Compartmentalized Culture

Reflection on the Political Culture of Afghanistan

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Kabul Forum for Democracy

Kabul Forum for Democracy

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Report Summary

Political culture, as a subset of the general culture of a society, has a special place in the study of social sciences. Given that the public policymakers of countries, with a relatively minimal understanding of the political culture of their societies, undertake the formulation of public policies, attention to this part of social science studies has been on the agenda of many social science researchers. Attention to political culture, entered a new phase with the systematic studies of Almond and Verba. The results of their field-comparative research have become the dominant model of research in this field. The results of Almond and Verba's research have generally led to three types political culture limited, subordinate and participatory political cultures or a combination of these types. Based on the pattern of Almond and Verba; this study seeks to identify two general issues. First, what kind of political culture do the people of Afghanistan have? And second, what are the influential components of Afghanistan's political culture? This study has been done with a questionnaire sent to 384 people consisting of university professors, students, civil society activists, government employees, employees of private organizations, self-employed people and ordinary people, in consideration of demographic variables such as age, ethnicity, gender, education, occupation, religion, language, income and province. In this study, six

dimensions including religion, ethnicity, democracy, national attitude, economic attitude and international attitude in the political culture of Afghanistan have been studied based on the contextual variables. This research has analyzed the political culture of Afghanistan in three parts: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed. In the first part, 384 questionnaires in proportion to populations in ten provinces of Afghanistan (Kabul, Herat, Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, Ghazni, Badakhshan, Faryab, Bamyan and Nimroz) were distributed and then their data were analyzed by SPSS software. In the qualitative section, after analyzing the quantitative research data, other questions arose that needed further explanation in order to determine the political culture of Afghanistan. Accordingly, based on the content analysis method, the questions were discussed with 8 of the best experts in political and social science in Afghanistan, and then the comprehensive, basic and sub-topics of these interviews were extracted and the content network was drawn. After conducting the qualitative research, a sequential explanatory design was used in the mixed research methods and the quantitative and qualitative data were compared and the final result was extracted from them. Based on mixed research, the following findings have been obtained on the political culture of Afghanistan:

Key Findings

The key findings of the research are divided into three sections: quantitative results, qualitative results and combined results.

A: Quantitative Research Findings:

Quantitative analysis of Afghanistan's political culture has been done according to the dimensions and indicators of the research. Important items within the indicators that have created a certain attitude; has also been analyzed.

Religion Dimension

In this dimension, respondents have shown that they believe in a religious state when asked about the relationship between religion and government. They have made the religiosity of the government the most important criterion for its acceptance; and most have expressed the least opposition towards laws that have their origin in religion. In their view, religious schools are as important as universities, and they have advised the government to consult ulema in political matters. Young people between the ages of 20 and 30 have expressed the greatest belief in the involvement of religion in politics and the involvement of religious institutions in politics.

From the ethnic point of view, Pashtuns and Tajiks have the strongest belief in the interference of the religious dimension; from an income perspective, those of a higher income typically hold less belief in religious rule. Although, men are slightly more likely than women to vote for religious rule; women's trust in the religious government and religious institutions also significant. Young people who are pursuing a bachelor's degree are more likely than other degrees to be in favor of religion in politics.

Although, religious beliefs about the religious dimension have been close, Sunnis have more faith in religious rule and religious institutions than Shiites. While Persian speakers have shown less confidence in this dimension, other including; Pashto, Uzbek and Baluchi languages have shown higher confidence. From a provincial perspective, Nangarhar has the most trust in religious role and Herat has the least. In general, respondents have shown that they attach great importance to religious government and religious institutions, but accuracy in response to the various statements indicates that they do not want a purely religious and ideological government. Because they have considered the role of Ulema as a secondary and advisory role, and they have opposed a government led by religious scholars, and have considered the laws in question as important alongside Islamic laws. Meanwhile,

Younger bachelor's degree college students, have shown more radical.

Ethnic Dimension

This dimension is considered the strongest dimension of Afghanistan's political culture. Almost, all contextual variables believe in ethnic politics. Such a stance is a clear sign of ethnic politics in the country. Despite a strong belief in ethnic politics in the country, most respondents did not believe much in traditional institutions.

