Ethnic Struggles and Political Stability in Afghanistan 2001-2021: Thematic Analysis of Republican Collapse

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the complex relationship in Afghanistan between ethnic politics and political stability, emphasising the years 2001 through 2021. The study uses the Harf and Gurr theoretical framework to illuminate this intricate interaction. Thematic analysis is the preferred method for analysis, made possible by the advanced MAXCODA 18 programme. It became clear that an essential part of this study project was conducting several informative interviews. These interviews allowed for exploring the role of ethnic politics in influencing these dynamics while also gaining a thorough picture of the political stability situation, particularly in the wake of the fall of the Republican regime. Twenty-two interviews included a broad spectrum of socioeconomic groupings, jobs, and ethnic backgrounds. Key themes are carefully studied throughout the research and relate to the article's main topic. This study clarifies the complex relationships between ethnic politics and political stability in Afghanistan, advancing knowledge of this significant period in the country's history.

Keyword: Ethnic Politics, Political Stability, Afghanistan, Collapse, Thematic Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan has one of the most fragile states in the world. The process of modern state-building and bring development started at least from the rule of King Shir Ali Khan by establishing a Governmental Council of people unelected representatives and bringing modern principles, and uniforms for military forces during 1868-1879 years (Lee, 2019, pp. 362-364). Then Abdulrahman Khan changed the map and the country's geography on a smaller scale than his ancestor. He signed many agreements with Russia, Indo-British and Iran to determine the proper border. In contrast, the king started to make a centralised government like his ancestors, which led the country through a semi-federal system. He executed many people to achieve this target, including local and tribal leaders such as Shinwaris, and Hazaras (Lee, 2019, p. 399). In the twentieth century, Afghanistan has three different eras. First, from 1901-1929, modern and constitutional changes were faced after the declaration of freedom, legislation, institutionalising and cultural changes during Habibulla Khan and Amanulla Khan. Secondly, from 1929-1973 Afghanistan had a stable state, and managed political and economic development, especially in Parliamentary Democracy (1963-1973) where people's representatives elected most government. Finally, after the coup of Sardar Dawood, the period of collapse and war started in 1973 and continued up to 2001; that new political order was established in Bonn of Germany after the defeat of the Taliban by Northern Allies and US support. In that era, the theme and phenomena of Ethnic Politics were reborn in the modern

concept (Barfield, 2010, p. 170). Afghanistan's Politics during the second democratic period (2001-2021) involved a new dimension and aspect of the socio-political element called Ethnicity.

The Taliban collapse and the Bonn political order after 2001 had a new narration about politics, state building, political development, globalisation and war. During those periods (1973-2021), the main problem was war, instability and a fragile state.

In this article, we will discuss ethnic politics and its relation with political stability in a specific time from 2001-2021. We considered how influenced ethnicity and stability each other. Did it have a positive or negative impact on political development in Afghanistan?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on ethnic politics do not have a long history in political science, particularly in political sociology that focuses on political development. Barbara Harf and Ted Robert Gurr (2004), in their book Ethnic Conflict in World Politics, argue that many states are facing with rising of ethnic movements on the whole planet. As they mentioned, the data from Minorities at Risk, which scribed 275 ethnic groups that were politically active in 1990, that 111 faced segregation and discrimination from their states (Harf & Gurr, 2004, p. 3). Then they argue about changing the political game from an ideological term to some ethnic and identical politics every day after the cold war to the present. This study state about Afghanistan: "Virtually every news analysis and essay on the future of Afghanistan written since September 2001 has stressed that the country's future stability depends on establishing a power-sharing coalition among leaders of its Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara communities. This is in marked contrast to the discourse of the 1980s and early 1990s, in which outside observers saw only the conflict between mujahedeen rebels and a Communist regime in Kabul, and ignored the ethnic rivalries that have riven Afghan politics for centuries (Harf & Gurr, 2004, p. 210).

Another study focused on south and southeast counties with a similar orientation of boundary division with Afghanistan. This study shows that today ethnic conflict has roots in colonial domination about one century ago. They believe that the old division cannot solve the ethnicity challenges and will now become more dangerous by the polarisation of politics in democratic systems (Carothers, 2020, p. 14).

Posner has the notion of how institutions can increase the ethnic conflict between citizens from a very low level of cleavage toward conflict. His research focuses on Zambia, one of the most field states in Africa. If an ethnic group gains power, they would monopolise sources for their own. On the other hand, other groups would make coalition-building politics to bring the balance of power. The line of ethnic politics starts from government policies such as principles and regulations and then the menu of the ethnic coalition is born and ethnic groups choose to join with them. The result should be a cleavage of ethnic groups (Posner, 2013, p. 6).

In Latin America, societies are mobilised by the identity of indigenous and European-based ethnicity. According to Van Cott, Indigenous peoples also have formed parties in Argentina, Guyana, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru. Van Cott illustrates that the leading three race-ethnic groups such as Indigenous peoples, European and African trying to evolve their mobilisation around the political parties .this study focuses on the role of political parties that increase

participation in power that make prevent the collapse of a regime after the 1990s in Latin America (Cott, 2005, pp. 17-19). In Afghanistan, ethnicity changed parties 1990s from an ideological perspective toward ethical perspectives, and civil war was one the most potent sample of this evolution line.

In his article, Cochran discusses which cultural and political order norms help the USA to have one of the most diverse ethnic groups in the world and, on the other side, also have democratic political stability. He mentions the acceptance of cultural pluralism, a peace for ethnic mobilising that allow them to peacefully to gathering for their interests in contrast way of the totalitarian regime, the role of urban the tendency to integrate multi-ethnic group, the two-party system that gave the power of bargain for ethnic identities to gain their interests. In his opinion, those aspects of the American Political System support both entities' stability and diversity of ethnic groups (Cochran, 2022).

Pinder shows the history of American ethnic politics involved in racial bias against the white-generated population. He state: 'First Nations, blacks, Chinese, and other radicalised groups were unmistakably warranted. Eventually, the 1790 Naturalization Act would be one of the most significant resources for the confirmation of American identity as white by allowing only white men to be citizens of the United States of America' so as he mentioned, America had classification ethnic politics (Pinder, 2010, p. 115). Then he shows that American cultural hegemony is the other side of that, primarily based on the English language.

