

WHY CHITRAL COULD BUT SWAT COULD NOT  
AVOID CIVIL WAR?



*By*

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**PIDE2018-FMPHILPP01**

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**2022**




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## Author's Declaration

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## **Dedication**

*To my parents*

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

*All Praise is (due) to Allah, Lords of the Worlds.*

## **Abstract**

In the context of state building, Chitral and Swat have been affected by similar process of state-penetration. A transformational change that constitutes one of the major sources of civil war. Besides, when evaluated on the basis of space varying conditions causally associated with the occurrence of civil war. Chitral and Swat exhibit considerably similarity. Which implies that the likelihood of civil war occurrence was same for these administrative units of the state of Pakistan. In spite, Swat descended into instability and violence while in Chitral the stability and order remained intact.

Using the strategies of qualitative comparative analysis this study explores this anomalous situation: To understand the reasons behind the divergence of state-society relations within the boundary of a state. The findings suggest that the variation is explained by the situation of state' relevancy. The acceptance and rejections of the authority of state is contingent of the value it holds for a given group of people. If dependence on state apparatus is high and public employment is a source of upward social mobility the state manages to earn popular acceptance with limited capacity. Moreover, the role of spatial context is key in shaping these dynamics.

**Keywords:** Occurrence and Non-occurrence of Civil War, Spatial Context, Historical Evolution, Relevant State.

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Why Chitral could but Swat could not avoid Civil War? This seemingly simple and straightforward question, in fact, calls for an investigation into a complex and anomalous situation. Which pertains to the dynamics of state-society interactions and outcomes. In other words, it seeks an explanation for the variation observed in societal response to state's presence. At one extreme state's penetration into a society within its border faces an organized resistance. While at other it smoothly manages to establish popular support. It thus becomes pertinent from policy and intellectual perspective to understand the conditions that shape such divergence. Particularly, (a) when the situation appears across territorial units embedded in the socio-political, economic, institutional and ecological environment of a state and (b) the given cases exhibit considerable similarity with respect to the conditions associated with organized resistance against the state. As such, it is an inquiry about the context that determine the outcomes of state building measures within a state.

### **1.1 Background**

Chitral and Swat two administrative districts of Pakistan, perfectly epitomize this situation. The state in the former managed to earn legitimacy for its rule. While in the latter it encountered a severe legitimacy crisis. Which eventually resulted in the break out of civil war. This variation in outcome has occurred at the face of considerable homogeneity. As, Chital and Swat were once semi-autonomous princely states, which had acceded to the state of Pakistan after its inception in

1947. Their semi-autonomous status was repealed in 1969<sup>1</sup>, and they were merged with the then North Western Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) as administrative districts. The integration of these regions within the dominion of Pakistan entailed complete restructuring of the established governance systems which were based on their traditions and customs. A priori, according to the theory of modernization (Goldstone, 2003) in general and state-building (Newman, 2014) in particular. The transformation of societies from one form to another (Traditional to Modern) or the reorganization of societal institutions of governance and redistribution are positively associated with the occurrence of organized resistance against the state (revolutions and civil war). In theoretical terms thus Chitral and Swat were equally open for the occurrence of civil war. Yet the outcome is only observed in Swat.

Partly, this anomaly is shaped by the insights provided by the civil war literature. Particularly the micro analysis of the causes of civil war. In these narratives civil war is expressed as a function of space varying conditions. Such as geographical distance from the capital and mountainous terrain (Buhaug & Rød, 2006), population density and minority Ethnic identity (Collier, 2001; Lange, 2003), Legacy of colonial institutions (Mukherjee, 2018), concentration of natural resources (Buhaug & Gates, 2002) etc. Based on the insights from this strand of literature if the cases are evaluated. It appears that there is not much difference between them viz a viz the conditions of instability. Which means that none of them was at a particular disadvantaged position. Alternatively both of them were equally vulnerable to the onset of civil war.

For instance, if civil war (keeping other factors constant) is expressed as a function of these set of factors: (ethnic minority, autonomous status, institutional transformation, peripheral location, low

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<sup>1</sup> THE DIR, CHITRAL AND SWAT (ADMINTSTRATION) REGULATION, 1969. (WEST PAKISTAN REGULATION, NO. I of 1969.) [15th August, 1969.]

population density, mountainous terrain, low literacy and education attainment along with geographical location along the border of another state) the likelihood of such conflict appears to be high in Chitral. Particularly separatist conflict. Similarly *ceteris-paribus*, if civil war is expressed as a function of (central location<sup>2</sup>, ethnic minority, autonomous status, institutional transformation, high population density, mountainous terrain, dependence on natural resource, low educational attainment and employment). Swat appears to be feasible for the occurrence of intra-state conflict for the control of central government.

It is however important to note that the relative significance of these factors is not established. Thus pattern of these factors becomes the important aspect in explaining the outcomes. Secondly, there is no one particular value exists to gauge the optimal intensity of any factor. As, there is no desirable value of distance from the capital, population density, unemployment, illiteracy and the likes which are considered optimal to increase the vulnerability of a given case. Rather, it is the configuration of these factors that is observed. And the role is evaluated mostly in comparative context.

Without undermining the fact that the factors and conditions employed to indicate the vulnerability of the cases above, do not cover all the possible combination of civil war occurrence. The situation still indicates an interesting observation. That requires a systematic inquiry to understand why amidst sufficient homogeneity the state society interactions exhibits contrasting patterns and produce disparate outcomes. Particularly, given the fact that both of these societies are part of a homogenous state-building process.

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<sup>2</sup> Swat is the head-quarter of Malakand Division. That consists of seven Districts namely, Chitral, upper Dir, Lower Dir, Malakand, Swat, Shangla and it constitute X percent of the total area of the KP province.

## **1.2 Anomaly and the need for an Alternative Explanation**

This study aims to generate information about such situations. It observes that the inability of the existing literature to provide any plausible explanation in this regard. Primarily stems from the dependent variable biasness present in civil war studies. The micro and macro level analysis of civil war treat stability as unproblematic. And exclusively direct their attention on the cases of civil war occurrence. Such approach even though can partially explain the problem under investigation i.e. occurrence of civil war. It however fails to provide any plausible explanation about its non-occurrence. Specially, in a situation where the causal factors and conditions are present but the outcome is not observed. The lack of attention of the micro analysis on stability is more intriguing. This strand of scholarship at one end highlights the uneven distribution of civil war within the state. At the same time ignores the associated aspect of this observation. The uneven distribution of civil-wars within the states also means that organized resistance against the state's authority is absent in some administrative units. By ignoring this aspect the civil war scholarship is handicapped by the lack of knowledge about the situations under which a state manages to ensure acceptance of its authority.

More over this approach has serious analytical and policy implications as well. The exclusive focus on the causal conditions of civil war has resulted in the accumulation of an extensive list of such factors. Thus making it difficult to develop a universal theory of civil war onset. Besides, this dependent variable biasness also creates hurdle in the path of a preventive policy response. The lack of information about the factors that create stability underpin the reactionary and narrowly conceived security centric policy interventions. For, it is relatively difficult to determine which among the long list of factors associated with civil war onset the state should direct its attention towards. Additionally, the context contingency of these factors creates further problems in

selection of appropriate policy choice. Empirics show that distribution of civil war within the state is not consistent. In some cases it has occurred in relatively developed regions and other in poor regions. At the face of such developments, it becomes difficult to design a consistent long-term policy.

The inclusion of non-civil war cases in the analysis would generate information on the situations under which the state authority is accepted. The identification of limited and universalistic factors and conditions would provide a consistent base for the state to shift from the reactionary interventions to more comprehensive and preventive policy making approach.

This study thus embarks on a journey to address some aspects of the above-mentioned concerns. Through a detailed study of two administrative units: one where civil war had occurred and the other where it had not. The aims of this study are to first highlight the approach related limitations of the micro studies of civil war. Secondly it establishes the conditions under which acceptance of state authority is achieved at sub national level. In this regard it however does not claim absolute novelty. The idea is inspired by Goldstone (2003) similar work on social revolutions. Third, it identifies and explain the causal configuration that leads to divergent state-building outcomes. Finally, it provides an explanation that how state authority faces organized resistance in one of its administrative unit and is accepted in other. The overall purpose is to highlight the implications of problematizing stability for civil war scholarship.

### **1.3 Problem statement**

The situation under consideration: divergent response to state presence, calls for a revisit of the approach of civil war studies. The treatment of stability as unproblematic has created many analytical and policy problems. There seems to be an implicit agreement among the conflict

scholars that state creates the conditions of civil war. Whilst many of the conjectures rooted in this assumption are empirically and theoretically vindicated. They however, rarely move beyond debates about effectiveness of state's presence in a society.

Such approach thus leaves unexplored. The role of societal meanings associated with state presence, in shaping the nature and quality of state-society relations. This study thus investigates this dimension to identify the variations in such meanings. Which underline this divergent situation.

#### **1.4 Research Objective**

The main objective of this study is to identify and explain the context under which state-society interactions and outcomes variate within a state. And establish the causal configuration behind this diversion. Which is further disaggregated into the following components.

- To evaluate the role of political context.
- To evaluate the role of economic context.
- To evaluate the role of social context.
- To evaluate the role of ecological context

#### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

This study does not claim an absolute novelty. It nevertheless envisions to be a base-line study by innovating a different approach to the study of civil war. By problematizing stability it aims to provide an alternative explanation for the onset of civil war in general and the civil war in Swat in particular. Even though major theory development is beyond the scope of this study. It however intends to initiate a debate in this regard.



Beside analytical significance, findings of this study have policy implications as well. It is well established that civil war is a recurring event. And much of its occurrence is associated with the process of state-building. Recently, the state of Pakistan has initiated its merger policy in the tribal districts (erstwhile FATA). The empirical insights this study provides will help provide a conflict sensitive policy guidelines to ensure the success of this integration policy.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review of this study consists of two parts. The first part thematically organizes the existing knowledge on the subject of civil war. It focuses its attention on the operationalization of the term, discusses the debate around the causality of civil war and summarizes the dominant theoretical trends. With the added aim to highlight a general model of civil war onset. The second part analytically reviews the accumulated knowledge on the subjects of Swat conflict. And highlights the problems associated with the established narratives.

#### 2.1 Defining Civil War

Civil war is a term that is used to describe a particular type of conflict that occurs within the boundary of a state. Hence is distinguished from inter-state war. Due to this aspect, it is also sometimes referred as intra-state conflict<sup>3</sup>. It is however conceptually distinguished from other related conflicts such as protests, riots, ethnic wars, terrorism and gang wars, on the basis of certain characteristics. Firstly, to be categorized as civil war, it is necessary that the state is directly involved in the conflict. And hence, is separated from violent conflicts or riots not involving states (sometimes labeled intercommunal conflicts), and state repression against individuals who cannot be considered an organized group, such as genocides and other similar acts of violence by non-state actors.

