

Civil War and Poverty
The Role of Poverty in Tajik Civil War

Saltanatova Mizhgona Sambulshoevna

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate and Research
in partial fulfilments of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
International Relations

Eastern Mediterranean University
September 2016
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Tümer
Acting Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erol Kaymak
Chair, Department of Political Science and
International Relations

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion; it is fully adequate in scope and quality and as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erol Kaymak
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erol Kaymak

2. Asst. Prof. Dr. Aylin Gürzel

3. Asst. Prof. Dr. Acar Kutay

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with the civil war correlating poverty with the focus on the civil conflict of Tajikistan 1992- 1997. Responding to civil wars is difficult because the root causes of the conflicts are complex. Many states of Middle East, Asia and Africa experienced civil conflict, which erupted with sharp economic decline. The question raised here then is, why poor nations have the more probability of civil war rather than rich countries - academic researches on the causes of conflict demonstrate compellingly that poor countries are at an increase risk of civil conflict. The argument of the research is that, poverty alone is not the cause of civil war, its state institutions that cause poverty and increase the risk of civil war. This thesis focuses on interrelation of civil war and poverty. And answers the question, whether poverty is the principal reason for why poor countries are more civil war prone. The central question of the research is why there is a linkage between civil war and poverty?. Analyzing the situation, this research employs the model of intra war correlate poverty used by World Bank “Breaking the Conflict Trap ” to explore the motives that effect civil war, in particular economic factor that mostly impact poor counties by slowing the countries developing process. And it comes that, the low income areas suffer from it more because they are more vulnerable to civil war. The central point is that, it’s not only poverty that causes civil conflict but civil conflict also effects poverty, by poverty it means, the economic factors that served to make the poor nation poorer . All this can be more clearly seen in the experience of the low income countries.

Keywords: Civil war, Poverty, Tajik civil war.

ÖZ

Bu tez iç-savaşı ele alarak yoksulluğu ilişkilendirip Tacikistan'da 1992'den 1997'e kadar olan savaşa odaklanmıştır. İç savaşlara yanıt vermek çok zordur çünkü kök nedenleri çok karışıktır. Orta Doğu'daki çoğu devletler, özellikle Asya ve Afrika, iç savaş yaşayarak ciddi ekonomik düşüşlere sebep olmuştur. Burada sorulması gereken soru o zaman şudur: neden yoksul ülkelerin iç-savaş yaşama ihtimali zengin ülkelere göre yüksektir? Akademik araştırmaya göre yoksul (fakir) ülkelerin çatışmaya daha meyilli olduğu ve bu durumun artışının söz konusu olması mühtemeldir. Fakat asıl argüman, yoksulluk direk bire bir iç-savaşı tetiklemiyor, devlet kurumlarının yoksulluğa ve dolayısıyla iç-savaş riskini arttırıyor. Bu tez iç-savaş ile yoksulluk arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiye bakmaktadır ve bu anlamda yoksulluğun iç-savaş için fakir ülkelerin ana nedeni olup olmadığına cevap verir. Araştırmanın ana sorusu şudur: iç-savaş ile yoksulluk arasında direk bir bağlantı var mıdır? Durumu analiz ederek, araştırma iç-savaş ile yoksulluğu ele alarak, Dünya Bankası "Çatışma Önleme Tuzağı" hakkındaki iç-savaşı etkileyen motiflere bakıp, yoksul ülkelerin belirli ekonomik faktörler ile onların kalkınma aşamalarına göz atacaktır. Sonuç itibari ile, az-gelirli olan bölgeler en çok darbeyi alan ve en hassas olan bölgelerden ibaret olması kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Tezde ana fikirlerden bir tanesi de aslında yoksulluğun iç-savaşı etkilemesi değil, diğer yandan, iç-savaşın yoksulluğa neden ve sebep olmasıdır ve yoksulluk denilirken, ekonomik faktörlerin yoksul bir ülkeyi nasıl fakirleştirdiğidir. Bunların hepsi daha net bir şekilde düşük-gelirli ülkelerin deneyimlerinde yaşamlarında görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İç-savaş, yoksulluk, sefalet, Tacikistan iç-savaşı.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my Family for the support and blessings throughout my life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to extend my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erol Kaymak, for his guidance, encouragement, for understanding and patience throughout this work. Without his persistent help this thesis would not have been possible.

I gently admire the entire Department of International Relations, for facilitating my research. I also thank prof. Acar Kutay and Aylin Gürzel for their advice and assistance.

I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my Dad Sambulsho Saltanatov, the ideal of my life, for his unlimited support, blessings, and directing me on the right path throughout my life, and of course my heartfelt gratitude to my Mom Mehrinigor Mirzoevna for her kindness and trust on me and to my entire family for their love that encourages me and enlightens my path.

Finally, I want to appreciate all my friends who were supporting me during the time of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZ	iv
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATION	ix
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Research Question.....	1
1.3 Models and Hypotheses	9
1.4 Thesis methodology	9
1.5 Analysis and Assessment.....	13
1.6 Thesis structure	17
2 THE RELATIONSHIP OF POVERTY AND CIVIL WAR	19
2.1 Introduction	19
2.2 Conceptualization and Operationalization of Variables	19
2.2.1 Civil War.....	19
2.2.2 Poverty	22
2.2.3 Institutions.....	23
2.3 An overview of civil war and its main causes.....	24
2.3.1 The role of religion, ethnicity	25
2.3.2 The role of political institutions	26
2.3.3 Role of poverty or economic condition.....	27
3 THE ROLE OF POVERTY IN TAJIK CIVIL WAR.....	29
3.1 Country background.....	29

3.2 An overview of civil war in Tajikistan	30
3.3 The role of poverty in Tajik Civil War	32
4 THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN TAJIKISTAN.....	38
4.1 The outcome of Tajikistan's civil war	38
4.2 The consequences of Military- political confrontation	38
5 CONCLUSION	44
REFERENCES.....	48

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

CA	Central Asia
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
COW	Correlates of War
DTP	Democratic Party of Tajikistan
GDP	Gross Domestic Production
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRI	Islamic Republic of Iran
IRP	Islamic Revival Party
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RF	Russian Federation
RT	Republic of Tajikistan
TSSR	Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UTO	United Tajik Opposition
WB	World Bank

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Question

According to the World Bank, 2003, “Aid, Policy and Peace: Reducing the Risks of Civil Conflict,” poverty determines the onset of civil conflict. As intrastate war is very common in poor countries, what he means by low income countries is that they bring to the global poverty reduction. Poverty results in the increase of the likelihood of civil war. However, Rupersinghe, 2012, “Civil Wars, Civil Peace” states that one of the main causes of the intra- state conflict is poverty and relative poverty is widening the gap between rich and poor nations. In another words, civil conflict is affecting the poor countries thereby making the poor poorer.

Whereas, Bates 2005, found out the relationship of civil war and poverty in the case of African countries and argues that the 2 main determinants of civil conflict are poverty and population. Lewis explains civil wars in destroying the entire economy and therefore Lewis¹ assumes that the economic growth of a state can slide into civil war. His model concerns itself with the highlighting the growth in economy, the effect of financial capabilities. The economists see civil war as an organized crime and do not link it with social or political effects believing that civil war is a form of society’s productive resource development.

¹ Lewis, 2006. “Poverty and civil War. What policymakers need to know”, Brooking Institution, Washington. p-7

Similarly, in his research James L. Ray focuses only on the relationship between conflict and income per capita. He claims that when states get richer, the volume of the trade increases as well, and to fight with the trading partners is equal to committing “commercial suicide.” He believes that states have the resource to wage the war which is why poor countries are more likely to experience civil war.

Alexander² goes into the argument that, there is no reason to believe that poverty matters in civil war and suggests understanding civil conflict by knowing the long run political and economic institutions. This argument determines that the income is not an important factor of the civil war onset, instead long run institutions play a vital role in the onset of civil war.

And finally, Lael Brainard assumes that poverty has a linkage with insecurity not only internal conflict. And he claims that interstate war is not the only barrier to the poverty destruction as Collier believes, instead insecurity matters.

How has poverty effected the civil war in general and in Tajikistan in particular? The study seeks to investigate the effects of poverty in the form of economic condition and inequality and tries to answer weather the civil war of Tajikistan was caused by poverty or not.

1.2 Three fundamental explanations of the causes of civil war

Civil war is widespread with tremendous suffering among and within states in particular poor countries.

² Alexander M with Harding M, 2006. “Is poverty to blame for civil war? New evidence from nonlinear fixed effects estimation”, Econometric Society World Congress.

A debate over the major causes of civil conflict has been blustered for centuries among scholars. An important element of the debate has been resolved, academics advance 3 major explanations to account for understanding the key root of internal conflicts, which are ethnicity, poverty and institutional models. However they take the form of grievance, greed, insecurity, economic situation, religious identity. So a questions raises here, What causes civil war?

