and Marziya wants to be a journalist or a translator. These are career paths, which are not currently aligned with the expected feminine roles in Khorog. But here too, the comments of Weedon (1987:112) are significant in terms of understanding these alternative possibilities for girls. Weedon argues that 'where there is a space between the position of subject offered by a discourse and individual interest, a resistance to that subject position is produced' (1987:112).

[14] This concern for boys was discussed by many community members during my visit to Khorog.

Thus by opting to join and follow careers not typically assigned to females in Tajikistan's patriarchal society, these girls resist hegemonic social structures.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the data collected from Khorog, a village in the Pamir Mountains in the southernmost tip of Tajikistan. Critical discourse analysis was used to identify how eleven participants in this research site engage with the different discourses available to them as they access education in this location. *Leximancer* was used to locate key discourse identifiers associated with particular discourses, thus identifying the five main discourses framing girls' access to education in Khorog, many of which are those circulating in the Panj context. But in addition to performing the correct expected gender role, as manifest in studying well in order to continue onto further education so that they will ultimately be able to take care of their parents - as occurs in Panj - these girls face the added pressure of conforming to the expectations placed on them by the teachings of their community's spiritual leader, the Aga Khan. This is in addition to the discourse of 'school', which is the dominant discourse informing access to education. Other significant discourse comprised: 'gender relations', 'neo-liberal capitalism', 'family' and 'development'.

The relationships between these discourses and the social institutions in Khorog such as schooling, arguably as in the Panj context, coalesce to construct the girls' subjectivity. The girls in Khorog all attend school regularly, study hard and want to go

on to further education, however, these facts notwithstanding, they face the following factors that negatively impact their access to education: limited career choice within acceptable female professions, the economic situation of their family, reduced government spending on public services, marginalisation due to the language of instruction, the harsh climatic conditions and isolated locality of living in a mountain region and the apathy towards education demonstrated by the boys in this community. The other significant difference identified between the two research sites is the absence of a dominant male figure in the family, thus lessening the patriarchal nature of Khorog society that regulates women's lives. In Khorog there is also a reduced workload outside of school due to the lack of arable land. But similar to Panj there are opportunities for resistance, which in Khorog is manifest in alternative career choices for a number of the participants.

The next chapter compares the two research sites, and in more detail, drawing on the social theory outlined in Chapter Three. The discussion will also draw on findings from research concerning girls' access to education in other developing contexts, particularly those with Islamic ties as a broad heuristic strategy, and explore the mechanisms for the control of local context, such as Tajikistan, used by global development polices such as The Framework.

Chapter Seven

Access to Education for Girls in Tajikistan – Local links to the Global Context

Introduction

The previous two chapters analysed the spoken texts obtained from interviews with school aged girls conducted in two research sites in rural and remote Tajikistan, namely Panj and Khorog. Following an initial analysis of the interview data using *Leximancer*, critical discourse analysis was used to identify the particular discourses framing girls' access to education in each community. The discourse of 'school' was identified as the dominant discourse informing access to education in both sites, however, this did not function in isolation and other discourses, such as 'family', 'gender relations', 'neo-liberal framed employment conditions', and 'community and development', were deployed in conjunction to produce and reproduce the disciplinary practices embedded in the social institutions in which the girls were located.

The dominant dynamic, however, emerging from the network of discourses informing the subjectivities of the girls in each research site was the desire to gain an education and the benefits this could bring in the future, such as access to university, subsequent job prospects, the opportunity to improve the economic situation of their families, and ultimately to help their parents in the future. Most of the participants

interviewed in both villages attended school regularly, study hard and want to continue on to further education, thus performing the gender roles constructed as 'correct' for girls in these two communities. However, despite the above-mentioned positive attitude towards education there are a number of factors that emerged from the data that negatively impact on these girls' access to education. These include limited career choice, and the practicalities involved in accessing education such as language of instruction, enforced child labour, parents' financial situation, reduced social services provided by the government, location of schools, corruption in the form of bribes for educational services, early marriage, gender role expectations within the family and community, and the home/living circumstances of the participants. The significance and presence of these factors is not uniform across both sites, such that this chapter aims to identify the similarities and differences between sites in terms of the discourses (and social and material conditions) impacting girls' access to education. In the discussion that follows, these comparative Tajikistan based findings are further compared with those obtained from studies of girls' access to education in other 'developing' contexts, with critical reflection upon the implications of this corpus of findings for the achievement in Tajikistan of The Framework's gender related goals for education development.

The Dakar Framework - a Global Education Development Policy

As we move into the twenty-first century the world is gravitating towards an ever increasingly interconnected global system based on neo-liberal capitalism (Fairclough, 2001a). However, it 'is not located in a geographical space but envelops the globe with

its desires, images, politics, and consumer and cultural products' (Sardar, 1991:44). This global economic system, which 'is increasingly dominated by large transnational corporations' (Harris and Seid, 2000:7) has spread like a cancer 'colonizing ever more of the planet's living spaces, destroying livelihoods, displacing people, rendering democratic institutions impotent, and feeding on life in an insatiable quest for money' (Korten, in Harris and Seid, 2000:8). This 'modern' form of globalisation, or 'new world order' (Fairclough, 2001a) has been labeled by it critiques as 'Americanization … on a global scale' (Friedman, in Harris and Seid, 2000:8), a system of global domination, which grew out of the historical context of colonialism and its counterpart modernity. Following the Second World War the governments of America and Europe found new areas of concern, such as the rise of communism, the discovery of poverty in much of Asia, Latin America and Africa, and an increase in the populations of these regions (Escobar, 1999:382), and as the old colonial systems started to breakdown the future of these post-colonial populations was unclear.

In 1948 the World Bank (WB) announced that two-thirds of the world's population were poor because they were found to be living in countries with an annual per capita income below $100 (US) (Escobar, 1999:382). In response to the problem of mass poverty, governments of America and Europe realised that they needed to do something before the situation led to social unrest. Their ensuing classification, which divided the world according to a binary-like opposition between those who were poor and those who were not, brought to light a serious problem that needed an urgent solution.

The solution was believed to be 'economic growth' (Escobar, 1999:382). Poor countries could be saved from their misery by the rich as it was believed that they - the rich countries - had the 'financial and technical capacity to secure progress' (Escobar, 1999:382), which would deliver those in poverty to prosperity, and all that was needed for the poor to achieve this was the right strategy, namely 'development'.

Fundamental to this strategy of development was the belief in modernisation. Poor countries needed to move from their traditional past to a modern future and the way to do this was through development (Kandiyoti, 2002:280). Thus development became the discursive 'strategy for dealing with the problems of underdevelopment' (Escobar, 1984:384). Escobar (1984:384) asserts that:

> The practices generated by such a strategy, the mechanisms by which these practices operate, and, in general, the ways in which development is 'put into discourse' … [has become] … a series of political technologies intended to manage and give shape to the reality of the Third World. (Escobar, 1984:384)

Development, viewed in this way, is both discourse and practice, whereby the discourse of development facilitates the process of development through its flow of policies and strategies at the global level and its agents and organisations at the local level, thereby becoming 'a natural desirable process, as human destiny itself' (Tucker, 1999:2). When viewed in this way 'the myth of development is elevated to the status of natural law, objective reality and evolutionary necessity. In the process all other views are devalued and dismissed as "primitive", "backward", "irrational" or "naïve"' (Tucker, 1999:1). Development was constructed and simultaneously embraced as the answer to the problems found in the Third world, justifiable by its claim to provide the route to

progress in the form of economic growth and industrial development within a modern society.

In the wake of modernity, history has been reduced to a linear scale of progress on which countries are mapped according to their level of development (Tucker, 1999:8). Sutcliffe (1999:135) describes the progress of modernisation as the journey underdeveloped countries must travel along to become developed. Countries begin their journey according to their level of development, then, 'with the right policies, they will all arrive in the end at the … [desired] … destination' (Sutcliffe, 1999:135), that of a developed country. Development indicators such as level of education, literacy rates, school enrollment figures and gender parity measure each country's progress along this journey. By measuring progress along a continuum that ultimately has as its goal the attainment of a society based on the Western model, 'development' produced 'the West, almost instinctively, as the standard for judgments and as the yardstick for measuring the social and political progress' (Sardar, 1999:44) for developing countries. Development, then, can be seen as the 'process whereby the "developed" countries manage, control and even create the Third World economically, politically, sociologically and culturally' (Tucker, 1999:1), and as such constitutes a set of practices and beliefs that are regarded as natural and are therefore to be accepted without question. However, I argue that development is not a natural process. Rather it was constituted historically as a discourse and a practice to facilitate the West's agenda that had as its underlying theme the non-West as a problem. The discourse of development, therefore, produced a whole system

of institutions and practices that targeted poor countries with programmes, policies and interventions aimed at all levels of society in order to transform the 'not-yet-too-rational … Third World subjectivity' (Escobar, 1988:438), which continues today, though as can be seen through the Millennium Development Goals and The Framework, on a scale larger than ever before.

