



Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews

Rasooli, M., & Yawar, M. E. (2024). Investigating the Role of Political Culture in the Political Development of Afghanistan after September 11, 2001. *Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews*, 3(1), 63-73.

ISSN 2827-9735

DOI: 10.31014/aior.1996.03.01.103

The online version of this article can be found at:
<https://www.asianinstituteofresearch.org/>

Published by:
The Asian Institute of Research

The *Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews* is an Open Access publication. It may be read, copied, and distributed free of charge according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.

The Asian Institute of Research Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews is a peer-reviewed International Journal of the Asian Institute of Research. The journal covers scholarly articles in the interdisciplinary fields of law and humanities, including constitutional and administrative law, criminal law, civil law, international law, linguistics, history, literature, performing art, philosophy, religion, visual arts, anthropology, culture, and ethics studies. The Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews is an Open Access Journal that can be accessed and downloaded online for free. Thus, ensuring high visibility and increase of citations for all research articles published. The journal aims to facilitate scholarly work on recent theoretical and practical aspects of law.



ASIAN INSTITUTE OF RESEARCH
Connecting Scholars Worldwide

Investigating the Role of Political Culture in the Political Development of Afghanistan after September 11, 2001

Muaiyid Rasooli¹, Mohammad Ekram Yawar²

¹ PhD candidate, School of Law, Xi'an Jiaotong University, China. Email: muaiyid.rasooli1992@gmail.com, Tel: + 008618521083167, ORCID: 0009-0000-8968-8910

² PhD Candidate, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of International Relations, Akdeniz University, Antalya, Turkey

Correspondence: Mohammad Ekram Yawar, PhD Candidate, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of International Relations, Akdeniz University, Antalya, Turkey

Abstract

Democracy has not yet been institutionalized in Afghanistan, and this nation has a significant journey ahead before the establishment of a fully institutionalized democracy. One of the major internal obstacles on the way to the realization and institutionalization of democracy in this country is the presence of tribal and ethnic political culture of some of its residents. In this country, the attitudes, values, beliefs, feelings, beliefs, looking at the past, orientations, social traditions and some social structures of a number of the inhabitants of this land are ethnic and tribal. Of course, it should not be denied and ignored that many of the young generations of Afghanistan have trampled many beliefs, red lines and ethnic taboos. In the third presidential election in Afghanistan, observations indicate that the political culture among some of the youth in this country is characterized by active participation. Hence, the primary objective of this article is to ascertain how effective the political culture has been in the political development of Afghanistan. Since the Afghan society is a traditional and tribal society, its political culture is also a tribal political culture. The research method in this article is descriptive-analytical and the method of collecting information is library. The results indicate a clear correlation between elections and the political culture in each respective country. Elections mirror the prevailing political culture within the country. If the political culture is moving towards democratization, it is evident that the elections in Afghanistan are also moving towards democratization.

Keywords: Political Culture, Afghanistan, Elections, Traditions, September 11

1. Introduction

After the Second World War, we witnessed a huge wave of decolonization and the emergence of different countries whose main concern was the emergence of political and legal independence. After gaining independence, perhaps the most important issue for all the newly independent countries and so-called third-world countries is the issue of development. Due to the presentation of the development of the third-world countries, different theories and models regarding development were formed.

More emphasis on the initial theories and models was formed in the development of countries. It was becoming westernized, but later theories were modified to some extent and new models were presented for development. In most of the theories, the role of internal forces and capacities of countries has been considered as the basic and important element for development.

This issue was raised that development happens in a platform and societies that want development should provide that platform. In the framework of this issue, we can analyze the influence of political culture on development. Political culture is considered as a platform in which the forces and orientations of individuals are identified, and the political system is located in its framework and exercises power.

Hence, it is crucial to scrutinize the impact of political culture on the country's development. Culture is a set of customs, morals, values and beliefs that are transmitted from one generation to the next through the process of socialization. Values are generalized concepts of legitimate and valuable goals that guide human behavior in a particular direction. Values come through norms in the form of regulations and laws.

Political culture is about views and attitudes towards power, government responsibilities and patterns related to political acceptance. In this process, the level of knowledge of the goals of political institutions and structures, beliefs, emotional aspects, and ultimately the existing criteria for judging power and politics is important. If we want to define political culture in a simple way, we can consider it as the way people look at power, politics, government and various institutions and their functions.