Democracy Dimension

The democracy variable in Afghan political culture is measured by indicators such as political awareness, political participation, political trust, sense of political efficiency, trust in the role of women in politics, and evaluation of political performance. Respondents' political awareness has been shown to be remarkably good, but at the same time, their political participation has been reported to be low. While the sense of efficiency was low among respondents, their confidence in the political structure was relatively good. Respondents had a positive view of the role of women in politics, but generally did not evaluate the government's performance well. Confidence in democracy has had many similarities and differences between different parts of the country.

In terms of age, almost all age groups have the same view of democracy, only people between ages 50 to 60 feel a stronger sense of political efficiency. Ethnically, the view of democracy has been slightly different. Uzbeks have shown the most confidence in the political structure, while at the same time showing the least trust in the political performance of government officials. Pashtuns have the least belief in the role of women in politics. Attitudes toward democracy have been almost identical in terms of income and gender. In terms of education, the higher the education, the greater the sense of efficiency and belief in the role of women, and among the degrees, the doctorate degree has shown more political confidence in the existing structures. In the job variable, university professors and NGO staffs have more confidence in democracy, and physicians have less faith in democracy. The religious view of democracy has been similar between the Shiite and Sunni religions. Linguistically, attitudes toward democracy have varied, with Uzbeks having more political confidence than other languages and Persian speakers have shown more trust to the role of women in politics and political participation. Provincially, Herat has shown the greatest belief in the role of women in politics, and Bamyan has the most sense of efficiency in the system, although the rate of dissatisfaction with government performance is almost the same in

all provinces; Badakhshan and Kandahar have expressed more dissatisfaction.

National Attitude Dimension

National attitudes among respondents were above average. This means that a large part of the Afghan people has a low national attitude. For example, almost 30% of respondents do not feel proud of being Afghan citizens, they are not proud of national symbols, but they are more proud of the country's heroes, scholars and scientific elites. The study of contextual variables shows that young people and adults have a higher national attitude and middle-aged people have a lower national attitude. Sadat and Pashtuns have a higher national attitude than other ethnic groups, and women have a higher national attitude than men. In terms of education, people with a bachelor's degree have a higher national attitude. In terms of religion, Sunnis are more inclined to this dimension; Pashtuns and Baluchis have a more national attitude. Provincially, Bamyan has the highest national attitude. Interestingly, the only contextual variable that reduced the standard deviation to zero - meaning that all respondents fully agreed - is the national attitude of Bamyan. Badakhshan has the lowest national attitude and Herat and Kandahar are almost in the middle.

Economic Attitude Dimension

Respondents' economic attitudes were generally high, but data analysis showed that respondents believed more in the state economy than in the free market. This variable is important because almost all contextual variables have the same attitude to it.

International Attitude Dimension

The international attitude in Afghanistan is below average. But this attitude also shows some differences according to the contextual variables. Adults have shown a higher international attitude, and the international attitude of Hazaras and Sadats has been higher than other ethnic groups. While women and Shiites have shown a greater international outlook; Doctors have shown the least international attitude. Provincially, Herat had the highest international attitude and Badakhshan had the lowest.

B. Qualitative Research Finding

This section consists of analysis obtained from data based on semi-structured interviews. These findings are presented in continuation of previous discussions and in order to strengthen the quantitative results in order to achieve deeper analysis and clarification of issues related to the political culture of Afghanistan.

In order to obtain qualitative data, the researcher conducted the interviews in person and the interviewees are considered experts in Afghanistan's socio-political affairs. The interview process was such that some of them lasted for about ninety minutes. From the sixth case onwards, research reached theoretical saturation. But for more assurance, the interviews continued until the eighth case. Interview questions are derived from quantitative results. With an aim to what is the subject, why is the subject and to explain the issues in more depth, the questionnaires were designed in the form of interview questions and shared with the interviewees. The results obtained are as follows:

Comprehensive Theme: Gap, First and Last Letter

It is possible to organize the themes under multiple categories; but with a closer look at the basic themes it is found, that the vast majority of the extracted themes can be summed up in one word "Gap". The themes and data of this study indicate that the political structure of Afghanistan is multi-faceted. Religious, ethnic, political, gender, linguistic, generational, occupational divisions, and finally the gap between the state and the nation; these categories were all mentioned by the interviewees in the discussion of Afghanistan's political culture.

