

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT OF CIVILIZATION STUDIES**

MASTER'S THESIS

**Impact of Modernization on Pashtun Culture and the Role
of Sen's Capability Approach**

NAJAM SHAFAT TAHIRKHELI

**THESIS SUPERVISOR
PROF. DR. ERIK RINGMAR**

ISTANBUL, 2022

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of Sen's Capability Approach**

by

NAJAM SHAFAT TAHIRKHELI

**A thesis submitted to the Alliance of Civilizations Institute
(Medeniyetler İttifakı Enstitüsü) in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Civilization Studies**

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ISTANBUL, 2022

APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of **Master of Arts in Civilization Studies**

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ÖZ

Modernleşmenin Peştun Kültürüne Etkisi ve Sen'in Kapasite Yaklaşımı'nın Rolü

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Literatürde, mevcut güçlerin Pakistan'daki Peştunların kültürel uyumunu zorladığı ve bunun yanı sıra bölgedeki gelişime daha bütüncül bir yaklaşıma ihtiyaç duyulduğuna dair öneriler bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tez iki önemli soruyu yanıtlamaya çalışmaktadır: Birincisi, modernleşme Peştun kültürünü nasıl etkilemektedir; ikincisi, Amartya Sen'in özgürlük merkezli Kapasite Yaklaşımı Peştunlar bağlamında modernleşmenin zorluklarını belirleyebilmek ve çözebilmekte midir? Nobel Ödüllü ekonomist Amartya Sen'in Kapasite Yaklaşımı, ki buna göre insan özgürlüğü yalnızca maddî zenginlikteki artıştan ziyade gelişimin merkezini teşkil eder, gelişim çalışmaları için bir atılımdır. Sen'in yaklaşımının esnek uygulanabilirliğine binaen bu tez Peştunların "kültürel kapasitelerini" değerlendirerek Sen'in fikirlerini geliştirmeye çalışmaktadır. Öte yandan bu çalışma aynı zamanda Sen'in yaklaşımını ve felsefi varsayımlarını eleştirmektedir; çalışmada varılan sonuca göre Sen'in bizzat kendi normatif dünya görüşü modernleşmenin daha derin zorluklarını gözden kaçırmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı doğrultusunda, Peştun kültürü hakkındaki temel bilgiler ve yerel algıları göstermek amacıyla Pakistan'da kişisel olarak saha araştırması yapılmıştır. Buna göre Peştunların belirli kültürel özellikleri – sosyal köy yapılanmaları (Hujra) ve geleneksel hukukî idare kurumları (Jirga) modernitede zorluklarla karşılaşmaktayken, dinamik ahlakî dünya görüşü sistemleri (Pakhtunwali) önceki önemini kaybetme riskiyle karşı karşıyadır. Bunun üç nedeni bulunmaktadır: Kentleşme, bürokratikleşme ve teknoloji. Bu tez hem nitel söylem hem de görüşe dayalı nicel anket verilerinden oluşan karma bir yöntem yaklaşımı kullanmıştır. Fakat anketin boyutu kesin bir iddiada bulunmak için yeterince büyük değildir – daha ziyade anketin daha kapsamlı çalışmalara ilham vermesi temenni edilmektedir. Bu araştırmanın Pakistan'daki bölge ve gelişim çalışmalarına fayda sağlaması ve ayrıca Sen'in Kapasite Yaklaşımı'nın geleneksel kültürlerin korunması bağlamında oldukça ihtiyaç duyulan bir uygulamasına ilham vermesi umulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amartya Sen; Gelişim; Kapasite Yaklaşımı; Kültür; Modernleşme; Peştunlar.

ABSTRACT

Impact of Modernization on Pashtun Culture and the Role of Sen's Capability Approach

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There have been suggestions from the literature that contemporary forces are straining the cultural harmony of Pashtuns in Pakistan, in addition to there being a need for a more holistic approach to development in the region. Therefore, this thesis attempts to answer two valuable questions: first, how is modernization impacting Pashtun culture, and second, is Amartya Sen's freedom-centered Capability Approach able to identify and resolve the challenges of modernization within the Pashtun context? Nobel Laureate economist Amartya Sen's Capability Approach—which sees human freedom as the centerpiece of development rather than the mere increase in material wealth—is a breakthrough in development studies. Due to the flexible applicability of Sen's approach, this thesis attempts to innovate from his ideas by evaluating the cultural “capabilities” of Pashtuns. Likewise, this work also critiques Sen's approach and philosophical assumptions; it concludes that his own normative worldview misses the deeper challenges of modernization. Field research was personally conducted in Pakistan for the purpose of this study—revealing primary knowledge of Pashtun culture and local perceptions. The results of this study suggest that certain cultural features of Pashtuns—their social village complex (Hujra) and traditional legal execution institution (Jirga) are facing challenges in modernity while their dynamic moral worldview system (Pakhtunwali) is at risk of losing its original significance. There are three reasons for this: urbanization, bureaucratization, and technology. This thesis utilized a mixed-method approach which consisted of both qualitative discourse, and opinion-based quantitative survey data. Yet the survey size was not large enough to make a conclusive claim—rather wishing that further studies may be inspired by this work. It is hoped that this research will benefit area and development studies in Pakistan, as well as inspire a much-needed application of Sen's Capability Approach within the context of preserving traditional cultures.

Keywords: Amartya Sen; Capability Approach; Culture; Development; Modernity; Pashtuns.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the kind and hospitable people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.



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I would like to thank all of those who helped me from the University of Peshawar and the University of Swabi, as well as all of the elders who were kind enough to invite me to their Hujra gatherings and teach me their cultural values.

Najam Tahirkheli

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to research Pashtun culture as it faces modernization. However, it views the issue from a development perspective that relies upon a paradigm called The Capability Approach, which was introduced by Nobel Laureate economist Amartya Sen—who sees human agency at the center of development rather than a mere improvement in material circumstances. By innovating through this approach, this thesis will try to capture the status of Pashtun cultural agency as modernization occurs in Pakistan’s Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Given that Pashtuns are the world’s largest tribal ethnic group that possess a sophisticated, ubiquitous, yet unwritten code of conduct called “Pakhtunwali”, seeing how they and their culture are adapting to modernization is worthy of attention. Doing so is not only an attempt to apply a worthy theory of development; it is also a unique episode on the effects of the globe’s modernization.

This thesis seeks to answer two questions. First, how is modernization impacting traditional Pashtun culture? Second, how effective is Amartya Sen's Capability Approach in evaluating and solving such problems of modernization in the Pashtun context? There are numerous impetuses for doing research on this subject. Based on the literature, there appears to be a need for Pakistan’s development policy initiatives to focus on human well-being—an approach that integrates various human-centered aspects. For instance, this calls for the updating of research methodologies to also include quality of life (Alam & Amin, 2017). This is especially important because of the effects of modernization on local Pashtun society, which include but are not limited to: migration that is changing the role of traditional cultural institutions (Khattak, et. al, nd), perceived globalization that is coming through the availability of technology (Naz & Khan, 2020), and mixed feelings pertaining to economic development and its impacts on culture (Naveed & Mohyuddin, 2015).

The argument of this thesis is that indeed traditional Pashtun cultural institutions are being negatively impacted due to modernization via the processes of urbanization, bureaucratization, and the prevalence of certain technologies. Amartya Sen's Capability Approach can be a guiding framework to extract these observations; in other words, this approach has the potential to give policy makers a tool to evaluate the impacts of development and modernization on traditional Pashtun culture. However, one must proceed with caution in accepting all of Sen's normative values due to his over-reliance on a neo-liberal paradigm which falls into the lure of modernist thought. In the end, modernization is impacting traditional Pashtun culture and the Capability Approach is a tool to see this.

Comprehending the direction of Pashtuns in modernity is no easy task. They are a people who come from diverse backgrounds and contexts both historically and contemporarily. Mainly coming from the frontier regions between Pakistan and Afghanistan, Pashtuns have had their own unique confrontations with global modernization. Each sub-category of this large ethnic group has responded differently to such challenges. Not being able to research every member of the Pashtun heritage, then, the humble purpose of this thesis is to focus on culture and development in a few select regions of the Pashtun-majority Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of northwest Pakistan. As the regional economy grows, infrastructure builds, and the area transforms with the passing of modernity, what exactly is happening to the Pashtun people and their cultural agency?

Likewise, it is helpful to understand the economic context of Pakistan before attempting to conceptualize culture and development. It appears that Pakistan has had some decades of high growth and low growth in its short history. Pakistan began as an agricultural-focused nation. Most of its productivity came from that sector. Now, its factors in economic production have shifted and diversified from the agricultural sector. In 1949, around half (53%) of its contribution to GDP came from agriculture. This has drastically changed, where it only contributed to less than a quarter (21%) of GDP in 2013. The labor force in agriculture dropped between 1949 and 2013 from 65% down to 45%. Manufacturing's contribution to economic growth has increased

from originally contributing only 8% to 21% of GDP within the same time-period. As for urbanization, West Pakistan¹ census data of 1951 showed that only 17% of people lived in cities and towns. Recently, it has increased to around 60%. This has created a “significant structural change” where the influence of agriculturalists has decreased in Pakistan (Zaidi, 2015, pp. 1-4).

Indeed, simple economic indicators have shown the rapid progress that Pakistan has made since its recent humble origins. However, how that growth has occurred can be called into question. Social indicators show that Pakistan has not performed well. Almost half (44%) of adults, and specifically 60% of women, were considered illiterate as of 2009 (Zaidi, 2015, p. 11). Almost a quarter (22%) of the population was below the poverty line as of 2011 (p. 11). Therefore, one may say that although Pakistan has industrialized and urbanized relative to its agricultural past, economic benefits have not been distributed fairly. Therefore, the country has not performed well in the field of social indicators such as literacy and access to a decent living.

Relative to the other provinces, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) may be one of the lowest-performing in Pakistan. There are many factors to this, but the biggest reason is due to the history of political instability and terrorism in the region. Apparently, \$677 billion were lost in the year of 2009 due to terrorism (Asad, et. al, 2015). Poverty is more existent in rural areas compared to urban in KP (Khan, Iqbal, & Rahman, *nd*). There is also a shortage of microfinance in rural areas of KP (Nouman, et. al, 2010) with "social challenges, political instability, terrorism, low literacy rate" as reasons why (Hassan & Jebran 2015). The economic environment in KP makes it difficult for small and medium enterprises to thrive, due to reasons such as "extended and unscheduled power failure, poor support from the government... narrow profit margin, corruption..." and so forth (Haleem, et. al, 2019).

¹ At that time, West Pakistan meant present-day Pakistan and East Pakistan was Bangladesh

This reveals that although Pakistan and KP have economically transformed since its founding, there still are development issues. Many areas have changed from an agricultural economy to a manufacturing and services-based one. This has resulted in rapid urbanization. Development has not been ideal as there are still many indicators that reveal the shortcomings of economic modernization. Interestingly, and despite mixed reports of life in rural areas, the quality of life in rural areas (that have access to urban facilities) tends to be higher, hinting at the possible superiority of blending traditional and urbanized lifestyles (Alam & Amin, 2017)². All these factors can influence the cultural agency of Pashtuns as they adjust their traditional cultures with new economic developments.

1.1. Methodology

Therefore, assessing the cultural agency of Pashtuns in KP is worthwhile. It will be the objective of this thesis to focus on what I call the *cultural capabilities* of the people of KP. This concept has been derived from Amartya Sen's Capability Approach, which sees the ability of people to live the lives they find meaningful to be at the center of development. Cultural capabilities, then, mean the capacity of Pashtuns to practice all elements of their culture—not only formal ceremonies but that holistic nexus of what it means to be a part of “Pashtun” society.

Although Sen's approach will be elaborated upon later, it is beneficial to mention his conceptualization of *values*, *functionings*, and *capabilities*³. In development, and in normal life in general, society's individuals should have the ability to live the life they choose to be inherently valuable to them. This can be evaluated with the Capability

² Quote from article's conclusion: “There seems to be an indication of a better quality of life and well-being experienced at the peripheral level. These are areas where the urban sprawl meets the rural habitat expansion; a blending of both the rural and urban areas. Here the spill over urban amenities can be readily accessed for example infrastructural and communication networks etc. with reduced economic, social and environmental stresses of direct urban living. This could be an interesting and refreshing take on the urbanization and rural-to-urban migration issue” (Alam & Amin, 2017)

³ In addition to Amartya Sen, these terms (values, functioning, and capabilities) have inspiration from the Alkire-Foster Method of multi-dimensional analysis. Please see Alkire 2015 & 2016.

Approach by observing what Sen conceptualizes as the *doings and beings* (*functionings*) that someone has, such as being healthy, being protected, or being a participant in society; as for capabilities (also *doings*), it is the ability for someone to choose to do something they inherently value, such as fasting if they want to, or traveling if they choose to. The most important point for capabilities is the choice, or the option, to do something valued⁴ while *functioning* is the actual doing of it.

The methodology has a mixed-method approach that includes both qualitative and quantitative data which will both rely upon the values, functionings, and capabilities framework of the Capability Approach and the Alkire-Foster Method of multidimensional analysis. The hope is that they will provide insights into local perceptions of Pashtun culture and its challenges with modernization. There are two phases that represent this mixed-method approach: an exploratory phase (qualitative) and a survey phase⁵ (quantitative-qualitative). The exploratory phase consists of doing personal interviews with locals so as to understand the key parts of Pashtun culture, and specifically what is happening to them and why. After those important aspects of Pashtun culture are determined, quantifiable questions that provide insights into them are given to locals in the form of a survey—which represents the survey phase. In addition to these two centerpieces, personal experiences of select Pashtun cultural activities are shared wherever deemed beneficial to the study. Afterwards, there will be an analysis of each phase separately⁶ and a conclusion to the study will be derived. All information collected will try to determine the status of Pashtun cultural capabilities in the face of modernization and development.

The exploratory phase will be the main feature of this study. Being a tool of deep subjective analysis of locals, it will attempt to discover the key elements of Pashtun culture. This will be achieved by conversating with local Pashtuns who come from

⁴ I am slightly varying the official definitions of these concepts to fit my research paradigm (see (Sen, 2000)). *Values* are the aspects of life that a person finds valuable. *Functionings* are the *beings* and *doings* that someone has pertaining to that thing values. *Capabilities* are the *doings* or capacity for one to perform that thing valued if they chose to do so (hence meaning they are not prevented from it)

⁵ To make reading the thesis easier, the entire survey phase was shifted to the appendix in section *Appendix A – Survey Phase*. Any reader interested in the quantitative application of this method is recommended to read it

⁶ Please see note #5 above

various backgrounds— which will provide a local perception of what is happening to said cultural features. Questions will be asked with the concept of values, functionings, and capabilities in mind— where after the valued features have been discovered, it will be asked what the circumstance is of the said cultural feature, and then what will be the future (e.g. capacity) to practice the said cultural feature⁷. The exploratory phase will be beneficial because it will provide a foundational understanding of valued Pashtun cultural features and how modernization is affecting them. The structure of the interviews is in the form of a semi-flexible discourse⁸ that has three basic questions:

- 1- What are the most important aspects of Pashtun culture? (**Value**)⁹
- 2- What is happening to these cultural practices currently? Do they still exist, or do you believe that they are disappearing over time? (**Functioning**)
- 3- What do you think will be the future of Pashtun culture and the practices you mentioned? (**Capability**)

As for the survey phase, a quantifiable questionnaire (survey) is derived from the information that comes from the exploratory phase. This partially mimics the Alkire-Foster Method's multidimensional approach to poverty analysis by finding the dimensions (valuable practices of Pashtun culture) to be given in the survey and then analyzed. In the survey, the value of the specified cultural practice, how much it is practiced compared to the past, and how capable is one of practicing it if they wished to do so is asked in a quantifiable 0-10 format. The questions represent the three components of the Alkire-Foster Method which seeks to discover the value, functionality, and capability of said dimension. Below is the format of the survey questions:

⁷ The reader is reminded that this applied framework is inspired by the Alkire-Foster Method

⁸ Meaning that when I performed the interviews, I sometimes revolved a natural discussion around these three questions. At other times, I asked them directly and formally. It depended on the context and occasion of the interview.