Butcher and Goldsmith argue how elections in ethnically diverse societies can impact instability. Majoritarian electoral institutions substantially impact the probability of electoral violence in Africa, where there is a large, excluded ethnic group. They believe ethnic fractionalisation leads elections toward instability (Goldsmith C. B., 2017, p. 1393). Then they show that after-election, the government's reaction can change the road of instability toward political stability. We have three ethnic structural, Hegemonic, polarised, and fractionated. According to the research, 11 ethnic wars occurred in 14 multi-ethnic countries of Africa during the (1960-2010) period of suffering from political instability (Goldsmith C. B., 2017, p. 1407).

United States Institute of Peace 2017 published its research on political stability in Afghanistan. This study illustrates that the political order is in crisis because of many factors, especially power division among the ethnic-parity groups after the election of 2014. The research suggested sharing power at the national and subnational levels by decentralising power and changing the constitution to legalise the National Unity Government (NUG) (Alex, 2017).

Rata and Openshaw (2006), in their studies about ethnic and public policy in Australia, show how public policies in Education, Health, and diversity recognition make an adoptive coherent relationship between Maori and other migrants. According to the paper suggested above, globalisation is itself an expression of the declining hegemony of an ethnic group on other groups. Identities tend to become part of a new dominant ideology related to extending this cosmopolitan identity as a general characterisation of the world (Rata & Openshaw, 2006).

Iraq, which was invaded in the same way as Afghanistan, also struggled with ethnic politics. Shakor believes Iraq faced a national identity crisis in which ethnic identities arose after 2003.

As a result, the national identity declined. The identity of Arab, Shia Arab, Sunni Arab, Kurd, Turkmen and Mixed are playing a crucial role in the instability of Iran. Power distribution among the Shia, Sunni and Kurds bring significant changes after Saddam Hussein era (Shakor1, 2022, p. 110).

Another study in Pakistan politics conducts the role of ethnicity and the rising of militant conflicts in the context of ethnic politics. Sediqi shows the geographic aspect of rising ethnic movements in Pakistan from three distinct socio-economic realms: tribal (Baloch), rural (Sindh) and urban (Mohajir). The Baloch movement (Baloch Librarian Army) had many military operations on the governmental army, which is secular, and the Taliban movement is an ideological movement. In conclusion, he warned that ethnic politics would lead to Pakistan's break-up in future (Siddiqi, 2012, pp. 113-116).

Research on ethnic politics and youth's participation in post –Taliban conduct shows that ethnic politics affects youth political participation in two ways: first, constraining institutionalised forms of political participation for youth, such as elections and voting through the designing of an electoral system that serves as the gateway to the system, and second, which results from the previous factor, is the political design and monopoly of power by the old guard that pushes the youth toward exercising more non-institutionalized forms of political participation and to take a more critical attitude toward the political system (Wafayezada, 2015, p. 15). This article focuses on the impact of ethnic politics, especially on youth participation. Our research aim is to understand the role of ethnic politics on political stability in the last two decades.

An article about political stability and ethnic politics discusses the Afghanistan community is a multi-identity ethnic group. They have a conflict during the civil war of 1992-2001 for balancing the power shares. According to the article, just a corporation ethnic-based approach can lead this country toward stability and peace. (Muhammad Fahim Khan, 2021, p. 432)

METHODOLOGY

This research adopted the qualitative research method by using the thematic analysis (TA) method. Approaches to qualitative data collection and analysis are numerous, representing a diverse range of epistemological, theoretical, and disciplinary perspectives. At a very basic level, TA is a method for developing, analysing and interpreting patterns across a qualitative dataset, which involves systematic data coding processes to develop themes – themes are your ultimate analytic purpose (Braun & Clarke, 2022, p. 13). At the beginning step of the research, we reviewed related materials to ethnic politics in Afghanistan, include of research, reports and some memories of politicians. In the second step, the interview's main points were prepared. The most important concepts were, government politic on ethnicity, ethnic-based political order, stability and ethnicity, security, recruitment and ethnicity and collapse of regimes and its relation with ethnic politics. The third step was interviewing three significant clusters, including Politicians (local and national), such as ministers and members of the provincial council; Academicians, such as scholars and lecturers; civil activists, including journalists and civil society members. They were chosen from different ethnicities such as Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek and Qizilbash with different genders. In thematic analysis, the data includes videos (pictures and films), audio and texts (Greg S Guest, 2012, p. 7). Interviews were conducted via Google Meet and WhatsApp, mostly in audio version and some specific cases,

in text version. Interviews were transcribed and analysed using MAXQDA 18 softwareS. From the data, we figured out the codes. The codes are organised into three types, universal themes, organised themes and basic themes.

ANALYSIS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Ethnic Politic and Ethnic Struggle

The phrase "ethnic politics" refers to a situation in which politicians tend to mobilise support based on an appeal to ethnic identity, and people tend to support leaders, politicians, and parties from the same ethnic group. In the term of ethnic politics, the central concept is mobilising based on the identity of ethnicity. Ethnic struggle means ethnic groups have conflict on resources such as power, wealth, and values, which come under the concept of ethnic politics. The role of identity in the last two decades of 21st-century politics is growing. According to Fukuyama, the demand for Thymos (recognition of human dignity) is growing severely. The first type of identity politics is recognition as an equal part of other members of Isothymia. The second type is recognition as the upper part than others in Megalothymia (Francis, 2018, p. 8). World politics now tend toward ethnic politics, and many countries today struggle to solve this new kind of politics. As he interprets the impact of these two types of identity, the second type or Megalothymia, is more harmful to democracy and stability in today's world.