People can have different orientations regarding power, politics, government and various institutions and the rules and regulations that govern institutions can be categorized into three distinct groups.

First, cognitive orientations that are related to people's knowledge and beliefs about power and government, and also people's knowledge of regulations, roles and institutions.

Second, emotional orientations show people's feelings towards political systems, rules, and roles, and the third orientation is a mixture of the first and second orientations and includes most of people's judgments regarding political goals. Understanding the orientations helps to understand how the political systems are supported and therefore the legitimacy of the political systems can be evaluated with the orientations.

Three, if people are not sensitive to the decisions and behaviors of institutions and elites, it is likely that the political elites will be inclined towards a totalitarian and authoritarian system.

In Afghanistan, however, the political culture is of a limited type, that is, people do not have the essential and sufficient awareness regarding the political system, power structures, various institutions and workers, and regarding their influence in the course of decision-making.

Hence, whatever decision they make, the political elites will not face any resistance or pressure from the people. In other words, the people cannot put government and private institutions in the direction of development.

2. The role of political culture in development

Political culture is considered as a platform in which the forces and orientations of individuals are identified, and the political system is located in its framework and exercises power. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the influence of political culture on the development of the country. Culture is a set of customs, morals, beliefs and values that are transmitted from one generation to the next through the process of socialization. Values are generalized concepts of legitimate and valuable goals that guide human behavior in a particular direction. Values come through norms in the form of regulations and laws. (Qadri, 1:2012).

Elmound's definition of political culture was gradually accepted by others, and from this time on, the notion of political culture was linked with the behaviorist approach that was based on numbers and quantity and a kind of abstract modeling. A new approach, a new level of analyzing political issues and developments. This new approach, contrary to the common approach in political science, which focuses on the study and analysis of official institutions and their working structure, is more focused on the study of informal behaviors and actors'

attitudes as the basis of political behaviors. They emphasized (Zareei, 2009:96). It is a high -profile that is the case, the fact that it is in the lights, and the facts that are in the face of the present and the same. The assessment is made based on the nature of the work and the subject matter (Rafi, 27: 2018).

Political culture is about views and attitudes towards power, government responsibilities and patterns related to political acceptance. In this process, the level of knowledge of the goals of political institutions and structures, beliefs, emotional aspects, and ultimately the existing criteria for judging power and politics is important. If we want to define political culture in a simple way, we can consider it as the way people look at power, politics, government and various institutions and their functions.

People can have different orientations regarding power, politics, government and various institutions the regulations and rules that oversee institutions can be categorized into three distinct groups.

First, cognitive orientations that are related to people's knowledge and beliefs about power and government, and also people's knowledge of regulations, roles and institutions.

Second, the emotional orientations that show people's feelings towards political systems, regulations, and roles, and the third is the orientation that is created from the mixture of the first and second orientations and includes most of the people's judgments regarding political goals.

Understanding orientations helps to understand how much political systems are supported, and therefore the legitimacy of political systems can be evaluated with orientations.

Three, if people are not sensitive to the decisions and behaviors of institutions and elites, it is likely that the political elites will be inclined towards a totalitarian and authoritarian system.

In Afghanistan, however, the political culture is of a limited type, that is, people do not have the essential and sufficient knowledge about the political system, power structures, various institutions and leaders, and about influencing themselves in the course of decision-making. Hence, the political elites do not see any resistance or pressure from the people for any decision they make. In other words, people cannot put government and private institutions in the direction of development. Civil society organizations can engage a valuable role in this direction by informing people about the political system. It is only awareness through civil society institutions that people can be conscious of their role and influence and actively participate in different fields. It is the time when a suitable platform for the growth and development of the country is provided and institutions and elites cannot find a tendency towards totalitarian systems (Qadri, 1:2012).

3. Political culture and elections in Afghanistan

The presidential, parliamentary and provincial council elections in Afghanistan have been examined from various dimensions and angles in the press, media, and scientific and university circles. But it is imagined that these democratic processes have been studied less from the perspective of sociology. For the first time, the American "Gabriel Elmond" used the term "political culture" in political science.

According to Elmond, political culture refers to the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations toward politics within a society and its issues within a system or a society. In addition to the use and definition of this knowledge term, Elmond has also dealt with its classification, which we will briefly describe each one.

