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POLITICAL ECONOMY OF YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN AFGHANISTAN

AFGANİSTAN'DA GENÇ İSTİHDAMININ EKONOMİ POLİTİĞİ

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Abstract

Youth unemployment is one of the most persistent social challenges in Afghanistan. Youth generally encounter greater difficulties in the labor market than other groups. This thesis focuses on rising employment issues precisely that of post-Taliban in Afghanistan. After almost four decades of ongoing conflict, Afghanistan has become one of the most fragile countries in term of economy and employment in the world. There have been a number of important factors that have impacted on youth unemployment in Afghanistan.

Afghan youth face rough situations due to lack of employment opportunities and low wages and these could indeed trigger youth to turn their ways into illegal actions. Based on the ILO 2012 reports, in Afghanistan over 400,000 youth join the labor market every year and the labor market is categorized by a young and fast growing workforce, Afghanistan is in an urgent and extensive need for creating employment opportunities.

One of the most significant has been the old guards' control over employment, economic resources through ethnic and identity politics. Having said that, this thesis specifies the nature of the local youth labor market in the Afghan economy. It thus, poses a central research question: What are the challenges to youth employment in a politically marginalized system? In order to explore this question, a qualitative methodology is used with interviews to see how politicization of unemployment has impacted on youth. The findings indicate how significant political events and practices influence on youth employment experiences, and youth understandings of them.

Özet

Genç işsizliği Afganistan'daki en kalıcı sosyal zorluklardan biridir. Gençler işgücü piyasasında genellikle diğer gruplardan daha büyük zorluklarla karşılaşmaktadır. Bu tez, tam olarak Afganistan'daki Taliban sonrası istihdam sorunlarının artmasına odaklanmaktadır. Neredeyse kırk yıllık süren çatışmaların ardından Afganistan, ekonomi ve istihdam açısından dünyadaki en kırılgan ülkelerden biri haline geldi. Afganistan'daki genç işsizliğini etkileyen birçok önemli faktör var.

Afgan gençliği, istihdam olanakları ve düşük ücretler nedeniyle zor durumlarla karşı karşıya kalıyor ve bunlar gerçekten de gençleri yasa dışı eylemlere dönüştürmeleri için tetikleyebilir. ILO 2012 raporlarına dayanarak, Afganistan'da her yıl 400.000'den fazla genç işgücü piyasasına katılıyor ve işgücü piyasası genç ve hızlı büyüyen bir işgücü tarafından sınıflandırılıyor, Afganistan'ın iş bulma olanakları yaratma konusunda acil ve kapsamlı bir ihtiyacı var.

En önemlilerinden biri yaşlı muhafızların istihdam üzerindeki kontrolü, etnik kaynaklar ve kimlik politikaları yoluyla ekonomik kaynaklar olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, bu tez Afganistan ekonomisindeki yerel gençlik işgücü piyasasının niteliğini belirlemektedir. Bu nedenle, merkezi bir araştırma sorusu ortaya çıkarmaktadır: Politik olarak marjinalleşmiş bir sistemde gençlik istihdamının zorlukları nelerdir? Bu soruyu araştırmak için, işsizliğin siyasallaşmasının gençlik üzerinde nasıl bir etki yarattığını görmek için görüşmelerde nitel bir metodoloji kullanılmaktadır. Bulgular, önemli siyasi olayların ve uygulamaların gençlik istihdamı deneyimlerini ve gençlik anlayışlarını nasıl etkilediğini göstermektedir.

Statement of the Problem

Youth unemployment in Afghanistan is a deeply pressing issue as the rate is growing greatly. Youth unemployment in Afghanistan is becoming an agonizing issue not only for the Afghan government, but also particularly for youth themselves and the society as a whole as it is threatening the development processes of the entire society. As it is apparent, youth are considered as the key assets for the national growth when they're presented with employment opportunities.

Furthermore, considering Afghanistan's high and growing number of young population, growth and development could be achieved not only with the old guards who hold power, but also young people who are potent enough to be 'the change providers' in terms of economy and governance. What's more, due to severe lack of employment opportunities in Afghanistan, the massive numbers of young well-educated people are unable to find an effective way to contribute to development of the society, but rather they are forced to participate in precarious, low paid jobs without social security.

Most importantly, the problem of youth unemployment in Afghanistan has negative impacts on the youths themselves first of all and also including, families, communities, society, political and economic stability of the society and the government as well. However, the socio-economic development opportunities that are hindered increases poverty, ethnic issues and favoritism, high corruption rates are challenges the governance and leadership of political elites in the Afghan state. These are some of the apparent challenging problems that require an academic work in order to explain youth unemployment. The study will focus only on the case of Afghanistan after fall of Taliban.

"Young people are not just decision-takers; they can be decision-makers too."

– Ahmad Alhendawi, UN Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth

Chapter Outline and Structure of the Thesis

INTRODUCTION

From a political economy perspective Rowntree and Rowntree (1968), argued that youth has been comprised of a specific socially, economically, and politically excluded system. In the later studies when it was clearer that youth as a class covered the various experiences of youth due to vertically classifying social categories, the contexts of gender and race were included.

Nonetheless, the dispute over this issue pulled away from political economy and so, the youth studies were controlled by the sociology debates that took the attention to the youth topic as a social or relational concept. Rowntree argues that while, the "youth as class" is deliberately constructed for the purpose of marginalizing the younger people from the political and economic spheres so that the youth cannot make the decision of their own unless they're under a working group title, meaning the decisions then will be collective rather than individual based and therefore, the fear of losing job in the process will be included as well, making youth always dependent on the system.

Youth, based on the standard definition by the UN are those people whose ages are between fifteen and twenty-four all-encompassing. However, when it comes to practice, the definition of youth differs broadly from country to country depending on cultural, institutional and political aspects. Therefore, for this thesis, the UN standard definition is put into account. Mainly, under the negative social environment, youth are usually on the edge of poverty, unaware and without a straight strategy for their personal development. In places that even have comparatively higher levels of social assistance, it is worth asking whether gaining the help for these unemployed youths could risk their self-esteem.

Youths in general don't have proper awareness due to lack of systematic attention that should be provided by the accountable hands. The right to employment is perceived as one of the basic human

rights, whilst this right is not identified not only in developing and underdeveloped worlds, but also lacks in the highly-developed countries (Poslovna etika, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2003).

After almost four decades of ongoing conflict, Afghanistan has become one of the weakest countries mainly in term of economy and employment in the world. Afghanistan's young generations face threatening conditions due to lack of employment opportunities and low wages and these could trigger youth to turn into pursuing illegal actions like narcotics, illegal armed terrorist groups participation, thus, youth unemployment is a chief concerning factor in the development and stability of Afghan society.

Based on the ILO 2012 reports, in Afghanistan over 400,000 youth join the labor market every year and the labor market is categorized by a young and fast growing workforce, Afghanistan is in an urgent and extensive need for creating employment opportunities. What's more, nearly 63.8% of the young Afghans incline to accept short-term and instable jobs and work on a daily labor jobs 17.6% due to lack of job opportunities, skills and education (ILO, 2012).

Giving the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) 2007-2008 statement, youth unemployment rate was 10% for young male and 15% for female youths that is to say higher than the national unemployment rate that reached 7.1%, however to analyze further the Afghan labor market is obstructed by the lack of available data and as of now, one of the useful source to take into account the previous years is the NRVA. The report shows that the youth unemployment rate since the fall of Taliban regime till 2017 with a significant change over the years, however not a sharp upward shift.

This thesis's structure is in the following manner and it involves four chapters as a whole. This entails a chapter on understanding of youth and unemployment from the political economy perspectives. A chapter on the overall methodology of the thesis as well as the interviews findings' methods. Another chapter takes into account the case study on Afghanistan besides the analysis chapter of findings, whilst the last chapter includes conclusion and references.

As of the *first chapter*, portrays the methodology of this thesis. A qualitative case study approach was used through interviewing, collecting previous evidences, materials and data from various organizations. The materials and data are collected between 2018-2019.

Chapter two: this chapter inspects from the existing literatures the various understandings of youths' patterns for becoming the target, both politically and economically and so being marginalized. Moreover, in doing so, it portrays the deliberately established relations between youth and unemployment.

Chapter three: assesses the labor market situations in Afghanistan and also shows how the past political dynamics of Afghanistan and conflict had impacted on the youths' employment as well as their participation as a whole within the society.

Chapter four: this chapter provides a conclusion of the thesis which sheds light on the implications of the research with regard to findings presented in the interview and the case chapter.

1.1. First Chapter: Thesis Methodology

A qualitative case study approach will be used which is concentrated on gathering information from varieties of secondary materials, organizations and governmental as well as research centers along with interviews; suggested by Robert Stake (1995) and Robert Yin (2003, 2006).

Triangulation was applied to portray the use of multiple data gathering methods, multiple theories, several researchers, multiple approaches and or mixture of these four categories of research Denzin (1978, p. 292).

The methodology used is discussed below and it uses three key research methods that are interviews, primary and secondary resources. The interviews were prepared as part of a case study of methodology. This was in order to perceive a significant manner from the youth's experiences. Considering the major motive of the study is to identify the employment experiences of youth, a qualitative method is the most suitable. *Qualitative* research aims to discover answers to questions by assessing numerous social contexts and the people who exist in these settings. Also, a qualitative research's purpose is to investigate answers to questions by using systemic processes (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). Moreover, this method is used to explore the spoken and written presentations of

human experiences. This involves applying various approaches and multiple sources of data (Punch 1998). The crucial prominence of this approach in this thesis was to understand the differences, challenges and contradictions in the youths' unemployment and the labor market as well as the cooperating procedures that youth take into account.

Semi-structured interview method was selected for this research as they can bring about a leading path that is reliable with the theoretical framework and permits to go with the flow when it's needed or in order to reply to interviewees' ways (Minichello et al. 2008). A semi-structured in-depth interview is usually one in which the interviewer has a worksheet of topic areas or questions. The intention is to get the informants to talk in their own terms, thus questions should not be too specific allowing for a variety of possible responses. If, during the semi-structured interview, the respondent moves from one area to another that appear on the interviewer's worksheet without being asked a question by the interviewer, then the interviewer checks this off without need to ask the question on the check list. The questions are not asked in any given sequence, rather they are asked in a way that develops the (usually one-way) conversation. The questions are intended to get the respondent speaking about precise areas that the interviewer wants to know about (Santiago, 2009). The interviewees (youth) were selected on the basis of their employment experiences. Several respondents either have gone through employment difficulty or are still facing. And also, they were the people who helped other youth with their different organizations. The selected participants were from a group of either currently employed or unemployed, or wanted to change their part-time work, or also were employed, but wanted more hours of stable work.

Interviews began in late March 2019 and ended early May 2019. All interviewees participated except seven requesting the interview not to be recorded on tape, but rather the respondents chose to write extensively as much as possible and transcribed it. Apparently, the participants were approached and informed through email and followed up with phone calls and further email for the better comprehension of the interview from different working backgrounds. According to Oliver 2003, an email or letter invitation would be better than a cold call invitation, because it provides the participants the opportunity to gather their thoughts on the information they have about the research and make a knowledgeable choice about whether they want to participate or not. On the

contrary, if the young people were to be approached in person, it may have put them in a hard position and or they may even reject to take part.

Youth are defined from different age groups of between (15-24) and recently between (15-27) thus, the youths in the interview were selected within these ages which are different from one another with purpose of expressing their different employment experiences, different ethnic background and both male and female genders. The interviews lasted between 30-60 minutes and were recorded or written. The interviews were open to construct a conversation within a specific topic in order to naturally create a conversational style, but with a focus on a particular subject that had been planned beforehand.

The interview consisted of twenty face to face interviews that were conducted among youth in different locations in Kabul, Afghanistan. In this interview, open-ended questions were taken into consideration in order to obtain the extent of the research with regard to the theoretical context and the features of each of the interviewees who were very different people in terms of backgrounds, experiences and ethnicities. Interviews further have the capacity to participate and enable the past experiences and methods, hence this approach was crucial for the research to be able to understand the standpoints and experiences of youths. Last, but not the least, the interviews were led on the basis of the Ethics Committee at the Istanbul Bilgi University Human Studies Ethics Board.

Ethical Considerations

In this interview, the participants were told that they could renounce their agreement and withdraw any quotations or information provided. And also, confidentiality of the all participants was promised and they were informed that the information they were to provide and to be collected would be used only for the purpose of this research. The revelation of confidential information and identities of the participants were carefully evaluated on a case by case basis in order not to uncover the respondents' identities. As a part of the research, all the participants were given the participation as well as the consent forms that provided the information of the interview and thesis comprehensively.

The participants had the right to remove from the interview any time they wanted. The interview aimed to offer the participants to withdraw from interview whenever they encounter anxious

feeling or any other reasons. By the start of the interview, the interviewer explained clearly the terms and information regarding their rights and any sort of their privacy that will be kept confidential and it was made sure that the participants understood what was asked. The researcher furthermore tried to deliberately make the additional materials like participation and consent forms as easy and understandable as possible. Initially, they all agreed on the consent delivering, however the majority of the respondents desired that their identity would be kept confidential while their interviews are allowed to be used and included in other publications and researches.

Limitations of the Research

First off, I acknowledge that there could have been deeper analysis of the unemployment in the context of gender differences and inequality amongst youth and also further organizational factors related in the country. An interconnecting area could have been social class, because the views that were expressed by the respondents were their own specific background as well as employment prospects and their expectations for future achievements. These areas will have prominence to investigate in further study.

Second, there's another crucial part to this study which would be to investigate into a large extent the precariousness of employment. Afghanistan is also at the brink of precarious work; therefore, this is a pressing issue in the labor market currently and will continue to be in the future. Further studies are needed to understand the nature of precarious work more precisely.

2. Second Chapter: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

From a political economy perspective Rowntree and Rowntree (1968), argued that youth has been comprised of a specific socially, economically, and politically excluded system. In the later studies when it was clearer that youth as a class covered the various experiences of youth due to vertically classifying social categories, the contexts of gender and race were included. Nonetheless, the dispute over this issue pulled away from political economy and so, the youth studies were controlled by the sociology debates that took the attention to the youth topic as a social or relational concept. Rowntree argues that while, the "youth as class" is deliberately

constructed for the purpose of marginalizing the younger people from the political and economic spheres so that the youth cannot make the decision of their own unless they're under a working group title, meaning the decisions then will be collective rather than individual based and therefore, the fear of losing job in the process will be included as well, making youth always dependent on the system.

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unemployment rate since the fall of Taliban regime till 2017 with a significant change over the years, however not a sharp upward shift.

Unemployment as a concept, might sound quite well-known; however, it is crucial to start by discussing shortly that what we refer to when we say unemployment in this thesis. Based on the standard definition of the ILO which is the most broadly used definition along with its unemployment statistics reports, the unemployed is said to be those people who have not worked for more than an hour for short period while they are actively searching for job. Besides, though this definition might appear justly clear, still some cross-country changes may happen (ILO, 2012).

Afghanistan is a country with around 36 million people and diverse ethnic groups among Pashtuns making up the largest ethnic group followed by Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Aimak, Turkmen. The highest number of Afghans are comprised of youth with around 63.7 percent that is 27.5 million people under age of 25 years old. In 2001 post-Taliban, the new interim government and constitution were established that brought many transformations, however main issues are still present that challenge the current government's capability in order to guarantee comprehensive decision making processes and lasting stability in Afghanistan and youth unemployment is one of them. The increasing unemployment rate among youth in Afghanistan is a critical issue that needs not to be overlooked because unemployment together with worsening security situation have led numerous young Afghans to leave the country in pursuit of employment opportunities as they struggle to survive.

Another striking reason for current unemployment among youth is social exclusion or mostly defined as marginalization (Hashiya sazi) in the context of Afghan society and youth expressed they were often not taken seriously by elders, and that adults not only mistrusted them but often censored and discouraged young people from expressing their ideas. This emerges partly from the traditional norms that rule Afghan society. Activities and expressions of young people that challenge or are not part of that system of norms are discouraged and even rejected. In relation to traditional beliefs it was also mentioned that prejudices related to certain minorities affect youth inclusion and engagement in Afghanistan. For example, youth referred to systematic prejudices in Afghan governance against certain ethnic minorities, which is intensified by the ethnic quota system. What's more, as of now despite the increase of youth in government positions, respondents still feel that this has only exhibited a symbolic role or only those youths

are included who have certain linkups. Corruption and lack of government policies to address young people's marginalization remain as a barrier for youth employment.

During the interviews' investigation, the relationship between youth and economy was largely apparent and related upon the youths' experiences of employment. The current situation of Afghanistan both economically and politically has considerably impacted the workforce and economy with major employment challenges for youth. The impacts of marginalization as a result nepotism and favoritism are extensively perceived in the youth's transition from education and training to employment. Ross and Whitfield 1996 stated that, numerous young people regardless of maintaining credentials have abandoned their education half way in pursuit of employment, whilst at the same time young people practice changes that are associated with changes within the workforce and the transitions are like vocational and training programs to make youth be prepared for employment.

According to Furlong (1997), the evaluation of the modern youth's situation emphasizes on significant rise of experiences and opportunities collapse among youth besides, the youths' progressive course is widely diverse from one another which is an indication of building social divisions in society in complicated manners. One of the key and powerful subjects through the interviews was to understand the types of challenges youth encounter across the Afghan workforce. The massive amounts of interviewees had aimed to get the job of their preferences at least based on their level and field of education ranging from university graduates to diploma. The striking questions of the interview are comprised of asking the interviewees varieties of questions that are concerned with youths' job finding experiences as well as the Afghan state's providing or lack of opportunities for employment in Afghanistan. The first question raises the most important focus of the interview that is the youth's personal experiences while actively searching for job from the group of youths who are employed currently when responding to the interview and hold at a minimum level, a bachelor degree or undergraduate diploma. The young respondents came up with a variety of answers with regard to their education and job seeking experiments. Eight participants had finished their undergraduate degree education when searching for job, whilst another group of five young people had started seeking for job after university graduation, however three other participants had started pursuing further university education/ education extension due to lack of job opportunities and job market for the afresh graduated youth while taking into consideration the job requirements like 'experienced'.

Furthermore, the majority of youth had specified that there was not a proper or official place for jobs to be addressed through the websites of the ministries or related administrations. Lack of job availability awareness seems a striking issue. While the lack of an effective labor market information system is a constraint for job seekers generally, youth are particularly affected by information asymmetry due to their limited labor market experience and weak networking (Baah-Boateng, 2014). Many post-conflict countries like Afghanistan, for example, do not have efficient employment placement centers to register and facilitate placement of youth in employment. Youth may not be aware of how to navigate the labor market or to find and pursue available jobs in the absence of such support (Betcherman & Khan, 2015; Manpower Group, 2012).

Amundsen (1997) pointed out that, favoritism in the context of source of violence are widely spread phenomena involved mainly in employment. Favoritism is an execution of the misuse of power and a majorly prejudiced of state resourcefulness. In employment nepotism occurs when one is relieved from the lotion of certain laws or rules, regulations or given unjustified preference in the apportioning of deficient seats or positions. Akindele (1995) find that, it is corruption that constitutes unemployment but these concepts according to social scientists has long been ideologically, morally, culturally, politically and intellectually problematic to the point of misplacing visual perception of its damaging and parasitical nature causing harm to people and the society at large. Unemployment and corruption are the mutual behavior where both the power or office holder can respectively lead up the incentive of each other by some rewards to concede i.e., illegal discriminatory intervention or favor against the rationales and involvement of particular establishment or populace within the social club. Last but not least, one of the key findings that emerged while interviewing youth was that, the majority of these youths had various ways and ideas for reduction of unemployment and providing job opportunities, whilst taking into account the significance of private sectors' expansions through government's supports so that the youth won't be in dire need for governmental jobs only, but rather rely on private sectors for the improvement of the employment situation as well as contributing to the economy.

As the nature of war can be so evil in any given society that has many consequences coming along, certainly the issues like youth unemployment and marginalization in Afghan society have not been without some deep-rooted background, take for example ethnic marginalization which has been there since 1979 precisely when continued conflicts were mainly triggered on ethnic base. Therefore, it is important to look at Afghan conflict phases along with

peacebuilding period in a nutshell in order to establish better understanding of the main issue of this thesis which is youth unemployment.

Conflict phases

Afghanistan has been a strategic battleground by external powers. In some part, it is due to its geographic location located between central and south Asia and the Middle East. Besides, the nature of Afghan society that is polarized and disintegrated with numerous ethnic groups makes it vulnerable to face several internal tensions and each gets support from different external power accordingly. The ongoing conflict for over four decades also shows Afghan people's strength and the groups' works towards peace and stability.

In 1978, the Saur Revolution ousted the existing government and put ahead a Socialist agenda, led by Hafizullah Amin and the Khalq Party military, the agenda contained a change to state atheism introducing land reformers and acknowledging equality between genders. The ruling president Daud Khan with seventeen other family members were ousted and killed right with the start of the coup. Besides, many other people including the religious establishment, intelligent officers and traditional elites were tortured or assassinated as well. The revolutionaries continued to free the Khalq Party's important members and thus Noor Muhammad Taraki was chosen as the leader and President. After this, the Mujahedin promptly prepared opposition forces made up of groups of mostly Pashtun tribes and started the attack on the Marxist-Leninist government that was also under attack from the left-wing groups who opposed President Taraki. The ruling party instead demanded for the support of the Soviet Union against the Mujahedin opposition, eliminating the other left-wing opposition and failing the Afghan army. Meanwhile, some around hundred-thousand Red Army troops were employed in Afghanistan and provision of training and armaments to Mujahedin opposition group along with support from other countries such as the UK and Saudi Arabia were giving the USA an opportunity to deteriorate the Soviet Union as part of its Cold War strategy. The nine-year long conflict officially ended in 1989 with the removal of the Soviet forces leading to devastation of over two million people dead and over 1.5 million people disabled. Two million people were internally displaced and 1/3 of the country's pre-conflict population fled the country into neighboring countries and oversea.

In 1992, the Communist government fell and the Peshawar Accord announced Afghanistan as an Islamic State of Afghanistan while many groups didn't recognize the new state and this led the country to shortly fall into civil war that continued through 1990s. The state departments

such as the police, justice systems and education weren't given time to reform post-Soviet war and most of the state's departments fell into anarchy leading numerous areas to be controlled by armed groups who were supported by the governments and groups of Saudi Arabia, the US, Pakistan and Iran. In 1990s a militia group named Taliban came out and started to rise as a political and religious power that aimed to introduce greater order in the area. It was headed by Muhammad Omar and supported by many Afghan refugees living in Pakistan and the group also gained huge support as it started rule on most of the central and southern Afghanistan.

Execution of Islamic state: the Taliban became capable of overthrowing the fragile obligatory government and control Kabul in 1996 forming the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. In addition, the Taliban leaders had followed a strict fundamentalist type of Deobandi and Wahhabi Islam and harsh interpretation of Afghan society and cultural standards. Taliban imposed the most extreme kind of sharia law like never seen before in the modern Islamic world. Taliban gained global fame due to imposing burqa (a full face and body covering) on women and prohibition of women from going outside unless there's a male companionship. Women were not allowed to attend school after age of eight and work. Many Pakistanis joined the Taliban fight against the United Front's forces while Osama Bin Laden directed more wages into this support naming it "as the only true Islamic state". Bina Laden was active in supporting different militia groups to fight the Soviets and returned to Afghanistan in 1996 after having to flee Sudan and Saudi Arabia and apparently using the country as his base to plan, fund and execute attacks globally. At meantime, the united front or the Northern Alliance led by Ahmad Massoud fought against Taliban.

In 1990s after the end of Cold War, when the international financial support started to decline and the number of attacks on the US embassies increased worldwide, attention was again shifted towards the Taliban with the US attacking suspected bases belonging to Bin Laden in Afghanistan in 1998 and thus UN calling for more sanctions on Taliban. In early 2001, Massoud demanded from the European Parliament for help and warned them of a huge attack on US soil. While he was killed in a suicide bomb attack on 9 September 2001, two days prior to Twin tower attacks.

The 9/11 and the US War on Terror: after the attack on the World Trade Center, Bin Laden was shortly held accountable for the terrorist attack and thus, the US supported the Northern Alliance militarily and financially to bring down the Taliban as they didn't agree upon handing the Al-Qaeda bases information. The Taliban rule fell in December 2001, many Taliban moved to the south next to the border with Pakistan. Hamid Karzai was appointed as president of the

interim government in 2001, meanwhile other alliance forces joined the US and UK to fight against terrorist attacks in Afghanistan namely, Germany, France and Italy by providing the most troops. In 2004, the first presidential elections were held with Karzai winning with 53% of the vote though with very low voters due to fears of attacks, but from 2006 onwards there has been a surge in the levels of insurgency by Taliban who used mainly explosive and suicide bomb attacks. The current government is failing to increase its control or enter into negotiation with Taliban. Many of the Taliban are based across border in Pakistan where the US and British are unable to attack and or occupy, the opium trade has increased massively since 2001 and the forces are unable to prevent it, other kinds of corruption continue to be widespread in all sectors of the government and society while more than half of the country's control is not with the government, but the Taliban or alleged ISIS group (Peace direct, 2015. Afghanistan conflict profile).

Peacebuilding and Democratization in Afghanistan

Peacebuilding is defined as a policy that indicates the participation of the international community in a conflict or post-conflict place with a vision to support and build a long-term peace. Peacebuilding term was created by the United Nations to specially explain the actions taken for this purpose. Since every post-conflict situation is different, it is not an easy task for the UN to agree upon a single widely used definition of peacebuilding activities, but rather needs different custom-made peacebuilding activities.

The Bonn Agreement, was not only a peacebuilding initiative in Afghanistan, but also prepared the constitutional process in Afghanistan known as "Bonn Process". Therefore, it had specified standards and strict plans for the adoption of a constitution, the restructuring of a permanent state construction and upholding democratic elections beside delivering Afghan interim institutions with temporary governing power. The interim institutions were meant to be checked by the international peacebuilding process through the UN leadership and assistance mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Missions in Afghanistan) was determined to give strategic advice for the peace process, provide offices, help the Afghan government in the application of its development strategies and also the activities of the UN agencies are led by the UN development assistance Framework.

Furthermore, the Bonn agreement created the ground for Afghan government involvement and quick decentralization to Afghan ownership designed by UNSR which restored the security sector and all other areas of government in the control of Afghan government, what's more

Italy was assigned to justice sector reform, Germany was in charge of restoring Afghan National Police, however due to lack of enough coordination, inequity in the level of committed resources and joint development approach, this strategy came to an end shortly. The first breakthrough of the Bonn process was the creation of Loya Jirga constitution in June 2002 which resulted in establishment of a transitional authority under Hamid Karzai as president.

Challenges to the Democratization in Afghanistan: The democratization activities in Post-Taliban that were supported by the international community were aimed to bring about a positive political change and stability for preventing radicalization and violence. The US and its coalition allies stepped in Afghanistan with the purpose of transforming Afghanistan into liberal-democratic state. At start, there was a huge optimism among Afghans that their country will have a strong and stable political and economic as well as a peaceful environment to work and live.

Despite the fact that many spheres of country's fields have been reconstructed such as education, health, communications, infrastructure and the establishment of the Afghan national security forces, still to this day Afghans in general and democratization process in particular face several difficulties. The Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index 2011 indicates that, democracy has deteriorated in Afghanistan upon five classification naming; civil liberties, execution of government, electoral process and pluralism, political participation and political culture. There are four types of regimes where the countries stand at: full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regime. Afghanistan among 167 places itself in the 152nd rank with 2.48 score out of 10 and falls the category of authoritarian regimes (Economist, 2011). Another democracy evaluating organization 'Freedom House' ranks countries yearly based on political rights and civil liberties where 1 represents the freest and 7 shows the least free country, it was found that in 2012 Afghanistan stood as 'Not Free' with rating of 6 in civil liberties and political rights classification. Since 2012, Afghanistan's democracy rating status is in decline and some of the democracy hardships faced in Afghanistan are as followed.

Lack of Security

Afghanistan like countries in the third wave or new democratization process suffer from deprivation of resources in general, however the most crucial challenge for the stable and successful Afghan democratization has been lack of security situation and continuous war. According to Asia Foundation Survey 2011, deteriorating security is the major problem of Afghans that depicted almost half of the participants 46% believed that things have been moving towards a brighter side, while 35% responded that things are in the wrong path with an

increase of 8% in comparison to 2010. Followed by 16% corruption, 15% poor governance and 13% unemployment (The Asia Foundation, 2011). Besides, the Afghan government itself considers insecurity as the main challenge that is hindering the attention and efforts of the government from pressing issues like institutional reforms and investment (Constable, 2007).

Ethnic diversity and democracy challenges

Democratization is considered to be more challenging and complex in a multi-ethnic state where every group thinks of their own segment (Barry & Greene, 2009). Afghanistan is comprised of around 14 major and recognized ethnic groups that each has their own concerns discussed in their very language and their languages are announced official in their areas, despite the fact that the president is Pashtun while Tajik and Hazara ethnic groups accompany him along in the office, still all ethnic groups have their own complaints.

Democracy in Afghanistan is misinterpreted, a number of people in Afghan society assume democracy as liberal and externally enforced none-religious concept which is aimed to bring about vulgarity among citizens. Though democratization has a huge positive impact throughout the world for international peace and state-building, however in Afghanistan, democracy presents negative implications for many people (Larson, 2011).

Post-conflict economy overview

Concerning a precise overview of the economy of Afghanistan along with literature about the significance of employment in Afghanistan after conflict, it is worth mentioning that some issues with regard to afghan economy are striking and thus needed to be highlighted if the economy were to be restored in a maintainable manner beside prevention of further conflict arousal.

As of now, when a closer view of employment and productivity's structure in Afghanistan is taken, one can clearly see the fast growth that have taken place in the Afghan economy in the past decade since the beginning of a new state in 2002, yet there are very little done when it comes to the structural transformation. During the time period between 2008 till 2016, in Afghan economy, there's as large as sixty percent share of the employment in agriculture that also entails self-employment low productivity regardless of minor drop in the years between 2008-2016.

While, manufacturing and industrial employments have dropped between 2008-2012 despite that is considered as a high growth period that somewhat needed to improve in the coming years. The industrial sector's steady share in the employment in value addition has dropped hardly from 27.5 percent to 22.7 percent respectively in 2008 and in 2016 with a quick slope of 5 percent from 2008-2009 similarly, the statistics are nearly the same in term of manufacturing

that indicates a parallel shape that is, a sharp drop of 18.2 percent in 2008 to 13.5 percent in 2009. On the other hand, the figures of the employment in the service sector and share of the sector in the GDP have improved increasingly (percentage of value added more than the percentage of employment) though it might seem a strikingly positive growth, however it is necessarily that positive change due to the diverse characteristics that are present within the service sector such as quality of employment and also vibrant connections with other parts of the economy. As a whole, when taken into account the profound significance of historically importance of industrialization in order to take the path of a long-term growth, the shape of structural change that is perceived in Afghan economy implies an underdeveloped renovation process. That being said, the course of high development in the Afghan economy that took place between 2002 to 2012 on the basis of yearly development in the economic rates are said to be as a result of the foreign aids inflows that increased the growth level in the service sector for instance mainly in transport, communications and construction sub-sectors (ILO, 2012).

Moreover, in Afghanistan another factor that demands an instant restoration of development and employment is the possible correlation between conflict and unemployment. As it was stated earlier, Afghanistan has a huge number of growing youth population regarded as youth bulge that is making the issue of unemployment and or underemployment quite unfair for the youth as a whole. Based on the given literatures earlier on the topic of youth unemployment and its strong correlation on the basis of strong evidence worldwide that youth unemployment and increasing numbers of youth are closely related with emergence of conflict and terrorist groups. And also, similarly, in Afghanistan the statistics indicate that around eighty percent of young people who are unemployed and are rural based that are able to have little access to economic opportunities and another part of those youth living in the rural areas are either with primary education or uneducated altogether (World Bank 2017).