As also noted, The Framework arguably comprises a global master plan for the achievement of education development goals by 2015 (Tamatea, 2005a:214). The Framework states that 'particular emphasis will be given to areas of concern … such as HIV/AIDS, early childhood, school health, education of girls and women, adult literacy and education in situations in crisis and emergency' (UNESCO, 2000a:3). Thus, The Framework alerts, and indeed constructs for the readers, the areas of concern for education development. This development policy deploys the discourse of development, and the practice of development to identify if not construct problems concerning education (and development) that need solving, thus justifying its position as a global development policy. In identifying these problems, The Framework deploys textual strategies that codify 'Others' - not the writers - as belonging to certain classifications that need attention (Mohanty, 1996:172-173). By identifying particular groups as targets for development, The Framework constructs its way of 'development' as the norm, which in this case comprises the neo-liberal if not more precisely, the current 'Western' way (Tucker, 1999:1). As a global education policy document, The Framework 'presents to the world the truth about the "reality" of education' (Tamatea, 2005a:214), which has the

'potential to constrain our ability to construct education, self and community in other ways' (p. 214). By virtue of its status as a global approach to education development, The Framework provides *the* 'set of rules that inform the conditions of possibility for what can be said and indeed done within the field of education and development at this point in time (Foucault, in Ritzer, 1997:40). Furthermore, The Framework's rules (of formation) are not only found within the text of The Framework, they are dispersed as concepts throughout the domain of education and development with the capacity to 'operate not only in the mind, and subjectivity of individuals, within this domain, but in the discourse of all individuals who undertake to speak within and about this domain' (Foucault, in Ritzer, 1997:40). Constructed as the authority on education development around the world, The Framework exercises 'power' by differentiating, within the field of education development, true from false, wherein alternatives to neo-liberal prescriptions for development are generally constructed as 'false' (Tamatea, 2005a; Ritzer, 1997:45).

The Framework presents a model of how education in developing countries is to be constructed, and by doing this it exercises a degree of control over what counts as education and development in developing contexts such as Tajikistan. This, according to Foucault (in Ritzer, 1997:46) generates 'power by constructing people as subjects'. The knowledge about these 'subjects' – which invariably informs the data banks of global development organisations such as the WB and the IMF, is then used to govern them. This 'modern' and in the case of Tajikistan, 'postcolonial' outcome seems, however, to not be particularly post-colonial at all. Moreover, it seems to reaffirm the argument that

history has simply lurched 'from one system of domination to another' (Ritzer, 1997:47); that is, from Soviet domination to domination through 'the deployment of development' (Escobar, 1984:378), which in this case is education development.

The Framework sets out six goals, which it claims the international community needs to commit to (UNESCO, 2000a:8). Of the six, goals two and five are of particular relevance to this study:

> (ii) ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality; and
>
> (v) eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality; (UNESCO, 2000a:8)

Girls are singled out in The Framework as a group classified as needing special attention, compared with boys, who apparently do not, revealing that when strategies such as classifying and naming groups are used, they create 'acts of inclusion and exclusion … [where] … each act of naming fundamentally splits the world into two' (Bauman, 1991:2).

Mohanty (1996) discusses this classification of women as a category of analysis in feminist writing. She is critical of the naming of 'woman' as a subject of analysis as it assumes 'that all of us of the same gender, across classes and cultures, are somehow socially constituted as a homogeneous group identified prior to the process of analysis' (Mohanty, 1996:176). The classification of women, or girls, as

occurs in The Framework, assumes women to be 'as an always already constituted group, which has been labeled "powerless", "exploited", "sexually harassed" etc., by feminist scientific, economic, legal and sociological discourse' (Mohanty, 1996:176-77). Arguably, 'the same logic of classification applies to the labeling of the "third world" as underdeveloped and economically dependent … [because] … without the over determined discourse that creates the third world, there would be no (singular and privileged) first world' (Mohanty, 1996:192). Hence while there is clearly a need for development, particularly through promotion of education and debt relief (Simon, 1997:185) and indeed for gender equity in developing contexts (Ahmed and Chowdhury, 2005; Robinson-Pant, 2004:174; Stromquist, 2001), as this research project shows, the argument here is that through the process of classification powerful global development policy texts can function to 'uncritically' reproduce colonialist-like binaries and hierarchies which construct the very problems which they seek to alleviate.

Arguably, then, it is this uncritical approach to education development that associates education only with schooling rather than seeking to challenge the broader and often less explicit (neo-liberal if not colonialist) agendas shaping recent policies and practices of globally powerful institutions such as the WB and the IMF (Fairclough, 2001a:207), which equally constrains girls' access to education as much as the problem of 'underdevelopment'. In light of this claim, the next section contributes to the discussion of how the process of education development – situated in the 'new global

order' – produces and reproduces dominant values, particularly those informing gender relations, and those continuing Western domination at the global level generally, and more specifically, at the local level with reference to the girls in rural/remote Tajikistan.

Girls' Access to Education in Rural/Remote Tajikistan

As noted, Tajikistan gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, when the communist regime ruling the region collapsed. At that time Tajikistan was the most dependent of the Central Asian Republics on Moscow for its centrally controlled economy and ideological support. The country had relatively high human development indicators as a legacy of the Soviet system. Thus Tajikistan is one of the few countries to be released from colonial rule without a fight for autonomy, or even wanting it. This sudden severing of support from its powerful colonial-like master (Adams, 2005: 334, Horvath, 1972:45; Moore, 2001:123) meant, however, that Tajikistan's 'new' government was unable to maintain even the most basic social services needed to sustain the population in the way it had been accustomed to in Soviet times as 'when the Soviet Union broke up … this brought the twentieth century's most sustained and ambitious experiment in state-sponsored modernization to an end' (Smith, D., 1999: 9). Consequently, for Tajikistan this new found freedom brought with it many problems such as extreme poverty, a return to pre-modern life-styles, reduced public spending on social services, a change in the county's ideology, armed conflict, and an unclear future for this young republic.

Once Tajikistan was no longer under the control of its communist rulers the West was quick to turn its attention towards this new nation, classifying it as a 'country in transition', indeed, labeling it as one of the poorest countries in the world (Bascheiri and Falkingham, 2009:206). The UN, IMF, WB, ADB and other international organisations soon started producing development strategies aimed at 'helping' Tajikistan transform its economy from a socialist system to a free market economy, replacing the Soviet - colonial-like - domination with Western control in the form of neo-liberal capitalist (if not also colonialist-like) development policies aimed at guiding the Tajik government towards a better, more profitable future in the 21st century.

It was, however, in this 'post-colonial' context that earlier research conducted by UNICEF on girls' access to education in and around Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan was undertaken (d'Hellencourt, 2004). This UNICEF project, used as a starting point for this current research project, generated data from interviews and focus group discussions to identify the factors affecting girls' access to education in their urban research sites. Four main factors were found to impact on girls' access to education in and around Tajikistan's capital. These were noted by d'Hellencourt (2004:23) as: 1. 'family expenditure priorities in a context of poverty; 2. gender socialization; 3. the roles and functions of school within a gender perspective; and 4. religion as a buttress of community integration and a pretext for gender discrimination'. Similar findings have emerged from this current research project such that the next section presents a

comparative review of the findings from the Panj and Khorog data and identifies some of these similarities.

The Contexts

According to Brooks, examining research findings within their contextual position 'enables us to … [better] … understand how what is said has its own social and historical context and is a product of specific conditions of existence' (1997:49). Hence, prior to discussion of the findings generated from each research site, reported in the tables below, it is useful to first re-acknowledge, if only briefly, the significance of the context of each site, particularly as The Framework acknowledges the importance of context at both the global and local levels. Indeed, The Framework 'puts forward twelve major strategies informed by the experience of the past decade and the changing global context' (UNESCO, 2000a:12). In this, the past experiences of individuals are acknowledged but only in so far as to measure progress towards education development's desired end – a 'knowledge-based global economy' (UNESCO, 2000a:14). The Framework also links its intentions to the local context, stating that 'since the pace, style, language and circumstances of learning will never be uniform for all, there should be room for diverse formal or less formal approaches, as long as they ensure sound learning and confer equivalent status' (UNESCO, 2000a:12). This statement acknowledges the diverse possibilities in different local contexts and calls for this diversity to be addressed, but arguably only in so far as it meets the required outcome, as directed by The Framework's neo-liberal development agenda of development and learning according to the Western

framed development model. Nonetheless, and in accordance with the significance attributed to the context by The Framework, Table 5 provides the contextual circumstances framing each research site in this study.

Table 5: The differences and similarities between the two research sites: The context in Panj and Khorog

Issues	Research Site 1 - Panj	Research Site 2 - Khorog
Location	Rural Access to arable land Cotton growing area	Remote/isolated Mountainous Limited access to arable land
Ethnicity and Culture	Uzbek speaking community Sunni Muslims Strong patriarchal society	Pamiri speaking community Ismai'li Muslims Less emphasis on patriarchy Spiritual leader provides guidance
Family	Eldest adult male as head of household makes all decisions Girls encouraged to go to school Weak economic situation	Parents make decisions together Girls encouraged to go to school Weak economic situation
School	Most participants attend school regularly Government schools	All participants attend school regularly Government and private schools

Panj

Panj is a rural town which has access to agricultural activities and a central market for trading purposes, which impacts on the residents, and students in particular, as they are needed to harvest the cotton crop that is grown in this region. As noted in Chapter Five, children in Panj miss approximately 10% of study hours per year when forced to pick cotton (Baschieri and Falkingham, 2009:216). The participants from Panj are ethnic Uzbeks living in Tajikistan, their first language is Uzbek and they mostly attend Uzbek speaking schools. The community is predominantly Sunni Muslim and, as discussed in

Chapter Five, there is strong pressure from within the family and the community for girls to conform to their expected gender roles in this society, which dictates that girls should be submissive towards males within the 'honour-and-shame' system ruling the formation of masculine and feminine gender identities in Tajikistan (Harris, 2004:90). Schools in Panj rely on government funding, which has been greatly reduced since the breakup of the Soviet Union and as a result of this experience there are short falls in provision, such as poor quality teaching, too few teachers, lack of suitable textbooks, poor condition of school buildings and insufficient number of appropriate level schools for the local population.

