

**Cultural Commodification in Kalash Valley: A Case Study of Bumburet  
Village, District Chitral.**



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**CERTIFICATE**

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## **FORMAL DECLARATION**

I, Saif Uddin, hereby solemnly declare that the work described in my thesis “Cultural Commodification in Kalash Valley: A Case Study of Bumburet Village, District Chitral” has been carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Zulfiqar Ali. I have not used any further means for the completion of this work except those I have explicitly mentioned in this thesis. All concepts adopted and copied from other sources have properly referred with source and are cited.

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Saif Uddin

07 January 2019

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## Abstract

Today's globalised world of high mass consumption has turned every aspect of culture whether tangible factors like clothes, and intangible factors like customs, rituals and expressions into a commodity. Tourism is one of the key factors due to which cultural artifacts such as customs, rituals, expressions, behaviors and way of life are being commercialised. Cultural commodification is a process in which behaviors and practices of local indigenous people are commodified, marketed, sold and consumed by tourists for money. In the mountains of the Hindu Kush in Pakistan, about 3000 or so people live who look different from their neighboring Muslims. They claim to have lived in the area for thousands of years and they look to all intents and purposes, European. Many of the Kalash people are blond haired and blue eyed, somewhat of an anomaly in Pakistan. The Kalash say that they are descendants of Alexander the Great's army though their true ethnic origins are still unproven. They have a significantly different outlook on life from the Muslims surrounding them – they are polytheistic and have a completely different folklore (which has been compared to that of ancient Greece). This study aimed to look at the process of cultural commodification of the unique Kalash culture and its impact on the local Kalash community. For the purpose of this study qualitative research strategy was adopted. In-depth, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were taken from 48 respondents who were sampled using different sampling techniques such as purposive, convenient and simple random sampling. The primary data was analysed by thematic approach and various themes were generated. Semiotic analysis of five collections of cultural items accompanied by the two cultural songs and dances were carried out. The study was carried out in Bumburet village Kalash Valley district Chitral. Through the thematic analysis of primary data and semiotic analysis of collections and cultural songs and dances, this descriptive case study shows how cultural commodification is taking place in Bumburet village and also its impacts on the local indigenous Kalash community. The study shows that the process of cultural commodification has uneven benefits for the stakeholders involved in it by benefiting the privileged ones and whereas exploiting the underprivileged and the poor section of the society.

**Keywords:** Culture, Cultural Commodification, Tangible Culture and Intangible Culture

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## **Dedication**

Dedicated to My Parents

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## Glossary

**Bashaleni:** A house where Kalasha people kept their women during the last stages of pregnancy and during their menstruating cycle.

**Batrik:** A sub-village in Kalasha valley.

**Bomboret:** A village in Kalasha Valley.

**Brune:** Name of a small village in Kalash Valley.

**Black Kafir:** In the past the Kalasha people were called black kafirs.

**Cherpi:** A ritual of Kalash people where milk is sprinkled over young ones and then the milk is distributed among the community people.

**Chitermas:** A Kalasha festival which is celebrated during December of each year.

**Crakal:** Name of a sub village in Bumburet.

**Cupus:** A cultural cap which Kalash women wear.

**Chamani:** Traditional milky food products of Kalash Community.

**Chilim Josht:** A Kalasha festival which is celebrated during May of each year.

**Dezu:** God of Kalash people.

**Dou:** A stick with a fire on its one end.

**Gadolai:** Name of a jewelry item worn by Kalash women.

**Gandalik:** Name of Kalasha people God or Deuta.

**Joshi:** name of Chilim Josht Festival of Kalash people.

**Kalasha Door:** A local Kalash community school for only Kalash children.

**Kho people:** The Muslim people of Chitral district who speak Khowar language.

**Mahadeu:** A religious place of Kalash people.

**Maik:** A set of jewelry worn by Kalasha women.

**Malosh:** Name of a religious place of Kalash community.

**Mandyk:** A ritual of Kalasha people where the departed souls of their beloved ones are remembered.

**Ochau:** A name of Ochal Festival of Kalash people.

**Ochal:** A Kalasha festival which is celebrated during August of each year.

**Pach Anjek:** A ritual of Kalash community where a baby boy and baby girl is welcomed to the community with cultural dance and distribution of food among the community members.

**Pati:** A type of belt fur which is the part of Kalash cultural dress.

**Pool:** A Kalashafestival which is celebrated in the month of October each year.

**Ragnut:** A Kalasha festival which was used to be celebrated in July and August of each year.

**Rekhinian:** A room where religious rituals are performed by Kalasha people.

**Red Kafir:** Those non-Muslims who were living in the Nuristan Province of Afghanistan who were converted to Islam during the reign of King Abdur Rahman (Amir of Kabul).

**Saraverkhari:** A ritual where people act like different animals and perform cultural dances.

**Sarazari:** A ritual in which Saroz tree leafs are collected by young people from the pastures and they are burnt to make smog which has religious significance.

**Sheikhs:** Those Kalasha people who are converted to Islam.

**Shemano:** A raw string worn by Kalasha people.

**Shoshot:** A small cap worn by Kalasha woman.

**Saraz Gandalik:** A ritualof Kalash community which is celebrated in the name of their God or Devta Gandalik.

**Sharamxegh:** A statue of different animals such as goat, sheep etc. made from wheat flour.

**Sangachi:** A woolen jacket with a belt.

**Zolai:** A local food which is made from walnuts and wheat flour.

## Chapter 1-Introduction

Marx, a century ago stated that capitalism will commodify everything into commodity. By commodities we mean items or things whether tangible such as clothes and intangible such as ideas and expressions which can be bought and sold in the market for price in the form of money. Marx (1967) also observed that capitalist society commodified everything including raw materials, labour, and manufactured products. In this way the traders and merchants had made fetish out of commodities. A mass consumer culture was developed in the 1950s which commodified abstract ideas for example life style and art were marketed and sold in the name of pop culture (Wright, 2000). Today's globalised world of high mass consumption has turned every aspect of culture whether tangible factors like clothes, and intangible factors like customs, rituals and expressions into a commodity. Tourism is one of the key factors due to which cultural artifacts such as customs, rituals, expressions, behaviours and way of life are commercialised. Greenwood (1979) argued that cultural commodification is a process in which behaviours and practices of local indigenous people are commodified, marketed, sold and consumed by tourists for money. Moreover, he believes that when things are marked and sold they loss their authenticity and become divested in their original meaning. When cultural artifacts are marketed they become inauthentic and meaningless to their producers.

Jackson (1999) argues that the process of cultural commodification does not take place evenly in a society. For those people who possess capital, they obtain benefits while for the poor people this process has negative effects. Pigliasco (2010) argues that the cultural commodification of the Fijian fire walking ceremony has helped the local community to sustain by representing their tradition across the country and attained respect and strengthened their social capital. On the other hand Ziolkowski (2004) argues that in Poland the process of commodification because of its uneven and ambiguous rules has resulted in tensions and pathologies between subsystems of the society. This tension between the subsystems produces imbalance in the market, inefficient democracy and primate networks in the society. Commodification also deteriorates the normative and cognitive system of the society due to which social legitimisation of the new order is weakened. Commodification is the process in which an object with respect to its own price and value becomes a commodity when it is put on sale in the market place. Tabani (2017) explains that in Vanuatu the commodification of the custom of the local people resulted in frequent

incidents due to tourism. Market forces have fostered cultural commodification but these forces have often remained in conflict and tension with locals in sharing their culture with tourists and in taking care of their culture. Srisontisuk (2002), on the other hand, asserts that the cultural commodification in Chiankhan Thailand has helped the local cultural artifacts to become tangible and saleable products in the market. It has helped the Chiangkhan cultural products to disseminate to other parts of the world. He further claims that the process of cultural commodification is taking place in every part of the globalised world due to this burgeoning consumer culture.

Hussain (2010) elaborates that in the mountains of the Hindu Kush in Pakistan, 3000 or so people live who look and sound very different from their neighboring Muslims. Many of the Kalasha are blond haired and blue eyed, somewhat of an anomaly in Pakistan! The Kalasha say that they are descendants of Alexander the Great's army though their true ethnic origins are still unproven. They are polytheistic and have a completely different folklore (which has been compared to that of ancient Greece). Hussain (2010) further argued that the indigenous Kalasha minority of Chitral district are one of the first people who came to this valley. According to them, they are traced back to the Greek ancestry. They had ruled the district in the past when they were in political power but nowadays they are bound to three small beautiful valleys of Bumburet, Birrir, and Rumbor. According to 1998 national census, about 3000 Kalasha people are living in the beautiful regions of the Kalash valley. These people have unique cultural and religious festivals which get attraction for international as well as local tourists. Many tourists come to this valley every year to observe the unique cultural activities of the Kalasha community. This study will deal with the process of cultural commodification in the Kalasha Valley in the district of Chitral Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. This study described that how the indigenous Kalash culture was being commodified for the consumption of tourists and modernizing local people in the Kalash valley.

## **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

For capitalist mode of production, consumption of commodities acts as a tool for exploitation through the process of commodification. There is a debate on cultural commodification and its impacts on stake holders involved in it. Studies showed that for some stakeholders this process is beneficial in the form of increasing their incomes and benefiting

them economically. Whereas for other stake holders this process may bring negative impacts in the form of losing authenticity and cultural diversity. In recent years this process of cultural commodification has reached those parts of culture both tangible and intangible which were previously not commodified. There is a shortage of literature on the process of cultural commodification in Pakistan and particularly in Kalash valley. The focus of the study is to study the process of cultural commodification in Kalash Valley and to find the effects of this process on the indigenous Kalash Community.

In the light of the above discussion I have narrowed down my research topic to **Cultural Commodification in the Kalash Valley: The Case Study of Village Bumburet of District Chitraland** operationalised my research topic into following research questions and objectives:

## **1.2 Research Questions**

1. What is the process of cultural commodification in the Bumburet village?
2. What and how cultural items (both tangible and intangible) are commodified?
3. What are cultural goods and what modern as well as traditional aspects are embedded in those cultural goods?
4. What are the risks and opportunities in instrumentalizing culture as economic good or resource?

## **1.3 Research Objectives**

The objectives of the research were to:

1. Explain the process of cultural commodification in the Bumburet village.
2. Identify the types of cultural items both tangible and intangible commodified.
3. Identify and explain the cultural goods and modern and traditional aspects embedded in those cultural goods.
4. Examine the risks and opportunities of instrumentalizing culture as economic good or resource.

## **1.4. Explanation of the Key Concepts**

### **1.4.1 Culture**

Iriye (1990) identifies that culture is the sharing and transmission of artistic work, expressions, ideologies, customs, emotions and symbols. Taylor (1891) defined culture as a complex whole which consists of belief, knowledge, art, morals, law, custom, manners and habits that an individual possesses as a member of any society. It is also evident that culture is a product of human behavior and human living together hence indicating that culture is learned. As a way of life culture must be differentiated from society, there may be multi-cultures existing within a society. Culture as a way of life is seen as process which shapes behavior and the minds of the people of a particular area. Williams (1981) argues that culture can be referred to the way of life in terms of symbols and signs that are linked to it. The use of symbols distinguishes a particular way of life of individuals or group of individuals. He further elaborates that only humans have cultures because they are able to create and use symbols which distinguish them from others and which form the basis of human cultural beings. In order to understand culture the meaning of wearing of particular styles of dress, having a particular hair style, way of manners, norms, values, and architectural style need to be understood. Language both written and spoken also functions as the repository of signs and symbols which are manifested in variant cultural contexts. For the purpose of this study I have used Williams (1981) concept of culture in which culture in our daily life is depicted in cultural dances, in cultural dresses, in cultural rituals, in an artistic way, in terms of signs and symbols, in norms and values and in everyday life of individuals and group of people.

### **1.4.2 Commoditisation and Commodification**

The lexicographical definitions of commodification embody similar characteristics. For instance, Oxford Dictionary (2018) defines commodification as “when something is considered as a commodity which can be bought and sold in the market.” According to Merriam Webster Dictionary commodification is “to turn something having an intrinsic value or an art work in to commodity.” According to Collins Dictionary (2018), commodification happens “when something is treated inappropriately and marketed and acquired like other commodities.”



According to Dictionary.com commodification is defined as “to turn something into a commodity or make that thing a commercial one.” Jackson (1999) defines commodification as “a process in which the commodity form is extended to goods and services which were not previously commodified.” Now in this world of high mass consumption this process has reached those areas which were regarded as uncommodified in the past such as healthcare, education, media and artwork. Mbaiwa (2011) argues that cultural commodification is the process in which things and substances in the context of trade are considered and evaluated on the basis of their exchange values and in this way they become goods and services.

Foster (1992) argues that commoditization is a process in which a society which is dominated by the production and consumption of goods having only use value certainly undergoes the production and consumption of goods to exchange values. The commoditization helps intensify the commodity relations in the society. The intensification of the commodity relations means the degree at which the cycle of reproduction is obtained through the production and exchange of goods. Mbaiwa (2011) argues that cultural commodification is the process in which things or substances in the context of trade are considered and evaluated on the basis of their exchange values and in this way they become goods and services. When the cultural artefacts and artistic works are staged for the tourist market, they become part of market forces (supply/demand) and are culturally commodified. For the purpose of this study I am making a composite definition by borrowing Jackson (1999)’s concept of commodification and Mbajwa (2011)’s concept of cultural commodification because as a researcher I am interested to study those features of the Kalash culture that were not previously commodified as those were not considered commodities but now are being readily sold in the market in the tangible forms.

### **1.4.3 Tangible Culture and Intangible Culture**

Ahmad (2006) argues that the Venice Charter (1964) defined cultural heritage as “historic monuments and architectural sites.” Initially only the material culture or the physical culture was considered as culture. Pedersen (2002) argues that in the World Heritage Convention held in Paris in 1972 only the material cultural properties or heritage were considered by the World Heritage Convention and steps were made for their protection and safeguarding of these tangible cultural properties. The tangible cultural properties which fulfilled the criteria for this convention

were monuments, buildings and sites (these were considered valuable due to their architectural work or design from some historical point of view or due to their aesthetic, anthropological and ethnological contexts).

Keitumetse (2006) argues that according to the UNESCO Convention the Intangible Cultural Heritage includes “the expressions, practices, representations, knowledge and skills and also the material things, cultural artifacts and cultural spaces that a community possesses and in some cases an individual considers as part of his/her cultural heritage which is called intangible cultural heritage”. The intangible cultural heritage goes through a process of change by the communities depending upon their environment, their interaction with the nature and history of the particular community which provides them the sense of identity through promoting respect for pluralism and creativity in the community. According to the UNESCO Convention in 2003 the domains of intangible cultural heritage includes rituals, cultural festivals, cultural rituals, social practices, performing arts in the form of cultural dances and cultural songs, knowledge and practices which are related to nature and traditional crafts such as dresses. For these reasons I have borrowed these concepts from the report of UNESCO Convention 2003.

#### **1.4.4 Cultural Goods**

According to the UNESCO Framework for cultural statistics (2009) “cultural goods are those goods which are consumed in the form of books, films, videos, crafts, multimedia products, audio visual programs and fashion to convey symbols, way of life and ideas.” Reverso Dictionary (2018) defines cultural goods “as those goods which are related to artistic work or related to certain events and social activities which are valuable and are related to a particular culture.” According to the European Commission (2017) “cultural goods are those goods which are considered to be part of cultural heritage of countries with respect to their artistic, archaeological and historical importance for those countries.” Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018) defines cultural goods “as those goods which represent the norms, behavior and customs of the society.” I have used the concept of cultural goods defined by the Reverso Dictionary (2018) because this study is also dealing with Kalashafestivals, cultural dances and artistic work as well.

### **1.4.5 Economic Goods**

Economic goods are “those items and services which can satisfy human wants and also possess an exchange value.” Cambridge Dictionary defines economic goods “as those products and items which are exchanged in the market and the organisations and persons are willing to pay for them in the market.”Oxford Living Dictionaries (2018) defines economic goods “as those items and products which are sold in the market for price.” I have used the concept of economic goods defined by Oxford Dictionaries (2018) as the study is also dealing with such goods.

### **1.5 Units of Data Collection (UDCs)**

Bryman (2012) defines Units of Data Collection (UDCs) as the sources that give social researchers data which include individuals, documents, photographs, processes, phenomena and visuals. For the current study the following constituted my UDCs.

#### **1. UDC1: Kalasha Community**

This UDC helped me in extracting data about Kalasha culture. In order to maintain the pluri-vocality of my research, I included people from both genders from different age groups, socio-economic backgrounds and variant spatiality within the Bumburet village. This UDC included local people who are involved in the production and consumption of cultural commodities. This UDC also helped me generating diverse views on the impact of capitalism on the Kalash culture both on tangible and intangible fronts. Moreover, the data from this UDC helped me in addressing the study's first (which is on explaining the process of cultural commodification) and fourth (which is on the risk or opportunities linked to the cultural commodification) research objectives.

#### **2. UDC 2: Cultural Commodities**

This UDC includes commodities that are pertinent to Kalash culture and sold out in the markets or on specific occasions. They are ranged from dress, jewelry and items of domestic chores, handicrafts to artifacts. The data from this UDC helped meet all the four research objectives.

#### **3. UDC 3: Sellers and Buyers of Cultural Commodities**

Representing the demand and supply side, the data extracted from this UDC detailed the reasons for the purchase and sale of cultural commodities. On supply side, this UDC helped in detailing the cultural commodities, and their types purchased and sold in the market. The data from this UDC helped me in understanding the mechanism/s through which market forces function which in turn helped in meeting the study's second, third and fourth research objectives. Among the buyers included local and international tourists whom I intended to include in my research.

4. UDC 4: Socio-cultural Events and Activities

The socio-cultural events ranged from familial to specific economic-oriented cultural festivals. I tried to cover the most lying within this range. The social interactions, mobility, cultural items, events, rituals, supply and demand of cultural commodities therein helped me in understanding the Kalasha culture. This form of qualitative data helped me in interpreting the process of cultural commodification and hence my study's first research objective.

5. UDC 5: Owners and Personnel of Cultural Institutions (formal and/or informal)

The forms of cultural institutions can be different. The difference can be outlined along the axis of the formality and informality of these institutions. The formal may include those being functioned by the government and informal being privately owned. I covered both in my research. The data extracted from the owners and personnel of these institutions (or cultural group/s) helped understand the Kalash culture, its multi-facet nature and the particular one/s being focused by these cultural institutions. The study's second, third and fourth objectives are comprehensively explained through data from this UDC.

6. UDC 6: Intangible culture (poetry, dance, and music)

The constituents of intangible culture are explained in the forthcoming text (under the last sub-heading of Review of Literature) but in the context of this research I have focused on poetry, dance and music as these are the components most visibly observable and communicative in festive seasons. These also get the attention of locals as well as international tourists. For this reason this UDC is included in the current research.

## **Chapter 2- Methods and Methodology**

Methodology is defined as a procedure which is followed by the social researcher in which researcher has the basic knowledge about the subject matter, the techniques of data elicitation, and the framework to be employed in a research. Hence, methodology is a systematic way of conducting a research and solving a research problem whereas the techniques employed for collecting and analysing data are called research methods. In the following text I have explained the research methods along with Research Strategy and Research Design which will be used for the current research.

### **2.1. Research Strategy**

Qualitative research focuses on in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon or social setting. Contrary to quantitative orientation which is primarily related to generalisation through measurable data, qualitative research basis its understanding on meanings, concepts, definitions, symbols and description of things (Bryman 2012). This research is concerned with the understanding and interpretation of a cultural process i.e. Cultural commodification so adopted a qualitative research strategy.

### **2.2. Research Design**

Among the research designs outlined by Creswall (2013) is the case study and according to the author a case study is an approach which deals with the uniqueness, natural context and the bounding of the object of inquiry. It is also referred as an approach which facilitates the in-depth investigation of the specific instead of general. Cristine and Stake (2005) argue that the case under study is situated and delineated in a particular context. Case study research investigates a community, group, institution, person, phenomenon or process. According to Cristine and Stake (2006) a number of particular groups, institutions or individuals are investigated by multiple case studies. Case studies may be descriptive, explanatory, exploratory, intrinsic or instrumental (Cristine and Stake, 2005). Keeping in view my research questions and objectives I have used descriptive case study research design. A descriptive case study research design enables the researcher to obtain a precise and accurate description of the characteristics of the phenomena or a particular social group being studied to determine the frequency with which some events and characteristics occur in the population.

According to Paltridge and Phakiti (2015), case study research design gives a detailed analysis and explanation of a case. The authors also explain that choice of a case is critical which is chosen through ‘questions, puzzles and curiosities’ about any person or a social process (which is chosen as a case). For the current research, my case is the process of cultural commodification which I intended to describe in-detail by providing a detailed analysis of economic and non-economic dimensions of cultural commodification. In order to facilitate this analysis, multipleUDCs (as explained above) and research methods were used as detailed in the following text.

## **2.3. Research Methods**

The research methods refer to the techniques of data collection. Given the qualitative research strategy and descriptive case study research design, the techniques to be used in this research are as follows:

### **2.3.1. Rapport Building**

Berg (2001)Details that getting access to a field is ‘negotiated and renegotiated throughout the research process’. Previous research background, initial research conducted, taking advantage of certain relationships, and making right contacts are a few strategies prescribed by Berg (2001) but the relationships which the researcher establishes with the researched ease the access process the most. This relationship is built through building rapport with the community or individuals in a field setting. This technique helps researcher to be present in the settings, observe individuals and social events in those settings without being observed, and to interpret and capture the essence of the settings and the people without influencing them. I have used this research method throughout my field work to assist participant observation.

### **2.3.2. Interviews**

Broadly classified as individual and group, interview is the conversational method of data elicitation in which interviewer employs verbal questions as the principle source of data. As a scientific tool for data collection, interviews are carried out in a systematic fashion, based on well-defined research questions and objectives, and controlled by the interviewer to avoid

biases(Sarantakos, 1993). Among the types of interview as classified by Bauer and Gaskell (2002) are episodic, narrative, Delphi, problem-centered, and focus group discussions. Bryman (2012), on the other hand, classifies these types under the umbrella of semi-structured and unstructured interviews. These interviews are less structured than the ones used in survey research. In the forthcoming text I have mentioned the interview types which have been used for the current study:

### **2.3.2.1 Unstructured Interviews**

Sarantakos (1993) differentiates between structured and unstructured interviews and states that in structured interviews, a highly structured interview guide and the rigid structure for the operationalization of interviews is followed. Whereas in unstructured interviews such procedural restrictions while framing questions and following the sequence of questions are not followed. Bryman (2012) further states that while conducting these interviews, interviewee is allowed to respond freely and the interviewer partially responds to points that are relevant or he/she finds worthy of being followed up. I have use unstructured interviews to extract data from UDC 1 and UDC 3 as I visited the community multiple times and through rapport building I was able to interview these UDCs on many separate occasions.

### **2.3.2.2. Semi-structured Interviews**

As stated by Bryman (2012), in semi-structured interviews a specific list of questions or topics are followed by the interviewer but the responses of interviewees are not restricted rather they have the control over what to or what extent to share with the interviewer. The sequence and formulation of questions are not fixed; the questions as included by the interviewer in the interview guide may not follow the same order and probes and prompts are also commonly used. Bernard (2006)Illustrates that these interviews are most appropriate to interview individuals who may not be able to meet the researcher for more than one time. These may include politicians, bureaucrats, chairpersons, etc. For the reasons as mentioned above, I have used this research method to interview UDC 5.

### **2.3.3. Participant Observation**

According to Sarantakos (1993), in participant observation a researcher observes social surroundings, interactions, and communications in an unstructured way, constructs social realities through observations of variant social settings, situations and contexts, and functions in the natural environments without bringing any change in these. I have used this research method throughout my fieldwork and took part in the community and festive activities as a participant. This method was most effectively used for UDC 4.

### **2.3.4. Focus Group Discussion**

Bauer and Gaskell (2002) explain that focus group discussion is a type of group interview which helps the researcher in orienting to a field of inquiry and the local language. It also helps him/her in exploring the range of opinions, behaviours and attitudes, and observing the processes of mutual consensus or disagreements. For these reasons I used this research method with UDC 1. I acted as a moderator during focus group discussions and recorded the focus group discussions and tried to diversify group participants by including people from different genders, age-groups, and socio-economic contexts. The criteria for diversification of group participants was that I included both genders of different age groups and also different socioeconomic backgrounds respondents from shopkeepers, members of the formal and informal institutions and local people of the Kalash community.

### **2.3.5. Semiotic Analysis**

For interpreting UDC 6, semiotic analysis was used. Bryman (2012) calls semiotics as the science of signs, sign system and sign processes. Signs are the icons or pictorial depictions and usually are arbitrary and psychological construction. Semiotic approach is used to analyze symbols and employed to interpret not only documents but other types of data such as visual, virtual and symbolic. From the constituents of these two UDCs, connotative and denotative meanings embedded within these were identified for which I borrowed the concept of ‘sign’ from Ferdinand de Saussure’s theory of semiotics. According to Saussure, sign defines a relationship between ‘signifier’ and ‘signified’. ‘Signifier’ is defined as something which



produces meaning such as word, sound, image or alike physical form that creates communication whereas 'signified' is defined as the meaning itself. It refers to the concept which is pointed out by 'signifier'. The meanings and cultural expressions embedded in Kalash poetry, music and dance were explored and interpreted through semiotic analysis.

### **2.3.6. Thematic Analysis**

For the analysis of data collected through unstructured interviews, semi structured interviews and Focus Group Discussions I have used Thematic Approach whereas the tool for analysis was Framework Analysis. Framework method is a matrix used for the ordering and synthesis of data from the texts. There are two main stages involved in the analysis of qualitative data. The first stage deals with the management of the collected data whereas the second stage deals with the establishing relationships and making sense of the managed data. This analysis process is an iterative process where the analyst can go back to the raw data before making sense anytime during the analysis process. These two stages precede one another but here they are separated for the purpose of various activities involved. Without managing the data properly the analyst cannot make sense of the data in a proper way so these two stages precede one another. The thematic framework method which is used in the chapter was developed at the National Centre for Social Research during 1980s. This method is a matrix based analytic tool which facilitates clear and rigorous management of data during qualitative data analysis. It ensures the inclusion of all the stages involved in the analytic hierarchy in a systematic way and allows the analyst to back and forth movement between different levels during the analysis of the data. It also facilitates the analyst to remain close to the original or raw data. This framework is called the thematic framework which facilitates to organise, classify, sort and synthesize data according to concepts, themes and categories. Each study has a different thematic framework consisting of main themes which further comprise of sub-themes. The next step is the construction of thematic charting. All these stages involved in the thematic framework were carried out to generate themes which have been discussed in chapter five.

## **2.4. Sampling**

According to Sarantakos (1993) sampling is the process of selecting the research units of the target population which will be included in the research study. There are two types of

sampling which are used in social research; probability and non-probability sampling. For the purpose of this research, I have used both probability and non-probability sampling. In non-probability sampling, units are deliberately selected to reflect specific features of a group or community. Unlike probability sampling, in non-probability sampling, the sample is not intended to be statistically representative which means that the probability for selecting each unit is unknown. Instead, the characteristics of the population are used as selection criteria (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). In probability sampling, each sampling unit has the equal probability of being selected in the sample. A sample which a researcher obtains is representative, reliable and generalizable to the population from which that sample is drawn (Sarantakos, 1993). In the following text I have explained the types of probability and non-probability sampling which have been used in this study.