⁹ e.g. what do you find valuable in your cultural practice? – this connects with the Capability Approach's phase of identifying what people find meaningful

1. On a scale of one through ten, how much do you believe that people in your society¹⁰ value said practice? **(Value)**
2. On a scale of one through ten, how much do you believe that said cultural practice exists compared to the past in your society? **(Function)**
3. On a scale of one through ten, how much do you believe that people are capable of doing said cultural practice if they chose to do so, compared to the past in your society? **(Capability)**

Based on the limited nature of this study, the exploratory phase is the center piece of our analysis. The survey phase is only an add-on¹¹ which gives some general information on the sentiments of locals; albeit the survey phase has the potential to be a genuine tool of analysis for the entire province. For instance, valuable demographic information about the survey recipient and their attitudes towards technology and modernization are asked in the survey phase¹². Nonetheless, the exploratory phase provides deeper perceptions that can be used for immediate analysis in this study¹³. All the interviews and survey data collected are analyzed considering The Capability Approach and the systematic issues of modernity that will be discussed in the following sections. Based on the experience of this research, the deeper relevance of Amartya Sen's Capability Approach will also be discussed. Finally, a conclusive argument of the effects of modernization on Pashtun cultural capabilities in KP will be presented.

¹⁰ Because this is a new study with no preceding data, the survey recipients' general perceptions of the specified cultural practice in their community are asked in the survey rather than their personal opinions on it. The reason for this is to try and discover the general status of said cultural practices. Doing this can prevent survey bias by asking the recipients to be more objective and relate what the general situation is in their communities.

¹¹ A quantifiable survey cannot be relevant unless there is a large enough sample survey size that can represent KP; I'm only focusing on a few locations in this broad region

¹² Other things asked are: political satisfaction, economic circumstance, and general demographic information

¹³ Nonetheless, future researchers may be inspired by the exploratory and survey methodology of this research and apply them to a larger sample of people in KP.

1.2. Demographics of the People Interviewed and Surveyed

There were around 17 interviewees in the exploratory phase and 135 survey recipients in the survey phase. The exploratory interviews were mostly conducted in the Peshawar area, specifically in the University of Peshawar area and the Regi Village nearby, as well as one interview in Swabi. Most interviewees were educated at the university level, while others were respected community elders. Some working-class individuals with no education were also interviewed as well as a few NGO workers. Due to the conservative nature of Pashtun society, I was only able to interview 2 females. Almost all my interviewees came from the mainstream parts of KP. Most interviews were conducted in Urdu, while others were conducted in English or Pashto (with the help of a translator).

The survey phase recipients were mostly students from the University of Swabi, which constituted 106 of the 135 in the sample. The remainder came from various areas such as Khyber Agency in the former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), other parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa such as Peshawar and Mardan, etc. Unfortunately, most recipients were males, consisting of 128 out of 135 recipients. All surveys were administered electronically via an online survey in the English language. Most recipients were able to read English while the others had a translator help them.

I humbly admit that there is a bias towards educated male Pashtuns who come from mainstream areas in KP. This means that there is a lack of sufficient representation of Pashtuns from tribal areas, females, and those from lower socio-economic positions. The reason for this was the limited circumstance. I was unable to find many female participants due to the conservative nature of Pashtun culture. Going to the former FATA was strictly off-limits due to safety issues. Most interviews and surveys were restricted to urban or university environments due to logistic issues and language barriers (I am not fluent in Pashto and had to rely on Urdu and English). Nonetheless, this study still provides valuable insights into Pashtun cultural capabilities, even if it is not a complete representation. To get a comprehensive understanding, future studies

would require large-scale surveys and interviews to be administered to different parts of the large Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.



CHAPTER II

Modernity and Amartya Sen's Capability Approach

The world is changing rapidly. Economic development, whether for better or worse, coincides with social modernization. Even more, it coincides with the restructuring of political relationships, and economic production techniques. This certainly results in the production of more finished goods, and hence a better standard of living. Healthcare, education, and infrastructure, just to name a few, have all increased in modernizing countries. However, there are also negative consequences of modernization—such as the weakening of traditional ways of life and social bonds. It is on multiple occasions that the phenomenon of modernity has been considered two-sided. For one to truly evaluate development, comprehending the depth of modernity's effects is vital. Doing so will allow one to better critique Sen's Capability Approach and its relevance to the KP region of Pakistan.

A basic encyclopedic search defines modernity as the process of “individual subjectivity, scientific explanation and rationalization, a decline in emphasis in religious worldviews, the emergence of bureaucracy, rapid urbanization, the rise of nation-states, and accelerated financial exchange and communication” (Snyder, *nd*). Stereotypically, modern society places its central importance on technological innovation to solve its problems while traditional societies place it on moral upbringing. Modern society gives technology the status of ‘religion’ where it is sought after to solve all contemporary issues. By quoting Carl Schmitt, Wael Hallaq writes, “Similarly, in ‘an economic age, one needs only solve adequately the problem of the production and distribution of goods *in order to make superfluous all moral and social questions*’” (Hallaq, 2014, p. 7). Perhaps one may rightfully ask, what lead to this change in modern man's worldview?

2.1. Modernity

Even though it is not in the scope of this thesis to analyze the larger trends in recent history when it comes to modernization, having a general perspective on it will allow room for such fruitful discussions. The modern world, and especially developed nations, have gone through a grand process that Marshall Hodgson considered as *technicalization*, or what he broadly defined as a “transmutation”. Although he coined the term transmutation in relation to Europe’s world domination in recent history, it is relevant to developing economies today. To find a place in the current global order—which was established through Europe’s experiences with modernization in the past centuries—every nation, and even every society, must confront the challenges of modernity.

2.1.1. Marshall Hodgson’s Western Transmutation

European nations and it’s like experienced a rapid “transmutation” that can “with proper caution, be discussed as a single, though vast and complex, event” (Hodgson, 1974, pp. 176-222). It was a process of *technicalization* that shifted the economic, political, and social structures of its traditional societies. This indeed was a dramatic shift which has spearheaded the modern age. This process was and is “a condition of calculative (and hence innovative) technical specialization, in which the several specialties are interdependent on a large enough scale to determine patterns of expectation in the key sectors of a society” (pp. 176-222). In other words, the entire worldview of modern civilization has transformed into a highly calculative one. All aspects of society have been placed into the nexus of hyper rationalization.

Although it can be debatable for being an over-simplification, it is said that the developed Western-European world evolved from a “traditional” into a “rational” civilization (since even pre-industrial societies had dynamism and rationality) (Hodgson, 1974, pp. 176-222). Sporadic innovations always existed in pre-industrial Agrarian societies, but what set European civilization apart in this aspect was that this technical rationalization was happening at a multi-institutional scale to the point of

being “socially irreversible”. This rapid development reached a point of “critical mass” which would “dominate all key sectors of the whole society”. Economically, the allocation of capital was optimized in the new industrial infrastructure. In intellectual circles, deeply innovative ideas were welcomed whole-heartedly. The reason for this was the freeing up of the resources in the economy thanks to industrial wealth—resources which could be used at a larger scale in intellectual-scientific endeavors (pp. 176-222).

In other words, this “transmutation” was a complete overhaul. This was what helped most aspects of European civilization—from its military performance to the efficiency of its doctors—to outperform the rest of the world. Not being about individual superiority, but rather the Europeans were institutionally more organized (Hodgson, 1974). Summarizing this point, Hodgson said:

“The Western Transmutation can be described, for our world-historical purposes, as consisting (in its internal aspect) primarily of transformations of culture in three main fields: the economic, the intellectual, and the social. In economic life, there took place that great increase in productivity—due to a sequence of new techniques, and carried out through a concentrated control of production based on capital accumulation and mass markets—which led up to and culminated in the 'Industrial Revolution' and the accompanying 'Agricultural Revolution'. In intellectual life came the new sort of experimental science which started with Kepler and Galileo and opened indefinitely the horizons of accessible time and space leading more generally to the philosophical exploratory independence made widely popular in the Enlightenment. In social life came the breakdown of old landed privileges and supremacies and their replacement with a bourgeois financial power which ushered in the American and French revolutions, with their repercussions throughout Europe.” (Hodgson, 1974, pp. 179-180)

2.1.2. Anthony Giddens on Modernity

According to Anthony Giddens, the “discontinuities” between the traditional and modern are attributed to many factors, but three stand out: the pace of change in modernity is quicker, this change affects the entire globe rather than only one location, and the invention of modern institutions. As for this last point, Giddens explains that “Some modern social forms are simply not found in prior historical periods—such as the political system of the nation-state, the wholesale dependence of production upon inanimate power sources, or the thoroughgoing commodification of products and wage labour.” (Giddens, 1991, p. 6). Hence, traditional knowledge does not suffice in addressing current issues (pp. 4-5).

Giddens mentions that time and space have lost their original organic meaning. While in the past the concept of time was more fluid and connected to a “socio-space marker” – a physical location or phenomenon that all members of the society could relate to— it later became uniformized with the invention of the clock. This resulted in the organizing of large populations around abstract and technical calculations. Although this is normal in today’s era, it was not the case in history. The “advent of modernity increasingly tears space away from place...” while “in pre-modern societies, space and place largely coincided...” Such a matter of “disembedding” separates one from natural relationships. Moreover, “it provides the gearing mechanisms for that distinctive feature of modern social life, the rationalized organisation” (Giddens, 1991, pp. 17-20).

This concept of *disembedding* is important to understand. To Giddens, it means the separation “of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space” (Giddens, 1991, p. 21). This process occurs via “symbolic tokens” and “expert systems”. The meaning of the former is the “media of interchange of which can be ‘passed around’ without regard to specific characteristics of individuals or groups that handle them at any particular juncture”. The perfect

example of this is money (p. 22). In simple terms, it means that money is unable to represent holistic local human interaction, but rather is just a medium of exchange. Similar to the issue of time and space in modernity, it amounts to the separation of tokens of value from any deeper social norm. Rather, it has no moral value—a dollar from a gambler or a philanthropist is still the same thing¹⁴.

As for “expert systems,” it is another disembedding process that alludes to the existence of “experts” in their respective domains who are organized in the social structure. An individual is no longer attached to an organic social structure and required to fulfill a myriad of localized functions. Rather she is placed in a highly organized industrial system where she performs a uniform task—being the “expert” of that skill. Modernity is about allocating these “experts” in a highly efficient and unforeseen manner. Again, perhaps pre-industrial societies had such efficiencies, but never at such a massive scale. To better understand, we can see Giddens is quoted to say:

“Expert systems are disembedding mechanisms because, in common with symbolic tokens, they remove social relations from the immediacies of context. Both types of disembedding mechanism presume, yet also foster, the separation of time from space as the condition of the time-space distanciation which they promote. An expert system disembeds in the same way as symbolic tokens, by providing “guarantees” of expectations across distanciated time-space. This “stretching” of social systems is achieved via the impersonal nature of tests applied to evaluate technical knowledge and by public critique (upon which the production of technical knowledge is based), used to control its form” (Giddens, 1991, p. 28)

2.1.3. A Final Definition of Modernity

To summarize the observations of Hodgson and Giddens, one may say that: modernity is the *transmutative hyper-technicalization* of society, which causes traditional time-space relationships to be replaced with ultra-rationalized and impersonal forms of

¹⁴ There is a lecture given by Professor Micheal Sandel discussing the dilemma of markets. Its name is “The Moral Limits of Markets”. Here is the link: <https://youtu.be/UbBv2ZGC2VI>

social organization. Historically, societies were embedded (or constituted) at the local level. Relationships, ideas, and even time were perceived as a local phenomenon constrained to a geographic location. Such organic harmonies have been disintegrating and are being replaced by the massive organization of rationalized experts and the movement of socially-lesser-meaningful tokens of exchange. Simply speaking, humanity is transforming from traditionally embedded holistic relationships into rationally-stitched modern labyrinths. Indeed, this has created political-economic efficiency, but at the risk of the disappearance of meaning.

Such observations echo many of the problems that Pashtuns face in modernity. To refresh and restate the problem, the literature reveals that Pashtuns in KP are having difficulties managing key symptoms of modernity, such as migration and globalization, with their traditional ways of life. As Giddens stated, modernity requires the tearing away of individuals from localized time-space relationships—a clear example of migration. Symbolic tokens of exchange such as money, and expert systems such as technology, pierce through traditional patterns of thinking and living—a clear example of globalization. Not to forget, Pakistan and KP are also both dealing with weak performances in human development—which indicates that the transmutation and technicalization of society are not doing as well as they “should” be. With this being acknowledged, it is now suitable to explore Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach.

2.2. Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach

Amartya Sen is a Nobel Laureate economist who explicates a theory of economic development that challenges traditional theories. It is based on his notion of The Capability Approach. Instead of focusing on a mere increase in material wealth, he sees humans and their freedoms as the ends and means of development. He states in his book *Development as Freedom* that it “treats the freedoms of individuals as the basic building blocks” via “expanding the capabilities” of people (Sen, 2000, p. 18).

Furthermore, people must be understood as “being actively involved-given their opportunity in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of cunning development programs” (p. 53). Freedom has both a “constitutive” and an “instrumental” role in development (p. 36). In other words, freedom is ontologically connected to the development process. Sen goes on to list “instrumental freedoms” that he proposes to be essential to his thesis:

1. **Political Freedoms** – Opportunities that people have to determine who should govern and on what principles ...
2. **Economic Facilities** – Opportunities that individuals enjoy to utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production, or exchange...
3. **Social Opportunities** – Arrangements that society makes for education, healthcare, and so on, which influences the individual’s substantive freedoms to live better...
4. **Transparency Guarantees** – ...the need for openness that people can expect...
5. **Protective Security** – ...social safety net for preventing the affected population from being reduced to abject misery... (Sen, 2000, p. 38)

These instrumental freedoms that Sen lists are supportive of one another. For instance, economic facilities lead to the financing of public goods, which in return promotes economic growth (Sen, 2000, p. 40). Democracy, or political freedoms, are supportive of economic facilities because such political freedoms relate to the satisfying of economic needs (pp. 147-148). For instance, "no substantial famine has ever occurred in any independent country with a democratic form of government and a relatively free press" (p. 152). The reason for this is the “constructive” role of freedom. The rights to liberty are vital to expressing the 'economic needs' of a people. This "requires discussion and exchange" that is "central to the processes of generating informed and reflected choices" (p. 153). Communication, or what is defined to be transparency guarantees and political freedoms, is vital to the denotation of a people’s economic needs. Hence, these instrumental freedoms come full circle in the development process.

The Capability Approach enlarges the base of information one must decide on in development by considering the “multidimensional nature of human wellbeing” (Frediani, 2010, p. 175). Such better-informed decisions consider the “doings” and “beings” of individuals (Sen 2000; Robeyns & Byskov, 2020), or in other words, their “functions” and “capabilities”. The concept of functions is a broad term which denotes the doings that people have reason to value. It can be as simple as being “safe, well-nourished...” or complex such as “waging a political campaign for election” (Alkire, 2015). These ideas can be expanded to various activities such as working to earn a wage, sleeping, or artistically expressing oneself as a hobby. It is ‘an umbrella term for the resources and activities and attitudes people spontaneously recognize to be important...’ (Frediani, 2010, p. 175). Being more nuanced than functions, the concept of capabilities focuses on the opportunities people have so they may choose what they value. This is more about the availability of choices, even if one decides not to fulfill those choices— “I may decide not to use my capability; I may not choose to eat today but to fast...having such a personal choice is important” (Claassen & Gerbrandy, 2016). In terms of functioning, a voluntary faster is at the same level as one deprived of food, but in the realm of capabilities, they certainly are not (Frediani, 2010, p. 175).

The Capability Approach has been applied in a myriad of ways, which speaks of its influence. One initiative applied the Capability Approach to wind energy justice issues for indigenous communities in southern Mexico (Velasco-Herrejon & Bauwens, 2020). Another study determined whether working-aged people with disabilities are deprived of capabilities or not in Trinidad (Parey, 2020). One article argued for the use of the Capability Approach by the judicial system in South Africa for re-compensation cases (Van der Berg, 2019). The entire Gross National Happiness index of Bhutan, that attempts to holistically evaluate the well-being of its citizenry, gained inspiration from the Capability Approach (Alkire, 2016).

