# AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE LINK BETWEEN HUMAN DEPRIVATION, LANDLESSNESS AND VIOLENT CONFLICT IN PAKISTAN

## By Sadia Mariam Malik

Centre for Conflict, Security and Development, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- Violent Conflicts are urgent humanitarian and development concerns of present day developing world.
- Most violent conflicts today are internal in nature
- Impose huge costs
  - Generate human misery and insecurity in the short run
  - Affects the economic, political and social structure of a country in the long run.
- In Pakistan, violent conflicts have escalated over time
  - Total number of violent attacks increased from 254 in 2005 to 3816 in 2009.
  - Total number of conflict related deaths increased from 216 in 2005 to 12,815 in 2009.

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY (Cont.)

- Some Costs of Violent Conflict in Pakistan:
  - Economic costs including direct as well as indirect costs represent 5.1 percent of the GDP.
  - Displacement of three million people.
  - Costs in terms of the achievement of MDG goals.
  - Anxiety and stress as well as rising physical insecurity.
  - Distortion in the international image of the country.

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY (Cont.)

- Despite such repercussions no systematic study on the key drivers of violent conflict in Pakistan.
- Most studies are related to political science literature and the key arguments include:
  - Formation of violent groups traced back to Cold War era
  - Growth of radicalization in the Zia era
  - Reaction to western imperialism
- These explanations are important but may not be adequate explanations:
  - Conflict is a complex phenomenon
  - Root causes may relate to multiple domains:
    - Political
    - Geostrategic
    - Socio-economic

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY (Cont.)

- Objectives of the present study:
  - Investigate in a systematic manner the role of socio-economic factors in promoting
  - (a) The incidence of violence.
  - (b)Support for militant groups.
  - Socio-economic factors include:
    - Poverty
    - Human Development
    - Literacy
    - Employment and lay-off rate
    - Rural landlessness
    - Food insecurity

## KEY HYPOTHESES' ARGUMENTS IN CONFLICT LITERATURE

- Greed Hypothesis
  - Economic opportunity and ability to finance armed rebellion as the key driver s of conflict
  - Mostly occurs in societies with
    - Abundance of natural resources
    - Dependence on the export of primary commodities
    - Presence of large diasporas
- Grievance hypothesis
  - Grievances of marginalised groups as the key driver of conflict
  - Mostly occurs in societies where political means to address grievances are limited.
  - Horizontal inequalities and conflict
  - Failure of social contract and conflict
  - These conditions are likely to *fuel* conflict if not *cause* it directly

## KEY HYPOTHESIS' ARGUMENTS IN CONFLICT LITERATURE

**Empirical Evidence** 

- Nepal: Poverty, social exclusion and landlessness identified as key drivers of conflict
- Sub Saharan Africa: Poverty, relative deprivation, political exclusion and failure of social contract identified as drivers of conflict
- Middle East (Israeli-Palestinian Conflict): Poverty and illiteracy not a factor
- Kyrgyzstan: Political and economic interests of key actors in conflict including the political elite identified as a key driver of conflict

## KEY HYPOTHESIS' ARGUMENTS IN CONFLICT LITERATURE

For Pakistan – Two notable studies:

- 1. Fair (2008) conducted a survey of 141 households of slain militants and found:
  - Respondents were considerably more educated than the average households.
  - Madrassahs were irrelevant to militant recruitment
  - Unemployment was high among militants despite basic education
- 2. Aftab (2008) conducted a descriptive analysis of the spatial distribution of poverty
  - Found little evidence to support the hypothesis that poverty, in and of itself, fuels extremism.
  - Poverty declined between 2001 and 2006 a period of rising extremism.

## DATA AND EMPIRICAL METHODS

$$CI_i = a + \beta X_i + e_i$$

Where CI is a measure of conflict intensity in district i;

a is the intercept parameter;

X<sub>i</sub> is a vector of socio-economic and geographic characteristics at the district level;

e<sub>i</sub> is the error term



- in each district in 2009 collected by Pakistan Institute of Policy Studies (PIPS).
- 2. The number of militant and sectarian organizations with bases in each district compiled from Rana (2003).

# DATA AND EMPIRICAL METHODS (Cont.)

## KEY EXPLANATORY VARIABLES

- 1. POVERTY
  - Headcount poverty (Cheema 2010)
  - Multidimensional headcount poverty (Jamal 2009)
- HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
  - Human Development Index (UNDP 2003)
  - Literacy rate (UNDP 2003)
- EMPLOYMENT
  - Employment rate (PSLM 2006-07)
  - Lay-off rate (PSLM 2006-07)
- LAND OWNERSHIP
  - % of rural population that does not own farm land (PSLM 2006-07)

# DATA AND EMPIRICAL METHODS (Cont.)

## • FOOD SECURITY ZONES

- Five food security zones constructed by WFP (2003)
  - Extremely insecure
  - Very insecure
  - Less insecure
  - Moderately secure
  - Reasonably secure

## • MADRASSAHS

- Number of madrassahs normalized by district population (AEPAM 2005)
- Number of madrassah enrolment normalized by district population (AEPAM 2005)
- LAND FORMS
  - % of total district area covered by mountains (NARC)

## DATA CAVEATS

- Limitations of the data on conflict
  - Limited data
  - Possibility of measurement error
  - Need to improve the collection and compilation of data in this area.
- Exclusion of FATA and FANA
  - District level data on socio-economic variables is not available
  - Exclusion of these regions may bias the coefficient estimates of socioeconomic variables.
- Endogeneity of poverty and food insecurity
  - Used (where available) pre-conflict socio-economic indicators.
- The relationship may not be causal if
  - There are other factors that drive both poverty and conflict.

## DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

#### ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF VIOLENT ATTACKS IN 2009



## ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF VIOLENT ATTACKS NORMALIZED BY DISTRICT POPULATION



## DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS (Cont.)

### ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF MILITANT AND SECTARIAN GROUPS



## DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS (Cont.)

#### NUMBER OF MILITANT GROUPS NORMALIZED BY DISTRICT AREA



























# Table 7: Ordinary Least Squares Estimation ResultsDependent Variable: Number of Violent Attacks per 100,000 population

	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Constant	0.082	5.286	-0.572	-4.195
	(0.5)	(1.21)	(-0.12)	(-0.92)
NW FP	5.008* **	6.775***	6.619* **	5.587***
	(4.24)	(4.69)	(4.07)	(3.53)
Balochistan	5.013**	5.734**	5.422* *	5.416**
	(3.07)	(3.18)	(3.11)	(2.71)
Punjab	0.009	0.899	1.327	0.752
	(0.22)	(1.28)	(1.77)	(0.97)
% Area covered by mountains	-0.005	-0.003	0.003	0.005
	(-0.24)	(-0.15)	(0.13)	(0.18)
Poverty headcount (Cheema 2010)		-0.160* *	-0.137* *	
		(-3.13)	(-2.64)	
Multidimensional poverty headcount (Jamal 2009)				-0.036
				(-1.02)
Human Development Index		-7.601	-3.971	-1.677
		(-1.05)	(-0.52)	(-0.21)
Percentage of total labor force temporarily laid off		-0.006	-0.008	-0.08
		(-0.54)	(-0.75)	(-0.75)
Employment Rate		0.057	0.052	0.049
		(1.16)	(1.00)	(0.91)
Landlessness rate			0.049	0.059*
			(1.59)	(1.95)
Number of Madrasssahs per 100,000 population			0.049	0.071
			(0.60)	(0.82)
Food insecure districts			0.970	0.881
			(1.23)	(1.03)
No of observations	80	80	80	80
R-squared	0.3227	0.3713	0.3925	0.3734

#### Table 8: Ordinary Least Squares Estimation Results

Dependent Variable: Number of Militant Groups' bases Normalized by District Area

	[1]	[2]	[3]
Constant	-0.697*	-1.108* *	-1.131**
	(-1.81)	(-2.04)	(-2.3)
NWFP	0.466**	0.351**	0.364**
	(2.32)	(2.1)	(2.22)
Balochistan	0.258*	0.253	0.287*
	(1.78)	(1.52)	(1.71)
Punjab	0.387**	0.324**	0.306* *
	(2.16)	(2.02)	(1.99)
% Area covered by mountains	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(-1.19)	(-0.88)	(-0.9)
Poverty headcount (Cheema 2010)	-0.015*		
	(-1.84)		
M ultidimensional poverty headcount (Jamal 2009)		-0.004	-0.001
		(-1.1)	(-0.43)
Human Development Index	0.443	0.703*	
	(1.32)	(1.93)	
Literacy Rate			0.008**
			(2.99)
Percentage of total labor force temporarily laid off	0.003	0.003	0.003
	(1.86)	(1.74)	(1.62)
Employment Rate	0.006	0.006	0.008
	(1.63)	(1.49)	(1.83)
Rural Landlessness rate	0.005**	0.006**	0.005**
	(2.23)	(2.32)	(2.21)
Number of Madrasssahsper 100,000 population	-0.005	-0.003	-0.003
	(-1.29)	(-0.83)	(-0.96)
Food insecure districts	0.158	0.147	0.129
	(1.14)	(0.96)	(0.92)
No of observations	80	80	80
R-squared	0.4871	0.4333	0.4663

NOLUSIONS

- The incidence of conflict is higher in NWFP and Balochistan
  - This result holds even after controlling for geographical terrain and socioeconomic variables.
- Poverty is negatively associated with the *incidence* of conflict
  - This indicates that the likelihood of violent attacks increase in more affluent districts that are characterised by lower poverty
  - Consistent with international studies suggesting that the perpetrators of violence may not *originate* from but often *strike* at areas that are affluent and often metropolitan.
- With respect to the presence of militant groups the Punjab dummy turns out to be statistically significant.
  - A useful finding given the low official recognition of the deep roots of militancy in Punjab.

## CONCLUSIONS

- Poverty and human development do not seem to be associated with the presence of militancy in a statistically significant manner. Same is true for food insecurity.
- Literacy rate is positively associated with the presence of militancy
  - The size of the impact is very small, yet the coefficient is statistically significant.
  - Confirms the findings of Fair (2008)
- Madrassah factor in terms of promoting militancy also turns out to be statistically insignificant
- Rural landlessness is positively and significantly related to the presence of militant groups
  - This relationship is robust to the inclusion of other variables