Political Stability

Political stability refers to a political situation that lacks revolutionary collapse, non-violence response of the government to the demonstrations, democratic regime change and national acceptance of political regime. We can illustrate the situation of instability by revolutionary changing, adverse regime change, contest state dissolution, and collapse of central authority, which occur in political societies or countries (Marshall, Gurr, & Harff, 2015, pp. 11-13). As a system can respond to the demand of its citizens, government affairs are going on usually without critical challenges. However, the central concept of stability refers to the continuation of political order in a country, which is safe from collapse, respectively.

In terms of theory and concept, first, we want to focus on identifying ethnicity and stability. Then the framework of analysing would be introduced based on Ted R. Gurr, and Barbara Harff's theory. In their opinion, the seventh concept for analysing ethnic politics is essential.

1. *Discrimination*

The concept of discrimination was defined in the previous section as the extent of socially derived inequalities in ethnic group members' material well-being or political access in comparison with other social groups. We indicate this concept by focusing on a group's access to welfare and public services such as education.

2. *Strength of group identity*

 They proposed in the previous section that the strength of ethnic group identity depends upon the number of traits group members share. The greater the number of shared traits, such as religion, culture, common history, place of residence, and race, the greater the strength of

identity. We can indicate by having the same language, history, racial character, and shared culture among the members.

3. *Degree of cohesion among leaders and followers*

Cohesive groups have a unifying belief system or ideology and dense communication and interaction networks linking leaders with followers. The more ideological disputes and factions within the group, the less cohesive it is. Indicators such as a high degree of leader acceptance, communication, and interaction can state the situation of cohesion among the leaders and followers.

4. *Type of political environment*

The political environment sets the stage for political action. They propose guidelines for identifying the types of regimes with which ethnopolitical groups may conflict: institutionalised democracies, autocracies, and socialist and populist states. Note that most contemporary states have one of these four types of political regimes; a few combine elements of several.

5. *The severity of force used by governments against ethnic groups*

The systematic destruction of ethnic people is the rarest and most severe form of violence the government use and is called genocide. Less severe kinds of force include massacre, torture, execution, detention without due process, forcible relocation of a people, and many others.

6. *The extent of external support*

As described in the previous section, external support refers to the entire range of active and passive support an ethnic group can receive outside the country. Military support is, of course, more valuable than verbal support. The more numerous the sources, the larger the volume, and the longer it is provided, the greater the extent of support.

7. *Degree of international economic status*

They proposed previously that the international community awards financial status to states according to the number and value of resources they command, such as scarce resources, a high level of food production, a well-educated population, and high levels of technology. Resource-rich states are likely to enjoy more elevated status than resource-poor states and are more likely to deal with ethnic challengers as they wish. (Barbara & Gurr, 2004, pp. 102-122)

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW

In the interview intently, 22 persons were selected for different contexts of Afghanistan most of them had knowledge and experience in politics, and society, and were engaged with official politics. Here are the variables referred to by the interviewees of this research.

Education

Five interviewees hold PhD degrees, comprising 22.7% of the total. 8 persons were Ph.D. Students make up 36.4% of the interviewees. Of 22 interviewees, seven persons hold Master's

Degrees which comprise 31.8% of the whole. Just two persons hold a Bachelor's Degree and 9.5% of interviewees.

Ethnic Group

To balance views from a different ethnic group, this research focuses on reflecting various points of view. Among 22 persons, seven interviewees were affiliated with Tajik ethnic groups, five interviewees were Pashtun ethnic group, five interviewees were Hazara ethnic group, three interviewees were Uzbek, and one interviewee was Qizilbash.

Social and Political Position

Among the participants, Job affiliation and cluster situation show that opinions come from different contexts of social and political conditions. The interview includes seven lecturers, three students, three ministers, two journalists, two lawyers, one Chief of the Provincial Council, one local politician and one vice-governor (See Figure 3: Interviewee Position). They had different activities in their life. Among them, nine persons were academicians, seven were politicians, and five were civil activists in the society of Afghanistan.
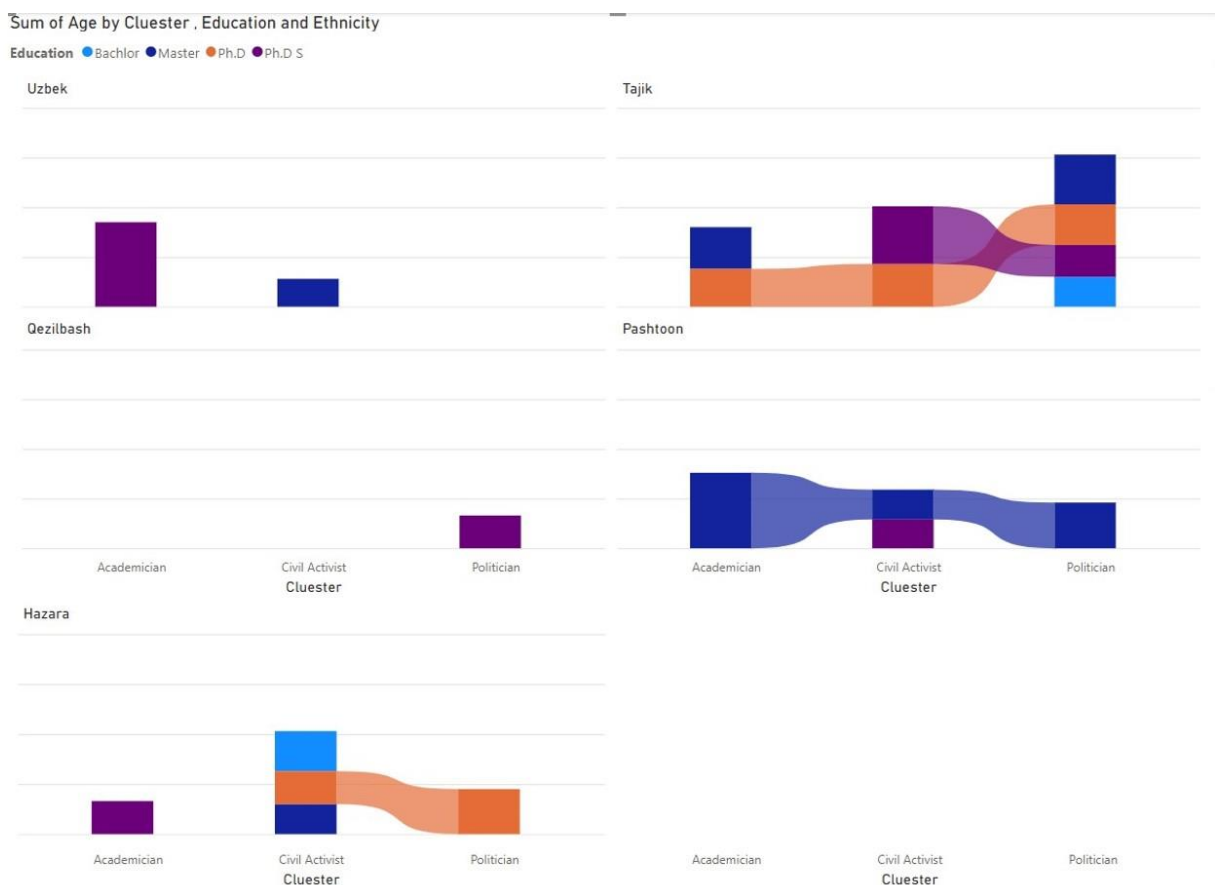

