

Challenges to Integration of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in the Mainstream Governance System of Pakistan

Asghar Khan

University of Peshawar

Received: September 4, 2017

Accepted: November 28, 2017

ABSTRACT

This research paper explores the factors that challenge state governance in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. The paper asks why Pakistani state is failing to consolidate itself in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and what factors are responsible for posing challenges to Pakistani state governance (authority) in these tribal areas. Currently, in the wake of war on terror there is persistent pressure of the international community on Pakistan to integrate the tribal areas in the mainstream governance system of the country. This research paper probes these questions from the multidimensional perspectives of governance by focussing on ungoverned spaces debate. The paper develops the theoretical framework by exploring various governance theories and approaches: state-centric, society-centric and state-in-society approaches. From statist perspective this paper finds that factors: weak state capacity & will (commitment), weak state penetration, harsh geography, weak infrastructure of state and the presence of rival neighbour state at the border hinder the Pakistani state governance in FATA. From the society-centric approach, this paper finds that factors of being a strong society i.e. social autonomy, social formation, warrior nature of the tribal people, informal social institutions, informal economy, the lack of social cohesion and mistrust of the tribal society on state hinder the extension of Pakistani state governance in FATA. From state-in-society approach this paper finds that Pakistani state lack the capabilities and also cannot regulating social relations in tribal society. Further, the state function to provide public goods, social and other development services also remained a secondary concern by the Pakistan state due to its corrupt administration. Other factors of resistance include the stakeholder's interests to retain the status quo in FATA.

KEYWORDS: FATA, Challenges, Governance, State, Ungoverned Space, State Capacity, Will, Statists approach, informal institutions.

INTRODUCTION

All over developing world the states are facing challenges in extending their governance (authority) in all geographical areas under their jurisdiction especially in the rural peripheral areas. The post colonial states have no control of their border territories. Also the population living in these borderland areas did not comply to the central government right to rule. This lack of compliance thus results in gap between the state claim of international sovereignty (legal) and state internal sovereignty in a given territory. This dilemma is common with all post-colonial states of Pacific Island, Africa, Middle East and South Asia. In all these states though the government is strong at center but exercise limited control in the hinterlands (Synnott 2009 – 18).

In the context Pakistan, being an independent sovereign state, political scholars claim that nearly 60% of the Pakistani state territory remains ungoverned or outside the state governance (Synnott 2009, 18-20). This lack of control of the Pakistani state in its all territories also have drastic repercussions on governance in the neighbouring states of South Asia (Barthwal-Datta 2010, 59). These ungoverned territories in Pakistan include: Some areas of Southern Punjab, Balochistan, Karachi city and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Among all these, the tribal areas (FATA) has a long and unique history of remaining outside of the ambit of state governance.

From state perspective, the state is unable or unwilling to provide public goods and social services to its population in ungoverned spaces thus results in the state weak. As a result these ungoverned spaces have drastic consequences not only for the people in these areas but also for the very existence of the state. Because these spaces are exploited by non-state violent actors thus challenging the state authority by launching attacks against the state.

In the absence of state performing its responsibility of the provision of the public goods and services to its population the state-society relations in these ungoverned spaces remains weak. The most important responsibility for a state is to extend its governance (authority) in all its parts (OECD 2008, 73). The exertion of state governance (authority) to all its parts thus ensures state's territorial reach. Mann calls it infrastructural power which means "the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm" (Mann 1993, 4).

In Pakistan, the tribal areas enjoyed special status in the Constitution of 1973. All the previous governments in power though promised the tribal people to integrate FATA in the mainstream governance of the country but no serious steps were taken till date. One of the reasons behind the socio-economic and political underdevelopment of the tribal areas was the domestic and strategic compulsion (Rubin 2013). Besides, the flawed governance system, denial of political representation and the Pakistani state lack of political commitment has resulted in the socio-economic and political underdevelopment of FATA (Haider 2009).