On the one hand, this situation in Afghanistan shows a very dark time with regard to the future of employment and also those unemployed young people for their basic skills. On the other hand, it raises some huge alarms about the very critical matter of marginalization and inadequate education that generate vulnerability among these youths thus are vulnerable to radical ideologies as well as programs. When the number of causality among people increase as a result of conflict in this matter, the economic crisis suggests the extent and link between economic depression and violence among people.

What's more, the current unemployed youth who are not having place in the labor force is due to the fact that urban service sectors and skill intensive industrial sectors are increasing while

this is causing unemployed youth in the short run. Another deeply rooted issue for youth unemployment is the issue of migration which is rising from poverty and lack of security for Afghan people when the economic situation goes down. And also, Afghans both in urban and in the rural areas have been displaced in many occasions and not to mention numerous people have fled the country for the issue of unemployment and lack of job opportunities as well.

Marginalization another factor that is defined on behalf of income poverty and also is associated with people who are not working in the labor market and also with those who work in low-income jobs. And in a broader sense, it is way far than what poverty, income-inequality, unemployment is, as a matter of fact, marginalization is more of a multi-dimensional concept that is concerned with the connection between individuals and society and the dynamics of that relationship. This can come up as a result of either discrimination or an unintentional policies' consequences. What's more, the youth marginalization can have both internal and external driving forces and their liberation does not seem to be a probable transformation of this situation. Marginalization involves social exclusion as well as biases. Marginalization is also explained in term of its link with the normative average that could imply unemployment, poverty, economic and cultural marginalization and isolation. In this regard, it's linked with the lack of significant resources that are means of maintaining a normal living condition as well as the relation to the dominant normality, meaning, different people and groups keep differing patterns of managing such as financially, socially and culturally.

Also, in a research it was found that another byproduct of youth unemployment and marginalization is that, 'youth bulge and political violence' (Urdal, 2006), the higher the youth bulge levels, the higher the chances of conflict eruptions are. Choucri 1974 states that, one of the core reasons of the social instability and feasible violence in any nation is the large-scale unemployment within the well-educated youths. Freeman and Blanchflower 1999, stated that, as a result of lack of job opportunities for young people and the possibility of a lost and unstable future, youth have chosen various illegal and wrong paths in order to earn money for their day to day life such as drugging, political violence, looting, sexual trafficking so on and so forth. The first threat that any society has the high likelihood of facing is the risk of their young people into their insecurity as well as their social turbulence. It is stated that youth are at the center of political violence and the emergence of youth bulge in the countries has been associated with political crisis periods (Goldstone, 1991). Youth unemployment is one of the most persistent social challenges in the current Afghanistan's economy. Youth generally encounter employment difficulties greater in the labor market than other groups. This thesis focuses the

political economy of youth unemployment in the context of youth marginalization, precisely that of in Afghanistan post-Taliban.

2.1. Overview of Youth and Unemployment

Introduction: Based on the standard definition by the UN, youth are those whose ages are between fifteen and twenty-four all-encompassing. However, when it comes to practice, the definition of youth differs broadly from country to country depending on cultural, institutional and political aspects. Therefore, for this thesis, the UN standard definition is put into account. Child labor or lower ages employment is not that rare in the least or small industrial like Italy as well as agricultural countries like USA which their problems affect those of youth labor (Fyfe, 1989). High unemployment of the working age people, mainly young people is an indication of a crucial economic and social problems. It is an expression of negative economic growth. From the economic standpoint, unemployment signifies unused economic potential that can be used for enhanced economic growth and development. In current, youth unemployment is a critical economic and political issue that are faced in many areas of the world not only in the USA and Europe, but mainly and deeply in developing countries. Youth face numerous hardships in entering into the labor market because of the risk of entering into the poorly paid and precarious jobs in instable conditions and thus, transferring of the poverty and poor economic conditions from one generation to another.

Largely, under the negative social environment, youth are usually on the edge of poverty, unaware and without a straight strategy for their personal development. In places that even have comparatively higher levels of social assistance, it is worth asking whether gaining the help for these unemployed youths could risk their self-esteem. Youths in general don't have proper awareness due to lack of systematic attention that should be provided by the accountable hands. The right to employment is perceived as one of the basic human rights, whilst this right is not identified not only in developing and underdeveloped worlds, but also lacks in the highly-developed countries (Poslovna etika, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2003).

The term unemployment might sound quite clear; however, it is crucial to start by discussing shortly that what we refer to when we say unemployment. Based on the standard definition of the ILO which is the most broadly used definition along with its unemployment statistics reports, the unemployed is said to be those people who have not worked for more than an hour

for short period while they are actively searching for job. Besides, though this definition might appear justly clear, still some cross-country changes may happen. For instance, the question of; how are students treated? Generally, students are perceived as outside the labor force, as in others e.g. Norway, if students are actively attempting to find job, they are included. Moreover, some standard deriving questions rise regarding this definition. Take for example, is the one hour rule proper? In countries, some national officials would want to work for longer period. Therefore, in the Netherlands, a rule has applied that allows a twelve-hour per week. That is, based on this definition a person is recognized unemployed if they have worked less than twelve hours in the week (Bochove, 1994).

In addition to that, another striking issue among young generation has been the treatment towards those who are conventionally stated as outside the labor force. One might also take into consideration the segregation from unemployed discouraged workers. In other words, people who are willing to work, but are not searching for job actively since they did not find appropriate opportunity for them are stated as "outside the labor force" which is more of an economic question. At a future time, when the opportunities of finding job increase, these people will go back to employment regardless of being defined as unemployed, if nothing else. That's why a more extensive understanding of unemployment or no employment is a must rather than what it is now understood generally by people. Nevertheless, including all young people who are neither educated nor employed under the same definition of 'unemployment' would make the issue more precise. Gaude 1997, states the extent of the problem through cross-country assessments for the purpose of studying teenage unemployment and the remaining widespread participation of teenagers in education.

Moreover, the other problems rise from the evaluation of developing countries when a country that does not have social security and widespread unemployment, has more disputes over the understanding of 'open unemployment' as "the problem". What's more, in the developing countries there is not a direct relation between unemployment and poor economic condition as it is in the industrialized countries. Because people who are extremely poor will not even be unemployed due to the inability to become employed at the first hand and thus having their own self-employment. Thus, open unemployment is a quite a metropolitan concept, but this still does not indicate that the fundamental difficulties take place only in urban areas neither the solutions are in the developing countries and this can be seen in the context of migration of

people from rural areas to urban areas of several developing countries. And this brings about the problem of underemployment, which is predominantly quite usual in the rural areas. The second result is that, the youth unemployment problem is usually perceived as a problem that is only linked to the educated unemployed youth, while the accuracy of this can be seen through unemployment and poverty correlation as well as the educated unemployed people and this has to be studied further.

The Features of Youth Unemployment

One might question whether there is indeed a youth labor market? Or is it just distinct units for the youth and adults. There is certainly the issue of aiming for the young people while the policies encourage the replacement of young employees for older ones. And there are a number of reasons for why the policies of workplaces will not promote youths' employment rather than older one. First of all, as new comers to the labor market the youth are most probably in least capacity to compete with the old, skilled and experienced workers which the tendency to unskilled jobs to rise.

And also, the reason for the young age cohort to replace the old is not probable because employers do not specify both groups in the same level, as some jobs might require youthful skills like flexibility, there are other types of jobs that only support the old cohort skills like accountability and trustworthiness. And the extent to which the various age groups are valued based on their features, vary across the countries. As a matter of fact, young people are actually not perceived as a replacement that much to the older ages or the opposite way. However, there have been some certain programs that promote the retirement of older ages and instead hiring the younger generations, such as a program in France that is Allocation de remplacement pour l'emploi (ARPE), which funded the early retirement by the government under condition of hiring a younger employee under same promised agreement as the person retiring. The program despite aiming for over 90,000 recipients, it could only reach 60,000, therefore, Gineste, 1997 states that the replacement level is pretty much rare in spite of a clear-cut target of the measure.

Another issue with regard to youth employment is, the measures that encourage the youth hiring instead of older people, but with reduced costs of employing young workers. The United Kingdom's Youth Training Scheme (YTS) had evaluated the same manner of recruiting, though the funded of the employment for the 16-18 years-old on this condition set by the employers that youth will have off-training period with obvious aiming plans for attracting more young people by reducing the salary expectations and thus the participants wages too. Through this

program, some minor changes took place in term of 'finding job', however the studies by (O'Higgins, 1995a, 1995b, 1996) claim that, employment conditions developed specifically due to lower wages, and not because of the quality of their skills. Another finding supports the claim that youth are not likely to be any threat to older workers, like Begg et al (1991) states that, even in the lowest point in the program's net job formation, the 80% of those created jobs had already been there or their creation's plan didn't exist and only 9% of those jobs were for young workers around 19 years or above. In this too, the replacement was done mainly between the young and slightly younger ages group of 16-24.

A Brief History of Political Economy of Youth and Critique of Liberal Perspective

The political economy concept has a long background from the efforts of Smith and Ricardo with their goal of illustrating early industrial capitalism. On one hand, Marx disapproved of the political economists of his time due to being too traditionalist, in other words, the economists back then believed that the capitalist social relations are controlled through natural laws and for having reasoning conflicts among themselves they are not linked to all the sides of capitalist societies (Turner, Beeghley, and Powers 2007). On the other hand, the functionalist debate over the topic of 'invisible hand of the market'; later on, this account of the political economy has impacted the mainstream sociology. Moreover, this reason brought about an unbiased standpoint among the sociologists who were content with finding information and data for the governments with regard to the works of capitalist economy than being critical to free-market logics as the core causes for many social issues as well as finding fundamental substitutes to correct capitalism's degrading movements (Ritzer 2008).

As indicated earlier, the core form of a neo-Marxist political economy viewpoint applied to the youth group of the capitalist societies can be drawn back to 1960s to the mass frustration among the young people and of youth countercultures. The interpretation of the youth protests and social movements indicated the material conditions which was made by altering distribution of power, mainly political and economic power.

What's more, it is worth mentioning, that the sociologists who tried and indicated the image of capitalism's movements against free market is another proof of 'problem is in the roots' meaning, considering the societal issues which youth is a part of it as well, it is a place of wonder for the sociologists go in favor of the same system that constantly tries to take them

down either of their parts just like triggering tensions among young, making them look “those with false consciousness” and taking advantage of their vulnerability by the rest of the society.

The mass frustration among youth was basically the fruit of capitalist societies’ spread of wrong ideologies against the neo-Marxist knowing their ship will sink if the mass number of people such as youth understand the other side of capitalism therefore, their idea of coming with a masterplan to raise tension among youth proved to be quite useful whilst on the contrary, frustration was on the distribution of wealth and power, however it was not stated that the very source of constructing the difference in term of economic and political power was the system. In the neo-liberal societies to suggest a class-status, it is useful to go over the Rowntree’s point made on the issue of thinking too narrowly about the nature of social classes where it is argued that the very concept of a youth class is a risk to the inflexible or fixed working class notion that is widely used, whilst the evaluation of youth class progress shows the vital tensions of the structurally produced class formation; to further on the involvement of neoliberalism in the past three decades, there are many other approaches like Weberian and Marxian in order to define ‘class’ to understand better how the youth group could be seen as such (Allahar and Côté 1998). It is significant to state the firmly agreed with Rowntree’s statement of the creation of ‘youth as class’, as it has always been perceived, creation of some social groups deliberately with purpose of supporting their vulnerabilities doesn’t always turn to be helping, but rather further separates and produces labeling in term of ‘exclusion’, despite the fact that formation of such classes could actually trigger stronger tensions among other social groups. And also, this separation paves the way for the weaker group’s marginalization within the society and to make the matters worse, the redistribution of wealth with regard to age group is another chaos that youth go through in many industrialized and non-industrialized countries as well, as a matter fact, more studies are needed to be done in this area with questioning of why the youths with equal capabilities should have to give in their wealth only on the basis of their age? not to mention, in the current world, the whole picture of the youth has changed by the youth themselves in a way that proves to be equals in term of owning their own material wealth as well as being capable of competing in a high level regardless of age restrictions. Thus, the studies and scholars should take into account the importance of youths’ gestures instead of focusing in the creation of classes.

One of the most influential constructions of youth in the capitalist system has been turning them as consumers rather than workers. Young people are also termed based on their disability on

continuing to work in creative aspects of a workplace. What's more, youth are perceived to be in their leisure time for their age and time that they are also, for pursuing further full-time secondary educations, they are commonly seen as in their non-production, fun, enjoyment and utilization time of their life (Griffin, 1993; Miles, 2000). Additionally, the youths' behaviors are defined as of those in the desire for fun and that youth see having fun and leisure as their undeniable right based on G. Stanely Hall's early 20th century monograph.

2.2. The Contemporary Political Economy of Youth

When a long point of observation is taken for the youth studies so to include the roots, it is seen that youth studies have largely remained within the disciplinary field of social policy, constructing the old tradition of work in sociology, criminology and psychology. Only recently, political economy made a restricted contribution which are the Marxist and radical critiques in the 1960s that concentrated on youth activism as a way to show the youths' fight against the pressures of industrial capital, however it is strongly suggested to the major of political economy of youth to pinpoint the key challenges that youth face in the context of studies which usually are covered up behind the wins of capitalism, besides, one of the key attributes of the youths' struggles could be dated back to the creation of the capitalist system which is not generally mentioned in the historical background of these works, meaning, for the capitalist system to keep thriving, they pursued and found every sort of small or large reasons to keep the system from falling apart despite the Marxists' hard work, thus their latest targets were the young generations.

From a political economy perspective Rowntree and Rowntree (1968), argued that youth has been comprised of a specific socially, economically, and politically excluded system. In the later studies when it was clearer that youth as a class covered the various experiences of youth due to vertically classifying social categories, the contexts of gender and race were included. However, the "underclass theory" (Charles Murray (1989) first coined the term 'the underclass' to refer to that group of people in America who were long term unemployed and effectively welfare dependent) claims that youth have their own class culture different from that of the working groups (MacDonald, 1997). Nonetheless, the dispute over this issue pulled away from political economy and so, the youth studies were controlled by the sociology debates that took the attention to the youth topic as a social or relational notion (a period of transition between childhood and adulthood) which is more of a made up social class whose identities are taken out from the context and society in addition creates a directing path towards the signs that link

the ways ahead and define the position of youth as well as their accomplishment. While, the “youth as class” is deliberately constructed for the purpose of marginalizing the younger people from the political and economic spheres so that the youth cannot make the decision of their own unless they’re under a working group title, meaning the decisions then will be collective rather than individual based and therefore, the fear of losing job in the process will be included as well, making youth dependent to the capitalist system.

Meanwhile, such debates take the studies towards the deficit approach (Cooper, 2009) ‘youth as problem’, ‘storm and stress’ (Hall, 1904), youth as a response to modernity and the focus on the ‘delinquency’ and ‘deviance’ analyses (Merton, 1938). Despite such methodologies highlight the marginalization causes either due to deficits among youth or within the environment which they live, the inclusion policies or studies are very few or even if there are, they are more likely to be regulatory, perfecting, incomparable and or revolutionary. The farfetched issue with raising such ideas and policies is that the youths have been further excluded not only socially, but also economically and politically due to bringing about the topics of ‘not belonging’ in a certain group, this should be noted as the gap of literature that, no matter how hard youths be in the period of “being youth” to handle to convince for the collective interests, the social, political and economic problems will only increase in this manner because of constant exclusion and undervaluing.

Furthermore, Cote argues, that the emphasis is only set on those youths who belong to the most disadvantaged background rather than all youth in general and have been “preoccupied with subjectivities rather than material conditions” (2013: 527). The strong part of this point is that, as a matter of fact, the youth with relatively poorer backgrounds are always brought into the table in order to show how weak and inconsiderate this group of society can be and then the system comes up with different policies to suppress them through subjectivities, however on the other hand when it comes to youth with a better living condition, policies then appear to support the youth rising and material conditions then are discussed, all in all, this sort of work and ideologies only create delusional double standards that surely serves such system, but not the current or upcoming young generations.

Cote has made a strong request for the yet a return of political economy approach considering the collective proof which youth as a social category has become practically proletarianised following the decades of global crisis and neo-liberalism, that has created an unequal youth

unemployment rates, unstable life and lost futures. Therefore, a further and deeper comprehensive investigation of liberalism's relationship with youth becoming 'the youth class' is required, because it will not only unveil the accurate features of neoliberal capitalist system's ways of targeting the youth for their own benefits, but it will also pave the way for future interferences under such circumstances to help to reduce if not wholly abolish, the worldwide high unemployment rates, inequality and unpredictable futures of young people. In addition, Cote claims that the liberal youth studies research has involuntarily supported the exploitation of youth as class by the corporate capitalist and whilst failing to question how the trend was created and by agreeing on the status quo as "something that can be fixed by changing the young person into "an adult (Côté, 2013).

On the contrary, one should note that, such claims don't entail any sort of proof that with maintaining status quo, the youth will change into adults, and even if it does, indeed more discussions and explanations are needed in this manner. The liberal youth studies tried to support the idea of youth being treated as the exploited people and this should not remain as a surprise so to speak, giving the situations of youth in most of the countries, it is clear enough to understand how and why this change was constructed. Cote states that, a political economy approach can be defined "as a view which explores the root causes and results of placing over time of the youth section with regard to those (adults) in a given society alongside political and economic power". Looking for evidence in the sociological works is not commonly presented as political economy, Cote thereby advocates that youth can be taken as an economically misused class, politically overlooked as well as "part of a progressive disenfranchisement and proletarianisation" linked with global liberal capitalism. This method centers the causes and procedures of social struggle that is stated by Cote as the "conquest of youth" by those governments and corporations that flame the disagreements and arrange the social control of youth whilst counteracting the recent groups of youths who act as a political threat to the hegemony of capitalist ideologies (Côté, 2013: 528).

The given political approach has been constantly criticized in many occasions, like the authors France and Threadgold (2016) argue that "the ongoing rise in tem of inequalities within the youth class make youth-as a class a doubtful issue". Undoubtedly, while a social group that involves people from different income backgrounds, youth-as-class could actually cover the other organizational inequalities that are intensified by the capitalist system. What is more, gender, race and sect are more commonly regarded as income-based socioeconomic class distinction that can be covered by its blurry debate. Additionally, France and Threadgold claim

that the uncertain limits between the concepts of youth and adulthood and the unsettled position between them indeed creates doubtful class formation and the ideas of made-up consent and false consciousness among young generation solely indicates the moral fright of the youth-as-problem and its limit while blocking the true proof of youth action.

In spite of approval of the political economy perspective to be the core in order to comprehend the macro-structural power, the authors suggest that it is essential to understand and analyze the differing background and experiences of the youth group with regard to inequalities among them, rather than the distribution of wealth among age groups and this thereby can be well-implied through the notion of political ecology which concerns with the correlation between economic and social societies that any young individual might find himself/herself, the political ideas and institutional practices which build it. "We need to recognize not only the important role that politics has on structuring and forming the world around the young, but also how relationships of power and access to resources operate in particular contexts to produce unequal outcomes". Most importantly, the income-based socioeconomic class distinction that is said to hide the other inequalities going on is due to the high degree of inequalities present within younger and more vulnerable groups of the society, however the question rises, why these inequalities are never addressed to bring a change or if they are, why the stress is mostly on the victims on how they got where they are rather than concentrating on the problem and its source just like any other issue that threatens the capitalist system and action is taken. On the contrary of Cote's statement, I here argue that 'youth as a class' indeed forms and implies the youth as the unconscious because of the old constructed ideologies related to youth that they carried them among themselves and thus making them even more prone to workforce exclusion on the basis of lacking given opportunities to take an action.

Moreover, as France and Threadgold stated about significance of understanding the youth and inequalities by looking at their past distinctive behaviors and experiences concerning the macro-structural power instead of only studying economic and societal relations, this does seem to be supportive of the big picture which is the youth, however I assume, there is a wider conception besides the youth's experiences and that is presumably how the economic mainly the current capitalist society formed the unequal power and reaching to resources for the less experienced and less powerful like youth, nevertheless the political ecology might be able to explain the root causes of wealth redistribution among groups, but on what basis? If wealth is considered to be redistributed based on age then there is no doubt the older cohorts will benefit

the most, while the young people still struggle to understand why they are in that certain place. Therefore, both standpoints could be questionable, however not if both could blend in a manner that would position the youth and the source of youth issues at the top. The debate between Cote and his critiques led to the understanding of the significance of both harmonies for placing youth groups in the global liberal capitalist political economy meanwhile, the distinction between them indicated the possibility of preventing establishment of a basic alliance.

On the other hand, Sukarieh and Tannock (2016) advocate that a larger definition to political economy is crucial along with the shared constitution of states, classes and markets; the constitution of race, gender, class and other attributes of identity. Moreover, various methods of capital accumulation, political, cultural and legal global systems of capital, class and culture; the construction of forms of knowledge and hegemony; techno-politics; water and the environment as resources and fields of contestation; the role of war in the constitution of states and classes; and practices and cultures of domination and resistance". As it is apparent, this definition is so large-scale that it seems almost impossible to apply them all at meantime, but rather it does make the ground for the whole political ecology alongside its all components of divers actors, agents, dynamics and constraints that paves the way for giving a direction for further political economy on the context of youth policy study.

First and foremost, the study proposes that youth may often be considered as a cohort positioned at the heart of a huge structural transformation and precisely new forms of risky proletarianisation in the international capitalist system. What is more, the feature of being latecomers in the labor force as well as their lack of political power and network access, young people are predominantly the most susceptible in a society because the capital attempts to remove more value from labor and to reduce the pricy welfarist duties that are compulsory. (Standing, 2011) states young people do not make a class, but rather they are excessively characterized as the new term 'precariat'.

Generally speaking, youth are at the core of socio-economic class that has a lot to do with the capital. Therefore, the frameworks and conditions that are in favor of the neoliberal policies within a given background are important in order to understand the status of youth. In addition to that, youth as a social class, due to being progressively constructed either socially or politically regarding their link to capital, thus the hegemonic accounts of youth are created which mainly perceives them as human resources, in other words, youth are the abilities that can be trained for the national economic growth or otherwise as expensive public support

receivers who are reliant on their occupation rank. Through understanding the political and social structures beside the hegemonic studies related to youth are crucial to the study. Nevertheless, the studies are rooted inside the political structures and organizations that works for the reproduction of capital.

The Importance of Youth in Neoliberal Society

Critique of neoliberals by political economists

In their book Tannock and Sukarieh; the question is addressed that is concerned with why and what has led youth to become such an important and dynamic social category and identity in neoliberal society? This is a very old fact of youth being used to set and support social change and it has been that experience that has been solely generated in capitalist society, with its persistent raise of extremist social, economic and technological discovery and turmoil (Ewen, 1976). In this manner, it surely makes sense for the neoliberal reformers' insertion of neoliberal beliefs with youth progressive programs that encourage programs such as youth entrepreneurship and financial knowledge. As a matter of fact, one of the crucial elements in the increase of youth policy and programming all over the world in the last few decades have been the spread of organizations that are aimed to provide business and entrepreneurship educations for the youth beside developing organizations that are largely focused on economy, market and business, for example: World Economic Forum, IMF etc. the argument is, however, there are at least two other features of youth that have made young people mostly valuable social category for the neoliberal plan of bringing up the old welfare and progressive power and prospects.

According to many youth studies approaches unlike that of the political economy of youth perspective, the assumptions of decrease in the wealth of youth are unfortunate in some ways, however were inevitable due to the uncontrollable economic changes. Tannock (2001) criticizes the liberal approaches and suggests the scholars to rather place the 'stopgap worker model' that takes into consideration the J.E. Côté's youth as workers: youth along with their work, their workplace, the workers who hire and administer them, additionally the manners of placing them as employees in the workforce and labor market as well as the chances of developing their working situations. Given the trait of liberal viewpoint, there is little to no acknowledgement of the young people's work being proletarianized, a distribution of wealth not to the youth group, but to the older workers and economic leaders and a separate work.

The main distinction is that the political economy approach's core emphasis is on materialistic conditions of life, while the liberal approaches focus is on symbolic such as issues that have something to do with 'ideas' in the way of ideologies that defines the observer stance, for example, older age group beside the prejudices applied by the observed, meaning young people in order to explain their behavior. One of the negative result that liberal studies have is that politicians achieve from these youth studies for being academically authentic which they must endorse and pay through additional education, compensatory education and specific training projects for the unfortunate characteristics of youth now, which all are emphasized to drag young people more into capitalist system. Numerous youth studies have this assumption in common, however they differ on other beliefs.

In psychology, there is a well-known opinion in which perceives the behaviors of the 'emerging adults' created as 'free choice' by stating that, youth do not want to become financially independent straight away because they want to find themselves (Arnett 2000). Another stance that is within demographers, advocate that the elimination of young people from workforce is a progressive and expanding way in which it tends to make parents to 'invest' more in their children as part of the 'second demographic transition' (Beaujot and Kerr 2007). Moreover, the third opinion is grounded on those people who were born in this era of proletarianization along with their management methods despite the poor economic predictions, as well as the clear suppositions about the current situation of youth saying, the ongoing neoliberalism is an everlasting characteristic of western societies and the latest groups are practicing it as a 'vanguard generation' just as though, frontline generations are as the first entrants (e.g., Andres and Wyn 2010; Wyn and Woodman 2006). Last, but not the least, this position is seen in the post-modernist theories that takes into account the youth 'resistance' as though self-indulgent behaviors of youth were to make their lives better (e.g., Bennett 2011). The above objections of liberal society on the youth is strongly opposed by the political-economists as following. First and foremost, the liberal approaches may label and assume the issues that youth from poor backgrounds face within the workforce regardless of taking into account its root causes and are by some people additionally connected to neoliberalism. Moreover, on one hand, this standpoint indirectly supports the corporate capitalist exploitation affairs of the younger workers. To put it in another way, the explanations are given biased, due to having no calculation of the origin of the problems that are silently accepted, while on the other hand the political economy perspective seeks for investigation of what/who caused the economic developments and those who profits or suffers by these changes.

Secondly, many liberal approaches emphasize on the 'subjectivities' or 'psychological states' can ease the oppressive state of the youth, while management behaviors among the youth are valorized in sense of compensation. In contrary, the aftermath of the economies or societies that are materially structured are to be concerned, the political-economy perspective pays attention at the approval of the formation of false consciousness; with regard to youth subjectivities as well as psychological situations are said to be the most misrepresented to the point where the youth have no awareness of themselves being controlled and given the least advantageous place in the political economy.

Third, the liberal's indirect given assumptions about the youth 'can do no wrong' may be mistaken, whilst the political-economy perspective demands a 'critical emancipatory' position regarding the exploitation issues and its attempts of hiding it so to create consent among youth and this perspective of the political-economy helps those youths who see the exploitation normal in order to get rid of their false consciousness.

Finally, yet importantly, considering the status quo as something which maybe fixed by altering the young into 'adult', the liberals are eager enough to take themselves to the class oppression of youth (Tannock 2001). Nevertheless, Rowntree and Rowntree state that the young people are in a precarious class for being in a transitional condition by definition, settling the age period as its limits, however a well-known youth recognition is based on weak material conditions class that can be fixed from the consciousness aspect.

A contradictory statement to the liberals' approach of picturing youth is perceived; first off, the assumptions with regard to youths' losing their wealth due to economic crisis is rather than the fact that the wealth were distributed to the older age and economically powerful groups for safeguarding their own benefits and also it is actually what the capitalists made it off. The crisis had affected all the groups of people, while still there could be alternatives as proposed by the scholars; the alternatives such as recognizing the young people's efforts and to not take advantage of their time and work in sense of proletarianization, another alternative could be to simply let them develop themselves rather than appointing people over them just because they don't acquire enough experience and or skills.

The political economy approach has a strong standing point and it is believed to bring numerous changes in the youths' situations. The political economy approach highlights not only the strong and essential part of all people and here youth's life in specific that is the money-oriented

conditions and it must be noted that because of always showcasing the youth as the lower, less needy in term of wealth, having less or no specific necessities of life had all convinced the other groups within society by the capitalist system that young people should be given the least, the cheapest, the lowest wage, the proletarianized without even considering their years of education, but also it stresses the notion of young people's control by the political system of the very country. Thus, it shows the two-sided truths that both have equally been into the youths' vulnerability fabrication. Moreover, the worst-case scenario is that the liberal approaches clearly indicate their strategies of paving the way for the young people to be in a relatively or even worst life condition and one can take a deeper dive into this in the original liberal studies, in order for them to accept any sort of the work and wage in the market. And also, because of rising the young people's fear of being in bad condition they are psychologically forced to work.

Nonetheless, the liberals' understanding and explanation of youth as the ones to be exploited have been seen in their frameworks, but what's more surprising is the false assumptions that only poor backgrounded youth face such discriminations, while based on the reports and data studied in Libya, Tunisia and other countries show the same result that; the youth in particular regardless of any life standard they have been constantly referred as to the exploit worker and not like the other cohorts, and this can be seen in many countries from both developed and developing countries, it is believed that the system itself is the very root causes of the youth's issues, however it needs plenty of investigations and risks to be taken for bringing out the fact, for that the economic and political issues are quite interconnected, thereby making both questionable in this approach and to eventually come to well-established understanding of what or who benefits the most beside the capitalist and liberal systems from their strategies. Subsequently, another way for the capitalist society to put the blame on the youth so that themselves involved in creating problems look clean, have been constantly highlighting youth's inability, repressive and lack of management as well as wrong realization of the situations, the studies have shown that even though youth who are recognized as their managerial skills are still ascribed in a compensation manner, meaning those can be taken back either by putting them in harder position or replacing them. Neoliberals approach of shifting youth's mindset to the extent where the wrong no longer appears wrong has been successful in numerous countries under diverse features, however the fact won't fade away that there are many others who strongly oppose their approach and are clearly aware of their doings.

There's the appealing account about capitalism and youth, ever since capitalism became widespread throughout the world it already maintained a link with youth overall, as in most of the scholarly works it's been stressed that youth in the capitalism and neoliberal societies have been predominantly made as social class and while having that said, to also make youth as people whose pattern of work can always be changed based on their interest for the purpose of working for affluent people. Based on long-term enduring conceptualizations of youth and its creation as well as control of youth, is emphasized to be present since the very start, for instance any country that has acquired and functioned under neoliberal and capitalist framework the youth in this regard have been treated and utilized as the cheap workers that can take care of works with little paid salary afterwards. The literature pinpoints a great point by indicating the neoliberal's taking advantage of youth, however beside that the young people's daily life and the frustrations as a result of precarious works, nepotism in the workforce, young people's attitude towards economic performances and getting paid very little are significant to be looked at instead of implying and presenting and establishing policies based on the viewpoints of business and political leaders.

The claim about youth that is presented for being the assets and instrumental in transformation of the future of each country are also presented as the founding cause for variety of social and economic problems. A deeper dive into the reports of youth indicates that how the arrangement and formation of youth and capital are closely related to one another while the policies and actions are mostly designated in favor of the neoliberal economy with highest interest. What's more youth's vulnerability of not being able to reach their voices neither in national nor in international level, while the World Bank's reports indicate the rising concern over youth's being remained by themselves and so get susceptible to the troublesome actions that are triggered politically and economically. Because it is well-known that not giving enough attention to youth and youth supportive policies, the world will be struggling hardly both economically and politically and the price of not investing in youth is quite high (World Bank 2005, p. 12). Nonetheless, in countries that the percentage of youth were as high as forty percent were two times more likely to get into civil conflict, however the recent uprisings that followed by removal of the head of the state in some countries and in others ended up in becoming even more oppressive and dictatorial were not only due to high numbers of youth population, but also were caused by the little or no attention that youth have been through in all aspects of their day to day life.

The studies and scholars might consider highlighting this, that unemployment for youth and the rest of the citizens didn't simply occur because of the youth, but because of the very system, the fabricated unemployment caused youth to be divided into classes, the economic marginalization of youth by the economic and political elites has always been the byproduct of elites' power maintenance and the political exclusion of youth is clear-cut proof by now, that the leaders fear the idea of getting exposed by the youth, therefore they either come up only with policies that interest them first and or those youth who are already under their control and supervision.

