

**T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**



**PATRONAGE AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN AFGHANISTAN SINCE
2001**

THESIS

M. Mansoor WARDAK

**Department Of Political Science And International Relations
Political Science And International Relations Program**

Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Hatice Deniz YÜKSEKER

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T.C.
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original to this thesis.

M. Mansoor WARDAK



FOREWORD

I was always looking forward to write on a major problem of Afghanistan and recommend solutions for the problem, those problems are; insecurity, poverty, unemployment, corruption, lack of national unity and foreign intervention in domestic politics. Finally I decided to write on political corruption and patronage because I saw these problems as obstacles for development, security and national unity. I learnt to study all academic published knowledge in a specific issue to learn about all aspects of the subject. Moreover, I learned to be patient and work hard to get a better result and hope for great things. While I was writing this thesis I believed that I should do my responsibilities and leave the rest to god.

I am submitting my special thanks to my thesis advisor Prof. Dr. Hatice Deniz YUKSEKER, who showed me how to start my research, what to write and how to end my thesis. I am lucky because I worked with a smart and talented professor who helped me more than expectations. I also convey my special thanks to my dearest mother and all those valuable personalities who gave me hope and persuade me to complete my thesis.

October, 2018

M. Mansoor WARDAK

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ABBREVIATIONS

TI	:Transparency International
UN	:United Nations
USAID	:United States Agency for International Development
UNODC	:United Nations Organization for Drugs and Crimes
HOO	:High Office of Oversight
NUG	:National Unity Government
SIGAR	:Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
IWA	:Integrity Watch Afghanistan
AGO	:Attorney General Office
CPI	:Corruption Perception Index
GDP	:Gross Domestic Product
FDI	:Foreign Direct Investment
WB	:World Bank
UK	:United Kingdom
USA	:United States of America
SU	:Soviet Union
NATO	:North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	:Non Governmental Organization
PDPA	:People Democratic Party of Afghanistan
UNCAC	:United Nations Convention against Corruption
ACJC	:Anti-Corruption Justice Center
MOF	:Ministry of Finance
MOI	:Ministry of Interior
ANSCC	:Afghan National Strategy for Combating Corruption
HCLJAC	:High Council on Law, Justice and Anti-Corruption

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PATRONAGE AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN AFGHANISTAN SINCE 2001

ABSTRACT

The present thesis about political corruption and patronage in Afghanistan, aims to determine the genesis for the problem of corruption and find out the causes, effects, acts and types of corruption initially. This thesis emphasizes that the main causes of corruption are weak rule of law, lack of transparency and accountability in government expenditures, low wages of public servants, corrupt judiciary, nepotism, the monopoly-power of high-ranking officials that provide opportunities for corruption. The thesis goes on discussing the history of Afghanistan and providing a profound understanding of political corruption and patronage in Afghanistan since 2001. The debates on the effects of corruption on economic growth and public procurement will be discussed in detail. This thesis found that the effects of corruption on economic growth are negative, corruption decreases investment and leads to poor quality of goods and services. This thesis will provide recommendations for eliminating the problem of corruption. Moreover, the failed strategies of government to curb corruption will be discussed for example the attempt of High Office for Oversight (HOO) and the new strategies developed to fight corruption in Afghanistan will be discussed, such as, Afghan National Strategy to Combat Corruption (ANSCC). Corruption is an international problem for both developed and developing countries and both are experiencing various forms and types of corruption. In some countries such as Afghanistan, this problem became a serious obstacle for the development of the country and lead to poverty, unemployment of skillfullabor, insecurity, poor government performances and lack of education opportunities. The research aims to find the reasons behind corruption in Afghanistan and show the devastating effects of corruption on different aspects of life. Looking to the history of Afghanistan the main factors that promoted corruption in Afghanistan were a huge inflow of international capital for the reconstruction of Afghanistan with no or less accountability and three decades of war and brutality lead to erosion of Afghan institutions, furthermore, imposed psychological pressure on the minds of the public. So this situation led to decrease public hope for a prosperous future in the country. Corruption in Afghanistan seriously damaged the trust of the public to government and decreased national and international investment in the country. Corruption perception is different from a country to another country, for example, one person's gift will be another person's bribe. So, even the acts of corruption have no common perception among the scholars.

Keywords: *Afganistan, political corruption, patronage, transparency, nepotism, accountability, petty corruption, grand corruption, kleptocracy, extortion*

2001'DEN BERİ AFGANİSTAN'DA PATRONAJ VE SİYASAL YOLSUZLUK

ÖZET

Bu tez, öncelikli olarak yolsuzluk sorununun oluşumunu belirlemeyi ve nedenleri, etkileri, eylemleri ve yolsuzluk türlerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, yolsuzluğun temel nedenlerinin zayıf hukuk devleti, şeffaflığın ve devlet harcamalarında hesap verebilirliğin olmaması, kamu görevlilerinin düşük maaşları, yozlaşmış yargı, nepotizm, yolsuzluğa olanak sağlayan üst düzey yetkililerin tekelci gücü olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Araştırma, aynı zamanda, Afganistan'ın tarihi hakkında bilgi vermeyi ve 2001 yılından bugüne kadar Afganistan'da yolsuzluk ve patronajın derinlemesine anlaşılmasını sağlamayı amaçlamıştır. Yolsuzluğun ekonomik büyüme ve kamu alımları üzerindeki etkileri konusundaki tartışmalar detaylı olarak ele alınacaktır. Bu tez çalışmasında, yolsuzluğun ekonomik büyüme üzerindeki etkisinin olumsuz olduğu, onun yatırımları azalttığı ve mal ve hizmetlerin kalitesinin düşük olmasına yol açtığı bulunmuştur. Çalışma, yolsuzluk sorununu ortadan kaldırmak için öneriler sunacaktır. Ayrıca, hükümetin yolsuzluğu önleme konusundaki başarısız stratejileri, örneğin Afganistan Yüksek Ofisi'nin (HOO) teşebbüsü ve Afganistan'daki yolsuzlukla mücadele için geliştirilen yeni stratejiler ele alınacaktır. Örneğin, Afgan Ulusal Yolsuzlukla Mücadele Stratejisi (ANSCC) .Yolsuzluk, hem gelişmiş hem de gelişmekte olan ülkeler için uluslararası bir sorundur ve her ikisi de çeşitli biçimler ve yolsuzluk türleri yaşamaktadır. Afganistan gibi bazı ülkelerde bu sorun ülkenin kalkınması için ciddi bir engel haline gelmiştir ve yoksulluğa, işsizliğe, güvensizliğe, zayıf hükümet performanslarına ve eğitim olanaklarının olmamasına yol açmıştır. Araştırma, Afganistan'daki yolsuzluğun ardındaki nedenleri bulmayı ve yaşamın farklı yönlerinde yolsuzluğun yıkıcı etkilerini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ülkenin tarihine bakıldığında, Afganistan'da yolsuzluğa yol açan temel faktörler, onun yeniden inşa edilebilmesi için uluslararası sermayenin çok büyük bir miktarının mali sorumluluğunun olmaması ve 30 yıl süren savaş ve vahşetin Afgan kurumlarının aşınmasına yol açması ve ülkede müreffeh bir gelecek için insanların umutlarını azaltmasıdır. Afganistan'daki yolsuzluk, halkın hükümete olan güvenini ciddi biçimde tahrip etmiştir ve ülkedeki ulusal ve uluslararası yatırımları azaltmıştır. Yolsuzluk, her ülkede farklı algılanabilir; örneğin, bir kişinin hediyesi başka bir kişinin rüşvetidir. Bu yüzden, yolsuzluk eylemlerinin bile alimler arasında ortak bir algısı yoktur.

Anahtar Kelimeler; *Afganistan, siyasal yolsuzluk, patronaj, şeffaflık, kayırmacılık, hesap verebilirlik, küçük yolsuzluk, büyük yolsuzluk, kleptokrasi, haraç.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of corruption has achieved a widespread attention in academic literature especially during the last decade. Afghanistan is a victim of corruption; according to the survey of Transparency International (TI) in 2016 the country has grabbed its place among 10 most corrupt countries in the world. This thesis will find out the factors to determine the causes of corruption, after identifying the problem the effects of corruption on economic development and another aspect will be explained. The case study has been done on corruption in Afghanistan, so I will provide the history of war and destruction in Afghanistan and explain how corruption increased in the country? Furthermore, this thesis will continue to provide the ways of eliminating and curbing corruption in Afghanistan, in chapter four. The study focuses on the relation between corruption and inflow of international capital in the country; it has long been argued that corruption occurs when there are opportunities for it. Massive international inflow of funds for the reconstruction of Afghanistan and the allocation of these funds without accountability and transparency were associated with promoting corruption in the country. The thesis focuses on the period after 2001, when the international funds were injected for the reconstruction of the country and allocated inefficiently.

Various scholars have represented different approach to the issue of corruption, an overview of the literature on the causes and consequences of corruption is fundamental to compare, synthesize and find out reliable information about Patronage and Political Corruption in Afghanistan since 2001. This topic will be restricted on a specific issue also considering time intervals starting from 2001. The thesis aims to obtain and spread useful academic information as a result of searching, summarizing, and finding liable sources of information to determine corruption and find possible strategies to curb corruption and maintain the rule of law.

In the last few years, corruption has attracted many academic scholars to do research about the phenomenon and find out adequate information about the reasons behind corruption to develop strategies for curbing corruption and patronage. Furthermore, the subject has attracted renewed interest, both among academics and policymakers since 2001. There are a number of reasons why this topic has come under fresh scrutiny and debates. Corruption exists in both industrialized and developing countries, but in transition countries, the change from closed economies to free market economy has provided huge opportunities for extraction of rents, high profits and has usually associated by a change from a well-organized system of corruption to a more chaotic system (Mashal, 2011, p.73). Corruption is a vital issue in the state building policy because it creates major obstacles to political, economic and social development in the country. In the case of post-war countries, this problem is even more serious because of ineffective government institutions of those countries cannot maintaining rule of law (Mohseni, 2006, p.142).

1.1 General Overview Of Chapters

The phenomenon of corruption has been approached by many perspectives, but I will focus on the political and economic perspectives. In this thesis, corruption is defined as the use of official position, rank or status by an office holder for his own and personal benefit. Corruption is widely understood to be the abuse of public office for private, relative or group gain. Political patronage is considered as a type of corrupt behavior by many scholars and defined as, recruiting a person based on personal relationship instead of being based on qualifications. Patronage will cause inefficiency and ineffectiveness in the institutional performance of the government. The definition of corruption and patronage is long debated and various scholars' point of view have been analyzed by reviewing the literature in the second chapter. This thesis will also provide a brief understanding of corruption and patronage to the readers. Furthermore, the thesis will start by the defining the importance of studying corruption in Afghanistan, later the thesis will provide a general approach to the subject in chapter two and go on by explaining the causes, effects, types, acts and factors that promote corruption. Moreover, I will seek to find why attempts

to curb corruption in Afghanistan were failed and I will also provide government new policies and efforts to combat corruption in Afghanistan.

The causes of corruption and factors that promote corruption are explained by various sources of information and in this research, I will explain the main reasons causing the problem of corruption. According to United States Agency for International Development (USAID) survey, the causes of corruption are related to weak legislative and regulatory norms or weak law enforcement, poor capacity of public administration, lack of accountability, low salaries, and discretionary power of high-ranking officials (USAID, 2009, p.5). There are also other factors that promote corruption, for example, Mauro explains “corruption dilemma” and claims that corruption reestablishes the opportunities for itself or corruption increases the incentive to be corrupt in a society (Mauro, 1998, p.12). On the other hand, Tanzi claims that; in many countries, the judiciary plays an important role in preventing corruption and the weakness of judiciary or the lack of implementing rules, laws, and norms created excessive opportunities for corruption. The core efforts for eliminating the problem of corruption is starting from starting effective reforms in the judiciary branch and enforcing rule of law throughout the country (Tanzi, 1998, p.20).

There is no definite number for the effects of corruption, the latest study of Rose-Ackerman found twelve effects of corruption. The author claims that corruption will lead to decrease economic growth, deteriorate investment, increase inflation rate, monetary devaluation, tax escape, inequality, decrease citizen trust, poor education, low quality of infrastructure, high crime rates and trafficking. Rose-Ackerman has found the twelve effect of corruption and claimed that corruption deteriorates economic development and decreases the incentive for the investment. Corruption leads to bad quality of infrastructure in construction projects, such as streets, buildings and other construction projects and increases the space between poor and rich, furthermore, it deteriorates the trust of citizens toward government. Corruption also causes the low quality of infrastructure, for example, poor quality leads to cost the lives of the people (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, p.28). The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) claims that corruption has negative impacts on the direct operations of government in all areas and reduces the citizen support for the

government (USAID, 2009, p.1). Furthermore, Mauro also claims that corruption deteriorates economic growth by decreasing the incentive for investment and lead to poverty due to corrupt and complex bureaucratic procedures where opportunity is created for rent-seeking (Mauro, 1998, p.12).

There are two main types of corruption also known by different names. First, high-level or political corruption also known as grand corruption is perpetrated by high-ranking politicians and decision-makers, who are responsible for the leadership of the institutions. High-level corruption occurs through patronage and engagement in high corrupt financial decision-making in the preparing and executing of the government budget, furthermore, embezzlement of the government revenues is also considered as grand corruption. Second, low-level or petty corruption also known as administrative corruption is concerning offences committed by middle/lower-level public officials, who are responsible for administrative procedures and usually extract a small amount of bribes out of their direct interactions with the public(Mashal, 2011, p.72). United Nations Office for Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) claims that, the officials involved in administrative corruption are seeking rent by providing services to the public, including “petty theft” of government property, petty fraud, and “petty bribery” to assure the delivery of government services or other “petty” illicit activities. The political corruption mostly receives a massive attention of the public due to its visibility in political decision-making and good governance. On the other hand, the devastating effects of low-level corruption on the daily-life of ordinary Afghan citizens receive less attention of the public compared to high-level corruption (UNODC, 2012, p.3).

There are many corrupt behaviors or acts and scholars did not agree on a standard list to count the corrupt acts. I will mention some corrupt behaviors according to Myint such as bribery, extortion, fraud, embezzlement, nepotism, cronyism, appropriation of public assets and property for private use and influence peddling. These corrupt acts are committed by public officials when he/she act against the law and regulations to seek his/her private gain (Myint, 2000, p.35). On the other hand, Rose-Ackerman claims there are twelve corrupt acts: bribery, extortion, exchange of favors, nepotism or patronage, cronyism, judicial fraud, electoral fraud, public service fraud embezzlement, kleptocracy,

influence peddling and conflict of interest. These twelve corrupt acts are explained in the literature review of chapter two (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, p.8).

The Afghan government had many attempts to combat corruption and most of these attempts were failed for different reasons. For example; the High Office of Oversight (HOO) was believed to eradicate the problem of corruption which was established in July 2008. High Office for Oversight couldn't execute its job effectively and HOO was failed to prevent corruption and patronage in Afghanistan because it was faced by many challenges such as lack of independence, intervention and pressure of high-ranking political leaders (Sigar, 2009, p.6). In chapter four, the policies that can prevent corruption in Afghanistan will be discussed and some strategies will be recommended to find an appropriate solution to the problem of corruption. The new strategic plans of Afghan National Unity Government (NUG) to combat corruption, established in 2016 and 2017 will be reinterpreted. To prevent the problem, strategies are discussed and explained to find the best preventive strategic plan for curbing corruption. I should say that only reforms are not essential but the most important part of the fight against corruption is to implement the strategies and turn the paper work into effective practices.

1.2 Purpose And Importance Of Research

This thesis is about one of the major problems that Afghanistan is facing for two decades. The subject of corruption is very essential to be studied because it can exist in almost all countries around the world regardless of being a developing country or a developed country. The responsibility of the government is to tackle this problem, but the cures should be based on three levels such as the civil society level, the national level and the international level. The study of this subject becomes important because corruption has direct and indirect effects on all aspects of our life. Furthermore, corruption is important to be studied because it has very devastating consequences that deteriorate economic growth, security, education, and infrastructure. Corruption increases the distance between poor and rich, challenges the rule of law, decreases the trust and support of the people toward the government, leads to worse civil services, increases insecurity in the country and inefficiency in procurement projects. The

devastating impacts of corruption lead us to research the problem and find possible ways to eradicate the problem. Corruption is related to almost everything in economic, political and social life and destroys the overall functioning system of the government.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) claims that the rule of law is a crucial factor in increasing the public trust toward government and increases the legitimacy of the ruling elite support for the reforms. The responsibility of government is to combat corruption strictly in the judiciary, fiscal management and service delivery to the citizens to fulfill the fundamental factors of democracy and the very legitimacy of government (USAID, 2009, p.7).

The main purpose of this research is to provide the readers with a profound understanding of patronage, political corruption and the causes, effects and cures of corruption. Nowadays corruption is a serious problem which has various causes and it is essential for knowledge-seekers to know about corruption especially the students of social science. They should have adequate information about political corruption and patronage. The main objective of the study is to define the terms of patronage, corruption and work on the main reasons behind corruption, as well as, find out the consequences and possible mechanisms for eliminating corruption. This thesis will seek to determine the problems correctly and then the research will go on with strategies for curbing corruption to find out solutions for the problem. Furthermore, the literature review explains anti-corruption strategies, the role of different organization and involvement of national and international institutions in the process of fighting corruption in Afghanistan. For example, High Office for Overseas (HOO) is an institution inside the Office of the President dealing with fighting of corruption issues. But unfortunately the HOO was failed in its attempts to curb corruption because it did not have the adequate independence to execute their duty. The attempts that the government of Afghanistan did with the assistance of the international community to curb corruption are divided by two, the first category is failed attempts for eradicating or decreasing corruption and the second category is the newly organized, innovated and developed strategies to curb corruption and maintain good governance strategies. These strategies will

be taken under consideration for the elimination of corruption in the country and will be discussed in details.

Furthermore, one will tackle in mind a question that why we are studying the corruption in Afghanistan after 2001? Or how should we understand the period before 2001 and the political background of those times? To answer these questions I will review the history of Afghanistan for four decades briefly and provide information about the social and political history of Afghanistan including foreign intervention into the domestic politics of the country.

1.3 Research Methodology

Different types of research methods will be used to make a better conclusion and have an appropriate approach to the subject. To obtain the correct approach to the problem of patronage and political corruption, I will collect the data through analysis of government documents and published reports and secondary data analysis to find the existing and newly published information and being able to write a well-organized academic thesis research. The primary data will be collected through analysis of government documents and published reports. Furthermore, secondary data will be collected from national and international surveys, books, journals, articles, newspaper and governmental data. Afghanistan is the field of my study, but I will also analyze international scholarly researches about this subject, to be able to find sufficient information and obtain reliable consequences.

1.4 Determining the Level of Corruption In Afghanistan

According to the report shared by Transparency International (TI) in 2010, Afghanistan was ranked 176th out of 178 countries which means, 3rd most corrupt country in the world, shown in figure 1.1 (CPI, 2010, report). Moreover, the recent report of CPI shows that Afghanistan is 169th out of 176 countries in 2016, which means that corruption has been decreased, but it is still a major problem of the country. The majority of respondents of the IWA in 2010 survey believe that Hamid Karzai's rule (2001-2010) was mostly marked by corruption compared to the last five previous regimes (IWA, 2010, p.12). According to

Hanauer, the Karzai’s government main objective above all else was to maintain its power and influence in the newly established regime. Few high-ranking Afghan officials are disposed to step down from political power. It is unlikely that governmentofficials would willingly step down from political positions that guarantees them power, influence and a big deal of money (Hanauer, 2012, p.37).

