



**WORKSHOP ON LIVELIHOOD, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN POST  
CONFLICT SWAT, NWFP, PAKISTAN**



**8-9<sup>th</sup> December, 2009 at  
COMSATS Abbottabad**

**Jointly organized by**

**Department of International  
Environment and Development  
Studies-Noragric, Norwegian  
University of Life Sciences Norway**

**Department of Development  
Studies, COMSATS University  
Abbottabad, Pakistan**

## **TWO DAY WORKSHOP ON**

### **LIVELIHOOD SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN POST CONFLICT N.W.F.P**

A two day workshop was held at COMSATS Institute of Information Technology Abbottabad in collaboration with the University of Life Sciences (UMB), Norway, on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of December, 2009. The workshop was held to better understand the situation that led to the conflict in Malakand Division N.W.F.P, how it affected the people of the region especially in terms of livelihood, security and the major post conflict development challenges faced by the people, the government and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs).

### **PARTICIPANTS OF THE WORKSHOP**

The participants of the workshop included Dr. Ingrid Nyborg, Associate Professor at UMB, Norway, Haavard M Reksten Administrative Head for research at the Police University College of Norway, Dr. Bahadar Nawab Head of the Department of Development studies at CIIT, Abbottabad, representatives of NGOs such as HUIRA etc that are working in Swat and other faculty members of CIIT Abbottabad that are residents of the Swat valley.

### **DAY 1**

The first session of the day started by recitation of verses from the Holy Quran followed by a self introduction by each participant. Dr. Iftikhar A Raja, Director CIIT Abbottabad, delivered the welcome note, also giving an introduction of CIIT Abbottabad and the different programmes offered at the University. He also stressed on the need for such forums and mentioned that it was the right time to hold such a workshop.

Dr. Bahadar Nawab, also introduced CIIT Abbottabad, the current Research Groups and future plans for Development Studies department at CIIT Abbottabad. There are, for example, plans to initiate a new Master degree program in Conflict, Peacebuilding and Development, which students could attach their thesis work to a research program focussing on the NWFP post-conflict situation, as well as the situation in Afghanistan. This was followed by Dr. Ingrid's introduction to her department NORAGRIC at UMB Norway. Mr. Haavard introduced the Police University College of Norway and the role of police in the community in Norway.

The main objectives of the workshop were presented by Dr. Ingrid and discussed by the participants. The objectives were as follow:

- To share information about the background of the conflict and ways in which government and humanitarian actors responded.
- Share information on the current situation in different areas of post-conflict N.W.F.P and discuss the roles, activities and challenges of the government, humanitarian and

development organisations in ensuring human security (in its broadest sense in the region).

- To identify the gaps in knowledge that exist in our understanding of development challenges in post-conflict N.W.F.P and the links between security and development, and propose appropriate research programmes to address these gaps.

This led to the start of the discussion regarding the history and background of the conflict in the Malakand Division. According to one of the participants who was a resident of Sawat, the conflict started with preaching on illegal FM radio stations which directly targeted specific people. They created fear amongst the community, by targeting and killing leaders and their families. There were three military operations in total, the reason for failure of the first two operations was that the people were not full-heartedly on the military and government's side. The third and final operation was successful as the government was able to win the support of the people and the fact that the army remained in the area to ensure that it remained peaceful. Tourism and agriculture were badly affected in Sawat.

Going into the history of the Sawat region it was pointed out that before Sawat became part of Pakistan in 1969, it was an autonomous princely state. After the merger with Pakistan it was exploited for its natural resources, and no justice was provided. Sawat suffered from a class struggle which eventually became transformed into a religious struggle, leading to the conflict situation, said representatives from the NGO HUIRA (Holistic Understanding for Justified Research and Action) an NGO that promotes coordination of development actors in order to avoid duplication of activities. In 1990's the religious leader Sufi Muhammad came to Sawat from Dir, and tried to convince people to fight against the judicial system, in order to replace it with Shariah law. He soon started to mobilise people, especially females for their charity and support. They took the community into confidence by doing certain good things like stopping encroachments etc, but slowly started targeting village elders, Nazims, NGOs, drug addicts and dealers, music and movie shops, barber shops, police etc. This started to create terror amongst the people of the community, and they started to fear him. 99% of the people seemed to sympathise with the Taliban, but actually it was out of fear and not willingly. At that time the people tried to resolve the issue through a 'jirgah' before the army was involved, yet it wasn't that simple as at that stage several actors such as the government, mafias etc. were involved.

