IJCRT.ORG

ISSN: 2320-2882



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CREATIVE **RESEARCH THOUGHTS (IJCRT)**

An International Open Access, Peer-reviewed, Refereed Journal

STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND ITS SUBVERSION ON POLITICAL **MOBILIZATION IN AFGHANISTAN POST-**2001

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Abstract

Socio-cultural factors and political approaches to the emergence of structural violence are major issues in the analysis of structural violence in Afghanistan and its effects on political mobilization. This research is using the mixed conceptual method and secondary data, structural violence in Afghanistan and its effects on political mobilization. In this regard, some academic figures and those who have experienced structural violence in practice have been interviewed. Afghan citizens have suffered from bloody violence such as the war for many years, the phenomenon of structural violence has added to this suffering. The study outcome shows that the tribble policies sabotage the social Peace and the absence of the role of law strengthens the structural violence, marginalized minorities, and increased Sociopolitical inequality. Also, structural violence leads Afghanistan to direct violence and instability. Structural violence has harmed political mobilization in Afghanistan since 2001. The government and the responsible institutions have not taken any preventive measures in this regard. In many cases, the government's actions and discriminatory policies have helped to deepen this issue. Structural violence has also had devastating and negative effects on social justice and peaceful coexistence, and in many cases has led to direct violence.

Keywords, Structural Violence. Inequality. Tribble Policy. Government. Gender. Political Mobilization.

Introduction

Structural violence is a silent but inhumane phenomenon that exists in most countries and can lead to physical violence and widespread protests due to lack of access to resources and increasing injustice. Afghanistan is a country that has experienced all kinds of violence over the past century. And yet the roots of structural violence are just as strong in government policy and the attitude of the ruling politicians in this country towards other minorities and their attitude towards life. Very little research has been done on structural violence in Afghanistan, and the factors influencing the escalation of structural violence and ways to prevent it are not well understood. This study comprehensively addresses the important and influential factors on structural violence and its impact on political mobilization in Afghanistan and examines its roots. The important questions on which the research is based are basic and general, considering the question of how structural violence impacts political mobilization and the study of sociocultural influences on structural violence. Undoubtedly, cultural and social factors are among the most important factors influencing the intensification of violence and its elimination, because cultural and social changes, in addition to leading to social mobilization, also eliminate structural violence.

The other part of this study examines the political and economic factors and their impact on the increase of structural violence. Undoubtedly, the conflict over economic resources and political power is one of the important factors of any violence, especially structural violence. Whenever political power in a society is monopolized by an ethnic or ideological group or national capital is in the hands of one class of society, the class gap increases, and structural violence intensifies, the direct result of which may be a political collapse. Thus, political mobilization is inversely related to the escalation of structural violence. Because Afghanistan is a country where several ethnic groups with different religious orientations live. Tribal policies can have a direct impact on the spread of structural violence. The other part of this study examines this important issue because in Afghanistan there is a political structure and monopoly and ethnic power. And this issue has been the main cause of direct and structural violence for many years and has had negative effects on political mobilization in this country. Lack of equitable resource allocation is another cause of structural violence that has been addressed in this study, including lack of access to healthy food sources and safe drinking water that causes various diseases and malnutrition in children is a type of structural violence that unfortunately in Most countries, including Afghanistan, have not paid attention to it.

Illiteracy and linguistic discrimination are other causes of structural violence that have also harmed political mobilization. Illiteracy and linguistic discrimination can also have devastating effects on social mobilization because governments' populist policies are always lurking in ignorance and discrimination against citizens to use against other groups. The final part of this research is the findings that have been highlighted through study and research.

Structural Violence

Structural violence is a type of indirect violence coined by Johan Galtung in an essay, Violence, Peace, and Peace Research 1969. Among many types of violence, structural violence is known as institutional violence which harms the people through unwritten plans that most distinguished as inequality in the society conducts by a group of people, state or government against a particular part of the people of marginalized minoritize so, in structural violence there might not be a subject (person) who acts. Galtung, argues that it is a reasonable question that when there is no subject how structural violence occur? there might not be any person to act or directly harm the people or person, but he says that the violence performs through the structure. Structural violence includes all aspects of indirect practices or socioeconomic inequality, such as the distribution of resources, ethnic discrimination, linguistic discrimination, cultural discrimination, religious ignorance, barriers against their fundamental rights. Moreover, political discrimination is distinguished at the peak of the structural violence which from top to bottom leads the structure. Structural Violence is a paradigm within peace studies that covers non-physical violence. (Galtung, 1969).