For this reason, all categories are defined in the context of a comprehensive theme and will be explained below.

Multiple Separation of Religions

This category contains four sub-themes, each addressing issues such as the entanglement of religion with social tradition, the fusion of religion with politics or the instrumentalization of religion and religious beliefs, social distrust of religious agents, and finally the institutional weakness of religion in Afghan society. Finally, all of this points to the fact that religion is one of the most important dimensions and components of political culture in Afghanistan.

Traditional Religion and Religious Tradition

The dominant view of religion in Afghanistan is different from many interpretations in the Islamic world. In many cases, the social traditions in this country have become entwined with religious teachings or religious teachings have taken traditional shape. For this reason, in some cases, some religious readings are not accepted anywhere in the world except Afghanistan.

Instrumental Beliefs

This theme refers to a point that can be referred to as the instrumentalization of religion and religious beliefs. Though the instrumentalization of religion in the contemporary history of Afghanistan - especially in recent decades - and the presence of religion in politics, in many cases, religion has become a tool in the hands of religious activists or those in power and politics.

Unfaithfulness

Instrumentation and consequently, possible abuses of religion and religious beliefs of the society have caused the decrease of social trust in religious individuals and organizations and the attitude of people towards the agents of this institution to be aligned with distrust.

Institutional Weakness

This refers to the fact that the situation in Afghanistan, compared to other Islamic countries, has prevented religion from becoming an institution. For this reason, it has not been possible to produce coherent religious ideas in Afghanistan.

Ethnicity, a colorful component

Ethnicity is probably the most important feature of Afghanistan's political culture, and this is not a baseless claim. The issue of

ethnicity and ethnic approaches play a significant role in all socio-political relations of Afghanistan. The socio-historical structure and more recently, international-political developments have also reinforced this emergence. This category refers to all ethnic relations that affect political culture and includes eight themes.

The Field of Profit-seeking

What is meant by this theme; or, the implications of this theme are that the issue of ethnicity in Afghanistan, more than anything else, has become a platform for the interests of individuals and a tool in the hands of politicians and tribal elders to achieve political-economic power and the acquisition or maintenance of social capital.

Injustice Resort

The issue of ethnicity in Afghanistan can be analyzed in two variables, action and reaction. This is shown in the way that the ethnic and totalitarian behaviors of the current ruling organizations have caused other people to use ethnic tools as a way to oppress and sue. In a way, ethnicity has always been an injustice shelter for the current powers in the static flow margin power of Afghanistan.

Geography of Minorities

Ethnic diversity is not unique to Afghanistan. But a country with Afghan ethnicities is also unique in the world. The ethnic situation of this country is such that there is no superior or dominant ethnic group – quantitatively. At least to date, no census data has been provided based on population. The current state of power distribution is also the result of a political agreement, not a statistical output. In the geography of Afghanistan, small and large minorities are living, the roots of the majority of these tribes are outside the borders and in neighboring countries. Therefore, this issue has turned Afghanistan into a geography of minorities.

The Great National Lie

This is still a problem in Afghanistan as whispers of the nation-state transition are heard in the new era. The government is in the most possible fragile position; and the entanglement of ethnicity with all components of the structure of society has turned the "nation" into a terrifying joke. Leaving aside political and media compliments and dealing with issues realistically, the reality is that ethnic attitudes in Afghanistan are so colorful which has left no room for a national attitude and makes it look like a big lie.

Subscribe to Differentiation

In a multi-sectarian society such as Afghanistan, where ethnicity, tribe, religion, language, race, region, etc. are separated, there are also factors that bring individuals and groups closer together despite being traditionally far from each other. Literacy, urbanization, a single immigration pattern, and shared cultural contexts are among the factors that bring different ethnic groups together in some cases.

Qualitative Minority

In some of the quantitative findings of this study, the results show that the Shiites of Afghanistan have different international and economic attitudes towards others. In order to have a deeper understanding of the issue, in interviews with experts, This issue was raised with them, and because the answers were consistent, thematicization of the subject was provided. This suggests that this religious minority has a more positive view of the presence and expansion of international institutions for reasons such as literacy, religious tolerance, and historical repression.

