ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

USA'S NATION BUILDING IN AFGHANISTAN; 2001-2021

MASTER'S THESIS

Abdul Fayez NASIRI

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

ANKARA, 2022

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APPROVAL PAGE

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PLAGIARISM PAGE

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise I accept all legal responsibility. 09/02/2022.

Abdul Fayez NASIRI

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In the end I want to dedicate my research for the hopeless people of Afghanistan who suffered from the endless wars since ages, I pray for peace and prosperity days to prevail for my beloved country soon.

Abdul Fayez Nasiri

ABSTRACT

USA's Nation Building in Afghanistan

It had been about two decades since the U.S. Army and its allies intervention in Afghanistan after the 11th Sep 2001 attack on World Trade Centre, USA. The USA and its Allies came to fight against the Al-Qaeda and Taliban, which were accounted as the terrorist groups who attacked World Trade Centre. Consequently, USA army and its allies have left Afghanistan in august 2021 and the Taliban retook the power and control of all the country. Since then, the challenge of nation-building in Afghanistan has been raised. This thesis investigates the nation-building in Afghanistan between 2001- 2021. Qualitative analysis method with Likert scale is used in this study. The questionnaire composed of demographic and 24 main questions were distributed to collect data from Afghanistan citizens, pre-existing administration in Afghanistan and Afghan diasporas across the world.

The intention of conducting this research is to investigate the United States nation-building in Afghanistan. The statement of this research has been raised due to the severe situation in Afghanistan; increase in violence, the rise of drug and human trafficking, increasing of corruption rate, internal and external displacement of Afghanistan people, the collapse of Afghanistan central government, repowering of Taliban and emergence of another civil war in the country. Thus, the research has developed the questions; does the U.S. nation-building process assists in stabilizing and sustaining Afghanistan? What are the challenges and obstacles tracing the nation-building in Afghanistan? How to establish a democratic and stable nation in Afghanistan? Since this research is scientific then the hypothesis of the research has been created as; the United States Nation-building processes do not assess the stabilizing of Afghanistan. The findings from this research are the USA and its allies failed to legitimately assist to stabilize and establish nation-building in Afghanistan. The research finds that the refugees and displacement of Afghanistan people, good governance and the rule of law, media and freedom of speech, the Afghanistan economic development projects strength the nation-building of Afghanistan. Nation-building boils down to " expanding the circle" of moral concern. That is why successful nation-states – large or small, rich or poor – have one thing in common: citizens' sense of a shared past and future.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Nation-building, USA.

ÖZET

ABD’nin Afganistan’daki Ulus İnşası

ABD Ordusu ve müttefiklerinin 11 Eylül 2001 saldırısından sonra Afganistan'a müdahalesinin üzerinden yaklaşık yirmi yıl geçmiştir. ABD ve müttefikleri, ABD'deki Dünya Ticaret Merkezi'ne saldıran terörist gruplar olarak nitelendirilen El Kaide ve Taliban'a karşı savaşmak için Afganistan’a geldiler. Uzun süren savaşın sonunda ABD ordusu ve müttefikleri Afganistan'ı terk ettiler ve Taliban iktidarı tekrar ele geçirmiştir ve tüm ülkeyi kontrol alına alınmıştır. ABD’nin Afganistan'a gelmesi ile ulus inşa etme düşüncesi gündeme gelmiştir. Bu tezde, 2001 yılından 2021 yılına kadar Afganistan'a ulus inşa süreci araştırılmıştır. Bu tezin hazırlığı aşamasında veri toplamak için Afganistan’ın eski yöneticileri ile, Afganistan’da ve Afganistan’ın dışında yaşayan vatandaşlardan faydalanılmıştır. Bu verileri toplamak için yapılan anketlerde Likert ölçekli Nitel analiz metodu kullanılmıştır.

Bu tezin ana konusunun arka plandaki nedenleri; şiddetin artması, uyuşturucu ve insan kaçakçılığının artması, yolsuzluğun artması, Afganistan halkının ülke içinde göçmen ve diğer ülkelerde mülteci durumuna düşmesi, Afgan merkezi hükümetinin çökmesi ve ülkede yeni bir iç savaşın ortaya çıkma tehlikesi ile birlikte, Taliban'ın yeniden güçlenmesidir. Bu sebeplerden dolayı bu tez için şu sorular geliştirilmiştir; ABD’nin Afganistan’daki Ulus inşa süreci Afganistan'ı istikrara kavuşturmaya ve istikrarı sürdürmeye yardımcı oldu mu? Afganistan'da ulus inşa etmenin zorlukları ve engelleri nelerdir? Afganistan'da demokratik ve istikrarlı bir ulus nasıl kurulur?

Araştırma bilimsel olduğu için araştırmanın hipotezi oluşturulmuştur; ABD’nin Afganistan’daki ulus inşa süreci başarısız olmuştur. Bu araştırmadan elde edilen bulgular, ABD ve Müttefikleri, Afganistan'da bir ulus inşa etmek ve istikrara kavuşturmak için yardımcı olmamıştır. Araştırma; Afganistan'ın ulus inşası için ABD’nin dış politikası, iyi yönetimin ve hukukun üstünlüğünün, medyanın ve ifade özgürlüğünün, Afgan mültecilerin durumu ve iç göçlerin, sosyo-ekonomik projelerin, güvenlik ve barışın Afganistan'ın ulus inşasını güçlendirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Ulus inşası, ortak bilincin çemberini genişletmiştir. Bu nedenle başarılı ulus-devletlerin – büyük ya da küçük, zengin ya da fakir – ortak bir yanı vardır: vatandaşların ortak bir geçmiş ve gelecek duygusu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afganistan, ulus inşası, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANSF	: Afghanistan National Defense and Security Force
CBRR	: Cross Boarder Return and Reintegration
HAP	: Humanitarian Assistance Program
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
ISAF	: International Security Assistance Force (for Afghanistan 2001-2014)
NATO	: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USA	: United States of America

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Issue

Afghanistan is a country of remarkable history with the name that means "Land of the Afghans". Afghanistan is a section of central Asia rich in art, architecture, and archaeology. It wasn't until the middle of the nineteenth century (1857) that Afghanistan officially defined its borders. For centuries, the region had held historical significance because of its location, Straddling trades routes between the Indian subcontinent, Iran, and central Asia. It was the territory that tempted conquerors and countries (Whitlock,2021).

Today, Afghanistan shares its borders with six countries of Central Asia and the Middle East. Its western edge, eastern and southern borders- a boundary line that has been hotly disputed for centuries (Nyron and Seekins, 1986). Afghanistan has 3,538 miles (5,529 kilometers) of land borders and is roughly the size of the state of Texas. It is a country without seaports or harbors. In its earliest history, Afghanistan was likely home to Paleolithic man, based on artifacts found on its northern territories, such as parts of a Neanderthal skull (Romano, 2002).

Historians also believes that it was one of the regions where humans were first domesticating animals and plants, indicating an advanced civilization. Despite these discoveries, today, Afghanistan remains one of the world's least developed countries. Due to its location, Afghanistan has been a hub of diverse cultures, prompting one historian to dub it the 'roundabout of the ancient world'. Those who settled included the Persians, under Darius the Great (522-486 BCE), and the Greeks, led by Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE). Most of the building’s towns in the big cities that are found in recent years are built on Greek foundations (Nyron and Seekins, 1986).

Afghanistan, mainly rural Afghanistan, provides an excellent example of a place where tribal and ethnic groups prioritize the individual's choices and preferences. As a result, Afghanistan politics must become intimately familiar with such groups and their relationships with one another (Wahab, 2007). The outstanding social feature of life in Afghanistan is its local tribal or ethnic divisions. People's primary loyalty is, respectively,

to their kin, village, tribe, or ethnic group. Afghanistan's population is divided into myriad groups at the local level (Barfield, 2010).

The most important of these by population are the, Tajiks Pashtuns, Hazaras, Uzbeks, Turkmen, and Aimaqs, although several smaller other ethnic groups have regionally essential roles. Afghanistan is one of the least developed countries globally, located in South Asia, bordering Iran's Islamic Republic from the west, Pakistan from south and east, China from the northeast, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan from the north (National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment, 2014).



Figure 1.1. Geographical location of Afghanistan (source from MoBTA)

It is located between latitude 29°35′ and 38°40′ degrees north and longitude 60°31′ and 75°00′ east. Its total land area is 652,864 km2 which is slightly smaller than the state of Texas. 2012-2013 estimated population is 25,500,100, excluding temporary Afghanistan refugees living in Iran and Pakistan, and only about 24% of the population lives in urban

areas. Afghanistan has an arid and semiarid climate with rugged mountains and some plains in the north and southwest (NOA,2008).

Afghanistan has a long history of social unrest and ethnic conflict. The manipulation of the education system by internal and external powers for political purposes has been one of the significant contributors to these divisions. As Afghanistan attempts to build peace and maintain co-existence after more than 20 years of violence, there continues to be limited attention given to one of the main contributors to the social divisions. More than four million children returned to school in Afghanistan, after the first two years of peace.

The United Nations and other international donors spent hundreds of millions of dollars on ensuring that the physical provision of schools for children is available. However, in 2005, three years into 'the new era for Afghanistan,' teachers continue to teach ethnic hatred and intolerance. The textbooks continue to be highly politicized, promoting social divisions and violence, seemingly unnoticed by the International Community, whose expensive investments fuel rather than restrain this problem (Mussawyu,2021).

A new curriculum for Afghanistan, together with upgraded teacher capacities, are the most pertinent factors to ensure that peace is established and maintained in the country. This will ensure that the new generation of Afghanistan people learns a sense of social responsibility and national pride. Afghanistan suddenly returned to the world stage in the aftermath of the 9/11 tragedy. The world saw an isolated country with a largely unrecognized government that denied all rights to women and a place that had become the breeding ground for Islamic militant terrorists. Afghanistan's tragedy is far greater than was ever comprehended in the international headlines of the BBC and CNN news. Afghanistan's geographic location has made it one of the most strategic points in central Asia, both economically and politically. Situated at the crossroads of the ancient silk route, Afghanistan has housed some of the world's most priceless antiquities. In the Afghanistan of the past, Buddhism and the great Zoroastrian religion of old Persia once thrived. Afghanistan has a rich array of people from different cultures and traditions. Neither Dupree states, Afghanistan has not one culture, nor one people (Medi and Fedelle, 2021).

It is thought that the different people who reside within the boundaries of Afghanistan speak more than ten languages. Although Islam has become the country's national religion, before 1980, Afghanistan contained people who worshiped a plethora of

faiths. This was country rich in history, culture, and traditions. Afghanistan and its multitude of people, traditions, and cultural identities cannot be compared to any other country. After the September 11 crisis the ousting of the Taliban Government in Afghanistan, the International Community put their full support behind the reconstruction of Afghanistan and the return of its refugees. Following the Bonn Agreement in December 2001, an international conference in Tokyo was organized to gain financial support for Afghanistan's reconstruction. As a result, millions of dollars of aid flowed into the country, and the education system was highlighted as one of the critical areas for support in the post-conflict situation (Sargana and Afzaal,2021).

The International Community entered Afghanistan masse at the beginning of 2002. Twenty-three years of invasion, occupation, civil war, and the Taliban had devastated the country. Social ideals had been based on militant principles of conflict and division, perpetuated by what remained of the education system. Many parts of Afghanistan, including Kabul, still resembled a conflict zone, with walls riddled with bullet holes and buildings decimated by rockets. The education sector that had only experienced 20 years of actual development during the 1960s and 1970s had regressed after schools had been burnt for promoting the communist ideology and the Taliban had reduced education to Islamic studies to the exclusion of all other subjects. Girls had been forbidden to attend school throughout the Taliban regime (Yousuf, 2021).

Even in the small villages in northern parts of Afghanistan, where girls were still permitted to go to school and women were still allowed to teach, little or no investment had been made on schools or teachers development. Although, the resources were channeled into fighting an internal conflict (Mena and Hilliorst, 2021). The education system in Afghanistan had all but collapsed. As a response, the International Community, led by UNICEF, launched the Back-to-School Campaign. The year 2002 will be remembered as millions of Afghanistan children flooded back to schools, braving extreme winter cold or summer heat to attend class in ruined classrooms or the open air. Many of these children had returned from schools established in the Pakistan refugee camps, where children were taught from the UNO textbooks. By the end of 2002, more than 3 million children had returned to school compared to just over 800,000 in 1990 (UNESCO 2001, p. 20). Thirty percent of these 3 million students were girls. More than a third of the 70,000 teachers who returned to the schools were women (UNICEF, 2003).

Through the history of Afghanistan, we can see the numerous challenges the country previously had and how these challenges had impacted the process of Nation-building, and how it affected Afghanistan's current situation. The ideology, conflict, and social structures made it impossible for Afghanistan to succeed traditionally, as we have seen, with many improvements that had been reversed whenever a new war occurred. In the meantime, the United States had the chance to chase the footprints of the previous invaders or intervened countries, like Britain that faced the uprising of the People of Afghanistan against their colonial policy and experienced three Anglo-Afghan wars. The Soviet Union's invade can be given as an example as well.

The Mujahideen of Afghanistan found the ability to wage an insurgency against the Soviet Union's invade; this shows the courageous reflection of the People of Afghanistan who refuse to be dominated by invaders and not be oppressed by the foreign power. Even the consequence of the revolt of the People of Afghanistan against the Soviet Union's invades cost the collapse of the Soviet Union.

To glance back into the last two decades of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and review the country's situation, it is faced that how inefficient the United States nation-building policy was. However, the United States intervention in Afghanistan is the longest and ongoing war in their history. However, the United States government had required a whole-of-government plan to draw on its skills and capabilities of knowledge of its departments and authorities. However, the issues revealed by a glance back at Afghanistan's past merged with the tension and difficulty of nation-building. The United States intervention started in 2001 after the collapse of the twin tower of the World Trade Organization and the attack on the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The 9/11 attack was the airlines hijacking and suicide attacks in New York, Washington that cost nearly three thousand Americans life. The 9/11 attack was organized by al-Qaeda, one of the extremist Islamic groups, on the United States soils. This attack registered as the deadliest terrorist attack in the country's history.

In this explosive political situation, George W. Bush, the President of that time, announced a Global War on Terror (GWOT), and Richard Myers, the Chairman of the Joint-Chiefs of Staff of the time, described this war as a different kind of conflict, unlike any other in recent American history (Bob Woodward, 2005). Afghanistan has became the first battleground in the Global War on terror just a month after the 9/11 attack. Al Qaeda,

the fundamentalist Islamic terrorist organization responsible for the attacks, was being protected by the Taliban regime at the time. President Bush demanded the Taliban to surrender Osama Bin Laden, the head of Al Qaeda. Taliban refused to cede Osama Bin Laden, and their denial prompted a U.S. invasion. After the collapse of the Taliban regime in 2001 from the United States military forces, they were hoping to substitute the Taliban with people from Afghanistan were well educated. The Americans wished to maintain a democratic Western-style government. There were several obstacles to maintaining such a government style in Afghanistan. Caused by a long period of war and authoritarian regimes, Afghanistan struggled with the financial catastrophe, ethno-sectarian division, and administrative fragility.

In 2001 United States promised to bring security and stability to the region and carry out nation-building in Afghanistan by defeating Al-Qaeda. Although the majority of Afghanistan's citizens warmly welcomed the International Community presence and aids, their host partner Taliban, the United States, and their global community lost the opportunity to help Afghanistan people. Despite spending billions of dollars, death of thousands of Afghanistan civil citizens and military troops, unfortunately, the situation became more complex with repowering of Taliban, violence, the rise of narcotics, danger of collapse of Afghanistan central government, and emergence of other civil wars in the country (Rashid, 2008).

In the early years, on one side, these issues as a serious problem for maintaining their ideas. On the other hand, abstracted rhetoric of long-term political objectives and aspirations envisioned creating a prosperous, pluralistic, and democratic government. Of course, these were not the only barriers to having a self-governing and democratic Afghanistan, but the separated rhetoric of long-term political objectives and aspirations envisioned was also the reason behind the underdevelopment.

The existence of the United States in the invasion period aided the emergence of a vicious and destabilizing insurgency. This signaled the Taliban's reemergence as a significant power. While the uprising became more violent, policymakers reassessed the situation and stressed the importance of a holistic, whole-of-government solution. Unfortunately, a revamped, "whole-of-government" solution to Afghanistan's problems fell well short of its goals due to making specific improvements. A quarter of Afghanistan's population lacked access to safe drinking water, and half of Afghanistan's children were

malnourished. Over six million people needed food assistance, including 172,000 teachers who couldn't help themselves in 2008 (Carlotta Gall, 2008).

Income inequality was high due to the absence of manufacturing and agriculture opportunities; almost around 60–70% from 2001 to 2008 of those who entered the Taliban did so due to the lack of income, and it was not far from the expectations (Amin Tarzi, Robert Crews, 2008). There was no electricity infrastructure beyond the Capital of Afghanistan, and schools lacked facilities and perhaps even a classroom. Acts of violence were reported at an exponentially higher rate. After the fall apart and separation, the Taliban again regrouped and grew in part as a result of this aggression (Alastair Scrutton, 2008).

Too many students from the southern part of Afghanistan joined the Taliban solely for food assistants. The tensions began in 2014 when the United States started withdrawing its military forces. They remarked behind a turbulent and fractured political climate, which was the outcome of over a decade of United States nation-building efforts in Afghanistan. Nation-building is fraught with controversy and complexity, either as a theory or a method. Some academics believe that its current use in Afghanistan is nothing but an ideological cloak for U.S. colonial goals (Andrew Bacevich, 2010).

For the other scholars, those who believe in the supposed benefits of nation-building refer to it as the use of military power in the context of a conflict to support an effective transition of democracy (James Dobbins, 2007). for the time being, nation-building will be characterized as a set of policies by which a foreign entity or government attempts to establish or reestablish a country-wide administrative and financial framework. That become the lasting pillar of peace and stability after a duration of military conflict and political unrest via direct involvement and engagement with selected internal government officials. Nation-building is often beset by a complex collection of issues and roadblocks, emerging from the traditional uniqueness of the nation where these endeavors are undertaken.

1.2. Afghanistan Historical Overview

To be competent in Nation Building in Afghanistan, it is considered to go through the history of the country. To review the history, we can easily observe the numerous

challenges of Afghanistan, which has had previously, and how these challenges impacted the country's current situation. As it is vivid, Afghanistan has a complex background; throughout history, the country has been experienced several internal conflicts. As a multiethnic land, Afghanistan ought to be comprised of a dozen separate tribes before it was unified. Many of these tribes were often involved in wars or disputes with one another.

Afghanistan has been witnessed a long history of external interventions as well; the conquests of well-known leaders like Alexander the Great of Macedonia in 329 B.C. and the Genghis Khan who took over the territory in the thirteenth century are affiliated with her ancient history. We also know that Afghanistan was prominent for serving as a barrier between the Russian and British empires. However, Afghanistan shows its ability in surviving to repel the British in the three Anglo-Afghan wars. It is the reflection of the country's unwavering determination. In more recent times, the Mujahideen of Afghanistan found the ability to wage an insurgency against the Soviet Union's invade. This is the courageous reflection of the People of Afghanistan who refuse to be dominated by invaders and not be oppressed by a foreign power.

The establishment of the modern state of Afghanistan goes back to 1747, together with the emerging of the Durrani Empire by Ahmad Shah Durrani. Ahmad Shah Durrani is known as the Founding Father of Afghanistan. He restored a semblance of order to an area previously divided into self-governed cities and regions. He was an authoritarian tyrant in the mold of Genghis Khan. However, the governance structure he had built could not be institutionally self-generating and self-propelling (Amin Saikal, 2004). After Ahmad Shah Durrani passed away, his son Timur Shah came to power. The Timur Shah's era was a wave of unrest, with rival tribal forces fighting for dominance. In late 1826 Dost Mohammad Khan came to power and crowned himself as Amir of Afghanistan. The following year Dost Mohammad Khan had brought the Afghanistan political environment back to some semblance of order. Afghanistan politics, however, remained dominated by shifting tribal and ethnic distinctions. The reforms he implemented were limited, like Kabul and the cities nearby the capital.

By 1839, Afghanistan entered a war with Britain, the Britain East Indian Company. Dost Mohammad Khan's rule came to an end in 1839 when Britain intervened. The British army easily defeated Afghanistan people resistance and appointed Shah Shuja as Afghanistan's new Shah. However, to the majority of people, he was nothing more than a

puppet, propped up by British bayonets that were assisted by Britain's resources such as gold and sustained by British and Indian blood (Louis Dupree, 1973). The Ullama's free from the governance structure painted the British as moral infidels, and the tribal authorities were enraged that colonial rule had thrown the country's clan hierarchy into disarray. In 1842 British army was comprehensively defeated and was forced to withdraw from Afghanistan with thousands of their troops. After four years of Britain's intervention, both in honor, material, and staff, the Britain army left Afghanistan as they found it, in tribal turmoil, and with Dost Mohammad Khan come back to the throne (Louis Dupree, 1973). After Dost Mohammad Khan returned to the crown, he emphasized the reunification of Afghanistan; he focused on the creation and enhancement of his military forces.

