



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Japan's development and cooperation
initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq
A Non-Military Approach to Building States and Peace“

verfasst von / submitted by

Michael Zinkanell

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2018 / Vienna, 2018

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 066 589

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Internationale Entwicklung

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Wolfram Schaffar

Abstract

Der akademische Diskurs rund um den Herrschaftsbegriff und die Rolle des Staates wird stets heftig debattiert. Aufgrund der diversen politischen Realitäten und der nuancierten Auslegung von Herrschaft wurde bis heute kein universaler Staatlichkeitsansatz etabliert. Nichtsdestotrotz entstanden Grundprinzipien der Staatlichkeit, bestehend aus der Fähigkeit die Souveränität innerhalb eines bestimmten Territoriums durch das Gewaltmonopol zu bewahren, der Administration politischer Handlungen, sowie der Beziehung zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft. Die Nichterfüllung dieser Verpflichtungen führt oftmals zu politischer, sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Instabilität, sowie der Gefährdung der Sicherheit.

Afghanistan und Irak werden als fragile Staaten gesehen, da momentan beide Regierungen nicht in der Lage sind über das gesamte Hoheitsgebiet zu verfügen und die nötigen politischen Güter und Leistungen an die Bevölkerung zu liefern. Gleichzeitig implementieren internationale Geberstaaten zahlreiche Entwicklungsprogramme in Afghanistan und Irak, mit dem Ziel Infrastrukturen, Institutionen und die Wirtschaft wiederaufzubauen. In diesem Zusammenhang nimmt Japan eine einzigartige Position ein, da es der einzige Geberstaat ist, welcher Entwicklungshilfe und -zusammenarbeit bereitstellt ohne auch großflächig militärisch aktiv zu sein.

Diese Masterarbeit hinterfragt den Nexus zwischen Entwicklung, Staatenbildung, und Konfliktlösung durch die Analyse des aktuellen Falls der Japanischen Entwicklungsinitiativen in Afghanistan und Irak, mittels Evaluierung von semi-strukturierten Interviews mit diversen Akteuren. Die umfassenden Ergebnisse schlagen eine starke Verbindung zwischen den drei Gebieten vor, da ein koordiniertes Zusammenspiel zu Resilienz und der Möglichkeit der Konfliktprävention führt. Die Stärkung der Rolle der Zivilgesellschaft, die Zusammenarbeit und Kommunikation zwischen verschiedenen Akteuren, sowie eine kritische Betrachtung der Metaebene sind als Erfolgsfaktoren identifiziert worden.

Schlüsselwörter: Entwicklung, Staatenbildung, fragile Staaten, Konfliktlösung

Abstract

The academic discourse on governance and the role of the state is constantly strongly debated. Until today, no universal approach to statehood has been established, due to the diverse political realities and the nuanced organisation of rule. Nevertheless, core principles of statehood emerged, consisting of the ability to maintain sovereignty within a certain territory through the monopoly of force, the administration political actions, and the relation between state and society. The failure to perform these obligations often results in political, social, and economic instability, as well as the compromise of safety and security.

Afghanistan and Iraq are considered fragile countries, as both governments are currently unable to rule over their entire territory and to deliver the necessary political goods and services to its people. At the same time, international donor countries implement various development programmes in Afghanistan and Iraq, with the ambition to re-build infrastructures, institutions, and the economy. In this context, Japan holds a unique position as it is the only large donor country, which does provide development aid and cooperation without being involved militarily on a large scale as well.

This Master's thesis scrutinises the nexus of development, state-building, and conflict resolution in analysing the current case of Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq through the evaluation of semi-structured interviews with various stakeholders. The comprehensive findings suggest a strong relation between these three areas, as a coordinated interplay leads to resilience and offers the possibility to prevent future conflicts from arising. Enhancing the role of the civil society, the collaboration and communication between various actors, and a critical consideration of the meta level were identified as the keys to success.

Keywords: development, state-building, fragile states, conflict resolution

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family, who unconditionally supported me during my entire education and throughout all hardships along the way.

Further, my gratitude goes to my supervisor professor Wolfram Schaffar and the excellent professors from Department of Development Studies at the University of Vienna and from the Department of Global Political Studies at Malmö University for guiding me academically during my Bachelor's and Master's degree. In addition, I am very thankful for having received a scholarship from the University of Vienna in order to conduct a two-months research trip to Tokyo, Japan collecting first-hand empirical data for this thesis.

I owe strong encouragement and countless stimulating debates to my fellow classmates, friends, and co-workers, who did not only motivate me in my academic ambitions but also provided constructive critique that was always most appreciated.

Lastly, I would like to express my deep gratefulness to all research participants whose voices are being heard although their identities remain anonymous. Without their trust and support this research would not have been possible.

List of Abbreviations

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoA	Government of Afghanistan
ISAF	International Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan
JICA	Japanese International Development Agency
KRG	Kurdish Regional Government
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PEACE (programme)	Project for the Promotion and Enhancement of the Afghan Capacity for Effective Development
PRT	Provincial Reconstruction Team
SSG/R	Security Sector Governance and Reform
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Service

List of Images, Tables, and Diagrams

Images

Image 1: Taliban Control in Afghanistan (2018)	11
Image 2: Territorial Control Iraq (Feb. 2017)	16
Image 3: Territorial Control Iraq (Dec. 2017)	17
Image 4: Fragile State Index 2017, Afghanistan and Iraq	31

Tables

Table 1: Overview of Interview Partners	39
Table 2: Overview of analytical categories and codes	45
Table 3: Subchapters analysis, including analytical process of research	52

Diagram

Diagram 1: The interaction between political government, civil society, and private sector to foster self-reliance and sustainability	86
Diagram 2: The nexus between development, state-building, and conflict resolution	88

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	I
ABSTRACT	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	IV
LIST OF IMAGES, TABLES, AND DIAGRAMS	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VII
<u>1 INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>1</u>
1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM	4
1.2 RESEARCH AIM	5
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	6
1.4 DELIMITATION	7
1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE	7
<u>2 CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</u>	<u>9</u>
2.1 AFGHANISTAN	10
2.2 IRAQ	13
<u>3 CONTEXTUALISING JAPANESE DEVELOPMENT</u>	<u>19</u>
3.1 THE JAPANESE SOFT POWER APPROACH	21
<u>4 THEORY</u>	<u>23</u>
4.1 STATEHOOD AND SOVEREIGNTY	24
4.2 STATE-FRAGILITY	28
4.3 A HYBRID CONSENSUS	32
<u>5 METHOD</u>	<u>35</u>
5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN	35
5.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD	37
5.2.1 DATA COLLECTION	39
5.2.2 DATA ANALYSIS	42
5.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION	45
5.4 PERSONAL POSITIONING	48
<u>6 ANALYSIS</u>	<u>51</u>
6.1 ASSESSING THE SITUATION	53
6.2 JAPAN'S INITIATIVES IN AFGHANISTAN	56
6.3 JAPAN'S INITIATIVES IN IRAQ	61
6.4 JAPANESE MOTIVES	65
6.5 STATE-BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT	71
6.6 THE JAPANESE SUCCESS STORY?	77
6.7 LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	81
<u>7 CONCLUSION</u>	<u>85</u>
<u>REFERENCE LIST</u>	<u>91</u>
PRINT MEDIA REFERENCES	91
INTERVIEW REFERENCES	102

<u>APPENDIX I: FRAGILE STATE INDEX 2017 DASHBOARD AFGHANISTAN</u>	<u>103</u>
<u>APPENDIX II: FRAGILE STATE INDEX 2017 DASHBOARD IRAQ</u>	<u>104</u>
<u>APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE</u>	<u>105</u>

1 Introduction

"Isn't the first step toward agreement for us to ask ourselves what we can say is the greatest good in the organization of a city—that good aiming at which the legislator must set down the laws—and what the greatest evil; and then to consider whether what we have just described harmonizes with the track of the good for us. and not with that of the evil?" "By all means," he said. "Have we any greater evil for a city than what splits it and makes it many instead of one? Or a greater good than what binds it together and makes it one?" "No, we don't." (Plato, 1991:141)

Rule, governance, state – terms we have familiarised ourselves with and yet seem more obscure than clearly defined. The schools of philosophy, politics, law, and humanities have been investigating concepts and structures of social cohesion for more than 2.000 years. Uncountable questions have been raised on the nature of power, and an even greater amount of answers have been derived. As a whole, these findings laid out the basis for numerous theories, approaches, and premises of hierarchically organising social coexistence, which have developed over time and adapted to different historical eras. Tracing back the origins of contemplating on ‘the state’ inevitably leads to Plato’s Republic. As the quote above illustrates, some prime structures and basic components of his understanding of authority have not lost importance or relevance over the last two millennia. The organisation of society shall deem it necessary to follow the greatest good and prevent the greatest evil by setting ground rules through legislation on how social harmony is to be achieved (Plato, 1991). However, despite the dogmatic religious character of Plato’s *Politeia* resembles the Ten Commandments, the provision of the greatest goods must include the sum of the often diverse population if ‘real’ unity is to be accomplished.

Plato still influences our conceptualisation of statehood, its main components and its rule. Despite the enormous collection of scientific and empirical concepts of statehood, neither a universal formula for ruling nor an internationally acknowledged definition of statehood has been established until today. The true nature and essence of ‘the state’, its legitimacy, and the

rule of law remain disputed as countless different forms of statehood have been introduced, manifested themselves in society, and vanished at last.

Clearly, however, over the last centuries the so-called ‘global north’ has executed a certain dominance, in advocating for a neoliberal and democratic political doctrine, and efforts were made to export this system to the ‘global south’ through creating dependencies and promoting ‘development’ (Fischer, Hödl, Parnreiter, 2010:38). The economic and political hegemony of the United States of America and European countries have been proven to prevail over other state models including the communist Soviet Union, often causing signs of neo-colonial tendencies.

This hegemony is rooted in today’s political reality of ‘the state’, which can be traced back to two historical cornerstones. Firstly, the Peace of Westphalia is considered to be the birth of the creation of nation states. Through politically redistributing power relations in Europe, the hostile European entities established peace and ended the Thirty Years War in the middle of the 17th century. The sovereignty of single states was agreed upon, clearly defined by concrete borders, and founded on the mutual acknowledgement of legitimacy. Hence, the European claims of power and territory were secured from the inside and the outside (Teschke, 2007), whilst Wallerstein (2011) regards this era as the start of the modern capitalist world system. Secondly, the German sociologist Max Weber influenced today’s importance and definition of statehood strongly. The implementation of bureaucratic control over a certain population, situated in a clear defined territory, over which the political elite executes military control, serves as the central characteristics of modern statehood (Weber, 1978). According to Weber, a state consists of a certain human community, which successfully manages to obtain and preserve the physical monopoly on violence in a specific geographical area (Weber, 1978). He further mentions that the rational legal authority, which is subjected to the rule of the community and is built upon a bureaucratic administrative body, is the ideal type of managing modern capitalist states (Weber, 2006).

These two fundamentals serve as an anchor for understanding modern statehood. Together, they combine the theoretical conceptualisation of rule with shaping the clear distinction between public and civilian entities. Through applying distinct laws and rights – which vary vastly dependent on time and space – the connection, dependence, and relation between the

decision-making and decision-receiving entities are defined. However, the tangible question of practically realising these theoretical ideals of statehood arises, incorporating an interdisciplinary approach of political and social science. State manifestations depend therefore strongly on the vantage point of politics and the specific socio-political situation. Thelen, Vettters and Benda-Beckmann (2014) mention the complexities between different political and ideological interpretations – is the state simply an instrument of capitalist interests, is it a demonstration and expansion of power, or are states in their essence obliged to provide welfare? The discrepancy between theories and realities of rule are undoubtable, which opens a leeway for various interpretations and expressions of one and the same concept. Once again, the fluid practical approach of implementing statehood becomes obvious.

Behind this background, this Master's thesis will entertain an interdisciplinary approach to analyse the realities of political power in relation to predominant theories of statehood. The main conceptual focus will lie on the discourse of International Development, which itself exists on an interactive and interdependent understanding of disciplines and the constant interlinkage between politics, economy, and society, influenced by historical factors (Schmidt, Schröder 2016; Quintero, 2013; Quijano, 2000). Concepts and theories of the school of Development Studies have the potential to support a positive change towards political stability and social inclusion and therefore can contribute to resolving and preventing conflicts and disputes, whilst it can also be applied when investigating the structure of governance. As the core of statehood is strongly contested, the research will rather scrutinise the consequences of fragile and failed governmental systems as well as how they can be re-established. Clearly, a certain set of indicators is needed to measure the reasons for as well as the intensity of state-failure, in order to enable a comprehensive scrutiny.

Over the last ten years, The Fund for Peace has researched fragile and failed states and created the Fragile State Index. The severity of failed, fragile, or weak state structures must not be underestimated, in particular since absent or insufficient statehood results in security threats. First and foremost, the civil society of affected areas experiences the absence of human security due to the insufficient provision of safety, rule of law, and political goods, but also international political security is at risk, since fragile states often become safe havens for terror organisations and hubs for organised crime such as illicit drugs and weapons trade or human trafficking (Call, 2008:11; Sherman, 2008:303). In particular the aftermath of the 9/11 terror-

ist attacks has reshaped the perception of fragile states, for as it is highlighted in the 2002 National Security Strategy of the United States of America, stating “America is now threatened less by conquering states than we are by failing ones” (The White House, 2002:1).

1.1 Research Problem

This White House quote refers to two states in particular, Afghanistan and Iraq, which were regarded as ‘failing’ due to the emergence of radicalised and violent groups, who undermined the rule of law. With reference to the latest developments in both countries, as well as the results of the most recent Fragile State Indexes (The Fund for Peace 2016; The Fund for Peace 2017), neither Afghanistan nor Iraq have achieved sustainable improvement over the last ten to fifteen years. Multiple factors still perpetuate the current unstable politico-military situation of decay and despotism. This thesis will consider Afghanistan and Iraq as investigative case studies for fragile statehood. The analysis will concretely aim to outline the means and methods of state-reconstruction undertaken by international actors. Besides the United States of America and several member states of the European Union, Japan is amongst the top donor countries in Afghanistan and Iraq and occupies a unique role of launching non-military initiatives of development, which contribute to a certain extent to the state-building efforts. This situation offers not only an interesting but also a meaningful investigation of development, statehood, and conflict resolution, whilst analysing the potential successful measure of state-building in a case-study approach.

As the international community is continuing to struggle with identifying best practices for development initiatives, undergoing serious considerations on the most beneficial strategies for both long and short-term projects, the donor countries’ motives must not be forgotten. This is also the case for Japan’s approach, since pure altruistic reasons cannot be realistically presumed. Furthermore, the issue of not being able to achieve significant improvement in regard to Afghanistan’s and Iraq’s stability and the safety of its citizens is worrisome and must be critically addressed. As is the case for peace-building and development initiatives, in state-building there is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ model (Call, 2008:13), meaning that a case-study approach is more applicable than a comparison between cases. In addition, problematic circumstances occurred in both cases during the military interventions and the international hu-

manitarian engagement that followed. As more than a mere footnote, it should be remembered that the Iraqi invasion, which was pushed by the United States without a United Nations Security Council approval (Rubin, 2008:33), later resulted in human rights violations as the Abu Ghraib prison incident. On the other side, international aid flowing into Afghanistan throughout the last decade contributed in only very limited ways to the improvement of basic infrastructure and social goods, as it is estimated that only between 10 and 20 percent of aid ever reached its original target (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2013:452). Keeping the broader situation in mind, Japan's approach is rather unique, since it focusses heavily on soft power and non-military strategies in achieving both self-interests and development advancements on the ground.

1.2 Research Aim

Development initiatives, state-building, and conflict-resolution make up an intertwined fusion of complexities. Increased and comprehensive understanding of the different fields and their relations between and each other is the overall aim of this thesis, as it can be regarded as the first step towards improving potentially unsuccessful or even harmful strategies. The trinity of development, state-building, and conflict-resolution, which is especially strong in Afghanistan and Iraq as the situation during the last ten to fifteen years and previous research indicates, is often argued for and shall be scrutinised empirically (Acemoglu, Robinson 2013; Call, 2008; Coll 2004, Goodhand, 2006, Rubin, 2008; Sherman, 2008; Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, Miall 2011; Spurk, 2010).

Against the above-mentioned background and thematic framework, particular focus will be put on the case of Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq, with the objective to uncover whether the Japanese development involvement might lead to state-building and conflict-resolution. The interdisciplinary framework of the thesis, combining political and social science, in particular statehood and development cooperation, shall present that the ties behind the prevention of war, establishment of peace, political and social reconstruction of war-torn societies, and international efforts towards socio-economic development are stronger than commonly believed. Therefore, the thesis advocates a wide-ranging approach towards including a broad set of stakeholders and factors when planning and implementing

development programmes. Eventually the Master's thesis shall outline the profound link that post-war reconciliation goes hand in hand with conflict prevention, to which development initiatives are the key.

This aim shall be achieved by a rigorously combining theory and method in an empirical analysis of the case. A multitude of theoretical approaches on governance will be serve as a conceptional basis, ranging from Max Weber's theory of statehood and sovereignty (1978) in connection with more modern theories of Acemoglu and Robinson (2013), Call and Wyeth (2008), as well as the Fragile State Index (The Fund for Peace 2016; The Fund for Peace 2017). The method will focus on the conduct and analysis of semi-structured interviews with Japanese development stakeholders, Afghan and Iraqi representatives, and political experts according to the methodological parameters provided by May (2011), Chambliss and Schutt (2013), Creswell (2014), and Dannecker and Vossemer (2014).

1.3 Research Questions

In order to achieve the aim of the research and contribute to the theoretical understanding as well as the practical approach of development initiatives and their impacts on state-building and conflict-resolution, the research poses the following main question:

How does the Japanese government contribute to the rebuilding of statehood and stability in Afghanistan and Iraq through its development initiatives?

Deriving from the specific nature of the question and the complexity of the topic, a set of background information and analytical issues must be captured initially. Therefore, the analytical chapter first comprises of presenting insight into the situation in Afghanistan and Iraq and the characteristics of Japanese development initiatives as well as their self-interests and motives, before a connection between development and state-building can be identified. In particular, Japan's political agenda behind spending billions of Euros on Afghan and Iraqi programmes must be probed to discover the intensity of the relation between development and state-building. Furthermore, it shall be questioned how strongly state-building and conflict-resolution efforts are interlinked in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq. Lastly, the analysis

should identify if Japanese initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq can be regarded as a success story and which lessons and recommendations are being determined for future programmes. Hence, the research question and the analysis shall bridge theory and method with the practical example and case study of Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq.

1.4 Delimitation

This research shall not claim to uncover the essence and core of statehood. The complexity of governance, statehood and their structures is acknowledged, without the intention to simplify. Therefore, the analysis of the political realities in Afghanistan and Iraq shall be conducted in a neutral and value-free way, without arguing for or against a certain governmental system. The analytical-based approach is built on assessing how statehood is being executed and in which sense national and foreign actors intervene and influence the process. The only premises for analysing the case is that there is an interdependent relation between the state and the public, which is being expressed in different ways in different situations. Therefore, this Master's thesis will focus on the practical side of statehood and governance, not through analysing the broad variety of functioning systems but rather by focusing on identifying the circumstances of state failure and how international actors support the reestablishment of these malfunctioning systems.

1.5 Chapter Outline

The following chapter provides a historical background of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq to set the basis of conceptualising the current setting. In addition, an overview of Japan's development initiatives will be presented in chapter three, also putting its programmes and efforts into perspective. Chapters four and five present the theory and the method which is being applied to the research, conjointly with ethical considerations. The heart of the thesis consists of chapter six, which presents and analyses the conducted empirical data, and structures it into logical divisions to answer the research question and fulfil the research aim. Lastly, chapter seven offers a comprehensive conclusion, including a discussion of the analytical outcomes with theory and method.

2 Conflict Analysis and Historical Background

To a certain extent both Afghanistan and Iraq share a similar background and comparable circumstances, which led to their current fragile state structure. The United States intervened militarily in Afghanistan and Iraq, purged the political elites in both countries and presented its military agenda as a means to increase US internal security. Both Afghanistan and Iraq have lost their monopoly on violence, which led to a partial loss of territory control, and both governments are currently unable to provide security and the basic political goods to their populations, which consequently often seek refuge abroad. Due to the current insecurity, Afghanistan and Iraq show quite similar numbers of internal and external displacement, reaching over three million for each of the countries by the beginning of 2018, accounting for roughly ten percent of the total populations (UNHCR, 2018a; UNHCR, 2018b; UNHCR, 2018c). Current international state-building initiatives as well as military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq are strongly motivated by the ambition to combat international terrorism (Sherman, 2008:30; Coll, 2004), a desire which has caused a multitude of controversial and condemnable actions, ranging from asymmetric warfare, torture, and the killing of civilians (Salama, 2016).

Despite (or arguably due to) international intervention, internal safety and security has not been re-established entirely in neither Iraq nor in Afghanistan, which caused humanitarian catastrophes and refugee movements within and beyond their borders. Foreign interventions have further resulted in numerous claims of violations against human rights and international law have been reported (Ross, 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2011). To some degree, all international parties involved have been following specific individual agendas, conflicting with one another, and demonstrating indications of a proxy war. The loss of sovereignty due to violent conflict within the territory of Afghanistan and Iraq, the inability to maintain the monopoly on violence, the insufficient provision of political goods and safety, and the exodus of the population (Gauster, 2017, Sherman, 2008:306), are rooted in the socioeconomic and

political developments in both countries. Hence, the investigation of both the actual consequences of the loss of statehood as well as the means to re-strengthen state structures and the rule of law, must involve at least a brief historical background.

This chapter aims to offer an introduction into the wider topic of fragile states by shedding light on the most relevant occurrences. Furthermore, a simplified literature-based conflict analysis will put the events into perspective and at the same time lay the ground for the empirical analysis in chapter six. This background chapter is to be seen as an essential first step and basis towards reinforcing development and peace through an improved comprehension of the cases. Furthermore, it provides the conceptual basis to comprehend connections and events, which have an impact on today's situations.

2.1 Afghanistan

Even when the modern state of Afghanistan was fairly young, it posed major geo-political and strategic significance during the 'Great Game' between British India and the Russian Empire in the late 19th century. Serving as a buffer zone, Afghanistan was locked in between two hegemonic powers, trying to withstand pressure from both sides. Today's region of Badakhshan with its Wakhan corridor, a narrow mountainous valley bordering Tajikistan, is a reminder of Afghanistan's unwanted function as a buffer zone. The two British invasions in 1842 and 1879 give further important context to its contemporary situation, since at that time the Afghan resistance was already organised and manifested in a religious setting, when Islamic clerics called for an external violent jihad (known as a 'lesser jihad') (Bosin, 2009:15).

After the Third Anglo-Afghan War, Afghanistan gained independence in 1919 and became a monarchy, until several coups and violent clashes in combination with the strong Soviet influence transformed the country into a socialist state. During the subsequent Soviet-Afghan War between 1979 and 1989, the people of Afghanistan found themselves again positioned between two rival global powers. The United States assisted the Afghan resistance fighters financially with tens of millions of US Dollars, which consisted dominantly of the Islamic guerrilla organisations of the Mujahedeen, instrumentalising their forces as a proxy against the Soviet Union (Coll, 2004:4). Society was split and disunity was fuelled by competing

world views, rotating between tradition and modernity. This series of events, together with the Soviet retreat and later collapse, triggered the establishment of an Islamic state in Afghanistan, existing alongside the de facto power in charge a highly equipped, well-funded, Sunni Islamic-fundamental movement, the Taliban, which controlled most of the country before the US-led invasion in 2001 (Collins, 2011:39).

What followed was a widespread international engagement from the military powers of the Global North, contesting the country for almost two decades. Although the struggle to diminish the Taliban's power and influence over Afghanistan has achieved successes in the course of the last 17 years, the extremist group has regained its strength in 2014 and 2015 and currently the it executes significant control over large areas.