Another side to the story is the Kisan Party or the Farmers Party, who started to react against land owners, formed part of the basis of the conflict. A few other reasons that caused the conflict was vested interest of certain people or groups of people, the socio-economic condition of the people, the prevailing justice system (after the merger), inefficient police system and the involvement of international political actors.

Representatives from HUIRA pointed out that the area was chosen on the basis of its resources, geographical location, strategic importance and weak social system which was so vulnerable that one person could change the whole situation just by talking on the radio. This has led to problems like security risk, livelihood problems and returning IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons). The extent of the damage in the area to various sectors is still not clear.

People of the area can be categorised into three major categories on the basis of their occupation: land owners, tenants and daily wagers. The people most affected in terms of loss of assets, by the conflict are the people that relied on their orchards. Hotel owners, daily wagers and shop keepers also suffered a great financial loss. About 70% of the people of Swat are land owners (although not all are large land owners).

Coming to the past and the present security of the region it was mentioned above that, there were three military operations in total, and that the reason for failure of the first two operations was that the people did not fully support the government. The third and final operation was successful, and now people have a renewed belief in the government – however they are also sceptical as whether support to the government will be able to be sustained. This would depend on the way the government manages its role in the present and future

Representative of HUIRA while answering a question said that before the merger of the Swat State with Pakistan, locally formed militia forces were controlling the security and resolving conflicts of the state. Although they were not salaried officers and were paid in terms of goods, they were not considered corrupt at all, as they were accountable to the local leaders. At that time the judicial system comprised of the ‘people friendly’ Qazi system, which worked on the principles of Shariah, and was very quick. The revenue system was also very good and everyone used to pay 16% on all they produced. Things changed drastically after the merger. The area was declared as a tax free zone and no income tax or tax on produce had to be paid. People were quite pleased with that. Livelihoods also diversified after the merger. The law and order system started to deteriorate, however, as people were quite happy with the previous system which was very fast. Most of the infrastructure such as roads schools and colleges, including a girl’s college there were from before the merger.

While discussing the security situation two factors identified as responsible for the conflict in the area were bad governance and a weak police force. It was found to be very important to understand the relationship between the police and people, which actors are involved and what role they play and the how police should also be aware of their expectations. The relationship of the people with the police has and will change; similarly livelihoods have now changed after the conflict. The connection between these two processes has to be better understood.

Currently, some of the major security problems are that the army has not developed a good relation with the public and that there exists a large gap between the public and the police. There

have also been examples of indiscriminate killings of suspected militant supporters, without a process of justice, bringing in issues of who the army and police are accountable to in the end.

Many national and international NGOs are now working in the Swat area in different sectors, yet there is still need for different humanitarian actors to come forward and analyse the situation as the government is still not able to measure and quantify the damages. Even the army is projecting information which may not be true. The information on the area is so limited that the analysis that people are doing on the area remains very partial and is not according to the needs of the people. For impartial analysis it's very important to understand the history as well as the present situation.

Another current problem identified by HUIRA is that people do not really trust NGOs as they think they have Western agendas, and they also doubt their credibility. Village level organisations used to be in place but are no longer intact. These Community Based Organisations (CBOs) were affected badly by the devolution process and also by the Militants. One of the residents of the Swat valley emphasized on the fact that the government has to prioritise the areas or sectors that need to be worked on the most. For this the government should have short, long and med term objectives, not just short term goals as they do today. The areas that need to be focused on the most are agriculture which contributes about 70% of the livelihood, followed by the forest and then services and the government should also focus on infrastructure.

