

# The Role of Political Culture in Afghanistan's Political Development from 2001-2021

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**Abstract:** The aim of this research is to understand does the awareness of the people from their political culture have impact on the political development in Afghanistan. The main question in this regard can be raised does the political culture help toward political development, democracy and political stability in Afghanistan? The data collection in this research has been literature review and analysis has been carried out by adopting the descriptive-analytical method. The present research concluded that Political culture in Afghanistan is limited. The people do not have the necessary knowledge about the political system and its mechanisms. In a limited political culture, the people do not have any expectation from the government, and the decisions of the political elites do not confront to the reaction of the people One of the major internal obstacles to the realization and institutionalization of democracy in this country is the existence of tribal and ethnic political culture of some of its inhabitants. In this country; beliefs; Emotions; felling, looking to the past with orientations; Social traditions and some social structures of some of the inhabitants of this land are ethnic and tribal. Of course, this should not be denied and ignored that today many people of the new and young generation of Afghanistan have a participatory political culture and trampled many beliefs; red lines and ethnic taboo, and in the third presidential election in Afghanistan, was seen that the political culture of some of the youth of this borderland is participatory

**Keywords:** Afghanistan, elections, political culture, political development

## Introduction

The aim of this research is to understand does the awareness of the people from their political culture have impact on the political development in Afghanistan. The main question in this regard can be raised does the political culture help toward political development, democracy and political stability in Afghanistan? The data collection in this research has been literature review and analysis has been carried out by adopting the descriptive-analytical method. The present research concluded that Political culture in Afghanistan is limited. The people do not have the necessary knowledge about the political system and its mechanisms. In a limited political culture, the people do not have any expectation from the government, and the decisions of the political elites do

not confront to reaction of the people. Of course, this should not be denied and ignored that today many people of the new and young generation of Afghanistan have a participatory political culture and trampled many beliefs; red lines and ethnic taboo, and in the third presidential election in Afghanistan, was seen that the political culture of some of the youth of this borderland is participatory. After the Second World War, we are witnessing a huge wave of decolonization and the emergence of different countries, whose main concern is the emergence of gaining political and legal independence. After gaining independence, perhaps the most important issue for all newly independent countries and the so-called third world countries is the issue of development. Due to the development of third world countries, different theories and models of development were formed. In the initial theories and models that were formed in the field of development of countries, most of the emphasis was on the Western cloud, but later theories were somewhat modified and new models for development were presented.

In most theories, the role of forces and internal capacities of countries for the development of the era is considered fundamental and important. It was argued that development in a context of height and communities that want development should provide that context. In four ways we can examine the role of political culture in development. Political culture is considered as a context in which both the forces and directions of individuals are determined and the political system is placed within it and exercises power. Therefore, it is important to study the role of political culture in the development of the country. Culture is a set of ethical customs: beliefs of values that are passed down from generation to generation through socialization. Political culture is the image and attitude towards authority; Government responsibilities role models for political socialization in this process; The extent to which the goals of political institutions and structures are known; Beliefs; Emotional aspects and, ultimately, existing criteria are important for judging power and politics.

Statement of the Problem: There is no doubt that political culture is an important issue in political development in most societies. Political development provides more opportunities for people to participate in various areas of society. Such as: development of councils; Activating political parties and communities; Most political issues are raised in the press and media, and so on. Similarly, political development is related to some other concepts; including political participation; political culture; Political communication and other cases. One of the indicators of political development is political participation; and the level of political participation affects the legitimacy of the system. The more conscious and healthy the level of participation, the higher the legitimacy of the system. The question that arises here is to what extent has political culture played a role in political development in Afghanistan? What was the level of women's political participation in Afghanistan in the post-Taliban era?

The importance of researching: The political culture in the political development of a country is of particular importance. Political culture based on democratic values provides equal opportunities for the citizens of the country to enjoy their political rights. This study tries to understand how effective the political culture has been in the political development of Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime.

Objectives of the Research: The purpose of this research is to understand the impact of political culture on political development, political stability and democracy in Afghanistan.