FIGURE 1: Participants' Demography by Power Bi

RESULTS

Thematic Analysis of Data

The coding analysis involves five Global Themes highlighted in red in Figure 5. Additionally, twelve Organizer Themes were identified. The total number of codes is 84, with 17 dedicated to Global and Organizer themes, leaving 75 codes for Basic themes. Each Global theme will be discussed in a separate section in the paper.

TABLE 1: Network Themes Chart

Network Themes Chart			
Global	**Organizer**	**Interviewee Info**	**Basic**
Ethnic Role in Politics	Essence of politics	15, Tajik, Politician: minister	"More than other things, politics essence is survival dispute in Afghanistan"
		11, Hazara, Civil Activist: Lecturer	During history, before international forces presented political actions, essence were ethnic, regional, and partial. Then in 20 years of the republican period in games such as elections, media, civil society and dealing in national stage changed toward ethical politics"
		21, Hazara, politician: minister	"Politics nature and essence is ethical; this fact appeared more obviously in recent years in Afghanistan."
	Policy Making	9, Tajik, Academician: Lecturer	"Pashtun's leaders that the president was from them in last 20 years acted severely ethnically. This led the country toward anomie and instability. For example, Ashraf Ghani [President] in a decree retired 160 Army's General for ethnic issues"
		2, Pashtun, Academician: lecturer	"The main cause of the new Afghanistan modern state was the personal behavior of politicians tend upon ethnicity; for example, in ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Finance, 50% of hiring was from minister's friends, ethnic group or relative."
		6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	"For stabilising of state, firstly they [ruler] need to oppress other ethnic groups. Every oppression had an ethical origin in the last one and a half centuries. Other ethnic groups

			are estimated as a threat to their ethnical state."
		21, Hazara, Politician: Minister	Mollawi Niazi [Taliban Commander] once said that Tajiks must go to Tajikistan, Uzbek must go to Uzbekistan, and Hazara must go to graveyard…so, the state in Afghanistan established by the oppression of other ethnics."
	State-building	6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	"After Ahmad Shah Durrani, ethnicity was fundamental to former power and state, and this caused the critical relation formation between state and race. All the events that last 150 years happened depending on the racial state.
		12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist	President had prejudice, its samples, military entry exam quotation, and military rank quotation. Regarding the army generals' retirement policy, I trusted the information that Mr Ghani ordered to find out the number of every ethnic general and allocate the quotation for remain
		22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister	"NUG was the wrong step in state-building. During the time of NUG, my colleagues complied with President's Orders and received the opposite orders from the Chief Executive of NUG. They were confused about what to do. This was an absolute disaster.
		10, Uzbek, Academician: lecturer	"During the history, almost all of the states were mono-ethnic states, such as Abul Rahmand Monarchy, Nadir Shah Most of them were Pashtun dominated, but Rabani changed to Tajik dominated state."
Root of Ethnic Politics	Internal Roots of Ethnicities	1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council	"Afghanistan's tribal structure and state both of them were the causes of changing Ethnicity as a rule of a political game."
		2, Pashtun, Academician: Lecturer	"Ethnic Politics is a Reaction. For example, in the past, after a surge of the Peshawar session on ethnic issues, eight Shia Parties in Iran want to join one party. They were right, and we call this type of politics a reaction. "
		6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	"An important reason for war [conflict] is discrimination and inequality among the ethnicities. The main problem is not allowing the rule of law and a united structure. What do you think about the cause of the last 40 years of conflict in Afghanistan? Just injustice and discrimination!"

		21, Hazara, Politician: Minister	"Left [communist] parties near to the victory of Mujahedeen shifted toward Ethnic identity approaches; its sample is Setam-e-Millie Party. This party critic socialism by putting national injustice (Setam-e-Millie) against Non- Pashtun ethnicities…Khalq changed the home of Pashtun, Parcham, the home of Tajiks, Hazaras and Uzbeks."
	External Roots	13, Uzbek, Academician: Lecturer	"There was a theory that the USA supported Pashtun domination, also in the past Iran and Pakistan funded other ethnic parties after 1980 …ethnic distribute has an external trigger."
		12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist	"In Republican terms (last 20 years), setting off all ethnicity is on power. It was an unwritten model of Lebanon, so it was quoted based on ethnicity; 40% for Pashtuns, 30% for Tajiks, 20% for Hazaras or Shias, and 10% for Uzbeks."
		22, Pasthoon, Politician: Minister	"In post-colonialism politics rooted in the colonialism period, they have the famous slogan Divide and Rule, so follow that our neighbours were doing this. In a session of education ministers, the Pakistan education minister asked me, where are you from? I respond from Afghanistan. Then he asked again which ethnic? I angrily replied none of the business"
Ethnicities Impacts	Ethnic Cleavage	10, Uzbek, Academician: Lecturer	"Ethnic Politics caused deeply more disputations and cleavages in society."
		5, Tajik, Local Politician: Politician	"Ethnicity is a tool for mobilizing in politics, for example, politicians promising plans for their ethnic group and they supporting him."
		3, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Lawyer	"Leaders acted ethnically, as I mentioned, in three stages regional, national, and racial the impact of this kind of behaviours and decisions was different. In national stage lead toward instability and collapse of the republican regime."
		6, Hazara, Civil Activist: Journalist	"No conflict was an ideological or holy war. Last 40 years wars had root in ethnic conflict. This is the main reason for the instability of the country."
		18, Tajik, Politician: Vice-governor	"Politics of Parties became ethnicities. Sometimes parties such as Jamiat-e-Islami