#### **2.4.1. Purposive Sampling**

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) call this sampling technique as criterion-based in which key criteria for selecting respondents or objects are ascertained. This type of non-probability sampling is generally used for cases which are informative and when the sample is small. There are many factors that inform the selection-criteria while selecting respondents through this sampling technique. The selection-criteria include (though not limited to) objectives of the study, existing body of knowledge about area of interest, hypotheses formulated, and the area in which a particular UDC is specialized and the knowledge that particular UDC has on the research topic. For the reasons as mentioned above, I have used purposive sampling with UDC 5 and the sellers of cultural commodities who constitute one of the two constituents of UDC 3. I have also used purposive sampling for selecting the items of intangible culture (UDC 6).

#### **2.4.2. Convenience Sampling**

Convenience sampling is used when the researcher selects respondents according to ease of access or as Bryman states convenience sample is 'available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility' (Bryman, 2012, p. 201). I have used convenience sampling with one of the constituents of UDC 3 i.e. buyers as I could not construct sample frame for these beforehand because each day different visitors or commodity buyers purchased commodities in huge number

and for different reasons. In order to diversify sample I have included both male and female from different socioeconomic backgrounds in my sample of this UDC.

### **2.4.3. Stratified Random Sampling**

A type of probability sampling in which population is divided into different strata and from each stratum a sample is drawn using systematic or simple random sampling (Sarantakos, 1993). For the current research I have used this sampling technique to sample UDC 1 and UDC 2. I have divided my population into different strata and from each stratum sample was drawn using systematic random sampling. For UDC 1 I have constructed sampling frame using census forms<sup>1</sup> and for UDC 2 I have visited all the markets within Bumburet village and was a part of all the festivals where such commodities were put on sale. These avenues helped me in constructing a sample frame for cultural commodities after which I divided my sampling units into different strata (dress, artifacts, and handicrafts) and selected from within these using systematic random sampling.

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<sup>1</sup> Census form is a form on which questions regarding the household members are mentioned. The member has to provide information regarding total no of people in the house, the ages of the family members, the ethnic background of the family members and it also contains question regarding their racial backgrounds. The census forms help the authorities to get complete information regarding the members of the household which helps facilitate the process of census in the country.

## Chapter 3- Review of Literature

I have reviewed literature by following narrative style which is driven by inter-author dialogue. Narrative literature reviews can be arranged thematically. I have reviewed literature in narrative style because my research fulfills the criteria for using this technique as I am following qualitative research strategy and my ontological position of social constructivist and epistemological position of interpretationist also fulfills the criteria for reviewing literature in narrative fashion. My literature review is divided into five broad themes namely: **Culture and Cultural Studies; Frankfurt School: Modern Capitalism and Cultural Industry; Cultural Commodification; Tangibility and Intangibility of Culture**, and **Mass Culture and Popular Culture**. I have cited the works of **Marx, Sen, Lyotard, Derrida, Foucault, and Baudrillard** under the theme of Culture and Cultural Studies. I have also reviewed the works of **Adorno, Marcuse, and Throsby** under the theme of Frankfurt School: Modern Capitalism and Cultural Industry. Under the theme of Cultural Commodification I have cited the work of **Pigliasco, Bunten, Tabani, Ziolkowski, Srisontisuk, Yang, Jackson, Griffin, MacCarthy, Finn, and Cole**. For Tangibility and Intangibility of Culture, I have cited **Bortolotto, Keitumetse, Simonic and Williams**. And, in the last theme, I have cited **Williams, Nayyar and Benjamin**.

### 3.1. Culture and Cultural Studies

The Social Science of Cultural Studies argues that culture is the process through which a society or community generates meanings. Before the advancement of Cultural Studies in the United Kingdom certain forms of arts and their meanings were considered inferior. For instance classical music was considered to be consumed for the elite section of the society. Similarly Shakespeare Plays were considered to be superior as compared to other artists of his time and those being entertained by them were considered elitist. This elite section legitimises different artifacts as culture. For example the paintings of M.F Husain, the writings of Shakespeare<sup>2</sup> and Rabindranath Tagore<sup>3</sup> were regarded as culture while the works of others were neglected as they

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<sup>2</sup> William Shakespeare often called Britain national poet was born on April 26, 1564 and died on April 23, 1616. He was an English poet, actor and play writer. He wrote more than 37 plays representing several themes: comedies, tragedies, histories and tragicomedies. He was a managing partner in the Lord Chamberlains Company.

<sup>3</sup>Rabindranath Tagore was a and Indian poet, philosopher, writer, play writer, , songwriter and educator. He was born in a Brahman Family in Calcutta India. During first phase of his life he was initially known to Calcutta India but it was the latter

were representing the mass culture. This power and marker for mass-based society can be contextualized in different social movements such as feminist, gay, labour union etc. which also politicise and theorise these identities across East and West. Borrowing from Marxist theoretical and poststructuralist methodological frameworks experts from cultural anthropology, media studies, discourse analyses, popular cultural studies and audience studies help build narrative about culture and its deconstruction.

Cultural Studies argues that there are different aspects of culture such as economic, ideological, erotic and spatial. Cultural Studies includes all these aspects in its ambit. It also seeks to understand that how a subject obtains meaning and value in a society. Culture is socially constructed, produced and consumed. The production and consumption of culture is associated with factors such as who decides on what is produced, who can afford this product and how this product is being marketed and presented to the consumers. In the light of this argument it can be explained that the relationship between culture and power is not separable. Both are linked to one another inextricably. As culture is part of the social interactions which are underlined by politics and power hence culture is also influenced by power structures of the society. All the societies are politically and economically organized and power is concentrated to few groups to get hold of scarce resources of the society. As a result of which a particular social formation takes place in which the dominant class of the society uses its power to protect its own interests.

In the following text I have reviewed the works of theorists who have written on culture, power, the relationship between the two and its articulation with development. The works of these theorists are further explained in the narrative of the study's conceptual framework.

### **3.1.1 Marx on Culture: Instrumentalizing Culture for Power and Inequality**

Karl Marx and Friedrich Angel (1967) presented the Marxist cultural theory in the nineteenth century. Marx argues that the economic conditions of the society determine class formation in that society and culture is used to legitimise this societal class formation through

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days of his life when he was at the age of 51 he started translating his poems in English and wrote his book and published it in 1912. He received the noble price for literature in 1913 and the rest was history.

false consciousness. Culture also acts as an instrument through which social division and class formation are inculcated in the minds of the people as natural. Ideology which prevents the marginalized people to recognize the oppression by the dominant class also functions through culture. Culture facilitates in naturalizing and making people believe that everything in this exploitative system is alright and it is natural so that no protest will occur against this social division of class.

Following this brief overview it can be scholastically illustrated that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1967) while analysing the factors of production, modes of production and the relationship of labor and surplus found that culture plays an important role in carrying forward this exploitative capitalist system. They argue that the economic condition of the society helps to create such a culture in which the dominant class functions to justify that this inequality is natural. In this way the economic conditions of the society influence the social structure. As a result class division is made in the society in the form of working class and the capitalist class. The working classes are those who sell their skills and labour while the capitalist class purchases this labour. On the other side is the marginalised group which considers this exploitation as natural and does not even think that they are being exploited. According to Marx this system of false consciousness or the ideology is facilitated by culture. Culture is determined by the economic conditions therefore it should be observed in relation to those conditions of particular age. The capitalists create such an illusion under which the workers feel that they are free and are not being exploited and the dominant class has a right to hold command over surplus or profit.

### **3.1.2 Sen on Culture: Essentializing Culture as an Instrument for**

#### **Development**

According to Sen (1999) culture does not exist in isolation. It is associated with other cultures and it is not a static entity. It changes and evolves with time. Culture is also not homogenous; it can be heterogeneous which may consist of multi-cultures existing within single culture. Cultures are interconnected with each other. This interconnection can take place on the same level-playing field or there may be hierarchy between the dominant culture and alienated culture. Isolating and alienating one culture by the dominant culture can also result in problems such as sectarian issues, political disorders and social discrimination among individuals. Sen also

discusses his concerns about the effect of globalisation on local cultures and their subordination to dominant cultures. For this reason Sen asserts that a country should focus on its local cultures by devising a participatory framework where people from variant cultural orientations can coexist with each other.

According to Sen (1999) culture can influence the process of development in variant ways (i) Culture facilitates the generation of economic activities in the form of cultural tourism which further contributes in boosting the economy through cultural activities. This stipulates the dimension of economic facilitation which is achieved through instrumentalizing culture. (ii) Cultures contextualized for developing countries play an important role in shaping the behavior of the people which further affects their economic success. Due to cultural patterns, the work ethics, motivation and responsible conduct are shaped which play out as signifiers of development at societal level. (iii) Culture also affects social interaction and political participation of people living in a society. If there is a culture of participatory interactions then the process of democracy can be established and practiced in the society. (iv) Studying culture, doing research in development programs, and exploring and excavating the past helps in discovering cultural heritage. For instance by studying Arab Culture it is evident that the Arabs had a peaceful relationship with the Jews in the past. Similarly, the Indonesian history gives us a proof of religious pluralism and peaceful existence of multi-religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucian and Islam.

### **3.1.3 Lyotard on Culture: Subverting the Dominant Discourse of Dominant Culture/s**

Postmodernism rejects the concept of high or elite culture and low or mass culture. It stresses on the concept of cultural relativism. It also rejects the concept of universalism and totalitarianism rather it focuses on the uniqueness and importance of every culture. It focuses on the concept of plurality, diversity, heterogeneity, local, innovative, marginalized and unfinished concept which accepts difference of cultures, regions and individuals. Meaning is produced through the concept of difference. The postmodern art also plays an important role in the plurality of the cultures in the form of visual art, sculpture and plastic art. The subcultures such

as popular cultures in the form of music, MTV, and films which are produced by the disadvantaged groups of the society challenge the hegemony of the dominant cultures.

Postmodernism stresses that the social reality in the world is structured by the power relationships in the society. Jean Francois Lyotard (1984) argues that the postmodernism is the rejection of metanarratives which focuses on the universalities and totalitarian concept of reality in the social world. Lyotard (1984) argues that the scientific discourse is not to spread and disseminate knowledge to world rather it is used to obtain and maintain power. Postmodernism rejects universalism in saying that all these concepts portray false concept of unity because they ignore the concept of difference and uniqueness. They do this in order to create false consciousness on unity of knowledge and social reality. Postmodernism focuses on knowledge obtained that is partial, incomplete and under-theorized, i.e. local knowledge which is to be explored. A postmodern art which consists of visual arts, sculpture, plastic art and designs represent pluralism and helps to portray the concept of cultural pluralism especially for the marginalized groups of the society. The artists use the traditional and contemporary art forms mixing the local and ethnic styles regardless of the high or low cultures.

Jean Baudrillard (1998) argues that the world is now experiencing the culture of hyperreality which means that in the globalized era, the repetition dilutes the difference between the original and the copy. He further explains that in modern world the truth is imagined and meaning produced through sign is not permanent and stable rather it leads to further signs which do not reflect an ultimate truth or an objective reality. In globalizing world the global communication which takes place through internet, the production of data and the use of information are the examples of the redundancy of the true and its incapacitation in representing the original, the objective and the ultimate. In the capitalist society the consumer culture compels people to use objects not just for their needs rather they consume these to reflect a class or status. In this way the objects that we consume act as signs which have value for us. In this way the people consume objects which further transform into sign value thus creating an identity and life style of certain people which is more related to capitalist class who afford to participate in the process. This according to Baudrillard (1998) is called the hyper-reality of objects.



### 3.1.4 Derrida and Foucault: Poststructuralism, Deconstruction and Culture

The French Philosopher Jacques Derrida (1967) presented a new approach to language, signs and their interpretation. Poststructuralism argues that meaning produced as a result of difference is never stable i.e. meaning produced as a result of sign is temporary and its interpretation context-bound. The sign can lead to another sign or signs within a certain context. Poststructuralism is actually a critique from the binary opposition of structuralism. Poststructuralism states that difference is the basic principle to produce knowledge but this knowledge is not permanent rather it is in its transition form and leads to another form or forms. Meaning and identity are never stable because they lead to new form and one cannot have an ultimate form of knowledge.

Foucault (2002) was interested that how the structure of knowledge such as medicine, arts, science etc. is dependent on the power structures in the society. According to him once this knowledge is obtained it is used for social control. He was interested to know that how people were excluded from the society through this control. He argues that the powerful section of the society produces knowledge on behalf of the marginalized section of the society. This system of knowledge is called discourse. Discourse includes science, religion, art, and law which produces further subjects for social control by the ones who own power. For example law is a discourse which is used for justice and the criminals are the subjects who are jailed by the law. This inequality in the production of knowledge creates hierarchy in addition to widening socio-economic inequality. In this way knowledge of medicine, religion and the law becomes modes of social control in the society. Those who are marginalized and disadvantaged constitute lower section of the society. These groups or identities are theorized as subalterns by Gayatri Spivak (1988). Spivak who is a cultural critic uses approaches which are based on Marxism, feminism and deconstruction. Her major work is on postcolonial area especially on colonised nations. Spivak borrows the concept of subaltern from Antonio Gramsci (1971) who signifies subaltern as a suppressed identity. She argues that the dominant section of the society takes every possible step to suppress the subaltern who cannot speak on his/her behalf due to societal oppression and his/her lack of agency.

After having briefly described variant theoretical claims on culture, I am going to review the Frankfurt school of thought. This intellectual domain is reviewed for its critical lens to

modern capitalism and how it has implanted the notion of global culture. This school of thought will also criticize the operational mechanisms of cultural industries. According to this school of thought, the modern capitalism maintains itself by the monopolistic capitalist corporations and efficient governmental management of the economy. This can be seen in the growth of monopolist corporations through their control over the markets and prices. The modern liberal states intervene in the economies in order to prevent economic collapse in these capitalist societies. The mass-production of goods in the capitalist societies facilitates the ideological control exerted by the cultural industry which in turn controls and incorporates the working class into this capitalist society.

These themes are relevant and will also establish foundational knowledge for the review's subsequent intellectual domain of cultural commodification.

### **3.2. The Frankfurt School: Modern Capitalism and Cultural Industry**

The German left-wing Jewish intellectuals established the Frankfurt School in 1923 in Germany. The founding members of this school were Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse and Walter Benjamin who belonged to the upper and middle class in Germany. The centralised government in Germany and the Nazi Party rise to power forced these Jewish intellectuals to move towards Western Europe and North America. The Frankfurt School was also temporarily shifted to New York while some of the intellectuals also lived in Los Angeles. But the school eventually was restarted in Germany in the late 1940s. Adorno and Max Horkheimer returned to Germany with the school whereas some of the members preferred to stay in America. Herbert Marcuse continued the work of the school and extended analysis of the modern society to post-war capitalism particularly that of American Capitalism. The Frankfurt School focused its analysis to the Fascist German State of Nazi Party, consumer capitalism, Marxist totalitarianism and American monopoly where mass media and popular culture emerged and developed over time.

Frankfurt School realizes and argues that the possibility of bringing radical change in the minds of the people has been pushed aside by the mass media, totalitarianism, commercialisation and urbanization in the modern capitalist society. It further argues that the modern capitalism has been successful in establishing a strong system and has been successful in overcoming many of

crises it once faced and has been therefore able to obtain more power. But according to Marcuse, consumerism and its affluence have also witnessed the inequality, poverty and racism. It also focuses the lack of intellectual and political distance between the school and Marxist analysis of the capitalist society which to him is unstable and crisis-ridden. Frankfurt school argues that there is durability in the capitalist system because of its high mass production and consumption pattern for society.

It also explains that there exists commodity fetishism in the cultural industry where the exchange value is dominating the use value due to centralised and authoritarian type of governments. This commodity fetishism has taken control over society and created a false consciousness about false needs in the minds of the individuals in the society. In this way it has been able to exclude the real needs, alternative systems, radical theories and political oppositions in the society. People are impressed with and trapped in this system to the extent that they do not realize what is taking place in the society. According to Adorno (2001) cultural industry promotes culture which is imposed by the mass media upon the masses. It is imposed in such a way that the masses do not view it as an imposition upon themselves by the capitalist society through centralised governments. Thus the masses become powerless and the power lies with the cultural industry. In this way the capitalist society becomes more and more stable. While explaining culture industry, Adorno (2001) also argues that in culture industry the individuals do not determine the culture for themselves rather the culture industry determines culture for the individuals and it is imposed upon the individuals by the modern capitalist society which encourages consumerism in such a way that the masses welcome this without realising that it is an imposition upon them. The Frankfurt School argues that stability of liberal governments to support monopolist capitalism, the domination of exchange value and commodity fetishism can be seen or reflected in the culture industry. The modern capitalist society shapes the preferences and tastes of the individuals by inculcating false needs in their minds. In this way the real or true needs of the masses are suppressed by the false needs in such a way that they remain unaware about what is happening there. Adorno (2001) argues that the goods produced in the capitalist modern society are tailored and manufactured according to a plan by the recent technologies and also by economic and administrative interventions.

In this regard Marcuse (1972), one of the members of the Frankfurt School, has identified the concept of false needs which is based on the assumption that people have true needs when they are creative and live as freed individuals participating freely in democratic activities in the society. This is when they are able to have control over their destinies. But in modern capitalist society these true needs are suppressed by the false needs created by the modern capitalist society. In this way the capitalist society succeeds in making the consumers unconscious about what the true or real needs by fulfilling the false needs created by capitalism and these people think that they have what they wanted. For example the people in capitalist society think that they have freedom but in reality these people are not free as according to Frankfurt School they are not autonomous, independent and conscious humans who can think for themselves on their own. The school rather argues that the freedom of the individuals is restricted between choosing different goods produced by capitalism or to choose between different brands selling the same product or between political parties who have marred differences between them. This advertization of false needs and proliferation of consumerism which is facilitated and fostered by liberal democracy suppresses the real and true needs expressed may be as genuine political freedom or useful products. These false needs are cultivated in the minds of the individuals with the help of culture industry. The Frankfurt School argues that the culture industry ensures the progress and stability of false needs. The culture industry inculcates in the minds of the individuals these false needs so effectively that no one tries to resist the capitalist society.

The Frankfurt School after its establishment in 1923 started critique on the Enlightenment. According to this school of thought the Enlightenment promises of extending its fruits of human freedom through rational and scientific progress which has not been achieved, as yet. Instead rationality and science has deprived people of human freedom. One of the members of the Frankfurt School, Adorno (2001) argues that the cultural industry focuses such enlightenment under the auspicious label of progression. As opposed to this, rational technical domination acts as a tool for deceiving people. Hence, this enlightenment project is used to fetter the consciousness of the individuals and because of this deception it helps to maintain such a society where on surface autonomous individuals function and make decisions for themselves on their own.

Adorno (2001) uses the concept of the commodity fetishism to understand modern popular culture. The author argues that how popular cultural artifact(such as music) is used for the stability and domination of capitalism in the modern world. He explains that the commodified music in the modern capitalist society dominates social relations. When the consumers pay the price to attend any music concert they start to worship the money which they have paid. This money paid in the form of a ticket to attend a concert defines and dominates the social relationships. Marx (1951) argues that in a commodity produced by labor lies the social character of the worker who has produced it. The relation of the workers to the sum total of the product produced by them is presented to the workers as a social relation which does not exist between the workers but between the products of their labor. In this way the social relationships are assumed to be there between men but the actual relationship is between things. This is what Marx called commodity fetishism which is present there whenever the commodity is produced and is impossible to be separated from the production of commodities. Adorno (2001) argues that in this way through cultural goods exchange value replaces use value in the modern capitalist society. Exchange value means the price of the commodity which is bought and sold in the market for the purpose of profit making whereas use values refers to the consumption of a commodity by the consumers for the purpose of utility or usefulness in the form of practical value to the consumers. Marx argues that exchange value always dominates use value because the production, marketing and consumption of the commodities in the capitalist society will always take control of the real needs of the individuals is central to the Adorno theory of capitalist society. Adorno's theory of capitalist culture states that how exchange value in capitalist society takes control of social relations through commodity fetishism. Money thus acts to represent social relations between individuals in a capitalist society which acts as a basic definition of value of commodities. Due to this we pay more attention to the price of the ticket rather than the musical concert itself.

Adorno (2001) conceptualizes commodity fetishism and exchange value in order to analyze cultural commodities produced in the modern capitalist society. He takes the example of production and consumption of music in the modern capitalist society in the form of music fetishism. According to Adorno (2001), in the modern capitalist world the current music industry is highly influenced and affected by the commodity form. The point that in cultural industries cultural goods are being produced, marketed and sold in the market for profit coalesces with the

Marxist view. These cultural goods as defined by money in the market therefore possess commodity fetishism and are dominated by the exchange value instead of use value. As a cultural good, the exchange value of the music deceptively takes the form of use value of music as proposed by Adorno. In this way we worship the price paid in the form of ticket for a musical concert instead of the musical performance itself by the artist. This example is set against the theoretical conception of commodity fetishism where cultural expressions and social relations are dominated and defined by money.

### **3.2.1 Cultural Industry**

Throsby (2010) argues that cultural industries are defined as those which produce cultural goods and services. Creative industries are those industries which produce cultural goods and services in the form of cultural, artistic and entertainment value associated with these goods and services. Cultural industries are the subset of the creative industries which are producing creative goods and services. UNESCO further elaborates that cultural industries are associated with the combination, creation, production and commercialization of the cultural and intangible natural contents. These natural contents may take the form of goods and services which are protected by copyrights. These cultural industries, according to UNESCO, help to promote and maintain cultural diversity and democratic access to culture. In France cultural industries are also contributing to economic growth through a set of economic activities and combine the production of culture which is more industrial in functions at large scale manufacture and commercial cultural goods and services.

Throsby (2010) discusses the role cultural industry displays in the modern mixed economy and its assessment. The government also takes keen interest in the creative and cultural industries due to the contribution of the cultural and creative industries in the economic growth both in terms of cultural and economic terms. In 1980s in the UK and elsewhere cultural industries emerged in practical terms whereas in Australia these industries were transposed in 1994 to the creative industries by combining new technologies with the arts to form cultural policy by the government. This term gained more importance in United Kingdom through its acceptance by the UK cultural, media and sports departments which helped to establish Creative Industrial Task Force in 1997 in United Kingdom. The application of new technologies in the

production of cultural goods and services in the modern capitalistic world has increased the role of cultural industries to a great level from being a minor contributor to the economy to the major contributor to economy in many countries of the world. Thus cultural industries have attained the status of key player in the economy which is driven by innovation, creativity and access to knowledge.

For an effective policy formulation it is important to know the structure of the cultural production sector in the modern capitalist society. A cultural approach which is used for conceptualizing the structural features of the cultural industries is pursued within the disciplines of Cultural Studies, Sociology, Political Economy and Cultural Theory. According to Theodor Adorno and Marx Hokheimer cultural industries facilitated the cultural commodification during the period of post-world war. This cultural approach could be traced back to the times of Adorno and Hokheimer who believe that a cultural approach may consider cultural industries and their role in shaping consumer and capitalist society. They also believe that the relationship of power and class affect the production and consumption of cultural goods and services in the modern capitalist society. It also looks into the cultural industry's response to the consumer demands which are formed as a result of a particular political and social context. Thus this structural nature of cultural industries give central or core status to the cultural industries which produce cultural goods and services through print media, internet and film. These media forms facilitate the dissemination and consumption of popular culture in the modern capitalist society. Against this backdrop creative arts are considered peripheral and of less policy importance due to the dominance of hegemonic cultural narrative as explained above.

In order to conceptualise the underlying structural characteristics of the cultural industries the concentric model is the most relevant which focuses on differentiating between economic value and cultural value of the cultural goods and services. According to this model cultural artifact springs when creative ideas are incorporated into the production or when sound, text and image are presented to convey artistic creativity. It is due to this that the literature, music, drama, dance, visual arts and other creative arts are situated at the center of the concentric model whereas the successive layers of the concentric circles in the form of ideas lie outwards of the model. In this model the economic contents appear in the form of market and non-market value of goods and services produced at various layers in the form of finished goods or intermediate

goods. In the model the central role of the artistic creativity is given the most importance. This creativity is embodied by cultural industries that derive cultural contents from central artistic creativity. Whereas the successive layers of the model consists of those goods and services which are market driven and exist in the form of fashion and advertising. These circles may also include more layers such as of tourism, theme parks, gastronomy and sports. All the industries in the concentric model can be seen to have creativity as an input and supply products with cultural contents. It is also highlighted by Throsby (2010) that all these industries are involved in the exploitation of the intellectual property for their economic incentives.

Nowadays the cultural contribution to the economy of any county can be assessed through a number of ways. The basic principle used to determine the contribution of the cultural industry to economy is the contribution that it makes to the overall macroeconomic aggregates of the country in the form of job creation, exports, fixed capital formation, value added and so on. Through such statistics it can be made possible to gauge cultural industry's contribution to the Gross Domestic Product. The regional level analysis of the data will give us the contribution of these cultural industries to regional economies and their clusters can also be identified. The standard methods of industrial organization theory can also be applied to the cultural industries as well in which the conduct, structure and performance features of the industries are considered. By structure we mean the degree or concentration of buyers and sellers in the market, the condition of the entry and exit of the firm; by conduct we mean the way in which the firms manage the prices of the goods and services through completion with one another, and by performance we mean that the adjustment of firms in utilizing their resources efficiently to manage demands for their products in terms of quality, price and costs. All these analyses are concerned with those industries which are associated with the production of cultural goods and services.

### **3.3. Cultural Commodification**

Pigliasco (2010) explains that the traditional ceremony of Fijian fire walking has been commodified to meet the requirements of the modern day tourism. The traditional ceremony is only performed by the traditional people of Sawau on the island of Beqa Fiji which has now become a commodified ritual to meet the requirements of tourism. This ritual over the past couple of centuries has become a sociocultural instrument which has helped to indigenize the



foreign power in the local area. This commodified Fijian fire walking ceremony has helped the locals to sustain their community, represent their tradition across the country, attained respect and strengthened their social capital. The alternative narrative, however, criticizes the lack of authenticity embedded in this ceremony which is being instrumentalized for entrepreneurial success as this ceremony has become a money-making apparatus for many. This acts as a process in which the community's past and their cultural artifacts are reshaped or valorised in the present day much to the tourists' discretion.

In addition, Bunten (2008) argued that the local participation in the heritage industry helps the community to reproduce their cultural products and sustain them by commodifying commodities. While undergoing this process there is always the danger of losing those cultural products which the locals usually protect from the process of commodification. In order to sell their products the tourism workers balance themselves between industry roles/standards to meet the requirements of the tourists while on the other hand they must have the qualities that of a local person. Bunten (2008) explains that striking such a balance is necessary for the sales of cultural products. Ziolkowski (2004) further elaborates that in Poland the process of commodification due to its uneven and ambiguous rules have resulted in tensions and pathologies between subsystems of the society. This tension between the subsystems causes imbalance in the market, inefficient democracy and primate networks in the society. Commodification which Ziolkowski (2004) defines as the process in which an object with respect to its own price and value becomes a commodity when it is introduced in the market place, deteriorates the normative and cognitive system of the society and also social legitimisation of the new order is weakened.