Not to mention, these exclusions and marginalization are sparking the fire harder so to say; growing the bitterness among youth, oppositional identifications, rebelliousness, joining the terrorist groups, political extremism, rise of radical beliefs among the developing as well as the developed nations' rapid growing youth. In order to bring a resolution for the issues that were brought up through marginalization and youth exclusion in a social, political and economic level all across the globe; according to the World Bank, the solution should be collective, however on the basis of reflecting to different ideologies, culture, political economy and power within nations. Because the youth's previous developmental and facilitating policies didn't take a look at the young people's issue from a perspective of culture, past experiences and local history, social conducts and political conflicts and mostly they were behind the pictures and never brought into action, hence by considering and including such features, the resolution might take a different path. It's been claimed that through using human capital the global scale youth development reports might lack entirely being supportive. And also, the by making use of the human capital, some radical changes could be triggered as the structure of those strategies for youth. 'Youth employment' is positioned as the most essential topic that is widespread to young people from all over the world, having said that, education is another very prominent characteristic that is largely associated with workforce and employer demands and because labor market requires this, the ILO, World Bank and the rest of the policies are designated in favor and support of pursuing further and higher education thereby making the education more 'relevant' has constantly been emphasized over.

Moreover, currently as the question of why and how youth became such a central topic in the neoliberal world, is because youth are constructed again as the whole neoliberal foci. As a matter of fact, youth are the standard transformers of the new market society in the neoliberal system. Despite youth having been considered as the threat and then been replaced by asset and agent of change is quite wide-ranging. When the powerful leaders who hold positions that

oblige them for conferred interests and are cooperated with youth policies, could justly agree that young people can have the freedom and moral bravery to stand for their improvement no matter it is in the institutions, government or corporations. However, though the developmental policies assume that when young people don't have enough experience in working demeanors, can be a political advantage in the youth's case due to major rules and procedure, however youth's awareness and knowledge can and do challenge the political and economic elites' failed actions and policies.

2.3. Youth Unemployment and Marginalization

Introduction: In current time, modern society goes through a lot of problems that demands further state policy and government's support. And one of the most important problems among societal issues are the marginalization of young people which is a result of distortion of state and public institutions, cultural, social, ideological and political damages and lost values among people. The biased and usual picking on people's different choice of beliefs and other values, can have a very negative impact on the development of the social unity and incorporation. Socially being marginalized brings about not only negative effects on the overall young people's sentiments and health status, but also yields a huge disturbance to the social and economic conditions and participations within a society. It also ends up into widespread poverty for various generations. Social status and social sentiments of all people and mainly youths are built-in attributes of changes that are in the society and describes the society level or circumstance that are highly linked with understanding of the youths and their needs. According to Iris Marion Young, marginalization is a widespread and ongoing issue in the overall countries. "marginalization is perceived to be the worst kind of oppression, meaning, a massive group of people are excluded from advantageous participations in society." Based on the researches done on youth, it is indicated that poor economic conditions, racism, unemployment, abuse, gender partiality could be the determinant of marginalization, but not overall. That's is, in the EU (European Union) regions, one out of three young people between ages of 18-24 are at the danger of being excluded as well as in poor economic condition. (Oksana Duchak)

Social exclusion is a concept that people can face it in different aspects of life, it has a bad influence not only on a person only, but the entire groups of people and is a main problem in the world. Social marginalization is a notion that is considered and evolved in two ways. In a limited form, marginalization is defined on behalf of income poverty and also is associated with people who are not working in the labor market and also with those who work in low-income

jobs. And in a broader sense, it is way far than what poverty, income-inequality, unemployment is, as a matter of fact, marginalization is more of a multi-dimensional concept that is concerned with the connection between individuals and society and the dynamics of that relationship. Nevertheless, social exclusion is also partially regarded as competence poverty. Political economist Adam Smith long ago has pointed at this issue by stating, “scarcity or poverty is influencing reason of not being able to be present in the public without having a disgrace feeling”. Moreover, marginalization is a course of action that forces individuals, various groups of people and communities to live in the society’s superiority, drop out of the public relations and activities, and prohibited from having equal participation due to their poor status and other neglects. This can come up as a result of either discrimination or an unintentional policies’ consequences. What’s more, can have both internal and external driving forces and their liberation does not seem to be a probable transformation of this situation. Marginalization involves social exclusion as well as biases.

Marginalization and its factors

There are key elements to social exclusion that are as such, low level or lack of education, poverty or poor economic condition biases, living in a disadvantaged area, personal traits and unemployment. On a socio-economic basis, every person in particular and every group in general experience marginalization in diverse ways. Distinction is usually referred as a manner of behaving of an individual that belongs to a specific group that of people regardless of including the personal achievements. And the recurrence of various discrimination experiences would end up into an amplified likelihood of social exclusion and the experiences are related to different characteristics of individuals for instance, gender, race, ethnic background, religion, sexual orientation and language. What’s more, according to data on exclusion, it is shown that people are likely to face weak emotional and health condition due to being discriminated based on gender and sexual preference. Gender inequalities and sexuality identities are further said to be included within the most affecting factors of social exclusion that cause both physically and emotionally agonizing among young people. Furthermore, young marginalized people during stages of life while being socially excluded amid school leaving and entering into valuable education and training are the times where the youth face difficulties affecting their capability to bring about a contended and safe lifestyle and or to take good advantage of fair cultural and political participation and also to gain access to healthcare and seek help when needed. One of the main task for the international community such EU and UN has been the establishment of programs that aim to deduct the early school leaving as low as 10 percent due to numerous

studies on the outcomes of school failure highlights the school leaving and dropping out of school that have resulted in lower employment rates, decreased lifetime incomes, lower life satisfaction, bad health conditions and decreased risk uncertainty and etc. unemployment as a result of the mentioned factors is one of the most powerfully damaging element in youth's lowered self-esteem and psychological distress. When young people are exposed to long-term lack of education and employment are more likely to encounter social as well as political marginalization hence, ending up in subjection, dependency and increasing emotions of worthlessness of youth. Unemployment, not having education and training further increase young people's risk behaviors and is largely linked to worse health conditions and further social exclusion.

Marginalization of young people is perceived to be as a result of poverty that is one of the most increasingly key motives and major results. Marginalization and marginalized people as a whole are certain to end up in one of these traits and are nearly inevitable to stop either of these characteristics such as individual development hardship, suffering with health conditions, criminals, mentally disordered people, homosexual, refugees and homeless young people. Amongst the most prevalent, there are two factors for marginalization that are predominantly contemplated as material abuse such as social dislocation and economic dislocation. In addition, becoming marginalized has with it the threat of being included in the groups that are prone to psychological and ideological intimidating groups that is subjected to define one's identity on the basis of others for instance, recognizing one's identity based on the ideological definition of an individual's disregarded identity for the benefit of a dominant group within a society. What's more, the condition of a marginalized person is seen to be afterwards considered as a consequence of their own distinguishing features. Thus, the difficulties that the marginalized youth face are also perceived to be their own product of actions and or the result of their specific nature. This is called as the naturalized phenomenon that is known both personally and socially and is aimed to be used as a way of accusing of the one who is the object that got subjected so to speak, therefore those youngsters are always put as the reason for their own inability to find job rather than looking at the bigger picture which is the system per se that constructs such delusions within society. In current modern world, employment that pays salary is usually referred to an important aspect of well-being of people in general within a country. As it is known, through a well-paid job one can fulfill their day to day life necessities and also can progress individual social skills and social status. Therefore, unemployment in a long-term on the other hand is a tool that can have some damaging long-term implications on the individuals'

living conditions and standards. The understanding of how and to what extent youth who are unemployed are also marginalized politically is the major focus of this part of the study.

Based on the second approach, considering unemployment and marginalization, unemployment is seen to be less the byproduct of a negatively affected profession, but rather it is more of youths' individual distinctions among various people and social features (Baker & Elias 1991, 216). The risk factors that contribute to marginalization are social factors and individualistic background that are closely associated to unemployment and the irregular past account of employment. Marginalization has been described as the process of getting into a bordering or peripheral situation and is also seen as an individuality from the standard of social life. Besides, in this condition, the consumption forms and use of time are different for different people such as the marginalized.

Marginalization is also explained in term of its link with the normative average that could imply unemployment, poverty, economic and cultural marginalization and isolation. It's connected with the lack of significant resources that are means of maintaining a normal living condition as well as it is concentrated on the relation to the dominant normality meaning, different people and groups keep differing patterns of managing such as financially, socially and culturally. Thus, marginalization in this study entails people's and groups' incapability to make use of important resources and numerous powers within a society which will create diverse progression of marginalization and exclusion. The explanations of marginalization refer to the various understandings of marginalization, however here it is started from the perspective of risk characteristics amid distinctive situations. For instance, according to Kari Vahatalo (1996), marginalization is defined in three different types that are allocated into pre-recessional and recessional marginalization. First off, marginalization that is fresh and is caused by an economic downturn is stated to encounter a long-term unemployment caused by the recession, thus people facing marginalization in the given situation don't have any experience of marginalization neither in the labor market nor in other walks of life. However, they will start to experience them because of lack of adaptation system. And surprisingly, marginalization as a result of economic downturn is most likely to take place in locations that have encountered little unemployment in the past. Furthermore, marginalization that is increasingly affected by the economic situation indicates those long-term unemployed people who had already encountered some form of short-term marginalization or its factors and are now critically marginalized within a society due to economic factors.

What's more, the type of marginalization that has already existed regardless of economic downturn is said to be regarded as those people who have been unemployed for a long period of time and people who have lived with support of other social means and that their situation and marginalization will most likely get worse through another economic downturn. Marginalization of young people is not previously explained under a particular context; therefore, it takes into account the evaluation of many studies to indicate that, in a general level marginalization is regarded with the backgrounds of statistically measurable risk factors like unemployment, lack of family and social support, inadequate educational and vocational skills so on and so forth. Even though it is not appropriate to draw a general explanation of marginalization of young people through quantitative materials, but still the risk factors could bring about a definitive understanding of marginalization with regard to its relationships with marginalization and unemployment.

As it is stated above, there are multiple dimensions to exclusion and involves different kinds of shortcomings that correlate and multiple each other for instance, unemployment is viewed as a loss of status/esteem and lack of expression thus it is worth saying that, as processes of marginalization is hugely multidimensional and contextualized, therefore each experience of exclusion and marginalization can be different even on the similar topic like unemployment in different societies, cultural histories, social structures and ethnic group classifications. Considering the youths' exclusion topics, Silver (2007) stated that, in order to bring a better understanding of youth and social exclusion, it is necessary to underline the context-dependent explanation of youth with regard to social fitting and a complete adult participation. Despite that, youth is not considered a dimension of that exclusion, but rather it is significant to take a closer look at the social exclusion as a whole in form of framework in order to be able to find a connecting point between youth and other extents of disadvantaged and of other ways that youth are excluded and marginalized in the society.

Over the past few decades, the focus from children as violence victims has shifted to regular debates over notions of youth bulge, youth as a threat to stability and security and indeed there are numerous accounts with regard to young people becoming as a threat like, a surging youth population and youth unemployment, urbanization and other elements that are decreasing young people's chances of further access in the labor market and basic allowance in the decision making as well as social interactions. Having said that, the further younger population is increasing in number across the globe, the harder it is for the youth to gain proper education, earning job and the critical health issues that are as a whole huge risks for the rest of the society. Though it is stated that, the increasing number of young people in the countries is perceived to

be involved in violence and thus, can threaten the social and global peace, growth and stability. On the contrary, many studies have showed the opposing evidence in this regard, however further and deeper studies are needed. On one hand, whilst it is acknowledged that youth make a great deal of fighters, criminals and generators of violence, it is though important to mention the gaps within the studies of youth that actually target young people for the causes of problems instead of studying the other causes of violence.

2.4. Post-Conflict Country and Democratization Challenges

Conferring by Hendrixon (2003), youth bulge or increase in young people is referred as those young people who are characterized as irritated, dissatisfied young people who are unpredictable and out of control. While other scholars debate that, the realization of establishment of threat by the cumulative number of youth may lead to the bringing about an unsophisticated conclusion and the strategy of poorly-informed policy and program methods which oversee the complication of dimensions in specific backgrounds and the fact that most of the young people do not get involved in violence. Furthermore, some studies have concentrated on approach to youth such as 'the youth mapping study' that has portrayed certain risks of deficit-based that entails youth as a threat to safety and this may pave the way for shaky training on the basis of conciliation or only repression, what's more it would neither indicate the realities, nor will imply youth who are indeed the very first victims when it comes to criminality, armed conflicts or terrorism.

Not to mention, such sorts of training could only threaten the other primary improvements taking place, also this manner of methods are conflicting with any other system of rights-based approach. Maguire also suggests to take the matter into considerations in this way of studying youngsters as people who have things to offer; tangible things both currently and in the future as well that should be called an asset-based approach as youth are considered as asset of change and development. Therefore, one can then see the enormous constructive influence youth can establish in order to bring about a long-term peace and growth. It is worth mentioning that, there are a number of literature studies on youth and conflict that are contributing on the topics of youth and their positive dynamic actions which are necessary for them to be included in the peacebuilding processes.

Moreover, according to Bouta (2005), often in some studies youth are showed as a threat and that said mainly male youths. And also, several young or child soldiers' studies either directly or indirectly, male youth are stated as the assassins of the violence, on the other hand women

are implied to be either the victims of violence or the main intermediaries. Though the studies show the highest numbers of women to be the victims of violence as well as, as a matter of fact, women make about 10-30 percent of armed militaries that is around 100,000 young girls are also active in the armed conflict around the world (Plan, 2008). One of the key challenges for studying the youth in term of evaluating the connection between youth exclusion and violence is the inadequate methodological studies of these acts in an individual level as well as their motives for doing so.

And the studies also show a lack of researches on the incentive of these large numbers of youth who actually do not take any part in any form of violence neither in conflict nor in non-conflict countries. However, the other studies and researches that have been done the correlations between youth exclusion and violence shows two major evidences that are first and foremost, the quantitative studies that take into considerations the numerical correlation between the elements of youth that are the extent of the youth population and the violence incidence in several given countries, while on one hand, these sorts of studies are useful to look at the structural risk elements and changes in general, however they advocate instead of bringing the evidence of fatality and give little info on the matter of social processes at employment.

Additionally, the extent of such studies is restricted in term of availability of the data quality for example, age-disaggregated statistics, however on the other hand cross-national demographic based data and studies are perceived as of high quality rather than unemployment that is too wide to compare with regard to different contextual studies. Secondly, the qualitative or smaller-scale studies take a view of the processes through which youth encounter or join violence and the type of violence in particular places and these researches are significant for a number of reasons like comprehending the multifaceted processes and features in job and also provides data on the incentives of different individuals.

Youth Unemployment, Political Instability and Violence

The economic and financial crisis of the past few years had its implications all over the world with increasing youth unemployment. However, in most of the countries of the world even before the economic crisis, employment conditions have been weak specifically for the young people. Based on several studies on the youth unemployment, it is claimed that youth unemployment and underemployment are hazardous to the social, economic and political situations of the countries (Urdal, 2006, 2012). Also, some cross-country indications point out at the two speculations that, one is on the basis of political oppression that is the main moving

force of the conflict and in this term, the most discriminated and marginalized ethnicity is more likely to create armed rebellions against the state and that under such undemocratic and courtiers with distinct level of social divisions, war is probable (Miguel, 2007: 51). Whilst, this is possible in a less distinct society as well, meaning when people are unemployed and marginalized due to high level poverty. Another group of theories concentrate on the economic conditions as the supreme issue rather than political dynamics, that is, from this standpoint the driving force of civil conflicts are, poor economic conditions and declining salary, there are two reasons for this, either due to huge percentage of poverty in the country, people tend to turn into generating armed violence in order to steal properties or natural resources or it might be just because of those poor states having little to no functional power to suppress or get rid of the armed rebellions (Miguel, 2007: 51).

One of the most debated aspect of the political insecurity is the nature of its connection with economic functions (Alisen and Veiga, 2011: 3). According to all of these studies, the political instability is harmful to the economic conditions in both developed and developing worlds (Alesina et al., 1996; Fosu, 1992, 2001, 2003; Alisen and Veiga, 2006). There are not much well-known studies done on the reasons of political instability as its implications upon the economies. Regarding a research done on the 'youth bulge and political violence' (Urdal, 2006), it is found out that the higher the youth bulge levels, the higher the chances of conflict eruptions are. The statistical reports indicate that for every percentage that youths are growing, the threat of conflict rises by over four percent that is, like in many developing countries the young people by presenting 35% of the adult populace, upsurge the possibility of armed conflict by 150% more than developed and those countries that have age structure. For instance, in 2005, in developing countries there was a growing 35% or more youth bulge while in most of the developed countries 17% or less were the overall adult people between 15-24 age groups. Therefore, according to Urdal (2006), large percentage of young people or youth bulge existing in a country often end up in the rise of conflicts and also small scale wars take place in countries because of demographic changes which causes tensions such as protests, uprisings or highly organized turmoil and internal conflict. Meaning, that the alterations in demographic aspect of the developing countries with a lot of young people is risky.

Collier (2000) also advocates that immense young groups could be a cause for the employment reduction costs by the means that hugely produces rebel works with low opportunity costs and thus growing the threat of armed conflict (Collier, 2000: 94). Moreover, if young people are surrounded in a country with poor economic conditions and no job opportunities, they are most likely take another path of earning their income through joining uprisings (Urdal, 2012: 2).

From this perspective, insurgency is likely to happen due to high chances of earning money with lesser expected costs, that makes rebel employment easier than other income-earning opportunities.

Regarding Cincotta, Winckler and Colino's illustrations of labor market emphasize in the eruption of conflicts, it is summarized that when the workforce is unable to bring about a swift growth in the employment for young people, a cause of huge disturbance will produce among the mass of unemployed youths, at this phase, the youth bulge's socioeconomic problems will fuel up the employment to the terrorist groups (Lia, 2005: 141). A strategy to take into account for the purpose of political violence reduction is to focus on the enlargement of higher education as higher education may become a reason for people to behave in a decreased violence level. Also, because the knowledgeable people who are also salary earning, fear the loss of their earnings thus will most likely not get into rebellion joining (Collier, 2000).

Choucri 1974 states that, one of the core reasons of the social instability and feasible violence in any nation is the large-scale unemployment within the well-educated youths. Similarly, the rising number of educated young people has also caused historical political turmoil (Goldstone, 2001: 95). For instance, the widespread growth of higher education in most of the countries that generated highly knowledgeable groups of youths which the labor market is incapable of embedding them, has had with it a violent and aggressive outcome and paved the way for establishment of new radical groups (Lia, 2005: 145-146). Another point is that, the emergence of protests whether economic, social or demographics reason will not be enough to turn into conflict and large extent violence eruption, unless those reasons are being politicized along with weak states and enough funding availability. On the hand, the aspects of opportunities may best define the violence eruptions' reasons and also does mean that actors maintain strong motives (Sambanis, 2002: 224).

While the scholars have strong claims on the youth's increasing the threat of violence and insecurity, it should be noted that according to Huntington's study, thirty percent of the population of a country is the youth of that country and this means that the likelihood of the conflict and social unrest jumps high too fast and this has included the youth's existence by numbers, meaning, the larger the young group within a society, the deeper the social disorder. The youth group alone in the youth bulge theory is further described as the troublesome and negative to the rest of people, not to mention the fact that pointing out and picking up at a group of a society by such points of view would not indeed make any situation easier nor smart to

handle. Moreover, in the youth theory, the depiction of youth is more of a gendered and racist based on the claims and beliefs presented in its very field.

As a matter of fact, the youth's increasing number and security consequences of large numbers of youth actually triggers the youth to be unsatisfied and can drive them into more illegal and revolutionary actions due to lack of providing socioeconomic prospects for the young people and thus the youth choose to leave the country for the search of job in another country that is already not a positive sign for a country that has the highest population of the people comprised of the youth. If a country is already in a state of being unable to provide opportunities and basic welfare for the citizens, the first group of people who are highly vulnerable to get into disorderly and threatening situations and mobilization is the young people.

Whilst, the further understanding and study of the youth's role in the violence is needed, since the explanations do not acquire strong points in term of questioning whether the youth are the reason of the conflicts or violence in a conflict-torn country, or they are simply being dragged into a far larger issue. According to Daumerie (2008) and Paul Dyer (2008)'s three terms, conflict and violence are most likely and highly to be prompted by young people and first off, when political violence and armed conflict are already present in the country and people in general and youth in particular are confronted with limited to no access to economic opportunities. Subsequently, a country with education system that doesn't produce well-established and learnable base, brings about disappointed graduates and irrespective of having any chance of getting job or contrariwise, a dysfunctional education system where makes the young people empty of a proper improving education and so, these can have indeed chance of youth employing themselves into armed groups or trainings by extremists. And finally, those young people who are raised in a society that faces misalignment of the political standards with the general public, are most likely to get a driving force through that for becoming the cause of instability.

Through taking into account the assumptions of the scholars on youth bulge theory, it is clearly perceived that the studies lack grounded search and background with regard to providing and answering the controversial question of young people's connection or triggering the huge extent of violence and social unrest in a given country. It is also assumed that some certain conflicts rose due to young people's massive number while the conflict could be as a result of crisis or other political driven situations that never had connected youth with it. Though it is crucial to consider the whole context of youth and situations they are said to be causing, the youth bulge

overlooks the joining effects of external international forces and past growths of societies. What's more, another scholarly work done by Collier and Hoeffler has differentiated between political science and economic explanations of revolt.

As political science describes conflict on the basis of motive meaning, it is claimed that uprising takes place when protests/complaints are adequately severe that people want to opt for a violent protest. On the other hand, the economic account defines insurgences as a business that produces profits from robbery and hence rebels are vague from bandits and pirates. Rebellions are driven by self-indulgence that is seemingly shared profits and opportunities for rebellions are adequately taken care of. This perspective explains the occurrences of the rebellions by the situations that make advantageous prospects. Furthermore, the study explains the protest aspect of the economic inequality, political oppression, ethnic division, lack of democracy and religious division while based on data it is irrelevant in the wake of a civil war. However, ethnic dominance is the most crucial protest or grievance triggered term in the society, with this exclusion, the dynamics that upsurge the threat of war are opportunity factors. And it includes, low economic growth, low income per capita, low secondary school registration, highly separated people, large population, high reliance on the major product exports, large displacements that considerably increases the risk of a transformed conflict. Meanwhile, time is a significant feature that usually right after a civil war there is a chance of 32 percent of going back into a new war.

Most significantly, there are the social and political factors that are closely associated with protest, on the contrary, economic feature of it could substitute some of the protests, however they are more likely to be connected to the practicality of rebellion in order to bring further explanations. Moreover, Collier and Hoeffler's idea on the greediness and protest also highlights the importance of opportunity in form of conflict threat that is compatible with the economic factor of rebellion's motivation due to greediness in addition to that, their coherent relationship with perceived protests are adequately extensive for overall societies and time. Therefore, the further studies are needed to be done in this aspect as the evidence in a large-scale nation wise doesn't imply that insurgents are criminals.

The assumption made that insurgences might be paid by rebel coercion of natural resources, nonetheless, their substitution for natural resources are the very basic and primary product exports. Hence, it doesn't at any way make a strong and appealing assumption on the rebels to be attracted by use of power to only pay through natural resources? And what's more, the mentioned scholars have emphasized on the basic products to be the reason for the protests as they are mostly exposed to the poor service, economic misconduct and corruption and that is to

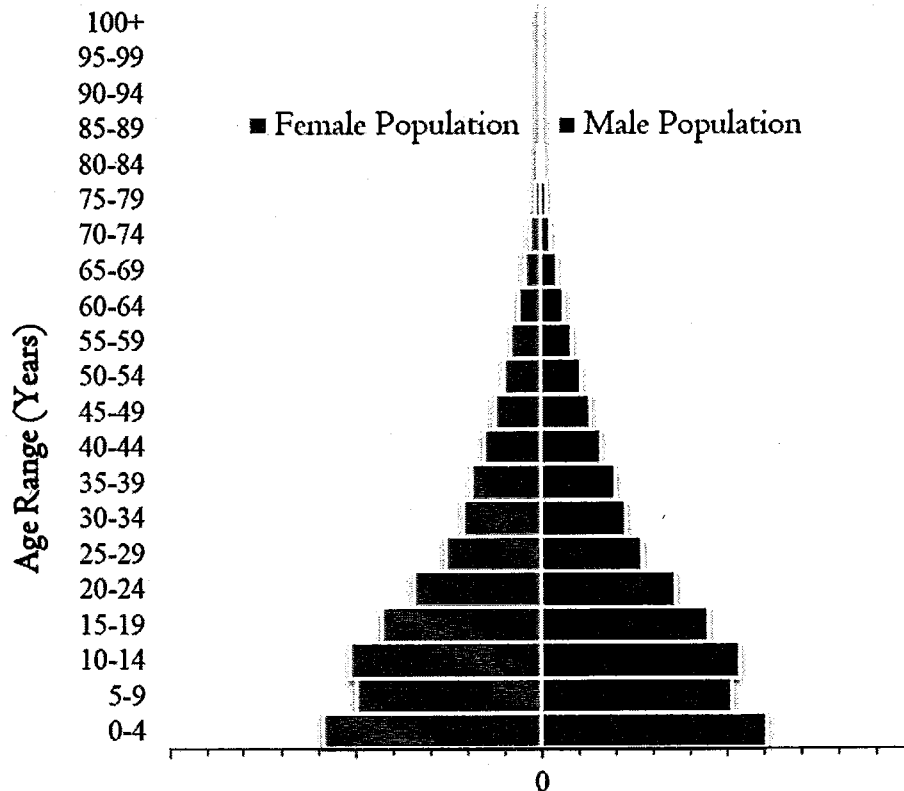
say that poor people under a poor economic condition will be threatening conflict situation to weak governance and not to the financial means for uprising and besides, in most cases even in the hardest economic situations the rebels would not turn into threat to the government due to being aware of getting all the opportunities locked for themselves.

Also, Collier and Hoeffler suggest that, rebel workers due to getting paid and as their salary is tied to the inevitable revenue by employing as insurgents, thus rebellion might take place when the revenue is extraordinarily low. While the suggestions are made by presenting the low GDP per capita, revenue and low school registering all could be related to triggering protest. In the midst of this, it is not mentioned that in any and most cases, income and school enrolment are clear symptom of a country's improvement that could distress the threat of conflict and violence hugely. Further apparent opportunity triggering factor is, a peculiarly weak and unstable government military. Collier and Hoeffler's representation of this factor has been the use of mountain and geographically spread of the people within a country, both that are seemingly appealing from these two scholars' viewpoints that these features are constructive to insurgents.

The mentioned factors might have military significance in some cases, however there is no indication as to show the connection between them and the government military competence that has in it the many features including the wealth of a country. Most importantly among these all features, the ethnic and religious that produce hatred are a driving force for grievance. Whilst, the demographic factor within a country with increasing youth population is not going to produce and form discrimination and hate that might generate hatred. Even though such hatreds and discriminations might be smaller in term of waging larger issues, they can still be apparent in the countries with divers ethnic groups as well as various religious groups.

Figure I. Afghanistan Population Pyramid

Source: US Census 2011



Source: US Census 2011

Youth Unemployment and Underemployment

After almost four decades of ongoing conflict, Afghanistan has become one of the weakest countries in term of economy and employment in the world. Afghanistan's young generations face tough times due to lack of employment opportunities and low wages and these could trigger youth to turn into illegal work like narcotics, illegal armed terrorist groups participation, thus, youth unemployment is a chief concerning factor in the development and stability of Afghan society.

Based on the ILO 2012 reports, in Afghanistan over 400,000 youth join the labor market every year and the labor market is categorized by a young and fast growing workforce, Afghanistan is in an urgent and extensive need for creating employment opportunities. What's more, nearly 63.8% of the young Afghans incline to accept short-term and instable jobs and work on a daily labor jobs 17.6% due to lack of job opportunities, skills and education (ILO, 2012). Giving the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) 2007-2008 statement, youth

unemployment rate was 10% for young male and 15% for female youths that is to say higher than the national unemployment rate that reached 7.1%, however to analyze further the Afghan labor market is obstructed by the lack of available data and as of now, one of the useful source to take into account the previous years is the NRVA. The graph below shows the youth unemployment rate since the fall of Taliban regime till 2017 with a significant change over the years, however not a sharp upward shift.

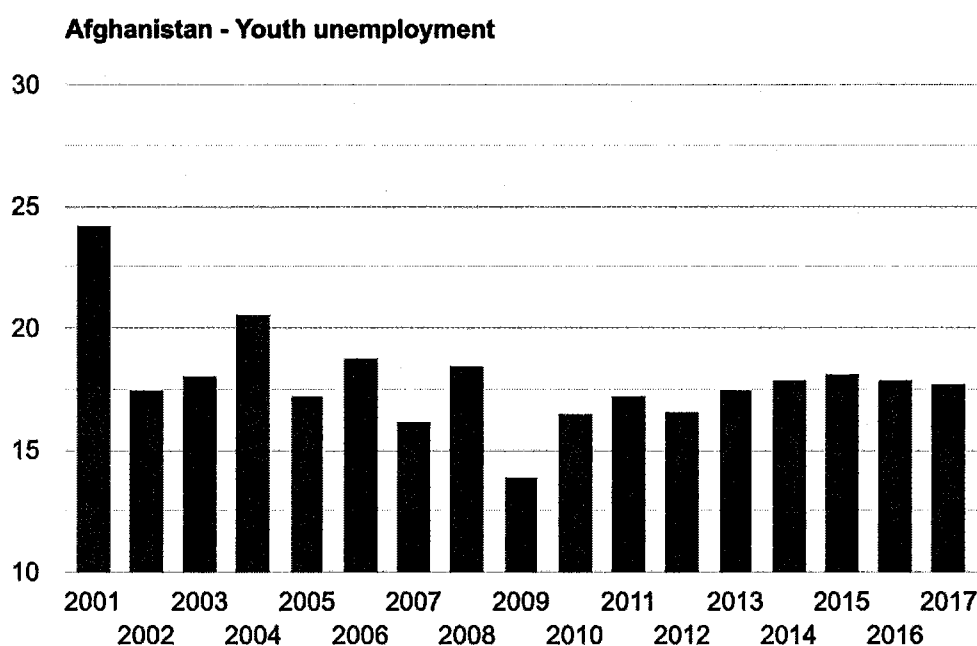
Afghanistan's improvement in term of economy has been quite significant over the past decade. At the beginning, the country experienced a high economic growth with the real GDP's growth rate by 9.1% between 2003/2004 as well as 2010/2011, predominantly focused by capital investments for rebuilding activities along with great aid runs and irregular agricultural production run. Although the developments continued in numerous aspects of the country including the socio-economic conditions, despite the great efforts made, Afghanistan's growth issue remained persistent, with 36% of the people living under poor economic conditions and over 50% in risk of becoming poor amid (2007/2008).

Afghanistan and its developmental phase after Taliban Regime's collapse and the establishment of a new government in 2001, have been amazingly on a considerable level over the past decades. First and foremost, the economic improvements that took place between 2003-2004 and 2010-2011 including a high real GDP growth of 9.1 percent were mostly due to large and extensive amounts of investments that were aimed for renovation purposes and at meantime since Afghanistan's reconstruction aims took attention of the world's biggest aid and helping donors, thus aid flow was at its peak and the agricultural productions' intermittent sharp growth was also eye catching. What's more, the economic and investment driven developments and growth that occurred had along them a noticeably incredible growth in societal as well as socioeconomic aspects for the overall Afghan people. As of the most primary and prominent things like education enrollment has had growth of one million in 2002 to over 7.2 million school going young kids in 2011 that amid Taliban regime 37% of those kids that make around 2.7 million were young girls who were completely excluded from education. Though Afghanistan has been making potential changes and striking improvements since the fall of Taliban, however there are still numerous challenges that are persistent. The poverty of around 36% people in 2007-2008 who live under tough economic conditions and the other 50% who are at stake of becoming poor for different reasons should be taken into top consideration for that to solve such issues, a sustainable economic and peaceful social direction is needed.