A) Participatory political culture, which exists in advanced societies. In these societies, people participate relatively in political life. In a participatory political culture, people are aware of their citizenship and pay attention to politics. In these societies, citizens are sensitive to the behavior of political elites.

B) Citizen's political culture: Elmond calls citizens who are aware of the various roles of the government such as taxation and law-making as political citizens. In this model of political culture, people may be conscious of the being of the political system and its data, and they may be interested in it or hate it, but due to the lack of institutions to express and collect their wishes and demands, or the weak structures of the institutions, people cannot It has a lot of political efficiency be The political elites are the mouthpieces of the people's wishes. In this way, in this model of culture, people have no place in the political process for themselves.

C) Limited political culture: This cultural aspect pertains to individuals who have limited knowledge about their political system. In such political culture, there is no ability to compare the changes initiated by the political system. People with limited political culture have no expectations from their political system.

Also, "Lucin Pai" considers political culture to be a set of attitudes, beliefs, and feelings that provides structure and significance to the political process and identifies the assumptions and regulations that preside over the behavior of the political system. According to what was said, political culture can be regarded as a set of principles, approaches and beliefs that show people's position on political issues.

In fact, the political culture of every human society is made of elements and elements with the passage of time and historical processes, such as: values, attitudes, beliefs, beliefs, feelings, traditions, social structure, and historical experience (Khatibi, 1:2014).

4. The role of elections in the democratization of political culture in Afghanistan

Since the Afghan society is a traditional and tribal society, its political culture is also a tribal political culture. Due to the division of the political culture from Gabriel Elmond's perspective, the political culture in Afghanistan today is mostly a limited and subordinate political culture. Democracy has not yet been institutionalized in Afghanistan, and the institutionalization of democracy in this country is a distant goal that requires significant progress. One of the major internal obstacles on the way to the realization and institutionalization of democracy in this country is the presence of tribal and ethnic political culture of some of its residents. In this country, the attitudes, values, beliefs, feelings, beliefs, looking at the past, orientations, social traditions and some social structures of a number of the inhabitants of this land are ethnic and tribal.

In this third presidential election in Afghanistan, observations indicate that some of the young people in this country exhibit a participatory political culture. It was observed that many young people and middle-aged people participated in this process knowingly and wanted to make accurate decisions in this field, and they used their opinions with expectations and expectations of participation. In fact, the political culture in Afghanistan is becoming democratic. Elections in Afghanistan are part of the political culture of this country, and there is a direct correlation between the elections and the political culture of each country. Elections have the same situation as the political culture of the country. If the political culture is moving towards democratization, it is evident that the elections in Afghanistan are also moving towards democratization.

On the contrary, if some of the signs and symbols in our political culture are ethnic, the same issues were observed in the elections. The presidential elections of the last republic showed the political culture in the country that is rapidly changing from being ethnic to becoming democratic, but in addition to the many good things that the elections had in different areas for Afghanistan, one and its positive effect on political culture refined in the country and strengthened the democratic values in the political culture. This national process has created positive and extensive changes in the views, behaviors, norms and thoughts of the people and political players regarding political issues, changes that are needed by our society and for the institutionalization of democracy in the country. It is considered very necessary (Khatibi, 2014:2-3).

5. The role of political culture in Afghanistan's political participation

Political culture, as a system of experiential beliefs, symbols, values, and norms, which is considered the basis of political action and the platform of political behavior of members of the society, parties, and statesmen, is one of the fundamental topics that is considered in the modern era. The subjects of his research are many thinkers in the field of politics. The consistency and stability of any kind of participation depend on the origin of the political culture of the society. Because the political culture is also a factor in determining the socio-political nature of the people of the society and they determine the beliefs, values and norms of the society about politics and power. Political participation in Afghan society is faced with social context, threats, and special ideological obstacles.

From sociological perspective, a stable political system is achieved by the general and informed partaking of nation as a wide-ranging project. What is considered as political participation in the current society of Afghanistan and the process of citizens' participation faces a problem is the lack of equal opportunities for all citizens in the matter of political participation. Ideological and cultural barriers to political participation in Afghanistan are mainly derived from the traditional culture of the society.