Research Questions and Hypothesis

This paper probes questions that why Pakistani state is persistently failing to integrate the tribal areas (FATA) in its mainstream governance system? Why FATA still remains an unintegrated region of Pakistan thus posing challenges to domestic sovereignty of Pakistan today? And what are the various factors that challenge the integration of FATA in the mainstream governance of the country. At the end this paper gives some recommendations for the extension of state governance in FATA to the policy makers. To answer these questions, this paper reviews literature related to ungoverned spaces within the context of statehood and state governance mostly focussing on state's authority, capacity, legitimacy, state domestic sovereignty and territorial reach. Within the light of the governance literature this paper establishes the hypothesis that the absence of state governance leads to the development of informal institutions in a given society. These informal institutions provides state like functions to the local population and thus lead to posing resistance to the state authority.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

FATA enjoys an independent status since centuries. All empires that tried to occupy and rule India had only brought the plain areas of the North-Western Pakistan under their control. Their authority over the tribal areas (FATA) remained limited only to one or two passages. Even the great emperors like Alexander, Changez Khan and Taimur and also the Mughal kings failed to bring the tribal people under their sphere of control (Haq, Khan, and Nuri2005, 3). During the Great Game in the British colonial era, the tribal areas played as buffer zone between the British and the Russian empire (Wahed 2013, 603). The British also failed to fully integrate this region in their empire and thus adopted a strategy of indirect rule to govern these tribal areas. Since independence, the Pakistani government due to various reasons kept continued the British policy of indirect rule. Historically and also today, the state is unable to exert its control and domination on the tribal people of FATA. Most of the literature related to the state governance in the ungoverned spaces is only from statist's perspective focussing on security. Thus most of this literature is thus blind with regard to other perspectives of governance. For an in-depth analysis of the challenges to state governance in the tribal areas, this paper digs out the issue from a multidimensional perspective within three major approaches of state governance and politics in the developing states. These approaches are discussed as below:

State-Centric Approach (Max Weber 1918, Skocpol 1979, Skowronek 1982, Evans, Rueschemeyer and Skocpol 1985, Orloff and Skocpol 1988, Skocpol 1992, Shefter 1994, and Finegold 1995): The main argument of this approach is that governance is the property of state only. It says that state is the only allocator of value, having the right on the use of coercion and the provision of the public goods and services is its basic responsibility.

Society-Centric Approach(Baldwin 1990; Dahl 1961; Domhoff 1983; Domhoff 1996; Esping-Andersen 1990; Lipset 1963; Moore Jr. 1966, Scott 1972, Forrest 2003, Shills 1957, James Scott 1972, Geertz 1963; Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Connor 1967, 1969, 1972, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1984; Cheung 1979; Horowitz 1985; Chabal 1986, Rothchild and Chazan 1988, Migdal 1988, Chazan 1988, Coleman 1977, Crowder 1978, Hyden 1980, Gaffey 1991, Young 1994, Mendy 1994, Brooks 1993, Richard 1996, Forrest 2003, Cortell and Peterson 2003): This approach discusses the historical roots of the governance within the perspective of society. This approach argues that the historically rooted factors of the society provide strong basis of to a society making it independent of state governance and control.

State-in-Society Approach (Migdal 1988, 2002, 2004, Shoe 2000, 2003, Bell and Hindmoor 2009, Almond and Powell 1966, Homer-Dixon and Blitt 1988, Bell and Hindmoor 2009, Hay and Marsh 2006, Dennis and Cheema 2013): The main argument of this approach is that both state and society are interdependent and interconnected. This approach says that though today both state and society shape each other however still state has a dominant position in this relationship through its hierarchical control.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The general universe for this study was all the tribal Agencies of FATA, Pakistan. For the sampling purpose, all the inhabitants of FATA are considered as population for this study. According to Population Census of 1998 of Pakistan, the population of FATA is 3175 000 persons. Out of this total population of FATA, an overall 1500

sample was selected through Multistage Proportionate Stratified Random Sampling Technique (PSRS) on the basis of statistical formula $N = z^2 (P (1-P)/e^2)$ (Thompson 2012). In stage first, the whole FATA was divided into three zones, i.e. Northern, Central and Southern FATA. At stage two, an equal number of respondents were selected as per population of each tribal Agency. At the third state, each Agency was divided into accessible and inaccessible strata. The sample calculated as per the statistical formula from each Agency was equally divided as per inaccessible and accessible area and respondents were selected through simple random techniques.