In addition, Tabani (2017) revealed that the commodification of the customs of the local people has hurt their sentiments. As a result the tourist spot of volcano was closed for the tourists which resulted in a number of conflicts for almost nine months. The locals concluded that their customs do not need money. Similar nature of tensions was also reported in Lindstrom. The local groups and Christians were in conflict regarding whether or not they should receive money from the tourists and be allowed to participate in the events related to their customs. It was also noted that the amount of money earned through this activity was too small to have any remarkable socioeconomic impact. It is also reported that the locals also faced the problems of exploitation

due to low wage labour, politicization of their customs, and humiliating working environment among others. It was also interesting to note that the Christians who were the first ones to reject the local Tanna traditions and customs were surprisingly the first ones to commodify these. Market forces have fostered cultural commodification but these forces have often remained in conflict and tension in sharing their culture with tourists and in taking care of their culture. It is also argued in this research that the commodification of local culture has resulted in the objectification of the local cultural heritage.

In addition Yang (2009) explains that in Cultural Studies, commodification of culture means a pattern of commercialisation in ethnic tourism which pollutes and leads to the loss of authenticity of previously ethnic cultures. According to Yang (2009), commodification has led to phony folk cultures<sup>4</sup> which are developed by the local communities to attract tourists. This adversely affects the originality of the local cultures. The commodification process also leads towards the problem of lack of authenticity when locals who in order to obtain economic benefits misguide the tourists by creating false tourist consciousness and represents new modified attractions as authentic ones. In order to attract tourists the locals who are motivated by economic activities for jobs and income select different cultural elements to create stage representations and art performances to make these elements of the culture more attractive and accessible to the visitors. This cultural commodification helps the locals to make themselves adaptable to the requirements of the visitors which results in the loss of authenticity of the original traditional culture of that society.

In addition Jackson (1999) argued that the process of cultural commodification does not take place evenly in a society. For those people who are advantaged and possess capital can afford the process of commodification while for the disadvantaged or the poor people this process has negative effects. This process of cultural commodification enables the capitalists and outsiders to penetrate the local cultures on their own terms by consuming different cultural products. In this way the tourists assert their power on the locals by consuming their culture.

Srisontisuk (2002) also explains that the process of commodification increased economic activities in the Chiankhan community which further produced cultural elements such as quilts,

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<sup>4</sup> Phony Folk Culture means such artificial cultures which are invented by local people and staged frequently to attract tourists.

new buildings, among others which resulted in improving the economic conditions of the community. The economic benefits extracted from cultural commodification were found out to be more than the subsistence farming and agriculture which were previously viewed as the communal livelihood strategies. It is also evident that the value of the cultural products of the Chiangkhan community also increased due to cultural commodification. The commodification of cultural products enabled the local cultural artifacts to become tangible and saleable products in the market. This process also helped the Chiangkhan cultural products to disseminate to other parts of the world.

MacCarthy (2016) details that the concept of authenticity is socially constructed. The author further argues that the study on the conceptualisation of authenticity in Papua New Guinea shows that for those tourists who came to visit only for short period of time (in this case for two to three days) conceptualize authenticity differently than those who stay and live with the hosts and perform their rituals on daily basis. MacCarthy (2016) further details those travelers who are not influenced by the process of commodification; they are the ones who zealously travel and pay huge amounts of money to the travel agents and guides. They also experience the originality of the cultural artefacts, rituals, customs and festivals in their daily lives. The author argues that those who travel for two or three days are more influenced by the process of commodification as the arrangements made by the travel guides and presentations of cultural artifacts somehow come across less authentic or more staged.

In addition Finn (2009) argued that the commodification of Cuban music by De Marcos yields the benefits of musical creativity and generates economic activity. De Marcos helps the community artists in the country, encourages them to use his platform, enhance their creativity through music, and sell their cultural products to other parts of the world without exploitation by the music industry which is dominated by the outsiders. It is evident from this study that in the past the Cuban music was being exploited by the capitalists in music industry. This study shows that an artist's interests cannot be separated from economic interests and at the same time it shows that the economic control of music is the result of control exerted by the external forces. Cole (2007) argued that the commodification process is viewed as negative in respect to cultural commodification. This study was conducted on Ngadha megaliths and Nua, a society in Indonesia and it showed that the local government took steps to preserve the material culture of

the community. This measure to protect the traditional culture has forced people away from development; the people cannot construct windows in their houses and in some villages they do not have the facility of electricity. In this way the villagers of Ngadha megaliths and Nua are consigned and reified in the name of preserving heritage. In this way the villagers have been denied developmental advantages in the modern world. The author argues that the state has deprived the villagers of ownership of cultural resources which is critical for exerting control over cultural tourism in the community.

Castile (1996) argued that the arrival of the Europeans in America started the process of commodification of everything including the commodification of identity of the native people. The capitalists, in this way, made a market place in which the ethnic identity of the natives was treated as commodities. The federal government took steps to manage the fluctuation of commodity prices. The process of commodification helped the colonialists to use the native Indian image for hegemonic and symbolic purposes. Indian lands were used for European purposes and in this way the images of Indian were used to invent new American national identity. The new Americans defined themselves in part with the former native old Americans.

Kaul (2007) in his study conducted on Doolin in the Republic of Ireland argued that the commercialisation of Irish music should be distinguished from the process of commodification. The author further argued that commodification is a process in which the control over the production of a thing (which can be both tangible and intangible) is taken away from the producer whereas in commercialisation the control over the production remains with the producer. While providing a variant perspective of cultural commodification, Christine and Quail (2005) argued that the cultural commodification of the TV shows transformed the content, audience and labour into commodities and these are treated as media products. This transformation of TV shows helps to create consumer culture which is reproduced and staged for the audience who themselves act as commodified and as rating audience of a particular TV show. The labor working for the commodification of the above mentioned media products also act as commodities in this commodification process. The above mentioned commodified media products act as platform to commoditise the politico-cultural lives of the people. The commodification of the TV shows, in this way, prefer profit imperatives over the problems of the guests and solutions which they are originally portend to do. Schramm (2004) argued that

authenticity is a contested term among the Ghanaian people and diasporas and is therefore dynamic and ever shifting category among them. The chieftaincy in Ghanaian context is taken as an example which shows that the chieftaincy is criticized by the people from outside Ghana and also at the local level by the people. The chieftaincy has remained its social and political status and has retained its status and resisted the national folkloric repertoire. The chieftaincy has been kept alive not because of its partial involvement in the heritage realm but because of measures like the development chiefs have been institutionalised, the adaptation measures taken to adapt Akan cultural symbolism to American-African popular culture. Thus the language of authenticity is used as an instrument to cope political claims and positions which are incompatible.

Wallace (2009) explains that many communities in the world try to make economic benefits and increase their income through cultural commodification. Similarly the indigenous people of the rain forests of Brazilian Couro Vegetal Amazon with the help of cultural broker use the World Wide Web to commodify their indigenous culture to increase their incomes through consumption in the global market. The cultural brokers help to bind relationships between the consumers of the products and the indigenous people through commodifying their cultural products. It is also evident in this study that business can play an effective role to increase income of the local people by adding cultural value to the commoditised products. It is also evident that such business only be sustainable and beneficial for the local communities only if the local communities are involved in process and control of the production of these cultural products.

Freeston (2002) argues that the state sponsored cultural commodification in the Newtown Sydney in Australia has resulted in the expansion of economic growth which is led by tourism. But this economic growth instead of benefiting the communities has negatively affected them. The life style of the people of an alternative sight in the city show signs of poverty and homelessness. The authors articulated life style to be part of the commodification process (Freeston and Wallace, 1999). They argue that in order to ensure attraction for tourists there should be efforts to remove the beggars in the streets of Newtown. The process of cultural commodification has increased socioeconomic status while decreasing cultural diversity. Unskilled labour also faced a problem of unemployment while skilled jobs were created which further worsen the conditions of the poor in the city. Cultural authenticity has been diminished

by the process of commodification. The homogenisation of the shops in the marketing place is actually decreasing the diversity of shops. The suburban retail shops have replaced the shops which were representing diverse populations.

Kirtsoglou (2004) elaborates that the process of cultural commodification has uneven benefits for the stakeholders involved in it. The impacts of this process are also uneven where some have been positively impacted in the form of increase in income and job employment while others are negatively affected in the form of loss of cultural diversity. This research which was conducted on Garifuna community (located in the Islands of Honduras) shows that the cultural commodification of the cultural artifacts of the Garifuna community (such as the Puntadance) is staged by third party or middle man for the tourist consumption. According to community, the middle man exploits their culture for his own profits. It was also evident through this research that the locals perceived that the economic benefits would yield them the benefits the most. It is not just about material benefits but it also involves their cultural values and customs which they can represent to the tourists in the most authentic fashion.

Chhabra (2010) also details that cultural commodification jeopardizes cultural traditions and social relationships. The host community uses cultural rituals and commodifies them to earn economic benefits. In contrast many authors (Halewood and Hannam (2001), Maffolosi (1996) to name a few) argue that the host community revives and enhances their traditions and rituals through commodification. Furthermore it is also argued that commodification helps in developing social relations and identity structures to form neo-tribe. In neo-tribe the cultural rituals become authentic and their originality remains as there are no staged performances. It is further explained that the process of cultural commodification can be beneficial for the local community only if it is involved in the process and owns it.

### **3.4. Tangibility and Intangibility of Culture**

#### **3.4.1 Tangible Cultural Heritage**

Vecco (2010) argues that patrimoine and tangible heritage in the form of monument was used for each other in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The author argues the word patrimoine was first used in 1790 by Francois Puthod who was trying to convince the emigrants to transform

their heritage from private family basis to public national level. But till the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century the term monument meant valuable testimonies of the past which were worthy for preservation and protection. By patrimoine it is meant certain tangible goods which were inherited from the past from the father and were considered to be private goods and hence they were considered to be private tangible heritage. But after French Revolution as these private tangible heritages were open to public and hence they became publicly owned by the state instead of the King. In 1930-1945 the concept of patrimoine was considered by the international organization as part of the cultural dimension. In 1931 the concept of artistic heritage was introduced by Euripide Foundoukids (1931) and after that it was commonly used by the international organizations documents. In the arena of 1959 to 1970 the term heritage was only used for artistic tangible property and was bound to fine arts only. During this period the stress was all on material cultural heritage in the form of monuments and sites which were considered to be valuable from historic point of view in the form of art or science.

Pedersen (2002) argues that the World Heritage Convention held in Paris in 1972 was concerned with the protection of the tangible world natural and cultural heritage and it was an international agreement between the member countries. All the material cultural properties or heritage of the states were considered by the World Heritage Convention and steps were made for their protection and safeguarding of these tangible cultural properties. The tangible cultural properties which were fulfilling the criteria for this convention were monuments: which includes all the tangible monuments which consisted of architectural work which possess some value from historical point of view, buildings: buildings or group of buildings which were valuable due to their architectural work or design from some historical point of view and the last the sites: the sites includes all the work of man and the natural places or sites which are valuable due to their aesthetic or anthropological or ethnological points of view.

### **3.4.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage**

Bortolotto (2006) argues that the intangible cultural heritage was not initially theorised in UNESCO conventions before 2003. Initially only material culture or tangible culture was part of the heritage debate. But with the passage of time a shift occurred from considering cultural expressions as materials only to more as a process or processes. According to this shift culture

and heritage are considered in their contexts and ultimately leads to a focus on intangible cultural expressions. Right now the UNESCO's focus is on both the tangible and intangible cultural heritage and most pertinently dynamic nature of culture which leads to cultural recreations, performances, and expressions. According to Bortolotto (2006), in this way, the focus on material cultural has shifted to cultural expressions. This shift took place in 1990s from the Western rooted archivist approach to the more process-based approach of the Japanese paradigm. As a result of this shift in this approach, the recent intangible cultural heritage programmes were being established by the UNESCO convention in 2003. This shift from the material culture to more process-based cultural expressions helps to establish innovative cultural policies by considering cultural and social life of the entire community.

Keitumetse (2006) claims that focus on intangible cultural heritage began in 1989 in the General Conference in Paris in which recommendations about safeguarding folklore and traditional culture were adopted. These recommendations of the conference served as a basis to develop the 2003 UNESCO Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage and its Safeguarding. According the UNESCO Convention the Intangible Cultural Heritage is defined as “The expressions, practices, representations, knowledge and skills and also the material things, cultural artifacts and cultural spaces that a community possesses and in some cases an individual considers as part of their cultural heritage”. The intangible cultural heritage goes through a process of change by the communities depending upon their environment, their interaction with the nature and history of the particular community which provides them the sense of identity through promoting respect for pluralism and creativity in the community. According to the UNESCO Convention in 2003 the domain of intangible cultural heritage includes cultural festivals, cultural rituals, social practices, performing arts (in the form of cultural dances and cultural songs), knowledge and practices which are related to nature and traditional crafts such as dresses.

A study conducted on Pohorje Regional National Park in Slovenia showed that the definition of the UNESCO's Convention on the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage is very narrow and a small part of the great diversity of the way of life or culture (Simonic, 2013). The author further argues that the definition of the intangible cultural heritage has overlooked private life in the form of family or household in which transmission of knowledge



regarding natural heritage, language, oral traditions, symbolical hierarchies and mutual relationship between neighbors takes place through the parents and transferred to the children. Hence, this definition of intangible cultural heritage becomes more comprehensive and democratic.

Cultural Studies argues that culture is the process through which a society or community generates meanings. This process of meaning generation is influenced by the elite section of the society which tries to control this process of meaning production. Before the advancement of Cultural Studies in United Kingdom certain form of arts and their meanings were considered inferior. For example classical music was considered to be for the elite section of the society. Similarly the plays of Shakespeare were considered to be superior as compared to other artists of that time. However, Cultural Studies claims that popular culture is the set of beliefs, values and practices of everyday which are shared widely in the world. It further elaborates that there are different aspects of culture such as economic, ideological, erotic and spatial. The aim of Cultural Studies is to include all these aspects in its ambit. Cultural Studies seeks to understand that how a subject obtains meaning and value in a society. Culture is not a natural thing rather it is produced and consumed in a society. Power and identity plays a vital role in the production and consumption of culture within a society. One's identity is related to the production and consumption of a cultural artifact. Power influences cultural artefacts which intern influences identity. For example the Plays of Shakespeare as compared to other arts are preferred due to the power and political aspect of culture. Cultural Studies is linked with growth and advent of popular culture in the 1960s. Similarly other movements like feminist, gay, and labor unions in the United Kingdom also helped to politicise and theorise these identities in the United Kingdom. Raymond Williams played an important role in the work of the Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies in 1970s. The approach of Raymond Williams was Marxist and also this approach adapted some insights from poststructuralism. Cultural Studies uses different methods for analysis from fields such as cultural anthropology, media studies, discourse analysis, popular cultural studies and audience studies.

Popular or mass culture which is defined as the set of values, shared ideas and practices which are shared by the majority in the society became popular in 1960s. The popular or mass culture consists of rock music, the food patterns of people, graffiti, comic books, sports and the

everyday life of people in the society. Before the advent of the Cultural Studies all the above-mentioned arts were considered to be inferior as compared to other arts. This means that the elite section of the society legitimise different artifacts as culture. For example the paintings of M.F Husain, the writings of Shakespeare and Rabindranath Tagore were regarded as culture while the works of others were neglected as they were representing the mass culture.

Culture is socially constructed, produced and consumed by the society. Cultural Studies argues that culture is composed of different aspects such as spatial, economic, erotic and political. The production and consumption of culture is associated with the factors such as who decides on what is produced, who can afford this product and how this product is being marketed and presented to the consumers. By combining all these matters we can say that power and identity plays a vital role in the production and consumption of culture.

Raymond Williams (1981) details that in our everyday life we see culture in music, painting, theatre, and films. He also refers culture to the way of life in terms of symbols and signs. The use of symbols distinguishes a particular way of life of individuals or a group of individuals. Only human beings have cultures because they are able to create and use symbols which distinguish them from others and which forms the basis of human cultural beings. He further explains the importance of language in culture as language (both written and spoken) is the repository of signs and symbols. From his argument it can be observed that there can be intangible manifestations of culture. Taylor (1891) also defines culture as a complex whole which consists of belief, knowledge, art, morals, law, custom, mannerisms and habits that an individual possesses as being a member of any society. It is also evident that culture is a product of human behavior and life and hence it is learned. He furthermore says that as a way of life culture must be differentiated from society because there may be multi-cultures within a society. This proposition gives culture a multi-dimensional and pluri-vocal space. In this framework culture is seen as a process- the one which is shared, learned, expressional and eventually intangible.

Culture as an intangible landscape is also studied by sociologists and anthropologists. According to later people become part of culture through the process of acculturation whereas sociologists theorize culture as a process of learning through which it is learned. Sociologists call this process as socialization- a process in which an infant through the contact with other human

beings becomes aware of the way/s of life. Sociologists argue that there are two stages of socialization: the primary socialization and the secondary socialization. In primary socialization it starts with the birth of a person and lasts till he/she learns and speaks the language, and attends schools. The secondary socialization takes place through the experiential realities he/she learns or comes to terms with throughout lifetime till his/her death. These aspects dimensionalize culture its intangibility.

The relationship between culture and power also broadens the definitional horizons of culture especially in intangible context. Culture and power both are inseparable and linked to one another inextricably. As culture is part of the social interactions which are underlined by politics and power, it also becomes influenced by the power structures of the society. All the societies are politically and economically organized. Power is also distributed to manage the scarce resources of society as well. As a result of which dominant social formation emerges that uses power to protect its own interests.

### **3.5. Mass Culture and Popular Culture**

Popular culture includes films, records, clothes, TV programmes, modes of transportations and artifacts. These artifacts can be found in different societies, in between different groups of people in societies having different historical backgrounds from each other. Popular culture from mass cultural perspective is defined as the folk culture in pre-industrialized societies or the mass culture in industrial societies of the world. Popular culture and mass culture are interlinked and the social significance of the popular culture in the modern world is charted by the way it has been identified by mass culture. The advent of mass media and mass culture and the commercialization of cultural artifacts highlight the issues, interests and debates which are being discussed in today's world. After the advent of mass media, the growth of mass culture became evident from the 1920s and 1930s onward. But this does not mean that the debate about mass culture is a new phenomenon but according to Lowenthal this debate is traced back to sixteen and seventeen century in the writings of Pascal and Montaigne who showed their linkages with the market economy. However according to other writers such as Burke, popular culture started in the eighteenth century with the development of national consciousness where intellectuals made attempts to turn popular culture to national culture.

According to Williams (1976), popular means representing the views of the people instead of those holding power over the general people. But as earlier popular culture was not meant to represent the people but to represent the views of those having power over the general people hence popular meant to be linked to the inferior work of the general people and quality work represented the powerful people of the society. Williams further argues that popular culture is made by the people for themselves and is put differently by displacing it to the past in variant forms such as folk culture. Nayyar (2011) discusses three themes regarding popular culture and its link with the mass culture. The first theme deals with the origin of popular culture. The second theme is about commercialisation of popular culture and also the effects of industrialisation on popular culture. This theme discusses the effects of commercialisation over popular culture by posing questions regarding the commodification of culture in the form of a commodity. This commodification compromises over the quality, artistry, integrity and intellectual artifacts of popular culture, asks questions regarding availability of popular culture in commodity form and how this availability is given incessant importance for satisfying people's wants and needs. The third theme is about the ideology of popular culture and discusses whether popular culture is there to inculcate in the minds of the people the acceptance of the powerful people in the society or it is about the rejection of the dominant and powerful class who exercise their power over the people.

According to Benjamin (1973), in 1920s and 1930s, with the advancement in technology, mass media (in the form of cinema and radio) witnessed the reproduction of culture which posed threats to folk culture and artistic work in the society. By introducing mass production techniques into the production of films made these films commercial products which can be afforded by the cinemas. The author argues that due to the reproduction of culture the cultural products such as cinemas cannot be regarded as authentic and original work of art performed by artists. In the same way they cannot be regarded as folk culture because they do not come from the original people and do not represent their interests and experiences. Cinema and radio after 1920s and 1930s emerged as mass media in the western societies which set the agenda for commercialisation of culture by fuelling fears about mass propaganda of influencing the political regimes. The fascist states with the help of mass media transmitted and inculcated their ideology by broad casting it to the large population. This can be seen from the Nazi party in Germany who attempted to inculcate their centralised and national Nazi Ideology in 1930s in all

the aspects of art and culture and the purpose was to eliminate the aesthetic traditional alternative folk culture. The aim and purpose was to make the Nazi Ideology with the help of intellectuals, artists, musicians, painters, sculptors, academicians, and architects as a Nazi aesthetic ideology. Totalitarian societies and liberal democracies are seen as mass societies in the world.

Mass society theory argues that the industrialisation and urbanization eroded the social values in the societies which were previously used to bond people together. The advent of technology broke down agrarian work and rural sense of community (which was tied to the land), and detached people from religion. They facilitated the spread of mechanised work, the development of atomic cities of anonymous crowds promoting alienating factory work and the erosion of moral integration. These processes helped to set the ground for the mass society and mass culture. This theory further argues that due to industrialisation and urbanisation, atomisation occurs in which people in a society acts as atoms in a compound. It means the people do not have any meaningful relationships with each other. These people do possess a relationship with other people that are purely contractual, sporadic and distant instead of being closely connected with them. In the mass society people are left with devices of the individuals, has less connection with other people or social institutions like family, church and the village which usually helps to mediate between the individuals. These social institutions in the form of family, church and community act as a source of psychological identity, social conduct and moral certainty for the individuals. In this way people find themselves in isolated situations and act as atomised individuals who lack close relation with other individuals. The mass culture theory further argues that the individuals are atomised both socially and morally. The conduct between the individuals remains purely formal on contractual basis and they also lack deeper moral integration in the society. Due to the lack of deeper moral integrity in atomised or mass society the individuals remain vulnerable and can be exploited by the core centralised institutions such as mass media in the form of cinema and TV.

Before the advent of mass media the society was purely organic and communal. In this society people were abide by shared norms, customs and values, had moral integrity into the community and accepted difference between each other. In this organic society there was a room and place for art and artistic activity, elite culture and folk culture which is recognised by people from grassroots level. This culture is created by the people for themselves and reflects the

experiences of local people. This folk culture was considered authentic, separated from art and its distinction recognised and respected. But after the advent of the mass culture and mass society the breakdown of integrity, morality and village life fueled the atomisation of individuals. There remained less connection with humans; people also remained in connection with their devices and only in contractual social relationships with other individuals. In this way people were exploited and manipulated by mass media and mass society where mass culture put aside folk culture and suppressed the integrity of art.

Mass culture is defined as the popular culture which is produced by introducing industrial techniques in mass production of mass artifacts such as cinema, TV programmes, records, and films. These mass artifacts are brought in the market and marketed for profit to the mass consumers in the form of general public. It is commercially produced for the mass market. Both the mass industries and mass market facilitated the spread of mass culture over the art and folk culture for making maximum profit. The theory also argues that the mass production techniques introduced into the production of mass culture for profit has negative effects on the culture which is being produced in the mass societies as a result of mass media.

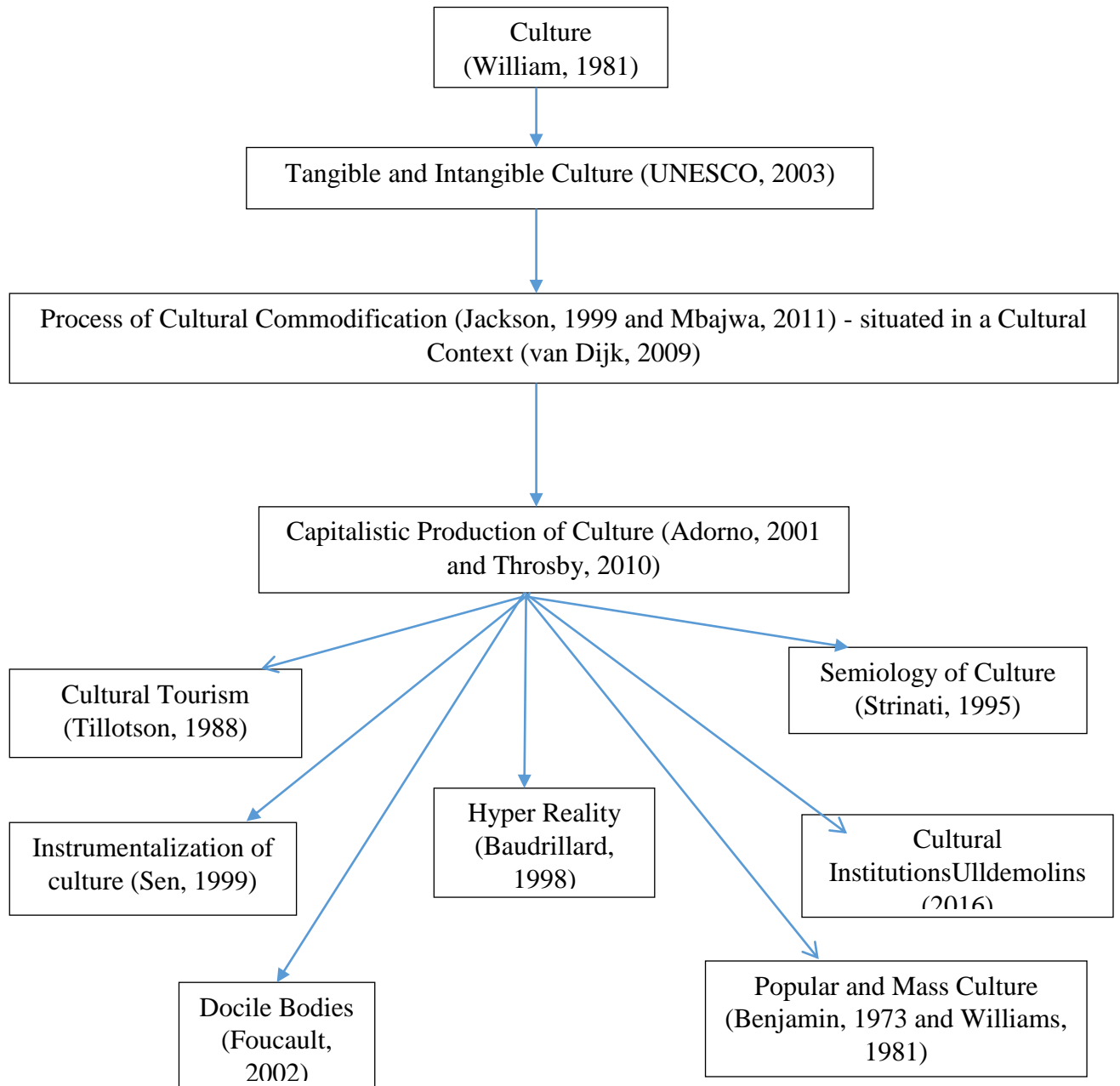
The introduction of industrial techniques in mass media produces mass culture under which cultural products are produced by following the standardised routine and specialized assembly line of production techniques. In this way art cannot be produced by following techniques of mass culture. Art depends upon the genius and aesthetic complexity of the independent artist who is out of the reach of the standardised techniques as used in mass culture. In the same way the folk culture also requires autonomous and integrated individuals who know the authenticity and originality of their self-made independent culture. Whereas the individuals consuming the mass cultural products are passive consumers who are vulnerable to be manipulated by the mass media as it allures people to the pleasure which they can derive through mass consumption. In this mass culture there exists a lack of alternatives as the universe of the mass culture is reduced to one common mass. This universe has debased its folk culture and art is also out of production as there are standardised formulae used to produce art in the society.