Globally as estimated the root cause of inter- state conflicts is poverty. However poverty alone is not be blamed to communal violence. More recently academics came to the point that the countries with low income per capita are at increased risk of civil conflict.³

UN had stated that poverty increases the risk of conflict. “Poor and hungry societies are much more likely than high income societies to fall into conflict over scarce vital resources, such as watering holes and arable land. Poverty increases the risks of conflict through multiple paths.⁴

The first principal school religious ideology has come to the fore of the major causes of civil war. Any threat to the identity can cause violence. The term ethnicity in most cases reveals the degree of complexity. Even with the end of Cold War the major cause of many conflicts has been ethnic and religious antagonisms, Fearon (2003). As Huntington (1993) have warned us that 21century will be witnessed to clash of civilization pitting amongst different ethnics. But some authors suggest that the nature of ethnic differences make domestic peace difficult Moynihan (1993),

³ Lewis, 2006. Poverty and civil War. “What policymakers need to know”, Brooking Institution, Washington.

⁴ United Nations (2005), <http://www.un.org/en/about-un>.

Ignatieff(1993), Rabushka and Shepsle (1972), Smith (1986) and Huntington (1996). Seemingly, the point of Horowitz's (1985) powerful book on ethnic clash is that plural social orders confront a large group of pathologies that render them particularly inclined to war and violence.⁵

After World War II and the collapse of Soviet Union as well, civil wars began immediately due to the changes in international arena therefore Fearon and Laitin (2003) argue that the greater level of ethnic differing qualities is not to be reprimanded for common clash.

So, it's difficult to consider religious ideology as the key factor for the cause of civil war, because after managing per capita income, ethnically different nations have no more confronting common war.

The other model – institutions affecting the civil war is due to the control for income per capita and legacy in institutions.⁶ In many other countries the difficulties faced today are rooted in the power structure, and many devised by former colonial rule s. For instance the post cold war period brought to the breakdown of the governments and dissemination of internal conflicts. Rupensinghe(2012). In many cases minority movement or fighting an insurgency according to Galtung (2014), brings to inequality which can then cause violence. Recently Besley and Persson (2008, 2010) focused on the correlates and causes of State Capacity and Conflict. Djankov (2010) assumes that institutions and state capacity, proxies by the assurance of property rights, standard of law and the effectiveness of the legitimate framework, are a basic

⁵ Lewis, 2006. "Poverty and civil War. What policymakers need to know", Brooking Institution, Washington.

⁶ Querol,2010, Ethnicity, Political System and Civil Wars. Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol 46 N1

reason for civil war. He proposes a change in institution can reduce 36% of the likelihood of civil conflict. Moreover Hall and Jones (1999), Knack and Keefer (1995), Mauro (1995), Acemoglu (2001, 2002), Easterly and Levine (2003), Dollar and Kraay (2003) Djankov (2002), Rodrik (2004), among others, demonstrate a positive relationship amongst institutions and different intermediaries for improvement. Some other scholars argue that strong institutions prevent conflict like Skaperdas (1992, 1996), Garfinkel (1990), Haavelmo (1954), Grossman (1994, 1996), Hirshleifer (1995), among others. In this respect the analysis show that the absence of secure property rights and law implementation is a basic cause of common war.

The last school - economic or poverty school assumes that poor nations have the high probability of civil war. According to the World Bank, (2003) experimentally, based on the most striking example is that civil war is intensely concentrated in the poorest nations." In tending to the reasons for common war, the World Bank expressed: "Thus our central argument can be stated briefly: the key root cause of conflict is the failure of economic development"⁷. Collier argues that poverty determines the onset of civil conflict. As intrastate war is very common in poor countries, and the low income countries are suffering from it more. By other words, poverty results in the increase of the probability of civil war. Moreover based on their analyses, Collier and Hoeffler (2002), assume that, that nations which haven't encounter war are described by per capita income, that is 5 times higher than in nations in which war broke out.

⁷ World Bank, 2003. "Aid, Policy and Peace: Reducing the Risks of Civil Conflict," Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, Dissemination.

Overall, income poverty influences on the duration of civil war, making it last longer plus increasing the risk of conflict onset. That's why Fearon and Laitin (2003), Collier and Hoeffler (2004) correlate low income per capita impacts conflicts risk. Miguel (2004) explains the increase risk of civil war relating it to slow economic growth. Likewise researches link poverty in particular large youth bulges, low level of education and natural resources dependent to conflict risk, explaining that poverty increases the opportunity for rebellion.

Elsewhere, Rupersinghe (2012), assumes that poverty is the key root of intrastate conflict and relative poverty as opposed to absolute poverty is broadening the gap amongst rich and poor nations. Civil conflict is affecting the poor countries thereby making the poor poorer. A related approach focuses more in the increase of population, Bates (2005), found out the relationship of civil war and poverty in the instance of African states and argues that the 2 main determinants of civil conflict are poverty and population. The fact that the civil conflicts are predominant and the existing international institutions are not prevented. For instance the case of Rwanda one of the world's poorest nations with a rapid expanded population combined with decreasing productivity of agriculture was suffering with civil conflict. Because, grievance in nations with the historical backdrop of social and ethnic divisions is the reason of violence.

But still the rapid growth of population was another major cause of the conflict. Expanding population in many of the world's poorest nations is creating an ever more sharp crisis. Lewis(2006), argues that civil wars in some cases destroy the entire economy and therefore assumes that the economic growth of a state can slide into civil war. The countries with low income per capita prolong the conflict

because not being able to stabilize the economy and because civil conflict impairs economic performance. Another major explanation for the linkage amongst low income per capita and conflict was explained by Ray(2005), focuses only on natural resources dependent. He believes that states have the resource to wage the war which is why poor countries are more civil war prone. Brainard (2007), argues that internal conflict has a linkage with insecurity not only poverty. And he claims that interstate war is not the only barrier to the poverty destruction as Collier believes, instead insecurity matters. Moreover low income leads to rebellion and weak states are more vulnerable to rebellion due to the lack of capacity. In recent years relative poverty demonstrates its increase, despite the expansion of the middle class in some parts of Latin America Far East. 50 poorest countries of the world, home to the 20 percent of the universes whole population represent fewer than 2 percent of world income. Finally Miguel (2004) finds that civil conflict has relationship with changes in income instead of income's level.

It's important to note the alternative approach to poverty by Alexander and Harding (2006), who claims that poverty does not matters in civil conflict instead the long run of political and economic institutions are one of the major factors of the onset of civil war. Overall, poverty is more robust explanation to civil war in compare to insecurity, economy and identity.

However, poverty and violence reinforce one another and extreme poverty or absolute poverty literally kills. An extreme poverty in the case of African countries come from inequality of the way it is shared out. As political regimes were highly corrupt that's why economic programs did not create growth. All these reasons in addition the lack of development plus accessible education has perceived as the key

root of civil conflict which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. Researchers who looked for highway rebellion to economic inequality⁸ Muller 1985, and Russett 1964 Paige 1975, to increase the economy's growth.

The fact is that poverty alone is not driving force for communal violence neither civil conflict but the exclusive combination of personal envy claims for social justice, growing intolerance, high level corruption makes the poor even worse off.

While each of the school makes overwhelming arguments, perhaps the most far reaching claim for the link between institutions and civil war play the major role and may be the cause of civil conflicts moreover the last school poverty is more convincing, because all the other arguments themselves take root from poverty.

However the findings of this thesis, relates poverty and institutions, therefore the research claims that poverty and institutions together are the key cause of civil conflicts. Social institutions are of the central importance of the state that can cause poverty. The best way to avoid any conflict is welfare states and social policies have to go hand in hand to best reduce poverty and inequality in particular.

Overall, our findings links poverty and institutions and one can say, that political and monetary institutions impacting poverty play a substantially more imperative role than each of the principal schools assumed.

⁸ Muller and Seligson, 1987, Inequality and Insurgency, The American Political Science Review, Vol 81. No 2.

1.3 Models and Hypotheses

As scholars have analyzed that, the last 2 decades, the world most poor states like Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Sierra Leone, Cambodia, Rwanda, Azerbaijan, and Tanzania were suffering from civil conflict. The means of poverty in respective countries bears a strong correlation to the root cause of the internal conflict and raise its likelihood.

Poverty caused by institutions is the main cause of civil war. Political and economic institutions which cause poverty have direct correlation with civil war, the greater the level of poverty the more the probability of civil conflict. There seems to be a cycle that moves back and forth between poverty and civil war, that can be a direct and proportional link between these two. The more institutions influence on poverty the more the risk of civil conflicts increase.

Poverty is caused political, economic and government institutions through corruption and mismanagement of natural resources, human resources and wealth, thus escalating desperation amongst the citizens to a point where individuals or groups are forced to fall back onto extreme strategies to maintain a basic life. The competition and desperation born out of poverty lead to civil war; a state where institutions are no more functional.