For this study both quantitative and qualitative primary data was selected. Quantitative data was selected through a structured survey questionnaire, while qualitative data was gathered through in-depth interviews from stakeholders. Data was analysed by using descriptive and inferential statistics in the form of frequencies and percentages. The qualitative data was analysed and presented in the form of views of the respondents. The following findings have been obtained by triangulating the data obtained through structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews and secondary data. This paper though reflect the results of all data gathered for this study, but only provides the general findings thus ignoring the quantitative data tables and graphs here due to space issue.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

This paper finds that till date the Pakistani state failed to fully integrate the tribal areas (FATA) into its mainstream governance system either due to its weak capacity or due to lack of true political will. However, the existing capacity of Pakistani state was further weekend by various national and international factors including wars with neighbouring India, Afghanistan claim of Pukhtunistan, separation of East Pakistan and Soviet invasion on Afghanistan (1979). The US attack on Afghanistan in 2001 pushed the Taliban to take refuge in the tribal areas of Pakistan. These Taliban not only started cross border attacks in Afghanistan but also started challenging Pakistan state authority by launching attacks in the adjacent areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and other parts of Pakistan. The international community and the threat emanating from FATA compelled Pakistan to launch military action against these militants in FATA (Haider 2009). Within the theoretical framework developed this paper has analysed various factors that challenge Pakistani state governance in the tribal areas (FATA) are discussed below:

According to the state-centric approach, the factors that challenge state governance in FATA include the weak capacity and weak penetration of Pakistani state in the tribal society (Migdal 2004, 78 – 85). The state penetration in the tribal society is assessed through the presence of state formal institutions performing both survival (core) and expected functions. Though it was found that some of the formal state institutions are present in FATA, but most of these institutions are not performing their functions. A significant number of the tribal respondents (72.60%) confirmed that Pakistani state institutions of: security, law enforcement, fiscal and tax collection are either totally absent or weak (Table – 6.1 FATA Field Survey 2013 Asghar Khan PhD Dissertation 2017, University of Peshawar). The Pakistani state physical infrastructure is also weak in the tribal areas. The physical infrastructure represent the physical presence of the state in a given territory. It connects the territory with the central state. It was found that the communication system, roads, transportation and financial transaction facilities are supposed to be provided by Pakistani state in FATA are either totally absent or are in a very pathetic condition. The surveyed respondents (80%) in FATA verified that in their areas the Pakistani state basic infrastructure is weak that's why most of them visit the adjacent settled areas for various facilities (Table – 4.1: FATA Field Survey 2013, Asghar Khan, PhD Dissertation 2017, University of Peshawar). Further, the prevalence of corruption in the existing state institutions in FATA is another reason for weak state penetration in FATA. It was confirmed by a significant number of respondents (73.53%) that the existing administration in FATA is corrupt (See Table – 6.3, FATA Field Survey 2013 Asghar Khan, PhD Dissertation 2017 University of Peshawar). The Pakistani state also have a weak monopoly on violence in FATA. A small number of respondents (7.47%) showed their satisfaction on the presence of state security agencies and apparatus in their areas. A significant number of respondents (80.60%) verified that Pakistani state have weak control on the violence in their areas (Table – 6.5 FATA Field Survey 2013 Asghar Khan, PhD Dissertation 2017 University of Peshawar). Due to porous border with Afghanistan, the Pakistani state does not have effective control on the border was also confirmed by a significant number (68.93%) of respondents (Table 6.6: FATA Field Survey 2013 Asghar Khan, PhD Dissertation 2017 University of Peshawar). Another major factor that challenge the Pakistani state authority in FATA was the external interference by the rival neighbouring states of Afghanistan and India. The rival state at border adopts tactics like providing supporting to favour local officials, ethnic groups or local election contesting candidate (Douglas 2010). A significant number of tribal respondents (89.46%) verified that since the US attack on Afghanistan there is an increase in the external interference in the tribal areas by the foreign states in the shape of supporting various non-state actors and local groups (Table – 6.6, FATA Field Survey 2013 Asghar Khan, PhD Dissertation 2017 University of Peshawar).

