

**How political behavior is Effected by conflict a case study in context
of Kabul**



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CERTIFICATE

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ABSTRACT

Our study aim is to find that how political behavior is affected by conflict, many activities are cover by political behavior but we just take voting and campaign support activity, we analyze objective with two different models, first that how vote casting is affected by conflict and second that how campaign support activity is affected by conflict, means financial campaign.

Our result show that those who are suffered by conflict whether they faced financial cost, physical cost or migration they are more active in political participation.

The research has been done in Kabul, and we use primary data, which provide information about presidential election of 2019. We also review Afghanistan history where more decades are just about heartache.

Key words. Afghan war history, Political participation, vote casting, campaign,

DEDICATION

This negligible effort is dedicated to Afghan nation which is suffering from conflict since decades and to my respected family which is a part of this convoy.

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Thanks God who supported his servant in every situation, Rise from a refugee camp to a graduate of South Asia top Institute.

With getting some achievements I also Faced many challenges during my life time in Pakistan whether it was period of school, BS degree or MPhil degree. But still thankful for my achievements, what I have and what I learned here, I have to say special thanks to my family and my brothers who support me in every situation and help my until I reach here.

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ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYM

ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
KHAD	Khadamat-E Aetla'at-E Dawlati
PCA	Principle Component Analysis
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

We are living in such a time where 1.5 billion people suffer from conflict, violence and fragility, according to world bank report (2011), which is one in four people in the world (Laia & Patricia, September 4, 2014). Conflict have multidimensional effects on human behavior and human life, effect stabilization and growth, people face with financial and physical cost and even it impels people to migration, according to another report of world bank civil war lead to social disintegration (Sebastián Etchemendy, 2007). Civil war has also economic, social and physical cost, increase of diseases which cause to increase the mortality rate. (Elbadawi, February, 1999) in study of civil wars and poverty he argues that investment is effected by conflict which not only effect the current output but also the future output.

It takes much times to recover cost of civil war if you faced a seven years of war you have to recover it in decades. Civil war is more harmful than international war because it is within country and can easily damage country's organization (Collier P. , 01 January 1999). Financing of civil war is another issue, it is different from governmental war. Government finance their Army and defense sector through collection of taxes while in civil conflict the revenue comes from illegal ways like kidnapping and drugs, FRAC¹ will be a great example, they were collecting annually \$700m in Colombia from these sources (Collier P. , April, 2006).

¹ Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (The revolutionary armed forces of Colombia)

Conflict causes to active political participation like (John Bellows, 2006; J Bellows, 2008) in their research in context of Sierra Leonean find that displacement and family deaths from war lead to greater political participation and awareness.

One main effect of conflict that it affects political behavior or political participation and this political participation play a vital role in demanding of civil right, if I don't participate in politics how I can ask about my rights, If we look to the importance of political participation and we check it from governmental side what will be more important for government whether people participate and be the part of decision making process or letting government to run their own business, Participation of people is important for government to have better impression of polices (SE Bennett, 1986) and to have better democracy we should have more participation, high participation of people will result in high democracy (Martin Lipset & Raab, 1981).

What changes will take place in public policy if every individual vote and who will be effected by these changes? as we know that working class is less active in voting if they increase their participation in voting ultimately public policy will change and these changes will be in favor of working class. For increase of voting percentage different government apply different policies like Australia Government in 1915 apply compulsory voting, means on election day every individual should go to polling station and cast a ballot but he was not forced to support a specific part or candidate and those who were able not to provide a valid excuse in case of missing would have to penalize and that is why participation of working class increase and the election result and public policy change in favor of working class (Fowler, 2013).

As we face civil war in Afghanistan since decades, where we suffer lots, we faced physical and financial lost, around two million people lost their lives and with same number become injured,

more than five million people impel to migration, effect growth and stabilization, all important sectors including education, health, and agriculture was damage, so if we face by this amount of lost it may ultimately change the political behavior of people as the area of political participation is broad we will just take voting and campaign support activity that how these factors is effected by conflict, we consider this area important to be discuss because for first the time in history of Afghanistan these activities “Voting and Campaign support activities” toke place in 2004, and it was the first where above 10.5 million people out of 28 Million people participate in voting with having 43% register were women (Afghanistan's first democratic elections, 10/06/2004).

We want to do a case study in context of Kabul to explore the facts beyond the effect of conflict and political participation even with having more criticism on case study but still it is a proper way in social science, and it is efficient way to get the depth information about a particular situation at a particular place.

1.1 Objective of the Study

Our research has two objectives.

- To explore the effect of violent conflict on vote casting of the people.
- To examine the effect of violent conflict on campaign support activities.

1.2 Research Question:

- How does conflict affect the vote casting?
- How does conflict affect the campaign support activity?

1.3 Hypothesis of the study

- H0: Conflict effect does not lead to active political participation.
- H1: Conflict effect leads to active political participation.

1.4 Significance of the Study

We consider this area important to be discuss because for first the time in history of Afghanistan these activities take place in 2004, and it was the first where above 9 million people out of 28 Million people participate in voting with having 43% register were women as research says that, and it is a Positive step toward democracy and development which people can easily demand their rights through proper channel and can be a part of policy making process, and up to our knowledge and studies which we did during in our research period it will be one of those study which disclose some reality of conflict affects on voting and campaign activities in context of Kabul.

1.5 Research Plan

We are going to do our research in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, Kabul has 4.22 million populations and it is the largest urban center in the country which is also an economics and political hub of the country, this city was witnessed for the significant damages during civil conflict and after US intervention the growth was unprecedented.

As Kabul is the most educated city in Afghanistan and people faced different situations, we target this city for our research as the portion of political participation of this city is more high compare to rest of provinces in elections. And we will take 400 sample and for sample selection was use stratified sample techniques, as Kabul is the representative of different ethnicity we take sample from four ethnic majorities namely Pashton, Tajak, Hazara and the rest of Ethnicity.

CHAPTER TWO

AFGHAN WAR HISTORY

As we do our research in context of Kabul Afghanistan, we have to give an overall review of History for Reader to have a picture and information about Afghanistan and different regime which came at different time, their way of governance and reaction of people towards them, the reader can easily judge that was situation before and after the war.

1747 Ahmad Shah Abdali Named the current geography where we live by name of Afghanistan and its territory was surrounded to Iran, Baluchistan, Sindh, Punjab and Kashmir till his death (1772). But after his death this empire was destroyed due to patrilineal cousins (tarburwali).