Traditional values and hand-holding, patriarchy and whiteness, determining the place of social housing based on ethnic attribution, authoritarianism and ethnocentric rejection of any effective contribution in the formation of culture of partaking and a serious obstacle regarding the collective partaking of the people in the country's political arena, there is a lack of effective institutions to express their wishes, elitism, mythologizing, and leadership, people's lack of awareness, communication failures such as radio and television and comprehensive and national press, reluctance of the country's political system to hand over roles and commitments to established institutions.

It is evident that fostering a culture of societal engagement is one of the key solutions, which means that our point of reliance should be more on the commons than to spread a new culture in which there is tolerance and political tolerance in the society. Political participation only takes shape in societies that have a culture of participation, so that achieving a democratic society will remain elusive as long as the political system's structure persists, and complicity based on a particular ethnicity, is not transformed (Hosseini, 2008:3). Political engagement in the contemporary world is essential and unavoidable thing, as even the most extensive political systems globally and the limited totalitarian systems that are still in existence also deprive themselves of the participation of their people, although in some form. They do not need political participation in various fields.

As Nohlen also states, today democracy as a way of governance has global dimensions it's evident that political involvement is crucial and indispensable in democracies. Political participation involves the voluntary engagement of community members in choosing leaders and participating directly or indirectly in political activities (Nasiri, 2004:99).

5.1 The political participation of women before September 11

Afghanistan is a country that, from an optimistic perspective, one could argue that there is limited prior involvement in the realm of democracy and the presence of democratic institutions is relatively new. As Dalton states, in 2001 and before the collapse of the Taliban regime, every country in the world was considered more suitable for democratization than Afghanistan.

For more than three decades, this country has been ruled by authoritarian governments, especially Zahir Shah's monarchy, the absolute government of Dawood, the communist government under the supervision of the Soviet Union, and finally, the Mujahideen regime, after that Taliban rose in the country. When they arrived, the situation became even worse. The Taliban came in with a religious appearance and they use religion to justify their government. (Dalton, 2007: 13). Mullah Mohammad Omar, the first leader of the Taliban regime, considered respecting the rights of women and girls against Islam and assumed that the social involvement of this generation in the society would cause moral corruption in the society (Kashani, 1998:58).

5.2 Women's political participation after September 11 (in the new power structure)

The events of September 11th mark a crucial moment in the establishment of a new government in Afghanistan. Following the assault by NATO forces, led by the United States, and the subsequent collapse of the Taliban's Islamic Emirate, a new plan was made at the Bonn Conference for the establishment of a government in Afghanistan. The outcome of the international community's coalition and collaboration with internal forces in the Afghan war was the Bonn Agreement. This agreement signaled a new era of political and social advancements for the country. At the core of the Bonn Agreement was the advancement of democracy, manifested through mechanisms like the approval of the constitution, presidential and parliamentary elections, and the Bonn Agreement underscored fundamental principles such as human rights, freedom of expression, a

free press, and women's rights. as a new system plan in Afghanistan It was poured on this basis. Among the 61 official and unofficial members, five women participated in the meeting (Dupree, 1998:211).

In the Bonn agreement, which is known the beginning of the current developments in Afghanistan, the following issues have been presented concerning the women's role in the future of the country:

(1) In the eighth paragraph of the preamble, which contains the goals of the agreement, it is stated that "with the understanding and acceptance that these provisional arrangements are viewed as the initial stride toward the formation of a comprehensive, inclusive, and pluralistic government that represents all citizens, and this arrangement and the government should not stay on the power for more than a particular time.

In the composition of the interim administration in Article (3), it is mentioned that the chairman, deputy chairman and other interim government members were appointed by the participants of the United Nations Negotiations Council on the issue of Afghanistan. The selection of these people has been made based on their individual merit and competence, and certainly, Afghanistan's ethnic, regional, and religious factors, along with the significance of female participation in the government, have been duly considered.

Hence, the cabinet included two women, with Sima Samar serving as one of the five vice presidents and ministers of a newly founded ministry called the Ministry of Women and Suhila Sediq, the first woman who reached the rank of general during the communist era, she was appointed as a minister of public health of the temporary government.

(2) In the fourth section related to the special independent commission for the formation of the emergency general assembly level in article (2) clause (c) in relation to the appointment of representatives, it is emphasized that a significant number of Afghan women participate in the emergency general assembly (Kazem, 2005: 508-507).