Following Dost Mohammad Khan's death in 1863 caused six years of fratricidal conflict. At the end of six-year of combat Sher Ali Khan ascended to the throne in January 1869. Sher Ali Khan, like his ancestors, also prioritized the consolidation of an army to amplify his authority. Sher Ali Khan, on the other hand, strengthened Afghanistan's communications system and launched a range of infrastructure projects. In addition, he worked to ensure that national laws were followed and that a taxation scheme was put in place. In 1879 the second war of Anglo-Afghan war had occurred. Britain once again took control of most of the country and caused the end of the Sher Ali Khan period.

Cruel punishments and irrational reprisals were common during this period. Despite having superior military experience, preparation, and equipment, Britain was unable to incapacitate the Afghanistan rebellions fully and Britain in 1881 finally came to the point that a colonial form of government could not be applicable in Afghanistan, and the outcome was the withdrawal of British military forces from Afghanistan (Vartan Gregorian, 1969). Later on, Afghanistan entered Abdur Rahman Khan's era who known as the Iron Amir. Abdur Rahman Khan moved the army from a loose collection of tribal militias into a permanent combat power by instituting extensive arms, strategy, and logistics reforms. As a result, the army was mainly used to improve internal security rather than deter external enemies. In addition, he also created a primary communication network, civil service, police force, education system, rudimentary welfare services, and a single currency (Conor Keane, 2016).

The history repeated itself once again, and yet another fratricidal conflict outbreak soon after Abdur Rahman Khan passed away. By the end of combat, Amanullah Khan became the King in 1919, and Afghanistan declared itself an independent country. What Amanullah Khan was dreamed about was to make Afghanistan a modern nation-state. So he embarked on a series of significant reforms that touched on various subjects such as education which was a top priority for the King. As a result, a road network, communications networks, and a postal service were constructed (Gilles Dorronsoro, 2005).

Many people yearned for the advantages and luxuries that a modern nation-state has. On the other hand, several groups in the society were furious regarding the reforms and changes that Amanullah Khan brought, such as Ulema's, religious scholars, and tribal, who were too powerful in government and had to influence the people of Afghanistan. The disagreements with Amanullah Khan's reform policy make the ground of rising the oppositions. The uprising caused Amanullah Khan to abdicate and the failure of his reform (Poullada, 1973).

Ghazi Amanullah Khan's ambitions and legacy of reform were ended in 1929. His government replaced with Habibuallah Kalakani. Habibullah Kalakani's governed a short period of nine months and has been replaced with Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah seized the title, but he had no army, administration, or treasury since they had all collapsed during Habibullah Kalakani's period. Despite this, Nadir Shah still brought innovations such as constructing highways, a national police force, and communications networks over time and initiated educational and commercial reforms. However, nadir Shah like Amanullah Khan experienced the influence of religion and tribes in his era (Louis Dupree, 1973). Finally, in 1933 November Nadir Shah was murdered.

After Nadir Shah, Afghanistan entered a new era together with Mohammad Zahir Shah's replacement. He became the young King, and his situation was more ceremonial. In his period, all the authorities shifted to the prime minister's office among his Prime Ministers. The effective one was the Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan. Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan started ruling form 1953. Daoud Khan aimed to establish centralized power, and he priorities to his army. He did, however, try to modernize Afghanistan, and some historians have praised his reforms (Nancy Newell & Richard Newell, 1982).

After a gap in his ruling, Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan took power once again by collaborating with the communist opposition party, the People's Democratic Party (PDPA), through a military coup in 1973. The alliance with the communist party had its challenges that Sardar Mohammad Daoud faced soon after governing. The opposition of the People's Democratic Party has been raised spontaneously. The consequences of this ideological war between Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan and the People's Democratic Party brought the Saur Revolution of April 22, 1978. With the help of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the People's Democratic Party began ruling Afghanistan. To retain its rule, the PDPA was entirely reliant on the Soviets. Even though the party was tainted by virulent internal strife, it pursued ambitious reforms. Most of these changes reflected the impact of Marxism in the Soviet style. However, a massive part of Afghanistan people's cultural values was utterly opposed to such reforms and initiatives. Tribes and villages, whose cultural traditions were demolished, were particularly resistant to the reform of rural property ties. In the meantime, modifications in women's roles were seen as "atheistic meddling" in important Islamic rituals (William Maley, 2009).

Regional demonstrations quickly grew into a national uprising, and the regime's rejection was widespread, even universal, and it was amongst the most genuinely famous uprisings of that century. Together with the failure of the People's Democratic Party, in 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Like Britain's intervention, this time Soviet Union followed Britain's footsteps and put in charge whom they wanted and enhanced their influences through most parts of the country. Now on Afghanistan entered her most prominent period of Jihad, and Mujahedeen got together with the help of their foreign allies that started the war against the Red Army and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The cost of this war was that the Soviets had lost 50,000 soldiers and 1.24 million Afghanistan people died, as well as cost forced almost five million people to flee external and internal from their homes. Conflict erupted after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and Afghanistan descended into chaos (Olivier Roy, 1990). The Taliban emerged as a religious and social movement promising to maintain security and eradicate corruption in this situation. in September 1995 Taliban took control of Kabul. However, in the middle of 2001, after five years Taliban were in control of nearly all of Afghanistan. The collapse of the Taliban regime ended with the U.S. intervention in the October of 2001.

1.3. Ethnic Diversity of Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been described as a big museum of different races and ethnicities due to its diversity and ethnicity. In this country, people of different ethnicities such as Pashtun, Hazara, Tajik, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluch, Kyrgyz, Qezelbash, Aimaq, Nuristani, Kashmiri, Arab, Hindu, Sikh and other groups live. Several Anthropologists and statisticians have tried hard to count the percentage of Afghanistan's ethnic groups, but they all got very different results. Most of the efforts to identify ethnic groups in Afghanistan have been made by Erwin Orywal. he has listed 55 ethnic names in Afghanistan. Erwin Orywal has named the following ethnic groups in Afghanistan: Arab, Aimaq, Baluch, Brahui, Ashkashimi, Farsivan, Firooz Koohi, Gavarbati Ghorbat, Gojar, Hazara, Hindu, Jalali, Jamshidi, Jaat, Jogi, Kyrgyz, Kotana, Maleki, Mauri, Mish Mast, Mogul, Monjani, Nuristani , Ursuri, Perchi, pashayi, Pashtun, Qarluq, Pikraj, Kazakh, Qabchaq, Qezelbash, Roshani, Sanglichi, Sikh, Tajik, Tatar, Taimani, Teymouri, Terahi, Turkmen, Uzbek, Wakhi, Jewish and Vazuri. (Erwin Orywal,1988).

Of course, in this list, some sub-categories and ethnic branches are placed in the row of tribes, for example, while Aimaq, Firooz Koohi, Jamshidi and Taymani are listed in the same width, according to most anthropologists and researchers, All of these are subdivisions of the Aimaq tribe. This is also true to some extent for other ethnic groups (Bayat, 1941, p.30).

Pashtuns: The Pashtuns of Afghanistan, which is one of the oldest tribes in the country, has many branches and sub-branches. Usually, the names of Pashtun tribes are taken from the ancestors or elders of this tribe. Mohammad Zaei, Gholzaei, Sadozaei, Barkzaei, etc. are among these names. These tribes live mainly in the east and south and some of them in the north and west of the country. Their population is estimated to be more than 30% of the total population of Afghanistan. The language of this people is Pashto and it is a branch of Indo-European language. This tribe is mostly followers of the Hanafi section of the Sunni branch of islam, but there are also Shiite Pashtuns among them.

In terms of intra-ethnic structure, Pashtuns are divided into two major tribes (tribes) Ghilzai or Ghiljī and 'Durrani or Abdali', which have long been in competition for political power among themselves, this intra-Trible competition of power led to several ethnic,

since the establishment of the Afghanistan government in 1747. Ahmad Khan Abdali is regarded as the founder of Afghanistan who was from Durrani branch of Pashtun. Durrani is also divided into two sub-tribes, Saduzai and Barakzai.

Although the Ghilzai clan participated in the structure of political power, but it never had a monopoly government like its rival Durrani. Thus, after the Marxist coup, in 1978. It was the fall of the 'Barkazi' dynasty that political power passed to another Pashtun (Ghilzai) tribe. Thus, the structure of political power in Afghanistan held itself accountable only to the demands of Pashtun tribes and witnessed a kind of political monopoly according to which non-Pashtun tribes were deprived of political participation in this structure.

TAJIKS: The Tajiks, like many nations, do not have a single organization and are not limited to a single land, but are scattered in an important part of Asia. Tajiks are Persian (Farsi) speakers and according to some researches they are from Iranian origin. Thus, there is no reliable statistic carried in Afghanistan we cannot give percentage. Tajiks are the second largest ethnic group in Afghanistan. They are mostly living in urban parts of the country. Although, the political power is monopoly of Pashtun tribe, the Tajiks had always minimal part in political power in Afghanistan. According to Elphinstone, Tajiks are gentle people, dignified and hardworking (Elphinstone, 2011 p.287-292).

HAZARAS: Hazaras, who make up about 20% of Afghanistan's total population, live mainly in central Afghanistan, at the foot of the foothills of central Afghanistan and the Hindu Kush highlands, in Bamiyan, Daikundi, Ghazni, Kabul, Herat, Balkh, Parwan, Uruzgan and Sar-e-Pul, Kandahar and other parts of the country.

Hazaras are mainly followers of Shia-Jafary branch of Islam and speak Farsi Dari. The tribal structure and language of the Hazaras have been greatly influenced by other tribes and peoples like the influence of Islamic and Arab culture on other nations.

UZBEKS: Though exact numbers are unknown and debated, recent estimates imply that Uzbeks account for 9% and Turkmen for 3% of Afghanistan's population. Both Uzbeks and Turkmen live in the northern section of the country. Uzbeks and Turkmens both are turkic speaking ethnic group. They have Turkic origin and are, for the most part, Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi tradition, which expresses a cultural identity more than a

religious one. Their native tongue is Uzbek, which is a Turkish dialect. (Elphinstone, 2011. P. 231)

1.4. Problem Statement

In 2001 United States promised to bring security and stability to the region and to carry out nation-building in Afghanistan by defeating the Al-Qaeda and their host partner Taliban, although the majority of Afghanistan citizens warmly welcomed the International Community presence and aids at the time, the United States and their international community lost the opportunity to help Afghanistan people. Despite spending billions of dollars and resources, death of thousands of Afghanistan civil citizens and military forces. Unfortunately, the situation became more complex; with the repowering of Taliban, increase in violence, the rise of drug trafficking, corruption, internal and external displacement of Afghanistan people, the danger of collapse of Afghanistan central government, and the emergence of another civil war in the country. In this context, this investigation creates a statement to examine Afghanistan's nation-building from 2001-2021 after the inversion of the United States of America. As the scientific research, the thesis asks the following questions.

1.5. Research Question

This part is very significant for scientific research. It plays a major role in both qualitative and quantitative research. However, the study is about the qualitative methodology; therefore, there is the need to create scientific research questions. Because the research question connects the investigation from the problem statement and hypothesis of the research. Therefore, according to the nation-building in Afghanistan, this thesis asks the following questions:

- **i.** Has the U.S. nation-building process assisted in stabilizing and sustaining Afghanistan?
- **ii.** What are the challenges and obstacles tracing the nation-building in Afghanistan?
- **iii.** How to establish a democratic and stable nation in Afghanistan?

Therefore, these questions need to be validated by using the hypothesis. Therefore, the main sign of the hypothesis from the investigation is to connect and validate the truth that has been formulated or asked from the research questions. Thus, the followings are the research hypothesis.

1.6. Research Hypothesis

The hypothesis is used to test and validate the constructive ideas that are related to the respective topic. It uses the null hypothesis and alternative hypothesis to test the credential ideas created from the case. This steady creates the following hypothesis to test and validate the ideas that have been made in connection to the nation-building in Afghanistan.

H_0: USA's Nation-building processes in Afghanistan do not assess the legitimately of stabilizing Afghanistan.

H_1: USA's Nation-building process assess the legitimately of stabilizing and sustain of Afghanistan.

1.7. Significance of the Research

The study will contribute to the existing literature on nation-building in Afghanistan. But, in addition to that, the result that is revealed will help the policymakers in Afghanistan to take a decision and develop policies that will lead to strength and improve the nation-building in Afghanistan.

1.8. The objective of the Research

The purpose of the research is to examine the nation-building in Afghanistan after the intervention of the United States troops. Based on international and political science, this research investigates the building of the nation in the area of the social changes, security, peace, good governance and the rule of law, the international and collaborations via United Nations agencies and NGOs, economic and trades reforming including bilateral and multilateral agreements and international politics. Though the general objective of this research is to observe and investigate to what extent nation-building in Afghanistan after

the inversion of the U.S. brings changes in Afghanistan community. Specifically, this research has the sub-key objectives:

i. The U.S. - foreign policy for nation-building in Afghanistan
ii. The national and international security for peace and harmony in Afghanistan
iii. The national development agenda in the context of nation-building in Afghanistan
iv. Observation of the constitutional laws and practicing of good governance as the significant changes on nation-building in Afghanistan
v. Role of media and freedom of speech on Afghanistan people

1.9. Limitation of Thesis

The main limitation of this research is the range of this study, which covers the period of 2001-2021, with focus on the USA's nation-building initiatives in Afghanistan by using qualitative method. Another limitation for this study is the range of primary data collection. The questionnaire is distributed to 291 people only. Where it would have been better to had a larger number of sample population.

More variables should be included to foster the better understanding of nation-building and the situation and problems of Afghanistan for future researches. Another main challenge during conducting this thesis was the Covid-19 pandemic, which brought some obstacles in collection of primary data.

1.10. Organization of the Thesis

The organization of this thesis is as follows. Chapter two discusses the literature of other scholars' researches and works and explains the gap between this research and other studies. It describes the thoughts of different scholars due to their arguments concerning nation-building in Afghanistan; Different thoughts come up with various outcomes concerning nation-building in Afghanistan. The gap analysis and the contribution of this research have been clarified through this chapter.

Moreover, chapter three is related to the methodology and empirical part. Finally, chapter four includes the conclusion and policy recommendations. The effective policy

development has been detailed in this chapter, and policy recommendations have been implemented.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will review the work of other scholars on nation-building for a better understanding of the topic. The literature review chapter is consisted of two subchapters. The first part will discuss the work of well-known scholars on Nation-building. The second part will review the literature on United states nation-building in Afghanistan and the conflicts of post-2001 regarding Nation building. Where in this chapter, the challenges towards nation-building in Afghanistan are reviewed.

2.1. Nation Building

Amitai Etzioni defines nation-building as both the creation and foundation of the new state as a governing body, as well as the processes of achieving viable degrees of unity, transformation, development, and success where the concept of national unity and identity is created among the citizens of the state (Etzioni, 2004). Wolfram Lacher defines nation-building as "Post-Conflict Reconstruction," where a broad number of activities are done to achieve reconstruction and transforming the organizations of the government, the transformation of society, and economic development to avoid war and conflicts and to reassemble peace (Lacher, 2007).

Although the phrase Nation-building is an old term, whereas as a concept, it was used after World War II and got extensively used in political discussions and scientific arguments. Since 1990, when the modern world's conflicts increased, Hippler also stated that the term is not widely explained theoretically wise (Hippler, 2005). Especially with the conflicts in countries such as Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Balkan States, the international community understood that the collapse of states and the division of societies could lead to armed war or render it impossible to resolve the term of nation-building attracted more.

Depending on the framework, the concept of nation-building has a variety of understandings among scholars of political science and sociology. For instance, neoliberalism ideologists such as Mary Caprioli and Kimberly Douglass states that the term nation-building is principally understood as a military intervention on other countries

or the process of vastly imposing democracy with the military in post crises states with the purpose to bring economic development, peace, social growth and unity (Caprioli, 2008). Professor Liam O'Dowd uses the term nation-building as the assimilation of various ethno-sectarian and distinct geographical structures into a common organizational structure (O'dowd, 2008). on the other hand, Francis Fukuyama uses the term "Nation-building" as interchangeable with the phrase "State-building." He further explains that nation-building, which is the same as state-building, is the foundation and strengthening of government organizations such as the army, police, health sector, education system, financial institutions of the state, social and cultural institutions of a country (Fukuyama, 2004). State-building is discussed in terms of national identity creation by Seth Kaplan; the author's point is that "states without a national identity and a stable community will never advance" (Seth Kaplan, 2009).

Opposite to the theory of equally considering national building and state building, Raphael Utz believes that state-building and nation-building are two different things and shall not be used the same. He further explains that nation-building is a complicated, wide-ranging procedure of efforts considering social dimensions, cultural, economic, and state. In contrast, state-building refers to constructing and transforming state and state institutions with legal formations only (Utz, R, 2005). Since Brahimi's state-building vision focuses on democratization, the policies he supports would emulate the democratization process. This form of privileged mischaracterization of state-building is controversial since this avoids the most fundamental prerequisite of states for democratic processes: solid institutions. Constitution-making, electoral practices, reintegration, national unity, and the rule of law are all the elements of nation-building where Brahimi uses the term "democracy construction" to refer to the functions and mechanisms of democratization and national building (Brahimi,2007).

Owing to the intertwined relationship of the two concepts, nation-building, and state-building, it is a new concept that incorporates the theories of nation-building and state-building. Where State-building is defined as the mechanism of establishing or forming governmental structures that are required to stabilize and improve a nation-state, specific systems contain political, economic, security, and democratic agencies and institutions. And on the other side, the process of establishing or developing national identity, national values, and traditions is known as nation-building, where the establishment of a national anthem, flag, language, faith, recognized racial and religious communities. Organized

government services aim to resolve social and cultural problems in a nation or country (Dempsey, 2001). David Lake (2010) examines nation-state building from the standpoint of authority. Three distinct state-building styles, where he explains the first phase of state-building 1. aimed to create committed and constitutionally secure regional states, which was used during 1890 to the fall of communism; state-building 2. aimed to create 'legitimate state governments and was used since the collapse of the Soviet Union; and state-building 3. is thought to have arisen from the problems around nation-building in Iraq and Afghanistan (Lake,2010). According to these writers, the international community should seek ways to move powerful institutions to develop countries to build a stable government.

From a sociological point of view, the nation-building concept is useful for interpreting state power and legitimacy. However, it might not help to explain state-building and nation-building separately. Bendix states that the object of nation-building, which is a conflation of the words state-building and nation-building, is the orderly exercise of a nationwide public authority where the legality of nation-building is then considered, as well as citizenship rights (Bendix, 1996). Scholars such as Vidal believes that nation-building is primarily about state makeover, not economic formation or development (Vidal, 2003).

This clearly explains that economic development is only one crucial side of the nation-building process. A step forward to this theory, Hamre states that nation-building's primary objective should be providing security, state stability, and the rule of law. Although, economic development and social well-being shall come after them (Hamre, 2002). “In his book; A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation”, Hippler explains that national building could be used as a political tool or strategy to achieve the preferred political goals rather than only focusing on the sociocultural formation (stone,2005). The majority of post-conflict strategists believe that national building is a multidimensional procedure covering social dimension, security, economic development, education where all parts are working to achieve a mutual objective (Derichs, 2005).

Nation-building is a very slow process; it requires enough time, an extended transitional period, and effort to reach its stable and democratic state goals. The Nation-building process does not have any starting or finishing point, such as to start national building after war or finish it when the conflict is over; instead, it is a long marathon to be

continued (Diamond, 2005). Some scholars give the formation of transitional justice and the juristic system the utmost importance to the national building objective. Therefore, it is a challenging demand for a nation to the unit without dealing with previous injustices. Thus, most post-conflict countries result from wars with some corrupt and criminal leaders, so the nation-building process needs to focus on transitional justice as a principal foundation to a future prosperous nation.

To form a clear and united nation, it is essential to court the criminals, primarily the human rights criminals and corrupt politicians, so the nation could believe that justice is done and prevent future war crimes and corruption. This will also prevent future conflicts in diverse countries where there is a big chance that one group will stand to take revenge of the conflict period from the other group. This will control the traditional desert courts, which are practiced in countries such as Afghanistan, middle eastern countries, and some African countries (Rathmell, 2005). A definitive objective of any national building exertion ought to be "an unprejudiced and responsible general set of laws for the future, precisely, making a viable law implementation scheme, an open legal framework, judicious laws, and an accommodating amendments framework for the process of national building (Hamre, 2002).

Some scholars, such as Conor, are opposite to the theory of nation-building. Where he emphasizes that by imposing nation-building through social education and state agencies, Nation-building philosophy justifies integration. Even so, the nation-building agenda is oblivious to ethnic distinctions and identities, it inevitably entails a simultaneous phase of nation-destruction by minority communities. Connor condemns "nation-building," in which a powerful nationality uses the state's resources to support declarations of nationhood. It is crucial to assimilate or eliminate the ethnic bases of nationhood of minority groups to establish those "dominant" groups. He further states that another problem of nation-building in a multicultural background country poses a dual challenge that is both from below to upper side in the form of national awareness and up to down in government-sponsored assimilation schemes. (Connor,1972).

Integrative ideology or ideological legitimation constitutes for people of a country to develop a common identity that is also called self-awareness of a nation. The integrative ideology of a nation is a process of sociocultural restructuring and consolidation that results in values, mutual identities, ideals, and goals. Here the critical point for the citizens

are to recognize the heterogeneity and differences among the state, not from a homogeneity point of view (Hopp, 2005). The different ethnic and ideological groups need to come together under a mutual national identity to form the first steps of becoming a nation. Scholars such as Hippler strongly state that as long as the citizens of a state do not recognize a national identity and prioritize their secondary identity (ethnical or religious identity) over primary identity (national or state identity). Implementing successful nation-building is challenging; here, the national identity will continue to be absent and inferior, the state will continue to be shaky (Hippler, 2005).