Due to its location and the access it provides to more prosperous countries and regions it attracts attention for Western conquerors at early 19th century where Russia and British were struggling to bring a buffer state. So, British start supporting the tribal ruler with fund and lands but when they observe it as corrupt and useless they saw that it needs for reform and have to find an alternate so they start supporting central government and direct involvement where the local chief stimulated the local to stand against the British system, and then they go for another option to start support of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan one who signed Durand agreement.

Another contentious issue between Afghan state and society happened in 1919 where King Amanullah Khan² a revolutionary ruler came into power, as modernization and development of Afghanistan was his motive. But due to his ruling system that was totally different from Afghan culture and custom it just became a pipe dream for him. His ruling system was included of Women empowerment, Coeducation, secular and modern education, changing holiday from Friday to

² Grandson of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan

Thursday and veil band, but due to religious Clarks and backward people of society these modernization plans were not warmly welcomed so a part from society start disturbance to his government and finally he was overthrown in 1929³. (Barfield, 2010)

After the peace and prosper period of Zahir Sha⁴ the conditions of the country deteriorated by bloodless coup in 1973 when the king was overthrow by his cousin and prime minister of his cabinet Sardar Mohammad Dawood Khan, Sardar Dawood being a progressive nationalist and pro-socialist could not maintain the good ties with religious clerics and tribal heads, instead he valued more the leftist intellectuals “Marxists, Leninist” and offered them higher government posts. As Dawood regime began to implement some socio-economic reforms “land reform policies” most of the tribal heads and religious scholars who were the land owners of the country too, resisted against such policies. And this was the time when distance between government and elites of society was created.

During Dawood’s regime the university campuses especially Kabul university was the home for major ideological clashes between left and right, and the confrontations between Marxists who studied in Russia and rightists who mostly studied in Al-Azhar and other areas was on its verge. And Dawood could not retain its neutrality, by suppressing the rightist appraisals and blaming them for all the chaos and conspiracies against his government.

Because of Dawood’s pro-leftist policies, the first group of the anti-regime rightists “students and teachers of Kabul university” fled into Pakistan, and it was best opportunity for Prime minister

³ Through the leadership of Habibullah Kalakani (Bacha e saqqaw)

⁴ Son of Nadar khan and Habibullah kalakani was overthrown by nadar khan

Zulfakar Ali Bhutto and ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) of the country to use them against Dawood's regime because of issue of Pashtunistan and Pashtun liberation movements.

As Dawood policies was in not favor of Pakistan he had also criticized American supply of military equipment to Pakistan and consider it as a threat to region (Rubinstein, 1982), On the other hand, the Marxists of Afghanistan "Peoples' democratic party of Afghanistan" had long history of having secret relations with Soviet Union, and they used to receive financial support from the country.

For the development of country and having development projects from USA (United States of America) and USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) he made his relationship good with both countries, but it was ended by question USSR about the sovereignty of the country and its relation with rest of the world especially with USA, which lead to decay relationship of Dawood with PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) also, that cause Dawood to lost his life, power and 39 members of his family.

The communist party PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) took over the government in 1978, and the party itself was fragmented into two groups in this year, namely "KHALQ" dominated by Pashtuns who were radical in bringing socialist reforms, and "PARCHAM" dominated by moderate Tajiks. And Noor Mohammad Taraki became president, who was a radical leftist.

PDPA with acquiring power tried suppressing all their opponents by killing them, and imprisoning the bureaucrats of the king Zahir shah's regime, religious scholars and all the influential tribal leaders who were opposing their rule.

The Soviet Union provided military, political, and economic support to the regime, including sending several thousand military advisors. But the policies of the regime created widespread

opposition in different parts of the country. Religious, traditional, and nationalist forces resented the centralized control coming out of Kabul which led to the opposition of Kabul regime.

There were huge differences within the PDPA itself, Hafizullah Amin by assassinating Noor Mohammad Taraki became the president and that was reported by Kabul Times in its 10 October 1979 report that due to a serious illness he lost his life (Bradsher, 1999), and it was However, Amin who studied in USA⁵ and was once associated with south Asia foundation was not so welcomed by USSR, and the soviets were not optimistic about him, and were suspects in December 1979, by installing Babrak Karmal instead of Hafizullah Amin backed by 100000 soviet troops (Henry St. Amant Bradsher, 1983).

Babrak Karmal was now seen to be unable to carry through the changes needed in the regime, and was replaced as a PDPA leader in May 1986 by Dr: Najibullah the former head of the afghan intelligence KHAD (Khadamat-E Aetla'at-E Dawlati).

Najib was known for his cruelty against the opponents, but after becoming president he took the policy of national reconciliation. And the main change he instituted from 1986 was the policy of local truces with tribal and guerrilla leaders, a process that to some extent enabled him to enhance his power and led to a proliferation of parallel security organizations and militias under his personal control.

Najib visited Moscow first in 1986, and second time in 1987, and USSR discussed their withdrawal with him too, but there were some disagreements on withdrawals between USA, USSR and Pakistan.as USSR wanted to extend their military support to the pro-communist regime of Kabul

⁵ Amin, who studied his master from Colombia university and the head of afghan student union there, and later on the Russia recognize it that he is a CIA agent and receive found from USA.

after their withdrawal, but USA and Pakistan wanted a transitional government in Afghanistan and bringing the mujahedeen to power. And USA wanted to extend their support to mujahedeen if the USSR did not cut their military support to Kabul regime.

The UN (United Nations) negotiator for Afghanistan Benon Savon sought an agreement for a transfer of power from Najib to a broad-based government. But these negotiations could not succeed. Najib's powerful ally general Dostum defected from regime and Najibullah's government fall in April 1992. After Najib's regime there were expectations that stability would return to the country, but these hopes were belied.

Finally, after the Geneva accord signed on 14th April 1988 between Pakistan, Afghanistan, USA and USSR, Soviet Union decided to withdraw from Afghanistan and began their withdrawal process after a month of conference. Their redeployment was conducted in two broad phases. In first phase up to the end of summer withdrawing from the southern areas of the country, then from October 1988 to February 1989 leaving the major cities and northern regions. And 2 years after the withdrawal Soviet Union disintegrated into many states. (HALLIDAY, 1999).