### **3.6 Conceptual Framework**

According to Ravitch and Riggan (2012) there are three essential components of a conceptual framework namely; researcher's personal interests defined by his/her epistemological and ontological positions, topical research including the relevant research conducted on the topic in hand, and theoretical framework which includes all the formal theories (macro, meso and micro) which are of interest for the current research. The pictographic exposition includes all the theoretical constructs borrowed from both topical research and formal theories. Before explaining those, I have outlined and reasoned my epistemological and ontological positions for the current study in the immediate text.

Social constructionism is an ontological theoretical position according to which social actors shape the social phenomena where they are also responsible for the accomplishment of the meanings of those phenomena. It states that due to social interactions the social phenomena are produced or formed and reflected upon. In this study my ontological position will be that of a social constructivist because the knowledge on the process of cultural commodification will be shaped by social actors and the objects or the nature of this social world will be viewed as socially constructed. Interpretivism is an epistemological theoretical position which argues that the social world is not governed by law such as regularities rather the social world is mediated by human agency and meanings. My epistemological position for this study will be that of an interpretivist as the process under study is mediated through the interaction of humans and the researcher where social world or process is also affected by each other and most pertinently through researcher's interpretations.

**Figure No 1: Pictographic Representation of Conceptual Framework**



The pictographic representation starts with culture which is deconstructed into tangible and intangible cultures. As reasoned in the key concepts, I have borrowed Raymond Williams’s definition of culture and for tangible and intangible culture I have borrowed the concepts



from UNESCO (2013)'s report (also reasoned in the key concepts). This deconstruction of culture into tangible and intangible is located in a cultural context from where a contextual model of cultural commodification will be derived and for defining cultural context I have borrowed the concept from van Dijk (2009). van Dijk (2009) argues that the cultural context involves the whole community and the people therein, their norms, knowledge and values. He further explains that cultural dimensions of context exist at global level as well and these influences local cultural context. The author argues that through cultural knowledge of the respondents the global cultural contexts and discourses are interfaced by the local situational contexts. The interpretation of context and social situations vary across different cultures, also the discourses that control these are differentiated along the axes of gender, race, kinship, belief system and value system. These differences are theorized in the form of cultural models by the experts of cognitive anthropology. These models are constructed by contributions from values, beliefs, shared knowledge and norms which are the social representations of people and which are considered to be cultural. Thus the term cultural is more often considered to be related to ethnic communities. Hence it is argued that if the sociocultural beliefs, norms, values and customs are different across different cultures and societies then the discourses or communicative events of those communities will also be different which are produced by the cultural models of those communities. In practice these social representations should be systematic, general and must be shared by different communities such as the ethnic communities. Thus only those communities which have their own history, language, origin, institutions and sociopolitical organisations can have ethnic and general differences. For these reasons I have borrowed van Dijk (2009)'s definition of cultural context which in the context of my research will be operationalized in the form of a cultural model of cultural commodification, and this model will be contextual because of its relevance for the Kalash community. Next in discussion is the conceptualization of cultural commodification as a process for which I have cited the works of Jackson (1999) and Mbajwa (2011) - both reasoned in the key concepts. Next in the pictographic representation is the breakdown of this process into economic and non-economic dimensions.

I have focused on the capitalist production of culture in which my interest will be looking deeper into how and why cultural commodities are produced and sold. In this regard Throsby (2010)'s concept of cultural industries and their underlying modes of operation and Adorno (2001)'s theorization of capitalist production of cultural commodities will be of relevance.

Adorno (2001)'s theorization is facilitated by the explanation of Baudrillard (1998)'s concept of hyperreality according to which the excessive production of cultural commodities for capitalist profit gains have diluted the differences between the original and the copied. Hence hyperreality is conceptualized as a consequence of this capitalist production. This mode of production yields economic benefits. Hence capitalizing culture is explained in the conceptual framework by borrowing Sen (1999)'s concept of instrumentalization of culture. Amartya Sen, being a normative theorist does not believe in capitalizing culture as an instrument for mounting capitalist output and profits. He, rather, focuses on using culture as a strategy for building people's functionalities and converting those into their capabilities. In this context, using cultural tourism can work as a strategy on four levels; in boosting economic output, building community's collective capabilities, creating democratic spaces, and preserving local culture. In this research I intend to look into all four. As opposed to Sen (1999)'s normative framework is Adorno (2001)'s critical analysis of instrumentalization of culture. According to Adorno (2001), capitalist profits will strip off the normativity. In this research, I am interested in exploring as to which narrative prevails for Kalash culture. Among the cultural commodities being commodified as conformed through topical research are the items of popular culture for which I have borrowed the concepts from Benjamin (1973) and Williams (1981).

Next in discussion is the concept of docile bodies which I have borrowed from Foucault (2002). Cultural Studies argues that culture plays a vital role in shaping human body in its appearance. The human body possesses an underlying natural force for the growth, decay, hunger and illness but Cultural Studies shapes the human body in the context of the society in which individuals live. It also sees a growing interest in body with the growing capitalist western society's emphasis on sex, sports, stars and mass media. Michel Foucault explains that how power is inscribed on bodies of humans through different discourses, technologies and practices. He details that the growing consumerism in the modern capitalist society has commodified human body by creating hierarchies which are based upon body difference/s. Foucault also discusses various aspects through which cultural shaping of the human body occurs. Foucault reflects that human corporeality is a social construction which is shaped by essentialist approach and this construction of the human body does not mean to deny the biological and material needs of the human body. Rather, it entails to emphasize the limitations of such an approach due to the variations in the corporeal beliefs and practices. Different body

techniques are evolved over the years through evolution and the essentialist approach cannot do justice to these cross-cultural body techniques which have evolved in the process of civilization and in the wake of shifting trends in power and development. In the same way the development in the form of technology and its role in body representation cannot be fully explained through essentialist approach.

While explaining the social constructionist approach Foucault (2002) argues that this approach which is used to explain human corporeality entails a number of social and cultural influences that help to shape the human body's appearance and performative acts. In contrast to the social constructionist approach, the essentialist approach argues that biological factors shape the human body in all its appearance and bodily actions performed by it. Cultural studies considers the articulation of these two approaches that in turn are connected through different relations. Borrowing from Foucault's concept of cultured bodies, the domain of Cultural Studies argues that there are five characteristic features in human bodies that differentiate them from other species. Two of these five are culturally bounded; the capacity of having language as the basic symbol of communication and the capacity of expressing feelings and emotions through gestures in the form of laughter and crying. Cultural Studies considers the human body to acquire them differently in different cultures and points of history. Furthermore, human body, besides biological and psychological factors, is also influenced and shaped by the cultural factors in its construction. The mind of human body is regarded as cultural whereas the body of the human is regarded as a natural thing in which mind is in prominence in defining the person. In this framework body is subservient to mind, still both are interconnected and dependent on each other.

Michel Foucault has analysed the impact of the supervisory role of culture over the functions of the human body through different discourses which are institutionalised in the modern capitalist society in the form of hospitals and prisons. Foucault tries to explain the relationships between power, knowledge and human body and produces genealogies of multiplicity of the discourses that organise to control social relations and practices. He argues that discourse was also a part of the broader phenomenon of power and its implication that how social arrangements were formed as such. Foucault highlights that how in the mediaeval period the rulers exercised their sovereign power over their subjects and how this took the form of more

disciplinary forms of power in the modern capitalist society. Foucault also highlights that modern technology played its role in organizing and controlling human body and in introducing psychiatry and modern medicine by making human body as an object of knowledge. In this way disciplinary power has been generated and practiced by the modern capitalist societies. These disciplinary powers were practiced to treat and normalise those individuals who were deviating from the norms of the society and to bring to the conforming conduct. The further extension of measures taken to strengthen the disciplinary power can be seen from the introduction of the surveillance mechanism in the form of Panopticon- a building which was designed to observe the movement and activities of the prisoners. The purpose of building this building was to inculcate in the minds of the prisoners that they are under continuous observation while the authorities remained unobserved. In order to facilitate the bodily control, variant tools and techniques can be employed. The production of these tools is facilitated by the emergence of a capitalist society. This preface of Foucault's concept of cultured bodies is provided to look into two important domains of this research; the impact of capitalist production of culture on human bodies and what cultural commodities are being produced and consumed to facilitate control on those bodies.

Next is the concept of structuralism and semiology of culture. These concepts have played an important role in the study and analysis of popular culture since their emergence. Semiology is defined as a science which studies signs systems such as culture. According to structuralism cultural and mental structures are universalistic in nature due to which their causal relationships give rise to observable social phenomenon. But according to semiology these structures are socially and historically different and not universal in nature. Structuralism and semiology have common things in the analysis of popular culture but semiology does not endorse the notion of universal and causal characteristics as advocated by structuralism.

Roland Barthes, a French semiologist introduced theoretical arguments which played an important role in the analysis of popular culture in the modern capitalist society. Barthes argues that there is no universal structure and that signs are socially and culturally different. They are historically shaped in their specific context. The different, social, cultural and historic units in the structure shape the meaningful character of the signs. Semiology is the study of signs which focuses upon scientific way of interpretation of popular culture in the modern capitalist world.

Semiology argues that through culturally particular structure of meaning, material reality is always constructed and made intelligible to human beings. The meaning produced is in order to serve a specific purpose which is underlying it and which can be uncovered using semiology. It argues that there is no objective reality instead subjective reality which depends upon particular interest and is generated by specific language and culture. These linguistic and cultural structures consist of signs which are not universal in nature rather are shaped through particular social, cultural and historical factors. Meanings are produced as a result of historically changing principles and codes which are socially shaped. Meanings are manufactured out of social codes and signs which are culturally specific but they present themselves as universal. Barthes argues that myths can transform themselves from history to nature. For him writing styles are formed and governed by social forces in the form of class in the capitalist society. He supports his argument by pointing towards the class breakdown which occurred in the nineteenth century as a result of which a new class was formed which he refers to the formation of bourgeois hegemony. This transformation of the class is not natural rather it has to be socially construed in a particular historical context. Barthes argues that myths are meaningful messages which are produced through the system of signification and to serve specific purpose which are conveyed by discourse. The context of myth plays an important role to convey its message whereas the object of it remains unobservable. Therefore the concepts of semiology can be used for the analysis and study of myths as myths are the forms of popular culture. I have borrowed these concepts from Strinati (1995) to explore, deconstruct and interpret variant cultural signs and symbols and analyze the impact of capitalism on these.

Next in discussion is the concept of cultural tourism. Tillotson (1988) argues that tourism in Britain contributes to the conservation of traditional tourist sites and also to use them as museums and hotels which help to boost the tourism economy of the country. She argues that the negative effects of tourism were more apparent during her visit to Rajasthan in India. She further argues that the actions of tourism are also dictated by market keeping in view the short term profit instead of long term planning and investment. Preservation of tourist spots and sites need long term investment and it usually takes time to pay its dividends. Tourism causes physical destruction to buildings and tourist spots in the name of tourism based development. When the traditional buildings are modified in the name of development or transformed into hotels and restaurants, they lose their originality by losing their architectural designs. Due to tourism the

limited local resources and services also face immense pressure such as the supply of water. The author explains that it is in the interest of the hotel owners and restaurants in Jodhpur India to invest money for the maintenance and improvement of the buildings and tourist spots because these places act as magnet to attract tourists across the world. If these tourists' spot and traditional places undergo destruction and decay then fewer tourists will come which will negatively affect the owners of restaurants and hotels in the local area. But the restaurants and hotel owners in Jodhpur India are not recognising the danger of decay of these traditional buildings. They are currently benefiting from these buildings without investing on them for their maintenance and improvement. The needs of the future generations are not being kept in mind which also endangers the concept of sustainable development. Tillotson (1988) further argues that the tourist building in the form of the fort is also not considered by the local tourism development corporation because the government has not owned it. The provision of bus service has not been implemented and also the published materials are also out dated. Tourism also helps in creating market place for traditional cultural artifacts in the form of crafts and performing arts in the form of stage dance performances which are less authentic and original. The tourists also bring with them some alien characteristics for the local people who usually try to follow them and hence keep them away from their traditional culture. The local people try to copy tourists in their daily lives and usually fail to be like them. The author adds that the local people receive less financial benefits from cultural tourism which reinforces social divisions by giving more profits to the rich section of the society and less to the poor section. The large profits are obtained by the outsiders in the form of hotel owners and restaurant owners. To this the author also adds that tourism creates seasonal unemployment and the local traditional occupations get adversely affected as well.

## Chapter 4- Locale

The Kalasha comprises three valleys; Bumburet, Birir and Rumbur where the Kalash people live. It is situated in district Chitral in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. These three small valleys are located from two hours' drive from central Chitral towards the South of it. According to the population census of 2017, the total population of the Kalash Valleys is approximately 12000 of which the population of the Kalash people is approximately 4000. Bumburet Village is the largest village in the Kalasha Valley. It is a beautiful village which comprises yellow and green fields, mulberry groves, walnut, apricot and many other local trees accompanied by shady meadows, sparkling streams of glacier water and wide mountain vistas. Bumburet village is the hub of the religious and cultural activities of the Kalash people. This village is further divided into three small sub-villages of Crakal, Brune and Sheikhan Deh.<sup>5</sup> The Bumburet village is widely extended to nine miles and connected to the Nuristan region of Afghanistan. Many of the sacred places of the Kalash people are present in this village due to which they come to perform their rituals and customs at the time of their cultural and religious festivals. Due to these festivals Bumburet acts as a place for economic activities. Many expensive hotels both government and privately owned are present here which are ninety percent owned by the outsiders of this village. Due to the availability of the services from these hotels this village serves as a spot for many local and international tourists. This village comprises both the Kalash people and also the Muslims who are now converted and are locally known as the Sheikhs.

### 4.1 History

The history of the Kalash people is full of myths and there is a long romantic view about them that they belong to the family of the Alexander the Great's army and are descended to his army. There is, however, no concrete evidence in the support of this view. The Kalash themselves believe to be the descendent of Shalaksha who was a General in Alexander the Great's army. According to Graziosi, a professor of Anthropology and Prehistory at the University of Florence who published a text in the Illustrated London News in 1963 reveals that these people have traits that are Europoid and they belong to the Alpine and Mediterranean peoples. Whereas, according

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<sup>5</sup> Sheikhan Deh is a muhalah of converted Muslims who are locally known as Sheikhs.

to Wazir Ali Shah<sup>6</sup>, Kalash people consider themselves to be the descendants of the sixteenth and the youngest children of Adam. The youngest daughter of Adam and his son married to each other and they settled in a place named Tsiam but a region with this name does not exist these days in the whole Kalasha Valley.

According to Murtaza and Grierson (1961) (cited in Lines 2003) the Kalasha possibly where inhabited in the lower valleys of Bashgul and Chaqa Serai the parts of Afghanistan for three centuries but then they were forced to move to Chitral in the tenth and eleventh centuries. According to Jettmar (1980) that the wooden images of the Kalash people resemble some similarities to the images made in the Western Nepal. He also tries to link the rites and beliefs of the Kalash people related to goats to the goat worship performed by the peoples in the mountains of Iran. According to Murtaza (1961) (cited in Lines 2003) a Persian scholar who has written *Tarikh e Chitral* the Kalasha themselves state that they came to Chitral in the tenth century due to push by other Kafirs of the Bashgul valley of Afghanistan. Lines (2003) argues that according to the Kalasha oral historians Tsiam is there traditional home and according to one theory it is the situated in Eastern Afghanistan in Chaga Serai. According to the Kalasha people Tsiam was the house of their Messenger of God Balamahin and the house of Shalakshah the General in the Alexander the Great's army to whom the Kalash trace their identity. Balamahin according to the Kalasha people returns every year to the Kalasha valley at the time of the festival of Chau Maus. Darling also argues that some of the oral historian in the Kalasha Valley also mention a place named Yarkhan which is now situated in Western China in the province of Sinkiang and was a Buddhist Centre. Many of the Kalasha people and their institutions are also believed to be originated from there. It is also evident from the study of Robertson (1896) about the Kafirs of Hindu Kush that Kafir tribes in the Eastern Afghanistan and the Kalasha in eastern areas of Durand line were closely related. The author argues that when he was in Waigul a village in Nuristan Afghanistan a village elder told him that their ancestors some centuries ago migrated to Kalasha valley are the descendant of the Kurds. The author also argues that the Kurds also believe that they belong the Alexander the Great's army. The Kurds are also have Aryan appearance as like the Kalasha, they also live in mountains and graze goats in the mountains. The author argues that by travelling in Kalasha valley and then in Syria and Turkey she finds it this view as a credible hypothesis about the Kalash people.

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<sup>6</sup> Wazir Ali Shah is an oral historian in Kalash Valley.



## **4.2 Language of Kalash People**

There are no written records of the Kalash language. It is an oral language which belongs to the Dardic group and represents the archaic languages of Hindu Kush region which belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European languages. According to Lines (2003) the Kalash language is also related to the local language spoken in Chitral known as Khowar which is purported to be linked with Sanskrit language.

## **4.3 The Kalash Society**

### **4.3.1 Clans**

In Kalash society the clans are as strong as the individual family of the society. There is a mutual respect among the Kalasha clans without referring them to belong to the same or different decents. There are different clans in the three small valleys and only the seven clans in Rumbor village can be traced back to the descendant of the four sons of Adabok. It is believed that Bumburet and Birir villages cannot be traced back to any ancestor. In all the three small villages, in the Kalash valley, the clans serve as the most important and fundamental organizational unit for the important social, political and economic institutional formation. In matters related to marriage and other ceremonies the principles of the clan are strictly adhered to. The Kalash society is gerontocratic where the rules of the society are dictated by the elders. The matters of the society in situations of conflicts are resolved by these elders through forming village councils. Usually the Kalash society is free from crimes, however if someone is found guilty of stealing or disobeys the cultural values then the culprit is confronted by the whole community and is punished. Kalash people were historically referred to be as fierce and warlike but now days these are viewed as peace loving and docile as they are considered as a minority group in the region due to their conversion to Islam.

## **4.4 Religion**

The believers of Kalash religion follow the above-mentioned domains of the pure and impure concepts. The pure concepts are associated with mountainous parts, pastures, grazing fields, goats and wooden shrines which are related to men of the society. On the other hand, the impure domain is associated with women giving birth, menstrual cycle and death. The women

cannot go to the upper parts of their villages near the sacred realm until they are purified. After giving birth and at the end of the menstrual period the women are required to wash their whole body from top to bottom in order to become pure. The women have to make themselves pure in any of their festivals. The Kalash religion is also full of myths one of which is that the concept of underworld according to which the world is standing on the head of a bull. Disasters in the form of earthquakes are expected to occur due to the angry bull shaking its head. Lines (2003) argues that the Kalash people believe that after death their ancestors exit to the underworld called Palaloiy. The present world is connected to underworld through a metal pillar which is believed to be situated at the place of an ancient temple in Parun valley which appears to be the main spiritual centre for the Kafirs. The Kalash people don't have any religious book and they rely on pure oral histories may be this is the reason that they have relatively little religious mythology. The religious temple of the Kalash people which is located in Parun Valley in Nuristan Afghanistan is also important as the Kalash King Raja Wairy visited in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The king was accompanied by a Shaman who possess prophetic abilities and advised the king that the gods wished to be taken with them to the Kalash Valley in order to get worships and sacrifices. On their return the Shaman gave three arrows to the king at the top of the valley where he shot them one by one and the first arrow fell on the shrine where Sajigor was built and at the place where the second arrow fell the Bashali house was built. According to Ines (2003) the Kalash people are polytheistic and follow multiple gods. But however the Kalash themselves believe that there is one supreme god; the name of the god undergoes different names such as in Birir valley the Persian name KHODAI under the name of DEZAU. BALAMAHN is an intermediary who is the messenger of DEZU. Lines (2003) argues that some anthropologists are with the view that the present religion of the Kalash people may have been borrowed from Islam as well. There are temples which are associated with men named SAJIGOR are built in open space decorated with rough wooden carvings of horse heads. The altar which is dedicated to goddess who is believed to be the protector of the family are housed in wooden temple known as JESTAKHAN where marriage ceremonies are performed. These temples according to anthropologists are designed and carved with geometric and lattice type within the heavy cedar pillars showing a cloven hooves symbolizing the BALAMAHIN riding on his horse are originated in Nuristan. The temples are decorated by wooden plaques comprising two goats' heads and two horses heads accompanied by two branches of holy oak.

## **4.5 Subsistence Farming**

The Kalash people are dependent on subsistence farming. Wooden ploughs drawn by bullocks are used to till the soil. The Kalash people scatter the seeds with hands. Wheat, maize and beans are the main crops which are cultivated in the small fields in the whole valley. Walnut, grapes and mulberry is found in abundance in the Kalash Valley. The Kalash people make wine from grapes and *Tara* a local alcohol which is made from mulberry. Besides these fruits, apples, pomegranates, apricots, pears and small figs are also found in the valley. The Kalash people also depend upon dairy products for their living such as buttering, making goat cheese, yogurt and substance made from animal fat. Their lands are watered by using irrigation channel similar to other northern parts of the country. The Kalash people rear goats and sheep.

## **4.6 Festivals**

There are four festivals that the Kalash people celebrate each year. The festivals begin with the beginning of each season such as the Joshi festival starts in the month of May where people gather in a common place and offer prayers and dances and also sacrifices are made to welcome the season. This festival is to welcome the spring when people start living in their verandahs. The next festival starts in the Month of August which is known as Uchal to celebrate the summer season when the cheese from the pasture is brought to the village. The third festival is the Pur festival which is celebrated only in Birir village only to welcome the harvesting season. The last festival is that of Chitermas to celebrate the winter solstice and is celebrated in all three villages in the month of December where dances are performed day and night.

## **4.7 Funerals**

The funeral ceremonies of the Kalash people lasts for the whole day and night but if the deceased one is a renowned person then it may last for longer period. If the deceased person is an old one then this ceremony is followed by dances and music and act as a festive. In the past when a Kalash people used to die then the body was used to keep in cedar coffins along with all his personal things in the form of jewelries above the ground. But now a days their bodies are buried due to stealing of the jewelries by desecrating the coffins. Effigies of the deceased people were used to be carved for the soul of the deceased to enter to but this rarely found in the village as it

is very expensive practice. Because in order to carve an effigy many goats have to be slaughtered which cannot be performed by every member in the Kalash valley.

#### **4.8 Ethical Consideration**

Before the collection of data from the respondents through semi-structured, in-depth interviews and focus group discussion the consent of the respondents were taken to record their interviews. The local norms, customs and traditions were kept in mind and respected during the data collection and my stay in the Kalash Valley. All the names and contacts of my respondents were kept confidential between me and my supervisor.

## Chapter 5- Findings and Results

This chapter represents the themes which have been generated during the thematic analysis of the data by using thematic approach. The tool used for the analysis was the thematic framework. A total of 48 interviews were taken from the respondents of which 20 In-depth interviews were taken from UDC 1(The Kalash people) accompanied by two Focus Group Discussions. 25 Semi Structured interviews were conducted with UDC 3 (the tourists and the shopkeepers). 3 In-depth interviews were conducted from UDC 5 (the owner and personnel of the cultural institutions). Six major themes were generated along with their sub-themes. All concepts as discussed in the study's conceptual framework have been linked in the following main themes in this chapter.

### 5. Themes:

Following themes along with their sub-themes were generated after the thematic analysis of the data collected from the respondents.

#### 5.1. Cultural and Religious Context:

##### 5.1.1 Locals:

The origin of the Kalasha people is shrouded in mystery. There is no clear evidence about their origin and there are many stories about their history and origin among Kalash people. Some people say that they have come from Greece with the army of Alexander the Great where as some believe that they have not come from anywhere rather they are the indigenous people of Chitral.

*A respondent said that "Our elders say that we have 1000 of years old religion and culture and we people have come from Greece but in my opinion basically we have not come from Greece. We were living here before and at that time we were ruling on this part of the country. Kalash culture is very ancient and we are the indigenous people who are living here for thousands of years. Kalash tribes were present from Lagmal kunel Afghanistan to Kashmir. At that time we were already living here and we accepted the General and his decision to stay in the region and in this way they became our community members and allow to marry the local women. This I*

*know but I can't say that this is hundred percent true but this is how we have heard from our elders".*

In a similar way another respondent said that *"May be we have link with Sir Alexander the Great or it may not or we have some people who say that we have come from Kashmir and some say we have come from Nuristan. But when I take our tribe we say that we have not come from anywhere we are the indigenous people of this valley. When we have discussion within our community we say that nor we have any relationship with the Hindus who were present in Chitral rather we say that we belong to Jinnat. There is a belief that our ancestor has come from the Jinnat and the Jinnat themselves called him Adremes which means that you have mixed with Admis or humans. They have relegated him from them and he came here and since then we are living here. Recent archaeological studies have also shown that we are the aboriginal tribes living here for thousands of years"*.

According to the Kalash people they were living in Chitral before Alexander the Great came here but they were in less number and majority of them were living in the Asmar region of Afghanistan. It is not clear about their origin but they have some oral traditions or songs where their origin is mentioned regarding a place called Tsiam which is present in Afghanistan, Egypt, China and Thailand. According to them the Kalash people have come from different places like Kashmir, Gilgit and other places and they were also warrior people. Mongolian and other Afghan rulers tried to attack them but were unable to defeat them till 1320. It is also evident from the work of different authors such as Robertson (1896) and Jettmar (1980) who also showed their concerns regarding the origin of the Kalash people. But however according to the Kalash people they are the indigenous people of Chitral district who have been living there for thousands of years.

### **5. 1.2 Oral Traditions**

The Kalash people don't have any religious book and they rely on oral traditions regarding their religious activities which they perform during different cultural and religious festivals. They don't have any written record of their religion and culture. One of the respondents said

*"Brother our religious and cultural traditions are all based on oral traditions from our ancestors and elders. Before I don't believe on these traditions and stories which do not have any*

*written form but when I did my MSc in archaeology and wrote a research report on our burial traditions I interacted with our elders then I came to know that we have something in our culture and religion. After going into the depth of my culture my interest grew day by day”.*

*Another respondent said that “Our religion and cultural traditions are all oral and not in written form and we don’t have any religious book. We have heard from our elders about our religious and cultural rituals and festivals that we perform during a whole calendar year”.*

By history the Kalash culture is very old and they don’t have any written record of it and it is totally oral in traditions and history. They don’t have any written records regarding their culture and religion and according to them their culture is at least 3000 years old or more than it. It is also evident from the study of Robertson (1896) about the Kafirs of Hindu Kush that Kafir tribes in the Eastern Afghanistan and the Kalash in eastern areas of Durand Line were closely related. The author argues that when he was in Waigul a village in Nuristan Afghanistan a village elder told him that their ancestors some centuries ago migrated to Kalash valley and they are the descendent of the Kurds. So the Kalash culture and religion is based on myths and customs which they are transferring to their younger generations through practical performs in the form of rituals, songs and dances throughout the year.