1.4 Thesis methodology

Nowadays the intrastate conflicts are more common than interstate. More recently after a debate over the major causes of civil war⁹, academics agreed low income per capita states are more risky for facing of civil war. At the same time others were arguing that the relationship between civil war and poverty is spurious.

⁹ Ray, 2005, "Constructing Multivariate Analyses (of Dangerous Dyads)," Conflict Management and Peace Science, pp. 285-7.

This research used the single case study Tajik civil war to analyze my hypothesis. And in explaining and discussing the arguments it will focus on secondary sources such as articles, journals and books. The case of Tajikistan is a typical case study, although the conflict itself is complicated and the research finds out whether it is based on the multiple causal processes. The case study emphasizes on the qualitative research method together with the secondary sources to attempt to answer the previously stated hypothesis.

The method of testing my hypothesis is by analyzing my case. Tajikistan case study is answering my research question and allows to control of the hypothesis. The paper used the case study design to develop the relationship of civil conflict and poverty. In an attempt to analyze and investigate the causes of civil conflict first of all I will find out the relationship of poverty and civil war, using the Correlates of War (COW) project which has been the main supplier of conflict data, for quite long time.

Some scholars argue that the wealthier the states get, the likelihood of having higher trade volumes increases, and to fight with the trading partner is almost the same as committing “commercial suicide.” However, some others claim, that wealthier states wage war with their resources and are therefore acting like that. Despite these however, poverty results in the increase of the likelihood of civil war therefore World Bank argues that the major cause of conflict is the failure of economic improvement, which can be considered as poverty.

Many scholars found the evidence that impoverished states have the greater probability of experiencing civil conflicts, I will analyze it based on my case study and try to find if it can be the cause of Tajik civil war or not. The rise of civil wars is

contrasted with the decline of inter-state wars tested utilizing logistic relapse investigation. Ethnic hatreds are considered as another ‘reason of state’ as a driver of conflict.

The data on civil conflicts originate from the Armed Conflict Dataset¹⁰, based on the project between Peace and Conflict Studies Department, the Center for the Investigation of Civil War and the database of Correlates of War. The first part of the paper provides theoretical framework defining the central concepts. Concerning the definition of civil war there is a big disagreement how to define civil war and understand the conflict. Later the paper will discuss empirical implication of the major explanation that cause civil war. Underlying my attempt to do this, there is speculation that per capita may not be the main cause of civil conflict. Therefore, I want to determine the straightforward meaning of poverty as an indicator of poverty or low level of life condition in general. The thesis implied per capita causal effect indirectly.

The end of the cold war endured armed conflicts in Asia, Africa, Middle East and even Latin America and Europe. Post Cold War period decreased the number of internal conflicts and instead increased the intra state conflicts. The Post Cold war period was used to find whether it can be the main reason of Tajik civil war.

A qualitative model of civil war onset was applied and focused on Doyle and Sambanis data encompassing all cease fires of at least one month in civil war. This thesis also used Collier and Hoeffler model which confirmed the link between poverty and civil war and blends quantitative and qualitative analysis. I use the case

¹⁰ <https://www.prio.org/Data/Armed-Conflict/Data-on-religious-cleavages-and-civil-war/>

to see the empirical measures by another word proxies to measure the theoretical significance leading to a deeper understanding of civil war. Such sequences help to identify the causal factor through which the independent variables influence the likelihood of civil war.

The transition – a drop in income is measured as the GDP per capita or the growth rate of a state and is counted as a foreshadow conflict. The GDP per capita comes from the 2006 Penn World Tables¹¹. The authentic GDP per capita and population data originate from Maddison (2003), and historical data on civil war comes from the Correlates of War database. The definition of civil war is taken from Doyle and Sambanis 2000. Considering the long run institutions this paper gives evidence that Fearon and Laitins (2003) institutional account matters and have direct link with poverty.

The results were steady with Collier and Hoeffler (2004) who find the change in income affect the likelihood of civil war. I do believe that poverty matters in civil conflicts. Furthermore, civil war is going to be defined as the more in terms of economic conditions that has interrelation with the social issues. Poverty has proven to be both the cause and consequence of the conflict, and its relationship with institutions I find it as the key root of civil war. Except increasing the risk of conflict onset, poverty influence how long civil war will last.

The previous researches explaining the causes of civil war emphasize that, the institutional grievance which influences the level of poverty leads to the likelihood of

¹¹ David Singer and Melvin Small, 1994, Correlates of War Project: International and civil war data, 1816-1992 (ICPSR 9905)

civil war. Economic inequality is considered as an objective measure of grievances. The purpose of the paper is to show how the long run institutional factors link with economic decline cause the civil conflict.

1.5 Analysis and Assessment

States that have low income per capita are more inclined to civil war because of the effect of poverty. Poor nations have a tendency to be less urbanized than rich nations. That is the reason poverty has an immediate strong relationship with the civil conflict. Collier and Hoeffler contend that poverty is the reason for raising the risk for violence. The principle question which the study is going to investigate is that why poor countries are facing civil war more frequently in compare to the richer states. This research approaches this by concentrating on the case study of civil war in Tajikistan and define the role of poverty in Tajik civil war.

Poverty is measured indirectly in the terms of income and is established as low income. However, per capita income, economic growth, income inequality are considered as the significant indicators of economic opportunity which I find playing a vital role on the cause of civil conflict. According to the explanations on civil war afore, this research finds the relationship between civil war and democracy much stronger than between income per capita and civil war. The explanation was considered, clearly not the only possible civil war relationship.

Clearly, poverty and conflict interaction is negative, strengthening cycle. World Bank defines the relationship between civil war and poverty as a “conflict trap”. The reason is that civil war slows down economic growth which directly influences on the functioning of market economies. Moreover, low income per capita tends to

prolong the existing conflicts and World Bank explains this relationship- getting stuck in a conflict trap, as far as civil war aggravates economic performance and brings to escalating poverty.¹²

Poverty is causality related to civil war and most often named as prime causal factor. Moreover, in order to identify developing countries with high degrees of inequality, there are some that have been wracked by civil war. (Sierra Leone and Colombia are prime examples.) But if we look at the poor countries with a much fairer distribution of wealth and income, some have undergone the same civil war traumas as Sierra Leone and Colombia. Rwanda is an example.

The list of civil wars of Fearon and Laitins (2003) is applied to the paper are includes the following requirements.

1. The definition requires that, a fight break out between state agents and organized non-state groups who aim to take control of a government or a territory and influence the policies of a government.
2. The next criteria of the definition is that, the death of at least 1000 civilians with a minimum yearly average of 100.
3. A mutual casualty of a hundred has also been considered necessary.

The aforementioned definition is beneficial in that, it requires a reasonable death toll, as well as not setting the bar too high by applying a reasonable annual casualty average of 100. It also pays attention to effective resistance by requiring a minimum number of 100 deaths either ways and accounts for civilian casualties. Most

¹² Susan Rice, 2006, Poverty and Civil War: What Policymakers need to know? Harvard University, Washington.

important of all, the authors apply a rigid criteria to be applied to a multiplicity of issues (Fearon and Laitin 2003).

Per capita income can be the considered as a measure of economic development or an indicator of economic opportunity. Therefore the operationalization of per capita income is described as a variable, because its central to all the analysis. The estimation of Fearon and Laitin's GDP per capita (2003) is applied as well as the World Bank's (2001) WDI (World Development Indicators) development rate and COW.

To control the variable was used GDP per capita for calculating the growth rate. Income per capita finds having significant effect on controlling the variable. That's why, this research examines whether there may really be causal relationship between per capita and civil conflict or not. To test this controlling for the economic development was applied.

An important determinant that influences the balance of power is also the new independency of any state as well as Tajikistan. These weak states are more vulnerable to the rebellion. Sambanis argues that, in general the prevalence of political violence on the planet will reduce by raising the levels of economic growth. To find out the correlation between poverty and civil war, the link with institutions has been used, which means state institutions cause poverty.

By the institutions I mean the factors of state development such as stability, legitimacy, low level of corruption, political consensus in other words well governance. Institutions are an important element to explain irregular warfare because state-building processes are a crucial tool to win the hearts and minds of the

population (that is specially the case for insurgents).¹³ Institutional grievance therefore influence the level of poverty which then increases the likelihood of civil conflict. It has to be noted though that a state's governance performance is not directly tied to its economic system, the level of wealth or level of development in the respective country.

When in the late sixties Samuel Huntington referred to the role of institutions in explaining “disorder” in society, he probably established the foundations of institutional explanations of political violence to come afterwards, which would be more sophisticated (empirically and theoretically).¹⁴ Today, from the large literature on conflict, we know that institutions matter, and they do it in multifaceted ways. Institutions can have diverging effects on political violence depending on the form of violence considered. Thus, there are a myriad of ways in which the study of institutions can potentially be bridged to political violence therefore I would like to establish this link.