The diverse application of The Capability Approach provides potential flexibility in addressing overlooked development issues in KP. Sen’s approach can provide a solid framework for examining the cultural agency of Pashtuns, just as it has been used for justice issues in Mexico’s wind energy industry or as it has inspired Bhutan’s quest for

happiness. Reliance on principles such as instrumental freedoms, functionings, and capabilities enables this research to deeply question the trajectory of development and its impact on culture in the region.

However, is The Capability Approach armed with enough tools to really resolve the issues of culture and development in KP? Doubt begins to creep in when it is discovered that there are notable critiques of Sen's approach. One issue with his theory is that it apparently operates within a neo-liberal framework, which inherently limits capabilities. Although his intentions are for the poor, such a neo-liberal ideology promotes individualism and capitalism— which can lead to a handful of interests controlling most of social life. Such a system has historically promoted “(1) global injustice, (2) individualism and privatization, and (3) imperialism”. In addition to basing his theory on such perceptions of individualism, there is also “an ambivalence in Sen with regards to supporting local cultures and indigenous knowledge” (Comiling & Sanchez, 2014). While Sen shows suspicion of traditional or religious authority that can hinder the freedoms of individuals in a modern economy, it appears that he does not sufficiently criticize how powerful marketing can cloud the ability of people to choose what they genuinely value. The global economic system has an impressive ability to penetrate many societies while the poorest are unable to create a global message of their own goods and preferences. Therefore, “analysts must correspondingly focus more closely on how to prevent market-based power inequalities from undermining ‘development as freedom’”. Additionally, they must find “institutional strategies for facilitating collective capabilities...” (Evans, 2002).

If it is true that migration, globalization, and general anxiety about the entire modernization process is impacting Pashtuns' cultural agency, then such complaints must be taken seriously. Perhaps The Capability Approach does not perceive the disenfranchising nature of globalization and neo-liberalism. Perhaps Sen's theory does not give due attention to the power imbalances in global marketing and the world economy. Admitting that Pakistan and KP have experienced a poor human development performance, can The Capability Approach help if it is that it ignores the deeper dynamics of global modernization? Or maybe the complaints against Sen are

too ingenuine and idealistic? It could be that The Capability Approach is the best chance at addressing the multi-dimensional needs in the field of development studies. Therefore, it is worthwhile to give Sen a deeper evaluation

2.2.1. Sen's Philosophical Underpinnings

Sen promotes the Capability Approach by critiquing the philosophical underpinnings of other ideologies— the libertarian approach to justice as well as an income-utilitarian approach to economics. Relying only upon the justice principle can still lead to the neglect of other important rights. As an information base, it can cause the neglect of other factors (such as income, well-being, and doing what one personally values) that could be more valuable to the individual at that given time than pure liberty. It is not that he is against liberties. Sen states, "The contrast, rather, is with the extent to which having more liberty or rights increases an individual's own personal advantage, which is only a part of what is involved" (Sen, 2000, pp. 64-65).

Sen states that the libertarian principle can indeed lead to neglect of important freedoms people value. At the onset, it looks like a contradictory statement. What Sen sees as freedoms are certain basic rights such as being fed, educated, safe, etc. He mentions (rather draconian) hypotheticals where everything can be fine from the libertarian principle but where such basic rights can be cut short. (Sen, 2000, pp. 65-67). This is a theoretical argument which desires to change one's philosophical orientation when thinking about principles of justice. Focusing only on liberty, or the Rawlsian approach, can still lead one to exclude substantial freedoms in cases where liberties are guaranteed but people still may be deprived of essential functionings (p. 63-67) such as health, education, or preferred hobbies.

Likewise, utilitarianism's highly subjective nature can cause complications for equal distribution. It is difficult to measure utility at an inter-subjective level (Sen, 2000, pp. 54-63) to account for various subjective mental conditions (and adaptivity to possibly unideal contexts) and to analyze distributive justice (pp. 54-63). It is difficult to make interpersonal comparisons in utilitarian analysis because everyone is different, and

subjectivity plays a role. As Sen says, "differences in age, gender, special talents, disability... can make two different persons have quite divergent opportunities of quality of life even when they share exactly the same commodity bundle" (p. 69). There are so many "heterogeneities" amongst people that it is difficult to truly measure wealth or satisfaction in absolute terms.

As for income, Sen explains that it only has an instrumental value (Sen, 2000, pp. 131-134). He argues that you must look at the "freedoms generated by commodities, rather than on the commodities seen on their own" (p. 74) Hence, making any theory of distribution based solely on income will not satisfy the objectives of Sen. Income is also not enough because there are circumstantial factors which impact the ability to convert a bundle of goods into something meaningful, such as:

1. "personal heterogeneities", such as "disparate physical characteristics" like "disability, illness, age or gender" and other factors;
2. "Environmental diversities" such as the actual climate and public health situation one lives in;
3. "Variations in Social Climate" such as existence of education and non-existence of threatening sociological factors;
4. "Differences in relational perspectives" where one may be "relatively poor" in a society with high expectations, essentially blocking that individual from social respect;
5. "Distributions within the family" where family arrangements impacts the agency of that individual to benefit from income (Sen, 2000, pp. 70-71).

As an example pertaining to disabilities, prioritizing "capability handicaps" can lead to a "greater emphasis on direct public provisioning of such facilities as health services and educational programs" (Sen, 2000, pp. 133-134) compared to only looking at income.

The question then arises, which of these philosophical informational bases—Rawls' Libertarianism, Utilitarianism, Income, or Substantive Freedoms—best account for the cultural agency of Pashtuns in KP? If one considers the various elements of culture, it can be argued that Sen's substantive freedoms have the highest likelihood of delivering a successful criterion. Libertarianism may ignore other beneficial dimensions such as income. Yet, income does not pierce deeply enough into the realm of human needs. Utilitarianism may be too subjective. As for substantive freedoms, it puts great

emphasis on a person's functionings and capabilities to live the life they find meaningful—which would include liberties, utility, and wealth, as well as other dimensions. This reveals that Sen's Capability Approach has the potential to be greatly multi-dimensional in development studies while other theories remain relatively short-sighted.

2.2.2. Sen and Democracy

Sen has remarked that one of the greatest achievements of the 20th Century was the general acceptance of Democracy as the standard form of governance throughout most of the world (Iqbal & You, 2001, p. 7). There is thankfully no longer a need to determine whether a nation is 'fit for democracy'. Instead, the matter is that a nation must "become fit through democracy", thus being a "truly momentous change". The benefits of democracy are inherent to the freedoms of individuals, as well as it provides proactive dialogue with ruling institutions. Democracy is not merely a "mechanical condition" of superficial elections, but instead a "demanding system" which requires genuine protection of rights and respect for dialogue. For example, free and open communication in a society assists in the demarcation of 'economic needs'— being vital to development. Hence, the benefits of Democracy are multi-dimensional (pp. 7-11).

Considering the inherent value of Democracy, Sen attempts to revolutionize how we see development. His theory focuses on the Capability Approach, which promotes substantial freedoms, or the capability for an individual to live the life they “have reason to value” (Sen, 2000, p. 74). This approach to justice relies upon observing the functionings and capabilities one has¹⁵. The removal of “unfreedoms” (p. 33) which hinder the individual from realizing their full potential human agency is also a part of substantive freedoms. Sen mentions that Substantive Freedoms include, “being able to avoid such deprivations as starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality, as well as the freedoms that are associated with being literate and

¹⁵ These concepts were thoroughly defined in *section 2.2*

numerate, enjoying political participation and uncensored speech and so on.” (p. 36). Additionally, there is an inherent value in being able to have a multitude of choices (pp. 75-76). All of these considerations echo the principles of Democracy which Sen highly praises.

Relevant to Sen’s beliefs, Max Weber noted the ironic complexities of democratic bureaucratization. Democracy that is “[directly]” involved in localized matters can only occur at a small scale, and not in the large administrative setup of a state-level Democracy. The creation of a large rational (national) bureaucracy requires the limiting of traditional decentralized privilege based on family and estate relationships¹⁶. However, this only reshuffles the domains of political authority where a new social strata controls administration—one that is ultra-rational and impersonal. To Giddens, the irony here for Weber¹⁷ is that “the growth of the abstract legal procedures which help to eliminate privilege themselves reintroduce a new form of entrenched monopoly which is in some respects more ‘arbitrary’ and autonomous than that previously extant.” Unfortunately, this powerful bureaucracy entrenches itself, making it almost impossible to socially overcome (Giddens, 1971, pp. 178-184). Simply speaking, once the new administration replaces traditional social organization, it is irreversible.

Based on this observation, it may be claimed that the process of democratizing a society at a large scale necessitates the breaking of the original web of social relationships. If Weber was correct, such a large-scale transformation of society can lead to the rapid changing of original Pashtun social networks—which took many generations to form in the first place. Most aspects of Pashtun culture are based on a localized context. Social gatherings where generational values are taught occur in the village community complex¹⁸. Such locations have historically been converted into

¹⁶ I believe this idea comes via Anthony Giddens

¹⁷ This quote is not directly from Max Weber, but rather from Anthony Giddens who is writing about him

¹⁸ For an explanation of Hujra, see section 3.2.1 named “Hujra – The Multi-Functional Community Complex”

local gatherings where tribal legal matters would be resolved¹⁹. These are the finest examples²⁰ of ‘traditional decentralized privilege based on family [tribal] and estate relationships’²¹. It may be that Sen accounts for these social risks when he emphasizes that Democracy must be more than a ‘mechanical condition’, but rather a ‘demanding system’.

However, comprehending the depth of change needed to promote such a style of Democracy must be acknowledged. By considering the institutional complications that “Democracy” can create, it is worthwhile to look at Sen’s opinions with fresh eyes. Democracy is not established at the state level overnight; it necessitates the reshuffling of traditional relationships into a more efficient system. Does Sen’s Capability Approach consider such matters? It may be argued that to a certain extent it does, given his primordial emphasis on the process of Democracy. Substantive and Instrumental Freedoms must be preserved no matter the circumstance. If it be the case that a policymaker considers the cultural practices of Pashtuns to inherently be a part of genuine democratic freedom, then the issue may be resolved. However, there is a risk that such traditional elements can be ignored and replaced by general neo-liberal values. Sen may be at risk of falling into such a trap, given his normative stances.

2.2.3. Sen and Free Markets

By using substantial freedoms as the philosophical-informational basis for economic decision-making, Sen praises the role of the market because of its inherent freedom: "We have good reasons to buy and sell, to exchange, and to seek lives that can flourish on the basis of transactions. To deny that freedom in general would be in itself a major failing of society" (Sen, 2000, p. 112). It is undeniable how economically efficient free markets are. Sen considers free markets as a necessity just as he considers Democracy

¹⁹ For an explanation of Jirga, see section 3.2.2 named “Jirga – The Legislative Institution of Pashtuns”

²⁰ For an interesting case study on Pashtuns and the attempts of modern bureaucratization, please see *Chapter 3.3*

²¹ See above paragraph

to be. Despite there being complaints against the externalities of free markets, Sen still defends its merits: "Today's prejudices (in favor of the pure market mechanism) certainly need to be carefully investigated and, I would argue, partly rejected. But we have to avoid resurrecting yesterday's follies that refused to see the merits of—indeed even the inescapable need for—markets..." (p. 112).

Indeed, capitalism has provided much material prosperity and freed up time for people to pursue other endeavors. There might even be a connection between capitalism and greater universal values such as peace (Ringmar, 2005, pp. 1-16). The laissez faire economic way of life is highly productive when it comes to the creation of goods as historically it unlocked tremendous economic growth.

However, traditional social structures have been uprooted while many have been forced to migrate to industrial areas in factories. It also led to the breaking down of social structures and the creation of human misery. The responses were labor unions, anti-capitalism, or even fascism. In essence, it is a paradox—the division of labor is beneficial because specialization and trade are highly efficient, however, it causes alienation; commodification allows resources to be allocated as efficiently as possible, however, it would be de-humanizing if everything was for sale in the market. "Convergence" in social-economic behavior due to intense competition is beneficial materially as the market will work more efficiently, however, a homogenized world is bleak. "Capitalism is simultaneously both inevitable and inhuman. It is inevitable since there is no better way to bring about economic prosperity together with all the cherished social goods which prosperity produces. It is inhuman since capitalism undermines our communities, our values, and our ability to determine who we are. As inevitable, capitalism has to be encouraged; as inhuman, it has to be controlled" (Ringmar, 2005, pp. 1-16).

Therefore, development policy must consider such challenges that free markets create. It is upon a society to find a way to benefit from capitalism without being broken down by its negative social effects. Yet, Sen is a strong supporter of free markets and is

critical of "traditional arrangements" which prevent an individual to access the labor market. Such arrangements are a serious restriction to the freedoms Sen proposes, and this sort of "unfreedom" exists in many developing nations (Sen, 2000, p. 7). However, he also approaches the market mechanism with acknowledgment of its externalities, and hence does not reject the need for "social support, public regulation, or statecraft" that may be beneficial to the society (p. 7).

Pertaining to development and Pashtun cultural agency, this would necessitate establishing certain social relationships that would allow people to benefit from economic modernity without losing their traditional culture. The question is: how willing is Sen's theory to protect Pashtun culture? While Sen believes in the power of the laissez-faire system, he also remains cautious of its externalities. This becomes clearer when one considers how capitalism creates alienation, conformation, and over-commodification, just as it makes material standards exponentially grow. Theoretically, if such a system is not placed under control in development policy, then the Pashtun society runs the risk of losing the fabric of its traditional culture just as quickly as each individual citizen becomes materially richer. There must be some effort to preserve traditional culture and social relationships.

Yet, Sen is highly critical of "captive markets" that are restricted from public input via open competition, due to various interest groups' abilities to insulate themselves from any competitor (Sen, 2000, pp. 120-123). Hence he would rule out the blind acceptance of traditional Pashtun social-economic structures. There must be some form of adaptation. He mentions that major modern economists such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and even Karl Marx "had little sympathy for the generally anti-market²² arguments of precapitalist leaders of thought" (pp. 121-122). Sen is also critical of the restriction of women from the labor market and sees it to be a major problem in the developing world: "this freedom is systematically denied in many cultures, and this in itself is a serious violation of women's liberty and gender equity" (p. 115). Again, the merits of the market mechanism triumph in his worldview— and

²² The insulating techniques were coined as " 'precapitalist' constraints' "

all dimensions of society, no matter the traditional structure of it, should be embedded in this system of free trade and dialogue.

It is important to note that the free-market king Adam Smith was cautionary of the externalities of certain purely profit-based motives that could harm the public. In this light, Sen sees the importance of having "critical scrutiny" of market-based policies, even if in general he accepts its merits (Sen, 2000, pp. 124-126). For instance, Sen shares the need for "combining extensive use of markets with the development of social opportunities" that "must be seen as a part of a still broader comprehensive approach that also emphasizes freedoms of other kinds (democratic rights, security guarantees, opportunities of cooperation, and so on)" (p. 127). Sen is not against 'public goods' that would need to be funded outside of the market mechanism. Indeed, there are cases where certain features of the economy are best allocated through public expenditure. He gives the example of the eradication of malaria and education. Both are public goods which are foundational to the benefit of society (pp. 127-129). Perhaps certain public expenditures are vital to the functioning of the free market—such as in Japan which inherited the fruits of mass-literacy and healthcare (p. 127). Just as Democracy takes priority in his theorization, so do free markets. However, Sen does not propose uniform worship of free markets, but rather a critical application of them.

