CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

Patchwork States

Patchwork States argues that the subnational politics of conflict and competition in South Asian countries have roots in the history of uneven state formation under colonial rule. Colonial India contained a complex landscape of different governance arrangements and state-society relations. After independence, postcolonial governments revised colonial governance institutions, but only with partial success. The book argues that contemporary India and Pakistan can be usefully understood as patchwork states, with enduring differences in state capacity and state-society relations within their national territories. The complex nature of territorial governance in these countries shapes patterns of political violence, including riots and rebellions, as well as variations in electoral competition and development across the political geography of the Indian subcontinent. By bridging past and present, this book can transform our understanding of both the legacies of colonial rule and the historical roots of violent politics, in South Asia and beyond.

Adnan Naseemullah is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at King's College London. He is the author of *Development after Statism* (2017).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

Patchwork States

The Historical Roots of Subnational Conflict and Competition in South Asia

ADNAN NASEEMULLAH
King's College London

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009158428
DOI: 10.1017/9781009158404

© Adnan Naseemullah 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-009-15842-8 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-009-15841-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

Contents

List of Figures *page* vi
List of Tables viii
Preface ix
List of Abbreviations xv

PART I FRAMEWORK
1 Introduction 3
2 Political Order, State Formation, and Typologizing Colonial Rule 27

PART II HISTORICAL ROOTS
3 The Making of Patchwork Authority 53
4 The Patchwork Nature of Colonial Governance 77
5 Postcolonial Patchwork States 104

PART III CONTEMPORARY CONSEQUENCES
6 Patchwork States and Sovereignty: Explaining Political Violence 133
7 Patchwork States and Patronage: Explaining Electoral Competition 171
8 The Patchwork State and Development 203

PART IV CONCLUSIONS
9 Researching the Legacies of Colonial Rule 235
10 The Patchwork State in Comparative Perspective 250

Appendices 266
References 272
Index 292

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

Figures

1.1	The argument	*page* 18
2.1	Public goods and per capita income by indirect rule and land tenure	47
2.2	Map of colonial India by governance category	49
4.1	Land revenue and total revenue per capita	82
4.2	Judicial and nonjudicial stamp tax per capita	85
4.3	Proportion of the population assessed for income tax	87
4.4	Police deployment per capita and per square mile	90
4.5	Casualties and deaths of soldiers per capita in World War I	93
4.6	Deployment of the Indian Army in 1911	94
4.7	Congress primary membership, 1946	99
4.8	Land revenue per capita, early 1940s	101
4.9	Police per capita, early 1940s	102
4.10	Judicial stamp tax per capita, early 1940s	102
5.1	Postcolonial governance in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh	127
5.2	Distribution of districts by postcolonial governance in South Asia	128
6.1	Sovereignty-challenging to total incidents and fatalities, Indian districts	148
6.2	Mean ACLED incidents and fatalities per Indian district by log population	149
6.3	Mean Upsala incidents and fatalities per Indian district by log population	151
6.4	Sovereignty-challenging to total incidents and fatalities, Pakistani districts	155
6.5	Mean Upsala incidents and fatalities per Pakistani district by log population	156
6.6	Mean BFRS incidents and fatalities per Pakistani district by log population	158

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

6.7 Mean ACLED incidents and fatalities per Pakistani district by log population 159
6.8 Sovereignty-challenging to total incidents and fatalities, Bangladeshi districts 164
6.9 Mean ACLED incidents and fatalities per Bangladeshi district by log population 165
7.1 ENP for assembly constituencies in India 185
7.2 ENP for assembly constituencies, difference from state average 186
7.3 ENP for parliamentary constituencies in India 188
7.4 ENP for parliamentary constituencies, difference from state average 189
7.5 ENP for 2009, 2014, and 2019 parliamentary elections 190
7.6 ENP for provincial assembly constituencies in Pakistan 193
7.7 ENP for parliamentary constituencies in Pakistan 195
7.8 ENP in Pakistani, Indian, and Bangladeshi parliaments 196
7.9 ENP for parliamentary constituencies in Bangladesh 198
7.10 Electoral violence and ENP for Bihar, Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal Assemblies 200
8.1 Agricultural productivity over time 210
8.2 Ratio of cultivators to agricultural labor 210
8.3 Marginal agricultural workers as proportion of workforce 211
8.4 Rent-implicated activity as a proportion of district income 213
8.5 Firms, and assets and capital of BSE in millions of rupees in 2013 215
8.6 District per capita income 217
8.7 Nighttime luminosity 218
8.8 Literacy rate 221
8.9 Infant mortality rate 222
8.10 Marginal workers as a proportion of the workforce 223
8.11 Literacy rates for Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan 225
8.12 HDI scores in Bangladesh and Pakistan, 2015 226
8.13 Violence against Dalits, 2016–2021 230