5.3 The position and political participation of women in the new constitution

In principle, the discourse on women's political involvement in Afghanistan or any other nation was absent prior to the establishment of a democratic or, at the very least, a semi-democratic political system. Political participation for both women and men has not been much discussed in Afghanistan. These conditions changed after the collapse of the Taliban administration and the establishment of a new political system, and Afghanistan took a step towards democratization (Kazem, 2005: 516-517).

The new government of Afghanistan drafted and approved the constitution on January 4, 2004 in line with the Bonn agreement, this movement placed a significant emphasis on advancing women's rights, marking it as a pivotal reform initiative, and in the new constitution, with the approach of bet on women's rights has dedicated several articles to this topic.

Evidently, the new constitution of Afghanistan is founded on the principles of honoring democratic values, encompassing human rights and equal citizenship rights. The preamble of the constitution articulates the aspiration of the Afghan people to establish a civil society devoid of oppression, tyranny, discrimination and violence and based on legality, social justice, protection of dignity and human rights, ensuring freedoms and basic rights. The people have approved this basic law (preamble of the law) the new constitution of Afghanistan approved, 2003-1382), in article (1) of the Afghanistan constitution, the form of government "Islamic, independent, united and indivisible" is mentioned.

This article comprises two components: the republic and Islam. The governmental foundation is rooted in the dual principles of a republic and Islam. Both of these elements have people's participation in their heart. (Manouchehri and Mazari, 2009:314). In Article (22) of the new constitution, it is emphasized that "discrimination and preferential treatment among the citizens of Afghanistan are expressly prohibited." In Afghanistan, both men and women enjoy equal rights and status under the law. Article (33) of the Constitution of Afghanistan states: "Every citizen of Afghanistan possesses the right to participate in elections and stand as a candidate." (the text of the new Constitution of Afghanistan, approved 2003-12:15). The legality of the people, 2003, in 2003 (67), which is the case of a high -profile house, has come up with the community. And it should be of the way and the other should not be the case. "Therefore, we see that there is no barrier for women to be

candidates for this post, given the general conditions. Also, in Article (72), there is no limitation for the membership of women in the cabinet, and only the condition of Afghan nationality is proposed. Article (83) of the constitution regarding the election of parliament members has again presented a special situation.

The election law should incorporate measures to guarantee an electoral system that ensures equitable and transparent representation for all citizens across the country, proportionate to the population of each province; at least two female representatives are members of the parliament. "In this article, the principle of positive discrimination has been used for the benefit of women, and on this basis, they consider a special quota for women in the parliament to support them." Article (84) regarding the appointment of senate advisory members, which is one-third of these members, is chosen by the President and the President has also allocated half of this number to women.

6. Globalization and political development in Afghanistan after 2001

In contemporary times, globalization is recognized as a pivotal aspect of social and political existence in the history of human societies, and it is because of the influence of the growths that occur in various fields of political and social life at small scales. And macro is turning into one of the basic topics of social sciences and at the moment it has become political. This topic has gained special importance in connection with discussions such as social, political and development changes, as of now, it has not been thoroughly examined in terms of both structure and substance.

6.1 Globalization and political development from a liberal point of view

The proponents of globalization, who are labeled more liberal, believe that globalization is a course that has placed countries in the development process. Globalization has eased the feeling of isolation in the developing world and allowed the citizens of this country to gain knowledge that was not available to even the most knowledgeable people of any country a century ago (Joseph, 2003:26). Stiglitz believes that "globalization has strengthened the communication and link between countries that is often referred to as interdependence." Globalization has increased the connection and communication between countries and this connection has provided the background for the general pressures coordinated at the world level, such as ignoring the debts of some poor countries and foreign aid. It is (Joseph, 2003:26).

Stiglitz adds that the globalization of great benefits such as the success of East Asia; Especially for the sake of using business opportunities and more access to markets and technical knowledge. Globalization has contributed to advancements in healthcare and medical treatments, while concurrently influencing political developments in countries that have not developed; there is no people's government. According to Samir Amin, multipolar globalization can help social and political development and evolution, and through this process, it is poised to expand social democratization and reduce the motivations for conflict and conflict (Samira, 2001: 68).