Women and children were amongst the most affected. Three categories of women can be identified; urban, rural and hilly area women. Women of hilly areas are usually the most free to move about, yet they are the most burdened with work. Most of the girl's schools and colleges were destroyed during the conflict. There were about 60,000 pregnant women at the time of the conflict.

There are many international humanitarian organisations that are working in the region, yet they seldom get to the more remote rural areas, due to security issues. These organisations try to provide seeds for agriculture, but were not very successful due to limited funds and the fact that they couldn't get it to the farmers on time. There was a strong feeling that if these organizations worked more closely with local organizations, they would better be able to identify the real needs of the people. Also, local organizations have different perceptions and experiences of security risks than international organizations.

Another important thing identified was that 60-70% of the people did not leave their villages during the conflict, so we need to differentiate their needs as compared to the needs of the people who left the conflict area.

The current situation is that the army is handling the security of the area. The people of Swat are really eager for peace and are willing to cooperate with both the army and the police. Right

now it is a transition stage between the police and the army, the army is moving out while the police are moving in. Now peace in Sawat depends upon government policies.

The closing statement of the day was delivered by chairperson of the session Dr. Ingrid. She summarized the day's discussions, adding that one of the areas where this research would be useful would be to inform the aid community of the diversity of livelihoods needs as well as the different ways people experience the changing security situation, and how this impacts their ability to improve their lives. As the participants informed, most aid packages provided are currently based upon what is perceived to be needed rather than what is actually needed.

## **Day 2**

Day two started with identifying thematic areas, under which specific research questions could be grouped. The themes identified were Background (of the conflict), Livelihood, Security and Development. These questions are to formulate the major objectives of the studies related to conflict and livelihood security in the Sawat region.

### **Background**

- Who are the actors involved? (large land owners, small land owners, daily wagers, political activists, hotel owners, religious groups, criminal groups (timber, drug mafia), gender groups, international actors, police, govt. officials, Sawat Aman Jirgah, judiciary)
- What are the different perceptions of the origin of the conflict (land ownership, class conflict, socio-political status)?
- Who, in what ways, and by whom were people co-opted to different agendas, and to what degree was there an allying of interests between militants and local actors?
- What are the gender issues and women's rights (Sawab and moral issues), and how did they change during the different stages of the conflict?
- What factors/phenomenon contributed to the conflict in Sawat?
- What was the focus of the development interventions prior to the conflict in Sawat?

### **Livelihood**

- What are the different sources of livelihoods for different actors/groups before and after the conflict? How and why did they change?
- Who has access to and control over resources before and after the conflict? How were peoples' ability to negotiate control and access to resources influenced by the conflict?

- What was the nature of the conflict over resources (i.e. land, forests water, investment) before and after the conflict? What is the relationship between resource conflicts and broader security issues in the area?
- What local and government institutions deal with conflict/dispute resolution? How are they perceived by different people, and how do they relate to each other? Are they complementary or competing?
- How did displacement impact the livelihood security of different people?(man, women and children)
- Who were the most affected and who were the most vulnerable to conflict, displacement and resettlement? How did other sources of insecurity (e.g. climate, wealth, health, social) influence people's vulnerability?
- Who benefitted from the conflict (short, medium and long run)? In what ways?
- What were the different coping strategies adopted by different actors, in different situations?
- What are the short, medium and long term development priorities of the local people? In what ways do they differ according to wealth, gender, resource base, location etc., and where are there common interests? How does this 'match' with development priorities of government and non-government actors?

## **Security**

- What are the perceptions of security by different actors? (NGOs, local community, security agencies, military, police, people who stayed vs. people who left). How have these changed over time (before, during and after the operation).
- What factors affect people's perception of security and how were they affected?
- How do local men and women perceive (expectations) the role of NGO's and Govt. agencies in contributing to, preventing and mitigating conflict?
- How does the state perceive it, and what is there role?
- What are the particular security concerns of women following the operation? Are current government institutions, including the police, able to address these concerns? Where do they fall short, and in what ways? How do security issues influence women's ability to secure their livelihoods? How do men view issues and actions around women's security,

and what are the implications of this in terms of the role of local and government institutions?