Source / Indicator	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<u>Transparency International</u> , Corruption Perceptions Index (Afghanistan’s Rank/Out Of)	117/158	-	172/179	176/180	179/180	176/178
<u>World Bank</u> , Worldwide Governance Indicators, Control of Corruption Percentile (0 lowest/100 highest)	2.0	2.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
<u>Asia Foundation Surveys</u> , (% of Afghans who see corruption as a problem)	-	18%	16%	14%	17%	27%

Figure 1.1: Shows The Ranking Of Afghanistan, Asia Foundation Survey About Corruption Perception In Afghanistan.

The IWA survey in 2016 conducted about the perception of corruption shows that more than half of Afghan nationals (55%) believe that corruption is a “very serious” problem of Afghanistan. While a further 24% of the respondents to the survey, characterized corruption as “somewhat serious”,and 6% manifesting that it was “not too serious,” (IWA, 2016, p.24).

According to a report prepared by the Afghan government in 2010 and presented at the London Conference on Afghanistan about the fight against corruption declares that: the corruption in the land and real estate was indicated as the main driver of corruption in the judiciary, while police corruption is highly associated with organized-crime and drug-trafficking. Afghanistan doesn’t have a proper, effective and enforceable legal system to provide the necessary security for land rights and define a clear framework of legal norms for land disputes. The core reason behind the failure of the judiciary is corruption inside judiciary and the lack of standard land rights. There are different sources of law defining land and property rights such as the nationalconstitution, state law, sharia law, civil law, and customary law that are at the same time in contradiction with each other (Torabi, 2012, p.2).

The government of Afghanistan seriously put its effort to curb corruption in the country but unfortunately most of these efforts are failed. Recently, the government of Afghanistan is developing strategies for obtaining transparency and accountability, even though; some new strategies are created by the government with the assistance of the international community to fight corruption in Afghan institutions.

In the figure 1.2, the surveys conducted in 2012 and 2009 by United Nations Organization for Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) shows that more than 55% of the adult population of the Afghan nation said that; insecurity, corruption and unemployment are the main reasons for the failure of Afghan state and overall underdevelopment of the country. In this survey, the population of Afghanistan considered corruption as the biggest challenge facing Afghanistan together with insecurity, unemployment, poverty, external intervention and the poor performance of the Government institutions. Corruption is perceived as one of the biggest problems among five major problems of the country that have devastating results in the developing process of the country (UNODC, 2012, p.3).

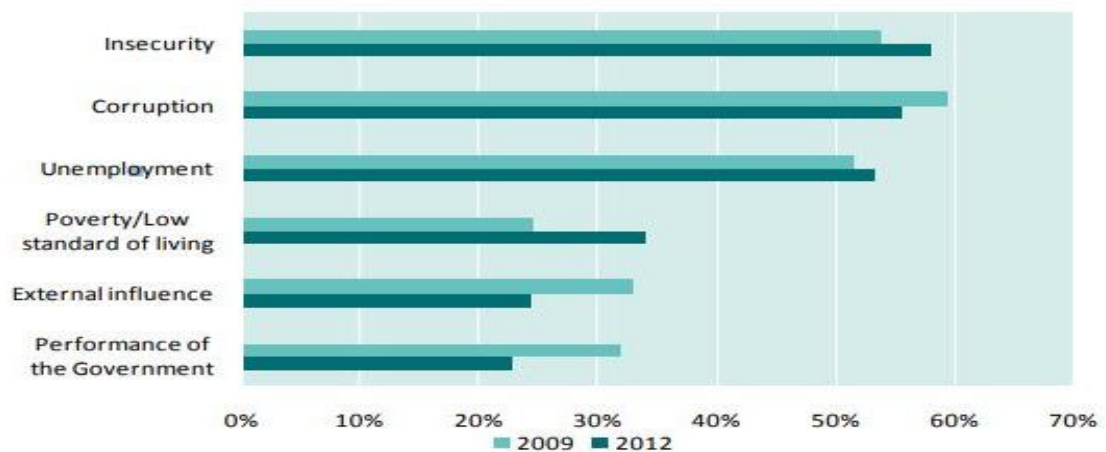


Figure 1.2: General survey of UNODC percentage of young population, selected the following issue to be the main problems of the country, Afghanistan.

On the other hand, Yama Torabi, the founder and director of Integrity WatchAfghanistan, claims that a general survey conducted by Asia Foundation shows that administrative corruption is perceived as the second most important failure (25%) of the government after insecurity (32%). This is a significant

increase in the level of corruption according to the results of the 2010 survey, in which Afghanistan was ranked as 3rd most corrupt country and worse compared to before 2010. Afghan government failure to combat corruption was shown, at 30%, with attempts to decrease insecurity being cited as the biggest failure of the Afghan government (Torabi, 2012, p.3).

A survey conducted by the Integrity Watch Afghanistan (IWA) in 2016, about corruption in Afghanistan, found that 70% of the respondents said that, corruption exists in the judiciary branch of the government. The second most corrupted institution after judiciary was the electoral commission, that 66% of the respondents reported corruption in electoral commission. Corruption exists also in the security sector of the government because the country is in war and most of the budget is spent on the security sector. The survey IWA has asked respondents an open-ended question: “What do you think are the main reasons for corruption in Afghanistan?” 23% of the respondent answered, “Weak rule of law”, Afghan nationals consider weak law enforcement and the weakness of punishing criminals and corrupt officials as the main problem of the country. Furthermore, they claim that judiciary; Attorney General Office (AGO) and Supreme Court are the most corrupt institutions of Afghanistan (IWA, 2016, pp23-28).

Bribery and nepotism are two main problems which Afghanistan suffers from. Nepotism or patronage is a “Form of favoritism based on acquaintances and familiar relationships whereby someone in an official position exploits his or her power and authority to provide a job or favor to a family member or friend, even though he or she may not be qualified or deserving.” Nepotism is considered as a serious form of corruption and about 18% of respondents of Integrity Watch Afghanistan say they have been victims of nepotism (IWA, 2016, P.36).

Donor countries have put more emphasis on the cases in which aid funds have been misused and have not reached the entitled or needy, furthermore the low-level of quality in implementing development projects. The donors have understood that following money funded is a good strategy to ensure transparency and accountability (Mashal, 2011, p.73). Most international donors, international organizations and especially the UN is engaged in finding better

ways to fight corruption in Afghanistan to ensure that the allocation of international funds is transparently. Little empirical studies have been conducted in Afghanistan to define the impact of corruption. Corruption has deepened inequalities and increased the space between poor and rich, it has played a crucial role in increasing poverty. In this sense, it is necessary to summarize and analyze the problem of corruption in Afghanistan and recommend some possible and appropriate strategies to curb corruption (Torabi, 2012, p.2). Mashal claims that corruption easily spread in developing countries because the conditions are ripe for it due to the lack of powerful central government and not because of the people variety elsewhere (Mashal, 2011, p.73).

Munoz claims that, many Afghan believe that foreign aid organization and states spend more money on themselves, their offices and their equipment. On the other hand, these funds are entitled for the reconstruction of the country, well-being of the citizens and helping the poor. Afghanistan nationals want to have foreign support not just in terms of funding, but also foreign partners should help the country to develop in terms of technology, fabrication. The Afghan government needs the help of international society to improve the overall development process of the country. If the assistance is offered in consonant with Afghan culture, values and norms then the attitude of Afghan citizens will become more positive toward foreign presence in the country (Munoz, 2011, p.26).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition And Conceptualization Of Corruption

Debates and controversies on corruption start with the definition and go on with the types, acts, causes, consequences and policies to reduce corruption as the topic itself is complex. In this chapter, the readers will come to know political corruption and patronage along with their causes and effects. Furthermore, the conceptualization of corruption will be explained through economic and political perspectives. Literature review will focus on corruption generally and provide information about corruption, regardless of focusing on a specific country.

Research has long argued about the definition of corruption and majority of the studies point out that corruption is an illegal act which is done by individuals or groups in public office or private sector to gain personal profits by breaking laws. According to Gorta, "no one definition of corruption is universally accepted" (Gorta, 2013 p.13). In other words, no certain definition of corruption is broadly approved. Even so, some scholars have put forward their own definitions to clarify the issue of corruption. Mashal defines corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain (Mashal, 2011). Furthermore, Transparency International defines corruption as the "abuse of entrusted power for private gain". Consequently, corruption is the abuse of public office and resources for private or personal benefit. The term "abuse," in this sense, can happen by officials hold public positions or by those who seek to influence them (Johnston 1986, p.460). As we see from the previous definitions the most significant definition of corruption related to "the abuse of public power for private benefit." According to Tanzi, the definition of corruption does not claim that it would not happen in the private sector, corruption is involved in both the private and public sectors. Especially large private enterprises are involved in corruption, as for example, corruption involves in procurement projects and even recruitment (Tanzi 1998, p.8).

Torabi describes the problem of corruption from a wider perspective; he claims that corruption is both about action and inaction. He states that "When someone is in a position of power that allows him or her to make certain decisions on behalf of others, and if these decisions provide gains to individuals or groups that generally accepted rules do not otherwise allow, and then corruption is implied" (Torabi, 2012 p.2). On the other hand, there are researchers who point out that abuse of public power is carried and exploited not only by individuals but also groups or those who related to them.

According to Tanzi, from a different aspect corruption is generally connected with the activities of the state and especially with the monopoly and discretionary power of the state (Tanzi 1998, p.8-10). Graaf claims that corruption creates negative images in the majority's mind since it is associated with bribery, nepotism, patronage and procurement, etc. What is consistent in all discussions about corruption, however, is that corruption is wrong; corruption is a moral concept, just like 'integrity' is a (morally) positive label and everyone seeks it, corruption is a negative label and everyone should avoid it (Gjalt de Graaf, 2007, p.44).

According to Azfar, Lee and Swamy, corruption is bad and harmful due to its characteristic, corruption is harmful because of its regressive effects on the development process and this regressive nature of the corruption became burden due to pervasive aspect of corruption in almost all institutions for example; corruption in basic public services, education, and health (Azfar, Lee and Swamy, 2001 p.48). Corruption is a rising global phenomenon since it is present in every place at any time, which means many nations will pass through different forms of corruption. According to Johnston, most systems will experience several sorts of corruption at any given time and corruption is associated with human beings (Johnston, 1986, p.463).

On the other hand, Mashal states that corruption is a phenomenon that exists in societies from an early age and then mechanisms for fighting corruption are initiated. In fact, it is a challenge faced by all countries before they reach maturity and transparency in terms of curbing corruption. In other words, the author claims that corruption exists in all societies, but some developed

countries have established the required mechanisms and strategies to protect their country from devastating effects of corruption (Mashal. 2011 p.71).

2.1.1 Types of corruption

Corruption involves a various set of behaviors and practices which have their own determinants, results, and possible cures. Classifications discussed in this chapter are based on the status of the individuals involved in the act of corruption and the level of corruption. Corruption is mostly associated with bribery and extraction of rents; however, there are various forms of corruption for example bribery, fraud, favoritism, nepotism, corruption in procurement, embezzlement, abuse of office for private gain and patronage, but these forms of corruption are classified into two categories.

In this section, I will explain the types of corruption, even though there is no common consensus among all scholars. Corruption can be examined from different angles such as political, economic, bureaucratic and legislative. This thesis will explain two types of corruption according to Mohseni and Mashal along with other scholars classifies corruption into two categories as low-level, administrative or petty corruption and higher level, grand or political corruption. Low-level corruption and high-level corruption will be explained consecutively in the following paragraphs.

First type of corruption is low-level or petty corruption is affecting directly the daily-life of citizens because it is associated with daily work of people and undermine citizen's confidence moreover decrease their trust in government bodies. In other words, low-level or Petty corruption generally concerns the people in their daily administrative relations, for example, the amounts of bribes and kickbacks which makes corruption enormously popular and spread a very wicked perception about the integrity of government institutions with civil society (Mohseni, 2006, p.142-143). Petty corruption occurs when the public required bribing bureaucrats either to receive a service to which they are entitled or to speed up a bureaucratic procedure. Low-level corruption is described as chaotic corruption by Mashal which includes bribes paid to a public official for issuing a driver's license, permit or authorization and still there will be no guarantee of receiving the promised service (Mashal, 2011,

p.73). In the following some reasons for administrative or petty corruption are listed which is also called bureaucratic or low-level corruption according to Mohseni (Mohseni, 2006, p.142):

- Inadequate laws and regulations
- Limited public administration capacity at the national and sub-national levels
- Insufficiently trained and underpaid government staff
- Lack of attention and leadership to implement the National Anti-Corruption Strategy by ministries and other institutions

Second type of corruption is high-level corruption is related to political corruption which is also called grand corruption. Mashal claims that political corruption has been associated with high ranking officials or political decision makers who abuse the laws and regulations to acquire personal satisfaction. This type of corruption is difficult to identify and measure especially when at least some segments of the population gain from it. Political corruption will most probably have severe and disastrous consequences for a society since this type has serious results for a nation that's why it is called grand corruption (Mashal, 2011, p.72). Torabi claims that high-level politicians are involved in grand corruption, furthermore big projects and great amounts of money take place. The author explains grand or political corruption as a well-organized corruption; he claims that such types of corruption can be seen as kickback paid to defense ministers in exchange for his/her country's purchase of expensive jet fighter aircraft (Torabi, 2012, p.2).

Grand corruption is defined by Transparency International as “The abuse of high-level power that benefits the few at the expense of the many”, concerning higher levels of corruption, both in amounts and practices. Mohseni claims that grand corruption also called higher-level corruption including organized crimes by bribing police officers and political patronage or nepotism that happens when high ranking public official use the public office to employ official based on their private relation. Corruptive networks pave the way for embezzlements of public assets, which can be low or high-level corruption, knowing from the corrupt practice and amount of embezzlement (Mohseni, 2006, p.143).

On the other hand, Tanzi claims that types of corruption can be classified in many categories: bureaucratic or petty corruption, cost reducing or benefit enhancing, briber initiated or bribee-initiated, coercive or collusive, centralized or decentralized, predictable or arbitrary, involving cash payments or not (Tanzi, 1998, p.9-10). Moreover, Mauro claims that, there are two kinds of corruption namely, chaotic corruption and well-organized corruption. He claims that under a well-organized corruption system the firm knows who to bribe and how much to bribe to take the specific advantage out of the deal for example procurement contract, license and permit. On the other hand, under a chaotic corruption is not clear that how many officials the firm has to bribe and still there will be no guarantee that they will be provided with the specific advantage as a result. Chaotic corruption seems a priori to be more dangerous than well-organized corruption (Mauro, 1998, p.13).

2.1.2 Acts of corruption

There are many acts of political corruption which involves small and big deals of money and also lead to bigger problems in the country. As mentioned at the beginning of the topic, scholars have controversies about causes, determinants, types, acts and forms of corruption. Moreover, acts of corruption may vary from country to country based on their circumstances. In this section, I am providing an explanation for some corrupt behaviors and corrupt acts, even though there are many acts of corruption and many scholars have explained the phenomenon of corruption from various perspectives. There is no commonly accepted list of corrupt acts and no definite explanations for acts of corruption. Zyck emphasizes that there is no common understanding among scholars on the types, causes and consequences of corruption and the author claims that each scholar is interpreting the phenomenon from their own cultural, political and economic understanding while this perception can change from country to country. So, each country has different experiences from the phenomenon of corruption (Zyck, 2012, p.5).

Torabi claims that corruption has various forms for example; the head of the international agency that get the money allocated for reconstruction and development of a country and abuse these funds to enhance the comfort of his/her colleagues. Moreover, pay for the unnecessary guesthouse and

bulletproof cars of a senior or high-ranking government official is engaged in activities of corruption (Torabi, 2012, p.2). In figure 2.1, I will provide a list of corrupt acts according to Rose-Ackerman in her latest book on corruption, published in 2016.

1. Bribery: the explicit exchange of money, gifts or favors for rule breaking.
2. Extortion: demand for a bribe or favor by an official for breaking rule.
3. Exchange of favors: the exchange of one breaking rule for another.
4. Nepotism: Hiring a family member or one with close social ties instead of eligible person.
5. Cronyism: preferring a member of one group – racial/ethnic/religious discrimination.
6. Judicial fraud: a decision based on any of the preceding types of corruption, threat and etc.
7. Electoral fraud: manipulation of election results, through vote buying, falsification of vote.
8. Public service fraud: any activity that undermine the legal requirements of public service delivery even if no bribes are paid.
9. Embezzlement: theft from the employer (firm, government or NGO) by the employee.
10. Kleptocracy: an autocratic state that is managed to maximize the personal wealth of the top leaders.
11. Influence peddling: using one's power of decision in government to extract bribes or favors from interested parties.
12. Conflict of interest: having a personal stake in the effects of the policies one decides.

Figure 2.1: Corrupt acts: Rose-Ackerman's latest research about corruption in 2016 has classified 12 acts of corruption (Ackerman, 2016, p.8).

According to Rose-Ackerman, these 12 acts of corruption destroy the structure of society; deteriorate political stability and decreases economic growth. Bribery is the exchange of money to achieve illegal interest; extortion is threatening a person that he will be a prisoner if reported for an illegal act committed by him and in return demanding bribe. Patronage or nepotism or cronyism; are three similar phenomenon to a large extent and means hiring a family member or preferring a person based on the personal relationship (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, pp.8-11).

Rose-Ackerman also emphasizes on cultural values of the society and claims that the differences between bribe and gift area complicated issue, it may have a different meaning in different societies with different cultures. While “one person's bribe is another person's gift, a political leader or public official who aids friends, family members and supporter may seem praiseworthy in some societies and corrupt in other societies”. According to the author, there is an immense difference in culture and history of societies from each other, the same action can be justified from a different perspective in various societies. Gifts to

public officials in one country can be seen as a corrupt act for the exchange of favor while in another society it will be considered just a gift and nothing more. She adds that culture and history can only provide an explanation for the phenomenon of corruption they cannot be considered as excuses for justifying corruption. The author emphasizes the universal standards which determine the corrupt acts and claims that corrupt acts cannot be justified by looking at the issue from a different perspective. The person who is giving a gift will not expect something in return otherwise it will be considered as bribery, exchange of favor and an act of corruption, while there is no problem in giving gifts (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, p.37).

In conclusion, there are too many forms and acts of corruption and my thesis will not include every act of corruption, but I provided some of the main acts according to popular scholars in the field of corruption. My thesis statement emphasizes that everything done by a government official for benefiting personal gain, family gain, group gain or going against laws and regulations is considered as corrupt act. In other words, everything that a person is doing by breaking law, to get benefit in terms of money, asset, position, promotion and any other favor is considered as corrupt act.

2.2 Causes Of Corruption

Under this subtitle I will provide causes of corruption, even there is no common consensus on a single set explaining the causes of corruption. There are various causes of the problem explained by different scholars, some focus on historical and cultural determinants; some others analyze economic and political determinants. Causes of corruption can be different, for example, low salaries of public officials, a weak judiciary, patronage, lack of transparency, the monopoly power of politicians etc. can be considered causes of corruption.