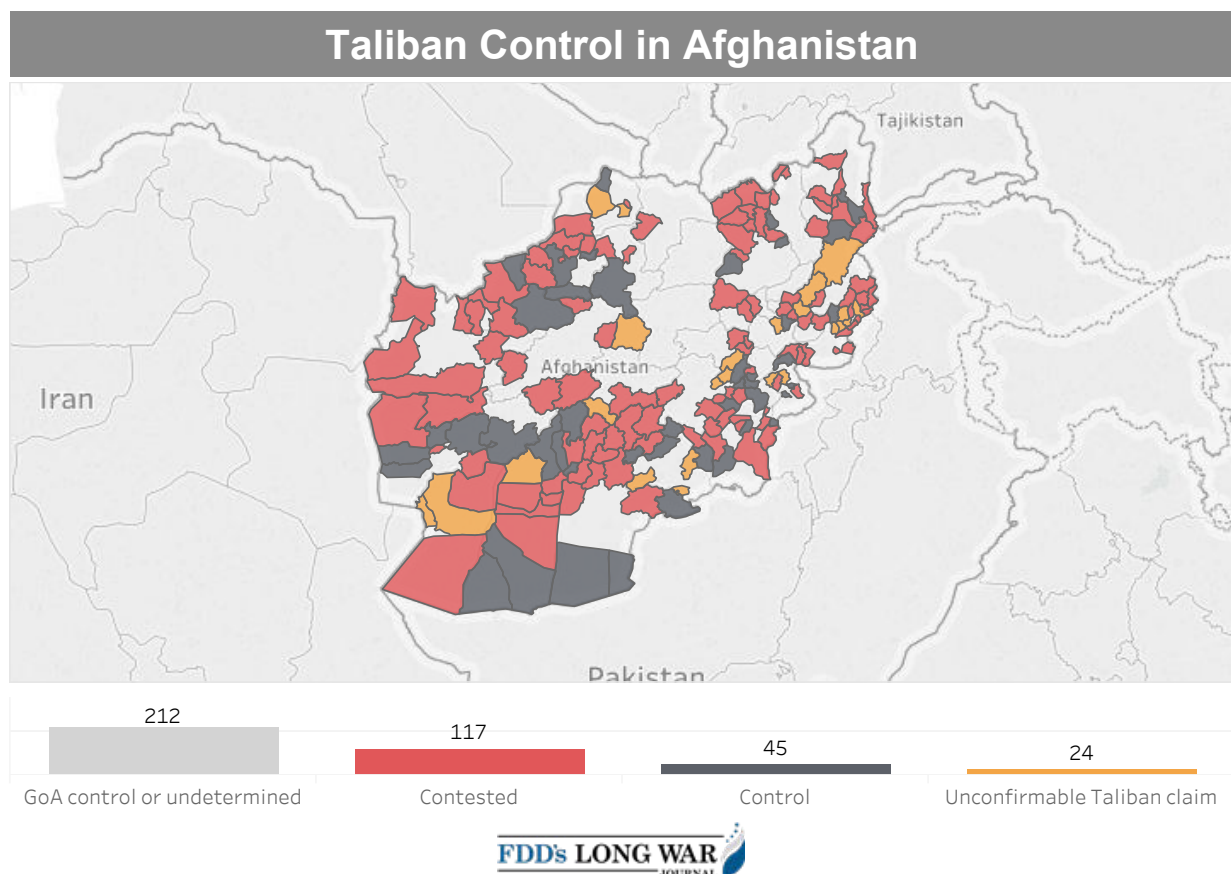


Image 1: Taliban Control in Afghanistan, January 2018

Black regions are under Taliban control, while red ones are still contested. This graphic depicts the fragmentation of power in Afghanistan and the inability to restore the monopoly on violence.

Source: FDD's Long War Journal (2018)

As illustrated, the control of Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan is widespread and poses a serious threat to the country's sovereignty and security. Additional sources by US officials under the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction estimate that the insurgents control or contest roughly 40% of Afghanistan's territory; however, they are not in the position to overturn the current government (Katzman, Thomas, 2017:1; SIGAR, 2017). Each and every kind of development assistance in contested or conflict areas becomes dramatically more difficult or in many cases even impossible. The geographic preconditions, especially in rural mountainous areas, further complicate the military conflict and the distribution of humanitarian aid. Decentralised and rather traditional tribal structures of local administration, which are rooted in historical events and are affected by the isolation of valleys and villages, have contributed to the current circumstance, as many people feel distant from the central government in Baghdad.

It is estimated that contested areas and territorial control by the Taliban insurgency has increased in the most recent years. While by mid 2016 it was estimated that 70% of the Afghan population lived under governmental control, the number dropped to under 65% by the end of the year (Katzman, Thomas, 2017:27; SIGAR, 2017). These developments are increasingly worrisome and heavily question the international engagement of the past decade. It appears as if the core reasons and the psychological basis of religious extremism have not decreased; rather, they might be growing due to continuous distrust and grievance.

With reference to actual examples, this factor becomes more obvious. It has been reported that in several cases local communities pledge their support to insurgency or illicit groups in order to avoid the arbitrariness of taxation by corrupt government officials who abuse their power and prevent the administration from receiving vital sources of income (USIP, 2017; DuPee, 2017). The consequences of these incapacitated and corrupted structures have led to mistrust towards the government and to the sympathising with non-state actors who expand their influence and control. This situation enabled the fact that after narcotics, the revenue of extraction resources is the second largest source of income for the Taliban, with an estimated annual revenue between 200 and 300 million US Dollars, reportedly up to three hundred times higher than the official governmental income from mineral excavation (USIP, 2017:1; DuPee, 2017). A vicious cycle is emerging, which consumes governmental legitimacy due to a lack of security, territorial control, and financial revenues. It fuels the authority of violent

and extremist non-state actors that utilise the weak or inexistent structures for their own benefits and hence, expand their power and influence.

The war against the central government is therefore kept alive by militant oppositional powers, an ethnic struggle for power, and the international military intervention that has increased resentment towards foreign involvement (Gauster, 2017). The results are insecurity, conditioned organised crime, and a high amount of violence and terrorism, which have had horrifying impacts on the civilian population and their livelihood until today.

2.2 Iraq

After the end of the First World War, the United Kingdom seized Iraq, which was part of the Ottoman Empire until its fall. In 1920 the official British mandate was established, with the British, French, and Russian influence zones in the Middle East being divided in accordance with the Sykes-Picot Agreement, shaping Iraq's border with Syria until today. From this background it is not surprising that Iraq is often referred as an 'artificial state', since its international borders do not align with the desired nationalities by the population but were rather drawn arbitrarily by colonial powers (Alesina, Easterly, Matuszeski, 2006). These historical border politics between the war profiteer of World War I has strongly affected the country until today and it is often brought up as an argument for the division of Iraq.

Although Iraq officially gained independence in 1932, Britain continued to maintain its strategic military bases and reoccupied the country after an Iraqi coup sympathising with Nazi-Germany during the Anglo-Iraqi War in the midst of the Second World War in 1941. The occupation lasted until 1947, and eleven years later the Hashemite monarch who was installed by the UK and autocratically ruled the country, was overthrown by an anti-imperial coup d'état and after several successful attempts to overthrow successors of the revolution, the Baath party seized power in 1968.

Saddam Hussain gradually expanded his influence and power within the party and consequently became president of Iraq in 1979 and declared war on its neighbour country Iran in the following year. The devastating war, which lasted for eight years and caused the deaths of

500,000 people, was motivated by ethnic-confessional enmity between the Sunni Baath party and the new Shia led revolution in Iran, and additionally led to the use of chemical weapons even against Kurdish pockets within Iraq's borders (Woods, Murray, Holaday, 2009). These attacks are still strongly remembered by the Kurdish community as the shared horrific common experiences shaped their identity. Further, the incidents are today often referred in conjunction with arguments for increasing the Kurdish autonomy in Iraq to establishing real independence, related to their distrust in the Sunni community that has endured the past decades (Bauer, 2015).

After the devastations of the war with Iran, which did not change the international border situation as desired, Iraq invaded Kuwait to the South in 1990, foremost for economic reasons since the government was unable to repay its 50 billion US Dollars in debt, but also due to ambitions to re-establish its lost power in the region (Amiri, Soltani, 2011:2).

As a response to the Iraqi invasion, the United Nations imposed sanctions and authorised the formation of the coalition of forces, led by the United States, initiating the First Gulf War and the Operations Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm, leading to the liberation of Kuwait. The resultant imposed sanctions stayed in place until 2003, restricting the development of the local and national economy and causing underdevelopment. The toppling of Saddam Hussain, however, failed, due to a rigorous security mechanism consisting of overlapping commands and proliferating loyalty of units and local tribes thus preventing the execution of a coup d'état (Kaldor, 2007:156).

In 2003 a coalition force organised by the United States invaded Iraq to prevent the proclaimed threat originating from the country's alleged possession of weapons of mass destructions, an information which was proved incoherent and false, and its claimed ties with Islamic terrorist groups, in specific the al-Qaeda. The immediate result of the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, was the transformation of Iraq into a failed state (Mueller, 2005).

In analysing the dynamics to the US invasion Kaldor mentions that the war showed new signs of conduct due to the dominant role and application of information technology and the appearance of the opponent, which rather emerged in the way of an ideological Sunni terror group than as a traditional state-actor (Kaldor 2007).

The invasion of Iraq was not really a war; it was more like an exercise. Nor was it a victory against the Iraqi regime. But it was portrayed as such and, indeed, the American policy-makers continued to see the invasion in these terms, which makes it very difficult for them to deal with the actual situation in Iraq (Kaldor, 2007:155).

Taking the continuous insecurity and the 'Islamic State' insurgency into account, Kaldor's statement might have been premature in 2007, but has proven to be accurate from today's perspective. The dismantling of the Iraqi security forces and the de-Baathification, a process of cleansing the government and the military of members of the Sunni-dominated Baath party after Saddam Hussein's fall, caused the religious segregation of Iraq, followed by the emergence of a new radical militant group: the 'Islamic State' (Salama, 2016).

Unresolved grievances and marginalisation, mixed with the anti-imperialistic and Sunni extremist ideologies, well-trained and equipped ex-combatants, in addition with a power vacuum after the withdrawal of the US troops, fuelled the rise of the 'Islamic State' group, which financially supported itself through ransom, oil revenues, and looting, enabling the seizure of large areas in central and Western Iraq (Salama, 2016). The militant group exploited the weak statehood in Iraq and Syria to expand their territory gradually, capturing strategic cities such as Mosul, Raqqa, and Deir ez-Zor as well as lucrative oil fields, including their refineries.

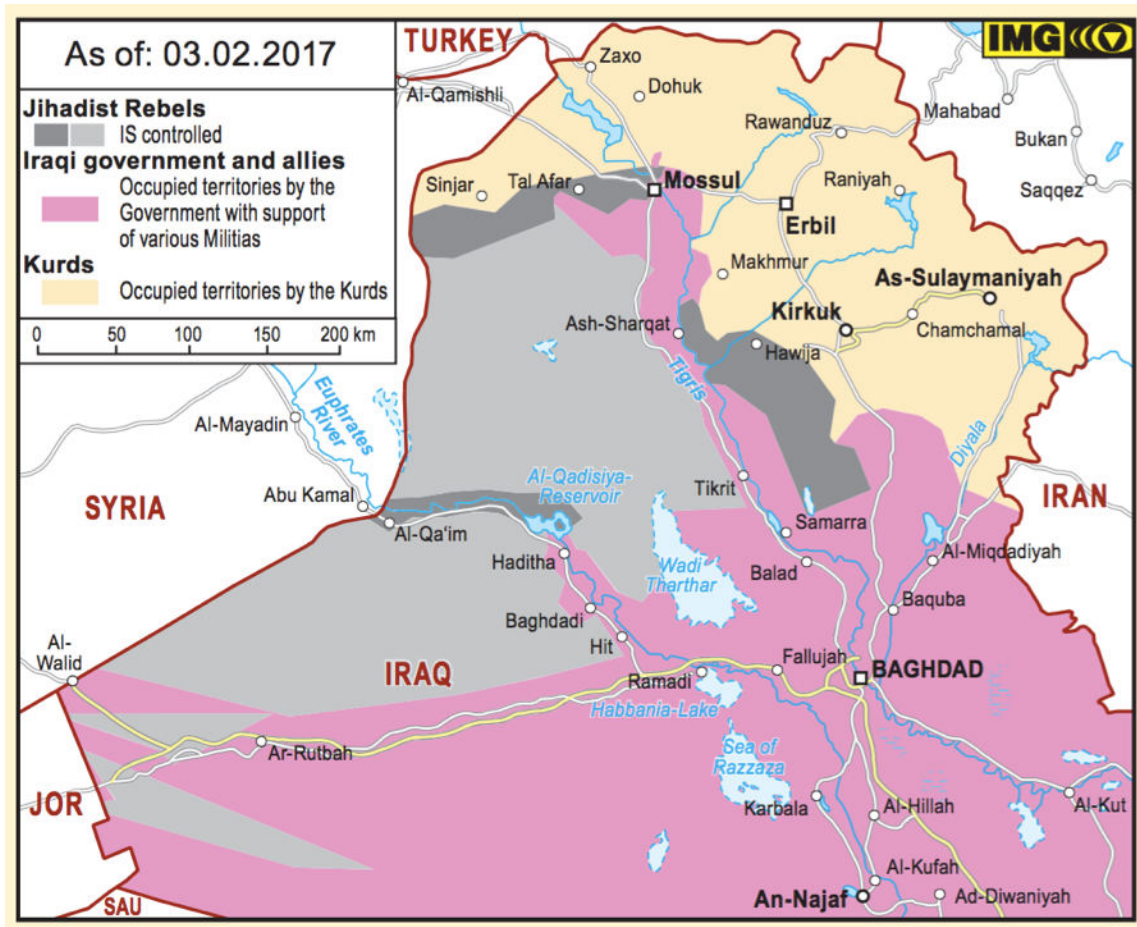


Image 2: Territorial Control Iraq, February 2017

Black regions are under IS control (strong/weak), yellow areas are under Kurdish military control, while pink ones are controlled by Iraqi governmental forces and their allies. This graphic depicts the fragmentation of military power in Iraq and the IS insurgency.

Source: Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management (2017), Institut für Militärisches Geowesen, Austrian Ministry of Defence

With the support of the military component of the international anti-IS coalition force, coordinating airstrikes against critical targets with advances on the ground executed predominantly by Kurdish and Iraqi government troops including their tribal allies, the majority of the Iraqi territory was recaptured. Thus, the fragmentation of the state's territory improved in favour of the Iraqi government and the allied forces, who managed to weaken the military and financial abilities of the 'Islamic State' significantly in Iraq, as well as in neighbouring Syria.

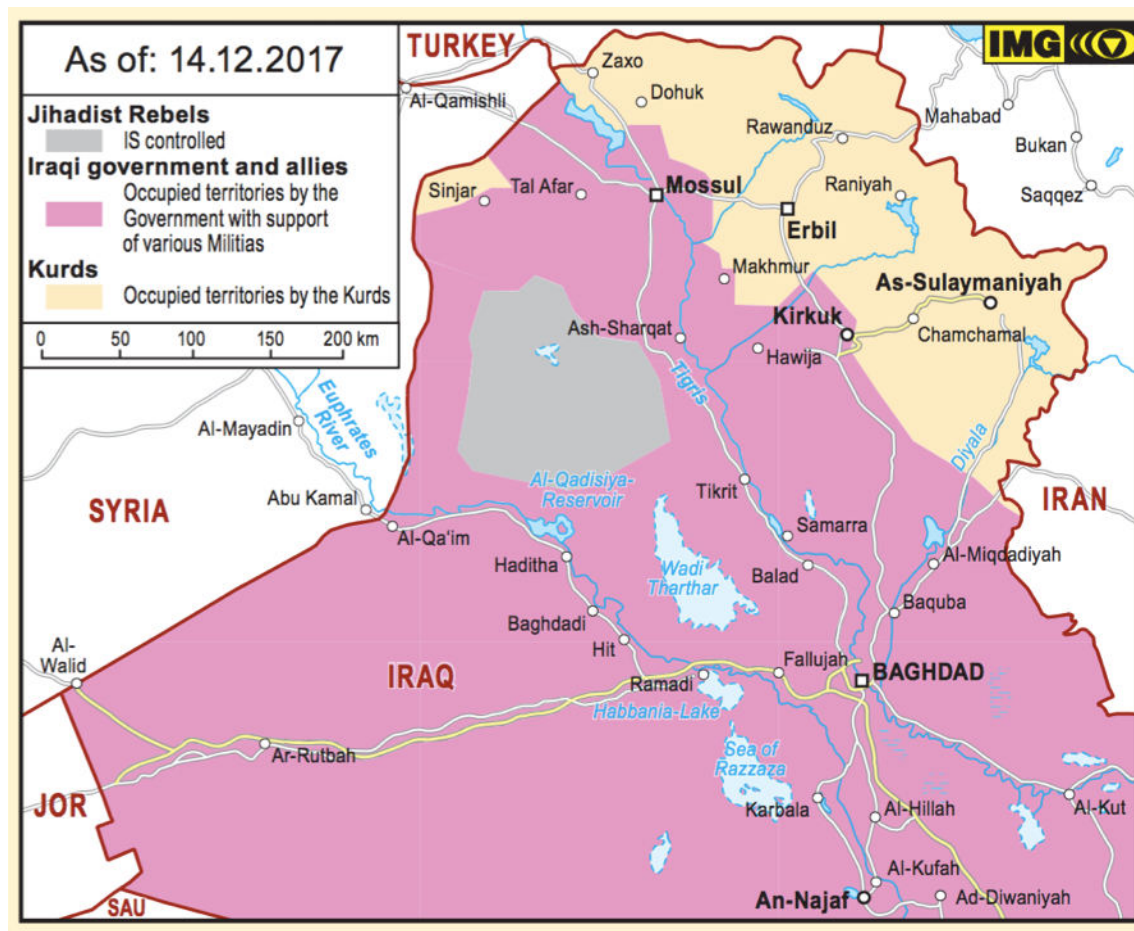


Image 3: Territorial Control Iraq, December 2017

Black regions are under IS control (strong/weak), yellow areas are under Kurdish military control, while pink ones are controlled by Iraqi governmental forces and their allies. This graphic depicts the fragmentation of military power in Iraq and the IS insurgency.

Source: Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management (2017), Institut für Militärisches Geowesen, Austrian Ministry of Defence

Without the support of the international coalition forces, foremost the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, the growth of territory under the control of the 'Islamic State' might not have been stopped. There are, however, still pockets in Iraq in which the threat is not yet defeated. As history exemplifies, an extremist ideology is not successfully fought with invasions and liberations. The prevailing extremist ideology is fuelled by foreign involvement and since its defeat in Iraq has expanded to other fragile states such as Yemen and Libya where it remains (Salama, 2016). Nevertheless, the current military situation in Iraq is still insecure and the political structures are weak as new threats to arise such as the increase of

sympathy towards Shia mobilisation units under the auspices of the 'Hashd al-Shaabi' (Guiliard, 2016:262).

Development mechanisms for both Iraq and Afghanistan, which aim towards inclusiveness and the empowerment of a disenfranchised population, are a way to contain extremist ideologies and practices. This requires a strong and transparent approach of civilian participation and integration, in combination with the strengthening of governmental stability and the establishment of new financial opportunities. From this context, the long-term strategy of Japanese foreign development assistance will be scrutinised and its major doctrines and principles are introduced in the following chapter.

3 Contextualising Japanese Development

The objectives of Japan's ODA are to contribute to the peace and development of the international community, and thereby to help ensure Japan's own security and prosperity. Taking advantage of Japan's experience as the first nation in Asia to become a developed country, Japan has utilized its ODA to actively support economic and social infrastructure development, human resource development, and institution building. Consequently, Japan has significantly contributed to the economic and social development of developing countries (Government of Japan, 2003:1).

Japan's involvement in development initiatives around the world is vast. According to the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan's governmental agency, which coordinates all official development assistance, the country has disbursed almost 9.3 billion US Dollars in development assistance in 2015, which equals 0.22% of the country's GNI (JICA, 2016). Besides addressing a global agenda and reducing poverty through growth, JICA's vision of inclusive and dynamic development also include the areas of improving governance and achieving human security (JICA, 2016), which will serve as the particular focus of this Master's thesis due to their thematic linkage to statehood and state-building.

To better understand the Japanese intention and conception behind development initiatives it is important to mention that Japan clearly recognises its development initiatives in Afghanistan and in Iraq as strategic means of peacebuilding. "Japan is forging new paths to peace by expanding its work in peacebuilding, the range of strategies and activities that seek to create durable peace without necessarily using military force" (Tatsumi, Kennedy, 2017:11). This however, does not exclude the fact that national Japanese interests are at stake as well. Financial and political incentives influence the distribution of Japanese development funds and not seldom is ODA seen as a means to enter new markets in the long-term (Scheyvens, 2005).

Furthermore, conflicts and terrorism are occurring more frequently and they are becoming even more serious issues. Preventing conflicts and terrorism, and efforts to build peace, as well as efforts to foster democratization, and to protect human rights and the

dignity of individuals have become major issues inherent to the stability and development of the international community (Government of Japan, 2003:1).

Furthermore, the fact that Japanese development acknowledges the concept security is of key importance for the analytical part of this Master's thesis. As the quote clearly states, the connection between conflict prevention, fostering political stability, and development is recognised and serves as a conceptional framework of the foreign political agenda. In addition, not only is security defined in a political and military form but the human aspect of security, personally being free from threats and violence, is also added to the conceptualisation (Tatsumi, Kennedy, 2017:15). The individual citizen is valued and perceived as an entity to stability and peace.

Thus, without the broad civilian wellbeing, leading to integration, economic growth, and social coherence, sustainable security is not achievable. In including the human aspect to the definition of security, the Japanese ODA increases in depth and recognises development not solely as a political process but as an effort regarding the whole nation equally.

In the case of Afghanistan, Japan is engaged in education and health programmes but also in agricultural, rural and urban development. However, projects such as the Promotion and Enhancement of the Afghan Capacity for Effective Development, which provides Afghan government officials with education opportunities in Japan in order to improve governmental capacities, or programmes which aim to institutional strengthening, will be the special emphasis of the thesis. Also for the case of Iraq, where Japan pledged 5 billion US Dollars to the reconstruction of the country and an additional 6 billion in debt reduction in 2003 (JICA, 2016). Projects and programmes directly addressing governance and institutional development will be highlighted. Initiatives such as building a democratic institutional system, good governance, and the enforcement of the rule of law, fall under this category.

Whilst the analytical chapter six explains and elaborates the Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq in detail, it is important to keep this brief introduction in mind. A more extensive digression would exceed the framework of this Master thesis, as a historical analysis is not the aim of the research. Nevertheless, it is beneficial for comprehending the background of Japanese development, if the principle of soft power, which is also applied by

Japan to a large extent and which shapes the Japanese foreign discourse, is briefly being introduced.

3.1 The Japanese Soft Power Approach

Although until the end of the Second World War Japan was constitutionally very limited in using hard power to secure its interests abroad or contribute to international peacekeeping missions, the government has initiated different approaches over recent years to fulfil these ambitions (Tatsumi, Kennedy, 2017:11). Despite the fact that hard power plays a vital role in the demonstration and projection of power, in many cases leading to the successful achievement of political interests and agendas, the concept of soft power must not be underestimated. However, the principle of soft power still remains debated and discussed. One of the most prominent and influential explanations of soft power represents the combined definition of Joseph Nye's approaches, "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment" (Nye, 2004:x) including "culture, values and foreign policies" (Nye, 2004:11) with "the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes" (Nye, 2011:20-21).

Furthermore, the principle of soft power can be divided into several forms. On the one hand soft power can represent an exchange of interests and a bargaining for agreements in which persuasive techniques are utilised, pushing the counterpart towards an action through applying threat, whilst on the other hand long-term mutual interests might be at stake, leading to a win-win situation for both parties (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, Miall 2011:22). Depending on the intention behind applying soft power and the specific situation, a state decides which approach to follow. Despite the broad definition and the practical limitations of soft power, it bears the potential to play an important role in achieving self-interests and is underestimated by realistic politics (Boulding, 1989; Ney, 2002; Ney, 2004).

In particular in cases of conflict resolution and development, where Japan strongly applies its soft power, the approach can be very meaningful as it may shift the focus from threats to mutual agreements and integrative power (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, Miall 2011:23). Thus it

plays a vital role in Japan's foreign policy and in particular in cases where Japanese development initiatives are at stake as they symbolise one of the most essential instruments of soft power.

In moving to the theoretical part of the thesis, several authors such as Nye, Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall will be further introduced. The contextualising of the Japanese development should aid the understanding of the importance of security and the role Japan plays in re-establishing safe environments through development programmes. To what extent these actions contribute to stabilisation and building of state structures, is still unclear, but will be the core topic of the analysis.

4 Theory

Deriving from the research aim and research question, this chapter shall provide the theoretical basis to comprehend the conceptual framework. As the thesis aims to increase the connectivity between state-building and conflict resolution through developmental initiatives, the focus lies on introducing various philosophies and models of statehood, the reasons for state-fragility, in addition to the role of state-building in achieving peace. Since a vast amount of historical theories on statehood exist, which shape the modern conception and manifestation of political reality, numerous concepts will be outlined that impact the case of Afghanistan and Iraq to a significant degree. As these complexities require a holistic awareness, a mixture of different theories will be combined, originating predominantly from the schools of international relations and international development to form a comprehensive theoretical assessment.

Before immersing in the field of state theory, it is essential to recall that the nature of this Master's thesis is rooted in social science. In social research, theory consists of the possibility to relate the empirical results of research – that seeks to investigate a specific phenomenon – through the dynamics of social relations (May, 2011:27). In other words, theory can be understood as a “logically interrelated set of propositions about empirical reality” (Chambliss, Schutt, 2013:23).

