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RESEARCH ARTICLE

ACTUAL RESEARCH PAPER REVIEW: THE ROLE OF TRIBAL LEADERS IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE IN KANDAHAR PROVINCE AFGHANISTAN

***Sargand Noor Ali**

Member of Kandahar University Public Administration Faculty, Currently MA Student at Lovely Professional University, Jalandhar, Punjab

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ABSTRACT

Everyone could find that from the eighteenth century or before that, the structure of the government in Afghanistan was primarily based on tribalism. The most important point in the history of Afghanistan is the significant role of Kandahar's tribal leaders. So this research is about the role of the tribal leaders in Kandahar province only and is not applicable to other parts of Afghanistan. In this research, to some extent, the role, importance, the positive points and negative points of tribal leaders are clarified. Apart from this, the tribal leaders' involvement in corruption, participation of youths and women in local governance, the relationship of local governance and tribal leaders with Central government and how the tribal leaders obey the orders of the Central government are analyzed and investigated.

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INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan is a country that is located in middle-Asia. According to its Constitution, the system of the Government is centralized and Presidential. It has thirty-four Provinces and has boundaries with six countries such as China, Iran, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Pakistan. Though it is a centralized country but for the effectiveness of administration it has given authority to local governance also in many levels like Province, District and village level. Kandahar is one of the most popular Province which is located in south Afghanistan, it has almost 17 Districts and has border with Pakistan. According to encyclopedia the population of Kandahar is estimated in 2015 around 1,226,593 male 50.0 and female 50.0. Afghanistan is a tribal country and Kandahar is very important Province. It plays a crucial role in the political scenario of Afghanistan because most of the past revolutions have their historical moorings in Kandahar. In Kandahar many tribes are inhabited but the popular ones are Duranni and Ghalji. Duranni is divided in to Alkozay, Popalzay, Barakzai, Achekzai and Noorzai. This topic is selected because of its economic, political and social importance, both in terms of domestic as well as international strategic paramountcy and attention it has received from the international community. Kandahar has been cradle for rulers for four hundred years for Afghanistan.

The Durrani kingdom from 1948 until 1970 all the rulers were form Kandahar. Former President Karzai, and as a result the Central Government and even Karzai himself have played a uniquely intimate role in local politics. Additionally, Kandahar illustrates the impact of external military interventions and aid on local political dynamics as well as the ways in which insecurity has influenced the international aid and governance agenda.

Literature Review

Afghanistan is a country that has been always engulfed in war, therefore, conducting research is a problem especially in remote areas of this land because it makes things a bit more challenging and daunting for the researcher owing to the presence of Taliban and the subsequent terror, the involvement of NATO and United States of America in maintaining the scene of law and order apart from the various NGO's who are striving hard to achieve the status of peace there. Though there is no dearth of literature available on these issues of this part but very few people have actually written thoroughly about the pivotal role played by the local tribal leaders in the governance mechanism of Afghanistan.

Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium (SLRC), (2015): in their research paper titled, "Politics and governance in Afghanistan: The case of Kandahar" included the importance of Kandahar involving the political issues of Afghanistan. The

***Corresponding author:** Sargand Noor Ali

Member of Kandahar University Public Administration Faculty, Currently MA Student at Lovely Professional University, Jalandhar, Punjab

report mentioned that Afghanistan is politically controlled from Kandahar. It has talked specifically about the time period of post 2001. It has named three to four leaders viz, Khan Mohammad Mojahid, the former police chief, Gul Agha Shirzai, AhmandWali Karzai (the brother of former President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai) and Abdul Raziq the current police chief. These people had very significant role not only in Kandahar politics but also in Afghanistan.

Forsberg, Carl, (2010): in his report entitled, "Politics and power in Kandahar" discussed the economic and political importance of Kandahar. The reporter has struggled to define tribes and has tried to consider the political power of tribal leaders but actually the reporter just took the name of Ahmad Wali Karzai, the brother of former President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai. Also, author has pointed to the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) which was giving importance to their private police.

Foreign policy report (2011): under the title of, "Kandahar's looming tribal struggle" indicated the arguments between the tribes for the attaining the power. In this report Ahmad wali Karzai has been introduced as the powerful tribal leader in Kandahar Province and the author defined him very dangerous. This report is only about the conflict between the tribal leaders for achieving the power.

USAID, (2010): in its research entitled "Tribalism, Governance and Development" expressed that, development assistance have faced with many challenges in tribal and Muslim societies, this research is held in three countries Afghanistan, Somalia and Yemen. The author said that the societies examined in this article, are also governed by tribal codes. These codes are based in custom and are not written down. Example of this customs in Afghanistan is (Pashtunwali) and in Yemen mentioned the example of (urf).

