

## MIDDLE LEVEL LEADERS IN PEACEBUILDING: THE CASE OF POST-CONFLICT SITUATION IN THE SWAT VALLEY, PAKISTAN

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### ABSTRACT

Peacebuilding is a phenomenon of transforming conflict into reconstruction of societies and developmental prospects for all the stakeholders involved. Valley Swat has been entered into a post-conflict peacebuilding phase in August 2009. There were many actors involved in the peacebuilding process of Swat. The leadership model of John Paul Lederach talk about three different types of leaders as important social actors in the process of peacebuilding. This research study will dichotomize the leadership model into three parts to get an understanding of middle-level leaders in any society and will analyze role of mid-level leadership in Swat.

**Keywords:** Swat; peacebuilding; leadership; post-conflict; Talibanization,

### INTRODUCTION

It is the scenic beauty of the valley Swat in Pakistan that visitors equated with and named it Switzerland of Asia. A brief period of militants' control, however, snatched its peace and Swat remained in the global media limelight. Swat is located at a crucial geographic intersection where numerous significant regions, including South Asia, Central Asia, and China, converge (Rome 2009). The Swat valley is cut across by the Hindu Kush and Karakoram Mountain ranges. One of the Malakand Division's seven districts, it is situated around 170 km northeast of Peshawar. <sup>1</sup>

The princely state of Swat was founded in 1915 and joined Pakistan in 1969 to become a part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly known as the North West Frontier Province) (Rome 2005). Swat has always attracted attention for its breathtaking scenery, but it plunged into violent activities soon after the 9/11

incident and the start of the War on Terror (WOT), which was launched by the United States (US) to eliminate terrorism. There are always sufferings in war and WOT became a reason for insurrections and radicalism in number of states, including Pakistan. The worsening condition on the porous Pak-Afghan border and the historically neglected erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province had affected the adjacent settled areas. These negative developments had made the entire frontier area more vulnerable to extremism and emerging armed hostilities. Through this time, an upsurge of Talibanization recorded in former FATA and PATA, which gained momentum and strength as the time passed on. The government of Pakistan regularly

<sup>1</sup> Peshawar is capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (previously NWFP) and a gateway to Afghanistan.

retorted to it with military operations to chase down the terrorists.

In the meantime, various militant factions regrouped themselves under the common banner of Tahreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in December 2007 in Waziristan. (Siddique, 2010) This move enhanced their violent capacity and they were then able to launch terrorist activities at massive scale. The TTP platform also enabled them to get better organized and regimented. The number of suicide attacks at public places tremendously grew and writ of the government was seriously challenged. In response, military operations also started, while the TTP continued to exert control in the areas of erstwhile FATA and PATA. These areas became safe havens for the Taliban. With the passage of time, the wave of Talibanization spread out from the traditional tribal areas to settled areas of KP like Malakand Division, which comprises of seven districts: Swat, Buner, Shangla, Upper Dir, Lower Dir, district Malakand and Chitral. District Swat particularly became the target of Talibanization as a banned militant organization Tahreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi (TNSM) was reorganized by a mullah named Mullah Fazlullah in 2004. TNSM later became Swat chapter of TTP and got into direct clash with the government of Pakistan. (Rome 2011) Government responded to Taliban in Swat with military operations, declaring it clear from militants in July 2009. (Kronstadt 2010)

The beautiful valley entered into post-conflict period soon after the grand military operation, bringing the responsibility on the state institutions to rebuild Swat. As compared to the successive governments, the civil society organizations and the NGOs have proactively contributed to peacebuilding and community development. John Paul Lederach, a theorist and philosopher in the field of conflict and peace studies, talked about conflict transformation (CT) during 1990s. He has a number of thinkers' endorsement, including Galtung, Rupesinghe, Schwerin, Spencer and Spencer and Vayrynen. (Hashmi 2011) Lederach mentioned that the middle level leaders in any society have important roles in peacebuilding. This approach seems very much applicable in case of valley Swat. The middle-level leaders have played significant role in establishing peace after the conflict. In the light of the given context, this research paper is going to analyze the

role of the mentioned social actors as in post-conflict peacebuilding as the role mentioned by Lederach in his leadership model.