Social relations and realities, however, do not necessarily follow the strict set of rules that are predefined by the contrasting theories of realism, which argues for continuity, or liberalism, which calls for change (Nye, Welch, 2011:6). Therefore, the conception of constructivism is followed, which claims that neither realism nor liberalism are equipped with the capacity to efficiently explain long-term political developments (Nye, Welch, 2011) while emphasis is drawn on the human perception of the (political) world (Knutsen, 2011:280). Hence, the notion of the socio-political world is being (re-)created by various actors, constantly changing their relation to certain ideas and beliefs. The existence of predefined realities therefore constructs certain concepts of identity, nationality, and dichotomy, which need to be identified

and challenged in order to put state-fragility into perspective. Thus, the use of theory in this Master's thesis is specifically targeted to support the qualitative nature of the research by providing a theoretical lens that offers a basic positioning and anchoring, shaping the perspective in which the data is to be analysed (Creswell, 2014:64). Therefore, a critical theory is being applied, which concerns power relations in politics and society and the empowerment of human beings (Fay, 1987). This will set the foundation for the formulation of themes, which are analysed in regard to the collected data in a case study approach. This process is further outlined and executed in chapter 5 Methods and chapter 6 Analysis.

This chapter, however, is structured in two main sections. First, insights into various theories of statehood and sovereignty are presented, and second state-fragility is being put under scrutiny.

4.1 Statehood and Sovereignty

From a historical point of view, the Treaty of Westphalia can be seen as the foundation of the modern system of statehood, based on the internationally agreed doctrine of the sovereignty of states determined by their self-interests (Knutsen, 2011:136). On a side-note, although the creation of modern nation states is strongly rooted in political realism, the fact that an artificial agreement of various actors defined statehood shows that a socially constructed apparatus was fabricated. Hereby the philosophies of the Enlightenment played a crucial part, as it was argued that the abolishment of war is rooted in uniting states by establishing universal bonds between them and their citizens, which henceforth are protected in their personal liberty through the authority of law (Rousseau, 1964).

Thereby, the social contract theory was developed, describing the interdependent relation between political authority and the population in its various philosophical interpretations concerning the question of the human nature itself over a full spectrum of human rational maturity to the enslavement of mind and soul (Knutsen, 2011). Enhancing socio-political stability based upon a symbolic contract between the state and its population is regarded as a vital element to state-building and legitimacy even in today's political science (Stewart, 2002:343; Goodhand, 2006:33). Beyond these nuances, the crucial common factor deter-

mines that sovereignty is not sustained without a certain population over which a state governs. The importance of the civil society, acting as a basis for state legitimacy, emerged and further increased in relevance over the centuries. At the turn of the 19th to the 20th century, the German sociologist and political economist Max Weber made a significant contribution to the conceptualisation and definition of statehood. In continuing on the debate of sovereignty, he defined control over a specific people as one of the central pillars of statehood.

The term 'political community' shall apply to a community whose social action is aimed at subordinating to orderly domination by the participants a 'territory' and the conduct of the persons within it, through readiness to resort physical force, including normally force of arms (Weber, 1978:901).

This specific community is to be differentiated and defined by the establishment of a clear territory over which control is being executed by the exclusive monopoly of the governing body (Weber, 1978:901). Lastly, in addition to the determined population and territory, as well as the capability of performing physical force to safeguard domination, the economic and social interaction between citizens must be regulated and administered (Weber, 1978:902). Through introducing these principles, Weber carries on the construction of statehood, which gradually reaches international span. Modern techniques of determining the political stability of states can be traced back to Weber's components of statehood, making them a widely recognised norm of sovereignty. In particular the monopoly of force, ensuring itself as sole authority to execute the power of military and police within the governmental territory, which shall be preserved by every state, is often referred to by political science in regard to state-building until today (Call, 2008; Kaldor, 2010).

The state represents an order imposed on a territory by a particular class or group of elites, but one that usually involves some degree of consent – hence the importance of legitimacy both in the definition of a state and in the process of statebuilding (Call, 2008:7).

Yet Weber further suggests that the introduction of a bureaucratically organised administration of states is an instrument of rationally organising authority and power (Weber, 2006:62). This, according to Weber's highest form of governance, would enable to the strict implementation of political decisions and orders in the most organised manner, enabling bureaucracy to

be developed politically in modern and hierarchically structured states and economies, to the benefit of capitalism (Weber, 2006:49). At that time, it was acknowledged that civil society plays a vital part in the state's legitimacy, and yet the unresolved pressing question of the Enlightenment remained, to which degree the population shall be ruled and how much self-determination and participation may be granted. The mainstream European consensus during a time of industrialism, the increase of democratic ideals and the rise of egalitarian, and political liberation movements, called for more political integration for the population (Knutsen, 2011:168). As a result, socialist and later Marxists ideologies spread rapidly across and beyond the European continent, with two contrasting viewpoints on statehood emerging and shaped political realities: socialism and capitalism.

Breaking free from a class struggle of the civilian struggle against an oppressive system that rules with hegemonic power over a marginalised population, reflected on progressive mind-sets of the Enlightenment and changed the political economy, the political practices, and hence, the role of the state (Marx, 2016; Knutsen, 2011; Hirsch, Kannankulam, Wissel, 2008). Hence, the role of the civil society shifted drastically over the centuries, from not posing great participatory importance before the establishment of nation states, to being one of the bases of sovereignty, to being the underrepresented mass that is kept unfree and controlled by politics and economy.

Through these various trends, which appeared on a broad spectrum of different models and nuances, different governmental practices and multi-faceted state-systems have come into existence. A class division between people and the categorisation in economically and politically superior and inferior groups, on a national as well as international scale, caused the uprising against injustice and inequality, leading to enhanced voting rights and extended participation. Besides the establishment of basic human rights and social improvements over the span of the second half of the 20th century, many current power relations show structural and historical signs of colonial heritage, and local voices are systematically excluded from the process of the creation and transportation of knowledge (Wintersteiner, Graf, 2016).

In Westernized universities, the knowledge produced by other epistemologies, cosmologies, and world views arising from other world-regions with diverse time/ space dimensions and characterized by different geopolitics and body-politics of knowledge are con-

sidered 'inferior' in relation to the 'superior' knowledge ... The knowledge produced from the social/historical experiences and world views of the Global South, also known as 'non-Western', are considered inferior and not part of the canon of thought (Grosfoguel, 2013:75).

This condition influences the relationships between single states but also the power relations between governmental elites and the citizens. Hence, the call for interlinking social movements who carry the potential to transform political, economic, and institutional regimes towards open participation for civic actors is getting increasingly louder (Escobar, 2016; Freire, 2016).

The definition and exercise of statehood remains heavily debated. Being entrenched between cohesive authoritarian rule and providing political goods and services in form of safety, welfare, and infrastructure, governments find themselves in a delicate balancing act of maintaining order and facilitating inclusion. The ruling power is challenged to distinguish between the individual and the common, the private and the state.

However, without the creation of laws and regulation, affecting the private life through mandatory military service, taxation, health regulations to name only some, adequate legitimacy is not sustained. Additionally, with a growing economic influence of dominant enterprises on legislative and executive structures, weaker economies in particular struggle with their dependency on monetary forces and globalised capitalism, causing the partial loss of sovereignty to corporate entities in order to compete on the international market (Ong, 2000; Ong, 2006).

These various areas of tension trigger instability of states and their incapability to govern. Conversely, a blurred scientific portrayal of statehood has contributed to “an analytical gap between state images and state practices” (Thelen, Vettters, Benda-Beckmann, 2014:14). Deriving from the complexities of statehood suggested by the presented literature and the analytical emphasis of the research in chapter six, the gap between the perception and the action area of states is not solely of an analytical nature. For various reasons states fail to live up to the expectations of sovereign government as internal violence spreads and governmental institutions fail. The result is the fragility of statehood needs to be thoroughly scrutinised, as they pose a threat to the local wellbeing of the population and international security.

4.2 State-Fragility

The phenomenon of state-fragility seriously affects the legitimacy and wealth of nations and has been widely discussed from different vantage points by recent political research. Acknowledging that the general precondition of statehood, as described above, is rooted in sovereignty, administrative institutions, legal authorities, and a civil community provided with political goods and services, the inexistence or insufficiency of these factors harshly decrease the chance of peace-building, rule of law, and economic growth (Call, 2008:7). Preventing new violent conflict and resolving current or past ones heavily relies on the re-establishment or strengthening of statehood, commonly referred to as state-building. Simply increasing the number of troops or the amount of military equipment is not a viable solution for fostering post-conflict state-building, as the example of Iraq depicts (Rubin, 2008:25).

Although the safeguarding of human security is vital, without treating underlying socio-economic factors such as promoting peaceful civic reconciliation, offering social reintegration and economic prospects for the war-affected society, and attracting private investors to revitalise the economy, conflict resolution will not be lasting (Lederach, 2010; Collier, 2008:104). War and insecurity are seemingly the starting point of state-fragility, leading to the failure of states in extreme cases; however, in most cases, the outbreak of physical violence is the manifestation of already existing factors of inadequate statehood. There is a variety of reasons why states become fragile in their structures and deficient in the allocation of goods and services.

Acemoglu and Robinson (2013:26) mention that extractive economic institutions are responsible for exploitative politics and therefore for the crumbling of states. The positive relation between political elites and the population is highlighted as well, since without this the statehood is threatened by the discrepancy between the political agenda and public needs (Acemoglu, Robinson, 2013). These suggestions are not necessarily innovative; the social contract theory and the advocacy for a broader civilian participation have stated very similar requests. The creation of pluralistic institutions supports a change in political power, whilst nevertheless the stabilisation of the monopoly on violence is seen as the most important measure for securing statehood and peace (Acemoglu, Robinson, 2013; Nye, Welch, 2011). Thus, traces of Rousseau's, Marx's, and Weber's claims can be detected in present political challenges as

well as in the solutions to overcome them. Yet it seems as if no satisfactory strategies have been developed to overcome political instability, since the countries and populations of Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Haiti, Iraq, Somalia, or Syria, amongst others, suffer from wrecked state structures.

International actors, who get involved in environments of state-fragility militarily, diplomatically, or through development initiatives, impact the circumstances. They bear the capability to aid the situation or worsen it, depending on the type, intention, and quality of measures deployed. Furthermore, the efforts of NGOs can support peace-building and the contribution to social stability, through offering emergency relief, guiding governmental reform processes, mediation and negotiation, or introducing long-term education and training programmes (Goodhand, 2006:151). However, despite the fact that previous experiences and lessons have been identified, suggesting clear approaches and guidelines to improve state-building for governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, each case is individual and it is problematic to practically apply universal methods (Call, 2008:13; Goodhand, 2006:5). Nevertheless, initially the various national and international stakeholders involved need to be cognisant of the fragility, uncover their root causes, and recognise the significance of including a broad set of civil society actors (Call, 2008; Paffenholz, 2010). Yet another explanation for the reason behind the failure of states is based on an even stronger emphasis on the delivery of political goods to the civil society.

Nation-states fail because they can no longer deliver positive political goods to their people. Their governments lose legitimacy and, in the eyes and hearts of a growing plurality of its citizens, the nation-state itself become illegitimate (Rotberg, 2002:85).

The government's inability or reluctance to provide basic goods and order through legislative executive branch over a significant time frame, is followed by the reduction of economic opportunities, a failure to prosecute criminality, and the growth of violent radicalisation and extremism (Rotberg, 2002). Essentially, state-failure is triggered when the relationship between civilian and political power is significantly imbalanced. States rely on the civil acceptance and to some degree collaboration to sustain their power position. However, if oppressive or unjust acts of governmental conduct affect a critical mass, a disenfranchised and unsatisfied collective will oppose the ruling elites. This might not necessarily include the

outbreak of physical violence but if conditions worsen the amount and degree of upheaval will increase steadily. The occurrence and timing of a spill-over, when the society splits in two or more factions who are desperate enough to exercise violence against each other, is distinct for each situation but marks the beginning of the transformation from state-fragility to state-failure.

In addition to academic literature on the topic of statehood and state-fragility, the Fragile State Index by The Fund for Peace (2016; 2017) is an analytical instrument designed to detect and indicate the weakness of states. The index consists of twelve indicators which are both quantitatively and qualitatively determined. They are distributed into four sectors: cohesion, economic, political and social. Thus, the index, which issues annual assessments of 177 countries, aims to investigate the development of fragility over time, raise awareness on current cases of state-fragility, and can be applied to pre-emptively identify signs weak governmental structures.

According to the 2017 Fragile State Index, the two countries, Afghanistan and Iraq, targeted by the case study analysis of this thesis, are amongst the ten most volatile and unstable countries worldwide (The Fund for Peace, 2017). Each of the twelve indicators are scaled from zero, signifying sustainability and stability, to a maximum of ten points, stating high alert of state-failure; Afghanistan is ranked with 107.3 and Iraq with 105.4 points of the total 120 (The Fund for Peace, 2017).

Beside the fact that the Fragile State Index rates all the twelve indicators equally, five factors are of crucial importance to this thesis due to their direct link to the suggested characteristics of statehood by the various sources mentioned above – these are Security Apparatus (C1), Group Grievance (C3), State Legitimacy (P1), Public Services (P2), und Refugees and IDPs (S2).

Not only do these key indicators to statehood play a decisive role in the state-building processes of Afghanistan and Iraq, all five of them are also currently ranked with eight points or more for both countries, expressing a clear warning (The Fund for Peace, 2017). The image below depicts the fragility in Afghanistan and Iraq and shows the overall development over the past eleven years, in addition to the five central indicators in detail.

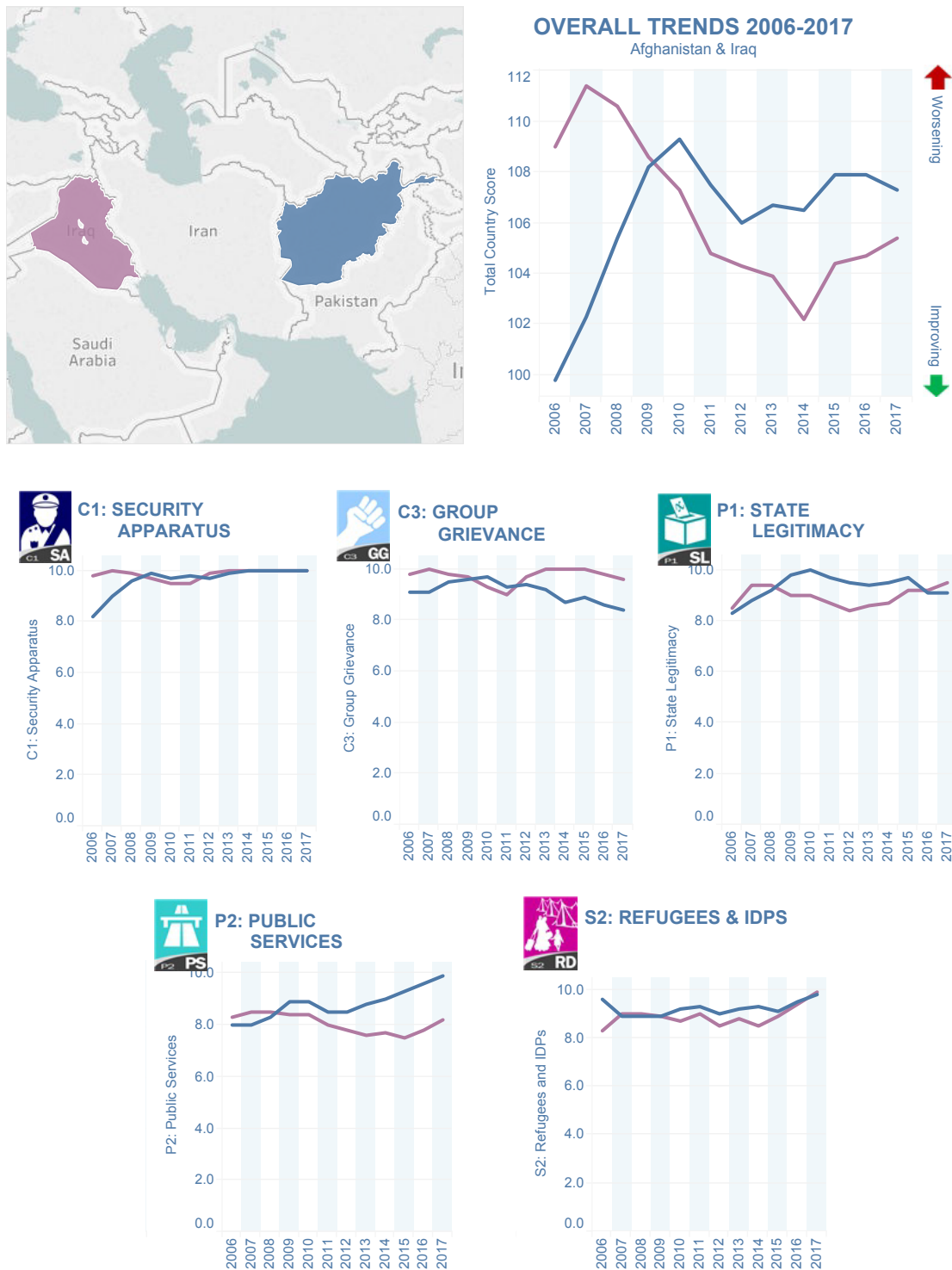


Image 4: Fragile State Index 2017 – Afghanistan (purple) and Iraq (blue)

Comparing the fragility in Afghanistan and Iraq and showing the overall trends from 2006 to 2017

Source: The Fund for Peace (2017)

Although the overall trend Iraq showed a slight improvement between 2007 and 2014, the situation worsened again in 2015 and 2016, correlating with the insurgency by the ‘Islamic State’ group. The situation in Afghanistan further deteriorated from 2006 to 2017, with no tendency of improvement insight. The high ranking of ‘C1: Security Apparatus’ in both states is particularly troubling, especially since it directly relates to the inexistent monopoly of the use of force and the lack of security provided to the civil society.

Unresolved group grievances, social hopelessness, and the easy access to arms, amongst other reasons, are responsible for this condition (Salama, 2016:63; Cockburn, 2016:65). Furthermore, the extreme amount of forced displacement due to insecurity and war in Afghanistan and Iraq, indicated in ‘S2: Refugees & IDPs’, has a grave effect on the states’ fragility. Lastly, no improvement in the provision and distribution of political goods and services is evident in neither Afghanistan nor Iraq, as the political legitimacy of the states remains extremely high. The highly fragile situation hereby indicated in both countries mirrors the perception of the interview partners, which is being presented and analysed in chapter six. In addition, appendix I and II illustrate a more detailed description of the Fragile State Index of Afghanistan and Iraq.

4.3 A Hybrid Consensus

Due to the fluid complexity of the conceptual and practical concept of statehood, as explained in the sections above, this thesis will entertain a hybrid theoretical approach combining the central arguments from multiple sources. As suggested by literature on empirical and qualitative research (Creswell, 2011:66) this attempt is possible, as qualitative studies might have several observational starting points (Schwandt, 1993), and can be based on a multitude of angles to one phenomenon (Riemen, 1986).

Moreover, this technique is also applied since either the single theories themselves, or their implementation into practise, were insufficient or incomplete in offering successful solutions to the modern challenges of state-fragility. Thus, this section provides a summary of key concepts, which are principal to the fragile statehood in Afghanistan and Iraq and therefore cru-

cial to the answering of the research question regarding the Japanese contribution to state-building through development.

The central characteristic of statehood, and therefore also the core origins of state-fragility, involve four areas: **monopoly of force, provision of political goods and services, facility of economic incentives, and civil inclusion and participation**. From Weber to the Fragile State Index, achieving and maintaining the monopoly of force within the entire state territory is constantly referred as an essential indispensable factor for state-building. In Afghanistan and Iraq, it is evident that the governments' inability to hold authority over the use of force causes human flight, loss of governmental legitimacy, decay and lawlessness, and the absence of economic prosperity (Cockburn, 2016; Borchgrevink, Harpviken, 2010; Coll, 2004; Goodhand, 2006; Sherman, 2008; Guilliard, 2016). Thus, without doubting its significance, statehood and therefore state-building cannot be limited exclusively to the monopoly of force. Since the mere ability to exclusively apply force does not automatically imply the acquisition of legitimacy, states additionally need to establish a mutually beneficial relationship with the population (Papagianni, 2008:52). Hence, the concept of governing must not be limited to the execution of physical force but be applied in a broad sense.

Government did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed the government of Children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. It covered not only the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, that were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others (Foucault, 2002:341).

The citizens, undeniably a necessity to ever establishing sovereignty and legitimacy, must be protected and nurtured by the state and its institutions. Political goods and services appear in a variety of ways, from infrastructure, to healthcare and education, to policing, and recognising its welfare function (Rubin, 2008; Roberg, 2002). Legal documents and symbolic contracts have therefore to be put into practice to foster the livelihood of the population. Once the state fulfils its role as a provider of basic goods and services its legitimacy will grow, resulting in endorsed economic incentives. The individual and the private sectors will benefit from new incentives, boosting the economy through attracting new investors and returning

perspectives to its citizen – a psychological effect which should not be underestimated. Ultimately, extractive institutions and enterprises which, potentially undermine the state's authority, can be prevented by the incorporation and integration of civil society into the system (Acemoglu, Robinson, 2013).

Further, the involvement and participation of the civil society in peace-building and state-building processes is a promising and successful approach, which proved to be expedient in the case of Afghanistan (Borchgrevink, Harpviken, 2010:253). Although it must be acknowledged that a gap between the social and political demands and the actual manifestation of states exists and will continue to cause state-fragility in the future (Thelen, Vettters, Benda-Beckmann, 2014), these four basic theoretical areas of a state's role and responsibility should be remembered.

Additionally, international initiatives contributing sustainable and meaningful development of statehood will require a combination of prevention of violence and mechanisms for stabilising socio-political and community structures. International stakeholders might take over the crumbling state's delivery of goods for a limited time, but the enhanced interaction between governmental institutions and the civil society must be recovered. However, applying and scrutinising these theoretical concepts on an actual case is vital to uncovering their actual potential. Therefore, chapter six will uncover how the Japanese government might contribute to the reconstruction of statehood in Afghanistan and Iraq through their development initiatives and approaches.

5 Method

The methods of research in social science are as essential in creating scientifically valid findings as in other academic disciplines. They offer not only a coherent overview through the single processes of research, but also provide a sophisticated set of instruments to gather and analyse data, in addition to a code of following ethical considerations throughout the process (May, 2011; Creswell, 2014; Chambliss, Schutt, 2013; Hopf, 2004).

This chapter has two main purposes. First, it will combine the theoretical concepts facilitating the conceptual framework with the analysis of the data, and second it will serve as a red thread leading practically through the analytical process. Thus, it will be outlined which methodological tools were chosen and how they were specifically applied to answer the research question thoroughly. In structuring this chapter, the overall design of the research will be presented first, followed by explaining the particular methodological tools used to gather and analyse information, and before concluding the section with ethical reflections and a personal positioning.

5.1 Research Design

The research design can be understood as the operational schedule of the research that assists in deciding the broad approaches of methodological implementation first, before going into detail. In the procedures of choosing the most applicable and appropriate means of research, designing the scientific study aims to function as a logical means to link the research question and aim with the empirical data and the analytical findings (Creswell, 2014:3; Yin, 2009:29). In addition to this methodological sketch of the research, the introduction chapter clearly outlines the design in a thematic and structured manner.

The starting point of the methodological process rests in the philosophical ontological assumption of constructivism. Since the core of this thesis is rooted in the connexion between

three multi-faceted concepts: development, state-building, and conflict resolution, a constructivist worldview will be presented. In this context, the existence of universal and positivistic knowledge is not as valid against the background of social research on the artificial construction of governing entities, which requires the adjustment of the epistemology in accordance to entertaining the fluid realities of the triangular nexus (Creswell, 2007). Two basic operational conclusions can be derived from this acknowledgement; choosing a qualitative research approach in investigating a specific a case study.

Qualitative Research is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2014:4).

In uncovering the challenges of fragile statehood and how to overcome them through development initiatives, several social issues are brought up that amongst others concern the relations between governmental authorities and citizens, organising peaceful co-existence, civil reconciliation, and the transition of war-torn societies with the support of international actors. Thus, qualitative research is best suitable for exploring and causes and solutions of human obstacles, as it offers tools to make individual voices directly heard. A more detailed description of qualitative analysis and the concrete instruments which are applied, is presented below under 5.2 Qualitative Research Method.

However, in addition to these tools of data collection and analysis, the study shows an overall characteristic of a case study approach. This entails that the investigational emphasis of the research will be limited by time, space, and context, involving an in-depth gathering of analytical material on the specific scenario under scrutiny (Creswell, 2007:97). Moreover, the anticipated analysis is focused on a clear topic, from which aspects are diverted to enable the illustration of the case (Creswell, 2007).

In the particular situation of this research, the issue concerned arises from the unstable situations in Afghanistan and Iraq that can be traced back to historical grievances and the current fragile statehood in both countries. Although influencing factors of the actual insecurity date back several decades, the precise case study, focuses on the involvement of Japan, as an international actor in the desired reconstruction of both states. To give further contextual focus, only Japan's means of development are under investigation, as the Japanese government de-

employs soft-power to achieve its goals. Additionally, to further narrow down the actual development initiatives, the main emphasis of the analysis will discuss the contribution of Japanese development to Afghan and Iraqi state-building.