Khorog

The context of Khorog is somewhat different to that of Panj in that it is in the mountainous region of Gorno Badakhshan, which means that there is very little arable land available for cultivation so there are no agricultural demands on students' time. This location is also one of the remotest in Tajikistan (Alford, Cunha and Ives, 2000), which hinders the community's ability to trade with other regions. Although there is a small market where local traders sell their home produce or goods brought up from Dushanbe, provisions and supplies are limited. This isolated region was also the least affected by outside influences during Soviet times and as such the lives of women are much freer than in other regions of Tajikistan. There is less emphasis on control through male domination as this community follows the liberal teachings of their spiritual leader, the Aga Khan, who provides both social and financial welfare. The local language is Pamiri,

which means that students face additional constraints in accessing education because lessons are mainly taught in Tajik or Russian languages. The Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) established and runs a school considered by the participants to be the best option for education in Khorog as it has good quality, well-trained teachers, good educational resources, appropriate textbooks and a computer lab with constant electricity. Other schools have also benefited from aid organisation donations, and fees from parents in order to provide education for children in this community. However, all schools close for the month of January due to the extreme climate conditions experienced during this winter month. Nonetheless the girls in Khorog are encouraged to go to school, attend regularly, study hard and want to go on to further education, as is the case in Panj.

The Discourses

Table 6 (below) identifies the main discourses informing access to education in Panj and Khorog for the participants of this case study. The discourse of 'school' has a higher frequency in Khorog than in Panj, whereas the discourse of 'family' is deployed more frequently in Panj than in Khorog, which, as discussed, may be because people in Khorog have high regard for their spiritual leader's recommendation to educate all in the community. Guidance from the Aga Khan might lead to less influence from family and community control in this region, and may explain why the discourse of 'community' did not emerge as a significant factor informing girls' access to education in Khorog, whereas 'family' was identified as one of the main discourses framing access in Panj. The

discourse of 'development', as manifest in humanitarian aid, similarly may have emerged in Khorog due to the continued support this community receives from the Aga Khan

Table 6: The differences and similarities between the findings from the two research sites: The discourses in Panj and Khorog as identified by Leximancer

	Research Site 1 - Panj	**Research Site 2 - Khorog**
Discourses informing girls' access to education	School – 61% Family – 16% Gender Relations – 12% Neo-liberal capitalism – 7% Community – 4%	School – 74% Gender relations – 12% Neo-liberal capitalism – 9% Family – 6% Development – 2%

compared to limited aid delivered by NGOs in Panj. The discourse of 'gender' is deployed evenly across both sites as is that of 'neo-liberal capitalism', which suggests that access to education in both sites is limited by the expected gendered behaviour of girls and the Tajik Government's low education budget, a result of external pressure to adopt (neo-liberal) structural adjustment policies (SAPs) (Ilon, 1994:97) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Plans (PRSPs) (Johnson, 2005:56). However, regardless of the individual discourses informing access to education, these do not work in isolation, such that all discourses circulating in these sites coalesce to impact girls' access to education.

Understanding the network of social, material and indeed discursive practices that constitute everyday life in Panj and Khorog, arguably facilitates understanding how power operates in the multiplicity of what Foucault calls 'micro practices' (Brooks, 1997:55) particular to each community. It is important to acknowledge, moreover, particularly in relation to how the findings identified below are to be understood, that power is not possessed, given or seized. Rather power is exercised and exists only in

actions so that 'negotiations and struggles within society are not essentially about the possession of power, but … the contested terms of the deployment of power' (Brooks, 1997:57). In other words the exercise of power in the two research sites, informs how the girls behave, and the way in which their subsequent actions may structure the field of other possible actions under the direct or indirect influence of another, against all the possible options of acting available at each research site. This power dynamic has implications for girls' access to schooling in Tajikistan. Detailed knowledge of the background factors (social and material) affecting life in each research site thus facilitates a more accurate understanding of how girls are positioned - and position themselves - in the roles they play within the different levels of society that they interact with. As Davies (1992:3) argues, the subjectivities of the girls (such as those participating in this research project) are made possible through the discourses they have access to, and through the historical context of being in the world they live in. 'In principle, the individual is open to all forms of subjectivity, … [however] ... in reality individual access to subjectivity is governed by historically specific social factors and the forms of power at work in a particular society' (Weedon, 1987:95), as the analysis of the data above has shown.

While indeed each site in this research project has its own particular historic, cultural and social context, which is distinct from the other, the prevailing issue to emerge from both data sets is the dire economic situation facing the members of both communities. In 2006 Tajikistan's population was estimated to have a GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita of US$1202 purchasing power parity (PPP), which means

that the majority of households are surviving on a very limited budget (UNDP, in Baschiere and Falkingham, 2009:205), such that meeting the costs of educating children under such conditions is extremely difficult. The Framework links poverty with education progress, requesting that governments, organisations, agencies, groups and associations 'promote EFA policies within a sustainable and well-integrated framework clearly linked to poverty elimination and development strategies …' (UNESCO, 2000a:8). But as this requirement for how education will be delivered in order to reduce poverty, infers that those without education are poor compared to those with education, who are rich, then by this logic once a girl becomes educated it is seemingly assumed that they will no longer be poor, which is not what the findings from this study show.

Furthermore, using a system of deployment linked to planned modes of implementation reduces education and its recipients to 'objects of surveillance' through 'an expression of modern panopticon-like power in that it reduces not only economic systems but also the people who comprise them to a potentially continuous panopticon-like existence' (Tamatea, 2005a:220). The technologies of surveillance used by The Framework include 'participatory poverty assessments and household surveys' (UNESCO, 2000a:14), 'assessments of learning achievement' (UNESCO, 2000a:17) and 'regular reporting at regional and international levels' (UNESCO, 2000a:18) so that the 'progress' made in its education programmes and the participants in its education system are both known and made more amenable to tracking by the neo-liberal supranational funding agencies, who seek a return on their investment. This global tracking is grounded

in a top-down vision of what education attainment 'should' look like. Often based on a 'one-size-fits-all' (Ritzer and Goodman, 2003:570), or as some have labelled it, 'McEducation' (Andolan, Jain and Jain, 2003), this approach to education does not recognise diversity at the local level, such that it potentially comprises a limitation in The Framework. As Torres (2001) argues, 'developing and changing education and education systems requires the understanding, commitment and active participation of those directly involved and of the population at large: teachers, parents, learners, the academic community'. With this potential limitation in mind, the following section explores how those at the local level, which in this case are the participants of this research study in Panj and Khorog, who are framed by socially specific gender subjectivities, are negotiating the discursive, social and material factors informing access to education under the global auspices of The Framework.

The Discursive Factors Informing Girls' Access to Education in Panj and Khorog

Gender Inequality

Table 7 (below) identifies the discursive practices framing girls' access to education in Panj and Khorog. The girls in the two rural/remote communities participating in this study attend school regularly, study hard and want to go on to further education, thus performing the correct gender roles for girls in these contexts. Longwe (1998:19) identifies access to education through 'conventional schooling for women within the existing school system … as a process of schooling for women's

subordination' as it operates to advance women's position in society 'within the existing patriarchal social structure'. As Table 7 indicates, through access to education the girls participating in this research project are encouraged to conform to the accepted patriarchal authority informing social norms and values embedded in each research site.

Table 7: A comparison of the discursive factors affecting access to education for girls in Panj and Khorog

Discursive Factors influencing Access to Education at the Local Level		
Panj	**Support** • Attitude towards education • Extreme forms of resistance through attempted and actual suicide	**Constraints** • Gender construction of girls' role in society • Construction of appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour
Khorog	**Support** • Attitude towards education • Resistance through alternative career paths • Isolated location	**Constraints** • Gender construction of girls' role in society • Construction of appropriate masculine and feminine behavior

Furthermore, because of the isolation experienced by the residents of Khorog the lives of women in this community have been less exposed to the strict patriarchal structure present in other Tajik communities, such as Panj. Joseph (1996:14) discusses the persistence of patriarchy in the Arab (Islamic) world, and other regions as an obstacle to education for women, children and families. He defines patriarchy in the Arab context 'as the prioritising of the rights of males and elders (including elder women) and the justification of those rights within kinship values which are usually supported by religion' (Joseph, 1996:14). Though aspects of girls' lives in this research project differed from the

lives of girls and women in other parts of the Islamic world, namely Jordan, this definition of patriarchy addresses social dynamics that are in some respects similar to those Harris (2004) describes in relation to the social structure in Tajikistan in her book *Control and Subversion*. Waljee (2008:95) describes the Central Asian interpretation of Islam as being 'distinguished by its eclecticism, characteristic of Islam's ability to absorb foreign influences and accommodate the prevalent, traditional customs and beliefs amongst the peoples it encountered and converted' and she argues that 'within Tajikistan, there is considerable diversity in the ways in which communities interpret Islam and gender roles in relation to it' (p.97). As this research project has highlighted, the participants in Panj and Khorog also have constructed their version of gender appropriate behavior for girls – *vis-à-vis* education.