Globalization can be transformative, and when it is done properly and specifically, so that all countries have a role in the policies that affect them, it creates the possibility for the global economy to thrive or there will be a new one to grow in it, it is not only more stable and more invulnerable, but the fruits of this growth should be shared among all in a fairer way. (Stiglitz, 2003:28). Among the things that are mentioned as the positive consequences of globalization in the fields of political development by liberal scholars is the increase in the awareness of political and social activists in different local and national fields regarding the rights and roles of It is social and political.

In other words, the role that this course has played in the resurgence of human activity and in the end political and social development occurs in a manner that fosters heightened global awareness and expanding the new political culture means paying more attention to the masses of people in all societies. Development and democracy and the subject of human rights, the effects of explanation It will be decisive and important to change the power relations in these societies, and since the issue of non-development is mainly related to the power relations in these societies, this change is probably a part of the obstacles to expansion and at the same time

political power in these societies It will be taken or reduced in some way. (Zahedi, 2003:344-37). As a result of the positive results achieved in various parts of the globe, the supporters of globalization emphasize the belief that globalization does not only lead to an increase in poverty, but also the main solution for underdevelopment. Eradication of poverty is political development and development.

According to them, instead of hindering development and increasing inequality, globalization will improve the development prospects of governments and help to reduce inequality in the globe. Due to the relocation of production and investment by multinational companies to the countries that are just becoming industrialized, a new global division of labor has been created, which increases new opportunities for development. The neoliberal saying shows that the globalization of the economy is the only real way to reduce global poverty, and here this saying emphasizes the democratization or democratization of the government in the world for the political development of developing countries.

7. Globalization and political development in Afghanistan

With the arrival of the international community in Afghanistan, it has naturally followed the process of globalization and the development of Afghanistan's political structures; this process actually has supporters on its side, which are addressed in the present research.

7.1 Civil society

After the collapse of the Taliban administration in Afghanistan, citizenship, freedom of expression, civil society organizations and political parties became the focus of discussion. Civil society refers to the set of voluntary civil and social organizations and institutions that build the foundation of a dynamic society, and from the being voluntary perspective, they are in conflict with the imposed structure of the government and commercial and market institutions. Civil society is one of the organizations that has defended most of the civil liberties of the citizens of Afghanistan and is called the leader of the protection of the rights of the people of the country. Civil society has a necessary relationship with democracy because in democracies they are the source of people's power. Power is exercised by the people, and the goals of power are the welfare and benefits of the people. Therefore, we can deduce that civil society stands as one of the most advanced institutions that has a strong and inextricable relationship with globalization and political development, and this grounds it to be more globalist and developmental than isolated.

7.2 Political parties

Afghanistan is actually a country where no political party has been created in the true sense of being the driving machine of democratic governments, so the parties that have been created and established in Afghanistan are mostly based on ethnicity. Name, direction, religion and other issues have been created and established. But besides all these issues, there are parties in Afghanistan that after the fall of the Taliban, they supported globalization and political development in the country. 3 based on changing the type of political system He knew that you can name and there are liberal parties that operate under the line of liberalism and are mostly in favor of the presence of foreign countries and political development after a decade of the Islamic Emirate regime.

7.3 Western technocrats

After laying the foundations of the Taliban administration in the country, Afghanistan actually became the place of arrival of people who lived mostly in the West and there, during the many years of war and lawlessness, killing and blood flowed in the country. And learning science in those countries, the creation of a temporary government and finally an elected government caused these people to return to the country and find a share in the political power. Because these people are considered from the cluster of people, that are in favor of globalization and political improvement of the country.

7.4 Jihadi commanders

Another group that witnessed more globalization and political development in the defeat of the Islamic Emirate, and the globalization or the presence of westerners the reconstruction of the country can be viewed as the outcome of the endeavors of this particular group, were actually the Jihadi commanders who put aside the weapons. The decision to rebuild the country and create a country that meets the global standards is a must (Noori, 2013: 6).

8. Challenges of political development in Afghanistan

From some researchers' perspective, political development is the political methods and policies that smooth the economic growth in the developing countries. Another number of researchers consider political development to be the study of new regimes, the expanded role of governments, increasing political participation and the ability of regimes to uphold order in the face of rapid changes, as well as competition between political factions' classes and ethnic groups over power and competition in social housing and they define wealth. According to others, political development is how revolutions happen, especially the conditions for replacing capitalist or socialist systems. For a developed political system, thinkers have listed many factors and many features.