Further definition of the context of the case study is made through the timeframe, which will stretch from the starting point of Japanese assistance, launched in 2001 for both Afghanistan and in 2003 for Iraq, to the collection of data in 2017. Furthermore, the geographic limitation of the case study is clearly stated, as it includes Afghanistan and Iraq as recipients of development initiatives from Japan who acts as an international donor country. Although each of the focal points might seem rather broad by its own means, in combination they constitute the distinctiveness of the case, which is the core element of a case study (Perry, 2011:241).

However, although it is important to point out that the research includes signs of a case study characteristics that are not to be undermined, a methodological case study approach is not followed due to the critique that case studies are based on and reproduce generalisations (Perry, 2011:223). These factors still frame the field of investigation, set the cornerstones of analysis, and act as the basis of the following remarks on the qualitative method of the research.

5.2 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research combines the premise that the world of social science consists of more than one reality with the study of cases or phenomena reflecting personal experiences of an individual or a collective (Creswell, 2007:44). Since these circumstances relate in a direct way to the aim and question of the research on development and state-building, it was decided to follow this approach over the quantitative alternative, which focuses on quantifiable data through surveys or questionnaires, offering a rather positivistic one-dimensional reality.

In qualitative research in general, the research is often conducted in immediate proximity to the research participants, which transforms the researcher into the instrument of data collection (Creswell, 2014:185). Thus, the qualitative method opens the possibility to give a voice to the research subjects, make their situation understood, and strongly include their personal experiences and perceptions into the research.

The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for change (Creswell, 2007:44).

The historically, politically and culturally constructed aspects and surroundings that at large encompasses the worldview of the participants, set the basis for the qualitative approach, regarding each single individual reality as valuable (Crotty, 1998). These factors are most relevant to achieve the aspired research aim for two reasons.

First, as portrayed in chapter four, the theories of statehood are extensive and unique characteristics of governance must be considered individually for each case. Second, the Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq show particular features and before it can be identified which ones support the reconstruction of statehood, a broad variety of different viewpoints must be collected. Therefore, due to the nature of the research and after extensive contemplations, the decision was made to apply a qualitative research method to describe a social phenomenon and to generate a new perspective on the topic (Dannecker, Vossemer, 2014:154; Froschauer, Lueger, 2003:40).

Ultimately this choice resulted in the pragmatic compliance with the suggested specific qualitative mechanisms, in particular following the interpersonal data collection method. Nevertheless, the analysis also makes use of the theoretic concepts of the Fragile State Index, which is strongly based on quantitative data. However, deriving from pragmatic considerations and the desire to truly investigate the impacts of Japanese development initiatives on the state-building processes in Afghanistan and Iraq in an explanatory way (Chambliss, Schutt, 2013:11), a two-months research trip to Japan was carried out, in order to gather first-hand information on the Japanese means and ends of development.

During this research trip, which was partly funded by the University of Vienna, Austria, insights in the mechanisms of allocation of Japanese development initiatives were gained and information from the receiving end was collected in collaboration with Afghan and Iraqi representatives. Since it was neither possible nor practical to investigate Japanese development initiatives through a participatory investigation at the official agency, the setting of the research revealed that an interview technique would be the instrument of data collection.

5.2.1 Data Collection

In order to analyse a social situation through qualitative interviews, a large selection of different interview approaches can be followed. As the research design states, the thesis investigates the issue of fragile states and how international actors support their reconstruction. This strongly suggests that a problem-centred interview technique is specifically suitable for the research, as it is connected with the analysis of single cases and is open enough to include various concepts in the evaluation of the interview data (Lamnek, 2010; May, 2011; Witzel, 1985). This approach in particular offers the possibility to highlight the various difficulties Afghanistan and Iraq face from their fragile statehood, before going in-depth and putting the Japanese development initiatives in direct perspective. Thus, to allow a detailed analysis, a wide range of nine actual interview partners is included in the research, which are outlined and categorised in the following table.

Interview Partner	Affiliation/Expertise	Interviewed in	Category
Interviewee 1	JICA official (focus Afghanistan)	2017, English	Japanese development official
Interviewee 2	Afghan representative	2017, English	State representative
Interviewee 3	Afghan representative	2017, English	State representative
Interviewee 4	JICA official (focus Iraq)	2017, English	Japanese development official
Interviewee 5	UN official (focus training programmes in Afghanistan and Iraq)	2017, English	Other
Interviewee 6	Iraqi representative	2017, English	State representative
Interviewee 7	Iraqi representative	2017, German	State representative
Interviewee 8	Political analyst (focus Afghanistan)	2017, German	Other
Interviewee 9	JICA official (focus Afghanistan)	2017, English	Japanese development official

Table 1: Overview of Interview Partners

As the table shows, the interviews are structured in three main areas: governmental representatives (for Afghanistan and Iraq), JICA officials (with specific focus areas on development initiatives in Afghanistan or to Iraq), and others (accounting for one interview with a UN official and one interview with a political analyst specialising on the developments in Afghanistan). Whilst the first two categories, governmental representatives and JICA officials, follow clear agendas and protocols, the two other interviews had the purpose of balancing the statements of the political staff and presenting an alternative angle.

The methodological analysis is organised into three phases, preparation and planning, collection and conduct, and evaluation and interpretation. This subsection explains phase one and two, whilst 5.5.2 Data Analysis will discuss the evaluation and interpretation of the data. Firstly, phase one lasted from April to August 2017 and aimed to achieve a well-organised and successful research trip through prior planning. An overall schedule was developed for the two-month research trip to Japan, Tokyo, contact to several interview partners was established, the research question was elaborated, and numerous secondary literature and information on the topic was collected during that initial phase.

At this stage it was decided to supplement the information from Japanese officials working for JICA with the viewpoints from Afghan and Iraqi state representatives. However, the challenge of trivial answers was identified as a potential danger to the analytical process and the validity of the study. Interviewing state representatives and development stakeholders, who have been focussing on Afghanistan and Iraq professionally, could lead to insignificant answers in regard to statehood and state-building. Therefore, the research trip to Japan was organised flexibly, including the possibility to conduct further interviews in case of weak statements or irrelevant data.

Additionally, the data collection instrument was chosen from the different approaches to conducting interviews. The aim was to facilitate an open conversation on the one side, which offers the possibility for interviewees to speak freely about personal and professional experiences, establishing a comfortable environment as the starting point. This would enable continuing with rather delicate questions on the other side, when asking about the states' fragility or the motives behind Japanese development assistance. Due to this double-sidedness the choice was made to conduct the interviews in an open manner, starting with very broad, even

narrative, questions to ease the conversation, but structure the interview procedure with a guideline (Dannecker, Vossemer, 2014; Lamnek, 2010).

In general, the guideline serves the purpose to structure the interview questions around the research question, with the option of including detailed specific remarks in accordance to the position of the respective interviewee (Chambliss, Schutt, 2013:239). As a consequence, the research aim shall be fulfilled and the interview data structure the methodological analysis logically and consistently (Kvale, Brinkman 2009:130). The preliminary interview guideline can be found in appendix III.

Phase two, the collection and conduct of data through interviews, took place during the stay in Tokyo, Japan in September and October 2017. Once the first interviews were conducted, it became obvious that the provided guideline was not needed as much as originally assumed. It was mainly used for the formulation of follow-up questions when more information was needed to precisely conceptualise the statement. Therefore, the conducting of the interviews became a more open form, aiming to increase the understanding of complex correlations, with the partial support of a guideline (Dannecker, Vossemer, 2014:156). In the context of prefabricated talking points that were applied whenever the conversation needed deepening or reorientation through follow-up or clarifying questions, the interview setting remained rather open but a semi-structured approach was implemented (May, 2011:134; Russell Bernard, 2006:212).

The idea that interviewees may be ‘answering’ questions other than those we are asking them, and making sense of the social world in ways we had not thought of, lies behind many qualitative interview strategies (Mason 2002:231).

Indeed, the interviewees did comment on more topics than originally intended in the interview guideline, leading to a more comprehensive analysis in chapter six. Depending on the interview setting, a more open or more structured questioning technique was applied, reacting distinctly to the individual interviewee. This strategy has proven to be expedient, in particular since the interview partners came from diverse cultural backgrounds, predominantly Afghanistan, Iraq, and Japan. This factor called for individual adaptation as it did not support the rigorous application of one uniform interview technique to all participants.

All nine interviews were conducted and recorded according to strict ethical standards protecting the identity, safety, and integrity of the research participants (Chambliss, Schutt, 2013:55). Detailed information on the ethical considerations and applications will be presented in chapter 5.3. However, although suggested by the literature (May, 2011:154), no additional information on the position, gender, ethnicity, or personal background of the interview partners will be disclosed as protecting the safety of the interviewees is the highest priority. All participants agreed to the recording of the interviews with an iPhone 5. The files were later copied to a computer and transcribed anonymously. All original recording files will be deleted from all devices after the Master's thesis is completed. The length of the interviews ranged from 25 to 51 minutes and the total recording time from all nine interviews adds up to almost 6 hours, which accounts for an average of 39 minutes per interview. Although the majority of interviews were conducted not in the native language of the interviewees, the quality of expression and information was sufficient. Due to adequate choices of interview locations, there was a minimum of background noise during the recordings. These two factors were considered beforehand thanks to the profound methodological specification provided by literature (May, 2011:151).

5.2.2 Data Analysis

The range of possibilities to analyse data is as vast as the assortment of instruments to collect data. Though narrowed down by the qualitative collection of information through semi-structured interviews, still remained a broad set of approaches remained. The final choice of which data analysis tool was best equipped to transform raw materials into scientifically significant results, was made based on the setting of the research and after becoming more familiar with the recordings through listening and transcribing (May, 2011:153). Extensive thought was put in developing a strategy to derive as valuable conclusions from the raw interview data as possible, without harming the ethical mode of conduct.

At first, it appeared that applying a grounded theory would be most promising to achieve the research aim. The grounded theory is an inductive method of social science to understand and interpret data by creating analytical codes which are anchored or 'grounded' exclusively in the data and the individual situation determining the particular information (Breuer, 2010:39). This approach requires a certain disclosure of background information and knowledge about

the interviewees, their position, ethnicity, and personal beliefs, as it aims to comprehend and investigate individual actions, social settings, and details of personal life (Thornberg, Charmaz, 2014:154).

Without at least a basic understanding of the potential personal motives and inducements of the interview partners, no relation to their remarks and statements, which are the source of literal, logical, or figurative interpretation in grounded theory, can be made (Breuer, 2010). However, as comprehensively explained in the following subsection on ethical considerations and their implications, the uncovering of detailed personal and professional information on the interview participants would endanger their integrity to a degree which might include harmful private consequences. Four interviewees in particular are in a vulnerable situation due to their position as official state representatives, obliging the researcher to fully keep their anonymity by not exposing background information. Thus, to avoid an ethical compromise, it was decided that the safety and wellbeing of the interviewees must be highest priority, despite the consequential methodological limitations and the inability to pursue a grounded theory approach.

In order to ensure the equality and comparability of the study, to make sense of the raw data, and analyse the core analytical added value of the research, another applicable and expedient approach was chosen: a content analysis. The role of the interviewees as the predominant source of information remained unchanged but the main focus instead lay on the content of their remarks and not necessarily on their attributes or backgrounds. In addition, the process nonetheless required the structuring of raw materials into seven adequate categories, which were collectively scrutinised and yielded new findings (May, 2011; Assarroudi, Nabavi, Armat, Ebadi, Vaismoradi, 2018).

Unlike other qualitative methods for data analysis which open up (and sometimes add to) data, qualitative content analysis helps with reducing the amount of material. It requires the researcher to focus on selected aspects of meaning, namely those aspects that relate to the overall research question (Schreier, 2014:170).

The segmentation of data into categories refines the information into most significant and relevant parts, thus being strongly linked to the research question and aim. This Master thesis explicitly seeks to elaborate how the Japanese government contributes to state-building and

conflict resolution in Afghanistan and Iraq through its development initiatives, elaborating on the connection between the single fields as a conclusion. From a general point of view, the data analysis follows three distinct stages of commenting, interpreting, and contextualising information (Lamnek, 2010), manifesting itself in the categories.

In this context, seven categories have emerged from the raw data that in combination pave the way to fulfil the research aim. Categories one to four introduce the case and lead towards answering the research question, focusing on the first stage of commenting on and presenting data. This phase consists of (1) assessing the situation, illustrating the Japanese development initiatives (2) in Afghanistan as well as (3) in Iraq, and (4) investigating Japan's motives behind its actions. The fifth category will shift to the second stage, directly target the main research question, by (5) interpreting the single initiatives and their contribution to state-building, in combination with literature references. This section will represent the core of the analytical process. Finally, the last two categories combine interpretation and contextualisation of information when concluding the prior categories into (6) scrutinising the Japanese success, and (7) suggesting lessons and recommendations. In enabling a coherent analytical procedure, these categories will frame the process by serving as subchapters to the analysis (see 6.1–6.7).

Thus, the content analysis will combine two approaches suggested by Hsieh, Shannon (2005). On the one hand the explicit phenomenon of Japan's contribution to state-building in Afghanistan and Iraq through development initiatives suggests a conventional content analysis with a very limited focus (Hsieh, Shannon, 2005:1279). Yet, the application of the extensive existing theories on statehood and fragile states supports the analysis and adds to the previous research by presenting a concrete case, making use of directed content analysis (Hsieh, Shannon, 2005:1283). To summarise the method of data analysis, the content analysis approach which is being applied strongly focuses on the substance and topic of the interviews, creating categories to cluster the information into sections that together reveal the aim of the research and answer the research question. The single categories, however, comprise several codes each, representing the single topics which will be discussed and analysed, deriving from the content of the interviews. The following table will demonstrate the exact structure of the data analysis, mentioning the codes for each category. The single codes will be carefully processed in the analysis chapter from subsection 6.1 to 6.7.

Categories	Codes
(1) Assessing the situation	• Insecurity in Afghanistan • Insecurity in Iraq
(2) Japanese development to Afghanistan	• Grant aid • Technical cooperation • Capacity building
(3) Japanese development to Iraq	• ODA loan • Grant aid • Capacity building
(4) Japan's motives	• Access to oil • Economic drive • Regional stability
(5) State-building and development	• Governmental stability • Social stability • Economic stability
(6) Japanese success story	• Establishing trust • Communication • Targeting individuals and communities
(7) Lessons and recommendations	• Long-term perspective • Civil society involvement • Recognising interconnectivity

Table 2: Overview of analytical categories and codes

5.3 Ethical Consideration

The term ‘research ethics’ sum up all rules and considerations which define the interaction and relation between the researcher and the research participant to shape them in a morally correct way (Hopf, 1991). It is of utmost importance to all areas of social research to ensure that every research participant, in this specific case the nine interview partners, are not harmed in any way through their contribution to the research (Chambliss, Schutt, 2013:55). Thus, the researcher bears the responsibility to consider a set of measures to guarantee the protection of the interview partners, who are vulnerable in various ways and to different degrees. Against this background, the entire study shall be based on the ethical codex of Hopf

(2004) which entails four main aspects: the reduction of harm, the voluntariness, the informed consent, and the anonymity of the participants.

Examples of a negative exposure of interviewees might include, but are not limited to, power relations and dependencies, which also play a decisive role in this particular case. The governments of fragile states are under investigation, which show weaknesses in separation of powers, insufficient provision of political goods and services, lack of establishing physical safety and security within their borders, and a failing rule of law. At the same time, several official governmental representatives were interviewed, currently and formerly deployed at different ministries, who depend on their professions since it is the basis of their livelihood.

Despite being weak and hierarchical, the systems in place in Afghanistan and Iraq that enable these representatives to reside and work within Japan exercise some sort of power over the interviewed individuals. In terms of development initiatives, the interaction between the recipient countries, Afghanistan and Iraq, and the donor country, Japan, is sensitive and could be seen as a certain demonstration of power. Certainly, the inability to establish a functioning monopoly on violence in Afghanistan and Iraq, worsens the situation and intensifies the pressure on individuals. The omnipresent and uncertain nature of the states' future, pose not only an insecurity on a state-level but also for the employees at the embassies since their positions would be affected by a change in leadership and a shift in power. Hence, all means must be taken to prevent the possibility that due to the writing and publishing of this research interviewees come to harm in any way, from being criticised by superiors and colleagues for stating their opinion, to losing the professional position, to even worse implications of social and physical violence.

Therefore, all active measures have been implemented to secure the identity and integrity of every single interview partner, not mentioning any personal information that could identify them such as gender, position, ethnicity, or age. The reason why this safety measure is applied rigorously lies in the organisational structures of the respective working facility of the interview partner. Since many offices are small, the slightest of information on the individual achieved or ascribed traits of the interview partners could reveal their identity to an insider. Thus, the safety and wellbeing of the participants is put above the analytical value of detailed background knowledge on every single individual, as is suggested also by the literature

(Chambliss, Schutt, 2013; Creswell, 2014; May, 2011). Furthermore, all digital files of the interview recordings will be deleted from all electronic devices after the thesis has been finished.

An additional factor, supporting the strict safeguarding of anonymity further, is the stronger willingness and openness of the interviewees to share their insights and professional experiences when they are assured that their identity is being protected. If an interviewee did not feel safe, this could have had several negative consequences on achieving the research aim. On the one side, interviews could be rejected, on the other the collected data might be imprecise or facts could intentionally be downplayed or misinterpreted due to personal restraint.

Hence, establishing ethical standards of non-disclosure ensures the data collection, the quality of the interviews, and the verification of the data, as methodological and empirical correctness are facilitated (Chambliss, Schutt, 2013:12). Supplementary to the considerations and measures securing the interviewees' identity in all three phases of the methodological process, ethical correctness was also granted by an informed consent. As there is no standardised and universally accepted procedure as to how informed consent is delivered (Chambliss, Schutt, 2013), the interviewees were informed orally at the start of the conversation, since a written document which is to be signed has two flaws. First, with the signature the interviewee certifies the participation, which creates yet another risk factor that anonymity might be violated.

Secondly, the process of signing a printed document might create emotional unease since the situation obtains a very official character hampering the readiness to speak openly and freely. Therefore, before the start of the questioning and the recording, the interviewees were informed about the topic, aim, intention, and intended publication of the research, their specific role in the process, the voluntary nature of their participation, the possibility of aborting the interview at any time, and the strict anonymity of all personal information (May, 2011: 62).

Additionally, they were separately asked for their approval that the interview be recorded for the sole purpose of transcription and analysis. All interview partners stated that they understood the circumstances of the research and agreed to the conduct and the recording of the interview.

Lastly, the interview participants were always regarded in a respectful and transparent way. The written and personal conversation was polite and courteous at every given time prior, during, and after the interview was carried out. After each conversation, the offer was made to the research partners to transmit a written transcript of their interviews and an electronic copy of the finished Master's thesis will be sent to all interviewees and supporters. At this point, the author would like to sincerely thank all research participants again for their trust and valuable participation.

5.4 Personal Positioning

Reflexivity is a process that challenges the researcher to explicitly examine how his or her research agenda and assumptions, subject location(s), personal beliefs, and emotions enter into their research (Hsiung, 2008:211).

Reflecting upon one's own personal position in the process of planning, conducting, and executing social research is essential. This is especially the case when a strong interaction with human beings embodies the source of data collection, since the reciprocate perception of researcher and research participant influences the setting and potentially also the data. Various factors impact the way the researcher perceives and is perceived, reaching from the ethnic and cultural background, to previous academic knowledge, as well as personal political convictions and religious beliefs. Hence, the problematic symbiosis between personal values which may derive from observed information that appear factual, pose a challenging differentiation between norms for the researcher, who is prone to reason in dichotomies (May, 2011).

Being aware of this risk, the researcher at all times attempted to remain impartial and neutral. In aiming to avoid the conscious evaluation of information based on personal experiences, the data gathered from one interview was linked with other statements and the literature. However, since it cannot be guaranteed that the researcher did not shape the research and its outcome to some degree with his ascribed and achieved attributes, the most important personal and professional features will be explained, in order to qualify the research and make it transparent. The researcher is male, his nationality and ethnic background is Austrian, and he is in his late twenties. Despite never obviously affecting the research, these biological physiognomies particularly influenced the data collection, which for the most part was conducted

in Tokyo, Japan. In the hierarchical and patriarchal Japanese society, where physical appearance and 'white' beauty stereotypes are very pronounced, they have a sublime but strong impact on the way individuals are appreciated and treated. In the case of the interviewer's features, his European, Caucasian and male characteristics might have altered the way he is perceived (in particular by Japanese counterparts) to be more professional and knowledgeable, easing the access to interviewees. The fact that no interview with Japanese informants was rejected as well as the feeling of a very respectful social interaction during the interviews, increased the notion of gaining a beneficial treatment based on ethnic origin. Although not posing a negative effect on the quality and results of the research, this factor is nevertheless notable to mention.

Additionally, the academic and professional background of the researcher shaped the way he interpreted the situation and information. Prior to scientifically engaging in the field of International Development, the researcher obtained his Bachelor's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies at Malmö University, Sweden. The Bachelor's focus on analysing conflicts in order to provide strategies of preventing and resolving violent disputes as well as the means to enhance sustainable peace, inspired the researcher to investigate Afghanistan and Iraq. More precisely, the Master's thesis relates conflict resolution and state-building efforts to conflict management and resolution, combining both fields as described in the research aim and exemplified in the analysis. Furthermore, the researcher applied his theoretical knowledge in Peace and Conflict Studies practically, during working as Junior Researcher for Middle East and North Africa at the Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management.

Personally the researcher would position himself as politically interested and aware but besides enjoying his electoral rights is not actively involved in politics. His many international travels and stays, often lasting for several months, contribute to his openness and liberal worldview, which also affects his social and emancipatory political orientation. Lastly, the researcher's religious beliefs do not play an essential part in his life and can therefore be considered irrelevant for this particular topic. Being aware of the effect of individual social position, personal understanding and experience, and ethnic background has on the qualitative research in particular (Berger, 2013), reflecting upon the researcher's position is vital to better comprehend the following analysis and its results.

6 Analysis

This chapter constitutes the core of the thesis – presenting and analysing the empirical research data. The fundament of the analysis consists of primary sources, which are the outcome of conducting a set of nine semi-structured expert interviews. The participants come from three different thematic and professional backgrounds: Afghan stakeholders and representatives, Iraqi stakeholders and representatives, and Japanese development practitioners. In-depth information on the techniques, which was used to conduct and analyse the interviews, as well as the general background on how the interviews were categorised and realised, can be found in the previous chapter ‘5 Method’.

In order to create a comprehensive analysis, the raw data that was derived from the interview recordings and transcriptions will not only be presented, but will also be put into perspective by the theoretical background and secondary sources such as reports and previous analysis. Furthermore, a connection between the different viewpoints and remarks will be established, enabling to convey a comprehensive and transparent research. Thus, the analytical process of presenting, analysing, and reflecting data is applied. Further, this will initiate the discussion of the data, which will start at the end of this chapter and continue in the conclusion. As the analysis aims to answer the main research question, the original question of chapter one is being reaffirmed and restated:

How does the Japanese government contribute to the rebuilding of statehood and stability in Afghanistan and Iraq through its development initiatives?

In the process of answering this rather complex question, the analysis will split into seven sub-segments, all of which together will rotate around the question, whilst ‘6.5 State-Building through Development’ will principally scrutinise the research question. The other subchapters consist of 6.1 to 6.4, which lead towards coherently addressing the main research question, providing thematic and conceptual background, as well as 6.6 and 6.7, which draw conclusions from the previous sections and critically focus on the implied Japanese success story,

whilst investigate the lessons learned and suggesting recommendations of improvement. The following table should aid to visualise the structure of the entire chapter and outline the questions of each subchapter.