Tanzi claims that in many countries, the lack of transparency or complexity in rules and laws (lack of standard norms) creates a plentiful basis for corruption. According to Tanzi, in many countries and especially in third world countries, the role of the state is often carried out through the use of many rules or regulations which cause the lack of coordination among institutions and different rules for different cases or no standard law or the lack of standard

constitutions (Tanzi 1998, p.10). The most important factor causing corruption is weak legislation and the inefficiency of law enforcement institutions (Tanzi, 1998, p.20). Causes of corruption will be analysed from various perspectives starting with Tanzi and go on with USAID, Mashal, Mohseni, Rose-Ackerman and Torabi arguments and will be explained gradually in this section of the thesis.

Tanzi claims factors that persuade corruption are those associated with demand (by the public) and supply (by the public official) acts of corruption. The factors affecting the public to engage in corruption are first strict regulations and authorizations, second complex characteristics of the tax systems, third certain spending decisions, and fourth provision of goods and services at below-market prices. The factors affecting the public officials to engage in corruption are first, the bureaucratic traditions. Second the low-level of public sector wages, third the lack of penalty systems, fourth the lack of institutional controls, fifth the lack of transparency in rules, laws and processes, and sixth wrong examples set by the leadership (Tanzi 1998, p.3). The author claims that the complexities of the taxation system and the lack of transparency in allocating public fund or in collecting taxes also lead to an immense number of corruption cases. Furthermore, the weakness of judiciary and weak implementation of rules and regulation or being careless about the importance of the implementation of the criminal law against corrupt cases can improve and persuade the existence of corruption.

Tanzi argues that the state has a very essential role in motivating or depressing corruption by pointing to the importance of transparency and effective implementation of regulations in spending. To a large extent the state is providing the ground for corruption through complex rules and policies, this leads to increase the engagement of public officials to demand. Those who supply corruption have the incentive to seek illegal ways for executing their documents and skip bureaucratic procedures (Tanzi, 1998, pp.30-31). Similar to Tanzi's arguments, Mashal also argues that states have a crucial role in the determination of corruption level in the government and he claims that corruption is a result of government intervention and weak state management (Mashal, 2011, p.76). The author indicates that the role of the state over

corrupted acts and claims that some states put so many regulations and bureaucratic procedures for its citizens and give monopoly power to officials who later abuse this power in order to gain personal benefits instead of working as planned. It is generally believed that many acts of corruption are stimulated by the existence of complex rules and regulations (Tanzi 1998, p.32).

United Nation Agency for International Development (USAID) survey conducted on corruption in Afghanistan in 2009, shows that, the main causes of corruption are: first, weak legislative and regulatory enforcement of law and poor capacity of public administration (lack of accountability). Second, low salaries are another factor and will lead to corruption due to the needs of public officials, who will engage in corruption to overcome their daily expenditures. Third, monopoly and discretionary power of high-ranking officials will generally lead to abuse such powers and seek private gain in a weak public administration, where the lack of transparency and accountability exist in the government. Fourth, the non-merit-based recruitment of a public official is also leading them to involve in corruption because of patronage networks. This type of recruitment leads to poor qualification of officials and poor performance of the government institutions. Sometimes political patronage leads to ethnical tensions. Fifth, the lack of effective complaint hearing mechanism, not being serious about the complaints of the public can rise corruption and lead to the inefficiency of government institutions and keep the corrupt actions in the government. Sixth, illegal profits extracted by mafia networks out of opium trade and cross-border smuggling. Sometimes these profits are used to bribe police officers so it will pave the way for organized-crimes (USAID, 2009, p.5).

To a lesser extent similar to Tanzi's argument, Rose Ackerman analyzes the causes of corruption under two categories namely institutions of corruption and incentives of corruption. There are four institutions of corruption; low salaries, monopoly power, discretion, and lack of accountability. There are four incentives of corruption; non-democratic political structure, lack of effective legal structure, weak rule of law and cultural differences of corruption (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, p.28).

Incentives of corruption mean the motivations or the willingness to be corrupt or became corrupt for example low salaries are motivating officials to be

corrupt because they need to fulfill their family expenditures and when it's not possible to do that with the earned salary then they start to extract small amount of bribes by delaying bureaucratic procedure of the documents processing or license issuing. Lack of accountability will lead to corruption especially the high-ranking official who holds discretion and monopoly power will abuse their power to get private benefits. Institutions of corruption refer to the weakness of the structure of an organization or government as a whole to prevent corrupt acts. For example, the lack of rule of law and punishment will lead the people of a country to be careless about being caught or being fired due to the lack of law implementation and enforcement. The instability of political structure also leads to corruption because there is a bad perception for the future of the country. Furthermore, the lack of an effective legal structure or lack of penalties for an illegal act will pave the way to corruption (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, p.29).

In case of political structure, Rose-Ackerman states that in democracy politicians and leaders who are engaged in seeking private interest and personal income can be expelled and voted out of office. Candidates from other parties may be elected by promising to bring reforms and transparency in governmental executions. Rose-Ackerman claims that democracies are less corrupt compared to other political structures because the legitimacy, accountability and competition for the political positions will enable societies to get rid of inefficient and poor performing politicians (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, p.28).

According to Zyck low salaries paid to public officials had led them to engage in extracting a small amount of bribes which is considered as government poorness. Low wages paid to public-sector officials, including police officers, are believed to create an environment that they engage in seeking rents to find adequate money and fulfill their family needs (Zyck, 2012, p.5). According to Mauro "Corruption is more likely to take place when civil servants are paid very low wages and often must resort to collecting bribes in order to feed their families" (Mauro, 1998, p.11). This type of corruption is classified as low-level or petty corruption since it includes a small amount of money paid to civil servants. Tanzi states that scholars have speculated and admitted that the low wages paid to civil servants are an essential factor increasing corruption, the higher is the wage level, and the lower is corruption cases (Tanzi 1998, p.16).

Tanzi also emphasizes on the lack of penalties which can be a serious cause of corruption rather than eliminating corruption, it is argued by some scholars that high penalties can be a promotion for higher corrupted acts. At least theoretically, higher penalties may reduce the number of acts of corruption, but they may lead to demands for higher bribes on the corrupt acts that still take place. So, the important reform here is not to create extreme penalties but to implement the existing penalties to everyone regardless of looking to the political, social and economic status of the person, every person should be treated equally according to the law. The author adds that the administrative procedures followed before a public employee is punished for an act of corruption are slow and ineffective; mostly the legal, political or administrative obstacles prevent the full or quick implementation of the penalties (Tanzi 1998, p.18). The author states that the existence of regulations and authorizations gives monopoly power to the officials who must use this power to execute their job effectively. But instead, those officials inspect the activities and may grant authorizations and permits just by receiving a good offer of bribe or may simply keep processing papers for months, to seek rent. Thus, the officials can use their public power to extract bribes from those who need the authorizations or permits (Tanzi 1998, p.10).

Tanzi claims that opportunities for corruption are also created in allocating public fund or funding public investments projects in the public procurement department. The discretion and monopoly power that some high-level public officials have to make decisions regarding public investment projects leads to opportunities of corruption, public funds can be deviated from the entitled direction due to corrupt officials (Tanzi 1998, p.12).

There is a 'corruption dilemma' explained by Mauro argues that corruption will increase corruption by itself or in other words corruption increase the incentives for others to be corrupt at the same time this theory is vice versa, if anti-corruption laws are implemented in one institution then the effects will spread widely in all parts of government institutions;

You live in a society where everybody steals. Do you choose to steal?
The probability that you will be caught is low, because the police are very busy chasing other thieves, and, even if you do get caught, the chances of your being punished severely for a crime that is so

common are low. Therefore, you too steal. By contrast, if you live in a society where theft is rare, the chances of your being caught and punished are high, so you choose not to steal (Mauro, 1998, p.12).

Corruption is common and accepted norm in some countries especially developing countries. Tanzi argues that when the if the top political leaders and high-ranking officials do not provide the right example to employees in the public administration, either because they engage in acts of corruption or, because they engage in patronage, for example, employing family members, friends, or political associates. Then, it cannot be expected that the employees in the public administration will work according to law because the top leader is engaged in breaking laws and seeking personal benefits. The author claims that corruption is embedded in a society when the political leaders of society are engaged in corruption not just economically but even on behalf of relatives, friends or political associates also called nepotism and political patronage (Tanzi, 1998, p.20). As explained by Mauro in the corruption dilemma; corruption causes corruption in every institution and prevention of the problem can decrease corruption in all institutions, so if the leader is corrupt the low-level officials will be also engaged in corruption (Mauro, 1998, p.12).

USAID survey in 2009, found that strict rules and regulation can decrease the amount of corruption in a society, “If there are strict rules in a society the fear to be caught will be widespread and no one will dare to commit corruption due to fewer benefits and more risks to be punished and fired from the office” (USAID, 2009, p.5). Furthermore, Lambsdorff claims that the quality of regulations or weak law enforcement institutions can be seen as an essential determinant of corruption (Lambsdorff, 2006, p.4).

When business people have confidence that after paying a bribe a return will be provided as promised; there is less motivation to seek legal alternatives (Lambsdorff, 2001, p.14).

Lambsdorff emphasizes that the impact of culture, values, geography and history are also important determinants to understand and prevent corruption in a particular society. Culture is an important factor to be studied while finding the causes of corruption. In some societies, the loyalty to families and friends is high, where it clashes with official duty and cause political patronage and nepotism. In procurement officials can give the project to a family member or close relative, also in human resources hiring public official and employees will

be based on relation and backups instead of being based on merit and employee skills and eligibility (Lambsdorff, 2006, p.19). The author claims that the amount of decentralization and the size of delegated authority also effects on the amount of corruption in a country. It's better for a government to decentralize authority and create a special evaluation mechanism to keep institutions accountable. The base for taking advantage of centralization or decentralization is to establish accountability of officials to the public offices. The author also emphasizes to know the history, culture and characteristics of a country in order to find out the causes of corruption in that particular country (Lambsdorff, 2006, p.4).

Impacts of corruption are diverse, since the phenomenon carries a vast set of behaviors. Thus, the consequences of corruption are examined by different approach such as social, economic and political. Majority of scholars accepted corruption has a major negative impact on the country political, economic and social environment. Tanzi argues that a country where corruption exists more, will have troubles with growth since corruption in the country will lead investors to suspend their projects. Corruption is likely to increase income inequality because it allows well-positioned individuals to take advantage of the government activities at the cost of the rest of the population (Tanzi, 1998, p.26).

2.3 Effects Of Corruption

There are many effects and consequences of corruption, especially on the economic growth of the country and Mauro claims that it also decreases the incentives of foreign and domestic investors to invest in the country. There are various effects of corruption on political structure and politics, economic performance and growth, and social integration and social trust among the population. Mauro is explaining the consequence of corruption as it will deteriorate the relation of the donor with the corrupt country and will consequence in no fund for the country. He depicts the correlation of growth and corruption as negative and claims that the donor countries emphasizes that the foreign aid allocation has not reached the entitled and needy and has been misused (Mauro, 1998, p.11).

There is no definite number for the consequences or effects of corruption on government, society and economy but as this research found out the latest study of Rose-Ackerman in 2016, who classifies consequences of corruption into 12 factors which are varying from country to country and from society to society. Rose-Ackerman claims that corruption has devastating effect and leads to slow economic growth, low investment, inflation, monetary devaluation, tax evasion, high inequality, low trust, poor education, low-quality infrastructure, high crime rates, trafficking, greater environment harms and increased health and safety risks (Rose-Ackerman, 2016, p.28).

USAID has surveyed corruption in Afghanistan and found that corruption has serious consequences on state building, deteriorate trust of citizens toward government, undermine security and decreases economic growth. The survey found that corruption has direct negative effects on the society and government performances in all field, thus corruption became the central obstacle to security, governance and development in Afghanistan (USAID, 2009, P.1).

Lambsdorff states that corruption will create inequality among society and it will decrease the incentive to invest in a particular corrupt country. Corruption will bring a situation and keep the poor in a circumstance that they will not be able to ask for justice to keep powerful and rich accountable to the public. Corruption decreases the capital stock and deteriorates development of the country. Corruption is associated with the low credibility of government policy, the involvement of powerful official in corruption, who is just interested in self-enrichment (Lambsdorff, 2006, p.2). The author claims that when corruption reaches the high level in a society then corrupt public official will try to create narrow ways through which they can extract a bribe for themselves and this will lead to decrease productivity and service quality. On the other hand, the author also states that corruption in public procurement will decrease the quality of the project and in corrupt environment the project will be granted to the best bribe-giver instead of best-quality provider (Lambsdorff, 2006, p.32).

2.3.1 Effects of corruption on economic growth

At the beginning of the literature review it is clarified that corruption and poverty or economic deterioration has a positive correlation that one causes

another. Mauro also claims that corruption deteriorates economic growth by decreasing the incentives for investment and lead to poverty due to corrupt and complex bureaucratic procedures where opportunity is created for rent seeking. Mauro argues that corruption has a negative correlation with economic growth, corruption leads to poor institutional performance and poor public or private services are provided as a result of the rent-seeking behavior of public office holders. Moreover, Mauro also claims that when an official request for bribe and share then the incentive to invest is decreasing, and when there are no investments then there are no developments in the gross domestic product (GDP) and economic growth is depressed. Corruption is also defined as the breach of rules, norms, constitution, and using public offices to obtain personal advantages and maximizing personal profit or benefiting less at the expense of many (Mauro, 1998, pp.10-12).

Nye argues that corruption is violating norms and standards of a society for seeking private gain or family and personal ties, moreover he claims that corrupt behavior will deteriorate economic growth like bribery (to conduct illegal work or speed up legal procedures of documentation), nepotism (to employ people based on family ties or ideologically close rather than considering skills and qualifications) and misappropriation (illegal use of public resources and using them for private gain) (Nye, 1967, p.419). The debate on the effects of corruption on economic growth, in the beginning was studied by Leff in 1964 and Huntington in 1968, although their early study has argued that bribes facilitate economic development by speeding up and expediting project approvals. Mauro has supported their arguments in those two fields and criticized this argument in general. Corruption can be used as a “speed money” tool to avoid the bureaucratic delay; second, the employee of the government who is taking bribe will work harder (Mauro, 1995, p.681). Furthermore, Mauro believes that corruption leads to poor quality in procurement and construction project and reconstruction of those poorly constructed projects is a huge loss of money and time. Furthermore, corruption also decreases the willingness of foreign and domestic entrepreneurs and investor to invest in the country. Later studies analyzed by Mauro have found that corruption decreases economic growth and incentives to invest, more than it facilitates the project approvals,

“the net effect of corruption on economic growth is, therefore, negative” (Mauro, 1995, p.681).

Literature about effects of corruption on economic growth is long debated, corruption deteriorates economic growth due to decrease in investments and it paves the way for the poor quality of goods and services. The early study has argued that bribes facilitate economic development by speeding up and expediting project approvals. But more than speeding up and expediting project approvals the disadvantages of corruption is very much. Corruption has a negative correlation with economic growth and decreases institutional performance, investment, opportunities of doing business and hope of the people toward a bright future of the country.

Investors may avoid investing in a highly corrupt country because of complex bureaucratic steps and lesser facilities of doing business in such countries, which reduce domestic and foreign direct investment (FDI) (Mauro, 1995, p.682). As World Bank (WB) states, in the long run, expectations of bribery may distort the number and types of contracts placed for bidding, the method used to award contracts, and the speed or efficiency with which public officials do their work in the absence of bribes. It may also delay macroeconomic policy reform. In addition, the gains from such bribery may be inequitably distributed (accessible only to certain firms and public officials) (World Bank, 1997, p.14).

Corruption discourages investment, retards growth, distorts expenditure priorities, encourages protectionism, and undermines service delivery furthermore today corruption is thought by many to be the primary cause of underdevelopment (Azfar, Robert and Nelson, 2007, p.471).

According to Azfar Robert and Nelson corruption is the primary and essential component which hinders development and economic growth. Corruption as a serious problem discourages investment, lead others to be corrupt widespread and result in poor quality of construction and logistics projects. The problem of corruption is considered as the main factor of underdevelopment. The authors' claim that corruption leads to poor quality in procurement and construction project, in another word, projects should be reconstructed or goods should be purchased several times because of their poor quality due to granting the bid to a best offer giver for bribe instead of fair competition for the project

approvals and bids for procurement (Azfar and Robert Nelson, 2007, p.471). Significant opinions and debates about the effects of corruption on development and growth seeking the main ideas that, if the effects on the economic growth are positive or negative. Indeed, empirical studies proved that the argument about the positive effect of corruption on growth is very weak (Mauro, 1997, p.86).

In conclusion, corruption has various negative effects on the public and private economic growth and development process. Corruption leads to poor quality of services and products, a decrease of foreign direct investment, the risk of investing for nationals of the country and poor incentives of people to sustain the development process. Corruption in construction projects leads to poor quality of the projects, which should be repaired many times because of poor quality and this situation means a huge loss of public funds. As a consequence, corruption is a big obstacle for economic growth and development of the country. If the officials ask for bribe each time the investor is processing his/her business documents or getting a license then the situation lead to decrease the incentive and willingness of investors to invest in a corrupt country, consequently the corruption deteriorate the economic growth.

2.3.2 Corruption in public procurement and construction projects

Soreide claims that public procurement is a complex matter and has two dimensions; first, the public procurement represents anything from the construction of huge projects to the acquisition of little things. Second, the tender procedures usually include many steps, starting from designing the tender to evaluating the bids (Søreide, 2002, p.11).Corruption in the procurement of construction projects has also led to a big waste of money and poor quality of projects such as poor railways, poor highways, poor schools and poor quality of other construction projects. These poor quality of projects will need to be reconstructed in the future and if again it's given to a bribe giver firmthan it will cost excessive money on the same project and still will not obtain the expected quality from it. The effects of corruption in construction can be very serious on the life of the people looking at a survey done in 2011 by Ambraseys and Bilham showed that 83% of all deaths from collapse of buildings and homes in the last 30 years were occurred in the most corrupt countries Author

emphasize on the effect of corruption in the infrastructure by pointing to poorly constructed roads that will have to be rebuilt after some time and it will result in the waste of resources and waste of money (Ambraseys and Bilham, 2011, p.153).Rose Ackerman approaches the issue by giving an example from Italy about corruption in public procurement and construction projects:

Italian economists found that the cost of several major public construction projects fell dramatically after the anti-corruption investigations in the early nineties. The construction cost of the Milan subway fell from \$227 million per kilometer in 1991 to \$97 million in 1995. The cost of a rail link fell from \$54 million per kilometer to \$26 million, and a new airport terminal is estimated to cost \$1.3 billion instead of \$3.2 billion (Rose-Ackerman, 1999, p.29).

Rose-Ackerman claims that anti-corruption investigation is necessary for construction projects where a huge amount of money is stolen by a corrupt official or giving benefit of them to their relatives, friends or political associates (Rose-Ackerman, 1999, p.29).

Corruption in public procurement makes the officials or the politicians in charge purchase goods or services from the best briber, instead of choosing the best price-quality combination. The result may be construction projects several times as costly as necessary, or the acquisition of goods not actually needed. For public procurement, it may also be useful to distinguish between political or high level and administrative or bureaucratic corruption. The use of the term procurement applies to all kinds of acquisition of public goods and services (Søreide, 2002, pp.1-2).