Most of the participants in both Panj and Khorog identified the behaviour of boys as being 'bad', in comparison to girls' as being 'good'. This framing of appropriate behaviour in terms of a binary opposition between boys and girls produces and reproduces girls in their role as 'good' girls who conform to the expected social behaviour of girls. Transgression, it seems, is expected of boys, but not to the extent of behaving like girls. According to Davies (1992:3), 'in coming to see male and female as constructed binary opposites, we discover the way in which they take their meaning through the exclusion of the other'. However, the behaviour of boys, as described in both Chapters Five and Six indicates that they may also experience disadvantage in their

access to education by virtue of their position as (bad) boys in this society. Silova and Magno (2004:430-31) report that in the countries of the former Soviet Union:

> Boys either drop out or are pulled out by parents to earn money. In some areas, boys leave to help parents with agriculture, stock breeding, or construction work. … Some poor families have prioritized their daughters' education, sending boys abroad to work so they could at least afford to keep their daughters at school. Such parents explained that they saw education as their daughters' only chance to obtain employment, while boys had more options.

Boys are expected to 'act out', bunk off school to 'hang out' with their friends, or play football rather than study. The acceptance of Tajik society for boys to generally behave in a less studious manner than girls is arguably equally problematic for school attendance rates and educational attainment for boys in Tajikistan.

The Social Factors Informing Girls' Access to Education in Panj and Khorog

Beliefs and Values

The girls participating in this study are members of social groups who participate in social situations within their societal framework (van Dijk, 1993b:14). Table 8 (below) identifies the social factors informing girls' access to education in Panj and Khorog. Both communities identified gender roles and the expected career path of girls as future carers for parents, or more specifically mothers, as the ideal post-school pathway, limiting girls' career choices to caring occupations such as doctors or nurses. The girls participating in this study enjoy support from their parents, particularly from fathers in Panj, and more so from both parents in Khorog. Jansen (2006:487) reports that the

Table 8: A comparison of the social factors affecting access to education for girls in Panj and Khorog

Social Factors influencing Access to Education at the Local Level		
Panj	**Support** • Fathers support girls' access to education and encourage daughters to go to school	**Constraints** • Limited career choice • View of girls as future carers for family • Early marriage
Khorog	**Support** • Parents support girls' access to education and encourage daughters to go to school • Spiritual leader supports girls' access to education and encourages girls and boys to go to school	**Constraints** • Limited career choice • View of girls as future carers for family

majority of girls in the Islamic context of Jordan also enjoy support for higher education opportunities from their parents. However, once they graduate from university they are actively discouraged by their parents, husbands or brothers from finding a job, thus confirming 'the stereotypical view of women within Muslim societies being assigned to a more domestic and secondary role' (Waljee, 2008:94). This outcome, which comprises girls being (highly) educated but not being allowed to use that education, presents a frustrating paradox for Jordanian women, which arguably locates them in a position similar to the girls in this research project, who, although outwardly accessing education, are ultimately only responding to 'the pressures and exigencies of a market economy and the need to survive the transition' (Waljee, 2008:94) of a changing ideology. Furthermore, this juxtaposition of being educated but unable to use one's education

demonstrates that gender equity in education does not necessarily lead to 'more egalitarian gender relationships' (Jansen, 2006:487) in the wider society as it 'leaves the inequitable position of women unchanged' (Johnson, 2005:63).

Despite support from their families, in order to access education, the girls in Panj and Khorog must negotiate global policies such as The Framework, and localised factors as outlined in Tables 7, 8, and 9 such as poverty, constraints from home, the wider community and the dictates laid down by global gender inequality and the power/knowledge relationships constructed by those who hold power in the field of development. This list of constraints, however, is similar to those identified by d'Hellencourt (2004) in the UNICEF report, although in this research project religious attitudes did not emerge as a factor affecting girls' access to education, as it did in Dushanbe and its surrounding area. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Six, the teachings of the Aga Khan actively encourage education for all the community in Khorog, but only in so far as girls can then enter into gender appropriate professions. Limiting girls to gender appropriate career paths is similar to the subversion experienced by girls in Jordan, as discussed above. Both Jordanian and Tajikistani girls are encouraged to study at university, however this type of gender parity in education does not result in gender equality for girls over boys in the wider community as it subjects girls and women to the male oriented patriarchal domination disbursed through the social norms established in each country (Davies, 1989b:2).

Mugup (2009) highlights cultural beliefs about women's and girls' positions in society as the main impact on girls' access to education in another developing context, namely in Papua New Guinea. Cultural beliefs about girls' position in society are also a factor that impacts on the girls in this study, however, it is not a barrier that stops girls going to school. Rather cultural beliefs act as a restriction to accessing education through limiting career choice once an education has been attained and in this way they also comprise a mechanism of control over girls' behaviour.

d'Hellencourt (2004) reported early marriage as one of the barriers to education faced by girls in Dushanbe. In this research project, there was one case of early marriage in Panj. A student was engaged during Year 9 and then married her fiancée before she graduated, and did not complete the compulsory years of schooling. Early marriage was considered by the participant who reported it to be the 'wrong' thing to do as it was not what Uzbek girls 'should' do, thus reaffirming her ethnic heritage over her Tajik nationality and her acceptance of the gender roles prescribed by Tajik society.

One of the main differences at the local level between the participants in Panj compared to Khorog emerged in relation to the significance of the guidance offered by the Aga Khan in his position as the spiritual leader of the Ismaili community in Khorog. As noted in Chapter Six, the Aga Khan actively encourages his followers to pursue a path of education for the benefits it will bring society in the future, thus using the global flow

of ideas, or ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1993) to influence access to education at the local level.

The Material Factors Informing Girls' Access to Education in Panj and Khorog

Poverty

Table 9 (below) outlines the differences and similarities between the material factors informing access to education in the two research sites in this case study. A strong influence upon girls' access to education in both of these sites is the girls' resolute desire

Table 9: A comparison of the material factors affecting access to education for girls in Panj and Khorog

Material Factors Influencing Access to Education at the Local Level		
Panj	**Supports:** • Local community supplements government spending on education in the form of facilitating high school classes in local secondary school	**Constraints:** • Parents' financial situation • Work in the home and outside the home as child labour • Home/living circumstances • Shortage of teachers, poor quality of teachers, and age of teachers • Shortage of textbooks • Location of school • Child abuse • Migrant workers from the professional domain leaving Tajikistan – 'brain drain' • Reduced social services provided by the government • Corruption in the form of bribes for education services • Shortage of places at university

Khorog	**Supports:** • Humanitarian aid available • Parents' supplement government spending on education in the form of user fees • Spiritual leader endorses education for all members of community	**Constraints:** • Dire economic situation of living in Khorog • Climatic conditions • Isolated location • Parents' financial situation • Reduced social services provided by the government • User fees at some schools • Poor quality of teachers, shortage of teachers, and age of teachers in government schools • Migrant workers from the professional domain leaving Tajikistan – 'brain drain' • Shortage of textbooks • Language of instruction not students' first language • Shortage of places at university

to access education. From a material perspective, however, most of the participants want to gain an education in order to improve their future life chances to help their parents, as in Panj or to secure a better future, as in Khorog. This drive to improve the circumstances of their life emerges from their dire financial situation. The weak economic situation in both Panj and Khorog indicates that these participants are disadvantaged by the global flows of money, or finanscapes (Appadurai, 1993), that form the global capital circulating in its money-to-more-money doctrine (McMurtry, 1999) – from which arguably the WB and IMF 'profit'. However, despite the many studies about gender equity and education identifying poverty as a major factor affecting girls' access to

education around the world[15], the study conducted by UNICEF on girls' access to education in Tajikistan claims that 'poverty alone does not constitute the main obstacle to the education of girls. Rather, the main obstacle to education consists of a combination of poverty and the gender inequality that is prominent and readily tolerated in traditional culture' (d'Hellencourt, 2004:viii). While the findings from this research project, partly support UNICEF's results, the analysis undertaken in Chapters Five and Six revealed a somewhat different picture for the girls in Panj and Khorog to that concerning the girls in and around Dushanbe as described earlier by d'Hellencourt (2004).

The girls participating in this current study did not identify any girls in their classes who had dropped out of school and were as a result no longer attending school. To the contrary, the figures presented by d'Hellencourt (2004:8) indicate that at least 42 girls across all four schools in her study had dropped out of school somewhere between the third and eighth grade, with the largest number, 15, from one of the Dushanbe schools. Many of the girls who dropped out provided reasons for discontinuing their schooling that were indeed related to poverty, such as their parents' inability to pay for note books, shoes, and school clothes, and even the critical view of school's value held by their families (d'Hellencourt, 2004:20).

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[15] See: Stromquist (2001) for the Latin American context, Silova and Magno (2004) for the Central/Souteast Europe and the former Soviet Union context, Tanye (2008) for the Ghanaian context, Sawada and Lokshin (2009) for the Pakistani context, Robinson-Pant (2004) for the Nepalese context, Xinhua News Angency (2003) for the Bangladeshi context, Tibinyane (2004) for the Namibian context, and Ngware, Onsomu, and Muthaka (2006) for the Kenyan context.