2.2.4. Sen and Culture

Sen gives secondary importance to cultural traditions when it comes to promoting general democracy. A society should never irrationally hold onto traditional appeal. Appeals made by "political authorities", "religious establishments", or "grand guardians of taste" cannot override the rights of democracy and liberty, no matter how much they disagree with it (Walton & Sen, 2009, p. 53). Instead, Sen's normative stance is to embrace a sort of cultural universalism (p. 55). He acknowledges the "asymmetry" of power that globalization creates. Wealthier nations can use technology and media more effectively than the rest. He admits that threats do exist to

native traditions as a "cultural bombardment" ensues from "the western metropolis"²³. However, it is no reason to reject the benefits of a world-integrated economy and democratic institutions, just to preserve tradition. Unfortunately, such threats are indeed "inescapable" as it is difficult to oppose economic modernization throughout the world. The appeals of a free-market style of economy (inherently connected with Democracy) are too powerful to be forsaken just to preserve cultural tradition (pp. 52-53)²⁴. Such statements paint a different picture of Sen when it is remembered that rapid migration and globalization are some of the challenges Pashtuns face.

Sen's argument focuses on re-prioritizing the role of culture in development. He proposes the strengthening of democratic virtues in society so that people can choose what cultural values they want to hold on to. The Capability Approach should be the essential means to achieve this. Encompassed within this framework, he reiterates the need to preserve "the substantive freedoms—that people have, by providing support for cultural traditions that they may want to preserve"(Walton & Sen, 2009, p. 53). For instance, this approach can enable local cultures to address the problem of globalized media imbalances by promoting their own media initiatives, within alignment of their own values (p. 53). Again, freedom and Democracy are the essential foundations of his thinking.

Still, culture has a significant role in Sen's approach. One of the purposes of development is to enhance various cultural expressions and activities. He argues that indeed culture is important— "the real issue, rather, is how— not whether— culture matters" (Walton & Sen, 2009, p. 38). Culture is a "constitutive part of development" which means that it is inherently vital to the process (p. 39). There are attitudes and "influences" from a culture that "can make a major difference to work ethics, responsible conduct ... entrepreneurial initiatives, willingness to take risks ..." (p. 40). In relation to promoting civil liberties and substantial democracy, culture can also influence how people behave in civil society. He exemplifies this potential of culture by sharing the benefits of having a culture that has a strong tradition of public

²³ e.g. the Post-Industrial Nations

²⁴ This is the direct idea of Sen; Walton is the main author of the book but this is Sen's chapter

discussion. Sen mentions, "the tradition of public discussion and participatory interactions can be critical to the process of politics ... " (p. 40). For example, such "free discussion" can influence "low fertility rates, or nondiscrimination between boys and girls, or wanting to send children to schools ..." (pp. 42-43). Culture²⁵ can even be an economic benefit through certain cultural practices such as hospitality or tourism (p. 39).

However, Sen is not a cultural determinist that believes there is a perfectly linear relationship between culture and development. It is important to not fall into the trap of believing that culture influences everything. He states this by critiquing the thesis of Samuel Huntington and Max Weber. For instance, he criticizes Huntington's belief that the sole difference for the better development of South Korea over Ghana²⁶ was due to culture. Rather there were other influential factors (Walton & Sen, 2009, p. 46). Weber's reduction of economic growth to the 'Calvinist ethic' is rebutted with examples of how some East Asian nations, inherently not Protestant-Calvinist, were able to successfully grow (p. 48). There are other factors other than culture to consider in development analysis— "class, race, gender, profession, and politics also matter, and can matter powerfully" (p. 43).

One may also investigate Sen's deep perspectives on culture by looking at the history of his literature. He contributes to the debate on development policy by addressing the presumed conflicts between "Asian Values" and 'fierce' versus 'friendly' approaches to development. The former ('fierce development') requires hastily neglecting important institutional arrangements that protect the freedoms of individuals, such as civil liberties and "social safety nets"—in the name of efficiency and order—while the

²⁵ Sen also lists "social solidarity and association" as one of the positive impacts that culture can have on development. This concept of social connectedness or 'social capital' can play an important role for various functions in the society. For instance, Sen gives the example of taking care of the less fortunate and the "guardianship of common assets" as beneficial cultural practices (Walton & Sen, 2009, p. 41). He also references the studies of (Ostrom 1990, 1998; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993; Putnam 1993) as theorists who have expressed the concept of 'social capital'.

²⁶ Idea from Lawrence Harrison & Samuel Huntington's *Culture Matters*

latter, ('friendly' development) promotes those safety nets and liberties, as well as "mutually beneficial exchanges"²⁷(Sen, 2000, p. 35).

The "Asian Values" argument and the "Lee Thesis"—both of which justify authoritative order and control—fall under the umbrella of 'fierce' development. These theories go against the idea of democracy being a universal human value. The "Asian values" argument claims that all Asian cultures incline to order and discipline—thus justifying the blocking of individual democratic rights in the name of such 'values'. The *Lee Thesis*²⁸, which justifies the actions of authoritarian regimes, foregoes democratic rights in the name of economic efficiency. Given that Sen is a promoter of substantive freedoms, it is only fitting that he argues against them.

Pertaining to the Asian Values discussion, Sen has some telling arguments. Asia is too large of a landmass, containing "60 percent of the world's population" to have any uniform cultural worldview (Iqbal & You, 2001, p. 15). Just looking at East Asian nations alone, they each have a diversity of religious and cultural attitudes (p. 15). The presence of authoritarian-leaning writings in Asian history is not a justification for the Asian Values argument. Such writings have also existed in the Western tradition. By using the same logic as its proponents, Sen sharply rebukes whether the presence of discipline-leaning intellectuals such as "Plato or Aquinas" implies the right for Western nations to reject democracy and liberty. Hence, "homogeneous worship of order over freedom" have existed in traces in both Asian and Western traditions (p. 16). Sen remarks, "it is by no means clear to me that Confucius is more authoritarian than, say, Plato or Augustine" (Sen, 1997, p. 4).

²⁷ Borrowed from Adam Smith

²⁸ Sen claims that the authoritarian regimes which promoted the *Lee Thesis* did so by looking at the economic development success of specific non-democratic nations (in that context, China and South Korea). Yes, they did have high growth, but it does not mean the cause was due to their authoritarian nature. He gives the counterexample of a democratic society that did economically grow well — Botswana. Rather, Sen points to the "causal" explanations: "...there is by now a fairly agreed general list of 'helpful policies' [that lead to the growth of East Asian economies] that includes openness to competition, the use of international markets, a high level of literacy and school education, successful land reforms ..." and others (Sen, 2000, pp. 149-150).

He mentions the Indian ruler of the 3rd century BC by the name Ashoka, who was a proponent of egalitarianism and diversity (Sen, 1997, p. 5). After seeing the horrors of wars in his campaigns, and after converting to Buddhism, Ashoka takes a tolerant policy in his governance over others of 'non-injury, restraint, impartiality, and mild behavior' (p. 5). Sen also mentions the merits of Akbar, the ruler of the Moghul Empire who was a strong proponent of "tolerance of diversity in India" which was arguably much more tolerant than Europe at that time. He made strong edicts of not interfering with anyone's religion, amongst so many other examples (p. 6). These two examples suffice to show, through Sen's own argumentation, that Asia is indeed a diverse place with a multitude of ideas and attitudes.

To simplify Sen's perspective, one may say that in development: substantive freedoms and Democracy takes priority over cultural traditions. No one has the right to cut off these inherent freedoms in the name of traditional values. The normative stance one should take should be universalism. Yes, culture matters, and it should be considered in the development process, but it is only a means and not an end. Globalization is beneficial just as much as it is inevitable. Every society must adjust to these circumstances.

In other words, Sen might say that Pashtun cultural practices are of course important, and they should be preserved if the Pashtun people democratically choose to preserve them. However, they should not limit the promotion of general democratic values in the development process. And certainly, local traditional authorities should not be given as much power and agency as they historically have—if it be that their existence blocks the promotion of democracy. Literature reveals that migration and technological urbanization are negatively impacting Pashtun culture, not to forget general political-economic challenges. Sen's normative stances would attempt to resolve these problems by promoting his version of substantive freedoms and democracy. He would probably also include his version of instrumental freedoms²⁹. The protection of these inherent values is prioritized over appeals to traditional culture—although culture can still play an important role. Yet, Weber's observations

²⁹ See Instrumental Freedoms in Chapter 2.2. — they are listed there.

of large-scale democratic bureaucratization (which ironically breaks down localized democratic relationships) complicate this rather simple solution. The ambiguity of the meaning of democracy and freedom ensues.

2.3. The Verdict on Sen

Amartya Sen is a Nobel Laureate for a good reason: contrary to the plain economic theories which plagued development, he revolutionized how the process should be thought about. Rather than using a grand scheme in development, the focus should be on inherent human freedoms. The means and ends should be to preserve and promote these substantial freedoms—of which people find great value in. For Sen, the primal means to achieve this goal is through dynamic democratic initiatives and the use of free markets. Between his normative reliance on freedom and belief in such liberal values, there is a lot to unpack here – especially considering the complications of modernity, when it comes to preserving traditional social structures.

As a decision-making base, Sen’s conceptualization of freedom is revolutionary in an economics field that has been plagued with over-simplified economic models. Using substantive freedoms as the guiding principle in development unlocks far more dimensions of human well-being compared to other approaches. According to Sen, Rawls’s principles seek to preserve liberty at all costs, even if such costs might harm certain freedoms and capacities of the person involved. Likewise, Sen believes that utilitarianism is too subjective of a principle to be used as a go-to tool for development. As for income, there are of course many more aspects of life more valuable than an improvement in gross domestic product. Rather, ensuring the substantive freedoms, and capabilities of people to live the life they value, reign supreme over the other theories.

The use of Sen’s conception of freedom provides more flexibility in development

analysis compared to the rest. Yet, his own philosophical norms may not adequately perceive the inherent effects of modernization. The reason for this is his uncompromising belief in the concepts of democracy and free markets and his normative reliance on the modernized packaging of liberal values—such as the curtailing of local cultural authority, and predisposition to the neo-liberal global system. Sen is at risk of missing the externalities they can cause to traditional social structures.

Despite this, Sen's call for a sincere development of democratic institutions in civil society (not just superficial elections) is a positive sign. Moreover, his acknowledgment of the negative effects of globalizing economic forces on local communities shows the complexity of his thought process. Sen's Capability Approach has much potential, but it must be acknowledged that he is working within a modernist paradigm. To apply his thought in the developing world, where traditional societies exist, one must proceed with caution.

Democracy as the bureaucratizing process that Weber perceived it to be is riddled with a contradiction: it requires the breaking down of original, localized authority and replaces it with a homogenizing and rigid administration (that relatively speaking, cannot perceive human needs at the local level – all the while it entrenches itself from any other competing political order). As for free market capitalism, it produces an incredible amount of material wealth all the while it isolates, homogenizes, and commodifies society. These consequences can permanently demolish traditional social structures and void a financially empowered society of meaning. Sen's Capability Approach may very well have the tools to avoid these pitfalls of modernization since it desires to put human freedom at the center stage. However, Sen's own normative priorities, to an uncomfortable degree, prefer the grand narratives of democracy and free markets at the expense of local cultural authority.

Modernization absolutely manipulates traditional social structures. By uncritically and presumptively relying on a modern neo-liberal-democratic weltanschauung of political-economic norms, Amartya Sen's philosophical underpinnings unsuccessfully

comprehend the magnitude of the negative effects of modernization, even as he attempts to champion human freedoms. Development, because it is intrinsically tied up with modernization, impacts traditional social relationships and ways of life to an indefinable degree. The reason for this is that the transmutative requirements on society to technicalize for the sake of development necessitates the breaking down of original time-space relationships. Human beings within this process are then repackaged into a highly organized, rationalized, and impersonalized complex.

Traditional culture is an institution that has been proven to solve local needs for centuries. Yet indeed modernity creates new challenges that old institutions did not have to face. Perhaps blind adherence to traditional authority is not the solution, but blind adherence to neo-liberal ideas is not either. Somehow, locals' perspectives on their own cultural heritage needs to be given just as much attention as the grand scheme of democracy and free markets. Their freedom to preserve their social-cultural worldview must be respected. Amartya Sen's personal norms will not wholly solve the problems of modernity in development, but his Capability Approach has a better chance of doing so. Therefore, it is in this thesis' methodology to innovate from his approach to include the concept of *Cultural Capabilities*.

2.4. Cultural Capabilities

Culture is a holistic nesting of all the aspects of being human and their community. The definition of culture that this study will rely upon is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Lenard, 2020). We may also see that understanding what is happening to the "capabilities" of people "to live the [culture] they have reason to value" is important. This is especially the case when we perceive that globalization and rapid modernization are rapidly changing societies in a way where some say that we now live in a "post-traditional" age (Pierson, 1998). While giving respect to the Capability Approach, and while considering Sen's critics, the

objective of this study is to go beyond his fundamental understanding of substantial and instrumental freedoms by also including the concept of culture.



CHAPTER III

Pashtun Culture

Pashtuns are an ethnic group with an estimated population of 50 million, representing the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan and a significant minority in Pakistan. Historically, they have been called the Afghans until modern times have shifted their meaning (Bullard, 2020). They also go by the names of Pakhtun and Pathaan. Most Pashtuns speak the Pashto language (Encyclopædia Britannica) although there are non-Pashto speaking Pashtuns (Szczepanski). Most follow the Sunni tradition of Islam and have a common code of conduct named *Pashtunwali*³⁰ that dates to at least the 2nd century B.C.E—and which has blended itself with Islamic tradition (Szczepanski). Major Pashtun cities consist of Kandahar and Kabul in Afghanistan, Quetta, Peshawar, and recently Karachi in Pakistan. Specific to our study, Peshawar is the largest city in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The origins of Pashtuns are difficult to find due to the lack of resources, however, it is suspected that Pashtuns have an eastern Iranian origin, that may also include influences from notable nations such as the Greeks, Turks, Mongols, and others (Pashtun people, nd). There is even a strong theory that Pashtuns may be descendants of the tribes of Israel (Bokawee, 2006, pp. 18-31). Although urbanization has been impacting Pashtun culture recently, they are predominantly and historically tribal people who are considered to be the world's largest ethnic group based on Patriarchal lineage (Pashtun people, nd). The Pashtuns have rarely been politically united, nonetheless, they have played a large role in South and Central Asian history— representing the Lodi Dynasty, and Durrani Empire amongst others. As of recent, the Pashtun people have been caught in the middle of the great game played between the Russian and British empires as well as having been afflicted by the Soviet Invasion, the rise of the Taliban, and other critical geo-political issues. They are also an important part of Pakistan both

³⁰ The term *Pashtunwali* and *Pakhtunwali* have the same meaning and can be used interchangeably

from a civil society and military perspective (Pashtun people, nd). The remainder of this section will be dedicated to detailing important components of Pashtun culture.

3.1. Pashtunwali – The Moral Worldview of Pashtuns

Pashtuns operate under a ubiquitous, dynamic, and extensive set of moral principles by the name of Pakhtunwali (Pashtunwali). The actual word has multiple definitions such as ‘the way of the Pathans’ (Pashtuns), ‘the code of honour’, and the ‘Afghan Code’. Pakhtunwali may be best summarized as a “conglomerate of cultural features deemed ideal by Pakhtuns” where “often the list of features gets so exhaustive that it appears an inconclusive cultural code” (Jan and Aman, 2015, p. 16). Also, Pakhtunwali may be defined as a “code of behavior” that determines “what is honorable and what is not”. Following this code is a cornerstone of being Pashtun (Afridi, 2008, pp. 21-22). As mentioned, the list of features is inexhaustive; here are some other components of this “code” of life: “to maintain dignity and honour”, “to stand by in the hour of need”, to be beneficial to others and provide benefit to family and humanity, to have “bravery, courage, and fearlessness”, to be “straightforward”, “open-hearted” yet “tough in the battlefield” (Bokawee, 2006, pp. 83-93). These concepts are not static and are always open to malleability and change based on circumstances. For instance, according to some scholars, its meaning has constantly been up to revision under the “encapsulating” legal system of Pakistan (Jan and Aman, 2015, p.18).

