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Afghan Decision-Making in a Development Context

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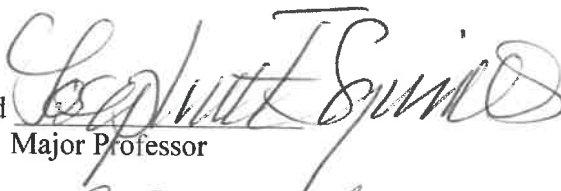AFGHAN DECISION-MAKING IN

A DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

being

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty

of Fort Hays State University in

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ABSTRACT

Numerous theories exist showing the relationship between stress and decision-making strategies. Conflict Theory, as expressed by Mann et al. (1997) explains that when facing a major decision, individuals will respond to the stress of that decision by using one of four decision-making strategies: vigilance, buckpassing, procrastination, and hypervigilance. In matching Conflict Theory with the cultural scales proposed by Hofstede (2001), the decision-making strategies of buckpassing and procrastination are preferred by individuals from collectivist cultures in contrast to people from individualistic cultures. The current study used Mann's Melbourne Decision-Making Questionnaire in the context of Afghanistan. This research is pertinent given the significant amount of aid and development resources spent on Afghanistan in the last two decades. It was hypothesized that Afghan men would show greater decision-making self-confidence than Afghan women. It was also hypothesized that Afghans from the Pashtun tribal group would prefer to use more collectivist decision-making strategies when compared to Afghans who belong to other tribal groups. Afghan men and women were found to be equally confident in decision-making confidence, while Pashtuns were found to prefer collectivist decision-making strategies when compared to non-Pashtun Afghans.

Keywords: Decision-making, Collectivist, Individualist, Afghanistan, Pashtun, Melbourne Decision-Making Questionnaire, Culture Theory, Conflict Theory

ACKNOWEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF APPENDIXES

INTRODUCTION

In 2001 I eagerly participated in a summer internship opportunity to teach English as a Foreign Language to adults in Afghanistan. I found Afghans to be gracious, hospitable, and very eager to learn despite living in poverty and through decades of war. At the time Afghanistan was ignored by most of the world. A couple of weeks after my return to the US the September 11th attacks occurred, and the world's focus turned to Afghanistan. Soon after Afghanistan became the playground of the development world, where anyone with an idea and donor funding could try their hand at aid work. Several years later most Non-Government Organizations working in Afghanistan had closed and only the most committed remained. By then Afghanistan had become a country thoroughly dependent on international aid where NGOs provided most of the services that would normally be the responsibility of the government.

In 2009, now married, my wife and I moved to Afghanistan to work and live there long term. We were fortunate to be a part of an NGO that has operated in Afghanistan for over 50 years. Part of the secret of its success is that all expatriate staff spend their first 6 months learning the local language and culture, and they live in normal Afghan neighborhoods. Even with all that cultural learning we still found ourselves surprised and challenged by the Afghan worldviews that at times seemed so alien to our own.

Since I only taught adults, I naively assumed that my students were empowered to make their own decisions about their lives. There were many instances when I would discuss some problem that a student had and go away from our discussion thinking that we had resolved the issue. However, the next day the student would be back with a set of

additional points and perspectives. At first, this used to surprise me, and I would wonder what had happened overnight to change what I had thought was a settled conclusion into an ongoing concern. What I realized over time was that when the student had agreed with me, they were agreeing that they understood what I was saying, not that they agreed to go along with it. Then, the student would go home and consult with their family or perhaps the senior male in the family and get their decision, which would be brought back to me. The problem was that I was treating these interactions as between two parties, myself and the student, while the student was incorporating their whole family into the discussion, so even simple decisions involved large numbers of people.

These interactions lead me to wonder, if I, with my training and experience, was misunderstanding the Afghan way of making decisions, what was happening among those NGOs where the expatriates came for only a year or two, lived in guarded compounds, never learned the local languages, yet had authority over millions of dollars of donor funding? Hart et al. (2019) surveyed ten of the largest international NGOs and found that none of them had any cultural awareness training for their expatriate staff. They noted that this failure to train their staff in cultural differences can have serious consequences to the effectiveness of their programming.

First, without an appreciation of the cultural differences between donors and beneficiaries, NGOs may develop programs that do not fit the actual needs of the people being served or may even cause them harm. Since these expatriate staff often are closer in culture to the donor agencies than the beneficiaries, they also focus their accountability upwards to the donors and not downwards to the beneficiaries (Van Zyl & Claeyé, 2019). As recipient governments become increasingly frustrated with a lack of cultural

sensitivity and appropriate programming on the part of NGOs, these governments increase their regulatory burden on the NGOs, hindering NGO effectiveness (Bromley et al., 2020). As Green (2012) explained, it is essential for organizations involved in development work to move beyond their post-colonial and paternalistic mindset to a place where they build government capacity and are accountable to their beneficiaries.

A key aspect of accountability is to communicate with beneficiaries in culturally sensitive ways that consider their worldviews and decision-making paradigms. In the 20 years since Afghanistan became a focus of world attention following the events of 9/11, significant research has been done on Afghan gender issues, politics, ethnic studies, education, and the conflict, but almost no research has been done on Afghan decision-making (Bleuer, 2019). This is a significant omission considering that much of the development work that has been done in Afghanistan is centered around convincing Afghans to decide to change their behavior in some manner. For example, there have been campaigns to convince parents to permit their daughters to go to school, projects to convince farmers to grow food instead of opium poppies, and efforts to convince militants to stop fighting against the government. Many of these projects are conceived, financed, and directed by expatriates who come from cultures that may place a stronger emphasis on decision-making strategies different than what Afghans tend to use. These expatriates also often come from cultures that fall in a different grid-group than Afghan culture, leading to even more potential for misunderstanding (Rippl, 2002). For these reasons it is timely to do a study of Afghan decision-making that can be used as a starting point for discussions about this topic among the development community.

Theories of Decision Making

Making decisions is a process common to all people. Sociologists, anthropologists, economists, and psychologists have studied the decision-making processes used by individuals to understand the principles and procedures involved. What has become increasingly clear is that people approach decision-making from a variety of perspectives and strategies, and that there are even differences in this area among cultures. As a result of these wide-ranging studies, understanding of the decision-making process has greatly expanded over the last 100 years.

Utility theory is an influential theory of decision-making that came out of the beginning of the 20th century. It described the decision maker as having a wealth of information about the various alternatives, an ability to organize the choices in preferential order, and a rational mind to find the option that provided maximum utility. Utility was understood to be those options that produced more benefits while reducing costs (Edwards, 1954).

Simon (1955) was suspicious of several key elements of utility theory. He expected the decision maker to be psychologically limited in their ability to calculate and predict outcomes, which would lead the decision maker to reduce the options to an understandable framework. This bounded rationality model demonstrated that people do not make decisions like a computer. Instead, as people simplify complex decisions, the framework for making the decision no longer matches the framework predicted by utility theory, and the ultimate selection may no longer appear rational.

Also responding to the expected utility theory, Kahneman and Tversky (1979) showed that people often fail to choose based on logically weighted probabilities and the

utility of outcomes. They noted that since individuals often incorrectly measure

probabilities, those individuals then tend to be risk-averse when considering gains, and

risk seeking when considering loss. Individuals also simplify alternatives and focus on

their differences and not their commonalities. Finally, Kahneman and Tversky (1979)

proposed the prospect theory of decision-making. This theory states that decisions are

made in two phases. The first phase is the editing phase where the options are simplified.

The second phase is the evaluation phase where those simplified options are evaluated,

and the prospect of the highest option is picked. Kahneman and Tversky's (1979) theory

showed that decision-making is a complex process where people make decisions based

on a whole range of factors and not just a cost versus benefit evaluation.

Since the introduction of prospect theory, studies and theories of decision making

have grown significantly. Currently they fall into two general categories, as described by

McFall (2015). The first category includes expected utility theory and consists of

normative models, which is how people should make decisions using logic and reasoning.

The second category is made up of descriptive models, which examines how people make

decisions in real life. An example of this model is prospect theory.

Decision Making and Stress

There are two factors that the previous approaches to understanding the decision-

making process did not emphasize. The first is how stress impacts decision making

(Cotrena et al., 2018). The second is how the differences between cultures influence the

ways in which people decide, given that globally there are a great variety of cultures

while at the same time people need to make the same sorts of basic decisions no matter what culture they belong to (Mann et al, 1998).