After a decade of war when the soviets failed in Afghanistan they withdraw their force in 1989, Afghan success in destruction of USSR but failed in bringing of peace and stability, this nine years war cost death to one million Afghan and impel five million people to leave their country and homes, estimated cost was around \$152 billion (Bradsher, 1999). But it was not the end of war actually it was the start to civil wars first through mujahidin against the left behind local government of Dr Najibullah, mujahidin oust him from power in 1992, and take the power but fail to govern and rule the country, and they start another civil war on getting into power, they use ethnicity, ideology and sectarian to reach their target and get the power, actually these were the

sources for the power not the actual setting. This civil war was between two major party namely Jamiat-e-Islami leaded by Burhanuddin Rabbani with the support of Ittihad-e-Islami headed by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf. Ahmad shah Masoud was the key military figures in this coalition which was controlling Kabul and its around area, Ismail khan which belong to Ittihad –e- Isalami control Heart province.

Gullbuddin Hekmatyar, the leader of Hizb-e-Islami was in opposite side, He has the support of three other parties: The Na-tional Islamic Movement led by Abdul Rashid Dostam, the Hezb-e-Wahdat (Shiite parties) led by Ali Mazari, and the Jabh-e-Nijat-e-Milli led by Seghatullah Mujaddedi, Hekmatyar and mujaddedi were the leader of Islamic movements part while Dostam was a general in Afghan army during the soviet occupation and after that become alliance with Rabbani and masoud, in 1992 and 1993 war start between these two parties which in Kabul, death of 100,000 people and migration of 600,000 from Kabul (Khalilzad, 1995), major places in Kabul was destroyed, electricity system became damaged, education centers including Kabul university remained close, mujahedeen commanders looted Kabul, as different militant group take different part of Kabul they become local warlord, behaved like robbers and people looted especially when they were crossing high way of opposite party (Gottlieb, 2003), people face with economics crises and food shortages because these two parties blocked the transaction rood, Kabul jalabad road and Kabul salang road and Afghanistan become arena for competition of other countries, Especially Russia, Pakistan which support Hekmatyar and India which support Rabbani, Iran and Saudi was also active in this arena.

In 1994 they focused to bring peace, first Rabbani proposed loya jerga (Afghan grand assemble) for selecting of leader, Haqqani proposed 30-member commission which was made of Leaders, Islamic scholar and tribal leaders for selection of president and expulsion of all communist from

the government which was rejected by Rabbani and Dostam, another neutral party demand to transfer power from Rabbani and Masoud to nine-member committee and this committee will convince Loya Jirga for selection of president, number of armed forces and future plans but it was rejected by Rabbani and they were asking about UN intervention to bring peace (Khalilzad, 1995)

The country after 1992 was going through a complete anarchy and became a battlefield amongst Mujahideen for acquiring and retaining power. At this time in the year 1994 a new militant group called Taliban emerged in Kandahar province, and they were consisted of disgruntled former Mujahideen and students of religious studies from madrassas located in Pakistan, specially Darul-Uloom Haqqania which is situated in Akora Khatak run by Mawlana Samiul-Haq and Fazal Rahman (MAHAPATRA, 1997).

Most of the Taliban were refugees in Pakistan and they were trained by ISI officers under Colonel Imam and many others, and were headed by Mullah Omar a former Mujahideen fighter during the Russian occupation.

Taliban defeated Hizb-e-Islami and control two third of the country. Hizb-e-Islami, that party which was seeking to take Kabul from Jamiat-e-Islami headed by Rabbani and Masood. In 1995 they took over Herat province from Amir Ismail Khan commander of Ittihad-e-Islami headed by Abdul Rasul in 1996 they seized Kabul and much of eastern Afghanistan they dominated 90% of Afghanistan, except 10% areas under the control of northern alliance (Zalmay, 1997) , After the conquer of Kabul Taliban hanged Najib with his brother in “Arina Jada” in the year 1996.

Taliban announced an Islamic State by electing Mullah Omar as Amirulmumineen. The desire to establish a united states and disarm all the factions was a key factor behind the support of the Taliban among many Afghans specially Pashtuns. Taliban established a despotic theocratic regime

ordering all the women to stay at home and not to come out without any male member of the family (Wali, 1995) , and male have keep beard. Must perform five times prays at Mosques, all the shops and super market must be closed during pray times, established department to propagate virtue (Amro bil marouf), and most of the people were punished due to not following their rules and regulation (Zalmay, 1997).

It is stated by majority of civilized and educated people of Afghanistan that Taliban were slightly educated, and were not able understand and interpreter Islamic laws correctly, they were the blind followers of their leaders, especially in rights of women sides.

During the soviet war, Afghanistan became hub for international Jihadists groups, Jihadists came from across the world to Afghanistan to fight against USSR. After the collapse of USSR in Afghanistan the moral of these holy fighters was booted for conquering the world and establishing an Islamic state in the world, and they adopted the policy of international Jihad and Pan Islamism.

Osama Bin Laden with his mintor Abdullah Azam established al-Qaeda in 1989 in Peshawer and they were influenced by the ideologies of Muslim brotherhood. Bin laden announced Jihad USA and all the infidels, asking Muslims across the world to attack the non-believers all over the globe. Members of Al- Qaeda started attacking US embassies across the world.

This way Afghanistan after 1996 was a safe haven for more than 28 thousand Arab jihadists mainly Al-Qaeda. USA demanding Taliban again and again to cut relations with AL-Qaeda, but Taliban rejected every time. And Finally after the critical juncture of 9/11 the US government and NATO forces toppled the Taliban regime with the help of northern alliance by attacking Afghanistan through the operation enduring freedom in December 2001.

Hamid Karzai was elected as the head of an interim government in Bonn conference in December 2001, and Afghanistan became a relatively peaceful and democratic country after two decades of war and bloodshed. The Taliban slowly gathered back against the US invasion and started fighting them and this way the Taliban and mujahedeen once supported by USA became a headache for them which could threaten the harmony and peace of the western nations.

It brings changes in security, human rights, and international relation for Afghanistan. Recognizing of 400,000 armies almost by cost of \$66 billion in the decade since the US invasion in 2001, there have been major improvements in education, infrastructure and healthcare, with nearly 8 million children, including 3 million girls, enrolled in schools. That compares with 1 million children more than a decade ago when girls were banned from school under the Taliban regime.

Improved health facilities, child mortality and expanded basic services to nearly 60% of the population of more than 25 million, compared with less than 10% in 2001. In education sector they have much achievement literacy rate increase to 40%, number of private and public universities established where the idea of private universities were innovation due to demand of market.