Control variables, in order to control for spurious effects, as well as statistical dependency, several control variables are included. Economic development, regime change, ethnic cleavages and population size are found to increase the risk of civil war in previous studies. According to the analysis have been done, economic crisis, increasing inequality and weak political institutions are an important factors of civil war.

¹³ In fact, Kalyvas defines his theory as one “of the informal institutions of civil war” (Kalyvas 2008: 26).

¹⁴ Huntington, S. (1998). *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*. Simon & Schuster World Bank, 2003. Aid , Policy and Peace: Reducing the Risks of Civil Conflict, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, Dissemination.

Civil wars are violent political conflicts between the government of a country and one or more armed non-governmental groups. Both the government and the rebels use violence. Civil war happens when someone for some reason is motivated to take up arms against the government and is able to form a group and mobilize others. According to many powerful conventional wisdom, after the post Cold War period civil wars spread rapidly, in a view of the fact that Tajik civil war took place after the collapse of Soviet Union in post Cold War period has been tested.

Overall, income per capita has a negative and important impact on the likelihood of civil conflict.

1.6 Thesis structure

This thesis consists of five chapters:

Chapter 1

The first chapter covers the introductory section of the paper and within it consists of the structure of the thesis in general the procedure of the research paper. It includes the research question, explains the three fundamental causes of civil conflict and also covers thesis methodology with the analysis and assessment.

Chapter 2

A clear understanding of the concept civil war and poverty is provided by scholars. This chapter provides the main causes of civil war with the focus on poverty, which is the objective of the study. And clearly explains the relationship between civil war and poverty.

Chapter 3

Gives general information about Tajikistan and an overview of Tajik Civil War is provided but mainly it focuses on the role of poverty in Tajik Civil War.

Chapter 4

This chapter provides the information about the settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan and provides the cause and consequence of Military-political confrontation during the fighting in Tajikistan.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 focuses on the conclusion and the suggestions of the research and the hypothesis that have been provided to guide the research.

Chapter 2

THE RELATIONSHIP OF POVERTY AND CIVIL WAR

2.1 Introduction

In recent years civil wars have attracted considerable attention of academics and policy cycle. The causes of the civil war is limitless and within a broad framework there are endless variations, every civil wars differs from one another in all terms. In general there is no standardizing formula that can assess the nature and characteristic of civil wars. The phenomenon of civil war itself is very complex and has many interrelated dimensions.¹⁵ Overall there is no commonly agreed position. As, it's not easy to provide one definition for theorizing civil war. I therefore will not focus on any specific definition of the term but I will generalize the phenomenon as it can not capture the overall essence of a conflict.

2.2 Conceptualization and Operationalization of Variables

The following pages will present an array of certain key concepts which are going to be constantly appearing in the research. The reason for the conceptualization is to avoid instance of misunderstanding, as far as many words here continue to be used diversely, thus the significance of some key concepts used here be examined so as to expose their clear assumptions.

2.2.1 Civil War

The definition of the “civil war ” to be used in this paper is as follows: A huge scale violent conflict between organized groups that aim to establish government. In trying

¹⁵ Amalendu Misra,2008 “Politics of civil wars. Conflict Intervention and Resolution”Routledge.

to apply the definition of civil war it is crucial to understand civil war in its entirety and distinguish it from the other forms of conflicts and war. Sometimes the internal fighting is joined by national military forces from outside the country which is currently most evident and in many cases it happens to the newly independent republics. Some scholars argue that, civil war promotes economic prosperity or by another words long run expenditures in all cases bring to long term economic growth. About 10 years after the fact that, literature has created strong experimental confirmation that regardless of the role of ethnicity, poverty as measured by low national income per capita bears a strong and measurably important relationship to expanded risk of civil war.¹⁶

In the word of Angus Calder, “civil war” can be easily interpreted. It’s the battling out of the internal differences within one country. This is the narrative of people who having formerly lived side on more or less neighborly terms sort themselves out into groups and kill each other. (Calder 1999: 123)

A good definition of civil war is provided by Nicolas Sambanis, including several arguments. According to Sambanis civil war is: A civil war is: a violated conflict that has 1) caused not less than one thousands deaths; 2) challenged sovereignty of the internationally recognized state; 3) happened within the recognized boundary of the state; 4) involved the state as one of the principal combatants; 5) included rebels with

¹⁶ Robert Maculloch, 2005 “Income Inequality and the Taste for Revolution,” *Journal of Law and Economics*, pp. 93-123.

the ability to mount an organized opposition and 6) involved parties concerned with the prospect of living together in the same political unit after the end of the war.¹⁷

Unlike national wars civil wars do not unify the society. The source of the conflict is often the differences over political culture or distribution of resources. In case if the acceptable distributive scale for delivery of political, social and economic assets fails, in most of the instances it brings to violence within a given state among the constituent groups. When this violent behavior and activism is persistent and protracted the situation acquires the character of a civil war. Overall civil conflicts enhance pressure and differences, and are battled out in the midst of an aggregate breakdown of social and governmental institutions.

Sambanis states that, civil war is “the problem of the poor”. Poor nations have been in a greater risk to encounter civil conflict than well off nations. For all intents and purposes all late quantitative conflict studies locate a strong linkage between per capita income and risk of civil war onset, based on the control for other variables.¹⁸

Some other scholars argue that, to explain the outbreak of internal conflict we need to discover the circumstances that favor rebellion. The very character of civil war can be determined by the nature of the objectives in particular political objectives, control over the mechanism structure or creation of new independent unit. The link between and civil war highlights again, that most civil war experienced countries in

¹⁷ Susan, Rice. (2006). *Poverty and Civil War: What Policymakers need to know?* Harward University, Washington

¹⁸ Hengre, 2006 Empirical Results on Civil War Onset, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, v 533

the 21 century are in the low-income developing and underdeveloped part of the world.

2.2.2 Poverty

Though many civil wars occurred in the poverty stricken society, not all poverty stricken societies experience civil war. What then may be the correlation between poverty and civil war, a question appears here. In many cases the deep rooted poverty is the result of the breakdown of the economic situation. According to Fearon and Laitin GDP per capita is the strong precursor of the onset of civil war for state incapacity. However, more civil war will occur in the impoverished and weak state. At the end of the day it will bring to the breakdown of the economic system in general and specific societies in particular.

However the definition of poverty in this paper focuses not only in income per capita as an indicator of poverty, but poverty as an extreme economic, social and political condition. Poverty is addressed as a social and political phenomenon in this research with the context on the cause of civil war. This following definition differs from the literature looking to poverty from the other side. The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights explains the complexity of poverty and gives very clear explanation, “a human condition characterized by sustained deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standards of living and other political, civil and cultural rights”¹⁹

Armania Sen gives a very clear explanation for the overlooked question: How does poverty correlates to civil war? “ Given the co-existence of poverty and violence, Sen states that it kills twice, first by the mean of economic privation and second

¹⁹ <http://www.unhchr.ch/development/poverty>

through political carnage”²⁰ From the view of Sen, poverty first of all spills over the private life and then it shifts to political life.

There is also the influence of governing institutions which plays a vital role and by no means straightforward. The main thing here is to identify the way of looking at poverty, underdeveloped and civil war nexus. Collier in his sayings put it so well, “civil war reflects not just an issue for development, but a failure of development.” The same way poverty that brings to civil war is the outcome of deeper factor such as external influence on political situation, presence of corruption and of course the dysfunctional institutions. Moreover, in many underdeveloped states civil war causes lay on the systematic destruction of a state institution.

The other explanation linking poverty to civil war is greed, not that direct as grievance is. According to Fearon and Laitin the onset of civil war describes the case when government fails to adequate the population by supplying goods. Basically grievance in the form of unemployment and inequality can cause civil conflict. Moreover, the injustice of poverty leads to violence, because of the inequality and the greed of the state rulers or other leaders as well.

Overall, the correlation of civil war and poverty is strong enough, but I want to emphasize that poverty alone can not be blamed to cause civil war, but state institutions, which lead to poverty can cause civil war.

2.2.3 Institutions

The term institution is very broad and complex but in the research is referred to flourishing of stability, legitimacy, low level of corruption, political consensus, trust

²⁰ Sen, Amartya, 2008. Violence, Identity and Poverty. Journal of Peace Research, 45(1)-8p

and also foresightedness of political leaders, which at the same time are considered as the factor of development. The role played by the institutions is among the most highly valued standpoints of the states development based of the good governance. Therefore by institutions I mean good governance as well.

There are three important types of institutions like social, political and regimes. Social institutions govern relationships amongst individuals within societies and hence establish a social order. Constitutions regulate the relationships amongst citizens, political representatives and the state and hence create a political order. Regimes are often found in the international arena, where, being beyond the reach of the sovereignty of nation states, international agreements are used to create international regimes or international orders. I do emphasize on the constitutions, basically in the political order as well as good governance.