The first important factor related to when an individual has to make a major decision is the amount of stress associated with that decision. Several theories about the connection between stress and decision-making employ dual-process perspectives. Stanley (2018) examined how prolonged war can lead to a narrowing of an individual's tolerance window, or their ability to use the more advanced process in the dual-process model of decision making. As people experience more conflict, they are less able to rely on their *thinking brain* and instead resort to their *survival brain.* The thinking brain process makes better use of logic and reason when making decisions, while the survival brain uses emotive and physiological processes to make decisions. As a result, the prolonged stress of experiencing an ongoing war makes it more difficult for an individual to move out of a survival brain process and into a thinking brain process, thus negatively impacting their ability to make wise decisions.

Stanley's ideas parallel Marcus et al. (2011) in their theory called affective intelligence. They proposed that people have two emotional systems. First, there is the dispositional system that manages a person's normal feelings. These feeling are guided by two affective areas: enthusiasm which seeks reward and aversion which fears punishment. Second, there is the surveillance system, which relies on emotions such as fear, anxiety, and uncertainty to signal that there is some problem that requires an individual's attention. This theory implies that a person will make a decision in line with their group identity (in this case, political party and voting) unless their surveillance

system is triggered. At that point, the person will spend more time to closely examine the issues, policy, and character of the candidate before making their vote.

Starcke et al., (2011) outlined how stress affects cognitive and emotional functioning. They reviewed studies that showed how stress can lead to changes in working memory, in attention, and in fear conditioning. One important note they made was that having to make major (what they called moral) decisions can produce stress, while at the same time stress can affect how people make major decisions. They then ran an experiment to determine if stress led to individuals making decisions more egotistically (for their own benefit) versus altruistically (for the benefit of others). They reasoned that stress induces the emotion of fear, which would then lead individuals to make more egotistical decisions. However, the results of their experiment showed little difference between decision making preferences between those in their high-stress group and those in their low-stress control group.

A possible reason for this unexpected result is that stress can produce both positive and negative emotions, as explained by Wang and Saudino (2011), who noted that there is a link between emotion regulation, stress, and coping. Folkman and Moskowitz (2000) found that there were three positive coping mechanisms that people sometimes employed as a result of stress: positive reappraisal, problem-focused coping, and the creation of positive elements. Positive reappraisal was defined as focusing on the good that could be found in or despite the stressful situation. Problem-focused coping was found to be beneficial for those individuals who had a measure of control over the situation, and they use a variety of thoughts and behaviors to positively manage their response to the stressful situation. Lastly, the creation of positive elements involved the

7

use of taking time-out from the stressful situation to infuse meaning into a normal event so that it became significant and memorable. In other words, by using these positive coping mechanisms, individuals can get personal emotional rewards even though they are experiencing a negative and stressful situation.

Seo and Barrett (2007) also contended that emotion and its associated stress do not always have a negative impact on decision making. They contrasted people with "cooler-heads" and those considered to be "hot-headed" in a stock investing experiment and found that those who were hot-headed made better investment choices. They concluded that hot-headed individuals who better understood their emotions were more effectively able to regulate the effect those emotions had on their decision-making process. Conversely, those who were cooler-headed were less aware of the effect that their emotions were having on their decision-making process. Their perspective was confirmed by De Fabio and Blustein (2010) who compared decision making competence to emotional intelligence and found that those individuals who were less aware of their emotions tended to use maladaptive decision-making strategies.

Approaching this issue from a different angle, another view that considered the effects of stress on decision making is called regret theory (Zeelenberg, 1999). According to this theory, a decision maker's fear of regretting making the wrong decision has an impact on how they decide. To avoid this potential feeling of regret, people may choose more risk-averse or the more risk-seeking option, depending on which option reduces the potential for future regret.

Janis and Mann (1977) were the first to create a comprehensive theory of how individuals manage the stress and dilemmas of decisions making (Bouckenooghie et al.,

2007). They focused not on those individuals in positions of authority whose decisions affect large numbers of people, but rather on the average person as they struggle with challenging personal decisions (Mann, 2001). The three influences on how people handle this stress are understanding the risks in each option, hope in discovering the best option, and believing that there is sufficient time to weigh the alternatives and make the best choice (Cotrena et al., 2018). These three influences lead to five main coping patterns: unconflicted adherence, unconflicted change, defensive avoidance, hypervigilance, and vigilance (Mann et al., 1998). Over time, Mann et al. (1998) modified and merged their categories so that now conflict theory recognizes four different responses to making decisions under stress: vigilance, buckpassing, procrastination, and hypervigilance.

Vigilance

The first strategy, vigilance, is characterized by gathering relevant data, carefully analyzing the various alternatives involved in the decision, and then making the best choice using a structured and ordered approach (Bouckenooghie et al., 2007). Vigilance is shown to be the most self-satisfying and effective method (Filipe et al., 2019). Mann et al. (1998) predicted that there would be little difference in results in vigilance between collectivist and individualistic cultures.

Buckpassing and Procrastination

The second and third strategies fall under the category of defensive avoidance, which Mann et al. (1998) define as trying to avoid hard decisions by either moving the responsibility for the decision to someone else (buckpassing) or delaying making the decision (procrastination). Mann et al. (1998) expect that collectivist cultures would make greater use of defensive avoidance strategies than individualistic cultures. They

also are careful to note that despite their use of the terms buckpassing and procrastination, these strategies should not be assumed to be negative. As they clarified:

> In Western cultures, the person is expected to act decisively and take responsibility for his or her own decisions. Tendencies to avoid, defer, or leave decisions to others are criticized. In Asian cultures, the person is encouraged to involve and depend upon others in decision making. This enables the person who is facing a difficult personal decision to delay making a choice or rely on family or trusted colleagues to help solve the problem. (p. 328)

In other words, buckpassing and procrastination can be seen as maladaptive approaches to decision making in individualistic cultures, but as group-affirming approaches to decision making in collectivist cultures (Radford et al., 1991).

Hypervigilance

The final strategy, hypervigilance, is defined as a desire by the decision maker to escape the stress of the decision process as quickly as possible, making the individual more likely to choose the first option that comes along, to decide based on incomplete data, and to ignore subsequent data and options (Bouckenooghie et al., 2007). Mann et al. (1998) did not predict that there would be any significant difference between cultures in the use of hypervigilance. Hofstede (2001) in contrast, thought that some individuals would feel greater pressure to make quick decisions due to a mixture of both individual personality and cultural influences.

Johnston et al. (1997) challenged the assumption that hypervigilance is always a maladaptive decision-making strategy. In an experiment Johnston et al. (1997) put navy personnel through a high-stress scenario where they had to quickly identify contacts on

their radar screens and decide if those contacts were a threat or not, and what response to give. Half the participants had to use a vigilant style of decision making, and half a hypervigilant style. In that context, they found that the hypervigilant decision makers were more effective. However, Johnston et al. (1997) acknowledged that their scenario was a specialized task environment somewhat different from the sorts of major decisions most people are confronted with. It can be assumed that most individuals have sufficient time to use a vigilant decision-making strategy, which would then make it more effective than the hypervigilant strategy.

Decision Making Self-Esteem

An individual's ability to make tough decisions in the face of stress is directly influenced by their decision-making self-esteem, which is a measure of how confident they feel in making decisions (Mann et al., 1998). People with higher self-esteem are more likely to use positive decision-making strategies and to avoid maladaptive strategies (Radford et al., 1991; Çolakkadıoğlu & Deniz, 2015). Mann et al. (1998) did not find any significant difference in the levels of decision-making self-esteem between members of individualistic and collectivist cultures. It is possible that in collectivist cultures an individual's perception of self-worth is tied more directly to the family unit (Diener & Diener, 1995). Thus, when a member of an individualistic society with high self-esteem prefers to use a vigilant decision-making style, a member of a collectivist culture would prefer a buck-passing decision-making strategy and still have high self-esteem reached through a trusting and dependent relationship with their family.

Culture and Decision Making

Culture, as defined by Hofstede (2011) is, "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another… culture in this sense includes values; systems of values are a core element of culture" (pp. 9-10). Culture is the central beliefs that a group of people hold that affects their behaviors and show them as different from other groups of people. This definition naturally raises the question as to the interplay between the individual, culture, and their society.

Erez and Gati (2004) reviewed earlier theories of culture and found that most theories focus on the middle layer of culture, that of cultural values. Fewer theories examine behaviors and practices, which is the outer layer of culture. There are the least number of theories looking at the inner most layer of culture, that of invisible and internal basic assumptions. Erez and Gati (2004) proposed a multi-level model of culture. Its key elements include the idea that culture is dynamic and changing, that top-down processes socialize individuals into culture, and that bottom-up processes aggregate shared values and pass them up into higher levels of society. As a result, there is constant and mutual influencing ongoing between individuals and culture. It would be incorrect to pick any one individual and expect their behaviors and assumptions to accurately reflect their society's culture as a whole. Yet it is possible to look at assumptions and behaviors of several individuals in a society and gain some insight into the workings of their culture.