Sub-objectives of research: 1 women's political participation in the election process after the fall of the Taliban regime based on the last Afghanistan's constitution was to which extent?

What is the role of election in democratizing of political culture?

Hypothesis of the Research: 1-It seems that political culture paves the way for political development

Sub-Hypothesis of the research

1-It thinks that the weakness of political culture caused irresponsible government in Afghanistan

2-It seems that understanding of the people from their political system and criticize from their government can help to the accountability of the government

Research questions: A) Main research question

Political culture in political development to what extent has Afghanistan played a role since the fall of the Taliban regime?

B) Sub-questions of the research

1. What was the political participation of women during the Taliban regime?
2. How was women's political participation after 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001?
3. What are the challenges to political development in Afghanistan?

Literature review: There have been done many researches on political development, but with regard to challenges of political development in Afghanistan we come across only few studies in this area. For example, Dopry Nonsi in the book of Afghan Women under the Taliban Government and World Politics; Researcher: The focus of this author is more on the structure and formation of the post-Taliban government than the political culture of post-Taliban Afghanistan. The present study is different from the subject of this book because it examines the role of political culture in the political development of Afghanistan. Other research has been done by wiliam Maley named challenges of political development in Afghanistan: Mass, Elite and Institutional Dimensions. It has been published in SAGE journal. This research only focused on challenges of political development in Afghanistan. But the present research paper is new than the mentioned research, because that research has discussed the challenges till 2011. Now the present research will cover the role of political culture

and its impacts on political development, democracy and political stability in Afghanistan till 2021.

A report has been written by Alex Their and Scott Worden named Political Stability in Afghanistan 2020 Vision and Roadman, this report has concentration moreover about the political and economic stability, it has not explained exactly the solutions of the challenges. The difference between this research and that report is this, the report does not have any point out about political culture and its consequence on political development and political stability in Afghanistan. Another article has been written by Yaqub Ibrahim named Afghanistan's Political Development Dilemma: The Centralist State Versus a Centrifugal Society it has been published in an international journal of South Asian Development. This research only focuses in state building in Afghanistan and does not pay and point out to political participation of the people, the role of political culture and observation of human rights in political development and political stability.

**Research Method:** This research is a qualitative research in terms of data collection and information on the role of political culture in the political development of Afghanistan has been carefully analyzed. Information is collected in a library manner. Scientific articles and English and Internet sources have also been used for better nutrition of this research.

**Limitations of research:** To do a research work properly and with a high level of science requires a lot of resources and has scientific credibility. According to me, in my field of research, I was faced with limitations and access to many resources, but despite this what I had, I used in this research.

**Organizing the research:** This research consists of eight parts:

1. Introduction (problem design; importance of research ...)
2. The role of political culture in development
3. Political culture and elections in Afghanistan
4. The role of political culture in Afghanistan's political participation
5. Globalization and political development in post-Taliban Afghanistan
6. Challenges of political development in Afghanistan
7. Conclusion
8. List of resources

The role of political culture in the development

The political cultures are considered as a context in which both the forces and orientations of individuals are determined and the political system is placed within it and exercises power. Therefore, it is important to study the role of political culture in the development of the country. Culture is a set of customs; Ethics; Beliefs and values that are passed down from generation to generation through socialization. Values are generalized concepts of legitimate and desirable goals that guide human behavior in a

particular direction. Values come through norms in the form of rules and regulations (Qaderi; 1391: 1). Almond's definition of political culture was gradually accepted by others, and from then on the concept of political culture was linked to a behaviorist approach based on numbers and quantity and a kind of abstract modeling, and as a new approach; it created a new level of analysis of political issues and developments. This new approach; Contrary to the common approach in political science, which studied and analyzed formal institutions and their mechanisms of action, it emphasized the study of informal behaviors and the attitudes of actors as the basis of their political behaviors (Zarei; 2009: 79).

Al-Waseen believes that political culture; It is a set of attitudes, beliefs and feelings that give order and meaning to the political process and determine the principles and rules that determine the governing behavior and the political system (Rafi; 1996: 270).