Johan Galtung, the exponent of peace and conflict studies divides violence into two major parts, physical violence and psychological violence based on its nature. He argues in psychological violence may be the individual killed directly, but by carrot strategies in both cases individual harms and kills. In this sense, the marginalized groups or individuals suppress by manipulating the consequences through the system and structure. Post-conflict countries mostly involve direct and structural violence. Structural violence influences negatively on political mobilization as well as the sociopolitical unification and leads the individuals to direct violence which is a reaction against the monopolizing of the sources and power widen a society. Thus, low income, illiteracy, not access to health care services, lack of public welfare, and inequality change the consequences of the political order through protesting, rebellion, revelation, and war.

Socio-Cultural Influences on Structural Violence

Culture plays a key role in shaping humankind's behaviors and emotional states within a society and influences individuals' actions and reactions (Weiss MG, Kleinman A. 1988). Traditional societies which mostly refer to past costumes are much backward and conflictual and violence-based. So, Afghanistan is an illiterate and traditional country with decades of war and conflict experiences known as the center of various violence. Afghanistan's violent culture has made this geography the center of all kinds of violence for years. Direct violence, exclusionary approach, discrimination, gender-based violence, self-aggrandizement, sexual violence, and social intolerance are prominent examples of violence in Afghanistan rooted in social culture and political custom. In Afghanistan, people have not yet achieved a single definition of national and acceptable culture. Or that he did not respect the acceptance of cultures and their diversity. Thus, social disruption is automatically one of the causes of structural violence. As some authors have defined structural violence as follows: Any scenario that perpetuates inequality and institutionalized inequality

and causes suffering a part or all members of society is known as structural violence (Lewis, Elizabeth. 2019). Thus, one of the aspects of structural violence is socio-cultural discrimination which causes that a particular group or a community suffer.

In Afghanistan, socio-cultural influences on the escalation of structural violence have been very prominent. The structure of the dominant and defeated culture, the diversity of language and religion, and the contrast between modern and traditional culture have led to all kinds of violence, especially structural violence. A large part of the citizens of Afghanistan have always considered themselves the great brothers and the main owners of the land called Afghanistan, and it puts other citizens under psychological pressure that they are immigrants. This arrogance has seriously damaged social cohesion in Afghanistan and is also seen in the urban structure. For example, since 2001 there has been a lot of internal displacement and people have migrated from one province to another, but the biourban structure in these migrations has been formed in the form of ethnic and religious affiliations. In Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, for example, Pashtuns live mostly in the south and east of the city, sometimes in the center, Tajiks live mostly in the center and north, but Hazaras live mainly in the west of Kabul. This shows that the hidden violence and the rejection of different cultures and religions have caused this separation.

Religion, as another part of Afghanistan's violent social culture and tradition, has long been a major source of direct and indirect conflict and violence. Afghanistan is a highly religious community, ranked third and fourth in the world, according to opinion polls. The principle of diversity of religions is not a problem and has a different belief from the natural rights of human beings, but in the case of intolerance between religions, the most severe and violent violence may occur. Something that is not unprecedented in Afghanistan. For example, a religious judgment a century ago massacred 62% of the population of a religious minority in Afghanistan.

In any case, we will not go into the history of this issue. After 2001, the tolerance and interdependence of religions in Afghanistan have been more positive and moderate than ever before. But on the other side of the coin are extremist takfiri groups such as ISIS and the Taliban, whose legitimacy of war and killing is also based on religious interpretation. The psychological harassment caused by religious differences in Afghanistan, although not very prominent, has not been able to contribute to the axis of structural violence as part of social culture. But another part of the direct violence that arises from a religious point of view is a perverted and influential phenomenon that can cause divisions and religious violence in Afghan society.