The involvement of state has multiple dimensions. However, for the sake of categorization the state represented by its security institutions-army- when is fighting an armed battle with an organized group is treated as direct involvement of the state. It may include international actors,

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<sup>3</sup> This Study synonymously uses the term Civil war and intra-state conflict.

inputs and consequences. But the local actors remain key protagonists(Newman, 2014). The conflict is categorized as war if the battle results in 25-1000 minimum battle related deaths and the casualties occur on both sides (Themnér & Wallensteen, 2011). The determination of battle related deaths is a complex issue. For the sake of convenience if an armed conflict between the state's army and an organized non-state group(s) result in 1000 deaths within a period of one year, is accepted as civil war.

Such operationalization without any doubt help specify the nature of the problem under investigation. It however presents a very static view of the phenomenon. It appears that civil war is a conflict that occurs on a fixed point of time in a given territory. Such scope delimitation of the problem serves the needs of quantitative studies. That aims at identifying the causal factors of intrastate conflict. It however doesn't suit the needs of qualitative studies interested in understanding the mechanism of its occurrence. This strand of analysis views intrastate conflict as a dynamic process that evolves over a period of time. War only represents the highest intensity point of its evolutionary cycle. According to this understanding civil war is embedded in a larger contentious cycle and the conflict manifest itself in different forms during this cycle such as; protest, strikes, riots, attacks on state's installations and war. Thus, encapsulating all forms of collective actions violent and not violent (Florea, 2017).

This understanding of civil war however is not a recent development. As, Cederman and Vogt (2017) point out that as a distinct conceptual category civil war appears in academic literature from the 2000s. Necessitated by the analytical demands of hypo-deductive inquires. It was however, studied in the early 70s in the context of social movements and revolutions. The first use of the term dates back to second century BC in reference to the Roman Civil Wars. Retrospectively, since

17<sup>th</sup> century it is used to refer to the historical conflicts in which one of the contenting parties claim to represent civil society.

The variance in scope conditions aside, qualitative and quantitative based understanding of the problem share agreement on the central aspect of the problem. Regardless of how it is manifested the conflict at the core is between state and a popular social group. Which try to establish their respective authority in the society. Their competing interests then clash with varying intensity, throughout the different stages of the conflict process. Which originates from a particular situation, leads to confrontation and eventually must cease in one form or other after de-escalation. The course of escalation, longevity and intensity are effected by many factors such as, inter-party situations, intra-party situations, the transformation of their relationships, changes in goals, types of issues and strategies (Jeong, 2008).

The concept of intra-state conflict further encompasses different forms of the conflict. There is a distinction based on the insurgents' aim. Which can either claim for territorial autonomy/ secession or try to control the central government. Conflicts over government control may involve insurgents originating from within the center or state apparatus, as in military coups or challengers from outside the political establishment. Other analysts distinguish between ethnic civil wars in which the insurgents and individuals in control of the central government have separate ethnic identities, and revolutionary conflicts, in which insurgents aim for major social transformation.

Moreover, intrastate conflict is also categorized based on religious dimension. A conflict is categorized as religious if the central or peripheral issue of contention is either religious belief or practice. Religion has the central position if the contenting parties fight over whether state or region within the state should be ruled according to a specific religious tradition. On the other hand

religion is on the peripheral position if the rule of particular tradition is not under contestation but only the participants identify themselves with particular tradition and group them accordingly (Toft, 2007).

Notwithstanding, these distinctions the categorizations are however not rigid. A single case of intra-state conflict will often combine several elements. For instance, insurgent group may identify them along ethnic and ideological lines. And their aims can over time shift from the issues like how the state should be ruled to secession of a territorial unit within the state to the control of entire state.

Regardless of the contentious issue and the aim of the resistant group, the occurrence of intra-state conflict indicates the inability of the state to establish legitimacy (Popular acceptance) among its citizens. Which results in the loss of support for the state's institutions. Leaving an open space for organize group to contest the authority of the state and mobilize people to establish alternative system of governance.

This study thus based on this analysis, define intrastate conflict as: *“An evolutionary action situation in which the participants; state and popular social group having diverse interests and believes contest for power and control over society in which they are embedded in.”*<sup>4</sup>

## **2.2 Causes of Intrastate Conflict; Factors and Mechanisms**

Accumulated knowledge on the subject provides important information about (1) the nature of the problem (2) the factors and conditions that produce it, and (3) the mechanisms through which it occurs.

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<sup>4</sup> This definition borrows its basic structure from (Ostrom, 2005) who defines action situation as a social space where participants with diverse preferences interact, exchange goods and services, solve problems or fight

### **2.2.1 Nature of the problem and Background Conditions**

Intra-state conflict is a complex multivariate problem. Due to which it evades deterministic and universalistic explanation of its causes. The idiosyncratic nature of the problem further makes it challenging to express it as a function of a definitive set of factors. As, causal factors and conditions considerably vary across different cases of intra-state conflict (Collier, 2003). It thus serves as a perfect embodiment of the complexities associated with explanation of social problems. For, such outcomes are the results of an interwoven web of multiple and diverse factors. Which makes it analytically an uphill task to untangle this web and express the outcome deterministically as an effect of certain factors (Ostrom, 1982).

The multi-disciplinary literature probing the causality of intra-state conflict acknowledges this fact. It is probably due to this reason that there is a lack of consensus on a narrative that transcend academic divisions. At present, implicit agreement on a heuristic process model can be detected among the scholars of civil war. According to which, multiple factors form the background conditions for civil war, when a trigger event activates these factors and a tipping point is reached, intrastate conflict occurs (Kimenyi & Ndung'u, 2005).

The background conditions, factors and indicators and the trigger event vary form case to case. Secondly, the list of causal indicators and factors associated with intra-sate conflict is quite extended one and are broadly subsumed into social, economic, political, environmental and ecological categories. The relative significance of these factors however is not established. Neither a single set of factors in same order appears in two different cases of intra-state conflict.

### **2.2.2 The Macro and Micro Distinction**

The background factors and conditions associated with the occurrence of intra-state conflict are identified and explained at Macro and Micro level. These roughly assigned categories are demarcated on the basis of unit of analysis. While the shared theme is to explain the causes of intra-state conflict, the concerns about where it occurs create the distinctions. The macro analysis- also the dominant trend- studies civil war at the level of State. The outcome is expressed as a function of the aggregated value of multiple state related variables. These variables pertain to myriad characteristic features and context of a state. Including but not restricted to the socio-economic, political, institutional, geographical and environmental conditions.

The macro analysis of civil-war provides detail understanding of the contexts under which intra-state conflicts occur. Its reliance on aggregated data however is criticized on two grounds. First it is argued that the characteristics of state are not uniformly distributed throughout the state. The opportunity driven explanations maintain that low level of GDP per capita and weak state capacity are strong predictors of civil war. Even though empirics justify such claims the average value of these variables however fail to explain how they operate at sub national level. Given the fact that these are neither temporally nor spatially invariable (Aas Rustad et al., 2011).

Secondly, it is truism to state that civil wars rarely if ever break out uniformly throughout the state. Rather, they are confined in certain administrative units within its territory. The unit homogeneity assumption of macro-analysis also fails to acknowledge this fact. The explanations of civil war onset based on state related variables fails to capture the factors and processes operational at the subnational level. Nevertheless they provide in depth information to understand across the states variation in the onset of intra-state conflicts.

To fill this gap and to provide fine grained causal explanation of civil-wars the micro-analysis evaluates the problem at sub-national level. This burgeoning strand in the civil war scholarship has resulted in the identification of factors and characteristics of sub-national administrative units that are associated with the onset of civil war. Even though any major theoretical expositions have not been provided yet, different mechanisms have been identified that operate at this level. The accumulated information provided by the micro-studies of civil war help us catalogue factors and conditions that characterize the onset of civil war at this level. This disaggregated analysis compliments the macro studies, to draw a detailed picture of the characteristics of a state and its sub national unit where civil war occurs.

The following table provides a sample list of factors associated with intra-state conflict.

**Table 1: *Conditions of Civil War***

Macro Factors	Micro Factors
Poor economic conditions (Collier, 2005).	Geographical position (accessibility and inaccessibility) of administrative unit within a state (Murshad and Gates, 2005)
Horizontal inequalities (Stewart, 2002)	Population density and distance from the capital (Buhaug & Rød, 2006).
State Collapse (Fearon & Laitin, 2003)	Regional distribution of poverty and inequality (Buhaug & Lujala 2005)
Climate Change (Hsiang & Burke, 2014; T. Carleton <i>et al.</i> , 2016)	Regional distribution of poverty and inequality (Buhaug & Lujala 2005)
State Building (Newman, 2014)	legacy of colonial institutions (Mukerjee, 2018)
Regime type (Collier, 2005; Florea, 2017)	High State Capacity (Koren & Sarbahi, 2018).

It is pertinent to note that these conditions by any extent claim to be an exhaustive list of the factors and conditions associated with the occurrence of intra-state conflict. The dimension and the



associated indicators in reality are far more diverse and extended. Besides, these dimensions historical context and the conditions of global and regional political situation importantly contribute in shaping the dynamics of intra-state conflict. The cold world rivalry between USA and USSR provided the global context for most of the civil wars in the post second world war era. The forces of globalization likewise are considered to play similar role in contemporary conflicts, particularly the ones that occur across religious divisions. Moreover certain abstract factors like leadership and ideology and normative factors such as attitudes of people towards violence are also critical in explaining the process. The aim here is to allude to those major conditions that frequently appear across different cases of intra-state conflict. Based on which a pattern of causal factors can be established, that in one or the other combinations form the background conditions for intra-state conflicts.

Secondly, the dimensions are not rigidly specified. And some of the factors can simultaneously fall in one or the other categories. Nevertheless, a general distinction among these dimensions can be drawn. Moreover, for some of the dimensions there is no objective indicators simultaneously available at both the micro and macro levels. Interestingly the role of some of these dimensions contradicts each other at these level. For Instance, at the aggregate level weak state-capacity is considered to provide feasible environment for insurgency. The inability of a state to provide basic necessities and coercive constrains generates grievances and provides opportunity for organized resistance. Koren and Sarbahi (2018) at the subnational level observes a counterintuitive pattern. Their comparative study at the disaggregated level reveals that the administrative unit having higher state capacity have experienced the incidences of intra-state conflict. And propose three mechanisms, rebel gravitation, elite fragmentation and expansion reaction to explain their findings.

### **2.3 State Building-Civil War Nexus**

Newman (2014) in his book *Understanding Civil War; Change and Continuity in Intra-state Conflict* identifies a theme that commonly appears across spatially and temporally separated cases of intrastate conflicts. His findings are first and foremost rooted in the detailed analysis of five disparate cases of civil wars. He maintains that the background conditions considerably vary across these cases. The nature of conflict too changes from one case to another. Despite the diversity, he states that these conflicts revolve around the process of state-building. That involves; “the imposition of centralized state-authority and institutions, bringing autonomous regions under control, securing border areas and imposing regulations” (P.70).