Escape from Citizenship

Social unrest, ethnic identities, and widespread and organized discrimination in Afghanistan's power structure have left a significant portion of the population dissatisfied with Afghan

citizenship. This is close to 30% in the statistical population of this study. Thirty percent do not depend on this identity, and if it helps, they will probably prefer other identities.

Xenophobia

This is an excerpt from the discussion of issues related to people's attitudes towards international institutions. The findings show that "xenophobia" is one of the main themes impacting the political psychology of the Afghan people. But the interesting point in this finding, and comparing it with previous findings in the same category, is the contradiction and confusion that society is struggling with. On one hand, society does not tolerate insiders; its people flee under various pretexts and still revolve around the tribe and are at odds with non-natives. On the other hand, a significant portion of these people are seeking foreign citizenship. Perhaps xenophobia in this geography means that everyone who is not from within one's own tribe is considered an alien.

The Political System, from Interpretation to Narration

This is the third topic in a series of topics discussed in the context of Afghan political culture and includes three themes. What follows in this topic is a discussion of partisanship and partisan experience, and the characteristics of democracy in Afghanistan.

Democracy without democrats

In this context, the issue of lack of democratic behavior in society and even in the field of politics and political activists in Afghanistan is mentioned.

Worthless Method:

This theme is in line with the previous theme and complements its concepts and points out that the current political system in Afghanistan is a non-indigenous system where the social norms of this society and democratic values are not institutionalized in Afghanistan and no attempt is made in this direction. Democracy in this society has been reduced to a minimum, such as elections, and there is no democratic culture.

Party and Bitter Historical Experience

Political action in the form of active parties based on democratic values is one of the characteristics of successful democracies. But Afghanistan's democracy not only lacks it, but the experience of the Afghan people and politics of the party and party actions is not pleasant. Incidents of the years of the coup, the war with foreigners, the civil wars, and the subsequent behaviors and decisions, are among the factors causing society's distrust of the parties.

The Insecure Margin of Women

The fate of the women of this geography in bitterness and discrimination is the same as that of its men, but with greater breadth and depth. In the history of Afghanistan, the names of women have always been written in the margins. Social traditions, misconceptions, little awareness, and lack of global governance have all contributed to this marginalization; marginalization that is accompanied by all kinds of insecurity. Nevertheless, it was expected that after the developments of 2001, there would be a fundamental change in the position of women in Afghan politics. But the prevailing social stereotypes, the exhibitory demeanor of politicians, and the projecting of the issue of women's litigation maintained the hierarchical and marginal position of women. By contrast, there is an increasing trend of class consciousness that has made this class - at least in cities - one of the pioneers of social change. In two contexts, this refers to the current position of women in Afghanistan.

Hierarchical Position

Based on this, which itself reflects the findings of a qualitative number of the study, Afghan society does not have the spirit of accepting women as presidents and considers women only for secondary subsidiary roles in the socio-political arena.

Pioneers of Change

For a variety of reasons, minorities show successful behaviors in turning challenge into opportunity. As presented in this study, religious minorities also performed better than others in aligning with international attitudes. And women have more national, economic and international attitudes than men. This theme seeks to investigate the issue and the ponderation of the issue.

Contradictory Approach of Government and Nation

Afghanistan after 2001, by behest of its international partners, adopted the free market as its economic system. However, the economic structure of this country is still in its most traditional form and the economic institution, like other institutions, is a beginner and inefficient. Apart from this, the collective spirit is not interested in the free market and at the same time, corruption, rent and mafia are considered the consequences of this system.

This category, with its two sub-themes, refers to the contradiction between the government and the nation's approach based on the government's efforts to expand the free market and the nation's interest in government intervention, as well as establishing a business relationship with the government.

Imposing of Free Market

This theme is derived from the issues mentioned in the quantitative results of the research, according to which members of the statistical community of the research, consider the free market economic system as an imposed thing and have shown their interest in the state economy.

Get used to the pocket of the government

The historical dominance of state-owned economies, the lack of entrepreneurial and employment opportunities and capacities, the lack of job security in the private sector, the lack of a pension system in the private sector, etc. have all aroused the interest of the Afghan people in being employed in the public sector, even with less benefits. This theme is presented in the form of this content.