We can conclude that during last four to five situation was unstable and it start of the coup against dawood regime, Russian direct intervene started and people stood against Russian and the regime of the time, after the withdraw of Russian mujahidin overthrow Najib and door become open for another civil war between Mujahidin till America intervention, after the intervention the situation change as it was not totally end for conflict but up to some extent the situation was better and political participation emerge among the people.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

In our third chapter we are going to discuss the an over view political participation, different research that has been done on occurrence of conflict and studies that discuss effect of conflict on political participation, our last paragraphs will be on literature of voting and campaign, and the last part of this chapter will be our contribution of the study.

It is usual with conflict that it causes exclusion and inclusion in some aspects of our life, but what will be its affect on political participation? Whether people will become interesting in political participation or they will set aside due to conflict? Will this conflict provide opportunity for political participation and will it change political attitude toward political participation?

Conflict and political participation, these words are always go to gather, and nowadays due to increase in media, and technology and their focus on political conflict this term become noticeable to every individual (Kathleen Hall Jamieson, 1997; Tannen, 1998). The term politics refers to individual and collective action in situations in which people attempt to further their interests by imposing their will on others (Baron, 2003).

When we say political participation what we mean by this word, which areas and what activities are cover by this (Stacy G. Ulbig, 1999) in their study on conflict and political participation take five indicators through which they discussed political participation “political protest, campaign support activities, interpersonal discussion of politics, voting, and contacting officials”. And they further classified these activities into categories, which are based on high levels of social conflict, medium and low level of social conflict.

Political protest, will be in that category where we have high chances of conflict with opposite party or ideology and conflict evasion people will probably not be willing to join this kind of activities, campaign, inter personal discussion and political protest are significantly related to conflict avoidance. Voting and contacting officials are not significantly related to conflict avoidance, In voting, we don't see any chance for conflict because it is a silent act no one knows about others voting and registration for voting, contacting officials is seem like voting, low or no probability of conflict, because it is individual to individual relationship there is low chance of informing of publics because this contacting officials are for personal benefit of individual not societal relating issue (Wyatt-Brown, 1982; Mladenka, 1977; S Verba, 1972).

The campaign support and discussion of politics are in medium category in which we have probably chances of internal personal conflict, as in campaigns support activity there will be spending of money and time voluntarily with a party and obviously there will be the open expression of individual feeling and thought that the opposite party individual will not have tolerance of hearing such feeling so this action will have signal for conflict and we have this chance also that campaign support will not lead to conflict when the supporter support a party privately. The last one of which every citizen fell eligible to be the part of it is the discussion of politics in which we have chances of conflict for opposite ideology people but if we choose a person of same ideology then this chance is going to decrease.

(LW Milbrath, 1977) says, that research proves that person belong to higher class are more active in politics as compare to lower class. (Kenny, 1992) propose in their paper that individual based activity effect the social environment so when an individual belong to high class or high status his/her role will be significant in politics as compare to other individual. We have also some individual that even not allowed to participate in politics.

Supporting of government and governmental policies will not be the only purpose of participant personal and material interest will also be an incentive that encourage people to be the part of politics. That is why some people are more interested as compare to others. But some don't want to involve in political activity because of personal security and threat (Peter J. Walker, 1980). (ROSENBERG, 1954) in interview from middle class people also observed that some of middle class don't join politics because of their personal security and threat. While some people don't want to involve in discussion when the environment is opposite of their opinion' (Carroll J. Glynn, 1997) , because this disagreement creates a negative psychological tension (Eagly, 1993); (Petty, 1981).

And their hypothesis shows, that difference between individuals in avoidance for conflict have impact for those act in which there are high and medium level of chances for social conflict. But the difference between the participation of individual also depend on social demographic characteristics and their implication for material and civic resources (Leighley J. E., 1995; Norman H. Nie, 1996; Sidney Verba, 1995; RE Wolfinger, 1980). Or how elites play their role in mobilization of participation (Leighley K. Q., 1996; Leighley J. , 1996).

Some of the reasons that why conflict occur and why political participation are higher in some place or in some people here we summarized some research papers, for occurrence of conflict we have to present the work of (BLOMBERG, 2002) collect Data from 152 countries from 1950 and analyze it through Markov probability model, their result suggests that Internal conflict, external conflict and state of the economy are not independent of each other, and the probability of external and internal conflict will increase in recession period. (Collier P. , April, 2006) globally analyze over the period 1965-99. Using logit and probit regression and their finding suggest that Civil conflict is because of rely on primary commodity export and low national income.

Some of Research which disclose the reality on political participation are (Oto-Peralías, Kyklos) in their work describe the Spanish civil war of 1936-1939, through using OLS and their Finding indicate that being the member of family which suffered violence during the civil war is related to higher interest, knowledge and interest in politics. (Kenny, 1992) Collected 1500 sample in 1984 south bend Indiana presidential election and analyze it through using OLS and their study suggest that individual based activity effect the social environment. (Brett W. Hawkins, 1971) they collect data from high school students and Georgians ,584 Georgians and 1417 high school students from Charleston, South Carolina, and Edgecombe County, North Carolina to prove Gamson theory and suggest that the effective trustful participated is higher than mistrustful participated. (BLATTMAN, 2009) done their research in context of Uganda in 2005 through using LRA and the finding suggest that in Uganda Abductees who witnessed the most acts of violence are the most likely to participate politically later in life.

What we observe in our life is, that conflict and political participation have close relationship and they are factors that always go together, in recent time due to increase in technology and media this term become remarkable to every individual (Kathleen Hall Jamieson, 1997; Tannen, 1998), in real life experience we observes, that if one party which is belong to a specific ethnicity struggle to take the power the opposite ethnicity will also start supporting their party just to bring their own people in power and media can play an important role here because it is media that inform people about the progress of situation.

Voting will be one of the most significant factor in political participation, and ethnicity will be more considerable in voting, the study of (Wolfinger R. , 1995) also argue that it is an important factor in politics as most people start participating in politics to support candidates of their ethnicity. Voting is one of the main factor of politics which has a vital role in wining of election

especial when they feel that due to our participation our ethnicity candidate can win then they start participation even if they are such kind of people that are not interest in politics.

(Kiewiet, 1989) argue that, black and white are active in politics as compare to Latinos and Asian. Because they are the origin and predominant group. Ethnicity play an important role in politics, when ethnicity of a group is in majority it would be a plus point for them, their participation will be more as compare to other group and most of the time their people will be in dominant position.