### 1. Political culture and elections in Afghanistan

Presidential elections; Parliamentary and Provincial Councils in Afghanistan; So far, various dimensions and angles have been studied in the press, media and scientific and academic circles. But it is thought that from a sociological point of view; these democratic processes; Less studied.

### 2. What is political culture?

For the first time, the knowledge of the term political culture in political science; Used by the American "Gabriel Almond". According to Mr. Almond, political culture; it is a pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics and its issues within a system with a society. In addition to using and defining this word knowledge, Mr. Almond; It has also been categorized, which we will briefly describe each of them.

A) Participatory political culture; which exists in advanced societies. In these societies, people are relatively involved in political life. In participatory political culture; People are aware of their citizenship and they are also aware of politics. In these communities; Citizens are sensitive to the behavior of political elites.

B) Political culture of the citizen: Almond; Citizens who are aware of the various roles of government, such as taxation and legislation, are called political citizens. In this model of political culture, individuals may be aware of the existence of the political system and its data and are interested in it or hate it, but due to the lack of input and expression of demands and demands or the weakness of institutional structures, people cannot have a lot of political efficiency. Political elites are the mouthpiece of the people. Thus, in this model of culture, people have no place for themselves in the political process.

C) Limited political culture: This culture is related to those who are not very aware of their political system. In this kind of political culture; the ability to compare the changes that the political system has begun; Does not exist. People with limited

political culture; they do not expect anything from their political system. Lucien also bases the political culture on a set of attitude, beliefs and he knows the emotions that give order to the political process and determine the hypotheses and rules that determine the behavior of the political system. According to what was said; Political culture can be considered a set of values; attitude considered beliefs that show the people's stance on political issues. In fact, the political culture of any human society has been made up of components and elements over time and historical processes; Such as: values; attitude, Beliefs and; Emotions; traditions; Social structure; Historical experiences of geographical location (Khatibi; 2014: 1)

#### The role of elections in democratizing the political culture in Afghanistan

Since Afghan society is a traditional and tribal society; its political culture is also tribal political culture. According to the division of political culture from the point of view of Mr. Gabriel Almond; Political culture in Afghanistan today is mostly limited and national political culture; however, manifestations of participatory political culture can also be seen in the country. Democracy has not yet been institutionalized in Afghanistan, and there is a long way to go before democracy is institutionalized. One of the major internal obstacles to the realization and institutionalization of democracy in this country is the existence of tribal and ethnic political culture of some of its inhabitants. Stays in this country; Values, beliefs; Emotions; Beliefs; Looking to the past orientations; Social traditions and some social structures are some of the inhabitants of this ethnic and tribal land. Of course, this should not be denied and ignored that many people of the new generation of Afghanistan today have a participatory political culture and many beliefs; they break the red line and ethnic taboos. In the third presidential election in Afghanistan, it was seen that the political culture of some of the youth of this borderland is participatory. It was observed that many young people and middle-aged people consciously participated in this public process and wanted to make accurate decisions in this field and with participatory expectations and attitudes; they used their vote. In fact, the political culture in Afghanistan is becoming more democratic. Elections in Afghanistan are part of the political culture of this country and there is a direct relationship between elections and the political culture of each country. The same situation as the political culture of the country; the situation is the same with elections. If political culture is moving towards democratization; it can be seen that the elections in Afghanistan are also moving towards democratization. Conversely, if some symbols and manifestations in the political culture are insignificant; the same issues in the elections, whether on the 5<sup>th</sup> April of 1393 or on the 28 September of 2019 this year; observed.

The last presidential election clearly showed the political culture in the country, which is rapidly changing from ethnic to democratic; but in addition to the great things that elections had for Afghanistan in various fields; one refined its positive impact on

political culture in the country and strengthened democratic values in political culture. This national process; Look for positive and wide-ranging changes; behaviors; Norms and has created the thoughts of people and political actors on political issues; the change that is the need of our society and is considered very necessary for the institutionalization of democracy in the country. (Khatibi; 2015: 2-3).