Out of Sight

This is the sixth and final category of qualitative findings of this research. A category that includes four themes, and each theme refers to a separate area of cultural issues in society. Issues that are usually not a focus of public attention and are rarely heard about. From generational and occupational gaps, to the different characteristics of the Persian language in creating social differences.

Persian Language, the Cause of Difference

The richness and antiquity of the Persian language and the multiplicity of sources have made the users of this language have more access to scientific sources and have different attitudes towards socio-political issues. Of course, we should not forget that the Persian languages of Afghanistan are generally more urban than others. And access to educational and cultural services has always been greater in cities.

Culture and Cultural Islands

Afghanistan is an Algerian community of cultures. However, common immigration languages and experiences have led to some culturally common islands, although some islands are geographically or ethnically distant. For example, the cultural attitudes of Bamyan are close to Herat. Kandahar and Nangarhar are similar. This point is mentioned in this context.

Youth transformation

Afghanistan's younger generation, with greater access to education, media and modern communication technologies, has different demands on their fathers, and the generation gap can be seen in this. This is a rupture that began with the transformation of intellectual foundations and has a long way to go.

The Small World of Doctors

The doctors and medical communities in any country usually has better and more economic assists in addition to cultural and social assets. On the other hand, this group is less involved in political issues for reasons such as educational and professional environment and preservation of socio-economic assets. The quantitative findings of this study show that the medical community has a more conservative attitude than university professors and employees of private institutions.

C. Combined Research Findings

Combining the results of this research is done through the integration of the most important categories obtained in the qualitative analysis of research with the results of quantitative data analysis. The fundamental and pervasive category is "social divide."

A quantitative analysis of the characteristics of Afghanistan's political culture shows that Afghanistan is severely fragmented. Analysis of research data reveals various gaps that are classified into eight major gaps. These gaps are analyzed by 5 dimensions and 13 research indicators, as follows:

    a.   Ethnic gap

    b.   Religious gap

c. Language gap

d. Gender gap

e. The gap between tradition and modernity

f. Class gap

g. Generation gap

h. Regional gap.

Content Analysis

Qualitative research content analysis shows that the five main elements of politics, ethnicity, economy, religion and culture have categorized the political culture of Afghanistan:

Politics

The three categories of a) democracy without democrats, b) method without character and party, and c) bitter historical experience, have emerged from the qualitative research, which has emerged in quantitative research. In the index of political participation, the categories of denial of membership and weak interest in participating in elections; and vice versa, interest in political debates and interest in working in one of the political positions, are obtained. These findings reflect the demoralized approach to democracy in Afghanistan. It is neither possible nor useful to be interested in democracy without practicing it, but this belief leads

to the formation of a democracy without democrats in Afghanistan. On the other hand, a high percentage of suspicion of the party indicates the partisanship of Afghanistan's political culture. While the index of political awareness indicates the high awareness of respondents, in the index of role of Women in Political Participation reinforces the above three categories. In one statement, respondents acknowledge women's political prudence, and in another, they do not consider them worthy of leading the country. These two items correctly identify the uncharacteristic method. Low index of political efficiency and evaluation of political performance is another reason that strengthens the concept of democracy without democrats.

Ethnicity

The three categories of utilitarianism ground, injustice shelter and xenophobia have become categories in qualitative research related to ethnicity and ethnic relations in the country. These categories have existed in quantitative research and in different indicators in a different way. In the index of the role of ethnicity in politics, one can clearly see ethnic utilitarianism in voting and taking vote. Sometimes this ethnocentrism in minorities, in addition to being utilitarian, can be consider injustice shelter, because they find a way to get rid of ethnic discrimination, to cling to ethnic leaders

and their ethnic politics, and even to the international organizations and institutions. Anti-xenophobia is another category that is included in the quantitative indicators of the role of ethnicity in politics, national attitude and international attitude. Relatively high pride in everything we do, in the national attitude index, with little interest in international organizations shows the alienation of the country's political culture.

Economy

Economic attitude in the quantitative research shows that the respondents prefer the state economy to the free market economy. According to experts, such a preference is imposed by the free market, and the long-standing habit of the people of this geography is in the pocket of the government.