The process of state-building entails reorganization of the societal institutions of governance and redistribution. Such transformation at one hand creates new avenues for contestation, which may include disagreements over nature of constitution, imposition of illegitimate, ineffective or inappropriate state, challenges to territorial control and reach of the state and state disintegration (p.3). At other it exacerbates the existing cleavages within a society. For instance, the introduction of democracy in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies at times lead to violent confrontations among these groups. Newman further identifies the channels through which state-building leads to organized resistance. Besides, relative universality the added advantage of his exposition is that, it helps to trace the process of intra-state conflict from its micro-origins.

Besides, these five cases he further validates his assertion from the fact that 75% intrastate conflicts post Second World War have occurred in newly independent states. Indicating the problematic nature of the state-building process. The factors and conditions one way or the other are related to the process of state-building. This state centric explanation of intrastate conflict is aligned with the

implicit understanding shared among civil war scholars that, primarily it is the state that creates the conditions of civil war.

This view of intrastate conflict as an outcome of transitional change propagated by Edward Newman is an aspect of Modernization Theory. As a theory of social change, modernization views substantive social outcomes such as revolution and intrastate conflict (both principally operationalized in terms of organized resistance against state's authority) as important features of long-term social change. The proponents of this theory maintain that human societies throughout the course of history had been traditional. Over the period of time naturally or induced they transform into modern one. This transformation most of the time produces these social movements. Newman concerns himself mainly with the transformation of societal institutions of governance and redistribution. Modernization broadly incorporates wider range of institutions.

It is maintained that the modernization of political and economic institutions do not occur with a similar pace. Either political institution modernize before economic ones and vice-versa. Either way the lag results in dis-functional breaches. Where one set of institutions fails to incorporate the demands of the changes induced by the others. The attack on the authorities according to them are rooted in this context (Goldstone, 2003).

#### **2.4 Towards General Explanatory Mechanism**

The literature on intrastate-conflict does not provide a single model that binds all these factors together with its operating mechanism. Instead, alternative and sometimes competing theoretical propositions are presented. Which lay their emphasis on one facet of the problem or other. The models based on economic theories, for instance, emphasize on economic costs and opportunities. Similarly, models built on the basis of political theories highlight political environment and

motivations. Social theories of intrastate conflict consider myriad social cleavages and grievances that persists in societies as important in explaining the phenomenon.

The different stands of theoretical prepositions are broadly subsumed into three categories: Greed, Grievance and Opportunity. The Grievance based explanations express civil war as a function of pervasive social and political grievances. While the greed centric explanation maintain that civil war occurs when the cost of insurgency is lower than its potential benefits, calculated by rational conflict entrepreneurs. While according to the opportunity centric explanation civil war occurs when it becomes financially feasible (Cederman & Vogt, 2017). These different strands complement each other and provide a holistic understanding of the situations under which intrastate conflict occurs. It can be implied from these proposition that the occurrence of civil war becomes a possibility when two conditions are present: motivation for resistance and opportunity for resistance. The motivation related factors tell us why civil war occurs and the opportunity related factors informs us about when it occurs.

What motivates people to mobilize against the authority of the state? Two set of answers are put forward in this regard. The one revolves around the idea of relative deprivation proposed by Robert Gur. According to him the motivation for revolt is borne out of the feeling of frustration. When people feel that the change they are experiencing or their standards of living is not in accordance with what they have expected. They harbor grievance against the state and this feeling of relative deprivation drives them to rebel against the state.

Ideally a perception survey of the people before the event would help us to assess whether they were motivated by grievances or not. Of course, such surveys are rarely available. Another way to look at the situation is through evaluating the quality of public services. This may not be a direct

measure of the regard in which people hold the governing authority. It nevertheless provides an indication of citizens' support to the regime. The essence of the issue basically is whether people approve the government or not. One of the important way governments earns this approval is through providing quality public services, health, education, infrastructure and employment. In developing countries state is believed to provide most of the basic services. Thus, it is one of the important sources of its legitimacy.

Another mechanism that determines whether state loses the support of communities or not is how its penetration in the society effects their usage of natural resources. Particularly in societies that depend heavily on the consumption of these resources. If it results in their exclusion or reduced excess to these resources their relation with the state might become strained. It can happen either through commercialization, privatization or direct state intervention for conservation and national development (Ide, 2015).

Another answer to the motivated related question is provided by the greed-based explanation of civil-war. According to this exposition it is not the socio-political grievances that motivate people for resistance against the state. Grievances basically are used as an ideological smoke screen to shield economic profit related motives by rebels 'leader. In this economic interpretation civil war is treated as an industry that generates profit by looting. Both on the part of leader and supporters to join a rebel movement it a rationalistic decision based on cost-benefit analysis. Rebellion occurs when it becomes financially viable. The availability of precious natural resource, finance from diaspora and support from foreign hostile government act as source of rebel finance. War economy provides the chances of profit earning. Illiteracy and unemployment in a society reduces the opportunity cost of rebellion (Collier, 2005).

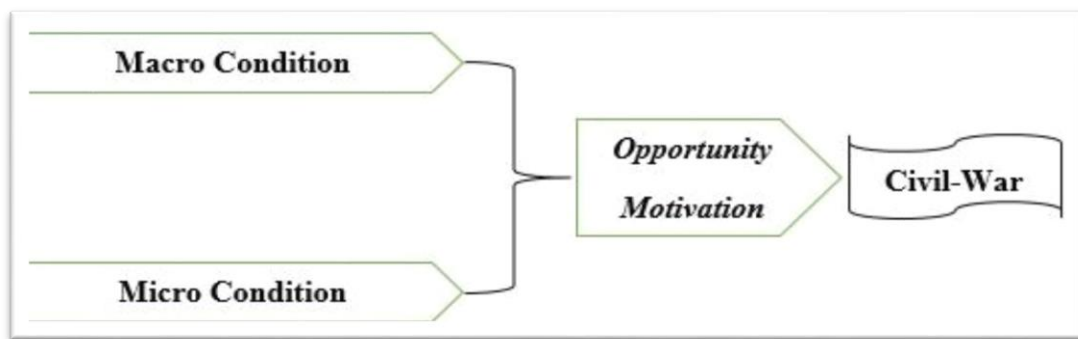
Motivation is necessary condition but it is not sufficient. For civil war to occur it is important that opportunity for it also exists. According to this narrative what determines civil war is not grievance but the elements embedded in the structure of the environment surrounding the rebels and the political process that they are part of. It is mainly these factors that determine civil war (Tilly, 1978). Fearon and Laitin (2003) further elaborates this view by arguing that weak states with their inability to address dissent creates opportunity for violence by expanding the fault lines within society compared to the states that are strong and resourceful.

Gledhill, (2018) however provides a detailed and much refined disaggregated analysis of the opportunities of civil war. He subsumes the different factors that create opportunity for the occurrence of civil war into two inter-connected categories of opportunity structure and organizational resources. These categories entails a comprehensive set of normative and material conditions that shape the opportunity space for violent resistance against the state. More over these conditions provide information about the character and attributes of the state and society that in conjunction creates feasible environment for insurgency.

Organizational structure refers to the social and institutional arrangement that either lift or impose constraints on the possibility of violent resistance against the the state. It has two dimensions material and normative. The material aspects pertains to the willingness and capacity of authorities to impose coercive constraint on organized violence. If the willingness and capacity is high the opportunity space for resistance is low. The normative aspect on the other hand relates to the social context in which potential rebel groups operate. If in a society violence is normalized and there is widespread acceptance of it as an instrument for gaining power and profit conditions become feasible for violent mobilization. The organizational resource on the other hand relates to the conditions that boost the internal capacity of potential rebel groups. It includes their access to

material resources such as arms and funds. As well as the presence of ready made tight-knit social organizations. An easy access to such resources boosts the capacity of groups to mobilize violently (ibid).

Based on the discussion presented above the study presents the following generalistic model of Civil war occurrence. According to this model civil war occurs when the micro and macro conditions combinely create motivation and opportunity.



**Figure 1:** Mechanism of Civil War Onset

## **Part Two**

### **2.5 Analysis of Swat Conflict:**

#### **2.5.1 Overview**

The conflict in Swat that culminated in June, 2009, after the military defeat of the insurgent group- the Tahrik-e-Taliban Swat (TTS) by the Pakistan Army. First emerged in early 1990s as Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariati-Muhammadi (TNSM) Movement led by a religious leader-Sufi Muhammad. Large number of people mobilized under the banner of TNSM, calling for the creation of Islamic courts and generally for the implementation of Sharia Law (Islamic Jurisprudence) across Malakand Division. The confrontation of TNSM with the state escalated over time. The year 1994 is marked as the highest intensity point when both parties resorted to violent means; Pakistani security forces opened fire on protestors resulting in the death of many TNSM activists. After this the security situation deteriorated and the movement got more sympathy and strength and expanded its activities in different parts of Swat, Buner, Shangla and Dir districts and Bajaur Tribal Agency. In November, 1994 TNSM revolted against the State of Pakistan, its activists took positions in the mountains, occupied Kanjur Airport and other government buildings in Mingora and killed a member of the provincial legislature (Buneri, 2012).

Eventually the government of the day (Pakistan People Party) acquiesced to its demands. Sharia was proclaimed as the law of the land in the Malakand division. Declaring the move as political ploy, Sufi Muhammad in 1999, again took on the state. This time demanding more meaningful implementation of Sharia regulations. In response, a legislative order entitled the Nizam-e-Adl was issued, resulting in the temporary suspension of the movement (Akhtar, 2010). In 2001, in the wake of the American invasion of Afghanistan, Sufi Muhammad reemerged. He successfully



raised a militia of few thousand volunteers to join the Jihad against US occupation forces in Afghanistan. Upon his return, he was arrested and remained in jail till 2008 for instigation of violence and luring people into Afghanistan (Fleischner, 2011).

During Sufi Muhammad's absence, his son in law Maulana Fazlullah took command of TNSM. The reign of Fazlullah in the post 2001 era heralded the beginning of a new and more radical phase of the conflict. A former cable cart operator Fazlullah by effectively using Radio as a mean of communication soon established a strong support base in Swat. People responded to his call and added resources to his cause: women donated jewelry (used to find network of religious hardliners) men offered labor and money to build a seminary and a mosque and added him in his crusade against the state of Pakistan (Orakzai, 2011). After, the formation of the Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan<sup>5</sup>(TTP) in 2004, TNSM morphed into Tahrik-e-Taliban Swat (TTS). Fazlullah shifted the focus of the group from imposition of sharia law (Institutional change) to complete control of the region (autonomous self-governance). By 2009 Fazlullah led TTS effectively established their control in Swat. Amidst intermittent violent confrontation the government of Pakistan signed a peace deal and promulgated the imposition of sharia law in Swat (Nizam-e-Adl Regulation). Effectively ceding control of the region to the insurgent group. It was only after the group escalated their operations in the adjoining district of Buner, the state of Pakistan launched a military operation (Rah-e-Rast) in June 2009. And brought back the region under its control.