As it is perceived, employment could be the foundation of any newly developing country and so Afghanistan and employment are both interconnected to the general growth and stability of the nation. However, the development and stability with regard to Afghanistan's job situations is quite an entangled condition in term of Afghanistan's potential to withstand progression and in order to assure comprehensiveness by providing better and qualifying job opportunities for people. Most importantly, a policy that highlights the strategic arrangement of labor market difficulties should be presented along with policies that support and enhance job establishment as these are significant in understanding the overall growth level of the country as well as to address potent and contributing strategies to education, social structure and poor economic conditions. As a matter of fact, these policies should be aimed to bring about close association with respect to adequate improvement so that employment opportunities and creation will have capacity of housing a young growing working generation along with approximately around four-hundred to five hundred thousand new comers to the labor market over period of a year for the next decade. Policy makers and decision makers should pay close attention to supporting the development of those sectors that are willing to improve their labor rich strategies. What's more important is that the labor market should demand and allow growth in productivity and sustainable growth and thus their qualifying labor outlines should also be based on the suitable demands from the employee.

Though it is a crucial phase to understand the Afghan labor market and its whole characteristics in order to take fair decisions with regard to developing an employment strategy for the youth, while due to lack of enough studies and data on these spheres analyzing the labor market of Afghanistan is not available. While, as of now the reliable source for gathering information about the labor force features could be the National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA) domestic survey that is based on their 2007-2008 survey report that is going to start and discuss the challenges and features of labor market. In Afghanistan, the consequence of unemployment on the country has a great deal of economic instability and violence driving forces. According to Afghan people as a whole, joblessness is the key factor for the ongoing conflict in the country. There are many circumstances that young unemployed people chose to join the anti-government armed groups, as a matter of fact, those people don't necessarily support or believe in the armed groups' ideologies, even they are against their standpoints, however they solely prefer joining these groups for the purpose of earning money for their families. To make the matters worse, the insurgency is growing higher and thus that much youth

unemployment is growing as well that's one way that youth are turning themselves to anti-government rebel groups for the sake of earning jobs. Young teens are used as suicide attackers, battler forces, or workers for inserting the IED Improvised Explosive Devices. The data by the United Nations (UN) reports, due to continuous conflict and political violence about one million people are food-insecure, meanwhile around 42% of the total population lives on less than one dollar per day.



Source: The Global Economy.com: Economic indicators for over 200 countries.

Overview of Ethnic Politics and Marginalization in Afghanistan

Afghan people have suffered and deteriorated for more than two decades from the ethnic violence, conflicts, lack of security and the fears of extremism and terrorism. The Bonn Agreement of 2001 brought about a massive and significant addition to the history of Afghanistan as of emergences of social and political change alongside democratic transition. The peacebuilding, democratization and state-building works were taken into consideration through the United Nations supports. As Afghanistan took huge amount of serious attention of

international community post-Taliban collapse, an extraordinary number of aid went into the country that as a result boosted the Afghan government to stand and move towards reconstruction projects with the help of INGOs to rebuild ruins of war. After the 2001 changes, the government of Afghanistan has started to penetrate the peace agenda that were put in the Bonn Agreement, while Afghanistan still goes through massive indirect problems in coping with social distinctions, ethnic and linguistic issues that have implication over the Afghan youth.

Currently, by the end of democratic shift course Afghanistan is within a democratic alliance stage where the civil society and the Afghan government are aimed to emphasize on democratic political development and efficiently reconstructing the nation with regard to common values that are specified in the constitution. In order to accomplish this plan, the Afghan government needs to switch to a policy that will benefit its largest population that are youth which play a prominent role in political development of the country and a successful transformation of the current ethnicity-centered politics to a national one. Afghan young educated people have a quite narrow representation within the civil society institutions that perform roughly as a reactionary influence and express the social demonstrations, but fail to reach and carry it into political actions. Almost all political parties in Afghanistan are dominated by the old political elites that is positioned inside a paternal or family political background, not to mention except some youth-centered parties that do not belong to this. Hence, although there is an extensive participation, still Afghan youth are perceived as “political foot soldiers” rather than a dynamic social and political foundation who could be the hub of social enthusiasm. Furthermore, Afghanistan faces a ‘youth bulge’ by having 11.8million of teenagers and youth between 10-24 years old, as of this slow growing institutions and limited employment opportunities and political volume, ‘youth bulge’ although can bring about a potential challenge to the country whilst on the other side the youth might be driven toward bad options of ‘exit’ or ‘violence’. Therefore, in order to obtain the foundation of real challenges and issues that are at the roots of the society, it is crucial to look at those for the purpose of achieving democratic alliance mainly between (2015-2024) amid the Transformation Decade.

Defining political participation

To begin with, defining political participation in a general manner is not an easy work, hence two kinds of descriptions are given for a political participation: procedural based and teleological, on one hand based on teleological point of view, political involvement is “an act of involvement in governmental decision-making by private citizen”. On the other hand, praxialist or the procedural based political participation is defined “as a way to be active in

traditional apparatus within political system, for instance, voting in elections and attending the political gatherings. Overall, the explanations to both approaches are tended to take into consideration, the political participation or involvement as a civic participation in decision-making processes by legitimate and suitable ways that encompass kinds, forms and activities. Moreover, political engagement is a way of freedom expression as well as a form of being collective and helping out in the conduct of public affairs, also is a chance to opt for a candidacy in any level of governmental office.

Meanwhile, there are two categories and forms of political participation explicitly, institutionalized and non-institutionalized. While, the institutionalized political participation is said to have a straight correlation with the institutional as well as electoral processes and activities, resulting in a direct aftermath. The non-institutionalized forms of political involvement are being affected in an indirect way through some sorts of being active in protests, petitions signing, hunger strike, public defiance and etc. on the basis of events, it is clear to see that the non-institutionalized forms of political participation are rising steadily and also indicates, though people are in favor of maintaining democracy, still there are many disagreements and critiques of the way democracy is applied. Not to mention, in post-conflict states because most of the state systems do not operate properly and has slow working institutions, or ineffective social and political foundations become a concrete ground for choosing to apply non-institutionalized forms of political participation, in such war-torn societies institutions lack incorporation key interest of numerous social and political groups and mainly is inadequate in coping up with the latest youth groups interests into the system.

3.3. Youth Marginalization in The Context of Ethnic Conflict

According to Huntington, it is argued that the core feature behind the violence and insecurity all over Asia, Africa, and Latin America "was to a massive extent the result of fast social change, steady inclusion of new groups into politics combined with the slow development of political institutions". Therefore, while being under such conditions, selecting non-institutionalized forms of political participation can be threatening also the institutions not always being responsive to the youth's demands can trigger a risky and violent method in order to reach their purpose in the decision-making process as well as to influence the politicians, they tend to break through the old political restrictions and monopoly of power in the system. High percentage of immigration in weak states and underdeveloped countries in some extent are a byproduct of frustration in social and political life spheres.

One of main attributes of the distinct societies is that politics functions nearly and solely side by side with ethnic lines. The ethnic-based democratic systems are usually established on the foundation of a de-jure or de-facto consociational (power sharing) way in which the power is shared among the ethnicities in order to assure inclusion and representation from all the groups that have political importance to the system. Consociationalism method brings about existence for ethnic political parties and leaders to equalize and preserve their power with regards to any alteration that takes place within the system through bringing ethnic based suggestions and to unite their ethnic group based on ethnic programs and create the sharing game 'communal card', in addition to this, political environment in alike societies tend to encourage even more ethnicization of the political parties and thus results in creation of brand new ethno-centric groups that entitle themselves for representation of a certain ethnic group/groups. Also, the mutual link that is established between society and political party is through ethnic politics setting.

Horowitz states that, "ethnic political parties obtain support hugely from a certain ethnic group (or bunch of ethnic groups) and operates for the interest of that group" in this sense, social divisions result in the rise of ethnic political parties. One could look at the actions of elites from an instrumentalist viewpoint, who tend to gain the hugest support of people by manipulation for their own race over power as well as earning material resources and for this an ethnicity is used to be seen as a tool with the largest demand in arranging people for those political elites' specific targets that could be to increase or maintain the power. Thereby, in an environment that is ethnically politicized, often the old political elites construct a control or monopoly 'on the existing political place as well as behave in a way of being the caretakers of the place'. In countries that social change is increasingly high along with a high number of population being younger generation that is regarded as 'youth bulge', the old political and power monopolists restrict youth political participation which is why a large distance between the older and the new generation is formed and weakens the youths' drive on the ethnic political parties. The old elites in some ways get challenged by those youths who are attempting to seek and be in leadership positions who can also act more efficiently in political and social aspects that strikes the power maintain goals of the old guards. And Afghanistan is one that fits in this well, as of now, the past decade has been a struggle for young generation in order to be recognized and be a change for the political context of Afghanistan, while getting resistance from the elites for their own traditional order of politics and social affairs. And this is one of the dynamics of continuity and change. Statement by one of the Afghan parliament member: "ethnic politics

and social divisions used by ethnic leaders have been crucial and influential to limiting youth political participation and their important existence in the bureaucratic system of the government and institutions. Consequently, ethnic politics affects youths in these ways: firstly, the restraining institutionalized forms of political participation for youth like voting in elections by a fair electoral system and secondly, it results from the previous issue which is the monopoly of power by the old elites who force youth to conduct the non-institutionalized forms of participation and to act in a more critical manner or to even choose to leave.

Afghanistan has over thirty different ethnicities and among them Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras are the largest ethnic groups. In Afghanistan, the history of interethnic relations not only points out at the multiple ethnic existence, but also unfair opportunities and conflicts. The modernist and development theories claim that, group consciousness and self-awareness arises through improving the interethnic relations which is an outcome of modernization of the state which backs the establishment and rise of ethnic identities. Similarly, in Afghanistan ethnic diversity became more visible via state modernization. However, the history of ethnicity lobbying goes back in time amid state formation era of Amir Abdu-Rahman Khan reign (1880-1900). The King Amir, aimed to form a centralized coercive government that resulted to an "ethnically polarized Afghanistan" that is, he first off, repressed the Pashtun revolts and then again united them and stood them against the non-Pashtun ethnicity, and again, organized Sunnis for the aim of Jihad against the Hazara Shiites whom tortured in many ways like looting, selling into slavery and displacing them. Amir's destruction of ethnic groups culture left marks in the history of Afghanistan and memory of people resulting in antagonism and separation among the ethnic groups.

In the following decades, even after Amir, none of his heirs took a step to bring an ease to the ethnic issues rather they flamed it even more by changing the official language from Dari/Persian to Pashtu following with the Shiites marginalization, such issues only expanded the horizon of ethnic and social divisions, mainly between (1929-1973) which was Musahiban dynasty era. Long story short, when looking at the wars in Afghanistan and their dynamics, serious issue and ethnic divisions are noticeable as roots of the conflicts in addition, interethnic relations in Afghanistan has been more of ethnicity classification of inferior (subordination) and domination, however in general a kind of political stability arose and the different groups placed themselves within the hierarchical system.

By 1978, the communist coup took place which brought an end to the traditional way of political system and provided numerous opportunities for the suppressed ethnicities in order to change their political and social positions. On one hand, there was a growing political consciousness that were caused by the changes brought by political as well as social construction, on the other hand, there was a triggered rising nationalism among Afghan people as an aftermath of the Soviets invasion. Furthermore, the growing self-consciousness among various ethnicities led to the establishment of communal organizations centered on ideology, ethnicity and identity, in form of social movements, however soon enough those movements turned into well-managed political parties along with the focus of characterizing ethnicity, religion and local interests. What's more, they had a shared goal of defending Afghanistan from the communists and the Soviet aggressors, however during the Afghan-Soviet war, the parties despite their political improvements were divided into many groups identified by their ethnic relation, way of working and religious perspective. The ethnic politics defined the political and social growth in the next years and became a reason for the erupt of 1990s civil wars.

Nevertheless, when communist regime fell in Kabul 1992-1996, it was clearly posed as ethnic conflict. Main Jihadi political parties arranged ethnic divisions in order to defend ethnic rights and interests, while among others such as: Rabbani and Massoud's Jamiat-e-Islami (Islamic Association) as Tajik, Hekmatyar's Hezb-e- Islami (Islamic Party), Dostum's Junbesh-e-Melli (National Movement) as Uzbek, and Sayyaf's Ettihad-e-Islami (Islamic Unification) came to represent Pashtuns; Hezb-e-Wahdat (Unity Party) as Hazara had battled against each other with their obvious ethnic looks. Moreover, making ethnicities involve in politics and war, has drew on the social and political limits in Afghanistan in addition, it hindered the reconstruction of state and settlement for another decade up until 2001. It is apparent that, in a society that is politically ethnicized, even rising of Taliban group along with their religious settings seemed as ethnic group who represents a certain ethnicity.

After the Taliban regime's collapse, in post 2001, the creation of President Karzai's new democratic government had massive support from international community and paved the way for many new opportunities specifically for the youths. Most importantly, the basic human rights like right to education was given back to the young Afghans which led to the rise of young elite and peripheral core in Kabul and other key important cities. Also, by the help of the new democratic government, those youths who were with the old elites to serve them for their political goals, returned back to gain recognition together with aim of serving a political force

that would have a positive effect on the future of the country's peace as a whole. Along with young people who were displaced, Afghan youths appeared as the crucial motive of the new political system which helped the government reach its technical skills needed for the bureaucratic order. The new youth reformation and their emergence as a new political power was soon viewed as a threat to the existing and old guard traditional and political leaders who dominated Afghanistan and the power for years. However, some other important political figures and traditional leaders who are seen as the patrons attempted to reduce the challenge that was posed by the latest elite groups who were not as prepared and supported as other strong ethnic figures. The old elites were capable of restraining the political appearances of youth and involvement of youth in social divisions, ethnic organization and to uphold the ethnic cleavages as the prominent factor of politics and history in Afghanistan. Hence, the power was back to ethnic leaders and political figures who try to maintain control through either empowering their unification of parties, ethnic appearances or ethnic arrangements and electoral strategy in which somehow always favors the traditionalists.

The Bonn Agreement

As of the post-Taliban period, politics in Afghanistan came across the threat of power vacuum or void within power which was instantly brought about a resolution. The reconstruction time being, the collective decision on the country was prepared on the basis of stability first and foremost and later on legitimacy (Simonsen 2004:725). According to international community and policy makers, it was soon apparent that one of the core basis for the conflict would be ethnic issues. First of all, individuals from various Afghan ethnic groups and combating parties had worked together as a network that made it almost impossible to differentiate the political actors and clarify the nature of conflict. What's more, at the beginning of intervention period, it was considered to assign Afghanistan to aid development communities, diplomats and military staffs who had obtained adequate knowledge from the previous post-conflict events in the 1990s.

Nonetheless, the majority of the fundamental concepts were applied on Afghanistan's post-conflict case based on other not so similar cases such as that of the former Yugoslavia on the basis of fragmentation "ethnic conflict" rather than taking a closer look at the history of Afghanistan from the core and local realities (Barfield 2005). Having said that, this was one of the main reasons for Afghanistan's conflict being portrayed as an ethnic conflict (Zeitgeist). Therefore, ethnicity was put at the top of the political guideline with regard to discussions on the combining of the liberal democracy with political Islam that was to be implemented in

Afghanistan. In short, the whole strategy that was accepted by the international community was that a conflict depicted as an 'ethnic' then solution will be created on the basis of constructing well-adjusted ethnic identities that represents each ethnic group. And also, in order to provide a common national rule to the disintegrated country, a comprehensive agreement among the international policy makers was made that, the multiethnic structure of the Afghan government should be put as the primary requirement (UN Security Council Resolution 1378). Moreover, even though 'multi-ethnic' strategy at time seemed to bring great outcomes to the country, however it was yet the starting of complex issues to arise.

Considering the collapse of Taliban regime and the finalization of Bonn Agreement with the United Nations support on December 5, 2001, Afghanistan has officially stepped upon yet another historical dimension, that has comprised of numerous opportunities for proving peace, democracy and stability in the country. One of the significant step was indeed taken by the diverse ethno-political groups in order to pave the way for a more peaceful transition of democracy upon agreement on temporary organization and was perceived a peacebuilding and democratization period of time. Notwithstanding, the Bonn Agreement's result was primarily meant to establish an 'interim administration' followed by other moves toward the creation of a diverse, multi-ethnic representing, gender-sensitive government. What's more, to better understand the importance of ethnic political parties who helped the democratic transition, it takes into account to understand the nature of socio-political foundation in Afghanistan, since if a country with diverse ethnicities does not create conditions for democratic values, most undoubtedly the democratization was uncertain in Afghanistan (Rabushka and Shepsle, 1972).

On the contrary, according to Smith, to interpret the non-institutionalization order in a country like Afghanistan, it is not only tough, but also the aspect of general agreement is dead within the tribal traditions, old disputes, family and financial connections and several other problems that might not be easily resolved with the contemporary political mind and institutions. Besides, the long-term wars that erupted social and political divisions among people, the tribal Afghans had firmly opposed the idea of democracy to be brought to Afghanistan, that is why, in order for Bonn Agreement and democratizations to be eventually a success, the ethnic political parties had to reflect to the key and crucial interests of social factions through their tribal elites. Even though, there was a vast presence of ethnic parties in the government and political institutions which was insisting to take the political procedures into an elite-controlled process, but the religious or ethnic political groups rallied tribal and ethnic factions' supports in order for the

new administration to be reinforced. Stated by the National Democratic Institute (NDI), that “after Taliban’s fall, the factions that had worked in the military groups in the past had formed widespread organization and communication systems that helped them allocate resources and public credit”.

At this stage, although the ethnic political parties along with their ethnic display and patronage relations seemed non-democratic, however they still managed to gain the supports of ethnic and religious factions for the purpose of peacebuilding and democracy in order to maintain a regular power transition. In this sense, ethnic political parties are placed at the center of the political system that was long before intended inside a de facto consociational setting which permits them to form a power, resources and political monopoly that excludes the new young groups of people. Internal political power was intensely ethnicized and acquired worse forms. Nevertheless, the ethnic political parties brought a new context for the social relations and political participation systems. And not to mention, the existing power sharing political parties are not in any way supportive of the youth rising or youth-led parties and the ethnicization of politics in Afghanistan has brought implication on the ethnicization of youth politics as well due to experiencing the resource and ranking allocation were distributed on the basis of ethnicity.

Afghanistan’s political parties had been through so many alterations due to the new reforms as well as official policy to party politics. First and foremost, the official policy presented had implications on the party politics characteristics so to say, the former president Karzai, had favored the integration of the key and main political figures on enticing assistance of promising political parties, in addition to that, this official policy at the very beginning became a steppingstone for parties’ membership divisions within various parties, later on it resulted in the rise of main political figures to be independent politicians, that comes to the point where the structure of politics is changed into a more personification based politics or ‘person-centric’ on one hand, some strong and leading political figures of parties who previously had owned some efficient amount of supports as well as finance to create a political group of own, had the ability to perform individually and hold talks with the government regardless of their party’s choice. On the other hand, when the key structures in the political parties couldn’t afford to give money to warlords and patrons, then the major leaders would not want to share their finance on the party either, but would rather prefer investing on it for self-empowerment of their positions. Moreover, the President Karzai’s administration policy of merging and

obtaining politicians' loyalty with rankings and the government's assistance altered the party support as well as the affiliation among general public. What's more, people who were involved in a political party based on ideology were transformed from ideological base to a patron job or to earn a place through them within the government or elsewhere. Therefore, the party groups politics shifted from ideological into an outcome oriented one, making the old political elites manipulate through government means further to attract people and gain their support. The persona-centric politics excluded youth population that is the biggest percentage that act in a conclusive manner through institutionalized forms of political participation. Based on a report by USIP 2013, "youth politics is seemed to be largely related to the old political elites and their networks. In several provinces, lobbyists take advantage of the youth organizations to preserve their political force. If the dominance by the old-guard continues in this manner, there is a huge chance for the youth alliances and youth vote to be stopped by them.

Nevertheless, in such atmosphere, the interaction way between the society and politics as well as the youth political participation are controlled by ethnic politics. In spite of youth having a generous amount of role and place in the bureaucracy and politics, however they do not have institutional and structural resources in order to enable them to take more impactful decisions within policy-making and leadership areas. Claimed by one of the political party youth leader, "youth despite having a widespread existence in the state and work in the bureaucratic system with high level of experience and skills, still within leadership and decision-making is restrained through holding traditional political standards and absence of incentives for the rise of youth-based political parties." Not only that, but also it is challenging in a largely ethnicized political atmosphere except the ethnic issues, for the youth elites to gather and arrange a group that defines their identity.

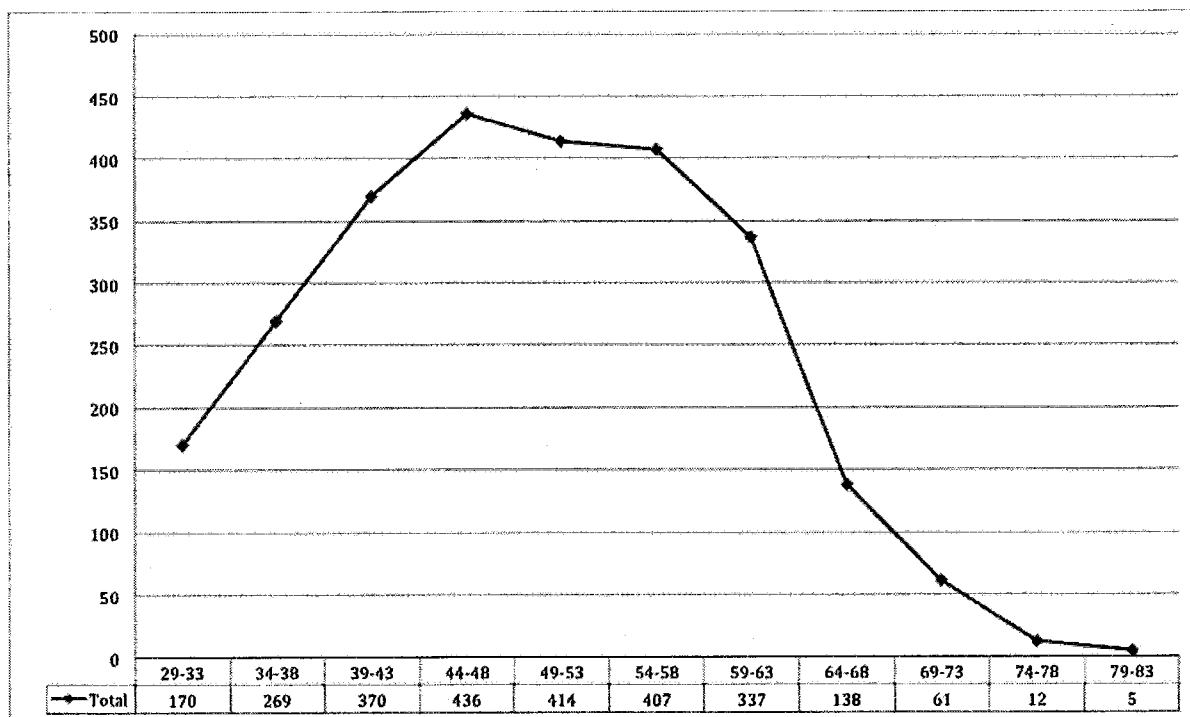
Youth participation in the Past elections (2004-2014)

Afghanistan is in a period of facing young population bulge which comprises two third of the country's total population who are under 25 age. By 2014, over 3.8 million generally new Afghan people in voting with around third of them being women, received new voter card for the IEC 'op-up' campaign. Afghanistan's elections' one of the most significant part is their young generations' votes, while due to the ethnic politics and politicization that are created by the old elites, youth factions have given the least prominence in bringing any sort of political background change in the country. However, the changing dimension of political party groups and the ethno-political gap alongside ethnic members in the parliamentary beside provincial

council elections stipulated wider presence for youth and autonomous runners and paves the way for youths as a whole to act more dynamical political figures. According to reports, it is easier to look at the ethno-political distinction through, when ethnic separations are taken in comparison with the party relations within the parliament, as in, the Parliamentary elections of 2005 among the 249 total seats, had 118 Pashtun seats, 53 Tajiks, 41 Hazaras and 20 Uzbek winners, to illustrate this further, from the total Pashtun members in the parliament, 49% of them had relations with the strong parties mainly such as (Afghan Mellat) and (Hizb-e-Islami) whereas the other ethnic groups' parties connections were more powerful starting with 100% of Uzbek affiliates, 80% of Hazara members, and 70% of the Tajik participants were linked to the leading ethnic political groups and only 69 affiliates were in no alliance with either of political party groups. This ethno political division led to the establishment of groups within parliament across ethnicities by the Jihadi leaders and also political parties, they also have specified the parliament elections as the proof of the widespread supports of Afghans that go to Jihadi ethno-political group.

Moreover, the ethnic separations between the Jihadi leaders were to a large extent increasing that as a result most of the decision-making processes would be interrupted. The shifts of ethnic issue in the Wolesi Jirgah had empowered the improvement and ranking of other ethnic groups beside bringing political transformations in general. To begin with, the political parties that faced decline in the in the Parliament took a way of establishing their own groups to further enhance their stance within the system. The political parties in spite of having many issues with the unification system and arrangement in the parties, thus the idea of losing further seats in the House encouraged them to use more the ethnic division. As a result of the ethnic division among political parties, the youth activists were further motivated to replace the old elites both in the provincial and parliament level. Between 2004 and 2014 there is a massive number of youths who had taken part in the elections and most importantly the young generations act in a more active way by constantly attempting to replace the old elites through credentials rather than just being passive voters. However, due to the lack of more data on this issue the exact improvements of youths regarding their participation are not easy to figure out. While, the previous records show a continuing progress in youth activism as it is in the participation in the past decade within the key provincial councils like Kabul and Mazar.

Official data from the election commission shows that the average age of 2619 candidates



In 2010's parliamentary election the average age was 49 years old, while in the 2014's council elections 41 was the average age. Based on the NDI's reports, youth candidates in 2014 provincial council elections created higher percentage that were 70% of the candidates between ages of 25 to 35 and this shows an incredible level of success in a society that hold power based on family relations and traditional values rooted in their political culture. This outcome indicates the most upward scales of the number of candidates that were from age groups of (44 to 48, 49-53, 54-58, 39-43, 34-38) correspondently. However, in the 2014 provincial council's elections, the young runners created a high percentage of the entire candidates.

Growing Social Stresses in The Context of Diminishing Opportunities

After decades of prolonged conflict and economic unproductivity in Afghanistan, post-Taliban developments brought about a significant amount of hope in term of development for young populations in Afghanistan. Afghan youth became more dynamic, educated and skilled, thus became further interested in joining the government, private organizations and got involved in the change processes therefore, this formed a sense of responsibility among youth to take part in the country's development procedures. Most importantly, through the new state and political order numerous young and dynamic men and women attended higher education and universities, joined the increasing workforce and took part in politics which were all prohibited to Afghans from all walks of life during the period of Taliban regime up until 2001.

According to a youth activist from the youth group 'Afghanistan 1400', Afghanistan was in a phase of open market to various opinions and beliefs. Predominantly, the governmental and international support for the development and growth of Afghanistan had enhanced the confidence in people as well as in investors. From 2002 till 2016 Afghanistan had seen a massive change in the economy, however after the political and military transition in 2014 the investments decreased, increasing the ongoing security concerns, and in 2015 the economy was on the collapse. As indicated earlier, the core form of a neo-Marxist political economy viewpoint applied to the youth group of the capitalist societies can be drawn back to 1960s to the mass frustration among the young people and of youth countercultures. Therefore, the interpretation of the youth protests and social movements indicated the material conditions which was made by altering distribution of power, mainly political and economic power. This exact situation is seen in Afghanistan, where loss of economic opportunities triggered and recognized as the primary force of the youth protest movements. The house providers' capability to support their families and help to create hope for a better future needs a gateway to consistent sources of employment, however Afghanistan's inability to bring about and create consistent employment and to decrease youth unemployment seemed overwhelming. The stoppage in the Afghanistan's economic growth along with the 2014 transition of power further deteriorated the employment market for youth and the rest of the population.

First and foremost, perceived discriminations are one of the main driving force for the three of the protest movements as pinpointed in the context of material conditions through transforming the distribution of power specifically political and economic. Afghan people strongly believe that "injustice and discrimination have been traditionalized in Afghanistan". injustice for youth in term of economic and political opportunities have intersected with other issues like insecurity. What's more, access to economic contracts and employment have been stated to be based on mostly ethnic favoritism, patronage and contingent relationships instead of the fair competition and merit-based. This situation in Afghanistan cultivated the seed among of prejudice and injustice among youth who were already damaged by the economic and employment problems. Afghanistan is a country where power is traditionally seized by old guards' political elites and also where tribal or groups' harmony and interest will be the decider of individual based interests.

Based on the Afghan Science Academy's research it is point that, Afghanistan's strong male-dominated society causes numerous hardships for young Afghans to participate in any

important manner in politics and even though women's rights are restricted and are one of the main reasons of the youth mobilization, yet the political hierarchy controls the opportunities for young men as well. In spite of the fact that Afghanistan became considerably free of numerous limitations post-Taliban period and liberalization of the politics from economic space was much appreciated, but amidst all Afghan youth have still largely remained politically marginalized within Afghan society and government. As of now, the NUG (National Unity Government) administration's majority of the Afghan key leaders came to power are from the time when Jihad against Soviets and Civil War erupted in 1990s. This situation in Afghanistan has not only disadvantaged and underprivileged the young Afghans of the required political opportunities and shift, but also has brought about yet again the strengthened dynastic nature of Afghan politics on the basis of ethnicity and tribal matters.

Precisely, there is a line of division drawn between Afghan youth and Afghan old guards; that's where the foundation of anger sets is believed. It is hugely believed that political elites have dominated young people when they need them and have been manipulative to gain their needed resources, while they are also fearful of these young generation. Based on a report by an Afghan civil society activist in 2017, educated youths understand very well their social needs, they are strongly aware and react to situations and can mobilize wherever they are. However, since youth do not have strong networks and associations in the upper levels, their movements fall short to reach their demands. Thereby, youth's frustration level is quite high because these youths are not only deprived of access to power and wealth like the old guards maintain, but are also in strong disbelief for the political elites to remain in power and rule since they do not acquire well-established knowledge of the entire society with multiple and various ethnic groups. Hence, this gap between powerful support of the society and youths' disbelief has created disappointment and insecurity for youth.

Youth exclusion, another striking and key issue for Afghan youth to be excluded is uncertainty so to say, the increasingly worsening security situation, ethnicization of politics and elevation of ambiguity among youth and worst of all high unemployment are the core of problematic situations for Afghan young people. The government has been put pressure on youth by showing insensitivity and unconcern towards youths' issues and protests or even contradicted, to make the matters worse, in some cases youths have been objected through the ill-considered government security replies and rebellious attacks. In this case, discouraged Afghan youth are left with the three options; they may either make protests so that the government brings about

changes and reform on their political institutions, or they may hold an exit approach, or they may participate in radical and extremists' groups to compensate their income and mainly this is apparent in the rural areas of Afghanistan.

In addition, meanwhile in 2015, the combination of emergence of youth prospects and deteriorating of socioeconomic opportunities with regard to lack of government's ability to meet with these deficits implicitly has paved the way for a better shift that helps to shape the Afghan youth protest movements.

Having said that, subsequently by 2014's presidential elections, the numerous protest movements by youth that took place in Afghanistan had brought a crucial pattern to Afghan politics. These Afghan youth protest movements were triggered as a result of the government's catastrophic way of handling the issues that couldn't meet the citizens' needs mainly youth unemployment and were highly criticized the governing administrations, besides protests over real injustice and discrimination by the government. What these youth protest movements had taken actions were a reminder of the ongoing struggle across Afghanistan and thus, they stood to respond to the decline of security, inequalities in the distribution of power and last but not the least lack of job opportunities.