Therefore, the second important factor related to when an individual has to make a major decision is the extent that their cultural structures influence the decision-making process. While people of all cultures tend to use the same strategies (Filipe et al., 2019), Mann et al. (1998) showed that various cultures may tend to prefer one or more of the

four strategies than others. Mann et al. (1998) explained that even though decision-making happens among people in every culture, cultural factors influence who has authority to make decisions, whether deciding in an individual activity or group activity, in what areas people have freedom to make choices, and what principles and values undergird the decision-making process.

In his studies of the differences between cultures, Hofstede (2001) noted several scales on which cultural differences can be measured. The most relevant scale to this research was the difference between collectivist and individualistic cultures. He defined the scale in this way:

> Individualism stands for a society in which the ties between individuals are loose: Everyone is expected to look after him/herself and her/his immediate family only. Collectivism stands for a society in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. (p. 225)

Therefore, in more collectivist cultures, individuals have a stronger loyalty to their group. This loyalty has a direct impact on decision making, as any major decision needs to be made in consideration as to how it affects the group as a whole (Radford et al., 1991). This means that the group benefit takes precedence to individual benefit, and that major decisions are often made by the most authoritative or senior members of the group on behalf of all members of that group. For example, as Hofstede (2001) noted, if a new problem or issue arises, it is necessary for the group to consult together before deciding their opinion on the issue.

The second of Hofstede's (2001) cultural scales that helped inform this research is the concept of power distance, which is the distance between those with authority, status, and influence in society from those without. In higher power-distance cultures, those in authority have the role of making important decisions for those under their authority with minimal input from them (Loewen, 2020). Therefore, members of collectivist cultures and high power-distance cultures have two reasons to prefer the buck-passing and procrastination strategies: they must defer to the group, and they must defer to the person with the most authority in the group.

Alternate views of Culture and Decision Making

One foundational view of culture and how it impacts perception of risk was developed by Mary Douglas and is referred to as culture theory. As explained by Tansey and O'Riordan (1999), culture theory expects that an individual's views will be shaped by the society that individual is a part of, and how closely that individual feels connected to those larger social groups. Therefore, an individual's perspective on risk is drawn from the value systems of the social groups they are affiliated with. Given that the world is an unpredictable place, societies tend to assign cause and effect relationships to negative events, in what is known as the forensic model of danger. In pre-industrial societies these negative causes become taboos, while in industrialized societies they become known as dangers. As modern industrialized societies are significantly much safer places for individuals than any time in the past, and since society's focus on danger is as strong as before, it follows that the idea of risk is more likely a social construct.

Tansey and O'Riordan (1999) went on to explain how Douglas created the grid-group typology based on culture theory. The group axis is a measure of the degree that an individual is incorporated into a society. The grid axis is a measure of the degree that an individual must follow the group's rules. While the labels used for the four resulting categories have changed over the years since the theory's introduction, they are now most known as individualism, fatalism, hierarchy, and egalitarianism. Individualist societies are low grid and low group, meaning that an individual has a significant level of autonomy from society both in belonging and in obedience to social rules. Fatalist societies are high grid and low group. This means that members of fatalist societies have weak adherence to larger social groups but strong obedience to regulated behavior. Hierarchy societies are high grid and high group, with strong social identity and individual adherence to social norms. Lastly, egalitarian societies are low grid and high group. This means that individuals strongly identify with their social group, but that social group does not require significant adherence to norms.

Chai et al. (2011) noted that culture theory is more abstract than theories such as Hofstede's, giving it a greater range of applications in researching decision-making. The main relevance of culture theory to this discussion is that it created a realization that individuals do not make choices, especially choices about risk, in a vacuum. Instead, individual decision making is influenced by culture, and individuals will tend to make major decisions using the framework instilled into them by the society they belong to.

Wright and Phillips (1980) examined the effect culture has on decision making in terms of probabilistic thinking, which is the ability to think in terms of probabilities of outcome and to explain those probabilities in terms of a percentage chance. They found

that Asians were more likely to think in terms of absolute probabilities, such as overconfidently predicating 100% chance of outcome, while the British were more likely to think in gradients of probabilities, such as 75% chance of outcome.

Tse et al. (1998) showed the differences between the level of authoritarianism between Chinese and Western cultures, and the differences between the level of utilitarianism. They found that Chinese cultures are high in authoritarianism, where superiors are expected to be obeyed without question, while Western cultures had a greater value in consensus and participation in decision making. At the same time, they found that Westerners value utilitarianism more than Chinese. This Western approach puts emphasis on individuals making cost/benefit judgements based on what is best for themselves and less on what is best for society. They concluded that globalization has had only a small effect on changing cultural values.

Weber and Morris (2010) considered cultural effects on decision making from a constructivist view. In this view, culture imbues individuals with a framing set that in turn guides decision-making. They found that Westerners tend to focus on central figures or issues, while Easterners focus more on the greater context. Interestingly, they found that bicultural and polycultural individuals, those who have cultural framing from two or more cultures, can be triggered to behave in accordance with a particular frame. Moore et al. (2011) also found that Asians were more holistic reasoners, and more sensitive to the context of the situation and the beliefs of those in their social group, while Westerners tended to use more logical rules.

Hypotheses

Two of the most important divisions in Afghan society are the separation of roles in society between men and women, and the division of the Afghan people into many tribal groups (Ganesh, 2013; Wakefield, 2004; Green, 2008; Rzehak, 2011). These divisions are enforced by various factors of Afghan culture.

While Afghanistan does not fit neatly into the categories expressed in culture theory, it shares many similarities with high grid, low group cultures, known as fatalism. In fatalist cultures, people have a strong acceptance of socially defined classifications (Rippl, 2002). For Afghans, acting appropriately for a person's social position and saving face are very important drivers of public behavior. Fatalist cultures also have a strong belief that there are many things outside their control, and so they take little action to try and influence the outcome of those things (Rippl, 2002). Afghans strongly believe in fate, or *kismet*, and will express hopelessness at changing their *kismet*. This fatalism means that Afghans focus on those decisions about their personal lives that they can control and believe that there is little they can do to influence events outside of that personal sphere, a characteristic that they share with other fatalistic cultures (Swedlow, 2011).

Afghanistan is also a highly collectivist culture, which does not necessarily contradict being fatalistic since the goal of most actions is to bring the greatest benefit for the extended family unit, called the *qaum* (Rzehak, 2011). There is much weaker allegiance to organizations outside the *quam*, such as the state. This worldview is a main underlying reason as to why attempts at nation building in Afghanistan have repeatedly failed.

Afghanistan remains a highly patriarchal society. The leading decision maker in any *qaum* is usually the oldest male, either the father, husband, or uncle. For example, whether females in a *qaum* can go to school is decided by the senior male member of the family. Only if there is no senior male left alive (which does happen often due to the decades of war) can the senior female in the family unit take on that decision-making role (Wakefield, 2004). Overall, Afghan women are permitted to make decisions only in a limited sphere of small household decisions and are not expected to participate in community-wide decisions (Wakefield & Bauer, 2005).

For those Afghan women in their 30s and older, growing up during the Taliban regime had significant social and psychological impacts on their lives. Under the Taliban rule, girls were not permitted to go to school and women were not permitted to work outside the home (Roof, 2014). While education and employment opportunities expanded for women who have lived in cities in the last two decades, women who live in rural areas still face severe limitations.

Afghans feel great pressure to behave in manner appropriate with their social status, and failure to do so results in loss of face for the entire family. The family's honor is most strongly displayed in the behavior of its women. There is an Afghan proverb that loosely translated is, "A stained garment cannot be made clean again." Afghan women are told this proverb to remind them that any shameful behavior on their part will cause enduring loss of face for the family. The cumulative impact on women of fewer education and employment opportunities, less decision-making authority in the home and in society, and a fatalistic culture suggest that Afghan women will not be as confident as Afghan men in terms of decision-making. Therefore:

Hypothesis 1: Female Afghans will have lower mean scores on decision making self-confidence than male Afghans.