Søreide claims that some politician may not enforce the anti-corruption strategies because most of the times they are involved in corruption. The author also supports the argument that corruption in procurement leads to purchase goods and services from the best briber, instead of choosing the best quality and price combination. Corruption in procurement causes the acquisition of the necessary equipment from a firm that will have a higher price and poor quality, but corrupt official will seek his/her own commission out of the deal. This leads to poor quality of construction project and good that have been purchased so goods have to be repurchased and projects have to be reconstructed (Søreide, 2002, pp.1-4).

The major reason for bribery in public contract assignment, however, is probably because everyone believes that everyone else is involved in such kind of business. Losing a contract because a competitor bribed the officials must be very frustrating (Søreide, 2002, p.3).

In conclusion, public procurement is anything of government expenditures from the construction of an airport to the acquisition of a pencil. Corruption in public procurement undermines rule of law, lead to poor quality of construction projects and losing the transparent and fair competition for bidding to a project. Furthermore, sometimes poorly constructed residents fell by earthquakes and cost many lives. Those poorly constructed projects must be reconstructed and this leads to a huge loss of money, doing one work several times. Corruption has serious consequences which costs lives and huge sums of money for a single project. If these consequences are shared with the public of a country, then most of them will begin to have no tolerance toward corrupt acts.

2.4 Defining Patronage

There are many arguments about patronage and corruption some scholars have manifested that patronage is a type of corruption. Patronage is a vertical alliance between two persons of unequal status, which are patron and client as both superior and inferior need each other so it's a network or an alliance among patron and client to provide harmonizing situation and take benefit from each other.

The term "patronage" refers to a system in which access to goods, positions, or services is enjoyed by means of personal relationships and the exchanging of "favours" rather than by impersonal and impartial systems of distribution. If the patron granted the petition, the petitioner would become the client of the patron and a potentially long-term relationship would begin. This relationship would be marked by the mutual exchange of desired goods and services, the patron being available for assistance in the future, the client doing everything in his or her power to enhance the fame and honor of the patron (publicizing the benefit and showing the patron respect), remaining loyal to the patron, and providing services whenever the opportunity arose (DeSilva, 1999, pp.32-33).

In this section, I am explaining the phenomenon of patronage according to World Bank; patronage happens when one side of the deal has a high position and the power of appointing and employing people to governmental offices and has influence in the distribution of political positions. The World Bank states that the phenomenon of patronage includes a variety of illegal practices such as reciprocal exchange of favours, appointment on basis of the family relation, ethnic and interest group belongings. Furthermore, patronage and nepotism

happen when non-competitive government contracts are granted to family members, friends or relatives. Patronage has very sad consequences, especially for the countries, consisted of many ethnicities, for example, Afghanistan has three major ethnicities and more than five small ethnicities. Patronage leads to ethnic clash and ethnic disputes among the public, if those clashes are not tackled on time the result will be civil war (World Bank, 2009, p.6).

Patronage includes a variety of harmful practices such as reciprocal exchange of favors through parallel appointments, appointment on basis of ethnic or other interest group, and political patronage. Patronage conflicts with the merit-based approach and represents a clash between traditional values and the requirements of a modern bureaucracy. Political patronage may violate the laws or ethics codes, such as when political leaders engage in nepotism (hiring family members) and cronyism such as fraudulently awarding non-competitive government contracts to friends or relatives or pressuring the public service to hire an unqualified family member or friend (World Bank, 2009, pp.5-8).

Torabi, has explained the political patronage by providing an example from a developing country and claims that political patronage was the main feature of power-sharing in Afghanistan for centuries but now it became the dominant factor and has close ties with criminal activities, furthermore he states that it's really hard to find a job in Afghanistan without support of patronage networks. The author claims that skilful people are not appointed to the job instead those who are enjoying close ties with political patrons are appointed and patronage networks are protecting such official and individuals from judicial punishment, where they enjoy this protection and hold on to be corrupt and maximize their own profit (Torabi, 2012, p.3)

2.5 Perception Of Corruption

According to Transparency International (TI) the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) in 2016 the measurement of corruption through a worldwide survey, which shows us the corruption perception based on comparative scales. In the following Table 2.2 will provide TI's data for the 20 most corrupt countries of the world in 2016.

Table 2.1: TI's data for 20 most corrupt countries of the world in 2016.

2016 Rank	Country	2016 Score	2015 Score	2014 Score	2012 Score	2011 Score	Region
154	Turkmenistan	22	18	17	17	17	Europe and Central Asia
154	Zimbabwe	22	21	21	21	20	Sub Saharan Africa
156	Cambodia	21	21	21	20	22	Asia Pacific
156	Democratic Republic of Congo	21	22	22	22	21	Sub Saharan Africa
156	Uzbekistan	21	19	18	17	17	Europe and Central Asia
159	Burundi	20	21	20	21	19	Sub Saharan Africa
159	Central African Republic	20	24	24	25	26	Sub Saharan Africa
159	Chad	20	22	22	19	19	Sub Saharan Africa
159	Haiti	20	17	19	19	19	Americas
159	Republic of Congo	20	23	23	22	26	Sub Saharan Africa
164	Angola	18	15	19	23	22	Sub Saharan Africa
164	Eritrea	18	18	18	20	25	Sub Saharan Africa
166	Iraq	17	16	16	16	18	Middle East and North Africa
166	Venezuela	17	17	19	20	19	Americas
168	Guinea-Bissau	16	17	19	19	25	Sub Saharan Africa
169	Afghanistan	15	11	12	8	8	Asia Pacific
170	Libya	14	16	18	15	21	Middle East and North Africa
170	Sudan	14	12	11	11	13	Middle East and North Africa
170	Yemen	14	18	19	18	23	Middle East and North Africa
173	Syria	13	18	20	17	26	Middle East and North Africa
174	Korea (North)	12	8	8	8	8	Asia Pacific
175	South Sudan	11	15	15	14	N/A	Sub Saharan Africa
176	Somalia	10	8	8	8	8	Sub Saharan Africa

3. ANALYSIS OF CORRUPTION IN AFGHANISTAN

3.1 Overview Of Corruption In Afghanistan

This chapter has provided an overview of corruption in Afghanistan including its history and the empirical studies on it. Furthermore, to provide the readers with better information about the problem of corruption in Afghanistan, I used my efforts to explain the phenomenon and find the roots of the problem. This chapter will explain the last three decades of Afghanistan's history starting from 1970 to 2000, also known as the decades of war to get a social, economic, political, cultural and geographic approach to the subject through the history. Besides the general history of Afghanistan, the historical determinants of corruption in the country is brought into discussion to provide the readers with a background about corruption in Afghanistan. This chapter will go on to explain the causes of corruption in Afghanistan such as poor governance, a weak judiciary, low wages, patronage, nepotism, allocation of international funds without accountability weak legislative system etc. Moreover, this thesis has explained effects of corruption on Afghan government and people of the country. The five major problems that Afghan government is facing such as unemployment, insecurity, corruption, patronage and poverty will be mentioned in this chapter. Patronage will be discussed because it's the main indicator of appointments in Afghanistan. Appointments in the public office are not based on merit and there is no fair competition for public offices, thus, appointments are based on personal or family or ethnic relation. This thesis mainly emphasize on the positive relation between corruption and inflow of international capital in the country, it is explained that corruption occurs when there are opportunities for it. Massive international inflow of funds for the reconstruction of Afghanistan and the allocation of funds without accountability and transparency was associated with promoting corruption in the country. The thesis focus on the period after 2001, when the international funds were injected for the reconstruction of the country.

3.1.1 General history of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a country located in the south-east of Asia and the country is home for many ethnicities which consisting of; Pashtun (Majority), Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baloch, Pashayee, Aymaq and some other small ethnic groups. According to the constitution of Afghanistan, the word “Afghan” is used for all those nationalities who are born on the territory of Afghanistan or who are descendent of Afghans. The official languages are Pashto and Dari and these languages are spoken in the whole country. The country has an old civilization and long history; Afghans fought with Barbarian Empire of India and fought with the Persian Empire when the state was established by Ahmad Shah Durrani (Ahmad Shah Baba) in 1747. Afghanistan took its independence in 1919 from the UK by signing the Anglo-Afghan Treaty and Amanullah Khan became the first president of Afghanistan after the independence of the country.

Looking at the history of Afghanistan in the last three decades also known as the black and bloody decades of war starting from 1970-2000. Shows that the Afghan government became weak in 1970 due to political instability initiated from the kingdom of Zahir Khan (Babaye Milat) who was the Monarch of Afghanistan for 40 years from 1933-1973, but unfortunately, he did nothing, for the development of the country while he was also famous for living a luxury life. This period was followed by a Military Coup by Daoud Khan in 1973 and declared Afghanistan republic and himself President. In 1972 some Afghan official requested Soviet Union’s military consultants and 100 of them arrived in that year. The government of Daoud Khan couldn’t stabilize the country and in April 1978 a coup d’état by Nur Muhammad Taraki with the support of Soviet Union took the control of the government and assassinated Daoud Khan (Oliker, 2011, pp.5-15).

The PDPA (people democratic party of Afghanistan) that took power in 1978 was rife with internal tension. Since 1967, the party (which was founded in 1965) had been composed of two major factions— Parcham, led by Babrak Karmal, and Khalq, led by Taraki and Amin. The two differed from one another less in ideology than in tactics, with Parcham members more willing to cooperate with elites and the state in the near term (including taking positions in Daoud’s government) (Oliker, 2011, p.10).

According to Oliker, Afghanistan received military aid and military training from Soviet Union (SU). Moreover, the Afghan government received advisors and consultants from the Soviet Union to cooperate with the Socialist movement and control border issues. Oliker claims that people democratic party of Afghanistan was consisted of two groups namely; Parcham and Khalq and took control of the government in 1978. This party repressed the Islamic scholars and seized the lands from the landowners and requested the military intervention of USSR into Afghanistan (Oliker, 2011, pp.5-15). The Soviet Union officially entered Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, on the same day Hafizullah Amin was killed by KGB Special Forces and appointed Babrak Karmal as the new president of Afghanistan. The Soviets fought Mujahedeen and local people in Afghanistan for 10 years but finally they were not able to take the complete control over the territory of Afghanistan and due to the economic breakdown of the SU, they were forced to leave the country in 1989 with the collapse of the Soviet Union (Oliker, 2011, p.17).

After the economic crises and breakdown of Soviet Union (SU), Afghanistan was left as a divided house among the Mujahedeen or warlords as a result of weak central government, where more than one currency was used and each part of the country had separated ruler this all led to civil war and bloodshed among groups. When the civil war started Hekmatyar's Hezb-i Islami initiated to find ways for attacking other resistance forces, especially those of Ahmad Shah Massoud, and also start to block their food and arms supplies passing from the territory that his party was controlling, furthermore, other leaders of Mujahedeen were also attempting to take control of government and attacking the resistance forces for reaching their goal. Most of these parties or Mujahedeen were taking a great amount of funds from foreign countries and mostly these funds were handed over through Pakistan (James A, 1992, pp.1-4).

Most of the mujahideen benefited from expanded foreign military support especially the support of the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and other nations. The primary beneficiary of U.S. support, delivered through its middleman and fund manager Pakistan, to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar. On the other hand, the primary beneficiaries of Saudi support, especially financial one, were Abdul Rasul Sayyaf and Jalaluddin Haqqani who had developed a strong relation to Arab fighters in the war against the Soviets (James A, 1992, pp.1-4).

The movement of Taliban attracted popular support after the defeat of Soviet Union and when they entered Kandahar in November 1994, they promised to stabilize the country and improve rule of law across the country. By September 1996 Taliban take control over the capital, Kabul, from President of that time who was Burhanuddin Rabbani. It was very easy for the Taliban to take control over Afghanistan due to non-existing of central authority and their huge financial support from abroad. The Taliban government changed many things the security got strengthened due to severe punishment and implementation of Sharia Law. On the other hand, the economy, infrastructure and essentially the developments were stopped and remained in its place devastated. The country did not experience any development in the Taliban regime (Laub, 2014, webpage).

According to a report prepared by Aljazeera about US intervention in Afghanistan from 2001 to 2017 claims that on October 7, 2001, less than a month after the September 11 attacks, US President George W Bush launches operation "Enduring Freedom and restoring international peace and security" in Afghanistan, after the Taliban refuses to hand over al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. In a matter of weeks, the US-led forces overthrow the Taliban government, in power since 1996 (Aljazeera, 2015, webpage).

3.1.2 Historical determinants of corruption in Afghanistan

The United States (US) had information about the Soviet unsuccessful war in Afghanistan and their unsuccessful attempts to annex Afghanistan into Soviet Union territory. The US government, United Nations (UN), Non-Government Organization (NGO) and World Bank (WB) injected billions of dollars into Afghanistan for the purpose of reconstruction of Afghanistan since 2001. The US found a better way than the SU to control Afghanistan not by direct force but they used strategic controlling methods. To control the region the US installed a democratic government and they funded governmental institutions enormously, the institutions were not recovered after a long civil war and Taliban cruelty. The US also funded warlords who were involved in civil war, to achieve legitimacy due to warlords' mass followers. These funds granted without accountability can be considered as the main cause of corruption in the country. Furthermore, the international community also gave a huge amount of

money for rebuilding and development to the newly established government of Afghanistan. The USA and international partners granted funds for the reconstruction and fighting terrorism to a large extent can be considered as an important factor to motivate corruption, because the process for allocation of these funds was associated with the lack of transparency. Beside lack of transparency there was a pressure of international community to spend the international funds on development projects as soon as possible (Lutz and Desai, 2015, p.1).

George W Bush first focused on counterterrorism, with nation-building as a related project that he argued would help eliminate terror networks in the country. The goal, he said in 2006, was to “build a lasting free society that will be an ally in the war on terror. But he also later said, more expansively, that US aid (in the form of joint military-civilian Provincial Reconstruction Teams) was “aiming to help the Afghans recover from the unbelievable brutality of the Taliban and have a society that’s capable of meeting the needs of its people.” This statement explains the need for reconstruction by citing the damage done to Afghanistan by the pre-2001 Taliban regime (Lutz and Desai, 2015, p.1).

According to the former president of the USA George W Bush, Afghanistan was in need of reconstruction to recover the region after the civil war and Taliban brutality. There was a need for the international community to help the country and build the institutions of the country, but some mismanagement has occurred during executing the objectives, first a mechanism for the implementation project should be created and possibilities of corruption should be calculated and then the funds could be released to obtain the purpose that it’s being granted for. But for the USA the fight against terrorism was a big deal, on the other hand, they were also engaged in pumping the reconstruction funds through various governmental, local and international institutions (Lutz and Desai, 2015, p.1), (Mohseni, 2006, p.142).

Afghanistan is stuck in a state of protracted crisis and political violence that has had a devastating impact on the country. The cost in human lives and social and physical infrastructure has been enormous, and these losses have in turn severely hampered efforts at aid delivery despite the hundreds of billions of dollars pledged for this purpose since 2001(Blankenship, 2014, p.16).

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) survey conducted in Afghanistan in 2009, argues that the poor people of the country

who are experiencing extreme poverty were funded to eradicate poverty and reconstruct their country but the main problem was that these funds were given without any evaluation and accountability. So, just a small percentage of the country benefited from the funds while the international community couldn't achieve their objectives to allocate the funds efficiently. According to USAID the main reason of corruption in Afghanistan was the political violence and government inability to monitor the development projects which were funded. The problems behind the availability of opportunities for corruption and lack of monitoring were insecurity to monitor funded projects and devastating impact of political violence. The government system was not well-organized and monitored so it led to the involvement of public officials in corruption and abuse of the public offices for private benefits and main motivation behind this was the weakness of government control and the lack of law enforcement (USAID, 2009, pp.5-7).

According to Zyck, the poor governance and lack of transparency resulted in creating corruption opportunities in public institutions. Moreover, the salary of official and especially military officials and soldiers were too low, this became another reason for them to involve in a small amount of bribery or petty corruption. The Afghan government also established some institutions to prevent corruption, but these efforts were not sufficient to stop corruption. Actually, it was also too late for reforms because the corruption was embedded along with patronage in Afghan society and it was admitted as an existing factor of everyday-life. The people were all aware that corruption is unjust and immoral but still, corruption was admitted and popular all over the country (Zyck 2012 p.6).

Corruption is one of the biggest reasons to have weak governance, political instability and weak rule of law in Afghanistan. Corruption has spread in almost all parts of the Afghan government and became an acceptable norm for the society where everyone discusses it openly or they experience in their everyday life. Moreover, widespread corruption prevents the Afghan government to deliver basic public services, improve welfare or to maintain security within Afghanistan. Corruption has a significant effect on various sectors of

Afghanistan which in return prevent Afghanistan from being self-reliant (World Bank, 2009, pp.1-3).

Blankenship argues that we should look at the historical background of the country while studying corruption. Afghanistan is a country which experienced war and brutal incidents in the recent decades for almost third part of a century; it's a huge period to destroy the whole infrastructure, social norms and characteristics of the nation. War has a direct effect on the mind and psychology of the people where most of the people became psychologically infected. The problem of corruption can also be a result of the change in the mind of people or their perspective toward government, this war led to an environment that Afghan nationals lost trust and confidence in government institutions. This all changed the structure of the society the collaboration of people and the way they look to an issue or being very hopeless about a good future, for instance, most people escape from Afghanistan and the main reason is poverty and insecurity, the rich want to flee because he is not secure and the poor wants to flee because he cannot sustain his life due to the lack of employment opportunities and poverty (Erin, 2014, p.16-20).

The result of civil war and violence had some negative effects on people mind first that Afghans became very far on accepting each other by the common ground; they became more separated as the results of long-lasting war. Clash of ethnicities was also inherited to the new generation over the time. Afghanistan is no stranger to violence and it's a country where people live in a distinct culture and the region holds a geopolitical location that all superpowers of the world have hoped to control this geopolitical location in their time. First Britain, then Soviets and now the USA, while fighting external forces in the meantime civilians were also engaged in civil war (Christopher, Colin and Chad. 2014 p.217).

It was very interesting to know that a democratic government does not hold the support of the people but just a small group of people are working honestly others were thinking, how to get the money and flee the country. Here, almost no one is loyal to the national interest and almost all use government offices for their private benefits. If you ask those corrupt official in the system that why do they involve in such type of dishonesty to national interest, they will tell you

that this country does not have a bright future and we are hopeless to a peaceful future or that they will say no one is honest and everyone else are engaged in corruption in the public system.

The people of Afghanistan were experiencing five major problems in 2000, as an outcome of three decades of War while corruption was not a serious problem of that time, and those problems are Extreme Poverty, Unemployment, Insecurity, external influence and the performance of the Government. Furthermore, these problems can be considered as the determinants of corruption. On the other hand, the newly established democratic government had to start from zero because nothing has been left from the previous government and civil war has destroyed everything (UNODC, 2012, p.3).

The most important determinant of corruption in Afghanistan according to my research is the massive inflow of international fund to rebuild the country and its institutions. International assistance for development and humanitarian assistance for providing living standards were used inefficiently. Here my point is not that these funds were unnecessary but instead, the process of allocation of international aids, was not transparent and there was lack of accountability, to use the funds effectively for development and reconstruction of the country and its institutions. Furthermore, the allocation of the funds was not monitored by the donor agencies directly because of insecurity and this led to a huge amount of corruption in the institutions of government while the public officials were bribed to give a positive feedback to the government of non-effectively implemented projects. We see two kinds of corruption in such deals first is that public official give the project to the best briber and receive kickbacks and second is the firm give bribe to monitoring and evaluation officials to give a positive feedback of the poorly constructed project. On the other hand, projects can be given to a family member or relative that would also lead to political patronage (Mohseni, 2006, pp.142-148).