Some of the most long lived protest movements are Junbesh-e Tabasum (Tabassum movement) in 2015, Junbesh-e Roshanayi-e (Enlightenment movement) in 2016–17, and Junbesh-e Rashtakhiz-e Taghir (Uprising for Change) in 2017. It is worthy to shed light upon the protest movements and their emergence, and the reason for why they took place. First off, the enlightenment movement which based on the report by Afghanistan Analysts Network, was established to protest against the government's decision to change the power line from Turkmenistan which is known as TUTAP after passing from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan (avoiding large swaths of Hazara-dominated territories), which is a quite significant one, seemed to be one of the strongest act by standing against the Afghan government. What's more, the mentioned transmission line which was subsidized by the Asian Development Bank aimed to carry electricity from Central Asian countries to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Nevertheless, at the time of planning this project the line was planned to be passed through Bamyan province before reaching Kabul the capital and the rest of the provinces in the south and east of the country, according the Fichtner the German consulting firm.

However, in 2016 tensions developed over this issue of planning to change the direction of the line by the state-owned electricity company to pass from Bamyan to 'Salang pass' based on this claim that, the project through Salang pass would be more cost-effective. Thereby according to

International Crisis Group, Roshnayi or Enlightenment protestors believed that the change of line's direction was yet another intended effort by the Pashtun leaders to thoroughly discriminate against Hazaras by preventing them to benefit from an economic growth project. Nevertheless, Hazara people are one of the ethnic groups who are constantly segregated by the leading ethnic group Pashtuns. Another movement known as Uprising for Change was created as a result of reacting to a number of radical attacks that took place in Kabul in June and July 2017. The movement's primary driving force was the truck bombing attack in Kabul which was one of the deadliest in the history of attacks, the leader youths in the Uprising for Change who were composed of mainly Tajik ethnicity condemned and stood against the Afghan government because of inability and falling short to meet their responsibilities. Furthermore, the protest movement specifically accused the NUG (National and Unity Government) for removing members from the government on the basis of their ethnic identity politics. Moreover, the Afghanistan Analyst Network advocates that, the Uprising movement has demonstrated the ethnic-based division of power inside the Afghan administration and the government's policies. The protest movement was determined that the Tajik people are not represented in the leading positions as well as the decision-making processes within the Afghan government and neither are they representing in the NUG. Marginalization claims within the Afghan government is not solely towards the Hazaras and Tajiks, but rather all other ethnic groups encounter institutionalized discrimination.

3.4. Ethnic Exclusion and Sources of Violence

Marginalizing the ethnic minorities are fueling the Taliban's expansion in Afghanistan

Taliban are renown in Afghanistan for being drawn to the ethnic Pashtuns in order to fight against the Afghan government as well as the society, however the ethnic disintegration is causing further resentful youth from different ethnicities to be recruited in Taliban group and enlarge its capacity. Marginalized ethnic communities of Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbeks join the Taliban in the North of the country based on the locals' interview and tribal leaders. The increasing role of recruiting marginalized youth is giving the group ability to control further territories outside of the traditional areas that are known for power base in Pashtun majority areas in the country's east and south. The Taliban's new employment of different ethnic groups have enabled them to extend their outreach to places where were last seen in US led invasion in 2001. Ethnic minorities and their marginalization have contributed to creation of larger provincial and district level governorships and zonal commands. The terrorist shadow government and military systems have heavily relied upon recruiting more non-Pashtuns who

are willing to fight under the flag of Taliban, but not directly Pashtuns. The marginalized Tajik ethnics were recruited in northeastern Badakhshan province and ethnic Uzbek and Turkmen in northwestern Faryab province as well as northern Jawzjan province. "Qari Salahuddin Ayubi, an ethnic Uzbek, was the Taliban's shadow governor for Faryab until he was killed in a NATO air strike on October 6, 2015. And his predecessor, an ethnic Uzbek known as Yar Mohammad, was killed in 2012. Mohammad ranked so high in the Taliban hierarchy that the militant group, which rarely confirms casualties, issued a statement to honor his death" (Frud Bezhan, 2016).

Ethnic path into Afghan Politics

To begin with, it is worthwhile to highlight that in nineteenth-century Afghanistan did not bring any sort of definition to people and thus the term ethnic group was absolutely unrecognized and the authors had referred to people with various categories and orientations with regard to describing the Afghan population. Since the mid-twentieth century worldwide academics and the government began to describe Afghan society thoroughly according to ethnic groups based on distinct languages, culture, sectarianism so on and so forth. The first academic, a French anthropologist Dollot (1937) who used the term *groupe ethnique* for Afghanistan, classified the Afghan population into numerous ethnic parts.

Rowntree and Rowntree (1968), argued that young generation has been comprised of a specific socially, economically, and politically excluded system. In the later studies when it was clearer that youth as a class covered the various experiences of youth due to vertically classifying social categories, the contexts of ethnicity, gender and race were included. As it is apparent based on the history of the world's evolution before evolving into modern world like in other societies, Afghanistan's past society as well as the political identities were constructed on the basis of tribes, sectarian and ideological communities. Therefore, the Mohamadzai group of the Pashtun Durrani confederation who were from the ruling family, in 1879 the British India had crowned on the partially established 'state of Afghanistan' by taking into consideration the importance of custom that entailed the massive numbers of tribal heads, religious leaders and also notables besides, resources and ranks were distributed among the named groups of people (Kakar 1979; Rubin 1992).

According to McChesney (1999), the Afghan power was captured by the Tajik Habibullah II who subjugated king Amanullah in 1929 and hence waved a strategic change towards an ethnic presentation of Afghan power. It was the very first time that the king's family had encountered the threat similar to that of 1474 and saw the natural reign. Moreover, after nine months of civil

war, Nadir Khan who was a relative of the royal family reclaimed the throne for the Mohamadzaï family. During the period of rule by Nadir (1930-33) and his son Zahir (1933-73) a Pashtun-influenced nationalism brought division lines which intended to highlight the king's family as the legal rulers of the power. Having said that, despite the fact that the royal family were from Pashtun ethnicity, they also had another reason for claiming this power and it was the highest and majority of the population being Pashtun in Afghanistan at the time as well as the consideration of the most powerful military forces to be from the eastern Pashtun tribes of Afghanistan.

Nevertheless, Afghanistan's history was written from a Pashtun stand point and Pashtu became the main national language whilst facing challenges with 1947-founded Pakistan for the purpose of Pashtunistan. Afterwards, the government declared Afghanistan as the land of Pashtuns through stressing over the name of Afghan for being as the representation of Pashtuns only. From that time onwards, Afghan people's outreach to public goods and offices were classified based on ethnic outlines (Shahrani 2013). Furthermore, the key ranks and positions within the government and military were given to the not only Pashtuns, but also to the spiritual families such as the Gelanis and Mojaddidis whilst, Tajiks had created the massive middle class who governed the economy, the education aspect and the state administration. However, Uzbeks overall had a small part and have been mainly narrowed down to their settlement area in North of Afghanistan. Hazaras had been marginalized and widely excluded from public goods access due to their Turko-Mongolian appearances and their Shiite acknowledgement. People from minor ethno-religious groups like Hindus, Sikhs, Nuristani, Qizelbash had maintained roles in economic or governmental positions. That's why the relocation and resettlement of the lands and possessions had mostly benefited the Pashtuns in twentieth century, meaning the Pashtun settlers had gained the irrigated areas of Afghanistan like the northern and fields of central Afghanistan (Canfield 1973; Ferdinand 1959).

Horowitz (1981), the hierarchical unjust treatment of the people with their ethnic classification were supported hugely through the rise of ethnic stereotypes such as: Tajiks being considered as economical, Pashtuns as aggressive, Uzbeks as cruel and Hazaras as the poor and uneducated (Schetter 2005). Regarding Rubin (1995), apparently since the government had started the ethnic division and classification long ago, however it was not protested against it up until 1979, the start of Afghan wars. The nature of politics that was ethnic-biased-based became apparent during the Cold War. The political groups had established by referring to the ideologies, political Islam. Additionally, ethnic hierarchy became a fuzzy notion among Afghan people

that was not respected as an overall strategy for a cooperative action. Even though the politics of the nation-state has created an ethnic hierarchy, there were surprisingly few ethnic conflicts. The main reason for this lack of conflicts was the huge contrast between the rural and urban areas. Politics in the capital Kabul was of little interest for the people in rural Afghanistan. Nonetheless, in spite of the fact that the government brought about the inclusion of tribe or 'qawm' into the ID cards is the clear indication that the Afghan government was incapable of combining the bureaucracy formation along with ethnic classification as the key principle of political rule.

Consequently, Afghans could not express a political determination to prevent the ethnic classification planned and applied by the government. Last but not the least, local conflicts mainly in terms of water, land and property had been often defined with regard to ethnic terms and conditions (Canfield 1973). When Afghan war in 1979 occurred, ethnicity played a role of political-military power to calculate. Despite the fact that with regard to examples of Cold War the Afghan war is mainly subjugated through hatred towards communism against Islam. Yet, the aggressive parties augmented by the ethnic drive to strengthen their positions meanwhile, the communist leaders intended to link specific ethnic groups with them by rising them to the nationalities positions (Pstrusinska, 1990). Most importantly, it was the establishment of militias who were created and backed by ethnic groups such as the Uzbek militia of Rashed Dostum. At meantime, Iran and Pakistan had also taken advantage of this opportunity and used ethnic as their weapon for conflicts. Iran created Hizbe Wahdat with Shiite loyalties which was powerful among Shiite Hazara. In 1980s, the oldest resistance movement Jamiate Islami evolved into representing Tajiks in Afghanistan while Pakistan backed Taliban which shadowed a radical Islam while encompassed of the Pashtuns.

Furthermore, the mentioned four fighting groups that controlled the political and military actions over the last decades were somewhat supported by members of one of the four key ethnic groups. Their political movements were played based on ethnic terms as their main argument for the legality of their political existence and because all other ideologies like Communistic, Islamic and royalist had lost the support to mobilized the people and use as a key to political needs. The heads of warring parties made their followers aware of their inadequacy in term of economic and social aspects based on their ethnic identity in the past and currently as well. They further maintained that, the existence of one's own ethnic group was threatened by the violent treatments of the 'other ethnic groups'. Nonetheless, the warring factions increased public concern, hatred and envy among people. In addition, the groups demanded

political and economic resources of the government and society in their ethnic groups name. And also, all the fighting groups defended their political demands on the basis of the size of their ethnic group and their territorial roots. The warring faction had also used ethnicity in their military actions. In this pursue, they have often lost their sense of truth.

3.5. What does Youth mean in Afghanistan

As already mentioned, there are numerous types of increasing youth political parties, groups, and associations across Afghanistan and also there are the old-guard political parties and they are important in many aspects and the way power transformation evolves for the future of Afghanistan. it takes into consideration the young people's mobilization as well as its reasons and prospects for doing so. It also highlights the profoundness of the youth networks and their need for support in order to empower and go further ahead. It is very crucial to understand and analyze the youths' connection with regard to old elites as well as other power dealers.

Youth in Afghanistan is an important and pricy concept, people almost up to thirty-five years old easily and constantly recognize themselves as youth. And people are more likely to perceive the youth term more as a state of mind rather than period of life. According to people in Afghanistan, youth is someone who thinks about the future of the country and has an open-minded state of mind regardless of being even in his/her 30s, while someone who is young, but with a backward mentality is not identified as youth. What's more, for instance, one of the former governors in the Herat province was referred as youth by the general public, while he is forty-nine years old, so one can clearly understand that people in Afghanistan term youth to those who are willing to increasingly work and bring progress to the country likewise this governor who owned technocratic and developing governing approach in his work, thus receiving youths' constant supports.

Considering the youth history in Afghanistan, it's essential to grasp the youth political actors' decision-making procedures that has a link with their family. Ethnic and tribe also have their own significance when it comes to decision-making, but solely secondly. Just like other numerous social aspects, in Afghanistan the family and tribe must be part of how a youth thinks, makes decision and acts politically and are perceived as core factors. Moreover, the major determinants for young people's influence in politics can have a background of whether youth's family stance in term of secular or religious education, the family's political alignment amid Jihad, Taliban and post-2001 period of times or the family being pro or antigovernment. From another perspective, youths are seen to be struggling in their very own family who hold power,

those young people despite attempting to distance and oppose their family's politics, they are still influenced and affected in some way or another. In other words, no matter if someone belongs to liberal or conservative ideological politics; family issues, family legacy, shared duty is some of the phrases that are used in tribal values that certainly impact the youth besides, the lugging in between two-time period that are internet-based time which gives a wider perspective of the other world countries.

Therefore, Afghan youths are also taken away from the concept of political movements nationally and find themselves behind old-guard power holders. Despite growing youths' participation in different areas, still young Afghans have to follow the pathway of the old political elites and power brokers. Afghan youth as an aftermath of experiencing over four decades of continuous wars whether by political-military parties or other actors, do not have the proper ability to take the responsibility and admission of their movements as parties either due to the fact that the old-guards' political parties destabilized and waged war in the country for years or the ongoing influence of the older generations. On one hand, the reports indicate, youths are decreasing their engagement in the old guards' parties due to many reasons like, applying old and religious standards, deep corruption, not self-sufficient due to being funded by foreign funders, and the nature of afghan political system that is mainly on the basis of patronage, relational linkups, service provision rather than providing elections in the parties based on the abilities, interests and policies. On the other hand, youths who still want to join any sort of elites' political parties are either because of its income and job opportunity or education and scholarship. And the youth involvement with the old political elites' parties is transferrable connection that is underlined on the basis of the fact that the most outspoken critiques often rise from the same groups of young people themselves. Contemplating the shame that the political parties have with them, both the youth as well as the older opportunistic generations have taken a distance from the such terms and rather preferred to create youth networks, movements, organizations and societies. The youth-led or youth-centric political parties that were established in the last decade maintained some prominence in term of outreaching people in form of charity-type as well as public services besides, they assured their distance from the stigma and labeling of party. However, these youth groups act and think politically, but not always logically.

Bearing in mind the extent of division, the youth political groups attempt to stay back from simply classification and their definitions. On this issue, a study found out in Kabul, that there are minimum four essential types of youth political movements who do not lay their standards

on the grounds of the old guard political parties. Because definitions of these youth movements can be extensive, it is risky for all not fitting under the same category nor do even the most powerful national parties, who still struggle to form core anywhere outside of Kabul.

1. The parties that were created post-2001 and were directed by the old-guard politicians had purpose of grasping more younger members in favor of reform programs. These had with them massive power in term of decision-making that has ever been given to the youths' old guard parties as one of the most prominent example, stand the Rights and Justice party. Rights and Justice that was established in 2011, is identified as a technocratic and pro-reform party. Although, the party has resisted to create its significant connections in other provinces, it still maintains supports from Herat, Balkh and some other provinces. And right from the start, the youths were drawn to this party due to their strategies of empowering youth's decision-making abilities and an important role was given to the youth in establishment of the party and stood against the conservative approach of having a separate place of the youth. The leadership of this party is run by the former members of parliament, human rights and civil society activists and diplomats. According to youth members of this party, the integration within has given them a lot of power, beside youth won one third of the central council elections and engaged in all committees and overall, they took the seat on the old-guard ruled political and communication committees. To a considerable extent, the Right and Justice have both of the supporters and critiques. The critics of the Rights and Justice claim that in pursue of setting a new program or agenda with the same manner of old political leadership, it attempts to have it both ways, while ending up having none. On the other hand, the backers say that, it is the most practical and realistic standard of balancing the reform demands against society's facts and Afghan political way of being based on pragmatic politics rather than ideological, and as an instance of this party's equilibrium on Dec 2013 was stated the Bilateral Security Agreement BSA with the United States by Hanif Atmar (the political committee head and is the de facto figurehead of the party).

2. The example of a party that has made the transfer from an old political party to a party whose governance is chiefly made by the youth established since 2001, by the old guard leaders that have handed the power of their committee to the younger people. The party was formed in 2004 and was endorsed by former President Karzai. The party was supervised by youth and it was the young people who risked in order to take a non-violent, stronger leftist and anti-foreign troop stance and claimed the opposing of presidential candidate support for agreeing on troops not leaving the country. While this was opposed by other pragmatic leaders who were in favor of patronage and old generation governance. Solidarity brought about its young chairman in

2010, and is widely spread in several provinces that aim to encourage more youngsters for representation in provincial leadership council. In this party, around 70% of the members are comprised of mainly youth, however it is still influenced by elders in a consultative manner while the overall management and leadership are in the hands of the youths themselves, who still are of the opinion of the foreigner exit. Solidarity sets an example, despite the fact that youth political movements are getting more broadminded in term of breaking the old ways of politics and clientalism, still their stance does not need to be pro-western either.

3. One of the national parties made by youth parties that was created after the fall of Taliban one of them is Wadan Afghanistan, that states to have the widest outreach all over the provincial bodies mainly in the Pashtun south and east of the Kabul based parties. The ideology of Wadan Afghanistan is from the early 90s and over these past years that country is going deeper into conflict and unrest, the young students from Nangarhar university appealed for a new and different shift in the political system that would not include neither mujahideen, tribal nor Islamist kind of system, but rather a democratic system that would have a widespread reach to the rural areas as well as the asserting on the notion of direct decision-making processes for the marginal people in the national politics. Despite facing hardships from the political party stigma and the overall distrust of people outside by supporters in the provinces, however it seems to be gaining more power among Pashtuns mainly in the last decade.

4. the parties that established by the young political elites as of the Taliban collapse 2001, are extensively concerned and focused with driving policy at the national level despite being limited in capacity and scope. They are a group that attracts the international attention through media, international organizations., considering their high levels of education within the group members, their place in the capital, the members being surrounded by diplomatic people and gatherings, having considerably better jobs within government. As some of the prominent instances are; Afghanistan 1400, Afghanistan forward, Afghanistan Analysis and awareness. To further the discussion, the Afghanistan 1400 was formed in 2012 and is perhaps the fastest improving party among other urban elite parties. They aim on a broadminded politics along with strong standpoints in women's rights, in rule of law and endorse the last decades' achievements. Although Afghanistan 1400 doesn't function more like a party such as supporting a certain presidential candidate in upcoming elections, but rather they opt for different candidates' endorsements and are a group of individuals from different classes and with different educational backgrounds.

Furthermore, one of the major problems for those youths who are active in politics and state affairs is the very interactions between the urban and rural separations. Afghanistan's politics has been fluctuated wholly in the early twenty-first century from Kabul based both religious as well as leftist parties to a village or tribe based Mujahedeen followed by Taliban regime and their tribal supporters, however both regimes were unequal and unbalanced thus, currently this is also seen that youth have similar inclinations within the young people who are in the youth organizations, that is to say on a large scale manner, young people, mainly those who belong to political movements and groups from the center have little to no reach and interactions with the suburbs and rural for any sort of political and economic reasons and of course the question of youth reaching the districts and small cities is out of question. As of now, the youth and movements who attempt to bring together the lost connection for the purpose of their work is only the strong-minded young people in religious movements. Besides the power-holders who are funded to be active around and during elections, their other activities are limited in the provincial mostly in district level as it is believed to be not of any advantage and satisfactory in district level.

What's more, as a matter of fact the youth groups and movements failure to bring about an interacting bridge between the urban and rural divide leads to prevention of youths' further alliance and as a result of this, the old-guard political elites progress even more in every phase and level. Technology is known to be the most significant tool in current world where things get spread quite rapidly and so, we can argue that technology has a great deal of positive impact for these youth to create contacts and interaction in order to expand their outreach, though Afghan youth despite having the knowledge of the very latest technology use, still lacked few years back on how to create meaningful use of these tools specifically those youth who are involved in changing the political agenda, however presently, youth are ahead of this challenge and are creating not only social networks, but are spreading them massively and are being used in a strategic level that can outreach movements and networks.

On one hand, in spite of majority of the youths in the provincial and district levels being aware and linked to networking and technology, still have not yet fully gotten rid of their old understanding of patron-client relations. On the other hand, it's also important to consider the fact that youth even in the provincial and rural areas are attempting into taking account of their issues by themselves either through becoming journalist and creating their own low frequency radio or some medias and reaching TVs, but still to this day into a large extent most of these ways are controlled and monitored by the old-guard politicians. Therefore, for youths and their movements to get stronger an urgent bridging is needed so that the marginalization by the old-

guard political elites is controlled thoroughly. Numerous young people supported and spoke for the reforms of institutional government to take place to prioritize the sectors such as education, job creation and technical skill training because these are the most prominent lacks that Afghan youth encounter in the Afghan government, however at this point the government is still struggling to meet all the necessary demands. And as it was asked from youth across Afghanistan, one of the female interviewee who was banned from joining political party came up with, the legal boundaries are not as bad as the social restriction made.

And it further was perceived in a section of interviewees' answers in entire provinces that job creation is believed to be the most crucial duty of the government after securing the public's safety and this would be ensured essentially through a collective resolution by both the Afghan government and the international communities to use their financial supports for large-scale public works and that would make the underemployed young people work on the high skilled jobs that require engineering and other high ranked degrees rather than unskillful labor-intensive jobs or perhaps the government should come up with further filtration of the elderly people in order to open up more space and opportunities for young and dynamic generation within the government. Nevertheless, as far as education is considered, Afghan youth in general have described the government per se as the companion of the challenge. The root cause comes from the policies that prepare the school curricula, in many places of Afghanistan tribal issues are as hot topic as it was centuries back and the reason is the very education the youth are getting in the schools that pinpoints the history of how one ethnic group or tribe was on top while the other got power, not to mention ethnic division is mostly focused in the governmental schools instead of teaching the events and the year, they rather highlight the whole communities as included in those past events.

3.6. Post-Conflict Peacebuilding and Democratization

Considering a progressive and well-established Afghan youth's insertion into the economic and political affairs, before anything else it is widely relied upon guaranteeing stability in the society. As for as now, since it was not confirmed as to what kind of transitional government the Afghan government is going to opt for, that's why the studies show to be in the same pattern of patronage in sense of safeguarding and income that are relied politically. As the young people's entire focus is for a better and stable life, even though they are to be acquire their family or father's politics, they still won't look out for any sort of upheaval, but rather diplomatic and problem-solving patterns. The youths' unexperienced political movements and organizations that aim and attempt to reach out for other youths to work and move above the

old political elites' way and system of ruling and to prevent Afghanistan from yet again another Taliban role or a huge civil war. For this to be of a success first and foremost, a long-term economic and security agreements with international community for providing promising and settlement for peaceful Afghanistan and so that youth could tackle the other issues by positively moving towards the change.

Afghan Youth Unemployment, Political Instability and Violence

Youth participation in violence has increased considerably over the last few decades due to the political and religious ideologies taking advantage of youth's vulnerability and thus this becoming one of the threatening concern to the society, however no public policy or national strategy had been planned to solve this issue. Therefore, massive studies have been done on the topic of youth's extremism while a lot in regard to young Muslim and a few about Afghan youth. This is becoming a significant topic due to radical actions being the major driving force of violence in Afghanistan besides, Afghanistan's massive population being comprised of world's youngest and fastest growing. Some studies highlight the reasons for youth joining the violent and extremist groups are such as, socioeconomic and political grievance, unemployment, religious ideologies, weak governance and personal difficulties. About four decades of ongoing political instability and conflict, socioeconomic crisis had created an overwhelmingly damaging consequence on the overall well-being and development of Afghan people. Afghanistan is one of those countries that had enough of poor economic situations and conflicts. The basic definition of the violence is that in a context like Afghanistan, it takes place as a result of response to extensive poverty and widespread unemployment.

According to a report by the Mercy Corps 2015, it is stated that, the key reasons for political violence to be triggered are deep-rooted not in poverty, but rather in experiences of injustice. Young people are dynamic, active, have mental and physical capability, full of energy and passion for life and finding purpose beside wanting to be felt responsible and belonged. However, when a government falls short to meet such basic, but crucial demands of the young population, the chances are that youth would try to look for other sources of obtaining their needs from. As it is in most of the world, young men are expected to be the providers it is the same case in Afghanistan, slightly with stricter social and family norms and customs to abide by. Most importantly, such instances are seemingly a lot in the rural areas like in Pashtun areas of Afghanistan where the community's code of conduct which varies from family or tribe to tribe based on tribal status, geographic context and family status. The main code for them is,

family and property protection under any circumstance. When these youths are faced with real and perceived frustrations due to lack of employment opportunities as well as freedom and corruption to address the issue, lack of basic infrastructure and community support, they are even more vulnerable to maintain their responsibilities whilst being claimed as the care takers. These are the situations where extremism could happen indeed, as a matter of fact, violent extremists like Taliban groups take advantage of both platforms of the modern era as well as traditional way of reaching out to young people to drag them into their path. Their way of using a driving force for attracting youth into violence is by using the failures of the government to meet their demands and the need to take action against the government.

Furthermore, as it is widely apparent, stability politically and economically and peace-building are some of the most important concerns for Afghans to this date, yet these are also the areas people are mostly disappointed about. The belief that Afghanistan could one day be united and stable, was the work of several years and could only reach it with years of different events. The role of the Afghan youth standing against the Soviet Red Army was a striking example for Afghans that to what extent young people felt accountable for the peace, sovereignty and stability, and freedom of the people and country. Nevertheless, they have always been actively involved in every event to defend their country whether it was by preservations or through weapons. The Afghan youth consider political stability, security, and attention to developmental and justice policies as the basic conditions for the society to move towards clarification, civilization, and prosperity. Given the persisting predicaments in the present setting, the achievement of a flourishing and civil society is unfortunately no longer expected.

How youth economic deficiency feeds terrorism?

Lack of efficient economic means and poverty are some of the key opportunities for the rebellious groups to employ young people into conflict and violence and illegal activities. The majority of the suicide attackers had been revealed to be the young population during the 2006 uprising, the average age being 23 years old. When such a huge section of the population lack productivity then a country could be at brink of extensive threat of youths' anger, frustration and disappointment. Afghanistan's youth are in a different condition than the other countries because Afghan youths are not only economically disintegrated, but also are geographically and socially under tough conditions, besides youth face an extreme exclusion from decision-making process even on the behalf of youth, the youth themselves are not allowed to be presented. Afghan youth lack means of communication due to geographic remoteness, lack of

organization, closed-off environment. What's more, such deficiencies within a nation can become the major driving force for youth to get into illegal activities. Moreover, the presence of terrorist groups is not only a risk to Afghan stability and peace, but is also a concern to the international security, it is indeed a collective concern, thus it needs a collective solution.

According to Security specialist Neil Fergus, the digital outreach program that was taken into action by ISIS has affected on massive numbers of youth who have been vulnerable. In addition to that, so many foreigners who had been manipulated to joined ISIS in Syria and Afghanistan have been mostly impacted and outreached through the internet access. Based on the reports by Fergus, it is anticipated that over 20,000 foreign fighters from over 100 countries fight in Syria and Iraq. When youth face unemployment and lack of income, stirs up drug trafficking, criminal gangs influence, looting and many more illegal activities. The United Nations reports that based on UNODC data, opium poppy cultivation was massively large in each of the growing seasons between 2004-2007 than in any year amidst Taliban rule. Besides, more fields and lands are used for opium cultivation purposes than for cocoa cultivation in Latin America. As a consequence of bad economic conditions, unemployment and poverty, people are forced to work in such illegal jobs in order to gain some money for their day to day life as they are left with no other option to pursue alternative ways to survive. To make the matters worse, hundreds of young people are forced to leave their schools and education in order to support their family and even worst of them all, some families to survive themselves with other members of family, opt for either sending their young kids into forced labor or sell them to human traffickers. An estimated 183,000 drug-related deaths were reported in 2012.²³ According to a United Nations report, "the global drug trade generated an estimated US \$321.6 billion in 2003. With a world, GDP of US \$36 trillion in the same year, the illegal drug trade may be estimated as nearly 1% of total global trade."²⁴ Thus, poppy cultivation in Afghanistan and its illegal trafficking by the youth are not only a serious problem for the Afghan people, but it is a serious problem for the international community as well.

Youth Unemployment and Educational Policy in Afghanistan

Afghanistan in the past decade since the fall of Taliban has made some tremendous amount of developments in education and also even before more schools were developed around the country, hundreds of girls were enrolled in the schools, despite such marvelous improvements in term of education, there are still the threatening security situations going on in the country

that had prevented around 3.5 million children from going to school and achieving their basic rights. Besides, the unemployment is another issue which could question the educational system.

The implemented National Educational Strategic Plan third in Afghanistan which is aimed to be under same educational policies until 2021. This educational policy is supported both by the Afghan government as well as the allies which stresses over the concepts of educational quality and significance, reasonable access, transparent and competent organization. Education policy has paved the way for great deal of progressive rates of literacy and school enrollment, however the education system is perceived to be poorly operated thus lacks ability to prepare young people to join the labor market of Afghanistan. As it is well-known, youths find education to be one of the most fundamental part of the better future, therefore a growing number of students prefer to study abroad rather than in the country because of issues such as lack of quality education and mostly not enough place in universities. Moreover, according to major survey conclusions, school enrollments and education keep growing in Afghanistan that is about 81% of the survey respondents were in the educational institution and 84% have been responded as literate. And also, there is as huge growing gap as 80% and 78% respectively are literate through going to school between the urban and rural literacy. Furthermore, educational improvements are done in many ways such as the students dropouts of school is going down considerably and that is seen from 57.2% of the responded young students at primary school level to nearly to zero at university level. On the one hand, Afghan youth are quite ambitious and eager to improve their educational and life situations, meaning, 26.2% of the answered youth were willing to become a doctor and over 14.8% wished to become teacher and 14.6% wanted to become engineers, however on the other hand the current situations of the Afghan universities do not seem to be fitting all of these numbers of students and lack space. What's more, the young ambitious people are also irritated over the fact that there are not enough appropriate opportunities for studying in other countries, due to the lack of financial funds to these young students, they find themselves either choosing to study in neighboring countries by the title of refugee or would end up being unemployed in most parts of the country. From the people who were surveyed, it showed that 174 of those young people and majority of those who had studied in abroad were mainly youth male who lived in the urban areas. And some youth who wanted to study abroad through scholarships, that could be given to only few people and overall 87% of the young people who had gone to oversee for education purpose were mainly supported financially through their families.

Furthermore, currently the studies illustrate that among Afghan youth, only one percent of them believe that education will support them to find employment, whilst there are very few and limited employment opportunities in Afghanistan that is leading to instability both economically and socially. And furthermore, 61% of Afghan youth that gained technical educations found themselves stacked to get a job or even were faced limited job opportunities. And in term of governments' support in term of supporting youth around 31% of the youth agreed on the efforts by the government for education.

The economic and employment situation of Afghanistan is already studied that implies the service sector's size and number of workers went down in 2014 and the question of whether a fundamentally renovated economy could tackle the employment expectations of a new and young generation and thus it seems that it could not due to the fact that over 700,000 young people yearly with completed secondary education lead them to vulnerable and unstable employment and more than that, these young people are pushed to work in unpaid daily jobs without security. And because of no available jobs in Afghanistan, young educated people leave the country to abroad for pursuing a stable career and life. Moreover, some of the key challenges in Afghanistan's education remain are in such a framed way that even before bringing the issues of instable security situations, the policies should be brought to focus on the issue of unemployed young people who can neither find job opportunities nor are capable of connecting their education with the requirements of the employers.

Youth and Their Challenges on The Path of Employment

During the interviews' investigation, the relationship between youth and economy was largely apparent and related upon the youths' experiences of employment. The current situation of Afghanistan both economically and politically has considerably impacted the workforce and economy with major employment challenges for youth. The impacts of nepotism and favoritism are extensively perceived in the youth's transition from education and training to employment. Ross and Whitfield 1996 stated that, numerous young people regardless of maintaining credentials have abandoned their education half way in pursuit of employment, whilst at the same time young people practice changes that are associated with changes within the workforce and the transitions are like vocational and training programs to make youth be prepared for employment. What's more the consequences of these transitions could be difficult for youth as they try to direct their paths in unknown atmosphere. And the experiences of each youth are intended to be distinct and crucial while the common practices and procedures become less widespread.