Afghanistan is a country consisting of many different ethnic or tribal groups. Some of these tribal groups tend to place a high cultural value on their patriarchal systems, while other tribal groups tend to be somewhat more egalitarian. While there is no objective measurement of which tribal group tends to be more traditional and which tend to be more progressive, I have seen this can be roughly determined by making two observations. First, how willing or unwilling a family is to allow their daughters to get education and to work outside the home. More traditional families will not allow their female members of the family to go to higher education, nor will they let their women work outside the home (Wakefield, 2004).

Second, how willing or unwilling a family is to observe *purdah*. By *purdah* I mean keeping female members of the family hidden or covered so that males from other families cannot see them. The intent of observing *purdah* is to protect the family honor (Loewen, 2020). Stricter *purdah* can be accomplished by requiring women wear the *burqa* outside the home and by not letting them sit in the same room as unrelated males.

While the issue of how patriarchal or egalitarian a family is involves more than those practices, it serves as a useful litmus test. On the basis of those two observations, I note that families of Pashtun ethnicity tend to be more traditional than families of other tribal groups. Members of the Pashtun tribal group are the majority in Afghanistan.

Therefore:

Hypothesis 2: The members of Pashtun tribal groups will get higher mean scores in collectivist decision-making styles than the members of other tribal groups.

METHODOLOGY

Survey Instrument

Appelt et al. (2011) argued that greater progress would be made in the field of judgement and decision making if there were increasing standardization. They noted that a great number of decision-making styles survey instruments have been developed. Instead of creating new instruments, they called for greater use of existing instruments to allow for cross-study comparisons. For studying decision conflict, they highlighted the tool that was developed by Mann, et al. (1997) called the Melbourne Decision-Making Questionnaire (MDMQ) which has been used across a variety of cultures (Appelt et al., 2011). Hofstede (2001) recognized that a country can have a myriad of cultures among its population but explained that the best questions for a cross-cultural survey tool depended most on countries as the key difference being measured, and that the questions would carry the same meaning for people from all levels of society. The MDMQ matches those two criteria.

The MDMQ measures decision making self-confidence, and decision making affected by stress. It is divided into two parts. The first part, DMQ-I, consists of six questions to evaluate decision making self-confidence. Participants read the questions and then answered on a three-point Likert scale of "True for me" (2 points), "Sometimes true for me" (1 point), and "Not true for me" (0 points). Questions 2, 4, and 6 are negative items so the scoring scale is reversed. The highest possible score is 12. A higher total score indicates that the participant feels greater decision-making self-confidence (Çolakkadıoğlu & Deniz, 2015). Cronbach alpha for DMQ-I is .74 (Mann et al, 1998).

Cronbach's alpha scores measure the reliability of questions on a Likert scale survey, with scores closer to 1 being more reliable.

The second section is DMQ-II, which examines the participants' tendency to use the four decision making styles: vigilance, buckpassing, procrastination, and hypervigilance. There are no negative items in the DMQ-II. There are six vigilance questions, again scored on the same three-point scale as the DMQ-I. The highest possible score in vigilance is 12, and the alpha reliability is .80. There are six buckpassing questions, with the highest possible score of 12, and alpha reliability of .87. There are five procrastination questions, with the highest possible score of 10, and alpha reliability of .81. Lastly, there are five hypervigilance questions, with the highest possible score of 10, and alpha reliability of .74 (Mann et al, 1998). A higher total score in each style meant that the participant tended to use that style more. Participants were told to consider how they normally approach major decisions when answering the question, and that whichever answer was true for them was the correct answer (Mann et al, 1998).

Mann, et al (1998) compared results from three Western countries (USA, Australia, New Zealand) with the results from three East Asian countries (Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong). They found that Westerners scored higher on decision making self-esteem than East Asians, which matches the value Westerners place on being independent decision makers. They found no significant difference in the area of vigilance but marked differences in buckpassing and procrastination. These two categories were higher in East Asians than Westerners, which was unsurprising given the individualistic nature of the Western countries and the collectivistic nature of the East Asian countries. The researchers were surprised to find a slightly higher level of hypervigilance among East

Asians than Westerners. Since then, the MDMQ has been used in Belgium

(Bouckenooghe et al., 2007), Italy (Di Fabio & Blustein, 2010), Sweden (Isaksson et al.,

2014), Turkey (Çolakkadıoğlu & Deniz, 2015), Brazil (Cotrena et al., 2018), Russia and

Azerbaijan (Kornilova et al., 2018), and Portugal (Filipe et al., 2020).

Procedure

      The survey consists of 3 parts that all fit on one double-sided paper. First, there

was the explanation of the goals of the survey and confidentiality agreement. Second,

there was the initial DMQ-I to test decision making self-confidence. Lastly, there was the

DMQ-II to determine decision making strategies. See Appendixes A, B, and C for the

English, Dari, and Pashtu versions of the survey.

      The survey materials and methods were passed by the Institution Review Board of

Fort Hays State University. Then, I considered translation. Although there are dozens of

languages used across Afghanistan, there are two official languages that are used for

public communication: Pashtu and Dari (Afghan Farsi). Any Afghan who has attended

school has learned one or both of those trade languages if they didn't already speak it at

home. The first step was to have the MDMQ translated into Pashtu and Dari by a

professional translator, then back translated into English by a separate, independent

translator to check the translation. A few of the Dari and Pashtu sentences were modified

from the original translation to ensure clarity. The cultural appropriateness of the survey,

especially the questions about ethnicity, were approved by two senior Afghan colleagues

with whom I work.

In other situations where the MDMQ has been used, it has normally been given to university students (Mann et al. 1998, Çolakkadıoğlu & Deniz, 2015) or to staff and patients at medical centers (Isaksson et al., 2014, Cotrena et al., 2018). I had originally intended to administer the survey among illiterate Afghans, as illiteracy is still a major issue in Afghanistan, by approaching Afghans in neighborhoods and markets and administering the survey orally. I had also intended to administer the survey in various adult learning centers and Non-Government Organization offices. However, due to COVID-19 restrictions, I was only able to survey those I would normally interact with on a day-to-day basis. Therefore, survey respondents included staff of the NGO where I work, and students of the English as a Foreign Language center where I teach, which is a project of the NGO. Participants were from the cities of Herat (n=40) and Mazar-e Sharif (n=57). These restrictions limited the broadness of participation from various strata of Afghan society since most NGO employees and English students are university educated.

I administered the survey during the months of March and April 2021. Each survey had a unique identifying number that was also listed on a separate paper with my phone number. Participants kept this separate paper so that they could call if they wanted to withdraw their participation later. The participants did not write their names on the surveys, making it an anonymous survey.

Table 1 gives the frequency and percentages of participants self-reported answers to the questions of gender, age, education level, and ethnicity. Education level is understood to mean that the participant is currently at or has finished that level of education. For example, many participants were enrolled in a program of undergraduate studies, so they marked "Bachelors" as their education level.

Table 1: Study sample frequencies and percentages for gender, age, level of education, and ethnicity.

		Frequency (%)
Gender	Male	54 (56%)
	Female	42 (43%)
	Prefer Not to Answer	1 (1%)
Age	20-29	56 (56%)
	30-39	26 (27%)
	40-49	11 (11%)
	50-59	2 (2%)
	60-69	2 (2%)
	70+	0 (0%)
	Prefer Not to Answer	0 (0%)
Education Level	No Schooling	0 (0%)
	Class 1-6	3 (3%)
	Class 7-12	5 (5%)
	Bachelors	72 (74%)
	Masters	10 (10%)
	Doctorate	6 (6%)
	Prefer Not to Answer	1 (1%)
Ethnicity	Pashtun	21 (22%)
	Tajik	38 (39%)
	Hazara	13 (13%)
	Uzbek	6 (6%)
	Turkman	6 (6%)
	Baluch	0 (0%)
	Pachaie	0 (0%)
	Nuristani	0 (0%)
	Aymaq	0 (0%)
	Arab	1 (1%)
	Qirgiz	0 (0%)
	Qizilbash	3 (3%)
	Gujur	0 (0%)
	Brahwui	0 (0%)
	Other	2 (2%)
	Prefer not to answer	7 (7%)

The issue of ethnicity is a politically and culturally sensitive issue, with the list of how many ethnic groups there are in Afghanistan a subject of debate in government and society. In order to be as neutral as possible on this issue, I chose the list of ethnic groups

given in the Afghan constitution, article 4, and made a note of that fact on the survey. I added the option of "Other" and "I prefer not to answer that question" for participants to choose if they felt uncomfortable listing their ethnicity or did not find their ethnicity in the list.