Like d'Hellencourt (2004) The Framework also identifies poverty as a major concern, noting that the uneven and slow progress made towards achieving EFA by 2015 'stand as major barriers to eliminating poverty and attaining sustainable development' (UNESCOa:12). Hence it links the economic situation of developing countries, otherwise their location within global finanscapes (Appadurai, 1993), to a population's inability to access education. In Latin America, for example, as in Tajikistan, poverty is 'inherent in the social and economic structure of the region' (Stromquist, 2001:40). In some Latin American countries 'peasants and small agricultural producers continue to comprise the population most seriously affected by poverty, … [whilst] … in a number of other countries the largest proportion of poor people are rural wage-earners' (Stromquist, 2001:40). In Tajikistan, however, more than 80 per cent of the population is considered to be poor (d'Hellencourt, 2004:170). The challenge which faces Tajikistan, then, as faces other 'developing' countries, is that it is unclear 'whether poverty represents an obstacle or is, on the contrary, a byproduct of unchecked "advancement" … [and therefore] … current initiatives by international organisations … [including The Framework] … that call for "poverty alleviation" … [perhaps need to make] … instead drastic changes in power relations reflected in trade, the external debt, investments, and international development assistance' (Townsend et al. in Stromquist, 2001:41), that will enable those in local contexts to participate (and 'compete') more favorably in the global finanscapes (Appadurai, 1993). Rather it is argued that the problem of poverty may not be so much a result of local circumstances in developing contexts, such as Tajikistan, as it is a creation of the neo-liberal 'developed' countries tasked with the responsibility of

alleviating global poverty (Johnson, 2005; McMurtry, 1999). Clearly, and unlike the developed West, developing countries have not had the luxury of possessing colonies to provide cheap (exploited) labour and resources to fuel development 'back home'.

The economic position of families in both Panj and Khorog determines whether or not they can pay the costs of educating their children, which includes school fees, the cost of books or uniforms, informal payments to teachers and bribes for educational services, particularly those associated with university entrance. The girls in Panj face additional barriers from their home life context as they have farming chores to attend to due to the nature of their location. Most families have access to a plot of land where they grow vegetables and fruit to supplement their income, which works towards improving their economic situation. Similar barriers to those listed above have been identified in various other studies on girls' access to education in developing contexts[16]. Edwards and Ureta (2003) found that parental schooling has a significant effect on school retention in both urban and rural areas of El Salvador, however, this would suggest 'that the task of increasing school retention would generally take several generations' (p. 456). Sawada and Lokshin (2009) also identified parental education as a factor that positively influences girls' access to education in rural Pakistan, with the father's education level more influential at the primary school age but interestingly the mother's education level

[16] See: Xinhua News Agency (2003) for the barriers weighing against girls' access to education in Bangladesh. Tanye (2008) for the barriers to education for women and girls in Ghana. Ngware, Onsomu and Muthaka (2006) for determinants of access to education in Kenya, and Tibinyane, (2004) for the barriers to girls' access to education in Namibia

was more influential at the secondary stage. The issue of parental education did not arise from the data in this case study, perhaps because adult literacy rates are relatively high due to the legacy of the former Soviet Union.

Nonetheless, the girls in Panj and Khorog both identified poor quality teaching, a shortage of teachers, the age of teachers, and a shortage of textbooks as barriers to accessing education at school. As discussed, the Ministry of Education is no longer able to provide adequate funding to sustain its education system. The government allocates just 2.6 per cent of GDP to the education sector, which d'Hellencourt (2004:2) notes is low compared with international and regional averages for other countries. The inability of the government in Tajikistan to meet the financial needs required to provide access to education indicates that the global flow of neo-liberal capital, which The Framework supports, is limiting girls' access to education at the local level. Low level funding means low level services as teachers have to supplement their meager wage in any way they can, often demanding informal payments for educational services or seeking additional employment elsewhere.

van Rijckeghem and Weder (2001:324) examined the role of corruption in developing countries and found that 'higher pay does not lead to lower corruption in the *short run* … [as] … corrupt countries tend to have poor budgetary performance and face strong budgetary pressures, or may subscribe to the view that civil servants already earn sufficient income from corruption, … [which] … may lead them to pay less well', thus

perpetuating the situation which is what seems to be happening in Tajikistan. Rajkumar and Swaroop (2008:108) investigated public spending in developing countries, and concluded that the level of corruption in a country is directly linked to the quality of the country's bureaucracy, thus 'increasing public spending on education is more likely to be more effective in raising primary education attainment in countries with good governance'. This dynamic is of importance to education policy makers in Tajikistan as Tajikistan has a high rate of corruption (Simpson, 2006:19). Unfortunately, schools must look to alternative forms of funding, such as user fees in order to provide access to education.

Many qualified teachers have left the profession to seek employment elsewhere, thus joining the 'global nomads' who travel around, either within their own countries or further afield as guestworkers participating in the flow of people along global ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1993). Those who cannot move must stay on in their current teaching positions well into their retirement time. In order to fill the gaps left by these flows, in Panj graduating students take on teaching roles and existing teachers take on extra classes. India has addressed the problem of teacher shortages by introducing a 'para-teacher scheme' in the primary school sector. The level of professional training required by these para-teachers is less than regular teachers. Therefore the issue of the quality of education is noted by Pandey (2006:319) as a matter of serious concern, as is the case in Panj where participants discussed their experience with non-qualified teachers. Arguably where access to education is 'good', this does not equate to a good

quality education as required by The Framework, which states that 'quality is at the heart of education, and what takes place in classrooms … is fundamentally important to the future well-being of children …' (UNESCO, 2000a:17).

Clarification of quality in The Framework links education with achieving 'meaningful learning outcomes' (UNESCO, 2000a:17). This too indicates that through its strategies The Framework encourages global education homogenisation by framing success in terms of standards, and indeed the language, expected from a Western perspective, measured by technical experts using the West's neo-liberal grounded education model as the barometer of attainment. Hence the flow of technical 'know-how', along global technoscapes – regarding what counts as educational outcomes – arguably also impacts the local level in Tajikistan, facilitating a degree of what Foucault calls 'normalization'. Implementation of The Framework brings with it the technical capacity to 'measure the gaps or determine levels of difference or deviation from the [Western] norm' (Foucault, 1977:184).

One of the participants in Panj described her negative experience of schooling in Year 6, providing details of the abuse she suffered at the hands of her teacher, as discussed in Chapter Five. Whilst this was the only incident of this kind to emerge from the data, other studies have found abuse to be a barrier to accessing education. A report by Canada Newswire (2006) exposed the nightmare of abuse that many students in Togolese schools face. The findings indicate that 'more than half the children interviewed

reported threatening behavior or the threat of physical violence by teachers' (2006:1). Perhaps student abuse is not widespread in Tajikistan's education system.

In Panj particularly, the participants noted that school location indeed was a barrier to accessing education in their community. In order to overcome this barrier the local community helped to extend one of the local government schools by providing additional teaching space and equipment needed for girls to continue their studies in Year 10, as the alternative meant traveling to a high school in another village, which they would not allow their daughters to do. Elsewhere, a Kenyan study (Ngware, Onsomu and Muthaka, 2006) identified similar supply-side factors such as availability of secondary schools as significantly influencing access to secondary education. Robinson-Pant (2004:478) also reports that the Nepali government attributes one of the reasons for girls' non-attendance at school to the distance of school from home, however, she argues that placing women's access to education in such narrow terms as technical supply issues 'means that the wider implications of associating women only with basic and primary education as identified in this research project are not addressed. Therefore, prioritising access to education in a discussion of gender and education perhaps, as noted earlier, continues to treat women and girls as a homogeneous group and prevents discussion of the intersection of other influences such as class and ethnicity, which have emerged as important factors in this research project.

The girls in Khorog expressed a repeated desire to learn English as they imagined that speaking English would provide an entry into the world of development and the various employment opportunities associated with speaking English. These girls are appropriating the flow of images regarding the power of English along global ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1993) to construct what is thought to offer increased opportunities to be had upon attaining an education. Furthermore, many communities in Tajikistan, particularly Khorog, as discussed in Chapter Six, now rely on support from NGOs and international aid agencies in order to survive from day to day, but as Harris (1998) notes, there seems little possibility of an alternative in the near future. Thus, girls in Khorog are repeatedly exposed to what learning to speak English can provide. Hence, development in this context is seen as necessary and something that everyone wants, either as a recipient or as an employee regardless of its hidden agenda – because as is the neo-liberal claim, there is no alternative (MacEwan, 1999:6).

Conclusion

Discussion above has identified the similarities and differences between the experiences of girls' access to education in the two communities, Panj and Khorog, investigated in this research study. The discourses and social and material conditions impacting girls' access to education were identified, and compared to findings from other studies into girls' access to education in other 'developing' countries. This discussion also elaborated a reading of The Framework in the light of these findings, which argued that the globalising neo-liberal paradigm, which underpins The Framework potentially

undermines its stated development goals at the local level. This reading was grounded in Appadurai's (1993) model for conceptualising globalisation, as a series of '-scapes'. The gap between the claimed intent of The Framework and 'on the ground' outcomes regarding girls' access to education emerges as a disjunction between the various global flows with which The Framework, Tajikistan and education are associated. While the data from both sites shows that girls do in fact access education, it was argued that this disjuncture results in an outcome at the local level whereby traditional values regarding gender are being reinforced, as opposed to modernised. This outcome, however, is not unique to Tajikistan. Rather the return to 'traditional' values and intensified patriarchy, elaborated discursively, socially and materially, is often the consequence of poverty (Zulfika 2008; Johnson, 2005; Leach, 2000; Stromquist, 2001).