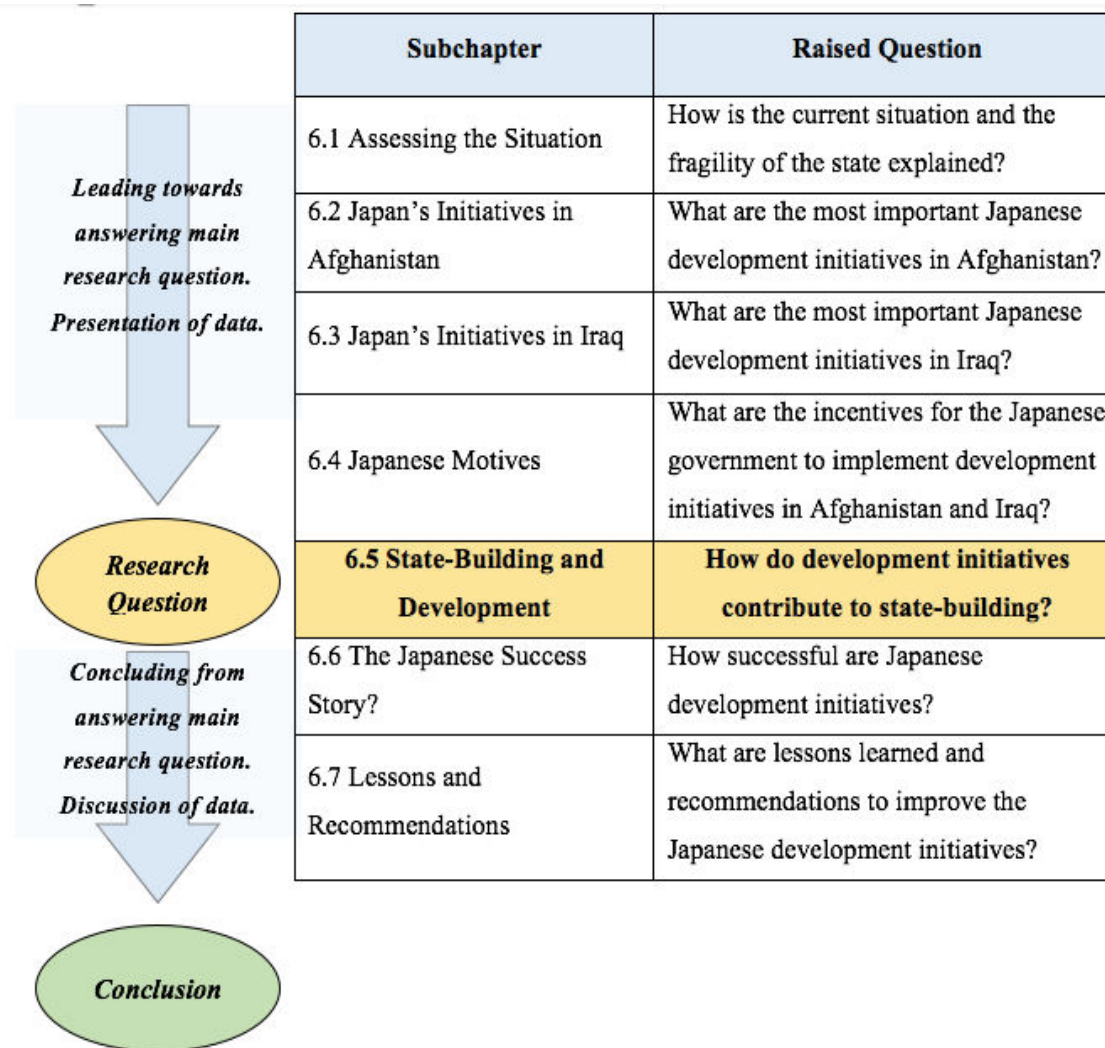


Table 3: Subchapters analysis, including analytical process of research

As might be already obvious at this stage, the seven sub-chapters reflect the analytical categories outlined in the previous method chapter, and therefore, as a whole, serve as a methodological means of guiding the analysis.

The entire process can also be explained as a funnel: starting with a rather broad and open approach of assessing the situation and the Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as the motives, before concentrating precisely on state-building. Ultimately,

this specific outcome is then being viewed again from the larger perspective when assessing the Japanese initiatives and deriving recommendations, before complementing the thesis with the conclusion.

6.1 Assessing the Situation

At the beginning of the analysis, regarding the question how the Japanese development initiatives contribute to state-building in Afghanistan and Iraq, it is essential to underline the interviewees' perception of the current situation in both countries. Deriving from the conflict analysis and historical background information, the circumstances in Afghanistan and Iraq have already been described. However, before the data on Japanese development and state-building can be investigated, information on the interviewees' personal assessment of the political realities and understanding of the security situation is crucial. Their voices count as the data speak through them, which is why this subchapter contrasts the literature-based presentation of Afghanistan and Iraq, with the interview-based personal statements. Therefore, the central question of this subchapter is:

How is the current situation and the fragility of the state explained?

Around half of the interviewees are of Afghan and Iraqi descent, whilst the other experts have travelled both countries frequently for work and research. Their experiences and insights certainly shape their overall viewpoint, which is why this section is key to understanding and conceptualising the following ones.

Since the Afghan presidential elections in 2014 and the extraordinary situation of two de facto political rulers, president Ghani and Chief Executive Officer Abdullah, the already fragile political stability was further aggravated. This circumstance was enabled by the unclear result of the elections, which led to the formation of the current 'Government of National Unity'. Interviewee 8 (2017), an expert on the Afghan conflict and the regional developments of central Asia, mentioned that an additional detrimental factor remains the latent claim to power of former president Karzai. The situation is tense, as three power blocks have emerged from the disunited and hostile state: The Pashtun currently holding the presidency and key ministries,

non-Pashtuns, and a newly forming but yet unofficial Norther-Alliance (Interviewee 8, 2017). This Islamist movement is led by vice president Dostam, a liberal Uzbek and army general and Mohaqiq, who belongs to the ethnic group of the Hazara and reached the third place in the presidential elections (Katzman, Thomas, 2017). Whilst it has been highlighted that the government in Kabul is strongly dependent on international support and financial backing, in particular by the US, Japan, and the EU, a significant number of Pashtuns became frustrated and turned against the power elites, which created an inner-Afghan political (and military) power struggle (Interviewee 8, 2017). The Japanese officials from JICA confirmed the shift to an increased military insecurity and political instability within Afghanistan.

In 2010, so seven years ago, at that time the number of our projects and the Japanese staff stationed in Afghanistan was bigger than the present one. I think it is due to the recent security situation that the number of personnel changed (Interviewee 1, 2017).

Today, there are not only fewer Japanese staff stationed inside Afghanistan than at the beginning of the decade, but also the exact number of JICA's staff within the country is being undisclosed due to security reasons (Interviewee 1, 2017; Interviewee 9, 2017). This fact confirms the assessments of recent reports, claiming a tense and unstable security mixed with political uncertainty (SIGAR, 2018; SIGAR 2017), as well as the perception of the eighth interview partner, who is researching the Afghan conflict and the regional developments. A power vacuum was mentioned as one of the reasons for the current insecurity, as the Afghan security forces had to rely on themselves after the withdrawal of tens of thousands of US troops in 2014 (Interviewee 3, 2017). The fragility of statehood due to the absence of the monopoly on violence is being recognised, as it affects the work of Japanese development initiatives drastically. As a consequence of missing state-structures, security, and political stability, violent insurgencies such as the ones performed by the Taliban or the so-called 'Islamic State', have been made possible. "The failed state (Afghanistan) has provided space for terrorists and created danger for the world" (Interviewee 3, 2017).

In Iraq, the circumstances on the ground are seeming equivalently critical. As one Iraqi representative points out, trust between the three major ethnic-confessional groups, the Kurds in the North, the Sunni in the centre, and the Shia in the South, has shattered over the course of the last decades (Interviewee 7, 2017). The core of the hostilities and grievances are traced

back historically to ancient times of the conflict between the successors of Prophet Muhammad and the split of Islam into Sunni and Shia, and to the creation of the modern state of Iraq, which is “based on the arbitrariness of the allies after the First World War” (Interviewee 7, 2017).

The impression arises that such historical references are being used to explain but also fuel the current conflict and struggle for power. In addition to the personal perception of the current situation and the fragility of the Afghan and Iraqi government, the actual Japanese operational force, implementing development initiatives stands in direct connection with the conditions on the ground. Furthermore, in the case of Iraq the violent uprising of extremist groups, foremost the ‘Islamic State’, has hampered JICA’s development programmes on the ground and triggered the termination of several projects in Sunni areas (Interviewee 4, 2017).

The security situation influences our work; we cannot work if there is no security in the region. The cooperation with the local population is therefore most important. (Interviewee 4, 2017).

When the inner or regional security raises to a potential immediate threat to international staff, Japanese workers are withdrawn from Iraq and Afghanistan. This is not only the case in ‘Islamic State’-affected areas, but also in the autumn of 2017 in the autonomous region Kurdistan (Interviewee 4, 2017). After the referendum for independence was held in late September 2017, despite being heavily condemned by the Iraqi government in Baghdad, Japanese staff were withdrawn from their office in Erbil.

Hence, it can be noted that the insecurity and violence in Iraq and in Afghanistan is seen as a result of fragile statehood, which has a significant impact on current Japanese projects in both countries. The overall tendency from the interviews is that the security situation has worsened in recent years, and that efforts to restore stability have so far failed to be sustainable. Failing control over the territory, lacking inner security, stability, and political administration, the mismanagement of legislative and executive power, as well as the insufficient provision of political goods, has led to the loss of political control and the monopoly on violence, which is a critical issue for development initiatives (Interviewee 4, Interviewee 6, Interviewee 8).

6.2 Japan's Initiatives in Afghanistan

After giving an overview of historical background and the conflict analysis in chapter two, as well as introducing the perception of the interviewees in regard to the current security situation, this and the following subchapter will analyse the Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq. While focussing predominantly on the data collected through the interviews, reference will also be given to annual reports and JICA documents, enabling a comprehensive scrutiny. In combination with the previous subchapter as well as '6.4 Japanese Motives', the conceptual framework is being constructed, leading towards answering the main research question in 6.5. However, first the attention will be raised on this and the following subchapter, elaborating the following question:

What are the most important Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan?

The main emphasis in regard to examining Japan's development initiatives in Afghanistan will lie on interviews one, two, three and nine. In addition, it should be kept in mind that in particular the JICA officials who were interviewed (interviewee one, interviewee four, and interviewee nine), do have a positive bias towards their work and initiatives. Their viewpoints will be critically analysed and put into perspective with the other interviews, in particular throughout chapter '6.6 The Japanese Success Story?'.

The historical connection between Japan and Afghanistan, which still plays an important role in current bilateral relations, is rooted in the spread of Buddhist influences from the former hub of the silk road, today's Afghanistan, which had a significant impact on Japan's religious identity of today (Amin, 2007:2). In addition, the fact that the countries' names, Japan (Nihon – 日本) and Afghanistan (Khorasan – خراسان), both refer to the 'land under the rising sun', gives the bilateral relation an extra-emotional touch. These commonalities are referred to, symbolically emphasising a strong and amicable relationship between Japan and Afghanistan. Official diplomatic relation however, were initiated in 1931, although previous active exchange between the countries was adopted (Amin, 2007:25). While technical cooperation started in the 1970s and got suspended in the 1980s and 1990s, the collaboration and interaction between Japan and Afghanistan intensified drastically in extent and significance after 2001, in particular since Japan reaffirmed its contribution at the Tokyo Conference in 2002

(Interviewee 1, 2017; Interviewee 2, 2017). The main pillars of the Japanese assistance to Afghanistan are categorised into infrastructure and urban development, agriculture and irrigation, and health and education, which are targeted directly through Japanese institutions – foremost JICA – or through cooperation with several UN organisations, such as UNOPS or UNICEF (Interviewee 1, 2017).

As is defined in Japan's Official Development Assistance Charter, these focus areas are targeted towards supporting Afghanistan's self-sufficiency and self-reliance efforts (Government of Japan, 2003: 2). Due to the previously mentioned security issues in large areas of Afghanistan, the Japanese on-ground involvement is restricted, and therefore Japan relies heavily on international actors and local partners in the distribution of development assistance, as insider knowledge and more flexible operation is key (Interviewee 1, 2017; Interviewee 2, 2017). These circumstances also resulted in the collaboration between the International Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan (ISAF) – in particular the Lithuanian Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) – and JICA officials pertaining safe movement within the country.

Japan's execution body of distributing official development assistance and implementing development programmes is the Japanese International Cooperation Agency. Although it is often argued that JICA is an autonomous entity, the strong dependency between JICA and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) cannot be denied. The subservient behaviour of JICA towards the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be pointed out from symbolic gestures at public appearances – which are particularly important in the Japanese cultural setting of strict *hibachis* – to the subliminal dictation of programmes and projects by the Ministry (Interviewee 2, 2017).

The total amount of Japanese assistance between 2001 and 2015 is an aggregate of up to 5.8 billion US Dollars, making Japan the second largest donor country to Afghanistan after the United States of America (MOFA Japan, 2015). This amount is divided into two areas: grant aid, which is money that is granted by the Japanese government to specific focus projects including a contractor or consultant, and technical cooperation, which is the dispatching of Japanese experts to Afghanistan to support with mostly technical assistance or capacity building on site (Interviewee 9, 2017). Hence, in both cases Japanese staff or companies are in-

volved as experts or contractors in the official development programmes to Afghanistan, therefore indirectly benefiting from the governmental development projects.

Grant aid projects extend from promoting literacy in over half the provinces of Afghanistan, to infrastructural advancements such as the Kabul - Jalalabad road or the Kabul International Airport, to improving healthcare in Mazar-E-Sharif. Technical cooperation includes the development of rice cultivation in Herat, or the training of medical practitioners and teachers (MOFA Japan, 2015, Interviewee 3, 2017). Funds for these projects are officially requested by the Afghan government in discussion with partners and ministries (Interviewee 1, 2017).

Each project is being discussed with the Afghan counterparts (government), to listen to their needs and means ... the Afghan government is requesting these kind of infrastructure and agriculture projects and sends an official request to the government of Japan ... but the first step is the official request based on their needs (Interviewee 1, 2017).

Although the management of disbursing development assistance creates the notion of following a 'needs-based approach' as one Japanese JICA official pointed it out (Interviewee 1, 2017), it is questionable which 'needs' are being targeted through this strategy. Japanese officials strongly rely on the information provided by the Afghan government, as JICA staff have a limited amount of interaction with the Afghan public and reside in a very closed and contained environment (Interviewee 2, 2017). The current political setting in Afghanistan is clearly a pro-Pashtun system, which is foremost interested in the retention and expansion of power. The inner-Afghan conflict between and within different ethnical groups might lead to the political instrumentalisation of development aid, if the Japanese government primarily carries out the requests of the Afghan political elites. Consequently, the perpetuation of inequality and group grievances as well as the fragility of the government due to maintaining dependencies are the potential outcomes.

Previous programmes have additionally focused more specifically on the strengthening of the security sector until 2014, training and salary payments for police officers or demining programmes, and the reintegration of ex-combatants into society through supporting disarmament and demobilisation initiatives which were completed in 2006 (MOFA Japan, 2015). Such efforts, in particular disarmament activities, play a decisive role to the success of development initiatives, as even Article 26 of the Charter of the United Nations indicates a relation

between both fields (United Nations, 1945:7). However, direct efforts in this area are currently not entertained, officially due to the termination of the projects themselves. This change of strategy towards focussing solely on the three main areas of agriculture, infrastructure, and health and education, is also uncovered by the decrease of the annual budget of Japan's assistance cooperation to Afghanistan. Whereas the total value of technical cooperation and grant aid peaked in 2012 allocating over 20 billion Yen (worth an equivalent of roughly 250 million US Dollars in 2012), in 2015 slightly over 9 billion Yen were appointed (which due to currency fluctuations amounted to about 75 million US Dollars in 2015) (Interviewee 1, 2017). Both factors, the decrease of official assistance by over 50% and the drop of the Japanese Yen, caused the reduction of de facto funding by roughly 70%.

A main factor for the drop of Japanese funds was the aggravated politico-military situation, which worsened again after the Afghan presidential elections in 2014 (Interviewee 1, 2017). This factor exemplifies the intertwined nature of political changes and the worsening of safety and security with decreasing international development efforts as a consequence. Eventually the obscure circumstance arises that foreign initiatives decrease when governmental structures are weak, a stage when development support would be needed most.

Besides the numerous Japanese programmes located directly in Afghanistan, one JICA initiative is particularly promising. The so-called PEACE programme (short for Project for the Promotion and Enhancement of the Afghan Capacity for Effective Development) is designed as a human capacity building programme specifically for Afghan low and medium-level governmental officials. Since it has been established in 2011, several hundred Afghan officials have been selected to undertake their Master's or PhD studies in Japan, especially focussing on building advanced capacities for the Afghan Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Water and Energy, and the Ministry of Public Health (Interviewee 3, 2017). The uniqueness of this programme is the combination of two factors.

First, it has positive long-term effects and therefore contributes to self-sustainability, and second it involves people who are already working in governmental positions, which increases its impact on the Afghan political and institutional setting (Interviewee 2, 2017; Interviewee 3, 2017). This fosters the connection between on-site efforts, impacting the current situa-

tion positively through the expansion of basic infrastructure or the distribution of basic medical care, with developments aiming to enabling the Afghan civil and political society towards self-reliance. The PEACE programme therefore directly tackles the negative side effect of creating dependencies, which is a common aftertaste of many development activities imposed by foreign actors. Also the current Afghan ambassador to Japan Mr. Mohabbat, pointed out the importance of the human capacity building programme, as a way to enhance new perspectives towards a democratic and peaceful future for the country, at a speech in September 2017.

Overall, two conclusions can be drawn from the Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan, which manifest in particular in the course of the most recent years. First, Japan has been a predominant supporter to Afghanistan, utilising a broad set of techniques and a comprehensive strategy to contribute to post-conflict reconstruction reaching from rebuilding infrastructure to redistributing basic needs to the civilian population, and re-establishing governmental structures. Japan has recognised that short-term projects alone are not a sufficient means to promote structural improvements (Interviewee 1, 2017; Interviewee 2, 2017). The aim of any effective development must therefore lie in long-term advancement through advocating technical, political, and economic self-reliance, identifying needs, and the enhancement of skills and tailored training programmes (Interviewee 5, 2017). In doing so, the Japanese government also relies on the various public relations efforts of the Afghan embassy in Tokyo, which is eager to promote the portrayal of Afghanistan to the Japanese people in a more positive light.

Second, although Japan has constantly involved Japanese labour and knowledge in the implementation process of development to Afghanistan, the financial benefit of pursuing its initiatives is insignificant compared to the expenditure (Interviewee 2, 2017). So far, no considerable forms of Japanese investment have been made possible as a direct consequence of their dominant donor role. Ostensibly, Japanese accomplishments exclusively aimed to achieve humanitarian improvement, peace, security, and economic development. However, once a glimpse is provided behind the scene into the underlying drivers of the Japanese undertaking, a variety of motives can be identified, which go beyond barely existing financial incentives. Analysing and contextualising these motivating factors is the aim of subchapter 6.4 on Japanese motives.

6.3 Japan's Initiatives in Iraq

Although there are some significant parallels between the current situation of instability of Afghanistan and Iraq, there are also remarkable differences, which affect Japan's approach to development. The same counts for the concrete development programmes in place in both countries – Japan has adopted some parts of its Afghan strategy to Iraq but with changes, adaptations, and distinctions. As applied in the previous subchapter, this section merges the data and its analytical essence with official documents, which are predominantly issued by JICA and the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Hence, it is aimed again to connect sources and facilitate a more comprehensive analysis, paving the way towards answering the main research question in 6.5. Therefore, this section analyses the question:

What are the most important Japanese development initiatives in Iraq?

Plausibly, the interviews with JICA officials and Iraqi representatives are being focused on in the process of outlining this part. The main focus therefore lies on interviews four, six, and seven. Additional emphasis will be placed on fragments of interview five, although it is being regarded as an extra case. However, the rather unbiased insights of interviewee eight, a UN official working on the planning and implementation of development programmes to Afghanistan and Iraq, collaborating partly with the Japanese government, certainly contribute to the understanding of the discourse.

The Republic of Iraq had been maintaining steady economic growth due to being able to access the world's largest oil reserves. However, the country has suffered from devastating wars since the 1980s: the Iran-Iraq War in 1980, the Gulf War in 1990, the US intervention to Iraq in 2003, and the current insecurity caused by the emergence of the so-called 'Islamic State'. The wars also led to the decrease of the national GDP per capita, from 3,600 US Dollars just before the start of the Iran-Iraq war, to merely 790 US Dollars in 2003 (JICA, 2010:2). The destruction and socio-political crisis caused by the wars wrecked the domestic economy, deteriorated critical infrastructure, and worsened the distribution and access to basic political goods, a situation that remains until the present day. Large-scale development has been hampered by the lack of safety and security, high national military expenditure, and embargos imposed by the international community, which were a main factor why the strong

Japanese economic ties with Iraq in the 1970, came to a sudden end at the beginning of the 1980s and has not yet fully recovered (Interviewee 6, 2017).

JICA is working to contribute and facilitate the transition phase from post-war reconstruction to self-sustain development of Iraq since 2003 (Interviewee 4, 2017).

The Donor Conference in Madrid in 2003 marked a turning point in which relations between Japan and Iraq were re-established in the form of pledging an extensive assistance package of 5 billion US Dollars to the development of Iraq. Even though both the timing and the total amount allocated for development assistance to Afghanistan and Iraq seems comparatively similar, the actual composition of the pledge shows significant differences. Japan's 5 billion US Dollars ascribed to assist the Iraqi reconstruction is divided in an ODA loan of 3.5 billion US Dollars and 1.5 billion US Dollars in form of grant aid (Interviewee 4, 2017).

The loan assistance encompasses. Fifteen original projects designed for the restoration of infrastructure, power plants, the Basra port, and oil refineries, which were extended by eight additional projects, enlarging the new sum of Japanese loan assistance to 4.1 billion US Dollars (Interviewee 4, 2017; JICA, 2010). Whereas the repayment period for the ODA loan ranges from 20 to 40 years and the annual interest rate amounts between 1.2 and 1.5 percent, the grant aid aims to provide rather short-term emergency assistance and the distribution of basic goods which was backed by additional 100 million US Dollars in 2007 (Interviewee 4, 2017).

The current 23 ODA loan projects in Iraq can be distinguished into three areas: "building foundation for the livelihood, promotion diversification of industries, and strengthening the basic economic infrastructure" (Interviewee 4, 2017). Primarily, the concrete projects include the enhancement of the electricity sector (such as the construction of hydropower and gas-power plants), water supply improvement initiatives, the upgrading and advancement of oil refineries and crude oil export facilities, and infrastructural improvements (such as roads construction and the rehabilitation of Basra port) (Interviewee 4, 2017; Interviewee 6, 2017; JICA, 2010). Although Japanese projects are spread over the entire country of Iraq, reaching from Basra in the south to the Erbil, the capital of the autonomous Kurdish Regional Government (KRG), in the north, several on-site activities had to be terminated due to the ongo-

ing insecurity posed by the so-called 'Islamic State' (Interviewee 4, 2017). The same is the case for current projects within the KRG area, which came to a halt after the Kurdish referendum for independence in late September 2017, when all Japanese staff were withdrawn from the region and the office in Erbil was temporarily closed (Interviewee 4, 2017).

These two examples showcase the Japanese security strategy when it comes to employing JICA personnel. As soon as a greater amount of risk than the one already existing presents itself, projects are terminated or paused, and national staff is withdrawn or relocated. Even the slightest potential of an outbreak of violence, such as the realisation of the Kurdish referendum, is considered a genuine threat. The safety and wellbeing of Japanese workers within Iraq (and Afghanistan) are the first priority and predominate over the success or completion of the projects in place. The increasing hatred and grievance between the three main ethnic-confessional groups of Iraq, Kurds, Sunni, and Shia, which due to most recent outbursts of violence lack of trust and reconciliation with one another, further impedes the efforts of international donors such as Japan (Interviewee 7, 2017).

In its foreign development approach, the Japanese government heavily relies on local and international co-operators. In the case of Iraq one significant international partner is the UN, in particular the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR). The rather small UN agency with its headquarters in Geneva was invited by the Hiroshima prefecture to open an office in the city of Hiroshima in 2001 and aims to provide education and training for governmental officials and NGOs to enhance human capacity building, especially in least developed countries. Although UNITAR is running programmes in both Afghanistan and Iraq, Japan cooperated only in the case of training Iraqi ministry staff.

However, in case of Iraq there have been long-term UNITAR training structures with different ministries in place, and JICA collaborated in executing the training projects with the ministry of oil (Interview 5, 2017). The programme with officials from the Iraqi ministry of oil focussed on improving the leadership, entrepreneurship, and communication skillsets, which were based on a needs assessment carried out prior to the training, aiming to rehabilitate the economy and rebuild the infrastructure of Iraq (Interviewee 5, 2017; UNITAR 2013). Furthermore, the Iraqi governmental official mentioned the importance of oil to the Japanese government.

It was most important for Japan to participate to reconstruct the oil sector and second ... to reconstruct the electricity field stations. Iraq welcomes the initiative from Japan of financial support and new loans in addition to those started in 2003 (Interviewee 6, 2017).

Clearly, it is not surprising that Japan and its foreign ministry show great interest in supporting the reconstruction of the oil sector in Iraq, as they are themselves dependent on importing crude oil to keep its resource-intensive industry functioning. This and further motives behind supporting the reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan through development money will be discussed in detail in the upcoming subchapter.

Japan is also involved in implementing their own capacity building programmes to Iraq through JICA and since 2003 Japan has trained around 8.000 Iraqi officials inside and outside of Japan (Interviewee 6, 2017). Although the real impact of such long-term projects might be hard to evaluate, its basic principle lies in enriching the skills of the Iraqi population, facilitating the application of knowledge beneficially where it is needed. A gradual recovery of a war-torn state is hereby achieved on both the personal and the political level. The individual officials widen their own scope of know-how and practical capacities, whilst the collective sum of new organisational, political, and economic talent enables improved communication and more effective leadership. Thus, a resilient new generation of political leaders can be trained to tackle the many challenges Iraq faces.

One additional noteworthy fact about JICA's involvement in Iraq mirrors their strategy in Afghanistan and should not be forgotten when analysing the Japanese development initiatives. When it comes to the implementation of ODA loan projects and the distribution of grant aid and technical assistance, Japanese contractors are involved in the process in most cases (Interviewee 4, 2017).