I do agree with the political institutionalists such as Alexis de Tocqueville and Max Weber, who argue that political institutions were understood in terms of norms embodied in constitutions. Nevertheless, both the social context for political institutions and the rise of the modern state, as well as the impact of institutional arrangements on the behaviour of politicians and votes.

2.3 An overview of civil war and its main causes

Civil war is a widespread with tremendous suffering among and within the state, the only type of conflict where brothers kill each other and people start hating each other and in many cases this hatred toward each other stays forever and that's the most horrible thing anyone can experience , it's the time when you go out you have to say good bye to everyone because there is no hope you can come back and see everyone

alive again, that's how people remember it with the tears on their eyes however million others still suffer from it.

First of all, on the major causes of the civil war my analyses are based on the previous studies and I more focus on ethnicity, institutional models and poverty. Even though they take different forms like grievance and greed or religious identity and many others. Using the theoretically based index I give special importance to poverty.

During this period, the risk of civil war has been systematically related to a few economic conditions, such as dependence upon primary commodity exports and low national income. Conversely, and astonishingly, objective measures of social grievance, such as inequality, a lack of democracy, and ethnic and religious divisions, have had little systematic effect on risk.

2.3.1 The role of religion, ethnicity

This principal model has come to the pick of civil war causes, as far as any threat to the identity can cause violence. Religious difference matters a lot in the cause of ethnic conflict and most of the scholars like argue that it's the key root of many civil wars however there are some scholars like Fearon and Laitin, who argue that religious diversity can't be blamed to cause civil conflict, and they assume that the root cause of civil conflict especially after the Cold War is considered as poverty rather than ethnicity or religious diversity.

The model of Samuel Huntington reminds us that the new reality of the world is cultural not ideological and according to him religious diversity plays fundamental

role in world politics.²¹ Following Huntington the religious diversity will play a huge role in the future conflicts among civilization. As a sign of identity, religious diversity can generate more violence. Three variables are there to identify the ethnicity, which are religion, language and color. The statistical analysis of many scholars as well as Fearon and Laitin achieved that religious and ethnic diversity are rejected of causing civil war and at the same time ethnicity is not useful predictor of civil war.

Furthermore, ethnic dominance matters too. If a society has a single ethnic group which is large enough to dominate democratic institutions, then democracy itself is not sufficient to reassure minorities. Ethnic dominance is a difficult problem. The most realistic approach is to entrench minority rights into the constitution. Usually state institutions are not enough strong to entrench minority rights into the constitution. As far as, all individuals are secure from discrimination, then individuals in minority groups are secure. And this credibility depends on the state well governance and the power of the institutions.

2.3.2 The role of political institutions

According to Collier, Hoefflee and Sambanis the middle level democracies have the greater probability civil war than the higher level. Statistically, the important determinants of civil war are political institutions or long run institutions which will at the end of the day bring to rebellion in society. Many countries nowadays face difficulties from the power structure and therefore institutions affect the civil war by controlling the income per capita and sometimes legacy in the institutions as Querol states. In most of the cases by the breakdown of the governments, insurgency brings

²¹ Huntington, 1998. "The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order". Simon & Schuster

to inequality , which then causes violent. For instance the post Cold War period, was considered as ethnic antagonism as ethnicity was the key cause of many civil wars. But actually the breakdown of the governments caused insurgency. That's why many scholars like Djankov (2010) argues that strong institutions, reduces the risk of civil war and in many cases prevent civil war. By the strong institutions I mean the capability of the state first of all and then protection of the property rights and rules and the effectiveness of the legal system, the failure of which can ultimately the cause civil war. The issue of the long run institutions is that it stresses the interaction of the social groups with the government.

My argument is that institutions alone are not the significant determinants of civil conflict, but with the link with poverty it can bring to civil war.

2.3.3 Role of poverty or economic condition

More than two thirds of poorest countries are suffering from civil wars, according to OECD²². The factor that explains which countries have the higher probability of civil war is mainly of the condition of the insurgent rather than the ethnicity or the religious diversity. An important indicators of which are economic growth and GDP per capita.

Economic development adversely affect the risks of civil conflict. Because the less the economic growth the more proxy income inequality occurs. And at the same time the less probability of civil conflict increases the economic growth. Per capita income is an essential tool of the civil war's onset. That's why poor countries suffer from the sharp economic decline and they are the one that had persistent poverty.

²² OECD 2002. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Helping Prevent Violent Conflict," OECD Policy Brief.

Moreover, economic characteristics such as dependence on primary commodity exports, low average incomes, slow growth, and large diasporas are all significant and powerful predictors of civil war. Because all these characteristics make rebellion more materially feasible.

Overall to stop the conflict or avoid any violence the reduction in poverty is required. I do agree with Miguel who argues that sudden changes in economic condition reflect civil war. He explains it as a transitory shock and assumes that a sudden hit can drive people to violence. Moreover, at the same time in fact strong state institutions limit insurgency by deterring conflict. Control of the long run political or economic institutions can reduce poverty, which then would not bring to civil conflict. In other words, poverty and civil war can be considered as an inseparable unit.

The possibility of peace within a given society is directly dependent on the integrated system of the higher values and their interrelation. When this unity and harmony gets weak then sudden risks of civil war increase. Wherever the core values are implemented, they constitute a single system of interaction and interdependent. The whole system of the high values acts as one. What do I mean by system of high values, is that they may be different, but that does not mean independent. In a modern society citizens belong to different religions, have different tastes and different political ideas, but this diversity does not lead to civil war. The risk of civil conflict contrasts greatly by a nation's attributes, including its economic characteristics. In general conflict weakens the economy.

Chapter 3

THE ROLE OF POVERTY IN TAJIK CIVIL WAR

3.1 Country background

Tajikistan, officially the Republic of Tajikistan, the former Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic within the USSR is located in Central Asia. Tajikistan is located in the foothills of the Pamir and has no outlet to the sea. The total area of the country is 143.1 thousand square kilometers. 93% of the territory comprised mountains belonging to the highest mountain system of the world- the Tien-shan, Hissar Alai and Pamir- with the highest pick Somoniyon (7495m), Communism (7495m) and Lenin (7134m).

In the south and the east Tajikistan borders Afghanistan (1,5 thousand km) ²³Uzbekistan (9.1 thousand km) in the northwest, Kyrgyzstan (6,3 thous. km) in the northeast, China (4,3 thous. km) in the west. The population is more than 7 million people. 60% of Central Asian water resource is provided by Tajikistan's streams. The climate of the country is very different, the temperature is very hot in summers from +45 °C above, in winters from -8⁰ C to -60⁰ C in the east.

The capital of Tajikistan is Dushanbe. The state language is tajik –includes to the group of Persian language, the communication and documentary languages are Russian and English. Islam is the main religion in Tajikistan which is practiced by 95% of the population.

²³ State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan– Dushanbe. 2000. – p.155
stat@tojikiston.com

Contemporary Tajikistan is sovereign and unitary state which follows the system of Unitary Presidential Republic.

3.2 An overview of civil war in Tajikistan

The civil war in Tajikistan – is considered as the most bloody conflict in the former USSR. Tajik civil war gave more than half of all victims of the collapse of the Soviet Union. During the civil war in Tajikistan have been significant human rights violations and massacres.

In 1991 Tajikistan gained its independence from the Soviet Union and soon after independence, the country has fallen in the Civil War, during which killed about 50 thousand people and more than 10% of the population became refugees. The war proceeded five years, from 1992 to 1997, with the resistance seeking after the fighting from havens Afghanistan as a neighbor state.

In the five years of political movements, Tajikistan transformed from dormant Soviet edge into one of the critical centers of violence and social upheaval in the former Soviet Union. Prior to that, Tajikistan, deservedly, won a reputation as one of the quietest and most reliable Soviet republics. Changes in the Tajik political leadership occurred mostly quiet and smooth. Even when the president Rahmon Nabiyev suddenly replaced Kahhorov Mahkamova in 1985, it happened quietly and without any political dramas, in contrast, for example, from neighboring Uzbekistan and other republics.

Moreover, national complaints from economics of 1990's, when it seemed disadvantaged, group of the unemployed youth have reacted strongly to the deteriorating economic situation. Soviet economic reports and academic studies

published during the restructuring²⁴ (eg Shcherbakova 1990;. Tishkov 1991, 70, 73), also often found the connection between the economic difficulties and the "national" conflicts. The head of the Planning Commission of the Tajikistan, Buri Karimov also wrote that by the end of 1980, " people were very unhappy first of all, with the growth of unemployment and other economic issues." Russian ethnographers also present their arguments on the causes of conflict in Tajikistan, pre- and post-Soviet period in the light of the collapse of the Soviet economic system. They believe that the true cause of the conflict - was not political or nationalist confrontation instead struggle of the parties on control over the main resources of the state. "

During the Soviet period²⁵, north part of Tajikistan sent out cotton and mineral resources, turning out to live in much more better condition than different nation's area. After getting the independence, the politicians from the north were ruling, the south part was holding the power, however the oppositions principle quality originated within the sloping Pamir area in the east, the most poor nation of the state.