			had regional approach. Ata Mohammad Noor led north, Ismail Khan led west, but nature was ethnicity."
		16, Hazara, Civil Activist: Lecturer	"Election was another field of ethnic battle in democratic appearance, most Persian language ethnic group such as Tajik, Hazara with Uzbek voted for one candidate, and Pashto language ethnicity to other one."
	Anti-specialization	22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister	"Rising ethnic politics in the field of originally non-political organs such as the Ministry of Education is another impact on ethnicities. In this ministry, political activities were running. It was a voting resource for parliamentary and presidential elections. Leaders to support their followers hired 6000 employees, which has obvious political motivation; unfortunately, our schools did not have teachers."
		(17, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Businessman)	"Instability when occurred that ethnicism and parts come in the military section. The velocity of operations downed, and their attitude changed toward the enemy. For example, in our area, if an armed forces custody a criminal to trailed. A leader defended the criminal then he was released."
Regime Collapse Causes	Power Monopoly	7, Hazara, Civil Activist: Student	"In last 21 years just Pashtun had power, majority of ministers and officials were Pashtun and Tajiks. They monopoly the power."
		21, Hazara, Politician: Minister	"Nadir Shah send letters to Pashtun tribes leaders to ask them to fight against King Kalakani, who is Tajik So; they support them to catch Pashtun power "
		15, Tajik, Politician: Minister	"When the conflict started against Rabbani government, and then broken down; main discourse was Pashtun deprived of power or excluded from domination by Tajiks"
		19, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer	"All positions were under the monopoly of one ethnic group before the democracy period, and other non-Pashtun ethnics group were divested. In the democratic period, with the the prime ministry of Dr Zahir and Dr Yusuf, Tajiks ruled democratically.
	Ethnicity and Stability	5, Tajik, Politician: Local Politician	Ethnic Politics as changing laws and governmental policies to support a specific race or ethnicity, in Afghanistan increased social tensions, biases behaviour, deprivation, and civil distrust of the state. This process thrives regimes collapse."

		12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist	"Ex-regime collapse had ethnic roots…at parliamentary election 2008, government leadership condemned why no Pashtun win parliament seat in Ghazni province. The second reason for hiring non-experiment commanders from Pasthoon ethnicity in the army. Army lost its confidence and wondered why we had been killed for an ethnic game. Latif Pedram said Tajik oath does not fight in the south"
		20, Uzbek, Civil Activist: Lawyer	"Instability of states in Afghanistan has roots in Ethnic Politic. Republican states broke down for ethnic politics in the last 20 years. If Bonn deals with power full fraction of Pashtun like the Taliban, we may have a stable state."
		4, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Student	"Although we cannot ignore the role of ethnic politics, the regime stability and continuation is a big subject to discuss. It has multi-dimension, ethnicity has a weak role in instability"
	Complexes Causes	19, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer	"It is not easy to say one cause for that [instability], geopolitics has a role more than anything."
		3, Pashtun, Academician: Lawyer	"The lack of meritocracy and priority of ethnic interest to national interests threatened the regime, but more leader egoism and dogmas actions of statesmen caused the collapse of regimes."
Solution of Ethnic Conflict	Political Culture Options	22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister	"Firstly, we must identify our national identity that represents various ethnicities and languages, that our exact national identity. Second, changing our approach on history [official history in education system] to emphasis on civilization, art, costumes, and poems...civil wars as a national lesson for future generations."
		4, Pashtun, Civil Activist: Student	"Afghanistan's society is an ethnical mosaic…the foundation of the political structure is semi-confederation of tribes and ethnicity, the solution is accepting and apply in real"
		1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council	"The racial identities must be recognized officially in a defensive situation. We must endure diversity. If the ethnic cleansing policy does work, Abdul Rahman Khan will succeed. Countries such as Lebanon and Swiss are

			multi-ethnic. Multi-ethnic recognized state solved the problem."
		11, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer	"We need a new political order that every ethnicity be agreed on their power share [quota] in a legal and democratic system"
	Systematic Options	1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council	"Democratic regime, instead of autocracy, can deal with ethnic conflict. Politicians oath to think systematically solving, four decades of war is enough."
		14, Hazara, Academician: Lecturer	"A decentralisation system same two centuries ago can obtain conflict. It can be like parliamentary or federal or another model that distributes the power to the people in every province"
		5, Tajik, Politician: Local Politician	"So for achieving stability in society, the state must emphasise empowerment of government to offer public services regarding every ethnic group's human rights and equality, instead of ethnic policy.

ETHNIC STUDIES IMPLICATION

Themes come out from interviews shown that generally Afghanistan Politics is involved mostly with ethnicity issues. This refers to the role of Ethnicity in many stages of politics, especially related to government and its role found in essence of politics, then policymaking, and finally on state-building in Afghanistan. Participants discussed about this fact clearly: "Politics nature and essence is ethical; this fact appeared more obviously in recent years in Afghanistan" (21, Hazara, Politician: Minister). In term of policy making, policies was involved ethnicity, but more clearly state building was affected from ethnic issues in other word a stage of ethic struggle. The research figure out themes like oppression, mono-ethnic state, ethnic cleaning, and ethnic allocating in government. Participant state that: "During the history, almost all of the states were mono-ethnic states, such as Abul Rahmand Monarchy, Nadir Shah Most of them were Pashtun dominated, but Rabani changed to Tajik dominated state."(10, Uzbek, Academician: Lecturer). (See Table: 1 and Table 2). As a final conclusion, politics were in many stages involved with ethnicity.