## 2. Background of Militancy and Conflict in Valley Swat

The organization TNSM was formed in 1989 by a religious cleric Maulana Sufi Muhammad, hailing from Lower Dir. He was a key figure in the Jammati-Islami (JI), an Islamic political organization, and he twice won seats in the Lower Dir district council. It was the era of Afghan Jihad as result of Soviet Union attack on Afghanistan. Sufi Muhammad was fully supporting Hizb-i-Islami of Hikmatyar with manpower and financially as well. After leaving JI, he established his own association TNSM, on June 28, 1989 in Maidan, Lower Dir, which focused only on the Malakand Division, Bajaur Agency, and district Kohistan of Division Hazara. As his organization grew in popularity over time, he was able to push for the implementation of Islamic law in these regions (Khan 2010). Though the TNSM primarily called for the introduction of Shariah/Islamic law in Malakand Division, the organization's mission actually arose from a need for a judicial system that ensures the prompt and swift administration of justice. The TNSM's commander, Molana Sufi Muhammad, was well aware of how annoyed the Swat residents are with the PATA rules that were put in place as a result of Pakistan's 1973 constitution. According to Rome (2009), Sufi Muhammad planned armed demonstrations in 1994 and 1999 to get the government's attention. The outcome of both of these demonstrations was a big victory for the TNSM, and in 1994 and 1999, correspondingly, the governments issued the following rules after acceding to its demands:

Nifaz-i-Nizam-e-Shariah (Provincially Administered Tribal Areas) Regulation 1994 (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Regulation II of 1994) after the remonstrations in 1994, and Shari-i-Nizam-e-Adal Regulation, 1999 (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Regulation I of 1999) after the gripe in 1999.

The Regulation of 1994 was repealed with the adoption of Regulation of 1999. The current regulation was only procedural and had no substantial changes, which the TNSM did not agree with. The new rule primarily addressed judicial procedures. While the TNSM continued to fight, the

War on Terror was declared in the region after Al-Qaida attacked the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11, 2001. 10,000 people made up Sufi Muhammad's private army, which he assembled in preparation for the fight against the US and its allies. In October 2001, they crossed the Pakistan–Afghanistan border and arrived there. Sufi Muhammad, some of his adherents, and Mullah Fazlullah managed to cross the Pakistan-Afghanistan border and return to where they were imprisoned while the majority of these jihadis were killed and others were put to jail. TNSM and four other extremist groups were outlawed by Pakistan's then-president Pervez Musharraf (Khan 2010).

The son-in-law of Sufi Muhammad, following his release from prison after seventeen months, Fazlullah launched a campaign for purity through an FM radio station in Swat. Being a member of TNSM, he received a great deal of support from its adherents, who urged him to begin building a Madrassa and a Markaz (centre) to advance Shariah in his native Mamdherai (also known as Imamdherai). He received lots of media coverage. A new dispute began between the government and Fazlullah, which led to a bloody fight in Swat. When they joined the newly formed TTP in December 2007, he and his adherents became mighty.

In the course of time, Fazlullah's movement actually became more violent, and it actively commenced bombardments and suicide attacks. In the upper Swat, police stations were evacuated on account of the intensifying threats of Taliban. The Taliban turned these buildings into their own base camps and hung signboards stating Taliban Police Station. Women were not allowed to go out of their homes. Conclusively, in late October 2007, the province government declared the initial phase of the military operation, Rah-e-Haq. The operation began in November 2007 and went on for the entire month. At the close of December 2007, the Taliban had left all the structures they had taken control of and had flown to the mountains. Because the Taliban were not driven out of Swat, rather were bolstering their movement in the neighboring mountains, the operation was not a complete success (Rome 2011). Meanwhile, the Awami National Party (ANP) formed the government in KP. The main electoral slogan of ANP in 2008 election was restoration of peace. As a gesture of goodwill, the new ANP

government released Sufi Muhammad (Anon 2008). Talks with the Taliban in Swat also had something to do with his release. On May 21, 2008, the provincial government and the Taliban reached a 16-point deal, the main point of which was that the Taliban would cease attacking security personnel and the government would execute Islamic rule in Malakand Division. But the agreement proved to be short lived. By killing two junior members of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Mullah Fazlullah broke the May 21 deal for the first time. On June 29, 2008, the government retaliated by initiating the second phase of the Rah-e-Haq military operation. The cruelty of the Taliban peaked during this operation. Several government employees were killed in a well-known square, "Green Chowk," of Mingora (Center 2012). Then, this chowk came to be known as "*khooni chowk*" (bloody square). On the contrary, the military intervention severely hurt the acquitted civilians. Between the second half of 2008 and the first part of 2009, about two million people left Swat for other Pakistani cities. The third phase of Rah-e-Haq began in January 2009. All of these military actions, however, were a failure. In February 2009, the government and the Taliban finally agreed to another peace accord (Anon 2009).