### **5.1.3 Link with Alexander**

There is a long romantic view about Kalash people that they belong to the family of the Alexander- the Great’s army and are his descendants. There is, however, no concrete evidence in the support of this view. The Kalash themselves believe to be the descendent of Shalakshawho was a General in Alexander the Great’s army. One of the respondents said that;

*“Then our elders say that Alexander the Great came to Afghanistan and attacked it which is just adjacent to us. One of his General Shalaksha who along with some of his wounded soldiers asked the locals to stay there and live with them. The local accepted them because at that time there was not much population and less people were living in these mountains. In this way they were accepted by the local community and marriages took place between them and the community in this way we have some characteristics of Greece people but basically we are the indigenous people. You can imagine then how old we people are in this context. Our DNA are*

*tested which didn't match the Greeks which also proved our existence in this region before there advancement in this region".*

According to the Kalash people the Kalash people were living in the region before the coming of Alexander the Great's Army in this part of the world. A respondent said that;

*"The history of Kalash culture is before the Era of Alexander the Great and before Jesus Christ times. We haven't got any trace or link to Alexander the Great we didn't have his clue in our folk songs or in our tales and we don't have any cultural link with him and culturally we don't recognize him. Kalash people from our own perspective we have migrated from west and came to this part of the world many years ago when there was Hindo people rulling this part of the world. In our language black people are called Hindu . Hindukush in Kalash language means the home of Hindo people. In our fok song we say that Indre who was the god of Hindus and this place belong to him but we came here defeated him and took this place from him and beat down him from this place which was once a fort of him and since than we are living according to our ancestors way of life and this is the brief history of Kalash community".*

Some of the Kalash people associate them with Alexander the Great and say that when Alexander the Great came in Afghanistan some of his wounded soldiers along with one of his general Shalaksha stayed in this mountainous valleys. According to them at that time they were already living there and they accepted the general and his decision to stay in the region and in this way they became their community members and allow to marry the local women. There are many tribes in the Kalash people and they have different claims regarding their link with Alexander and different other people of the region such as Nuristan, Kashmir etc. According to the Kalash people when Alexander the Great come in Kalash valley with his troops there were less people in the valley and he stayed here for few days. When he started to move some of his soldiers along with an injured General stayed here. This general mixed with those people who were present here and they accepted him in this way they are associated with him but they don't have any proof of this and they are living here for more than 2000 years. Another respondent said in this regard;

*"Kalash people were living in Chitral before Alexander the Great came here but we were in less number but majority of us were living in the Asmar region of Afghanistan. When Alexander the*



*Great came here we also accepted him because according to traditions whenever he gone he left his legacy there and we started living here and people say that we belong to his tribe”.*

In a similar view another respondent said that;

*“It is very old and many rulers have passed away then but it is continuing and it is very ancient religion and culture. It is believed that Alexander the Great came in Afghanistan and then gone through this region. Some of his followers we stayed in Afghanistan region and then later moved towards Chitral. Muslims were not here in these parts of the world at that time. I don’t exactly tell you that how many years ago but it is very old where there were no Muslims at that time and there were Hindu people that is why it was called Kafirstan at that time. During that time there were no Muslims here”.*

According to Graziosi, a professor of Anthropology and Prehistory at the University of Florence who published a text in the Illustrated London News in 1963 reveals that these people have traits that are Europoid and they belong to the Alpine and Mediterranean peoples. There have also been DNA test of the Kalash people but their relationship with the Alexander the Great’s army wasn’t established.

#### **5.1.4 Political Power and History**

According to the Kalash people they remained in political power in the past when there were in majority in the region. A respondent said that:

*“Our elders say that In the past we were in majority and have once ruled the state of Chitral and you know that there is the main pul in Chitral city called Chev pul . This pul is in the name of our ruler name Chev who belong to Blasing tribe of Kalash which shows that we were in power at the time in the state of Chitral. Similarly wherever you goes in different parts of Chitral district like Urchun then you can see that people can speak Kalash language a little bit. Similarly in a place named Shishi Koh there were also Kalash people. In my opinion basically we have not come from Greece. We were living here before and at that time we were ruling on this part of the country and then they were defeated by Raees ruler”.*

According to Kalash people not only Chitral rather they have ruled the entire area starting from Logmal Afghanistan to Kashmir. In the folk songs, religious songs, folk stories and in religious

rituals of Kalash people they discuss two temples which they call Rekhinihan in local language one of which was present in Logmal Afghanistan and the other in Kashmir and according to them Kalash community was living in the region in-between these two temples.

One of the respondents said that *“we know from our ancestors that we have ruled the Chitral state and this region in the past. We Kalash tribe is such a brave tribe and our ancestors ruled here for many years then our ruled ended and we lost the battle and were forced to convert to Islam. Some of our ancestors refused to convert and migrated to the small mountainous valleys of Urchun, Shishikoh, Birrir, Rumbor and Bomurate villages. The people of Urchun and Shishikoh converted but the rest of the villages remain unconverted and we are still living here by following ancestors’ culture. In the Chitral city there is pull known as Chiv pul which is in the name of our ancestor to whom we belong”*.

It is also evident from the work of Hussain (2010) that the indigenous Kalash minority of Chitral district are one of the first people who came to this valley. According to them, they are traced back to the Greek ancestry. They had ruled the district in the past when they were in political power but nowadays they are bound to three small beautiful valleys of Bumburet, Birrir, and Rumbor. According to Kalash people their ancestors had ruled Chitral in the past when they were in majority and they relate that one of the historically built bridge called Chev pul is in the name of one of their ancestor whose name was Chev.

### **5.1.5 Interface between Culture and Religion**

The religion and culture of the Kalash people are inseparable from each other and according to Kalash people their religion and culture are not different and both are the same. One of the respondents said that;

*“People say that culture and religion are different but in our case our culture and religion both are the same. Our culture is mostly associated with the dresses we wear”*.

In a similar way another respondent said that

*“Our culture and religion are not separate they occur with each other. Culture is those parts of the festivals in which cultural dances are performed and religion is those parts of the festivals*

*where prayers are offered, sacrifices are made where our all customs and traditions are performed”.*

According to the Kalash people their culture and religion has not changed so much as they are able to carry their oral traditions somehow in the same way as their ancestors did in the past. One of the respondents said that

*“Our culture and religion is the same as we carry the same culture forward from our ancestors. Since then thanks to God we haven’t changed our culture much and we follow the same culture and religion that our ancestors left for us. Yes some people become Muslims besides that we follow our different festivals and they are the same as they were in the past at the time of our ancestors”.*

The culture of Kalash people is full of different religious and cultural festivals which are not separable from each other and without these cultural and religious festivals their culture is incomplete.

### **5.1.6 Confined to Small Valleys**

According to the Kalash people they are the indigenous people and they are living in the region for thousands of years and they have ruled the region in the past when they were in political power but presently they have been confined to three small valleys of Rumbur, Birrir and Bumburet in Kalash Valley. A respondent said that;

*“We were living here before and at that time we were ruling on this part of the country and then we were defeated by Raees ruler and we migrated to these three small valleys for our safety”.*

The present Kalash religion which is now confined to these three small valleys of Bumburet, Rumbor and Birrir valleys was spread to such a long distance and span but now days this has squeezed and is confined to the three small valleys only. According to them they have remained in political power in the State of Chitral when they were in majority in the region. They were defeated by Raees ruler in thirteen century. Another respond said that;

*“But in 1320 rule ended and we were defeated by the Raees or Sumalic rulers. Seventy percent Kalash people killed , twenty percent kalash people were converted to Islam and only ten percent*

*Kalash people were migrated to the mountainous parts of Chitral presently known as Kalash Valleys of Bumburet , Birrir and Rumbor .Some of our ancestors refused to convert and migrated to the small mountainous valleys of Urchun, Shishikoh, Birrir, Rumbor and Bumburet villages. The people of Urchun and Shishikoh converted but the rest of the villages remain unconverted and we are still living here by following ancestors' culture. In the Chitral city there is pull known as Chiv pul which is in the name of our ancestor to whom we belong”.*

It is also evident from the work of Murtaza (1961) (cited in Lines 2003) that the Kalash people migrated to Chitral in the 10th century by the push of other Kafirs in the Waigul valley of Afghanistan. The work of Hussain (2010) also shows us that the Kalash people were migrated to small mountainous valleys in order to avoid conversion and are now confined to live only in these small valleys.

## **5.2. Cultural Festivals**

With the increase in modernization and commercialization commodification has reached those parts of culture which were previously not commodified. The Kalash culture is full of religious and cultural festivals which take place during a whole year. These religious and cultural festivals of Kalash people are under the influence of commodification. In the upcoming text under the theme of religio-cultural festivals, the four main festivals of the Kalash community are explained.

### **5.2.1 Religio-cultural Festivals**

#### **5.2.1.1 Chelim Josht Festival**

According to the Kalash people their culture and religion is full of cultural and religious festivals which take place during the whole year at various intervals of time. One of their festivals called Chelim Josht festival starts in the month of May in which their cultural and religious rituals are performed and they also welcome the spring season. They call it Joshi in local language which means *Jho* or wheat grains. It is actually the time of sowing season of wheat crop in the valley. It is also the time of budding of fruits in the valley and they celebrate it with the expectations of good yield for their crops in the year. At this time they offer prayers where they pray for good

yield of crops for their good health and wealth generations during this season. During these prayers they pray for the good yield and abundance of wheat crop, maize crop, for the fruits like apricot, nuts and mulberries, for the safety of the whole Kalash community and also for the other communities living in the valleys. One of the respondents said that:

*“People believe that we have only dances in the festivals but these dances have some hidden meanings which we people understand not the other people. When we move in groups singing and dancing then this is not just a song or dance it is actually a prayer which is song by one male member whereas the rest of us make noise so that it cannot be heard by the other people. In this way we reach to a point where prayers are offered and our male member perform our religious rituals and after performing our religious rituals then the cultural dances and celebrations starts for the whole day. This festival is celebrated during the month of May”.*

Similarly another respondent said that:

*“We have Chelim Johst which is for mainly 3 days from 14 May to 16<sup>th</sup> of May each year. When this festival comes some of our elders go to those houses with flowers where there is sorrow or death. The elders give the family members flowers and advise them to come to the real world as like these flowers. There is new beginning of life so forget the sorrows and enjoy the blessing of God. Then the next day young boys and girls early in the morning goes for collection of flower leafs from high fields. The flower indicates the beginning of spring season. Then the next day morning the young boys and girls and women with young ones and other community members gather near a cattle house and hang the flowers in front of cattle houses. Milk is collected from these cattle houses and then it is distributed among all the community members. This ritual is called Chir pipi which means the day of drinking milk. After this there will be songs where this milk is appreciated and also the shepherd is appreciated and appraised and then cultural dances are performed. Then the next day Chelim Josht festival will start and we from all Bumburet valley comprising of all small villages gathered at Batrik. Every village will come by performing drums and gather there. We celebrate to welcome the spring season. We consider spring season a season where budding starts in the valley. Every ritual which we perform there is concept behind it. Religious rituals and prayers are offered by us the male members in our religious places like Malosh whereas for women rituals like Cher pipi are religious rituals. In the rituals you see old men dancing and singing they narrate the history and happenings in Kalash history*

*and they guide these cultural and religious dancing. The elders sing religious songs and praise the God whereas the rest follow these people. The circling dance of the women in circles shows that how many women have come from each village. Besides this there are many aspects of this festival with each having a concept behind it, which are very lengthy and cannot be narrated in short time. In the past there used to be sowing of wheat in the month of May and ploughing was done during this month. Chelim Josht means the festival of sowing, the festival of expectations and also the arrival of spring season in the valley. You start sowing wheat by performing prayers and expecting good yield at the end of the season. You see expectations from different fruits which start budding and expect good fruits at the end of the season”.*

At the first day young members of the community start to cut flowers called *Bechi* and hang them in front of their houses and cattle houses. They perform a ritual for their new born babies called *Cherolek*. In this ritual women along with their young ones gather at a place where the young ones are sprinkled with milk which marks them pure like milk. The concept behind this ritual is that the young ones become healthy and fit as milk is good for health. Religious songs regarding milk are sung and dances are performed. Then they start their prayers to welcome the spring season and these prayers are secret and are performed by the male members and they don't tell the women. These prayers are performed at various religious places in the village. Then the next day early in the morning there will be the ritual of *Cherpeyek* where all the members of the village collect milk and gather at a place and distribute these milk among them. Kalash people heavily rely on cattle, goats and sheep. Those people who don't have cattle then can be accommodated in this way through community work. After that the religious rituals are performed and cultural dances are also performed. Thus we can say that it is the start of spring season in the valley.

After few days of the Chelim Josht festival a similar festival called *Cheq Chelim Josht* or small Chelim Josht festival takes place and the dates are kept secret from the tourists in order to avoid huge number of tourists in the valley. The Kalash people heavily rely on cattle, sheep and goats for their survival and in this festival various religious and cultural rituals are performed. In this festival the Kalash people pray for the safely arrival of their cattle from the pastures as the shepherd will take all the cattle and animals for grazing in the grazing field fare away from the valley after performing this festival.

After this festival then they take their cattle and animals to the pastures by performing all their cultural and religious rituals. People can take their goats and sheep and sacrifice them in Batrik in *Mahadev* their religious place and offer prayer and then they take the animals to the pastures for grazing. It is for the safety of their animals as animals play an important role in their life and they are dependent upon them for conducting their various joy and sorrow time activities. That's why every family in their culture have cattle. But now people have limited their cattle due to threats across the border and some of their community members were killed and their cattle were taken away. People have sold their cattle due to these threats which is causing difficulties to carry their religious and cultural festivals.

The Kalash people perform different cultural and religious festivals at different times during a calendar year. In the past there was absolute poverty and people in the month of May used to plough and start sowing season which is also the start of spring season in the valley. People treated that season as hope for good crops season and happiness for them where different religious prayers offered and then cultural dances were performed. This festival was used to be the time of sharing happiness and love with each other and is still continuing to be the source of love and happiness sharing for the community. A respondent said that;

*“We celebrate the Chelim Josht festival in order to welcome the spring season. Our religious messengers who were religiously connected have told us that our live stocks who we are very dependent and religiously connected to them. One of our Diar had told us to hold milk for ten days. The reason behind this is that all the villagers don't have livestock and cattle. The milk is then distributed to the whole villagers where prayers are offered in the form of song for milk and milk is also sprinkled symbolically on the women with young ones. Purification of women also takes place we call it Shoshavoo and a bread of nuts is made is eaten along with the milk. Gulparik ritual is performed and then women with young ones are allowed to go to certain places which were prohibited for them. The basket of wall nuts and dried mulberries are distributed among the people. After that we gather at Batrik village where prayers are offered and religious and cultural rituals take place. In Pragatha Ochak rituals are performed where specific person song the religious song whereas the rest of them make their religious noise or say hash which means amin. The concept of marriage is not necessary done at that time. In the past there was the concept of engagement and arrange marriage which were not successful but with*

*the passage of time love marriage was introduced in order to cope with this problem and now we follow love marriage in our culture. Marriage can be done at any place any time and it is not necessary to marry at the time of festivals. Marriages take place at any season and there is no specific festival for them. In small Chelim Josht a sheep or goat is sacrificed for the safely return of the shepherds who then take his cattle to the high pastures for grazing. A paner or phannak a milky product is taken to the malosh and prayers are offered and are distributed among the community members”.*

In a similar way a respondent said that:

*In first festival we welcome the spring season we collect milk for ten days from various houses and then at the first day of the Josht festival we give milk to children, women and men. In this day milk is sprinkled on the young babies to make them safe and healthy then the cultural songs and dances are performed. Milk made products and walnuts are distributed among people and are eaten. Women eat milky products whereas men eat walnuts and dried mulberries. After that we perform our Chelim Josht festival and then our cattle are taken to the pastures.*

### **5.2.1.2 Uchal Festival**

Uchal festival is in the month of August and it is the start of harvesting season. In this season fruits ripe, crops become ready for cutting and they perform Uchal Festival which is their cultural festival and religious festival and which is continuous from the past. After taking the cattle to pastures a month later things made from the milk of the cattle are taken down to the village and another festival starts which continues till August. This festival is called Uchal festival which is also the start of harvesting of crops. But these days this festival is also not performed due to security reasons. One of the respondent said

*“Uchal festival is in the celebration of our new crops yield when the crops are harvested new grains are availed then we celebrate this festival. We go to our religious place along with some wheat grains and pray to God to make our wheat grains and maize grains abundant for us for this season and to pray for all those poor who couldn't afford these. In this festival we also present milky products as sadqa (vow) and distribute among community members. This festival takes place on 22<sup>nd</sup> of August each year for one day”.*



According to the Kalash people Uchal festival which is about the harvesting season in which crops are harvested such as wheat and maize and also some fruits like apricot, apple and mulberries are collected and in this way the assets are collected in this festival. This festival is performed when the shepherd come from the pastures along with the cattle of the people along with some milky products made during the stay in the pastures. One of the respondents said that;

*“Uchal is the festival when the livestock come to village again. In the past our dairy products were taken to the villages and then after giving sadqa (vow) then they were taken to their houses. It is also the harvesting season where our crops are harvested and fruits also ripe. Uchal festival is performed in the month of August each year. It is the harvesting season when all the crops sowed earlier ripe then this festival is performed in which religious prayers are offered and cultural dances are performed. This festival comprises cultural and religious rituals which are performed in which feasting also takes place. Prayers are offered in order to thank God and also different religious rituals are performed to attain the blessing of the God”.*

Uchal festival is the mark of finishing of spring season whereas Chelim Josht is the start of spring season. In Uchal festival every Kalash family make milky product known as *phanak*(a type of local food) from the pastures and taken to the Malosh where prayers will be offered for the safety of offspring of the people and the *phanak* is distributed among the community members. Prayers are also offered for the good fruit products.

### **5.2.1.3 Chitermas Festival**

Chitermas Festival which is the biggest festival of the Kalash community starts from the 10<sup>th</sup> of December and ends till the end of the December. It is marked as prayers month where large sacrifices are made and prayers are performed. It is actually the ending of a calendar year and the beginning of a new calendar year. It is the month of collecting the people assets in the form of wheat grains, dried fruits, milky products and cattle and other wealth. Various cultural and religious rituals are performed during this month which is considered to be very secret month for the Kalash people. A respondent said that said;

*“We have Chitermas festival. Chitermas starts on December 8 and ends on 22 December each year. In the start of this festival there are two rituals called sarazari, cheq or small sarazari and lot or big sarazari. In sarazari young boy collect pine leafs and saroz leaf and sarazari is in the*

name of saroz. In our religion saroz tree is considered to be true one. We use to burn it and make smoke to avoid any disturbance from other creatures or jins. With this ritual we starts our festival. Saraz gandalik is a ritual in the name of a God or Deuta named Gandalik. In Chitermas we pray from him to give us life, to make us prosperous because he has direct connection with God. In these sarazari festivals we make smoke from saroz tree over our villages. We believe that the Deuta will take these prayers to the God. After this there is chivnari ritual. There is chevin named plant and we take its leaf or part for our ritual. In this ritual young boys and girls take this plants leaf and gather at religious place and perform this ritual by praying by taking seven steps forward and in this way in a line they come to the village and come to Rekhinihan which is a religious room and perform three rounds in this room. When someoneslips during this round it is considered to be a bad sign. After completing this then they go to another Rekhinihan for another tribe in the same village. Every village have a separate Rekhinihan and the same ritual is performed there. When this chevinari completes the children separate for both the tribes and collect plants remaining and make their ashes and then put them in water for one day. After that they make portraits of goat, sheep, cattle, donkey, horse and dogs and make them in the walls of the room. It means it depends upon our livestock. When these portraits are made in large quantity then there will be as many livestock for the community. We have such belief and these pictures are drawn in the morning whereas in evening food products are made in our house which we call Zolai which is a bread made from walnuts and wheat flour which we give to our Jamelis or relatives. In this time the portraits are again made from flour which we call Sharamxegh. These include goat, sheep, cattle and many of them and are made by specific people and if a portrait is some missing in leg or other organ then the animal also suffer from this. After making them then these are kept in the room in a line. After making them then we burn a leaf of saroz tree on the top of the Rekhinihan and make a smoke and then we make these made animals from the room and also those who are made in our houses to go away in our belief to a place called Dezilawata (dezi means creature) high in the pastures in a mountain which has these shapes. These animals in our belief go to this place. The Choveni ritual means that our livestock will grow and don't decrease in numbers. There will be abundance of cattle in our houses. After this we perform kotramo ritual in which the prepared animals are forced to go and foods are given to jamelis<sup>7</sup>. Then we perform a ritual called mandyk which is a ritual for the

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<sup>7</sup> Jamelis are relatives of Kalash people specially their married sisters.

*deceased souls of loved ones. In this day we make food for our loved ones and are kept in the Rekhinihan room and we believe that they come there and have their shares. We don't make noise and talk politely in their respect. During this day when we call our departed souls then there will be dou or burnt stick in every person's hand which are not put off for half an hour or so that they can go. Then after this the sticks are put to fire and the whole night there will be dance for the God where our songs are performed. When the mandyk ritual is completed then there will be saraverkhari in Krakal village where all the people gathered and celebrations are started where people act differently like animals etc. which takes place in 16 of December. On 18<sup>th</sup> of December we sacrifice animals and after that we don't touch Muslims for three days. During these three days we don't sleep and offer our prayers. These three nights are very vital for us. On 22<sup>nd</sup> of December we perform a ritual called lovan or lov nezik. In this ritual a fox is found and chased by the villagers and if the fox goes towards a place which is sunny then we believe to have less snow in winter and if the fox goes towards a shady place then we believe that there will be snow full season for us. It is also believed by the khow<sup>8</sup> people”.*

The Chitermas festival starts at the end of the year when all the assets in the form of food, fruit and cattle are stored and no more assets are expected to come. It starts at the month of December every year in which religious rituals, cultural dances and sacrifices of cattle take place. In this whole month religious prayers are offered and sacrifices are made to get the blessings of God. Cultural dances are performed and the community also marks the start of New Year with the completion of this festival. The Kalash people perform their prayers during the long nights of December which act as physically as well as spiritually longest nights for them. In this way they perform their religious activities during the nights in the month of December every year. Chitermas festival is actually the conclusion of the whole year where animals are sacrificed and prayers are offered to attain the blessings of God. This is actually the month of religious rituals and there are a series of rituals such as the *Mandykritual*, *pachanjek* ritual and other different rituals are performed. They perform religious prayers and rituals, offer sacrifices and call it a manhood ceremony and also mark it as the beginning of New Year. It is celebrated in the Month of December each year and is celebrated when the son comes back to its home according to the Kalash people.

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<sup>8</sup> Khow are the local Chitrali people who speak Chitrali language.

#### 5.2.1.4 Kalasera Festival

The forth festival of Kalash people is the Kalasera Festival which takes place at the last weekend of March or at the start of first weekend of April each year depending on the moon. Kalasera is also a big festival in which many rituals are performed. But now a days less rituals and prayers are performed. One of the respondents said that;

*“Before the Chelim Josht festival there is also another festival which we call Kalasera which takes place at March April of each year where the wheat grains are taken secretly by each tribe of their own. In this festival different cultural and religious rituals are performed. But now a days there is only Chelim Josht festival takes place where as these festivals are not taking place due to huge no of tourists coming in the region”.*

This festival starts with the budding of apricot trees in the valleys. This is the first spring season where they also sow their crops and ploughing is done. After this festival they are then allowed to use the milk of goats. They perform their religious rituals and prayers during this festival. Then cultural dances are also performed.

One of the respondent said that; *I have heard from elders that when spring season comes there is budding and appearing of leaves of trees in the valley then our ancestor become happy and then decided to celebrate a festival for them in which various prayers and cultural dances are performed. Due the modernization people also have less time for religion in any culture and particularly in our culture the date of these festivals is fixed so people may also have important work during these days so they miss the festivals. So one or two people go to the festival. Similarly the migration of our people to other parts of the world also makes it difficult to participate with us.*

These four Kalash festivals have religious and cultural significance for the Kalash community but due to commodification of these intangible culture heritage has made them source of entertainment for tourists. Huge number of tourists visits the valley during the time of these religious and cultural festivals. Money is also involved in these festivals and there are places made for the tourists to sit and watch Kalash people dancing. For majority of the local Kalash people this limits them to participate in performing their religious rituals in the presence of such high number of outsiders and their sentiments are hurt. It is also evident from the study of Tabani

(2017) that the sentiments of the local people hurt when money is involved in traditional customs. Similarly the religious feelings of the Kalash people are also hurt when tourists come to these festivals to watch them and sometimes even try to participate in these festivals.

### **5.2.2 Festivities and Marriage**

According to the Kalash people there is a concept of love marriage in Kalash culture. In the very past there was the concept of arrange marriage and there were problems arising between the husband and wives which created disturbances among families. Due to the failure of arrange marriage and for the betterment of the community relationships the young people and the elders all agreed for the love marriage as alternative for the arranged one. When the girl and boy are agreed to get married then they in consultation with their families manage marriage at this time but the ceremony takes place after the festival. A respondent said that;

*“In the last day of this festival or the other two festival those boy and girl who are in relationship agree to perform their marriage during these three festivals or any other time in the year with their mutual agreement. These boys and girls ran away to their relatives’ house and their parents then call them to come and ask them do they like each other and if they say yes then the marriage is performed”.*

It is not necessary that the boy and girl have get married at theses festivals rather they can perform marriage at any time during a calendar year at festival time or at any other point of time. Adding to it another respondent said that;

*“People do love marriage but it is not like that everyone can go and marry. How can you marry in one day rather it is a relationship of two to three years then one can say that I will marry in any of the festivals”.*

Similarly another respondent said that;

*“The concept of marriage is not necessary done at that time. In the past there was the concept of engagement and arrange marriage which were not successful but with the passage of time love marriage was introduced in order to cope with this problem and now we follow love marriage in our culture. Marriage can be done at any place any time and it is not necessary to marry at the time of festivals. Marriages take place at any season and there is no specific festival for them”.*

In the past marriages were arranged by the elders due to which there were problems between the married ones and parents were responsible for all these but later on or some 2 decades have been passed there is now love marriage. The boy and girl love each other and take their decision to marry each other. This marriage may also take place during any festival or at any time. But usually they prefer these festival days.

### **5.3. Cultural Items**

#### **5.3.1 Handmade Male and Female Cultural Dress**

The culture of the Kalash people is depicted in their colorful cultural dresses which are handmade and unique in the region. In Kalash culture and religion there are certain obligations regarding their cultural dresses for both men and women in the society. Cultural dresses include certain obligations for both man and woman which vary in style and shape. It is obligatory both for men and women to cover their head in Kalash culture and religion. Whatever type of cap you wear it is up to you but it is obligatory in Kalash religion to cover your head. Besides that there are some obligations which women are performing but in males dresses changes have been adapted. One of the respondents said that:

*“Our cultural items include our cultural dresses of men and women. In male dresses we have a bird feather, Kaphol, in the past used to be woolen trouser, paytwa and toching. It was very difficult to make and used to take month for it. But after independence of Pakistan we have alternate material available to make dresses which take less time for our ladies. The color of man dresses used to be white wool whereas the women dresses were used to have black color. The women dress consists of different colored shoshot, cupesi, peran , sheman, pati and maik shawaiy”.*

According to Kalash people women cultural dresses include Cap or *cupesi*, *shoshot*, *shawaiy*, *maike*, *peran*, *pati*, *bud*, *gadolai*, *bazu band* and now a days purses are also made. These are all hand made things and are made by them for their uses and also these items are sold in the market. In the past men cultural dresses included woolen trouser a *sangachi* or jacket covered by a belt where as women had only long *sangachi* or *shalwar*, belt, *garai* or *gadolai*, *maike* or *shawai* and *cupesi* made of wool of black color whereas men dress color were dark brown or

white. Now the women dresses consist of *shoshot*, *cupesi*, belt, *peran*, *shemano*, which are made from ordinary material available from the market. There are different designs available in these dresses.