Another critical element towards nation-building is social integration in the state. This social and cultural integration needs to be done among all the groups (ethnic, religious, ideologic) residing in the country. Here the focus point is that the dialogue shall be carried out without excluding any group because excluding will lead to further troubles. Social integration of nation-building process is the role of progressive principles, sociocultural, and civil society in developing and maintaining them, the involvement of growing social-political, and economic liberty and human development instead of only economic progress or state-building, are all critical components of any sustainable long-term democratic nation-building strategy (Gross, 1981).

The Nation-building process necessitates the creation of a nationwide infrastructure, including transportation and networking infrastructure, the growth of a "national economy" from provincial or local economic zones, the establishment of a national political policy, and cultural discussion through nationwide mass media. Therefore, these infrastructures shall be accessible to all groups and citizens (Tolz,1998), moreover, with the absence of social society values in a multi-ethnical country in the time of conflict in such states, the people and groups will look for a justifiable reason to form new associations according to their interests not national wide. Such a scenario will further harm the process of nation-building (Feldman, 2004).

The final goal of nation-building has changed over history; for example, through the cold war between eastern and western power blocks, the aim of Nation-building was to country weight the communist system for west powers rather than all transformation or building a state's infrastructure. Although, over the cold war period, both the United States of America and the Soviet Union was trying to support the fragile and weak countries to gain geopolitical power, in that period, the national building with the interaction of foreign

actors was to create state allegiance rather than state-building of the target nation (Dobbins and Jones, 2007).

In the period of Post-World War II, the nation-building concept was about the demilitarization of the countries; Japan and Germany are the two major cases of the United States of America's national building after World War II. Here, the aim was to demilitarize the autocratic regimes, re-educate citizens, and degasifications of states rather than the nation. Thus, in this period, the nation-building process's purpose was to reconstruct and transform the states' infrastructures. In these two cases, the success of national building was due to the majority of the national building's elements such as national identity, social culture, national values, civil society, economy, governmental institutions, and security has already been there (Dempsey, 2001).

The case of Germany and Japan, together with the case of South Korea, are the most successful cases of the USA's nation-state building. The United States of America changed the scope and intent of its nation-building activities after when communism was destroyed and when the Soviet Union was no longer seen as a danger. The establishment of a comparatively legitimate, somewhat democratic government has now become the target of the United States (USA) nation-building purpose and scope; as a result, to lead to world stability and prosperity, as well as free-market capitalism (Feldman, 2009).

Later on, the United States of America's guided nation-building undertaking in countries such as Somalia, Vietnam, Haiti, Kosovo, Bosnia, Iraq, and Afghanistan had not been prosperous. The primary reason in the case of these countries was mainly security, where the United States had spent significant resources and time controlling the violence and conflicts rather than building a nation. Unlike Germany and South Korea, these post-conflict countries all had nothing or a significantly smaller number of nation-building's main elements such as national identity, social culture, national values, civil society, economy, governmental institutions, and security (Etzioni, 2001).

Nation-building shall be largely an internal mechanism and process aided by the least amount of external interference possible. Here the core principle of nation-building is what the nation itself wants, rather than forcing and imposing them to democracy. National building and democracy are impossible to be implemented by force and military. Liam Anderson and Gareth Stansfield also stated in their book the future of Iraq that democracy

cannot be implemented with force and the army on unwilling nations (Anderson & Stansfield, 2005). Here the foreign players can serve as a mediator and a source of stabilization to the host until the country is stable enough to stand on its own again to transition to autonomy and optimistically democracy.

2.2. USA Nation-Building in Afghanistan

The US-led attempt to bring peace and security to Afghanistan has been on the brink of failure since 2001. Afghanistan now faces a threat environment shaped and maintained by poor governance, a growing insurgency, poverty, pervasive violence, and a lack of a coherent response to the country's major problems. This shocking reality is the product of major foreign and Afghan players following particular policies and practices based quite entirely on short-term targets at the cost of a more comprehensive and coherent strategy for years (Jalali, 2009). As a result, Afghanistan's situation has shifted from a comparatively specific post-conflict situation to a dynamic threat situation highlighted by terrorism, economic problems, ethnic issues, instability, and the many other difficulties of nation-building.

The United States foreign policy during the George Bush administration had shifted to a one-sided strategy of military power to restructure the global platform by searching for monsters to defeat in other states. During this time, the United States mentality has been characterized as a mix of superiority and ignorance (Cilliers, 2006). The attack on the World Trade Center in September 2001 by Al-Qaeda, was the factor that allowed the White House to start the military attack on the Taliban in Afghanistan and the mission of nation-state building. Although Strachan argues that the ambiguous policy mandate issued by the George Bush administration is to blame for militarizing nation-building, The United States, under Bush Administration, struggled to create a measurable bond amongst the USA government's strategic approach and the functional military designs (Strachan, 2005).

With the USA's invasion of Iraq, the White House focused more on the Iraq situation, which resulted in a lack of attention, military support, and financial resources to the nation-building in Afghanistan. In the early years of the nation-building mission in Afghanistan, this inattention further caused the United States uncertain goals and strategies towards Afghanistan (Jones, 2010). In 2001 United States promised to bring security and

stability to the region and carry out nation-building in Afghanistan by defeating the Al-Qaeda and their host partner Taliban.

Although the majority of Afghanistan citizens warmly welcomed the international community presence and aids, the United States and their global community lost the opportunity to help Afghanistan people, despite spending billions of dollars, death of thousands of Afghanistan civil citizens and military troops, unfortunately the situation became more complex with the repowering of Taliban, such as violence, the rise of narcotics, the danger of collapse of Afghanistan central government, and the emergence of other civil wars in the country (Rashid, 2008).

The United States nation-building mission in Afghanistan had an unbalance of power between military and civil organizations of the United States of America, such as USAID (United States Agency for International Development), which ignored the capability of development in Afghanistan. The United States of America's foreign policy was dominated by the pentagon and military by a far margin than the State department's diplomatic mandate or USAID during the G. Bush administration (Priest, 2003).

Lack of cooperation and scope among NATO (The Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the United States of America in Afghanistan was also one of the primary factors towards unproductive nation-building in the country. There was a lack of mutual goal and strategy towards nation-building in Afghanistan among the main players. For instance, some NATO members had claimed that the United States of America is not willing to create a multilateral effort and neglects the allies' opinions. Thus, the NATO members argued that the United States of America is not focusing on the country's reconstruction. The US military air-attacks are causing civilian causalities, which leads to turning Afghanistan citizens against the west. while on the other side United States of America was accusing the NATO allies of not effectively battling the insurgency and terrorism (Rynning, 2012).

The United States and NATO members had divided the different tasks among them. This had also further created issues regarding which task to prioritize; for instance, Germany had taken the responsibility to train and educate the Afghan police force and Britain to train the Afghanistan anti-narcotics department. According to New York Times report from a high White House official stated that dividing different operations into

several countries was a huge mistake where he further stated, "We piecemealed it" he said. "One of the problems is when everybody has a piece, everybody's piece is made a third and fourth priority. Nobody's piece is the priority. Stuff didn't get done." (David, R., & Sanger David, 2007).

Apart from neglecting the realities and complex social and ethnic structure of Afghanistan, the other major factors to the failure of nation-building in Afghanistan are poor decision making, lack of commitment, lack of enough resources, and unrealistic strategies by the United States and its international allies. This incapability's of foreign players failed to form a peaceful and stable state of good governance and economic development (Burki, 2012).

The failure of United-State's strategy in Afghanistan is accepted by two of US former ambassadors in Kabul where Zalmay Khalilzad (2004-05) stated that "I do think that state-building and nation-building, we came to that reluctantly," he further added that "I think more could have been done earlier on these issues." And Ronald E. Neumann (2005-07), ambassador to Afghanistan, also confessed that "The idea that we could just hunt terrorists and we didn't have to do nation-building, and we could just leave it alone, that was a big mistake." (David, R., & Sanger David, 2007). Disregarding the beginning phases of the United States nation-building projects, on the off chance that it could even be denied as such in the initial years after 2001, it also brought about hazy objectives and obligations among the US offices and officials involved in the mission of Afghanistan.

Even though the success in the mission of Afghanistan for the United-States image was crucial in the international community. With failure in Afghanistan, it was sending an apparent message to the world that with thousands of US troops, thirty-seven other countries involved, and the United Nations, terrorism cannot be defeated. However, with such importance, the Afghanistan mission was carried out, but when the White House under the George Bush administration announced the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Afghanistan with promises and big projects. The amount that the United States of America promised was 3.4 billion US dollars annually, which was half of the amount deployed to Iraq nation-state building after the United-State intervenes in Iraq, even though the amount promised to Afghanistan nation-state building was less than to other US nation-building assignments such as Bosnia, Kosovo and even less than to Haiti (David, R., & Sanger David, 2007).

In another case where Afghanistan was an agricultural state with eighty percent of the population was dealing in agriculture and small business, a project of three hundred million dollars to the agriculture and small business for Afghanistan certified by the US-Congress were not financed. Unfortunately, there were big promises from the United States of America and other foreign players, which were left disappointed.

Good governance is considered as one of the pillars to the success of nation-building as well as state-building. However, Good governance was indeed never implemented in Afghanistan to create a bond between the nation and government; the Afghanistan central government and politicians were filled with corrupt officials in almost all levels of government. The local government officials were unsuccessful in properly managing the allocated resources and lost the opportunity to close the gap between the nation and the state. Empowering the central government of Afghanistan instead of giving importance to local or regional level governance which is called representative governance in a newly established state of Afghanistan, was a high mistake that resulted in regional citizens' distrust and unhappiness from the central government (Mills & Nick, 2007).

Through the end of the George bush period, the US policy in language towards Afghanistan had shifted due to critiques on US nation-building failures in Afghanistan. As the United States institute of peace defined: the goal of US nation-building in Afghanistan is to create a stable government in Afghanistan and secure the rule of law to provide a secure and peaceful environment and economic development. However, these terms were neglected, especially by the United States of America's military. Instead, they used a "counter-insurgency" phrase and concept, this change of language, and more policy vise was due to the United States nation-building failure in Afghanistan. As Michael Hardesty believes that this change is a more realistic conception of the situation, it becomes a change from a humanitarian perspective to a security perspective which is a more complex and realistic perspective of the situation (Hardesty, 1997).

The United States' initial policy towards Afghanistan was military power superlative in the region; even after the white house started to focus on nation-building perspectives of Afghanistan's mission, the nation-building was always the secondary importance compared to the military culture. For instance, the projects presented to US Congress for budget support to the mission of Afghanistan mostly belonged to the military vise and weapon procurement to hold the control and defeat of al-Qaida and other enemies. The White

House politicians had their initial aim of defeating al-Qaida and their Taliban host with short-term military operations. Still, after a while, when the situation changed, America had less deep consideration of political and humanitarian future for Afghanistan nation-building (Wawro, 2010).

Only after 2004, the United States become aware of the importance of nation-building in Afghanistan when a group of Taliban lead attacks had reshaped Afghanistan. Then the United States committed to engaging more than the military. According to West Bing, the author of the book "The Wrong War: Grit, Strategy, and the Way Out of Afghanistan," he insists that American officials failed to win the heart of Afghanistan people. Especially the villagers, where the US officials insisted on the use of force and the importance of the military aspect of their existence in Afghanistan, which resulted in civil causalities and turned the local villagers against the foreign countries. West Bing also elaborates that the United States is in the wrong war with the wrong strategy; he believes it is nearly impossible to persuade the local villagers of Afghanistan to turn against the Taliban because the Taliban fighters are from their relatives or locals. He further explains in his report that instead of giving importance to civil protection, the United States army shall focus on eliminating the Taliban only (West, 2011).

Tom Engelhardt, the author of The American way of war, exposes the illogicality of the American war strategy and counter-insurgency strategy in Afghanistan. He writes from a statement of Robert Gates, the United States secretary of defense during 2006-2011, where he said that the United States had the wrong strategy in Afghanistan, the United States had to be different and realistic of the situation where the Afghanistan people shall accept that this is their war, their responsibility. There shall be an Afghan mask of the current ongoing war… from such statements, sir Tom Engelhardt states that there is a lot of contradiction in United States policy towards Afghanistan and the nation-state building of Afghanistan (Engelhardt, 2010).

By comparing the United States of America's nation-building and the Soviet Union's nation-building in Afghanistan, unlike the Soviet-Union intervention, the United States was reluctant to nation-building in Afghanistan (at least in the early years of US intervention). The most critical difference is that when the United States got into Afghanistan, it inherited a nation where almost more than fifty percent of the prewar population was either died, wounded, or immigrated from their land, almost there was no

place untouched by war. The previous wars had collapsed the country's nearly every infrastructure, economy, culture, and social structure was distorted in every aspect; the ethnic and religious conflicts were at their top. The United States of America had to deal with every subcomponent of nation-state building in Afghanistan (Goodson & Johnson, 2011).

The United States had different obstacles which led to their unsuccessful mission of nation-building in Afghanistan. Understanding the local culture and local social differences of the people of Afghanistan was one of them. Afghanistan is a multi-ethnical country where there were always conflicts and disputes among them during the comparative history of Afghanistan. The civil war after the withdrawal of the Soviet Union made the ethnical and religious conflicts and disputes more augmented; these ethnic and religious disputes are still one of the major obstacles to unifying the nation of Afghanistan, where the United-States war further increased the gap of differences among the significant ethnics in the country (Jennings, 2003).

The United States nation-building failed in Afghanistan in many aspects where success overall requires success from the initial years of the United States' intervention in Afghanistan. The White House strategy towards Afghanistan was defective. Even the presence of the United States has increased the level of violence and opium drug business in Afghanistan. Since the United-states intervention, traditional agriculture, where it was the primary economic income of the majority of the Afghanistan population, shifted to cultivation opium and increased to heroin industry. Another field where the United States caused to grow in violence is suicide bombings, wherein jihadist mentality suicide bombing technique starts to be justified by the Islamic terrorist groups (Goodson & Johnson, 2011).

Good governance and the rule of law are the two factors to the prosperity of nation-building, but Afghanistan nation-building failed to achieve in these two fields. Corruption in the central and local government authorities of Afghanistan and the United States' neglect of building effective good governance policies for Afghanistan failed to win the heart of the locals and legitimize the Afghanistan central government. Security and counter-insurgency wars are dependent on the level of government legitimacy. For instance, when a state is viewed as legitimate to the citizens, then that government will more likely overcome the war of insurgency and vice versa when its population's

legitimacy is not accepted. The chance of winning that war is tough (Sepp, 2005). For the people living outside of the capital, Kabul, the legitimacy of the Afghan central government is widely unaccepted where the central and regional government of Afghanistan failed to deliver good governance to the nation, here especially the village residents of the country accept and trusts the justice and juridical process of the Taliban more than the Afghanistan central governments (Holt, 2009).

According to Goodson and Johnson, who compared in his studies the similarities and differences between of Soviet Union war and the United States war of Afghanistan, the social structure and culture of Afghanistan people, especially the people outside of Kabul, were one of the major factors that both United-States and Soviet-Union neglect to focus. The reluctance to western modernization and unwillingness to accept the presence of foreign troops are on the top of the list. Apart from these two, the social governance in villages of Afghanistan, particularly in the Pashtun rural regions, the primary source of juridical law and administration are tribal courts, where the base of these tribal courts are religion, monarchy, local tribal culture, and tribal patriarchies. The US-backed Afghanistan government, just similar to the Soviet Union period, struggled to establish legitimacy on the people of Afghanistan, especially to the local and village population (Goodson & Johnson, 2011).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This section explains how this research has been conducted to investigate the nation-building in Afghanistan after the intervention of the United States of America in 2001. The investigation is qualitative research through which a questionnaire survey has been collected from the different sources related to the nation-building of Afghanistan after U.S. engagement in 2001. The questionnaire using online methods and face-to-face form has been implemented as the source of data collection due to the challenges of the world pandemic COVID-19.

Most of the restrictions as the strategies have been implemented to the different areas, such as lockdown, the physical distance of at least one meter, and wearing a mask during the conversations, all of these makes challenging to conduct the face-to-face chain survey instead the online chain survey using the online google form and through skype has been distributed to 273 people from Afghanistan have been asked and responded and gave their contributions in connection to this thesis. The questionnaire contains 24 questions that ask different levels having different statuses as the means to succeed in this investigation.

This thesis focuses on the reconstruction of Afghanistan in the context of nation-building, infrastructures constructions, peace, security, military, and army establishment, human rights initiatives, democracy, good governance policy, economic and social welfare development, social policies, media, and freedom of speech, the rule of law and jurisdiction. This dissertation is composed by considering the conceptual framework and theoretical framework. The following section is explaining on the conceptual framework.

The conceptual framework of this research is created by considering the nation-building in Afghanistan from 2001 to the middle of 2021. The framework was constructed by considering the nation-building before and after the intervention of the United States of America in Afghanistan. This has been done to examine and make a very significant contribution to explaining the nation-building in Afghanistan. Consecutively, after discussing different thoughts from different scholars who had to explain nation-building as a concept and theory and as the strategy of the United States of America in Afghanistan, this part explores the development of the theory related to nation-building in Afghanistan.

The investigation is constructed by examining the main factors of nation-building in Afghanistan. Those factors act as the main discussion of this dissertation. The analysis and conclusion have been made following these actors. Thus, the investigation is studied by observing the conceptual theory and ending up with the conceptual framework of nation-building in Afghanistan.

3.1. Research's Conceptual Theory

The thesis is used to verify the nation-building theory found in the international relations and political sciences. According to the Harris Mylonas, nation-building as the legitimate authority in modern nation-states is connected to popular rule majorities. Sorely, the justification of this theory is based on the general reforming of Afghanistan in the context of practicing true democracy and good governance in Afghanistan. Nation-building refers to the constructions of effective institutions that have the mandate to dominate and control the government autonomy, especially in the context of government expenditures, practicing good governance and unite the nation.

However, the investigation in Afghanistan for nation-building is based on examining the basic features and the changes from the social, economic, cultural, and political reforming after the intervention of the U.S.A. in Afghanistan. The theory profoundly focuses on the legitimacy of the people perceiving the nation's security, the peace and harmony from the existing government. Legitimate to access good social services such as access to education, access to health, and the reliability of perceiving legal and fair trade from within and across the countries. The legitimacy of people to have freedom of speech and participation in elections has been instructed and assigned from the constitution.

Therefore, this thesis needs to just the nation-building theory to validate the respective changes. Research's conceptual framework; Contemporary usage of the conceptual framework is based on the vague concepts that link together the diverse and comprehensive thoughts towards understanding the theories or concepts of the nation building in Afghanistan. The reviews support the articulation of the phenomenon and establish the effectiveness of the conceptual framework of nation-building in Afghanistan. The conceptual framework of this dissertation is constructed from the nation-building theory.

The conceptual framework of nation building, connects the theory that intends to represent the actual elements of investigation from the research. Therefore, element of nation building in Afghanistan for this thesis includes U.S foreign policy for nation-building in Afghanistan, Security and peace in Afghanistan, refugees and displacement in Afghanistan, good governance and the rule of law in Afghanistan, economic impact in Afghanistan, media & freedom of speech in Afghanistan. All of these elements have been integrated to express the nation-building in Afghanistan.

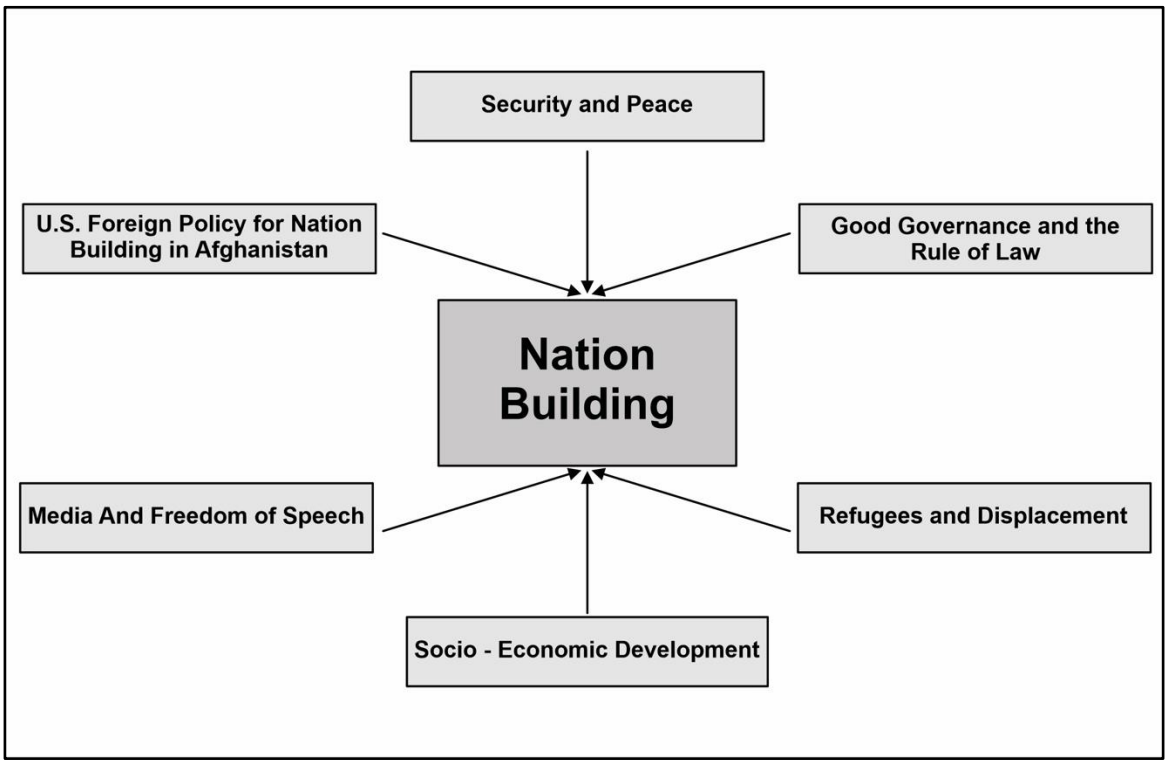


Figure 3.1. Conceptual framework of nation building

Source: Computed by Author

3.2. The Research Designs

This study has been designed to adapt the qualitative chain survey questionnaire to give the required results to answer the questions asked in the thesis. The qualitative method is concerned with primary data collections. The developed methodology enables the collection of data from primary sources to investigate the nation-building in Afghanistan. This research is designed to collect data from the civil citizens of Afghanistan, living inside Afghanistan or abroad. The selections of the targets have been from different

societies and groups intending to get a wide variety of data that has a vital meaning during the data analysis. Always a massive sample of the data is accompanied by a strong argument that leads to significant results.