Increase in campaign will have a direct impact on voting that outcome will cause in success of a political party. And due to fund raise this campaign activity will be more smooth fund raising is the means for increasing financing the turnout and voter contact and as it is easily transferable to other resources it is so useful. As it plays vital role in success of election but there is no guarantee that due to a single factor victory will be assure (Agranoff, 1976).

(Howell, 1982) their study discussed the relation between number of vote a candidate receive and campaign activities and suggest that campaign activities in many cases is waste of time when there is dominant party, indeed there are some action that has a vital role in voting like incumbency, mobilization of elites and organization their staff and business people.

Strategically resources allocation is important in election campaigns, and campaign is defined by from stand point of candidate by an observer "the process of acquiring and using the political resource that can secure votes" (Bartels, 1985). And media is an instruments which is effective in election campaign, hence there should be allocation of resources. (Bartels, 1985) in his paper Resource Allocation in a Presidential Campaign by mathematical analysis of rational campaign strategy in populous states Campaign appearances and advertising funds were heavily concentrated.

3.1 Contribution of the Study

This study will examine that how political behavior is effected by conflict in context of Kabul, and from political behavior we will just take voting and campaign support activities and will examine that how conflict affect these activities, according to our understanding that we search till now still we don't have any research in context of Kabul in this area so it will be an invention of literature on Afghanistan study.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Methodology refers to the theoretical principle, or principle that legitimize the research methods appropriate for field of study (CARR, 2006).

In social science research methodology have two methods. Positivism and post positivism.

Positivism is attached with quantitative method of analysis because it intercourse with facts and base on social science model. On the other hand, post positivism is attached with qualitative method because of it deals with understanding the subjectivity of social phenomena (Noor, 2008).

We want to do our research through a case study, even with having more criticism on case study but still it is a proper way in social science, and it is efficient way to get the depth information about a particular situation at a particular place because case study is not more general

As, for the every research there should be a proper channel through which we get the result, hence our last part of the study will be focusing on model specification, variable definitions, sources of data and estimation technique, we want to check the behavior of conflict on voting and campaign support activities through Logit model, and we will use two separate model for this, first regression on voting and second for campaign support activities and we will have an index of conflict exposure index.

Index is a way of measuring a construct, in quantities social science research Indexes are very useful, as it provides a researcher a way or create a composite measure that summarizes responses for multiple rank-order related question or statements and for single question or statement it might be difficult and it used in many research papers like a papepr which is intergroup contact between

white and black in school by (Clark McCauley, 2001). For index creation we have to take the following steps.

- Item selection: in which we have to do Consider our variable of Interest. unidimensionality that one concept should be include, if my Index is for conflict I shouldn't include politics. Specification that specific item should be include like for CEI i include physical cost, financial cost and migration
- Examining Empirical: Item should be design in such a way if the respondents' answer to one question help us in to answer in another question.
- Index Scoring: Like did u face physical cost if yes 1 if no then 0.
- Index Validation: to make sure that it is valid that is intended to measure.

4.1 Conflict Exposure Index

- 1) Physical cost.
- 2) Financial cost.
- 3) Family migration.

We use the logit model and we know that logit model is that model which take the value between zero and one.

For the strategic research this model is important, and there is significant increase in the use of Logit model since 2000 (HOETKER, 2007). And it is a standard method of analysis for binary dependent variables (ALLISON, 1999).

Area of research for this study is Afghanistan, as there is anarchy since long time and for a time there was kingdom or the royal system where people was not familiar with voting and campaign

support activities, for the first time it takes place after the critical juncture of 9/11 in the 2004 presidential election.

This war and conflict may affect the attitude of people toward political activities so our study will show that how political participation is affected by conflict, and till now as for as our research on this area we did not find have study in context of Kabul, we will use primary data for estimation and we use the questionnaire method for collection of data.

4.2 Models

Model 1: Effect of violent conflict on vote casting

This model is used to discuss the effect of conflict on voting, that how vote casting is affected by conflict, as we mentioned that we have an index here, which is also our main independent variable of interest that consist of financial cost, physical cost and family migration. Our other variable consists of education, income, family size, gender, ethnicity, member of political party, the following variable has effect on voting directly or indirectly which may change due to conflict. It has been proved by researchers that due to conflict people will become displaced and this displacement or migration would have an impact on economic, social and political behavior (Harrell-Bond, 1985).

(Stacy G. Ulbig, 1999) in construction of model for his reseach, define their dependent variable in following way, if someone participate in protest in last two years they take it in protest variable, if someone has financially or voluntary support the campaign of a candidate will come in index of campaign support, for discussion index they asked two question which concern about local and national politics. In voting, the index was consisting of registration for voting, and the numbers of time he/she vote in local and national election. In contacting index if someone has contact with

one of the following it will come in contacting index, with those who won the local or national election or with those who lost the local or national election.

Comparatively political behavior of women is more changeable due to violent, women feel more stress than men because of the psyche which don't have more control, so this effect their political behavior (WARR, 1984; Maxfield, 1981).

Logistic Regression model on vote casting:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{LOGIT}[P(\mathbf{Vote\ casted} = 1)] \\ = \mathbf{\beta 0} + \mathbf{\beta 1(CEI)} + \mathbf{\beta 2(EDU)} + \mathbf{\beta 3(INC)} + \mathbf{\beta 4(GEN)} + \mathbf{\beta 5(ETH)} \\ + \mathbf{\beta 7(MEMPP)} + \mathbf{\beta 7(TS)} + \mathbf{\mu} \end{aligned}$$

VC= Vote casting

CEI= Conflict exposure index

EDU= Education

INC= Income

ETH= Ethnicity

MEMPP= Member of political party

TS= Trust on system

μ = Error term

Model 2: Affect of violent conflict of campaign activities

$$\begin{aligned} \text{LOGIT}[P(\text{DONE CAMPAIGN} = 1)] \\ = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{CEI}) + \beta_2(\text{EDU}) + \beta_3(\text{INC}) + \beta_4(\text{GEN}) + \beta_5(\text{ETH}) \\ + \beta_6(\text{MEMPP}) + \beta_7(\text{TEffcamp}) + \mu \end{aligned}$$

Our second model is use to find the impact of violent conflict on campaign support activities, that how campaign support activities is effected due to conflict. It is important to be known, especially for a country like Afghanistan which suffer decades of war and conflicts and still have portion of people that consider it as a invaluable because in the past mean in peace period they were not familiar with campaign support activities because the country was run by kingdom system, and some area there wasn't any opportunity of practicing of campaign activities, keeping other variables constant and with having same conflict exposure index, will check that how campaign support activities are effected due violent.