Among these, democratic institutions and the improvement of civil society are among the basic and important features that have been emphasized in various theories. Multiple definitions and concepts of political development do not necessarily indicate dogmatic rules for all societies. The experiences of societies in the course of political improvement are different and special, and according to the social values, natural factors, economic system, culture and politics of each society, it is under the influence of these variables.

But what is common about the process of political development among all societies is the increase of the society's mobility and efficiency, the limitation of the government's power, the increase of civil liberties and rights, and in the final analysis, the intensification of the civil society. Some of them, with an emphasis on civil society, consider political development it represents a continuous dynamic process of interaction between the government and civil society, leading to an augmentation of wealth, per capita income; transformation of the economic structure, this dynamic interaction has contributed to an overall enhancement in the standard of living for the majority of people.

But the main discussion of political development from the perspective of political philosophy, about the rationalization of actions and goals, political, provides a meaningful rationality and establishes a reasonable level of autonomy. This issue becomes more important when individuals serve as both the means and the ultimate objective of development. Generally, from this group's perspective of pro-democracy thinkers, important indicators are the intensification of civil society and, accordingly, civil and political freedoms, people's sovereignty, civil rights, equality, law and rule of law, political participation, parties, parliament and parliamentarism are the main components and it is considered part of a developed political system.

Primary challenge of political development in Afghanistan is the lack of accurate and clear studies of political development. It can be asserted with confidence that the agents of the political system do not have an understanding of political development, indicators and theories of political development. Without an understanding of political improvement, it is not probable to attain it in theory. Therefore, there is no understanding of political development and we need to discuss this issue in an organized and systematic way.

Secondary challenge is the tribe and ethnic and tribal traditions. The theories of political development were formed in the framework of the conflict between tradition and modernity, which is an important part of tradition, ethnic and tribal harmony. If further studies show that all traditional ethnic organizations are not obstacles and challenges to political development, however, the existing tribalism and nationalism in Afghanistan is a serious obstacle to political development, because tribal and ethnic organizations are against modern mechanisms and organizations and indicators of political development. But another part of traditions can create more capacity for

development and political development. For example, some religious teachings can help us to achieve political development.

The third challenge of political development is the hostile view of political development. As in the primary studies of political development, development was considered to be the process of westernization. In Afghanistan even now, the development and political development of the westernization process is understood. This hostile view causes tribal and religious mechanisms to oppose political development and prevent it. At the same time, this issue causes a part of the force to be used against traditional mechanisms. This challenge is somewhat serious, because political development must be accepted by the people and elites.

As long as the people do not have an understanding of development and do not consider it as something against religious and tribal teachings, it is not feasible to attain political development. For this reason, the hostile view is a challenge for political development in Afghanistan. Getting rid of this kind of view can help achieve political development in the country.

In the end, it should be said that political development post World War Two has entered political and sociological studies, but it is an unknown thing in our country. No coherent study has been done on it. There is no clear understanding of it. This issue has caused us to not have a picture of it and to be unable to carry out work towards its realization. In addition to this issue, the tribal and ethnic traditions and the hostile view of our people and elites towards the category of political development have made it difficult to achieve it. (Sample, 2014: 1-2).

Afghanistan is facing various obstacles in the path of political improvement, one of the most significant of which is nationalism in this country. The existence of different ethnicities is a shaping feature in the multiplicity of the Afghan society and the state-nationalization process in this country has faced a problem. The lack of coordination and compromise of transnational identities in the framework of the country's borders and the absence of a sense of harmony has led to the failure to form a unified government according to Max and as an organization of the exclusive use of legitimate power in this country.

Post collapse of the Taliban, a good opportunity was provided to establish a national government and follow the path of development in this country, but we still see that the ethnic differences in this country continue with ethnic policies. The parties that were formed after 2001 were parties that did not pursue national and general interests, but rather pursued the interests of their nation and tribe. In this way, partisanship in Afghanistan, instead of causing the political development of the country, had more negative consequences and made the ethnic divisions more colorful (Qadiri, 2020: 2).