3.3. The Research's Sampling Procedure and the Data Size

The research questionnaire involves the citizens of Afghanistan living within and abroad from Afghanistan from different ethnicities and provinces. Due to the covid-19 pandemic, the primary data collection is done through online forms, primarily Skype, WhatsApp, and google online forms. However, some questionnaires had been collected face to face.

291 Afghanistan citizens across the world participated in the research. About 273 agreed to participate in the study, while 18 people refused to join for this research. The number of responders is higher than the number who refuses; thus, the investigations from the analysis phase are conducted. The sample size collection follows the rules of Gotham's principle. Gotham (2004) states that if the number of the sample is found to be two-thirds of the total sample size that represents the population in the applied research, then the sample size can be used in the research analysis. The justification of sampling is to give the number of samples that are used in the analysis. A non-probability random style of sampling is used for primary data collection.

3.4. The Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire is designed in tabular form, which is represented in the form of rows and columns. Therefore, in column one, each table contains the number of perceptions. In the second column, the table has the specific perception related to the variable, and column three up to seven consists of the symbols aggregated together with percentages. These symbols are as follows; - SA% means Strongly Agree, A means Agree, N percentage of Neutral, D percentage of Disagree, SD percentage of the Strongly Disagree. All of the entity provides information from the interviewers once have been needed to be responded from the questionnaires. It starts with the variable of U.S. foreign policy of nation-building for Afghanistan, security, peace, good governance and the rule of law, socio-economic development, refugees and displacement, freedom of speech, and media.

3.5. Demographics

This part explains the demographic profile of the samples that have been collected to construct this research. Consequently, the demographic characteristic of this research is based on gender, age and marital status, academic qualification. The descriptive section aims to examine the percentage of the members who participate in this research. In the future, it helps to understand the consequences that faced the members during conducting of this research. Furthermore, the descriptive analysis helps figure out the higher rate of participants connected to their numbers and the level of education in the study. As we at the beginning of 2020, the world, especially the humans worldwide, has passed in critical condition due to the existence of the pandemic disease known as COVID-19.

Therefore, the way of conducting and collecting data has entirely changed. Thus, the questionnaires of this research have been distributed and conducted the interviews face to face and using online access using the google online chain survey and other online instruments such as skype and WhatsApp. The strategy has been implemented to achieve the estimated number of people who needed to be interviewed by the researchers. Also, we take this chance to condolence those who have lost their beloveds due to what COVID-19 has caused. Thus, different rules such as lockdown, wearing the mask, keeping distance, and even closing the production process, all of these consequences changed the behavior of humankind attitude. Due to such problems, this research is decided to conduct the interview both as online and face to face data collection method. Thus, the creation and outcome of the descriptive statistics have been described as follows.

Table 3.1. Participation's sex

sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	202	73.99
Female	71	26.01
Total	273	100

Source from the questionnaire

Table 3.1 above shows the demographic profile of members who participated in this research. It shows that males and females questioned in the study were 202 and 71, which can be expressed in terms of percentage as 73.99% and 26.01%, respectively. Therefore,

both of them make a total sample size of 100%. Eventually, the rate of males participating in this research is found to be greater than females. Moreover, females have a considerable number of contributions to improving the participation of the social communities.

Kindly if the women are well involved in the constructions of the nation-building, they can bring the abrupt change towards the nation-building. Therefore, females should be involved in constructing the country's nation-building through different stages of social societies. They shall have the right to share their ideas towards the structure of their nation, in this way, allowing the women to participate in the construction of nation-building policy. The important point from this table shows that the low participation of females is because in Afghanistan, the rate of working women is meager, and the education ratio of women is comparatively lower than the men.

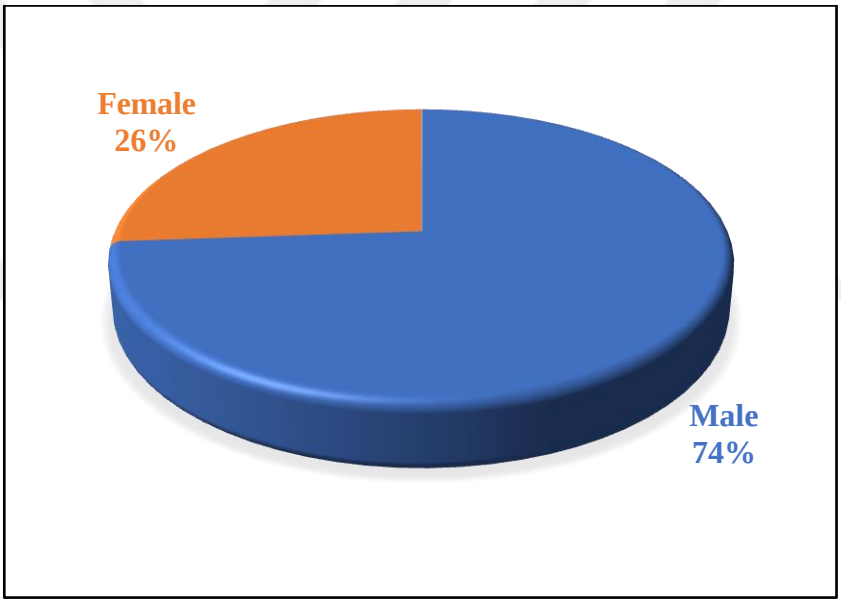


Figure 3.2. Participation's sex

Source from questionnaire

Graph one above represents the rate of participants from this research. The pie chart shows that the participation rate of the men in this research is higher than the of women. About 74 percent of the participants in the study are men, and 26% are females. The figure introduces gender equality issues, such as it shows that the rate of females in Afghanistan engaging in democracy is less than the males. The main focus of this figure is to investigate the number of males and females to facilitate this research. Females should be encouraged and empowered to participate in social and economic development. The

women have the right to participate in the construction of the nation-building of their county. The nation-building policy has a practical impact on strengthening the Afghanistan citizens, but the women should prioritize developing the nation-building policy of Afghanistan.

Table 3.2. Age of the participants

Age boundaries	Frequency	Percentage
20 – 30	89	32.6
30 – 40	115	42.12
40 – 50	37	13.55
50 – 60	17	6.23
60 -70	12	4.4
70 – 80	3	1.1

Source from the questionnaire

The above table indicates the age size of the members who participated in this research. The tables show that the age between 30 to 40 has the highest level of participation in this research. About 42.12 % contribute to this research; this is the highest percentage of participation compared to the rest percent. As you can see that this age is elementary to participate in the study because the age is accompanied by economic reforming, economic revolution, and economic development in general, they are ready to be equipped with the economic development of their nations. Consecutively, the youth are there actively participating on behalf of their country; this is why this age is found to be very high compared to the other generations.

The next age is about the age of 20 to 30. This age is essential for strengthening the social policy to the national development of the country. Although the young generation has influenced it, most of them understand what they are supposed to work for the benefit of their country. Intensively, the participation of this age for this research contributes about 32.6 % who are mostly university students and easily reached. The lowest rank is 70 to 80. Of course, this rank includes older people that participated in this research. The participation of the aged people in the study is essential because we can have different shared thoughts related to the research topic by experience. Thus, including them in this

research is very important. Therefore, this age contributes about 1.1%. Indeed, the percent is tiny; it should be higher than the 1.1%.

In summary, this table helps us to understand the age group who participated in this research. It helps us understand which age is participating more and which generation is participating less concerning their reasons. It helps us introduce the best policies that will help our citizens in connection with their ages to participate well in developing the national development and building a unified nation to seek a better future for the country.

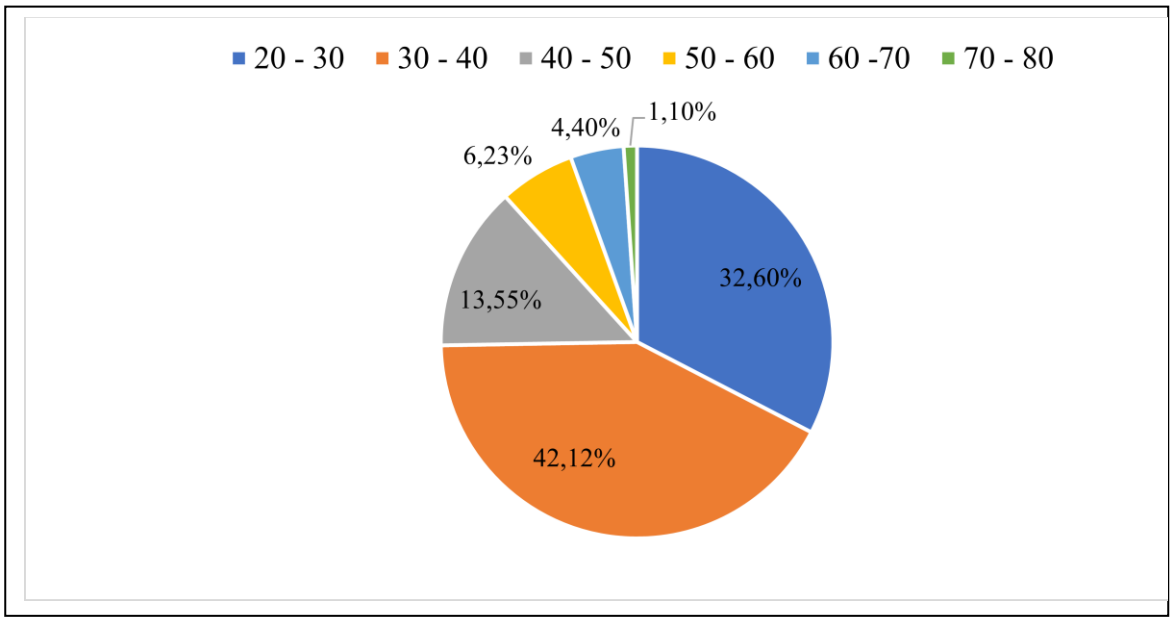


Figure 3.3. Age of the participants

Source from questionnaire

The pie chart indicates that the aged from 30 to 40 were the main participants of this research. This is because the age of 20 up to 50 are the main participants that they can give out their views about the nation-building of Afghanistan. The smaller number of the participants of this research is about the age from the years of 70 to 80. On top of that, this investigation investigated during the period of the pandemic disease known as the COVID-19; therefore, most of these aged people (60-70 & 70-80) were difficult to reach. Vice versa, the young groups of age such as 20 up to 50, are mostly equipped with technological changes and easy to reach this is why these younger groups lead to facilitates this research. Therefore, as the results the number of the age from 30 to 40 seems to be higher than the age of 60 to 80.

For the nation to achieve the best in national development, policies should invest much in research development. When we talk about science and technology, we always refer to the improvement of the research implementations. However, without research, the country itself is challenging to understand the position where it is supposed to be. Therefore, there is the need to emphasize our people towards participating in the social development at all.

Table 3.3. Marital statuses

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	81	29.67
Married	192	70.33

Source from the questionnaire

Table 3.3 includes the data that shows the marriage status of the members who participated in this research. As Afghanistan is an Islamic faith and traditional country, the age for marriage in the country is lower than in other neighborhood countries; this shows that the higher rate of the participants for this study is married. The connection point of this pace is due to the continuation of culture and tradition as the measurement of determining nation-building. There is a good collaboration between the mutual culture and creating a strong nation in any state. The high rate of marriage rates of participants represents the strong base of family in the country. In the family that grew up with ethics and beliefs, the generations are being cared for by the mother and father.

Thus, this family has roots and is dependent on their ethnic and tribal norms compared to the whole nation. It does not mean that the family without grown up with mother and father do not have strong beliefs about their countries. The point to note here is about the culture and tradition of Afghanistan to have a married family compared to living single. The table indicates that the rate of the married family to participate in this research is higher than the rate of the single-family. Both families have a specific contribution to the investigation of the nation-building in Afghanistan after the intervention of the United States of America.

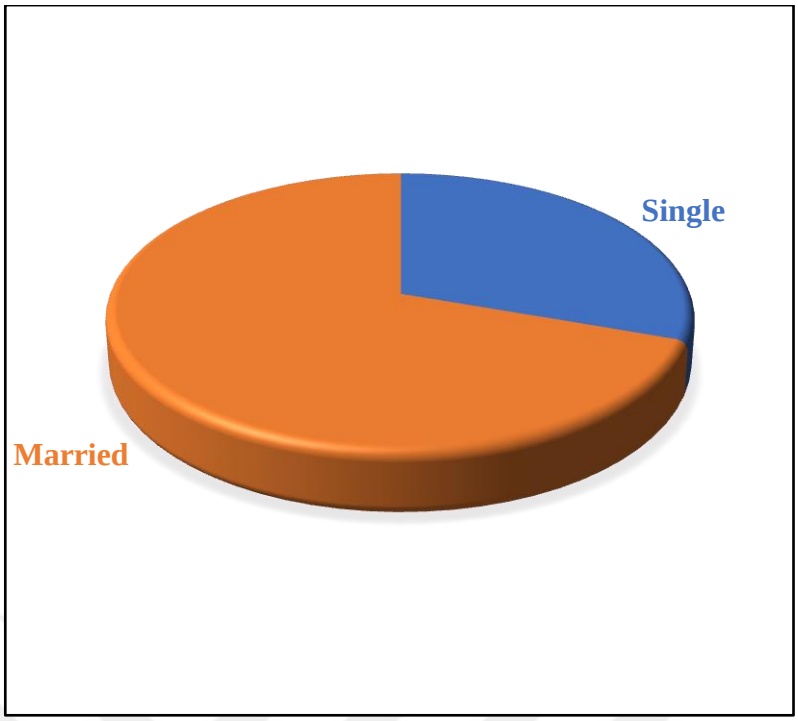


Figure 3.4. Marital status

Source from questionnaire

The pie chart shows the higher rate of the participants of this research is those married members. The evidence indicates that the married families show the sign of listening and following the order from the elders and religious leaders. Therefore, the issues of the demonstration, violence, and changing behavior, almost all those facts are connected to creating effective nation-building. The main focus of this particular juncture is to examine the contribution of the families in this research. As we know, the families' contributions to national unity are significant for the nation-building policies; as we have seen from the table, the number of married families is higher than the number of singles in this research. Thus, it gives us scientific proof that more work should be done to have the same rate in the participation of the research development. Because all families are coming from Afghanistan, both of them are responsible for constructing and developing the national unity of their country.

Table 3.4. Educational background

Level	Frequency	Percentage
uneducated	46	16.85%
High School graduate	89	32.60%
University		
1 Bachelor Degree	94	34.43%
2 Master's degree	35	12.82%
3 Ph.D. degree	9	3.30%

Source from the questionnaire

This table indicates the highest frequency in the educational status who participate from this research is bachelor's degree as indicated from this table. There is a smaller number of Ph.D. holders who were participating in this research. The investigation includes all the status to show the consensus of this research. The participation of the Ph.D. holders in these investigations should almost be meager. This is because the numbers of the Ph.D. in any country are consistently found to be smaller compared to the number of masters and bachelor holders. But we prefer to have the Ph.D. holders from this research because they have insight information concerning our topics. The study has been conducted during covid-19, so we try to interview different scholars from various universities, especially senior lectures and lectures who hold Ph D.

Although the number is small, we are very proud to have them in our research. Masters holders from different backgrounds have been interviewed for this research; the response was outstanding, as indicated in the table. These are groups of academicians who seek knowledge about the nation-building of Afghanistan after the invasion of the United States of America. It is essential because most of them know the nation-building meaning and concept. Therefore, their participation makes this research to be well successful. The other classes are about bachelor and high school graduates; of course, these groups show very significant contributions to the development of this research. Their participation is very high in such a way that we got a lot of information from them.

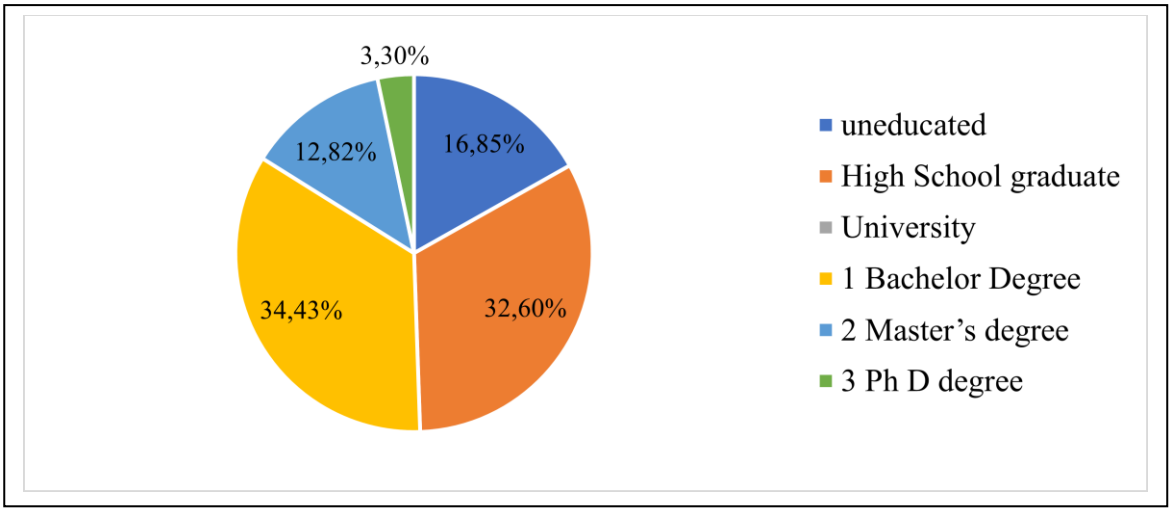


Figure 3.5. Educational background

Source from questionnaire

The pie-chart indicates the rate of the academic scholars that have been involved in this research. Education is the source of opening and examining different issues in detail. Without education, nothing could be done. The purpose of imposing this part is to share the skills and knowledge from the diverse Afghanistan citizens from the rest of the world. The academician has and always shared knowledge about nation-building in Afghanistan.

Through the academicians can strongly recommend and effectively advises good policies for the constructions of the national development of Afghanistan. If this is the case, different ranks have been invited to participate in these investigations. And as the pie chart shows that most of the participants are bachelor's degree holders and high school, graduates. However, we have some master holders and Ph.D. holders to participate in this analysis. Although we have also interviewed some people who did not attend a school or could not graduate from high school from both Kabul city and rural parts of the country, this is the fact that due to war and other economic and social problems; a large number of Afghanistan population are uneducated. The interview with those participants who could not write or read was done through reading the texts by a third trusted person; this but the main focus here is to examine the level of understanding insight about the nation-building after the invention of the United States in the different levels of Afghanistan society.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This study seeks to investigate the nation-building in Afghanistan after the intervention of the U.S. in 2001 till 2021. The following aspects were investigated: The U.S.A. foreign policy for nation-building in Afghanistan, security and peace, socio-economic development of the country, good governance and the rule of law, freedom of speech and Media as the significant factors on nation-building in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2021. To measure the effect of nation-building in Afghanistan, all the main actors are well described. Therefore, the justifications for applying these actors are as follows. In the existing literature, there are some studies investigated by using proxy variables, for instance.

4.1. U.S-Foreign Policy for Nation-Building in Afghanistan

Contemporary United States foreign policy in Afghanistan is attenuated by planning development, internal and external diplomacy, security, and defense. This policy implies that all the issues related to the United States foreign policy are dominated and controlled under the authority of military bases. The nation-building was initiated in Afghanistan for the U.S. power to maintain the political stability and follow counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency strategies in Afghanistan initially with side objectives to improve the economic development of the Afghanistan communities. However, the policy has been established purposely to control the war against the Taliban and Al-Qaida and assist the existing Afghanistan government.

The U.S. foreign policy for nation-building is constructed under various strategies; this includes the Quadrennial Defense strategy, The States Department's Transformational Diplomacy Initiative, USAID's foreign state strategy, and the national security strategy. These strategies enable the U.S. to defeat and neutralize the war of Taliban and Al-Qaida in Afghanistan. As it is understood the military defense is based on ensuring that peace and security which is maintained within the host country. The military policy was remarkably composed of civilian officials, and the decision was made from the centralized to invade Afghanistan and its execution.