In the same area we have to mention the work of (Brady, 1995) which introduce a model for political participation that consist of time, money and civic skill, that how much this time, money and civic skill is important for political participation. Role of time for political activity and political discussion, role of money for support of any political event or other political expenditure, and role of civic skill for having a good impression on people and society for best participation, and this resource model will also be the answer for that confusion that why some people are political active while other are not, people with having money and civic skill play a vital role in politics so they are supposed to be active.

Nature of campaign is different with different environment, different cultures, institutions and norms will have different effect of campaign (David L. Swanson, 1996).

Camp= Campaign support activity (Financial campaign).

Effcamp= effectiveness of campaign

4.3 Data Collection

For data collection we will use questionnaires method, and the research will be done through primary data, target population will be afghan, those who lives in Kabul.

comparatively educated people participation is high then uneducated people, and Kabul is comparatively educated than rest of the provinces and different ethnicity is also living in Kabul.

We use questionnaire method for data collection, as it has its own pros and cons like it gives proper time for someone to give his answer, and economically it is costless because you can sent through an email, but it has some weakness like it will be challengeable for an uneducated person to fill, and most of the time there is the chances of lost and it is also an issue that weather the respondent are truly the representative. (KOTHARI, 2004)

Before it that we distribute our questionnaire among people we have to run a polite survey among some individual because their feedback and comments will help us in proper designing of our questionnaire.

4.4 Sample Size

As we know that for collection of sample size we have to do a survey and Aim of every survey is to collect date which present the population, and one of the advantage that we take sample is to save our time and money and through it we can predicate for population (Holton & Burnett, 1997).

Sample saize should select with keeping this three critiria, Level of accuracy second level of risk and the degree of variation. (Miaoulis & Michener, 1976).

For population sample we can use the following formula of Cochran.

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2 PQ}{e^2}$$

n_0 stand for sample size.

Z^2 use for confidence level $1-\alpha$, let suppose 95%

P is the attribute level of population.

Q is $1-p$. (Israel2, 1992)

Collection of sample was taken from different ethnicity and different cultures, Pashtuns, Tajik, Hazara and others.

Cross culture sample will be useful because every culture has different experience. Cross culture ethnicity refers to majority which speak different language and govern by different political unit. (Brislin, 1973).

Sample size will be around 400.

4.5 Sample Techniques

Sampling is a technique for collecting information about entire population to examining only on a part of it, it is a best way to get our result about population and save our time and money, we have different techniques for obtaining the sample like cluster, stratified and some others, and we should apply one of it for obtaining our sample. In our work we divide population into different sub groups or sub population and then we select sample from different groups so here we have to use stratified sampling methods, and if we look to its name strata refers to different sub population. We use stratified sampling method because we can divide population of Kabul in to different group, Pashtons, Tajak, Hazara and others.

But we do a comparison here also, hence we take same sample size from each group and ethnicity as it is efficient for comparison.

It is an advantage of stratified sampling that it gives us deep information about subpopulation hence it is not applicable in some sampling, and it is more efficient than random sampling when the sample is internally homogenous and have difference in groups, here applicable for ethnicity. (Barreiro & Albandoz, 2006)

4.6 Estimation Technique

For estimation technique we will look to nature of data, and will apply logit or probit model, as most of researcher are using Logit model because of its mathematical simplicity we will also prefer the logit model.

The Logit Model, which is known as Logistic Regression is a binomial regression model. Logistic Regression is used to associate with a vector of random variables to a binomial random variable. Logistic regression is a special case of a generalized linear model. It is widely use in Banking, Insurance, Medicine and Econometric.

When we have two possible option, then the logit model suit well, like pass and fail or we can say that when we want to investigate the presence or absence of attribute of interest or in our research does conflict affect political participation?.

At time of two option suppose occurrence and non-occurrence then in this case the probity and logit are the well know techniques (Peter Schmidt, 1975).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULT AND ESTIMATION

First we have Principle component analysis (PCA), is a mathematical algorithm that reduces the dimensionality of the data while retaining most of the variation in the data set. (Jolliffe, 2002).

PCA is the best way to reduce dimensionality of the sample when we have larger number of variables and we don't want to loss the information (Ringnér, 2008)

PCA Analysis for construction of conflict exposure index

Principal components/correlation

Number of obs	400
Number of comp	3
Trace	3
Rho	1.0000

Rotation: (unrotated = principal)

Component	Difference	Eigenvalue	Proportion	Cumulative
Comp1	1.20833	.227318	0.4028	0.4028
Comp2	.981017	.170368	0.3270	0.7298
Comp3	.810648	.	0.2702	1.0000

In above chart the first component show 40 % of variation where we have three components that rest of the component show 30 % and 20 % of variation.

Principal components (eigenvectors)

Principal components/correlation

Rotation: orthogonal varimax (Kaiser off)

Number of obs	400
Number of comp	3
Trace	3
Rho	1.0000

Component	Variance	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Comp1	1	5.01796e-06	0.3333	0.3333
Comp2	.999999	3.21616e-06	0.3333	0.6667
Comp3	.999996	.	0.3333	1.0000

Orthogonal varimax shows the variation of each component and each variables, as the variation of first component is high we have to use the first component in our regression.

Rotated components.

Variable	Camp1	Camp2	Camp3	Unexplained
Pc	-0.0000	0.0000	1.0000	0
Fc	-0.0000	-0.0000	1.0000	0
Mi	1.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0

The above Matrix show that how much each variables is explaining by each component, like physical cost the first variables is explained by third component with the value of 1.000 and the second variables is explained with the second component with the value of 1.000 and the third variables is explained with the first component with the value of 1.000.