Moreover, since the beginning of the collapse of the social system in the early 1990s, and the Soviet Union as a whole, Moscow was not justified with the calmness. The only remaining narrative is reduced to the ethnic violence and riots.²⁶

However, in 1990-1991, the situation completely changed when the conflict moved into the streets, and political confrontation unfolded under the doors of the Supreme

²⁴ Bushkov , 2009. *Anatomiya grajdanskoy voyni v Tadjikistane*, [Anatomy of civil war in Tajikistan (Ethno- social process and political struggle, 1992-1995)].

²⁵ Jonson, Lena (1998) *The Tajik War: A Challenge to Russian Policy*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

²⁶ Sen, Amartya, 2008. *Violence, Identity and Poverty*. *Journal of Peace Research*,

Council of Tajikistan. In 1992, the same confrontation went beyond political and grew in the Tajik civil war, which lasted more than 5 years, cost the lives of tens of thousands of Tajik citizens and led to the final collapse of the economy.

The violence started its demonstration among the two sides, Islamists and Communists, that succeeded on joining the governmental coalition and signed the agreement. The Government of the National Reconciliation or GNR, was not recognized by Kulyab, Leninabad and Uzbek nations, and they declared it unconstitutional.²⁷ The democratic party of Tajikistan DPT, Islamic Resistance Party IRP and together with the GNR formed the Opposition group that were fighting. IRP was the largest opposition party and aimed to strengthen the role of Islam in the country. It was supported by many arab countries together with Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. The fighting even fled to Afghanistan. However, after the collapse of Soviet Union, Russia assumed neutrality, it left its troops, which supported the government and even deployed around the afghan border.

The war ended up 1997 with signing the peace accord in Moscow. Eventually, the opposing parties had to join the government and the president retrained power.

3.3 The role of poverty in Tajik Civil War

In many regions civil wars are identified as the main cause of poverty which then damages the institutions, infrastructure and breaks down the economy. Since the collapse of USSR, the same as in many post-soviet states, a move procedure from one social and political status onto the next began in Tajikistan. Generally, the negative productive effects of the violent war can be concentrated in the form of getting lost or destroying the assets, that includes houses, land, cattle, labour,

²⁷ Also there;

livestock and so on. Unfortunately this destruction affects all the important sources of the life.

The role of poverty in Tajik war was indicated in the form of lack of free education, high level of unemployment, women discrimination and many other forms. The life condition was getting worse day by day, that almost one fifth of the Tajik children between the ages of 5 and 14 were forced to work,²⁸ in order to support their families, instead of attending the school.

Tajikistan's stability and evolve was disturbed by the social issues like corruption, violent crime and many others. As far as war destroys the infrastructure, assets, damages the institutions and production, kills and injuries millions of people, civil war has been recognized as one of the primary driver for poverty, assumes Collier, 2007. In spite of that there is a large evidence on devastating impacts of war, one can't be sure how these impacts might endure over time.

In the case of Tajikistan, it is estimated that the war destroyed about more than 25% of the state schools. According to the World Bank total loss of the education sector including equipment, textbook, furniture in the universities reached \$ 100 million US. It required reconstruction the same as in any state experiencing war. The system of education was destroying because the teachers mostly left the schools because of the small amount of salary and there was no more free education which once attracted the population. Another important factor about the education system in Tajikistan was that the reduction in the education of girls was very high with no

²⁸ UNICEF on civil war Retrived from <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/tag/civil-war>.

impact on boys education. Including the role of economic factors on the outbreak and duration of the civil war and its effect on the country was negative according to the analysis of this research,. But in any case the level of the violent depends on what happens to people during the war.

Moreover, poverty was obvious in all spheres political, economic and social issues. However Tajikistan tried a lot not to get the trauma again and hopefully until today there is no such a problem. Even though the people have in mind all the small details of the war and still feel hatred toward each other, the new generation is cleaning up all the bad memories and the relationship between different ethnics is much more better now comparing to the past last decade.

The term institution is very broad and complex but in the research is referred to flourishing of stability, legitimacy, low level of corruption, political consensus, trust and also foresightedness of political leaders, which at the same time are considered as the factor of development. The role played by the institutions is among the most highly valued standpoints of the states development based of the good governance. Therefore by institutions I mean good governance as well.

There are three important types of institutions like social, political and regimes. Social institutions govern relationships amongst individuals within societies and hence establish a social order. Constitutions regulate the relationships amongst citizens, political representatives and the state and hence create a political order. Regimes are often found in the international arena, where, being beyond the reach of the sovereignty of nation states, international agreements are used to create international regimes or international orders. I do emphasize on the constitutions,

basically in the political order as well as good governance. I do agree with the political institutionalists such as Alexis de Tocqueville and Max Weber, who argue that political institutions were understood in terms of norms embodied in constitutions. Nevertheless, both the social context for political institutions and the rise of the modern state, as well as the impact of institutional arrangements on the behaviour of politicians and votes. This definition makes emphasis on states making decision which I found very important, this is a very clear definition for the governance which I want to use for my analysis as well. It has to be noted though that a state's governance performance is not directly tied to its economic system, the level of wealth or level of development in the respective country. We can see from the example of Tajikistan that the state itself is weak where external actors seem to dominate the scene more than the state itself.

Upon the collapse of Soviet Union at the end of 1991, all Central Asian countries including Tajikistan acquired political independence. They still share many common patterns and features: the same cultural and political legacy, weak governance, loss of economic linkages between Soviet republics, the logic of transition from planned to market economy. In Tajikistan, the way local governance is structured today is very much an outcome of the Tajik civil war. This opinion is shared by Freedom House, who stated in 2006 that regional affiliations, patronage, and clan networks that developed during the brutal civil war continued to play a critical role, "hindering steps toward genuine pluralism and democratic governance."²⁹

There is a law on local self-governance in Tajikistan, according to which "local self governments are institutions of legislative and executive authority elected by the

²⁹ Freedom House, Nations in Transit, Tajikistan (2006), on www.freedomhouse.org, sighted 28/02/08

citizens of a given administrative territory.”³⁰ The state needs to put in place conflict-processing institutions that turn conflicts into constructive mechanisms for the development of the state. The state needs to function as a neutral mediator between the different conflicting parties.

Last, but not least, especially in the context of a post-conflict environment, a state is only functioning and statehood only exists if there are conflict processing institutions in place that ensure that conflicts are solved in a non-violent way and can be integrated into the development process constructively. In order to enforce these institutions, sanction capacities are extremely important in order to make people stick to the rules. Instead, a state is seen as not fulfilling its functions sufficiently if it is unable to put state-set rules into force, when competencies are not clearly divided between political leaders on different state levels and when the state puts up with state representatives that turn state property into their personal property.

This is very much the case in Tajikistan, where the roles of different state rather than for the sake of the common good. Weak states do not have the power to provide mechanisms and institutions to resolve conflicts peacefully at different state levels (local, district, regional and national). Subsequently, these states become prone to conflict escalation. The purpose of many state institutions’, such as partly of the Parliament, is to mediate between different interest groups and to find compromises to solve conflicts of interest, which arise on a daily basis. If institutions like this one do not function, compromises cannot be found and some groups tend to become privileged while others are marginalized. In the course of this process, the

³⁰ Ilolov & Khudoiyev , 2001. Local Government and Public Reform in Initiative, Open Society Insitute.

marginalized groups gather resources to reclaim their power positions. The Tajik civil war created different scenarios of governance performance depending on the involvement of the state, NGOs and international organisations in the three regions that are focused on (Kulyab, the Rasht valley and Mountain-Badakhshan).

Today's Tajikistan is improved in all spheres of life and the life condition of the population is strengthening and the citizens are happy with their life. The Government is working hard to provide better condition for the population, together with the civil society and in fact, Tajikistan stood up quickly to be recognized by many states and joining hundreds of the international organizations and is making its international status higher and higher.

Chapter 4

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN TAJIKISTAN

4.1 The outcome of Tajikistan's civil war

The presidential election of 1991 in Tajikistan resulted by bringing back to power the old party - the Soviet and economic nomenclature . It presided to win over Tajik mafia. Later the confrontation among the different groupings resulted a deep crisis. Apart from that, external center of influence were also involved in the cause of destabilization of the situation in order to realize their own interests.³¹

Overall, the event compounded shortage of goods, the breakdown of the economy and high level of tension in society.

4.2 The consequences of Military- political confrontation

Since March 1992, the chronology of events in Tajikistan was getting the signs of regionalism and clan , which later lead to the struggle amongst communists and islamic opposition. Thousands of meetings began that have shifted gradually from the threat of strength to its use³². May 5, 1992 emergency was declared by a presidential decree of provisions, prohibiting all political parties and meetings, and put curfew in Dushanbe.