The specific objective of the U.S. to be in Afghanistan was significantly to remove the Taliban and Al-Qaeda from power. The U.S. government claimed that the Al-Qaeda and Taliban were involved in the attack of 2001 September 11, which led to the massive death of civilians. Consequently, this way, the U.S. army invaded Afghanistan to remove and destroy the networks of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban.

The main objective of this research is to examine nation-building concerning U.S. foreign policy in Afghanistan 2001-2021. According to Robert Gates, the ex-defense secretary who replaced Rumsfeld in 2006 stated that the main objective of the United States of America's army in Afghanistan is to create a state-based on reviving the public services, rebuilding the infrastructures, promoting good governance and democracy, and the Afghanistan army should move into the mainstream of rethinking and planning strategy. Here it comes with an order from the U.S. army that all the Afghanistan military officers and public officials shall work parallel with U.S. soldiers and bring comprehensive collaboration with civilians and initiate good governance to tribunes, planning for advancing the infrastructures from the ruler areas to urban settlements. Therefore, the army should collaborate with civilians and the government to bring peace and security to the communities.

Thus, the U.S. Army has mandated to requisite security and control to stabilize the operations to the different areas to create foundations for the transition to civil authority. U.S. established the counter-insurgency (COIN) doctrine strategy in Afghanistan with the help of the international security force (ISAF) to remove the insurgency leaders and provide legitimacy for civilians and bring human rights to the people by ensuring that human rights violations should be exposed and avoided. In cooperation with the U.S. Army, the government of Afghanistan provides ample funds bestowed for schools and agriculture projects.

Therefore, the United States nation-building in Afghanistan includes different agencies such as the state department based on the interchanges of the foreign cultures, controlling the diplomatic movements between Afghanistan and other countries. The establishment of the USAID, which is based on the aid and assessment to Afghanistan was for economic development, culture, educational, health, humanitarian issues, and good governance.

Table 4.1. U.S. nation-building in Afghanistan (N = 273)

s/n	Perception	SA	A	N	DA	SDA
1	I support the presence of USA troops in Afghanistan	19.78	21.61	5.13	32.6	20.88
2	United States Nation-Building initiatives were beneficial to Afghanistan people	14.29	17.58	13.92	33.7	20.51
3	The Afghanistan people do not need USA assistance for nation-building	35.16	25.27	4.04	21.61	13.92
4	The U.S. nation-building made the Afghanistan people unite and closer to each other	15.75	12.82	11.72	27.84	31.87

Source from the questionnaire

Regarding the interviews made to assess the U.S. nation-building in Afghanistan for Afghanistan people, the results show that most of the Afghanistan people do not support the presence of USA troops in Afghanistan. Therefore, the United States Nation Building initiatives were not beneficial to the people of Afghanistan. Afghanistan needed USA assistance to strengthen nation-building in Afghanistan, but the USA fails to implement the nation-building of Afghanistan to unit and closer the people to each other.

4.2. Security and Peace

Without genuine and lasting security in Afghanistan, nothing will be possible, let alone the establishment of a new government, as Akhdar Brahmi, the special representative of the United Nations for Afghanistan between 2001-2004, said: The restoration of a stable Afghanistan state depends heavily on a capacity to deliver security for the Afghanistan people. The political observer of Afghanistan's politics William Maley stated that the process of securing and controlling the security of Afghanistan for the United States of America was the first premise of the U.S. national building strategy objective. The dignity and liberty of Afghanistan should be respected and maintained within their communities. As the political observer and United Nations presenter stated, it shows that there were challenges of the security among the civilian Afghanistan citizens within their country, As

the fact security is the crucial point to discuss on the bases of the national building in Afghanistan.

The U.S. army used the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) as the national building strategy to control the security in Afghanistan. The plan was announced at the Bonn conference in December 2001, which operated under the Umbrella of military organizations in cooperation with several countries, meaning that the United States and its allies of NATO started to make peace and control security in Afghanistan against Taliban, al-Qaida, and terror groups. Different meetings have been conducted to make sure that peace and security are maintained in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, after two decades of war in Afghanistan, the United States Army and its allies decided to leave Afghanistan and leave the total autonomy to the Afghanistan army to maintain peace and security of the country where once more than two hundred thousand foreign forces were fighting terror groups.

The questions have been raised from how the Afghanistan stance could provide better security defense within neighboring countries to secure its people and territory. The United States decided to withdraw the troops from the country while pledging to support the Afghanistan government and its security forces. The decision will help the Afghanistan government create a strong and effective national army and other security forces after decades by depending on help from the U.S. and NATO. However, some of the millions of Afghanistan people creates how ahead fear could be. The government of Afghanistan ensured that peace and security were maintained in Afghanistan. Although in the nation-building after leaving the U.S. and its ally NATO in Afghanistan should work very closely to make sure that for constructing Afghanistan constitutional. However, it is hard-worn to build the true democracy within the nations, the right to work, read, and participate in public life. Once they have been implemented effectively, all of the activities reduce the rate of violence and maintain peace and security within the Afghanistan community.

Thus, the future of Afghanistan is in the hands of the Youth of Afghanistan that will bring some social and economic development to communities. Therefore, leaving the U.S. and its allies will provide a wide chance for Afghanistan to have a new dimension of life and give Afghanistan full autonomy within and outside of the country. It is time for the Afghanistan youth to unite and show the strength and solidarity that will not go back to the war as previously. Coming back to the battle will distract the country again, and it takes

time to rebuild the country in an excellent position in considering peace and security, which is a hard-won achievement in the nation's face. The war opens the chance for the terrorists to occupy the space and trigger humanitarian and refugees.

The meeting of the Atlantic council provides the way that Afghanistan develops the long-term plan outlook to maintain peace, stability, and security in Afghanistan consistent with Afghanistan people, U.S. and European interests and values. This group of distinguished European, American, and Afghanistan diplomats, military officers, scholars, and analysts brought to our deliberations a deep understanding of the context both on the ground and among the allies. This explored a diplomatic-security framework based on the minimal conditions and variables necessary to realize a long-term vision of a sovereign, unified, democratic, peaceful, and prosperous Afghanistan. It is also generated recommendations to support this vision. While the participants in the Strategic Dialogues have differing views on the wisdom of the decisions made by the United States and NATO, they are a preliminary agreement that the withdrawal of troops will not end the "forever war" for Afghanistan or the region. We, therefore, remain committed to putting forward a long-term vision for partnership between Afghanistan, the United States, and Europe. The United States and its European allies still have a range of levers—diplomatic, financial, political, and economic—at their disposal. What is urgently needed is a coordinated set of actions to mitigate the likely security and political consequences of the military withdrawal as part of a plan to advance stability and peace in Afghanistan.

Thus, the U.S. Army and its components agreed to work together and very closely with the Afghanistan National Defense and Security Force (ANSF) to maintain peace and security within Afghanistan and its territories. ANSF started the plan to secure the legal order, protect the civilians, defend the country border, and control counter-terrorism from the Al-Qaida and Taliban. a new long-term partnership approach with Afghanistan based on mutual respect and shared interests will remain critical for advancing security, justice, human rights, democratic governance, and stability. Near-term actions must support the Afghanistan state's ability to provide protection, good governance, and essential services for citizens. In addition, support for strengthening Afghanistan's key institutions is critical to containing violence, achieving stability, cultivating the rule of law, and sustaining development. Therefore, the following graph shows the rate of the U.S. Army and its allies in Afghanistan.

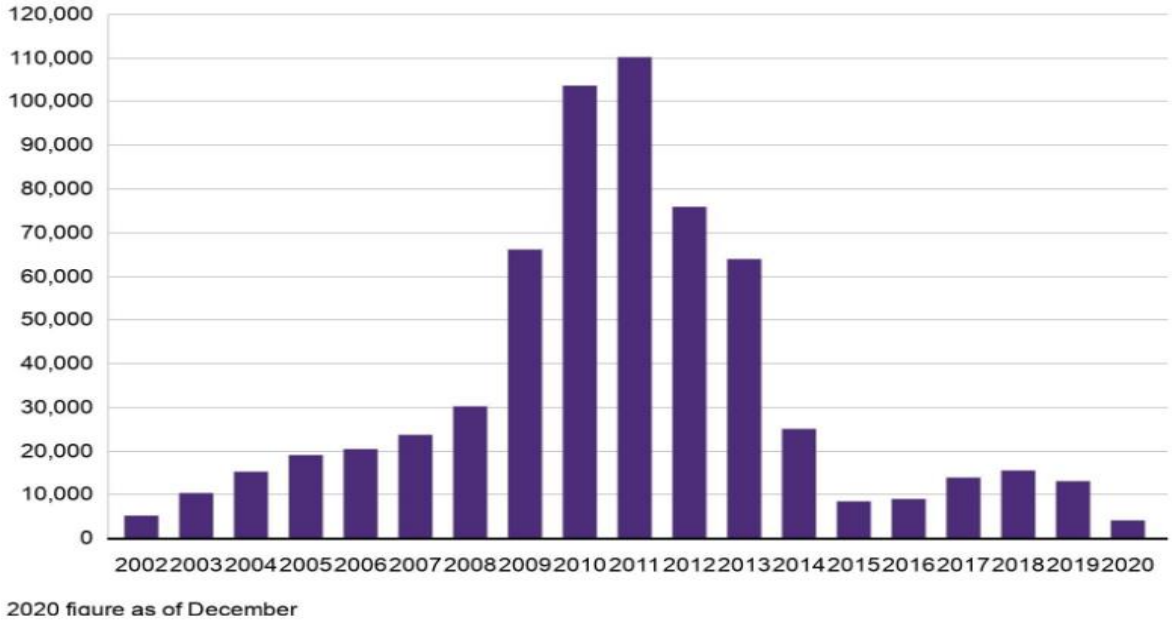


Figure 4.1. The graph of the U.S. Army in Afghanistan

The above graph indicates the cost of conducting the vertically and time variance of the U.S. to existing in Afghanistan. The U.S. foreign security policy is connected to the nation-building change its strategy of training the Afghanistan National Defense and Security (ANSF) instead of sending the national U.S. army to Afghanistan. This strategy dramatically reduces the cost of the operation in a large amount. For instance, between 2010 to 2012, the U.S. had more than 100,000 soldiers sent to Afghanistan to operate against the Al-Qaeda and Taliban. The U.S. spent nearly $100bn per year; in 2019, the cost sharply decreased to the rate of $45bn, according to the pentagon.

Thus, according to the Military Defense of the U.S. states that the total cost to run the operation in Afghanistan is about 778 billion of dollars. The budget for the construction of Afghanistan is nearly $44bn for the project construction. Therefore, this makes the total cost about $822bn this is between 2001 to 2019. Most of the money was used for the expenditure of counter-insurgency operations. The remaining budget was used for the food, medical services, clothes, shelter, payments, and military benefits.

However, the official data from the department of the U.S. officials shows that about $143.27bn was used to construct different activities in Afghanistan. More than half of the $88.32bn was spent building up Afghanistan security forces, including the Afghanistan National Army and police force. Nearly $36bn has been allocated for governance and development, while smaller amounts were also allocated for anti-drug efforts and

humanitarian aid. Some of this money has been lost to waste, fraud, and abuse over the years. In a report to the U.S. Congress in October 2020, the watchdog responsible for the oversight of reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan estimated that about $19bn had been lost this way between May 2009 and December 31, 2019. But U.S. casualty figures are dwarfed by the loss of life among Afghan security forces and civilians. President Ghani said in 2019 that more than 45,000 members of the Afghan security forces had been killed since he became president five years earlier. Brown University's research in 2019 estimated the loss of life amongst the national military and police in Afghanistan to be more than 64,100 since October 2001, when the war began. And according to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (Unani), nearly 111,000 civilians have been killed or injured since it began systematically recording civilian casualties in 2009.

Therefore, this investigation depicts how the U.S. troops and NATO conducted operations and the cost spent in Afghanistan to fight Against Al-Qaeda and Taliban. The cost had been divided into two perspectives as its cost of billions of US dollars just operates the war in Afghanistan. The second cost is related to the human being killed due to the war that existed in Afghanistan. Due to this enormous amount of money that has been spent, then Afghanistan decided to seize the war and implement the new strategy just to undergo the operation among the Afghanistan people to neutralize the war in Afghanistan. Overall, Afghanistan needs to have new dynamic strategy to combat the war and reduce the fighting in Afghanistan.

Table 4.2. Security and peace

s/n	Perception	SA	A	N	DA	SDA
1	The Afghanistan national forces can provide security and peace in Afghanistan without USA assistance	16.12	17.22	6.23	35.16	25.27
2	The United States military operations were not responsible for civilian deaths and the rise of violence	29.67	27.11	12.45	13.55	17.22
3	The presence of the U.S. and other foreign troops is a barrier to Afghanistan peace and security	25.27	27.47	5.13	21.62	20.51
4	I believe that the Afghanistan government and Taliban will agree on peace	15.02	33.70	5.49	19.78	26.00

Source from the questionnaire

The table indicates that both Afghanistan's national forces and the United States Army failed to maintain peace and security in Afghanistan. The death of Afghanistan civilians is caused due to the wars that operated between the United States Army, Afghanistan national forces, and the Taliban. The war causes massive death of Afghanistan's people. Thus, the presence of U.S. army and the other foreign troops act as peace and security barriers to Afghanistan. Therefore, there is no sign of having a peace agreement between the Afghanistan government and the Taliban.

4.3. Refugees and Displacement

Afghanistan has various policies related to the national development as the country. However, the fighting that exited for decades within the country opened up multi-dimensions of the nation to have a strong and effective national agenda discussion for the development of Afghanistan. Particularly this section details the national development for refugees and peace stability in Afghanistan, the creations of the good social policy that examine the policy of education, health, and development for urbanization and rural

development policy. All of these facts act as the national development based on the nation-building in Afghanistan.

Therefore, this section will start to discuss the migration and refugee policy in the context of nation-building after the intervention of the United States and its allies, NATO. Afghanistan's government worked closely with the strong and effective institutions of the United States of America. United Nation like UNHCR to diminish the problem of the refugees who leave the country and decide to live to the foreign governments under the strategy identified as Support Voluntary Repatriation, Sustainable Reintegration and Assistance to Host Countries (SSAR) to resolve the challenge of refugees from Afghanistan.

A large part of Afghanistan's population has decided to leave the country because of the Taliban. By the time before coming to the United States, there was no rule of law. Many Afghanistan people were diver stated and killed by the Taliban. Thus, most of them run from the country and migrated to Iran, Pakistan, and India. The arrival of the U.S. army had created a partially stable government and had implemented somehow paper-based good governance policies in Afghanistan. In this context, the number of refugees dramatically dropped after 2001.

The United States and NATO maintain peace and security by removing the Taliban from power. It is well understood that, before the inversion of the U.S. Army and its allies NATO, some of the innocent Afghanistan civilians lost their lives and their wealth. In contrast, others left the country and decided to live abroad for fear of being killed by the Taliban. This is why the internal affairs cooperated with the migration ministry to create a good policy that enables the Afghanistan people to return to their homes. From this conceptual policy framework, three effective policies have been contracted such as return reintegration migration policy, regular migration policy, migration and development policy, and Afghanistan migration diaspora development policy.

The migration policy of Afghanistan is organized and implemented by the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and international institutions such as the Ministry of Refugees and Repatriation (MoRR), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations of High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). The organizations and the Ministry of Refugees and Repatriation work together to create a suitable environment to return

home for the country's national economic development. The policy has been identified as the strategy of Afghanistan's national peace and development framework that was mainly implemented in 2017- 2021. This policy acknowledges the need for durable solutions of displacements and in a fever of refugees return and to emphasize the development program to their home country.

Nevertheless, the new comprehensive migration policy was established from 2019 to 2020 but was already implemented at the beginning of 2021. The three key areas that have been notified from this policy focus on return and reintegration of migrations, regular migration, and migration and development programs for the refugees in Afghanistan. Additionally, there is an Afghanistan diaspora engagement policy for advancing Afghanistan from the year 2021 to 2030. Inter-ministerial diaspora affairs of Afghanistan have drafted this policy.

The policy has been created to manage the affairs of the migration and refugees, repatriation, and crating the sustainable development of the refugees who decided to come back home. In addition, to provide legal assistance to those refugees who chose to go back home as well as to give social services to displaced persons also to attract national and international cooperation to work together for the help of the refugees. The policy involves the numbers of the ministries that stand up together to create a solid and effective migration policy for the seek of helping the refugees and migrants even to the host countries of Afghanistan refugees.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has existed since 1998 to provide humanitarian assistance for Afghanistan people to coordinate the refugee’s issues from Afghanistan to the rest of the world, especially the refugees based in the Islamic Republic Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Furthermore, to ensure that the services and human rights for the refugees are migrants are provided to Afghanistan migrants and refugees. Also, the IOM is responsible for formulating the Afghanistan migration policy for those refugees who return, mainly from Pakistan and Iran.

Since 2008 the IOM has sheltered aid alongside those that occurred with natural disaster mitigation such as health quick, fraud and refugees camp for refugees as far as providing the warning system due to the occurring of the catastrophic in the country. IOM in 2017 created the database that recognizes all the returning refugees from abroad and

provides the policymakers due to the circumstances on how the effective strategy could be implemented to make Afghanistan people stay in their country and become more productive for the benefit of their country.

In the context of the functions of the super process, the IOM provides the services of Cross Boarder return and Reintegration (CBRR) to the post-arrival assistance due to the vulnerable undocumented Afghanistan people once they come back or are captured once they cross the border or return to the home. The Humanitarian assistance program (HAP) to those affected with catastrophic or any calamities that affect the people. IOM was engorging to the protections of the Afghanistan people once they crossed the border.

The services provide more information to those Afghan details, especially in the issues of terrorism or any human traffic that is based on the person. In the context of the regional consultation, the IOM works together with the Afghanistan government to support the formal and informal, and non-binding dialogue and information sharing about the migration policy.

The UNHCR in Afghanistan overarching policies ensure the voluntaries safe and dignified returns from abroad to their country. Therefore, the UNHCR is the advocate for the reintegration return of the Afghanistan people to their homeland. The UNHCR works together with the existing government to gather information about the refugees and migration facts in Afghanistan. Also, the UNHCR works together with neighboring counties such as Pakistan and Iran to increase the hosting number of refugees in those countries.

The migration and refugee policy cannot be effective without the intervention of the IOM and UNHCR. The government of Afghanistan, IOM, and UNHCR rebuild the policy that consolidates and minimizes the challenges of the refugees and migration issues in Afghanistan. There is the need to have peace and security in Afghanistan so that Afghanistan people can have the settlement on their countries and work by producing different products on the seek of the nations.

A country without peace cannot have substantial improvement and maintenance of humanitarian aid because war is everywhere. So, the peace and security constructed by the Afghanistan citizens, no one can come abroad and bring the Afghanistan people peace and security. The only thing that the Afghanistan people should focus on is saving the peace

and rejection of being refugees or migrants to another country. It's time now for all Afghanistan people to cooperate and show their sodality, hormone, dignity, and liberty for their country. Fighting cannot be ended except when the Afghanistan people decide by themselves.

Thus, the migration policy is the Afghanistan national development agenda for the benefit of the people of Afghanistan as the data shows that before the intervention of the United States in Afghanistan, the Taliban killed innocent people without any reason, which caused the Afghanistan people running from their countries and being refugees and migrants to the foreign countries. In this context, after coming to the United States in Afghanistan, the number of refugees dramatically declined. This shows that the primary source of the peace breakage is the Taliban.

Owing to these facts, the Afghanistan people will enjoy the tenderness of the peace and harmony of their county. Furthermore, the United Nations and IOM, together with national institutions, should cooperate to enhance peacekeeping in Afghanistan. More effort has been made, but there is the need to have contingent planning to maintain peace and security. There is inversely proportional to the rate of peacekeeping and the refugees as well as migrations. When the rate of peace is high it means that the rate of refugees could be nothing or very low, but when there is war in the country, the rate of refugees and migrations of the citizens is higher. Therefore, we cannot talk about refugees and migration as part of the national development agenda in Afghanistan for constructing good policy for refugees and migrants without representing the issues of peace and security.

Table 4.3. Refugees and displacement

s/n	Perception	% S.A.	%A	%N	%DA	%SDA
1	the return of refugees to Afghanistan brought diversity & tolerance among the different ethnics of Afghanistan	35.53	31.50	0	24.54	8.42
2	The initiatives to attract refugees to Afghanistan was successful (2001-2020)	7.33	15.75	1.1	34.43	4.76
3	The Taliban war increased the displacement and refugees	45.42	32.60	3.66	8.79	9.52
4	The returnees to Afghanistan were not well integrated with the environment and people (2001-2020)	8.42	28.94	4.03	35.16	23.44

Source from the questionnaire

The return of refugees in Afghanistan brought diversity and tolerance among the Afghanistan people. However, the refugees need peace and security to return to their homeland, but the Afghanistan government, together with the United States, have failed to implement. Thus, the return of refugees will integrate and strengthen the nation-building in Afghanistan.

Therefore, the refugees and migration policy are the nation-building of Afghanistan and explain how the benefit can be obtained if the country establishes this policy to the national building in Afghanistan. The policy has been well implemented and researched once the Taliban administration has been removed from power. Positive and negative consequences have been determined after the intervention of the United States of America and NATO in Afghanistan. Thus, the national development of the Afghanistan to create excellent and effective migration and refugee's policy by cooperating with the Afghanistan government and International Institutions and owing to that the policy will be essential to the nation-building of Afghanistan. Also, the migration and refugee policy should be

supported by the rule of law and good governance policy of the country. Thus, the following section is about the rule of law in Afghanistan.