9. Conclusion

Political culture can be understood as people's attitude towards power, politics, government and the structure of political institutions and its mechanisms. Political culture in Afghanistan is incomplete. In simpler terms, individuals lack the essential knowledge about the political system and its workings. In a limited political culture, people do not have any expectations from the government, and the decisions of the political elites do not face the reaction of the people, while in the first world countries, people play a prominent role in controlling the behavior of the leaders of the system. In spite of the reality that the political culture in Afghanistan is limited, it is evident that in some instances we are witnessing a participatory culture.

Today, many people of the new generation and young people of Afghanistan have a political culture of participation, and many of their beliefs, red lines and ethnic taboos are violated. In this third presidential election in Afghanistan, it was seen that the political culture of some of the youth of this country is participatory. It was observed that many young people and middle-aged people participated in this process knowingly and wanted to make accurate decisions in this field, and they used their opinion with the expectations and expectations of participation. In the new constitution of Afghanistan, which was approved in 1382, the political participation of women like men was mentioned in it.

With the entry of the international community in Afghanistan after 2001 and the establishment of a new political system in Afghanistan according to the constitution, the public was granted the privilege to exercise fundamental rights and freedoms, including the right to vote, run for office, and similar entitlements. These rights and freedoms could establish the infrastructure of a democratic society. What is considered as political participation in the current society of Afghanistan and the process of citizens' participation faces a problem is the lack of opportunities for all citizens in the matter of political participation. Ideological and cultural barriers to political participation in Afghanistan are mainly derived from the traditional culture of the society.

Authors contribution: All authors contributed to this research.

Funding: It is funded from authors' own budget, no fund is provided by any institution.

Conflict of interest: the authors declare that there is no conflict of interest, no sponsor was involved in design of the study, data collection, manuscript writing or decision to publish the work result.

Informed Consent: Not Applicable

References

- Joseph, Stiglitz, (2003), Globalization and its issues, translation: Gulriz, Tehran: Nash.<http://tinyurl.com/4pu9d8x4>
- Joseph, Stiglis, (2003), "Towards a New Paradigm of Development", translation: Ismail Mardani Givi, Political-Economic Information Monthly, Vol. 197<http://tinyurl.com/263kcu7v>
- Amin, Samira (2001), Imperialism and Globalization, Translation: Nasser Zarafshan, Tehran: Aga Publishing.
- Hosseini, Syedali (2008), "Political participation, the essence of democracy", Payam Aftab news base.
- Khatibi, Ahmad Arshad (2014), "Political Culture and Elections in Afghanistan", Jamhor News website, available at: www.jomhornews.com
- Dupree, Nancy Hatch (1998), Afghan women under the Taliban government; Afghanistan; Taliban and world policies, translation: Ali Mohaqq, Mashhad: Samt Publications.
- Rafi, Hossein (2018), political culture; A conceptual and theoretical survey, Tehran: Mehr Publications. <http://tinyurl.com/yraue95w>
- Zareei, Arman (2009), The influence of globalization on Iran's political culture, Tehran: Open Publications. <http://tinyurl.com/57dezsm>
- sample; Michael (2014), "Challenges of political development in Afghanistan", Daily website, available at: www.dailyafghanistan.com
- Qadri, Ali (2012), "The role of political culture in development", Daily website, available at: www.dailyafghanistan.com
- The new constitution of Afghanistan was approved. 2003 <http://tinyurl.com/mrx6d6x8>
- Qadiri, Arin (2020), "Nationalism and its negative effect on the development of Afghanistan", Center for Strategic Studies of the Presidency of the Republic, available at: www.css.ir
- Kashani, Sara (1998)"Violation of Women's Rights in Afghanistan", Women's Rights Magazine, Vol. 2 <http://tinyurl.com/2jtbbr37>
- Kazem, Seyed Abdaleh (2005), Afghan women are under the pressure of tradition and renewal, California: Publications and Printing. <http://tinyurl.com/4x9kds3x>
- Kazami; Ali Asghar (1997), Modernist Crisis and Political Culture, Tehran: Qoms Publishing. <http://tinyurl.com/2a99fx29>
- Noori, Ramesh (2013), "Globalization and Political Development in Post-Taliban Afghanistan", Khorasan Zamin website, available at: khorasanzamen.net. www
- Dalton, Russel (2007). Afghanistan and Democracy in the Asia Foundation, state. Building political process and Human security in Afghanistan