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

Tables

2.1 Indirect and direct rule along two dimensions *page* 46
2.2 Typology of colonial governance institutions 48
5.1 The postcolonial revision of governance 127

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

Preface

This book has its roots, rather incongruously, in a statement by then-President George W. Bush, in 2007, explaining why the American War in Afghanistan was still raging six years after the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent US invasion. Bush said, "Taliban and al Qaeda fighters do hide in remote regions of Pakistan. This is wild country; this is wilder than the Wild West."[1]

At the time I heard Bush's statement, I was conducting dissertation fieldwork in the Pakistani metropolis of Lahore, interviewing manufacturers and visiting their textile mills and factories in the plains of central Punjab. This bustling, industrial landscape was just 360 miles – and yet a world – away from the tribal agencies Bush was discussing. Those regions were quickly becoming the epicenter of Pakistan's deadliest insurgency, which lasted over a decade. Bush's statement piqued my interest as a fledgling student of comparative politics. By drawing parallels between the "wildness" of Pakistan's remote regions and America's Wild West, he was highlighting territories within a sovereign state that may not be governed in a sovereign manner. And as with the early American state, the Pakistani state is strong in some regions like central Punjab, yet its presence or strength varies from place to place.

An important difference between America and Pakistan implicit in Bush's comparison is that the American West had been "won": indigenous communities were subjugated, ghettoized, and eliminated; bandits and outlaws no longer operated with impunity; and territories were formed into states under the writ of democratically elected federal, regional, and municipal governments. In the case of Pakistan's Northwest, British colonizers had gained control over the "frontier" territories between the upper Indus Valley and the borders of Afghanistan around the same time as the United States' victory in the Mexican War. Yet until a constitutional amendment in 2018, they were

[1] Address to the American Enterprise Institute, February 15, 2007.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

governed exceptionally as a set of tribal agencies, in which the footprint of the Pakistani state was light and tribal leadership held significant independent authority. The variation in states' monopoly of violence across their territories, as these two cases show, is not a universal outcome. Instead, processes of state formation are historically specific, and central authority is established in some geographic cases more successfully than others.

Any actual comparison between the two cases would not be particularly welcome in a discipline that sees both the United States and Pakistan as exceptional, though for different reasons. Yet I could not shake the idea that embedded within that comparison was a deeper lesson of how states were built, for what purposes, and with what outcomes. The inquiries that arose from these questions have taken me in lots of different directions over the last decade: to interviews with Pakistani bureaucrats who worked at the very edges of the state's authority; to archival research as a way of uncovering, systematizing, and analyzing the variations in colonial rule; and to data on contemporary subnational variation in areas as distinct as riots and rebellions in India and the effective number of parties in Pakistan. This book represents a culmination of these disparate investigations into how the South Asian state was constructed in the past and with what consequences for the politics of conflict and competition in the present.

Through the course of this research and its eventual integration into the present volume, I have come to appreciate both the benefits and the drawbacks to social science's evolving approaches to history and its legacies. At seminars in college and graduate school, I had gained a deep respect for the comparative-historical tradition that had brought political scientists, sociologists, and historians together in conversation over the deep relationships between violence and the state. Through collaboration and argumentation, they formulated many of the key theories, concepts, and approaches at the core of state-building and discussions of political order. The implicit Euro-centrism of elements of the tradition and its intellectual debts to modernization theory limited its applicability, however, for those of us who wished to study developing countries on their own terms. This limitation is particularly acute when studying variations in the strength of the state not across countries but within them.