According to the society-centric approach, the factors that challenge Pakistani state authority in FATA include the history of the resistance of the tribal society against all foreign invaders (Forrest 2003).

Historically speaking, during precolonial, colonial and the post-colonial periods, the tribal people were never subjugated and dominated by any outside invaders or state. These invaders include the great Alexander, Chengaiz Khan, Ameer Taimor (Tamerlane), Mughals, and others including the British (Cope 2013). This fierce resistance by the Pakhtun people has been described by Winston Churchill by remarking "... where every man is a soldier...every rock, and every hill has its story" (Churchill 1916, 273). Till date, even the Pakistani central state has never been dominated the tribal society in line with its interests nor has fully extended its national policies to the tribal areas (Green 2008). Another factor that resisted the state authority in the tribal areas was the state dysfunctional policy and state reliance on aggression instead of development. The imposition of a series of aggressive and inhuman policies by the colonial administration in the form of Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) are examples of these (Leake 2016). Further, these inhuman and terror policies of the state made the tribal people to rely on their informal governance resulting in the maintenance of a strong control on the tribal land. The tribal people also developed their own informal economy and markets in order to counter any attempt by the state in this regard (Crowder 1978). Throughout history, the tribal people resistance and war with outside invaders made them strong warrior and developed their martial skills (Poullada 1970). These military skills of the tribal people is another factor that resist state governance in the tribal areas. These factors also resulted in the social autonomy of the tribal people. The degree of the social autonomy reflect the tribal society's strength in terms of independent life outside state thus lead to less dependence on state (Migdal 1988, 108). Other factors of state resistance within the society-centric approach include the weak domestic capacity of the colonial state, the international situations, the socio-culture resistance of the tribal society to any outside intervention and the development of parallel socio-economic institutions by the tribal people beyond state control (Lindholm 1977, 60; Smith 1999, Becker 2004, and Scott 2009).

According to the state-in-society approach, the factors that challenge Pakistani state authority in FATA include the capabilities of the Pakistani state to penetrate and intervene in the tribal society, also called infrastructural capacity of the state by Mann. It is "the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm" (Mann 1993, 189). Migdal has put this in these words: "the ability of the state to actually take goal-oriented action rests upon maintaining a political, legal, and normative order" (Migdal 1988, 53). He has classified three major sources of these capacities of the state with regard to its society. These are: the state penetration in society, extraction of resources, and the state regulation of social relations in a given society. The first factor that resist Pakistani state in tribal areas with regard to state-in-society approach is the weak penetration of Pakistani state in the tribal society of FATA. Since independence the Pakistani state made efforts to penetrate the socio-economic and political fabric of its tribal society. Though, the tribal people always remained hesitant to accept the Pakistani state authority, however, the tribal society could not avoid the Pakistani state intrusion in their lives thus resulting in significant changes in their livelihood. Though, the Pakistani state has high capability to penetrate in the tribal society, however with regard to the tribal society, this factor of penetration still remains a factor that resist Pakistani state authority in the tribal areas (Dennis and Cheema 2013, 23 - 50).

The other factor to assess the Pakistani state capability to influence the tribal society of FATA is its capability to extract resources. The Pakistani state efforts to extract resources, particularly minerals and other such natural resources, does not void of resistance from the affected tribal areas. In FATA, for example, the tribal are not allowing outsider to trespass into their land. Recently the Pakistani Army is taking part in and share in the extraction of resources, e.g. coal and other such resources from FATA. Despite the Pakistani state has launched a comprehensive policy, with the name of sustainable development policy (2006 – 2016), under which the state has pledged to bring new developments in these tribal areas (FATA).