Religion

Qualitative data of the research indicate three main categories of integration of tradition and religion, instrumentalization of beliefs, and distrust and institutional weakness in the element of religion. Quantitative data have clarified these categories in the indicators of belief in religious affairs and belief in religious institutions. Observing the statements of these two indicators shows that people with high religious beliefs do not trust the religious institutions. Qualitative research experts believe that this issue arises from the

traditional religious beliefs of the people and the instrumentalization of these beliefs in religious authorities. The answer of some experts in case of why trust in religious institutions is less than religious beliefs, have been institutional weakness in religious institutions.

Culture

The categories of gender hierarchies, cultural islands, linguistic differences and generation gap are four cultural categories that have been obtained from qualitative research. Gender hierarchy is included in the index of the role of women in political participation in qualitative data. We have described the generation gap in the section of social gaps, and cultural islands are evident in the analysis of the contextual variables of the province. These islands are sometimes manifested in the role of provinces and sometimes in the form of language, religion and ethnicity. Linguistic differences can be seen in the contextual variables of language. Linguistic differences and similarities in this variable are well depicted. The main difference in the attitude of Persian speakers is with the speakers of other languages.

Result of interpretation

In interpreting the quantitative and qualitative data, an attempt has been made to explain the components of Afghanistan's political culture and the nature of this political culture.

Components of Afghanistan's Political Culture

The components of political culture are derived from quantitative and qualitative results or even categories derived from the integration of quantitative and qualitative data. These components help to understand the overall political culture of Afghanistan, as each can explain a part of this culture.

- Political Religion
- Tribal Culture
- Ethnicity
- Democracy
- Dual National Attitude
- Attitudes of the State Economy
- Anti-xenophobia (dual international attitude)
- Political protest (existence of a protesting political group)
- Disappointment
- Contradiction
- Confused Young Generation
- Cautious Feminism

- Immigration Culture

- Conservatism

- Partisanship

- Island Culture

- Axis Personality

- Populism

- Negative Nationalism

- Regularity

- Duality of Personality and Thoughts

- Patriarchy

- Self-righteousness

- Low Social Mobility

- Identity Crisis

- The Illusion of Conspiracy Theory

- Projecting

- Tyranny

- Pretend

- Self-censorship

- Confidence Crisis.

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The Nature of Afghanistan's Political Culture

Assessing the nature of Afghan political culture in this study is based on Almond and Verba's famous theory of political culture. In their view, the political culture of a country can be a limited political culture, a subordinate political culture, a participatory political culture or a mixture of these three types of culture. To assess the nature of Afghanistan's political culture, we have examined all three types of culture separately with the relevant indicators that we have determined in the quantitative research. But, controversial has been analyzed. The nature of Afghanistan's political culture has also been determined from the perspective of journalistic theory.

A) **Political Culture Based on the Conceptual Framework of Almond and Verba**

Based on the concept of Almond and Verba, the political culture of Afghanistan is examined in three sections. First, the nature of Afghanistan's political culture is evaluated based on the three types of political culture, limited, subordinate and participatory, and second, the nature of Afghanistan's political culture is examined in terms of consensus and conflict-based political cultures. In the last section, political subcultures are analyzed. In the second part, the political culture of Afghanistan is analyzed based on the conceptual framework of the multifaceted political culture of Roozban.

The nature of Afghanistan's political culture has been extracted according to the three types of political culture (limited, subordinate and participatory political culture) according to the main indicators of the research.

Limited Political Culture

According to the four indicators of belief in religious government, trust in religious institutions, ethnic politics and trust in traditional institutions have been examined.

The Religious dimension can be in a limited political culture or a subordinate political culture. If the view of religion is considered as a political ideology, the variable of religion is placed in the subordinate political culture, but if religion is crystallized in the minds as a general and non-ideological belief, it is limited to the characteristics of political culture. However, trust in religious institutions has declined in the political arena. Therefore, this variable can be classified as a limited political culture.

Limited political culture is strong in beliefs and is weak in trust of its institutions. This rightly suggests that a limited political culture has become susceptible to public skepticism and its intellectual foundations have been shaken.