4.4. Good Governance and the Rule of Law

Good governance is the practice of true democracy by respecting the rules that have been agreed upon and assigned in the constitution of the respected country. The rule of law is about following and respect of the regulations of the country. Sorely the government should distribute and provide equally the rights to every citizen. Therefore, the citizens have to live as the constitutions need to do so. Remarkably, there is no one above the law; all citizens are treated equally according to the country's law.

The rule of law referred to the freedom of speech too; the citizens have the right to criticize the existing government without breaking the country's rules. The citizens should have the right to speak and have the right to demonstrate if the government is doing wrong against the citizens. Furthermore, the rule of law is about the right of voting to the government leaders. Generally, the government should prepare a specific time for the citizens to elect their leaders to run the country. Thus, the winning part with collaborating with the government to run the country within a specific time. Owing to this, there is a particular time for the ruling party to run the country. When the running party is being finished, the government should invite the elections to allow the citizens to select their leaders. Therefore, the citizens should have the right to vote to elect their leaders in the presidential complaints, governors, parliament members, and other local leaders.

The rule of law controls and minimizes the rate of corruption, which is critical in developing social welfare. Thus, the rule of law is going proportional to constitutional democracy. There are so many advantages of the country to apply the rule of law. This is because the rule of law respects the constitutional democracy, which always appreciates human rights, dignity, and liberty, the human right. Hence, it is about respecting human rights and where all government activities are controlled and governed by obeying the law from the constitution.

The rule of law is not different from good governance. So, the rule of law provides the legal ground of the citizens to have the right of decisions concerned with the various activities in the administrative context. It includes the right of the citizens in the court; the

citizens have got their rights without involving in the corruption's affairs and the citizens are well respected by the security and different institutions and they can work and operate their activities freely without breaking laws written and agreed upon in the constitutions.

The rule of laws creates effective and robust institutions to rule the country. The results of existing institutions lead to the formulation monitoring the government expenditure and delivering the report of what the government collects from the citizens in terms of the tax and what the government receives from the donors in terms of the grants and loans. So, the government should be responsible and accountable if there is no clear statement about the government spending to the governmental projects such as roads constructions from the rural and urban areas, the provisions of the medical services to the citizens regarding to the better services and be affordable to every citizen, the basic and the primary educations to the citizens as the human investment. Therefore, all government incentives and projects should be managed and secured as agreed by the national parliament—the rule of law based on providing the right to every citizen in the country.

The case of Afghanistan before the intervention of the United States and its allies is very different towards implementing the rule of law. The citizens did not have the right to participate politically, and there was no freedom of speech. The following is the map that shows the rate of practicing the rule of law in the South Asian countries, including Afghanistan.

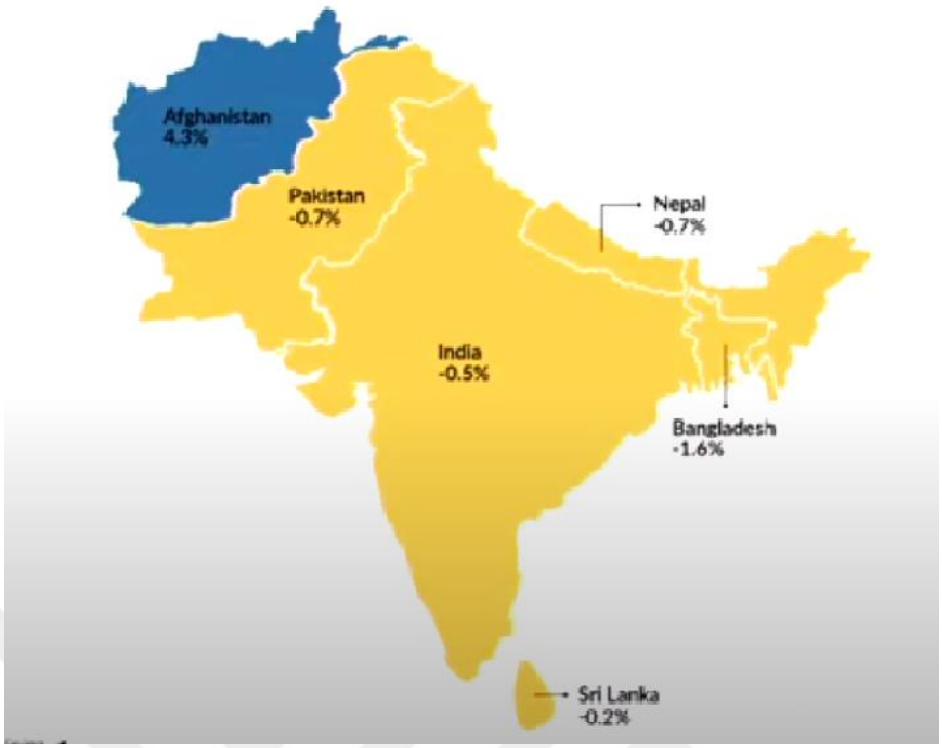


Figure 4.2. Rule of Law of the South Asia countries

Source from the World Justice Project, The Rule of Law in Afghanistan, key Findings from 2019.

The map has been shaded with blue and yellow colors to indicate regional practicing of the rule of law within the regions.

The blue color indicates Afghanistan with 4.3%. However, the percentage seems to be higher compared to some of the other south Asian countries. The percentage has been increased after the inversion of the United States of America in Afghanistan. This is because so many changes have been implemented, although there is a long way to go to achieve the best achievement of performing good governance in Afghanistan. The implantations of the institutionalizations and allowing people to operate together improve the court functions and give the judiciary autonomy to run the country without being biased from the decision.

Working with neighboring countries and international for justice and good governance to improve the quality and services of true democracy in the country at least raise the rule of law in Afghanistan. However, according to the United States institute of

peace report, the last percent operates with practicing the rule of law. Bangladesh seems to be -1.6% which is very low compared to the other countries.

Afghanistan tries to improve to implement good governance and the rule of law in the country between 2001 and 2019, the rate of good governance was reasonable. The bellow figures indicate the score of Afghanistan in practicing good governance and the rule of law among the South Asian countries.

Thus, the graph represents the regional integration of South Asia countries, including the rule of law index. The institutions are based on the investigations of the good governed in the world. Based on the graph, the data shows that Afghanistan has 4.3% of the rural law. The index seems to be very low; therefore, there is a need for the government and other political institutions to increase the rate of good governance in the country. The percentage rate seems not to be enough for the rural of law. Thus, the government of Afghanistan should be transparent as well as practice true democracy in the country.

The government should ensure the consistency of the human right to the communities. All the Afghanistan people must be the same in front of the mirror of the constitutions. The government must be responsible and accountable for the improvement of the democracy and social welfare of Afghanistan. Corruption should be controlled and minimized to the extent that everything must be kept in the right place. In doing so, the Afghanistan indexes should rise and be a better place to settle. Abruptly the social development of the people and community development will increase, and the nation will enjoy the national cake of the nation as we know that to improve the national development, we have to promote and enhance the rural law in Afghanistan.

Table 4.4. Rule of Law Index: South Asia

Country	Overall score	% score change over 1yr	average annual score change since 2015
Afghanistan	0.36	4.3%	0.7%
Bangladesh	0.41	-1.6%	-0.5%
India	0.51	0.5%	0.2%
Nepal	0.53	-0.7%	-0.3%
Pakistan	0.39	0.7%	0.5%
Sri Lanka	0.52	-0,2%	0,6%

Source: World Justice Project's index, Report 2021

The table includes all the necessary information related to rural law in Afghanistan. The table indicates the general score, the percentage overall of one year, and average annual score change since 2015. The score of this table is related to the measurement of the rule of law in South Asian countries. Therefore, this table shows that the Afghanistan index score of rules of law is about 0.36. Generally, the overall of Afghanistan has the lowest score performance that is connected to the rule of law, compared to the other South Asian countries. But there is a good performance in the rule of law during the year 2020. Thus, the percentage score of one year is the highest compared to the other South Asian countries.

The average rule of lawyers practicing in Afghanistan is also good during 2015. Therefore, there is an improvement on the average in Afghanistan, about 0.7% across the South Asian countries for the five 5years. The progress of the rule of law is due to establishing the different justice institutions that work to develop human rights in Afghanistan. Thus, we need to see more improvement by establishing strong institutions that work for establishing the effective institutions that work to establish the good governance policy in Afghanistan. Effective good governance is created due to the existence of government accountability, corruption control, bribery victimization, the fundamental freedom of Afghanistan to the citizens. The insight of these facts has been depicted in the form of graphs to make it a very clear understanding. It starts with government accountability.

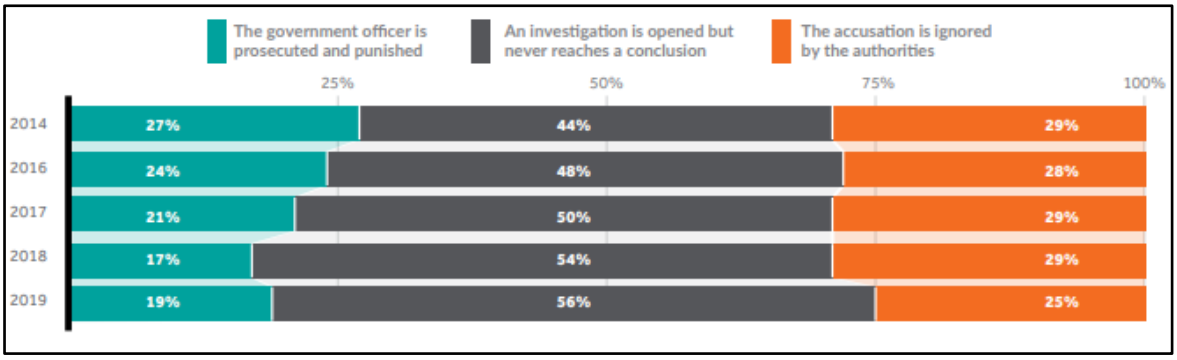


Figure 4.3. Government accountability

Source from the World Justice Project's index, 2019, (https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/Afghanistan_2021%20WJP%20Rule%20of%20Law%20Index%20Country%20Press%20Release.pdf)

Government accountability is a vital instrument to the facility of the good governance in Afghanistan. The government should be accountable to the citizens is to provide all necessary conditions for human rights by establishing the rule of law to the citizens. The graph shows that the government officers in Afghanistan's rate of being prosecuted by hijacking the human rights rate are decreasing from 2014 to 2019. According to the report that the world of the Justices has prepared, the rate of the government officers to be prosecuted was very high during the year 2014. And it reached a small percentage during the year of 2018, but it raised again in 2019.

To provide good governance for the establishment of the rule of law, the government offices should be free from any kind of prosecution by involving criminal activities. However, the investigations are continuing to determine the government accountable for the government leaders in the country. Further investigation has been made during 2019 to determine the rate of government accountability to Afghanistan citizens. About the year 2014, there was a small rate of government accountability has been conducted. The investigations give us the report through which the highlight and good governance related to the rule of law can be created. There are some accusations of some authority in different institutions for the government officers. Cementing this point, the government accountability is connected to the government officers towards understanding their responsibility and accountability from the effects of the rule of law. Therefore, the government officers should avoid being prosecuted and ignore the rule of law its terms and

references. Further investigations and the report should be all about the government accountability should be created and identified.

Good governance is related to controlling and minimizing corruption at the community level. The government officers, especially those dealing with defining and protecting laws such as primary courts, national courts, and supreme courts, are responsible for determining and protecting the laws. The government offices related to those courts, such as judges even the advocates, have the right to provide justice to the community instead of being prosecuted and ignored or sometimes found to be accused from the laws as the government offices are accountable to protect the laws against those who were breaking the laws.

The national parliament of Afghanistan has the mandate to create rules that the whole people in Afghanistan will use. The members of parliaments are selected from the different regions of Afghanistan. The main function of the members of the parliaments is to construct the laws that the whole people in Afghanistan will use. As the part of the government are accountable to protect the laws and be accused from the government accountability. Adding to that, the Afghanistan military soldiers and the other government instruments are responsible to protect the rule of law and not being found to be accused from the rule of laws.

The nation-building of Afghanistan is to improve government accountability through its government institutions. Enhancing the investigations process against government accountability by associating government officers, improves the accountability and reliability of the rule of law in the national development. The reports from the investigation due to its government accountability helps to know the various challenges and how to resolve those problems which is connected to human rights. Government accountability is associated with practicing, accountability, reliability of the justices in the court. It is a robust and reliable tool for making decisions to provide the human rights to the community of true democracy, transparency and fairness. Government accountability creates trust and respect from the citizens towards their existing government. Generally, the issue of accountability and transparency for the government officers shapes the government to be accountable to the Afghanistan citizens. In conclusion, the government of Afghanistan should improve the investigation to enhance the rate of discovering the prosecuted for government officers for the development of Afghanistan. The following graph is related to

the corruption behavior in the different institutions from the domestic level to the national level in Afghanistan.

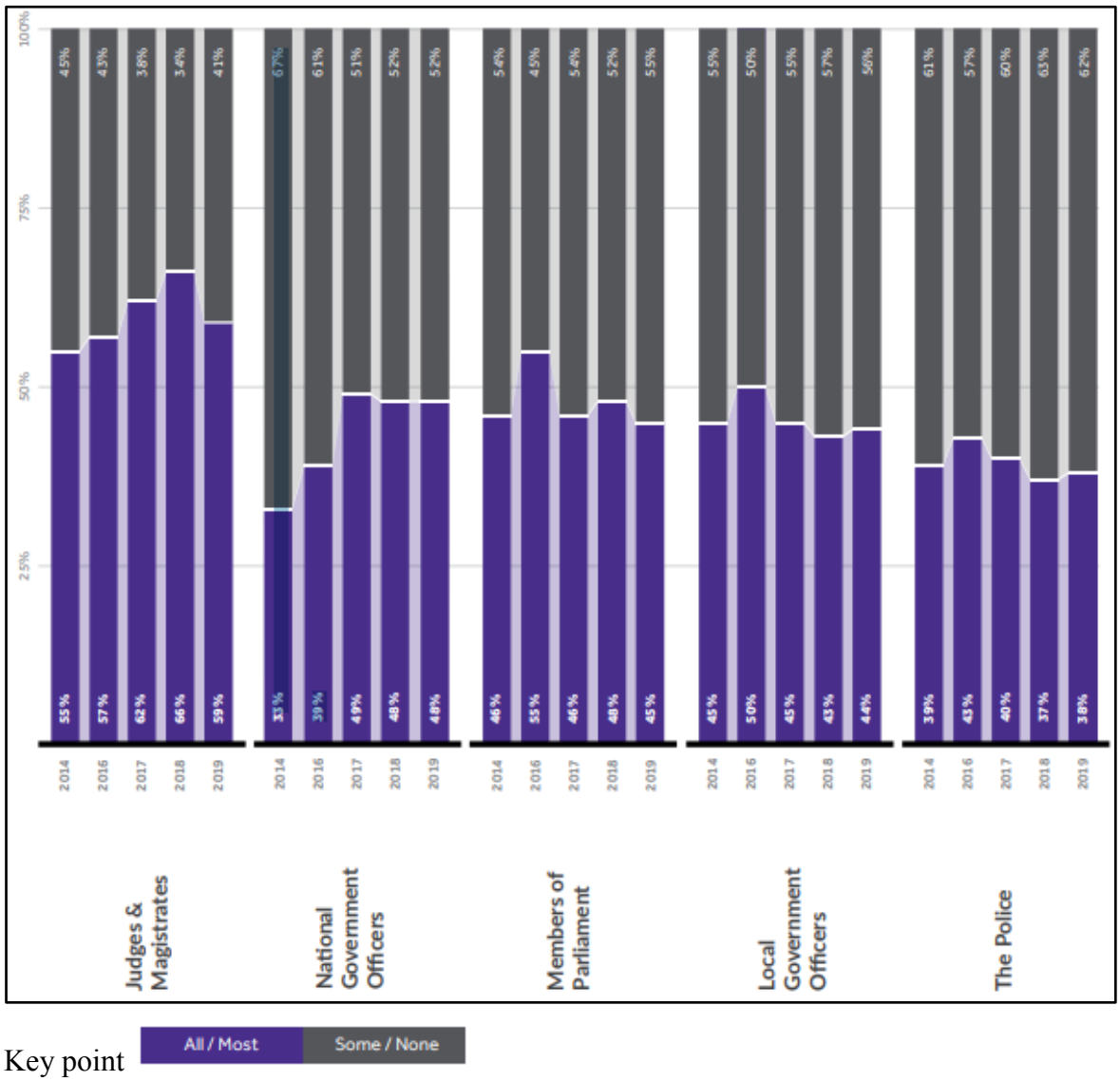


Figure 4.4. Corruption across the institutions in Afghanistan

Source: WJP General population poll 2-14,2016,2017,2018 and 2019

The corruption case has been an investigation into different institutions in Afghanistan, these includes public and private institutions. But primarily the investigations of the corruption were investigated in the court institutions, National government officers, members of the parliaments, Local government officers, and the police. According to the world justices, the graph shows that there is a decreasing rate of corruption from the government institutions. Before there was no existing government that respect the rule of

law. This is the reason why the rate of corruption is high. An unstable government stimulates corruption and makes it creasing; this is due to the fact there is no rule of law.

In most cases, the services will be obtained through corruption. It means that corruption is spreading everywhere. This is the case why the corruption was high before 2014. Corruption is an obstacle to social and economic development and it is the friend of poverty. Corruption prevents the transmission of human rights from one person to another. It contains the individual human rights from the government ownership therefore, the corrupted government cannot achieve efficient economic performance. There are different types of corruption in Afghanistan. Corruption at the national level and corruption at the international level. But introducing the different International Institutions to combat the corruption in Afghanistan dramatically, the rate of corruption has dramatically declined. As you can see from the world justice shows, the rate between 2014 to 2019 has declined.

The nation-building in Afghanistan initiated different institutions from the government sectors to fight against the corruption and corrupted government officers in the Afghanistan government. In the context of institutionalization, the reports show that there is a dynamic fluctuation of the corruption within those institutions, for instance, Judge and Magistrates the rate of corruption during the year 2014 was very low but increased gradually from 2014 up to 2018 the slightly dropped in 2019.

The investigation shows that the rate of corruption in the court and magistrate is still high. Owing to these facts, more efforts should be done to minimize the rate of corruption in this institution. National government officers show a low rate in 2014 but the rate slowly increases up to 2017. The rate tends to remain constant from the year 2017 to 2019. Thus, the corruption of the government officers is high, so the government in Afghanistan must take specific measures to reduce the rate of corruption in both the public and private sectors in Afghanistan. With regard, the member of the parliaments, the level of corruption is lower compared to 2015 but suddenly the rate of corruption declines a little from 2016, then it remains very slightly changed towards 2019. There is a good performance in controlling the corruption in the local government officers. The policy institutes show strong effectiveness in combating corruption. Good governance is being associated with managing and controlling the rate of corruption in the country. The effective government is pelvic the way the government accountability. The rate is constant, but still, more work must be done to decrease the corruption rate in Afghanistan.

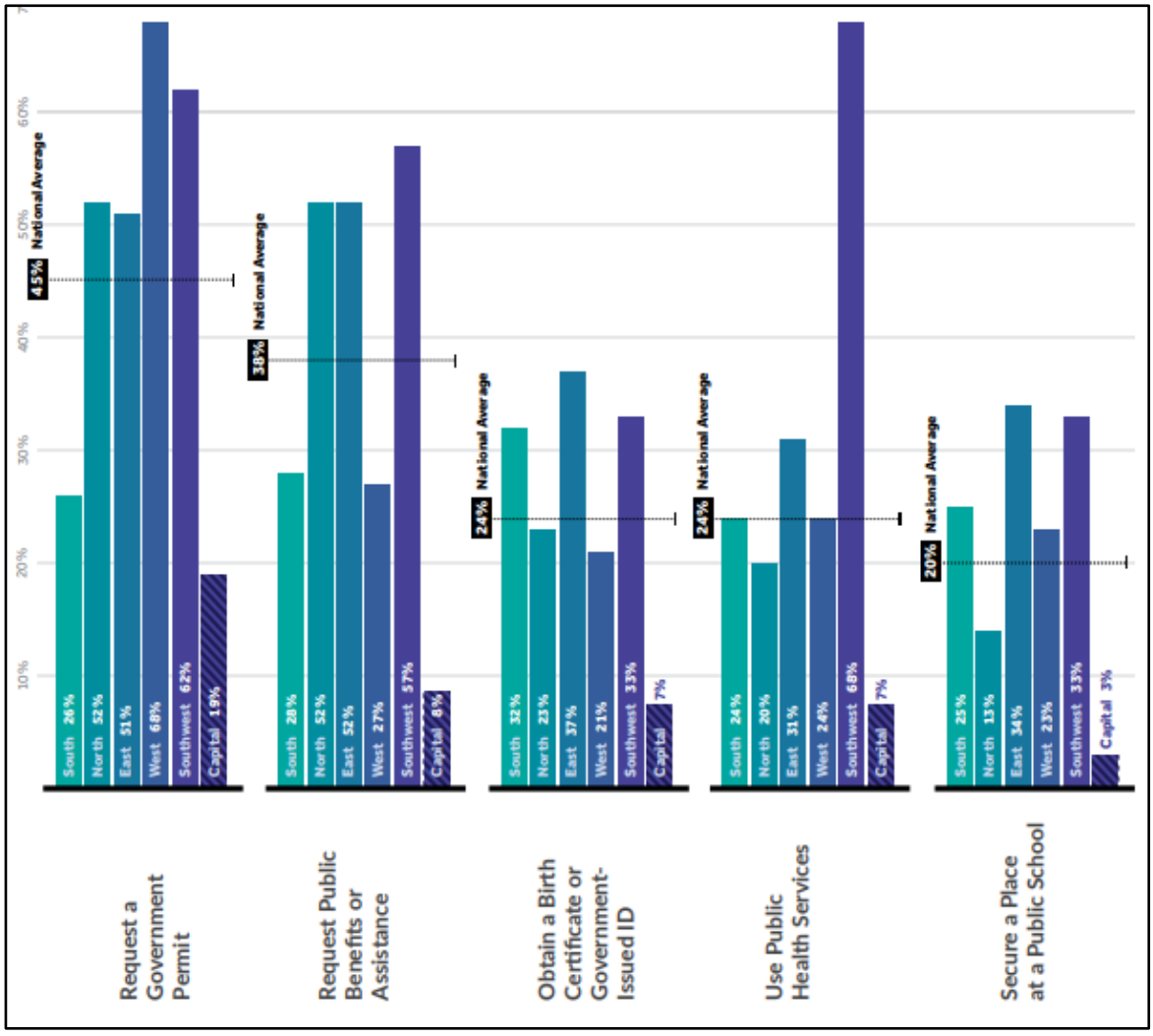


Figure 4.5. Bribery victimization

Source from the World Justice Project's index, 2019.