Participants

There is a higher percentage of women involved in the areas of education and NGOs than other fields in Afghanistan, which meant that 43% of the participants were female. At the same time, students and NGO workers are also predominately younger, resulting in 56% of the participants being in their 20s. 91% of the participants were at a bachelor's level of education or higher. Lastly, the largest ethnic group represented was Tajik (39%), which is not surprising given that the survey was carried out in two areas of Afghanistan with high percentages of the Tajik ethnic group.

RESULTS

116 participants filled out the survey. However, 19 survey forms were incompletely filled out and had to be removed. The remaining 97 forms were included in the results (N=97). The data was collected in Microsoft Excel and analyzed using Excel's data analysis tools of ANOVA and correlation. To encourage participation, and in accordance with the IRB requirements, participants were told that only the researcher would have access to their answers.

The first hypothesis expected female Afghans to score lower in decision-making self-confidence than male Afghans. Instead, the scores were similar, with the

mean male score at 9.09 and the female mean score at 9.05, $F(1, 94) = 0.01$, $p = .91$. This result indicates that Afghan men and women likely share similar levels of confidence in their ability to make decisions. The full comparison between male and female scores is listed in table 2.

Table 2: Results of the Afghan version of the MDMQ comparing males and females.[a] Results are the mean scores and the standard deviation.

	Males (n=54, 56%)	Females (n=42, 43%)
Decision Self-Esteem	9.09 (1.77)	9.05 (2.06)
Vigilance	10.80 (1.12)	10.10 (1.43)
Buckpassing	3.41 (1.92)	2.81 (2.05)
Procrastination	3.63 (2.36)	3.59 (2.88)
Hypervigilance	4.81 (2.40)	5.07 (2.50)

a=One participant marked "I prefer not to answer this question."

The second hypothesis looked for higher levels of collectivist decision-making strategy use among the Pashtun in contrast to other ethnic groups. Table 3 shows the

Table 3: Results of the Afghan version of the MDMQ comparing ethnicity: Pushtun compared to other ethnic groups. Results are the mean scores and the standard deviation.

	Other Ethnic Groups (n=69, 71%)	Pashtun (n=21, 22%) [a]
Decision Self-Esteem	9.25 (1.94)	8.86 (1.88)
Vigilance	10.52 (1.30)	10.57 (1.12)
Buckpassing	2.77 (1.93)	4.29 (1.79)
Procrastination	3.33 (2.44)	4.38 (2.80)
Hypervigilance	4.87 (2.48)	5.10 (2.68)

a= Seven participants chose "I prefer not to answer that question" for the question about ethnicity.

mean scores between other tribal groups (n=69) and Pashtun (n=21). In terms of buckpassing, Pashtun participants scored a mean 4.29, much higher than the scores of other tribal groups at 2.77, $F(1, 86) = 10.29$, p < 0.001. In terms of procrastination, the Pashtun mean score was 4.38 compared to the other tribal groups' score of 3.33, $F(1, 86) = 3.39$, p = 0.069.

A comparison of the results from Mann et al. and this research, especially regarding collectivist decision-making strategies, which is indicated by higher mean scores in buckpassing and procrastination. Table 4 shows the comparison of the mean and standard deviation results for Afghans compared to the results found by Mann et al. (1998) in both select Western and East-Asian countries. Surprisingly, Afghans had lower mean buckpassing results (3.11) than both Western and East-Asian countries (4.33 and 5.36). In terms of procrastination, the Afghan mean score of 3.63 is between Western

Table 4: Results of the Afghan version of the MDMQ (Afghanistan) compared with the results from Western countries and East-Asian countries (Mann et al., 1998, p. 331). Results are the mean scores and the standard deviation.

	Western [a]	Afghanistan	East-Asian [b]
	(N=975)	(N=97)	(N=1019)
Decision Self-Esteem	8.44	9.09	7.00
	(2.37)	(1.89)	(2.36)
Vigilance	9.42	10.48	9.39
	(2.24)	(1.30)	(2.20)
Buckpassing	4.33	3.11	5.36
	(3.04)	(2.00)	(2.72)
Procrastination	3.25	3.63	4.49
	(2.23)	(2.58)	(2.36)
Hypervigilance	4.30	4.89	4.92
	(2.32)	(2.46)	(2.14)

a=USA, Australia, New Zealand
b=Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan

(3.25) and East-Asian (4.49), and closer to the Western mean score. These results indicate that the effects on decision-making strategies for collectivist Afghanistan and the effects for collectivist East-Asian countries are probably not the same.

In terms of correlations between the 5 subscales on the MDMQ, it is unsurprising that decision-making self-esteem was strongly negatively correlated with buckpassing (-0.428), procrastination (-0.568), and hypervigilance (-0.580). This confirms that those with high decision-making self-esteem prefer to use a vigilant decision-making strategy (0.235) and avoid the collectivist buckpassing and procrastination strategies and the high-stress hypervigilance strategy. Table 5 shows the compete correlations between subscales.

Table 5: Correlations between subscales of the 28-item Melbourne Decision Making Questionnaire

	1	2	3	4
1. Self-Esteem	-	-	-	-
2. Vigilance	0.235*	-	-	-
3. Buckpassing	-0.428*	0.003*	-	-
4. Procrastination	-0.568*	-0.030*	0.511**	-
5. Hypervigilance	-0.580*	-0.032*	0.468*	0.594*

* $P<0.001$ **$P<0.1$

DISCUSSION

The lack of difference in decision-making self-esteem between men and women was the biggest surprise result of this survey. Overall, Afghanistan remains a culture that seeks to circumscribe female participation in the public sphere (Ganesh, 2013). A possible explanation is again the higher proportion of participants who have higher education. When Afghans finish their secondary education, they take a national university entrance exam called the *kankor*. Those who score well get to attend free

government universities. Those who do not score well can choose to pay for private university, which few can afford, or they must find some other sort of work. As such, the *kankor* exam acts as one of the most significant social determiners of an individual's life achievement. Higher education enrollment in Afghanistan is about 5%, which is one of the lowest in the world (Roof, 2015). In contrast, 91% of those surveyed were at either the Bachelors, Masters, or Doctorate level of education. Most of the female survey participants had learned to decide for themselves about their own future through being among the few but growing portion of Afghan women who had to overcame significant challenges to be able to go to university.

Several of the female survey participants, who were also my English students, have written class assignments detailing their struggle and determination to go to university in the face of social pressure and family pressure to quit school and get married young. As Folkman and Moskowitz (2000) and Wang and Saudino (2011) noted, successfully dealing with stressful situations can lead to the development of positive coping mechanisms. For successful Afghan women, learning these positive coping mechanisms could result in greater decision-making self-confidence. As Mann et al. (1998) explained, universities have their own culture that encourages personal choice and personal achievement, which means university educated Afghan women may have learned to be as comfortable making decisions as Afghan men.

At the same time, in achieving a university education, Afghan women can increase their status level in Afghan society. With that higher status comes a greater freedom to make decisions for themselves instead of having to defer to others. Hofstede's (2001) research showed the transformative power of education on an individual's

thinking and social position. He found that for every extra year of education a person has, their power distance interval score decreased by 18 points. He noted that, "The correlation of the occupation's PDI with the average years of formal education was an amazing r = −.90" (p. 88). This data indicated that higher education helps move an individual into a position of higher authority, and thus increases their ability to make decisions for themselves and others, consequently increasing their decision-making self-esteem and decreasing their use of collectivist decision-making strategies. Taken together, these reasons could explain why Afghan women and men received similar scores in self-esteem.

It is additionally possible that those women who have persevered to reach higher education come from families whose decision-making paradigm is not reflective of the general population, or those surveyed could even have been outliers in their own family. Many Afghan families will invest their limited resources in one child's higher education, expecting that child to go on and become a source of extra income for the extended family, while expecting the other children to maintain the family business. For a family to support sending their daughter to university makes them rare in Afghan society. These factors could account for the higher-than-expected self-esteem and vigilance scores and lower-than-expected buckpassing scores.

It may also be that through the process of reaching a higher level of education, Afghan women learned to better regulate the emotional components of decision-making: anxiety and stress. The theory of affective intelligence as proposed by Marcus et al. (2011) explained that an emotional response to a major decision initiates an individual's surveillance system, leading them to think harder about the options and use better

reasoning for their choice. In other words, it is possible that higher education helps develop a person's surveillance system. In the same way, those who have learned to increase their emotional intelligence, according to Seo and Barrett (2007) and De Fabio and Blustein (2010), end up with greater decision-making competence. Consequently, better educated women turn the stress of the decision-making process into a greater reliance on the vigilant decision-making strategy.