The root of ethnic politics and ethnic struggle are internal and external issues. This set of themes includes the triggers of ethnicities; their origin is internal and located in the country's territory. According to the interviewees' attitudes, most Tajiks, Hazaras, Uzbeks, and Qizilbash believed that ethnicities have internal roots, but Pasthuns showed different point of view. Internally, Discrimination in government, and Tribal Structure and State have big role than others. Most of participant believe it started from Dawood Kgan Coup, promoted by Communist and Mujahideen states (See Table 2). For example, Tribal Structure role; it means Afghanistan's most dominant ethnic group has a tribal structure, and state nature is part of the tribal structure. In this statement, the combination of two different origins has been shown. The tribe's structure and customs are traditional element. "Afghanistan's tribal structure and state

both of them were the causes of changing Ethnicity as a rule of a political game." (1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council). External roots speak about abroad triggers lead ethnicities in the country. According to Gurr and Harff, External support paly critical role in ethnic politics and conflict. Bonn Session built the last two decades political order with support of International Allies. Some participant mention this was the root of ethnic struggle. "In post-colonialism politics rooted in the colonialism period, they have the famous slogan Divide and Rule, so Afghanistan's neighbours were doing this. A participant mentioned an example, in the Session of Education Ministers, the Pakistan education minister asked me, where are you from? I respond "from Afghanistan". Then he asked again which ethnic? I angrily replied "none of the business" (22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister). Afghanistan has a long history of intervention in its modern history such as first British invade 1839-1842, second British invade 1879, USSR invade 1979-1989, and finally presence of International Society 2001-2021.

Ethnicities and Ethnic Politic have some impacts on Afghanistan Politics. In the process of ethnicities, the shape of politics, society, culture, national identity, and state changed. As mentioned in the literature review, studies show these changes in many organisations. This paper wants to establish a quotation of themes from interviews. In a society such as Afghanistan, with about four leading ethnic groups, twelve mentioned ethnicities in the Constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and more than thirty ethnic identities living in the country, ethnic politics has more impact such as Ethnic Cleavage occur by Ethnic as Mobilizer, Ethnic Conflict, and Ethnic Voting. (See. Table 2) "Ethnicity is a tool for mobilizing in politics, for example, politicians promising plans for their ethnic group and they supporting him."(5, Tajik, Local Politician: Politician). Other side of ethnicities is that participant count as negative impact is Anti-specialising that stand opposite side of rationality, political development, decrease the output political system, and institutional stability. The Education Institution and Military were more affected from ethnic politics (See Table 1). "Rising ethnic politics in the field of originally non-political organs such as the Ministry of Education is another outcome on ethnicities. In this ministry, political activities were running in last tow decades. It was a voting resource for parliamentary and presidential elections. Leaders to support their followers hired 6000 employees, which has obvious political motivation; unfortunately, our schools did not have teachers." (22, Pashtun, Politician: Minister)

This research figure out strong relationship between Ethnic Politics in term of Ethnic Struggling and Political Instability. The power Monopoly based on ethnic is major reason in term of Instability happened by ethno-power monopoly, Pashtun Power Monopoly, and Pashtun Reject Tajik Domination (See Table 2). "All positions were under the monopoly of one ethnic group before the democracy period, and other non-Pashtun ethnics group were divested. In the democratic period, with the prime ministry of Dr Zahir and Dr Yusuf, Tajiks ruled democratically (19, Tajik, Civil Activist: Lecturer). Clearly Ethnic Politics Thrives Collapse state by participants eight times in hole (See Figure 3). This mean the last regime collapse one important cause was Ethnic Politic and Ethnic Struggles. "Ex-regime collapse had ethnic roots…at parliamentary election 2008, government leadership condemned why no Pashtun win parliament seat in Ghazni province. The second reason was hiring non-experiment commanders from Pasthoon ethnicity in the army. Army lost its confidence and wondered why we had been killed for an ethnic game. Latif Pedram said Tajik oath does not fight in the south."

(12, Qizilbash, Politician: Journalist). Ethnic Thrive Instability mention in participant discussed this phenomena which refer ethnic politics triggering instability in all dimensions, particularly political instability. This theme was repeated in eight interviews, which can infer ethnic politics as independent factor has a reverse impact on stability as dependent factor (See Figure 4). "Instability of states in Afghanistan has roots in Ethnic Politics. Republican states broke down for ethnic politics in the last 20 years. If Bonn deals with power full fraction of Pashtun like the Taliban, we may have a stable state." (20, Uzbek, Civil Activist: Lawyer). In some interviews, participants illustrated that the Collapse of Republican Regime has had complex causes, one of them was ethnicities they talked about geopolitics and leaders egoism. (See Table2).

Finally, the research suggest solutions based on data come out from interviews. The suggested solutions would compare with those of Gurr and Hurff in their theory .Themes first focused on the options related to the type of political culture. Afghanistan's political culture in the last two centuries changed from traditional to Participated culture that discuss on National Identity: based on ethnic diversity, Ethnicity Identity Recognition, Ethnic Participation, Power Sharing: Stabilise Political Order (See Table 2). The Future of Afghanistan, written in September 2001, has stressed that the country's stability depends on establishing a power-sharing coalition among leaders of its Pashtun, Tajik, Uzbek, and Hazara communities. (Barbara & Gurr, 2004, p. 242) It is still not fear for modern age politics. Interviewees mentioned some ideas for bringing change in political culture. "Based on experience during the 1990s, the optimal outcome of self-determination conflicts is a negotiated agreement between a government and ethnic group representatives that acknowledges collective rights and provides institutional means for attaining them"(Harff & Gurr, 2004, p. 240). In research, interviewees suggesting the Political Solutions option for ending the conflict in ethnic politics of Afghanistan, respectively. "The racial identities must be recognised officially in a defensive situation. We must endure diversity. If the ethnic cleansing policy does work, Abdul Rahman Khan will succeed. Countries such as Lebanon and Swiss are multi-ethnic. Multi-ethnic recognised state solved the problem." (1, Tajik, Politician: Chief of Provincial Council)