Subordinate Political Culture

According to the two dimensions, economic attitude and national attitude have been studied. Economic attitude is one of the indicators that can be included in subordinate political culture or participatory political culture. As the point analysis of this dimension has shown that respondents are more confident in the state economy, we locate it in a subordinate political culture. Another important point about the economic attitude is that experts consider the respondents' tendency towards the government economic attitude to be due to the poor performance of the free market administrators in Afghanistan and does not mean that the state economy is superior. As has been reported in the analysis of the above data, one-third of respondents did not feel good that they had Afghan citizenship. But experts belief that the national attitude is weaker than the study estimates. In view of these two issues, it can be said that the national attitude and the economic attitude, as reported above, cannot represent a subordinate culture in the country. Subordinate culture itself is subject to other variables such as ideology, ruling party and totalitarian government. Therefore, the subordinate political culture in Afghanistan cannot be very relevant.

Participatory Political Culture

In this study, political awareness, political trust, belief in the political role of women, political trust in current structures, political participation, evaluation of the performance of political agents, sense of political efficiency and international attitude are among the indicators that shape participatory political culture. The three indicators of political awareness, trust in political structures and belief in women's political role-playing are the main indicators that have met with good success in research. But the political participation index, the evaluation of the performance of political agents, the sense of political efficiency and the international attitude have not been well received.

In view of the above, it can be concluded that the participatory political culture in Afghanistan is low. But the qualitative analysis of the research showed that the tendency to the above four indicators is less affected by the general situation in Afghanistan, the effects of which are less and less apparent in the practice of democracy, and this is normal for similar global experiences or in other words, this desire can be enhanced by a democratic and accountable government. The course of Afghanistan's political participation from the first election to the most recent election confirms this.

In a situation where insecurity and widespread corruption are rampant in Afghanistan, it is natural for a sense of efficiency to decline. People will naturally give low marks to government performance. The international attitude is embedded in this type of political culture where the higher the level of participatory political culture in a society, the more pervasive that country's relationship becomes in the context of globalization. Although the international outlook has been generally low, the review of the statements as well as the comments of experts indicate that this low outlook is influenced by the performance of foreign forces and international institutions in Afghanistan.

The Nature of Afghanistan's Political Culture

In a general study of the nature of Afghanistan's political culture, it can be concluded that the political culture that governs Afghanistan's relations is a limited-participatory culture with traces of subordinate culture. Despite believing in a participatory political culture, this culture has not yet been able to free itself from the shackles of traditional culture, and a glimpse of a subordinate culture can still be seen within it. Given the existing social divisions as well as the huge differences between the political cultures of the provinces, the political culture of Afghanistan is

generalized to a fragmented political culture from a journalistic perspective.

Controversial Political Culture

Examination of the results of quantitative, qualitative and mixed data shows that according to Almond and Verba theory, a conflicting political culture prevails in Afghan society. This conflict can be seen in social divisions, institutional weakness, mistrust, and cultural islands.

Political Subcultures

Almond and Verba discuss political subcultures, some of which are discussed in the Conceptual Framework section. Accordingly, social divisions, cultural islands, linguistic, religious, and ethnic differences reflect different subcultures in Afghanistan.

If subcultures are confronted with a policy of hegemony and discrimination, they become decentralized islands, but in a peaceful, non-discriminatory environment, subcultures can achieve unity in plurality.

B) **The Fragmented Political Culture of the Daily**

According to Rosenban, there is a fragmented political culture in countries where people do not have the same views on political goals and the means to achieve them. The results of Afghanistan's

political culture, with its social divisions, cultural islands, and mistrust, show that Afghanistan has a fragmented political culture.

Proposed Programs and Policies

The proposed programs and policies are divided into research and applied sections, each of which can be effective in achieving the objectives of the research:

Research Suggestions

- Since this study has distributed 384 questionnaires in ten provinces of Afghanistan according to Cochran's formula in quantitative research method and the results of the study indicate this sample size, it is recommended to future researchers that if they decided to do the same research, to select all provinces with a higher sample size. One way is to select a research unit for each province and measure the results of the set of units together.

- Researchers can, based on the results of this research, undertake other research. Each of the components derived from Afghanistan's political culture can be considered as an independent study.

- If researchers are interested in similar research, they can add a research questionnaire including an indicator of the human rights attitude of the Afghan people.