Politico-Economic Inequality and its Impact on the Intensification of Structural Violence

Economic resources in all human societies can be one of the most fundamental causes of violence and conflict. Ethnic-political groups and countries have always sought to marginalize their rivals to gain and monopolize economic resources, and this is a prominent issue in Afghanistan. This is directly related to the lack of political justice. In the power pyramid, economic resources are also in their hands. It is a political structure that distributes economic resources and in Afghanistan. besides, economic activities have never taken place without the intervention of political officials. So, access to economic resources and opportunities is more mafia-like in Afghanistan than ever before and is monopolized by a particular group. For example, President Ghani said in a speech at a cabinet meeting that 90% of Afghan citizens are below the poverty line, indicating that the economic structure in Afghanistan has invisibly caused the economic suffering of Afghan citizens as a whole. In the social structure, the impacts of economic discrimination and economic inequality with the intervention of political authorities, what effects it has had on the social context is a question that this study examines.

It is certainly to say that Afghan citizens, regardless of ethnicity, religion, or culture, suffer from economic inequality and lack of access to equal opportunities. One of the prominent examples of structural violence is economic inequality, which is addressed thematically and factual in this study. The reason for this unequal and corrupt structure after 2001 is several groups that have been at the top of political and economic power and remain in this position after 19 years which is divided in to two main part.

2.1 Jihadi groups

Jihadists and those who are known as the warlords of the jihad and resistance against the Taliban rule in Afghanistan, from the very beginning, seized power and maximized the economy. All customs and commercial ports were taken over by the Ministries of Economy and Finance, the Departments of Oil and Gas, and the Ministry of Mines and Petroleum. All of these departments had to spend their revenues on economic development and the creation of economic infrastructure in the country, while most corruption took place in the same departments. For example, the former finance minister stole several million dollars from the 10 percent tax on Afghan telecommunications services.

Another example is the Minister of Education, Farooq Wardak, who embezzled more than 770 million dollars from the school's building budget and teachers' salaries in different provinces and received a state medal at the end of his term as Minister (Afghan Paper,2020). While in all provinces 70% of schools do not have buildings and students' study outdoors. In Afghanistan, along with public schools, the private sector also plays an active role in the field of education, but; 80% of people cannot afford to pay for their children to attend private schools. This is because there is hidden structural violence in all levels of life in Afghanistan.

2.2 Technocrats

Technocrats, who are affiliated with foreign institutions, especially the United States. They are recognized as one of the most effective groups in intensifying structural violence through the monopoly of political power and economic resources. All economic projects, rural development education, and health sector are monopolized by this group, which gained millions of projects through intermediation, recognition, and bribery through the creation of private NGOs, but in practice did not make any positive changes in people's lives. For example, The Herat-Badghis and Bamyan roads is an important highway for Afghanistan's central and western provinces known as Gardan Dewal road which is not completed yet after 19 years. The people of these provinces suffer from a lack of transportation and do not have access to health facilities. For example, from Badghis province, which is about 250 kilometers from Herat, people go to Herat province for treatment, sometimes reaching Herat and sometimes die on the way. Finally, the existence of political and economic inequalities damaged political mobilization in Afghanistan which the people do not trust in political and economic system.

Impact of Ethno-nationalism on Structural Violence

National mobilization and national unity are undoubtedly one of the foundations for the progress and elimination of violence. It is in social unity and justice that human beings achieve peace and prosperity and the level of violence reaches its lowest level. But this issue in Afghanistan has many complexities arising from ethnic-tribal diversity. Contrary to the constitution and the principles of democracy, the central structure of government after the fall of the Taliban remained based on the centrality and monopoly of power in the hands of a particular people. Some were at the core of government corruption, widening the class gap between the rich and the poor and the government and the people. Also, lead. For example, in a discriminatory move, the Ministry of Defense declared all military generals of a particular ethnic group retired from the Ministry of Defense. This action seriously provoked the anger of the people. Specifically, one of the four-star generals of the army, who belonged to an ethnic minority, was demoted from deputy chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to Kabul security chief. A professional military should indeed perform the type of duty given to him, but this was while another governor gave the Ministry of Defense, which was affiliated with the President's people, three military ranks in one year. To be introduced to the Parliament for the Ministry of Defense. This is one of the examples of structural violence and humiliation of a part of the people, not a matter of merit.