The lived experience of practitioners of Pakhtunwali has led to other realistic components of this code. Some important aspects of it are the concepts of *badal* and *melmastia* where the former briefly can be defined as “revenge” and the latter as “hospitality” (Spain, 1962, pp. 46-49). Badal is further explained to mean “feud and vendetta” which “is to be wreaked regardless of time, space and cost”. As Ahmed explains, *melmastia* is to be ‘a friend of guests’ where much care is taken to provide for guests. The concept of *nanawatee* appears to be an extension of *melmastia*, where one seeking forgiveness in a vendetta can ‘go in’ and request for peace—such an “act implies supplication and must be honoured by showing reciprocal magnanimity”

(Ahmed, 2017, pp. 90-91). *Pardah* is another extraction of Pakhtunwali where women have a secluded and separate role in society where ‘virility and primacy of the male in society is assured’. Hence, ‘male autonomy and equality, self-expression and aggressiveness’ are prevalent in society. Yet, Pakhtunwali may lead to other intriguing traits such as ‘pursuit of romantic encounters’, ‘worshipping of Allah’, and ‘unselfish love for the friend’ (Jan and Aman, 2015, p. 17).

3.2. Pashtun Cultural Features

One way to perceive Pakhtunwali is as a set of moral codes in which the social institutions of Pakhtuns have been built on top of— institutions such as the Hujra, Jirga, and the demand of *Pardah* in society. The Hujra is a sort of universal community complex for men to conglomerate and discuss daily matters, celebrate events as well as mourn, teach youth wisdom, and so many other activities. As for the Jirga, it is a legal-resolution institution that practitioners of Pakhtunwali use to resolve disputes big and small, as well as local community affairs. Just like the concept of Pakhtunwali, these “institutions” are also dynamically applied based on varying contexts. For instance, a Jirga can occur in an actual building that has the purpose of being a Hujra, or it may occur in a sitting meeting at a desert or even a refugee camp, and perhaps even at a national assembly. These concepts as well as *Pardah* are explained in further detail below.

3.2.1. Hujra – The Multifunctional Community Complex

The Hujra is one of the grandest manifestations of Pashtun culture. It functions as a multi-purpose communal meeting point for men in society. It can first be described as a “sort of club for the local inhabitants” where “men of the clan gather to drink tea and discuss affairs of the day” (Spain, 1962, p. 49). Yet what gives the Hujra uniqueness is the other functions it facilitates. It also acts as a guesthouse where locals can fulfill one of the most important aspects of Pakhtunwali: *Melmastia* (or hospitality). Paraphrasing an elder from my own tribe, the Hujra is a location where the community

can take care of wayfarers and those seeking refuge; in the past, it brought legitimacy to landowners and the community. Additionally, the Hujra “acts as an information center” where attendees can gain vital information on local issues; it also functions as an “important institution of learning and development for the young children” (Afridi, 2008, p. 23). This is where the elders in the society teach manners to the youth through daily discussions and sharing of wisdom. According to one expert, “almost 80% of Pakhtunwali is related to Hujras” (Irfan & Khurshid, 2013). From personal experience that will be detailed in a moment, the Hujra is also a meeting point to give condolences for the death of a member of the community, as well as a location to celebrate births, and religious festivals, amongst others. Even further, the Hujra functions as a location where local matters can be resolved in a judicial manner by elders through the Jirga process. Although this will be discussed in a later section, it suffices to say that the Hujra has and (still does in certain areas) play the role of a “village judicial complex” via the Jirga (Ahmad & Muhammad, 2019). It is also interesting to note that the Hujras in tribal areas where there is no central authority can be “converted into a fortress for defense when the village is at war with the neighboring village or clan” (Afridi, 2008, p. 23). This multi-purpose institution may be as ancient as the Pashtun history itself and likewise represents their cultural evolution through the ages.

3.2.2. Jirga – The Legislative Institution of Pashtuns

The Jirga is a sort of legislative institution for the Pashtuns. “It can be described as an assembly or council, and it serves the functions of both” (Spain, 1962, p. 50). This is an esteemed institution in the Pashtun worldview and has been used as their system of self-rule throughout history. It is stated that “to a common person, Jirga is a body comprised of local, elderly, and influential men in [Pashtun] communities who undertake dispute resolution... compared to the judicial system of the present-day governments, Jirga ensures a fast and cheap justice to the people”. Another author is quoted to say that the Jirga ‘is probably the closest approach to Athenian democracy that has existed since times immemorial’³¹. The Jirga may also function as a simple

³¹ “ *The Jirga represents the essence of democracy in operation under which every individual [men] has a direct say in shaping the course of things around him. Practiced this way, democracy operates*

place to resolve minor conflicts. This is an institution that is a lived experience where elders or “Spingiris” (meaning white-bearded men) resolve various issues by applying the Pashtun code Pakhtunwali through a specific set of procedures. Rulings in the Jirga try to consider “traditional, religious, socio-economic, and geo-political circumstances”. Each tribe may have its own slight variation in its Jirga practices (Yousafzai & Gohar, 2005, p. 22). The youth closely watch and observe this process to continue the tradition. Albeit this is only a straightforward definition of the Jirga; recent factors such as modernization, the existence of a nation-state, war, and terrorism in various parts of Pashtun society have impacted the health of this traditional institution.

3.2.3. Pardah – Female Chastity and Separation

A beneficial way to start understanding the concept of Pardah is to paraphrase a professor I met in Peshawar. In Pashtun society, men perform the public role while women perform the private; and there is a strict separation and allocation for these roles. Hence, it is the general practice of Pashtuns to separate men and women in their societies. A great deal of emphasis is placed on the chastity, privacy, and honor of women to the point that only close male relatives have near relations with them. As for distant relatives and strangers that are men, it is extremely rare to have any relations³². The concept of the Pardah (Purdah) comes from the Islamic injunction for women to cover themselves properly; Pashtuns interpret this religious instruction more rigidly than other Muslim societies and nations. This means that although a Pashtun woman is highly active inside her own home, she walks with “discretion” by wearing a veil that can sometimes be a large colorful cloth such as a “Chadar”, or it can be black, or she can wear a Burqa which veils her face (Bokawee, 2006, pp. 224-225).

as a spiritual and moral force instead of becoming an automation of votes’” (Yousafzai & Gohar, 2005, p. 18) – original quote is from Syed Abdul Qudus; the original article may be found on www.khyber.org/pashtoculture/Jirga/Jirgas.shtml — the article was originally written by Dr. Mumtaz Bangash... Also, (Spain, 1962) might have mentioned this. I am unsure where the quote in the paragraph originally came from. But in spirit, the institution of the *Jirga* can arguably compare to the Athenian form of democracy.

³² These aspects of Pardah are generally understood, but I believe some details about this can be found in (Bokawee, 2006)

The clothing styles vary based on the region, climate, and sub-culture of Pashtuns. Nonetheless, the sphere of women is usually separate from men in Pashtun society compared to most if not all other nations in the world.

3.2.4. Other Cultural Features

As mentioned, the concept of Pakhtunwali is inexhaustive and all-encompassing in a Pashtun's life. In addition to the moral foundations mentioned, as well as cultural practices such as the Pardah and institutions such as the Hujra and Jirga, there are also other notable features of Pakhtunwali. Islam is the religion that Pashtuns follow. Using the Pardah as an example, Pashtuns tend to be strict followers of their faith based on their interpretations. They may be observed as one of the more conservative societies in Muslim civilization. Most Pashtuns are Sunni Muslims who follow the Hanafi school of legal thought, while there is a small minority of Shia also (Bokawee, 2006, p. 66). It is the general perception of Pashtuns that their code of life, Pakhtunwali, is interconnected with an Islamic worldview and its mannerisms. For this reason, Islam is one of the most significant components of their culture. Additionally, the joint-family system is where many members of a Pashtun family share the same household. It may be common to find that husband, wife, children, and parents living in the same home. Truly the list of Pashtun cultural life is continuous and dynamic.

3.3. Pashtunwali and Modernity

To comprehend the challenges that Pashtuns and their way of life "Pakhtunwali" might have with modernization, reading the below excerpt will provide intriguing insights. Although this is in the context of 20th century Afghanistan³³, it demonstrates the inner social-communal workings of Pashtun culture:

³³ Keep in mind that Pashtuns constitute the slight ethnic majority in Afghanistan

“In dealing with the Afghan tribes, the Afghan monarchs were subject to the same limitation of authority as the tribal chieftains. Their actions had to conform to Shar’ia law, to the [Pakhtunwali], and especially to the decisions of the jirgas, or tribal councils. The jirga was based on the concept of communal authority; theoretically, every tribesman was soldier and lawmaker and could aspire to leadership...

With its democratic spirit and tenets, the jirga defied political centralization, and its constant accommodation of regional interests made it a particularly divisive force in the drive to form a modern and unified state...

Another institution that defied centralization of political power and legal and economic encroachment was the [Pakhtunwali], or Pathan tribal code, which set the limits of acceptable behavior within the community and governed the relations between tribes. In theory, the system of tribal law was complete; in cases of doubt, it allowed only interpretation. A few of its positive injunctions—for instance, *nanawatai*, *melmastia*, and *badragga* (respectively, the laws of asylum and intercession, hospitality and protection for all guests, and safe conduct)—were moral restraints that checked lawlessness. Other features, however, particularly the concept of *nang-i-Pukhtun* or *nang-i-Pukhtana* (Pathan honor), which embodied the principles of equity and *badal*, or revenge at all costs, seriously impeded the development of a secular legal system. As one authority notes: 'In appealing to the customary law the injured person is actuated by a desire for redress or revenge. It would afford him little satisfaction to see the man who had robbed him punished, unless he were indemnified for his loss...There is no conception of a criminal act as an outrage against the peace of the community. There is no state whose peace could be violated, and only a rudimentary conception of a commonwealth. Hence every offense is merely a tort which entitles or requires the person injured to seek redress and obtain it if he can.'" (Gregorian, 2013, pp. 40-41)

Hence, it is plausible to claim that select core elements of Pashtun culture— as they have been historically formulated—are not compatible with the demands of modernity. These demands, going back to the previous sections, include the replacement of a moral or religious worldview with a technical-scientific one. It necessitates the creation of a large, impersonal, and formalized bureaucratic social structure to designate community and nation issues. Such actions require the ironic elimination of localized traditional authority, so to make way for the grander democratic order³⁴. The excerpt above implies that Afghanistan’s attempt to modernize bureaucratically in the 20th century went through roadblocks due to the demands of the “Pashtun Code”. It was challenging to establish such a mechanistic bureaucratic state due to the human-centric demands of *Pakhtunwali* to follow the decisions of the local community and to ensure justice at the individual level in cases of offenses against honor or life. The Pashtun people of Afghanistan, perhaps, were resistant to modernization’s demands to

³⁴ Please refer to Giddens and Weber in chapter *Chapter 2.1*

rip away localized time-space relationships and be relocated into a grander technicalized, and impersonal social order³⁵.



³⁵ For these concepts, please see Chapter 3.3

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Results of the Exploratory Phase

4.1.1. Pakhtunwali

Because I did not have discussions directly about this term, my insights from research on it are few. However, as mentioned, all of my research can be connected to Pakhtunwali. [Waqas]³⁶ explained that Pakhtunwali is more than being a good fighter who defends his land or being vengeful to aggressors, but also includes traits such as being “well-groomed, respectful to elders, and to have people feel safe around you”. Moreover, a Pashtun must be dignified and respect every woman as if they were one of his own family members. However, Waqas mentioned that addiction to social media has negatively affected the youth and their practice of Pakhtunwali. [Qasim-ur-Rahman]³⁷ accused the youth’s addiction to cell phones with the popular TikTok application. He then showed me a random feed of the application which, at times would show mundane childish videos, and sometimes it would show small discussions on religion by local Muslim intellectuals. He was indicating to me that there is both good and bad in this application, but overall, it does distract the youth from more genuine activities. Waqas added that the youth explore the internet to learn about Islam— which can be unadvised due to there being many misleading and unqualified clerics giving conflicting explanations. “The media has caused your knowledge of culture and religion”, he remarked. Qasim-ur-Rahman said that one must be mature to use technology and should have guidance and teaching over it. “But you get this from the Hujra, masjid (mosque), and home... but these things [the original value of them] are going away”, Waqas concluded.

³⁶ Waqas A. – PhD student at the University of Peshawar, from Lower Dir, male

³⁷ Qasim U. – PhD student at the University of Peshawar, from Abbottabad, male

4.1.2. Hujra

Before proceeding to knowledge obtained on the Hujra from exploratory interviews, it is worthwhile to relate my own personal experiences in attending this cultural facility. Below are my recollections of having attended two Hujras on separate occasions during field research:

I was invited to a Hujra in Regi village to give condolences of a local resident's father's passing away. The hujra was placed at the corner of a moderately busy road in the village that was on the outskirts of Peshawar. It was an open air hujra with two open entrances, signaling the invitation of all. When entering, I observed that there were around 50 to 100 seats set up and almost just as many visitors from the village and other parts of Peshawar. They were all giving their condolences to the family of the deceased while also having small talk amongst each other in small groups. Whenever a new visitor entered the hujra, he immediately found a seat and say, "let us make a prayer", and all of the men would break their small talk and make a quick thirty-second prayer, and then continue with their conversations.

Afterwards, the men all transitioned to the local mosque which was within walking distance in order to fulfill the evening prayer. Once the group prayer was completed, the men all went to the outside portion of the mosque where local helpers and youth set up a large dining location. There was one very long row of food placed on the floor. The food came in various dishes and sizes as the women of the village from each home prepared meals for all of the men to eat. It was explained to me that it is common practice to do this for three days so that the family of the deceased is not burdened with having to cook for themselves while mourning. All of the men sat down, the helpers brought bread from the local bread-maker and they all ate.

As for my second hujra experience, it was in the district of Swabi, which is around one and half hours' drive from the Regi Village in Peshawar. It was a spontaneous invitation offered to me by a local in Swabi. Traditionally, Hujras are meant to be open, 24/7 guest houses for travelers, so it was easy to have arranged my visit to this particular hujra. When I arrived with my guide, I was taken into an open-air sitting location right next to a small building in the complex. There were many sitting beds called "charpai" in the location. Already, there were a handful of elders sitting and conversing amongst themselves at one end of the location, despite it having been afternoon on a weekday.

The elder and owner of the Hujra smiled and received me, and invited me to sit with him. He held my hand and said with great emotion, "Welcome to my Hujra. You are my guest!". He immediately signaled two young helpers of the Hujra to prepare food for all of us. In the meantime, we sat and discussed Pashtun history and also the legacy of one important Pashtun civil leader named Bacha Khan. He was a disciple of Bacha Khan and was relating to me the lessons he taught him in his life when he was young. Afterwards, when the food was prepared, he invited me into the building and we ate

on the floor. In the meantime, three to four additional local residents came to visit me once they heard I was a newcomer in their community's Hujra. After having had finished eating, we went back outside all together and sat and discusses local history and politics all the while the servers were giving us tea.

On multiple occasions during my exploratory interviews, it was mentioned to me that the Hujra and mosque are hallmarks of Pashtun culture. This was explained to me by [Dr. Niaz Muhammad³⁸ and Dr. Anwar Alam³⁹], where one said that “Hujra and mosque are two characteristics of Pashtun culture”. This is also what Waqas and [Qasim-ur-Rahman] agreed upon; additionally, Waqas mentioned that the hujra and mosque are two of the three main learning institutions for Pashtuns. [Hanifullah⁴⁰] remarked that the Hujra is common in all of KP. This was confirmed by [Muhammad Bilal⁴¹] who said that every tribe and village has a Hujra, “and there are a lot of tribes”. One of the elders⁴² of Regi village explained the concept of the Hujra. It is worth quoting it in full:

“One of the biggest parts of our culture is the hujra. This is a place where men meet and gather. Here people discuss and resolve issues in the society, resolve issues between people, celebrate events, spend time with each other, etc. Any issue, whether a serious one or a positive one, is done here. Also this is the location where elders teach manners to the youth. This is the school of manners. They may teach various things in universities, but they will not teach what is taught here.”