Nijat, Aarya, Koehler, Jan, Fedabasir and Gosztonyi Kristof (2016) : in their research entitled, "Subnational Governance in Afghanistan" clarified two things First, allotment of the structural, policy, legal state of affairs in Afghan subnational governance and highlighting the challenges gaps where the deliberation of national Government is needed in decision-making. Second, filling the gap on village and District representation by offering evidence-based conclusions on a potential way forward on the issue.

UNDP report (2015): in its analytical report entitled, "Afghanistan sub-national governance programme" explained the support to significant subnational policies and initiatives, such as IDLG's (Independent directorate of local governance) gender action plan, developed with the Ministry of Women's Affairs to implement IDLG's ASGP (Afghanistan Subnational Governance Programme) supported gender mainstreaming plan. In this report the author said that, ASGP also supported IDLG to develop nine new regulations that clarify the roles and responsibilities and processes of Provincial and District Governors, IDLG personnel, and other key actors, which contributes to more effective and efficient subnational governance.

World Bank report (2007): in its report entitled, "service delivery and governance at the sub-national level in Afghanistan" explained that the establishment of the sub-

national governance is with the accordance of the Constitution, the importance of sub-national governance and explained that sometimes sub-national leaders cause problems and been as a barrier in front of Central Government because in Afghanistan Central Government is not that much powerful, but on other hand the report has recommendations about the importance of sub-national governance. In this report they have explained the structure of sub-national governance in Afghanistan that how does it works and explained the assemblies and councils by State, District and also village level.

Shurkin, Michael (2011): in his research paper entitled, "Subnational Government in Afghanistan", has expressed clearly that the research work is prepared for the Marine Corps Intelligence Activity. The author tried to show the importance of sub-national governance and legitimacy, furthermore, has gone through the structure of local governance. The author mentioned that the structure of the sub-national governance is remaining from Zahir Shah's kingdom. Despite of the responsibilities mandated by the Constitution itself, the District Collector and Governor thinks that they are not accountable to the people, because these bodies are more centralized in their structure and form with no legitimacy, efficiency and accountability towards the masses at large. The author has found out that being not responsible to the people can create problems for Central Government, for example, the Governors and District Collectors use informal powers like making private militia and not obeying the Central rules. The author struggled to explain the justice system of state and Districts in Afghanistan. He believes that justice system is very complicated. The state has state level court and District level primary court. Simultaneously, with every court they have prosecutor. In the same time they have ministry of justice, home ministry and Supreme Court and so on, so this brings complications. On the other hand according to a study (2007) only 56% of the judges are occupational, that is why people consult to the local bodies like Jirga and shoras.

Bryld, Erik, Polastro, Riccardo, Ghorbani, Parvaneh and Daud, Kohi (2014): they prepared a report under the title of, "Evaluation of the Afghanistan Sub-National Governance Programme (ASGP) phase II" evaluated the system of sub-national governance in Afghanistan. After evaluation they shared their findings with (GoA), SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency) and United National Development Programme (UNDP). In this evaluation the authors has found that there is no efficiency and no effectiveness and the people did not receive their rights and all the rules regulation and even the system of sub-national governance needs reforms, and they also found that the procedure needs change to trust the people on the local administrations.

The Asia Foundation (2007): has an assessment entitled, "an assessment of sub-national governance in Afghanistan" clarified the aim of assessment which was based on survey, first to review the current context of sub-national governance in Afghanistan; second, to identify challenges to SNG (sub-national governance) as well as opportunities for further reform; third, to present a set of strategic recommendations that could be addressed by USAID as well as the donor community in Afghanistan and national Government.

Pain, Adam (2016): in his research entitled “Using village context analysis in Afghanistan methods and wider implications” has expressed the relationship between village, household with elites and leaders of that place or area. In this research the author have observed 92 villages of two provinces and then separate similarities and dissimilarities of the mentioned villages. Citizen charter and accountability in village are the other issues that author has explain them.

Nixon, Hamish (2008): in his research titled “the changing face of local governance community development councils in Afghanistan” explained better understanding the effects of state building interventions at subnational levels in Afghanistan and also aimed to explore how governance is changing at subnational levels, particularly in response to programmatic interventions, and any implications for current and future governance programming.