## **2.6 Nature and Causes of Swat Conflict**

As has been discussed in the earlier section, any given case of intra-state conflict can simultaneously fall in multiple categories. The nature of the intra-state conflict in Swat is thus

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<sup>5</sup> See (Siddique, 2010) for a detail study of the formation, organizational structure and operations of TTP.

variously conceptualized. Such as war between state and non-state actors, strategic war, class war, state's war against its citizens, Islamic militancy and terrorism. Hence, available literature on the subject depicts a complex social crisis. With manifest features of; state-integration, institutional ineffectiveness and inefficiency, economic deprivation, class confrontation and ideological motivations, for instance. Resultantly, there is a tendency of avoiding parsimonious explanations. And almost every study on the subject explains this outcome as an effect of multiple factors (see for instance,(Chaudhry, 2013; Lurås & Aziz, 2010; Orakzai, 2011), to observe the pattern.

It is nevertheless established that this conflict meets the criteria of a civil war. Primarily because of the identities of the parties involved, it's geographical context and the issue under contestation. As, it was a conflict between the state and a non-state group within the boundary of a state. Which contested for establishing their respective authority in the region. During the period 2007-2009 (highest intensity point of the conflict) resulted in loss of 6680 lives (Anwar & Ahmad, 2017).

Due to the religious overtones; issue under contestation and the identity of the non-state group. Swat conflict is associated closely with religious civil wars. The causal investigations thus lay much emphasis on the religious factors while explaining this outcome. The rise in religiously motivated militancy in Pakistan is attributed generally to the country's involvement in the wars in Afghanistan (1979 and 2001). Pakistan's support of the religious groups (Mujahidin and Taliban) fighting in Afghanistan is cited as the main reason for the radicalization of society in large. The growth of Saudi funded religious seminaries (Madrassa) resulted in the propagation of radical ideas in the country. And served as the source of recruitment for different militant groups in the country.

The emergence of Islamic militancy in Swat is first associated with this general growth of Islamic radicalization in the country. Secondly, it is attributed to historical pattern of Swati politics. It is

stated that historically religious leaders have had played influential role in the political life of Swat. And now and then have managed to mobilize people for various causes. The insurgency of Taliban thus is said was a repetition of historical pattern.

Other accounts challenge this latter assumption and express the emergence of Taliban in Swat as novel phenomenon. The ground for this assumption is based on the differentiation of the religious leaders. As, Akhtar (2010) states that the cohort of religious leaders (Mullahs and Imams) who spearhead the Taliban movement were distinct from the Stanadars (Decedents of holy man, not preachers) and Pirs (Sufi, religious leaders, Mystics and Preachers) who had historically wielded political influence in Swat. This group had always remained outside the political power sharing arrangement in Swat. So their emergence in the political scene was unprecedented in the history of Swat.

Second mark of distinction is the based on the ends these groups aimed to achieve. Historically the religious leaders had united the people of Swat in their fight against foreign invasion. This time however the emphasis was on acquiring state power to enforce a doctrine of legal and personal codes. And also the restructuring of state-society relationships. Orakzai (2011) provide credence to these claims. She traces the origin of this shade of appeal to Islam as political alternative in Swat in the context of 1970s. And maintains that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto rhetoric of Islamic Socialization resting of the abolishment of large scale private property holdings, threatened the power base of land-lords in the country. The khans (landlords) in Swat faced the same dilemma and in order to save their property made an alliance with Imans (prayers leaders) and Traditional Mullah (religious leader) to issue Fatwa (religious decree) against the abolishment of private property.

It is thus inferred that the conflict was shaped more by the post-merger context of state-building. And the causal investigations it seems have a consensus on this narrative. It is however important to point out that. Even though the conflict is placed in an evolutionary contentious cycle. Nevertheless, the dependent variable “TTP insurgency” is not clearly delimited. Civil war is a process that entails distinct dimensions, i.e. onset, duration, intensity, and termination sometimes reoccurrence. The causative factors effect varies across these dimensions and at times different factors plays significant role in each step. The scholarship on Swat conflict doesn’t take this into consideration and treats the dependent variable as a single coherent unit. For instance it is argued that the flawed peace deals conducted with the non-state actors by the government caused this conflict. A term is used for such engagement, i.e. partial repression. This has no direct role in the onset of the conflict itself, rather it effects the duration of the conflict and intensity by providing the insurgents with space to organize and strengthen themselves, the literature here is devoid of such crucial niceties.

Similarly, some other factors such as the Afghanistan war, the coalition of TNSM with TTP, in appropriate contextual response of the state of Pakistan, the growth of Islamic radicalism and the internal class division within Swati society for instance. Without any doubt one way or other have shaped the dynamics of this conflict. Such as by playing the role of triggering factor. But these have no direct bearing in the onset of the conflict itself. For at the core, intra-state conflict is rooted in crisis of state authority. A situation where the state fails to earns popular acceptance among its citizens. The radicalization and militarization then follow. A certain level of widespread dissatisfaction from the state is the primary necessary condition for the occurrence of intrastate-conflict (Florea, 2017).

This vintage point helps to filter out the casual factors associated with the conflict in Swat. And helps to direct the focus on those particular factors that have created the primary necessary condition in Swat i.e. authority or legitimacy crisis. The view is commonly shared among the scholars of Taliban conflict in Swat that the governance system that emerged in Swat after its merger with the state of Pakistan was highly problematic. The administrative positions was filled with outsiders who lacked knowledge about the issues and problems of this area. The system was marred with corruption and it failed miserably to provide efficient services to the people. Moreover it lacked political accountability as well. Under the framework of PATA regulations the citizens of Swat can elect their representatives to the national and provincial assembly. Act of the parliaments are however not directly applicable to Swat and are contingent with the approval of the governor of the province. This partial merger it is argued that devoid the system off political accountability. The lack of which further worsened the governance system.

The deformities in the legal portion of the governance structure post-merger is frequently cited as the central element that caused the loss of credibility of the state. The legal system implemented in Swat lacked consistency and was frequently altered<sup>6</sup>. This inconsistency created lot of confusions and people thus could not adjust to it. Secondly process of the courts were alien to the people which could not understand its procedure. The litigants have to bear cost in the form of payment to the lawyers which was not affordable for the poor segment of the society. Moreover the delays in decisions and lack of effective implementation; paucity of judges and the corruption in the system further alienated the poor from justice. The legal system in the reign of Wali-<sup>7</sup>e-Sawat on the other hand in comparison is argued that was much efficient. Whether or not it was egalitarian it was certainly swift and costless on behalf of the citizens. Moreover it was based on customs

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<sup>6</sup> See (Rome, 2009) for the changes in the legal governance post-merger.

<sup>7</sup> Wali was the title of the ruler of Swat

with which people were acquainted. The lack of justice created a vacuum which was tactfully exploited by TNSM to mobilize people against the system (Khan et al., 2020).

## **2.7 Swat Conflict: A civil war of legitimacy**

The conflict in Swat was an indigenous movement that emerged in the post integration period. Borne out of the dissatisfaction of the people from the merging state system. When evaluated based on the explicit objectives of the rebel movement, the outcome they achieved and the prevailing conditions of the region the civil insurgency of Taliban in Swat perfectly falls in the category of the civil war of legitimacy. This kind of insurgency is more likely to occur in states where rebels have both grievances and the means to maintain their future viability (Sobek & Payne, 2010).

After merger the polity underwent structural and operational change. The emergent system was perceived to perpetrate injustices against the population. Whether rooted in the inability of the legal system to dispense justice or the distribution mechanism to improve the welfare of the common people a grievance nevertheless against the institutions of the state permeated certain section of the society. The violence that was perpetrated was to redress these injustices without any consideration for economic gains (the defining attribute of this kind of civil war). There is no doubt that the rebels extracted economic gains after controlling the area mainly through the exploitation of Emerald mines and from timber trade) and even shared some of the benefits with their supporters. This rather is the manifestation of rebel governance. Importantly the insurgency was not aimed at mere replacing the incumbent regime and holding public offices for themselves to control the extractive machinery of the state. It was to alter the state society relationship and the annihilation of the established order of affairs and the replacement of it with new one. This substantiates the fact that the insurgency was aimed at creating completely new relationships

between the state and the society based on different set of rules and institutional arrangements. And indicates the action situation in which the state and society fails to establish legitimate interaction and produce stability.

## **2.8 The Loopholes in the Existing Narratives**

Without undermining importance of information the existing literature provides, it however exhibits certain shortcomings and leaves some important questions un-addressed. The inability of the government to improve the life conditions of the masses is cited as a reason for the insurgency. As most of the members of the TTP cadre came from low income or poor households. Participation in the insurgency provided them with the employment (as their services were paid) and also open up an opportunity to plunder the resources of the region. This class dimension adds another aspect to this conflict. And it is some time viewed as the uprising of the new middle class that emerged in this region during this period. This class rose against the feudal (Khans) and the injustices perpetrated against them in the past. To appropriate power for themselves and take revenge against past repressions this class used the TTP platform. This rise of the middle class is accredited to the migration of people from this region to other parts of the country and the gulf regions (mainly due to the policy initiated by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime in the 1970s). The role of the government thus appear to have dual aspects. It appears that the state building policy in Swat post-merger have improved the life condition of certain segment of the society. By providing those economic opportunities jobs and other sources of livelihood. Then is it the empowerment of the masses that lead to the violence against the state or its inability to improve their life conditions? A question that is not answered by the literature.

The failure of legal governance is cited frequently as a major factor in the uprising against the state in Swat. It is argued that after the introduction of Pakistani court system in Swat the dispensing of justice became worse. The new judicial system had structural, procedural and human resource issues that lead to delayed justice and litigant had to bear high financial cost. Additionally the corrupt practices resulted in ruling against the less resourceful. Also the implementation of the rulings were delayed. In the period under the rule of Wali, it is argued that the judicial system (problematic in other aspects) was swift, egalitarian effective and free of cost. This created a vacuum it is said and was exploited by the Taliban with their crude yet swift and egalitarian justice system. The disillusion with the judicial system is considered as a reason behind the social support for the TNSM and later the TTP.

Such dissatisfaction is attributed more to the prior experience of the people of Swat than the existing conditions. It is inferred that the justice system of Swat state was better and people began to nostalgically remember those days. This nostalgia at first hand is challenged as being historical idealism. At other no objective criteria is applied to establish the fact that the old system was better than the new one. Except, for the fact that cost was involved in part of the litigant in the case of the latter and the former was cost free. Secondly if justice was such prevalent what explains the resentment of the masses against the khans? Additionally the justice system of Taliban did not recourse to the traditional mechanism. Even though sharia law was part of that system its implementation was consensual rather than the matter of state policy. Taliban's exclusively relied on the sharia law to dispense justice and even corrected the injustices of the Jirga system. It appears that the issue of justice provision was related to the society at large and not merely to the shortcomings of the formal justice system.