These contractors might be deployed from the government or from private companies and support the problem-free procedure of executing the planned projects. Despite their supporting role, the fact that MOFA Japan strongly relies on Japanese contractors might indicate a lack of trust in local authorities and structures, or the belief that Japanese personnel should indirectly benefit from JICA's development missions overseas. The same applies to projects which are not distributed via JICA, which come directly from the Japanese Ministry for De-

fence or the Japanese Ministry of Finance, which were not included in the analysis due to the focus of this thesis.

The interviews and the additional reports have presented strong evidence that both long-term development cooperation and short-term disaster relief programmes are needed to support the Iraqi population and government (Interviewee 5, 2017; Interviewee 6, 2017; Interviewee 7, 2017). Through the combined distribution of ODA loans and grant aid since 2003, the Japanese government is assisting Iraq in both short and long-term development assistance, on multi-faceted levels ranging from infrastructure and health to economic support and leadership training (Interviewee 4, 2017).

The situation remains tense and concrete indicators of violence show the direct connection between security and development and the reciprocal correlation between them. An increased number of signs of insecurity leads automatically to a reduced impact of development initiatives in a certain area, whereas regions with higher distribution of development assistance and political goods are usually more secure.

From a humanitarian angle the local population shows strong motivation to return to contested areas once actual fighting has stopped and basic governmental structures are re-established, as returnees to the Kurdish Regional Government demonstrate (Interviewee 7, 2017). Therefore, stabilising measures such as the Japanese assistance provide essential steps towards reconciling population and strengthening government.

6.4 Japanese Motives

After outlining the Japanese development initiatives, including presenting the bigger picture as well as providing insight into their specific projects on the ground, the Japanese motives behind spending billions of US Dollars on assistance to Afghanistan and Iraq come under scrutiny. The government of Japan has clearly defined aims and incentives behind utilising work force, financial assets and technical equipment, which go beyond the ambition to establish amicable relations with both countries. Without questioning the overall concept of altruism, it most certainly is not the sole and most probably not the main reason behind Japan's

development assistance, neither is the good long lasting diplomatic relation between Japan and Afghanistan and Iraq. Therefore, the leading question of this subchapter is:

What are the incentives for the Japanese government to implement development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq?

The importance of understanding the motives behind Japan's actions is intrinsically connected between development initiatives and state-building. This fact might not seem clear at this point, but it will increasingly obvious as the chapter further unfolds. However, in anticipating the conclusion of this subchapter and developing the topic of the following section, contributing to stabilising the political and social structures in Afghanistan and Iraq through development is of immense interest to the Japanese government and economy. All nine interviews will serve as basis to outline the Japanese motives, which although similar show characteristic differences in the significance of their relevance between Afghanistan and Iraq. The intentions are manifold and difficult to rank in regard to importance. Analysing the interviews has led to a comprehensive list of motivating factors for Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq, which affect and are affected by each other. Therefore, only the first motive, namely securing access to oil, will be pointed out as the most important, whereas the order of the subsequent motives does not reflect their significance.

The trade of oil is the main reason to support Iraq. ... The stability of the Middle East is very important for importing the oil from stable countries. For Japan, we don't have any energy resources from inside the country, so stable resources all over the world is a very important policy for Japanese government (Interviewee 4, 2017).

The majority of all interviewees mentioned oil as the main motive to financially assist both Afghanistan and Iraq (Interviewee 4, 2017; Interviewee 6, 2018; Interviewee 8, 2017). The stability of the entire region depends on resolving the violent conflicts in both countries – and in that sense the secure access to crude oil. However, the assistance to Iraq is certainly motivated more by oil than the assistance to Afghanistan due to Iraq's large oil resources. Japan's economy is resource-intensive: without key components like crude oil its economy would not function the same way it does today. Hence, a certain resource dependency has been created to uphold the economic growth and stability within Japanese borders. In particular in regard to the shrinking Japanese population, the country's economy faces a significant financial

challenge, which will worsen within the following years (ESRI, 2002). Another economic burden such as a potential shortage of key-resources must be prevented by all means. Japan imports roughly 80% of its oil from the Middle East, which makes the stable development of Iraq a way to balance the relations of the entire region (Interviewee 6, 2017).

There are three crucial reasons why Iraq plays a decisive role in securing Japanese resources. Although direct imports from Iraq are currently comparatively low, show a strong tendency to increase over the upcoming years has been predicted (Interviewee 4, 2017). Due to the long lasting insecurity, Iraq's oil resources are insufficiently excavated and the supply chain to both run refineries and transport crude oil trading hubs such as the port in the south, lack efficiency (Interviewee 6, 2017). With the support of JICA projects, oil refineries are being repaired and reconstructed (for example in Baiji and Basra) and the international port in Basra being rehabilitated in order to deploy crude oil vessels and tankers (Interviewee 6, 2017; SIGIR, 2011). The port is of strategic importance to export oil and other natural resources to supply global demand. Hence, Japan sees a promising opportunity to enhance its resource security through supporting the expansion of Iraq's refining and transporting facilities, transforming the country into an attractive future exporter of oil and other resources.

Secondly, the resolution of the Iraqi violent conflict and augmentation of its political stability increases the regional stability in the Middle East. For decades the wider region has been troubled by fierce outbursts of crisis and unrest, taking place between two or more nation states or between two or more violent actors within one state. The ongoing regional instability, on the local smaller-scale or the larger geo-political scale – such as the tension between Saudi Arabia and Iran – hinders the secure and unimpaired access to resources and oil. The enmity between Shia and Sunni in Iraq mirrors these larger dynamics and further fuels the lack of security. Thus, Japan's development ambitions politically, economically, and socially stabilise Iraq, fostering a more steady and enduring neighbourhood (Interviewee 4, 2017). Japan and the international community see great potential in a stable Middle East, not only from a humanitarian point of view but also economically in terms of new investments and opportunities.

Thirdly, on the largest scale Japan sees the strategic importance of a secure and politically consolidated Iraq including the wider Middle Eastern region, related to a more balanced

worldwide oil market. “Stabilising the Middle East means stabilising the world market” (Interviewee 6, 2017). Iraq, a new and yet rather weak player, might be strengthened to enter and participate as a stronger actor, which would balance global prices. Japan recognises this factor as a chance to ease the process of meeting its oil demand, making the access more flexible and potentially economically more efficient. Consequently, there is no doubt that Japan is carefully considering all three motivating aspects when distributing development assistance – in particular to Iraq.

Strongly connected with upgrading and advancing means of crude oil production and transport are Japan’s motives in restoring energy stability and basic infrastructure. Electricity and road systems are needed in order to operate and maintain oil refineries and production sites and hence contribute to accomplish this aim. Whilst these infrastructure initiatives fall under allocated grant aid, more than 4.1 billion US Dollars are being disbursed to Iraq as a loan assistance to fulfil the same purpose. The duration of the loans varies between 20 and 40 years and underlie annual an interest rate between 1.2 and 1.5%. Drawn from Japan’s inflation statistics of the previous decade, the average annual inflation is located within the range of the annual interest rate of the government’s loan to Iraq, and predictions show a stabilising trend of annual inflation less than two percent for the coming years (Michelis, Iacoviello, 2016). Hence, the conclusion can be drawn that Japan will neither have economic advantages nor disadvantages from the ODA loan of over 4 billion US Dollars if the annual interest rate and the inflation of the Japanese Yen are equal in their percentage. No direct financial benefits can therefore be drawn neither from the loans in Iraq nor the grants in Afghanistan but there are several underlying factors, from which the Japanese government benefits.

Projects in Iraq and Afghanistan aim to develop the road systems and major transportation hubs. While the Basra port in Iraq was already mentioned, in Afghanistan the Kabul airport was enlarged and modernised by JICA’s involvement (Interviewee 1, 2017). Besides the fact that rehabilitated transportation and infrastructure facilities amplify means to import resources like oil and rare earths, it also opens new ways to eventually export and distribute Japanese goods. Additionally, in Afghanistan as well as in Iraq, Japanese contractors are engaged in construction and rehabilitation tasks, providing the own Japanese economy with a fertile ground to grow through the means of official developing assistance (Interviewee 9, 2017). These two factors are certainly a significant additional motivation factor.

There is a lot of investment also including Iraq. Japanese companies have been conducting a lot of project in these areas (Iraq and the Middle East). So the stableness of this area contributes to Japanese economy (Interviewee 4, 2017).

Not only do the Afghani and Iraqi economies rely on well-maintained infrastructure, but also the Japanese investors, which are operating especially within Iraq, depend on working transport facilities. Private sector investments, although they are low compared to other parts of the world, play a role in Iraq, where Sumitomo Corporation sells Toyota cars and Mitsubishi Hitachi Power Systems is involved in the construction of power plants (Interviewee 4, 2017). Japanese private investments resemble Japanese economic and therefore governmental interests in a symbolic way (which is particularly important in the Japanese culture context) as well as a serious one. Japan's economy carries a strong figurative importance through their products as they stand for perfection and technological innovation. Hence, the notion of national pride is related to economic performance within and beyond Japan's borders, meaning that the protection of economic investments is to be taken even more seriously. For Afghanistan current private investments are scarce due to the instable security situation. However, there is great interest from several Japanese companies to invest in Afghanistan in the future, in particular in the area of mining and the excavation of rare earths (Interviewee 9, 2017). Another more long-term advantage to investments is obtaining market shares in Afghanistan and Iraq, as Interviewee 2 (2017) explains in two steps:

One: to develop a kind of trade or investment relationship with the nation or diplomatic relation develop some relationship. Two is a business perspective. not only to loan money that will be returned with some interest but also to create a system where Japanese work Japanese materials are used in the process and where the system will now be depending hopefully on further business with Japan. (Interviewee 2, 2017).

JICA utilises ODA loans and grants as an instrument to enter new markets, which might not be profitable at this very moment but in the long term could turn out to be reliable and loyal locations (Interviewee 6, 2017). In the case of Iraq, Japan has invested in the foreign market already to some extent, where medical facilities were built in many parts of the country since the 1980s and which have needed to be supplied with Japanese replacement and maintenance materials since (Interviewee 6, 2017). For Japan this means a long lasting and beneficial assistance, which turned out to be a financial investment boosting the economy. In Afghanistan,

Japan is developing its economic interest with the aid of official development assistance to reach a new and potentially attractive market after the most drastic forms of insecurity are overcome. In order to withstand the strong Chinese economic ambitions in the Middle East and Central Asia, which are about to be expanded even further due to the establishment of the One Belt One Road Initiative, Japan might also have an additional motive in pursuing Afghanistan and Iraq as strategic economic partners.

From a geo-strategic and political point of view, not only does the development assistance to Afghanistan and Iraq offer possibilities to strengthen Japan's position in East Asia, but it also pleases its strongest ally, the United States. As an aftermath of the physical and institutional destruction caused by the intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, the US showed great interest in rebuilding the countries and enhancing their political capabilities in order to foster self-reliance. Their partners and allies were called to assist in this endeavour, from the military fight against terror to the reconstruction of the nations. After the Second World War, Japan's new constitution permitted the creation of a full-scale military force and strongly restricted every ambition to deploy troops abroad.

However, in 2004 Japan pledged to support the US 'war on terror' and for the first time since World War II sent troops to Samawa, Iraq. This was a largely humanitarian deployment of Japan Self-Defence Forces Iraq Reconstruction and Support Group, which were stationed in Iraq until 2006 and in Kuwait until 2008 (Interviewee 6, 2017; Fouse, 2007). This was a major step for Japan and symbolises the strong connection with the US. Due to the very limited military capabilities and the constitutional constraints, Japan assisted in the US foreign and military policy by initiating development assistance programmes (Interviewee 2, 2017). In supporting a strong and essential ally, an extra factor was added to Japan's motivation to assist with the development of Afghanistan and Iraq (Interviewee 8, 2017).

In summary, the arguments put forward to analyse Japan's motives of distributing development assistance lead to one specific finding: the stability of the Afghan and the Iraqi governments is of key importance to Japan. Achieving peace and political security in both countries would lead to a stronger regional stability, secure Japan's resource demands for oil, open new markets and economic opportunities, and strengthen its own position in East Asia. Japan presses ahead with post-conflict reconstruction efforts as it recognises the potential beneficial

outcome (Interviewee 5, 2017; Interviewee 7, 2017). Furthermore, previous research on Japanese ODA has determined very similar motives, emphasising national and private sector interests (Scheyvens, 2005:97). We have seen that through JICA's projects a broad spectrum of stabilising measures are promoted, from human capacity building, peace and security, education and healthcare, to infrastructure and economic growth. A scenario that will aid all interests is aimed for, as Japan will profit from advancements in state-building in Afghanistan as well as in Iraq.

6.5 State-Building and Development

This section represents the core subchapter of the analysis. It directly answers the main research of how Japan contributes to state-building initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq. So far, a comprehensive insight into the Japanese development initiatives has been presented and the Japanese motives behind their development efforts were revealed. Improved state-building to Afghanistan and Iraq has been identified as a keen interest to the Japanese government, as political stability in both countries promises financial advantages for Japan. However, the missing element between the theories conceptualising statehood and the methods analysing the Japanese development remains absent, leading to the central question:

How do development initiatives contribute to state-building?

The evaluation of all interviews disclosed that a certain set of development initiatives contribute to the establishment of political stability and state-building. Through JICA, the Japanese government utilises these mechanisms to transform developmental work in strengthening political structures. In this subchapter, vital information of the previous chapters on the background of Afghanistan and Iraq and the theoretic foundations of statehood are strongly intertwined with the interview results. Therefore, it is essential to recall these inputs when investigating the connection of development and state-building. The current instability in Afghanistan and Iraq derives from brutal conflicts between ethno-confessional parties, and the inability of the central governments to resolve and prevent violence. The establishment of rule of law and the monopoly on violence has not been achieved in both countries until today, leaving the population in a limbo of half-working political and social structures, which the

population cannot rely on and therefore has trouble in perceiving as legitimate (Interviewee 8, 2017; Sherman, 2008).

Japan openly states that it not only recognises official development assistance as a means to support state and nation-building, but also shows direct efforts to utilise these means in Afghanistan and Iraq. Hence, the government of Japan clearly argues for the link between development and state-building, as it outlines in its 2003 Official Development Assistance Charter.

In order to prevent conflicts from arising in developing regions, it is important to comprehensively address various factors that cause conflicts. As part of such undertakings, Japan will carry out ODA to achieve poverty reduction and the correction of disparities, as referred to above. In addition to assistance for preventing conflicts and emergency humanitarian assistance in conflict situations, Japan will extend bilateral and multilateral assistance flexibly and continuously for peace-building in accordance with the changing situation, ranging from assistance to expedite the ending of conflicts to assistance for the consolidation of peace and nation-building in post-conflict situations (Government of Japan, 2003:4).

Although actual fighting is still ongoing in both Afghanistan and Iraq, development assistance and the transformative process towards a post-conflict situation go hand in hand (Interviewee 5, 2017). Without development and the provision of basic social goods to the population, reconciliation and cease-fires are not likely, since the fighting parties need incentives to lay down their weapons. On the contrary, local regions where development initiatives come to a sudden termination might slip back into violence, decreasing the overall security situation as one interviewee mentioned in regard to Afghanistan (Interviewee 1, 2017).

The failed states of Afghanistan and Iraq, where insurgency groups control large parts of the area and population, are unable to meet the needs and demands of the people. The fact that the governments rely on foreign assistance to operate as a de facto state already indicates the gravity of state failure. Without Japan and other nations who are answering their appeal to support the reestablishment of their state structures, the governments would not survive and are therefore dependent on cooperation between ministries such as the one with JICA (Interviewee 4, 2017). Japanese JICA officials even define their development work as a direct opportunity to tackle terrorism and insecurity through the implementation of their programmes.

We think that all of these projects contribute to governance. Improving and organising the infrastructure is very important to develop the country, it is the very basis of Iraq and contributes to the stability of the Iraqi government (Interviewee 4, 2017).

Governmental stability and developmental initiatives in terms of improving infrastructure are mentioned as two sides of the same coin. Hence, what it comes down to in the core, is the Japanese provision of political goods and human needs. It was widely agreed by the interview partners that Japan takes the role of a middleman between the governments of Afghanistan and Iraq, who are unable to provide goods and services, and the local populations on the ground, to whom Japanese development serve as a substitute or at least complement (Interviewee 1, 2017; Interviewee 2, 2017; Interviewee 4, 2017; Interviewee 9, 2017). Through provision of these needs, goods, and services, Japan contributes to a state of improved stability on the ground and provides the local population with additional financial, social, and political opportunities to become a valuable part of society. The spread of terroristic activities such as an uprising by the Taliban, is somehow limited by introducing these new livelihoods for the population with the aid of infrastructural or agricultural projects (Interviewee 1, 2017).

As explained in the sections above, such projects are widely executed in Afghanistan and Iraq, targeting a large variety of different ministries and populations in numerous districts. In particular, JICA's development initiatives focus on providing those basic human needs, which are most crucial for the provision of short-term health and shelter, as well as targeting long-term improvements towards lasting stability and self-reliance. On the one hand, water and irrigation projects and efforts to improve the cultivation of crops and the efficiency of electricity, as well as the expansion of basic medical facilities, are short-term initiatives, which require rapid actions (Interviewee 4, 2017; Interviewee 7, 2017).

Such immediate development assistance means that Japan has assigned itself the role of an interim provider of governmental goods and services. Disaster relief activities also fall into the same category of spontaneously offering aid to people in need. The foreign development becomes the executive arm of the respective government which cannot provide for its own people anymore. However, these short-term ambitions are only fighting the symptoms and even though they have continued over a long time span, they are preventing the worsening of

the situation with little potential of sustainable improvement. Therefore, on the other hand, Japan has deployed long-term programmes as well, which contrast the immediate involvement in terms of duration and purpose.

Rather than treating symptoms, the core issues have been attempted to be alleviated. Infrastructural and educational projects carry the quality of enhancing economic opportunities due to newly built human capacities (Interviewee 4, 2017; Interviewee 6, 2017). Thus, Japanese development provides a long lasting ground for future self-reliance and self-sustainability for a shattered society. Training key stakeholders, such as the PEACE programme in Afghanistan, builds such new capacities for governmental officials who are employed in 18 different ministries (Interviewee 2, 2017). Due to the large number of ministries involved in the programme, a comprehensive improvement of the political representatives is made possible. Not only do the attendees of the PEACE programme apply an advanced set of knowledge of their field of duty, but also the trust and internal acceptance of politicians is increased by their new expertise. Hence, such training and education initiatives, which are also implemented on a large scale in Iraq, support the quality of ministerial work, might resolve structural complexities and improve governmental legitimacy. “The PEACE project can contribute to the political stability” (Interviewee 9, 2017).

One additional aspect of long-term education and capacity building programmes is often forgotten or underestimated. By strengthening the personal skill-set, professional abilities, academic know-how and thus widening the economic outlook, new perspectives are given to the individual. For a collective community that is empowered by new a vision, a positive psychological impact can light the spark of hope for an entire nation. Consequently, the hopeful prospects, which are communicated to the population of Afghanistan and Iraq by Japan’s development, carry both actual and mental benefits. This way, alternative opportunities can be offered to marginalised communities who are either involved in paramilitary activities or in illicit businesses, such as the plantation of narcotics, which particularly poses an issue in regard to Afghanistan’s opium production (Rubin, 2008:34).

However, one potential problematic factor when it comes to rebuilding state-structures is to be unaware of already existing structures. The conflict and the insecurity in Afghanistan and Iraq have certainly caused widespread damage to the political systems in place, but when

central governmental structures are lacking, alternate local and more traditional ways of organisation emerge from a bottom-up level. These practices must be identified and incorporated in the transformation of statehood in order to be recognised by the local communities, which means these states should not be regarded as ‘terra nullius’, a place where no functioning institutional structures existed before (Cliffe, Manning, 2008:165). Additionally, interview partners called for a stronger involvement of the youth, which makes up a significant number of the population in Afghanistan and Iraq, and often is being left out marginalised (Interviewee 3, 2017). These two aspects in particular have to be further added to the strategy of short and long-term development projects, which contribute to state-building.

Several additional Japanese development initiatives have been identified from the content of the interviews, which do not clearly fall in either of the two categories, but likewise play principle roles in the state-building efforts. The first one directly relates to the reinforcement of the executive branch as Japan was involved in the training of police forces in Afghanistan and Iraq (Interviewee 9, MOFA Japan, 2006). Although the precise number of trained police staff is undisclosed, it is known some were trained inside Japan whilst others were educated in third countries such as the United Arab Emirates and Turkey, and in the case of Afghanistan, special focus was on empowering female police forces (Interviewee 9, 2017).

Apart from the legislature and the judiciary, the executive marks the third branch in a modern state, and the separation of these powers is crucial for the provision of democracy as well as for the prevention of abuse of authority. Hence, the restoration of the independent and principled executive power is of paramount importance to state-building, improved political stability, and the fight against corruption.

Secondly, there has been a cooperative exchange of best practices between the Japanese Minister of Finance and their Afghan and Iraqi counterparts. The formulation of policies was improved and financial planning mechanisms were introduced (Interviewee 4, 2017). Financial resilience and state-building might at first glance seem far apart, but the contrary is the case when considering that social expenditure is utilised to cover political goods and services. Without budgetary planning and financial foresight, governmental costs will not be optimised in a way beneficial for the majority of the population. Furthermore, debt management programmes were supported by Japan, additionally reducing the huge sums owed by the Iraqi

government (MOFA Japan, 2006). The economic future of both countries has the potential to stabilise the governmental and societal situation by using economic management and planning instruments. Therefore, also this effort relates and contributes directly to state-building.

Lastly, Japan supported initiatives aimed to demobilise former insurgency fighters and reintegrate them into society (Interviewee 2, 2017). Offering alternative perspectives and new non-violent opportunities to ex-combatants bears great potential to enhance state-building, as it has three simultaneous effects. The intensity of fighting and the actual number of combatants decrease, as the laying down of arms and peaceful reconciliation represents a strong example for fighters who are still active. Further, it contains a positive psychological side effect for the individual that their non-violent efforts in society are valued and that change is possible.

Thus, the individual will emerge out of hopelessness and realise a new perspective, encouraging a generation of hope dearly needed in Afghanistan and Iraq. Reintegration of former combatants might pose serious challenges and specific programmes have to be established and professionally maintained to achieve the desired outcome. However, the contribution to peace-building, and therefore consequently the aligned contribution to state-building, is crucial, as conflict resolution which involves the strengthening and empowerment of the civil society (and reintegration is a means to this end) is more likely to be successful (Spurk, 2010; Paffenholz, 2010).

These indicators for Japanese development initiatives that are aiding the state-building efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq are multi-faceted and thus comprise a comprehensive whole-of-nation approach. Although the focus lies with the national approach and the strengthening of governmental institutions, the needs of both the individual and civil society are aimed to be integrated in the process. The role of traditional and civilian actors in conflict resolution and peace-building is an indispensable factor for state-building in Afghanistan and Iraq (Interviewee 5, 2017; Borchgrevink, Harpviken, 2010:253).

NGOs and civil society organisations are also targeted by the Japanese development assistance through training programmes and the formation of new financial opportunities; however, support in the field could be improved (Interviewee 4, 2017). Nevertheless, Japan under-

stands state-building through development as a wide-ranging endeavour which needs to be all-inclusive. It reaches from enhancing political governmental stability and rule of law, to the inclusion of different ethnic and religious groups from a broad civil society, to enabling economic progress via infrastructure, safety, and security. An overall stability and resilience is the overall aim, which cannot function without peace and state-building.

Thus, a 'development cycle' is established by Japan. It starts with development assistance and chances for investment, which in return lead to an empowered civil society, new market opportunities and the establishment of governmental institutions, which give the country stability and legitimacy. In the long-term, Japan itself will profit from the stability it promoted and advocated, when its non-military soft-power approach yields the collaboration with a geo-strategic partner who supports the oil supplies and is on the verge of becoming a profitable market. The strategy of deploying ambassadors of development rather than messengers of war works: After the violent conflict is resolved, Japan will be remembered as the ally who helped in great need rather than as a military opponent or 'vicious liberator'.

In summary, Japanese development clearly leads to the building of statehood in Afghanistan and Iraq, in direct and indirect, short and long-term perspective. The intertwined nexus of the state, civil society, and the private sector operate in a fundamentally intertwined manner, and Japan targets the enhancement of all of them. The human needs of the individual are met by Japanese assistance, which acts as a substitute of the state that is unable to provide for its citizen. Therefore, short-term relief and long-term assistance are combined to avoid the outbreak of future violence through providing alternatives to war and new perspectives for the population. Hence, Japan contributes to the state-building and the strengthening of sovereignty and resilience of the governments in Afghanistan and Iraq, which in return offer future financial and strategic opportunities for Japan to yield the investments of the past.

6.6 The Japanese Success Story?

The connection between contributions to state-building in Afghanistan and Iraq and the Japanese development initiatives has been established; through the Japanese multi-faceted assistance structures of statehood are being strengthened and re-established. Nevertheless, the

pressing question remains if the Japanese approach is a success story. In particular, against the background of arguing that the situation in Afghanistan and Iraq has not significantly improved over the last decade despite strong Japanese involvements, the following leading question of this subsection becomes increasingly meaningful.