This unprecedented scale of funding through international assistance for development and humanitarian assistance, often engaged in emergencies and under pressure, can also be an important source of corruption, especially given the lack of transparency and accountability of many NGOs present on the ground, sometimes engaged in long-term projects with little positive effect for the remaining population (Mohseni, 2006, p.142).

Pike and Brown argue that the culture or characteristics of patronage affect the function of government which results in the weakness of government. In corrupt countries patronage leads to the domination of patrons and creation of leaders based on language, ethnicity or religion. According to Pike and Brown the Afghans must find allies to sustain their living standards and guarantee their job in public offices, this situation creates patronage networks around Afghanistan (Pike and Brown, 2011, p.5). The USAID survey in 2009 indicates that corruption is involved between institutions which are working to deliver direct public services to the nation. In these institutions, there is unnecessarily lengthy and complicated procedure to extract bribes and continue to work as a broker in the government. Those people giving bribes and those who have the support of patrons get ahead in lines and able to speed up their work or get the job (USAID, 2009, p.7).

Afghanistan holds an illicit economy largely based on the cultivation of opium which can be considered as a cause of corruption. According to an international survey conducted by Christopher, Colin and Chad, Afghanistan is the dominant supplier to opium and heroin for supplying around 90% illicit heroin of the international market. The money earned from heroin trade is also used to fuel the insurgent groups where this creates a big threat for the national security of the country or sometimes those groups are involved in serious types of corruption, for example, bribing a governmental official or a police to act according to their will, which also creates mafia bonds and human smuggling or other types of smuggling. Christopher, Colin and Chad claim that corruption in Afghanistan is a consequence of government's vulnerability and its inability which encompasses low salary, weakness of judiciary and law enforcement, lack of controlling on the international funds for development projects, the comfort of black market in operating opium economy (Christopher, Colin and Chad. 2014, p.211).

3.2 Studies On Corruption In Afghanistan

The literature review for corruption in Afghanistan will provide the readers with a background about corruption in Afghanistan. While we should know that corruption is an international problem and differs from country to country. In

this chapter, the main subject of study is corruption perception in Afghanistan and my study found out the factors that promote corruption and the main reasons behind corruption in Afghanistan. This section will provide information about the perception of corruption in Afghanistan.

Zyck claims that there are many surveys and studies, which demonstrate that corruption poses a major challenge for the development of Afghanistan and increases corrupt culture among citizens. In 2010, more than half of Afghans surveyed said that corruption was admitted as a major problem in their daily lives. According to Zyck Afghanistan is perceived as one of the world's largest corrupt country due to weak judiciary, illicit economy (illegal drugs), low salaries of officials, lack of transparency (monitoring system), insecurity, and etc, these are the essential factors associated with corruption and these variables have positive correlation to some extent with each other, they are considered as the main causes of corruption (Zyck 2012 p.6).

3.2.1 Corruption in Afghanistan

In this section, the perception of corruption will be explained from the perspectives of the World Bank, Mohseni, USAID and other scholars. According to the survey conducted by Integrity Watch Afghanistan (IWA) in 2010 63% of Afghans believe that corruption is a result of weak accountability system, 57% believes because of low civil salaries and 49% says that the existence of large circulations of money and international funds and pressure to allocate them as soon as possible created opportunities for corruption due to lack of transparency (Zyck 2012 p.5). World Bank survey in 2009 states that Afghanistan ranking in Transparency International (TI) and Corruption Perception Index (CPI) is that it dropped from 172nd of 180 countries in 2007 and subsequently to 176th out of 180 countries in 2008 (i.e. fifth-worst in the world) and the is worsened in 2010 where Afghanistan became 176th out of 178 countries (World Bank, 2009, p.1). Moreover, the recent report of CPI shows that Afghanistan is 169th out of 176 countries in 2016 (TI, 2016, report).

The normal sources of corruption are related to weak institutional capacity of public administration; weak legislative and regulatory framework as well as weak enforcement of the laws and regulations; poor and/or non-merit based qualifications of public officials; low salaries of public servants; dysfunctional justice sector and insufficient

law enforcement; the discretionary power of public administration; and the lack of complaint mechanisms and systems for public scrutiny and illegal profits through opium trade and cross-border smuggling. The Afghan-specific sources of corruption relate to the unprecedented large inflows of international assistance and the pressures to commit development aid quickly, carry associated vulnerabilities to corruption (USAID, 2009, p.5-7).

The USAID research study states that there are various causes of corruption in Afghanistan which are low salaries, discretionary power, insufficient law enforcement mechanism and strategies, weak legislative and regulatory framework, poor qualification of public officials and the lack of effective complaint mechanism. Furthermore, besides these factors, there are other factors which are specially related to Afghan corruption such as; very large illicit or opium economy and a huge inflow of international capital and pressure to allocate development aid quickly. Furthermore, USAID survey adds that Afghan nationals have little trust in the justice system and claim that it is the most corrupt system in the country (USAID, 2009, p.5-7).

The USAID argues that Afghan institutions always involve lengthy and unnecessary complicated procedures to issue a license or process an official document and here to speed up the process the people have to pay a small amount of bribes to the official. On the other hand, USAID claims that the High Office for Oversight (HOO) is working to reduce these bureaucratic steps and decrease opportunities for corruption also increase public awareness against corruption. Unfortunately, the HOO attempts were not successful to solve the problem of corruption in Afghanistan because of various reasons, such as the involvement of high-ranking officials in corruption and lack of sufficient independence (USAID, 2009, p.5-7).

Pike and J. Brown claim that those Afghans, who have fewer ties with the national government, do not have the incentive to support the central government and thus the lack of central government authority in rural areas leads to the domination of local customs in those areas. As an example the previous governor of Herat province who was taking the tax revenues to his own account. The Afghan government marginalized the previous governor of Herat province Ismail Khan and the revenues were immensely increased from the

border taxation from \$2 million US dollars a month in 2001 to \$12 million US dollars a Month In 2005 (Six-Fold) (Pike And J. Brown, 2011, Pp.4-5).

3.3 Factors That Promote Corruption In Afghanistan

In this section of the chapter, I will focus on the main reasons for corruption in Afghanistan and explain the embedded forms of corruption in the country. Furthermore, I will provide the main factors that promote corruption and increases the incentives to be corrupt in Afghanistan. Corruption in Afghanistan is seen as a big problem of the country beside insecurity, poverty and unemployment. The phenomenon of corruption is widespread in the country and once this problem spreads it hinders development. Thus, corruption is one of the biggest threats to the self-reliance of the state. Corruption shows itself in different forms since it takes place under different conditions. There is a plentiful ground for corruption to exist in Afghanistan, which is mostly caused by the inability of government. Corruption is complex by any means, so that various forces have contributed it to spread everywhere, thereby main factors responsible for corruption in Afghan state and society have been described under various subtitles by many scholars and researches.

According to Mohseni there are three main factors defining the phenomenon of corruption in Afghanistan, which are: First, three decades of war that led to an extreme devastation of Afghan state and its administrative institutions, associated with the capture of the state by various groups in different regions or provinces and became a divided house among warlord. Second, Afghanistan economy was largely based on the trade of opium poppy and Afghanistan became extremely largest and core to illicit international market for heroin, supplying 90% alone in the world market. Some studies declare that Afghanistan was getting \$ 2.8 Billion out of heroin supplies, which is equal to almost one-third of the totalGDP of the country. Third, a massive inflow of international funds was granted to Afghanistan for reconstruction of the country and its institutions, this great scale of funding through international assistance for reconstruction and humanitarian assistance was mostly associated with emergencies and pressures to spend the funds for reconstruction as soon as possible. The massive inflow of international assistance funds and the pressure

to spend them quickly can also be an important source of corruption, because these funds were associated with the lack of transparency and accountability in the spending of government and NGOs funds provided opportunities for corruption on the ground. According to the author these three factors mentioned are the main historical causes of corruption in Afghanistan as he claims three decades of war which destroyed the Afghan state and its administrative institutions, an economy largely depending of opium cultivation which 90% of world market in illicit opium production and a massive inflow of international capital to rebuild the country, infrastructure and its institutions and these funds were allocated without transparency and accountability (Mohseni, 2006, p.142).

On the other hand, low wages or a low salary paid to public officials is considered one of the main factors that promote corruption in Afghanistan. Many workers in governmental institutions are paid low salaries thus they search other opportunities to increase their income which mostly ends up in corrupt activities such as bribery. They ask for bribe for doing their regular duties. UNODC claimed that bribery is an accepted norm in Afghan society that "For example, 68 per cent of citizens interviewed in 2012 considered it acceptable for a civil servant to top up a low salary by accepting small bribes from service users." Another factor that promotes corruption in Afghanistan is considered as unemployment or low job opportunities that lead people to engage in corruption. Due to the lack of job opportunities, people will pay any amount of money to officials to get jobs or they will go after illegal opportunities to make money. On the other hand, corrupt officials also recruit people on the basis of family ties which are called patronage another type of corrupt activity. Consequently, it can be said that majority of recruitments in government institutions of Afghanistan are based on bribes and patronage networks (UNODC, 2012, pp.1-5).

According to UNODC another significant factor causing corruption is the existence of high regulations, rules and bureaucratic procedures. This endows public officials to have monopoly power where those officials may ask for bribes in order to perform their regular duties or speed up the procedures. This regulations and procedures are complex and non-transparent so that causes people to pay bribes to officials to get their basic services to be done. This is the

use of public power for personal gains, some officials do this because of low wages or personal greed so it can be said that one factor of corruption leads to another corrupt behavior which shows that those factors are inter-connected (UNODC, 2012, pp.1-5).

Weak rule of law is also an important factor that causes corruption, Afghanistan has a very corrupt judiciary system where this organization serves to implement the law, but it is the most corrupt institution of the country declared by a survey done by Integrity Watch Afghan in 2010. In a society where everyone is corrupt and there is lack of being caught and even if corrupt officials are caught the judiciary will not punish them if they offer prosecutors an amount of bribe, in this case, the public officials are motivated to be corrupted. On the other hand, if there are strict rules and people are punished for wrongful acts, then no one will desire to be corrupt because they will have the fear of losing a well-paid job and punished for their crimes (USAID, 2009, p.7).

Foreign aid and lack of transparency are two connected factors that promoted corruption in Afghanistan. With the intervention of NATO and USA in Afghanistan, a huge sum of money was injected to rebuild the state and its institution and also pressure was on government to allocate the development aid as soon as possible (Mohseni, 2006, p.142). On the other hand, there was no mechanism offered to monitor and evaluate the process of allocation and the lack of transparency and accountability lead to corruption in those allocating institution. Almost all ministries especially the ministries of interior, defense, education, finance were extremely involved in the corruption.

In conclusion, there are many factors that promote corruption in Afghanistan but the main are explained in this chapter as low salaries for public official especially police officers. The opium trade is also considered as a cause of corruption where people bribe police officials to transport opium from one place to another. Furthermore, Patronage is a serious problem of the Afghan government and it is also considered as the main factor that hinders development in the country and boosts the motivations for corruption. Unnecessary lengthy bureaucratic procedures also create an opportunity for a public official to demand a small amount of bribe and speed-up the process. This type of corruption also leads to the inefficiency of governmental

institutions, so that the public official will knowingly delay the process to create an opportunity for taking a bribe.

3.3.1 Corruption in procurement

Procurement is an important part of government spending and without well-organized monitoring system, the institutions will be vulnerable to opportunities for corruption. Soreide claims that public procurement is a complex matter and has two dimensions; first, the public procurement represents anything from the construction of huge projects to the acquisition of little things. Second, the procurement procedures usually include many steps, starting from designing of the project to evaluating the construction work of the project. The use of the term procurement applies to all kinds of purchase of public goods and services, the author states that the term procurement can be used to overall purchase of goods and services (Søreide, 2002, p.11).

Tina Soreide states that if the current politicians are benefiting from corruption and current mismanagement, they will have so little incentives to curb corruption in procurement or all other types which they are benefiting from. Corruption in public procurement occurs when the officials or the politicians responsible for the acquisition goods or services give the project to the best briber and extracting kickbacks in return, instead of giving the project to the best quality provider. In the construction projects, the result may be disastrous, that it will lead to cost lives. The author claims that corruption leads the higher ranking official or politicians to purchase goods from best briber instead of eligible and best quality provider. Such corruption in construction project will lead to poor quality and rebuilding the same project several times and it will be very much costly for the government. Sometimes purchased goods are not needed, a waste of money and create opportunity for corruption (Søreide, 2002, pp.1-2).

The effects of corruption can be very serious on the life of the people looking at a survey done in 2011 by Ambraseys and Bilham showed that 83% of all deaths from the collapse of buildings and homes in the last 30 years were occurred in the most corrupt countries (Ambraseys and Bilham, 2011, p.153).Søreide claims that the major reason for bribery in public contract assignment is probably that

everyone believes that other people are involved in the corrupt business. For example, losing a contract because a competitor bribed the officials must be a very frustrating thing that will lead others to follow the corrupt process and will decrease competition. Lambsdorff states that if a businessman or a trader knows that if they pay bribes they will be provided as promised, then there is less motivation to seek legal alternatives and they will choose the shortcut way to reach the demanded interests (Lambsdorff, 2001, p.14).

In conclusion, procurement is a complex issue and has two different dimensions. First, it includes the reconstruction of huge projects and purchase of everything, for example, construction of an airport or purchase of a pencil. Second, the procedures of procurement include several steps from designing the project and evaluating the projects, so corruption can happen if the organizational and monitoring capacities are inefficient (Søreide, 2002, p.11).

3.3.2 Patronage and corruption becoming admitted norms of Afghan society

Patronage is considered as a type of political corruption that we have already discussed in the second chapter, but we will try to explain it briefly in this section; the patronage is the use of public office for private or relatives' gains. In this sense, it means when a high-ranking public official appoints somebody from his/her relatives or family member or someone who is ideologically near to them, instead of appointing these employees based by fair competition is involved in the act of patronage. Furthermore, if a public official gives a procurement contract to one of his/her family member or relative instead of taking skills, quality and eligibility under consideration then they are involved in patronage politics. Patronage has become a serious problem even though it's not a new phenomenon in Afghan culture, but it spread within the participation of warlords in newly established government, who are also taking an important part in the decision making process and continuing to appoint people based on ethnicity and personal relationship.

Nowadays in Afghanistan, it is somehow obligatory to have relations or to build links with patron and higher-ranking officials in the case to protect yourself toward other patrons. Unfortunately, this leads to becoming as an admitted norm of Afghan society Pike and J. Brown also claim that one should make allies with

patrons to sustain his survival in Afghanistan. The Afghan government is in a situation where people are strictly relying on local customs to deal with one another and don't trust government institutions. Furthermore, there is widespread patronage and patrons are in an advantage, have the great support of the clients. Clients are obliged to seek patronage networks to protect themselves (Pike and Brown, 2011, p.5).

The officials who came through patronage networks to serve the common interest are not loyal to their offices and duties, because they know that there is someone who supports them even if they commit a corrupt act. Mostly corruption occurs when the rules and regulations are not respected by officials and the judiciary system is not able to enforce rules and regulations so, corrupt officials continued to maximize their profit through building bribe networks. These officials were not selected by their skills and abilities but they were appointed by powerful authorities and warlords, nor they had the talent neither they came by fair competition (Pike and Brown, 2011, p.5).

Mullen argues that corruption in Afghanistan worsened compared to 2008, and the main reason behind this was the inefficiency of high-ranking officials and weak law enforcement. The author claims that those who have access to power cannot be punished or judged for the acts which they are committing, from this point of view we can understand that Patronage causes corruption and it is the main support for continues corruption, if no one has the ability to punish then corrupt officials can do things which are possible in an anarchy (no control and no central authority to enforce law) (Mullen, 2010, p.132).

A survey conducted by UNODC in 2012 claims that Bribe and Patronage have extremely embedded in Afghan society and acceptable part of daily life as 67% citizens considered patronage as an existing norm in the recruitment of government officials.

Patronage and bribery being an acceptable part of day-to-day life, for example, 68% of citizens interviewed in 2012 considered it acceptable for a civil servant to top up a low salary by accepting small bribes from service users (as opposed to 42% in 2009). Similarly, 67% of citizens considered it sometimes acceptable for a civil servant to be recruited on the basis of family ties and friendship networks up from 42% in 2009 (UNODC Survey, 2012, p.5).

3.4 How Corruption Hinder Development In Afghanistan

Corruption has spread almost all parts of the Afghan government and became an acceptable norm for the society. Furthermore, widespread corruption prevents the Afghan government to deliver essential public services and improve welfare or to maintain security within Afghanistan. Corruption has significant effects on different sectors of Afghanistan which hinders the development of the country from many aspects such as economically and politically which in turn prevents Afghanistan to become a self-reliant country. High-levels of corruption hinder development since it costs a significant amount of money and large projects or procurement of expensive goods and services in a government.

USAID has surveyed corruption in Afghanistan and found that corruption has serious consequences on state building, the mutual trust of citizens toward government, economic growth and development:

Corruption, defined as “the abuse of public position for private gain” is a significant and growing problem across Afghanistan that undermines security, development, and state and democracy-building objectives... Corruption has a serious, sustained negative impact on the direct operations of government in all areas, the degradation of the environment for civil society and business, as well as reducing citizen support for government. All three of these effects make corruption as a central barrier to security, governance, and development in Afghanistan (USAID, 2009, P.1).

Looking to the USAID survey about corruption in Afghanistan in 2009 declare that corruption is the misuse of power or authority, which highly takes place in Afghanistan's public and private sectors. Many types of corruption that exist in Afghanistan create a chaotic environment and decline in the economy. Corruption in Afghanistan is mostly performed against regulations, rules and law. Corruption in the political system endows public officials to acquire positions through patronage or offer positions based on family ties or bribes rather than ability which creates instability in the political system and affects foreign investors' decisions about investment since they consider corruption as an impediment. Investment is an important source for a country's economy it creates job opportunities for people which in turn reduce poverty. Investments made by foreigners in Afghanistan also exposed corruption. Corruption brings uncertainty for everything especially to political stability and private

businesses. Thus, investments are reduced and beside investment foreign aid is also decreased.

Unluckily corruption manifests itself here too, in Afghanistan aid funds have been misused, because of the lack of transparency. Funds allocated inequitably and did not reach the poor which later resulted in slow economic growth and ineffectiveness of the economy, it hindered the development and reconstruction of the country. In developing countries, there is the possibility that corruption might reduce the effectiveness of aid flows, through the deviation of funds from the direction which it is entitled to (Mauro. 1997, p.87).

Mauro claims that corruption in the political system creates instability and inequality of income block investments. Thus, welfare inequality causes extreme poverty so it's considered as a cause for extreme poverty by the Mauro. He claims that corruption has serious damage to the social structure. Corruption makes the country vulnerable to other social, political and economic problems, where the political stability will go under question, socially the people will lose hope for a bright future psychologically, and poverty will become a serious problem including unemployment, lack of industries or lack of collecting and persuading agricultural products. In Afghanistan which has the experience of civil war and ethnic clashes in the past, it will be most probably expected that corruption can be seriously vulnerable for the bad effect of the problem (Mauro. 1997, p.87).