Chapter Eight

Global/Local Continuities and Discontinuities Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

This research project investigated girls' access to basic education in two rural/remote areas of Tajikistan; namely Panj and Khorog. It aimed to not only identify the discourses circulating in these case study sites, with regard to girls' education, but also to critically analyse the extent to which a global education policy; namely The Dakar Framework (UNESCO, 2000a), which purports to promote gender equity in its goals, resonated with girls' experiences of education in a local context such as that explored in this study. In lieu of these aims, this chapter summarises the findings of this research project. In particular it revisits the research problem outlined in Chapter One, reviews the major findings that emerged from the literature review, and reflects upon the value of the methodology and theoretical framework that informed this research project. It also reviews the limitations of the study, and offers recommendations for further research opportunities as well as suggestions for action that might promote more equitable access to education in Tajikistan. In what follows it is argued that the discourses circulating in Panj and Khorog generally support girls' access to education but only in so far as education enables them to perform their correct gender role. Mere access, however, leaves the problem of participation in a potentially gender-biased schooling experience unquestioned and unproblematised (Stromquist, 2001:53).

Nonetheless, the discourse of 'school' emerged as the dominant discourse framing girls' access to education in the two research sites investigated. Most participants in this study attend school regularly, study hard and want to go on to further education because of the future employment opportunities access to education may provide. In this respect, the findings of this study are contrary to the findings from UNICEF's (d'Hellencourt, 2004) investigation of girls' access to education in and around Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. But despite the apparent positive results showing that girls are indeed accessing education and enjoy support from their fathers and families in general, there are a number of material and social factors and discursive practices that frame this access.

The Research Problem

Chapter One identified a gap in the existing qualitative data about girls' access to education in Tajikistan, particularly in rural and remote communities of this former Soviet republic. This study aimed to address that gap by conducting a small-scale investigation into how girls' access education in two rural/remote Tajik communities in light of the country's EFA reform agenda. Following the World Education Forum in Dakar, in 2000, Tajikistan produced a National Plan of Action (Ministry of Education, 2005) for meeting the EFA goals set out in The Dakar Framework (UNESCO, 2000a), which comprises a global master plan for education development by 2015 (Tamatea, 2005a). Drawing upon ideas from Foucault (1977, 2001) and Said (2003) it was suggested in Chapter One that The Framework comprises a mechanism of control facilitating neo-colonialist-like relations between the developed and 'developing' nations.

As Tamatea (2005a) argues, global finance and development organisations have the capacity to frame their neo-liberal and neo-colonialist goals in the more pleasant language of liberal-humanism, which otherwise masks their generation of ongoing asymmetrical relations of power and dependency. This notwithstanding, global development policy, it seems, desires that 'development', and thus the achievement of gender equity with regard to schooling, take place within the parameters of neo-liberalism's 'money-to-more-money' paradigm (McMurtry, 1999). This, as has been shown, is not without implication for local development and education outcomes.

The Research Question

The context of this research project was introduced in Chapter One, which provided the background information for understanding the dire position that the people of Tajikistan are in following the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991. UNICEF (d'Hellencourt, 2004) conducted an investigation into girls' access to education in and around Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. While this was only a first step in exploring gender equity issues pertaining to education in Tajikistan, this UNICEF investigation was used as the starting point for this research project. Thus this research project was grounded in the following research questions:

1. What discourses frame girls' access to education in rural and remote Tajikistan?
2. Is there a policy disjuncture between the discourses in the global Dakar Framework and girls' experience of access to education in the local context of rural and remote Tajikistan?

In the investigation of these two questions, this study has arguably contributed to a more detailed qualitative data set, which adds to earlier findings (d'Helencourt, 20004). This outcome has been achieved by moving away from a specifically 'development' oriented investigation to a critical, more theoretically driven investigation aimed at identifying discursive practices operating at the local and global level, the disjunction between local and global discourses and the relationships between these and girls' access to education in Panj and Khorog.

A Historical Perspective to the Theoretical Framework

Importantly, the theoretical framework used in this research project provided the conceptual tools for understanding the global and local nexus framing girls' access to education. A broadly post-structuralist approach was adopted that explored the dialogical relationships between discourse, policy and context. This approach situated the current position of educational development policies in their colonialist and post- (if not neo-) colonialist historical context, against which it was argued that development policy has the capacity to reproduce colonialist-like relations between developed (West) and 'developing' nations (Tucker, 1999:1, Said, 2003). Shohat (1996:327) considers this process of transformation of other(ed) societies into the image of the West or USA as neo-colonial practice in that it re-presents 'new modes and forms of the old colonialist practices'. Hence, drawing on ideas from Foucault (1977, 1983, 1984 and 2001), this study examined the possibility that the discourse of 'development', as represented by The

Framework, possibly produces and reproduces many of the barriers to education for girls identified in this study.

Methodology and Analytical Framework

This research project was conducted as a comparative case study of two rural and remote locations in Tajikistan, the poorest of the former Soviet republics. It emerged from my desire to find out where the girls in Tajikistan were, during my time as a teacher in Dushanbe. I chose to use a comparative case study as my research strategy as it facilitated a detailed investigation into the situation of girls' access to education. This research method produced data, the analysis of which revealed how girls in two diverse regions of the country negotiate the discourses available to them as they vie for access to education. Twenty-one girls were interviewed using semi-structured interviews as the key data collection strategy. A list of interview questions was developed to guide the interviews, which were mediated through local interpreters, who were both known to me and from the local communities. Thus these translators were suitable for the role of both translator and cultural broker as they were 'insiders' possessing the appropriate affiliations that Tajik society hold strong reliance on. Using this type of translator meant that the participants were more open with their answers. The interviews flowed more easily as they were conducted in the participants' first language, while the field visits were well organised due to their local connections with each village.

Interviews were recorded on audiotape and were later transcribed in negotiation with the translators so that misunderstandings or mistranslations could be identified and corrected. Debriefing sessions enabled a good understanding of each participant's access to education and helped alleviate pre-conceived ideas that the translators or the researcher may have had prior to the interviews. Debriefing further acted as a check on the validity of the findings as it provided the opportunity to discuss sections of translation that seemed out of 'sync' in/with the English version. Thus when the translators summarised participants' responses or asked their own additional questions in order to flesh out more detailed responses, we were able to capture the 'true' nature of the interview content through our subsequent discussion. Final transcripts were edited and negotiated to produce a record of what was said in the most accurate way possible when interviewer and interviewee do not speak the same language. The tape transcripts provided evidence for the discussion presented in Chapters Five and Six by detailing the reported experiences of girls' access to education.

Analysis of the data was informed by feminist post-structuralism situated broadly within the critical research paradigm. It relied upon Fairclough's (1989 and 1995) three-dimensional system of CDA to deconstruct the texts produced from the tape transcripts of girls' experience of education in their local contexts. The dialogical relationships between text and context were identified and discussed, drawing on Foucault (1983) to unpack the power relations framing girls' access to education.

A computer software programme, *Leximancer 2.25,* was used in the first stage of Fairclough-grounded analytical process to identify the main themes and concepts emerging from the corpus of data collected from interviews. This textual level of lexical analysis produced a count of 'seed words' (Kivunja, 2008) read as 'discourse identifiers' (Parson, 2008) and grouped accordingly to identify the dominant discourses framing power/knowledge relations informing girls' subjectivity as it relates to education in Panj and Khorog. This analysis found that the most significant factor influencing girls' access to education in both research sites was their desire to get a 'good' education. The girls believed education would ultimately lead to better employment opportunities enabling them to look after their parents in the future.

The findings also reveal that both the constraints and supports for girls' access to education are informed by material, social and discursive practices circulating within the social institutions that the participants interact with. Consequently this study revealed a range of historical, cultural and context specific factors constraining girls' access to education. Analysis of the interview data revealed access to education to be limited by: career choice, the ability to physically access education such as language of instruction, enforced child labour, parents' financial situation, reduced social services provided by the government, location of schools, corruption in the form of bribes for educational services, early marriage, gender role expectations within the family and community and the home/living circumstances of the participants. These constraints notwithstanding, this study found that most girls participating in this study attend school regularly, study hard

and want to continue on to further education, thus outwardly appearing to have equal access to education. However, access, understood as the right to attend school, has not provided these girls with a sense of equality. Rather they seem far from being equal subjects or 'persons capable of acting powerfully in their own right' (Davies, 1989b:2), when their continued educational opportunities are limited to particular fields deemed appropriate for girls only.