How successful are Japanese development initiatives?

Clearly, this research does not have the capabilities to answer the question of success from a holistic angle. However, as the question has significant importance in general but was not the specific focus of the Master's thesis, it will still be elucidated. Again, this will be performed by analysing the content of the interviews but opening the spectrum a little further to shed light on a broader discourse.

Deriving from the overall statements and notions of the interviews, the interview participants mentioned that the Japanese development involvements yielded at least some degree of success. One main reason, which is described by several interviewees, is that trust between the governments and the people has been established and the impression of shared responsibilities has emerged (Interviewee 2, 2017; Interviewee 4, 2017; Interviewee 6, 2017). Communication between the Japanese government and the Iraqi government has been particularly praised as a unique and beneficial outcome of the cooperation (Interviewee 4, 2017). Indeed, a transparent and open communication is key to assessing needs, sharing information, and coordinating the management of resources efficiently. Although the governments of Afghanistan and Iraq are weak and fail in executing all the required components to govern over its people, Japan relies on their direct collaboration since without that no development assistance would be possible.

However, a certain lack of communication and a troubling level of mismanagement of development assistance was mentioned in regards to the consultation between donor countries (Interviewee 2, 2017). The various development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq of numerous countries seem to follow different standards when it comes to the construction of roads or bridges, applying different styles and not implementing a uniformity (Interviewee 2, 2017). This complicates the sustainable and expedient reconstruction of infrastructure and other sectors. Thus, rather than blindly following individual approaches and efforts, the donor coun-

tries must not only coordinate their single projects and the specific instruments at stake, but also their overall grand strategy, to collectively identify needs and acknowledge the interconnectedness of the different fields of applying development.

Interviewee 2 (2017) additionally mentioned the great importance of connecting to the people. The Japanese development initiatives aims to directly targeting individuals and communities and establishing trust is the key to success. The aforementioned focus on human security, the civilian aspect in state-building, and the economic and political empowerment of the society strongly indicate that the role of the people must not be underestimated. Thus, the involvement of the civil society in the process of implementing development cannot be stressed enough. Without the local communities' support, international actors cannot achieve their ambitions through soft power, as the situation would require persuasive and pressuring means to push for the intended aim. In contrast, although Interviewee 6 (2017) has mentioned that projects directly target local communities, other statements criticised this process.

If you get the community consent if you get the community involved if you get the community's trust the community understands why it's important they will help you to protect it (development programmes) and take care of the things as well. I think that's a bit of a problem because its addressed maybe at the wrong way at times. So again I think that the biggest problem is the lack of the understanding what's needed and the lack of long-term vision going back to what I was saying (Interviewee 2, 2017).

This critique calls for better practices and actions. On the one side it reflects on the lack of community involvement when it comes to the identification and assessment of needs, which is a challenge in itself since the process requires a certain degree of security and collaboration with the national government. On the other side it addresses the issue of short-sightedness, not adequately aiming for long-term commitment and thus creating harmful dependencies without building real capacity. Once more, in this case the international and Japanese development cannot stand alone, representing the only variable to the equation, as other crucial aspects must be taken into consideration as well. Amongst others they are the overall security situation, economic capabilities, political power, and military dynamics. In relation to long-term commitment, capacity building projects such as the PEACE programme were mentioned as very successful initiatives, directly targeting governmental officials who are in the position to implement positive changes (Interviewee 6, 2017; Interviewee 3, 2017). Furthermore, Ja-

pan seems to organise its initiatives in accordance with its specific strengths, reaching from addressing technological advancement, to improving infrastructure, in addition to the augmenting the cultivation and production of rice (Interviewee 1, 2017). The appreciation for these types of programmes originates anew from the successful organisation and execution of the training but predominantly on the factor that individual stakeholders are being equipped with enhanced know-how.

From building capacities to transferring knowledge, technology, and skills, on agriculture or technical applications, the successful and sustainable long-term social and economic improvement comes down to interacting with the population. Hence, systematic change and development consists of the sum of single individual successes in empowering people, to stabilise communities, and to build states.

Academically and analytically it is challenging to investigate and identify the direct positive impacts of Japanese development initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, it is also difficult to imagine a situation without the Japanese assistance, as it is indeterminable how much worse the conditions might be. Nevertheless, it is true that the neither in Afghanistan nor in Iraq the situation has improved enormously over the last decade.

Therefore, concluding the question of successful Japanese development to both countries exclusively depends on the point of consideration. From the current level of knowledge provided by the interviews, the reasons for a success are as valid as the arguments against it. Further and more exclusive research on single projects could help to determine the answer, although the entire situation remains obscure.

Drawing from all the interviews, the factor behind the cloudiness of questioning the Japanese success of implementing development programmes to Afghanistan and Iraq, lies in the fluid interplay of the various factors determining the very concept of success. This recognition does not only carry analytical but also practical value, as it should be considered further to improve the development initiatives and consequently also the ability to continue supporting the state-building efforts. Against this background, the last analytical section will be discussing the suggestions from the interviewees and transforming already acquired findings into identified lessons and recommendations.

6.7 Lessons and Recommendations

The previous six subchapters have analysed the situation, the specific development initiatives, the Japanese motives, the connection between development and state-building, and the successful implications of Japan's assistance to Afghanistan and Iraq. As well as highlighting positive aspects of development, criticism has also been heard and covered throughout the previous pages. In complementing the various voices and remarks to a thorough and comprehensive closing, this last section is dedicated to illustrate lessons and recommendations that have been identified during the process of analysing the interview contents. Consequently, the last analytical question guiding this section read as follows:

What are lessons learned and recommendations to improve the future of Japanese development initiatives?

On a more general remark and before going into detail, discussing a total of four identified recommendations, the development initiatives call for a more effective self-reliance and a stronger self-sustainability. Deriving from multiple direct statements (Interviewee 5, 2017; Interviewee 2, 2017; Interviewee 6, 2017; Interviewee 7, 2017) and from the overall indirect essence of the content analysis, development initiatives, state-building, and conflict resolution was defined as means towards establishing the key to success through promoting self-sufficiency and reliance through different channels.

However, the final ambition of being able to sufficiently and individually sustain oneself, the community, and the state remains unchanged and indispensable, as is also mentioned by the literature (Acemoglu, Robinson, 2013; Call, 2008; Papagianni, 2008; Goodhand, 2006; Spurk, 2010). Thus, against this introductory remark, which also stands as a basic prerequisite for the following recommendations, four explicit proposals are presented that would improve and accelerate development towards enhanced self-reliance.

First, identifying needs is setting a foundation for precisely targeted and successful development initiatives. Japan is already conducting needs-based analyses to determine which development measures should be deployed; however, extending these efforts would increase the efficacy of the programmes. Not only does the assessment of needs improve the quality and

accuracy of the disbursement of development initiatives, it covers one additional factor that is equally important. Focussing on the necessities and essentials puts the local community in the centre of attention, integrating individuals and civil society in the process of development management, thus creating the notion of mutual respect and appreciation (Interviewee 1, 2017; Interviewee 7, 2017).

Public support would arguably improve once people feel that their voices are heard and their needs are being taken seriously, which automatically improves the local acceptance of the international support. The target group behind development then shifts from being a sole recipient of aid and development assistance to becoming a valuable cooperative partner that has a beneficial effect on lasting success. Furthermore, this situation would ease access to foreign markets as the society has already made positive associations with the donor country and its representatives.

The assessments of needs should further be extended, not only focussing on personal and individual aspects but also including a broader range of areas such as the economic market, entrepreneurship, and the private sector (Interviewee 2, 2017; Interviewee 5, 2017). Investigating potential opportunities to enhance larger financial structures or emphasising the enhancement of certain lacking capacities through trainings and programmes is an additional step that should determine the implementation of the development agenda. To mention only one concrete example, the training and application of needs assessment methods for local officials in Afghanistan has revealed that none of the 13 public hospitals in Kabul contained a trauma relief unit (Interviewee 5, 2017). In particular in regards to the reintegration of ex-combatants into society, but also in order to heal and reconciliation a war-affected society as a whole, trauma relief is an essential mechanism to ease and overcome psychological hardship. Professional units were deployed at several hospitals as a consequence and in addition the training of local stakeholders to identify and report needs was enhanced (Interviewee 5, 2017). These means of community engagement shall be further extended and professionalised in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Second, there is a lack of communication and collaboration amongst various international, national, and local entities when it comes to the planning and implementation of development initiatives (Interviewee 5, 2017). Approaches are often followed in a unilateral manner, dis-

regarding the strategies and actions of other developmental counterparts or potential partners within Afghanistan and Iraq. For instance, accounts from the infrastructure sector show that Japan is not sufficiently coordinating its programmes with other donor countries such as the US or Germany, leading to problematic constructional differences of roads (Interviewee 2, 2017). The success of single projects is thus being compromised as funds are not effectively utilised or even being wasted. In weak states such as Afghanistan and Iraq, where the civilian population suffers from the insufficient provision of political goods and services to an extent where joining armed groups seems to be a viable option, international resources must be handled with greatest care. Otherwise, neither the security situation, nor humanitarian conditions will change to the better.

An important step towards accomplishing the safeguarding of funds as well as the demand for an active and better collaboration and communication between actors is the recognition of a bigger picture (Interviewee 2, 2017). Behind every developmental project hides not only the relative motivation of the donor country but also a larger strategy, which when thought through rigorously yields the economic, social, and political development of an entire country or even region. Yet the numerous solo efforts of different stakeholders often do not complement or at times hinder each other.

Therefore, combined and collective efforts between international donors, the national government, and civil society organisations and actors must be emphasised in the organisation and execution of every kind of development. In order to exemplify the importance of looking beyond single projects, two cases were specifically mentioned where an insufficient foresight led to ill success. In one account, without measures to stimulate the labour market and more emphasis on job creation the implementation of training and education programmes will lack the intended results (Interviewee 2, 2017). Another example criticises the acquisition and distribution of computer devices, without also providing the necessary training to operate them (Interviewee 2, 2017). Thus, only collaboration and foresightedness will enable the desired lasting and beneficial impacts of development.

Third, a long-term focus and far-reaching blueprint is required (Interviewee 5, 2017; Interviewee 6; 2017). Being connected to the previous recommendation of strengthening strategic collaboration, more focus shall be put on the training of skills, capacity building efforts, and

the ability to be independent from foreign assistance (Interviewee 4, 2017; Interviewee 7, 2017). In the long run, donor countries aim to terminate their assistance and benefit from the established level of security and prosperity economically or geo-strategically. Therefore, the enabling of a situation of self-reliance and self-government stands at the end of development initiatives. Over recent years, Japan has proven to be deeply engaged in the advancement and support of long-term programmes, including training and the empowerment of the society. However, further efforts must be entertained, promoting the advantages of long-term success and commitment. One option would be the active role of Japan as an advocator and prime example of long-term cooperation instead of only short-term disaster relief.

Fourth, the last recommendation calls for future research into the field of Japanese development in Afghanistan and Iraq (Interviewee 3, 2017). As mentioned in 6.6, it is very difficult to determine how successful the Japanese development initiatives were in reality. Nevertheless, it is vital for the improvement of Japanese development strategies to investigate lessons identified and lessons learned, as apparently no such comprehensive assessment has been conducted in the past (Interviewee 3, 2017). Roughly, this research would require a detailed field study in Afghanistan and Iraq, visiting sites where development programmes were implemented and interviewing beneficiaries, training participants, and local stakeholders who have experienced the outcomes of Japanese projects. To become more effective, efficient, and beneficial for all, the evaluation and progression of development strategies is indispensable.

This Master's thesis aims to contribute to the development discourse as a whole and the Japanese case in particular within its operative limitations. The research question was answered by determining the practical connection between development and state-building by the means of analysing Japanese initiatives in Afghanistan and Iraq, which show clear characteristics of state-building. In addition, the nexus between development, conflict resolution, and state-building has been illuminated, achieving the specific aim of the research. The remaining conclusion chapter will serve the purpose of reflecting on the particular findings and illustrate them graphically.

7 Conclusion

This research has specified and critically assessed a complex set of factors in a problematic setting that is grounded in social, economic, and political hardship. These factors emerge from the divergence between inconsistent interpretations of statehood as well as the volatile and circumstantial manifestations of governance in reality. Investigating academic solutions and findings to add practical value to the debate is as difficult as challenging, due to the risk of jumping to generalised conclusions and getting lost in a normativity discussion.

In acknowledging these general difficulties, the precision of statements as well as logically structuring the Master's thesis has been of utmost importance. After introducing the topic and formulating the question and aim, the broad setting was described by offering an insight into the conflictual and instable situations in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as the profound Japanese development agenda. The following theoretical chapter outlined the multitude of concepts and theories on statehood and the reasons why political structures deteriorate. Besides the detailed remarks on the interpretation of various approaches, the theory chapter emphasised one central practical implication: There is no universally valid model of statehood, therefore there is no exclusive strategy to state-building. Subsequently, the overall methodological design as well as the specific implementation of conducting the empirical research was discussed with regard to practicality, reliability, and ethical considerations. The analysis of raw data deriving from semi-structured interviews resembles the heart of the thesis, as the connection between development initiatives and state-building has been verified and surrounding conditions have been explained.

In clearly defining the research aim, the leading question, and the specific analytical parameters, this thesis does not make any claim to completeness but nevertheless offers concrete findings. Two specific conclusions arose from the analysis of the interviews and are illustrated graphically: the interaction between stable government, inclusive civil society, and profitable private sector and the nexus between development initiatives, state-building, and conflict resolution.

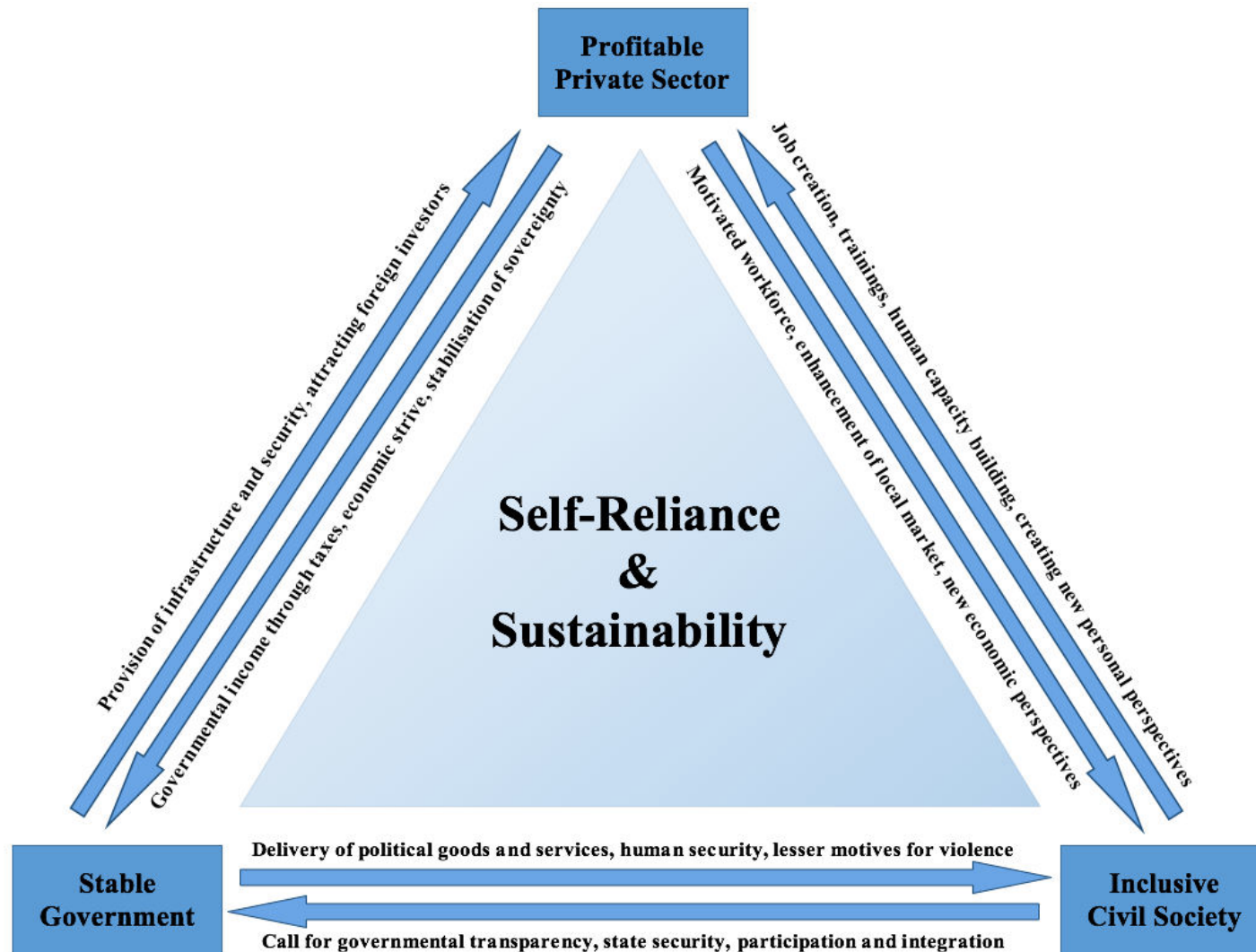


Diagram 1: The interaction between political government, civil society, and private sector to foster self-reliance and sustainability

Analysing the case of Afghanistan and Iraq, the call for political, economic, and civil self-reliance and sustainability surfaced, and with it the interconnectivity between the three intertwined areas of government, society, and the private sector. Almost all interview partners and the related literature suggest that one of these aspects imposes a higher priority over the others. This raises the rather rhetorical question which aspect holds the most importance; does first and foremost a strong and independent civil society lead to peace and stability (Paffenholz, 2010), or is the strengthening and building of states the core necessity of ending insecurity and conflicts (Call, 2008), or is fostering economic incentives and erasing poverty thorough financial improvement the central component (Acemoglu, Robinson, 2013)?

This research has determined that it does not depend on any of these three aspects separately, but rather on the successful interplay and interaction amongst them. A stable government provides the infrastructure and secure environment for business opportunities and foreign investments, whilst at the same time delivering political goods and services to its people, securing livelihoods and human safety. The civil society is the basis of state legitimacy and once being inclusive it acts as a protector of governmental stability through participation and integration. Additionally, the population fuels the economy, provides productive labour force, and offers motivating incentives. Lastly, a profitable private sector yields taxes for the government, securing its financial sustainability, and stimulates new personal opportunities and economic perspectives for the civil society.

Acknowledging and acting upon this interdependency is the key to self-reliance. None of these three components is the most essential, as neither of them will flourish and function sustainably without the other. Therefore, the debate over which of these three aspects truly enhances peace, stability, and security becomes obsolete. Yet, this finding does not change the importance of analysing and challenging the roles and responsibilities of state governments, civil societies, and private economies as constant questioning is needed to remain self-critical and reflective. Neither does it limit the ability to identify areas of discontent or imbalance, which might cause political, civilian or financial crises. However, the interactive trinity does open a new and more comprehensive way of collaboration. As a last consequence, it also opts the possibility of achieving resilience and prevent conflicts, as the interaction does not stop at the strive towards internal self-reliance but involves the related ambitions of conflict resolution, state-building, and development.

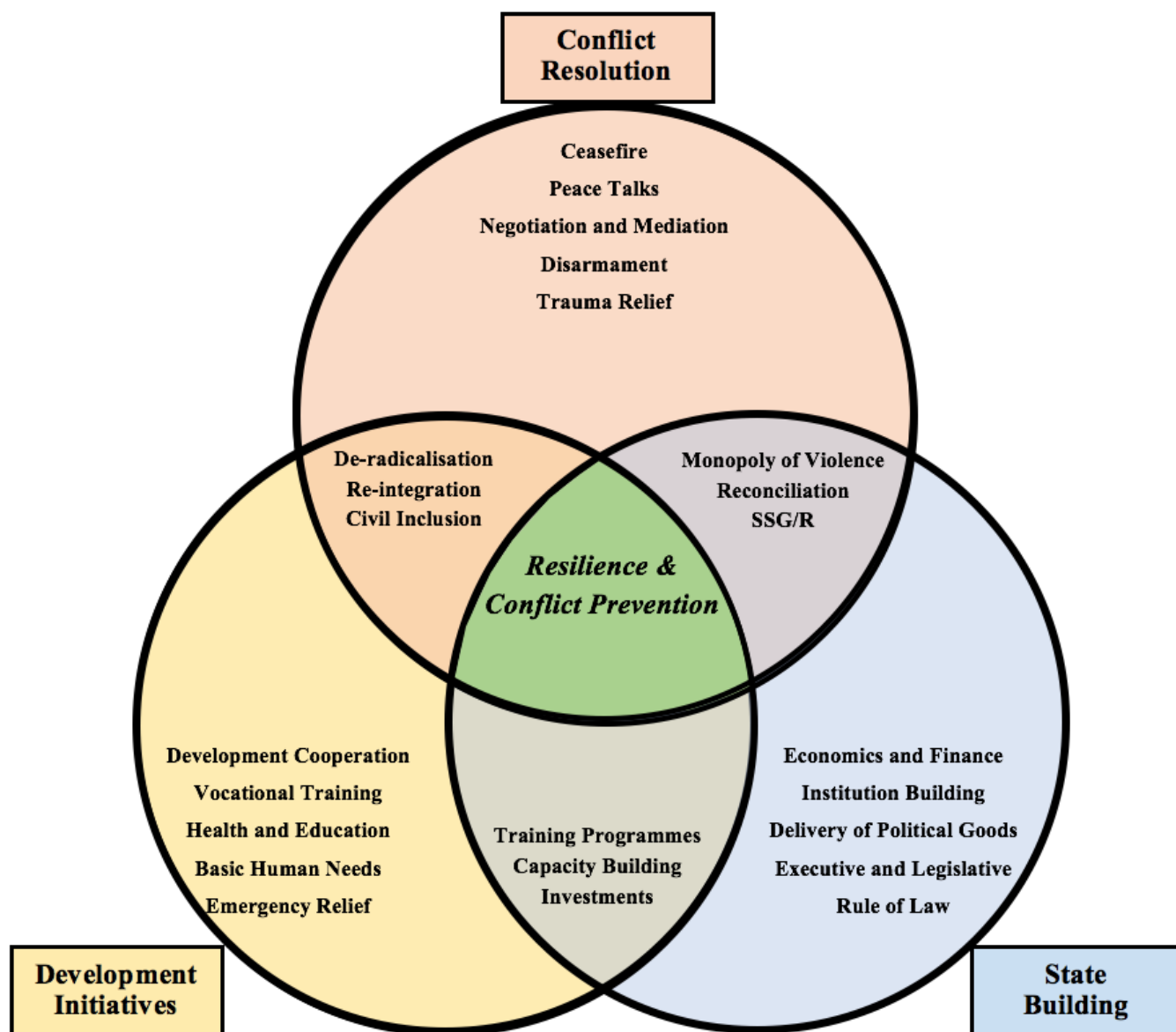


Diagram 2: The nexus between development initiatives, state-building, and conflict resolution.

In addition to validating the need for acknowledging the interaction between the political, civilian, and economic entities in order to enable self-reliance and sustainability, the interview findings produced evidence for a nexus between development, state-building, and conflict resolution. These three aspects imply the notion of being distinct and unrelated areas, which stand for themselves. When looking at the single tasks of these three large fields, they indeed show differences in strategies and approaches, reaching from the rule of law, to vocational trainings, or disarmament.

However, in recalling the findings of the analysis to keep the larger and more comprehensive picture in mind at the same time as increasing the community and collaboration between different actors, the individual components of development, state-building, and conflict resolution shall be attached and interrelated to each other. Certain overlapping points do exist between the areas, which do not only need to be highlighted academically but also practically. Thus, combining efforts and strategies and establishing conceptual links between single efforts would create a larger and more wide-ranging set of action.

As indicated in the analytical assessment of the connection between development and state-building, training programmes, capacity building, and financial investments are implemented in Afghanistan and Iraq by the means of the Japanese development agenda, whilst consequently contributing to the re-establishment of statehood in these countries. Other development initiatives might include measures of civil inclusion, re-integrating ex-combatants into society, and de-radicalisation efforts. Clearly, those activities have a direct positive impact on conflict resolution, as new structural opportunities and personal perspectives are being created to enhance reconciliation. In addition, through establishing and maintaining the monopoly of force and processes of security sector governance and reform (SSG/R), conflicts are resolved in a lasting manner and political sovereignty and legitimacy is being strengthened.

Thus, the final conclusion of this Master's thesis is founded on the existing connection between development initiatives and contributions to state-building but goes beyond that argument and further includes conflict resolution to the equation. Finally, the theoretical linkage and practical collaboration between inclusive development, self-reliant state-building, and comprehensive conflict resolution will enable resilience and prevent conflicts before they even arise.

Reference List

Print Media References

Acemoglu, D., & Robinson, J. A. (2013): “Why Nations Fail – The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty” Profile Books Ltd, London, UK.