#### The role of political culture in the political participation of Afghanistan

Political culture as a system of experiential beliefs; Symbols; Values and norms that form the basis of political action and the context of political behavior of individuals in society; Men's parties and government are considered; It is one of the fundamental issues that has been considered and researched by many thinkers in the field of politics in the contemporary era. The consistency and sustainability of any partnership depends on the origins of the society's political culture. Because political culture is also a factor in determining the socio-political nature of individuals in society and attitudes; Determine the values and norms of society about politics and power Arefi; Hamidi:

1). Political participation in Afghan society is more social; threats; and there are certain theoretical obstacles. Sociologically, a sustainable political system is achieved through the public and conscious participation of citizens as a comprehensive project. What as political participation in the current society of Afghanistan; and the process of citizen participation is hampered by the lack of equal opportunities for all citizens in political participation. Theoretical and cultural barriers to political participation in Afghanistan are largely rooted in the traditional culture of society. Traditional and cumbersome values; White-collar dictatorship Determining social status based on ethnicity; Authoritarian and ethnocentric perceptions have each contributed to the formation of a culture of anti-participation and a serious obstacle to the collective participation of the people in the country's political arena. Lack of efficient institutions to express demands; Elitism; Mythology; and leadership? Lack of public awareness; Communication deficiencies such as radio and television and the pervasive and national press; Unwillingness of the country's political system to delegate roles and obligations to relevant institutions; There are other obstacles that were listed, which seems to be one of the most important solutions; Creating a culture of participation in society means that our point of reliance should be more on commonalities to promote the culture of participation in which there is political tolerance in society. Political participation only crystallizes in a society that has a participatory culture as long as the structure of the political system; Seeking and seeking share based on specific ethnicity; Hosseini, the creation of a democratic society will not be realized(hussani,1387:3). Political participation in the modern world is a necessity and inevitable; In such a way that even the most closed political systems in the world and the few totalitarian systems that continue to exist do not see the need for the participation of their people, although in person, in various fields, especially political participation. As Nohlen points out,

today democracy as a form of governance has taken on a global dimension, and it is clear that political participation in democracies is vital and necessary (Maghsoudi; 3). Political participation is the voluntary activity of members of society in electing governors and participating directly and indirectly in policy-making (Nasiri, 2004: 99).

A) Women's political participation in the new power structure after 11<sup>th</sup> September was a turning point in the formation of a new government in Afghanistan. With the US-led invasion of NATO and the fall of the Taliban; your plan was laid out at the Bonn Conference to form a government in Afghanistan. The result of the international community coalition and the cooperation of the internal forces in the war in Afghanistan was the Bonn Agreement, which marked new eras of political and social developments for this country. Basis of the Bonn Agreement; It was the advancement of democracy in the form of mechanisms such as the adoption of the constitution; The holding of presidential and parliamentary elections, etc., was considered at the Bonn Conference in several factors: human rights; Freedom of expression; The free press and women's rights, on which the new system in Afghanistan was based. Out of 61 official and unofficial members, a total of five women participated in the Bonn Summit (Do Pari; 1998: 211). The Bonn Agreement, which marks the beginning of the current developments in Afghanistan, addresses the role of women in the future of the country. The eighth paragraph of the preamble, which contains the aims of the agreement, states that "by recognizing and accepting that these interim arrangements are the first step towards the establishment of a broad government; Female cheese; Multi-ethnicity and the rule of all people are considered; And these arrangements and the government should not stay in place for more than a certain period of time. Article 3 of the Interim Administration states that the Vice President and other members of the Interim Government have been appointed by members of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The selection of these individuals is based on their individual merits and competencies, and of course the regional ethnic considerations and religious composition of Afghanistan as well as the importance of the participation of the female class in the government have been considered. Accordingly, the dozen included the cabinet: Dr. Simasmar as one of the five deputy prime ministers of a newly established ministry called the Ministry of Women, and Dr. Soheila Siddiq, the first woman to be promoted to the rank of general during the communist era; As Minister of Public Health of the Government Provisional Determined 3, In Section 4 of the Independent Commission for the Establishment of the Emergency Loya Jirga, Article 2 (c) emphasizes the appointment of representatives so that a significant number of Afghan women can participate in the Emergency Loya Jirga (Founder power). (Kazem;2005: 507)