The government of Pakistan and Sufi Muhammad agreed to the Swat Peace Accord on February 15, 2009. This accord led to the proclamation of the Nizam-e-Adl Regulation 2009, which President Asif Ali Zardari signed following parliamentary approval. The purpose of the Regulation was to implement Shariah in Malakand Division as per the demands of Taliban (Siddique, 2009).

It is noteworthy to mention here that the US and India rejected the agreement, but the government ignored their worries and kept using its approach (Kronstadt 2010). Nonetheless, the Taliban kept moving and eventually arrived in Buner and Dir districts. It was stated in local and global media that the militants are just 60 miles away from the capital city of Islamabad. The news created a threatening situation for the security forces as well as the global powers. On May 7, 2009, the government declared Rah-e-Rast, a major military operation, in an effort to stop the Taliban's advance. (Rome 2011). The military had ordered Swat inhabitants to leave the valley before the operation began. About 2.5 million IDPs moved to the Relief Providing Zones (RPZs), established in

several cities for them. In July 2009, after the military operation had cleansed Swat of the militants for two months, the internally displaced people (IDPs) began to return to their homes. (Kronstadt 2010).

### 3. Review of Literature

The conflict of Swat has been widely researched and discussed from different dimensions. But there is very little work about the role of those people who have the power to influence the thought of people. Such people are termed as middle level leaders by Ledarach. Orakzai (2011) believes that no issue can be settled amicably until the dynamics of the troubled area are understood. She emphasized the steps that nations and non-state players, such as international organizations, took to resolve the dispute peacefully while taking into account the standards laid forth in the form of Pakhtunwali. She asserts that a religious leader and scholar may make a significant contribution to establishing peace in Swat due to the Pashtun's' delicate and religious social norm. Khan (2019) in his article "*Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of State Inversion*", tried to bring into notice the rules and regulations that were established in Swat earlier and afterward it joined Pakistan. He described how the TNSM was caused by PATA's legal system's ambiguity while taking into account the roles played by domestic leadership, political leaders, and outside actors. He did not, however, address the general public's perception of TNSM and its societal effects in Malakand Division. Khattak (2010) emphasized how the military operations socially impacted the people of Swat. He spoke specifically on the ineffectiveness of the government in resolving the complaints of the populace, which was already directly affected by terrorism and military operations. He did not, however, address the part played by external forces in exacerbating the problem.

Majeed (2021) in her work studied the pre-conflict period, which can be termed as the time period providing base to the violence in valley Swat can be traced back to 1980s. The active conflict started then in 2007 between two main opponents i.e., government and Taliban. The valley was announced to be cleaned from militants in mid of 2009 after the operation Rah-i-Rast. It cannot be said that the post

conflict period, starting after the return of IDPs in 2009, is yet finished (Majeed, 2021).

Rome (2009) investigated the Swat Insurgence from both the official and non-governmental perspectives, with that of the intelligence services, particularly the ISI, RAW, CIA, and National Directorate of Security. Additionally, he emphasizes the importance of international help, particularly from the United States, and the effects of Afghan unrest on the situation in Swat. Aware of the importance of the army and police in containing the unrest, he also highlighted concerns about political, judicial, and constitutional problems Swat is currently confronting. The main cause of the peace process's delay is the large number of participants engaged in defending their regional interests. He did not, however, draw attention to the factors that contributed to the government's failure to remove the Taliban from the Malakand Division prior to 9/11 (Rome 2009). In another study, "*Modes and Scale of Conflict in Pakistan's Swat Valley (1989-2008)*," while keeping in mind the importance of Swat's elite and educated class, the shifting dynamics of its sociocultural characteristics have been accentuated. The author went on to explain the nature and modalities of conflict as well as how it was resolved militarily by the Pakistani army to safeguard the Malakand divisions' geostrategic hotspots for Pakistan's security. While the author chose not to highlight the up-and-down ties between the government and the Taliban during Operation Rah-e-Rast (Hussain 2011).