- Any other research in the field of Afghan political culture should also consider Afghan villages.

- Research can be considered as part of university courses in the fields of sociology and law and political science. According to the

results of the research, universities can take into account the political culture of Afghanistan in their curricula. And since many of the respondents were students, the data of this research can be useful in improving the educational situation of universities.

Practical Suggestions

The nature of Afghanistan's political culture shows that it fluctuates between a limited and a declining participatory political culture. A strong and efficient government needs a participatory political culture to support development programs. Accordingly, there is an urgent need for the government to use all its facilities and capacities to bring a participatory political culture to life in the country. Achieving such a goal requires actions such as:

- Develop a cultural policy strategy that can formulate a formal agreement and consensus of political agents in the country's cultural movement. The Ministry of Information and Culture, in consultation with social groups, political parties and affairs experts, should formulate the country's cultural strategy taking into account the principle of cultural pluralism and respect for the country's cultural identities.

In the age of cultural globalization, there is a need for a cultural development plan. This development must be considered in two dimensions. First, mobilize ordinary people in the center of the country's cultural policy strategy and second, represent the political

culture of Afghanistan abroad. The Ministry of Information and Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be effective in this regard at home and abroad by establishing a strategy for the country's cultural policy.

- The results of the research indicate several social gaps. Some of these slots are active and some are enabled. The country's political agents, if they do not take these gaps seriously, in the future, these gaps will become wide-ranging conflicts. Disabling these gaps requires planning in the fields of culture, economy and politics of the country, so that it shows prosperity, responsibility, tolerance and cultural pluralism. The results of the research indicate a kind of extremism based on religion. Solving such a problem requires the need for cultural policy-making, a focus on domestic religious schools, and a restriction on militant foreign readings. Attention to Hanafi and Jafari jurisprudence as well as Khorasani mysticism are the first steps of such a campaign.

- Ethnicity has penetrated into the fabric of the country's political culture. Ethnicity is a scourge that can uproot the foundations of social harmony. The government, social institutions, political parties and cultural figures must look for solutions to unbridled ethnicity. Decentralization of the political system, pluralistic cultural policy and inter-ethnic dialogue can be the first ways to solve this problem.

- Although the people's trust in democracy has not yet been lost, low political confidence in the government, a lack of a sense of political efficiency, and low political participation show that democracy in Afghanistan faces serious challenges. Without democracy, progress and development are almost impossible. The government and the people must be diligent in maintaining democratic gains. To achieve such an important goal, democratic structures need to be strengthened. The laws of the country should be seriously reviewed. Reforms in the election law and electoral mechanisms that can guarantee transparent elections are considered urgent reforms. Creating jobs, fighting corruption, eliminating discrimination and ethnicity from the country's politics and culture are some of the measures that can save democracy.

The results of the research show that the national attitude of the Afghan people is alarmingly low. For the people of Afghanistan with whatever affiliation they have, To be able to relate to this country, a general review of previous policy-making must be undertaken. Structures, laws, distribution of power and wealth should provide the context for people to feel a sense of belonging to this geography. The most important step can be the recognition of cultural sub-identities and their fundamental rights.

Unbridled free market is another problem that has made people's economic attitudes pessimistic. The government should closely monitor the market so that we do not see more market turmoil.

- The international attitude of the Afghan people has declined and trust in international institutions is waning. In a situation where the globalization of culture is one of the tangible realities of human life, breaking away from the international community is not in the interest of any state. Investigating the reasons for pessimism in international institutions and providing a solution to it is an urgent need of our country. Areas of internal and external distrust of international institutions should be explored and planned for. Perhaps the formation of a joint committee between the government and international institutions can help solve this problem.

- The government, political parties and civil society institutions can use the results of this study, in accordance with the country's political culture, to plan and implement future actions based on the realities of the country's political culture.

- In the end, the government should consider a center for the development of the country. This center can be an independent ministry or at least a directorate general that follows the country's development plans. The Development Center should be the crossroads of the various thoughts of all the people of Afghanistan, to find practical and constructive solutions in the development of the country. The center should consist of leading experts in political science, international relations, sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, theology, and all disciplines that deal

with development in some way. The solutions of this center should be considered as the chapter of addressing the development plans of the country.

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