Another capability of the state to intervene its society is the ability to regulate social relations. The tribal people live according to their own customary rules and thus regulating their own affairs through the unwritten codes of collective responsibility and territorial responsibility. The tribal social system is embedded in its culture. No state till date has imposed its regulation on the tribal people. The Pakistani state has no control on the social life and behaviour of the tribal people. The tribal people and their behaviour is controlled and regulated, not by state, but through their own code of life called *Pukhtunwali*. In this way, with regard to the regulation of social relations in the tribal society, the Pakistani state laws and policies are not applicable nor obeyed by tribal people. In tribal society there are social forces (formal and informal) that can influence a particular process or policy. These social forces have their own interests, constraints and ability to influence the outcome of a given process or policy. In FATA, there both formal and informal or state and non-state forces. The state formal forces (actors or institutions) include the officials representing the government in FATA. These are: the President of Pakistan, Governor KP, Political Agent, recently the Pakistan Army, FCR and *Malaks* (representing both society and state). The non-state or informal forces (actors or institutions) include: the *Jirga* (council of elders), the *Rewaj* (*Pakhtunwali*), the New Middle class, *Mullah* (Religious leaders) and the Militants. These social forces always act and react in the tribal society and thus balance and counter balance each other. But most prominently the non-state actors or informal social forces influence the state policy and win the outcomes of the policy according to their own interests and wishes.

In nutshell, in fact the tribal system is deeply rooted and knitted resting on strong tribal informal institutions. That's why still in the 21st Century, the tribal system and its trends have proved their consistency and efficiency to resist any outside control (Migdal 2001, 88 – 95).

CONCLUSION

It is concluded that the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan is ruled under centuries old customary and informal governance system. This society has a long history of being remaining outside the state's control. This paper provides an insight into an unexplored perspective of state governance and thus provides an analysis of the issue from different perspective in order to integrate the tribal areas (FATA) in the mainstream governance system of Pakistan. This paper claims that though there are various factors that challenge state governance in the tribal areas, but some serious development steps of the state i.e. provision of social services and other public goods to the tribal people, can bring much difference with respect to the state extension of its governance. But still, the Pakistani state heavily rely on co-optation and the policy of coercion in its relationship to the tribal society. The Pakistani state still govern these areas through indirect means of *Malaki* system and local political administration. Even today, the Pakistan state is not serious to integrate these areas in the mainstream governance system. However, the analysis of the issue from multi perspectives, this paper recommend few practical suggestions to the policy makers for the integration of FATA in the mainstream governance system of Pakistan.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings and analysis of the governance approaches in an ungoverned territory, it is derived that state building is the only solution for integrating an ungoverned territory in mainstream governance of the state. The existing literature on state building and resilience is only focusing on developing tangible dimensions of state governance thus focussing only on developing capacity of formal state institutions. This paper presents recommendations on the basis of the multidimensional perspective thus focussing on developing both tangible and intangible dimensions of state governance and state-society relations. For a better integration of the tribal society (FATA) in the mainstream governance of Pakistan, the following recommendations are suggested:

- Out of all the most important suggestion is that the Pakistani state should take serious steps to develop the tribal area instead of using the coercive methods when dealing with the tribal society.
- Provision of public goods and basic social services, including security, justice, education, health and other such facilities should be on the top agenda of the government of Pakistan.
- Trust building between Pakistani state and the tribal society is the most important intangible dimension for the extension of state authority in the tribal areas of FATA.
- Local ownership of all developmental works and indigenous support from the tribal people in this regard is very important.
- Devolution of power to the local authorities by aligning formal and informal authorities is also needed. This will help the government formal authority to work more effectively and develop itself with the passage of time.
- There should be a new social contract between tribal people and Pakistani state especially with regard to monopoly on the use of force and taxation. By mutual trust the state and the tribal society can develop these two avenues.
- The tribal people at grassroots should be represented in all processes of reforms regarding FATA.
- For legitimacy of the state the state should address all triggers of the conflict between the state and the tribal society. These are poverty, exclusion of tribal society, and lack of representation in national politics, marginalization and the underdevelopment of tribal areas. The state should include the tribal areas in all its development processes at national level.
- The delivery of justice and the Pakistani court system to the tribal people should also be ensured by the Pakistani state.