It is true that changes in governance are commonplace, but are inherently a form of structural violence to undermine the morale and suffering of a particular minority because they do not see themselves in the basic structure of government. This caused the people to distance themselves more from the government. Another example of ethnicity is the implementation of national infrastructure projects. If we want to examine the impact of ethnicity on government policy-making, a comprehensive and thousands-page study is needed, but as an example of this study on government ethnic discrimination in a joint project to transfer electricity from Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan), known informally as TUTUP. The project was approved by the German company Fischer in 2015 by the World Bank for \$ 35 million (Pajhwok New Agency. 2016). The project did not cross the central provinces of Afghanistan due to government discrimination, despite the preparation of a master plan for Afghanistan by the Fischer Company. It was bombed, killing 85 people and injuring more than 300. (BBC. 2016) This has seriously damaged the national image of the government's actions, and this large section of the people has been insulted. And there was humiliation.

Lack of Potable Water

Many countries pay less attention to basic health issues, including the provision of safe drinking water, but poor and conflict-ridden countries such as Afghanistan are more oblivious. Providing safe water, healthy nutrition, and health facilities has never been a priority for the Afghan government. Provinces such as Namiruz, Badghis, Farah, and Helmand in western Afghanistan and even parts of western Kabul, the Afghan capital, do not have access to safe drinking water. For example, in Badghis province, more than 80 percent of people do not have access to safe water, and by digging shallow wells, they store rainwater in winter and spring and use it in summer. This has led to a higher

mortality rate of children and pregnant women in this province than in other provinces due to viruses and deadly diseases (Daily Information Newspaper. 2020). According to Pajhwok Afghan News, in 2017, 90% of people in Nimroz province did not have access to safe water and this was not a government priority (Pajhwok. 2017). This issue, including lack of access to health centers, has led to according to United Nations International Children's Education Fund (UNICEF) reports, Afghanistan is the third country with the highest infant mortality rate in the world. This has increased the concerns and psychological pressures of the people of these provinces, and many of them have migrated to other provinces and are living in tents (UNICEF. 2019).

Lack of access to basic amenities, including safe drinking water and medical facilities, is one of the types of structural violence that Johann Galtung has denounced for not prioritizing (Galtung. 1969). In Afghanistan, despite the international community's billions of dollars in aid, there are no major changes, and people continue to suffering the lack of access to safe water and medical facilities. This is a form of violence against the citizens of the country who, despite insecurity and other economic problems, do not have access to even the most vital necessities of life.

Children's Malnutrition

In war-torn and impoverished societies, children are more exposed to threats such as malnutrition, lack of healthy food, and lack of access to education due to armed conflict. Afghan children have been victims of war, direct violence, and structural violence for nearly four decades. Civil wars have claimed the most Afghan children, and the trend has continued since 2001. Paying attention to the plight of Afghanistan's children has unfortunately not been a government priority and has sometimes created obstacles. For example, the Law on the Protection of the Rights of the Child has not been approved by the Afghan Parliament for several years due to jurisprudential disputes and human rights issues.

After 2001, the Afghan people turned to the Afghan government's plans in hopes of protecting the rights of children, regardless of ethnicity or religion, and the international community provided significant assistance to the Afghan government. Unfortunately, reports from human rights organizations and UNICEF Indicates the high number of direct and indirect violence against children and their lack of access to health facilities and lack of food support. Between 2004 and 2014, according to the Afghan Ministry of Public Health, the number of children with malnutrition and deadly diseases such as tuberculosis increased from 7.4% to 9.5%, accounting for 41% of all Afghan children, most of them live in the central, north, northeast and south of Afghanistan, suffering from war, drought, and lack of access to healthy food. (BBC. 2014)

In 2017, the Afghan Ministry of Public Health announced that 80% of Afghan children were malnourished. This statistic shows an unprecedented increase in child malnutrition in Afghanistan. The Government of Afghanistan is not still developing and implementing programs to save children from malnutrition. Another UNICEF report in 2019 stated that two million children in Afghanistan are underdeveloped regarding lack of healthy food and malnutrition. This is even though the United States alone has spent more than \$ 975 billion in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2019, including military spending and grants to Afghanistan's development, estimated at \$ 107 billion annually (Forbes. 2019). Research in Afghanistan shows that not even 2% of this aid has been allocated to improve the situation of malnourished children.