One of the respondents said that:

*“Our dresses are sold and people buy them. Our women made these dresses themselves and also sell them in the market. Women cultural dresses include cupusi, shoshot, mailke, peran and pati which are wore by women themselves and also sold in the market to earn their living. These days due to technology different designs are being made and new products like bazu band and purses are also being made by women and are available in the market. Men cultural dress includes cap and poch, shiman and shalwar qamis . The cap is also available in the market for sale”.*

Women buy materials from the market and then made their cultural dresses by combining different materials such as threads, pearls, jewelries and start stitching these things and made their dresses through handwork. They make the Shalwar with different designs and make caps called *cupesi*, *shoshot* with different threads and pearls in combination with different designs and also they make *pati* or belt with different colors and designs. Machine work is only used for the *shalwar* whereas *shoshot*, *cupesi*, *pati* are handmade. Men cultural dress now a days only constitute a cap with bird feather whereas the rest is composed of typical Chitrali dress of *shalwar qamiz* or paint shirt for the young boys. One of the respondents said that:

*“Cupus is our cap and shoshot is also our small cap which is wore beneath cupus and they are wore by women at any time. Maike are our jewelries, pati is our belt, peran is our shalwar and also bazu bands and purses are also made these days. Before we used to have khon which were used as a boot but now due to the availability of these boots in the market they are not made. The shalwar or peran the dresses are made by using machine whereas we make shoshot, cupus , pati or belt , shiman or and wrestlets using our hands. We use pearls or chakast to make shoshot and cupesus. The pearls are expensive and a good packet of pearls is 1200 rupees but the low quality pearls are 800 rupees in price and they are bought from Karachi and Chitral. These are very expensive and difficult to make and require most of our times. First we wash them then we dry them and then starts stitching a long with pearls or chakast”.*

Tourists purchase these handmade cultural dresses for their families and relatives when they visit the Kalash valley. One of the respondents said that;

*“I have purchased some wristlets which are handmade and I have found them very beautiful and there is lot of work done on them as well. Wristlets can be worn by men and women and are very beautiful. Cultural dresses include caps and other things which are made through great hard work and artistic way. These are all handmade and I found them very beautiful and lovely”.*

The cultural dresses of the Kalash people were used to be handmade in the past. But now days due to the high demand of these cultural dresses and huge number of tourists coming in the valley has made the Kalash people to use machine work and readymade materials available in the market to meet the demand. This mass production has diluted the difference between the original and the copy and hence proved the concept of Baudrillard (1998) hyperreality. Thus the mass production of the cultural dresses has made the tourists unable to distinguish between the original and the copied one.

### **5.3.1.1 Religious Significance of Old Woolen Dress**

According to the Kalash people the old woolen dresses were more religious and they had religious affiliation with that. The present cultural dresses also require a lot of time and hard work and artistic work but as compared to the old dresses it requires less time and artistic work. The old ones were made from the wool of sheep whereas the new ones are made from the material available from the market. The old traditional dress is not present these days. The basic elements of the Kalasha cultural dresses are missing nowadays. One of the respondents said that:

*“The old dresses were our religious dresses which we used to make from our animals wools and we used to wear and dance in our festivals. Those were the original religious dresses of us but now they are not present and people don't wear them. Kalashi is finishing my son it is decreasing day by day”.*

The old Kalash dress for man consists of one trouser, one shirt, overcoat with a belt locally known as *pati* and a cultural topic known as *pakhol*. All these items were made up of local sheep's fur. The male cultural dress color was white. There were certain obligations for male cultural dress for example to cover the lower part of the waist with a belt locally known as



patithe same way as the locale female does. Besides that in Kalasha cultural dresses there was used to be a thing known as *laz* in local language which was integral part of both male and female cultural dresses which you can also call hanging *laz*. This *lez* was used to be part of each dress like trouser, *Shoqa* etc.

Another respondent said that:

*“In December each year we have festival in which we perform a ritual where we make a traditional dress for the young one to consider him or her a member of our community which we called Pachanjek. We have our different rituals and a whole day is kept for it”.*

In the past the women cultural dresses were made of sheep wool but now a days these dresses are made from the modern things including cotton. The old Kalash dresses acts as antique items and they are displayed at the museum but the modern are available at the market because the old dresses takes a lot of time for manufacturing. Similarly another respondent said that;

*“When we were young our mothers used to make dresses for us by using sheep wool which were very beautiful and warm but they were very time consuming and a lot of wool has to be made ready for making threads for which you must have many sheep and goats. In these days they are present in some houses and are rarely wore. Men dresses constituted one woolen trouser and coat at that time. There is demand of these items in the market but they are not made due to a lot of hard work. For our culture those dresses were better because they were more close to us and nature and to our religion. That dresses were the original and were our religious dresses. These dresses are once available in the market they are very expensive ones for example we have our woolen coat which is 15000 rupees in the market which is called gixi”.*

According to the Kalash people in the past their cultural dresses were used to be made from sheep wool which were very big and heavy but now a days ready made things and machine made raw materials are available in the market. In Kalash religion there should be pearl in the cap while dancing but now a days you can see young boys dancing without it. The involvement of money and commodification of the traditional dresses have diluted the cultural dresses and hence reduced the religious significance of their cultural dresses.

### 5.3.1.2 Evolution of Cultural Dress and its sale in the market

The old ones were made from the wool of sheep whereas the new ones are made from the material available from the market. It is also due to lack of time, people are busy and they don't give much attention to the culture. These items are sold in the market and they earn money but are very difficult to make. In Kalasha cultural dresses there was used to be a thing known as *laz* in local language which was integral part of both male and female cultural dresses which you can also call hanging *laz*. This *lez* was used to be part of each dress like trouser, *Shoqa* and every each dress. But now this thing is missing in male cultural dresses but is present in female cultural dresses in *Shoshot, Cupesi, and Peran* and also in the belt of female dress which is locally known as *pati*. This thing is missing in male dresses but some male use it as a hanging thing in their *Khaphol* and also some *Qazian*<sup>9</sup> use it in their drawstring but you can say that it is not used this days. A respondent said that

*“We are making different cultural items during winter season when there is snow in the valley but sell them at the time of these festivals. Our cultural dresses, maiké shawaiy or jewelries, purses, caps such as shoshot, cupesi, pati or belt , shiman are sold in the market for price. our cultural items are sold in the market and also a lot of awareness has been created in the community by NGOs by providing us trainings regarding how to present our cultural items in the market for price.”*

According to the Kalash people the material which is used in these cultural dresses is not the same as the material used to be in the past for making these things. It has changed over the years. Tourists shop all cultural items such as belt locally known as *pati*, *shoshot* ladies cap, *cupesi* also a ladies cap and *peran* ladies *shalwar*. Actually shopkeepers sell all the cultural items very quickly due to demand of them. Various old cultural items are not made. If they are manufactured then they can also be sold in the market. One of the respondents said that;

*“There are some changes in our tangible cultural artifacts such as dresses. The materials from which the cultural dresses were made have changed over the past years but the design of our dresses has remained the same. The core is present there”.*

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<sup>9</sup> Notables and leaders of Kalash people with special roles.

People engaged in business activities also sale their cultural products which includes mostly female cultural dresses. But majority of the Kalash people make dresses for them to wear only because making of these dresses require a lot of time and artistic work. Another respondent said that;

*“People buy our cultural items with great demand. The officers of different governmental organizations come here they show great interest in these items and buy them for their families. We have set different shops of these cultural items due to their demands in the market and we are earning on these cultural items. our cultural dresses have also changed over the past years as in the past our dresses were made of sheep wool but now these dresses are made for the things bought from the market”.*

All ladies cultural dresses are sold it in the Kalash cultural festivals. Ladies earn fair amount of income but it takes a lot of hard work for them to make these dresses and consume a lot of time. The female *cupesi* and *shoshot* are made up of pearls which are very expensive nowadays. 7 to 8 hundred pearls are used in one dress which requires a lot of time as they are made by hands. The old Kalash dresses are also demanded in the market but are not available and if available they are very expensive. Another respondent said that;

*“I sold many items and managed to earn some profit. But there are many shops now here. I started making these items for the tourists and first I sold to a foreigner for 50 rupees only and then I made many of them and sold them in higher amounts. I also introduced wine into the market when my father give me for our own use I sold to a foreigner a small bottle for 100 rupees. But now a small bottle of wine is 1500 rupees. I also sell Tara<sup>10</sup> for the people. We also make purses, bazu band which are purchased by the tourists with great interests. I sell these purses for 500 to 800 and sometimes these are sold for 1500 as well. Now we are also making mobile covers, belt are purchased by the tourists. I take the items of women society and earn commission on these items when I sold them. Sometimes these materials such as pears, chakast, are provided by the NGOs like AKRSP for us. They also give us trainings about selling these products in the market”.*

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<sup>10</sup> Tara is a locally made alcohol available in Kalash valley.

The Kalash people in order to meet the demand of the tourists have modified their dress according to the modern designs of matching color and sold them in the market for high rates and earn money. Market forces are behind the production of the cultural dresses which confirms the role of Cultural Industries as discussed in the conceptual frame work in the concept of Throsby (2010) that cultural industries are behind the exploitation of the individual's intellectual and cultural properties.

### 5.3.2 Wine as Religio-cultural item

According to Kalash people wine is a cultural and religious item which is used in different religious and cultural festivals like Chitermas Festival in the Kalash community. At various religious and cultural rituals it is used in order to make things pure. They use it in Chitermas Festival for sarox dik ritual <sup>11</sup> which is their oldest religious ritual. People collect dried mulberries from each house and they gather at one place and enjoy with the wine till late night. Wine is religious and cultural item whereas *Tara* is only used for guests only by some people. *Tara* is a type of Alcohol which was not initial part of their culture but now it is used in the community but it has no religious importance whereas wine has a religious importance for the Kalash community. A respondent said that;

*“Wine is also used by us during Chitermas and some people who have abundant grapes makes wine and earn their living as well. Tara is used for guest to serve them and they demand for it and some people are also earning by selling it in the market. There is a freedom in our culture to drink wine or tara and it has become a sort of cultural thing for us”.* Similarly another respondent said

*“Wine is our cultural item which is part of our religious and cultural rituals and festivals and is considered very important in various rituals and their performing. It is used at the times of our festivals like Chelim josht, Chitermas or Uchal where we go and use it at the time of sacrifice or offering prayers for purifications purposes in our religious activities. Whereas Tara is produced along with wines to be used for guests during Chitermas and Chelim josht festivals and also at other festivals. Wine is considered to be pure one and is integral part of rituals and is used for purification purposes whereas tara is only used to earn money and for guest and other people.*

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<sup>11</sup> A ritual in which wine is used by Kalash people for purification purpose.

*Wine is used in all our three festivals and if it is sprinkled on you then you can be considered to be pure. We also drink it during Chitermas and other festivals. Wine and tara are also sold to people to earn our livings”.*

According to them wine is used in these rituals for purification. Wine is their religious items which is used in their religious rituals for *socheking*<sup>12</sup> and purifications. Wine is used in Chitermas festival for drinking a long with the meat in the winter season in order to digest it properly. They drink wine because they believe it is organic and good for health. Those people who have grapes make wines which used in religious festivals and also some people sell it and earn money. Besides *Tara* is also made and sold by some people to earn money. *Tara* was not present before and it was introduced in recent years. Guests demand for *tara* whenever you present them like *phanakor* cheese, chai or any other thing they ask only for *tara*. If you don't have it in your house then you have to bring it for them to please them and happy. A respondent said that:

*“In Chitermas festival we use wines for drinking and also it is used to purification in our religious rituals and we called it sochek and ushnero where it is used before a goat or sheep is sacrificed. Wine is used for purifications purpose and also for drinking during this festival.”*

They use wine to drink during Chitermas along with meat. Wine is used in religious rituals for purification purpose at the time of sacrifice of animals. Wine is a religious product and they are making it from the times of their ancestors. Government has also no objection as it is allowed in their religion and it is part of it. They present wine to their female and males and young ones drink this wine a long with the meat and then dances will be performed with great zeal during the Chitermas festival. But now days wine is also available in the market for tourists and is sold by some Kalash people. In the past it was only used by Kalash people at the time of their festivals. As huge number of tourists visit the area and the demand of wine is high so the Kalash people have also introduced *Tara* (a local type of alcohol) for the visitors and earn money.

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<sup>12</sup> It is a purification process in a Kalash culture.

### 5.3.3 Cultural Dresses and Special Occasion

In the Kalash culture there are certain obligations regarding covering the head of men and women. Both men and women have to cover their head with cultural caps. Women cover their head by wearing *shoshot* and *cupesi* which are cultural caps. *Cupesi* is only worn on special days or events and is very expensive. Red belt, Red *Choga* and Red Turban were used to wear on special occasion by particular personals of the society. A respondent said that;

*“There were certain restrictions in our culture that Red Turban is not allowed for men to wear and similarly Red Choga cannot be wore for all the time but when someone has made some remarkable things or showed some prowess then he can wear it”.*

Similarly another respondent said that:

*“Similarly red belt was allowed for some particular personnel to wear. Wearing red belt means someone has achieved something for the community and only particular personals were allowed to bear it while it was abandoned for the rest of the community. Besides that wearing red Turban and going over the pastures or high in the mountains were not allowed because red color was considered to be the symbol of war at that time”.*

#### 5.3.3.1 Skill in cultural Dress Making

According to Kalash people the present cultural dresses also require a lot of time and hard work and artistic work but as compared to the old dresses it requires less time and artistic work. But majority of the Kalash people make dresses for them to wear only because making of these dresses requires a lot of time and artistic work. A respondent said that;

*“Our old Kalash dresses are very rarely available because they require a lot of hard work and time that is why we prefer not to make them. Due to high population and kids you cannot afford to make 2 to 3 dresses for each child. In the past our men dresses were also made form wool and they consisted of woolen trouser, woolen jacket and woolen cap and belt were very beautiful and we enjoyed dancing by wearing them”.*

According to the Kalash people some part of the present day women dresses are also handmade for example The *shalwar* or *peran* the dresses are made by using machine whereas we make

*shoshot*, *cupesi*, *pati* or belt, *shiman* or and wristlets using our hands. They use pearls or *chakast* to make *shoshot* and *cupesi*. The pearls are expensive and a good packet of pearls is 1200 rupees but the low quality pearls are 800 rupees in price and they are bought from Karachi and Chitral. These are very expensive and difficult to make and require most of their times. First they wash them then they dry them and then starts stitching a long with pearls or *chakast*. Another respondent said that;

*“The female dress is about 13 meters in length which is very expensive now a days and require hard work. People say that your items are expensive but they don’t know our hard work behind these items production. We make these items in 10 to 15 days and consider our regular work then and its opportunity cost as well. We train our young ones since there child hood. These pearls come to us in expensive way as they are not our own product. The old dresses are expensive because they are made up of original things. Majority of the new items are not original therefore they are less expensive. We wear our Cupesi at the times of our festivals perform cultural dances”.*

The above mentioned cultural items are available in the market of Bumburet village. It was observed that the cultural items are mostly sold by the women shopkeepers in the village. In the past these items were only consumed and used by the local people during the time of their cultural and religious festivals but now days due to huge number of tourists coming in the valley has increased the production of these cultural items. Tourists consume these cultural items such as cultural dresses for their family members and relatives. In the past these cultural items such as men and women dresses were used to be made from wool of sheep and they were handmade but now 90% of these cultural dresses are made from raw material available in the market. The demand of these cultural items has increased which has also increased the production of these cultural items in different colors and design. The old cultural dresses were considered to be more religious for them but with passage of time and with the commodification of these dresses their religious significance has also reduced according to the Kalash people. The mass production of these cultural items has also led to the loss of authenticity or originality of these cultural items. It is also evident from work of Yang (2009) that commodification of culture pollutes and leads to the loss of authenticity of previously not commodified cultural items. It is also evident that those parts of Kalash cultural items which were not previously commodified are now being

commodified and are available in the market. Besides this the mass production of the Kalash cultural items to meet the demand of the tourists also confirms Baudrillard (1998)'s concept of hyperreality which states that the repetition of objects has diluted the difference between the original and copy of objects in the modern world. Similarly the Kalash cultural items are also diluted in modern production that one is unable to distinguish what is original and copy. It is also evident that the production of Kalasha cultural items are also influenced by cultural industry and the inclusion of machine work, raw materials from the market in different colors which have replaced the traditional cultural items made from the indigenous products also confirms the role played by cultural industries (Adorno (2001)'s concept).

## **5.4 Cultural Institutions**

In the following text both formal and informal cultural institutions have been explained.

### **5.4.1 Formal Cultural Institution**

#### **5.4.1.1 Museum**

In the museum old traditional items are displayed which have been purchased from the local people and local people are also working in the museum. This museum was established by Greek person but he was kidnaped by the Taliban and taken to Afghanistan but later he was released and deported to his country. He served the whole community in the valley by building schools, toilets for the community and drinking water schemes. The museum was then handed over to the government. The museum is a place where local people are doing jobs and their cultural items are displayed for the tourists. The museum is a place where old cultural items such as old cultural dresses, household utensils, daily use products, antique cultural items and other things which have been taken from the people by paying them are kept. Museum is the only formal institution of Kalash people. A respondent said that;

*“In the museum our old traditional things have been placed. The amount which is collected through museum is used for our betterment. Those children who are studying there are provided with free uniforms, free stationaries for the students and the money is used for the salaries of the teachers as well so in this way benefit our community. In the building we have one museum and one school and the museum provides support for the school in this way”.*



According to the people the money earned through the museum is used for the supporting the students who are getting education through a school which is located within the premises of the museum. The money earned through museum is used for providing stationaries and uniform for the pupils of the school. The Museum has staff which belongs to the community and they earn their living. In the museum the old traditional things are kept which are purchased from the local people. Another respondent said that;

*“Some people get benefits from the museum in any form by giving things or getting job so there are benefits. The amount which is collected through museum is used for our betterment. Those children who are studying there are provided with free uniforms, free stationaries for the students and the money are used for the salaries of the teachers as well so in this way benefit our community”.*

## **5.4.2 Informal Cultural Institutions**

### **5.4.2.1 Bashaleni**

In *Bashali* house only women are allowed to go and it acts like a hospital for women where delivery takes place. Pregnant women are kept there till a child is born. Besides this function it also acts as cultural place where menstruating young people are kept till there menstruating cycle completes. According to the Kalash people pregnant women and women during menstruation cycle are considered impure and are not allowed to live with their family members. They believe that if they live with their families then there will be disasters in the valley in the form of floods, earthquake etc. A respondent said that;

*“In our religion it is believed that when the menstruating women and pregnant women live inside our houses then there may come earthquakes, flooding and other disasters and it is considered impure in our religion as well. In Bashaleni our women are kept till they get purified and become pure because in our religion women are not allowed to live with us during their pregnancy and monthly periods”.*

There are trained women in *Bashaleni* who have conducted midwife courses and are there for the treatment. In *Bashali* house only women are allowed for a particular period of time. Pregnant

women are allowed to go there till they give birth to child. Usually they are allowed to stay there for ten days. Young girls with periods also go there till the end of the periods.

In Kalash culture when woman is impure then she cannot live inside the house within the household. Therefore they have a separate place for those women who have monthly periods and live there till their periods over. Similarly when women are pregnant they are also shifted to this house for ten days so that they give birth to child and then can come back to house and they called it *shesavoo* and people are served with traditional food products like *xholai* which is a type of food made up of nuts and wheat flour. One of the respondents said that;

*“Bashali Door or house is for the women only where when our women become impure then they are sent to Bashaleni. In our culture when women are pregnant then they are not allowed to live with us in the house. We isolate them and take them to Bashaleni where they live till they give birth to our child and stay there for ten days. Similarly the girls who have monthly periods we also isolate them and don’t let them to live with us and they also live in the Bashaleni till they become pure. In the Bashaleni there are trained women LHVS who trained these women and girls to deal with the problems in scientific way. There is a Kalash door school for pure Kalash people where our children get education in our own language and they are taught about our culture”.*

Another respondent said that;

*“Our women live in Bashaleni for 7 days when they have periods and they come here at night. Our pregnant women live here when they give birth to a child and stay here for 10 days. These women are not allowed to touch our family members. We provide them food from our houses till they become pure and when the pregnant women come home we perform a ritual of shoshavoo and make traditional food and are eaten by us”.*

Kalash people perform various rituals and only then the women are allowed to come to the house and live with their families. In *Bashali Door* when women get pregnant or when their menstruating cycle start or when they become impure they are taken there till their cycle ends and they give birth to child. Men are not allowed to go inside to Bashaleni.

Another respondent said that;

*“We stay in Bashaleni during pregnancy and after giving birth to the child we stay there for 5 to 10 days. No man is allowed here all are women and we do our different work there. Young women also come there and stay during their problems. In the museum in Brune village there are our old dresses and things have been kept. We have been paid and things have been taken to there and to display them for the other people”.*

#### **5.4.2.2 Kalasha Door**

*Kalasha Door* is the only Kalash School where the Kalash people teach Kalash students in their own language. According to Kalash people in this school students are taught their own language and they also study their religion. According to the Kalash people in the past there were five schools like *Kalasha Door* but now there is only one such school in the whole valley.

One of the respondents said that;

*“In Kalash door school our Kalash young people are taught in our own language our traditional and cultural songs, poems and proverbs. In this school the children are taught in Kalash language and a Kalash book is taught regarding our culture and religion which is good for our future generations whereas these facilities are not present in government schools. We have five government schools in the valleys which were in the past purely for Kalash people both teachers and student whereas at present situation these are all mixed with Muslim teachers and students and we don't have separate books for us. These schools are mixed during these 5 or 6 years”.*

In the *Kalasha Door* School students are trained by Kalash teachers to read and write in Kalash language different concepts of Kalasha culture and religion. But these concepts are not that detailed and interpreted for example their songs, principles, rules and proverbs in local language are not presented in interpreted form or in detailed form showing their meanings to the community.

Due to the lack or mixing of the *Kalash door* schools with Muslim population the Kalash pupils have to learn Islamiyat in their school because Islamiate is compulsory in the curriculum so the Kalash pupils are not left with any option. A respondent said that;

*“We don't know much about our religion because we read Islamiyat in our school and know much about Islam than our own religion”.*

Similarly another respondent said that:

*“Besides this there is flaws in our educational curriculum we willing or unwillingly have to learn Islamiate in school because it is compulsory for taking exam. Mental torturing and brainwashing is also done in the school. A teacher is repeatedly saying to his student that you are following a wrong path which inculcates in the minds of the youth a doubt about their religion. Education system is a big threat to our culture and religion we have been saying this. There should be our own text book to teach about our religion. We should have our own teachers as other communities have in the country to teach their religion to the students”.*

The *Kalasha door* is the other institution where their daily activities of their culture are taught to the children in their own language. But this school is the only school in the whole Kalash valley. These kinds of institutions will help to transfer their cultural rituals and artefacts to the future generations where practical education is imparted to their children. Besides this, modern education is also provided in their own language. Another respondent said that;

*“In the Kalash Door school which is owned by the community where trainings are provided to the students and they are trained to write and learn Kalash culture and language. But this school is the only school which is purely for us where only 150 Kalash students are learning whereas the remaining 3000 Kalash students are getting education from the government schools where majority of the students are Muslims and the curriculum is Muslim dominated or fully Muslim which plays a role in converting our young people. If we can have our own school till intermediate or Fsc level then we could prevent our children from conversion to Islam”.*

In the *Kalasha door* school the Kalash children are studying in their own language and they are trained how to read and write in Kalash language. They are learning about their culture and also getting scientific knowledge in their mother tongue. In contrast to Ulldemolins (2016) concept of cultural institutions the above mentioned three cultural institutions rather function against the commodification of the Kalasha culture.