A further possible explanation for the higher decision-making self-esteem scores among Afghan women could be the framing in which the surveys took place. Many of the female English students who participated in the survey had been learning English from native-English speakers for several years. Cultures and languages are directly linked, and so to learn a language is to also absorb a culture. In the same way, many of the female participants were NGO workers. The NGO was established by westerners, and the organizational culture of the organization is very western. This particular NGO is noted for the longevity of its Afghan employees, some of whom have been on staff for decades. As noted by Weber and Morris, (2010) those who have two or more cultural identities switch their behavior to match the cultural identity that is triggered by the situation. For example, Jamil (1998), discovered through surveying Bengali NGO workers and Bengali government staff that the Bengali humanitarian workers had low power-distance scores in harmony with their donor organizations, and completely unlike the high power- distance scores of the Bengali government officials. Therefore, it is possible that the participants were influenced by the physical location of where the survey took place, at the education center and NGO office, to answer more in line with the dominant culture of those locations.

To better understand the difference in results between Pashtun participants and those results of participants who identified as members of other tribal groups, I suggest that is may be due to the Pashtun code of behavior called *pashtunwali*. Rzehak (2011) described *pashtunwali* as the code of honor common to Pashtuns used to set them apart from other tribal groups. *Pashtunwali* is essentially a set of ideal behaviors that help those who follow it maintain their family's honor. As such, it is inherently a product of a strongly collectivist cultural mindset. It developed from a time in history when the Pashtun tribes were nomadic, and property was jointly owned by the tribe. While many of the principles in *pashtunwali* are also valued by other Afghan ethnic groups, it remains a particular distinctive of the Pashtuns.

In contrast, the Tajik, who made up most of the participants in the survey, have the weakest tribal identity among the Afghan tribes. For example, unlike political movements of Pashtuns in Afghanistan to unite with Pashtuns in Pakistan, or political movements of Afghan Uzbeks to unite with Uzbeks of Uzbekistan, there is no political movement to unite Afghan Tajiks and Tajikistan Tajiks (Brasher, 2011). This does not mean that being Tajik is unimportant for members of that tribal group, just that it is not as significant a political unifier as it is for member of other tribal groups. It is not surprising, then, that Pashtuns, due to their culture distinctiveness, would tend to rely more on the collectivist decision-making strategies of buckpassing and procrastination than Tajiks.

Thoughts on Future Research

The biggest weakness in this research is the small population sample. Due to COVID-19 restrictions, I was only able to recruit participants from among my students at

the English as a Foreign Language center where I teach, and from my coworkers in the NGO of which the center is a project. This meant that not only was the population sample small, but that it was not necessarily representative of Afghan population. On the other hand, the sample was representative of the educated, urban class, and as such it matched the population samples of several of the other MDMQ surveys done in other countries. A valuable future research opportunity would be to carry out the MDMQ survey among those Afghans who have not been to university and compare those results with mine.

Such research would be especially valuable among Afghan women. As Wakefield (2004) and Wakefield and Bauer (2005) discovered, generally in Afghan society women have very little political or social influence outside the home. Further research could examine what other endogenous variables besides education can help increase Afghan women's decision-making confidence. Also, it would be beneficial to carry out investigation into what ways Afghan women can learn positive coping mechanisms that would help them better handle stress, and therefore make better decisions (Folkman & Moskowitz, 2000; Wang & Saudino, 2011). In conjunction with that research, other research could examine the many female empowerment NGO programs that have been carried out in Afghanistan to see which ones succeeded in increasing the scope of women's influence in society.

The development endeavor in Afghanistan could certainly benefit from a clearer understanding of the cultural tensions between Afghan men and women, and between the different tribal groups. Cultural awareness training for expatriate NGO staff members about Afghan culture and decision-making styles would help make development work more effective and accountable to the people it is meant to serve.

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English Version

<u>Afghan Decision-Making Strategies Survey</u>   Fort Hays State University

Daniel Stent – candidate for Master's in Liberal Studies: Global Studies +93 782 839726

Advisor: Dr. Josephine Squires, Professor of International Relations and Comparative Politics

        Thank you for participating in this survey. The goal of this survey is to examine the level of confidence Afghans feel about making decisions, and about the different strategies Afghans prefer to use when making decisions. If you decide to participate in this survey, you will provide some personal details, and then answer some questions about decision making. This survey will take you 10-20 minutes to complete.

        This is an anonymous survey. The answers of all the survey takers will be collected together, so your individual answers will not be shared beyond the surveyor. There is no financial reward for participating in this survey. There is no risk in participating in this survey.

        You are free to refuse to participate in this survey, and there will not be any negative consequences for not participating. By doing the survey, you consent to participate in this research. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Daniel Stent at the phone number listed above.

        I greatly appreciate your participation in this survey.

Personal Information – please select the correct information for you.

Gender: ☐ Male   ☐ Female   ☐ I prefer not to answer this question.

Age group: ☐ 20-29   ☐ 30-39   ☐ 40-49   ☐ 50-59
                   ☐ 60-69   ☐ 70+   ☐ I prefer not to answer this question.

Highest level of education: ☐ No schooling   ☐ Classes 1-6   ☐ Classes 7-12
                               ☐ Bachelors   ☐ Masters   ☐ Doctorate
                               ☐ I prefer not to answer this question.

Ethnicity: ☐ Pashtun   ☐ Tajik   ☐ Hazara   ☐ Uzbek   ☐ Turkman
              ☐ Baluch   ☐ Pachaie   ☐ Nuristani   ☐ Aymaq   ☐ Arab
              ☐ Qirghiz   ☐ Qizilbash   ☐ Gujur   ☐ Brahwui   ☐ Other
              ☐ I prefer not to answer this question.

Note: This list of ethnic groups is copied directly from the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, article 4.

Part 1: For each question, choose **true for me, sometimes true for me**, or **not true for me** when you have to make a decision. Whichever answer you think is most true about you is the correct answer.

Part 1	True for me	Sometimes true for me	Not true for me
1. I feel confident about my ability to make decisions.	☐	☐	☐
2. I feel inferior to most people in making decisions.	☐	☐	☐
3. I think that I am a good decision maker.	☐	☐	☐

4. I feel so discouraged that I give up trying to make decisions.	☐	☐	☐
5. The decisions I make turn out well.	☐	☐	☐
6. It is easy for other people to convince me that their decision rather than mine is the correct one.	☐	☐	☐

Part 2: For each question, choose **true for me, sometimes true for me**, or **not true for me** when you have to make a decision. Whichever answer you think is most true about you is the correct answer.

Part 2	True for me	Sometimes true for me	Not true for me
1. I like to consider all of the alternatives.	☐	☐	☐
2. I try to find out the disadvantages of all alternatives.	☐	☐	☐
3. I consider how best to carry out a decision.	☐	☐	☐
4. When making decisions I like to collect a lot of information.	☐	☐	☐
5. I try to be clear about my objectives before choosing.	☐	☐	☐
6. I take a lot of care before choosing.	☐	☐	☐
7. I avoid making decisions.	☐	☐	☐
8. I do not make decisions unless I really have to.	☐	☐	☐
9. I prefer to leave decisions to others.	☐	☐	☐
10. I do not like to take responsibility for making decisions.	☐	☐	☐
11. If a decision can be made by me or another person I let the other person make it.	☐	☐	☐
12. I prefer that people who are better informed decide for me.	☐	☐	☐
13. I waste a lot of time on trivial matters before getting to the final decision.	☐	☐	☐
14. Even after I have made a decision I delay acting upon it.	☐	☐	☐
15. When I have to make a decision I wait a long time before starting to think about it.	☐	☐	☐

16. I delay making decisions until it is too late.	☐	☐	☐
17. I put off making decisions.	☐	☐	☐
18. Whenever I face a difficult decision I feel pessimistic about finding a good solution.	☐	☐	☐
19. I feel as if I am under tremendous time pressure when making decisions.	☐	☐	☐
20. The possibility that some small thing might go wrong causes me to swing abruptly in my preference.	☐	☐	☐
21. I cannot think straight if I have to make a decision in a hurry.	☐	☐	☐
22. After a decision is made I spend a lot of time convincing myself it was correct.	☐	☐	☐

Dari Translation

<div dir="rtl">

پوهنتون دولتی فورت هیس   سروی ستراتیژی تصمیم گیری افغان ها

دانیل ستینت – نامزد ماستری در مطالعات آزاد: مطالعات جهانی 839726 782 93+
رهنما: داکتر جوزفن سکوایر، پروفیسور روابط بین الملل و سیاست مقایسوی

از اشتراک تان در این سروی تشکری می کنم. هدف این سروی امتحان کردن سطح اعتماد است که افغان ها در تصمیم گیری ها احساس می کنند، و همچنان ستراتیژی های مختلف که افغان ها در زمان تصمیم گیری ها ترجیح میدهند. اگر شما تصمیم گرفتید که در این سروی اشتراک کنید، شما برخی معلومات شخصی تان را شریک خواهید نمود، و بعداً در مورد تصمیم گیری چند پرسش را جواب خواهید داد. این سروی 10 الی 20 دقیقه وقت را در بر خواهد گرفت تا تکمیل گردد.