Zafar (2011), in her article "Development and the Battle for Swat" sketched the ineffectual attempts made by the government to rebuild Swat following the conflict. She made a really intelligent point about how swiftly the government needed to address the Swati people's post-conflict needs. Alas, the government's unwillingness in resolving the problems exacerbated the public's complaints. She remained silent, nevertheless, when asked why individuals joined TNSM.

The literature available is mostly discussing the causes and emergence of conflict but there is not any comprehensive study available about the role of influence making middle level leaders in the construction of peace in post-conflict situation.



## 4. Theoretical Perspective

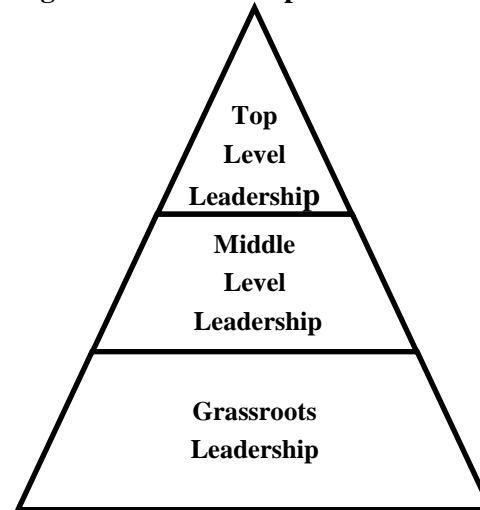
When UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peacebuilding as "*An Agenda for Peace*<sup>2</sup> in post conflict era in 1992, the term "peacebuilding" first appeared in the jargon of peace and conflict studies: "Action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict." (Neclâ 2004) post-conflict peacemaking is forsooth, a conflict management (CM) mechanism. Peacebuilding after a conflict is an intricate approach and it could not be mixed with "preventive peacebuilding".<sup>3</sup> It is often referred to as post-conflict rebuilding since it is a series of actions to be taken after a conflict in order to establish peace and put an end to bloodshed. (Coning 2008) The process of resolving the conflict is protracted; a quick fix is not an option.

Triangles are a good way to visualize the societies in which currently we are surviving. Conferring to the roles of those who make up each triangle, it can be divided into three parts. The foundation is always comprised of local population at the grass-roots level. The middle part is a representation of the medium-level leaders who have the freedom to create interactions between top level leader and grassroot level leaders. Leaders of NGOs, religions, tribes, and other similar groups may be among them. Government officials, military officers, and high-ranking bureaucrats make up the top level, which is formed of the most visible and powerful authorities (Reina et al. 2002).

### 4.1. Leadership Model by Jhon Paul Ledarach

This model has three tiers in a shape of pyramid or triangle. The base of the triangle represents the leaders present at the gross-root level. Next comes the level of middle level leaders and on the top is top level leadership. (Ledarach 1997) The focus in this study is on the role of middle level leadership. An introduction to all levels of the model is necessary for the clear understanding of the concept of middle level leaders or social actors.

Figure 1.1: Leadership Model



Source: John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997)

**Top Level Leadership:** The most senior military and political figures who are taking part in the conflict make up this level of leadership. This level of leadership takes a top-down, short-term strategy to peacebuilding. Their primary goal in the peace process is to mediate a cease-fire between the warring parties as a third party. As part of peace agreements, the cease-fires are signed. One can argue that after such steps are made by the highest levels of government, they will eventually infiltrate to the entire society (Ledarach 1997).

**Middle Level Leadership:** Lederach (1997) *believes* that this *segment* is *comprised* of "persons who function in leadership positions within a setting of protracted conflict, but whose position is defined in ways not necessarily connected to or controlled by the authority or structures of the formal government or major opposition movement". They have the

<sup>2</sup> There are various places where the desire for peacebuilding can be found, but its fullest manifestation may be found in the operational principles of the United Nations throughout the 1990s. Under the direction of Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, a report titled "An Agenda for Peace" was delivered in 1992. It gave the justification and guiding principles

for post-conflict peacebuilding. For details <http://ire.sagepub.com/content/11/3/201.extract#>

<sup>3</sup> The United Nations differentiate between preventive peacebuilding and post conflict peacebuilding. The focus of this study is post-conflict peacebuilding.

ability to link top-level and grassroots leaders. Due to their contact at all levels, they are valued on all levels. Because they can take the initiative to solve problems, the leaders at this level occupy a crucial place in society. They organize informal problem-solving sessions with the middle-level leaders of the opponent parties in an effort to achieve a lasting peace.