According to Harff and Gurr, the condition of ethnic conflict, especially among minorities going reduced by the rise of democratic and transitional countries (See Figure 2). They state: "The new democratic states established during the 1990s have a strong record of acknowledging and promoting minority rights." (Barbara & Gurr, 2004, p. 239). The interviewees precisely emphasized establishing the democratic system in the country—a systematic Option as an organizer of the theme, discussing the same as Harf and Gurr on democratic options. Data shown that the kind of political regime solving conflict. Gurr and Harf, in their five options solution, suggested decentralisation. Decentralised systems give regionally concentrated minorities an excellent voice in state or provincial politics (Harff & Gurr, 2004, p. 241). Some participants suggest Decentralization, "A decentralisation system same as two centuries ago can obtain conflict. It can be like parliamentary or federal or another model that distributes the power to the people in every province" (14, Hazara, Academician: Lecturer). The clear system suggested was a kind of parliamentary system with Semi-Federal: Stable Politics theme (See Table 2). "Our history is censored. In Abdali's period, we experienced a semi-federal system where ethnic groups had roles. Our sword caught India; every ethnic group were the ruler of their territory and just paid tax to Kandahar. One Hazara

was the Herat governor. From many governors, just two of them, Kashmir and Punjab, were appointed by the central government." (2, Pashtun, Academician: Lecturer)
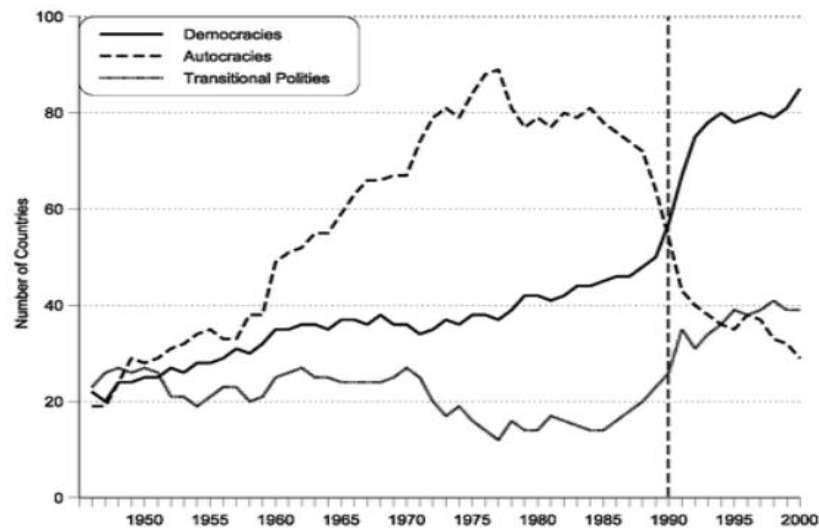
FIGURE 2: Global trends in numbers of democratic, autocratic, and transitional regimes, 1946–2001. Source: Harff & Gurr

Code Links

According to MAXQDA18 analysis of codes (themes), the research interprets the relations between codes in the interview's context from whole transcripts with double frequencies in text. According to Figure 6, for example, the most integrated codes are Discrimination (9 in entire codes of theme), five links with Ethnic Politic: Thrive Collapse (8 in entire codes of theme), Ethnic-Decision Making (10 in entire codes of theme), and four links for Ethnic Recruitment (6 in entire codes of theme).
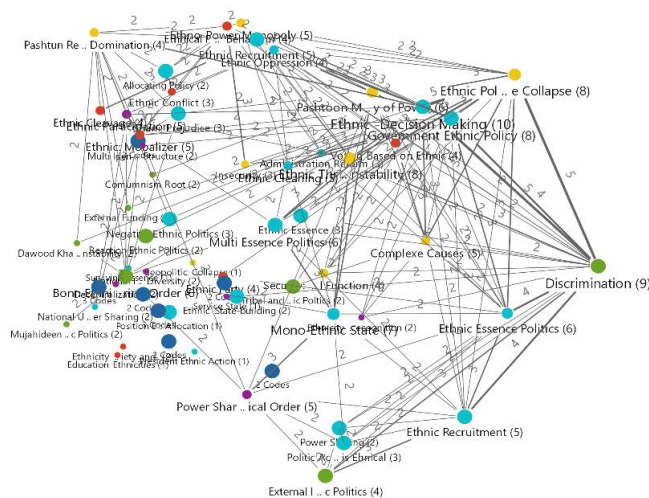
FIGURE 3: Codes relations map in contexts of Interviews

Themes Complex Map

To analyse the most critical themes mentioned in the interviews, MAXCODA18 made Figure 7 from the centre of the map toward the margin located the most to less mentioned codes in the coding process of research. For Ethnic-Decision Making, Government Ethnic Policy, and Ethnic Thrive Instability are at the centre, so these themes are essential notions mentioned by interviewees. Education, Ethnicities, Service State, and Political Regimes Solving conflict at the margin are less critical. (See Figure 4)

FIGURE 4: Codes Complexity Map

CONCLUSION

Ethnic politics is at the core and canter of Afghanistan politics, as stated by those who participated in the interviews. While the country deals with various political instability issues, ethnic politics has become critical over the past 20 years. Its precise beginnings are still a mystery; some place it during the Mujahidin Era, while others place it during the Abdurrahman Khan Era. The government, political parties, and elections have all been heavily influenced by ethnic politics during the course of this time, and policies frequently have a vital ethnic component. The respondents emphasise that racial politics directly impact political instability, as was particularly evident after the fall of the Republican regime. They suggest building political cultures that promote ethnic participation, power sharing, appreciation of variety, and a sense national identity based of ethnic diversity to overcome these issues. Systematic solutions such as semi-federal system, decentralization and service state were mentioned. As this paper examined the theory of Hurf and Gurr on ethnic conflict from seven elements, the elements of discrimination were more obvious in our data, the extending of external support was also a multi mentioned element in the data. The strength of group identity that showed itself in election and parties as a mobilizer institution in Afghanistan Politics was indeed powerful.