³¹ Toshmuhhammadov M., 2004 “Grajdanskaya voina v Tadjikistane I postkonfliktnoye vostanovlenie” [Civil War in Tajikistan and the Post –Conflict Rehabilitation], Sapporo.

³² Scarboro, 2016, “ Nastoyashaya pritchina grajdanskoy voini v Tadjikistane” [The real causes of the civil war in Tajikistan], Journal Central Asia Survey// caa-network.org.

In spite of that, the situation was out of control, the complete paralysis of power held and began a period of military solutions to political issues. National consciousness was ousting regional identity and the center of gravity has changed from confrontation Dushanbe to Vakhsh valley.

On June 27, 1992 regular armed clashes between the parties began. In the fighting on both sides were actively involved mercenaries from Russia, Uzbekistan, Baltics, the Caucasus, Afghan mujahiddins, instructors -Arabs and at the same time the important number of criminals were released from prisons of Republic of Tajikistan. Martial actions became increasingly bloody with criminalized character. As a result, according to many sources Tajik civil war destroyed the entire economy with 7billion US dollars loss, including approximately 100 thousand human looses, more than 50 thousand houses were ruined and around 1 million people became refugees some of which displaced within the state.³³

November 16, 1992 the presidential form of government and a parliamentary form introduced formation of a new government in the Republic of Tajikistan headed by Emomali Rakhmonov. Opposition forces, mostly retreated to the eastern regions of the country, and were trained Afghanistan, which then attacked Governmental troops across the border of Tajikistan -Afghanistan. For instance, on July 12 and 13 1993 group of militants numbering more than 200 people broke into the territory of

³³ Bushkov , 2009. “Anatomiya grajdanskoy voyni v Tadjikistane. Etno-socialnie processy i politicheskaya borba”.[Anatomy of civil war in Tajikistan (Ethno- social process and political struggle, 1992-1995)].

Tajikistan in the area of the 12th Moscow Russian frontier, and as result many soldiers and local people were killed.³⁴

The Tajik sides very soon realized the destructiveness of war, the causes and consequences of its kind, but also realized the futility of a military solution to the conflict. For bringing the sides to the negotiation table, international community played a vital role, especially Russia and Iran as well as other countries donors and neighbors of Tajikistan and UN , which was involved in the process from the very beginning of the peaceful settlement of the conflict at the request of the two Tajik parties. The first mission of good offices of the UN took up its functions in January 21, 1993.³⁵

Furthermore, the UN has given assistance to the representatives of diplomatic services, using the mechanisms for the settlement of the conflict as Contact Group of guarantor countries and advisory gatherings of Tajik mission.

the most important role in the settlement of the Tajik conflict both military and political confrontation, has been played by the Russian Federation . The idea to held a meeting of heads of states of Central Asian Republics on August 7 1993 in Moscow was undertaken by Russia. To aggregate guard of Tajik-Afghan boundary as the borderline of the CIS has been done on the gathering and called upon the Tajik parties to conduct negotiations.

Moreover, Iran assumed no less vital role in the conflict, utilizing its high notoriety and influence, and was able to convince the Tajik opposition to conduct political

³⁴ /www.mpa.ru/ Jubilee of a feat. 10-years anniversary of internecine battle of the 12th Border Outpost in Tajikistan.

³⁵ The UN and the situation in Tajikistan , March1995//Reference document.–New York.–p.11

adjustment and set up talks with other intrigued nations, specifically with Russia on the settlement of the conflict. In addition, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Turkmenistan Uzbekistan and Afghanistan, effectively bolstered for a peaceful settlement as well as other international organizations including today's OSCE, the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), Organization of the Islamic Conference, the World Bank and groups of countries donors.

The conflicting parties have tried for a long time to reach the consensus, the process took only nine rounds of negotiations. These rounds of between Tajik talks took over four years, under UN auspices. At the final steps UTO represented the group of commanders- karategins, komsomolobs, tajikabads and garms.³⁶

- First round was in Moscow April 5-15, 1994; • the second round was held in Tehran, 18 - 25 June 1994. Likewise, Tehran held an advisory meeting for the mission of both parties, that created Joint Commission to monitor the Ceasefire Adjustment ; • third round took place in Islamabad in 1994,³⁷ the fourth round was held in Almaty from 22 May -1 June 1995, the fifth round in 1995, November , January, February, July 1996 in Ashgabat) ; • the sixth round (January 5, -19 February 1997 in Mashhad and Tehran ; • the seventh round (26 February - 9 March 1997 in Moscow) ; • eighth round (April 9 - May 28 in Tehran).

In the peaceful procedure of the settlement of Tajik conflict private meeting of the leaders of the parties: President Emomali Rakhmon and the head of UTO Sayid Abdulloi Nuri which held in Kabul 1994 and played very important role.

³⁶ <http://www.conflictologist.org/central.htm>

³⁷ Prevention and reconciliation of dispute in the CIS countries. //Magazine August, 2002 «The right and the security». # - 2-3 (3-4)

June 27, 1997, President Emomali Rakhmon and UTO leader Sayid Abdulloi Nuri signed General agreement in Moscow which was called "General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan". Proposition of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan and the UTO leader after a meeting in Moscow on December 23, 1997 of the year was to establish peace and was based on the major functions of the republic of Tajikistan.

An important technique for implementing General Agreement, was Commission of National Reconciliation (CNR), that consisted of 26 parties, 13 from Tajik Government and 13 from the UTO. Chairman of the CNR became UTO leader Sayed Abdullo Nuri, deputy chairman of the NPC - Abdumadzhid Dostiev.³⁸

Through constructive engagement with the Government of the state and according to the provisions of the General Agreement, the prisoners were released and concluded in accordance with the amnesty law and Act of mutual forgiveness.

In addition, amendments were made to the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan through a national referendum; developed a draft law on political parties, public associations, the media, on the parliamentary elections countries. It lifted the ban on opposition to national parties and movements and of course media. To bring the process of reintegration and disarmament was one of the significant accomplishments of the Commission of National Reconciliation activities, as well as the repatriation of more than eight hundred thousand refugees back to their mother town Tajikistan from the different countries of CIS, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

³⁸ Toshmuhhammadov M., 2004 "Grajdanskaya voina v Tadjikistane I postkonfliktnoye vostanovlenie" [Civil War in Tajikistan and the Post –Conflict Rehabilitation], Sapporo.

In general, in the light of the available evidence, that the economic collapse was the most immediate, clarifying cause of transition in the Tajik Soviet Socialistic Republic. Tajikistan's economy from a state of development and growth in 1985 shifted to the destroyed and ruined economy by 1990.³⁹ Its precarious position in the wider Soviet "division of labor", in which the Republic provided raw materials production enterprises, primarily to the European Soviet republics, limited tax revenues and exacerbated by subsidies from the center to a large extent. Therefore, the economic reforms of perestroika particularly impacted the local standard of living. In fact, the restructuring of Tajikistan turned so that, it was left without raw materials and finished products from other republics, but the commitment to deliver hundreds of thousands of tons of cotton annually for the needs of the other republics.

The government of Tajikistan through international organizations, primarily the UNHCR put a great effort for the repatriation of the refugees, rehabilitation and arrangement of housing and confidence-building measures.

³⁹ Scarboro, 2016, *Nastoyashaya pritchina grajdanskoy voini v Tadjikistane*, Journal Central Asia Survey// caa-network.org.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

To explore the literature concerning civil war and poor countries this research came to the point that there is a strong correlation between them, because more than two third of the poorest countries of the world were in conflict. I would like to hypothesize that poverty relates to civil war at the same time has a link with institutions.

This paper raised the question of the linkage between civil war and poverty, and the role poverty plays in causing civil wars. The analyses indicate that, poverty causes civil war as a social and economic phenomenon, which has a vital implication for the development of the institutions. For decreasing violence in particular civil war, progress being developed must happen especially to satisfy the basic needs of people and improvement of the life condition of the citizens.

It is important to note that, despite the fact that, poverty causes civil war, civil conflict causes poverty, that served to make the poor nation poorer. All this can be more clearly seen in the experience of the low income countries with the not well functioning institutions.

Some scholars argue that, civil war promotes economic prosperity or by another words long run expenditures in all cases bring to long term economic growth. Based

on the hypothesis above, civil wars intensify latent tensions and contrasts, and are battled in the midst of an aggregate breakdown of social and governmental institutions.

Nevertheless, the link between civil war and poverty highlights again, that most civil war experienced countries in the 21 century are in the low-income developing and underdeveloped part of the world. However, many civil wars occurred in the poverty stricken society, not all poverty stricken societies experience civil war. Collier in his sayings put it so well, “civil war reflects not just a problem for development, but a failure of development.”⁴⁰ The same way poverty that brings to civil war is the outcome of deeper factor such as external influence on political situation, presence of corruption and of course the dysfunctional institutions.