**Grassroots Leadership:** The majority of society is represented by the leadership at this level. Being a part of the conflict, they are more well-informed about the conflict than any other level. The decision-makers at this level take a bottom-up approach to fostering peace by collaborating with the general public to provide redressal to social issues and develop novel solutions (Ledarach 1997).

#### 4.1.2. Application of Mid-Level Tier of Leadership Model on Case of Valley Swat

The role of middle level leaders as per Ledarach is like a bridge between top and grassroots leadership. They have the power to influence the thought process or public opinion at grassroots to an extent to construct the destructed societies after conflicts. An effective number of such influence creating social actors or leaders have being identified through this study who have a phenomenal role in peacebuilding after the conflict in Swat. These leaders include journalists, writers, teachers, social activists, intellectuals, singers and leaders of different interest groups. Bringing back the normalcy and peace in Swat was not a work of days or weeks or months or few years. It is being more than a decade now that these leaders are working to build peace through their professions. One can now visibly see the strength in the voice of common people for protection of them and Swat from terrorism because of the efforts of these guiding leaders of middle level.

#### 5. Methodology

This research study is developed on the basis of primary and secondary data. The edge to the researcher of this study is of her own identity as resident of Swat and has been affected by the conflict as well as played role as middle level leader for peacebuilding. The primary data is collected in two phases from July 2021 till September 2022. To understand the role of middle level leaders 14 semi-

structured interviews were conducted in Swat. These interviews were conducted with leaders from different walks of life. Two interviews with journalists working with local as well as national media. These two are always remained on the forefront in strengthening the voice of people as well as making it reach to the media. One interview was conducted with the first female journalist of Swat. She created awareness through her show on a national Pashto channel as well as through her talk shows on local FM radio. One interview was being conducted with social activist and headmistress of a female secondary school. She has remained an active member of rotary club Swat and being successful in making a welfare organization for people of Swat along with her friends. One interview was conducted with social activist and lawyer. She has actively worked against the market of violence producing toys for children like gun and other weapons toys. One interview was being conducted with the elder of Pashtoon Qoumi Jirga (people council). He is also president of hotel associations Swat. He has played great role against Taliban through the people council. Three interviews were conducted with intellectuals who are teaching at university level and play the role of peacebuilder through their teaching and academic writings. One interview was conducted with author of phenomenal books on Swat. Two to four interviews were conducted with young leaders who have been successful in making different effective platforms. They played their role as singer, poet, and social activist and social media influencers.

For secondary data, help is taken from books, journals, newspapers, social media and internet sources.

#### 6. Analysis and Discussion

The post-conflict period in Swat started in August 2009 when IDPs started returning to their home town after the military operation Raah-e-Raast. According to a study by Aryana Institute for Regional Research and Advocacy (AIRRA), the agricultural volume in Swat decreased by almost PKR 4 billion between 2008 and 2009. The total loss because of squabble in Malakand Division was estimated to be US\$ 227.5 million. The peacebuilding process-initiated immediately upon the repatriation of IDPs. (Nyborg et al. 2012) The government was still not ready to manage the burden with any proper strategy. The role

of the middle level leaders started at this very stage. At first hundreds of Village Defense Committees (VDCs) were formed under the supervision of army. Many of grassroots and middle level leaders became its members. The main function of VDCs was to keep their area clean from militants by coordinating with military and law enforcement agencies. The role of Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) also remained very important in the peacebuilding process. In various vicinities of Swat, numbers of foreign and local NGOs began restoration, rehabilitation, and relief projects. The conflict of Swat was actually managed by the government. The reasons were never being completely addressed, keeping the space open for the reemergence of conflict.