According to Furlong (1997), the evaluation of the modern youth's situation emphasizes on significant rise of experiences and opportunities collapse among youth besides, the youths' progressive course is widely diverse from one another which is an indication of building social divisions in society in complicated manners. One of the key powerful subjects through the interviews was to understand the types of challenges youth encounter across the Afghan workforce. The massive amounts of interviewees had aimed to get the job of their preferences at least based on their level and field of education ranging from university graduates to diploma. The concrete striking questions of the interview are comprised of asking the interviewees varieties of questions that are concerned with youths' job finding experiences as well as the Afghan state's providing or lack of opportunities for employment in Afghanistan. The first question raises the most important focus of the interview that is the youth's personal experiences while actively searching for job from the group of youths who are employed currently when responding to the interview and hold at a minimum level, a bachelor degree or undergraduate diploma.

The young respondents came up with a variety of answers with regard to their education and job seeking experiments. Eight participants had finished their undergraduate degree education when searching for job, whilst another group of five young people had started seeking for job after university graduation, however three other participants had started pursuing further university education/ education extension due to lack of job opportunities and job market for the afresh graduated youth while taking into consideration the job requirements like 'experienced'.

Interviewee: "When I got graduated from university with a bachelor degree in my hand and was searching proudly for a job, however there were lack of work market and job opportunities for the degree I held at the time. Besides, the concern of being asked for job requirement mainly in term of experiences was quite high as I newly graduated, so how could I possibly get experienced? So, I can say there's a division between theoretical and practical sides of the workforces. And also, I, personally faced this problem of being accepted on the basis of my education qualifications, but when it came to practicality and experiences, I was told that I don't have the required practical qualifications".

One young guy being a new graduate who experienced lack of meeting the required experiences by the job employers had to go ahead for longer without a job.

Interviewee: “as a newly graduated person, one of the core challenges that I encountered while searching for job was ‘lack of experience’ with regard to the applied job, as well as the advantage taking nature of the powerful and authoritarians who either through their power or tribal relations and linkups appoint other people in the position that one is accredited. That’s why, I had to continue further education (graduated degree) because it appeared that I wasn’t able to get a job, at meantime I didn’t want to stay without both job and education”.

Interviewee: “I’ve had many experiences with regard to searching for job and the backlashes that I received were a lot. First of all, the complexity of recruitment and job finding processes, one can barely know if there are jobs that need workers; the employers lack sense of announcements or maybe they deliberately want to keep the seats for people who they know, so I had to search a lot. Also, having a strong five years’ previous experience was absolutely obligatory, while there is a huge void and lack of a transparent job selection and employment procedure in the country. Overall, bureaucracy works is at its worst phase and condition in Afghanistan. Despite taking examination to be qualified in a job, I ended up being replaced by someone who had power and relationship, so basically my job application was applied for someone else”.

The first and foremost drive for the majority of the respondents was to obtain the job and progress it according to their knowledge and the employment requirement. However, due to lower employment position regardless of credentials in the labor market and dissatisfied with being unemployed, young Afghans pursued their further education in order to improve their chances of getting employed. In many instances, the respondents were engaged in taking part-time trainings and vocational educations to help their employment. Despite growing educational attainment, much of the literature cites a lack of skills and experience as key barriers to youth work opportunities in various areas of the world. The education systems in various low-income countries offer a curriculum that fails to foster the skills required in the contemporary labor market (e.g. problem solving, communication, cooperation, leadership, critical thinking, creativity, interpersonal, computer literacy, vocational and entrepreneurial skills) (Baah-Boateng, 2014, Roudi, 2011). Nevertheless, it is stated that, these forms of the

employment associate with other indication on the features of the youth labor market such as characteristics of nepotism and giving job opportunities on the basis of relation.

Furthermore, the majority of youth had specified that there was not a proper or official place for jobs to be addressed through the websites of the ministries or related administrations. Lack of job availability awareness seems a striking issue. While the lack of an effective labor market information system is a constraint for job seekers generally, youth are particularly affected by information asymmetry due to their limited labor market experience and weak networking (Baah-Boateng, 2014). Many countries like Afghanistan, for example, do not have efficient employment placement centers to register and facilitate placement of youth in employment. Youth may not be aware of how to navigate the labor market or to find and pursue available jobs in the absence of such support (Betcherman & Khan, 2015; Manpower Group, 2012).

At this point, the interviewer probed the respondents on the reasons for no longer pursuing the preferred job. Several youths responded that there weren't any jobs and resources to connect to jobs around. While other participants replied on the accessibility of the jobs that they could gain. Meanwhile, it was also stressed by numerous respondents that "the available jobs would be filled with people whose interpersonal power was stronger than the application letter".

Interviewee: "When I completed my undergraduate degree I looked for work of my choice which is the same as my degree, but I couldn't find anything around that I could do, then I found an unskilled job that had nothing to do with what I studied or at least learned the knowledge, but it was for the reason of getting salary".

Interviewer: "But that was not what you wanted to do?"

Interviewee: "Yes, that's true, but I had the option to either take another job or stay unemployed, that's why I preferred taking it".

Interviewee: "I decided to study further and take trainings because I simply didn't know what to do next after facing lack of job opportunities and market and I think there aren't many jobs out there".

Furthermore, it is no wonder that the participants had mentioned about nepotism, in other words favoritism in workforces. Nepotism is a common and institutionalized issue since the beginning of the Afghan ethnicized politics.

The interviewer had probed on the motives of challenges related to nepotism and patronage that youth encounter during employment.

Interviewee: "By the time I was applying for job, I was a new graduate and 20 years old. Despite being very well aware of how the Afghan system works and that mostly people like me (from another ethnic group other than the leading) face a lot of nepotism and patronage based on ethnic group and tribes, but yet I still believed that I won't be segregated because of my qualifications "as they needed it much", but I was told that someone else already got the job".

Interviewer: "so do you think someone else was appointed through interpersonal relations"?

Interviewee: "What I actually got aware of was more critical than what I thought, I basically saw that the entry for examination, even the interview was just to fool people and the upper ones by showing there is a process before hiring someone, while they already had hired someone else based on political, party interest or tribal relations".

Another participant also pointed out the lack of appointing people in the workforce on the basis of deserving (worthiness) the job for the area of proficiency and skills, but rather based on the language and ethnic favoritism.

Interviewee: "I believe that corruption is at its peak in all of four organs of the Afghan government and the reason is the relational issues which I think is pretty much controlled from the upper levels. Otherwise, why would someone not get the job that they fairly deserve and excel in that area?".

Interviewee: "I strongly believe that, our government and their policies with regard to employment and education highly lack in supporting meritocracy. This is a huge problem I think not only for me, but many youths face the exact same situation again and again. I would say, the government must take an action, but the government itself has started and shadowed this long ago".

Amundsen (1997) pointed out that, favoritism and nepotism are widely spread phenomena involved mainly in employment and many other social issues. Favoritism is an execution of the misuse of power and a majorly prejudiced of state resourcefulness. In employment nepotism occurs when one is relieved from the lotion of certain laws or rules, regulations or given unjustified preference in the apportioning of deficient seats or positions. Akindele (1995) find that, it is corruption that constitutes unemployment but these concepts according to social scientists has long been ideologically, morally, culturally, politically and intellectually problematic to the point of misplacing visual perception of its damaging and parasitical nature causing harm to people and the society at large. Unemployment and corruption are the mutual behavior where both the power or office holder can respectively lead up the incentive of each other by some rewards to concede i.e., illegal discriminatory intervention or favor against the rationales and involvement of particular establishment or populace within the social club.

Dwivendi (1967) claimed that, corruption and unemployment are correlated includes nepotism, favoritism, bribery, commercial bribery and other partial entail assumed by government employees and the public alike to elicit some socially and lawfully disallowed favors. The prohibited and unfair ends are in every sector especially in the underdeveloped and developing nations. The educated youth in developing nation are more unemployed and are facing the problem severely in the rural areas because of the depravation and breakdown in every sector of the society. Amundsen (1997) who portrayed that, nepotism and favoritism are involved in employment and many other social issues. The political interference is commonly observed in filling the higher posts. It is the abuse of power and bias distribution of the resources in a state for their own interests. Political infrastructure and unbalanced nature of the economy are among the factors responsible for an increase in the rate of unemployment.

Youth and their Employment Crafting Minds

One of the key ideas that emerged while interviewing youth was that, the majority of these youths had various ways and ideas for reduction of unemployment and providing job opportunities, whilst taking into account the significance of private sectors' expansions through government's supports so that the youth won't be in dire need for governmental jobs only, but rather rely on private sectors for the improvement of the employment situation as well as contributing to the economy. Afghanistan's economy has a complex mix of informal, formal,

illicit and aid sustained elements. This is foremost the product of decades long union of prolonged conflict, low state capacity, foreign interference and external aid dependence. The formal Afghan private sector contributes a mere 10–12 per cent to the country's official gross domestic product. In its current state, the Afghan private sector is not the engine of economic growth or instrument of social inclusion it has the potential to be. General dissatisfaction with unequal access to economic resources, flawed public services and goods, the adverse security situation, and predatory government activity undermine an effective and sustainable private sector. There is a possibility of overturning this dynamic. The Afghan private sector could, in addition to leading economic growth, contribute to improving human and traditional security conditions in the country. Immediate action by the Afghan Government is needed to catalyze this process. The Afghan Government will need to create a more facilitating environment for the private sector, particularly for the many disadvantaged smaller players that form the bulk of the economy. In light of weak state capacity as well as the dismal fiscal outlook new partnership modalities with the private sector are recommended. Support from the international community through private sector development (PSD) will still be needed. In this phase of the interview, the participants were asked about the nature of unemployment in Afghanistan. Thus, the great deal of youths agreed on the unemployment's true nature in Afghanistan to be the structural and managerial inabilities: the structure of the governmental sectors is deficient in providing proper job opportunities as well as the lack of investment in 'job creation' is indeed one of the directly affecting issues that youths are unemployed. While the other participants clearly emphasized the existence of correlation between unemployment and youths preferred educational fields.

Interviewee: "I think the government despite receiving plenty of aids and international funds particularly in the name of "Job Creation" had failed to meet their agreements while accepting the contracts for job creation. And also, the government does not consider this ongoing concern that thousands of students who get graduated each year from universities are faced with job quotas and thus either end up doing the most precarious jobs or stay unemployed. I really don't know what they do with the financial aids that they receive for "job creation"?"

Interviewee: "Existence of graduates from similar faculties usually result in narrowness of job competition. Nearly a great deal of youths' graduate from faculties and yet absence of a decent job opportunity makes them work in a completely different area and this is widely seen among women who are faced with cultural pressures for not finding a job and that's why young girls

after four-five years or even longer of university education, find themselves in the part-time teaching assistants. I think, such circumstances can cause disintegration of youth from the society”.

Many argue that, despite the international community’s contributions and investments, one of the most obvious and essential keys to success has been given too little attention is the Afghan private sector. As Peace Dividend Trust (PDT) has witnessed since 2006, the local private sector has the ability to catalyze economic growth and, in particular, stimulate the most needed jobs. By offering services that facilitate an increased number of contracts between Afghan businesses and the international community, PDT has seen the impact of job creation on engendering stability and improving local communities. Jobs are income, for both the individual and the state. According to the United States Small Business Administration (SBA), small firms generated 64 per cent of net new jobs in the United States over the past 15 years. This has contributed to a sizeable portion of the U.S. GDP. Given the opportunity, small businesses can have a similar impact in places such as Afghanistan.

Official unemployment in Afghanistan is estimated at about 8.9% between late 2018 to early 2019. However, underemployment (people working fewer than 35 hours per week but who would like to work full time) is a huge issue and estimated at around 48%. Hence, there is a large pool of workers whom businesses can hire quickly when they win contracts. When a business in Kabul wins a contract from an international buyer, it typically needs to hire employees to meet the increased demand for employment. According to a report, it illustrates the employment patterns for the typical Marketplace business. This research found that since 2006, approximately 26,000 jobs were created or sustained in Kabul as a result of Marketplace contracts. From these numbers, it is estimated that through PDT’s Marketplace, 118,000 jobs have been created or sustained across Afghanistan. It is clear that contracts analyzed for this research provided employment for many Afghans. However, it is not known if the same number of jobs would have been created or sustained had contracts gone to businesses that were not Afghan owned. This is due to a lack of available data on jobs generated as a result of contracts won by non-Afghan-owned entities in the same sectors as Afghan-owned entities.

Job opportunity

Moreover, a focus that shifted in the interviews was that whether there are available jobs and if so, to the extent and types of these jobs are illustrated. As it was already discussed in the

employment section of the empirical part, as whole jobs are insufficient in Afghanistan. the participants in this part were asked about availability of jobs since they started actively seeking for employment regarding their skill and education level? The majority of the respondents' answers were alike, there weren't jobs and neither were they aware of any jobs. The probing question was whether there were any short-term or part-time jobs available for their level of skills and qualifications. Yet, the answers were again no or didn't actively look. What's more, several respondents had optimistic expectations toward obtaining a preferred job after their graduation. Another question was asked whether their educational and skill qualifications matched their current job (the job they gained). And the bulk of these youths had responded no, and in general most of them have worked at the beginning in jobs that were incompatible with their area of expertise.

Interviewee: "currently I am working in a job that I studied and got training for, but this happened after many trials as well as took me really long while I applied for as many jobs that I could which finally matched my skills and area of studies".

Interviewee: "Existence of graduates from similar faculties usually result in narrowness of job competition. Nearly a great deal of youths' graduate from faculties and yet absence of a decent job opportunity makes them work in a completely different area and this is widely seen among women who are faced with cultural pressures for not finding a job and that's why young girls after four-five years or even longer of university education, find themselves in the part-time teaching assistants. I think, such circumstances can cause disintegration of youth from the society".

Many young female participants were expected to remain active in the job search process despite having different abilities and skills for their respective job searches. It suggests that the structure of the employment system assumes youth mainly female, are a standardized group, but a young woman who is 21 years old has a lot differences compared to a female who is 14 years old.

Interviewee: A 25 years' young guy responds, "when I completed my first undergraduate degree, I started looking actively for jobs, however I couldn't find any sort of job that I'd want to work on, then I made decision of staying in a short-term job that was contradictory to my education because I was negatively affected by the fact of staying at home after education".

According to Penman (2004), most of the research evidence suggests that youth tend to experience some form of precarious employment regardless of whether they eventually find a job. This precariousness can lead to further employment disadvantage in the future. In general, if youth spend longer out of the labor force, they can become 'at risk' of losing important employment and on the job work skills and the familiarity with technology necessary in order to undertake their job. Regarding Marks (2006), the source of power of some youth, is the strong aspiration to find work as soon as possible. The sooner a young person finds a job the better the transition they will make to stable employment in the future. The disadvantages associated with employment among youth require a focus at both the policy and program level on securing work as soon as possible. This is so not only as a response to their own well-being but also in terms of concerns with education and training that may have no relevance to their future job prospects. Nevertheless, in spite of numerous hardships for many youth to find job, most of the respondents had replied with a strong will considering reaching their goal which would be a job based both on their personal capacities and skills as well as matched with a decent job.

At this point, the participants are asked about the key and concrete role that both youth and the state can take into consideration for the progression of youth employment. With regard to youth's role, the majority of the participants were strong-minded and determined about youth having the competencies to bring positive changes for employment if the given opportunities are not discriminated. However, in term of state's support in this regard, they were both hopeful and confused at meantime as to whether the changes will take place by the elites if not through youth. On the other hand, many participants responded with complete confidence that "soon the leading of the country will be in young and united Afghans' hands". What's more, some of the respondents highlighted the relation between unemployment and security situation and that the government should prioritize stable economic situation in order to have a peaceful society.

Interviewer: "What urgent actions must be taken by the state to support unemployed youth"?

Interviewee: "I believe, first and foremost step to be taken is, the empty capacities for jobs that are within the government should be filled accordingly through a transparent job appointment. Unfortunately, it should be said that a large number of governmental positions are unoccupied

or run by a person working in different sections and even monopolization of the jobs appointing resulted in most of the posts to be free. And later then the central government should take efforts in investing jobs through international or national ways for youth and all people”.

Interviewee: “The country is in dire need of more and more small and medium-scale business to create job opportunities; therefore, government should support the business companies and people who want to take these efforts through startups and etc. The employment system must be reviewed and reformed based on current situation of the country. The state must focus on establishing new companies with concentration of youth enlargement opportunities”.

Interviewee: “My opinion is that the government must bring about new policies that support a total reform of the public sectors’ systems. Besides, the entry and examination should be electronic-based so that people are appointed on the basis of meritocracy, eligibility and skills and not relational, these are the sources of corruption and once they are cleared, way will be visible for other developing plans”.

Interviewer: “then what do you think of young Afghans’ role in improving employment opportunities in the country”?

Interviewee: “I think the most promising thing that we Afghans can do as the young Afghans, is to leave behind discriminations against one another in term of ethnicity and gender that the political elites had brought among us, but rather and mostly focus on education and professionalism to be able to improve the futures of Afghans”.

Another respondent.

Interviewee: “Youths are energetic and educated, I think it’ll be as hard as it has always been for people of Afghanistan to proceed improving by relying solely on state-made jobs. I think, we should create business platforms and ideas to attract likeminded people besides

Interviewee: “We as youths should take promising steps beside the government in order to prevent the further increase of youth unemployment. Through a campaign, we should reach to each and every youth around Afghanistan in the cities and provinces, so that they get encouraged to stand next to the helping source for decreasing unemployment instead of

choosing other ways of getting income like joining terrorist groups, leaving the country and becoming drug addicts”.

Summary

This chapter presented data regarding youth's situation as well as the political and economic circumstances in Afghanistan and drew data from face to face semi-structured interviews conducted in Kabul, Afghanistan during March to May 2019. The chapter provided a context to understand the dynamics and experiences of youth employment in Afghanistan. In particular, to demonstrate how other dimensions affect the contemporary youth employment. When I set out to undertake this research, I expected youth to have less chance in achieving their particular ambitions and goals. This was a perception from the previous research undertaken on youth employment and I thought that youth would be less optimistic about the future and their job prospects. In a large extent, the interview was prevalent with the research findings regarding ethnic marginalization and youth unemployment and a newly found byproduct of marginalization here has been favoritism or also known as nepotism. While there were significant differences in class and socio-economic background amongst youth, the sense of upward mobility, together with the sense of achieving their own personal goals was a deeply held belief. Youth strongly held the belief that if they worked and tried harder they would eventually achieve anything they wanted. This was a strong view across the cohort of youth interviewed. However, the findings showed a sharp increase in numbers of young population leaving the country in pursuit of job and a better future as well as many other youth have joined the rebellious groups in order to earn money and find a place of belonging.

4. Chapter Four: Conclusion

4.1. Conclusion and Results

The never-ending conflict in Afghanistan has costed Afghans the price as high as the decades of developments in a given country. Afghanistan's societal issues like marginalization is not a small-scale issue, but rather a very deep and institutionalized one that has taken throughout the population for decades now (Thomas Barfield). Although since 2002, there have been widespread improvements in the country in the areas of education and workforce, yet the current government is failing to increase its control or enter into negotiation with Taliban. Many of the Taliban are based across border in Pakistan where the US and British are unable to attack and or occupy, the opium trade has increased massively since 2001 and the forces

are unable to prevent it, other kinds of corruption continue to be widespread in all sectors of the government and society while more than half of the country's control is not with the government, but the Taliban or alleged ISIS group (Peace direct, 2015. Afghanistan conflict profile).

As of now, employment and workforce in Afghanistan have been transformed sharply since the beginning of a new state in 2002, yet there are very little done when it comes to the structural transformation. During the time period between 2008 till 2016, in Afghan economy, despite many areas of the country to be restored in a well-manner, however the very long-term issues like ethnic marginalization is not even considered to be addressed as it is becoming a prominent factor for unemployment and exclusion in the society.

One of the major concerns for Afghanistan in recent years has been the sharp rise in unemployment. Unemployment in Afghanistan increased from 9.68 per cent in 2007-08 to 18.02 per cent in 2013-14 (NRVA, 2013). It was also observed that this increase in unemployment was accompanied by a corresponding surge in the number of issues such as youths' exclusion and ethnic discrimination, social instability, violence and thus economic downturn in Afghanistan. This problem of lack of productive employment is further increased by the fact that Afghanistan has one of the youngest populations in the world. It is estimated that nearly 400,000 people enter the Afghan labor force each year (which is nearly 5 per cent of the 2013-14 labor force) (ILO, 2014). This has resulted in high levels of youth unemployment. In the absence of remunerative employment opportunities, the pressure on the Afghan economy is bound to increase further.

The country is in a dire need for a systematic change to take into account the huge number of youth who are unemployed and the critical matter of marginalization and inadequate education that generate vulnerability among these youths, thus are vulnerable to radical ideologies as well as agendas. When the number of causality among people increases as a result of conflict in this matter, the economic crisis suggests that the degree and connection between poverty and insurgency among people. The marginalized system of the Afghan politics makes it hard for the youth to transform their potentials into more dynamic and independent, thus the definition of marginalization in the context of Afghanistan on the basis of ethnicity as well as nepotism are some of the most critical reasons as why the Afghan youth are unemployed to such a large extent as it was argued by political economist Rowntree and Rowntree (1968), that youth has been comprised of a specific socially, economically, and politically excluded system. In the

later studies when it was clearer that youth as a class covered the various experiences of youth due to vertically classifying social categories, the contexts of gender and race were included. Also, in a research it was found that another byproduct of youth unemployment and marginalization is that, 'youth bulge and political violence' (Urdal, 2006), the higher the youth bulge levels, the higher the chances of conflict eruptions are. Choucri 1974 states that, one of the core reasons of the social instability and feasible violence in any nation is the large-scale unemployment within the well-educated youths. Freeman and Blanchflower 1999, stated that, as a result of lack of job opportunities for young people and the possibility of a lost and unstable future, youth have chosen various illegal and wrong paths in order to earn money for their day to day life such as drugging, political violence, looting, sexual trafficking so on and so forth. The first threat that any society has the high likelihood of facing is the risk of their young people into their insecurity as well as their social turbulence. It is stated that youth are at the center of political violence and the emergence of youth bulge in the countries has been associated with political crisis periods (Goldstone, 1991).

Based on findings and interview combined, there's a direct relationship between youth exclusion and unemployment with declining security of the country. The results of interviews showed that, the relationship between youth and economy was largely apparent and related upon the youths' experiences of employment. The war situation of Afghanistan both economically and politically has considerably impacted the workforce and economy with major employment challenges for youth. The impacts of ethnic marginalization in the context of Afghan society as a result nepotism and favoritism are extensively perceived in the youth's transition from education and training to employment in the interviews. Also, the reason for the lack of proper data and statistics is another stressing issue which doesn't allow further understanding of the youth labor market in Afghanistan. Lack of job availability awareness is another striking issue. While the lack of an effective labor market information system is a constraint for job seekers generally, Afghan youth are particularly affected by information irregularity due to their limited labor market experience and weak networking. The interview finding revealed one of the main themes of the thesis which was the relationship between ethnic marginalization among Afghans that has costed in unemployment despite many other factors.

4.2. Appendixes

Appendix A. A List of In-depth Interview Questions Asked

1. What are some of the challenges that you've personally come across while searching for job?
2. What do you think of the key challenges to youth employment in a politically and economically marginalized society as Afghanistan?
3. How youth unemployment is in term of nature/type in the Afghan society?
4. What urgent actions must be taken by the state to support unemployed youth?
5. What role can youth play to improve youth employment?

Appendix A.B Demographic Questionnaire for Participants

Sections A: Interview Details (Interviewer complete)

Date	March-May
Interviewee Identifier	20 Interviewees
Location of Interview	Offices and University located in Kabul

Section B: Basic Demographics (Interviewee Complete)

Age	14-21 <u>19-26</u> 26-35
Gender	Male: 15 Female: 5
Ethnicity	Tajik, Hazara, Pashtun

Nationality	Afghan
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Section C: Detailed Questions (Interviewee complete)

What is your position or occupation?	Students and employees.
What training/qualifications do you have that are of relevance to your current position or occupation?	Under-graduated, graduate and doctoral students. However, 17 of the interviewees mentioned of working in non-relevant jobs.
How long have you worked in this position or occupation?	Mostly, as minimum as 4 years and maximum 10 years.
Can you describe what you do in your position or occupation?	Not answered.

Appendix A.C In-depth Interview Answers

Interviewee: "When I got graduated from university with a bachelor degree in my hand and was searching proudly for a job, however there were lack of work market and job opportunities for the degree I held at the time. Besides, the concern of being asked for job requirement mainly in term of experiences was quite high as I newly graduated, so how could I possibly get experienced? So, I can say there's a division between theoretical and practical sides of the workforces. And also, I, personally faced this problem of being accepted on the basis of my education qualifications, but when it came to practicality and experiences, I was told that I don't have the required practical qualifications".

Interviewee: "as a newly graduated person, one of the core challenges that I encountered while searching for job was 'lack of experience' with regard to the applied job, as well as the advantage taking nature of the powerful and authoritarians who either through their power or tribal relations and linkups appoint other people in the position that one is accredited. That's why, I had to continue further education (graduated degree) because it appeared that I wasn't able to get a job, at meantime I didn't want to stay without both job and education".

Interviewee: "I've had many experiences with regard to searching for job and the backlashes that I received were a lot. First of all, the complexity of recruitment and job finding processes, one can barely know if there are jobs that need workers; the employers lack sense of announcements or maybe they deliberately want to keep the seats for people who they know, so I had to search a lot. Also, having a strong five years' previous experience was absolutely obligatory, while there is a huge void and lack of a transparent job selection and employment procedure in the country. Overall, bureaucracy works is at its worst phase and condition in Afghanistan. Despite taking examination to be qualified in a job, I ended up being replaced by someone who had power and relationship, so basically my job application was applied for someone else".

Interviewee: "When I completed my undergraduate degree I looked for work of my choice which is the same as my degree, but I couldn't find anything around that I could do, then I found an unskilled job that had nothing to do with what I studied or at least learned the knowledge, but it was for the reason of getting salary".

Interviewer: "But that was not what you wanted to do?"

Interviewee: "Yes, that's true, but I had the option to either take another job or stay unemployed, that's why I preferred taking it".

Interviewee: "I decided to study further and take trainings because I simply didn't know what to do next after facing lack of job opportunities and market and I think there aren't many jobs out there".

Interviewee: "I think the government despite receiving plenty of aids and international funds particularly in the name of "Job Creation" had failed to meet their agreements while accepting the contracts for job creation. And also, the government does not consider this ongoing concern that thousands of students who get graduated each year from universities are faced with job quotas and thus either end up doing the most precarious jobs or stay unemployed. I really don't know what they do with the financial aids that they receive for "job creation"?

Interviewee: "Existence of graduates from similar faculties usually result in narrowness of job competition. Nearly a great deal of youths' graduate from faculties and yet absence of a decent job opportunity makes them work in a completely different area and this is widely seen among women who are faced with cultural pressures for not finding a job and that's why young girls after four-five years or even longer of university education, find themselves in the part-time teaching assistants. I think, such circumstances can cause disintegration of youth from the society".

Interviewee: A 25 years' young guy responds, "when I completed my first undergraduate degree, I started looking actively for jobs, however I couldn't find any sort of job that I'd want to work on, then I made decision of staying in a short-term job that was contradictory to my education because I was negatively affected by the fact of staying at home after education".

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Another respondent.

Interviewee: “Youths are energetic and educated, I think it’ll be as hard as it has always been for people of Afghanistan to proceed improving by relying solely on state-made jobs. I think, we should create business platforms and ideas to attract likeminded people besides

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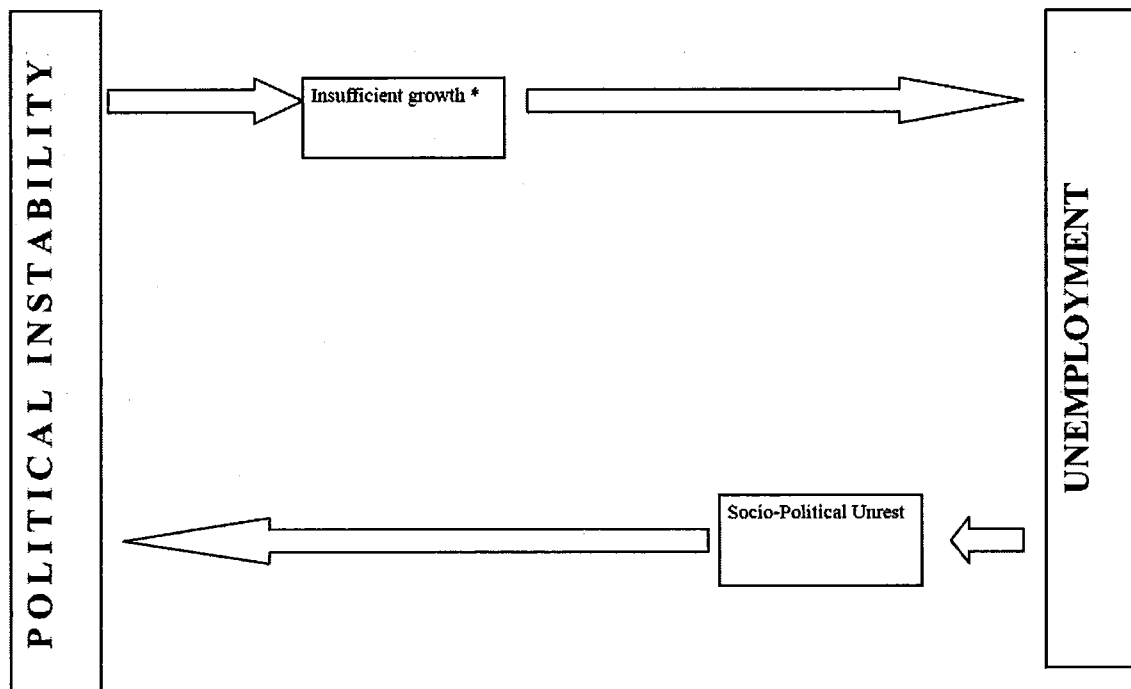
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POLITICAL INSTABILITY AND EMPLOYMENT-UNEMPLOYMENT



Source: Selim ŞANLISOY, Politik İstikrarsızlık-Ekonomik Süreç Politikaları Etkileşimi, Sosyo Ekonomi.

Socio-economic and Political Effects of Youth Unemployment

As it is well-perceived, youth are usually the first group of people within a society that get the most affected by unemployment and social unease when a country or society's stability starts to collapse. Having said that, since the very beginning of the employment history, youth have been the most delicate when it comes to finding and earning a well-paying job and that could trigger a long-term damaging effect if they are not given the employment opportunity after a social and economic instability. In cases like the 2008 economic and financial crisis, the young people had the massive outrageous implications of this crisis which led them into a state of neither being able to keep or easily find a job on the basis of lacking enough work experience, what's more surprising is that in a large scale worldwide, the aftermath and scarring effects of youth unemployment are never highlighted neither given enough attention and resolution. Considering youth's inability to gain a job for the purposes of lack of experience and or so many other made-up reasons, has entailed the long-life negative impact both career-wise as well as future job and earning opportunities (Matsumoto et al.2012).

Significantly, youth unemployment produces both negative economic and psychological complications for youth and society as a whole, besides, the GDP gap that is caused in the economy mostly affect the overall economic and social conditions (Karlsen, 1997). More specifically, youth unemployment brings about social, economic and political consequences that is too pricy for the well-being of the country, families and people who forgo their productions and income, the level of poor economic condition rises, the country is at risk of poverty and social segregation. Chiefly, youth unemployment and underemployment paves the way for considerable drop in people's income and thus further growing the risk of poverty and also making youth marginalized and segregated inside the society that causes loss of individuality and self-confidence, such psychological aftermaths could lead to only negative ways even when young people get into working phase and workforce, the outcomes of those long-term conditions could be seen in their working pattern as well as their result-oriented works that are way decreased than other youth who haven't or relatively faced little work/job exclusion and sufferings (Morris, 2006).

It must be noted that youth's inability to finding employment and facing youth unemployment challenges cannot be compared to the economic consequences of youth unemployment, as the economic factors could be repaid and rebuilt through either financial means or insurance, however what's more striking is the fact that youth unemployment and its implications could have a far longer impact on the entire society that's loss of trust on the system or the government, hopelessness and eventually following wrong and detrimental ways, poor economic condition and seeking for joining any other way that substitutes the employment so that they earn money for living and undoubtedly they are at stake of poverty (Ataman, 2000). Nonetheless, the notion of youth unemployment's' social implications are far greater than the economic aspect, having said that youth go through a never-ending state of fear and hopelessness for future opportunities as well as regarded as underprivileged for a better job can and had led young people to behavioral illnesses (Riele, 2004).