It can be observed that since merger the status of public services in Swat have considerably improved. If the ineffectiveness of the judicial governance resulted in the loss of support for the state. Why the improved situation of public services had failed to earn support for the state. The failure of the improved status of public service in gaining support for the state rule is completely left out of the debate. Besides, the impact of ecological conditions on the situation are barely discussed.

Keeping this understanding and the associated considerations in perspective. In the preceding sections this study comparatively analyzes the situation of Swat with Chitral. To establish whether the grievances against the state emerged out of the ineffectiveness of the state-system or there were other factors that had shaped this outcome. Surprisingly the established narratives do not entertain the possible role local political developments could have played in this regard. This study, intends to incorporate these considerations in search of an alternative explanation of the issue. And situate this whole inquiry within an area less explored in the civil war literature. Particularly the micro strand, which does not incorporate stability in their analytical firework. During investigation of the uneven distribution of civil war within a state.

## Chapter 3

### ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The “Framework Option” for this study is primarily shaped by two considerations. Firstly, the nature of the issue under investigation. As, this study intends to identify and explain the indicators, factors and patterns that shape the direction and nature of state-society interactions and outcomes, it is thus dealing with a complex, multi-variable and non-linear problem. For, these interactions and outcomes do not occur in a vacuum. The state and society are embedded in a socio-political, economic and ecological context. This context as the discussion on the causes of civil war suggests, effects and is effected by the nature of their interactions and outcomes they generate. It is therefore necessary to analyze this situation within a meta-theoretical framework. So that the interwoven influences of these myriad factors can properly be captured.

Secondly the accumulated knowledge of the field (civil war) has barely focused on the observable variations in the incidences of civil war within the state. The single minded focus on civil war occurrence has resulted in lack of information about the conditions under which its occurrence is not observed. Particularly amidst a homogenous context shared by two administrative units of a state. This dearth of understanding is even more severe within the scholarship of intra-state conflict in Pakistan. Which explains the phenomenon primarily through state-centric lens and fails to count for the variation observed in the empirical setting established by this study. Given the situation, this study has to serve as a base line study and needs a framework that is suited to conduct an exploratory and diagnostic inquiry.

Social-Ecological System (SES) framework ideally meets these requirements. This multi-tier, theory neutral, nested framework is suited to evaluate diverse influences on social outcomes. It

provides a space to merge hypothesis from different theories to explain various aspects of a same phenomenon. And has been applied to conduct diagnostic and comparative studies across diverse social and policy settings (Epstein et al., 2013).

### **3.1 About Social-Ecological Framework**

SES Framework is an extension of Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework designed by Elinor Ostrom. The overall objective of this framework is to provide a common tool for inter-disciplinary investigations of social-ecological systems. It is rooted in the philosophical presumption about human agency to make conscious choices; individually and as well as part of a collaborative group. These choices then potentially make significant difference in outcomes. It is not necessary that these choice processes comport to any specific decision making or policy making model. Neither all of the outcomes are intended. Besides the choice making process and the outcomes occur in an environment of constrain, shape by the larger and the immediate socio-economic and ecological context (McGinnis & Ostrom, 2014).

This framework is used to study resource governance systems. With the aim to identify the practices that result in the sustainability of human-nature interaction and outcomes, across different resource sectors in disparate geographical areas, biophysical conditions and temporal domains. The following figure illustrate the overall structure of this framework.

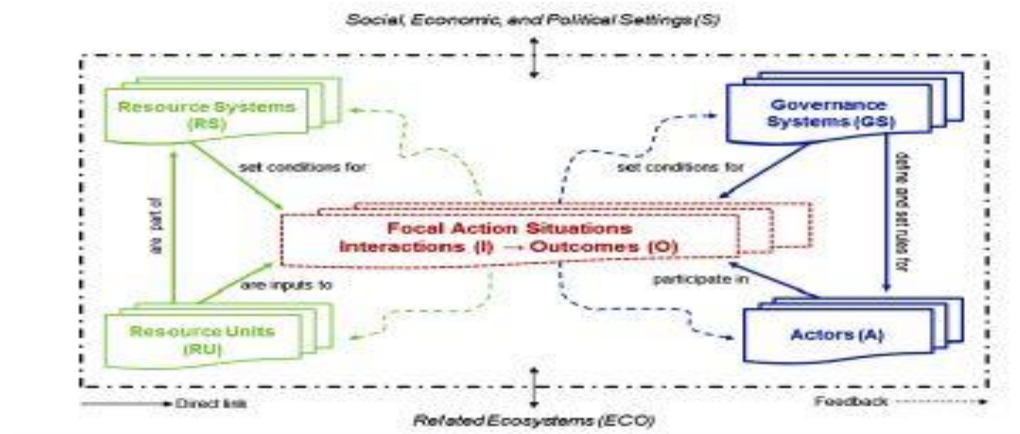


Figure 2: SES FRAMEWORK

Source: (McGinnis & Ostrom, 2014)

At the heart of SES framework lies the action situation. Defined in terms of a social space in which participants with diverse preferences interact, exchange goods and services, and solve problems or fight. These participants are faced with a set of potential actions and jointly produce outcomes. Elinor Ostrom specifies the general operating mechanism of this framework and states that the set of exogenous and endogenous variables jointly effect the structure of the action situation to generate interactions and outcomes. The direction of the influence is however not linear. As the arrows indicate bi directional flow. The interactions and outcomes effects and are effected by the surrounding context.

### 3.2 Social Ecological Framework and State-Society Interactions

The subject of SES framework is human-nature interactions and outcomes. It is applied to identify the characteristics of “resource governance system” under which such an interaction produce sustainable outcomes. Then where this framework stands when its focus is directed to state-society

interactions and outcomes. For, at the surface it appears to be dealing with a completely different subject matter. Its applicability thus seems questionable.

Human-nature interaction and state-society interaction at the surface does appear to fall in separate realm of inquiry. The former concerns itself with the relationship between social group and their natural environment. While the latter is concerned with the relationship of these social groups with the formal ruling authority. Apart from the object of their interactions, the dynamics of these relationships of social groups with their natural environment and authority are considerably interlinked and remarkably similar.

The central theme of these relationships is governance system. The nature of human-nature interactions and the outcomes produced are shaped by governance system or specifically resource governance. SES framework thus focuses on the structure and functions of the governance system. And identifies the characteristics of these governance system that shape the nature of human-nature interaction and outcomes across different resource pool and socio-political and ecological contexts.

Similarly the state-society interaction occurs within a system of governance. The characteristics of these governance system play important role in shaping the nature and outcomes of state-society interactions. This study as concern itself with the identification and explanation of the governance system within which state-society interactions and outcomes occurs in fact doesn't deviate from the core aspect of SES system framework.

Secondly, SES studies the management system of diverse common pool resources. And identifies the conditions under which such resource are sustainably managed. This study also concerns itself one way or the other with the management of common pool resource i.e. peace. Notwithstanding

the tangibility differences between these resources, the dynamics of these management are however same. As both require collective action.

Besides the similarities of focus on governance system and the management of common pool resources, the philosophical preposition suggested by Elinor Ostrom further underlines the applicability of SES for this study. It is in this philosophical or ideological grounds the possibilities of applicability of this framework beyond resource-governance settings are envisioned.

Responding to the question of universal structure of social interactions, Elinor Ostrom in her book understanding Institutional Diversity comes up with a positive assertion and maintains that even though social outcome vary across different contexts the underlying structure of these outcomes are same. In another words she maintains that there are universal building blocks that make up the structure of human-interactions regardless of spatial and temporal separation.

The examples that follow the definition of action situation relates to variety of human social interactions. At the surface the nature of these action situations and the interaction and outcomes differs. In her conception however the building block are same. The characteristics features that permeates these situations are composed of seven basic elements. The structure is effected by the external and internal variables and resultant interactions and outcomes are generated.

It is thus deducted from this philosophical position that the structure of state-society interactions also have these characteristics and in a similar fashion the interactions and outcomes are shaped by mix of multiple interwoven factors. Moreover, all these activities are group activities and the same is true for state-society interactions (Ostrom, 2009).

Besides, as has already been mentioned SES is a theory neutral framework. That makes it open to the incorporation of different theoretical positions. Thus its applicability is justified in this case as well.

### **3.3 Stability and Civil War as Action Situations**

The discussion on the definitions of civil war in the literature review chapter, concludes within a working definition of the term. As a multi-party (state and society) action situation in which illegitimate interactions are generated and violent outcome is produced. By reversing, stability or nonoccurrence of civil war is operationalized as an action situation in which the parties generate legitimate interaction and non-violent outcome is produced. By placing these situations within the Socio-Ecological System (SES) Framework the influences on these situations are investigated.

### **3.4 Methodology**

To investigate the influences on the outcomes under investigation. This study employs the strategies of Historical Comparative Analysis (HCA). The rationale of the methodology is based on the nature of the problem under consideration. As it has been discussed in the previous chapter (literature review) these social outcomes are dynamic in nature and evolve over time. A static, correlative analysis thus fail to capture the evolutionary nature of these phenomenon. The strategies of HCA on the other hand allows for tracing the process over time. Importantly historical context is a key analytical component, without which many aspects of social change and their outcomes would remain puzzling (Linders, 2004). In the scenario of this study the historical context relate to the legacies of princely rule. Moreover, its applicability is well suited when the problem is compared across different societies (Lange, 2003; Neuman, 2014).

### **3.5 Historical Comparative Analysis (HCA)**

The importance of HCA in expanding knowledge in the field of social sciences is well established. Many influential social scientist like Adam Smith and Karl Mark had used the methods of HCA to enhance our understanding of social world. This long standing research tradition is mainly concerned with big questions. Questions that are about large scale social outcomes, regarded important substantively and normatively (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003).

The primary focus of comparative historical research is to examine historical events to create general explanations. By comparison to other historical events, theory or reference to present day. To this end systematic comparative studies passes through four stages. First development of investigation premise (identifying events, concepts) that may explain the phenomenon. Second, selection of cases to examine. Third observe similarities and differences. Finally, propose an explanation based on the gathered information (Schutt, 2018).

### **3.6 Data collection and Analysis**

The data for this study in aligned with the nature of the research design, has been collected from archival records and relevant government publications. Given the limited availability of reliable publish materials on the history of Chitral, the related data is collected though interview and unpublished documents.

The collected data is then analyzed using the strategies of HCA. Two strategies in particular are heavily relied on, one for each section of the analysis chapter. In the first section a mix of the Existence/Absence and congruence testing approach is used to compare the cases on the basis of the factors and conditions associated with the onset of civil war. While in the second sector the



strategy of process tracing in applied. The events and concepts are organized and based on existing theory relationship among them is established. The first section of the analysis follows the deductive approach. In the second section inductive approach is used to arrive at a general theme.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Analysis and Discussion**

The analysis and discussion chapter of this study is divided into two sections. The first section compare the cases to on the basis the micro factors of civil war. To see; whether there are any differences between them in regard to the conditions associated with the occurrence of civil war. While in the second section the spatial contexts are compared, to understand the influences on the outcomes under consideration.