Poverty and Girls' Access to Education

The focus of this research project was girls' access to education in two rural/remote communities in Tajikistan. At the proposal stage of this study the literature review indicated that many girls were not in school and that they were experiencing inequitable access to education over boys for a number of reasons relating mainly to poverty and gender inequity at school, at home and within the wider community (ADB, 1998; Alimikanova, Kim and Ganeyeva, 2002; Baschieri and Falkingham, 2009; d'Hellencourt, 2004; Kaga and Kanno, 2002; Zulfika, 2008). The issues relevant to this concern were subsequently investigated and compared with those in other 'developing' contexts to identify commonly occurring social and material factors framing access to education in diverse local communities. The common structures identified by most of the reports examined comprise: 1. the devastating affect of poverty that most of the world's population is now struggling to survive in and how this impacts education for both girls and boys; and 2. the gender relations embedded in patriarchal societies that limit education opportunities. This study has further contributed to identifying issues relating

to gender equity in education, particularly within the context of poverty, about which it has been argued, are produced, and maintained as a problem that needs 'fixing' by the discourse of development (Escobar, 1999). This discourse renders developing contexts subject to the mechanisms of control embedded in global development policies such as The Framework. The poverty which impacts girls' access to education in developing contexts, cannot it has been argued, be considered as separate from the 'success' of neo-liberal economics which underpins the advantaged position occupied by the developed world, which deploys development policy and discourse. The resulting poverty, it has been argued, produces not so much modern development as a return to 'tradition' in which asymmetrical relations of power between women and men are reinforced – despite and in this instance, because of access to education. This is a key finding. Hence The Framework, in its position as a global authority on education development (Tamatea, 2005a), was argued to facilitate the intensification of Tajikistan's relationship with the flows of neo-liberal economics along the finance, and other -scapes. Drawing on Appadurai's (1993) elementary model for understanding and interpreting globalisation as it is manifest in global education development, The Framework is not only associated with schooling in Tajikistan but also flows along a number of other -scapes including flows of people, money, technology, ideas and images. It has been argued that local impact of the The Framework cannot be separated from these dynamics.

But as White (2002:410) asserts, 'to see the power of development only in the brute force of domination is seriously to underestimate its effectiveness. On the contrary,

the secret of development's power lies in its capacity to enlist others to its own agenda, so that they want what it claims to offer'. Not surprisingly, then, the desire for 'educational development' was regularly confirmed and eagerly accepted by the participants in this research project as there appears to be no other alternative for Tajikistan in its current 'position' as one of the poorest countries in the world. Indeed the power of neo-liberalism is that it structures the world in ways which leave very little room for any alternatives (Tucker, 1999:3). Though there is evidence that girls are resisting the hegemonic norms typical of patriarchal societies such as Tajikistan, which have been reinvigorated as a result of increased poverty, this is sometimes 'actioned' in fatal ways – agency for some girls is achieved at significant cost.

Limitations and Recommendation for Future Directions

Whilst this study has generally focused on girls' access to education in two ethnic minority groups living in rural/remote Tajikistan, it did not investigate all aspects of girls' education, such as girls' participation in education, girls' achievement in education or the gendering practices often endemic to schooling, such as stereotypical representations of male and female gender roles in textbooks or gendered teaching methodologies (Davies, 1989b:2). Furthermore, formal schooling and national curricula all too often 'reproduce gender inequalities in the public and private sphere and sustain hegemonic male regimes on a national and global scale' (Arnot, in Marshall and Arnot, 2006:2). Marshall and Arnot argue that whilst promoting access to education, quality of schooling and gender equality is vital, The Framework does not acknowledge 'the problematic nature of this

agenda for the curriculum in developing countries' (2006:1). She therefore, suggests that '[l]localized historical and socio-cultural investigations are needed into the gendering of national school knowledge in non-Western environments, and its relationship to material and socio-cultural conditions of gender relations' (Marshall and Arnot, 2006:1). Moreover, as this study was also limited to a relatively small sample of girls, it would be advisable to test the validity of the findings by developing an expanded project inclusive of a larger number of girls more widely disbursed across Tajikistan, from a broader variety of ethnic communities and classes.

Conclusion

This research project investigated two key research questions; namely: 1. What discourses frame girls' access to education in rural and remote Tajikistan? and 2. Is there a disjuncture between the discourses in the global Dakar Framework and girls' experience of access to education in the local context of rural and remote Tajikistan? In the investigation of these questions the project has revealed that girls in Panj and Khorog are indeed accessing education, however, they do so under certain restrictions, which relate to the gender roles expected of girls in Tajik society. This research project has also revealed how globalisation, guided by neo-liberal market-driven policies that seek to construct a world system grounded in the generation of ever more money-to-more-money sequences (McMurty, 1999), figures as significant among these constraints, in discursive and material ways. Arguably, policies such as The Dakar Framework operationalise the discourse of 'development' though deployment of particular strategies consonant with the

imperatives of neo-liberal globalisation (Tamatea, 2005b:152) and do not 'address the fundamental causes of poverty and gender inequality such as "power", distribution of resources, militarism, fundamentalism and current economic orthodoxy' (Barton, in Marshall and Arnot, 2006:7). This study has identified some of the strategies of direct and indirect control used by The Framework, including classifying, labeling, targeting and marginalising specific groups, both homogenising these groups and individualising them through the collection of information and knowledge about individuals and populations.

In conclusion, the findings of this research project not only reveal the circulation of numerous discourses, which impact girls' access to education in Tajikistan, they show that these are often interconnected and linked with economic, social and cultural constraints. Girls do have access to education in Panj and Khorog but this is limited by material factors and discursive practices operating at global and local levels, among which the reinforcing of traditional asymmetrical gender relations as a result of the poverty associated with Tajikistan's location within the global flows of neo-liberalism - which paradoxically The Framework upholds - is central.

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Appendix 1

Map of Tajikistan

First research site: Panj

Second research site: Khorog

Available: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,,MAP,TJK,,460a6f9c2,0.html
[Accessed on 5 Jun. 2009]

Appendix 2

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Issues for interviews with students:

- Do you go to school?
- What do you think of school?
- Do you study at school?
- Who studies best at school? Why do you think that is?
- Why do you go to school?
- How long will you stay at school?
- What do you want to do when you finish school?
- Are you getting the education you want? What do you want from school?
- What language are you taught in at school? Is it the language you speak at home?
- What do you think of your teachers?
- What would you like to see change at your school?

Appendix 3.1

Information Form for Participants in English

Amanda Holmes
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New South Wales 2351
AUSTRALIA
Emial: holmes_aj@yahoo.com
Tel: Dushanbe 24-28-67

Project: Education For All in Tajikistan: Is Education Really For All? A Comparative Study of Girls' Education in Khorog and Panj.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Information Form for Interview Participation

My name is Amanda Holmes and I am currently enrolled in a Master of Education (Honours) degree at the University of New England, Australia. My research interests are the policies being implemented under the Education for All initiative adopted by the Ministry of Education of Tajikistan following the World Forum on Education in Dakar, Senegal (2000) with particular reference to girls' education in remote, rural areas of the country. As part of the requirements of my degree I am carrying out a comparative research case study of the situation of girls' education in two neighbourhoods, one in Khorog and one in Panj. Furthermore, I am interested in how girls are experiencing education in these two regions.

The major aim of the study is to explore all aspects of education for girls in two distinct groups of Tajik society as perceived by the actors involved in the education process, such as students, teachers, principals, parents and community members.

Interviews should take no longer than one hour and will be conducted through a translator who was previously a member of your community. In order to provide easy transcription and to ensure accuracy of translation a tape recorder will be used during the session. The tapes will be destroyed by deleting the information after the transcript is completed. However, the written information will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in my office at home until the completion of the study in Tajikistan and will then be sent to Australia and stored in a locked filing cabinet at my house for five years, which is in accordance with my university's ethical requirements.

Please understand that your participation in this study is of your own free choice. Should you accept to participate, please also understand that you are free to withdraw at any stage.

Any information acquired during the interview will be strictly confidential. No names will be used during the data analysis and publication process, which will be in the form of a thesis paper and possible future journal article, conference, presentation or book chapter. Furthermore, I will be ready to answer any questions you may have concerning the study. Your story you tell and the answers to any questions I ask are very important and I greatly appreciate you taking the time to assist me with my research. I anticipate that the results of this research may be useful in improving the situation for girls in the education system in the future.

This research project is being supervised by Dr Lawrence Tamatea, E-mail: ltamatea@metz.une.edu.au, phone +61 2 6773 2661 and Dr Izable Soliman, E-mail: isoliman@metz.une.edu.au, phone +61 2 6773 3158 from the School of Education Studies, UNE.

Should you have any complaints concerning the manner in which the research is conducted please do not hesitate to contact the Research Ethics Officer at the following address:
Research Services
University of New England
Armidale, NSW 2351
Telephone: +61 2 6773 3449
Fax: +61 2 6773 3543
E-mail: ethics@metz.une.edu.au
UNE Ethics Approval No.: HEO6/107

Yours sincerely,

Amanda Holmes

Appendix 3.2

Consent Form for Participants in English

Consent Form

If you agree to participate in the study please read the following and sign in the appropriate place.

I _____ have read the information given to me and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this activity, realising that I may withdraw at any time should I wish to. I agree that the research data gathered for the study may be published, provided that my name is not used.

Participant:…… Date:…….

Parent/Guardian or Principal if the participant is under 18 yrs:

…… Date:……..

Researcher:……..... Date:……...

Translator:…….. Date: ……..