The graph shows the rate of bribery victimization regional-wise. For instance, in the government permit, the western regions are shown to have 65% compared to the rest of the areas. This rate indicates that the government should take the initiative to control the rate of bribery in this region. Also, the higher rate of public benefit or assistance is shown in the region of the southwest. The rate is about 57% in the southwest. This indicates that the government should put more effort into this region to control or minimize the rate of bribery. The public health services provision shows to have the highest bribery it's about 68% in the southwest. Thus, the rate of bribery has been well indicated mainly in the Southwest of Afghanistan. Generally, the government of Afghanistan should reduce the rate of bribery in all cities of Afghanistan.

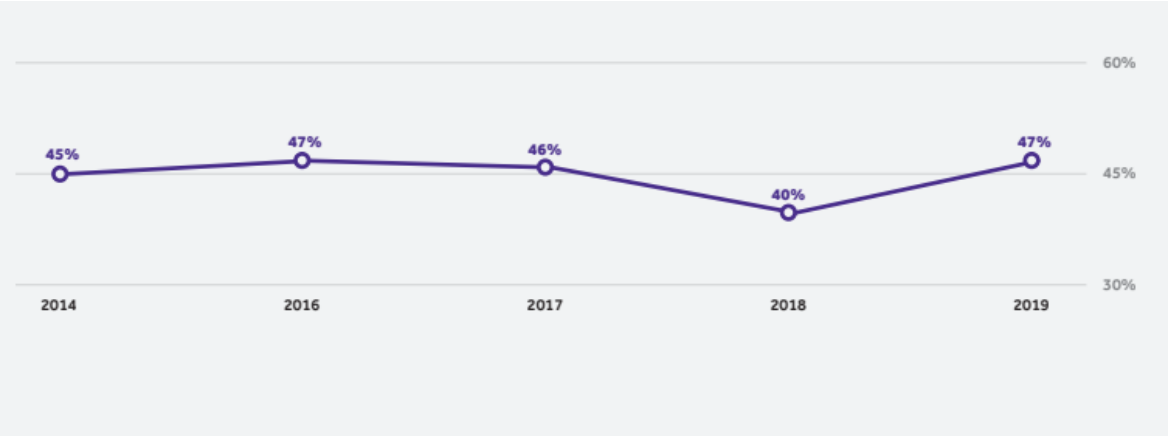
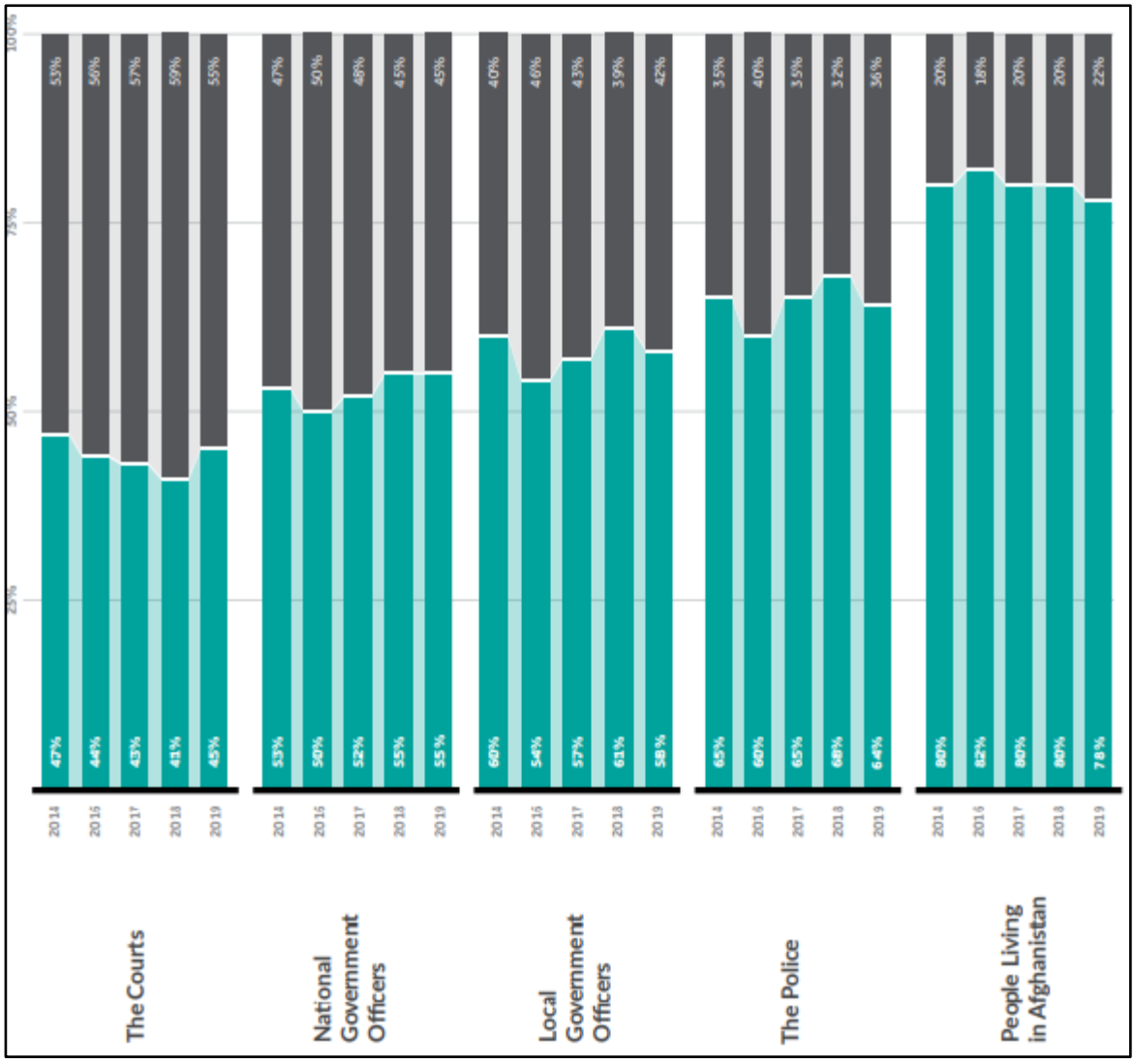


Figure 4.6. Perception of the criminal court in Afghanistan

Source from the World Justice's index, 2019
(https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/Afghanistan_2021%20WJP%20Rule%20of%20Law%20Index%20Country%20Press%20Release.pdf)

The rate of citizens participating in the court just to listen to their case has been improved from the year 2014. However, there was some interruption during the year 2018 by declining the case. The main point is here people just go the court to fight their rights. Many differences can occur in daily life, so if there is a misunderstanding among the Afghanistan people which leads to fighting or taking the wealth of someone else. So, the court is the only instrument that can bring justice among those people. The issues of the corruption for the civil workers, after being identified that they are being involved in this madder, they have to send to the court just to bring the justices. There are issues of the government contract, this involves the agreement between the government and citizens as well as the government and other countries or other institutions. So, the court is the only instrument that can bring justice to the people. The graph shows that during the year 2019 the percentage of criminal courts in Afghanistan is very high compared to the previous years. This demonstrates the responsibility of the criminal court in the community.



Key points

Figure 4.7. Trust institutions in Afghanistan

Source from the world justice project, 2019 (https://worldjusticeproject.org/our-work/publications/rule-law-index-reports/wjp-rule-law-index-2019)

So, trust is crucial in the institutions it cannot implemented a strong and effective government without having the trust in the institutions; the belief in the institutions creates good governance. Trust is about the accountability from the government to the institutions and from the institutions to the individuals. Thus, from these investigations, the world justice indicates that in the court institutions, the trust rate is less than 50%. Although somehow is below 50%, more effort should be done to improve the trust in the

organizations. In the national government, officers show a percentage which is above 50%. In this context, somehow is found to be well satisfied but more work has to be followed to improve the trust in the government institutions.

The local government shows some improvement in the area of trust. However, the local officers must improve the rate of trust from their regions. Somehow the police institutions show improved performance on how to operate with criminals as the main functions of the police institutions are to control and maintain peace and security. To make sure that all the criminal cases must be subjected to the court. Trust is a very important instrument for the needs of good governance in the country.

As the country sometimes has a national contract with foreign countries, grants, and loans from the national institutions, providing justice to the communities, there should be transparency between all these activities. Trust goes together with transparency. Trust is very essential to government services; the trust for the government projects towards providing services to the communities. The government should create trust in the citizens by practicing, if the citizen loses faith in the government, it can lead to the destruction of the legitimacy of the government.

Thus, the section explains the rule of law and the judiciary system in Afghanistan. The interest of investigating this part is to connect the implementation of the rule of law and judiciary system leads to the national building in Afghanistan. All the postulates that have been explained above referred to the nation-building of Afghanistan. Here is the case, there is a need to improve the judiciary system; the government should be accountable and responsible to Afghanistan, implementing the trust in the government institutions for both private and public organizations. The government of Afghanistan should fight to reduce corruption within the government institutions. The police institutions have responded to reduce the number of criminals within the communities.

In this section, this thesis investigates the elements and essentials of the establishment of good governance in Afghanistan. Afghanistan implements good governance to improve democracy and the rule of law in the country. Good governance provides the freedom of speech for all citizens, particularly good governance focuses on strengthening the existing government, allowing women to participate in economic activities based on human rights, combating corruption, and expanding the government

structure to all regions of Afghanistan. Thus, good governance is based on building indolence, transparency in the government institutions, reforming and creating an influential trustworthy institution state, legal certainty for all citizens, and strengthening governance structure for the effective infrastructure of the government. Thus, good governance is friendly to the citizens; this is because the citizens have access and freedom to their government. Otherwise, the worse government cannot promote a good democracy, and it is a stimulus of increasing the rate of corruption and breaking the rule of law.

Good government promotes peace and security, which is very important in the country. Without peace, nothing could be done either for economic production or human health. The existence of good governance allows citizens to participate fully in economic development. There is a concern between good governance and economic development. The economy grows bigger once there is an achievement of the good governance in the country nukes the economy cannot Perform well.

The process of adopting the new feature of good governance has been initiated from the year 2002. This is because in 2000 the United Nations has assessed Afghanistan for the improvement of the rule of law and found that there is a fall of the good governance into different sectors in Afghanistan. To overcome these challenges in 2001, different institutions from outside and inside of Afghanistan were created to establish good governance in the country. Good governance focuses on the improvement of livelihood, the welfare of women, and other disenfranchised groups. Despite creating an effective government in the country but several significances can be created due to the establishment of good governance in the country. Among them, there are the extension of both government and non-government institutions states, strengthening the public sectors and public administration capabilities, effective legislative institutions and law enforcement, controlling and minimizing the level of corruption within the country, solid political institutions and parliament oversight capabilities, enhancement of community development and civil society institutions, gender inequalities and limited injustices to the communities, and development of the human right enforcement.

Since 2004 Afghanistan has adopted a new feature of the improvement by adapting the good governance in the country. But it is not an easy task to adopt the unique features of good governance and to be improved abruptly. Because it is difficult to achieve substantial progress concerning security and political development. Thus, the good

governance of Afghanistan is created due to the government structure of Afghanistan. And the following section is about the governmental structure of Afghanistan.

Table 4.5. Good governance and rule of law

s/n	Perception	% S.A.	%A	%N	%DA	%SDA
1	The rules and laws are practiced to every citizen of Afghanistan equally	5.13	12.82	0	35.16	46.89
2	Bad governance and corruption lead the youth to join the terror groups, especially the Taliban	35.53	25.27	6.23	24.18	8.79
3	The government officials are not accountable and transparent to the public	16.48	24.54	8.42	29.67	20.88
4	I don't trust in the juridical system of the Afghanistan government	27.84	34.43	4.40	24.54	8.79

Source from questionnaire

The rules of law are not effectively practiced in Afghanistan. Thus, the government of Afghanistan failed to control and reduces the rate of corruption in the government. The failure of implementing good governance in the country enables youths to join the terror groups especially the Taliban. Moreover, the government officials are not accountable and bring transparency to the people of Afghanistan. Therefore, the people lost their trust from the government, especially the judiciary system.

4.5. Socio-Economic Development

Table 4.6. Socio-economic development

s/n	Perception	A	SA	N	SDS	DA
1	the economic situation of Afghanistan people got better with the United States existence	30.40	27.84	6.59	20.88	14.29
2	With the United States leaving the country, the economy of Afghanistan people will decrease	30.77	26.37	7.69	17.95	17.22
3	The United States provided investment for the construction of the Afghanistan economic infrastructure	37.36	17.95	5.13	20.51	19.05
4	Unemployment is leading the Afghanistan youth to join the armed and terror groups	36.26	26.37	8.79	20.15	8.42

Source from questionnaire

Afghanistan has the framework for millennium development goals. The key areas have been identified through this millennium goal. The target of these millennium goals is to bring social, economic development and empower women by allowing them to participate in social and economic development. Specifically, the national development strategies of Afghanistan are represented below.

Table 4.7. The short-term and long term of ANDS

Duration	Planning
2005-2020 for 15 years	Millennium Development goals
2003-2013 for ten years	National development strategy
2006-2010 for five years	Afghanistan compacts
Annual for one year	1387 budget

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The table above indicates the strategic planning of the Afghanistan government to be implemented into different phases. The national development framework strategies help the donors channel their budget to provide funds or grants to Afghanistan according to the priorities identified by the government. Without national development strategies, donors will not be able to provide the funds to facilitate the different projects in the country to maximize the social welfare of the people. So, the clear national development strategies go together with visions and implementation of national policy to improve the national development projects from the government to the communities.

The Afghanistan national development strategies are the millennium goal development (MDGs) to reduce poverty among the people of Afghanistan. The strategy is underpinned by the principles, pillars, and benchmarks of the Afghanistan compact. Various departments are involved in the construction of the Afghanistan national development strategy. These departments are the president's office of Afghanistan and his cabinet, commissions, and independent securities for exciting and controlling the projects for development planning, ministerial and provincial department, governors and municipalities, the provincial department of line ministries. Regional councils are elected from the village and district level.

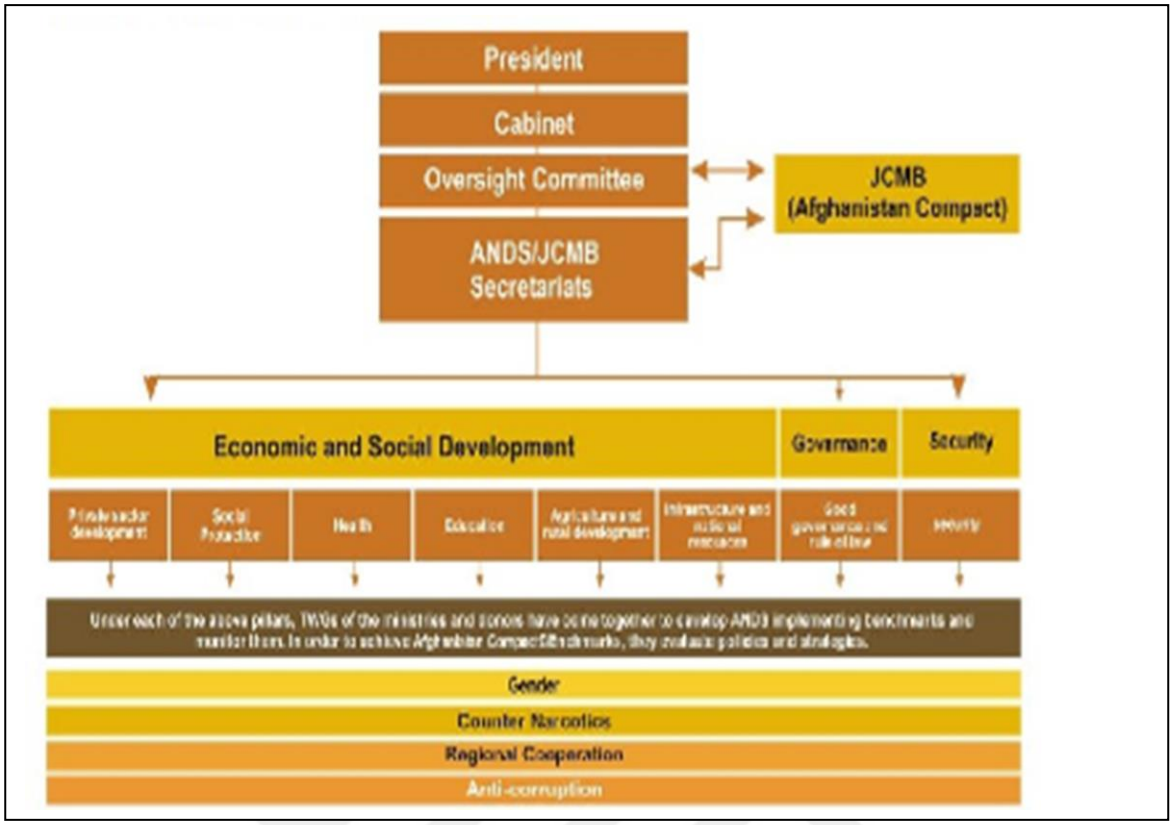


Figure 4.8. Structure of Afghanistan National Development Strategy

Therefore, the structure shows the Afghanistan National Development Strategy framework. The graph indicates different institutions related to the government and non-government institutions. As it is described previously the main functions of imposing these institutions are to reduce poverty and to bring brightness and hope to the Afghanistan communities.

The nation-building policy in Afghanistan is to ensure that the performance of good governance is improved. Therefore, the national development strategies of Afghanistan include different planning as the nation-building in Afghanistan. To create strong economic development and improve the national trade for importing and exporting different products from Afghanistan. The national strategies look beyond increasing the number of different government projects in the country. Road constructions, airport constructions, power energy generation, agricultural economic, improving financial institutions are key priorities that enhance the social and economic welfare of Afghanistan. So let us discuss the infrastructure development in Afghanistan as the national building and national development strategies in Afghanistan.

4.5.1. Infrastructure Development Projects

Afghanistan's infrastructure development strategies have main areas to develop in the context of economic development to connect the country. These areas were identified as airport civil aviation, Roads, railways, Afghanistan was assigned the contract with Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) to expand the Hamid Karzai International Airport on December 19, 2020. The main objective of this project is to increase the navigation Air services by building the airport international controlling tower that will have the authority to monitor and control the navigation services in the country. As a result, the aircraft and other flights will have the safety flying on the skies while the projects contribute to the implementation of the SDGs Goal.

The agreement was accomplished between the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and United Nations Offices for Projects (UNOPs). The construction of the Hamid Karzai International Airport should be increased; this is due to the fact the number of flights at the International airport has increased since 2019 as we know that the Hamid Karzai International Airport is located in the capital city of Kabul, which has different activities. Most airport travelers from the outside and inside the country use this airport for transmission from one town to another or from Afghanistan to the rest of the world.

Thus, after completing the project construction, the expected number of arrivals and departures to be more than 5000 air passengers, and the tower at the same time will have the ability to control the flights estimated to be 300 aircraft within 24 hours' time frame. Therefore, it tends to accelerate the economic activities within the integration countries due to establishing international trades across the regions. Furthermore, it provides safety grounding or landing for aircraft across the country. Hopes it increases the foreign exchanges to the national income due to the transit of different foreigners who will visit the country. The strategic international airport plan is not for Hamid Karzai International Airport but also some more airports from other cities are under planning to make them better and provide efficient aviation services to the air passengers.

4.5.2. Road Constructions

The road constructions in Afghanistan closely coordinated with World Bank (W.B.), European Commission (E.C.), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), U.S. Agency for International America Development (USAID), Asian Development Bank (ADB), and United Nations (U.N.). About 10,000 kilo meters of roads have been constructed since collapsing of the Taliban in 2001 in Afghanistan. But unfortunately, most of them have been damaged due to the pore constructions.