REFERENCES

- Barthwal-Datta, Monika. (2012). *Understanding Security Practices in South Asia: Securitization Theory and the Role of Non-State Actors*. London: Routledge.
- Becker, K. F. (2004). *The informal economy*. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Agency.
- Churchill, Winston L. Spencer. (1916). *The Story of the Malakand Field Force: An Episode of Frontier War*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- Cope, Tim. (2013). *On the trail of Genghis Khan: An epic journey through the land of the nomads*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Inc.
- Crowder, Michael. (1978). *West African resistance: the military response to colonial occupation*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
- Dennis, A. Rondinelli. and G. Shabbir Cheema. (2013). *Reinventing Government for the Twenty-first Century: State Capacity in a Globalizing Society*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.
- Douglas, Gibler, M. (2010). Research Article. 'Outside-In: The Effects of External Threat on State Centralization'. *Sage Journals*. 54(4).
- Forrest, Joshua. (2003). *Lineages of state fragility: rural civil society in Guinea-Bissau Western African studies*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Green, Duncan. (2008). *From Poverty to Power: How Active Citizens and Effective States Can Change the World*. Oxford, UK: Oxfam Publishing.
- Leake, Elisabeth. (2016). *The Defiant Border: The Afghan-Pakistan Borderlands in the Era of Decolonization, 1936–65*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lindholm, Charles. (1977). "The Segmentary Lineage System: Its Applicability to Pakistan's Political Structure," in *Pakistan's Western Borderlands: The Transformation of Political Order*, ed. Ainslie T. Embree. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House: 41-66.
- Mann, Michael. (1993). *The Sources of Social Power: A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*. Vol. (I, II). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Migdal, Joel S. (1988). *Strong Societies and Weak States: State Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World Countries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Migdal, Joel S. (2001). *State in Society – Studying how States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Migdal, Joel S. (2004). *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- OECD. (2008). "Service Delivery in Fragile Situations: Key Concepts, Findings, and Lessons, OECD/DAC Discussion Paper," *Journal on Development*. 9 (3). Paris, France: OECD.
- OECD.(2008). Concepts and Dilemmas of State Building in Fragile Situations, From Fragility to Resilience. *Journal on Development*. 9 (3). Paris, France: OECD.
- Poullada, Leon B. (1970). *The Pashtun Role in the Afghan Political System*. Afghan Council of the Asia Society.
- Rubin, Barnett R. (2013). *Afghanistan in the Post-Cold War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Scott, James, C. (2009). *The Art of Not Being Governed - An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, Yale: Yale University Press.
- Smith, John. (1999). Administering empire: the British colonial service in retrospect; proceedings of a conference jointly sponsored by the University of London and the Corona Club held at the Senate House on 27th and 28th May 1999, London: University of London Press.
- Synnott, Hilary. (2009). *Transforming Pakistan: Ways out of instability*. London: Routledge.
- Ziad, Haider (January 2009), "Mainstreaming Pakistan's Tribal Belt: A Human Rights and Security Imperative." Discussion Paper #09-01, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School. Accessed December 12, 2009. Available from

- http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18790/mainstreaming/Pakistan's_tribal_belt. Html.
- Thompson, Steven K. 2012. *Sampling* (3rd Ed.), Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Haq, Noor ul, Rashid Ahmad Khan, and Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri. 2005. Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan. Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute.
- Alikuzai, Hamid Wahed. 2013. *A Concise History of Afghanistan*, 25 (14). Indiana: Trafford Publishing.
- Weber, Max. 1918. *Politics as a Vocation*, Munich: Munich University Press.
- Baldwin, Peter. 1990. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Migdal, Joel S., Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue. 1994. *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.