## 5.5. Impacts of Cultural Tourism

### 5.5.1 Privacy Breaching, Disturbance and Pollution

According to the Kalash people they face the problem of privacy breaching, disturbances and pollution when huge no of tourists come to the area. The design of the houses of the Kalash people is different from the design of Muslim houses in Chitral district and their house doesn't have a boundary wall around their houses. Due to lacking of boundary wall any one can go inside of their houses which cause the problem of secrecy. A respondent said that;

*“We face some problems like some people come directly to our houses without asking ourselves. We have very small houses where we live collectively and we face secrecy problems. They take pictures whenever they see us take selfies and disturb us. But foreigners take permission before taking pictures and if you are not willing they don't take pictures. Brother in our culture we don't wear dupata but due the tourists in order to take our selves safe from the camera of the tourist we have to take dupata for our secrecy. In this way to avoid these thing we are compelled to cover our face and upper part of our body.*

The Kalash people are very much disturbed from the irresponsible behavior of the tourists which causes the problem of disturbance, pollution and secrecy issues for the local community not respecting local norms and traditions. Another respondent said that;

*“We are very much disturbed from these tourists and their behaviors. Our houses don't have any boundary walls due to which they come directly insight our houses without any permission. We have freedom in our religion but it doesn't mean that we are free for everyone, some of us get benefits by promoting these religious activities for money but majority of us are disturbed”.*

As the Kalash people rely on subsistence farming and women usually work in the field performing agricultural works the tourists also disturb their everyday field works in the field by going there to meet them and for the sake of taking photographs of them. One of the respondents said that;

*“Our females cannot go to the fields due to these tourist because the tourists follow them whenever they see women and try to take pictures and try to talk to them. With all these things*

*our daily work are disturbed in the fields we heavily rely on these subsistence crops for our survival”.*

So the Kalash people instead of gaining benefits from the tourists face the problems of secrecy, disturbance and pollution. According to them some tourists also try to flirt with the women and girls. Another respondent said that;

*“Loses are in the form of people coming inside our house with different people without asking us and staying in front of our house and taking pictures of us, our young ones our daughters. They try to talk to our daughters and try to flirt with them. If they come and sit at any place and see our culture like good people we don’t have any problem from them but if they come and try to flirt with us then this is not acceptable to us”.*

### **5.5.2 Violation of Sacred Places and Unlawfulness**

Kalash culture and religion is based on the concept of purity and impurity. In Kalash culture women are associated with impurity and there are certain religious places where women cannot go and vice versa there are places where men cannot such as the *Bashaleni* where men are not allowed to go. According to them when these principles are violated then there come disasters in the village in the form of floods, earthquakes etc. Due to high number of tourists in the area then these sacred places are violated which is a great concern for the local people. A respondent said that;

*“They should know about our culture before they come because Kalash culture is based on the concept of purity and impurity and if these concepts are violated by tourists then there will be culturally and religious loss for us. There is Bashaleni where men are not allowed and when men go there will be violation and similarly there are alters where women are strictly prohibited but the tourist women go there which causes issues for us”.*

The tourists also visit their religious places such as alters, temple and graveyard and violate their norms and customs and don’t respect their rituals. Another respondent showed his concern and said that;

*“Our tangible cultural artefacts such as graveyard, alters and temples are treated as ordinary thing and people don’t respect them. For example a medical student came here and he lived*

*inside the graveyard a long side the skeleton of someone in an open coffin. People mix our tangible items and disturb them they should not touch them”.*

The concept of purity and impurity is not only for the local Kalash people but for all the women whether they are tourist or the local people. But the tourist women visit their sacred places which hurt the sentiments of the local people. One of the respondent said that;

*“Besides that we have such religious sacred places where women are not allowed to go but the tourist women go to these places due to which the secrecy is not maintained and it causes impurity to the places and we get difficulties. We also go to other places in the country but don't hurt any local people similarly people should not harm us”.*

### **5.5.3 Perceived as Kafir**

According to the Kalash people most of the tourists come there with a perception that these people are non-believer and there will be more freedom in the valley for them. A respondent said that;

*“when people come here they actually come here with their own concept of perceiving us Kafir or non-believers and they believe that there is no rules and regulations here and they can do anything they want and they consider us ignorant and they believe that there is no concept of good or bad in the Kalash community. By considering us non believer or Kafir who ever come here they start preaching us and they try to become God for us”.*

According to them most of the people come in the valley not for travelling but they come there with a negative concept. They consider it as a place where they can get women and Wine and they can enjoy. Because of this perception they treat the women as a free and vulgar which is wrong. One of the respondents said that;

*“During Eid days I was sitting here in front of my guest house with my colleagues one old man with a beard came in without any permission and said to me to talk to him. I said to him uncle I call you uncle because you are at my father's age and I am amazed how you are talking to me in front of my colleagues. These are my colleagues and I know them who are you I don't know you and then you are trying to flirt shame on you. We are very much disturbed from these tourists and their behaviors”.*

According to them there are good and bad people in every culture. Similarly there are also bad people in Kalash culture as well who are involved in alcohol production and other immoral activities. One cannot judge the entire culture on the basis of these people. A respondent said that;

*“Due to some people who are engaged in alcohol producing and taking people to their houses the rest of the community is disgraced and faces problems. They use alcohol as a means of income for them and the outsiders go to these houses. The tourists who come here consider that all the Kalash people are like them and they believe that they can go to every Kalash house. Due to all these things the whole Kalash community faces problems”.*

People are misguided that there are free wines and women in Kalash valley and they come in the valley having this concept in their mind about them. Most of the guides the non-locals tourists guides and are non Kalash guides who don't have or have little knowledge about the Kalash people and they miss guide the domestic tourists coming from different parts of the country. Another respondent said that;

*“Tourists are misguided and they come with negative thoughts. These are done by no other than our own neighbors but when the tourists come here and see the reality then they come to us say sorry to us”.*

#### **5.5.4 Social Pressure and Change in Cultural Activities**

Kalash culture and religion is based on oral traditions and customs and they don't have any religious book. These people are only living in three small valleys surrounded by non Kalash community. They are the endangered tribes and their number are decreasing with time. These people due to social pressure they have amended their culture and religion to cope with it. One of the respondents said;

*“Kalash culture is not present in its original form as it was before due to different compulsions there has been amendments in it with time. We couldn't carry it forward in its original form due to certain compulsions which is not good for Kalash culture and Kalash religion. Many cultural rituals have been cut off in the past and many cultural rituals are also being cut off now a days. Actually this is risky for the concept of Kalash culture as Kalash culture is a whole way of life. If*



*you lose the half of the way of life then the remaining part will be very difficult to understand and it will look strange and confused. If the half code of conduct is lost then the remaining code of conduct will seem weird and you will try to leave the remaining part quickly. If the whole way of life is not present and the half of the ingredients of the way of life are missing then it will become difficult to understand it and in this way the remaining way of life will make you nervous you will ultimately say quit it yar. This is the present situation of Kalasha culture. If in future steps are not taken then situation will be worse for Kalasha culture’.*

The Kalash people have been in political power in the region in the past and according to them they had their culture and religion in documented form but after their rule ended they lost their documented material because they remained slave for 800 years. According to Kalash people their number is decreasing whereas the surrounding community is increasing day by day. One of the respondents said that;

*“Due to some social pressures there are minor changes made to our culture. Our surrounding community is growing day by day whereas we are decreasing and they exert pressure on us such as in school there is pressure, in market there is a pressure whenever you go you have to undergo social pressure. It is a big challenge for us to maintain our culture under this social pressure and if we have maintained it which we have then it is a big deal”.*

### **5.5.5 Religious Rituals Not for Sale**

Kalash culture and religion is full of cultural and religious rituals which takes place throughout the year based on four seasons. According to them these rituals which they perform during their festivals are basically for them. As these are religious and are for the specific people of the valley therefore they cannot be performed at other places than their sacred places. One of the respondents said that;

*“Our rituals and cultural dances are not for stage performance there should not be stage performance here and also in some other place. If you want to see our dance then come to here at the festival time and see it. These dances are not for you these are for us we don’t like to use us and perform these at other places. When these less educated or uneducated people perform dances in somewhere else then they are exposed to other threats. This will cause damage to our religion or culture”.*

Similarly another respondent said that;

*“We don’t celebrate our festivals for the tourists we don’t invite them. They come their own we have our religious festivals we are not happy from the tourists they can come and go but they should respect our religion and culture. Our religious are decreasing due to tourism and security reason. We are not in favor of advertising our religious rituals”.*

According to the Kalash people stage performance of their culture pose great threat to their culture and they feel difficulty and uneasy when there are many people during their cultural and religious festivals. Another respondent said that;

*“The cultural dances performed in front of outsiders or other people pose a great threat to our cultural and religion. Because people don’t like to see their families dancing in front of other people in such great numbers with everyone trying to get picture with them , trying to flirts with them. Due to these thing people are not allowing their females to participate in our cultural and religious festivals which is a great threat for our culture to survive”.*

Tabani (2017) revealed that the commodification of the customs of the local people has hurt their sentiments. As a result the tourist spot of volcano was closed for the tourists which resulted in a number of conflicts for almost nine months. The locals concluded that their customs do not need money. Similar nature of tensions was also reported in Lindstrom. The local groups and Christians were in conflict regarding whether or not they should receive money from the tourists and be allowed to participate in the events related to their customs. It was also noted that the amount of money earned through this activity was too small to have any remarkable socioeconomic impact. It is also reported that the locals also faced the problems of exploitation due to low wage labor, politicization of their customs, and humiliating working environment. Similarly these issues were also observed in the field regarding the Kalash people.

### **5.5.6 Disrespect to Local Norms and Customs**

According to Kalash people hugenumber of tourists comes to the valley during a calendar year from various parts of the country. Tourists come and they try to participate in their cultural and religious ritual without respecting their cultural norms and customs. As these rituals are mostly religious but the tourists try to be part of the festivals. A respondent said that;

*“Tourists should come here but they should have a sense of responsibility and should respect our values, norms and customs. Tourists come here for travelling na they should come here observe our culture we don’t have any problem but they should be responsible. We are amazed to see such highly educated and old people who come to our houses directly without permission and try to talk to the young girls and try to flirt with them. In our cultural festivals like Chelim josht there are separate place made for the tourists to sit and observe the festivals even then they try to come and join us as they don’t know that these are our religious rituals and not only cultural dances. They should come and go like a good and responsible human beings. Tourists should come but they should consider us humans and respect us. They should realize as we are also the sisters, mothers and wives of some people. Due to less space available people come and mix with us which is hazardous for our religious rituals and culture”.*

There are separate places made for the tourists to sit and watch the festivals but the tourists come in huge number and the space become small for them and then they try to reach those parts of the place where the festival is performed by the Kalash people. Some of the tourists behave irresponsible way and try to mix with them. In this way the Kalash people are not happy from the local tourists. A respondent said that:

*“They come their own we have our religious festivals we are not happy from the tourists they can come and go but they should respect our religion and culture. Our religious rituals are decreasing due to tourism and security reasons”.*

The irresponsible behavior of tourists and people discourages them to perform their cultural rituals which ultimately damages their religion and culture. Another respondent said that;

*“In Chelim Josht festival we make noises and sing and dance which is a religious ritual it is not done for entertainment purpose whereas it is believed by the outsiders that everyone can go there and take the hand of a women and marry her. When people come here we cannot say to them to go because we are all Pakistani but they should know and they should do justice. If their intensions are pure and clear then there is no problem for us because you are guest and we have to accommodate you and should have good relationships with you. In this way you should look at as we have family, sisters, wives, mother and daughters in our houses which you should respect”.*

Similarly another respondent said that;

↑↓In my opinion absence of proper guides makes the tourists to come with negative thoughts about us the Kalasha women. They take photographs whenever they see us and try to talk to us. Then they upload us in internet.

### **5.5.7 Lack of Communal Economic Benefits**

The benefits of the tourists and tourism are mostly obtained by the outsiders in the form of having hotels and transport vehicles. The Kalash community has only few hotels in the valley whereas the other 90% of hotels are owned by the outside community similar position is in transport. Benefits are obtained by outsiders mainly whereas the locals are left with the negative consequences only. Those drivers who take the tourist to the village negatively brief them about Kalash women and then the tourists come with negative perception. One of the respondents said that;

*“We Kalash people don’t have benefits from them the benefits are to the khow people or the Muslim people”*

Economic benefits are obtained by the people engaged in business activities like hoteling and restaurants and also the local shopkeepers. But maximum benefits are obtained by the outsiders and the government. Only 20% people get benefits while rest of the 80% people remain disadvantageous rather they get difficulties and problems. A respondent said that;

*“There are benefits when some big people come in the valley. Now a days there are money involved in Chelim Josht, Chitermas and Uchal and have separate funds for all these. Those people who are involved and are in front get benefits and get money whereas the poor local people are not considered and they used this money for themselves. Actually this money is for the whole community but who cares for the poor people nobody cares. The leaders who are in front take benefits whereas majority of the benefits goes for the Muslims because majority of the hotels are of Muslims, they have motors. Benefits are obtained by them what benefits we obtain nothing. But our neighbors are jealous with us due to these tourist we are not asking them to come here for us they come on their one and if they come then you people obtain the benefits”.*

The economic benefits are obtained by those who are engaged in business or who are involved in the management of these festivals which takes place in the valley while majority of the Kalash community remain less benefited. One of the respondents said that;

*“They come here and buy our items and we get benefit not only us get the benefit rather it is good for the whole country Pakistan. We Kalash acts as asset for the country as these people come here to see us. But not all of us are getting benefits some of us get benefits and they obtain money from the funds for the festivals whereas most of us are not involved and don’t know about that money involved in the festivals. Few people here and some in Chitral district take the money while giving little to some of our people as well. But overall you can say that something giving to us in some form. Last time majority of our names were not mentioned in the list to give us money from the festival”.*

Jackson (1999) argued that the process of cultural commodification does not take place evenly in a society. For those people who are advantaged and possess capital gets positive impacts by increase in their incomes through the process of commodification while for the disadvantaged or the poor people this process has negative effects. This process of cultural commodification enables the capitalists and outsiders to penetrate the local cultures on their own terms by consuming different cultural products. In this way the tourists assert their power on the locals by consuming their culture.

### **5.5.8 Controlled Tourism and Inclusion of Local Guides**

If there be controlled tourism then these loses maybe or can be minimized or reduced. There are challenges of negative tourism for the community. Tourist give young children money to take photographs which gives a bad impression and increases the chances of begging among the community youth. They try to take photos when people are walking in roads and harass people. If this negative tourism continues then culture can be changed. A respondent said that;

*“There should be controlled tourism, eco-tourism and limited tourists should be allowed to enter the valley. There should be track system here also like Nathia Gali and Ayubia where tourists come and go because we also have daughters, sisters, wives and mothers and our secrecy should also be considered. There should be a proper local guide who could take the tourists along the track. We have now consulted the government to take guide from the Kalash community which*

*will take these tourists to specific places in the village. There will be online registration for tourists and tourist will only be allowed according to the capacity in the hotels. There should be a proper taxation system over the tourists and this money should be used for the community. There is uncontrolled and negative tourism”.*

Presence of middle men in the form of guides creates a communication gap between the tourists and the Kalash people and there are no good guides who can guide to visit this area and tell about their culture. This helps the outside community to take advantage from the situation and misguide tourists coming in the region. Usually the guides are non Kalash and the hotel personnel who misguide tourists for their own interest and also in this way the reputation of the Kalash community is damaged.

One of the respondents from the tourists said that:

*“I think there should be proper guides available here who could guide you and tell you about the Kalash culture. These guides should be from the Kalash community and not be the hotel personals and the Muslim peoples because they miss guide you to obtain benefits from you. For exam these people tell the tourists that they will take you to a Kalash house and you can talk to a Kalasha girl but for that you have to pay his in thousands and also take gifts to the Kalash family such as chickens, cold drinks and also have to give them some money as well. In this way the tourists trap in their net and they obtain nothing but the families they visit are few ones in the valley who are involved in such business. If the middle man is removed and direct contact is made between the tourists and the local people then there will be no such issues of miss representations of the culture”*

### **5.5.9 Lack of Performativity of Religious Rituals as a result of Religio-cultural Tourism**

Kalash culture is full of religious and cultural rituals which takes place throughout a calendar year but according to the Kalash people their performing of their cultural rituals have decreased over the last three decades due to various reasons. These reasons include security situation, cross boarder threats, increase in non-community members, converting of Kalash people, modernization, poverty etc. A resident said that;

*“People can come in huge number we don’t have any problem if they follow the rules and be responsible but if they show irresponsibility as they do these days our people don’t send their families to perform our cultural festivals. A long with our religious rituals they start to dance or follow us they don’t understand that we are performing a religious ritual”.*

Huge number of tourists in the valley compels the local population to abandon their females to participate in their festivals which hurt their religious sentiments and also cause loss to their culture. Another respondent said that;

*“In the past there were less people in our valleys and there were also less outsiders due to which we were relaxed to perform our cultural and religious rituals and there were full participation but now there are thousands of individuals who come here and in their presence it becomes difficult to participate in our festivals and we limit our self”.* Similarly another respondent said that;

*“We sell our handmade items to them and earn some money that is the only benefit we have there are some people who are making these items while majority don’t sell them. People come here in huge no and they come talk to us directly for which our husbands and brothers and fathers instead of telling them they became angry upon us and limit our participation in these festivals”.*

Another respondent said that; *“our festivals are the same but the number of tourists has increased as you can see in Chelim Josht festival where there is less space for tourists and they come to our secret places during our religious rituals for photographs. Due to these tourists some of our families don’t allow us to go there. Main festivals are there but some parts have been limited due to high number of tourists and security issues”.*

### **5.5.10 Objectification of Culture**

The presence of huge number of tourists and their irresponsible behavior makes the Kalash people feel themselves as an object when they are performing their rituals in their festival times. People treat them as an object gazing at them like they are not from this planet. This behavior of the tourists has compelled the Kalash to participate less in their cultural and religious rituals. A respondent said that;

*“We don’t feel easy to carry our religious rituals in the presence of other people looking at you and sometimes they try to mix with us. You are encircled in a ring and are gazed by many people like an object we condemn this before and we will condemn this in future as well. The irresponsible behavior of tourists and people discourages us to perform our cultural rituals which ultimately damage our religion and culture”.*

Similarly another respondent said that;

*“In Chelim Joshi festival we make noises and sing and dance which is a religious ritual it is not done for entertainment purpose whereas it is believed by the outsiders that everyone can go there and take the hand of a woman and marry her it is not like that and journalists also show this in the print and electronic media which ultimately build a narrative about us in the minds of the people that there can be everyone and we can marry them and they come here with that frame of mind. Print media especially those who write in Urdu are propagating negatively about our community”.*

The concept of docile bodies of Foucault (2002) also fits in to the context of the current study when the community people are viewed as exotic and unique subjects by the tourists who are ready to be photographed and their private domains transfixed by the external interventions. It is also evident from the study of Tillotson (1988) that cultural tourism benefits economies by conserving traditional tourists sites and making them museum and hotels to attract tourists in United Kingdom whereas the negative aspects of tourism were more prominent in India where there were no conservation of the old traditional building sites and the tourists involved in the commodification were looking for short-term profits. It is also evident from the field that the tourism in Kalash valley is based on short term profits motto and the stakeholders are not paying attention for long term investment. Thus it also confirms the local people face negative impacts of cultural tourism than its positive impacts.



## **5.6. Results of Using Culture as an Economic Resource**

### **5.6.1 Risks Involved in using Culture as an Economic Resource**

#### **5.6.1.1 Security Reasons and Decrease in Cultural Rituals**

Kalash culture is full of cultural and religious rituals which takes place continuously during a calendar year. But in the last few decades the Kalash religious and cultural rituals have been shortened or decreased due to worse security situation in the nearby areas Nuristan Afghanistan. In the past their cultural or religious rituals used to be starting from the month of July and they used to continue at the end of August but when the terrorist activities spread the adjacent region to Kalash valley then these rituals were reduced and in this way certain rituals were abolished or limited. A respondent said that;

*“Due to security conditions there are adverse effect on our culture for example we had a festival called ragnat which means dancing at night which was used be performed in July and August. But now we don’t perform this festival due the fear that situation may not become difficult for us because we have received threats from the terrorists across the borders. We are not performing it any more so when you not perform it the future generations will not be able to know about it but we hope for the best. But if you don’t let your offspring about your religion and culture than they will not know about it. When I was young there was a man called Jodi who was a Zoologist and he was from Spain. He introduced a Qazi system in school and one Qazi was appointed in each Kalash School to train young Kalash people to how to practice their religion because we don’t have any religious book. Because if our children go to Muslim schools then they are taught Islamiate there but for our children there is nothing or no option to learn Islamiate. If we have separate school or even Kalash teacher for our children then it will be better. School like Kalasha door will help us to preserve our culture in future. But still our youth are enthusiastically participating in our culture. The dates of our festivals are fixed and they don’t change. There were no outsiders in the past in our valley due to which there was peace in the whole valley”.*

*Another respondent said that >our main festivals are the same as our ancestors performed them but some our rituals are limited I remember when I was in fifth class our parents performed the*

*ragnet festival as that time there were no terrorism here in the valley. There were no such issues of Taliban and also there were less outside people in the valley. But now a days there are issues of security they say that there is this threat that threat etc. and also there are many tourists in our festivals due to which it becomes difficult to go there and perform.*

### **5.6.1.2 Interaction from the outside and increase in intolerance**

The Kalash community is surrounded by non Kalash communities who are growing day by day whereas the Kalash people are decreasing due to various reasons. This increase in outsiders in the valley increases intolerance among the non Kalash community regarding the various religious and cultural activities and their performing during the calendar year. The Kalash people have cut of their various rituals and now they are not performing them in the festivals. A respondent said that;

*“Similarly at our teki mas we used to have 40 days of religious rituals and prayers but due to security reasons and situations now adays the first 10 days of these rituals cut of while the remaining take place in Bumburet valley but these rituals are being performed in Birir and Rumbor because there are no outside communities living. These people know each other very well but in Bumburet village these activities are limited due to the presence of outside communities. And these outside communities may go through difficulties. One of our religious festivals used to be performed in the Sheikhannan deh which is the village of the converted Kalash people. In our religion we have the concept of Iblis and we consider iblis as budsha or rushi. This festival was against budsha or Iblis. In Chitermas festival we perform our longest prayers and is the month of prayers. In the past it was believed that many witches and magicians. Kalash people perform this festival to clean them form the valley. Before the start of this festival the kalash people used to gether at the Shekhanan deh and manage a wooden poll at this place and certain rituals were used to perform. Each man can take 3 small stones and throw at this wooden poll, by firing and shouting that the king of badthings the bodsha was killed.They took this wooden poll to various places in the valley where various dances were used to be performed. At the end this poll was used to be taken high in the mountain and burn it. After this then the prayers were used to start”.*

### **5.6.1.3 Cross boarder Threat**

The Kalash people have been threatened in the past by the Taliban from the cross border area of Nuristan region which is part of Afghan province. They have taken the cattle and animals of the Kalash people and they have killed shepherd in the past. According to Kalash people in 2016 they have killed two shepherds from the Kalash community and took cattle with them. One of the respondents said that;

*“People are scared and they have limited their cattle due to threats from Taliban who came to our pastures and took our cattle and other animals. There are two or three dreadful incidents have occurred by killing our young brothers when they were grazing our cattle in the pastures and have been killed by the Taliban”.*

Due to these threats the local people have now limited their cattle which cause difficult in performing their religious activities as they are dependent on cattle, sheep, goats and subsistence forming for their survival. Another respondent said;

*“But now people have limited their cattle due to threats across the border and some of our community members were killed and their cattle were taken away. People have sold their cattle due these threats which is causing difficulties to carry our religious and cultural festivals. Fear is the main reason the fear of losing our cattle from the pastures, the fear of attack from them, the Taliban are the reasons of not performing or lessening of our festivals. We are less in no due to becoming of Muslims or sheikhs. Every year two to three people are becoming Muslims”.*

### **5.6.1.4 Lack of rituals as a threat to Kalash Culture**

The Kalash religion and culture is mainly based on oral traditions, customs and rituals which take place during a calendar year. When these cultural and religious rituals are not performed in their festivals then their culture and religion is in danger of erosion. Due to high no of tourists and their irresponsible behavior the male members of the Kalash people prefer not allow their women to participate in the religious and cultural rituals which cause threat to their culture. They try to avoid this festival which is a great threat to their culture as their culture is primarily based on these festivals and rituals. Due to these reasons the female portion of the society are unable to

participate in their religious and cultural rituals to their full enthusiasm and zeal. A respondent said that;

*“Our females are not fully participating in our religious festivals. In the past our dances and rituals were more but with the passage of time they have decreased but not that much we are still performing these festivals. At that time there were less outside people or no outside people and we used to dance without any hesitation or fear. We used to dance and sing for ten days in Chitermas festival but now people due to watching TV they are not or less attending these cultural dances and songs and festivals. The past years were simple times where our elders our young ones all used to gather there and perform cultural dances which are no more these days. In the past we use to dance when we were grazing our cattle and used to sing on flute but now a days we are not allowed by our elders that due to you outsiders come here and we have disturbance so we have almost finished our these dances. At the Uchal festival we used to sing and dance to our religious place and also to our houses but due high no of outsiders our elders limited our these dances and songs by saying that these visitors vanishes our grazing fields by roaming there and here. These issues made us to do our dances performances in a specific place so that our grazing fields and our crops can be prevented from damages. Also in the past there were less no of people coming here but now there are huge no of people coming here which force us to limit our dances due to various problems. There are many irresponsible people who don't respect our religion and or culture. Our males don't allow us to dance in front of such huge people due to which less people are participating in these our cultural and religious festivals”.*

Similarly another respondent said;

*“People can come in huge no we don't have any problem if they follow the rules and be responsible but if they show irresponsibility as they do these days than our people don't send their families to perform our cultural festivals. A long with our religious rituals they start to dance or follow us they don't understand that we are performing a religious ritual”.*

### **5.6.1.5 Impact of Modernisation on Young Kalash people**

According to the Kalash people there are certain obligations in the Kalash culture which one have to perform such as in Kalash culture a girl must tight her hair together and should not spread it and it is obligatory. Similarly the head has to be covered in Kalash religion and culture

and it is obligatory for both the sexes. But now a days due to modernization one can see young boys and girls roaming around without covering their heads in their festivals. A respondent said that;

*“In our culture women tight their hairs with each other and don’t disperse them or spread them but now a days due to TV and films young Kalash girls don’t follow it rather they spread their hairs. In this way seeing each other little Kalash girls follow their own rules which is not good for us. Poni is not allowed in our culture for women and if we make poni then our culture is vanished. In the past there were less designs in our dresses but now there are many designs and dresses are wore in matching”.*

Young people watching televisions and films try to adapt those behaviors and dresses. By watching people coming here also try to look like them. Kids prefer to copy the tourists. Another respondent said that;

*“Due changing world our cultural dresses are changing, our language is changing and it pose a threat for survival of our culture. For example there are two types of modern people one is educated and the other is half educated or nim hakim. The educated one knows about the culture whereas the other one doesn’t know and we have a problem from him. Our young ones who are less educated they speak in Khowar the local Chitrali language and don’t speak in Kalash war their own language which poses a great threat to our language”.*

The young Kalash people try to copy tourists and adopt their behavior. Modernization is changing the dresses and minds of the young people which may cause problems for the Kalash culture. One of the respondents said;

*“Loss is that our young generation takes the tourists as a role model and tries to copy their dressing due to which there is a change in our culture. This may change our children minds to move away from our traditional culture. Our own children have started to wear paint and shirts instead of our own dress and it is already started due to the changing world”*

Another respondent said that;

*“Our male dresses have changed 90% and majority of our young generation wear other dresses and don’t follow our dresses but we females have continuing our cultural dresses for our use.*

*But I think it is one's personal choice to wear different things and we should not say anything for them. A change has occurred in our culture due to modernization. There is a slightly change occurred in the designing of our houses due to the availability of different materials when you compare our old houses with the new ones then you will see a clear difference. In the past our dresses used to be made from wool but now due to the availability of other material in the market those dresses have been replaced by new color, designs and raw materials. I think it is good for us and the community”.*

Similarly another respondent said that;

*“Now a days you cannot stop your children from doing something when you stop them they say it is their choice follow whatever they want. In our religion there is freedom we cannot compel our children. In our culture one has to cover ones head with a cap but now you can see many people moving around without cap. Actually the environment has changed now entirely”.*

According to the Kalash people modernization has adverse effect on their culture by changing the minds of their children and diverting their minds from their traditional culture.

#### **5.6.1.6 Nostalgia and Ritual Performance**

As compare to the past people are reluctant to allow their family members particularly women to participate in their cultural and religious festivals. According to them in the past their cultural or religious rituals were being celebrated in a more relaxed way and the whole community used to be part of the festivals but now a days people are not allowing their family members to participate in the festivals due to the huge no of outsiders. A respondent said that;

*“In the past all of our females used to take part in our religious rituals due to less tourists and were relaxed to perform our rituals. In the past less people or no people were coming to our place and festivals and we had no issues of performing our festivals but now a days due to fixing these festival days huge no of visitors come due to which we come across difficulties in performing our rituals”.*

Modernization has also its impacts on the Kalash cultural and religious rituals. People in this fast life are unable to take time for these festivals which takes place during a whole year. Young

members of the community try to introduce new moves by watching television stars. Another respondent said;

*“In the past our dances were performed with great zeal but now women watch TV and less participate and if they participate they perform like these Panjabi women in the television and try to introduce new things or moves. Our original dance is by rising our hands which we call bazum but the young one try to move their hands in low direction. We used t avoid other people and dancing in front of them but now people dance for money. We were forced to perform in the past by the police personals”.*

Similarly another respondent said that; (O.5) ↑↓in the past we used to have our religious and cultural dances for the whole year but now we faces fear because we are becoming less and less and also our culture is deteriorating and our festivals are vanishing (It may also be due to modern world where people have less time and people have other things to do).

Due to the commodification of cultural and religious rituals many Kalash men have limited the participation of their women in performing their rituals in front of many tourists. It is also evident from the study of Chhabra (2010) which showed that cultural commodification jeopardizes cultural traditions and social relationships. The host community uses cultural rituals and commodifies them to earn economic benefits

### **5.6.1.7 Economic gains for some and loses for others**

According to the local people the maximum benefits of tourism and development is obtained by the neighboring communities. Very small number of the local people get benefit and are those people who have some business or involved in management of their mega festivals which involve money. A respondent said that;

*“Hotels are theirs, transport is theirs, fruits and vegetables are theirs, chickens are provided by them what benefits we are getting. They come here on our names but benefits are to the other people. “when huge no of tourists come here there will be change inside our community our women and young ones try to copy them try to be like them they sit like them move like them and this will change our behavior and change may occur. People buy all these dresses in the market. I don’t sell rather I just make these things for our own use only. People sell them for thousands*

*of rupees whoever made them they get money but we are engaged with our own filed works and don't have any time".*

For the Kalash people benefits are in the form of money earn by selling their cultural items whereas for the neighboring communities benefits are in the form of hotels, transport and guide. So most of the benefits are obtained by the outside communities instead of the local community.