Despite the Hujra's colossal importance in Pashtun culture, it appears that it is on the decline. When I asked the same elders what is happening to the institution of the Hujra today, once remarked in a slightly frustrated manner: “The cell phones. It [the Hujra] is being slowly reduced. The main reason is that the youth are attached to their cell phones.” Muhammad Bilal also mentioned the same issue, saying that the youth are more pre-occupied with their cellphones. When discussing the issue of the Hujra and modernization in general with [Dr. Nasrullah Wazir⁴³], he made an interesting remark: “People are connected to the world but are not connected to each other [in a Hujra for instance].” He also mentioned that “people used to sit in mosques, hujras, and circles

³⁸ Dr. Niaz Muhammad – Professor of Sociology at the University of Peshawar, (from Swabi?), Male

³⁹ Dr. Anwar Alam – Professor of Sociology at the University of Peshawar, Male

⁴⁰ Hanifullah – PhD student at the University of Peshawar, from Lower Dir, Male

⁴¹ Muhammad B. – clerical employee at University of Peshawar, from Peshawar

⁴² I interviewed three elders in the Regi village on the outskirts of Peshawar

⁴³ Dr. Nasrullah Wazir – Head of Pashto Academy at University of Peshawar, from Waziristan, Male

together... before people used to go to each other physically, but now everyone visits each other through Facebook”.

4.1.3. Jirga

According to one elder from the Regi village, historically when men in a Hujra were confronted with a dilemma or community issue, they would form a Jirga and the elders would discuss and resolve the issue. An example he gave me of was if there were a dispute between two members of the community, the Hujra would be converted into a Jirga and the issue would be resolved immediately. Quoting Muhammad Bilal, he said: “if any issue occurred, even a killing, people would form a Jirga to discuss and resolve the matter before it got out of hand”. Speaking to another elder at the Hujra in Swabi⁴⁴, he explained that “[to resolve an issue, first people go to a Jirga and rely upon Pashtunwali (Pashtun code of conduct). Afterwards, if the problem is not solved, they go to the mosque and see what the law of God says about the issue]”⁴⁵. Then I asked him about going to court and he affirmed that this is the last resort. Interestingly, he explained that courts will accept decisions made by jirgas if evidence is shown.

[Faheem⁴⁶] explained that the Jirga is a system that works faster than courts. From my personal conversations and general experience, it appears that it is a generally understood idea that jirgas are quicker than the bureaucracy of courts. However, the jirga is not without its issues. It appears that this traditional institution is waning away. Waqas⁴⁷ mentioned that the Hujra exists but the Jirga is minimal in settled areas (mainstream KP). [Ghazanfar⁴⁸] explained that in settled areas, Jirgas are only honored by consent and its rules are not enforceable unlike FATA⁴⁹ where tribes can enforce Jirga decisions. However, government policies are changing in FATA, and this can

⁴⁴ Elder at a Hujra in Swabi

⁴⁵ I don’t remember the quote in full but this is a general idea

⁴⁶ Faheem – Masters Student at University of Peshawar, from Peshawar/Karak, Male

⁴⁷ Waqas A. – see note #36

⁴⁸ Ghazanfar – PhD at the University of Peshawar, (from Peshawar?), Male

⁴⁹ Formerly the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, now it is technically a part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

impact the Jirgas. In the same conversation, [Waseem⁵⁰] said that people can possibly make money off Jirgas, and that is why it is losing its credibility. Going back to Faheem, he related to me instances where the decisions of Jirgas have conflicted with the Peshawar Development Authority (PDA). However, the government was unable to do much because it would have meant suppressing an entire village and its decision—requiring much power and resources to do so.

[Unnamed]⁵¹ detailed the situation of the Jirga very well and it is worthy to write everything he mentioned:

“The Jirga is a deep-rooted institution and has credibility and is well respected. But, after the war in tribal areas, now there are three schools of thought on the Jirga:

1. *‘Why do we need the Jirga if we have law-enforcement capacity from the state?’*
 - a. *This is generally the opinion of government officials.*
 - b. *However, I believe that the purpose of a court is to respect the decision of two parties.*
2. *Jirga has been corrupted. Rich men pay Jirga officials. Why trust the system?*
 - a. *This is a general perspective.*
3. *Strong believer in the Jirga system. You will have a rapid and just response—no money involved and no wastage of resources.*
 - a. *This is a civil society point of view.*
 - b. *Dispute resolution committees [in government] are molded from the Jirga system.*
 - c. *I believe that the majority of people in Pashtun culture like the Jirga system.”*

4.1.4. Pardah

Even before engaging in conversation with Pashtuns about the concept of Parda, it is easy to tell just by walking in any Pashtun city or village that the covering of women

⁵⁰ Waseem – PhD at the University of Peshawar, (from Peshawar/Haripur?), Male

⁵¹ This person, who is an NGO worker in the region, requested to be anonymous.

is something sternly adhered to. The Parda is engrained in most if not all Pashtun regions. While having discussed this specific matter with Dr. Muhammad and Dr. Alam, one explained that Pashtun culture emphasizes the specific roles of men and women. Relating a concept given by one intellectual⁵², one of the professors explained that the public role is considered to only be for men and the private role is considered to only be for women. They mentioned that now, however, there seems to be a slow opening for women in the public sphere at the rate of a “60% change and 40% no change”. Moreover, one of the professors told me that women do contribute to development in unacknowledged ways such as raising children and taking care of livestock at home.

Qasim ur Rahman mentioned that alongside respect for elders, respect for women and the Parda are important parts of Pashtun culture. [Zakirullah⁵³] mentioned that in traditional Pashtun culture, whenever there was a shared space between neighbors, the men entering the premise would call out to make sure the women in the area know that a man is entering. This would give the women time to cover themselves from the sights of men outside of their families. Faheem explained that Parda is important in Pashtun culture and that men’s eyes have not been exposed to more revealing clothing styles of women that might be found in other societies. However, while having discussed this with a Pashtun woman, [Dr. Samina Siddique⁵⁴], related that specifically in traditional societies in FATA, women are not allowed to leave home without men’s permission and that men dominate society. She explained that this is one of the “dark sides” of Pashtun culture, specifically in the tribal areas.

4.1.5. Family

The joint-family system was a cultural practice that was mentioned by a handful of my interviewees. This is a practice where the husband and wife may live in the same

⁵² The Nature vs. Nurture Theory of Sherry Orton

⁵³ Zakirullah – Security Guard at the University of Peshawar, (from Karak?), Male

⁵⁴ Dr. Samina Siddique – Professor at University of Peshawar, (from Peshawar?), Female

household as their parents as well as an extended family such as aunts and uncles. Hanifullah⁵⁵ and [Ejaz Ahmed⁵⁶] mentioned that a joint-family system where everyone lives together is a part of Pashtun culture. Additionally, this is a system that allows family members to solve problems together. However, Ejaz remarked that “there is no privacy” in a light-humored manner. Hanifullah stated that in this system “money is not wasted” and that “everyone contributes to the family... the older men contribute to the house”. Both agreed that this cultural practice is rapidly disappearing, and many are started to make individual houses. Ejaz explained that one reason that the joint-family system is waning away may be due to people migrating from rural areas to the cities. It was also remarked by Waseem that the joint-family system is going away.

While explaining that the traditional respect for elders is disappearing, Faheem indicated that one reason for this can be due to a bad economy and overpopulation. What he meant was that having too many children can cause inheritance issues, which may be related to a more strenuous family circumstance. He stated, “you have expectations to help everyone, but you do not have the resources to help everyone. This causes conflicts in relations”. Continuing, he mentioned that “when you have resources, it is easy to do the right things”. However, he complained that having too many children are damaging the capacity to have such relationships.

What Faheem said about inheritance is important and is connected to family structure and the joint-family system, so it is valuable to share the remainder of his statements: “If three people have rights to three seats, it is just. But if you have twenty people, how can you put them in three seats?”. He also explained that having many children is valued in Pashtun culture. However, he tried to analyze the negative effects and remorse that such a practice is having on families: “our fathers and uncles were celebrating that they had many kids, but now the numerous kids are fighting over inheritance of the small land... and now the fathers are regretful”. Also, Faheem complained about how women do not usually inherit in his culture, although it is

⁵⁵ Hanifullah – see #40

⁵⁶ Ejaz A. – Master Student University of Peshawar, from Charsadda, Male

required in Islam: “Pashtuns do not give to their daughters even though it is required in Islam. There is not even enough inheritance for the men due to over-population.”

While speaking to Qasim-ur-Rahman and Waqas Adil, they mentioned that in the past families used to spend more intimate time with each other around a stove called “angeti”. This was a practice in many families in Pashtun society in the past when there was not a modern source of heating for the home. All family members would sit around a warm heating source and spend more intimate time with each other. Although Qasim-ur-Rahman is in his late 30s, he still recalls this practice. He mentioned that now homes have heating systems in every room which makes it more common for members of the household to be more distant from one another due to the lack of necessity of gathering around one heating source. Waqas mentioned that in addition to the Hujra and Mosque, the “Angeti” is (was) an important educational institution for Pashtuns.

4.2. Results of Survey Phase

*In order to make this thesis easier to read, the entire survey phase has been relocated to the appendix of this study. Any reader who may be interested in the quantitative application of the Capability Approach inspired by the Alkier-Foster Method of multi-dimensional analysis, may go to **Appendix A – Survey Phase***

4.3. Analysis of Pashtuns and Modernization

4.3.1. Economy, Space, and Organization

There was a common theme among many interviewees that certain cultural practices are being reduced due to economic and urbanization reasons. This is because these practices were formed in a localized environment, for instance in a village, and are

organic in such contexts. With urbanization and the movement of people out of their traditional villages, these cultural practices appear to be becoming obsolete. Ghazanfar from Peshawar said, “I believe that economy is what influences culture. If we see what is happening in KP and FATA, we see that many people are leaving the villages and traditional lifestyles to seek work in towns or cities. Once you leave, you also leave the land space you used for your cultural traditions”. This was a comment he made when we were discussing the relevance of Hujras. Continuing what he said, “In the city, one is looking for work. They cannot afford to buy a location to have Hujra where community activities occur.” During the same interview, Waseem from Peshawar/Haripur mentioned similar issues for the Hujra. “The cost of living is increasing, causing people to sell their lands, especially in urban areas. So now there are very few Hujras in Peshawar...”.

Although I discussed the Hujra separately, there were more comments on it as it relates to the economy, spacing, and urbanization. While conversing with Dr. Muhammad and Dr. Alam, one mentioned that although all community matters should be held through the Hujra, it will lose its importance over time. “Overpopulation will cause Hujras to be converted to residential homes”. On the same subject, Faheem stated: “Before, rich landlords could afford the Hujra. But now, they are more involved in business and sending their children international [for education] ... the poorer people leave the village and country to become laborers. So who is left in the village? Leaving for economy makes one lose culture.” Additionally, during my visit to a Hujra in Regi Village in Peshawar, the elder mentioned to me how the modern economy has changed the presence of people in community affairs. In the past, everyone worked in an agricultural occupation in the village, so they had more free time with each other. However, now many go to the cities to seek employment or education.

Dr. Samina Siddique related that in FATA, there is no education, sanitation, facilities, etc. Overall, this is a bad socio-economic context. She mentioned that many of the people from FATA who are successful in mainstream Pakistan today knew to leave their areas if they wanted a more promising future. “FATA people become successful when they move to urban areas and they have facilities... they become the strongest pillar of society when in diverse fields when they have access to mainstream Pakistan

infrastructure [in bureaucracy, army, engineering, business, education, etc.]” She effectively remarked that, “urbanization is changing your culture, but improving your capabilities within the same culture”. Another NGO worker⁵⁷ mentioned that “opportunities, facilities are far less existent in towns in KP, yet alone in tribal areas”⁵⁸. Continuing what they said, in tribal areas “Literacy rates are low. Education and health facilities are low. And generally, there are no opportunities... the government is not making initiatives in tribal areas and people are living like in the past. People who have money just leave...”

4.3.2. Urbanization, Bureaucratization, and Technology

Reflecting on the complaints that the interviewees had on factors impacting their culture, three themes stand out: technology, bureaucracy, and urbanization. Most of the issues they related had some connection to one of these three processes. Additionally, they all are results and parts of modernization and development.

Pertaining to technology, cell phones and televisions have apparently impacted traditional social patterns in Pashtun society. The largest example of this is how the cell phone has negatively affected participation in the Hujra. Numerous times, my interviewees, both young and old, complained that the cell phone has weakened the traditional spirit of the Hujra. It appears that the youth are more attached to their mobile devices than traditional community relations. In the past, before the spread of this powerful technology, most relations between men in Pashtun societies appeared to have been through the Hujra. We may recall that one intellectual said that 80% of Pakhtunwali comes from the Hujra (Irfan & Khurshid, 2013). Today, now there are easier ways to communicate through electronic means without having to be in a physical space together. While this technology is beneficial to development and modernization, it is having an adverse effect on a centuries-old tradition of social relations that involves intricate sharing of wisdom and love between members of the

⁵⁷ This NGO worker also requested anonymity

⁵⁸ (what I believe this person meant was that the lesser urbanized areas do not even have good facilities, yet alone the tribal areas in FATA).

community. We can also place television in this category. The altering effects of this technology were felt even decades ago when an elder mentioned to me that once during the 1970s, everyone in the Hujra left to the nearby shop in the neighborhood to watch a televised speech of a politician. He mentioned this to explain how this technology impacted his generation, yet alone the youth of today with more advanced technologies.

Going back to Dr. Wazir's statement, people are connected to the world through their cell phones, but not to those who may be sitting right next to them. During my conversation with Ghazanfar, he also mentioned that technologies such as cell phones and media are making "a youth in a traditional society see what life is like in New York, or London, or even Islamabad or Lahore, and be impressed". We can also recall from the discussion with Waqas and Qasim that although there is good and bad in technology, it requires manners that are taught in places like Hujras and the mosque to be able to use it properly. One article on this dilemma mentioned that a possible solution to the issue is to have more modern amenities installed in Hujras where youth can still enjoy their phones and television but under the supervision of elders (Ali, 2020). Essentially, solving this problem takes great initiative and moral discipline by the youth. But exactly how can that be taught to them? This is an important question, and it appears that problems that come with modernization and a lack of economic resources can exponentially make this problem even more difficult to solve. What is certain is that this powerful and beneficial technology will not go away, and time will not reverse— so something must be done to preserve traditional Pashtun cultural institutions, such as the Hujra and Pakhtunwali.

Recall that one of the main features of modernity is disembedding people from their traditional social relationships through the altering of time and space. Technology represents this phenomenon. Originally, a youth was meant to learn about life through the Hujra by discussing all matters with their experienced elders. Everyone knew each other and intricate bonds were formed. Time moved much slower and such practices were seasoned over time. This was the "school" of Pakhtunwali, and the building was the Hujra; "class" hours were as slow and continuous as the pace of time in an agrarian

society. Now, many youths are gaining their knowledge through cell phones and television—both of which eliminate time-space restrictions. Various ideas and ways of life are provided right on the “screen” that the young teenager has access to with a cheap internet connection. This occurs at rapid speeds as one is bombarded with various media outlets. The ancient institution of the Hujra then falls victim to the uneven media advantage that the “Western Metropolis” has over the world (since most media comes from modern cultural centers such as New York and Los Angeles; and also because one interviewee directly mentioned how youth are aware of and even impressed by these media messages).

We can see that bureaucracy is altering Pashtun cultural capabilities due to the difficulties of the practice of the Jirga. This problem-solving traditional institution is running alongside government court systems and bureaucratic organizations. Such a coinciding may have changed the ideal practice of the Jirga as it was applied in previous centuries. We must also keep in mind that the attachment to cultural traditions is much stronger in tribal areas of Pashtuns where government authority is weaker; as for mainland KP, where court systems do exist, there appears to be a mixture of the two institutions. This may be manifested through the invention of a police-civil consultation institution⁵⁹ which molded itself from the Jirga. Nonetheless, there appears to still be a certain level of respectability and trust for the Jirga by Pashtuns who still may have access to the courts—this being manifested when the elder in Swabi explained that going to the court is his people’s “last option” after trying to resolve matters through the Jirga or in the mosque.