این یک سروی بدون ذکر نام است. جواب های تمام سروی شونده گان یک جا جمع خواهند شد، بناء پاسخ های فردی شما فراتر از سروی کننده شریک نخواهد شد. برای شرکت کردن در این سروی پاداش مالی داده نخواهد شد. برای شرکت کردن در این سروی کدام تهدید موجود نیست.

شما می توانید از شرکت در این سروی انکار کنید، و کدام پیامد منفی برای شرکت نه کردن در این سروی وجود ندارد. با شرکت در سروی، شما راضی می شوید که در این تحقیق شرکت کنید. اگر کدام سوال یا نگرانی دارید، لطفاً همراه با دانیل ستینت به شماره تماس ایکه در بالا ذکر گردیده است، به تماس شوید. من اشتراک شما در این سروی را قلباً تحسین می نمایم.

معلومات شخصی – لطفاً معلومات درست در مورد خود را انتخاب کنید.

جنسیت: ☐ مرد   ☐ زن   ☐ ترجیح می دهم که به این سوال جواب نه دهم.

ردۀ سنی: ☐ 20-29   ☐ 30-39   ☐ 40-49   ☐ 50-59
☐ 60-69   ☐ +70   ☐ ترجیح می دهم که به این سوال جواب نه دهم

بلند ترین درجه تحصیل: ☐ مکتب نه خوانده ام   ☐ صنف 1-6   ☐ صنف 7-12
☐ لیسانس   ☐ ماستر   ☐ داکتر
☐ ترجیح می دهم که به این سوال جواب نه دهم

قومیت: ☐ پشتون   ☐ تاجک   ☐ هزاره   ☐ ازبک   ☐ ترکمن
☐ بلوچ   ☐ پشه یی   ☐ نورستانی   ☐ ایماق   ☐ عرب
☐ قرغز   ☐ قزلباش   ☐ گوجر   ☐ براهوی   ☐ دیگر
☐ ترجیح می دهم که به این سوال جواب نه دهم

نوت: لست گرو های قومی بالا به صورت مستقیم از مادۀ چهارم قانون اساسی جمهوری اسلامی افغانستان نقل/کاپی شده است.

بخش 1: در پاسخ به هر سوال، جواب های **در باره من درست است**، **گاه گاهی در باره من درست است**، و یا **در باره من درست نیست**، هر زمانیکه تصمیم می گیرید، را انتخاب کنید. هر پاسخ ایکه فکر می کنید که در باره شما بسیار صدق می کند، جواب درست همان است.

بخش 1	در باره من درست است	گاه گاهی در باره من درست است	در باره من درست نیست
1. من در تصمیم گیری ها به توانایی خود باور دارم.	☐	☐	☐
2. من نسبت به اکثریت مردم تصمیم درست گرفته نمیتوانم.	☐	☐	☐

</div>

در باره من درست نیست	گاه گاهی در باره من درست است	در باره من درست است	
☐	☐	☐	3. فکر می کنم من یک تصمیم گیرنده خوب هستم.
☐	☐	☐	4. احساس می کنم نسبت به تصمیم گرفتن خیلی دلسرد شده ام که حتی تلاش برای تصمیم گیری را کنار گذاشته ام.
☐	☐	☐	5. تصامیم را که من می گیرم نتیجهٔ خوب دارند.
☐	☐	☐	6. برای دیگران خیلی ساده است تا مرا قناعت بدهند که تصمیم آنها نسبت به تصمیم من درست تر است.

بخش 2: در پاسخ به هر سوال، جواب های **در باره من درست است، گاه گاهی در باره من درست است، و یا در باره من درست نیست**، هر زمانیکه تصمیم می گیرید، را انتخاب کنید. هر پاسخ ایکه فکر می کنید که در مورد شما بسیار صدق می کند، جواب درست همان است.

در باره من درست نیست	گاه گاهی در باره من درست است	در باره من درست است	بخش 2
☐	☐	☐	1. دوست دارم تمام گزینه ها در در نظر بگیرم.
☐	☐	☐	2. سعی می کنم اضرار تمام گزینه ها را پیدا کنم.
☐	☐	☐	3. من خوب می دانم که چگونه تصمیم بگیرم.
☐	☐	☐	4. هر وقتیکه تصمیم می گیرم دوست دارم معلومات زیاد را جمع آوری کنم.
☐	☐	☐	5. سعی می کنم قبل از انتخاب کردن در مورد اهدافم واضح باشم.
☐	☐	☐	6. من قبل از اینکه انتخاب کنم بسیار مواظب می باشم.
☐	☐	☐	7. من از تصمیم گرفتن خود داری می کنم.
☐	☐	☐	8. من تا زمانیکه واقعاً مجبور نه باشم تصمیم نمی گیرم.
☐	☐	☐	9. من ترجیح می دهم که تصمیم گیری را به دیگران واگذار کنم.
☐	☐	☐	10. من دوست ندارم مسؤلیت تصمیم گیری را به عهده بگیرم.
☐	☐	☐	11. اگر تصمیمی توسط من یا شخص دیگر گرفته شده می تواند، اجازه می دهم شخص دیگری تصمیم بگیرد.
☐	☐	☐	12. ترجیح می دهم کسانیکه مطلع هستند برای من تصمیم بگیرند.

☐	☐	☐	13. قبل از اینکه تصمیم نهایی را اتخاذ نمایم وقت زیاد را بالای موضوعات کوچک ضایع می کنم.
☐	☐	☐	14. حتی بعد از این که یک تصمیم را گرفتم در عملی کردن آن تأخیر می کنم.
☐	☐	☐	15. وقتیکه باید یک تصمیم را بگیرم قبل از آن که در موردش فکر کنم مدتی زیاد منتظر می مانم.
☐	☐	☐	16. تصمیم گیری ها را به تعویق می اندازم حتی تا زمانیکه از مهلت شان میگذرد.
☐	☐	☐	17. من تصمیم گیری ها را به تعویق می اندازم.
☐	☐	☐	18. هر وقتیکه با یک تصمیم دشوار روبرو می شوم نسبت به پیدا کردن یک راه حل خوب بد بین می شوم.
☐	☐	☐	19. هنگام تصمیم گیری احساس می کنم تحت فشار شدید زمانی قرار دارم.
☐	☐	☐	20. به خاطر اینکه احتمالا در نتیجه تصمیم ام مشکلات کوچک رخ دهد، به یکبارگی تصمیم خود را تغییر میدهم.
☐	☐	☐	21. وقتی که باید با عجله تصمیم بگیرم نمی توانم مستقیم فکر کنم.
☐	☐	☐	22. بعد از اتخاذ تصمیمی، وقتی زیادی را برای متقاعد ساختن خود سپری می کنم که اگر تصمیم درست گرفته ام.

Pashtu Translation

<u>د افغانانو د پرېکړی کولو سټراتیژی سروی</u>   د فورټ هيس دولتي پوهنتون

دانيل سټينټ – په ازادو مطالعو کي د ماسټری نوماند: نړيوالي مطالعي 839726 782 93+
لارښود:ډاکټر جوزفن سکواير، د نړيوالو اړيکو او پرتلیز سياست پروفيسور

په دي سروي کي مو له گډون څخه مننه کوم. د دي سروي موخه د هغه باور د کچي ازمايل دی، چي افغانان يي د
پرېکړي کولو پر مهال احساسوي، او همدارنگه هغه بیلابیلي سټراتیژی، چي افغانان يي د پرېکړي پرمهال غوره کوي. که
تاسو پرېکړه وکړه، چي په دي سروي کي برخه واخلئ، تاسو به د خان په اړه خيني شخصي مالومات شريک کرئ، او
وروسته به د پرېکړي کولو په اړه څو پوښتنو ته خواب ووایاست. دا سروي به له ۱۰ تر ۲۰ دقيقو وخت ونيسي، چي بشپره
شي.