Those who are interviewed for this research study had deeply felt the indifferent attitude of government toward the people of Swat. These mid-level leaders remained always vocal about it and have always being victimized by the governing institutions. One of the respondent, who is a journalist and associated with many local and national newspapers, remarked "I was being victimized in 2012 for writing loud and clear, about the careless attitude of institutions which could further harbor the terrorism, in local newspaper, *daily azadi*. The then spokesperson for the Swat chapter of Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) pressurized my editor in chief. Editor in chief then has to take the editorship of the newspaper from me. But I did not stop being vocal and joined another local paper, *roznama chand*." These leaders were also greatly targeted by Taliban. Zahid Khan, who is president of Hotel Association Swat, has been targeted to be killed for his strong anti-Taliban stance. These leaders have stood against the Taliban and also kept telling the government that valley Swat deserve peace not terrorism. Another respondent, who is a writer and journalist, said "I do not accept the phenomenon of real Talibanization for Swat. It is being created and imposed on the people of Swat." These leaders are daring and have the courage of telling truth.

## 6.1. Peacebuilding in Swat

The efforts of Middle level leaders led to the construction of many valuable structures. Some of

these structures being formed during the conflict time like *Pashtun Qaumi Jirga*. The purpose was to resolve the conflict and establish durable peace in Swat. Other organizations like, Global Peace Council, was formed. Zahid Khan said "the purpose of global peace council was to make education accessible for those children whose families cannot afford it." Iffat Javid, who is social activist and retired principal of a female secondary school in Swat, told that she with her likeminded group of friends formed rotary club. The purpose was to help the people to come out from the dilemma of conflict. Another respondent Neelam Abrar Chattan, a young lawyer and social activist, remarked "I started a campaign "Peace for New Generation" to work against the availability of weapons alike toys for children. As children had already psychologically impacted from the conflict and playing with these weapon toys were influencing their young mind toward violence."

Dr. Salman Khan who is an academic and intellectual commented "there is distrust among the people regarding the efforts of the government which could be termed as another reason for not durable peace in Swat. I tried to go a step further and understand the phenomenon of peace with local perspective. For this purpose I conducted researches and presented the local voices as theorists. I found that the local understanding of peace is more sophisticated than any post-conflict development or peacebuilding theories. It gives a clear understanding of the underlying causes of war and how war affects people and what people feel about it. If nothing else, it is creating dialogue across in the wider academic and policy community on one side and it also highlights the people' aspirations toward peace on the other side." Poetry is the best way of expressing thoughts. There are many who wrote poetry on peace and then it is being sung as well.

## 6.2. Impacts of the Peacebuilding Activities on Common People of Swat

The write ups, the talks, the dialogues, the peace forums, the peace poetry of the middle level leaders created a sense of responsibility in the people of Swat toward the protection of themselves and their beautiful valley. An academician remarked "the

popularity of Pashtoon Tahafuz Movement (PTM)<sup>4</sup> is telling that people of Swat at general and youth at particular will not allowed the institutions to imposed back terrorism on them. They only want and desire for peace.” It was being predicted by the experts that Taliban could get back on their foot in Swat and erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with the Taliban taking over the government in Afghanistan in August 2022. The prediction came true and the re-emergence of Taliban was being noticed in July 2022 in Swat. At first people got scared but when the target killing started happening on every next day. The silence was broken. Many of these middle level leaders came on front and organized rallies and peaceful protests but of no use. When a school van was attacked on October 10, 2022, it made the whole Swat to come out from their homes. It was previously not possible that people unitedly will ask for their protection. But this time the peacebuilding activities being started by peacebuilders since more than a decade had impacted the thought process in the people of Swat. They are more aware now and not scared from Taliban. According to a respondent, these Taliban crossed the Pak-Afghan border and reached to the mountains of upper Swat. Now after the strength and unity shown by the people of Swat, Taliban have started going back to Afghanistan.

## 7. Conclusion

Successful peacebuilding requires close collaboration across all levels of leadership. The peacebuilding process will fail and be useless if leaders at all levels do not adopt a supportive attitude towards one another. Dr Kenneth Obiekiwe utters: “Working together means that those who have the power to get things done are supported by those who will be most greatly affected by the changes”. (Obiekiwe 2009) It is very unfortunate that the people and middle level leaders of Swat do not have trust in their top level leaders as they usually not being seen in the hour of need. It is the reason that the peace in Swat is proved temporary as it is being disturbed on and off by the target killing of the members of VDCs. The floods of 2010 and then in 2022 destroyed the

infrastructure increasing the miseries of the people. The government is the only authority which has to take the leaders from all level on board and work for durable peace in the valley.

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<sup>4</sup> PTM is a movement demanding from state the protection of fundamental rights emerged was emerged in erstwhile FATA.



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