But the picture of the practice of Jirga is still bleak, and this can be seen when some of my interviewees thought that the institution has been corrupted from its former ideal. We can even mention how the NGO worker explained that there are three theories on the Jirga practice where one camp finds no more use in it since there are courts, another values it but finds it corrupted, while another still believes in its effectiveness. There appear to still be some collaborative difficulties between Jirgas

⁵⁹ Unfortunately, I can not find the name of this institution. It was introduced to me as a political solution to resolve local problems through a Jirga-style enforced by local legal authorities

and courts and this is shown when Faheem explained that there have been tensions between government development authorities and the decisions of a village's jirga.

What all of this points to is the shifting effects of modernity and bureaucratization on an age-old way of solving communal matters. Recall that modernity requires the re-arrangement of people from traditional relationships into a large-scale and highly rationalized bureaucratic system. Historically, problems and their solutions were localized and people at the ground level had the agency to resolve them. Today, as bureaucratization proceeds in the nation-state system, such traditional systems lose their strengths. Interestingly, the Jirga still has the potential to be effective in modern times; and it appears that many Pashtuns have yet to give up on it as a problem-resolving institution. Ironically, the Jirga at some point in history might have represented a democratic institution in the context of Pashtuns. According to one intellectual, it may have been on par with the ancient Athenian system of Democracy⁶⁰. The interesting question will be to see whether it survives in the upcoming generations.

The negative impacts of urbanization can be seen as a spacing and economic issue. Due to poor economy, or in some cases violence and war, many Pashtuns have left their traditional lands for urbanized areas in search of work. What this has done is made institutions such as the Hujra and Jirga less effective. The Hujra is a local community complex in every village; hence the migration of locals would reduce its significance. Because the Jirga is connected to the Hujra, it is also being negatively impacted from the same perspective. Essentially urban migrants are having to lose their traditional social and cultural structures and enter metropolitan areas with different a demographic and bureaucratic setup.

Again, this is another example of the effects of modernization. Original time-space relations are shifted as many exchange their traditional, holistic, yet economically lesser efficient social environments for large metropolises that provide more wealth

⁶⁰ This quote is probably coming from James Spain's book (Spain, 1962). I was unable to re-find it. However, conceptually, the practice of a body of locals coming together and deciding on a matter should, in spirit, resemble the ancient Athenian style.

(but lesser space and time). This naturally makes the thriving of the ideal Pashtun cultural environment more difficult. However, it is a necessary evil for most since they need to find ways to economically sustain themselves. Again, we may say that traditional social arrangements such as the Hujra and Jirga are relatively economically less efficient compared to a highly organized and urbanized lifestyle. There is a financial cost in modernity in trying to preserve these older traditions. However, what urbanized environments lack are the deeper cultural institutions that help guide the individual in their traditional moral value system.

Another valuable factor to note is the possible open-mindedness and flexibility of some Pashtuns to these new elements of modernization. While having spoken with the elders in Regi Village about the youth being occupied with going to universities or having to work in the city (Regi village is close and accessible to the Peshawar metropolitan area), one mentioned that they have no contention with what the youth are doing. However, he requested that the youth should not forget their traditions. In other words, he called for a mixing of the two circumstances of modern amenities and traditional culture. When I went to the Hujra in Swabi, it was upon a spontaneous invitation by a well-educated local university student who took me to his community's local Hujra. He was able to manage between modern education and being present with the elders in his community. We may also recall the study about quality-of-life measures in KP. One of its conclusions mentioned that generally, those living in rural settings that are still close to urban environments tend to have a higher quality of life, due to the blessings of a local, traditional, and more natural life with access to the benefits of cities (Alam & Amin, 2017).

The results of the exploratory phase reveal what was assumed about the negative effects of modernization. The research on locals' opinions shows the potential deprivation of valued functions of Pashtun society—such as Pakhtunwali, jirgas, and hujras— caused by the disembedding effects of technology, urbanization, and bureaucratization. Fortunately, there is optimism from the perspective of our select participants. It is very possible that the people of KP can adapt to the challenges of modernity. Then, what is the relation with Sen's Capability Approach?

4.4. Analysis of the Performance of Sen's Capability Approach

4.4.1. The Capability Approach's Performance in this Research

Given that one of the purposes of this thesis was also to gauge how effective the Capability Approach is in identifying and resolving the challenges of modernization and Pashtun culture, a word may be said about its performance in this study. The Capability Approach was the guiding framework in both the exploratory (qualitative) phase of this study, as well as the survey phase (qualitative-quantitative). By taking inspiration from the Alkire-Foster framework of multi-dimensional analysis, both phases sought to identify what Pashtuns find valuable in their culture (value), what is happening to that cultural feature (functioning), and what will be the future of that cultural feature or what is the ability for one to practice it (capability). Having used this logic as a guide in both the exploratory and survey phase helped uncover local perceptions about Pashtuns' cultural capabilities.

The Capability Approach helped formulate the open-ended questions used in the exploratory phase. It was effective in identifying and creating a discussion on the values, functionings, and capabilities of core Pashtun cultural features. However, using this method might have the greatest potential in a quantitative study; which makes sense, since Amartya Sen, its founder, is essentially an economist. There are various tools within the subjects of sociology and anthropology that can be used as a replacement for the method we used in the qualitative exploratory phase. However, using such a method in a quantitative format can provide much potential in seeing a birds-eye view of what is happening to the cultural capabilities of Pashtuns on a larger scale. Although the exploratory phase (e.g. the qualitative component, where methodologies other than the Capability Approach/Alkire-Foster framework could have been used) still provided many insights, the development of the survey phase of this study provides much exciting potential (see appendix for the survey phase). Ideally, a research team can use stronger social-analysis tools for in-depth conversation, but can certainly benefit from the Capability Approach when it comes

to a large-scale quantitative survey that captures the overall cultural capabilities of Pashtuns.

4.4.2. How Sen might Attempt to Resolve the Issues Found in this Research

It is also beneficial to try and imagine how Amartya Sen would attempt to solve the problems of Pashtuns and modernization. One may recall that Sen does promote a sincere and actively engaged form of democracy with a “demanding system”. This differs from the superficial “mechanical condition” version of it, which applies democratic institutions half-heartedly. Hence, he is serious about getting all sections of society engaged in the democratic process— which involves deep and open communication, as well as the protection of instrumental freedoms such as political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, and others⁶¹. The inner workings of his philosophy require genuine attention given to the wants of the people in the community, rather than mere income, wealth, utility, etc. Culture is essential for the formulation of this process, as long as its authorities do not impede the foundational freedoms that he mentions.

To recall how Sen might approach the issue of Pashtuns and modernization, we can remember what was written in Chapter 2.2.4⁶²:

In other words, Sen might say that Pashtun cultural practices are of course important, and they should be preserved if the Pashtun people democratically choose to preserve them. However, they should not limit the promotion of general democratic values in the development process. And certainly, local traditional authorities should not be given as much power and agency as they historically have—if it be that their existence blocks the promotion of Democracy. Literature reveals that migration and technological urbanization are negatively impacting Pashtun culture, not to forget general political-economic challenges. Sen’s normative stances would attempt to resolve these problems by promoting his version of substantive freedoms and Democracy. He would probably also include his version of instrumental freedoms⁶³. The protection of these inherent values is prioritized over appeals to traditional culture—although culture can still play an important role. Yet, Weber’s

⁶¹ See Chapter 2.2

⁶² See pg. 30 in this paper

⁶³ See Instrumental Freedoms in Section 1.1. — they are listed there.

observations of large-scale democratic bureaucratization (which ironically break down localized democratic relationships) complicate this rather simple solution. The ambiguity of the meaning of Democracy and freedom ensues.

Interestingly, and perhaps in a semi-chaotic fashion, the grand working of modernization is happening inevitably. One of the large themes of the research results was that urbanization is significantly hampering the effectiveness of traditional Pashtun institutions. Hujras and Jirgas are losing their relevance once locals leave their original contexts. It appears that the appeals of preserving tradition are not able to withstand the mass exodus of people into urbanized settings. Perhaps Sen would acknowledge the weakening of Pashtun cultural institutions, and call for their preservation while still dealing with the challenges of urbanization. However, Sen would most likely still cap a limit on the role of the traditional, and not allow it to be a preventative force for locals to move into cities to improve their financial circumstances. It may be that he would look at the issue in light of his list of instrumental freedoms. The process of urbanization could promote economic facilities and social opportunities for larger segments of the population—including women and minorities. As mentioned, women would be better off according to his framework, if the urban lifestyle would ensure their instrumental freedoms in comparison to a traditional setting.

However, what would be lost is the original context in which Pakhtunwali (Pashtun cultural code of living) was organically formulated. This is one of the contradictions of urbanization and development. Just as the Afghan monarchs of the 20th century were challenged⁶⁴, the demands of Pakhtunwali for personalized justice and vengeance for violated rights would be incompatible with the urbanized environment—which requires state-sponsored executed laws that preserve order for a large population hub that provides work, education, healthcare, etc. In the end, Pashtuns would have to compromise some of their original cultural institutions and impulses in order to seek the benefits of urbanization. Looking at Sen's call for instrumental freedoms and the

⁶⁴ See Chapter 3.3

acceptance of grander processes such as democracy for all and free markets, he would most likely accept this tradeoff.

What might provide some interesting traction with Sen's norms are the challenges that bureaucratization is placing on the Pashtun institution of the jirga. Sen believes in the genuine practice of democracy which gets all segments of the population involved in communicating their demands. This is in alignment with his instrumental freedom of transparency guarantees and political freedoms. Perhaps, in the grand scheme of Pashtun society, the jirga is the best choice to ensure such freedoms. This can be the case even if the jirga is an all-male body. Indeed on the negative side, it does not allow space for women to be involved in the decision process of the community. However, it fascinatingly ensures localized decision-making autonomy, which could help promote the demands of people who otherwise might not get a chance to be heard in a large bureaucratic democracy. This would ensure the voice of many Pashtuns at a granular level in Pakistan. The challenge would rather be how to fit it within the framework of the Pakistani legal system, and the ongoing demands for women and minority rights in the process of modernization. Sen perhaps wouldn't suggest the throwing away of the jirga but would call for the renovation of it to include more voices, as well as for the Pakistani state to hear its voice.

Technology was another debilitating factor for traditional Pashtun culture. Cell phones and mass-media was explained to limit genuine social activities, such as elders instructing youth in hujras. It also lead to the changing of worldviews once the opening of global cultures entered upon the screen. It might be easier to predict how Sen would approach this issue since he spoke about it. It would be hard to resist the benefits of an integrated and globalized economic system, so rejection is not a possibility. The bombardment of western global media would necessitate the response of locals in a like fashion. Sen would probably make a call for an active effort for locals to promote media initiatives that would help youth preserve Pashtun cultural values⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ See Chapter 2.2.4

4.5. A Final Note

How Would Pakhtunwali Interact with the Challenges of Modernization? This is an intriguing question to ask if one is to look at Pakhtunwali as a dynamic and flexible moral force for Pashtuns. From the literature and this research, it was shown that the practice of Pakhtunwali has a myriad of features: to be kindhearted, to be fearless, to treat women with the utmost respect, to seek justice for a wrong done, to practice Islam, to be hospitable and giving, etc. Thus, keeping in mind that the components of Pakhtunwali are inexhaustible, its moral callings for the individual could create intriguing cultural practices in a modernized and urbanized setting. The actual practice of hujra, jirga, and purdah came out of the centuries-long practice and innovation of Pakhtunwali in the agrarian pre-industrial setting. Perhaps the same people that have the soul and desire to practice Pakhtunwali will invent fresh applications of it in the urban modern setting.

Yet the challenge of modernity causes the disembedding of people from local contexts. This process might create a larger roadblock for Pashtuns to innovate because of the chaotic reorganization of the masses into a modern bureaucracy. Could the inner fire of Pakhtunwali face the mundaneness of a modern city where life is based on abstract "symbolic tokens" and "expert systems"—that constantly seek to mechanize the life of the individual? This is a question that this research has attempted to answer from its own methodological perspective. What is certain is that the realistic response of Pashtuns won't look like the theoretical ideal world that Amartya Sen has imagined. A solution will come naturally as more Pashtuns become accustomed to a new era in humanity. The fear is that modernization and development are happening at such an astonishing pace. There is a risk that in a short time-span certain features of traditional Pashtun culture can be weakened to the point of no return. This was the case for developing European nations during the great transmutation that Marshall Hodgson spoke of.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This research study sought to answer two main questions: First, how is modernization impacting traditional Pashtun culture, and second, how effective is Amartya Sen's Capability Approach in evaluating and solving such problems of modernization in the Pashtun context? The impetus to have done this research was the suggestions of previous literature that certain aspects of modernization are negatively impacting the Pashtuns, and that there is a need for a more holistic approach to development studies in Pakistan. The efforts of this thesis were also a stress-test for Nobel Laurette economist Amartya Sen's famous Capability Approach. Given that the Pashtuns are the world's largest tribal ethnic group, that have their own unique moral and practical code of life—Pakhtunwali—seeing how modernization has been impacting them was an enticing venture. The attempt to comprehend Pashtun culture and Pakhtunwali was not a simple task, not to mention the complexities of modernization. The author of this research nonetheless did his best to unravel and clarify the main issues of Pashtun culture and modernization. Hopefully an expert in this field, who also has a living experience of Pakhtunwali, can build upon the findings of this humble research.

We may suggest that there is a reduction in some of the cultural capabilities of Pashtuns who live in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The reason for this may be attributed to the prevalence of urbanization, bureaucracy, and technology—all of which are key features of modernization. Such processes are deemed to be impacting traditional Pashtun cultural systems: the Hujra where male villagers congregate and elders teach youth, the Jirga where community problems are resolved, and Pakhtunwali which is the all-encompassing moral worldview of Pashtuns. Both the qualitative-focused explorative phase and the quantitative-qualitative survey phase⁶⁶ of this research suggest these results. Although the sample size was small, and most survey recipients

⁶⁶ Please see Appendix A – Survey Phase

were educated males who came from one specific area⁶⁷, the results reveal many telling signs.

The conclusion is deemed to be on good evidence that these cultural features require more attention in future research and policy initiatives. However, more research needs to be done because the interview sample and survey sample were small, and not to forget that select interview recipients had a modest outlook on the ability of Pashtuns to blend their traditional culture with modern amenities. It would be worthwhile if a future study adapts the approach made in this thesis to a larger sample. A comprehensive study on the circumstance of Pashtun cultural capabilities, especially the Hujra, Jirga, and Pakhtunwali would provide benefit to the Pashtun people and the nation of Pakistan, as well as add to the Capability Approach to development.

A deeper look into the dynamics of modernity, and how Sen's philosophical paradigm rests within its context, was also a part of the background of this research. Modernity in its softest form over-rides traditional social structures; in its strongest form, it completely eliminates them. The reason for this is the forceful necessity of modernity to disconnect people from organic social contexts based on a localized time and space, and then reposition them into a highly bureaucratized nexus of efficient, formalized, yet impersonal relationships. This process has been occurring in the developed world for centuries through a process of technicalization⁶⁸ and reliance on technology-science⁶⁹ as the core guiding force of social rules.

Amartya Sen's own worldview is presumably blind to these titanic demands that modernity places on traditional societies. This is especially fascinating since he is esteemed as a guiding star for a human-centered approach to freedom. He gives an uncomfortable amount of reliance on the grander idea of democracy and free markets, without accounting enough for their impacts on localized traditional societies. The purpose of this thesis is not to say that democracy and free markets are improper

⁶⁷ Most surveyed people came from Swabi District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

⁶⁸ From Marshal Hodgson

⁶⁹ From Wael Hallaq via Carl Schmitt

because, on the contrary, they are beneficial to humanity if applied within proper bounds. However, there are externalities that come through these processes. Creating such a centralized bureaucracy at a large-scale ironically requires breaking down the localized privileges of various people, and re-shaping them into one highly organized political machine. Free market capitalism generously produces the most efficient use and allocation of resources, but it also commodifies and homogenizes so many aspects of life. Again, the themes of modernity's ripping away of localized time-space relationships echo. A traditional society won't be able to compete with and survive such demands.