#### **4.1 Determinants of Civil War and the Case of Homogeneity**

In the micro literature, civil war is expressed as a function of space varying factors. These factors can be subsumed into three broader categories: Geography and Population, Socio-economic development and State Capacity. This section resents an overview of the cases with respect to these conditions. The aim here is to illustrate whether or not the cases show any major differences across these indicators considered be important in producing civil war. The intensity of these factors is not brought into the debate. Rather the presentation of a general overview is the purpose of this section.

It is pertinent to note that, the relative significance of these factors is not established. Neither any particular value are ascribed to these factors. For instance, it is not known that how much distance from the capital significantly increases the risk of civil war, or at what level of unemployment the likelihood of civil war is the highest. Rather it is the pattern of these factors that is observed, and their effect is comparatively evaluated. Thus the following exercise will help to get a general idea of the differences and similarities between these cases.

### **4.1.1 Geography, Demography and the Risks of Civil War**

Geography and population play important part in shaping within the state dynamics of intra-state conflict. Certain demographic attributes such as, density, youth bulge, education attainment and ethnicity are treated as important moderating variables in the causal analysis of civil war. The concentration of ethnic minorities in a given locality and their history of autonomous rule are crucial conditions that determine where within a state civil war occurs. For instance, if in a given region an ethnic minority makes up more than seventy percent of the population. The chances of violent conflict in that region are much higher (Toft, 2010). Similarly, the construction and promotion of common identity as part of state-building project, create resentment among groups having distinct communal identities (Newman, 2014). Political and rebel leaders amplify these factors to rally support and recruit soldiers.

The higher proportion of youth population in a society increases the feasibility of violent conflict. Primarily because this segment of the population makes up the majority of fighting force. In his study of the subnational determinants of organized violence in India. Urdal (2008) finds a significant positive role of youth bulge in armed conflict, political violent events, and Hindu-Muslim riots. According to the opportunity cost models of civil war, low education attainment in a society indicates a reduced cost of joining an insurgency movement (Collier, 2005). It is thus likely that in a society where literacy rate is low, the likelihood of civil conflict is high. Finally, population density either way plays contributory role in the onset of civil war. In remote areas away from the capital low population density in conjunction with other factors creates feasible conditions for separatist conflicts. While densely populated areas located close to the capital are more prone for governmental conflicts (Buhaug & Rød, 2006).

Beside distance from the capital of a country, other geographical attributes are also linked with the risk of internal conflict at sub-national level. The lay of the land and natural resource endowment are integral part of the causal set of civil war at sub-national level. It is believed that mountainous terrain significantly increase the risk of intra-state conflict (Buhaug & Gates, 2002). On the other hand the role of natural resource is contested one. In certain cases the abundance of natural resource breeds violence while others scarcity underpins the onset of intrastate conflict. Nevertheless the availability/absence of natural resource in an important indicator of civil war. Particularly when evaluated in conjunction with other factors.

The following table presents the situation of the cases on demographic and geographic determinants of civil war.

**Table 2: Geography and Demographics**

Demographic and Geographic Attributes	SWAT		CHITRAL	
	1983	1998	1983	1998
Population Density (Person per Sq. Km)	140	235.6	14	21.5
Age Structure 18 years and above 21 years and above 15-49 years		45.99% 37.31% 42.4%		46.9% 40.09% 40.72%
Literacy ratio	7.5	28.75	12.7	40.30
Unemployment Rate (1998) Percentage of unemployed labour force to the total labour force.		30.42		40.11
Distance from the Federal capital (Km)	237.5		389	
Distance from the Provincial Capital (Km)	198.7		351	
Terrain	Mild*		Harsh*	

\*the categorization of harsh and mild here is not based on any established criteria suggested by the literature. Rather this qualification is based on the observed pattern. The topography of both Chitral and Swat is termed as mountainous. However they differ in regard of intensity. The altitude of Swat valley gradually rises from 600 meters in the south towards the north. And contains mountain peaks ranging from 4500 to 6000 meters above the sea level. On the other hand the altitude of Chitral valley rises from 3377 feet at Arandu in the south to 12270 feet at Broghol in the north. And contains more than 100 peaks over 20,000 feet. Based on this pattern there topography is categorized is harsh and mild respectively.

\*the rational for using 1998 data and not recent one is because of the time frame of this study. It evaluates the historical development of these regions up to 2009, when eventually the conflict in Swat terminated with the military defeat of the insurgent group. Thus it focuses on the conditions before this period.

Data Source: (Population Census Organization Statistics Division Government of Pakistan, 1999)

#### **4.1.2 Social Welfare and Conflict Nexus**

The association between socio economic conditions and intrastate conflict is a mixed one. In his study of the micro conditions of civil conflict in Liberia. Schutte and Weidmann (2011) finds that the intensity of violent conflict was more severe in rich regions. While in similar study in Indonesia the onset of civil war is observed in poor regions (Tadjoeddin, 2013). The contested nature of the debate is at the heart of the grievances and opportunity related explanations of conflict. According to the former the primary cause of civil unrest is the discontent from the status quo. The inability of the established system to meet the aspirations of its citizens create disillusionment. Which in turn is channeled into mass mobilization against the system. While opportunity model maintain that, grievances are necessary but not sufficient conditions. For a civil war to occur it is necessary that opportunity for revolt also exist.

Nevertheless civil war is a function of both opportunity and grievance. The specific context of the conflict decides which particular factor takes precedent. In a conflict specifically directed against

an established governance system, the grievance of the population are certainly important factors. It is therefore important to evaluate the level of social welfare while comparing the cases under investigation.

The measure of welfare at subnational level is contingent on the availability of data. Keeping that into consideration this study evaluates the level of welfare across the cases on the basis of these factors: Road Network, unemployment, share of household with Piped water, radio, television, metal concrete roof and electricity. These variables will provide a good over view of the socioeconomic conditions of the region.

**Table 3: Status of Social Development**

	Chitral		Swat	
	1983	1998	1983	1998
<b>Housing Characteristics</b>				
Ownership	92.4	94.9	67	76.28
No. of Rooms	2	2.8	1.7	2.6
Kitchen	-	26.51	37.12	44.26
Latrine	-	38.53	61.25	36.33
Concrete roof	0.15	0.57	2.85	21.37
<b>Facilities</b>				
Piped Water (inside house)	1.01	25.13	2.52	24.53
Source of light (Electricity)	3.87	29.37	20.11	67.84
Source of Cooking (wood)	98.65	96.84	93.93	92.93
Information (T.V)	-	7.91	-	22.58
Unemployment rate	0.7		4.5	

#### **4.1.3 State Capacity and Civil War**

State capacity is a multidimensional concept, in general sense it is understood as the reflection of state authority. That is it is a measure of state ability to controls its subjects and implement its

policies throughout the territories it claims to rule (Luna & Soifer, 2017). Besides territorial control states capacity enables it to monopolize the use of force and enforce its decisions.

The association between state capacity and civil war is a complex one. Its effects are nevertheless well recognized. The dual dimension of state capacity is at the heart of this complexity. First there is this average or aggregate level state capacity. At this level it is believed to have a direct relation with civil war onset and it also effects its intensity and duration. Fearon and Laitin (2003) the second dimension of state capacity- the variance over space or time- yield contradicting conclusions. It is believed observing at this vintage point that the distribution of state capacity is not uniform throughout the state and hence the aggregate level indicators i.e. GDP fails to capture this variance. It is therefore necessary to have a disaggregated analysis of state capacity to explain the variation in the incidence of civil war. Unlike the commonly held assumption that civil war incidences occur in peripheral regions of state where state exerts less control (Koren & Sarbahi, 2017) show that the relation is in fact the opposite. Using nighttime light emission as a measure of state penetration they find that the areas where state penetration is higher the likelihood of civil war onset is higher and vice versa.

**Table 4: Public Sector Investment 1974-75**

<b>Sectors</b>	<b>Chitral</b>	<b>Swat</b>
Industries	0.53	15.30
Communication	57.12	55.00
Water	27.35	19.82
Agriculture	2.34	4.27
Physical planning and housing	14.00	43.11
Education and Training	16.29	33.12
Health	17.75	2.87
Urban and rural development	7.82	12.10
Total	157.29	193.41

#### 4.1.4 Discussion

From the data presented above it can be observed that the conditions that are empirically and theoretically considered to increase the vulnerability of an administrative unit in one way or another are present in the cases. The pattern of these causal factors is the important aspect. Given the fact that their relative significance is not established. Neither there exist any particular value to gauge optimal intensity of any factor. As there is no particular value of distance from the capital, population density, unemployment, illiteracy and the likes which is considered optimal to increase the vulnerability of a given case. Rather, it is in the configuration of these factors that is observed and their role is evaluated mostly in comparative context.

Thus, if civil war (keeping other factors constant) is expressed as a function of this set of factors: (ethnic minority, autonomous status, institutional transformation, peripheral location, low population density, mountainous terrain, low literacy and education attainment along with geographical location along the border of another state) the likelihood of such conflict appears to be high in Chitral. That shares longest border with Afghanistan (zone of Conflict) than any other region of Pakistan. Particularly separatist conflict.

Similarly, *circa-paribus* if civil war is expressed as a function of (central location<sup>8</sup>, ethnic minority, autonomous status, institutional transformation, high population density, mountainous terrain, dependence on natural resource, low educational attainment and employment). Swat appears to be feasible for the occurrence of intra-state conflict for the control of central government.

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<sup>8</sup> Swat is the head-quarter of Malakand Division. That consists of seven Districts namely, Chitral, upper Dir, Lower Dir, Malakand, Swat, Shangla.



Without undermining the fact that the factors and conditions presented above do not cover all the possible combination of intra-state conflict occurrence, the situation still indicates a considerably similar chances of civil war occurrence in the cases.

## **4.2 The Umbworld of Deviation**

The preceding section has brought us to the conclusion that none of the cases were at a particular disadvantaged position viz-a-viz the occurrence of civil war. In other words it was equally possible that an organized resistance against the state could have been orchestrated in either of the cases. To develop understanding of this anomaly this section compares the spatial contexts in which the outcomes are situated. The inquiry is guided by the assertion that: social outcomes do not occur in a vacuum, rather are shaped by the political, economic, social and physical/ecological environment in which they are embedded (Arjona et al., 2019). The attributes and influences of these components in shaping the situation under consideration are highlighted and discussed.

### **4.2.1 The Political Context**

At surface the occurrence and nonoccurrence of civil war in Swat and Chitral, reflect the different nature and quality of center-periphery political relations. In Swat it is apparent from the outcome that a symbiotic relation could not be forged. While in Chitral the center managed to establish its legitimacy. Given the homogeneity of the political system in which they are embedded and their contribution in determining the distribution of power at the center. The nature, structure and evolution of indigenous politics lie at the heart of this dichotomy. Which are explained under the following sub-themes.