Estimation of Model 1: Effect of violent conflict on vote casting

Variables	Odds ratio	p> z	95% conf.
Conflict Exposure index	1.592097	0.086	.9356328
Age	2.263639	0.054	.9863786
Education	1.940807	0.000	.0339434
income	.3561165	0.015	.1544159
Etnicity	2.12204	0.000	1.978973
member politcl prt	.2289549	0.085	.0427464
trust on vt system	2.55223	0.005	0.467498
Constant	2.81e-10	0.011	1.14e-17

We estimate the logistic model and get its coefficients, but coefficients of logistic model are differing by a scale factor and therefore we cannot interpret the magnitude of the coefficients so we calculate its odds ratio after logit for proper interpretation. Coefficient of conflict exposure index is significant at 10% level of confidence interval, and from the result we get that, conflict effected people those who suffer physical and financial cost, and impaled to migration are 60% more likely to cost presidential vote in Kabul, wongs also shows strong relationship between migration and political participation (Wong, 2000). As they think that it will be the only solution for eliminating of this worse situation, we know from the history also in 1990 when the civil war starts in Kabul between militant and religious party for getting of power which lead killing of 100,000 Kabul citizan and destruction of Kabul it was just for getting of power, now they think that it is the best way for avoiding of such situation.

From our second variable age, which is significant at 10% level of confidence interval, we can identify it that age has a vital role in vote casting, from the result we can also identified that high age people are more likely cast the presidential vote, as people become more mature and they are able to make their decision properly, elder people are active in voting compare to younger as the younger generation trust on modern traditional like political protest, social movements etc. our finding is also supported by (P. Martikainen & H. Wass, 2005), also in USA In the early 1970s, about one-half of 18- to 29-year-olds voted in Presidential elections. By 2000, fewer than one-third did. The same pattern holds for congressional elections — a bit more than one-fourth in the mid-1970s, compared to less than one-fifth in 2002. (GALSTON, 2003).

Coefficient of education is significant 1% level of confidence interval. From the results we observed that educated individuals are 90 % more likely to cast presidential vote in Afghanistan. As we know that high educated individuals are active in political activity and voting because they

can judge a party policy and outcome of their policy, and it is a proxy if someone want to increase the level of participation he should increase level of education, because due to education someone can increase sense of political participation and voting. (Henry E. Brady, 1995)

Summarily, income is significant at 5 % level of confidence. Results shows that high income individuals, are 65% less likely to cast presidential vote in Kabul, we can support with economic theory that increase in income will increase hour of work so in steading of waiting in line why should not work, and when there is security threat then we do not see their appearance in vote casting, they think that opportunity cost of voting is greater.

Ethnicity is significant at 1% level of confidence interval form the result we observe that 121% individuals who care about ethnicity are more likely cast the presidential vote. And people vote about shared ethnic identities and same cases are happening in African countries and others multi ethnic countries (Horowitz, 2009). When an individual can sacrifices him/her self in civil wars for ethnic dominancy why s/he did not cast the vote for the success of his ethnic leader because participating in vote casting is not dangers than participating in war.

Affiliation or member of political party, is significant at 10% confidence level interval, and from result we observe that 77% of individuals that are affiliated with political party are less likely to cast the presidential vote. Because young people are less affiliated with parties compare to older people so the portion of old people are less in vote casting, and the same result was presented by (R. J. Johnston, 1983).

Our last and most important variable due to which people are willing for going to polling station that is trust on system, here it is significant at 1% level of confidence interval, the result show that

due to increase of trust on voting system 150% of individual is more likely to go to polling station for vote in Kabul.

Estimation of Model 2: Effect of violent conflict of campaign activities.

Variables	Odds ratio	p> z	95% conf.
Conflict Exposure index	1.602216	0.076	.9510739
Age	2.264849	0.059	.9708703
Education	1.905632	0.000	.0327351
Income	.334576	0.014	.1401272
Ethnicity	2.33513	0.000	0.919186
member politcl prt	.2155575	0.064	.0423946
trust on Efficency of Campaign	1.500811	0.010	.0052027
Constant	2.60e-10	0.012	8.85e-18

Before we start interpreting campaign model result, lets point it that result of vote casting model is most similar with campaign activities model. logic behind it is the similarity of both activities as both are paroral activities when someone run a campaign obviously she/he will be willing for cast of vote or when some did not reach to the age of vote casting how he/she can campaign.

Conflict Exposure index which is consist of physical cost financial and migration is significant at 10% level of confidence interval shows that above 60% of individual in Kabul which are effected by conflict more likely to campaign for presidential election in Kabul.

Age is significant at 10% level of confidence interval and from result we can say that 126% of individual whose age is eligible for campaign are more likely to campaign for presidential election, and elder are more active compare to younger as most of the younger people following the modern ways of political participation, like join local community, wearing different types of clothes on different events etc., we can support our statement by work of (Quintelier, 2007) .

Education is significant at 1% level of confidence interval and from result we can say that 90% of educated individual are more likely to campaign (financial campaign) for presidential election in Kabul, and this statement is proven since century that educated individual are more likely to participate in political activities and campaign (Wolfinger S. R., 1980).

Income is significant at 5% level of confidence interval and result show that 67% of high income individual are less likely to campaign for presidential election in Kabul, they think that when the election is uncertain why we do not allocate our resources to business instead of vesting on campaign, secondly the old age people are more interested in political participation and from life cycle hypothesis we know that people are less when they become old (Goerres, 2007).

Ethnicity is significant at 1% level of confidence interval and from result we can identify that ethnicity play a vital role in campaign and around 130% Individual are more likely to campaign due to their ethnical links, because every political party are recognize on the biases of their ethnicity, religion and race so people stand with them and politicians are representative of them (Lijphart, 1977; Herrnson, 2000).

Member of political party it is significant at 10% level of confidence interval, and our result show that those individuals which are affiliated with political party 79% of them are less likely to campaign for presidential election, main reason behind it, that more candied in presidential election do not belong to any political party and they are people which arise from the nation, and if a candidate were belong to a political party they were not supported by that party, and research also tell us that primary goal of being member a member of political party is to support a candidate and our result is also supported (Collie, 1988)

Trust of efficiency of campaign which significant at 1% level of confidence interval, it show that 50% of individuals who trust on efficiency of campaign will more likely to campaign for presidential election, campaign play role in election when someone campaign about a candidate in newspaper, TV channels and other sources they feel that it is significance because people know about different candidate and the same statement is supported by (Zhao, 1995)

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary

Before we give the result summary of two models, we will go with a slight view by history which is discussed here, that why different regime changes in different time, why some people join different party and why they stand against other party.