Corruption may have an impact on the economy by reducing a country's capital stock. The major reason for this reduction is the low credibility of policy, a strong ruler who is devoted only to self-enrichment is the harshest example of this situation (Lambsdorf, 2006, p.27).

Lambsdorf claims that when the corruption reaches the high-level in a society then official will try to create narrow ways through which they can extract a bribe for themselves and this will lead to decrease productivity and service quality. On the other hand the author state that corruption has serious bad results for a society even in the public procurement it will decrease the quality of the project and the project will be granted to the best bribe-giver instead of best-quality provider and then it will be a loss of development funds to contract

low-quality provider and make the problem a bigger problem (Mauro 1997, p.86).

Public procurement is also important in the country's economy. Public spending on infrastructure and services has positive effects on economic growth. Procurement should be according to rules and regulations. Corrupt public officials misuse their power to acquire personal profits which hinders development since it causes loss of trust for government, reduces the quality of services and works and competitiveness.

According to Mauro:

Allocation of procurement by corrupt officials leads poor quality infrastructure and defective services. He states that the allocation of public procurement contracts through a corrupt system may lead to inferior public infrastructure and services, for example corrupt bureaucrats might allow the use of cheap, substandard materials in the construction of buildings and bridges (Mauro 1997, p.86).

In conclusion, as we have long discussed the effect of corruption on economic growth and finally we have got the result that corruption deteriorates the economic growth due to a decrease in investment and pave the way for poor quality in services. Corruption has largely deteriorated development in Afghanistan since the international aid which has been given to the Afghan government it would be developed much more than the current situation. The development aid was not used honestly, efficiently and effectively so it leads to a situation where the completed projects should be reinitiated, or the previous expenditures were loose of development aid, all stolen by dishonest public officials and their shareholders. Finally looking to the correlation of development and corruption from any perspective will result that corruption hinders development in Afghanistan.

Consequently, almost all scholars have one united sentence that; corruption in any means and any forms lowers economic growth and hinders development by creating unfair distance between poor and rich. Corruption is also blocking investments money and foreign aid funds and reducing the quality of services in infrastructure, as the result of public procurement corruption explained by Mauro, furthermore, corruption, in turn, leads loss of citizen trust toward government and political unrest.

4. STRATEGIES FOR COMBATING CORRUPTION

In this chapter, I will have an empirical approach from government published data to understand the already existing strategies and policies to prevent corruption in Afghanistan. Most of the attempts done by the government of Afghanistan to overcome the problem of corruption were failed. I will also mention national and international rules and regulations for combating corruption. Afghanistan has developed a set of regulations to prevent corruption and has also signed and ratified the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) in 2008. Moreover, the new strategic plans of Afghan National Unity Government (NUG) to combat corruption which is established in 2016 and 2017 to prevent this immoral phenomenon will be discussed and prioritized to find out the best preventive strategic plan for eradication of the problem. According to the survey of transparency international (TI) in 2010, Afghanistan was one of the most corrupt countries in the world. The TI that Afghanistan was failed to prevent corruption and patronage. International perception of corruption evolution for Afghanistan suggests a pervasive increase and generalization of corruption since 2005. In 2010 Afghanistan was rank as the 3rd most corrupt country (RANK 176/178). Moreover, the recent report of CPI shows that Afghanistan is 169th out of 176 countries in 2016, which means that corruption has been decreased compared to 2010, but it is still a major problem of the country. The strategies used to curb the phenomenon of corruption in the country were not implemented correctly or the obstacles didn't give permission to the implementing organization to execute their job effectively.

This chapter is on the policies that can prevent corruption in Afghanistan. I will also recommend some strategies to find an appropriate solution to the problem of corruption. This chapter also discusses the ways of implementing these strategies and how to eradicate the obstacle for the implementation of recommended strategies.

4.1 Afghan Government Failure To Prevent Corruption

Afghanistan government and the international community attempted to curb corruption in Afghanistan. There are three main problems in the country and because of corruption none of them can be eradicated which are insecurity, poverty (unemployment) and illiteracy.

When asked to name the major problems facing the country, respondents listed insecurity, unemployment and corruption, in that order. But corruption is also seen as fueling insecurity, by undermining support for the government and driving citizens towards the Taliban (Integrity Watch survey, 2016).

Corruption is like cancer for the country; because of corruption, the public of Afghanistan do not see a prosperous future for the country. In 2014 the National Unity Government (NUG) held the government and signed the contract.¹ The president and executive director of the country gave promises that first of all, they will try to bring transparency, accountability and eradicate the problem of corruption and after that, they will execute the rest of the obligations. The National Unity Government has promised to give priority to fight against corruption; in the Inaugural of President Ashraf Ghani's, in September 2014, he claimed that "Our people cannot tolerate corruption anymore," said the president that he will start to curb corruption from his own office. President Ghani emphasized on zero tolerance for the corruption and declares that first priority and the main goal of the government will be to reduce and completely cure radically the country from this problem. He also claimed that no one will be secured if involved in corruption starting from him and his officials, furthermore emphasized on the elimination of the causes of corruption.

Before the National Unity Government took office the government of Karzai was blamed for corruption because during his office in 2010 as mentioned before according to the survey of Transparency International Afghanistan was the second most corrupt country in the world. This situation led donors cut their donation and support for the development projects in the country.

¹ The result of elections was not acceptable for Dr Abdullah Abdullah who claimed that electoral fraud was happened during the election and with the mediation of John Kerry the former foreign minister of USA, Ashraf Ghani's became the president and Dr Abdullah became the executive director of Afghanistan after signing an agreement of creating National Unity Government for two years.

Furthermore, Karzai's government attempts to prevent corruption failed due to the involvement of higher-ranking officials in corruption and especially due to the internalization of corruption in judiciary and security providing institutions. Corruption in the judicial branch paved the way for insecurity and thus it leads the corrupt officials to be not afraid of judgment due to the lack of punishment.

Respondents were quite harsh when asked to give an assessment of the general political situation in Afghanistan. Only about 22% characterized it as "very good" or "somewhat good," while more than half of respondents seemed to feel that the political situation was "somewhat" or "very" bad (Integrity Watch Survey, 2016, p.11).

According to the Integrity Watch Survey, the political situation of the country is not stable and most of the politicians in the country are corrupt, the public perception from the government is that public does not trust the reforms, regulations and attempts of the government and the government do not have the support of the public so in this situation it is very hard to implement the strategies of curbing corruption. The public of Afghanistan claims that politicians seek to reach power and maximize their private wealth (Integrity Watch Survey, 2016, p.14).

There is a widespread feeling that government service providers deliberately create difficulties in order to request a bribe, which is the classic definition of obstruction. Further evidence of this tendency towards obstruction is the 75% of respondents who are convinced that government officials will delay fulfilling a required task in order to extract a bribe. Reduction of taxes and customs duties in exchange for a percentage is also believed to be a widespread practice. This is important in that it deprives the state of much-needed revenue, instead of filling the pockets of corrupt officials (Integrity Watch Survey, 2016, p.45).

The high-ranking officials of government are corrupt and the low-level officials are creating ways to extract bribes by delaying a public service or reducing tax expenses in return for an amount of bribe. The government of Afghanistan attempt to prevent corruption is not successful and not effective.

A police complaint hotline 119 was established in 2009, with financial help from NATO. It was aimed for handling every unlawful act, from kidnapping, robbery, terrorist bomb threats, murder, traffic accidents and hooliganism to all criminal activities. But unfortunately, the hotline is not extremely active and this inefficiency leads to the distrust of public toward the government, so when

the hotline does not hold the support of the people then its failed attempt of the government to prevent corruption because People do not engage in this hotline to help government and receive reports about law-breaking activities. The Ministry of Interior claims that in 2012 the hotline received 15,859 calls, of which 1,293 were complaints about police misconduct, misuse of police vehicles and corruption. If we see 1,293 is a huge number but what if we ask how many of these complaints were analyzed and investigated? Most probably many of these were not investigated at all so this attempt of government with the financial support of NATO was also failed to reduce the problem of corruption (Integrity Watch Survey, 2016, p.50).

Several signs of progress were made in the implementation of the National Anti-Corruption Strategy; Mohseni has listed nine strategies for combating corruption in Afghanistan, a list of institutions and mechanisms created aimed to prevent corruption in the country. As listed below: (Mohseni, 2006, pp.149-154).

- Creation of the High Office of Oversight (HOO)
- Anti-Corruption Units established within the Attorney General Office (AGO) in order to investigate corruption cases
- Anti-corruption tribunals established in Supreme Court in order to deal with crimes of corruption
- Development of ministries anti-corruption strategies
- Strengthening complaints and investigation capacity with MoF and MoI (Fraud Investigation Unit, Anti-Corruption Unit)
- Launching the implementation of asset registration policy and system
- Launching review of anti-corruption laws and regulations (Penal Code)
- Launching a public awareness campaign
- Implementation of the anti-money laundering system and creation of the Financial Intelligence Unit. (Mohseni, 2006, pp.154).

To investigate the cases of corruption and deal with the crimes of corruption in the Supreme Court some institutions and anti-corruption tribunals were established but none of them was successful to execute their job correctly. The hotline of 119 was created to hear the complaints of public about corruption and

public awareness campaigns were launched to curb corruption but the lack of rule of law and lack of authority lead to the failure of these all attempts. Mohseni also claims that the HOO was responsible for the registration of assets of high-ranking government officials before office and after office, furthermore rules and regulations were reviewed about corrupt acts but unfortunately, the lack of independence and lack of enforcing anti-corruption rules didn't change anything. The main reasons behind the failure of attempts to prevent corruption in Afghanistan are; first weak judiciary which cannot enforce the law, second corrupt police officials to implement rule of law and third the lack of public trust in government to support the government in the implementation of its strategies.

4.1.1 High office of oversight (HOO)

The High Office of Oversight (HOO) was believed to be able to eradicate the problem which was established in July 2008. The President would appoint the Director General of the HOO. The High Office for Oversight was established to curb corruption in Afghanistan and develop a national strategy for anti-corruption. The HOO was established to conduct initial inquiries of corruption reports and one of its important tasks was to list all the assets of senior Afghan officials before their term of office and after their term of office.

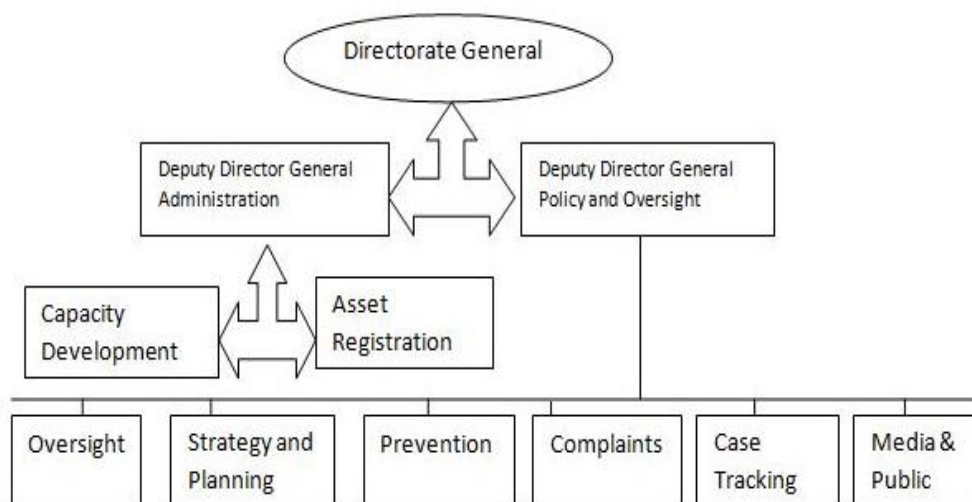


Figure 4.1: The organizational structure of the High Office of Oversight.

The number of corruption cases detected and investigated cannot alone indicate the extent of corruption in a country. In fact, a corruption case comes to light only when there is a failure of preventive mechanisms.

The HOO suffers from a lack of independence, a weak legal framework, and a lack of commitment from donors, particularly from the U.S. Government. It remains operationally under-resourced and lacking in the necessary skills to make a measurable impact in fighting corruption, the fact that no measurable performance benchmarks have been established. Thus, while the HOO has made limited progress in some areas, it is unable to demonstrate that its efforts have made a significant impact on the overall level of corruption in Afghanistan. Contributing to this challenge is an insufficient pool of qualified recruits from which to obtain talent. Consequently, the HOO has fallen short in several of its responsibilities and is unable to measure progress in others (Sigar, 2009, p.6).

Afghan Constitution in the Article 154 state that “the wealth of the president, vice-presidents, ministers, members of Supreme Court, as well as the Attorney General, shall be registered, reviewed and published before and after of their terms of office by an organ established by law”. The responsibility of the implementation of Article 154 was given to the HOO, but the HOO attempts were failed to prevent corruption and register the assets of the high-ranking official. This failure was initiated because of the lack of independence and authority to mandate. Furthermore, the HOO was not able to enforce the laws and regulation, so the lack of enforcing power to execute their job or judge the criminal lead to failure of the institution to punish the criminal and register the asset declarations or creating a database for all owning of high-ranking officials when they hold office. The president Ghani limited the authority of HOO and stated that he will provide better ways to curb the immoral phenomenon of corruption, the only emphasize of the National Unity Government (NUG) was to prevent administrative corruption and bring transparency and accountability into governmental institutions (Sigar, 2009, p.6), (Integrity Watch Survey, 2016, p.50).

For several years, the High Office of Oversight was tasked with anti-corruption, but it proved ineffective due to a lack of independence and operational capacity, as well as lack of political will to tackle corruption. When the new government came into power, President Ashraf Ghani stripped the HOO of all but a few of its powers (Integrity Watch Survey, 2016, p.50).

Afghanistan needed national support, strong judiciary and loyal police forces to implement any strategy of corruption or take a good result out of reforms. The trust of the people toward the government is a very important factor because that is called legitimacy.

According to Mullen in Afghanistan, there are continued reports from the Ministry of Interior that officials are taking a portion from the salaries of ordinary policemen, who in turn take bribes from the local population and became corrupt to earn money for their needs. Corruption in Afghanistan among local police, the judiciary and lack of the law enforcement mechanism leads to undermine and decrease the public confidence and trust in the government institutions, giving courage to the public of remote places to support Taliban or insurgency movement (Mullen, 2010, p.133). On the other hand, Torabi also claims that corruption increase the support of public for insurgency groups in the country, “corruption, in general, generates a feeling of injustice amongst the citizens and feeds frustration and support for the insurgency”. Legitimacy or the support of the nation for the government in performing the official tasks or bringing reforms is crucial to be able to implement governmental strategies and enforce rule of law. The rules and regulations which are targeted to prevent corruption should be applied equally by no exception to all cases of corruption and the most important institutions to enforce the rules and regulations are the police forces, which must be reformed and renewed to work honestly, implement law, serve national interest and be loyal to the homeland. There are some other obstacles to combat corruption that’s why we cannot get satisfactory consequences out of developing and implementing corruption combating strategies and policies. For instance, some high-ranking officials of the government are corrupt and they put pressure on the corruption combating institutions, so those institutions are not able to execute their duties correctly and reforms remain in its place. The most important issue in combating corruption is to uphold the support of the public in implementing the strategies of anti-corruption, the trust of the public toward the government is the main factor of democracy and without that we cannot call a country democrat so it’s less likely that corruption happens in a government which has the support of the public(Torabi, 2012, pp.8-11).

4.2 Policy Recommendations And Strategies To Curb Corruption

In this section of the thesis, I will provide some norms from United Nation Convention against Corruption (UNCAC); this treaty has been signed by the Afghan government and ratified in 2008. Furthermore, a recently established institution for fighting corruption in Afghanistan will be explained Anti-Corruption Justice Center (ACJC). This section will go on to discuss the most important strategy of the Afghan government to curb corruption called Afghanistan National Strategy for Combating Corruption (ANSCC). The main incentive for prevention of corruption is the contract between government and citizens, the government is obliged to take some measures against corruption. The final goal of Afghanistan's anti-corruption strategy does not only increase efficiency and reduce waste but to restore and earn the citizen trust that the government is working for the public interest and collective action is essential with a domestic consensus that corruption is no longer tolerated. Corruption can be successfully tackled over time by eradicating the opportunities to bribery, embezzlement, patronage and etc. If the government institutions are kept accountable, transparent and the predictability of being punished is increases the corruption will be tackled easily.

Article 75, item 3 of the Afghan Constitution (2004) states the Government is in charge of "eliminating every kind of administrative corruption". This article emphasizes the responsibility of the government to eliminate the administrative corruption otherwise it will annul and override the social contract between public and government. The legitimacy of a government remains when it enforces the rule of law and gives some right to the public in return of taking authority from the public. The Afghan government has many attempts to prevent corruption and various institutions have been established to overcome the problem. Mohseni, who researched about corruption in Afghanistan, traces the efforts of Afghan government curbing corruption and most of these efforts were failed due to various reasons.

Mauro in 1998 provides a very good example for the spread of corruption and claims that corruption causes corruption, in other words, corruption increases itself by itself. Furthermore, the author also claims that when the rules and regulations are applied to curb corruption then the situation changes and this

time corruption decreases itself by itself or when the rule of law is adjusted, and a strong judiciary is built then it's very easy to get rid of this problem. Here is Mauro's corruption dilemma:

You live in a society where everybody steals. Do you choose to steal? The probability that you will be caught is low, because the police are very busy chasing other thieves, and, even if you do get caught, the chances of your being punished severely for a crime that is so common are low. Therefore, you too steal. By contrast, if you live in a society where theft is rare, the chances of your being caught and punished are high, so you choose not to steal (Mauro, 1998, p.12).

The Afghan government did many attempts to prevent corruption although still the country is among the most corrupt countries in the world but many things have been changed and in some areas the corruption is being limited now I can go on with an example provided by the Pike and Brown scholars of international relations who claimed that "Afghan government marginalized the famous warlord from Herat and secured profits from the Herat border. It increased the government's tax revenue six-fold from that border crossing, from \$2 million US dollars a month in 2001 to \$12 million US dollars a month in 2005" (Pike and Brown, 2011, p.5).

The USAID assistance was aimed to strengthen transparency, accountability and effectiveness in the government institutions. Furthermore, USAID assistance provides support for the centre of government and enforcement of rule of law to combat corruption in Afghanistan. The Capacity Development Program initiated by the USAID aimed to strengthen the centre of government and counter the problem of corruption. The current USAID transparency and accountability technical assistance are good enough and has brought some changes in management, human resources, program/project management, monitoring and evaluation, public outreach and information, areas of sector-specific assistance and sub-national governance (USAID, 2009, p.1).

Afghans have particular contempt for corruption related to the judicial system, the police, and the hiring and promotion of government employees. Many Afghans note that justice is a market commodity to be bought and sold, which is particularly troublesome in a society that values justice and honor (USAID, 2009, p.8).

According to USAID, Afghanistan has a weak judiciary system and corrupt police, so they cannot implement the laws and regulations to combat corruption.