- What kind of security practices did local communities and security agencies engage in before and after the conflict? (traditional institutions, community policing groups etc.)
- How are security practices conducted and how should they be conducted according to local women and men?
- How do local communities perceive the police and other law enforcing agencies (militia, army and levy) and their roles and and vice versa?
- How has the relationship and level of trust between the community and law and order enforcing agencies developed and changed with time? How might this differ both within and between communities, and why?
- How do local police officers see their own role in relation to communities, and how is this influenced by the provision or lack of provision of incentives such as pay, training, promotion opportunities, operational resources? What is the relationship between social status and levels of trust?
- What role should the police play in the long and short term in the community? How might the perceptions of this role differ between different actors?
- What role should the community play in the long and short term in security? According to whom?
- To what extent are the police accountable to the local people? To what extent are they accountable to other actors and institutions? What are the implications of this to women and men's livelihoods and security?
- How can we compare police, and local admin policy to practice? Has the police reform process had any impact on local policing in NWFP? Why or why not?
- How might we understand the implications of the demands for Shariah, Nizam e Adl and Jirgah system? Who has supported each system and for what reasons?
- What is the existing judiciary system and how does it affect different people's livelihood security and security?
- To what extent do the army and police follow the judicial system in the aftermath of the conflict?



## **Development**

- What was the focus of the development interventions prior to the conflict in Sawat?
- How did different actors respond (help people cope) during the conflict, displacement, return and reestablishment?
- Who are the development actors?(politicians, local admin, provincial/district govt, development activists, local and international NGOs). What are their short, medium and long term plans and policies? How do these compare with local priorities?
- Which sectors (services, agriculture, tourism, education, natural resources, mining) and class of actors (police, land owners, barbers etc) were most affected by the conflict and what sectors are being prioritized in development?
- What are the challenges of development? Is this donor driven or does it reflect the needs of different members of the community?
- What are the obstacles/hindrances and supporting factors of institutional development in post conflict scenario (unequal power relations, corruption, etc)?

## **Tentative Research Approach**

After questions were framed under each thematic area, appropriate research methodology was discussed and the following points were found relevant for the study.

- Map out secondary information (policy documents, research publications, data sets, project reports, media reports, training material)
- Choice of area/ site selection (e.g. Malakand division, both rural and urban, areas directly and indirectly affected, area directly occupied by militants or by military, highlands, foot hills, midlands, )
- Primary data collection
- Primarily qualitative approach, with both qualitative and quantitative data
- Selection of UC, villages, households
- Identification of stakeholders/actors
- Participatory action research approach (involving community particularly in data analysis, data analysis workshops, sharing of results, recognition of involved actors)

It was agreed that since this research was to be connected to the planned MSc program at CIIT in Conflict, Peacebuilding and Development, which is a long-term initiative, it was important that the research program also be broad and long-term. It is therefore important in its planning to take a holistic approach and include a broad array of relevant issues and questions. In that way it

will be easier to identify more specific research topics within the program which can be addressed by researchers, MSc students and their supervisors, the results of which can be fed back into the program as a whole.

The participants from Swat expressed at this point their interest in facilitating and participating in the research, both in terms of their own participation, the identification of research assistants from the area (for example male and female college students in Swat), and the identification of relevant and safe areas for research.

Finally, we discussed the way forward. We would in the first instance try to secure funding for an initial pilot study in one of the rural valleys just outside of Swat. This would give us the opportunity to explore the issues we have identified, gain experience in using participatory methodologies, and find interested local institutions to collaborate with. We could then expand the study into other areas. We would make a special effort to include government and implementing agencies in the research and discussions of results, in order to promote competence-building at all levels.

At the end of the day, Dr. Ingrid summarised the discussions and conclusion of the workshop. This session was concluded by Dr. Iftikhar A Raja with vote of thanks to all participants.