History tell us that most of the time leader was belong to those which has ethnic majority and social exclusion cause to their over throwing, and for malcontent of people they present different motives but noticeable were ethnicity and Religious, because due to these factor people can easily join their line, they stand against Amanullah khan accuse him a secular leader and most of the religious type people were collaborating them, people join different political and Jihadist party like Khalq, Purcham, Hezb and Jammiat and think that if their party become dominant their ethnic people will be in leadership and policy level, if they have Islamic ideology they were trying to Join Jamiat (Tajak ethnicity) and Hezb for Pashtons and if they have secular ideology they were joining Khalq for Pashtons and Purcham for Tajak, we must also point that some of the people were in realty with them just for the sake of the motive of the party but this portion was few on policy level.

Our first model shows that due to conflict the vote casting behavior is going to change, especially those effected by conflict, whether they face physical cost, financial cost or they left the country they are more likely to participate in vote casting for presidential election of 2019, also those who are educated, trust on system and ethnic majority are also more willing for vote casting. but high income people and people who are affiliated with political party are less likely for vote casting.

Our second model, campaign support activity and we consider it as financial campaign and result is same as vote casting that conflict effected people are more likely to do campaign for presidential election of 2019. And also people that educated, trust on efficiency of campaign and belong to ethnic majority are more likely to campaign for presidential election of 2019.

High income people are less likely to campaign for presidential election of 2019 as our responder are not that much high income that give financial support to any candidate.

6.2 Policy Recommendation

Our policy recommendation that we can suggest due to our research and we think will be significant.

As we cite some of the policies in our literature but when we recommend a policy it should be suitable in the context of the that country, if we go through Afghanistan history and literature that we presented in our research we can easily judge that majority of the population is on religious ideology and they are the strong follower of theirs leaders and we can prove it by the Afghan civil war that how people scarifies themselves for their leaders, let us conclude our policy recommendation by this view that if government want to increase participation of the people and decrease the conflict they should broad their area of governance and negotiation with the opposite party is the only way, because by this way opposite party will become members of the system and their followers will start struggle for supporting of their leaders to bring them on policy level on a civilize way, so they will participate in voting and campaign support activity and this will be the the only way

There will be more trade off for government to bring them in area of politics but they have to accept it, like government have to fulfil demands of the opposite party even if it is not in favor of the government but to bring a peaceful environment they have to accept.

6.3 Limitation of the Research

Our study area was Kabul and we collect data just from central not from whole districts, and there is some differences between people who are living in Kabul and people who are living in districts of Kabul, central people of Kabul are more educated, active in political participation and different ethnic people are living in central.

6.4 For Future Research Work

My recommendation for future research is to collect cluster sample from different ethnicity and show that which ethnic are more active comparative to others and find the reason behind it.

Also to find which region is more active in political participation and which region participating can be turning point for the success of a candidate.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Assalam-o-Alaikum! I am Khalil ur Rahman Stanikzai, Mphil Economics student at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad. I am conducting my Mphil research work on the “How political behavior is effected by conflict” for which I need the following information. I shall be grateful to you if you spare some of your precious time to fill the questionnaire. Remember that all of your provided information shall be kept confidential, and will only be used for research purposes.

S.No _____

Name of Province _____

I. General Information about the respondents:

1. Name
2. Age (years)
3. Marital Status
 - (a) Married (b) Single
4. Household Size
 - a) 2_4
 - b) 5_8
 - c) 9 and above
5. Education (years)
- a) 6-12 Bachelor
 - b) Master and above
6. Ethnicity
7. Occupational status
 - (a) Have a job
 - (b) have Business
 - (c) Jobless
 - (d) Don't know the response DNR
8. Income level (AFN)
 - a) 9000 _15000
 - b) 16000_220000

c) 23000 and above.

(A). On vote casting

1. Voting Participation for Presidential election

Did you cost the vote on presidential election of? [Read out options].			
	Yes	No	Don't know [DNR]
A. Presidential Election of 2004			
B. Presidential Election of 2009			
C. Presidential Election of 2014			
D. Presidential Election of 2019			

2. Trust in Presidential election result

How much do you trust on voting result of Presidential election? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	Don't know
A. Presidential election of 2004					
B. Presidential election of 2009					
C. Presidential election of 2014					
D. presidential election of 2019					

3. Voting Participation for parliamentary election

Did you cost the vote on parliamentary election of? [Read out options].			
	Yes	No	Don't know [DNR]
A. Parliamentary Election of 2005			
B. Parliamentary Election of 2010			
C. Parliamentary Election of 2015			
D. Parliamentary Election of 2019			

4. Trust in parliament election result

How much do you trust on voting result for Parliamentary election? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	Don't know
A. Parliamentary election of 2005					
B. Parliamentary election of 2010					

C. Parliamentary election of 2015					
D. Parliamentary election of 2019					

B) On campaign support activities.

1. Campaign Participation for presidential election

Did you campaign for presidential election of? [Read out options]			
	Yes	No	Don't know [DNR]
A. Presidential Election campaign of 2004			
B. Presidential Election campaign of 2009			
C. Presidential Election campaign of 2014			
D. Presidential Election campaign of 20019			

2. Effectuality of Presidential campaign.

How much do you assure on effectuality of your campaign activities for? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	Don't know [DNR]
A. Presidential campaign for election of 2004					
B. Presidential campaign for election of 2009					
C. Presidential campaign for election of 2014					
D. presidential campaign for election of 2019					

3. Campaign Participation for parliamentary election

Did you campaign for parliamentary election of? [Read out options].			
	Yes	No	Don't know [DNR]
A. Parliamentary Election campaign of 2005			
B. Parliamentary Election campaign of 2010			
C. Parliamentary Election campaign of 2015			
D. Parliamentary Election campaign of 20019			

4. Effectuality of parliament campaign

How much do you assure on effectuality of your campaign activities for? [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	I trust them somewhat	alot	Don't know
A. Parliament campaign for election of 2005					
B. Parliament campaign for election of 2010					
C. Parliament campaign for election of 2015					
D. Parliament campaign for election of 2019					

C. CEI (Conflict exposure index)

a. Face for the cost

In the last decades did you and your family member face. [Read out options]					
	Not at all	Just a little	Somewhat	A lot	Don't know [DNR]
A. Physical cost					
B. Financial cost					
C. Migration	Yes	No			

D. Member of the political party

Did you belong to any of the following political party if yes then please specify?			
	Yes	No	Don't know [DNR]
A. Khalq and Purcham			
B. Hezbi e Islami			
C. Jamat e Islami			
D. Others ()			