په دي سروي کي د نوم نه يادیږي. د ټولو خواب ویونکو خوابونه سره را ټولیږي؛ نو ستاسو فردي خوابونه له
سروي کوونکي پرته له بل چا سره نه شريک کیږي. په دي سروي کي د برخه اخيستو په بدل کي انعام/پيسي نه ورکول
کيږي. په سروي کي د برخه اخيستو له پاره کوم گواښ نه شته.

تاسو په دي سروي کي له گډون کولو څخه انکار کولی شئ، او په سروي کي د نه گډون په خاطر کومه منفي پایله
نشته. په سروي کي په گډون کولو سره، تاسو راضي کیږئ چي په دي خبرني کي گډون وکړئ. که کومه پوښتنه يا کومه
اندښننه لرئ، مهرباني وکړئ له ډانيل سټينټ سره، چي شمېره يي د همدي سروي په پورتني برخه کي ليکل شوي، اړيکه
ونيسئ.
په دي سروي کي مو د گډون په خاطر له زړه د کومي مننه کوم.

شخصي مالومات - مهرباني وکړئ د خان په اړه سم مالومات انتخاب کرئ.

جنسيت: ☐ نارينه   ☐ ښځينه   ☐ غوره گنم چي دي پوښتنې ته خواب و نه وايم.

عمر: ☐ 20-29   ☐ 30-39   ☐ 40-49   ☐ 50-59
☐ 60-69   ☐ 70+   ☐ غوره گنم چي دي پوښتنې ته خواب و نه وايم

د زده کړي لوړه کچه: ☐ ښوونځي مي نه دی لوستی   ☐ 1-6 ټولگی   ☐ 7-12 ټولگی
☐ ليسانس   ☐ ماسټر   ☐ ډاکټر
☐ غوره گنم چي دي پوښتنې ته خواب و نه وايم

قوميت: ☐ پښتون   ☐ تاجک   ☐ هزاره   ☐ ازبک   ☐ ترکمن
☐ بلوچ   ☐ پشه يي   ☐ نورستاني   ☐ ايماق   ☐ عرب
☐ قرغز   ☐ قزلباش   ☐ گوجر   ☐ براهوي   ☐ نور قومونه
☐ غوره گنم چي دي پوښتنې ته خواب و نه وايم

نوټ: د قومونو پورتني ليسټ په مستقيمه توگه د افغانستان اسلامي جمهوريت د اساسي قانون له څلورمي مادي څخه را کاپي
شوی دی.

1 برخه: د هري پوښتنې په خواب کي، زما په اړه سم دی، کله کله زما په اړه سم دی، او يا زما په اړه سم نه دی، خوابونه د
تصميم نېوني پرمهال انتخاب کرئ. هر خواب چي فکر کوئ ستاسو په اړه تر ټولو زيات سم دی، هماغه سم خواب دی.

1 برخه	زما په اړه سم دی	کله کله زما په اړه سم دی	زما په اړه سم نه دی
1. زه په تصميم نېوني کي پر خپلي ورتيا باور لرم.	☐	☐	☐
2. زه په تصميم نېونو کي د ډېرو خلکو په پرتله د کمتري احساس کوم.	☐	☐	☐
3. فکر کوم زه يو ښه تصميم نېونکي يم.	☐	☐	☐

☐	☐	☐	4. داسي احساس کوم چي ډېر بي مايوس شوی یم، چي ان د تصمیم نیونو هڅو ته مي شاه کړې ده.
☐	☐	☐	5. هغه تصمیمونه چي زه نیسم ښني پایلي لري.
☐	☐	☐	6. نورو ته ډېره اسانه ده ما قانع کړي، چي د هغوی پرېکړه زما د پرېکړي په پرتله سمه ده.

2مه برخه: د هري پوښتني په ځواب کي، زما په اره سم دی، کله کله زما په اره سم دی، او یا زما په اره سم نه دی، ځوابونه د تصمیم نیوني پرمهال انتخاب کړئ. هر ځواب چي فکر کوئ ستاسو په اره تر ټولو زیات سم دی، هماغه سم ځواب دی.

زما په اره سم نه دی	کله کله زما په اره سم دی	زما په اره سم دی	2مه برخه
☐	☐	☐	1. غواړم ټولني بدلي لاري په پام کي ونیسم.
☐	☐	☐	2. کوښښ کوم د ټولو بدیلو لارو تاوانونه پیدا کړم.
☐	☐	☐	3. زه ښه پوهیږم، چي څنګه پرېکړه وکړم.
☐	☐	☐	4. هر وخت چي پرېکړه کوم، غواړم ډېر مالومات را ټول کړم.
☐	☐	☐	5. کوښښ کوم مخکي تر دي چي انتخاب وکړم د خپلو موخو په اره روښانه اوسم.
☐	☐	☐	6. زه مخکي تر دي چي انتخاب وکړم ډېر پام کوم.
☐	☐	☐	7. زه له پرېکړي کولو څخه ډډه کوم.
☐	☐	☐	8. زه تر هغي چي ډېر مجبورم نه شم پرېکړه نه کوم.
☐	☐	☐	9. زه غوره ګنم، چي پرېکړه کول نورو ته پرېږدم.
☐	☐	☐	10. زه نه غواړم د پرېکړي کولو مسولیت په غاړه واخلم.
☐	☐	☐	11. که زه یا بل شخص پرېکړه کوی شو، غوره ګنم چي بل شخص پرېکړه وکړي.
☐	☐	☐	12. غوره ګنم هغه کسان چي ډېر مالومات لري زما له پاره پرېکړه وکړي.
☐	☐	☐	13. مخکي تر دي چي وروستي پرېکړه وکړم ډېر وخت پر کوچنی موضوع ګانو ضایع کوم.
☐	☐	☐	14. ان وروسته تر هغي چي پرېکړه وکړم په پلي کولو کي یي ځند کوم.

49

☐	☐	☐	15. هر وخت چي بايد يوه پرېکره وکرم، مخکي تر دي چي په اړه يي فکر وکرم ه موده منتظر کېږرم.
☐	☐	☐	16. پرېکره کول ﺧندوم تر هغي چي ناوخته شي.
☐	☐	☐	17. زه پرېکري ﺧندوم
☐	☐	☐	18. هر کله چي له يوي ستونزمني پرېکري سره مخ کېږرم د يوي ښي حل لاري پيدا کولو پر وړاندي نا هيلي کېږرم.
☐	☐	☐	19. د پرېکري کولو پر مهال داسي احساس کوم چي د وخت تر فشار لاندي يم.
☐	☐	☐	20. دا ګمان چي بنايي کومه کوچني مشکلات راوباسي د دي لامل کېږري چي زه په خپل ترجيح کولو کي ناﺧاﭘه بدل شم.
☐	☐	☐	21. کله چي بايد په بيړي پرېکره وکرم مستقيم فکر نه شم کوی.
☐	☐	☐	22. له پرېکري کولو وروسته، ډېر وخت د ﺧان قانع کولو له پاره تېروم، چي که سمه پرېکره مي کري وي.

50

IRB Approval Letter

OFFICE OF SCHOLARSHIP AND SPONSORED PROJECTS

DATE: March 11, 2021

TO: Daniel Stent
FROM: Fort Hays State University IRB

STUDY TITLE: [1721522-2] Afghan Decision-Making Strategies: A Replication and
                                   Extension (Mann, et al. 1997)
IRB REFERENCE #:   21-0081
SUBMISSION TYPE: Amendment/Modification

ACTION: APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE: March 11, 2021
EXPIRATION DATE: March 10, 2022
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

Thank you for your submission of Amendment/Modification materials for this research study. Fort Hays State University IRB has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/ benefit ratio and a study design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

This submission has received Expedited Review based on the applicable federal regulation.

Please remember that informed consent is a process beginning with a description of the study and insurance of participant understanding followed by a signed consent form unless documentation of consent has been waived by the IRB. Informed consent must continue throughout the study via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require each participant receive a copy of the signed consent document. The IRB-approved consent document must be used.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be approved by this office prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

All SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported to this office. Please use the appropriate adverse event forms for this procedure. All FDA and sponsor reporting requirements should also be followed.

Please report all NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this study to this office.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of three years.

Based on the risks, this project requires Continuing Review by this office on an annual basis. Please use the appropriate renewal forms for this procedure.

If you have any questions, please contact Leslie Paige at IRB@fhsu.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

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Thesis: Afghan decision-making in a development context

Author: Daniel Stent

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Date: July 28, 2021