Alesina, A., Easterly W., Matuszeski J., (2006): “Artificial States”, Harvard University, New York University and Harvard University, February 2006.

Amin, H., (2007): “Afghan-Japan Relations: Lands under the rising sun”, published by the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in Tokyo, Morimoto Printing Company.

Amiri, R., E., Soltani, F., (2011): “Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait as Turning Point in Iran-Saudi Relationship”, Journal of Politics and Law, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 2011.

Assarroudi, A., Nabavi, F. H., Armat, M. R., Ebadi, A., Vaismoradi, M., (2018): “Directed qualitative content analysis: the description and elaboration of its underpinning methods and data analysis process”, Journal of Research in Nursing 2018, Vol. 23(1) 42–55, Sage Publications.

Bauer, S., (2015): “Kurdish political parties in Iraq”, In: Taucher, W., Vogl, M., Webinger, P., “The Kurds History – Religion – Language – Politics”, 2015, Austrian Ministry of the Interior, Vienna, Austria.

Berger, R., (2013): “Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research”, Qualitative Research 2015, Vol. 15 (2), Sage Publications.

Borchgrevink, K., Harpviken K. B., (2010): “Afghanistan: Civil Society Between Modernity and Tradition”, in Paffenholz, T., (2010): “Civil Society & Peacebuilding”, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London, UK.

Bosin, Y. V., (2009): “Afghanistan, resistance to 19th-century British invasion”, in “International Encyclopaedia of Revolution and Protest”, ed. Immanuel Ness, Blackwell Publishing, 2009, pp. 15–16.

Boulding, K. E., (1989): “Three Faces of Power”, Newbury Park, Sage Publications, California, USA.

Breuer, F., (2010): “Reflexive Grounded Theory. Eine Einführung für die Forschungspraxis”, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften/Springer.

Call, C., (2008): “Ending Wars, Building States”, In: Call, C. T., & V. Wyeth, eds. (2008), “Building States to Build Peace”, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London.

Chambliss, D. F., Schutt R. K., (2013): “Making Sense of the Social World: Methods of Investigation”, 4th ed, Pine Forge Press, Sage Publications.

Cliffe, S., Manning, N., (2008): “Practical Approaches to Building State Institutions”, In: Call, C. T., & V. Wyeth, eds. (2008), “Building States to Build Peace”, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London.

Cockburn, P., (2016): “Chaos & Caliphate Jihadis and the West in the Struggle for the Middle East”, OR Books, New York, USA, and London, UK.

Coll, S., (2004): “Ghost Wars, The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001”, Penguin Books.

Collins, J. J., (2011): “Understanding War in Afghanistan”, National Defence University Press, Washington D.C., USA.

Creswell, J. W., (2014): “Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches”, Fourth Edition, London: Sage Publications, London, UK.

Crotty, M., (1998): “The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process”, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, London, UK.

Dannecker, P., Vossemer, C., (2014): “Qualitative Interviews in der Entwicklungsforschung. Typen und Herausforderungen”. In: Dannecker, P., Englert, B., “Qualitative Methoden in der Entwicklungsforschung”, Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna, Austria.

DuPee, M., (2017): “The Taliban Stones Commission and the Insurgent Windfall from Illegal Mining,” CTC Sentinel 10, no. 3, March 2017.

Escobar, A., (2016): “Die Hegemonie der Entwicklung (1992)”, In: Schmidt, L. / Schröder, S. (2016): “Entwicklungstheorien. Klassiker, Kritik und Alternativen,” Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna, Austria.

ESRI, (2002): “Economic Impacts of Population Aging in Japan”, Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, Economic and Social Research Institute, June 2002, Tokyo, Japan.

Fay, B., (1987): “Critical Social Science: Liberation and its Limits”, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

FDD’s Long War Journal, (2018): “DoD releases Afghan district data, continues to withhold other key information”, published online by Bill Roggio, 31 January 2018, available at: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2018/01/dod-releases-afghan-district-data-continues-to-withhold-other-key-information.php>, (accessed 8 February 2018).

Fischer, K., Hödl, G., Parnreiter, C., (2010): “Entwicklung – eine Karotte, viele Esel?”, In Fischer, K., Hödl, G., Maral-Hanak, I., Parnreiter, C., “Entwicklung und Unterentwicklung, Eine Einführung in Probleme, Theorien und Strategien”, 4. Auflage, Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna, Austria.

Foucault, M., (2002): “The Subject and Power”. in Foucault, M., “Power: Volume 3: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984”, (J Faubion, ed; R Hurley, trs), Penguin, London, UK.

Fouse, D., (2007): “Japan’s Dispatch of the Ground Self Defence Force to Iraq: Lessons Learned”, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, July 2007.

Freire, Paulo (2016): “Kein Abschied vom Traum einer humaneren Welt (1992)”, In: Schmidt, L. / Schröder, S. (2016): “Entwicklungstheorien. Klassiker, Kritik und Alternativen”, Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna, Austria.

Froschauer, U., Lueger, M., (2003): “Das qualitative Interview”, Facultas, Vienna, Austria.

Gauster, M., (2017): “Migration, Flucht und Sicherheit in Afghanistan: Perspektiven für Internationales Engagement 2017”, IFK Monitor April 2017, Republik Österreich, Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung und Sport, Vienna, Austria.

Goodhand, J., (2006): “Aiding Peace? The Role of NGOs in Armed Conflict”, A Project of the International Peace Academy, Practical Action Publishing, Warwickshire, UK.

Government of Japan, (2003): “Japan’s Official Development Assistance Charter”, Government of Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Economic Co-operation Bureau, August 29, 2003.

Guilliard, J., (2016): “Islamisierung in Folge von Krieg und Besatzung”, In: Rupp, J., Feichtinger, W., “Der Ruf des Dschihad Theorien, Fallstudien und Wege aus der Radikalität”, Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie (Band 13/2016), Republik Österreich, Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung und Sport, Vienna, Austria.

Hirsch, J., Kannankulam, J., Wissel, J., (2008): “Der Staat der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Zum Staatsverständnis im Anschluss an Karl Marx” Baden-Baden, Nomos.

Hopf, C., (1991): “Zwischen Betrug und Wahrhaftigkeit: Fragen der Forschungsethik in der Soziologie”, In: “Soziologie. Mitteilungsblatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie”, (1991), p. 174-191.

Hopf, C., (2004): “Forschungsethik und qualitative Forschung”. In U. Flick, E. von Kardorff, & I. Stienke, “Qualitative Forschung, Ein Handbuch” (S. 589-600), Rowohlt, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Germany.

Hsieh, H. F., Shannon S. E., (2005): “Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis”, Qualitative Health Research, Vol. 15 No. 9, November 2005, p. 1277-1288, Sage Publications.

Hsiung, P. C., (2008): “Teaching Reflexivity in Qualitative Interviewing”, Teaching Sociology, Vol. 36, July 2008, Sage Publications.

Human Rights Watch, (2011): “Getting Away with Torture, The Bush Administration and Mistreatment of Detainees”, July 2011, Human Rights Watch, New York, USA.

Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management, (2017): “The Year in Review Iraq 2017”, MENA-Team, National Defence Academy, Austrian Ministry of Defence, December 2017, available at: http://www.bundesheer.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/fact_sheet_irq_65a_engl_review_2017.pdf, (accessed 24 March 2018).

JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency), (2016): “JICA 2016 Annual Report”, JICA, Tokyo, Japan.

JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency), (2010): “Overview of Reconstruction Assistance for Iraq”, Japan International Cooperation Agency Middle East and Europe Department, April 2010, Tokyo, Japan.

Kaldor M., (2007): “New & Old Wars”, Second Edition, Stanford University Press, 2007, Stanford, USA.

Katzman, K., Thoams, C., (2017): “Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy”, Congressional Research Service, RL30588, December 13, 2017.

Knutsen, L. T., (2011): “A history of International Relations theory”, Second Edition, Manchester University Press, Bell & Bain Ltd., Glasgow, UK.

Kvale, S., Brinkman, S., (2009): “Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing”, Sage Publications, London, UK.

Lamnek, S., (2010): “Qualitatives Interview”. In: Lamnek, Siegfried: “Qualitative Sozialforschung“. Weinheim: Beltz, 329-407.

Lederach, J. P., (2010): “Building Peace, Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies”, United States Institute of Peace, Washington D.C., USA.

May, T., (2011): “Social Research, Issues Methods and Process”, 4th edition, Open University Press, New York, USA.

Michelis, A., D., Iacoviello, M., (2016): “Raising an inflation target: The Japanese experience with Abenomics”, European Economic Review, Elsevier B.V.

MOFA Japan, (2006): “Japan’s Assistance for the Reconstruction of Iraq”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Government of Japan, July 2006, Tokyo, Japan.

MOFA Japan, (2015): “Japan’s Assistance in Afghanistan: Towards Self-Reliance”, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Government of Japan, April 2015, Tokyo, Japan.

Mueller, J., (2005): “The Iraq Syndrome”, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 84, No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 2005, pp. 44-54, Council on Foreign Affairs,

Nye, J. S., (2004): “Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics”, Public Affairs, New York, USA.

Nye, J. S., (2011): "The Future of Power"; Public Affairs, New York, USA.

Nye, J. S., Welch, D. A., (2011): "Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: An Introduction to Theory and History", 8th ed, Pearson Education.

Ong, A., (2000): "Graduated Sovereignty in South-East Asia", *Theory, Culture & Society*, 17 (4), 55-75.

Ong, A., (2006): "Neoliberalism as Exception. Mutation in Citizenship and Sovereignty", Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Paffenholz, T., (2010): "Civil Society and Peacebuilding", in Paffenholz, T., (2010): "Civil Society & Peacebuilding", Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London, UK.

Papagianni, K., (2008): "Participation and State Legitimation", In: Call, C. T., & Wyeth V., eds. (2008), "Building States to Build Peace", Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London.

Perry, B., (2011): "Case study research", In: May, T., (2011): "Social Research, Issues Methods and Process", 4th edition, Open University Press, New York, USA.

Plato, (1991): "The Republic of Plato", in Bloom, A., (1991): "The Republic of Plato", Second Edition, Basic Books, HarperCollins Publishers.

Quijano, A., (2000): "Colonialidad del poder y clasificacion social" In: *Journal of World-System Research* (II); p. 342-386.

Quintero, P., Garbe, S., (2013): "Kolonialität der Macht: De/Koloniale Konflikte: zwischen Theorie und Praxis". UNRAST Verlag, Münster, Germany.

Ramsbotham O., Woodhouse T., Miall H., (2011): "Contemporary Conflict Resolution", 3rd ed., Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.

Riemen, D. J., (1986): "The essential structure of a caring interaction: Doing phenomenology", In: Munhall, P. M., & Oiler, C. J., (Eds.), "Nursing research: A qualitative perspective", (pp. 85-105), Appleton & Lange, New York, USA.

Ross, J., (2007): "Black letter abuse: the US legal response to torture since 9/11", International Review of the Red Cross, Volume 98, Number 867, September 2007.

Rotberg, R. I., (2002): "The New Nature of Nation-State Failure", Centre for Strategic and International Studies and the Massachusetts Institute for Technology, The Washington Quarterly, Summer 2002, 25:3, pp. 85-96.

Rousseau, J. J., (1964): "Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle", in Oeuvres Complètes, Vol. III, pp. 563-590, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (1760).

Rubin, B., R., (2008): "The Politics of Security in Postconflict Statebuilding", In: Call, C. T., & Wyeth V., eds. (2008), "Building States to Build Peace", Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London, UK.

Russell Bernard, H., (2006): "Research Methods in Anthropology Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches", AltaMira Press, Oxford, UK.

Salama, B., (2016): "The Resilience of the Islamic State – Die Widerstandsfähigkeit des Islamischen Staates", Schriftenreihe der Landesverteidigungsakademie (Band 5/2016), Republik Österreich, Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung und Sport, Vienna, Austria.

Scheyvens, H., (2005): "Reform of Japan's official development assistance: a complete overhaul or merely a fresh coat of paint?", Progress in Development Studies 5, 2 (2005) pp. 89–98, Edward Arnold Ltd. (Publisher).

Schmidt, L., Schröder S., (2016): "Vorwort zur Neuauflage oder: Was sind 'Klassiker' der 'Entwicklungstheorie'?" In: Schmidt, L. / Schröder, S. (2016): "Entwicklungstheorien. Klassiker, Kritik und Alternativen,", Mandelbaum Verlag, Vienna, Austria.

Schreier, M., (2014): “Qualitative Content Analysis”, In: Flick, U., “The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis”, Sage Publications.

Schwandt, T. A., (1993), “Theory for the moral science: Crisis of identity and purpose”, In: Flinders D. J., & Mills G. E., (Eds.), “Theory and concepts of qualitative research: Perspectives from the field”, (p. 5-23), New York: Columbia University, Teachers College Press, New York, USA.

Sherman, J., (2008): “Afghanistan: Nationally Led Statebuilding”, In: Call, C. T. & V. Wyeth, eds. (2008), “Building States to Build Peace”, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London, UK.

SIGAR, (2017), “Quarterly Report to the United States Congress”, Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, October 30, 2017.

SIGAR, (2018), “Quarterly Report to the United States Congress”, Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, January 30, 2018.

SIGIR, (2011), “Quarterly Report and Semiannual Report to the United States Congress”, Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction, January 30, 2011.

Spurk, C., (2010): “Understanding Civil Society”, in Paffenholz, T., (2010): “Civil Society & Peacebuilding”, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder London, UK.

Stewart, F., (2002): “Root causes of violent conflict in developing countries”, British Medical Journal, 324 (9), February 2002, pp. 342-345.

Tatsumi Y., Kennedy P., (2017): “Peacebuilding and Japan, Views from the Next Generation”, edited by Yuki Tatsumi and Pamela Kennedy, Stimson Center, March 2017.

Teschke, B., (2007): “Mythos 1648. Klassen, Geopolitik und die Entstehung des europäischen Staatensystems”, Westfälisches Dampfboot, Münster, Germany.

The Fund for Peace, (2016): “Fragile State Index 2016”, Foreign Policy Magazine, Washington DC, USA.

The Fund for Peace, (2017): “Fragile State Index 2017”, The Cipher Brief, Washington DC, USA.

The White House, (2002): “The National Security Strategy of the United States of America”, September 2002, Washington DC, USA.

Thelen, T., Vetters, L., Benda-Beckmann, K., (2014): “Introduction to Stategraphy Toward a Relational Anthropology of the State”, Social Analysis, Volume 58, Issue 3, Winter 2014, pp. 1-19, Berghahn Journals.

Thornberg, R., Charmaz, K., (2014): “Grounded Theory and Theoretical Coding”, In: Flick, U., “The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis”, Sage Publications.

United Nations, (1945): “Charter of the United Nations”, 24 October 1945, 1 UNTS XVI.

UNHCR, (2018a): “UNHCR Global Appeal 2018-2019”, Asia and the Pacific, published by UNHCR, Geneva, Switzerland.

UNHCR, (2018b): “Pakistan: Afghan Refugee Update”, 31st March 2018, published by UNHCR.

UNHCR, (2018c): “Flash Update Iraq”, 26th February 2018, published by UNHCR

UNITAR, (2013): “UNITAR-JICA Capacity Development Programme for Republic of Iraq Government Officials”, United Nations Institute for Training and Research, March 2013, Hiroshima, Japan.

USIP, (2017): “Illegal Mining in Afghanistan: A Driver of Conflict”, PeaceBrief 226, 7/2017.

Wallerstein, I., (2011): "The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750 (1980)", revised ed. with New Prologue. San Francisco: Univ. of California Press, USA.

Weber, M., (1978): "Economy and society; an outline of interpretive sociology", University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, Bedminster Press Inc., New York, USA.

Weber, M., (2006): "Bureaucracy", In: Sharma, Aradhana; Gupta, Akhil, "The Anthropology of the State: A Reader". Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher, 49-70.

Wintersteiner W., Graf W., (2016): "Friedensforschung in Zeiten des Umbruchs Plädoyer für (selbst-)kritische Neuorientierung und transdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit", in Wintersteiner W. & Wolf L., "Friedensforschung in Österreich Bilanz und Perspektiven", Jahrbuch Friedenskultur Band 10/2015, Drava Verlag.

Witzel, A. (1985): "Das problemzentrierte Interview. In G. Jüttemann (Hg.), Qualitative Forschung in der Psychologie". Grundfragen, Verfahrensweisen, Anwendungsfelder (S. 227 – 255). Weinheim, Germany.

Woods, K. M., Murray W., Holaday T., (2009): "Saddam's War An Iraqi Military Perspective of the Iran-Iraq War", McNair Paper 70, Institute for National Strategic Studies National Defence University, 2009, Washington D.C., USA.

Yin, R. K., (2009): "Case study research: Design and methods", 4th ed, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Interview References

Interviewee 1, (2017): JICA official

Interviewee 2, (2017): Afghan representative

Interviewee 3, (2017): Afghan representative

Interviewee 4, (2017): JICA official

Interviewee 5, (2017): UN official

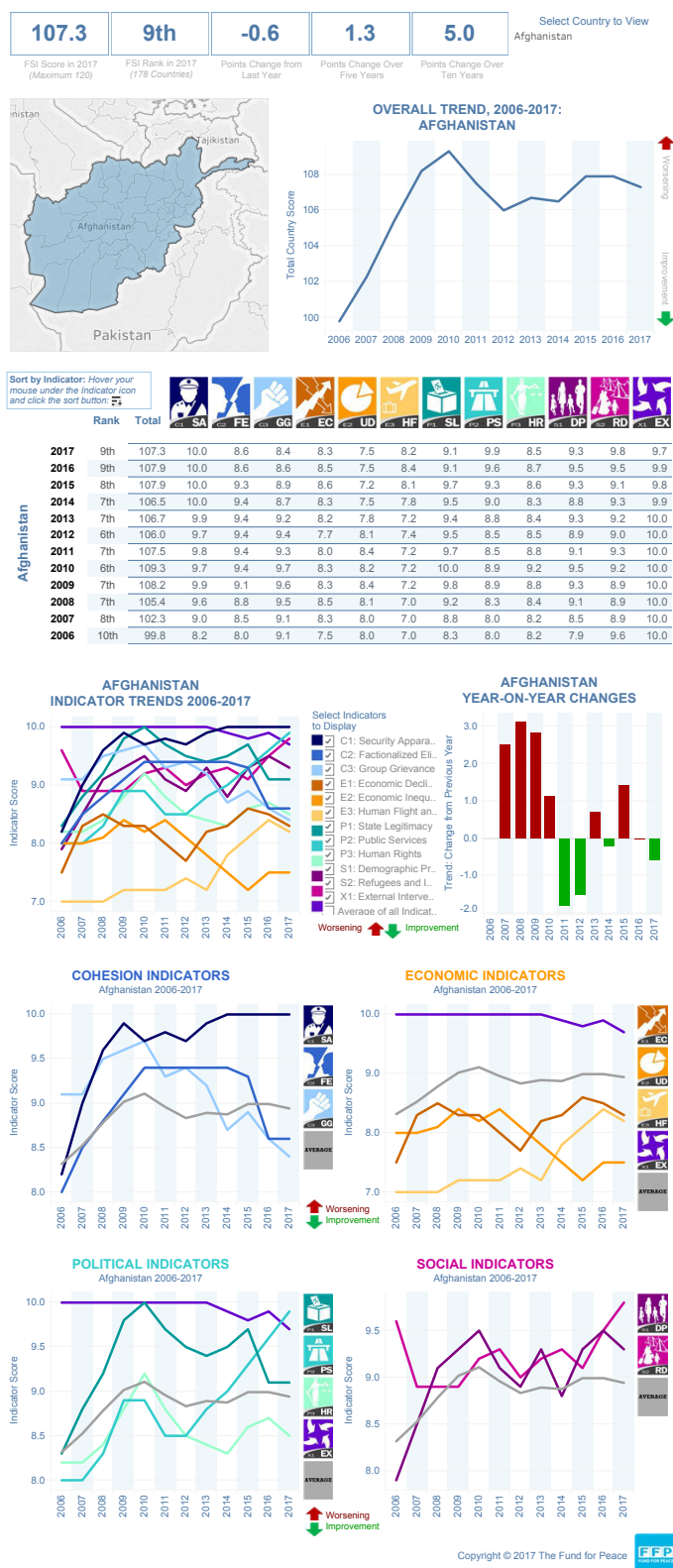
Interviewee 6, (2017): Iraqi representative

Interviewee 7, (2017): Iraqi representative

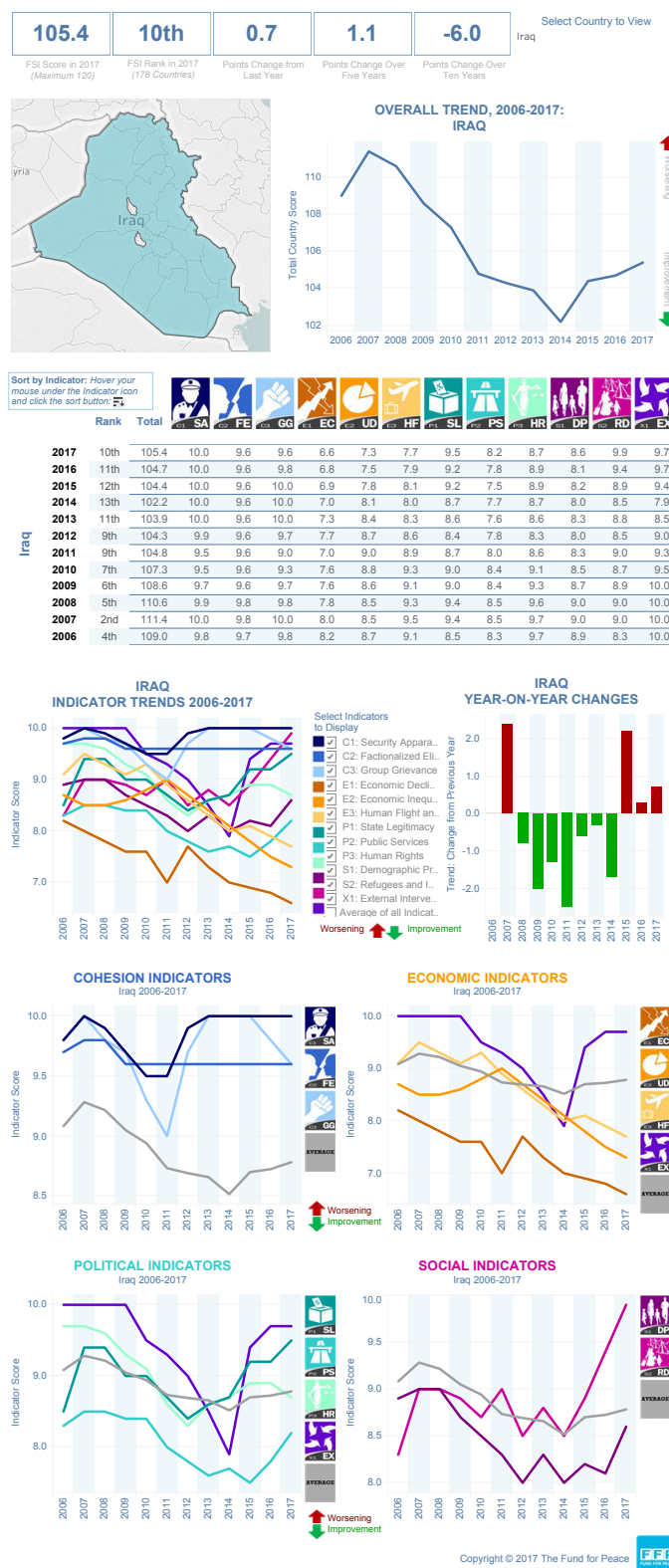
Interviewee 8, (2017): Afghan expert

Interviewee 9, (2017): JICA official

Appendix I: Fragile State Index 2017 Dashboard Afghanistan

Source: <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/country-data/>

Appendix II: Fragile State Index 2017 Dashboard Iraq



Source: <http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/country-data/>

Appendix III: Interview Guideline

1) Introduction and greetings (from the researcher):

- a) Personal introduction
- b) Introducing the research and the topic
- c) Stating ethical considerations regarding the interview
- d) Stating anonymity and confidentiality
- e) Informed consent and recording

2) Professional background (more narrative):

- a) Asking about the current and previous position of interviewee
- b) Introducing their work and specific emphasis (diplomacy, development, research)

3) Main part: cooperation between Afghanistan/Iraq and Japan:

- a) Role on Afghan/Iraqi representation in Japan
- b) Role of Japan in Afghanistan/Iraq in general
- c) Extent of Japanese assistance to Afghanistan/Iraq (identifying how ‘development’ is defined)
- d) Main focus and target groups
- e) Cooperation with other stakeholders and procedure of development
- f) Development of Japanese assistance to Afghanistan/Iraq over the last years
- g) Information on specific programmes
- h) Lessons learned and results

4) On Afghanistan/Iraq specifically:

- a) Current political and security situation
- b) Difficulties in regards to executing work in the field of development
- c) Causes and solutions for current situation
- d) Lessons learned and reflection

5) Thanks and greetings

N.b.: Interview guideline was adjusted to the respective interviewee and situation