This study, with the review of governmental and non-governmental institutions, concludes that the necessary measures have not been taken by the Government of Afghanistan to reduce and eliminate child malnutrition, and this has caused psychological distress to more than two million children. And is a clear example of structural violence in Afghanistan. And it has destroyed the people's belief in the government's attention to improving the lives of their children. In 2011an an article Witten by George Kent claimed that 8.8 million children worldwide died of malnutrition and disease in 2008 due to severe structural violence against children in the world and that poorer countries than This issue has been affected (George Kent. 2011).

Poverty

Low income and do not have equal access to the resource is another aspect of structural violence that refers to the distribution of the resources and availability of equal opportunities in post-conflict societies. Monopolization of economic resources has always been a hidden and unwritten law in a dogmatist structure within a political system. Economic inequality as structural violence targets a certain class of people or individuals to subject them the common form of lived oppression which is known as the production of pain and social suffering (Rylko-Bauer, B. 2017). In the context of Afghanistan, the system which is practiced structural violence for many years oppressed the people

generally and particularly some minority groups which still suffering on behalf of structural violence, especially through poverty and injustice economic strategies. Post-2001 studies assist on the poverty line in Afghanistan due to international financial aids that donated to the government of Afghanistan on behalf of elimination of poverty and social suffering of the people which affected by direct violence and war in 30 years past. United Nations reports show that the poverty line is increasing day by day in Afghanistan, unlike the expectation. Free market system in Afghanistan leaded this country to an anarchical society in which riches become richest and poor people become poorest. The political system through structural violence suppressed the people, and the people faced social conflicts that mean that poverty increases social suffering.

As mentioned above, the free market as a factor in the spread of poverty, the free market in Afghanistan post-2001 has caused a certain group of economic mafias close to the government to monopolize all economic opportunities. So, economic monopolies have led to corruption on the one hand and limitation of equal opportunities on the other hand. This has resulted in Afghan citizens earning less than 2 dollars per day. Moreover, nearly 90 percent of Afghanistan's citizens live below the poverty line, and there is no effective policy has been put in place, while another 10 percent has monopolized all national assets and sources of income. This is the exact referent concept of structural violence against the people. Even poverty is a universal challenge but in Afghanistan billions of dollars stolen by a particular group that has benefits in the growth of poverty, they might not realize that it structural violence, but the government basically must prevent the enforcement of structural violence through any groups and by itself as well. Social suffering is the direct result of the circumstances which people impose in the country.

Illiteracy and Corruption's Influences on Political Mobilization

In Afghanistan, two factors in one direction have slowed down and destroyed the process of development and peace in Afghanistan. The first is the illiteracy of the majority of the Afghan people, which has led to political instability and armed uprisings based on misrepresentation of religious beliefs, and the other is corruption, which has weakened the basic foundations of government and seriously damaged its credibility. After 2001 and the formation of the government led by Hamid Karzai, corruption also permeated government offices. Corruption also reaches the presidency. Afghanistan's international prestige and public trust have been eroded by the growing level of corruption in the government, to the point that the US Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) has declared the Afghan government incompetent to run the country and corrupt its leaders and departments. Subsequently, aid from many countries, including the United States, was conditional on accountability and transparency in budget spending. However, there has been no change in reducing corruption in Afghanistan. Political corruption, Administrative corruption, and moral corruption have reached their peak in all government departments. No one, not even President Ghani and Rula Ghani, the wife of the president, is free from corruption.