A respondent said that;

*"They come here and buy our items and we get benefit not only us get the benefit rather it is good for the whole country Pakistan. We Kalash acts as asset for the country as these people come here to see us. But not all of us are get benefits some of us get benefits and they obtain money from the funds for the festivals whereas the most of us are not involved and don't know about that money involved in the festivals. Few people here and some in Chitral district take the money while giving little to some of our people as well. But overall you can say that something giving to us in some form. Last time majority of our names were not mentioned in the list to give us money from the festival".*

Majority of benefits are obtained by the hotel owners and the shopkeepers and also to the whole valley in the form of transport and guiding. Similarly another respondent said that;

*"We Kalash people don't have benefits from them the benefits are to the khow people or the Muslim people. Hotels are theirs, transport is theirs, fruits and vegetables are theirs, chickens are provided by them what benefits we are getting. They come here on our names but benefits are from the other people. Our people work in the field, go to pastures etc."*

It was evident from the field that majority of economic benefits were obtained by small number of both local and outside communities whereas the majority of the local Kalash people were obtaining nothing except negative benefits from the tourists. Jackson (1999)also argued that the process of cultural commodification does not take place evenly in a society. For those people who are advantaged and possess capital can afford the process of commodification while for the disadvantaged or the poor people this process has negative effects. This process of cultural commodification enables the capitalists and outsiders to penetrate the local cultures on their own terms by consuming different cultural products. In this way the tourists assert their power on the locals by consuming their culture.



## 5.6.2 Opportunities in using culture as an economic resource

### 5.6.2.1 Economic benefits for Some

There are many benefits of tourists for the community and for the people who are engaged in shops, hotels, transport and guidance. People get monetary benefits by engaging themselves in some activities. According to some of the Kalash people tourism brings development for the whole community as there are no other source of livelihood opportunities in the valley. People sell their cultural items such as cultural dresses and other items and earn their living. A respondent said that;

*“People get many benefits from tourists as you know our people are very weak financially and through these tourists they manage to earn some financial benefits. People get many financial benefits by selling their handy crafts and other cultural products and then spending them for the education of their children in the past there used to be only one simple cap in our cultural dress but now due to modern world and availability of materials there are differently colored and designed and matching caps now available. I think it is good for us because to update our but should focus on our core values as well”.*

The Kalash people perceive themselves as an asset for the whole country due to which national and international tourists are attracted to come to Pakistan and leave here for months. Tourism also helps to generate economic activities in the valley during their main festivals which continues almost during the whole year. One of the locals said that;

*“There are a lot of benefits not only for us but for the whole country. We have a unique culture which is only present here in Pakistan. We with our unique culture represent Pakistan to the world and we are the indigenous tribes present in Pakistan and we are pure Pakistani. We are an asset to this country with our unique culture and the government of Pakistan is also considering us as an asset and they take care of us in a good way. When people come here from different countries from Europe and from other places then the whole country is benefited because didn't come directly to here they come in Islamabad and other cities and stay there in hotels and use transport to come here and in this way the whole country is benefited”.*

Similarly another respondent said that;

*“Modernisation has changed the whole world not only the Kalash culture but we should adapt ourselves to it and use it positively for example by using media to portray our self to other people through it on our own level. In this way we can use technology positively for our self and the preservation of the community. We can generate jobs for our girls here in our village using technology and internet because when our women go to Chitral city for jobs the wear Chitralli dresses”.*

Another respondent said that;

*“There are many benefits of these tourists for us. When they come here every one of us gets benefits for example shopkeepers like me sell their things, people who have vehicles the get benefits for them, local guides earn some money and the whole Chitral gets benefits instead the whole country is benefited from the tourists”.*

Things are sold and shopkeepers earn profit in this way there is benefits for them. People don't have enough lands for cultivations of crops and people earn their living by selling these products. Those who have vehicles, who are guide and also those who have hotels they make profits and earn their living. Whereas the majority of the locals remain marginalized and remains exploitative. A respondent said that;

*“People come to here in huge no due to which they have to stay in hotels and consume different things including cultural items and tara for enjoyment which give benefits to the people. Many people produce cultural dresses, cupusi,shoshot, pati, peran, purses and shemano which are purchased by the tourists. Similarly many people produce Tara which they sell and earn huge money. Some have hotels and they also earn money in this way. I myself earn 22000 rupees during only two days in my shop. So there is a lot of benefit for us. In my shop people have given me there things for sale and give me some commission so these things are from the community”.*

Another respondent said that;

*“There are many benefits because many foreigners come here, many officers come here due to which there benefits for the shops for the hotels and for the people is having vehicles. People are jealous of our festivals but they don't realize that the whole benefit is for us we have our shops, motors and vegetables for them. We people also get benefit by selling our cupesi, shoshot and other cultural items and earn money and we all get benefits. We should feel good for others”.*

The extract above shows the voices of those individuals of the Kalash people who are engaged in business activities through production and selling of Kalash cultural goods in the market. They are getting the economic benefits through cultural commodification but they are less in number and the majority of the community remains unbenefited. Middle men from the surrounding non Kalash communities also obtain the benefits of commodification. Wallace (2009) explains that many communities in the world try to make economic benefits and increase their income through cultural commodification. It is also evident that such business can only be sustainable and beneficial for the local communities only if the local communities are involved in process and control of the production of these cultural products.

## Chapter 6- Semiotic Analysis of Cultural Items

I have used Saussure method to analyze items associated with Kalash culture. The details are in the following text.

### 6.1 Cultural Dresses



Figure 1. Picture Depicting Change in Women cultural dresses in Kalash Culture (Source: Fieldwork)

The above collection of picture shows us female Kalash cultural dresses and the changes that have occurred with the passage of time in these dresses. The two black colored dresses on the left side of the collection represent the old female cultural dress whereas the pictures on the right hand side present the modern cultural dress of the Kalash people. The old dresses depict black colored *Peran (shalwar)* which is handmade and is made of sheep wool. It consists of *Maike* (a set of jewelries), *Cupusi* and *Shoshot* (women caps), *Gadolai* round small metal type (jewelry) and a *Pati* (belt made up of wool). The material used to make the old cultural dress was the woolen thread made from sheep wool. On the right side of the collection the pictures depict the modern or the present time Kalash cultural dresses. These cultural dresses consist of *Peran (shalwar)*, *Phirbal* (trouser), *Cupusi* and *Shoshot* (women caps), *Maike* (a set of jewelries) and *Pati* (belt).

The collection on the left side consists of two black colored dresses which are made up of woolen threads and from sheep wool whereas on the right side of the collection there are pictures which consist of different colors and designs and are made from clothes and thread available from the market. The old dresses required hard work and were time consuming whereas the modern dresses are made from materials available in the market and they also require mechanical work. The modern women cultural dresses lack the *gadolai* and *chama* which were integral parts of the old cultural dresses.

Both the cultural dresses in the above collection as well as the differences between the old female and modern cultural dresses in the form of materials, designs and colors act as signifiers. The change implicated in the ways these dresses were made using traditional techniques and indigenous knowledge as opposed to the rapidity of today's application of modern techniques to speed up the production processes of dress making is the signified. Throsby (2010)'s concept of cultural industries and their underlying modes of operation and Adorno (2001)'s theorization of capitalist production of cultural commodities fit into this context.

The Kalash women stated to me that they have been able to continue and sustain their old tradition despite the wave of modernisation and globalization in the current arena. The youth of the Kalash culture, on the other hand, accepted that they have been influenced by media and its new ideas which are the source of inspiration for them. The people of the area are trying their level best to preserve their unique and traditional culture despite the effects of modernization through transition and transculturation.

It was also evident from the study that culture helps the individuals to survive in long term by providing flexible space for the individuals. The Kalash dresses have religious significance and the women signify their identity by wearing them, feel proud and are respected in their community for this reason. Despite the claims of Kalash people that they have been successful in preserving their unique and centuries old oral traditions and customs, the research findings clearly highlight (as mentioned in the preceding section) that the craft and technology underlying dress making has drastically changed and has also compromised the authenticity of the old dress.

As mentioned earlier that female Kalash dress consists of woolen material locally known as *Paran* and in the past this was made from black woolen kimono style dress. But in contemporary times this dress has been replaced by cotton material. This traditional dress is rarely available

and is very expensive and is placed in the museum only. When a child becomes four years old the traditional woolen dress is made for a woman and given to her at the time of their festivals. The child is briefed about the importance of this dress and it is handed over to her by the elders of the family. In the past this dress only consisted of some metal jewelries and simple colored woolen material along with other ornaments but now this dress has undergone changes and consists of plastic jewelries and multi-color ornaments in the dress. The old dress is only available for the tourists and is very expensive. The construction of the old dress is in Arabic style and has no similarity with the Greek Ionic, Chiton and Draped fabric. Pat or belt is also a part of the Kalash dress and it serves the purpose of loose belt in order to keep the dress in place and also it serves a place to keep small things like cash, pins etc. *Shoshot* or minor head dress is also an important component of the Kalasha dress and the women are not allowed to move around without wearing it. This head dress is given to every four years old girl during their festival to mark the entry of the child to their community. In the past these headresses were worn under the *Cupesi* or the major head dress to support it because *Cupesi* were compulsory for the women. But now *Cupesi* are only worn on special occasions whereas *Shoshot* are worn all the time by these women. In the past the women used to make *Shoshott* from long fringes of thread with beads, buttons, cowries and a stone in rows and columns but now the woolen thread is replaced by the cotton cloth.

The old generation is still adhered to their old traditional dress because of their symbolic meanings whereas the young ones are following new designs in their dresses. *Cupesi* is a heavy material which protects the head from sun rays and as mentioned above that the girl receives her *Kupas* when she becomes four years old. The young girl is instructed not to play with it otherwise the deities will be angry and they might face curse. The *Cupesi* comprise of two designs: shield design and the other is found on the *Cupesi* of a young one. According to people shield design (engraved on the walls of the temples) symbolizes protection from evil spirit and fend bad luck whereas the other design is the floral arrangement of the cowries. The traditional jewelry was metallic in nature whereas these days the string beads have replaced these metallic jewelries. They wear joggers and leather *chapals* whereas in the past they used to wear handmade shoes from animal fur and leather.

## 6.2 Male Cultural Dress



Figure 2; depicting the difference between the old and new cultural dress (Source: Museum and fieldwork)

The above combination of four pictures depicts male cultural dress of the Kalash people. The two pictures on the left hand side of the collection denote the old cultural dress whereas as the two pictures on the right hand side of the collection represent the modern or present time Kalash dress for men. The old cultural dresses on the left hand side of the picture consist of *Pakhol* (woolen cap), *Sangachi* (A woolen jacket type), *Pati* (woolen belt) and a woolen trouser. The two pictures on the right hand side of the collection represent the modern male cultural dress which consists of *Pakhol* with a bird feather (cap), *Pati* (belt) and *shalwarqamiz* (typical Chitrali dress).

The old male cultural dresses were made up of woolen threads which were made from wool of sheep. The color of the old dresses used to be white. These cultural dresses were considered to be more religious as they were made up of sheep wool. These male cultural dresses were all handmade and they used to require a lot of time and hard work. The present cultural dresses have only *Pakhol* with a bird which is made up of wool whereas the *shalwar qamiz* (typical Chitrali



dress) is made of materials available in market in various colors. The *Pati* (belt) and *Shemanare* also handmade. The difference between the old and the new male cultural dress is that the basic material, the sheep wool which was core portion of the old dresses is not present in the modern dress. The modern male cultural dresses have been shifted from the old woolen made dresses to the typical *Chitrali shalwar qamiz*. The old male cultural dresses were all handmade whereas the new dresses involve mechanical support.

In the above collection the old male cultural dresses and the modern cultural dresses are the signifiers whereas the change or the differences between these old and modern cultural dresses are the signified. In the past the male cultural dresses were in white colors and were made up of woolen thread whereas the modern Kalasha men cultural dresses are made up are made up of materials available in the market in different colors. The changes in the dress making and the materials used have changed the way men used to carry themselves in the past. And these changes are attributed to the processes of commercialization that have compromised the authenticity of old cultural dresses and the way men represent themselves wearing these dresses.

### 6.3 Cupusi and Shoshot (female cultural caps)



Figure 3; Women Cultural Caps (Cupusi and Shoshot) (Source: Museum and fieldwork)



The above collection depicts female cultural caps (*shoshot and cupusi*) of Kalasha women. The two pictures on left hand side of the collection show old cultural caps whereas on the right are the pictures depicting modern cultural caps of the Kalasha women. The old cultural caps of the Kalasha women on the left hand side of the collection comprises of flower type thing on the top in black color called *phus*, white color pearls (locally known as *chakast*) a rounded peace of expensive metal (locally known as *Chama* or *Gadolai*). The pearls are connected to each other and with the *Gadolai* or *Chama* (the round metal) through black colored threads made from the sheep wool. The right hand side of the collection comprises different modern cultural caps of the Kalasha women called *Cupusi* and *Shoshot* which also comprises of pearls or *chakast*, differently designed flower type thing locally known as *phus*.

The difference between the old cultural caps of the Kalasha women and those worn in the past is that the later are not made up of sheep wool whereas the old were used to be made from threads of sheep wool. The modern cultural caps lack the expensive metal peace (*gadolai* or *chama*) whereas the old cultural caps used to have this expensive metal. The old cultural caps were only made up of black woolen threads whereas the new cultural caps are available in different colors and have designs on them. The *Cupusi* is worn by the Kalash women all the time and it is obligatory to cover their heads with *shoshot* whereas *cupusi* is worn on special occasion. Both the cultural caps have religious significance for the Kalasha women.

In the collection above both the cultural caps are signifiers whereas the difference between the two in the form of multi-colors, multi-designs and differences in basic materials are signified. The new cultural caps are available in the market in different colors and designs as compared to the old cultural caps which were made in one color and design. The excessive availability of female cultural caps in the market is attributed to two main things: modern taste of local and international tourists who come to purchase these caps, and the greater number in which these caps have been produced and sold in the market places. *Cupusi* and *shoshot* both have undergone changes in texture, design and look which are attributed to modern consumer tastes and increased production capacitation.

## 6.4 Jewelries and New cultural items



**Figure 4; Jewelries and new cultural purses and mobile covers (Source: Fieldwork)**

The above combination of pictures depicts the new jewelries purses and mobile covers which are being sold in the market in the Bumburet Village Kalash Valley. The two pictures on the left hand side of the combination represent new jewelries sold in the market whereas the two pictures on the right hand side of the combination represent purses and mobile covers sold in the Bumburet market. The jewelries comprise of different colors of wristlet, necklace, rings whereas the two pictures on the left hand side of the combination comprises different color handmade purses and mobile covers.

Beads and decorative arts help in reconstruction of material culture, identifying trade contacts between cultures and also help in studying visual language of cultures. The beads found in ancient ruins not only help to trace the dates of trading but also highlight the technological advancement of those people who made them and prove the migration and trading activities of those who were involved at those times. The number of necklaces women wear represents her husband's and father's stature. The beads represent her wealth given by her family members or

earned by her through her labor and work. Beads are also given at the time of marriage by the women of her family which marks the welcome, prosperity and fertility for the new couple. These beads are also given to the other people as gifts which show their hospitality. Cowries are also used to decorate female head dresses and these have no other substitutes. Kalash women use these shells for their young daughters' head dress. These materials are available in the valley through trade from other parts of the country. People associate these jewelries with the Kalash culture and purchase these from the market and also to mark their coming in the Kalash valley. They purchase these jewelries and purses and mobile covers for their relatives as a gift. The purses are handmade and are made by the Kalash people whereas the jewelries are brought into the valley from other parts of the country like Swat, Lahore and Karachi. The tourists mostly the local tourists associate it with Kalash people and they purchase it for their loved ones and relatives. All the items of jewelries, purses and mobile covers are signifiers whereas selling of the handmade colored and designed purses, mobile covers and the jewelry items in the market are the signified as these items were never been available for sale and purchase and subject to market forces. The situation, now, is different due to rapidity with which consumer society and capitalist production process has seeped into cultural domains.

## 6.5 Tourists and the Kalash People



Figure 5 depicts the tourists' behavior during a cultural festival (Source: Fieldwork)

The above collection depicts the behavior of tourists during cultural festival in the Kalash Valley. On the left hand side of the collection there are two pictures; one is the picture of a child and the other is a picture of four women dancing in a circle. The right hand side of the picture represents two pictures of tourist during a cultural dance. The picture of a small child on the left hand side of the collection depicts her annoyance during photography by the tourist. The group picture depicts women dancing in a circle and also depicts a woman in the middle wearing a white *dupata*. The two pictures on the right hand side of the collection are of tourists. In the first picture the tourist is screaming with his hands in the air and expressing a political slogan whereas in the other picture some tourists are dancing while others are making photographs of them.

The left hand side of the collection depicts the annoyance of the little child when she was being photographed by the tourists whereas the wearing of the *dupata* by one of the women in the middle of the dancing women depicts her uneasiness when she was performing in front of the tourists during the festival. There is no concept of wearing of *dupata* in Kalash culture but due to the presence of so much tourists and strangers in the festivals these women are compelled to wear *dupata*. The festivals have religious importance for the Kalash people and they perform their religious rituals during these festivals whereas the tourists consider these festivals as a source of entertainment in which they make noises and dance. The tourists and their interactional dynamics are not cultural items but these dynamics are on display and can be observed during cultural festivals.

## 6.6 Semiotic Analysis of Moving Images

### 6.6.1. Semiotic Analysis of a Song (Ghon) 13to (a brother by his Sister)

#### Local original Song

#### Translation;

May bayak o may behal bayak o

my brother o my blessed brother

Gulab gamburi desha dai bichiraw

Rose blooms scattered far and wide

Tan Mochuna phanzhi dess kone

Why don't you share them

May bayak o may behal bayak o

My brother o my blessed brother

---

<sup>13</sup> Song is called Ghon in a Kalash language.

This song is sung by Kalash women dancing in groups during the Chitermas Festival in Bumburet Krakal Village. This song is actually in the remembrance of a brother by her sister. In this song and cultural dance the woman praises her brother and says that my dear brother just like the dispersing pearls of a flower dispersed (means died). Why you people don't collect the pearls (the dead body) and share with each other. In the month of December each year the Chitermas Festival takes place in the Kalash Valley where different Cultural and religious rituals are performed. This month is considered to be the holly month for the Kalash people where they perform various prayers and rituals. The Kalash people remember their beloved ones by singing songs and performing cultural dances during this festival each year.

This song is performed by a group of women by singing and dancing in pairs in the remembrance of their deceased and loved ones during the Chitermas Festival in the Krakal Village Bumburet. These type of cultural and religious dances songs and dances are the integral part of the Chitermas Festival and without performing these dances the festival is incomplete.

The women make a group of four or five people and start dancing in a circular way and back and forth movement. These tribute type songs are performed in a slow pace. These women were wearing the different colored traditional Kalasha dresses which comprises of *Cupusi*, *Shoshot* (cultural caps), *Peran* and *Phirbal* (long frock type), *Pati* (belt) and *Maike* (jewelries) cultural items during this cultural dance in the Krakal village.

## **6.6. 2. Semiotic Analysis of Gohn (asong by a lover to his beloved)**

### **Song in Local Language;**

### **Translation;**

Bibi Manguli Kuray Khoshass bagawo

Bibi Manguli which ever flower you decide or

Ghamburi like from the garden

Shemi ghamburi tay ghai dyem

I will throw it around your neck that people

Mochbi hairan hin

will be surprised.

This cultural song is a romantic song in which the poet (the Kalash man) addresses his beloved whose name is *Manguli* that whatever type of flower (*gamburi*) she selects from the garden he (the Kalash man) will pick that flower and will ornate her neck with that flower. This song was sung accompanied by a cultural dance of women and men during the Chitermas Festival last year in the month of December in Krakal Village Bumburet. The lover and their beloved ones in the Kalash culture sing songs like this and perform cultural dances during the festivals in the Kalash culture.

The lover sings such a secret type of song which only the beloved one can understand during the cultural festivals of the Kalash people. In this way the lover expresses his or her love and commitment for his or her lover in these cultural festivals which also acts as place for the Kalash people to perform their romance through these songs.

These cultural romantic songs are performed by both the male and female members of the community accompanied by a cultural dance in which both the male and female members of the Kalash community participate. This cultural dance is fast as compared to the remembrance songs. Both male and female members of the Kalash community wear their cultural dresses and perform this cultural dance during the Chitermas festival of the Kalash people.

Using the theory of Ferdinand Saussure of semiotic analysis in this chapter five collection regarding traditional and modern cultural items of the Kalash community was analysed. The collections reflect different signifiers (photographs) and signified (the difference between these photographs) signified. The two cultural songs and dances also show wearing of cultural dresses and dances (signifier) referring to cultural event and concept (signified). In this chapter started from deconstructing the collections in to different pictures and text. After that I identified the pictures as signifiers pointing towards some concepts (signified) and briefly explained them. At the end of each collection I explained that what change has occurred between the traditional and modern day cultural items of the Kalash people. The cultural items which are being commodified include women cultural items such as *Cupusi*, *Shoshot* (cultural caps) women dress (*peran pherbal*), jewelley (*gadolai or shawai*) and belt (*pati*). The men cultural items which are commodified includes *Pakhol* (cultural cap) and *shimano* (belt). Besides these women pursues and mobile covers which were not previous commodities now been produced and consumed by the tourists and other people. The analysis of one of the collection shows the behavior and the

annoyance of the local people during performance of their religious and cultural rituals during their festivals.

Dress, jewelry, and adornments have undergone evolution from the primitive times to the civilized forms and these items have been serving the purpose of telling others about the native people. The Kalash people are surrounded by different social groups and external forces and hence experience acculturation in customs and traditions due to these external forces. Humans use adornment as symbol to perform crucial functions in their lives. The individuals through adorning their dress attain satisfaction for themselves through expressing their inner desires. The dress of Kalash people shows their relationship in the community, among friends, in the family. Then adornment shows the inner emotions of the person and sometimes it also shows his/her economic prosperity. The adornment of the Kalash people shows no social and religious significance rather it signifies a health recreational activity to attain appreciation. According to anthropologists, art historians and archeologist, beads and decorative arts help to trace the trade, visual language and the reconstruction of the material culture. The beads in ancient ruins helped to trace the dates of the ruins in providing evidence of trade and migration in the ancient times. The wearing of beads and number of necklace among Kalash women help to identify the wealth of the person and it also acts as an indicator of the prestige of the husband and father of the Kalash women. These cultural relevancies are being compromised in the wake of using culture as a commodity in the contemporary times.



## **Chapter 7- Conclusion**

The process of cultural commodification has uneven effects on the stakeholders involved in this process. This process has both positive and negative impacts on the stakeholders involved in it. Those stakeholders who possess capital in the form of hotels, shops, vehicles and personals involved in the management of the cultural and religious festivals are the beneficiaries of the process of cultural commodification in Kalash valley whereas those stakeholders who lack capital and are the majority of local Kalash people this process of cultural commodification has negative impacts on their culture and religion. The Kalash people are portrayed as exotic tribe with unique traditions and customs to attract tourists from all over the world. Due to huge number of tourists coming in the valley brings economic benefits to small portion of the valley whereas the majority of the local indigenous people faces the problems in performing their religious and cultural rituals. The findings of the study also highlight the application of the concepts of instrumentality of culture as signified by the fact that culture helps people earn and expand their livelihood options. Secondly, the concept of docile bodies also fit in to the context of the current study when the community people are viewed as exotic and unique subjects by the tourists who are ready to be photographed and their private domains transfixed by the external interventions.

### **7.1 Recommendations**

Based on the findings of this study following are some of the recommendations for the policy makers.

1. There should be controlled tourism in the valley and the tourists should visit particular places rather than the tourists going everywhere in the valley and disturbing local people by visiting their homes and breaching their privacy.
2. There should be local guides to guide to the tourists instead of non-local guides. If there will be local guides then the tourists can be guided properly and they can visit particular places and the locals private life cannot be disturbed.
3. There should be Kalasha schools for the community like the one called Kalasha door. There should be more Kalash schools where the students can be taught in their own language and can practice their religious and cultural rituals as well.



## **7.2 Significance of the Study**

This study adds to the existing knowledge on Kalasha culture and helps to highlight the process of cultural commodification in Kalash Valley- a place which holds tourist attraction across the world. This study is helpful in disclosing the factors involved in the commodification of the unique Kalasha culture which comprises both tangible and intangible cultural artifacts. This domain will be of academic significance for anthropologists, sociologists and experts of Cultural Studies.

## **7.3 Limitations**

The main limitation of the study is that only one village out of the three small villages in Kalash valley was considered for the study due to time and resource constraints and the study was limited to Bumburet village only. I hope to build on this study for my PhD research in future.

## **Appendix;**

### **1. Interview Guide for UDC 1 Kalash Community;**

#### **Introduction;**

Respondent name:

Age of the respondent:

Respondent's occupation:

#### **Kalash Culture and Religion;**

Tell me about your culture

What is the history of the Kalash culture?

#### **Cultural Artifacts:**

What are the cultural artefacts of the Kalash culture?

What are the male cultural artefacts or items?

What are the female cultural artefacts or items?

What were the old cultural artefacts?

What are the new cultural artefacts?

What is the difference between the old and the new cultural artefacts?

Tell me about the making of the old and new cultural artefacts and items?

#### **Cultural Festivals:**

What are the cultural festivals of the Kalash people?

Tell me about these cultural festivals?

What is Chelim Joshi festival?

What is Chitermas festival?

What is Kalasera Festival?

What is uchal festival?

What are the cultural and religious rituals of the Kalash people?

**Cultural Institutions:**

Tell me about the cultural institutions in Kalash culture?

How many formal cultural institutions are there?

Tell me about the Museum

How many informal cultural institutions are there?

Tell me about Bashaleni or Bashali Door?

Tell me about the Kalasha Door?

**Commodification:**

What type of cultural items are sold in the market?

Do people buy them?

Which type of people buy them?

**Opportunities of using culture as an economic resource;**

What are the advantages of using culture as an economic resource for the community?

**Risks of Using Culture as an Economic Resource;**

What are the risks of using culture as an economic resource for the community?

**Impact of Modernisation:**

What is the impact of modernization on Kalash culture?

## **2. Interview Guide for UDC 3 (Semi-structured interviews for Shopkeepers);**

### **Introduction;**

Tell me about yourself your name and your age.

What is your occupation?

### **Kalash Culture;**

Tell me about Kalash culture and history.

### **Cultural Items;**

What are the Kalash cultural items?

What are man cultural dresses?

What are women cultural dresses?

What cultural items you sell in the market?

What are the prices of these cultural items?

How these cultural items are made?

What are the old and new cultural items?

What is the difference of the new and old cultural items?

What cultural items you sell in the cultural festivals?

Tell me about the use of wine

What are your cultural festivals?

### **3. Interview Guide for UDC 3 (Tourists or buyers);**

Tell me about yourself your name and education.

Tell me about your experience of the Kalash valley

How you find Kalash culture and people?

Have you researched on these Kalash people before coming here?

What difference you observed when you practically saw the Kalash culture?

What cultural items you have come across during your stay here?

What cultural items you purchased from the market?

What is the impact of modernization on Kalash culture?

What is the benefits of tourism for these Kalash people?

Which festivals you attended during your stay here?

How much you paid for the cultural dress?

Have you attended any festival or ceremony of Kalash people?

What do you say about tourism and tourists?

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