Lister, Sarah (2007): in her research titled “Understanding State-Building and Local Government in Afghanistan” talked about state, state-building, state functions, state authority and state on the Weberian sense. In this article, the author defined three core functions of the state such as providing security, representation and welfare. But in some other works, the authors have specified ten primary functions for the state, legitimacy, administrative control, management of public finance, investment on human capital, delineation of citizenship rights and duties, infrastructure services, formation of the market, management of the state’s assets, international relations and rule of law. Second part about the history the author said that after defeating USSR the power decentralized because the power also gone to the hands of warlords whom were in the local area but after 2001 by the help of international community a new government came to exist all the tribal leaders gathered to fight against Taliban. So after some time the government also to bring change in the form of administration so the government brought some reforms like Public Administration Reform (PAR) in the Provinces and the Establishment of Provincial Development Committees (PDC) despite these changes the attempts were not success because of unawareness.

Nixon, Hamish (2008) in his research titled “Subnational State-Building in Afghanistan” mentioned that this research is about how governance works in Afghanistan in local level or in sub-national level and he explained the changes in governance at local level especially in programmatic intervention. The author said lack of sub-national policy is the biggest barrier in front of local governance as it poses challenges to identify the most important issues which affect sub-national governance. The governance context of Afghanistan including social, economic, political and institutional context are the other issues which the author has explained.

Salam times (2018): in a report titled “Tribal elders in Kandahar, Herat renew support for security forces” discussed the role of tribal leaders by showcasing that they are celebrating the National Army Day and the tribal leaders have announced that their strength lies with their army and they admire them and their services for the country. This support was present not only in Kandahar but also in Herat as the tribal elders took the same step.

Naseemullah, Adnan and Paul, Staniland. (2016) in their research under the title (Indirect Rule and Varieties of Governance) explained direct and indirect rule the researcher said that indirect rule actually represented a different set of governance forms that need to be clearly differentiate the researcher said that moreover to direct rule across territories, based on the incentives and constraints of the state we are left with the theoretically unsatisfying notion of state weakness. The complicated dichotomy among direct and indirect rule, combined with the relegation of indirect rule to a distant colonial past, does not accurately capture the strategies and practices through which states interact with society, both in the past and today. Researcher said that we have taken a first step in clarifying these governance strategies by presenting an analytical typology of three forms of indirect rule: suzerain, hybrid, and de jure.

Blaydes, Lisa (2014): in a research under the article How Does Islamist Local Governance Affect the Lives of Women? Have explain the situation of women that how radical and other Islamists affect live of women. The researcher have mention the example of Palestine, Egypt, Pakistan and Afghanistan however in these countries some of the territories are under their dominance and are under their population but the women are healthy but are not more likely than women in control area to be subject to types of negative cultural intervention that might manifest in higher school dropout or female circumcision rates. The researcher adds that this shows that whatever we call them radical and Islamists but again they are caring about the women health and their view is positive about the women health and they in favor to give such rights like education and health care.

Verkoren, Willemijn and Bertine Kamphuis (2013): in an article by the name of (State Building in a Rentier State: How Development Policies Fail to Promote Democracy in Afghanistan) clarify that the medicine for the illness of Afghanistan is state building. He said that state building can move up Afghanistan to democracy, however democracy is a phenomena is the outcome of specific geographical and historical situation. So it is impossible to be implement soon and easily. The researcher explore four models of the state formation. Western, developmental, rentier and predatory state, the researcher said we can count Afghanistan as a weak rentier state which is always base on the aids of others. The researcher expressed these kinds of state would not success because of looking to other help he said a very good economic policy is needed in this circumstance

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Most of the participants in this study are not satisfied with the prevailing conditions about the tribal leaders role in the local government of Kandahar in Afghanistan, in fact, another version of the story seems to be there. For example they have mentioned provincial assembly, in the election the tribal leaders were not supporting the youth candidates but also they were trying to remove them from election so they were disappoint from the role of tribal leaders, Mostly the people believed that tribal leaders are corrupt, as it is clear that corruption is a problem that exist everywhere in the world but it is up to the countries and their governments that how much interest is existence for removing corruption, the same situation is going on in Afghanistan. People believed that the main element of corruption is tribal leaders. They even said

that tribal leaders are the root cause for corruption in this war torn area. Even base on a report of UNDP in 2011 most of the people expressed that giving bribe is a legal action. People also believed that tribal leaders should be involved in management of local affairs and projects but on the pretext that Afghan government should have a very close monitoring and vigil. About the participation of youths and women in local governance, the questioned participant were telling that tribal leaders would never let the Afghan women of this region to participate in management and administration of local affairs whereas, educated people criticized government that why this much importance has been given to tribal leaders, on the other hand it is clear that Kandahar is historically a strict province means it has a very complex and strict cultural and Islamic rules and regulation, so about women participation almost all participant answer was negative that tribal leaders will never let the women to participate in the affairs of local governance in Kandahar province. Indirectly the women were also asked about their role in local governance in case of giving much importance to tribal leaders? They said that even in center and provincial level they didn't received their won rights so, participation on local level is so far negotiation. They were disappointed from government also of not giving any reservation on local level.