In the section, only the existing facts about the corruption of some officials are analyzed, for example, Musa Elmi, Head of the Norms and Standards Office of Afghanistan, on October 13, 2020, in the Court of Appeals for Serious Crimes of the Ministry of Interior of Afghanistan for \$ 200,000. American bribe-taker arrested in Kabul. He was sentenced in two courts to 16 years in prison and fined \$ 100,000. Mr. Elmi stated in his public court that the president's adviser, the head of the National Procurement Office, and an official of the Attorney General's Office are also involved in the case. This shows that in major corruptions, most government officials are involved, but the chain of corruption is so wide that it seems impossible to fight it (Daily Information Newspaper. 2020). Another example of the corruption of officials, especially cabinet ministers, is the Ministry of Finance. Former Afghan Finance Minister Eklil Hakimi embezzled millions of dollars in telecommunications service taxes levied on telecom subscribers, and recently received a high government medal from the president and traveled to the United States. These two examples are great examples of corruption in Afghanistan that has damaged the foundations of the legitimacy and credibility of the government among the people of Afghanistan and at the same time has dealt an irreparable blow to the Afghan economy.

The second factor is illiteracy, which has caused many calamities, including the strengthening of ethnic divisions, racial superiority, and the strengthening of ethnic politics in Afghanistan. Sometimes they become proxy fighters. On the other hand, Afghanistan, with a majority of illiterate populations reaching 57%, has turned it into a backward and consuming country. In this study, only the superficiality of this illiterate population to national issues has been analyzed.

For years, Afghanistan's ethnic groups have been consistently encouraged by racial and ethnic discrimination governments to maintain racial and religious superiority and have remained illiterate. This is still one of Afghanistan's major challenges. For example, the vast majority of Tajiks and Pashtuns are opposed to large-scale development projects in the Hazara region and cannot tolerate the achievements of this ethnic minority, one of which is the Afghan school curriculum. Rohullah Nikpah, the first Olympic medalist in Afghanistan's history, was barred from being included in the 11th-grade culture book of the school and was replaced by another member of the Tajik ethnic group to which the Ministry of Education was affiliated. Another example of the impact of illiteracy on development projects in the implementation of the TUTAP project occurred when the majority of illiterate populations in the eastern provinces, mostly Pashtuns and the north, mostly Tajiks, protested against the Hazaras, stating that the Hazaras did not want electricity but they want to control electricity sources. All transmission lines from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan pass through northern Afghanistan and are always in danger of being blown up by Taliban terrorist groups. This reflects a low understanding of national development and national unity, which has made tribes racially hostile to each other. Political mobilization is possible while the various ethnic groups in Afghanistan tolerate each other and it is impossible without deep analysis and high literacy to all. Thus, the political mobilization has always been treated by the illiterate and extremist group on behalf of tribble supremacy this issue stems from illiteracy at the public level. While the development of Afghanistan and national unity may require understanding and political interdependence and political mobilization based on national interests.

Linguistics discrimination as Structural Violence and its Impact on Political Mobilization

Afghan society is a multicultural society with different languages and dialects. Linguists believe that language, as one of the components of the spread of culture and cultural richness in one country, cannot be attacked by another language, but can be weakened by the introduction of borrowed words from another language (Hawza. 1388). In Afghanistan, a country with many languages, this has not been used for cultural richness but has been systematically influenced by political discrimination. The Constitution of Afghanistan, adopted in 2003, has a clear emphasis on the common languages in Afghanistan and their importance and obliges the government to develop and pay attention to the development of the language and the education of its speakers. Article 16 of the Afghan Constitution states that: Pashto, Dari, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi, Pashayee, Nuristani, Pamiri, and other common languages in the country, Pashto and Dari are the official languages of the government (Article 16 of the Constitution).

Article 17 of the Constitution also emphasizes the importance of teaching and learning curricula in minority languages other than Persian and Pashto and obliges the government to develop and publish curricula in those languages. Language in any country can be just as a major factor and lead to political severity and social unity as a potential factor can also be effective in the direction of social and political rupture. For example, the majority of Afghanistan's population speaks Persian and is second only to Pashto speakers. But at the time of the adoption of the constitution, the people who spoke Persian, based on good faith and strengthening national unity, accepted the national anthem in Pashto.