Being secured from judgment gives confidence to the corrupt officials to engage in corruption. Furthermore, hiring and promotion of the employees are done by patronage networks rather than by talent and intelligence. The government employees who are not selected by their capabilities and they are not capable to do their job effectively and efficiently, because the employees hired by patronage networks are not skillful or talented to do the job correctly (USAID, 2009, p.8).

Transparency, accountability and the risk of being caught is very essential to reduce corruption in a society. Azfar, Robert and Nelson claim that if the cost of being caught rises and the benefits of being in office are more, therefore, it will decrease the incentive for corruption. Higher wages are essential to discourage corruption. The probability of being caught is likely to depend both on the ease of detecting corruption (transparency) and on the incentives and authority faced by the law enforcement officer (separation of powers). Thus, accountability, transparency, higher wages, and the separation of powers are the most important factors to be studied while developing the strategy for combating corruption (Azfar, Robert and Nelson, 2007, p.472).

4.2.1 United Nation Convention against Corruption (UNCAC)

The United Nation Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) was signed by Afghanistan in 20th of February 2004 and ratified on 25 August. The UNCAC has published some rules and regulations on an international level to combat corruption, state parties to the convention should ensure that the implementation of the regulations is in accordance with their domestic rules and constitution. In this section of the chapter, I will briefly explain the only source of international rules about prevention of corruption. United Nation Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) has 70 articles but just 7 of those articles will be included in this section. The international community has done many efforts to create a common ground for those international problems affecting more than five countries and corruption is one common problem for almost all countries in the world. The level of corruption perception varies from country to country furthermore the causes of corruption varies from societies to societies. As mentioned in the previous chapter that culture and historical determinants are important for understanding the causes and factors that lead a society or a

country to corruption. The United Nation Convention against Corruption is designed to decrease the problem of corruption in all over the world; moreover, UNCAC aims to create close ties among states to help each other to overcome corruption through international cooperation.

Article 1 of the UNCAC, specify the statement of the purpose of this convention and claims that: (UNCAC, 2004, P.7)

- To promote and strengthen measures to prevent and combat corruption more efficiently and effectively.
- To promote, facilitate and support international cooperation and technical assistance in the prevention of and fight against corruption, including in asset recovery.
- To promote integrity, accountability and proper management of public affairs and public property.

Article 5 of UNCAC is about preventive policies and practices for fighting corruption, which is essential for combating corruption worldwide. The Article 5 of the convention claims that all states parties to the convention should develop and implement anti-corruption policies that promote rule of law, management of public affairs and public property, furthermore increasing integrity, transparency and accountability. This article emphasizes on the policies to prevent corruption and collaboration between states by participating and organizing international programs aimed at the prevention of corruption (UNCAC, 2004, P.9).

The Article 7 of the UNCAC, emphasize on the recruitment process and political patronage, it claims that states should endeavor to accept, maintain and strengthen systems for the recruitment, hiring, retention, promotion and retirement of civil servants. This Article focuses on the importance of curbing corruption in recruitment and eradicating political corruption because it leads to ineffective, inefficient and poor institutions where employees are elected and supported by a high-rank government official or political leader so most are not feeling accountable for their actions. This Article emphasizes that states party to the convention should enhance transparency in funding candidatures for elected public office, prevent conflicts of interest and increase transparency in funding

political parties. States are also obliged to take appropriate legislative and administrative measures to enhance accountability of official who should be recruited by their skills instead of patronage networks (UNCAC, 2004, P.11).

Article 11 of the UNCAC claims that the independence of the judiciary branch has a vital and crucial role in combating corruption, first, we have to erase the corruption opportunities in the judiciary. After having a strong, independent judiciary without prejudice to judicial independence then we can combat corruption easily by enforcing the prosecutions of the judiciary which must be based on law and equality (UNCAC, 2004, P.13).

Article 17 of the UNCAC claims that embezzlement, misappropriation or another diversion of a public official for his/her private benefit should be limited by legislation and necessary measure should be established as a criminal offence. The Article main point is that any person using the virtue of his or her position for private gain or for the gain of relatives and friends should be restricted by this convention in accordance with domestic rules and regulations (UNCAC, 2004, P.18).

Article 20 of UNCAC is restricting the illicit enrichment and those who became significant rich in terms of assets holding a public office and cannot provide reasonable explanations in relation to his or her lawful income then adopting such legislative measures are essential to establish a criminal offence (UNCAC, 2004, P.19).

Article 65 of the UNCAC is emphasizing on the implementation of the convention in accordance with fundamental principles of domestic law and claims that, each state must take legislative and administrative measures to ensure the implementation of its obligations under this convention. The states, parties to this convention may adopt more strict or severe rules for fighting corruption (UNCAC, 2004, P.53).

4.2.2 Anti-corruption Justice Center (ACJC)

To fight corruption in the country, the National Unity Government inaugurated the ACJC on June 30, 2016, based on the decree of President Ashraf Ghani. The ACJC is consists of Specialized Trial Court, Specialized Attorneys and Specialized Police. Establishment of Anti-Corruption Criminal Justice Center

(ACJC) has been an important step against the reign of corruption in Afghanistan, aimed to prevent corruption and to prosecute government servants accused of corruption by the justice. People of Afghanistan and the International community are hopeful that ACJC will achieve something worthwhile if it is provided with enough authority and it keeps on pursuing the corruption cases with determination and consistency. It is perceived that if this institution effectively executes its duties and achieves its goals then it will bring the following changes (Integrity Watch Survey, 2016, p.50).

- Rule of law will improve, and people will work and go after their daily lives under the protection of the law and will live peacefully under laws and will enjoy what they do for a living.
- People will no longer scare of criminal and will no longer have to pay for their works to get done in government offices.
- Peoples' trust in government will increase and the gap between the public and the government will be bridged. The public will fully support the government, and in return, the government will deliver the desired services to the people.
- Revenues will increase, and people will have to pay taxes to the government and will not be obliged to pay bribes to government officials to decrease their taxes or be exempt of taxes.

Afghanistan was not able to prevent the problem of corruption so once again the government attempted to combat corruption by the Anti-Corruption Justice Center (ACJC), which was established to increase the rule of law, trust of people toward government and increase the revenues of the country from taxes, also decrease bribe collection of government officials. The attempts done by the ACJC are considered that it will bring transparency and accountability in many governmental institutions the corruption has been decreased. The people of Afghanistan are very hopeful for the new strategies of government and Anti-Corruption Justice Center (ACJC). Based on the information provided in the meeting of the ACJC on 10th October 2017, the institution has received a total number of 346 cases in two categories, since its establishment. Of the total number, 262 cases referred to Civil Attorney, 37 Cases referred to Military Attorney while 47 cases are under investigation. As the goal of the institution, it

will deal with big corruption cases and one such example is the conviction of the Finance Advisor to the Ministry of Urban Development with 20 years of imprisonment and imposed fine of 86 million AFG.

There are many strategies used by different institutions to eradicate the problem or at least decrease the opportunities of corruption and increase the threats of being caught, but unfortunately these efforts were not able to achieve their goals so most of them short-came in executing their responsibility. The main strategy used to curb corruption by ACJC is that it will bring reforms in the judiciary branch but surely the ACJC should be provided with enough authority to execute its duty effectively, otherwise, it will also become ineffective as the previous attempts of the government to prevent corruption. The judiciary branch will follow up the corrupt cases presented to them by the ACJC and take the criminals to court. The ACJC emphasize on the implementation of rules and regulations or to increase the rule of law and increase the risk of being punished for the wrong-full or corrupt act. As mentioned before the ACJC will only be a success when it has the required authority to execute its duty, when the institution is limited in terms of bringing the criminals to the court then all is for nothing. An institution without authority of doing its job is like a body without the soul, so it's the main and essential factor of anti-corruption strategy. According to the survey of Transparency International (TI) in 2010, the hope of Afghan people is that once the corrupt officials are punished and put in prison, then very few officials will dare to involve in corruption.

The first and most essential strategy of decreasing corruption in a country is to increase the rule of law and empower the judiciary branch for implementing the national constitution and regulations. ACJC claims that they will bring justice and rule of law in order to prevent corruption. As mentioned in chapter three, according to Torabi's academic survey about corruption; when it's hard to punish officials for corruption then another official not involved in corruption will also engage in corruption especially when the judiciary is weak on the other hand if the risk of being punished is increased, it is less likely to become corrupt because of punishment and risk of losing job.

The role of the judiciary is vital in curbing corruption; the importance of bringing the criminal in front of law should be admired to decrease corruption

and increase good governance. The rule of law increases and maintains the jurisdiction and legitimacy of a government ruling the country, bringing reforms, curbing corruption, decreasing the level of crimes and developing the good governance cannot occur without the rule of law and a powerful, independent judiciary branch.

Among various strategies for preventing corruption the implementation of the law is the core and essential step that has to be taken. The rule of law will increase the public trust in the government so then the government can implement its reforms easily, quickly and effectively. The public trust is the legitimacy that a government should earn, thus for a democratic country it is important to have the support and trust of the people in other words democracy means the government of the people, by the people and for the people. Rule of law will increase the legitimacy of a government and also increase the revenues of the government from taxes; the government officials who are in tax office will not take the risk to take bribes and exempt taxes. These revenues can be used to increase the salaries of the government official so that they will not necessarily engage in rent-seeking acts.

The increase in the salaries of low-level government officials will not just lead to the utility of employee to not engage in corruption because they can pay their family expenditures, but also increase transparency in the government process and increase the job-value for the employees.

4.2.3 Afghanistan national strategy for combating corruption (ANSCC)

In this section under the Afghanistan national strategy for combating corruption, I will mention the efforts of government lately for curbing corruption and the Afghan people are hopeful for the new endeavors of the government. The Afghanistan national strategy for combating corruption was organized in 2017 to diagnose the problem and fight corruption effectively and obtain its objectives. The strategy is providing five pillars to fight corruption which will be defined in the following sections. The ANSCC points to the most important reforms that have to be taking to fight corruption. First, establishing monitoring and evaluation institutions in all ministries especially those vulnerable to corruption and reporting directly to the High Council on corruption to reach the

president and secure the independencies of those institutions. Second, restoring the citizen's trust which is very important for a government to be able to sustain its legitimacy and implement its reforms, without the engagement of the civil society in the process of fighting corruption it is very hard to get rid of the corruption. Third, the government should help and persuade the private sector and some of the public sectors should be privatized by the government to eliminate corruption and increase the efficiency of the institutions. Fourth, the international partners are required to sustain long-term financial support for frequently anti-corruption efforts. In the end, there are five pillars each has reforms for a specific sector to be implemented and overcome the problem of corruption, the responsibility of monitoring and evaluating the strategy's implementation is belonging to the High Council on Law Justice and Anti-Corruption (HCLJAC). The ANSCC should be rigorous in being non-partisan, transparent, achieving its objective, balanced, ensuring neutrality. The monitoring and evaluation of the HCLJAC on the process will enhance the support for the civil service commission and attorney general's office (ANSCC, 2017, p.1).

Afghan constitution is emphasizing on the rights of its citizens to be protected and secured, "the government should maintain public law and order to eliminate administrative corruption" (Article 75:3). Corruption is a serious problem which undermines the trust of the public toward government and it blocks the efforts to peace, security and enhance poverty. Corruption paves the way for political patronage, so recruitment based on patronage leads to ethnic tensions. The challenges faced by the strategy of combating corruption are; the lack of well-developed political institutions and the important role of political leaders in bringing reforms and the high reformers are very vulnerable to political interference and reprisal (ANSCC, 2017, pp.1-2).

Corruption was not just an instrument used by the political leaders or high-ranking officials for making money but also it caused the entire institution to operate on informal rules and regulations for rent-seeking. The main of anti-corruption strategy is to build a national consensus and incentive that "corruption cannot be tolerated any longer". On the other hand, it is also important to turn committed government leadership to effective government

leadership and implementing the strategy correctly will lead to diminishing the opportunities to be corrupt and bring transparency, accountability by increasing the probability of sanctions. The NUG has made anti-corruption efforts a priority since it took office, many efforts were done to combat corruption and most of them were failed. The new ANSCC is believed to give a good result hopefully, by fighting corruption in Afghanistan effectively and applying reforms in the important sectors of government for at least three years. The reforms including replacing patronage-based recruitment with merit-based recruitment which is the main solutions for good institutional performance (ANSCC, 2017, pp.2-3).

The conference held in Brussels highlighted eight priorities for fighting corruption in Afghanistan, in October 2016. Listed in the followings:

- Revamping public procurement
- Establishing High Council on Law and Anti-Corruption
- Producing ministry-level action plans
- Launching Anti-Corruption Justice Center to investigate high-level crimes
- Requiring judges and prosecutors to pass entry and refresher exams
- Replacing all 34 appellate justices
- Increasing the use of E-payment and E-procurement
- Ramping up enforcement of the National Drug Action Plan (NDAP)

There are five important initial pillars to combat corruption in Afghanistan; the reforms provided by these pillars will obtain the objectives highlighted for the Anti-Corruption Strategy. If the independence of the strategy implementation institution is not secured, then it will also be ineffective but if those reforms are implemented by eradicating the obstacles faces the ANSCC will lead to the effectiveness and success of the corruption combating strategy.

Pillar 1: Political Leadership and Empowering Reforms:

This pillar serves to ensure the transparency and fairness of elections to be competitive and eliminate fraud in the process of election. These efforts will be

through replacing Identity Cards by Electronic Identities Cards, which holds biometric and fingerprints so, each person will be registered through his/her Electronic ID. Second, the reformers should be protected because the reformers are most vulnerable, and they must be protected from reprisal and political attacks, especially those reformers working in anti-corruption institutions. Third, the government should provide exemplary leadership for the young generation and increase the moral of the young generation also create an incentive for fighting corruption among them (ANSCC, 2017, pp.6-8).

Pillar 2: Ending Corruption in the Security Sector:

The security needs serious reforms and more than 50% of the government budget is spent in the security sector of the government. The main focus of the reforms will be on the Ministry of Interior (MoI) which is directly in contact with people and has the duty to enforce the law in the country. firstly, corruption should be tackled in the security sector because it cost lives, territory, and trust of the public toward government and decreases the level of investment, and etc. In the social contract which gives the people the right to life is violated when the government is not able to provide security. Now the security sector has many problems like ghost police, sale for the position, illegal sales of weapons, the use of police forces for private purposes, stealing from the procurement contracts of food, uniform, weapon and other equipment of the soldiers, police and national security forces. The MoI, which is also providing identity card, traffic management and providing police clearance records for job and travel seekers are extracting bribes and selling public service or product. For this all it is very important to prioritize the ending of corruption in the security sector by independent anti-corruption institutions on the ministerial and national level, providing the institutions with the authority to execute their job with according to rule of law and independently out of political interferences (ANSCC, 2017, pp.8-9).

Pillar 3: Replacing Patronage with Merit:

Replacing patronage with merit is essential to increase the efficiency, effectiveness, good performance of the security, education, reconstruction, and tax and revenue collection offices. Corruption in recruitment process leads to poor performance of employs and patronage related ethnic tensions, the

elimination of the patronage from civil service will be a huge obstacle and challenge for anti-corruption strategy. The civil service should be reformed, and the hiring should be neutral and competitive based on the qualifications, knowledge and work experience. Second, the utility of employees should be increased by providing training, management and leadership courses also providing job services such as government housing, which will be lost if civil servant commits a crime or dismissed from office for a cause (ANSCC, 2017, pp.9-10).

Pillar 4: Prosecuting the Corrupt:

The new penal code that came into force in February 2018 criminalizes corruption offences along with UNCAC. The qualification review for the employees of Supreme Court and Attorney General's Office should be started and poor performing prosecutors should be replaced by the professional prosecutors.

The ACJC has received 315 cases of corruption out of them 70 wrongdoers punished by mid and long-term prison terms, which include deputy ministers and general directors from the ministry of transport. To prosecute the corrupt the High Council for Good Governance, Justice and Anti-Corruption was established in 2016, chaired by the president. The goal of these reforms is to gain the trust of people and give them high moral by making them believe in the equality and fairness of justice. Furthermore, increase the sanction for a corrupt act and increase the risks of being corrupt by punishing the wrongdoer and treating all equally by law (ANSCC, 2017, pp.10-12).

Pillar 5: Following the Money:

The financial management is very important for all governments to ensure transparency and accountability. In this pillar the money is followed and explored where the money is missing and tackling the problem there will be very helpful for the anti-corruption strategy to be successful. Fiscal policy of the country rebuilding and institutionalizing national budget, reasonable explanation for the allocation of the funds should be provided. Management of the fiscal policy is the core element for decreasing the opportunities for corruption. The national budget reforms are engines of the government's fiscal

policy management reform and the budget reforms are improving revenue collection through new policies and better administration. Standardized and easily understood reporting requirements will provide transparency and accountability for government investments. Afghanistan lacks the financial controls to monitor and supervise financial flow and no standard mechanism for financial flow records (ANSCC, 2017, p.12).

4.3 Conclusion

The thesis long analyzed the phenomenon of corruption, its causes, consequences and appropriate strategies to combat corruption. My thesis about corruption will provide a profound understanding for the audience about the problem of corruption and the latest data shared about corruption. The strategies used to curb the phenomenon of corruption in the country were not implemented correctly or the obstacles didn't give the permission to the implementing organization to execute their job effectively. This situation led the country to extreme difference between poor and rich even caused economic crises. To investigate the cases of corruption and deal with the crimes of corruption in the Supreme Court some institutions and anti-corruption tribunals were established but none of them was successful to execute their job correctly. The hotline of 119 was created to hear the complaints of public about corruption and public awareness campaigns were launched to curb corruption but the lack of rule of law and lack of authority and independence of the institutions lead to the failure of these all attempts. The Afghan National Strategy for Combating Corruption (ANSCC) was established in 2017 and aimed to fight corruption in Afghanistan. The strategy has several reforms and if those reforms are applied and implemented the anti-corruption efforts will become successful and the result will be a significant decrease in the corruption. The strategy provided five pillars which are: political leadership and empowering reformers, ending corruption in the security sector, replacing patronage with merit, prosecuting the corrupt and following the money.

The ANSCC points to the most important reforms that have to be taking to fight corruption. First, establishing monitoring and evaluation institutions in all ministries especially those vulnerable to the corruption and reporting directly to

the High Council on corruption to reach the president and secure the independencies of those institutions. Second, restoring the citizen's trust which is very important for a government to be able to sustain its legitimacy and implement its reforms, without the engagement of the civil society in the process of fighting corruption it is very hard to get rid of the corruption. Third, the government should help and persuade the private sector and many of the sectors should be privatized by the government to eliminate corruption and increase the efficiency of the institutions. Fourth, the international partners are required to sustain long-term financial support and sustain anti-corruption efforts. In the end, there are five pillars each has reforms for a specific sector to be implemented and overcome the problem of corruption, the responsibility of monitoring and evaluating the strategy's implementation is belonging to the High Council on Law Justice and Anti-Corruption (HCLJAC).

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Executive Summary Of Chapters

The thesis focuses on the relation between corruption and the enormous inflow of international capital in the country; it has long been debated that corruption occurs when there are opportunities for it. Massive international inflow of funds for the reconstruction of Afghanistan and the allocation of these funds without accountability and transparency were associated with promoting corruption in the country. The thesis focuses on the period after 2001, when the international funds were injected for the reconstruction of the country. In the introduction part the thesis determines the importance of the subject and explain the research methods used to collect academic information. Furthermore, chapter one is going on by analyzing corruption perception in Afghanistan. It is essential to know about the corruption perception in Afghanistan because more than half of the population thinks that corruption is a serious challenge to the government and development of the country.