Poverty results by raising of the likelihood of civil war. Although the role of poverty in civil war is very huge, in the case of Tajikistan, it was the not the key cause of the Tajik Civil war but instead the civil war itself caused poverty, which means it brought to the failure of economic development. The issue is that, poverty that contributes to intrastate war, is the outcome of other deeper problems such as the influence of political elites, dysfunction institutions, and other factors.

The key root of many civil wars in undeveloped society is the destruction of state institutions that leads to poverty. The states where the institutions regulate law and states structures, which are undergoing the transitions, are more vulnerable to civil war. Many conflicts in developing world which escalate into civil wars have their origins in the dysfunction institutions that bring to disempowerment of people. In the

⁴⁰ Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. Greed and grievance in civil war. Oxford Economic Paper

case of Tajikistan, I want to emphasize that the dysfunctional institution caused poverty but it was not the root cause of the conflict.

Experiencing the peaceful settlement of the Tajik civil war which we can call both military and political conflict, was instructive from a number of standpoint. Firstly, the lessons for the Tajik conflict strive manage the requirement for an adjusted way to deal move from one social state onto the other, especially with regard to political and security stability. Furthermore, security and wellbeing can be accomplished on the premise of will and determination of the warring parties to the conflict, in finding the best options for resolution contradictions.

President Emomali Rakhmon, in his annual address to parliament and stated that, the internal policy of the Republic of Tajikistan can be strengthen by the central government carrying on the implementation of political, economic and social reforms primarily on the structural changes that reduce the severity of poverty and providing internal stability. Overall, the link between poverty and civil wars exists with the huge role of institutions. The same in the case of Tajikistan, which has to be improved.

Generally, civil war in Tajikistan, severely undermined the economy of the state. Today the country remains largely dependent on oil and gas imports. Poverty in Tajikistan still bears a mass scale and positions. According to World Bank⁴¹ information, in 2000 Tajikistan was among the world's 11 poorest countries. One part of the immediate tasks still facing the country is reconstruction of essential

⁴¹Jörn Grävingholt, 2004, Crisis Potentials and Crisis Prevention in Central Asia, German Development Institute (DIE), p- 17.

infrastructure. Establishment of functioning government structures in all parts of the country is likewise a task that still has to be mastered.

REFERENCES

- [1] Akiner, S., (2001). Tajikistan: Disintegration or Reconciliation?. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

- [2] Alexander, M., & Harding, M. (2006). Is poverty to blame for civil war? New evidence from nonlinear fixed effects estimation.

- [3] Amalendu, M. (2008). Politics of civil wars. Conflict Intervention and Resolution Routledge.

- [4] Amnesty International: external countries reports.

- [5] Bates, R. (2005). Political Insecurity and State Failure in Contemporary Africa. Center for International Development Working Paper No. 115, Harvard University.

- [6] Blomberg, S., & Gregory, D. (2002). The Temporal Links Between Conflict and Economic Activity, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46:1.

- [7] Bushkov V., & Mikulskii, D. (2009). *Anatomiya grajdanskoy voini v Tadjikistane. Etno-socialnie processi I politicheskaya borba.* [Anatomy of civil war in Tajikistan (Ethno- social process and political struggle, 1992-1995)].

- [8] Civil war and poverty (2002, May 13). Retrieved from <http://www.conflictologist.org/central.htm>
- [9] Collier, P., & Anke, H. (1998). On economic cause of civil war, Oxford Economic Papers 50.
- [10] Correlates of war. (2005). National military capabilities data documentation. Version 3.0. <http://www.correlatesofwar.org>
- [11] David, S., and Melvin, S. (1994). Correlates of War Project: International and civil war data, 1816-1992 (ICPSR 9905).
- [12] Economic situation of Tajikistan after civil war. (1997, March 21). Retrieved from <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/tag/civil-war>.
- [13] Elbadawi E., Sambanis N., (2000). Why are there are so many civil wars in Africa? Understanding and preventing violent conflict.
- [14] Galtung, J. (2007). Introduction. Peace by peaceful conflict transformation, Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies edited by Charles WEBEL, Johan Galtung, Routledge, London & New York.
- [15] Gurr, R. (1970). Why men rebel? Princeton University Press.
- [16] Hengre, C. (2006). Empirical Results on Civil War Onset. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, v 533

- [17] Huntington, S. (1998). *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*. Simon & Schuster World Bank, 2003. Aid, Policy and Peace: Reducing the Risks of Civil Conflict, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, Dissemination.
- [18] Javanani Tajikistan. (1990, 1 January). In BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. 16 February 1990.
- [19] James, L. (2005). Constructing Multivariate Analyses (of Dangerous Dyads), *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 22.
- [20] Jonson, L. (1998). *The Tajik War: A Challenge to Russian Policy*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- [21] Jörn, G. (2004). Crisis Potentials and Crisis Prevention in Central Asia. German Development Institute (DIE).
- [22] Jubilee of a feat. 10-years anniversary of internecine battle of the 12th Border Outpost in Tajikistan. Retrieved from www.mpa.ru.
- [23] Kaufmann, Ch. (1996). *Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars*. *International Security*, 20:4
- [24] Kolodziej, E. & Kanet R. (1996). *Copying the Conflict after the Cold War*. London. National Research Council.

- [25] Lael, B., & Derek Ch. (2007). *Too Poor for Peace? Poverty, Conflict and Security in the 21st century*. Brookings Institution.
- [26] Lewis, J., & Graff, C. (2006). *Poverty and civil War*. What policymakers need to know. Brookings Institution, Washington.
- [27] Lund, M. (1997). When dogs of War don't bark. Explaining peaceful settlement of ethnic Kin Group Conflicts between Emerging Post Communism States.
- [28] Maass, P., (1996). *Love thy Neighbor. A Story of War*. London. Vintage; Reprint edition.
- [29] Muller, E., & Seligson, M. (1987). *Inequality and Insurgency*. The American Political Science Review, Vol 81. No 2.
- [30] OECD (2002). Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Helping Prevent Violent Conflict. OECD Policy Brief.
- [31] Prevention and reconciliation of dispute in the CIS countries. //Magazine (2002, August). The right and the security.
- [32] Poverty in Tajikistan (2009, February 23-25). Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.ch/development/poverty>

- [33] Ray, (2005). Constructing Multivariate Analyses of Dangerous Dyads. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*.
- [34] Reynal, Q., & Marta (2002). Ethnicity, political systems, and civil war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39;3.
- [35] Robert, M. (2005). Income Inequality and the Taste for Revolution. *Journal of Law and Economics*, pp. 93-123.
- [36] Rubin, B. (1995) Russian Hegemony and State Breakdown in the Periphery Causes and Consequences of the Civil War in Tajikistan. Paper prepared for the Carnegie Project on Political Order, Conflict and Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union.
- [37] Ross & Michael L. (2004). What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?, *Journal of Peace Research*.
- [38] Rupersinghe, K. (2012). *Civil Wars, Civil Peace*. An introduction to the conflict resolution. University of Chicago, Pluto Press.
- [39] Sen, A. (2008, January). Violence, Identity and Poverty. *Journal of Peace Research*.
- [40] Scarboro, (2016), *Nastoyashaya pritchina grajdanskoy voini v Tadjikistane* [The real causes of the civil war in Tajikistan], *Journal Central Asia Survey*. Retrieved from <http://caa-network.org>.

- [41] State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Tajikistan. Population of the Republic of Tajikistan – Dushanbe. 2000. – p.155 stat@tojikiston.com
- [42] Susan, Rice. (2006). *Poverty and Civil War: What Policymakers need to know?* Harward University, Washington.
- [43] The outcome of civil war in Tajikistan (2012, January, 14). Retrieved from www.bbc.com/russian/international.
- [44] The role of institutions in Tajik civil war. (2000, September 13). Retrieved from www.mpa.ru.
- [45] The UN and the situation in Tajikistan. (1995, March) //Reference document.New York.
- [46] Toshmuhammadov, M., (2004) *Grajdanskaya voina v Tadjikistane I postkonfliktnoye vostanovlenie* [Civil War in Tajikistan and the Post –Conflict Rehabilitation], Sapporo.
- [47] Tuncer, K. (2011). Understanding Civil War. A Comparison of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, *Europe Asia Studies* 63; 2.
- [48] Tuncer, K. (2009). The role of Networks in Tajikistan’s Civil War. *Nationalities Paper* 37;5.
- [49] United Nations today's Tajikistan (2005). <http://www.un.org/en/about-un>.

[50] UNICEF on peace to Tajikistan. (1999, June 3). Retrieved from <http://learningforpeace.unicef.org/tag/civil-war>

[51] World Bank, (2003). Aid, Policy and Peace: Reducing the Risks of Civil Conflict. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit, Dissemination.