### **4.2.2 Institutionalization of Central Authority and Political Evolution**

Prior to their contemporary status as administrative districts, Swat and Chitral were princely states, ruled by local rulers with strong central authority. The centralization of authority in these polities however was differently institutionalized. In Chitral it was a central element of the social

organization. The political contestation revolved around the continuation and transformation of this institution. In Swat on the other hand central authority was imposed on a society which was severely averse to the idea. It failed to establish its roots. The political contestation was structured to prevent the formation of centralized authority. The contrasting responses to the authority of the state in the post-merger period are, first and foremost, rooted in these historical legacies of these regions. The historical legacies of statelessness in Swat and statehood in Chitral underpins the diverging outcomes of state-building.

The history of state-hood in Chitral is ancient one. Due to lack of written records the exact date of the first emergence of the state is contested. Hussain <sup>9</sup> (2014) traces the origin of Chitral to 17<sup>th</sup> century. While according to Baig<sup>10</sup> the Turkistani Prince Shah Nadir Raees conquered the region in 13<sup>th</sup> century and established the foundations of a state. Without undermining the conflict about the exact date of formation, the state of Chitral was at least 200 years old at the time of merger in 1969. The fact can be validated from the accounts of British officials who had visited Chitral and served there in different capacities. Their formal interaction with the state of Chitral started with 1884 treaty of friendship with Mehtar<sup>11</sup> Aman-ul-Mulk. They nevertheless depicts a picture of well-established and organized state system<sup>12</sup>. The kinds of which are evolve over course of history. Even though wars had been integral part of the politics of Chitral. Never in its history it descended into complete chaos and central authority was abolished. This had inculcated or

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<sup>9</sup> [http://www.mahraka.com/chitral\\_history.html](http://www.mahraka.com/chitral_history.html)

<sup>10</sup> Pakistan, I. U. C. N. (2004). Chitral: A Study in Statecraft (1320–1969). *Karachi: IUCN Pakistan*.

<sup>11</sup> Mehtar was the title of the ruler of Chitral

<sup>12</sup> See for instance: Hooker, J. D. (1911). On the Balsaminaceae of the State of Chitral. *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)*, 1911(5), 209-211.

Younghusband, F. E. (1895). Chitral, Hunza, and the Hindu Kush. *The Geographical Journal*, 5(5), 409-422.

Military Report and Gazetter in Chitral 1928.

institutionalized the respect and acceptance for rule of law among the people of Chitral. And ingrained its essentiality in their institutional memory.

On the other hand the state of Swat at the time of merger was only 50 years old. Variation in the duration of statehood is one component of difference between these societies. The essential element lies in the respective valuation of centralized authority. In Swat centralized authority was imposed on a society which was historically and ideationally averted to such idea. In the words of Lindholm<sup>13</sup> before 1919 the political organization of Swat was of ordered anarchy. The definition element of such arrangement is the absence of central authority. Since the invasion of the region by Yosafzais Pashtuns in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the political system revolved around two groups (Dalla) of equal power. The political game was played to restore the balance of power in the society. According to him three factors prevented the emergence of central authority in Swat: the ideology of equality (rejection of other superiority) among Pashtuns, periodic distribution of land which prevented any one to amass sufficient wealth and exert power over others and the intervention of the Nawab of Dir, called on by any group whenever weakened.

The otherwise divided society of Swat, at the time of foreign invasion used to unite under the leadership of religious figures. Mian Abdul Wadood decedent of a holy figure Known as Saidu Baba, used one such occasion to establish his rule in Swat. The alliance with British government played instrumental role in this regard. Firstly, it provided him with resources to provide public services and build an army. Second the alliance of Dir of Nawab with the British government prevented him from intervention in Swat. He was a Machiavellian tactician. To strengthen his grip on the society: he eliminated the institution of periodic distribution of land thus creating permanent

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<sup>13</sup> Lindholm, C. (1979). Contemporary Politics in a Tribal Society: Swat District, NWFP, Pakistan. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 19, No. 5, 485-505.

support base, eliminated the mediatory role of other religious figures and his capacity as arbitrator followed the policy of supporting weaker party and confiscated the land of dissident Khans and fragmented their followers.

Mian Abdul Wadood and his decedents managed to establish their control in Swat for 50 years by suppressing the traditional nature of politics. Little transformation in the nature and character happened during this period. In fact this experience transformed the political game from balance of power in the society to the total control. Lindholm observes the reemergence of this pattern in the alignment of parties in the national elections of 1970. Which were organized along traditional alliance bases. Which left limited space for the newly emergent class of young and educated group to participate. The inertia of order anarchy and the desire to control the power in society along with disillusionment of a certain group explain the breakdown of social system in Swat in the post-merger era.

During the same time when the political space was suppressed in Swat, it was evolving in a completely different trajectory in Chitral. This was an era of mass mobilization against the institution of Mehtar. The contenting forces joined hands under the banner of Chitral Muslim league in their demand for a responsible democratic government. Their efforts eventually culminated in the introduction of interim act of administrative reforms for Chitral. Which was a sharing formula between the Mehtar and the Muslim league<sup>14</sup>.

When democratic institution was introduced unlike Swat political parties were already formed in Chitral. Beside the fact that merger was demanded by the people of Chitral, it appears as a natural

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<sup>14</sup> Inayatullah Faizi; the turbulent periods-An Account of Mass Movements in Chitral (1917-53) Un-published.

outcome of the evolution of politics in Chitral. The Emergent System was thus more relevant with respect to the political context of Chitral than Swat.

### **4.2.3 Quality of Governance**

The quality of governance in the states of Chitral and Swat was considerably different. In terms of public service provision (health, education and Infrastructure) the situation in Swat was much improved. In fact it was the most developed state in the Northwestern region of the British Indian Empire. On the contrary Chitral was the least developed state in the region. The provision of public services was barely minimum. Individual and property rights were non-existent. Mehtar as de-jure owner of the land could derive any one of his property. The same power was exercised by other state officials at the village level. Bonded service to the state and slavery was institutionalized.

This variation in the quality of governance subsequently contributed in shaping the prospects of support for the post-merger state system. Firstly as a result of the merger, the institutions of slavery and bonded labor were abolished. This acted as a liberating experience for the people of Chitral. Secondly it ensured the protection of property rights. In the new arrangement it was not possible to usurp their property. The same exact sense of liberation didn't happen in Swat.

Importantly a considerable level of development in Swat meant that the expectation of people was higher from the emergent state system. Resultantly, the marginal value of the public services was less here. That is why the provision of public services didn't translate into popular support in Swat. On the other hand underdevelopment and the lack of public services in Chitral, meant the relatively low expectation of people. Due to which the marginal value of these services were significantly higher in Chitral. As a result the provision of public services heavily contributed in earning support for the state. .

#### **4.2.4 Economic Context**

The variation in terms of economic viability underpins the deviation of state society relations in these societies. The potential of the economy to provide opportunities for livelihood is considerably different in Swat and Chitral. Which in turn determines the relative importance of state apparatus in the life of these communities.

In the twilight years of the princely rule. The last Wali-Swat embarked on a journey of economic modernization. Multiple small and medium sized industrial units were built in Swat. Their number grew over time so did the number of people employed in this sector. According to the NWFP Development Statistics Report 1991 the total number of registered industrial units in Swat were 79.

On the contrary, according to the same report there was no single registered industrial unit in Chitral. This pattern has many meanings, but important to the context it indicates the degree of dependence on state apparatus for their livelihood. The lack of economic diversity means that the people of Chitral are highly dependent on the state for their livelihood. That is why 38% of the total labour force were employed in government sector in Chitral, compared to the 10% in Swat<sup>15</sup>.

The state thus became an important element for the prosperity and survival of the people of Chitral. As well as it serves as a source of upward social mobility for these people. In contrast it holds no such relevance for the people of Swat. Thereby the level of dependency too shapes the legitimacy outcomes in these regions.

#### **4.2.5 Physical/Ecological Context**

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<sup>15</sup> District Census Report 1998, Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

The pattern of topography and climate of Swat and Chitral are alike. Both are mountainous regions, their winters are short and summers are long. However they differ in the extremities of these characteristics.

The terrain of Chitral is extreme mountainous, compared to the mild mountainous nature of Swat. The summer precipitation is likewise low in Chitral as well as the temperature in winter. These characteristics of the ecological environment translate into the variation in the degree of accessibility of these regions, availability of cultivable land and production yield. All in important ways shape the situation under consideration.

Chitral, from outside is accessible through four passes. All over 10,000 feet height. Till the construction of Lawari tunnel in the southern pass, this route used to remain closed for most part of winter due to heavy rainfall. This accessibility constrains keep Chitral immune to a certain degree from foreign influence. It is considered as one of the important variables in shaping the peace in Chitral region<sup>16</sup>. It is important to consider, in spite, of the situation this region had historically been effected by foreign invasions. Also the lack of access did not prevent the ideas of independence movements of the Muslim league to reach here in the 1940s,

The point is to elucidate the fact in purely security perspective. As two of the respondents during an interview<sup>17</sup> highlighted this aspect. Speaking in terms of the Taliban uprising they said due to the nature of its geography it is relatively easy to control the region of Chitral. And it also prevents foreign intrusion in the region.

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<sup>16</sup> Cutherell, D. (2011). Governance and militancy in Pakistan's Chitral district, November 30 [online]. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1–10.

<sup>17</sup> The interviews were separately conducted from a Police officer who had served both in Swat and Chitral and a Military officer who was posted in Swat during Taliban Insurgency.



The case was different in Swat as they continued, the open entry and exit of the area makes it difficult to check all the movements. Moreover unlike Chitral the borders of Swat are porous. This is why the insurgency first started in the peripheral region of Swat and gradually diffused to the center. As according to them it was easier for the insurgents to strike their targets and retreat to their hideouts across the districts.

Even tough civil war is much more complex phenomenon, and its occurrence and non-occurrence has more underpinnings than the security element highlighted by them. Their perspective nevertheless indicates that a geographical buffer against the rise of organized resistance existed in Chitral and it was absent in swat.

The second aspect of the physical world that is different between these regions is the potential of agricultural productions. Swat is an agriculturally rich region. The types of crops grown and the production yield is much diverse and high than Chitral. The total agricultural yield in Chitral for the year 1981 was 30700 tons while in the same year the production from major crops was 445646 tons in Swat<sup>18</sup>.

When this situation is place in the economic viability debate. It further highlights the life sustenance potential of these region. The ability of agricultural to sustain livelihood and in Swat was higher than Chitral. Which means the dependency of the region on the state apparatus was further reduced.

#### **4.2.6 Social Context**

How violence is institutionalized in a society has a bearing on the absence or presence of violent conflicts. It is maintained that if any society there is tendency to use violence as a means to achieve

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<sup>18</sup> District Census Report 1983.

end. The feasibility of organized violence to occur become more pronounced. Such situations provide rebels leader with readymade support base.