Predominantly, it is stressed in some youth and unemployment studies that one of the critical aspect of social exclusion that is somehow caused by unemployment and it should be emphasized that in some studies unemployment is seemed to be the driving force behind racism and other hatred triggering behaviors within a society. According to Morris, it is claimed that from both criminology as well as sociology assessments, the pressure that youth are indulged with could have them taken their hands into illegal actions due to the enduring tensions besides, the countries with highest unemployment rates encounter a great deal of animosity and isolationism additionally, unemployment ends up the youth of a country feel themselves as the

victims of unemployment and thus blaming any other person who acquires a job for being the reason behind he/she not having one and also show violence aggression against people (Austin, 2009; Muigai, 2012). On one hand, regarding Kapuscinski 1998, there is a high probability and link between unsolved long-term unemployment and illegal acts including drug and alcohol by youth that is to say, youth unemployment raises the chances of stability threatening to the entire society and turn them into more susceptible to illegal things for being unstable and so easily manipulative by the armed groups beside facing health issues for drug and alcohol overuse.

Freeman and Blanchflower 1999, stated that, as a result of lack of job opportunities for young people and the possibility of a lost and unstable future, youth have chosen various illegal and wrong paths in order to earn money for their day to day life such as drugging, political violence, looting, sexual trafficking so on and so forth. The first threat that any society has the high likelihood of facing is the risk of their young people into their insecurity as well as their social turbulence. Unemployed young people could indeed stand as a huge trouble and barrier for the overall prosperity of a society, having said that, numerous youths start blending themselves into the illegal and criminal world since the very start when they are faced with rejections of employment and have no other way to earn, thus they become both the criminals as well as the victims of illegal actions besides, when youth unemployment is combined with easily available weapons, anyone can see a not so easy and peaceful future in the society.

Moreover, youth unemployment has a huge cost not only to the young people's health, but also youth unemployment has been proven to have social cost like committing unlawful activities that have the highest possibility of bringing down the security and safety of people as a whole and this insecurity indeed leads to low economic and trade functions that is to say due to bad security situations, neither do the investors want to go to an unsafe place and do foreign investing nor, do the people themselves will take initiatives in term of improving the economic conditions (Fleshman, 2001 Okafor, 2011). However, young people being as the most active and dynamic members of the society, and when most of these young people who should be the backbone of a nation become unemployed without being able to bring a change in the system, it surely does have some huge damaging implications on the entire nation. Nonetheless, as young people are the most crucial part of the economy and the market; there is no doubt for why the economy collapses and loses their biggest asset of change and improvement that are the youth, and so the economy and society lose their youth and along with their intelligence, young and growth-oriented mindsets and capabilities that could enhance the economic and

political aspects better than any other group of people within a society (Asobie, 2004, Abudah, 2004).

Youth Unemployment and Violence

It is stated that youth are at the center of political violence and the emergence of youth bulge in the countries has been associated with political crisis periods (Goldstone, 1991). The problem of youth bulge and the question whether countries with massive young generation are more likely to get into political violence is paid a lot of attention into in the past decades. As quite recently, youth bulges have become a widespread account for current political instability for instance, in a background article survey, Fareed Zakaria as the key reason of the 9/11 claims that, youth bulges along with slow economic as well as social change have paved the way for an Islamic renaissance in the Arab world (Zakaria, 2001). How youth bulges and political violence are linked to one another?

The youth bulges literatures have mainly focused on the two dominant and opposing factors of youth bulges to turn into internal armed conflict and political violence that are: motive and opportunity. Both of these perspectives explain in a macro-level the individual based decisions that have something to do with participating in the terrorist groups. The opportunity standpoint defines the structural conditions for youth that bring about opportunities to wage a war against government (Collier, 2000; Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). These are comprised of the opportunities that help the rebels financially and low staffing costs for rebels as a result in order to reduce this cost, they produce massive groups of rebel labors with low opportunity cost and thus raising the armed conflict threat. From the perspective of motive, goes back to the roots of deprivation theory that views the political and violence eruption as a logical reason for rectifying the current economic or political protest (Gurr, 1970). Moreover, the motives for waging political violence can be economic poverty, recession, inequality, lack of democracy, lack of self-governance and absence of minority representation.

In addition, as it is expected the increasingly huge number of youth will mean the employment cost will reduce because the cost is generally low for younger members. This assumption indicates when young people are left with no alternative option rather unemployment and poor economic conditions, they are more likely to join terrorist groups as a way of earning money. Besides, on the basis of youth cohort size hypothesis on unemployment, it is also focused on motive-based literature on political violence, meaning if the labor market is incapable of attracting an excessive of young job seekers resulting in massive numbers of youths to be

irritated even though the employment of large groups of youths can be quite hard, thus the socio-economic issues that are related to the “youth bulges” debatably can be a fruitful reason for employment of terrorist organizations.

What’s more, a proper functioning economic activity is very crucial for a society as a whole and is a significant factor influential to the income by participating the rebellions and hence, a chance for upheavals. For a huge group of youths to enter in the rebel groups, the economic condition is very important. To the extent, that income opportunities are linked to the overall economic functionality, youths are generally at risk of facing decreased income, making them more vulnerable to joining rebel groups at the times of bad economic situations. Bad economic situations when coincides with youth unemployment, it can result in a serious disparity among youth making them more prone to choosing violence (Choucri, 1974, p. 73).

2.5. Ethnic Conflict and Marginalization

Another salient issue within countries with youth unemployment is the lack of democratization. There are contradictory claims when it comes to democracy literature of opportunity and motive based violence among youth, when evaluating the functioning of democracy, opportunity and motive oriented actions of youth to get into violence are opposing which means, the opportunity literature states that the least the states are oppressive, the more the chances of political violence to rise. While from the motive perspective, the larger the political oppression and lack of political rights, the more increasing motives for raising political violence (Goldstone, 2001). On the contrary, the presence of increasing numbers of youth bulges in the world is another concern. In a cross-national time-series between 1950-2000 research, it was found that, the presence of increasing numbers of youth intensify the threat of conflict outburst (Urdal, 2006).

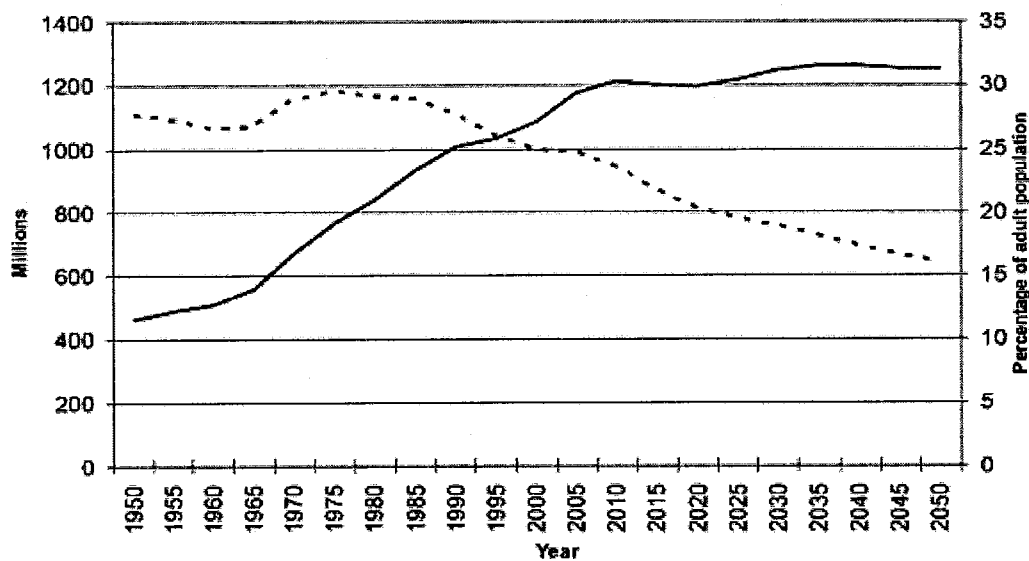
According to Huntington 1996, the claim that youth bulges are mainly unstable after passing a specific brink, does not seem to be acceptable and also the time trend looks direct. Also, as a matter of fact, the countries with the highest reliance rates on the youth might be in risk of conflicts, but the countries with a better ongoing demographic transition will have a “peace dividend”. While the studies overall show the matter of youth bulges accord with long-term per capita economic deterioration, high urbanization, higher education expansions and high dependency, the outcomes also show the youth bulges and the consequences appear to take place both in the most democratic countries as well as the most oppressive countries. Therefore, as the result indicates, the youth bulges deliver great deal of purposes or excluded from political

participation in the oppressive countries and might also get greater opportunities or less suppression in democratized countries (Urdal, 2006).

Additionally, beside other factors such as democracy, conflict background, development level, it is said that when male secondary education is low, the eruption of conflict is more likely to happen. Regarding, a cross-national study of (1970-2000) that was done by the education dataset Barakat and Urdal, 2009 that covers educational accomplishment for 120 countries- the fear of conflict is likely when young people are lacking education and belong to middle to low-income countries and thus support the armed groups. From a conflicting standpoint, though there is a direct relationship between conflict risk and development indicators, based on quantitative studies, the poor countries have influence on reduction of conflict through increasing opportunities for younger generations (Sambanis, 2002).

According to study (1950-2050) accomplished by the United Nations, by the year 2050 the age structure of the young population in comparison to 1950. Like in 1950-90 the ages of young adults were between 15-24-year-old that comprised 25% of the adult population in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the Caribbean. However, the United Nations (2011) reports and approximates that only in a part of Africa alone the youth populace will grow as much as 25% and while in the rest of the world it will be almost or below 15%. Meaning the decrease in growing younger population which became a trend all over the world is a hope for the long-gone peace to be back.

Figure 1. World youth population, 1950-2050 (Population aged 15-24)



Source: United Nations (2011).

The literature for the economic demography advocates, the connection between large youth cohorts and political violence might silent if the youth bulges turn into small groups. Having said that, in the past discussions and studies, the economists have pointed out the negative implications of population growth in general on the economic performance of a country and meanwhile, the study has improved by looking at the growth rates of various age sectors, showing the high growth rates in dependent age groups that is linked with lower economic development as well (Bloom and others, 2007; Pool, 2007; Bloom and Canning, 2008). Moreover, regarding a cross-national study of 175 states considering the period of (1950-2007) by using, restructured conflict and demographic data, it took into account the implications of youth bulges with regard to differing stages of demographic changes, along with differentiating between two groups of countries with highest and lowest rates of growth in children between ages of (0-14) (Urdal and Malmberg, 2008). As result, in those countries with higher child growth rate, the youth bulges are intensely linked with the beginning of armed conflict. While in those countries with lower growth of child rates, is negatively affecting the number of children as well as the youth bulges are associated with armed conflict though not statistically important.

Perceived link between youth unemployment and violence

Considering the term unemployment and that mainly youth unemployment is quite a lot visible in the literatures as a feature that fosters violence. According to Collier, the only most important variable to determine whether a country goes back to war or not within the few years of resolution is by the economic development rate and also viewed this as the likely route through

which economic progress can be affected (Collier, 2000). While examining the reasons for youth unemployment to be a leading factor of violence, a striking and central part in the literature is that it passes the transition to adulthood which is the main structural segregation and scarcity of opportunities that young people encounter can essentially chunk or delay their shift to adulthood and this indeed generates annoyance, disappointment and their participation in violence (McLean Hilker, 2009). Although, it is usually found as an opportunity to the demographic dividend meaning great deal of working-age people and few dependents while in nonappearance of employment chances and education, a well-known situation which is the youth bulges who bring about a great deal of threat to peace and stability of the developing countries.

Additionally, it is very crucial to share the right report on youth unemployment in order to avoid further social disorder and problems for instance, on the basis of a 2005 report by the UN office for West Africa that declared "the current situation of youth unemployment in West Africa is like a ticking time bomb for the region and elsewhere" (Stewart, 2015). There are several studies and literature such as Sommers, McLean and Hilker that support the existence of link between youth unemployment and violence. According to them, numerous young people from urban areas in Liberia in 2004 (the unemployment rate of youth is over 88%), were also those youths who became irritated, unemployed and were former fighters that stood for rebellions. Another example in McLean, 2009 suggests, the regional revolt that took place in Senegal was a consequence of youth unemployment and alienation that was made by the Senegal state. Furthermore, on a report by the US Agency for International Development (USAID, 2005), about youth and conflict showed unemployment of youth as a key threatening aspect, stating that, young people take part in violent organization due to its instant payment that it provides which benefits them economically, and violence itself causes opportunities to gain money either by stealing or direct payment, or because conflict guarantees a long-term economic options such as patronage in countries that their ethnic or ideological groups get on power.

Cantor and Laub, 1985, assessed the link between unemployment and crime under these two suggested factors: first off, changing the criminal motivation; by the time economic performance goes down or worsens, the criminal incentive goes up by taking criminal actions. And secondly, changing opportunities for crime; in times of high unemployment, the overall expenditure level declines hence reducing the accessibility of illegal targets like looting and etc. Other studies that concentrate on youth participation in political conflict states unemployment in itself is not the highly crucial feature with regard to this issue that is, a youth

survey (Mercy Corps) conducted in Somalia found no evidence or support to stress the link between job situation and having tendency to take part in political violence. Besides, in Afghanistan it found that rising employment opportunities and income were not tendencies to important changes in youth's support for armed groups and in addition to that, young people's provocative option as a result of economic situations in order to participate in conflict groups was rare. Even though many studies emphasize over the notion of youths' regular causes of frustration and exclusion is due to employment status, but this alone does not seem to be supporting the claim whether a person is tending to join a revolt group. Violence makes people poor, however poverty doesn't seem to make people violent (Mercy Corps, 2015).

The further elements that back youths' inclination to violence according to Mercy Corps reports of 2013 are corruption, discrimination, degradation, inequality and encountering violence per se as the most prominent dynamic. Researches from Southeast Asia and El Salvador suggest that "one beyond significant constant forecaster of political violence is inequality". The most disregarded explain "being regularly cheated by rude employers or harassed by police with no money for plea". Emphasizing on weak governance, Mercy Corps examination of Afro-barometer surveys in sub-Saharan Africa approved of, weak governance as the key driving force of conflict. Another twelve country discussion with young people by the UK Department for International Development (DFID, 2013) also discovered in Africa and Columbia, governance as the most crucial factor for all participants as a whole. Moreover, these all reports could be traced back to the Arab Spring 2011 and also verify in which youth unemployment was perceived as a chief influential dynamic.

Youth Education and The New Social Reproduction

The economic transmission that involves all generations, now works in a different way, with the young people working in it as a concealed 'filter' of social reproduction which is aimed to safeguard the increasing need for the high-paying jobs with higher credentials. As of now increasingly since past few decades, in order for a youth to gain a higher earning job, he/she must make sure of acquiring higher credentials which is applied in most of the western countries and is stated as to 'college premium' in the USA (Journal of Youth Studies 533). Report by Sum and McLaughlin (2011) indicate that, the concept of 'college premium' does exist and it is specially seen among post-graduates as well as professional degrees rather than undergraduate degrees. Since 1979 to 2009 the yearly income of the 20-29-year-old males (not attended in educational institutions) has decreased average 15%, while those people with a

master degree or higher education experienced has risen income by 31%, however the bachelor degree student have seen a 5% rise.

The Journal Youth Studies claims, the benefit of obtaining a university diploma over high school and this income distinction is usually refereed as to 'added value' of higher education with a proven report of correlation between years of education gained and earnings. The similar facts were reported by the Western 1999, with regard to undergraduate degree value stating it as a 'rise' in the college premium that has been nearly altered wholly due to the fall in the high school graduates and dropouts' earnings. Additionally, there is proof of 'sheepskin effect' as the economists call it, which carries the higher educational credentials, meaning, people who had not gained the credential, however have one to three years of four-year degree faced a 20% cut in their annual income. Nevertheless, those with only college degree had faced less than those with only high school education who faced a 29% decrease in their earning, not to mention this evidence points out the 'sheepskin' or the credentials through higher education to gain power that is important and not the higher education learning.

Therefore, the idea of the 'college premium' that is used to trade higher education mainly by governments seems to be more complicated than just implying it. The beneficial reason for acquiring a BA in several countries is related to the disadvantage of lower methods of education that has spread since 1980s. Furthermore, currently in order to get vital advantage from a higher education, achieving post-graduate credentials is a must which can be given to students who belong to more wealthy backgrounds and thus the rich ones get the most advantage and earning from those degrees (Torche 2011). Although, based on the evidence in hand, the higher education is not 'great equalizer' so to say, a significant equal according to the governments, whilst the general public still are of the opinion that long-term education and lengthy youth have efficiently covered up the latest different generational benefit.

The economic performance has been greatly shifted since the period of industrialization while the changes that have taken place in the past 2 decades that is going on, first of all, youth are the most devastated by the various changes for example, the concept of college premium is not even understood in some countries like it does in the west, but it still does appear in the contexts of divers ethnicity and culture in some countries. Furthermore, the college premium or simply put acquiring high credentials for the purpose of gaining a high paying job cannot be viable in all countries with different contexts therefore a better and deeper research is needed to be done in this manner, because in many countries like Afghanistan, currently there are yearly almost

hundreds of thousands of undergraduate as well as graduate students whom after graduation struggle hardly to even find a place of their choice and even when they often do find, they are never treated or given the right of their job based on their earned credentials, but instead the older cohorts win the positions without even having half of these youths' qualifications who newly enter in the workforce. As a result, one can point out the gap in this study for applying such a huge study in some countries while lacking to pinpoint other cases that simply proves college premium inexistent.

As it is perceived, the young people's vulnerability to enter into the workforce has been intensified and this has a lot to do with not only the inequalities in sense of education and class divisions, but also in term of gender and ethnicity. And this can be seen in the studies done on the countries like Afghanistan. Apart from the fact that for youth in order to gain a well-paying job, they have to extend their education, while it has not been pointed out that in countries with divers ethnicities, the weaker ethnic groups are not even considered to be gaining higher paying job regardless of holding high credentials just like any other from the major ethnic groups. And the concept of college premium like it sounds and works in majority of the countries, function partially on the powerful class mostly. Gender isolated workforce and education, social exclusion and ethnicity role are some of the aspects of education and social reproduction, however little attention is given to these massive components of youth and their vulnerability with regard to employment.

Moreover, the extended periods of youth's time on formal education which is widely considered as that of causing youth with less productivity and becoming the responsible people, however the studies have not stated the degree of youths' extended education as it can be different under different cultures and societies. In addition to that, there's a serious need for the studies to distinguish between the First World and the Third World young people in term of relating their one another's educational period, cultural and societal differences because something that might be crucial in the First World might not be that significant for the Third World however, they still do get influenced. On the contrary to the above discussed matters, Collier (2006) states that those countries with little education are most likely to get into conflict that is, if a country's ten percent roughly about 55% instead of 45% young population is in the school, the studies show that the country's risk of getting into a conflict is reduced by 14 to 10 percent. What's more surprising is the gap between the facts that youth's education can prevent any form of violence, whilst on the other hand the same notion of education is politicized in an economic manner for more competition within the system and not taking into consideration that the very

system's denials of youth for employment can and may actually produce irritated youth to join any radical group.

Moreover, countries with highest numbers of youth, mainly male youth along with secondary education have the highest likelihood to encounter war (Urdal, 2008). The relationship between conflict and inadequate level of education is further put front by contemporary studies that have found out that, youth with lower educational achievements are mostly enthusiastic to join conflict groups, however in other cases the studies show that, educated youth also make conflict groups, lead and act in a dynamic way and it is said that often the most radical groups associate with a small, but comparatively wise and educated leadership that maybe triggered as a result of political or ideological factors with a huge number of young people who have higher education and that joining the radical groups could provide them with economic opportunities and social status. What's more, studies also suggest that it is necessary to understand another view of education that have the likelihood of pursuing civil war thus according to Thyne (2006) the evidences with regard to protest and stability debates show that, when the government finances in the educational system for the people, it is perceived as the government is in good maintenance about people and is trying to develop their lives, therefore they decrease the amount of protests, however decreasing the opportunities that people should have without any issue could trigger further feelings of oppression among youth.

Despite the factual findings that education actually produces social, economic and political stability, however the importance of education and producing employment opportunity is not discussed because, no matter how high educational system gets, if youth are faced with high and long-term unemployment after finishing their education, there will be a vague gap between these two significant topics. Fair and equal education is said to be decreasing the prospect of civil war, it should be noted that equally distributed education matters. Whilst, mostly young people face the challenges of equal education due to their class, ethnic and family background as well as life opportunities. In some contexts, different people within a society have faced lack of equal educational opportunities and as education is given a high value by people, thus when it is given unequally it can become a source of problem in a society that can pave the way for radicalism, violence and conflict. When education system is discriminated and isolated based on some specific people of the society, quality of education in this matter could differ from those of a normal education, in other words, the issue of unequal distribution of education is applied not only on the primary education, but also in secondary and tertiary education. For instance, a report by UNDP (2006) shows that, admission to university can poison the relations

and even drive to conflict such as the incident of rise of militant movements in North of Sri Lanka in 1970s that took place due to segregation against young Tamil people in university. It is worth mentioning, despite the fact that education is one of the most important aspect for people, however the significance of the nature of education and training should not be neglected, meaning the type of education and training as well as expansion of education to different stages that are provided should be aligned with the employment opportunities and qualifications so that young people are not segregated from workforce based on their type of education or expected for further qualities of fulfilling job requirements while youth are newly graduated.

Kraetsch (2008) advocated that, conflict is in a direct correlation to the frustration of unemployed graduates who are not able to find jobs that are aligned with their level of education and training or types of education and training that do not organize their abilities to finding jobs that are available. What's more as it is mentioned above, the quality of education is as significant as the education itself is, school curriculum is said to be a very strong mean in mobilization and instruction of youth like in Afghanistan. Education is capable of changing the outlook and values, decrease protests among people and could motivate stability in the society. On the other hand, it also has the potential to worsen inequalities within a society, increase expectations that cannot be fulfilled thus, resulting in increased levels of tension in society. Alan Richards (2003) discussed on this issue that is prevailing in the middle east, concerns about the educational system which is showed to stress on the notion of memorization rather than improving their analytical thinking which has resulted in people's high expectations without having the skills to meet the job requirements and not to mention this educational system is extensive in most of developing countries and also many parts of the developed countries.

3. Chapter Three: Youth unemployment in Afghanistan

3.1. Afghan Labor Market and Macroeconomic Analysis

The economic context: As the security situation is declining, the economic recovery is slow beside the private investment and consumer demand. Agricultural growth has not been positive either due to bad weather conditions in the past years. The fiscal place is still strong which is achieved through revenue performance despite the government's dependence on foreign aids. Poverty is on the rise due to slow growth. Afghanistan faces many political hardships at this point for fighting the terrorism. Civilian casualties are at its peak since 2002 with an exceptional level of conflict-driven displaced people.

The output growth in Afghanistan has slowed to an estimated 1.0% in 2018 from 2.7% in the previous year. This deterioration was as a result of a strong drought that impacted wheat production and livestock field along with political uncertainty and election-related violence which reduced the business opportunities. Despite such underperformances, the inflation stayed moderate on average in 2018 around 0.6% because lower regional food costs and exchange rate appreciation with key trading partners. The severe drought of about 82% impacted on large number of displacement that makes around 298,000 individuals in the country as well as lower income for rural households. The economic growth rate is dependent on the population growth that's why the per capita incomes are on decline. The trade deficit has expanded to 35.9% of GDP in 2018 due to weaker exports and a moderate level of rise in imports. Moreover, the trade deficit was compensated through aid flows. The fiscal management remained strong to about 0.7% of GDP, despite slow growth the domestic revenues were as high as Afs 189.7 billion. This strong revenue was the result of an improved tax administration with about Afs 10.5 billion collection of debts and a rise in non-tax revenues. Budget execution upsurge from 83% to 92% in 2018 with this improvement budget execution rate reached to 93%.

Few Afghans have access to productive employment and a quarter of the labor force is unemployed while 80% of the employed are insecure and vulnerable including self-employed, day-labor or unpaid work. Almost three-quarter of the population are below 30 and about 25% are between the ages of 15-30. This large youth population enters the labor market with little and controlled employment opportunity. Nevertheless, job creation has been failing to keep up with population growth; an obvious consequence of the poor security situation and limited development resources.

As part of its World Trade Organization (WTO) accession process, the Government of Afghanistan is modifying existing legislation and drafting new laws and regulations to bring its trade policy framework into accordance with WTO standards. At present, Afghanistan's legal and regulatory frameworks and enforcement mechanisms remain nascent. Much of the framework necessary for encouraging and protecting private investment is not in place, and the existence of three overlapping systems Sharia (Islamic Law), Shura (traditional law and practice), and the formal legal system instituted under the 2004 Constitution can be confusing to both investors and legal professionals. Moreover, corruption affects the consistency of the application of the laws.

The international community remains committed to Afghanistan's development, promising more than \$67 billion at nine donors' conferences between 2003 and 2010. In July 2012, donors at the Tokyo Conference pledged an additional \$16 billion in civilian aid through 2015, and sustaining support, through 2017, at or near levels of the past decade to respond to the fiscal gap as estimated by the World Bank and the Afghan Government. Despite this assistance, the Government of Afghanistan will need to overcome a number of challenges, including low revenue collection, anemic job creation, and high levels of corruption, weak government capacity, and poor public infrastructure.

In 2019, growth is expected to remain slow while somewhat recovering mainly because of the improved weather conditions. What's more, the growth in the industry service sectors will remain passive during ongoing political uncertainty for the upcoming presidential elections, however over the medium term, growth is predictable to slowly rise to about 3% by 2021 through supposing a stable political transition following the presidential election and development in the investors' confidence. A slow fiscal deficit is predicted in 2019, the revenue enlistment is expected to remain: weakening customs revenues due to political uncertainty and weakened governance, revenues fatigues from 2018 events that were applied. The current report is expected to decline over the medium-term due to deterioration in international donations. Without accelerated reform and an improved security situation, growth is likely to remain slow with limited progress in reducing poverty from current very high levels. Reforms are required immediately to both improve general investment confidence and mobilize existing economic potential, especially in agriculture and extractives. Continued international assistance in security and development is critical to preserve development gains achieved over the last seventeen years. Clear commitment to sustained support from international partners would help

to reduce current levels of uncertainty, supporting increased confidence and investment (The World Bank in Afghanistan, Apr 02, 2019). Throughout Afghanistan, corruption remains a persistent problem which increases the cost of doing business. Doing business in Afghanistan is more difficult than in other countries in the region. In the World Bank's 2014 Doing Business Index, Afghanistan ranks 183 out of 189 economies in the ease of doing business. Currency reform was completed in early 2003; since then, the minimal exchange rate has fluctuated between 45 and 61 Afghani's to the dollar. The currency has gradually depreciated since the start of 2011, nevertheless other regional currencies have also depreciated. The tax code was reformed and clarified in 2005 and in 2009 the Afghan government passed the Income Tax Law.

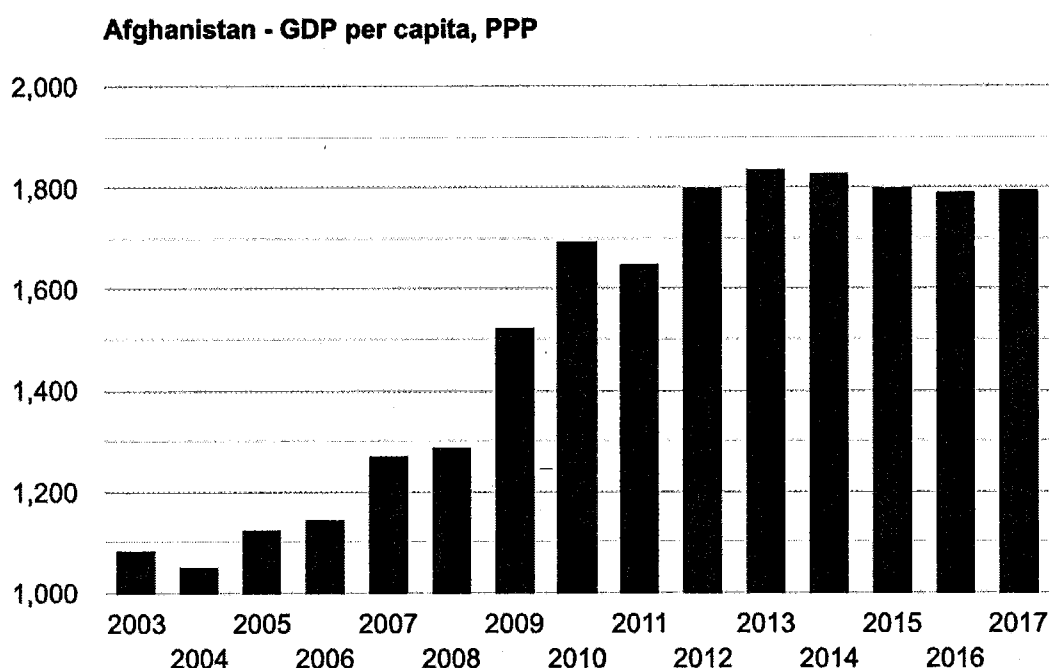
Customs tariffs have been rationalized, existing trade agreements are being renewed and new agreements entered into force. Comprehensive foreign direct investment (FDI) statistics for Afghanistan are unavailable. The data available are not reliable because of inconsistencies in data collection. The United Nations 2014 World Investment Report estimated 2013 FDI flow into Afghanistan at \$69 million and total FDI stocks at \$1.638 billion, representing 7.9 percent of GDP. Significant investment in Afghanistan comes from the United Arab Emirates, Canada, the United States, Turkey, Iran, China, Pakistan, India, and the United Kingdom. The most recent data available show both the current account (excluding aid) and trade account deficits widened marginally during 2012, financed through grants, though the trade deficit has become gradually less severe since 2007 (from 70 percent of GDP in 2007 to an estimated 43 percent in 2012). While overall recorded trade has grown steadily in the past five years, trade as a percentage of GDP has fallen consistently in the past five years due to GDP growth. In the past five years, imports have been three to four times the size of exports (balance of trade does not show military dollar inflows). It should be noted, however, that official export figures are underestimated and do not account for opium. Continued inflows of grants have ensured that the overall current account has remained roughly flat over the past five years (ranging from -42 percent in 2010 to -43 percent in 2014).

Afghanistan's top export markets are Pakistan, India, the United States, the European Union, Russia, UAE, China, Iraq, Netherlands, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Iran. Imports primarily come from the United States, Pakistan, Russia, India, the European Union, the Central Asian Republics and China. Imports totaled \$6.241 billion in 2014. Exports from Afghanistan increased to \$845.9 million in the calendar year 2014 from 515 million in the calendar year 2013. Historically, from 2008 until 2014, Afghanistan exports averaged \$499.6 million,

reaching an all-time high of \$845.9 Million USD in 2014 and a record low of \$375.8 million in 2011. In Afghanistan, exports account for 4.1 percent of GDP. Afghanistan's main exports are: carpets (17 percent of total exports); dried fruits (27 percent) and medicinal plants (13 percent). Main export partners are: Pakistan (38 percent of total exports), India (20 percent), UAE (5 percent) and Russia (2.7 percent). Others include: Iran, Iraq, Netherlands, China, and Turkey. Afghanistan's history and location give it the potential to develop into a vital trade and transit hub for the region. With population growth at 2.8 percent and 400,000-500,000 new labor market entrants per year the country is well positioned with a young, educated and dynamic workforce.

Note: The data that are available are as following mainly from 2003 to 2017, while due to no data availability on foreign aid only the information is partially given on the paragraph above.