B) The position and political participation of women in the new constitution is basically not a discussion of women's political participation in Afghanistan and with



any other country before the formation of a democratic political system or at least a quasi-democratic local Arabs. The authoritarianism of the previous governments in Afghanistan Political participation for both women and men has not been very popular. However, the pre-Taliban era cannot be compared to the Taliban era in this regard, and the Taliban government should be considered a nightmare for not only women but all Afghans. These conditions changed after the fall of the Taliban regime and the formation of a new political system, and Afghanistan took a step towards democratization (Kazem; 2005: 516- 517). The new Afghan government, in line with the Bonn Agreement, which emphasized the development of women's rights, in its most important reform movement, drafted and approved the constitution on January 4, 2004, and devoted several articles to the new constitution with a positive approach to women's rights have given. What is clear is that the new constitution of Afghanistan is based on respect for democratic values, including human values and equality of civil rights. Tyranny; Discrimination and violence based on the rule of social justice; Protection of Dignity and Human Rights, Ensuring Freedoms and Fundamental Rights of the People This Constitution has been ratified (Introduction to the new Constitution of Afghanistan, 2003). (Manouchehri and Mozari; 2009: 314). Article 22 of the new constitution states that "all forms of discrimination and privilege among Afghan citizens are prohibited. Afghan citizens, both men and women, have equal rights and privileges before the law. Article 33 of the Constitution of Afghanistan states that all citizens of Afghanistan have the right to vote and to be elected" (text of the new constitution of Afghanistan; approved in 1382: 12-15). Also, Article 72 does not impose any restrictions on women's membership in the Cabinet, and only the condition of Afghan citizenship is mentioned (Constitution, 2003).

#### Globalization and political development in Afghanistan

The belief of the international community in Afghanistan has naturally led to a process of globalization and development of Afghanistan's political structures; In fact, this process has its supporters, which are mentioned in the present study.

1. Civil society: After the collapse of the black Taliban regime in Afghanistan, in fact, the focus of citizenship issues; Freedom of expression was created by civil society organizations and political parties. Civil society refers to the totality of voluntary civil and social organizations and institutions that lay the foundation of a dynamic society and are in conflict with the imposed structure of government and commercial and market institutions in terms of volunteering. Civil society is one of the bodies that mostly defends the civil liberties of the citizens of Afghanistan and calls itself the leader in defending the rights of the citizens of the country. Civil society has a necessary relationship with democracy because in a democracy they are the source of people's power. Power is exercised by the people, and the goals of power are the welfare and interests of the people. Thus, we conclude that civil society is one of the

most advanced institutions that has had a strong and inseparable relationship with globalization and political development, and this makes it more globalist and developmentalist so that isolate and pro-determinist.

2. The political parties: of Afghanistan are in fact a country in which no political party has been created in the true sense of the word, which is the moving machine of democratic governments; therefore, the parties that have been established in Afghanistan are mostly based on ethnicity; Language; Religion and other means have been created and established. But in addition to all these issues, there are parties in Afghanistan that have supported globalization and political development in the country after the fall of the Taliban, which can be considered as the Islamic Jamiat of Afghanistan; The United National Council of Afghanistan, which considered political development based on the change in the type of political system, can be named as liberal parties that operate under the policy of liberalism and are more in favor of foreign presence and political development after a decade of black regime.

3. Western technocrats, after laying the foundations of the black Taliban regime in Afghanistan, actually became the entry point for people who lived mostly in the West and there; During the many years that bloodshed took place in the country of the Web: they were studying and learning science in those countries; The creation of an interim government and finally an elected government caused these people to return to the country and gain a share of political power. Since he considered these people as people who are in favor of globalization and the Abbasid development of the country.

4. Jihadi commanders; Another group that witnessed more globalization and political development in the defeat of the Taliban, and globalization with the presence of Westerners in the reconstruction of the country can be considered the product of this group's efforts; In fact, it was the jihadi commanders who laid down their arms and decided to rebuild the country and create a country that meets international standards.