In case of giving much importance to tribal leaders the common idea was that about youth participation in local governance, tribal leaders will not let the youths to participate in governmental affairs because they said that tribal leaders scares of their power transformation to youths level. And the tribal leaders were asked about the youths participation in local governance they expressed that the youths don't understand how interact with people and how to solve the problems of the people which are existence on local level, the other problem was confusion about the role of tribal leaders in local governance, the answers were different when they were asked about tribal leaders role. Some people said they have social role but some others said they have all social, economic and political role. Whatever almost the people were not satisfied from the activities of tribal leaders, they said that tribal leaders just think about their own benefits and they are deceiving people and they take the money from people but said that exceptions are present. All people said, the projects that are not implemented properly the reason is tribal leaders and they were mentioning such projects that tribal leaders took all the money to their own pockets like MilliPaiwastoon and many other projects. So they said that tribal leaders are blame for the inadequate implementation. In some cases in public projects like building schools and hospitals they took money and caused corruption.

The result of the paper was that at all the people were not satisfied from the tribal leaders role in Kandahar province due to different reasons, so to satisfy the people , strengthen the local governance and permit the people to participate on local level in Kandahar province, the central government should take the below steps.

- It is fair to be given a role to tribal leaders in local governance in Kandahar province, but the Central government should have a very close control on them and also they have to be accountable to local government.
- It is clear that the current era is the era of good governance so all people of the society should observe

themselves in the government whatever it could be local or central so it is necessary to mention that men and women are important to have participation in local governance.

- Efficiency and effectiveness one of the feature of good governance, to achieve this purpose it important for the administration to be people centric administration.
- Equity is important, so majority and minority, men and women, youths and others should have an equal opportunity in local governance.
- The people has to be involve not only in decision making process but also in implementation, and evaluation of the decisions, their existence is also important.
- The government of Afghanistan should give tribal leaders only the authority of assessment and evaluation otherwise will cause corruption. It is clear that people are suffered from corruption and they don't believe on tribal leader's role because they said that the only reason for inadequate implementation of the projects is tribal leaders.
- The government should facilitate the way for youths and women participation.
- The government should occur some standards or parameters for being as tribal leader. Still there are no specific rules and regulation to identify that who can be a tribal leader?
- The government should select specific salary for the tribal leaders to avoid corruption.
- The government should prepare awareness programs about the role, importance and the responsibilities of tribal leaders. Because still the people don't know that what does tribal leader means? And on the other hand the tribal leaders also take bad advantage of this opportunity and they use people for their on jobs and benefits.
- Education should be occur as a compulsory component for tribal leaders, because the leaders would understand the national interest and the people needs.
- Removing bureaucracy on local level is important because it is also caused of corruption and also the people wants transparency and legitimacy.
- As it is clear that current structure of local governance is the legacy of the 20th century so there is a need for the reforms in the structure local governance. The government should bring changes in the structure and in the forms of local governance.
- There are barriers for women participation on local level so the government should remove these barriers and government should give reservation for women class.
- Proper utilization from the resources at local level. Currently the tribal leaders are using the local resources for their own benefits and that's why reconstruction at local level is stagnate or very slow. Now the tribal leaders claim that the resources on local level are their own property and said they have the rights to take advantages from it.
- the government should put some strict rules and regulation for being a tribal leader like education and the number of people should be required to submit that whether he has support in the society or not.

- Most of the tribal leaders are connected now with foreign investigation administrations they are working for them as a spy. So the government has to follow them and have a close observation of their relations and communication. Because it not only dangerous for people but also for national security.

Conclusion

To conclude, tribal leaders have their own role and importance no one can neglect from this. But they also cause corruption, avoid youths and women participation and bad utilization from the local resource and prioritize their won benefits. If we talk about the composition of local governance in Kandahar province, in a research done by Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium (SLRC) expresses that, the witnesses from Kandahar providence shows that the government is not build of institutions but of tribal leaders and tribal leaders' network. Actually tribal leaders have very deep roots in the affairs of local governance even the central government do not have the courage to bring changes in the system, because of that the youths became disappooint from higher authority. Most Kandaharies are deeply disappooint by this system and resentful of the power these individuals wield, even where they actively participate in perpetuating it. But actually building Afghanistan's local governance requires better donor coordination, longer time, strategic deployment of money, and focus on addressing key structural challenges rather than capturing fleeting but unsustainable shifts.

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