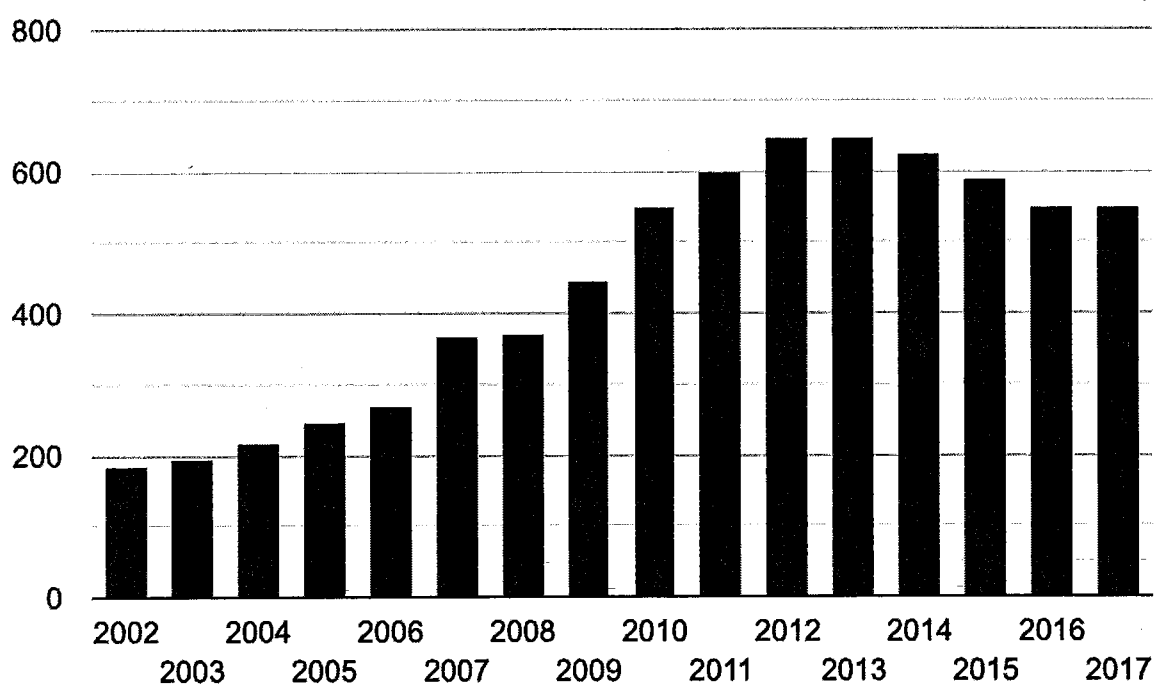
Figure 1.1: Afghanistan- GDP per capita, Purchasing Power Parity



Source: The Global Economy.com

Figure 1.2: Afghanistan- GDP per capita, Current Dollars.

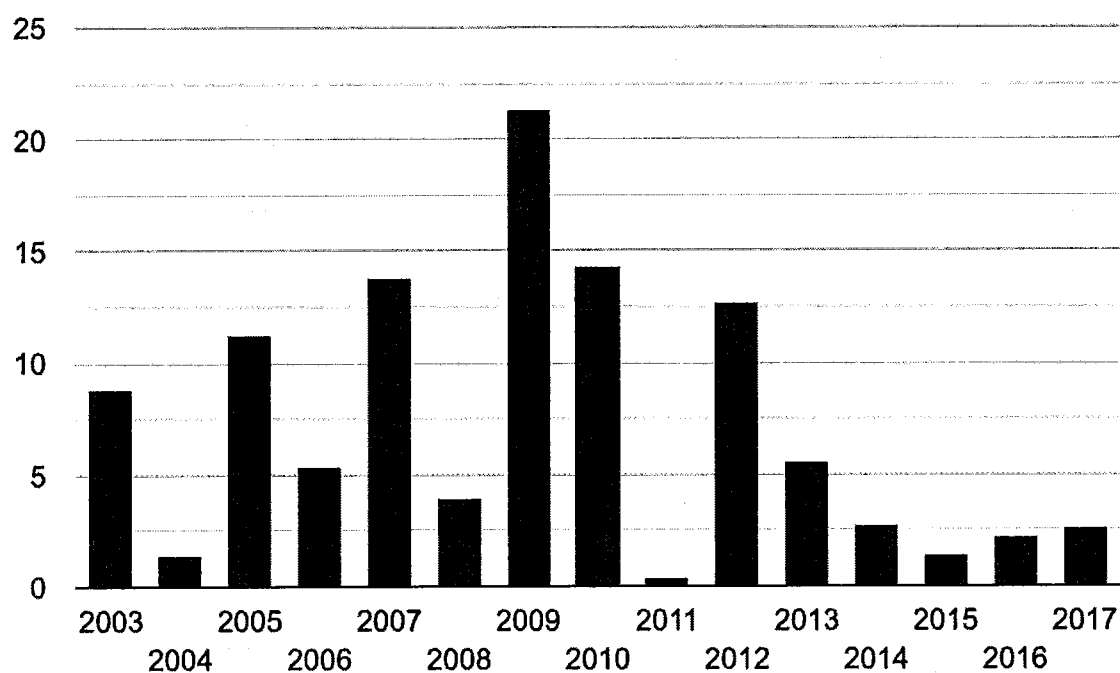
Afghanistan - GDP per capita, current dollars



Source: The Global Economy.com

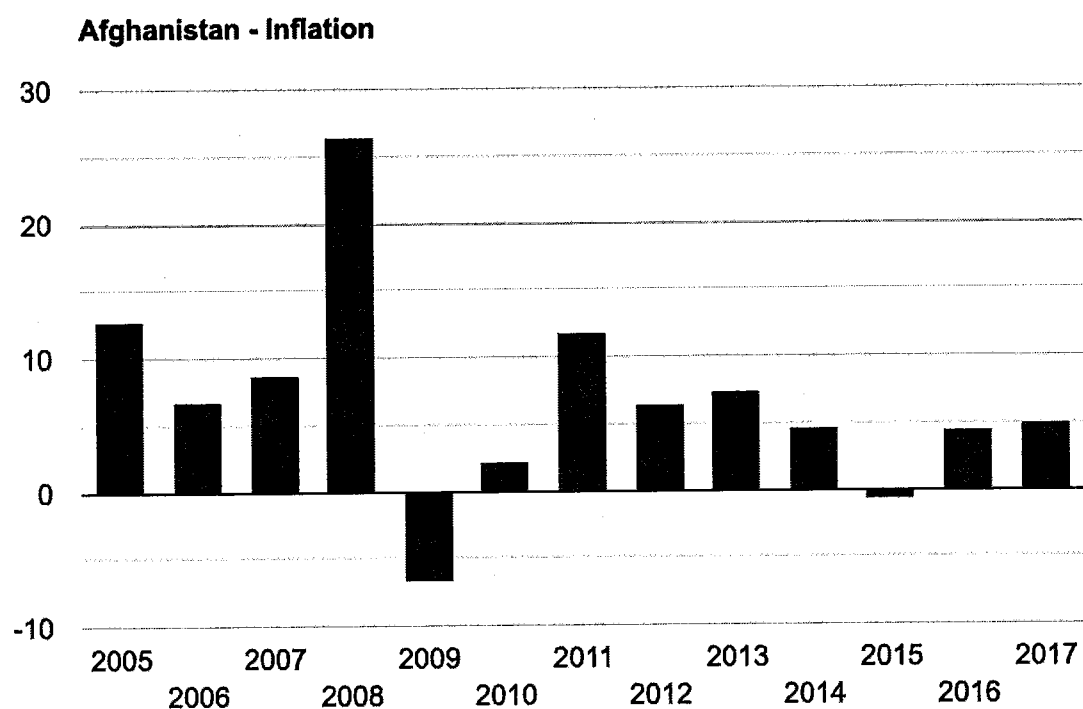
Figure 1.3: Economic Growth Rate (2003-2017)

Afghanistan - Economic growth



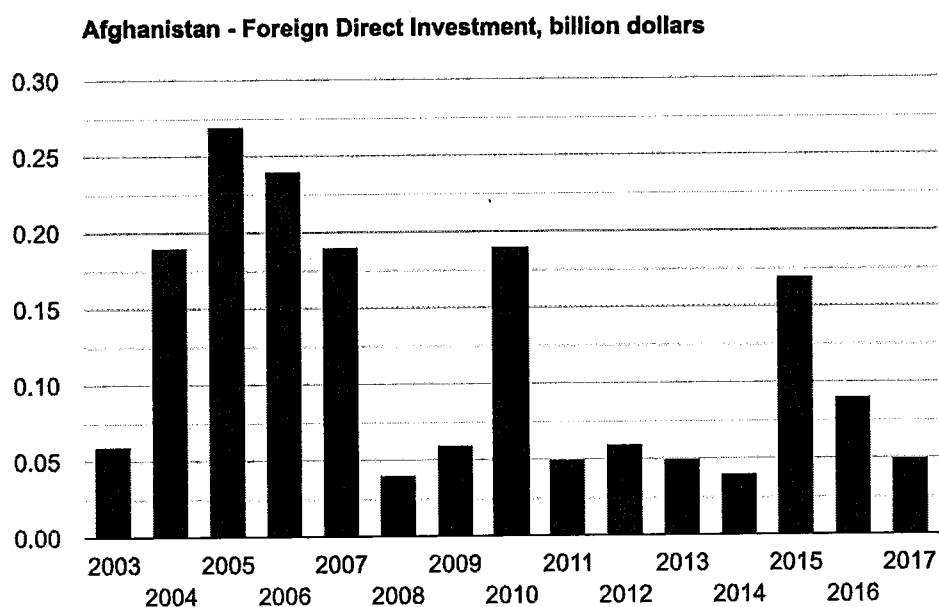
Source: The Global Economy.com

Figure 1.4: Afghanistan- Inflation Rate (2005-2017)



Source: The Global Economy.com

Figure 1.5: Afghanistan Foreign Direct Investment, Billion Dollars (2003-2017)



Source: The Global Economy.com

Labor Market Situation in State-building phase of Afghanistan

The Afghanistan's state-building processes after fall of Taliban which was assisted by the United States as well as to some extent continued by the Europeans has been deeply concentrated on further opening and allowing the markets rather than stabilization of the government. Based on the historical movement by Huntington (1968) who suggested the United States' foreign policy to emphasis more on the notion of closing the economic gap instead of political gap and so through that, presumably it is expected that, in the Third World countries to spontaneously pave the way for the political and social stability and growth as a matter of fact, when the poverty, illiteracy and health care issues are resolved within a society, the rest of the social problems will be solved eventually.

Therefore, in Afghanistan being in post-Taliban period, the same historical trend was put into action, however this model has not prospered to close the economic gap in Afghanistan and the reason could not be one or two, but rather when the concept of commercial society where single interests could be advantageous to entire society was used according to Smith's concept, the policies for market-centered have actually broadened the social and economic gap in Afghanistan. Through this, due to forming the socio-economic foundation with a whole political instability thus, further and indeed worse and deep-rooted economic and social instability were all the result. Furthermore, poverty among many people and the rise of wealthy within Afghan communities had differentiated between political and socio-economic relationships between people and in national political economy.

Since the beginning of the state-rebuilding some of the most crucial documents such as Securing Afghanistan's Future 2004 and National Development Framework 2002 had suggested the implementation of state-building while taking into account the very major modalities of 'private sector-led economic growth', the key role of the government as the benefactor and among the community-based growth and development that aimed through establishing a contrast between the politics and economics to socialize or depoliticize the very matter of state-building and hence, reduced the highly required unitedness and strength among the Afghan state unable to be interfered neither internally nor internationally.

Most importantly, one of the key documents 'Securing Afghanistan's Future' had maintained a powerful support to the position of the market and stressed over its significance to rebuilding and growth and preserved it based on supply and demand transactions into which economically weak countries like Afghanistan cannot join freely and could also not be advantageous to both

sides. However, the lower and poor classes had to be put in the first page of protection since the relation between economic and political liberalization was not well-matched. Also, since focus is put on the importance of GDP and the market, it also has ignored that there's no impartial link between living conditions and economic growth because an expansion in the economic growth will not interpret the social wellbeing and mitigation of poverty thereby due to absence of intervention state in Afghan economy, not only it has resulted in problems of liability, but also has increased the enormous amount of the past linkages between the poor and rich. Whilst, the economic growth is stressed upon the most, this economic growth had ignored to highlight the unbiased development problems and also had showed the demand for importing goods from other countries which is already per se a worsening condition for an economy as Afghanistan due to low levels of human capacity.

Vocational training and employment generation programs

One of the most crucial aspect of finding way into the employment field for some of the people in a country like Afghanistan is the need for providing training programs for the sake of employment and building capability. Employment promotion and capacity building program have been found by the local Afghan and through the ILO's numerous evaluations, UN and non-UN institutions as well as the World Bank that have paved the way for a prominent rebuilding of Afghanistan and any encountering challenges. Despite the fact that since the beginning of rebuilding government, many international and governmental programs have taken into their considerations to support and endorse employment opportunities and also grow skilled and accomplished internal labor force in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan National Development Strategy claimed that, considering the low and decreased level of productivity in employment and massive numbers of unemployed; one of the most crucial step for poverty reduction would be employment generation and policies that support.

Likewise, as it was stated earlier, managerial and technical professionalism still lack in the Afghan workforce and making the growth opportunities of local companies weaker for instance, when the surveyed businessman located in Kabul, Baghlan, Kandahar and Balkh were questioned with respect to their further demands; most of the business owners of around 80.3% (974 businessmen) have come up with similar answer of requiring for balancing skills in order to improve and boost their company's functionality. According to another survey that were accompanied with both skilled and unskilled employees in the mentioned provinces, it has been perceived that, the employees both in the urban as well as in the rural areas have clear

understanding and awareness of more needs for the development of their practical and decision-making proficiencies.

On one hand, those private sectors and institutes that are majorly based on business accounting, English language and computer have taken a way ahead by introducing an increasingly great deal of vocational skills, but on the other hand, several Afghan public universities encounter deficiency in terms of overcrowdings and insufficient connection with the labor market, thus leading to huge unemployment of newly graduates. And what's more surprising is that, by attaining the higher-level education and skills, the Afghan labor market doesn't seem to be aligned with their real demands. On the contrary to the seeing high needs for training, the current vocational training programs do not have the capacity of preparing the present and upcoming demands. Not only lack of capacity, but also other issues such as according to these series of interviews that were conducted between 2011-2012 have met with the major national and international stakeholders who have links with employment formation and capacity building segments will attempt to recognize specific problems that are encountered by professional training and employment cohort programs.

Moreover, based on the reports by FAO (Food and Agriculture) there seems to be not sufficient data in order for the them to benefit from bigger picture in this manner for in, it is crucial and will be helpful to figure out how many of the bachelor graduates cannot find/gain job when they finish their studies. Since there is not enough data and in-depth studies in this field, thus it truly is a huge problem because when there is no evidence to prove through methodology that unemployment exists into a large extent, then bringing about solutions is out of question. And also, the fact that those people who are employed, but work for little money for only few hours is another set of problems, having said that, widely it is perceived that studies and data on skill supply and demand challenges the better and sufficient examination of the ongoing situation on employment.

Furthermore, there have been numerous efforts taken by the Afghan government and the international community to rectify the unemployment issues and the overall economic situation, however due to lack of sustainability, lack of giving full focus and support on their programs, most of them either ended up into wrong and advantage-taking contracts or simply lack of long-term efforts paved the way for a deeper damage. As it is perceived, the funders and their programs are usually considered as by short-term efforts for instance, the programs aren't managed with enough and better participation of those institutions that are in charge of efficient-maintenance and sustainability and also, those donors who are excessively reliant on funding cycles for example, when ILO in 2007 sponsored nine employment service centers

across the country, despite the fact they were successful those centers had to stop their works due to lack of funding and eventually the program collapsed. Having said that, the sponsors because of not making a sustainable financial contract that will allow for full operation of those centers caused them dysfunctionality. And similarly, the career training centers that were created by the JICA were also deeply unmanaged financially, however it is stated by the Afghanistan TVET (Technical and Vocational Education and Training) that from those established institutes, hardly any of them were functioning due to lack of financial support. It is worth mentioning that in order to work and solve the employment problem in Afghanistan, the different ministries should come together and coordinate among each other as interaction is one of the most important key factors and that indeed lacks among Afghan ministries.

The major importance of employment in post-conflict development

Employment has an increasingly significant position for a comprehensive development condition and growth has been researched broadly in the policy literature around early and mid 2000s, over a decade later currently there is a strong agreement among scholars that, development and growth can be interpreted as a tool with a considerable and powerful potential of decreasing poverty and that can be done solely through enough concentration on employment; mainly decent employment. Employment plays a profoundly resolving role between poverty reduction and development of the economy and this is seen in both external or economy and internal level that is individual households hence, they are perceived in a direct correlation. Furthermore, on one hand when it's at the micro level, the quantity and the quality of employment that working age people are having access to are known to be the family members and though that is indeed a straightforward factor that shows the family's poor economic condition, on the other hand the macro level indicates on employment concentrated development processes that explains a reduced occurrence of poverty.

Having said that, it is clear that in countries with less or little growth that do not have social security only employment will not be considered as the major solution for the growth as most of the economically poor people work in the different kinds of paid jobs. Therefore, here it is important to create jobs that are productive and enough amounts for people so that people when want to run away from poverty are remained with an alternative to get employment. In a country like Afghanistan being in a post-conflict situation, to what extent employment is important is difficult to measure and it further needs to be taken under considerations in a more delicate way for instance Collier (2009) also referred to employment in such conditions to play a dire role

due to expanding the economic policies individualism for the purpose of supporting the post-conflict retrieval.

Additionally, the dissatisfied and often poor youth males who were at the center of a group of radical social uprising or movement were recognized and presumably it is said that, violent conflict can be dispersed because of the given military incomes, however in order for a country in rebuilding phase after a conflict to ensure a successful recovery should mind that reconstruction is expected based on guaranteeing that the main groups of those young males do not return again into violence. And based on Collier's work, this could be best achieved through creation of dynamic and productive jobs that are mainly entailed with young people whose focus is on high risk. Thus, it is important to highlight the profound importance of growth through employment intensive as well as integration of unemployed and poor young people in post-conflict countries to reduce the chances of those youth getting back into violence. Countries like Afghanistan due to enormous amounts of damages done to the institutional and physical structures and that face a prolonging conflict are of the highest likelihood to have some negative economic conditions. Reconstruction would be neither with an instant result even in the best way done, nor would it be potential to create enough employment opportunities by strong economic developments in the short run. For this purpose, there are a number of significant financially persuaded public employment programs that aim to enhance the employment and economic opportunities in the crucial stage of undergoing post-conflict reconstruction period. On the contrary, several programs aiming on job opportunities creation had failed due to lack of enough studies on the main gap. Therefore, the decision makers while creating such important programs should bear in mind the wrong implementation of the programs.

Concerning a precise overview of the economy of Afghanistan along with literature about the significance of employment in Afghanistan after conflict, it is worth mentioning that some issues with regard to afghan economy are striking and thus needed to be highlighted if the economy were to be restored in a maintainable manner beside prevention of further conflict arousal. As of now, when a closer view of employment and productivity's structure in Afghanistan is taken, one can clearly see the seemingly great fast growth that have taken place in the Afghan economy in the past decade since the beginning of a new state in 2002, yet there are very little done when it comes to the structural transformation. During the time period between 2008 till 2016, in afghan economy, there's as large as sixty percent share of the

employment in agriculture that also entails self-employment low productivity regardless of minor drop in the years between 2008-2016. While, manufacturing and industrial employments have dropped between 2008-2012 despite that is considered as a high growth period that somewhat needed to improve in the coming years. The industrial sector's steady share in the employment in value addition has dropped hardly from 27.5 percent to 22.7 percent respectively in 2008 and in 2016 with a quick slope of 5 percent from 2008-2009 similarly, the statistics are nearly the same in term of manufacturing that indicates a parallel shape that is, a sharp drop of 18.2 percent in 2008 to 13.5 percent in 2009. On the other hand, the figures of the employment in the service sector and share of the sector in the GDP have improved increasingly (percentage of value added more than the percentage of employment) though it might seem a strikingly positive growth, however it is necessarily that positive change due to the diverse characteristics that are present within the service sector such as quality of employment and also vibrant connections with other parts of the economy. As a whole, when taken into account the profound significance of historical importance of industrialization in order to take the path of a long-term growth, the shape of structural change that is perceived in Afghan economy implies an underdeveloped renovation process. That being said, the course of high development in the Afghan economy that took place between 2002 to 2012 on the basis of yearly development in the economic rates are said to be as a result of the foreign aids inflows that increased the growth level in the service sector for instance mainly in transport, communications and construction sub-sectors (ILO, 2012).

Moreover, in Afghanistan another factor that demands an instant restoration of development and employment is the possible correlation between conflict and unemployment. As it was stated earlier, Afghanistan has a huge number of growing youth population that is making the issue of unemployment and or underemployment quite unfair for the youth as a whole. Based on the given literatures earlier on the topic of youth unemployment and its strong correlation on the basis of strong evidence worldwide that youth unemployment and increasing numbers of youth are closely related with emergence of conflict and terrorist groups. And also, similarly, in Afghanistan the statistics show indicates around eighty percent of the young people who are unemployed and are rural based that are able to have little access to economic opportunities and another part of those youth living in the rural areas are either with primary education or uneducated altogether (World Bank 2017). On the one hand, this situation in Afghanistan shows a very dark time with regard to the future of employment and also those unemployed young people for their basic skills. On the other hand, it elevates some huge alarms about the very

critical matter of marginalization and inadequate education that generate vulnerability among these youths thus are vulnerable to radical ideologies as well as programs. When the number of causality among people increase as a result of conflict in this matter, the economic crisis suggests the extent and link between economic depression and violence among people. Thereby, in order to emerge out of these ongoing tough economic conditions going on along with insecurity, whereas the economic opportunities are related to the conflict and that is damaging to the economic growth which is showing up in a recurring manner is in an urgent need of concentrated public effort. However, certainly there is no any sort of easy way to bring a solution to such complicated problems whilst a policy framework that would bring about a beginning to the development in coming years should be known as the exact and proper nature of lack of employment in the country. What's more, the current unemployed youth who are not having place in the labor force is due to the fact that urban service sectors and skill intensive industrial sectors are increasing while this is causing unemployed youth in the short run. Another deeply rooted issue for youth unemployment is the issue of migration which is rising from poverty and lack of security for afghan people when the economic situation goes down. And also, Afghan people both in urban and in the rural areas have been displaced in many occasions and not to mention numerous people have fled the country for the issue of unemployment and lack of job opportunities as well.

Considering that, according to the statistics from Afghan Living Conditions Survey demonstrates the forty percent decrease in the population who migrated overseas between 2007-2008 and 2013-2014, whilst it is well known that relocation happens in the time of economic recession or unemployment, however this migration percentage was apparent despite economic situations and security issues being quite negative those years (World Bank 2017). Having said that, this fact highlights the progressive difficulties of the financial means to migration besides the opportunities of work and decent work going down in possible destination countries. Last but not the least, any kind of strategies related with the development in Afghanistan is done, should be according to the well aware political economic realities that the country is encountering rather than only focusing on the prevention of analysis of economic spheres. Most importantly, planning for development in country has to be in integration with deep rooted inequality that is present in the country besides other issues that are stressing as well such as ethnic and geographical lines, in addition, in order to recognize and bring about a resolution for the major political pressures that are going on a routine basis would be a huge contribution for the upcoming long-term development in Afghanistan.

3.2. Youth Unemployment and Labor Force Participation

It is stated by the deputy chairman of National Worker's Union that over the past decade it is a regretting fact that for the high levels of unemployment not any sufficient efforts have been taken in order to decrease the unemployment rate and it's stated as Afghanistan's employment regulations do not stand as the international standards and besides, Afghan government has lacked proper functionality in this manner to bring a resolution for unemployment problems in the country. Unemployment as a whole in Afghanistan is not only a social and economic problem, but it is also a politicized and provocative issue that even the elites do not have enough knowledge on both information and data about unemployment and thus are not presented clearly.

Additionally, since unemployment is already discussed to be a critical issue and feature of the labor market is it also significant to highlight the problems that youth face because of underemployment and working poorly and these are far bigger challenges as about sixty percent of the employed people work in workforces that are under low productivity, agriculture and livelihood kinds of production and services. Besides these all, the urban labor force is known for the incomparable working skills of the employees and job quality both in formal and informal sectors in addition, the jobs that were provided by the foreign aids or international development assistance used to be either short-term and unstable jobs or unsustainable jobs due to discontinued and misused aids. It's also worthwhile to mention, as a matter of fact the definitions and understandings of unemployment and underemployment are still vague and unexplained in context of Afghanistan and because it's a deeply politicized issue thus the data lack and could be due to either methodological and researching lack or also could be because of different usage of phrases.

Labor force participation rate indicates the degree of the country's working age population that takes part actively in the labor market by working or by searching for job. Labor force participation rate has increased from 63.4-64.6% (1980-2006) that is higher than the average degrees in the developed nations. Based on the Poverty Status, Afghan population of around 66.5% in 2008 have dropped from the official working age under sixteen and above were engaged in the workforce and this could be as a result of the migrants' massively going back to the country after 2001 from neighboring countries. And also, the previous fighters' joining back through Afghan government as well as the international efforts and nonetheless, it could be due to those people accepting any sort of job in the market because of lack of social security system.

According to the ILO figures and definitions, there is a huge unclear and provocative understanding of unemployment which is the unemployment rate is explained as the result of proportional division between the total rate of unemployed people (for a specific group of working people in a country) through consistent labor force and those are the general total of the people employed and unemployed in the group. Unemployed group of people involve all the people whose ages are particularly over the measuring age and thus are active people within economy, however they were without work and are active and searching for employment. Since the Unemployment data is not stable and clear-cut proof based therefore, the unemployment statistics in Afghanistan should be understood in this perspective that, both the NRVA and the Poverty Status specified the people's situation by stating that people cannot remain and afford to be unemployed hence, they are probable to encounter high underemployment levels.

Based on the NRVA's reports, the rate of employment amount that is said to be measuring a group of the proportion of employed working-age population that made it about as high as 62% besides, there are differences between rural and urban areas along with employment to population ratio of 66% agree that rural houses cannot stay out of work either they should work on a daily labor, agricultural fields or should send their family to the closest economically stable in order to find and work in a daily basis unskilled jobs. Another striking matter is with regard to gender gap within labor market that is around 37% and among this, labor force participation for females is much lower than males in both rural and urban areas respectively 32 and 56%, making females the lowest in the workforce participation despite being underemployed. As it has been highlighted already, giving an appropriate and standard definition for employment and work are deeply difficult and because of having inappropriate laws for employment such as employees and employers making verbal contracts among each other in most parts rather than the principled one therefore, it is hard to differentiate between paid and unpaid works or even work in a long-term for a short-term job therefore, in a country like Afghanistan, underemployment should be the major illustrative state of the Afghan labor and employment sectors because of its time-related underemployment challenges. It is furthermore stated by the previous World Bank Director for Afghanistan that, according to the observations done in this area, underemployment is going on and the challenge with this is the fact the majority of the people don't have a job security for a regular job and the part-time work that they do on a daily basis, are quite essentially insecure and neither are they safe due to having families to support and the rest of social commitments- Alastair McKechnie." In order to validate this statement, it is worth mentioning that underemployment data should concentrate on this fact by people that,

they cannot live with unemployment and thus are likely to show increased rates of underemployment.

In short, Afghan labor force cannot simply have an option for staying unemployed first off, because of lack of social security services secondly, due to being the providers for their families and third, this is the reason why so many well-educated people have no other option, but to accept the unskilled and low paying jobs with little stability just so that they can earn. What's more striking is the fact that underemployment changes with the changes of season, different segments of employment and various areas and thus making it very hard for doing research and studies of such divers issues. Furthermore, based on the NRVA's reports, underemployment could be 44 percent in the winter, while this same issue could go as low as 20 percent in the summer in rural areas.

To begin with, since Afghanistan's labor force is on its rise by over 400,000 in a year period, there is a huge demand for the extensive progression in term of generating employment opportunities for the new comers into the labor market. Having said that, in order to have it better evaluated there is a significant report of the young employed males and females between ages of 15-24 years old working in urban and semi-urban centers such as Kabul, Balkh and Kunduz who were asked with regard to their experiences of observing other younger employees working in their very company and it was answered that, in general the younger employees are chosen to do short-term and trainee based sorts of jobs and hence, these positions are precarious and unstable regardless of acquiring and or providing decent contractual responsibility and that makes 63.8%. And also, when it was questioned from the young employees to stipulate the challenges encountered by the young employees within the labor market, a prominent number of these employees specified the lack of job opportunities in the market, what's more, they've further pinpointed the effect of sociocultural dynamics. Stated by the NGO Director of Heart Province, it is pretty much clear which, programs that focus on training and capacity building of the people lack and thus, a huge deal of such programs are needed to enhance people's mindset in this regard.

One of the most significant aspect of youth and adult unemployment is the association between the labor force participation and unemployment. First off, the participation level will trigger youth unemployment degree for its implications over the scope of the labor force. Therefore, despite other features being equal, the higher the labor market participation of these youth will mean the higher unemployment level. In addition to that, this kind of influence is said to be prominent for minimum wage issues in the dominant labor marketplaces. Given this

background, both the unemployment as well as employment rates can be increased through minimum wage increase. The findings show, due to the fact that jobs will look more appealing, thus more job-seeking people will participate in the labor force, this ends up in the rise of further available jobs hence, the measured unemployment level will intensify. At the meantime, the intensifying unemployment growth tends to discourage employees from labor force participation, by clearly seeing when there is no particular opportunity to find a job, why would someone seek for it at the first place. Therefore, more young people keep studying and enlarging their education in the hopes of expanding their job opportunity prospects. Accordingly, one can say unemployment and workforce participation have a correlation based on these two factors; through either the rise in the labor force participation was made up of some irrelevant dynamics like, a surplus in the wages that can trigger measured unemployment or simply put, the increasing unemployment rates can actually take away more of young people from entering the working world and thus, causing reduced activity rates. Consequently, the link between youth unemployment and economic performance has a great deal of part in pinpointing the most dominant aspect in this manner.

Over half of the Afghan population is in working age due to massively being under young ages that makes 54% who are under fourteen years old and over. Within this working age population of 14 million people, half of them are not active and another half actively engaged in the labor market either through working or seeking for jobs. The labor force participation rate, the share of working age population which is employed or unemployed currently, in the study of the human resources existing for the manufacture of goods and services, for comprehending labor market performance and for the predictions of labor force. From the total labor force in Afghanistan, 49.8% hides behind huge disparities of gender and sex meaning, labor force participation of females is lower in comparison to men, the workforce due to being largely dominated by male workers, indicating a massive gender gap in Afghanistan's economy. Moreover, less than one in five of the working age females are working in the labor market, in comparison to 80% of males which makes 61% breach. Notwithstanding, females with tertiary educations or higher have workforce participation rate of around 78% and not less, stressing on the women's vital available economic potent part. The age figure in the Afghan labor force participation indicates as high rate as 80% or higher than this for the men during ages of 20-59 while, the young boys of 14 years old almost half 46% already are in the labor force. Likewise, older aged men between 65 to 79 years old age groups show economic activities from 22 to 53 in term of percentage. On the other hand, female labor force participation differs with regard to

age. In general, the women's participation rate has been lower due to negative security and cultural situations.



Labor force participation rate for ages (15-24, total (%))

Source: The World Bank

Afghanistan in particular is encountering a critical youth bulge that is, 42.3% of the Afghanistan's population is under age of fifteen (CIA World Fact book) in addition to that, sixty-eight percent of the Afghan population is under age of 25 with median 44.6 as their life expectancy as assessed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). Youth bulge is defined as a demographic jargon that pinpoints a population in which the amount of young people is mainly larger with regard to other older age groups. The UN agency of Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) described the youth bulge as large cohorts in surplus of 20% between 15-24 age groups comparative to the overall adult population. For example, the following figure '1' indicates Afghan population distribution through a population pyramid, the largest poles at the base asserting the young people whilst the upper parts indicate the older age Afghans. According to this figure, Afghanistan's population pyramid has the typical look of a country with youth bulge.

Figure 3. Afghanistan Population Pyramid