5. Challenges of political development in Afghanistan, according to a number of researchers; Political development is the political methods and policies that facilitate economic growth in developing countries. A number of other researchers; Political development to study new regimes; The expanding role of governments; Increase political participation and the ability of regimes to maintain order in the face of rapid change, as well as competition between political factions of classes and ethnic groups for power, as well as competition for social status and wealth. For others; political development; How to give revolutions; in particular, the conditions for the replacement of capitalist systems with socialist ones. The experiences of societies in the process of political development are different and special and according to social values; Natural factors; the economic, cultural and political system of any society; is affected by these variables. The first challenge facing political development in Afghanistan is the lack of accurate and clear studies of political development. It can be said with certainty that

the actors of the political system have an understanding of political development; they do not have indicators and theories of political development. No delay in terms of political development. Theatrically it is not possible to realize it. Therefore, there is no understanding of political development, and we need to address this issue in an organized and systematic manner. The second challenge is tribal and ethnic and tribal traditions. Theories of political development formed the framework of the struggle between tradition and modernity. Which is an important part of tradition; be ethnic and tribal compatible. If subsequent studies have shown that all traditional ethnic mechanisms are not an obstacle to political development, however; Tribalism and ethnicity in Afghanistan are a serious obstacle to political development. Because the mechanisms of tribal and ethnic mechanisms are opposed to modern mechanisms and mechanisms and indicators of political development. But another part of the traditions can create more capacity for political development. For example; some religious teachings can help us achieve political development. The third challenge facing political development is a hostile view of political development. As in early studies of political development; Development was essentially a process of Westernization. In Afghanistan, the political development of the process of Westernization is still understood. This hostile view makes science aware of tribal and religious mechanisms against political development and prevents its escalation. At the same time, this causes part of the force to deal with traditional mechanisms. This challenge is somewhat serious. Because political development must be accepted by the people and the elites. As long as people do not have an understanding of development and do not consider it contrary to religious and tribal teachings; it is not possible to achieve political development. That is why the hostile view is a challenge to political development in Afghanistan. Getting rid of this kind of view can help achieve political development in the country. In the end, it should be said that political development after World War II has entered the political and sociological studies, but in our country it is unknown. In addition to this issue; Tribal and ethnic traditions and the hostile attitude of our people and elites towards political development have made it difficult to achieve it (Sample; 2014: 1-2). Afghanistan faces various obstacles in the path of amygdala development, one of the most important of which is ethnicity in this country. The existence of different ethnicities has been a determining factor in the divergence of Afghan society and the nation-state-building process in this country. Lack of coordination and renewal of transnational identities within the country's borders and lack of sense of unity has led to the failure to form a unified government, according to Max Weber, as an organization for the exclusive use of legitimate power in the country. The path of development has been paved in this country, but we still see that ethnic differences in this country continue due to ethnic policies. The parties formed after 2001 were parties that did not pursue national and public interests but the interests of their people and

tribe. In this way, the party in Afghanistan instead of contributing to the country's political development; it was mostly negative and highlighted ethnic divisions (Qadiri, 2013:69).

### Conclusion

Political culture can mean people's view of power; Government policy knew the structure of political institutions and its mechanisms. Political culture in Afghanistan is limited. The people do not have the necessary knowledge about the political system and its mechanisms. In a limited political culture, the people do not have any expectation from the government, and the decisions of the political elites do not confront to the reaction of the people; whereas in developed countries of the world, people play a prominent role in controlling the behavior of the leaders of the system. Although the political culture in Afghanistan is limited, in some cases we also see a participatory culture. Today, many of Afghanistan's younger generation enjoy a participatory political culture and many beliefs; they break the red line and ethnic taboos. In the third presidential election in Afghanistan, it was seen that the political culture of some of the youth of this borderland is participatory. It was observed that many young people and middle-aged people consciously participated in this public process and wanted to make accurate decisions in this field and with participatory expectations and attitudes; they used their vote. What is considered as political participation in the current society of Afghanistan and complicates the process of citizen participation is the lack of equal opportunities for all citizens in political participation. Theoretical barriers and culture of political participation in Afghanistan are mainly derived from the traditional culture of the society.

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