Chapter two has brought the arguments together about the general approach to the phenomenon of corruption, such as; what is corruption and how various scholars have different arguments for determining and defining the phenomenon of corruption. This thesis has explained the types, acts, causes, effects and cures of corruption and has found that what are the factors which lead to corruption in a country? And, what are the effects of corruption on economic growth, development and competitio? To answer these questions, we have to know about the causes and effects of corruption.

In chapter two, literature review has long argued about the definition of corruption, the majority of the studies point out that corruption is an illegal act which is done by individuals or groups in public office or private sector to gain personal profits by breaking laws. According to many scholars, corruption is the abuse of public or governmental offices for private or group gain. The corrupt

officials mostly abuse their power to bend laws and involve in illegal money deals for their personal private gains. Corruption is a phenomenon that exists in almost all countries, some societies have managed to fight against it and dissolve it while some other is very deeply into it because they couldn't formulate a mechanism for protecting their societies. The corruption is admitted as a serious obstacle for developing countries to catch up with industrialized countries. Corruption is related to poverty and in return, poverty is increased by corruption both variables has a positive correlation.

Patronage is another act of corruption where the recruitment is based on a relationship that someone has with the person holding the authority of recruitment. Some scholars explain the existence of patronage in recruitment lead to inefficiency, ineffectiveness and ethnically based tensions in Afghanistan. For example, a politician who helps and supports his family or relatives is considered to be involved in patronage and thus patronage leads to inefficiency of institutions due to hiring based on personal relationships instead of being based on merit.

Corruption creates negative images in the majority's mind since it is associated with bribery, nepotism, patronage and poor procurement. There are two types of corruption; Mohseni classifies corruption types as, administrative or petty corruption and political or grand corruption. He states that "administrative or petty corruption are affecting directly the daily life of citizens and undermine their confidence in government bodies" (Mohseni, 2006, p.143). Petty corruption is a small number of bribes paid to a civil servant to speed up the process and skip some complicated steps or exempting tax for a specific person. Low-level or petty-corruption generally concerns the people in their daily administrative relations, for example, amounts of bribes, kickbacks which makes corruption enormously popular and spread a very bad perception about the integrity of government institutions to civil society. On the other hand, grand corruption or high-level corruption occurs at the top level of authority by politicians, for example, purchasing the expensive jet fighter may provide corruption opportunities like kickbacks to the minister of defence. High-level corruption is related to political corruption which is also called grand corruption

in which high-level politicians are involved also big projects and great amounts of money take place.

Chapter two is going on by explaining the causes and consequences of corruption. The facts and causes for corruption are different from country to country, from culture to culture and from the government to government. There is no common understanding of it, so scholars interpreted it according to their cultural, political and economic understandings. My study on corruption has found that the main causes of corruption are weak legislative and regulatory enforcement of the law, nepotism, and poor capacity of public administration (lack of accountability), low salaries, and monopoly of power.

Low salaries will lead to corruption because most of the public officials engage in corruption to overcome their daily-life expenditures. Moreover, the discretionary power of high-ranking officials will generally lead to abuse such powers and seek private gain in a weak public administration. The lack of complaint mechanism or not taking under consideration the complaints of the public can also arise from the inefficiency of government institutions and will lead to keep the corrupt actions in the government. There are many causes of corruption explained by different scholars such as; low wages of the civil servants, weak judiciary, weak rule of law, lack of transparency, inefficiency of law enforcement institutions, complex characteristics of the tax systems, lengthy bureaucratic procedures, poor capacity of public administration, discretionary power of high ranking officials, cultural loyalties, poor and non-merit based qualification of public official and etc. Lack of implementing rules and regulations upon the corrupt officials is the main challenge for the countries having a weak judiciary system, which leads to immense cases of corruption. On the other hand, states having so many rules and regulations provide the opportunities for rent-seeking. Furthermore, the monopoly power of some politicians gives them chances to engage in grand corruption and use such power to increase their private benefits.

The weakness of the rule of law and punishment institutions will remove the fear of the criminals for being corrupt. The main reason for corruption in this thesis is the weakness of law implementing institutions and the existence of corruption in these institutions. Weak judiciary means that law-enforcing organs

of government are not performing effectively and justly. In terms of political structures, democracy is believed to be less corrupt than other political structures, because the legitimacy, accountability, transparency, and competition for the political positions are the core values of democracy and enables societies to get rid of the corrupt politicians. Culture is also an important factor associated with the causes of corruption, the loyalty of a person with his/her family and relatives cause him/her to engage in another form of corruption called patronage. Nepotism or patronage is the process for recruitments of public officials, but not based on merit rather than based on family-ties, friendship or belonging to a specific group or ethnicity. Patronage has serious consequences and leads to ethnic clash in some cases.

It is believed that the higher the salaries are the lesser are motivations for being corrupt or higher benefits of remaining in office and serious consequences of being corrupt will decrease corruption. Theoretically the higher penalties will decrease corruption rate but in practice it is vice-versa, the harsher the penalties became, the increase in amount of bribery will occur because if he/she gets caught then, will have to pay higher bribe to the officials to decrease his/her penalties to the minimum or do not punish at all. So, it is not important to make penalties harsher but it is essential to implement penalties to all regardless of considering their political, economic and social status, to apply the fundamentals of democracy and enforce rule of law effectively. If the government practice law and punish corrupt legally the others will fear from being punished, and this will lead to decrease corruption because punishing one will become an example for others to see the results of being corrupt.

Some scholars have a common approach that corruption has major negative impacts on the political, social, economic sectors of a country and its effects are devastating for a society. They believe that more corruption means more problems with growth and development, which cause the investors to suspend their investment projects because of the interference of the corrupt politicians and officials asking for a bribe. Corruption leads to inequality, insecurity, raise the gap between the poor and rich or create an environment that the poor become poorer and rich get richer. Corruption leads to a situation where the voice of the poor is not heard to keep the powerful accountable and the state

will only serve the interest of powerful and rich. Since most of the population in developing countries is not rich, thus it will reduce the public support for the government and undermine democracy. When corruption is at a high level the quality of the public services will also decrease because the project will be handed to the best briber firm instead of the best quality provider.

Corruption is seen as an obstacle for economic growth by decreasing incentives for investment and thus leading to poverty. It will cause poor public and private institutional services; economic growth is depressed when officials ask for bribe or share in the investment project. Consequently, it is decreasing the interest of investors to invest. On the other hand, bribing is also seen as “speed money” by some scholars in the early time, according to them, bribery will force the officials to work hard and pass the complex bureaucratic procedures of the state faster. Contradictory to this opinion, within the construction projects corruption leads to poor quality of projects that will have to be reconstructed. Performing one task several times will cost time and huge sums of money for the state; also it will decrease the foreign incentive to grant reconstruction aids due to the misuse of these funds. Corruption in the procurement of construction projects cost the lives of the people, most of the deaths happened in public places such as the collapse of buildings, bridges etc. are occurred due to the poor quality of construction, projects taken by giving bribe to the officials to grant project and give positive feedback from monitoring of the project.

As a result, corruption has a great role in the decrease of economic growth and leads to poor quality of services and lack of interest for investors. In long run, the corruption has a negative impact on the economy because it decreases investments, deteriorates institutional performances and disappoints the wish of the public for a better future. Corruption only benefits a small group of individuals or politicians enjoying the opportunities for corruption. It is also considered as the main reason for the underdevelopment of a country and has several negative effects on the public and private economic growth and development process.

Patronage is the alliances between two unequal persons in status, patron and client create a network to benefit from each other. Patron is giving client a job or grant the exemption from prosecution and in return client support the patron.

Patronage is considered a form of corruption because it is a wrongful act and leads to dangerous consequences.

Chapter three encompass the main purpose of the study which is to find the incentives behind corruption in Afghanistan and its devastating effects on state building and development to explain those factors, the thesis also provides the history of Afghanistan. Moreover, the thesis had listed the efforts of the government to overcome the problem and recommended some national strategies to combat corruption in chapter four.

In chapter three the thesis specifically collects the arguments about corruption in Afghanistan. Firstly, the data on the history of Afghanistan and the source of initial corruption in the country is discussed. Then corruption in Afghanistan is explained by analyzing empirical studies, the government published data and reinterpreting of surveys conducted about corruption in Afghanistan to find out the determinants of the problem along with cause and consequence of corruption in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is ranked as the third most corrupt country of the world in 2010, while in 2016 Afghanistan was considered less corrupt, but among 10 most corrupt countries in the world compared to 2010 Transparency International data. Corruption spread all over Afghanistan and it has become an embedded phenomenon of daily life; to some extent, corruption is considered as the reason for the weak governance, underdevelopment and insecurity. According to the survey conducted by Integrity Watch Afghanistan (IWA) in 2010 63% of Afghans believe that corruption is a result of weak accountability system, 57% believes because of low civil salaries and 49% says that the existence of large circulations of money and international funds and pressure to allocate them as soon as possible created opportunities for corruption due to lack of transparency (Zyck 2012 p.5).

Afghanistan after 2001 started facing the problem of corruption which is associated with poor governance, a weak judiciary, insecurity, low wages, patronage, economic crises and underdevelopment. The military intervention of the USA along with NATO in Afghanistan started a new era in 2001. The USA formulated a democratic government and then funded its institutions enormously. Huge sums of funds were injected into Afghanistan and the international community imposed pressure on the allocation of these funds for

reconstruction as soon as possible. There was a need for the international community funds, to rebuild Afghanistan after a long period of civil war and brutal government of the Taliban. On the other hand, it would be better if firstly accountable institutions were created, those responsible for the allocation of these funds and then the funds were granted to them and keeping them accountable as well. But unfortunately funds were granted to everyone applying for the projects regardless of their reputation and accountability, these funds were spent but the country didn't develop. Even if the half of those funds were allocated effectively, then Afghanistan was going to be developed more than what it is today.

Some scholars have argued that the main reason for corruption in Afghanistan was political violence and the inability of international donors to monitor the projects that they have funded due to insecurity problems. Another important factor of corruption in Afghanistan is the low wages of the security forces, enforced patronage in national security institutions while certain measures were taken but it didn't give a positive outcome to curb corruption.

Corruption has many causes in Afghanistan such as; decades of war and its direct effect on the psychology of the people. Some Afghan nationals didn't give up on the chances to enrich themselves and ensure a better future for them. The popularity of corruption in the Afghan government led to decrease trust of the public in the government institutions. Second, a weak judiciary and due to corruption in this institution, the Afghans have least trust on the judiciary system and implementations of laws. Third, low wages are the main reason for the public servant to get corrupt, so they end up searching other opportunities to support their income and thus ask for bribery to do their official duties. Fourth, high unemployment and scarcity of job opportunities lead people to pay any amount of money to the officials or should develop patronage networks to get a job, since recruitment is not based on merit. Fifth a massive inflow of international capital to rebuild the country and its institutions was attached with the lack of transparency and accountability. This massive scale of funding and pressure to allocate development aid as soon as possible, lead the governmental and nongovernmental organizations to engage in corruption, while the opportunities for corruption were not estimated by international donors.

Afghanistan needed funding to recover from the destruction of war and brutality, but the funds were allocated in a way that half of them were not allocated efficiently and effectively, every person got his share and left the responsibility to homeland and people behind.

Public procurement is a complex matter that covers construction of big projects to the acquisition of pen, the purchase of everything is funded from public procurement budget. Afghanistan had and even to some extent it has very corrupt institutions for public procurement and allocation of the funds for a construction project. Corruption in procurement leads public official to give the project or bid to the best briber instead of granting the contract to the best quality provider. This situation leads to a lack of competitions and when the firm knows that it has lost the contract because the other person bribed then, all firms will seek to find corrupt ways to get the bid. Corruption in construction project leads to poor quality of buildings which cost lives and money, deaths due to poor construction happen, and the same project should be reconstructed which cost enormous money for the government. In other words, corruption also leads to cause poor quality of development projects, that will not endure for a long time and should be repaired which cost double expenditure for a single project

Corruption has becoming admitted norms of Afghan society, the respondents surveyed by different people and organizations have found that corruption is admitted phenomenon in the Afghan government and it is seen as the first serious challenge to the development and legitimacy of the government. Patronage is also adopted as the norm of getting a job, in patronage network, the patron recruit and recommends his own client. Patronage is the vertical relation between patron and client, where the client protects itself by sustaining a relationship and patron gets the support of the clients and continues having influence and seeking popularity, through patronage networks.

Corruption is a big obstacle for the development and reconstruction of Afghanistan along with security and lack of job employment. The government lack very essential organ to implement the law and ensure the rule of law, the country is suffering from too much political interference and lack of independence to enforce laws and regulations. Corruption is decreasing the

incentive of investors to allocate their funds and start a business. The businessman will always seek to work in an environment where everything is guaranteed and there is nothing guaranteed in a corrupt system.

In most of the cases, corruption occurs because the people do not have trust in government institutions or hope for a bright future and developed Afghanistan, so most of them seek to find money by any mean and leave the country. Those corrupt officials are all in seeking ways to transfer their money to a foreign country and live a high standard of life there. The overall honesty for the government is lost among the people, it is like a horse without an owner and everyone is using it to reach different destinations, but no one is taking the responsibility to find cures for its problems and work for the future of the country. To speed up the procedures or escape the rules and regulations the officials ask for bribes. In a society where most of the people are corrupt and there is a lack of being caught because the government is chasing to arrest other corrupt officials. Even if corrupt official get caught some amount of bribery can skip his penalty, so in this society, corruption will boost, and the only solution to curb corruption is implementing laws and regulations effectively with no exceptions before the law.

Chapter four is discussing the strategies implemented to combat corruption in Afghanistan and the strategies recommended for the combating of corruption in Afghanistan. The chapter will go on by interpreting the obligations of United Nation Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) members because Afghanistan is also a member of this convention against corruption. Furthermore, the Afghan national strategy to curb corruption is explained to provide effective ways for fighting corruption.

The strategies used to curb the destructive phenomenon of corruption in the country were not implemented correctly or the obstacles didn't give permission to the implementing organization to execute their job effectively. This situation led the country to extreme difference between poor and rich and economic crises. To investigate the cases of corruption and deal with the crimes of corruption in the Supreme Court some institutions and anti-corruption tribunals were established but none of them was successful to execute their job correctly. The hotline of 119 was created to hear the complaints of public about corruption

and public awareness campaigns were launched to curb corruption but the lack of rule of law and lack of authority and independence of the institutions lead to the failure of these all attempts. Accountability, transparency, higher wages, and the separation of powers are the most important factors to be taken under consideration while developing the strategy for combating corruption.

The Article 5 of the UNCAC claims that all states parties to the convention should develop and implement anti-corruption policies that promote rule of law, management of public affairs and public property, furthermore increasing integrity, transparency and accountability. This article emphasizes the policies to prevent corruption and collaboration between states by participating and organizing international programs aimed at the prevention of corruption (UNCAC, 2004, P.9). The Afghan National Strategy for Combating Corruption (ANSCC) was established in 2017 and aimed to fight corruption in Afghanistan. The strategy has several reforms and if those reforms are applied and implemented the anti-corruption efforts will become successful and the result will be shown as a significant decrease in the occurrence of corruption.

The ANSCC points to the most important reforms that have to be taking to fight corruption. First, establishing monitoring and evaluation institutions in all ministries especially those vulnerable to the corruption and reporting directly to the High Council on corruption to reach the president and secure the independencies of those institutions. Second, restoring the citizen's trust which is very important for a government to be able to sustain its legitimacy and implement its reforms, without the engagement of the civil society in the process of fighting corruption it is very hard to get rid of the corruption. Third, the government should help and persuade the private sector and many of the sectors should be privatized by the government to eliminate corruption and increase the efficiency of the institutions. Fourth, the international partners are required to sustain long-term financial support and sustain anti-corruption efforts.

Finally, there are five pillars explained in chapter four each has reforms for specific sectors to be implemented and overcome the problem of corruption. The responsibility of monitoring and evaluating the strategy's implementation is belonging to the High Council on Law Justice and Anti-Corruption

(HCLJAC). The five pillars are political leadership and empowering reformers, ending corruption in the security sector, replacing patronage with merit, prosecuting the corrupt and following the money. Political leadership is important out of fair and competitive elections is essential for combating corruption and the new generation should be provided with exemplary leadership and rebuild the incentive of fighting corruption. Ending corruption in the security sector is very vital because the existence of corruption in the security sector cost lives, territory and the trust of the public. Replacing patronage-based recruitment with merit-based recruitment will increase the performance of the institution and with skillful employees, the institution can put out good results of service or product provided, in terms of quality, effectiveness and efficiency. Prosecuting the corrupt is one important step to be taken in fighting corruption and increasing the risk of being punished for a certain wrong or corrupt action, reforms in the judicial branch are essential and giving the prosecutors the ability to work confidently according to law and implement the anti-corruption regulations. Following the money and managing the fiscal policy of the country is very important to decrease the opportunities for corruption and increase accountability.

5.2 Shortcomings of Research

At the end of this section, I would present the shortcoming of research. This is clear that the phenomenon of corruption is a political, economic, moral and social related issue which has its influence on different aspects of life. Thus, it is important to take the idea of the people and conduct a survey from the public and public officials to understand their perception of corruption in details. Furthermore, the survey could help us to express some personal experiences about corruption and what is really happening in the country. My thesis is based on analyzing secondary data, the government published data, and surveys conducted in this field. In the future research about corruption, it will be better to conduct a general survey from the public and public officials of the country because in this subject collecting direct contact information is better than analyzing secondary data.

5.3 Recommendations

Finally, I recommend some reforms to be taken and eliminate corruption in Afghanistan. Combating corruption in the judiciary branch, security sector and public procurement is very essential and has to be prioritized. In the judiciary, the law should be implemented to everyone justly and there should be no exception before the law. Security sector should get strengthened because corruption in the security sector cost the lives of the soldiers and people. Public procurement should be monitored step by step and the firm winning the contract should provide the best quality for everything procured, especially construction projects. The implementation of the law is the core principle of a country and a government cannot sustain legitimacy and political stability without rule of law. Afghanistan lacks effective rule of law, some people buy prosecutors and some others put political pressure on prosecutors, this situation leads to citizens to lose trust on judiciary branch and interact with each other by custom rules. The judiciary branch of a government should be fully independent to ensure the separation of power and it should execute its duty according to law and accept no exceptions before the law. The law should be implemented equally to everyone regardless of looking at the status of the criminals; rich, poor, holding social status and belonging to the certain ethnic group should not change the punishment of the criminal. On the other hand, the security sector must be strengthened to chase corrupt officials effectively and do not accept bribes for doing illegal acts. It can happen through giving higher wages to the police force and giving them serious penalties for breaking rules and regulations. The benefits of remaining in office should be adequate, so that police and soldiers do not engage in corruption that would lead to severe punishment and losing the job. The third important sector that corruption should be eliminated in is the public procurement department. Corruption in this department leads to devastating impacts on the development of the country since it encompasses all expenditures of the government. Public procurement should be monitored by two or three institutions before the contract is given and after the project is prepared for use, the monitoring institutions are responsible to evaluate and if it's good then approve the work of the firm and give them the money.

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