But in the following years, this situation changed and some people started a struggle against the Persian language, and the work reached a point where the Persian language was registered in the electronic ID system among foreign languages, but the head of this office was convicted by the parliament. The insult was reported to the prosecutor's office in the language of the majority of the Afghan people. This indicates that political unity and political mobilization are seriously vulnerable if there is no mutual acceptance in cultural fields such as language.

In addition to the political issue of language discrimination in Afghanistan, this study focuses on the lack of curriculum development and curriculum in minority languages such as Pashayee, Baluchi, Nuristani, and Uzbek in the provinces where most speakers of these languages live and are trapped. Structural violence is caused by neglect of their mother tongue and the Ministry of Education has not taken any action in this regard. For example, the Ministry of Education has provided only first- to third-grade textbooks in Baluchi, Nuristani, and Pashayee languages, and the rest of the classes do not have access to this legal right. For this reason, the Ministry of Information and Culture considers these languages in danger of extinction (BBC. 2009).

This confession is a good indication of the government's discrimination and indifference in the field of common languages in Afghanistan, and the speakers of this language face structural violence and suffering. There are more than 30 indigenous languages in Afghanistan, but all government efforts are aimed at language discrimination and preventing the underdevelopment of other languages. For example, the Uyghur, Pamiri, and Mongolian languages in Afghanistan still do not have an alphabet and the Mongolian language has been destroyed. Since 2001, the language

has been one of the obstacles to political mobilization in Afghanistan, and sometimes even violence in parliamentary sessions, and demonstrations have taken place in this regard.

Conclusion

Structural violence, which is also known as the cause of other types of violence. It includes discrimination, repression, the isolation of a particular class in terms of linguistic, cultural, gender, traditions, religion, and other violent factors. Afghanistan has been plagued by violence for many years, and its main cause seems to be systematic violence, which years ago divided the Afghan people into different minorities, majorities, languages, and religions. The impact of structural violence on the situation in Afghanistan has severely damaged the nation-building and state-building process and created a tribal-based social structure, and the umbrella of political support and access to resources is also seen under the same ethnic structure. Given that after the fall of the Taliban in 2001, the presence of all sections of society, having different races, ethnicities, languages, and religions in a democratic framework was and still is cohesive. In addition to the discriminatory political and social structure and limited access to equitable resources, women and children have been the main victims of structural violence in Afghanistan due to health and food perspectives. Statistics from Afghan government agencies and international organizations show that after 19 years, the mortality of children and women and not having access to education, healthy food, potable water, and health services are the main challenge to them. However, the low level of public awareness of the Afghan people has helped strengthen this unjust and poor system.

Due to the covert linguistic violence and the hidden and discriminatory scenario of the government against the citizens, the people have distanced themselves from the government and the credibility of the government with the people has significantly decreased. Moreover, not only have linguistic and racial minorities suffered irreparable damage over the past 19 years, but Afghanistan as a whole has lost the opportunity for development and progress. The combination of these factors has led people to seek safety and survival in the shadow of the ethnic mafia and Afghanistan's warlord leaders, instead of resorting to constitutional citizenship rights and government responsibility. Thus, as a result of the government's negligence in providing services, eliminating discrimination, structural violence, and reducing corruption, the rule of law has also failed. Because the exemption of criminals and corrupters has strengthened the chain of corruption day by day.

According to research findings, the main causes of structural violence in Afghanistan are ethnic discrimination based on minority and ethnic majority, on the other hand, the government's monopolistic policies have always led to structural violence. Also, this monopoly on the sources of power and wealth has damaged political mobilization and thwarted the nation-building process. Religious extremism is another cause of structural violence, of which the repression of Hindus in Afghanistan is a clear example. Therefore, according to this study, the rule of law is the first solution to the fight against structural violence that can ensure political participation and social justice, and equal respect for civil rights. The second proposition is that the secularist system can greatly reduce structural violence, given the violence and religious extremism and the government's expressive use of religion. The third proposal is the democratization of government institutions because the democratization of government departments can to some extent prevent the monopoly of power and wealth.

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