Sen's human-centered call to development does, however, consider some solutions to these problems—such as the call for a more active and sincere form of democracy that considers the attitudes and wants of locals, and the establishment of certain public goods that might not otherwise be provided in a free market. But, in honest analysis, this is not enough to cure the epistemic issues of modernity. Sen is essentially operating within the worldview of modernity, even while he attempts to champion human freedom.

Despite this, the Capability Approach coined by Sen still has enormous potential from a methodological perspective. It is true that the field of economics and development is plagued with unrealistic mechanical theories (that don't perceive the true issues of reality). What makes Amartya Sen an incredible scholar, was his effort to break away from this trend—to place the human at the center stage of development rather than other objectives: such as the increase in material wealth or the completion of a folly political initiative. However, one should proceed with caution when attempting to accept all of his normative beliefs. Again, this thesis is not a complaint against such worldviews as democracy and free markets. Rather, it is closer to reality for policy makers to synthesize the Capability Approach within the worldview of their own respective cultures—which may or may not give into the demands of neo-liberal-like modernization projects.

Hopefully, this research has successfully revealed the challenges that Pashtuns face in modernity. The traditional ways of these people have much intrinsic and practical value. Yet it faces many challenges as the global modernization process continues. The Capability Approach can be a helpful tool in discovering such challenges. Amartya Sen's entire nexus of ideas, nonetheless, should be approached critically. This is because he may not acknowledge all of the epistemic problems modernity creates for traditional social structures, even all the while he attempts to champion human freedom in development. Anyone interested in Sen and the Capability Approach can use this study as a stress-test of his ideas. Finally, and more importantly, it is hoped that an expert on Pashtun culture can further build upon the knowledge found in this study to help discover practical solutions for future generations.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A - The Survey Phase

The survey phase will only be an add-on to the exploratory phase because the scope of this research study is not broad enough to sustain a large sample size of KP residents. Without those numbers, reliance on a small sample size in a quantifiable survey is not as meaningful. However, the survey phase has the potential to be valuable in future studies—especially since it takes inspiration from the Alkire-Foster method of multi-dimensional analysis in development research. A researcher from KP, who comprehends the nuances of local culture, can easily re-create a similar survey and analyze its results in relation to other development indicators such as income and demographics—with, of course, the needed addition of cultural capabilities. For these reasons, only the main aspects of the survey phase will be listed in this section. Any superfluous data and its analysis will be placed in the appendix of this paper.

After reflection on the results from the exploratory phase, reading of literature, and personal experience, the dimensions (aspects of Pashtun culture to be asked about in surveys) were narrowed down to five: Pakhtunwali, Parda (women), Hujra, Jirga, and Islam. Other aspects of Pashtun culture such as family structure were not included due to the need to keep the survey concise. All questions were asked on a 0-10 scale and were designed in a way where 0 represents a negative answer and 10 positive. For example, 0 means that the economic situation in one's community was "very bad" while 10 meant "very good". Another example is where 0 represented going to "court" to resolve an issue while 10 represented going to a "Jirga" (the "court" answer implies a negative for cultural capabilities since the Jirga is a traditional cultural institution while the court is not). This logic allowed the survey recipient to think easily about their answer while also making the analysis of data efficient. Below are the questions that were asked, and subsequently are the results in graphical form with their descriptions and analysis at the end.

Question Category	Question Type	Question	Answer Type	Answer
1 General	General	Do I have Permission to interview you and share the results?	Multiple Choic	Yes
2 Demographic	Demographic	What is your name? Is it okay if I write it or would you like for me to keep you anonymous?	Text	-
3 Demographic	Demographic	Are you Pashtun?	Multiple Choic	Pashtun ; Not Pashtun
4 Demographic	Demographic	Are you Muslim?	Multiple Choic	Muslim ; Other
5 Demographic	Demographic	What is your sex?	Multiple Choic	Male ; Female
6 Demographic	Demographic	What is your age?	Number	-
7 Demographic	Demographic	Which District are you from?	Text	-
8 Demographic	Demographic	Which Tehsil are your from?	Text	-
9 Demographic	Demographic	Is your community urban or rural?	Multiple Choic	Urban ; Rural
10 Demographic	Demographic	What is your occupation?	Text	-
11 General	General	Do you believe that people in your community must leave in order to find wealth or that they have access to wealth in your community?	0-10	0- Must Leave; 10- Have Access
12 General	General	How would you describe the economic situation of your community?	0-10	0- Very Bad; 10- Very Good
13 General	General	Do you believe that people in your community have access to government facilities?	0-10	0- Absolutely No; 10- Absolutely Yes
14 General	General	How satisfied are you with the performance of the government?	0-10	0- Very Dissatisfied; 10- Very Satisfied
15 Pakhtunwali	Evaluative	How important is Pakhtunwali in your life?	0-10	0- Not Important; 10- Very Important
16 Pakhtunwali	Function	Do you believe that Pakhtunwali is being practiced in your community today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Not at All; 10- Still Being Practiced
17 Pakhtunwali	Capability	How easy is it for someone to practice Pakhtunwali in your community today relative the past?	0-10	0- Very Difficult; 10- Still Very Easy
18 Women	Evaluative	How important do you believe the practice of "Purdadar" is in your community?	0-10	0- Not Important; 10- Very Important
19 Women	Function	Do you believe that "Purdadar" is being practiced in your community today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Not at All; 10- Still Being Practiced
20 Women	Capability	Do you believe that the practice of "Purdadar" will exist in the future generation?	0-10	0- Absolutely Not; 10- Absolutely Will
21 Women	Capability	Do you believe that a change in the role of women will negatively or positively impact your culture?	0-10	0- Negative Impact; 10- Positive Impact
22 Hujra	Evaluative	How important do you believe the culture of Hujra is for your community?	0-10	0- Not Important; 10- Very Important
23 Hujra	Function	Do you believe that the culture of Hujra is being practiced in your community today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Not at All; 10- Still Being Practiced
24 Hujra	Capability	How easy is it for an individual or or your community to participate in a Hujra today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Very Difficult; 10- Still Very Easy
25 Jirga	Evaluative	How important is the Jirga system for resolving conflicts in your community?	0-10	0- Not Important; 10- Very Important
26 Jirga	Function	How relevant is the Jirga system in your community today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Not Relevant; 10- Still Relevant
27 Jirga	Capability	How easy is it to use the Jirga system to resolve conflicts in your community today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Very Difficult; 10- Still Very Easy
28 Jirga	Function	Do you believe someone is more likely to go to the court or a jirga to resolve a major issue in your community?	0-10	0- Court; 10- Jirga
29 Islam	Evaluative	How important do you believe is Islam in your community?	0-10	0- Not Important; 20- Very Important
30 Islam	Function	Do you believe that Islam and its practices exist in your community today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Not at All; 10- Still Being Practiced
31 Islam	Capability	Do you believe that people in your community have the ability to practice Islam properly today relative to the past?	0-10	0- Not at All; 10- Still able to
32 General	General	Do you believe that technology like mobiles and t.v are negatively or positively impacting culture in your community?	0-10	0- Negative Impact; 10- Positive Impact
33 General	General	Do you believe that there is a conflict between your culture and modernization?	0-10	0- Conflict; 10- No Conflict
34 General	General	Notes	Paragraphs	

Table – Survey Questions

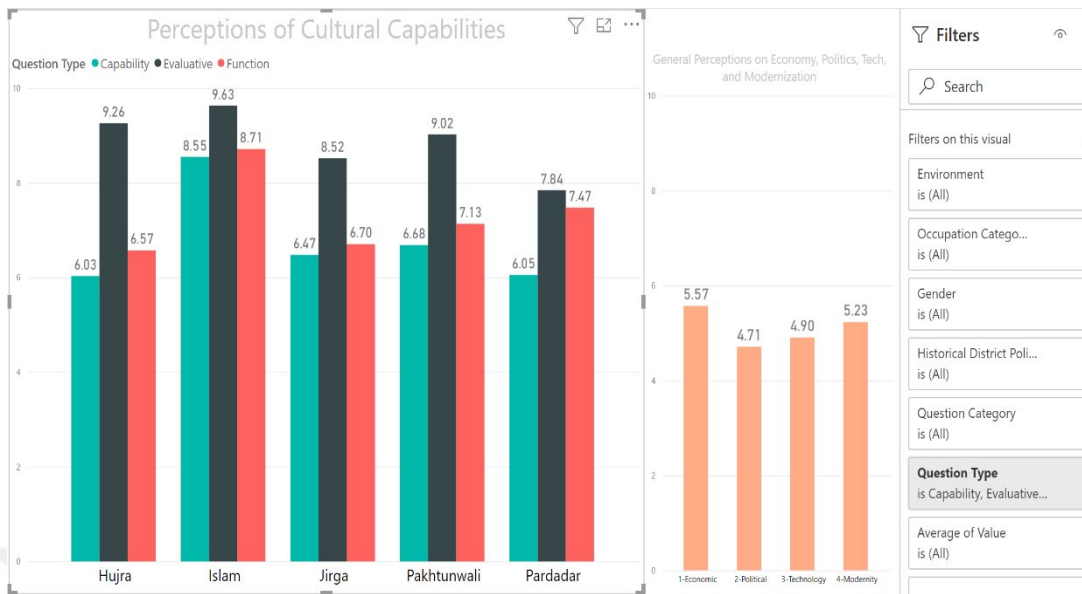


Figure 1 - General Survey Results for All Participants

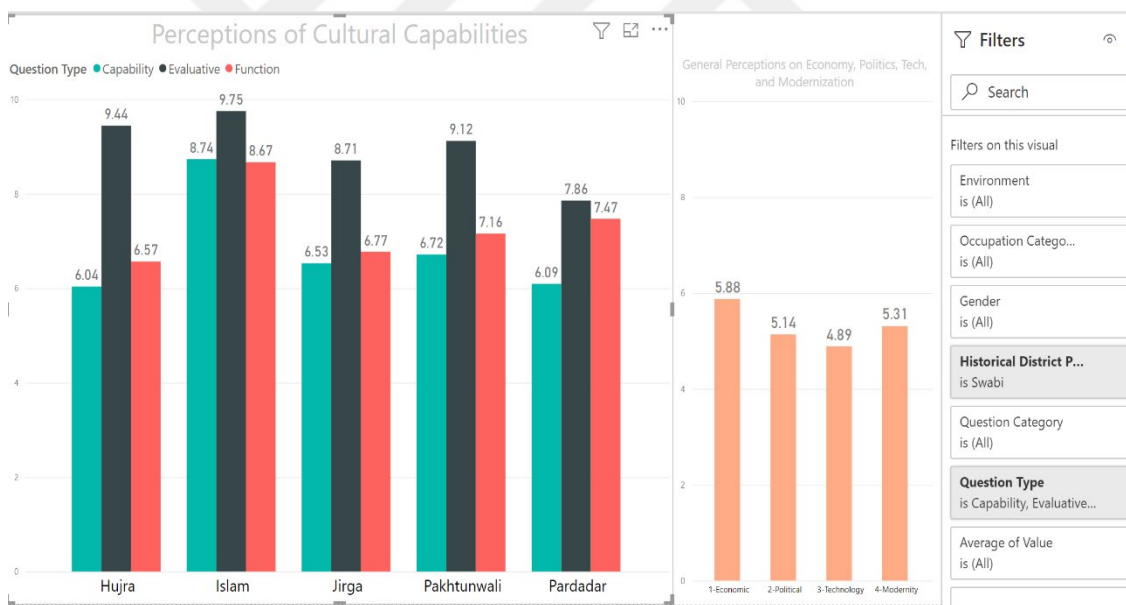


Figure 2 - Survey Results for Swabi, Pakistan Residents

First, we can look at the general results of all interviewees regardless of their region, gender, occupation, and so forth. Let us begin by looking at the orange graph on the far right. We learned that general perceptions of economic prosperity are in the middle with a rating of 5.57 out of 10 while perceptions of political satisfaction were below

normal with a rating of 4.71. Perceived attitudes toward technology and modernization on culture were also in the middle with ratings of 4.90 and 5.23.

Overall, all evaluations of cultural dimensions (graph on the left) were high except for Pardadar, which had a value of 7.84, while the rest were above 8.5. The perceptions of the capabilities and functions of the Hujra were lower than its evaluation, with a rating of 6.04 and 6.57. This is a large gap and implies that the actual capabilities and functions to practice the Hujra are not up to expectations. The perceptions of the capabilities and functions of Islam were one of the best, with the rating of 8.55 and 8.71, showing that the practice of Islam is close to expectations. Although still high, the Jirga had the second lowest evaluation with a rating of 8.52 while perceptions of its capabilities and functions were relatively low just like the Hujra: 6.47 and 6.70. We can also see that there is a decent gap between expectations and the perceived reality of this cultural function. Pakhtunwali also had lower perceived functioning and capabilities than its evaluations of 9.02; capabilities were 6.68 while functioning was 7.13. Finally, we come to Pardadar. It was the lowest relatively valued. Its capabilities were low with a rating of 6.05 while surprisingly its functioning was higher with a value of 7.47. To conclude, we may say that the perceptions of the practices of Hujra, Jirga, and Pakhtunwali compared to the past are lower than their actual evaluations. Seeing that perceptions of economy and politics were not low or high and that there was no significant perception of technology and modernization negatively impacting culture, we cannot imply any link between these factors and the gaps between perceived capabilities and functions for the above-mentioned cultural practices.

As for the main survey focus of the people of Swabi, we can see that economic and political perceptions were in the middle with 5.88 and 5.14. Attitudes toward technology and modernization were also in the middle with 4.89 and 5.31. The perceptions of Hujra fell below expectations with capabilities of 6.04 and functions of 6.57 while its evaluations were 9.44. Islam was up to expectations, and so was Parada. Meanwhile, Jirga and Pakhtunwali were below expectations with a decent gap between evaluations and perceived capabilities and functions. We can conclude about Swabi in general about what we concluded about general results for all survey recipients: the

Hujra, Jirga, and Pakhtunwali's perceived change in functions and capabilities were decently lower than their evaluations, hinting at an issue in their cultural capabilities. Seeing that perceptions of the economy, politics, technology, and modernization were in the middle, we cannot imply any causal link.

The overall results from the survey phase show that the functions and capabilities of the cultural institutions of the Hujra, Jirga, and Pakhtunwali were perceived to be below their actual evaluations. No matter who was asked, this was the general perception. Specifically, the Swabi survey recipients believed that these cultural functions and capabilities were more or less 70% of their actual evaluations. This suggests that they are not being met up to expectations in comparison to the past. On average, perceptions of economic circumstance, and political satisfaction in survey recipients' communities were in the middle. Additionally, attitudes towards technology and modernization and their impact on culture were in the middle. Results for urbanized people in the Swabi region revealed that the cultural capabilities and functions of the Jirga and Pakhtunwali were closer to meeting expectations compared to those in rural areas; this is worthy to note because it may show that those with more urban facilities are able to carry out these traditional practices.

More research will be needed, and it is beneficial to note that urban settings in Swabi still may be considered urban-rural due to Swabi not being like the metropolitan environment of Peshawar. Also, small amounts of data show that women tend to value Parda more than men while men tend to value Pakhtunwali and Jirga more than women. This suggests that gender-specific cultural practices are valued by those from said gender.

To summarize, the data suggests that there are shortcomings in certain aspects of Pashtun cultural capabilities (Hujra, Jirga, Pakhtunwali) while in others, there are not (Islam, Parda). It also appears that attitudes towards economy, politics, technology, and modernization are balanced, and hence any connection between them and unmet expectations cannot be implied.

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My career and life interests involve being a data expert, researcher, an academic intellectual, and a writer and public speaker. I am fascinated by international economic development and exploring new cultures. My hobbies include filmmaking, rapping, and intellectual discussions.

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DATA ANALYST, EAGLES LANDING FAMILY PRACTICE, USA

- Extracted financial and healthcare operations data
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GRADUATE TEACHING ASSISTANT, IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY, TÜRKIYE

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- Created a research project in Pakistan from scratch, creating both qualitative and quantitative information. Resulted in MA Thesis: *Impact of Modernization on Pashtun Culture and the Role of Sen's Capability Approach*
- Assistant for a **Georgia State University** research study on Syrian refugees in Turkey in 2015
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