The Ministry of construction and Civilian aviation of Afghanistan has created the road map system for roads constructions that will examine the quality and standard of the roads during the construction The main objective of this system is to make the streets quality and standard that it can sustain longer. The national development strategy in Afghanistan is to improve the regional highway road construction. These roads connect Afghanistan to neighboring countries such as Pakistan, India, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan.

These roads foster and linkage the regional trade between Afghanistan and neighboring countries. The purpose of Provincial Roads is to improve the administrative, trade, and economic contacts between district headquarters and respective provincial capitals and between important district headquarters, although the purpose of Rural Roads is to bring the hinterland in commercial contact with markets and power seats.

4.5.3. Railway Construction

Afghanistan government had planned to initiate railways regional connectivity projects. The project will be assisted and given loans from the Asian Development Bank. Thus, the project will standby for 2023. Thus, the construction of the railways that connect one region to another promotes the economic activities within the areas of Afghanistan. In addition, it will simplify the cargo system associated with heavy goods from one region to another.

Furthermore, the projects will help the citizens to transfer their goods quickly and at the lowest price. Both the small-scale industry and large-scale industry will be benefited from these projects. The government will earn more money, and the revenue of the country will increase. Particularly the engineers from Afghanistan work to gather to initiate the

project at the beginning. The compilation of the project will promote the employment of different Afghani, and therefore it tends to improve the community development. Thus, the railway's construction has a significant meaning towards the strong economy.

4.5.4. Agriculture Development

Agriculture is the second-largest sector to drive the economy of Afghanistan after the services. About 80% of the population in Afghanistan live in the village, most of them are agricultural. The agriculture sector provides a significant opportunity of creating employment for the people in Afghanistan. Thus, the agriculture sector contributes about 23% to the national GDP of the country. So, it plays s major role in the economic development of Afghanistan's economy. About 40% of the income of the citizens in Afghanistan is derived from agriculture. Therefore, the culture becomes the national development unity in Afghanistan. In this way, the government's National Agriculture Development Framework of Afghanistan has created a five-year roadmap for agriculture.

This project aims to increase the farmers' revenue to achieve about 40% up to 2020. Thus, the nation-building of Afghanistan is connected to agriculture is based on the improvement of agroeconomic sectors from the root level. Agriculture is the backbone of the country in such a way that different sectors depend on agriculture. The nation-building [policy of Afghanistan on the side of agriculture is just to work and operate together with the Food and Agriculture Organization.

4.6. Media and Freedom of Speech

The only media that existed during the Taliban rule was Radio Sharia, and there was religious publication. The television was burned, and there was difficult to communicate through phones. Before 2001 there was less freedom of speech in the country. The citizens were not allowed to represent anything against the existing government. So, the citizens were not permitted to criticize the government and make any demonstration or violence against the existing government even though the government does not respect the rule of law. After the invention of the United States freedom of speech, Afghanistan has started to implement the media to the program. Currently, the media act as primary regulators towards the existing government. If the government is doing wrong against the citizens,

thus the citizens, through the media, can play their part in correcting the government for the establishment and following the rule of law.

Therefore, the media bling the positive impact on nation-building within the country. The media in Afghanistan are used to educate and provide information related to politics, Economic and social aspects. So, the media in Afghanistan are used to uniting the citizens across the country. Because Afghanistan is composed of cultural diversities with different ethnic groups, therefore, all the nationalities are connected with media by educating and giving them additional information that is related to their countries. The televisions, daily news, online media are accountable for sharing the information that was occurring with the country within a fraction of a second.

Table 4.8. Media & freedom of speech

s/n	Perception	A	SA	N	SDS	DA
1	In Afghanistan, we have freedom of speech	29.67	25.27	6.23	26.74	12.09
2	The Afghanistan media (television, radio, newspaper…) is not promoting the Afghanistan nation to unite and develop	20.51	22.34	9.89	26.37	20.88
3	The people of Afghanistan trust the media	30.40	6.12	3.30	24.91	25.27
4	Freedom of speech is harmful to Afghan culture	19.78	12.45	3.30	30.40	34.07

Source from the questionnaire

The investigation from this study shows that Afghanistan has freedom of speech. The majority explained that the citizens in Afghanistan can critics the government through media. Thus, the news, Television, and Radio stations are used to promote the human right of Afghanistan. As a result, Afghanistan creates trust in the media. Therefore, freedom of speech is not harmful to Afghanistan's culture.

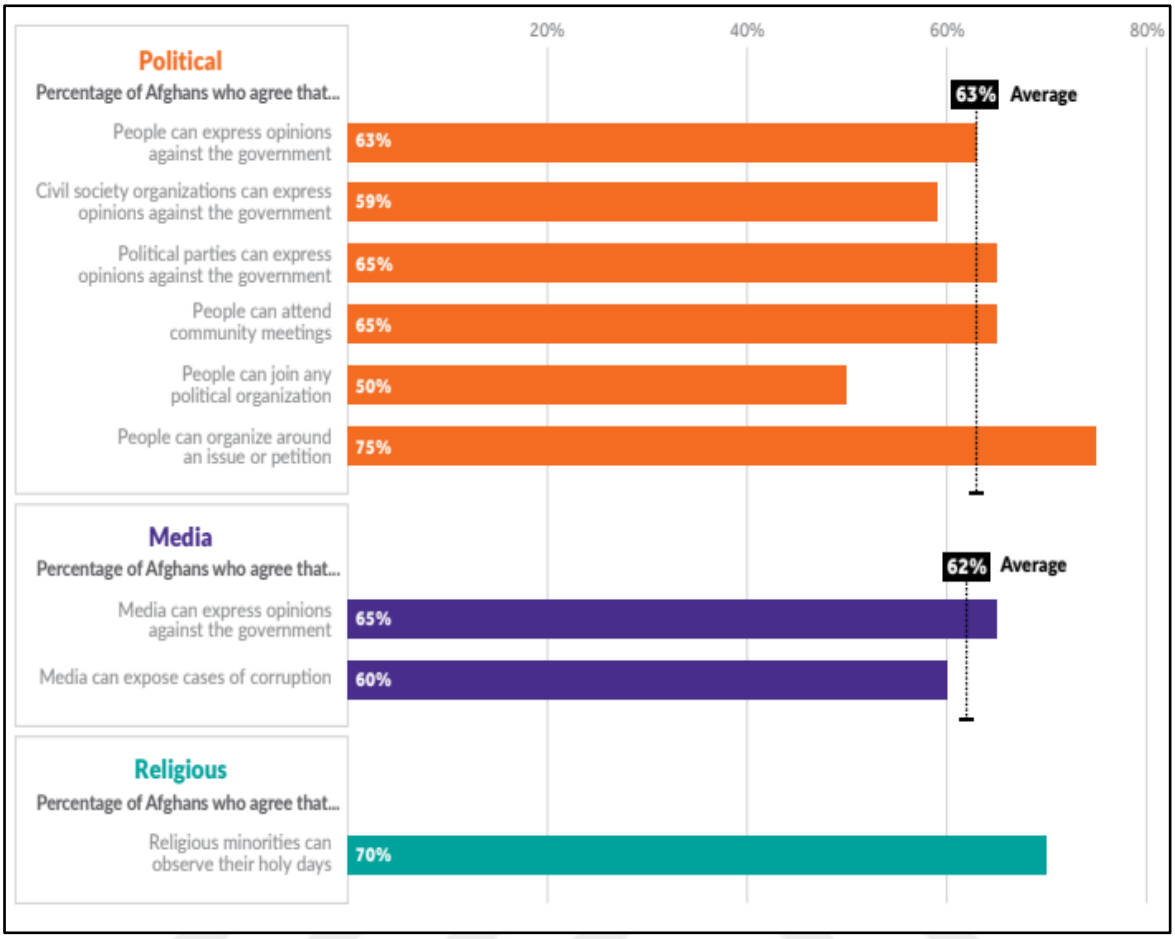


Figure 4.9. Fundamental freedoms in Afghanistan

Source from the World Justice Project, 2019

https://worldjusticeproject.org/sites/default/files/documents/Final-Afghanistan-Report-2019.pdf

This graph represents the fundamental freedom in Afghanistan. Basically, in this context, it expresses freedom in the sense of media, freedom to engage in the political part, freedom of speech, freedom of traveling and living everywhere, freedom to live, and freedom to participate in community development. In the political situation, most of the Afghanistan people agree to have the freedom to participate and share ideas with the government. From 2014 to 2021, there are excellent changes in implementing democracy and the rule of law in Afghanistan. In this context, most of the people participate in voting and make voting for their leaders to run the government.

The graph indicates that about 63% agreed to have good participation in expressing their ideas to the existing government. Also, it's about 53% for civil societies to participate their expressions to the current government. The political part has a 65% percentage to

present their terms to the existing government. Therefore, people can organize any issues related to strengthening and making well the implementation of the freedom of speech. And of course, it is about 75% agreed to have this participation. Cementing these points, there is freedom of speech and freedom of Afghanistan to live during these years. The media have the freedom to express different issues related to good governance. The graph shows that the media expression of their opinion is about 60% and the exposing the cases associated with corruptions issues is about 65%. All of the thesis's facts are concerned with freedom of speech in Afghanistan. Furthermore, the government effective democracy to allow the Afghan to participate in the political activities

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATION

This thesis aims to observe the nation-building in Afghanistan after the intervention of the United States of America in (2001- 2021) Afghanistan. The thesis is a qualitative model where the data of the research have been collected by using the chain survey questionnaire from the different people of Afghanistan. The scope of this study is based in Afghanistan. About 273 samples of the questionnaires have been distributed to the civilian to collect the information related to the nation-building of Afghanistan after the intervention of the USA in 2001. The gender of balanced has been considered by involving both males and females. The research finds nation-building as the extraordinary actor for uniting the Afghanistan people and the sources of social and economic development. The wars destroyed the development planning and left the people of Afghanistan with wounds that were uncovered. Moreover, the war causes the restlessness of Afghanistan while Afghanistan people prefer more peace and security for their nation.

The research distributed the questionnaires to the different parts to collect information related to nation-building in Afghanistan. About 273 people were interviewed on different questions that are related to nation-building in Afghanistan. The study is based on gender equality which involves males and females in participation. It is associated with different educational backgrounds and different age statuses. In this context, the study is based on unbiased for collecting and delivering information from the interviewers. Tables were used to describe the results that have been collected from the questionnaires.

The investigation of the nation-building in Afghanistan was discussed in the key points such as the USA-foreign policy of nation-building to Afghanistan, good governance and the rule of law, the refugees and displacement of Afghanistan people, the freedom of speech and media, and the government public projects in Afghanistan. All of these facts have been explained in the context of the nation-building based in Afghanistan. The findings from chapter four revealed the following outcome. The results of this research have been discussed consecutively; it starts with the USA nation-building policy in Afghanistan.

The statement of this research is to investigate the nation-building in Afghanistan. The statement was being created due to the rising huge number of refugees in Afghanistan, the internal conflict, the provisions of the social development services, good governance, the rule of law and freedom of speech in Afghanistan and how these facts affect the nation-building of Afghanistan. The result of this statement is that by rebuilding and strengthening nation-building and the government should maintain and handle all of the mentioned facts. If the government cooperated with human rights institutions, it strengthens the nation-building in Afghanistan.

To answer the research questions separately, for the first research questions that is "Does the U.S. nation-building process assists in stabilizing and sustaining Afghanistan?" Based on the questionnaire and analysis of the secondary data for this study, this study accepts the null hypothesis as it states that the USA's nation building initiatives does not assisted the nation building in the Afghanistan. Where majority of the participants for this research voted for against the presence of USA in Afghanistan with nearly 32.6% and 20.8% in total for the disagreement with the presence of USA. Where the participants also disagreed with the initiatives of USAs for nation building in Afghanistan with 33.7 % and 20.5%, the participants for the primary data also disagreed with the statement "The U.S. nation-building made the Afghanistan people unite and closer to each other" with 27.8% and 32%. Therefore, this thesis accepts the null hypothesis and rejects the alternative hypothesis.

The first case to be discussed from this research revealed that there were less support of Afghanistan by the United States of America towards the construction of nation-building in Afghanistan. However, the initiatives of nation-building from the USA to Afghanistan were not effective and beneficial to both sides. The strength of nation-building of Afghanistan needed assistance from the USA's government, however, the USA nation-building on Afghanistan was failed. Nevertheless, the Afghanistan people had the chance to strengthen and implement nation-building in their country.

The result is supported by Russell (2021) who investigated the issue of nation-building in Afghanistan. In his recommendation, he stated that nation-building should be implemented by Afghanistan people (Russell, 2021). Another study which is conducted by Misra (2021) is based on nation-building. From his thought started to ask as the Taliban succeed where America failed. This investigation argues that American and its troops of

NATO failed to strengthen the nation-building among the Afghanistan people and leave the Taliban in power (Misra,2021). The Taliban should respect the rule of law and be responsible for strengthening the nation-building among the Afghanistan citizens. The investigator needs to explain that there is a connection between the government administrative and nation-building among the citizens.

The research finds that the Afghanistan National Army following the United States failed to provide peace and security in Afghanistan. The study published by Fell (2021) is entitled the Afghanistan conundrum. The Fell report that the biggest intelligence failures in Kabul and allow the Taliban to take over without strong resistance (Fell, 2021). As we discuss the US army and Afghanistan central government army failed to implement the US nation-building to Afghanistan nation. Another study was conducted by De Lauri that is based on Afghanistan nation-building. The result from De Lauri and Suhrke (2021) revealed that the use of extreme military forces to stabilize political stability and control violence increases political instability and destroys peace and security among the nation (De Lauri and Suhrke, 2021).

the answer for the second research question which is "What are the challenges and obstacles tracing the nation-building in Afghanistan?" from data collected from the secondary data and literature reviews this study finds out that The presence of U.S. and the other foreign countries act as peace and security barriers to Afghanistan. The points here the strength of nation-building is being created due to the strong central government that controls and manages everything within the country. However, the individual citizen can play a significant role or implementing strong nation-building in the country. The absence of a strong central government in power resulted in weak nation-building in the country.

Another case that has been discussed from this research as the nation-building was the refugees and displacement. The investigation of this point is connected with internal and external migration discussions. For sure the migration rate increase after the Taliban administration and the rate of refugees increased once again with the political instability that has been attained by the failure and withdraw of United States and collapse of Afghanistan army. On top of that sign of the creation of nation-building was started but once the Unite states abruptly leave the country the rate of the refugees increase again. The results show that the widening the political instability resulted in an increasing number of refugees with the uncertainty and instability in the country.

The solution of reducing the rate of increasing the refugee numbers is to stop the war and provide peace to the citizens. Thus, the national development of the Afghanistan has to create excellent and effective migration and refugee policy by cooperating with the Afghanistan government and international institutions, and owing to that the policy will be essential to the nation-building of Afghanistan. Also, the migration and refugee policy should be supported by the rule of law and good governance policy of the country.

The direct answer to the last research question which states as "How to establish a democratic and stable nation in Afghanistan as well as determining the effective initiatives for nation building in Afghanistan?". This thesis suggests the following proposals for this question. Building unity of identity based on national interest is the main field where the concept of nation building shall be focused on the most, with out creating a unity of identity for the people of Afghanistan there will always be the threat rising of ethnic interest and ethnic gap with the political instability in the country. Providing areas for public education; Afghanistan, unfortunately, is one of the countries with the lowest levels of public literacy, with the majority of the population being illiterate. As a result, the residents of this land have shied away from the modernization and prosperity. Because of the low level of public awareness in Afghanistan, people have been forced to identify themselves within the confines of their knowledge, relying on traditional values such as different ethnicity and language. Promoting the idea of loyalty to religion instead of loyalty ethnicity or sub religious branches and promoting a culture of dialogue and interaction instead of violence are the other fields where the nation building policies and strategies shall be focused on the most to create a peaceful and prosperous nation in the country.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Nation-building in any country and society can be born of various factors and variables that are not one-dimensional or dependent on a single factor. On the other hand, no country has had a cohesive, united, and unified nation since its establishment. Instead, in the process of time, the nation was formed, and the government tried to take prudent measures to create the unity and integrity of the countries and prevent their division and fragmentation. In this sense, it can be said that the nation is not called a God-given phenomenon in land for a state but is formed in the process of time. According to this principle, the process of nation-building in Afghanistan can also be rationally justified. It can be said that although the inhabitants of this land are scattered and separate. Their identity is stuck in the realm of ethnicity, language, and religion. Still, this talent they have to achieve higher values beyond ethnic, religious, and linguistic values that lead to their connection and remove prejudice from them and establish the principle of equality between them.

In this regard, it can be argued with optimism that the people of Afghanistan, despite all the problems and challenges that Afghanistan has, and given that the social structure in this land is a mosaic with multi-ethnical society, still have the talent and ability to the unit and can achieve a unified national identity. But what can speed up this process, according to this research thesis with the following recommendations:

I. Building unity of identity based on national interest:

Afghanistan's mosaic structure has allowed nation identity to be defined independently in terms of religion, ethnicity, language, and position. Throughout history, the rulers have not taken the necessary and practical steps to establish a common identity in Afghanistan based on national interests. In Afghanistan, on the other hand, the leaders and governments have often acted to divide and fragment the society. Traditional political culture (active but traditional) has made an ethnic monopoly, ethnic supremacy, and even the exclusion of other ethnic groups from the circle of participation become fundamental indicators of Afghanistan's political sociology. Ethnic, tribal, linguistic, and regional orientations have always led to the definition of resource disputes based on ethnic and tribal rivalries.

This ongoing conflict has perpetuated the nation-building challenge in Afghanistan. Therefore, it is necessary to look for common ground that can develop solidarity and cooperation. Religion, common ground, social security, and development can be good indicators for building solidarity and a nation. Because the challenges and conflicts at the social level in Afghanistan have arisen from the macro levels of governance, it is necessary to develop these challenges from top to bottom and ultimately achieve access to a common national identity with common interests in Afghanistan. Undoubtedly, this issue is time-consuming, so it is necessary to start from the legal structures and move to implementation at the government level and then the community.

II. Providing areas for public education:

Education is considered one of the essential requirements of the people of any country and society. Therefore, the higher the level of public literacy and public knowledge, the more rational the decisions and actions of the people. On the contrary, in countries and societies where the level of public knowledge is low, people are faced with many problems and challenges that are created mainly by themselves.

Unfortunately, Afghanistan is one of the countries with a low level of public literacy, and most of its population is illiterate. This has caused the people of this land to stay away from the caravan of modernization and development. The low level of public knowledge in Afghanistan has led them to define their identity within the limits of their knowledge, depending on traditional values. Their divisive power does not go beyond ethnicity, language, and religion.

Therefore, if the level of public knowledge improves and most people become literate, they can expand their circle of identity according to the social realities that are going on inside and outside the country, Based on the principle of citizenship and common land. Because literate people base their work on profit and loss rather than on traditional values, it is self-evident that in social solidarity and the existence of a shared national identity, they can achieve their goals and aspirations. In this regard, the institutionalization of education at the public level can create the ground for national solidarity among the people of Afghanistan.

III. Promoting the idea of loyalty to religion instead of loyalty ethnicity or sub religious branches:

One of the most fundamental tasks of any religion is to create social solidarity and identity for the followers of that religion. Therefore, religion can be influential in nation-building and national identity. Afghanistan is a country where about 99% of the population are followers of Islam, where most of the people of this land are followers of the Sunni religion from the Hanafi branch, and another part is the followers of the Jafari Shiite religion. But unfortunately, throughout history, the followers of these two religions have not been able to experience a peaceful life and tolerant coexistence with each other.

Therefore, one of the severe challenges among the citizens of Afghanistan is the issue of the religious divide. Bridging the religious division between Shiite and Sunni Muslims can increase the sense of social solidarity between followers of the two religions. Building national identity among the different branches of religion in Afghanistan seems possible if the government first abandons its fanatical religious practices and instead treats followers of both faiths free from prejudice and discrimination, which will give no extra privileges to followers of a particular religion. On the other hand, religious scholars who have been able to understand religious values and texts properly, be at the forefront of religious propaganda and promote tolerance among the followers of Islamic religions. Since almost all Afghans value their religious affairs more, this propaganda can effectively direct the thoughts of the people and increase the sense of solidarity among the people and reduce religious prejudice and discriminatory practices.

IV. Promoting a culture of dialogue and interaction instead of violence:

One of the most common cultural features in establishing social relations in Afghanistan is the principle of violent practices. Because throughout history, violence has been one of the most important ways to gain power in this country and on the other hand, the geographical and natural situation of Afghanistan is harsh, this has caused the people of this land to be violent and choose violence as an effective way to achieve their goals and aspiration. Violence in the public sphere causes people to look at each other with distrust, and this in itself makes the social gaps between people visible.

Therefore, to institutionalize the nation-building discourse in society, it is needed to change the nature of our violent culture and build a culture of interaction and dialogue

instead. Interaction and dialogue, which today is considered the dominant thinking in solving social problems and challenges, has created a positive response and paved the way for people to get closer to each other. In this regard, it is necessary to establish people's social relations based on trust and constructive dialogue. Of course, promoting a culture of interaction, empathy, and tolerance does not happen overnight. Still, it is formed in the process of time and is a movement that requires more patience on this basis to become a nation and stand by each other away from prejudice. And to accept discrimination, we need to base our practices on the rationality of interaction and tolerance and pave the way for unification and the creation of a shared national identity.

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