Appendix 3.3

Information Letter for Participants in Uzbek Language

ИШТИРОКЧИНИНГ МАЪЛУМОТНОМА ВАРАКАСИ

Аманда Холмс
Янги Англия Университети
Армидал
Нью Соиз Валс 2351
Австралия
Email: holmes _aj@yahoo.com
Тел: Душанбе 224-2867
Проект: Бутун Точикистон учун таълим.
Бу таълим хамма учун ми?

Мухтарам хонум / чаноб.
Мен Аманда Холмс, хозирги вактда Австралиянинг Янги Австралия Университетида мастер даражаси кайтидаман. Мени кизиктирувчи соха маориф сохасида олиб борилаётган сиёсат ташфикотлари булиб у Дакар Сенегал да булиб утган Бутундунё Маориф Форумида (2000) тасдикланган булиб , Точикистон маорифида узок ерларда, кишлок шароитида кизларнинг билим олиши хакидадир.
Менинг ташфикотим бир-бири билан хамсоя булган Панж ва Хорог минтакаларида яшаб, билим олаётган кизлардир. Бу икки минтакада кизлар кандай шароитларда билим олишлари мени кизиктиради.
Мени энг аввало бу икки минтакада билимнинг Точик жамияти тарафидан талабалар, муаллимлар,билим юрт мудирияти ва ота-оналар орасида кандай шароитлар яратилганини кизиктиради. -.
Бу мулокотлар узок вактни олмайди камида 1 соат ва сизнинг тарафингиздан сайланган тарчумон воситаси билан олиб борилади. Ташфикотларимиз ва мулокотларимиз осон жараён олиши учун магнитафон ёрдамида тасмага езиб борилади. Мулокотлар сунгида тасмага ёзилган кайдлар учирилади. Аммо ёзилган мулокотлар файлларда менинг сейфимда уйда махфий холда сакланади. Менинг укиш муддатим Точикистонда битиш муддатига кадар, Австралияга жунатилганидан кейин менинг университетим коидалари буйича яна менинг сейфимда 5 йилга кадар сакланади.
Бу ташфикотда сизнинг иштирокингиз мажбурий эмасдир. Сиз хамма куришларда мустакилсиз. Сизнинг хамма маълумотларингиз махфий сакланади. Келажакда китоб босими ва ёхуд бошка босимларда мулокот тарихи ва сизнинг исму шарифингиз муарриф килинмайди.

Мен хамма савол ларинга жавоб беришга тайёрман. Сизнинг савол ва жавобларингиз менинг учун жуда хам мухимдир.
Ишонаманки бизнинг мулокотларимиз ва ташфикотларим Точикистон маорифи учун ва кизларнинг билим олиши учун келажакда мухим рол уйнайди.
Бу ташфикот лоихасини Таълим Ургаииш Мактаби, UNE Доктор Лоуренс Томатеа e-mail Itamatea@metz.une.edu.au**, тел + 61267732661 ва Доктор Изабел Солиман e-mail:** isoliman@metz.une.edu.au **, тел + 6126773 3158 олиб боради.**
Агар сизни бу шароитлар кизик тирган булса, узингизнинг ташфикотларингизни илтимос куйидаги адрес буйича бизга илашинг.
Ташфикот. Этник Мудири
Янги Англия Университети
Армидал NSW 2351
Телефон + 61267733449
Факс: + 61267733543
E-mail: ethics@metz.une.edu.au

Хурматларимда **Amanda Holmes**

Appendix 3.4

Consent Form for Participants in Uzbek Language

ИШТИРОКЧИЛАР УЧУН ШАРТНОМА ФОРМАСИ

Агар сиз ташфикотда иштирок этмок истасангиз, илтимос куйидаги коидаларни укинг ва узингизни кайтдан утказинг. Мен, бу ташфикотда иштирок этмокчиман ва уйлайманки истаган вактда кетишим мумкин. Туплаган маълумотларим ташфикот учун босимга чикиши мумкин, лекин шу шарт билан ки менинг номим ноъмалум колади.

Иштирокчи:_____ таърих:_____

Ота-она/ёки уларни оталикга олганлар 18 ёшга кадар:
_____ таърих: _____

_____таърих:_____

Тарчумон _____ таърих:_____

Appendix 3.5

Information Letter for Participants in Pamiri Language

Асоси кор и варак
Аманда Холмес
Университи Англияи Нав
Армидели
Нав Чануби Валес 2351
Австралия
Емел адрес/ holmes_aj@ yahoo.com
Тел. Душанбе 24-28-67
Асоси кор.Дар бораи Точикистон хоичен . Хейдов ку фукард даркор йо нист? Хакуни гацен хейдов пи Хоругат тар Панж.

Ба хурмат чорикенат \ хиникен.

Хакикат гапен вакти савол чавоб

Му нум Аманда Холмес вузум ху кор кати аз Университети Англияи Нав . Австралия .Му кор вуз бояд дар бораи вазияти хейдов тама диеранд царанг вуз ди хурд фамум ху тар чои асоси мукорард даркори чиз нивишум . Йи кам кор му ойанда бояд дарачаи мастер ситов чат чунки йикам аз тарафи Чахони Форум тар Дакар ва Сенегал (2000) холи дар бораи гацен царанг хойен е най чидом вазиятанден кор фармуда сут .Донд чат вуз хоихум дар бораи ик мев ду хамсоя диерен Хоругат Панж фамум . Мурд хакони ачоиб царанг гацен хойен е най .

Акони му корард даркор царанг тар гацен хейдов мактабен хонандаен додат нан дига одамен чисен фамум тар тама диер чидом вазияти хейдованден гацен.

Маш сухбат дароз вахт наанчивд мумкин йи соат тарчумон кати ям мис аз тама диер . Ми маш субатта вуз тар магнитафон нивишум тама фикри макет йи чиз йам холи му корард даркор ар вактум ди ху кор тайор чуд мита тоза кинум .Аммо тар когаз та ар чиз ца нивишум ямта тар му хона кулф рист тунецум вуз тар Точикистон ца.Ар вахтум тойд мита тар Австралия тар ху чид чой кинум то 5 солец тунецум Университет тайор на чуч ва тунец ям мурд даркор ца.

Аз тама илтимосум тама мурд бе малолияти ердам зазед ва илтимосум тама йи чиз фикри макет озодона мусоволенард чавоб зазед.

Вога лувум йи кам гап факат байни муят тама ям му корард даркор йуданд вуз тама ном мис наанчам агар тар йи чой ми чоп мис ца кинум тама нум та вуз кайд мис накинум.Вуз лапаф хуш сам тама йи чиз аз му дар бораи хейдов ца пехцет . Тама чавоб му саволенард лпаф махфи му корард тамард вуз кулуг лувум татайет ху вакт мурд сарф ца чуд .Йи кам кор мумкин тама оянда ху хейдов баланд чидов дар тамоми Точикистон мумкин йордам кихт.

Йикам тадкикот аз тарафи йи нафар РФ Лавренса Таматеа тафтиш суд вам емел адрес itamatea@metz.edu.au,телефон +61 2 6773 2661 аз тарафи Мактаб баланд чидови дониш ЮНЕ ва рф Изабел Солиман Мактаби баланд чидови дониш ЮНЕ.

Ага таманд йи чиз савол ца вед тама шич ви лувдов харманда ца сет варзиед тар дисга йидора нивишед ми адрес ти

Research Services
University of New England
Armidale, NSW2351
Телефон +61 2 6773 3449
Факс +61 2 6773 3543
E-mail: ethics@metz.une.edu.au

Бо хурмат ва интизории

Аманда Холмес

Appendix 3.6

Consent Form for Participants in Pamiri Language

Вараки иштирокчиен.

Вэ колиб.
Турд ца форт тар маш кор иштирок чидо асос чоенард даст нез.

Вуз_____мам ту когаз хоюм ху, ту саволенард та пурра чавоб зам. Узум рози тар ми кор иштирок чидо. Узум рози му нум и куданд ца втд.

Иштирокче_____ руз.

Додат нан иштирок кихт ага иш тирокче аз 18 цулик ца вед.

_____руз _____

Ташкилкун_____руз_____

Тарчумакун_____ руз_____

Appendix 4

Ethics Approval from the University of New England

Dear Dr L Tamatea, Dr I Soliman and Ms A Holmes

HREC has given approval for the following.

Education For All in Tajikistan : Is Education Really For All?

Your HREC approval number is: **HE06/107 valid from 25th July 2006 to 25th July 2007**

The Human Research Ethics Committee may grant approval for up to a maximum of three years.

For approval periods greater than 12 months, researchers are required to submit an application for renewal at each twelve-month period. All researchers are required to submit a Final Report at the completion of their project. The Renewal/Final Report Form is available at the following web

address: http://rs-nt-10.une.edu.au/Home/V_2_1/ecforms.html

The NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans requires that researchers must report immediately to the Human Research Ethics Committee anything that might affect ethical acceptance of the protocol. This includes adverse reactions of participants, proposed changes in the protocol, and any other unforeseen events that might affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

In issuing this approval number, it is required that all data and consent forms are stored in a secure location for a minimum period of five years.

These documents may be required for compliance audit processes during that time. If the location at which data and documentation are retained is changed within that five year period, the Research Ethics Officer should be advised of the new location.

Best Wishes,

Belinda

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

Belinda Ackling

Acting Research Ethics Officer

Researcher Services

University of New England

Armidale NSW 2351

Ph: 02 6773 3449

Fax:02 6773 3543

Email: Ethics@une.edu.au