When observed at this vintage point the institutionalization of revenge seems to separate Swat and Chitral. In Pashtun culture revenge is an integral part of the cultural code. Animosities are carried through generation often resulting in heavy casualties. The rise of Taliban in Pashtuns areas is sometimes placed in this context. The class centric explanation sees it as a rise of the middle class against their feudal lords or khans. These landless peasants used the platform of Taliban to settle their score against the landed class and punish them for their past transgression<sup>19</sup>.

The conflict around land ownership are present in Chitral. The episodes of collective violence also occur. The Sunni-Ismaili conflict of 1980s for instance. Besides, it is common that football matches frequently turn into fighting between these groups. The only difference is that such conflicts are not dragged on. Secondly the contending parties do not resort to the use of arms. Finally they take such matters to the police or courts instead of taking personal actions.

The issue of justice system such as delayed decision of cases lack of effective implementation, costly justice procedure which are frequently cited as the reasons of the rise of Taliban in Swat are also present in Chitral. However such factors did not translate into large scale violence. Partially this can be attributed to the acceptance of rule of law and partially to lack of revenge seeking is at the heart of such deviation.

The important aspect that differentiate these two societies relate to the social structure or precisely the religious structure. Swat is sartorially homogenous society. 98 percent of the population adhere

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<sup>19</sup> Akins, H. (2018). Mashar versus Kashar in Pakistan's FATA: Intra-tribal Conflict and the Obstacles to Reform. *Asian Survey*, 58(6), 1136-1159.

to the Sunni sect. Such homogeneity it is maintained that makes it easier to coordinate mass level movements. For the simple fact that most of the community adhere to common principle. Thus it was easy to get the support for the call of Islamic jihad in Swat. In Chitral the community is divided in to two sects: Sunnis and Ismaili. The former constitutes the majority at around 53percent while the Ismaili are around 42 percent. This heterogeneity thus creates constrain on the collective action required to organize mass movements in Chitral. For both of these communities adhere to different religious doctrines.

Another important aspect that is needed to take into consideration in this regards is the social status of religious leaders (mullah and imams). In Swat this class of the clergy was outside the political power sharing arrangement. His role was first exalted in the 1970s. When the landed class used them to issue fatwa against the land redistribution policy of ZAB regime. In a society where social status is based on land holdings this landless class always remained at the margins. The TTP movement thus provided them the platform to exert there social status.

In Chitral social status has other dimension as well. The religious clergy enjoys considerable social prestige. Moreover it always has been active in the political process of the region. Besides it enjoys considerable social influence as well. Thus there were no personal incentives for this class organize or engage in such movements.

A single episode of civil conflict simultaneously falls into multiple categories. It is not surprising that the Swat conflict is diversely operationalized in the literature. Such as, class conflict, ethnic conflict, religious extremism and war against the state. This situation has made it challenging to individually focus on each dimension of the conflict. To avoid complexity in this study the conflict

has been operationalized in terms of organized resistance against the state. Such operationalization is justified because regardless of the nature (as discussed in the literature review) at its core civil conflict is against the rule of the state. In the case of Swat religious dimension even though was prominent, as far as ideology of the resistance is concerned. At its heart however the aim of the conflict was to change the established state system. In this sense it was an organized resistance against the state.

Theoretically, such conflict is a function of grievance and opportunity. In other words, for civil war to occur it is necessary that there are grievances against the state and the opportunity to translate those grievances into organized resistance. Only then the set of necessary and sufficient conditions is fulfilled. Individually grievance or opportunity is necessary but in itself not sufficient to produce the outcome. Which between the two holds precedence over the other is a matter of important debate. It is however reasonable to assume that in a civil war of legitimacy grievance is the primary necessary condition. Which means for such conflict to occur it is imperative that state fails to earn or loses popular support.

The failure of state to earn popular support is mainly attributed to its inability to provide basic necessities of life and by extension effective governance. Conjectures rooted in such understanding are empirically and theoretically vindicated. The veracity of the association is held, when a static approach is used. For instance, by measuring the quality of public services at the point of the onset of the conflict. Information produced as a result no doubt are crucial. Nevertheless, fail to capture holistically the determinants of state-society relations in this context.

In addition, such an approach has produced inconsistent results. In some states the relatively richer regions within the state have experienced civil war, while in other conflict have occurred in relatively poor regions. The analysis of the cases in this study has produced some interesting

observations. It is not entirely the ability of the state to provide public welfare or not that shapes the social responses towards its rule. The components of the spatial contexts of these societies play an important role too. As such, in case of higher dependency on public services, the state in spite of issues related with effective governance manages to earn popular support. Secondly instead of the absolute value of public services it is their impact in a particular setting that determines whether or not the state earns popular support. In case of high marginal value of these services, the legitimacy for state rule is earned with relative ease. Third the historical evolution of indigenous political institutions is critical in determining the outcomes of state-building. If the development of indigenous political systems adapts the state system, the continuation of that system becomes more feasible. This study subsumes all these situations under a broader theme of the relevancy of the state.

Even though it doesn't claim universal generalizability of this theme, it still stresses the importance of it in the relatively newer field of sub-national analysis of civil war. Given the fact that the determinants of civil war (a) fail to explain the absence of the outcome, in a case where a considerable configuration of these factors is present and (b) produce inconsistent results. The situation of state relevance can be a good theme to understanding the within-state variation in the onset of civil war.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Conclusion**

Why civil wars unevenly break out within a state? Why authority of a state faces organized resistance in its one administrative unit and gains acceptance in other? Under what conditions territorial integration of a state creates order and anarchy respectively? Why homogenous governance structure produces disparate outcomes. Whether such difference is entirely a function of state-building? Or the socio-political structure, economic and historical heritage of people inhabiting these units determine their fates? These and many related question are at the heart of the spatial dynamics of civil war.

Far from providing any plausible explanation, the micro literature of civil war has yet to any consistent and relatively general thematic guidance to start the investigation. This inability arises due to the dependent variable biasness shown in the micro studies of Civil war. It is an irony. The foundations of this strand of scholarship, stands on the assumption of unequal distribution of civil war incidences within the state. The focus of attention however is only laid the cases on civil war occurrence. The unequal distribution logically entails that civil war do not occur in some areas within the states. Still non-occurrence is treated as unproblematic.

In any instances if the cases of non-occurrence are included, the attention is still focused on identifying the factors of unrest. The reasons of stability are neither identified nor discussed. This has resulted in the growth of the accumulated factors or determinants of conflicts. This approach eventually lead up to the failure of universal theory building and at this level too. The steady increase in the number of indicators of civil war, will eventually lead to a situation where it will

be nearly impossible to find consistent pattern of causation across cases of civil war. The problem has occurred due to the same approach at the micro level of civil war.

More importantly, it is maintained that the nature of the problem at the micro level is distinct from its manifestation. However efforts are not directed to build a micro theory of civil war. This study intends to generate debate in this regard. The inclusion of the non-occurrence of civil war in the analytical frame, at one hand revealed the limitations of the determinants of civil war to explain the situation. As the cases under consideration exhibit similarities across these determinants. But differ with respect to the dependent variable. On the other hand it unearth hitherto unexplored themes in the micro literature of Civil war. The finds of this study shows that factors like dependence on the state, and the impact of public services take precedence over ineffectiveness and inefficiencies of governance. In shaping the quality of state-society relations. Additionally the historical evolution of societies plays important role in shaping the dynamics of state building.

The state manages to establish strong support for its rule, if its institutions has higher degree of relevancy for the society. Which in turn is shaped by their spatial context. Even though it doesn't claim any universal validity of its findings. The idea of a relevant state can be a good starting point to investigate the variation in the distribution of civil war within the state. It thus tentatively maintains that within the state dynamics of civil war is a function of state relevancy. The state manages to establish popular support in its administrative districts where its relevancy is higher and vice-versa.

## **5.1 Analytical and Policy Implications**

This study by problematizing non-occurrence of civil war arrives at an alternative explanation of the phenomenon. Even though it doesn't claim any generalization at the moment, beyond the cases

observed. The empirical evidence it provides nevertheless has potential implication for the theories of civil war. The absence of the outcome amidst the prevalence of the conditions of instability, suggested by these theories. Raises question about their universal applicability at one hand. At other, their inability to explain this anomaly reveals the scope related limitation of their approach.

This study showed that its approach towards the phenomenon has potential to address some of these concerns. Moreover, the focus on stability could be used to work towards building a universal theory of civil war. Which hitherto evades the scholarship on civil war.

The findings of this study has policy implication as well. Particularly relevant to the merger policy initiated by the state of Pakistan in the erstwhile FATA. Given the nature of this study the policy suggestions are related more to the overall approach of this policy than to the specific policy areas.

As the outcome of the study suggests, the success of the state-building policy is as much dependent on the existing conditions of these societies, as it is on the design of the policy itself. The understanding of the prior conditions is thus the pre-requisite for the success of the merger policy. Secondly, it is important to implement a disaggregated policy, in align with the specific contexts of each of these areas. Rather than relying on a uniform policy.

This region has already experienced civil war. So the state-society relations are already estranged. To repair those ties, it is important for the state to thus to ensure that it becomes relevant for the people inhabiting these lands. A better way for this would be to engage these people in the process of state formation. A bottom up state related development interventions. In the pattern of the Community Driven Local Development (CDLD) program launched in the Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa would be fruitful in this regard. It will help built the trust between the state and society.



## **5.2 Limitation and Future Research Directions**

Civil war is a complex and multivariate problem. The plethora of causal factors associated with its onset along with their context specific nature. Makes it difficult analytical task to study this phenomenon. At the face of the abundance of factors and conditions theoretically and empirically considered important for the explanation of civil war. It becomes a difficult choice to set the sufficient number of hypothesis to compare the cases. A tradeoff between parsimony and comprehensive explanation that every researcher dealing with such issue has to make.

Keeping the context of the cases in perspective this study compares them along the themes of; state-building, geographical position, demographic and topographical characteristic and governance outcomes to establish similarities and differences between them. Secondly it evaluates the variation in outcomes along the theme of grievance against the state. And largely adopts a structural perspective.

It is well cognizant of the fact that neither this view nor the factors form the only compelling lens to explore this phenomenon. Even within the theme of state building the variation can be studied in terms of variation in the nature of state building policy. Similarly the difference can also be equally expressed as a function of the opportunity for organized resistance. And the difference in the coercive capacity and institutionalization of collective violence across these societies would have helped elaborate the situation. Likewise the quality of local governance also has the potential to act as a compelling lens to study the variation.

It is however pertinent to maintain that, these themes came to fore during this study. Organized resistance against the state is in Pakistan specifically and in the literature generally. Is not studied by simultaneously problematizing stability. Thus the lack of explanatory themes and the

complications in data collection related with these variables, largely restricted this study to remain within its adopted approach. Nevertheless, it open a window into an interesting field of inquiry within the civil war. The findings of this study can be validated by analyzing the state building process in the others princely states (Dir and Amb) merged within the state of Pakistan along with Swat and Chitral.

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