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Table 2: Variables and Global, Organizer and Basic Codes Matrix

Global, Organizer and Basic Codes	Tajik	Pashtun	Qizilbash	Hazara	Uzbek	Politician	Civil Activist	Academician	Minister	
Ethnic Roles in Politics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Essence of Politics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Negative Ethnic Politics	14.29	14.29	0.00	0.00	14.29	14.29	14.29	14.29	14.29	100.00
Surviving Essence	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Ethnic and Ideological Essence	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Politicians Action: Ideology and Ethnicity	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Essence Politics	30.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	30.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Essence	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	16.67	0.00	100.00
Politic Action is Ehnical	33.33	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	16.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	100.00
Multi Essence Politics	30.77	0.00	0.00	7.69	7.69	15.38	15.38	15.38	7.69	100.00
Policy Making	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
11 Parliament Member of Hazara	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Government Ethnic Policy	17.65	5.88	0.00	17.65	5.88	23.53	17.65	5.88	5.88	100.00
Ethnic Recruitment	0.00	9.09	0.00	18.18	18.18	9.09	18.18	18.18	9.09	100.00
Ethnic Recruitment	40.00	0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	30.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Position Ethnic Allocation	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Power Sharing	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic -Decision Making	21.05	10.53	0.00	10.53	5.26	15.79	21.05	10.53	5.26	100.00
Administration Reform	14.29	0.00	0.00	14.29	14.29	28.57	14.29	0.00	14.29	100.00
Ethnic Cleaning	22.22	0.00	0.00	22.22	0.00	22.22	11.11	11.11	11.11	100.00
Ethnic Oppression	14.29	0.00	0.00	28.57	0.00	14.29	28.57	0.00	14.29	100.00
Allocating Policy	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Degree Based Citizenship	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
State-Building	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
President Ethnic Action	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ghani: Prejudice	12.50	0.00	12.50	12.50	0.00	37.50	0.00	0.00	25.00	100.00

National Unity Government: Ethnic Power Sharing	16.67	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Ethnic State-building	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Mono-Ethnic State	16.67	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	25.00	16.67	0.00	100.00
Root of Ethnic Politics	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Internal Root of Ethnicities	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
History Censor	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Tribal and State Derive Ethnic Poltics	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	100.00
Mujahideen Support Ethnic Politics	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Reaction Ethnic Politics	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	100.00
Discrimination	28.57	0.00	0.00	14.29	7.14	14.29	35.71	0.00	0.00	100.00
Comumnism Root	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	100.00
Dawood Khan Coup thrive Instability	20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Ethnic Self Consciousness	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Interests Mafia	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
External Root of Ethnicities	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bonn Ethnic Power Sharing Order	8.33	16.67	8.33	8.33	0.00	25.00	0.00	16.67	16.67	100.00
External Funding	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
External Driver of Ethnic Politics	33.33	11.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	22.22	22.22	0.00	11.11	100.00
International Society Build Political Order Based on Ethnicity	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnicities Impacts	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ethnic Cleavage	0.00	14.29	0.00	14.29	14.29	14.29	0.00	28.57	14.29	100.00
Ethnic: Mobilizer	15.38	15.38	0.00	7.69	0.00	30.77	0.00	7.69	23.08	100.00
Ethnical Politicians Behaviour	0.00	11.11	0.00	11.11	22.22	11.11	11.11	22.22	11.11	100.00
Ethnic Conflict	0.00	14.29	0.00	28.57	0.00	14.29	14.29	14.29	14.29	100.00
Ethnic Party	14.29	14.29	0.00	0.00	14.29	28.57	14.29	0.00	14.29	100.00
Voting Based on Ethnic	0.00	0.00	12.50	12.50	25.00	12.50	25.00	12.50	0.00	100.00

Anti-specialization of Institutions	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Education-Ethnicities	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	0.00	33.33	100.00
Ethnicities of Army	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnicity Impact on Art, Society and..	0.00	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	100.00
Regime Collapse Causes	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Power Monopoly	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pashtun Reject Tajik Domination	10.00	10.00	0.00	10.00	10.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Ethnic-Interest Competition	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Pashtun Monopoly of Power	9.09	9.09	9.09	18.18	0.00	18.18	27.27	0.00	9.09	100.00
Ethno-Power Monopoly	18.18	0.00	0.00	18.18	9.09	18.18	18.18	9.09	9.09	100.00
Ethnicity and Stability	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Politics Thrive Collapse	7.14	0.00	7.14	21.43	14.29	14.29	28.57	7.14	0.00	100.00
Ethnic Thrive Instability	20.00	0.00	0.00	13.33	13.33	6.67	33.33	6.67	6.67	100.00
Insecurity	0.00	16.67	0.00	0.00	33.33	0.00	16.67	33.33	0.00	100.00
Security: Ethnicity Dual Function	16.67	16.67	0.00	16.67	0.00	16.67	33.33	0.00	0.00	100.00
Weak Role on Instability	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Complexe Causes	12.50	0.00	12.50	12.50	12.50	25.00	12.50	12.50	0.00	100.00
Geopolitic: Collapse	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Najibullah Collapse has Ethnic Root	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Leaders Egoism: Collapse Regime	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Solution of Ethnic Conflict	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Political Culture Options	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Power Sharing: Stabilize Political Order	9.09	27.27	9.09	0.00	0.00	18.18	18.18	9.09	9.09	100.00
Ethnic Participation	9.09	9.09	0.00	18.18	0.00	27.27	9.09	0.00	27.27	100.00

Ethnicity Identity Recognition	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Multi Identity: Mosaic Structure	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	100.00
National Identity Based on Ethnic Diversity	0.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	0.00	20.00	20.00	100.00
Systematic Options	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Semi-Federal: Stable Politics	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Service State	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
Decentralization	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
Political Regime: solving conflict	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
SUM	14.48	10.63	2.26	11.31	6.56	18.10	16.97	10.18	9.50	100.00
N = Documents	15.56	11.11	2.22	11.11	6.67	15.56	20.00	11.11	6.67	100.00

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