In the last couple of decades, a new approach to historical legacies has gained traction, one inspired by institutional analysis and causal inference. A key advantage of this approach is greater attention to comparability among cases and the strategic use of fine-grained data to demonstrate long-term impacts of historical phenomena. But its focus on precisely identifying the effects of historical institutions, especially through the search for natural experiments, also has disadvantages. By choosing exactly comparable cases and finely curating data to increase analytical leverage, we miss out on the complex but legible – and analytically important – *diversities* of institutional form. Such a focus also occludes institutional origins and the (many) cases in which institutional cases

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

are "assigned" in quite deliberate fashion rather than randomly or exogenously. Finally, the application of as-if randomization logics and subsequent path dependence has weaker purchase for understanding the landscapes of political violence than other, more constant social processes, like development.

This book represents an attempt to deploy comparative-historical insights as well as archival research and contemporary data in a more encompassing manner to tell the story of state formation and its variably violent consequences in South Asia. In this effort, an investigation of the origins of different institutions of colonial governance is a key starting point. In common with others writing on the territorially uneven nature of state-building within national boundaries, I explore the political motivations and anxieties that led British colonizers to establish distinctly different forms of governance across the directly ruled provinces, princely states, and political agencies across the subcontinent between the mid-1700s and mid-1800s. I then explore how independent governments after 1947 attempted to revise the fragmented array of governance forms through postcolonial state-building. These efforts were not entirely successful, yielding persistent variations in governance, but decolonization represented a key critical juncture that is often elided by scholars of colonial legacies. Legacies of these differences in state capacity and state–society relations shape patterns of political violence, especially in relation to the sovereignty of the state, in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Patchwork States contributes to two important, though very different, sets of intellectual debates. The first involves how we analyze the politics of South Asian countries. Much of the scholarship on India has been conducted in the very long shadows of the decline of Congress and the attendant fragmentation of political authority. The purported singularity of purpose among the leaders of the independence struggle has been replaced by increased demands among different communities and heightened competition among politicians for resources and political authority, understood through the idiom of clientelism, and implicated in Hindu–Muslim riots. South Asian comparative analysis has, meanwhile, highlighted stark differences between democratic India and autocratic/hybrid Pakistan (and Bangladesh).

What much of this scholarship has ignored is the complex character of the state itself, as structures different from and indeed prior to the formation of regimes and the character of political competition. State structures vary within national boundaries, but as importantly, they are common in their variation to all three countries. As a result, political competition and violence in all three countries occur across uneven landscapes of state authority, of which India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh are all a part. This book argues that these uneven landscapes can shape patterns of violence, as well as the character of political competition and development trajectories, in all three countries.

The second set of debates involves the relationship among state-building, colonial rule, and political order. Try as we might to escape them, we find ourselves trapped by the intellectual structures of modernization, which

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

privilege questions of national success and failure and invites us to find sources for these differences. Colonialism looms large as a potential explanation for the relative poverty and instability of many developing countries; this is, of course, not an inaccurate assessment! But in the search for systematic cross-national explanations, we tend to treat colonialism – especially in its nonsettler forms – as a perverse but singular institutional treatment.

In South Asia and beyond, however, colonialism represented an *internally complex* system of domination and subjugation, one which needs to be studied on its own terms if we are to understand its true impact. This book represents such an investigation in the subcontinent to understand subnational variation in political violence and other outcomes. But it suggests other factors that are relevant to understanding impacts of colonialism far beyond South Asia: the different motivations of imperial powers in different territories under their domination, and the extent to which postcolonial state-builders were able to revise or erase the concrete institutional legacies of colonial or imperial rule. Applying these questions in comparative perspective can help us understand a broad array of phenomena, from East Asian developmental states to Southeast Asian protection pacts to "ethnic management" and spheres of influence in the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China to the internally divided American empire in the western hemisphere.

* * *

As with any project that has come together slowly over the course of a decade, there is an immense number of people that deserve enormous thanks, without whom this book would not have been written. Part of the length of time over which it has been written means that I will, inevitably, leave out people whose thoughts and assistance in shaping the book should be recognized. I apologize for any such oversight at the outset.

In the conduct of this research, staff at the Asian and African Studies Reading Room at the British Library as well as those at the National Archives and the Central Secretariat Library in New Delhi have been invaluable. I have benefited greatly from presenting various aspects through various stages to audiences, including at the University of Pennsylvania's Center for the Advanced Study of India, Brown University's Watson Institute, the Institute for Defence and Security Analysis in New Delhi, Ashoka University, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London, the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Sussex, and meetings of the American Political Science Association, and the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics.

For expertly shepherding this book from a draft manuscript to publication, I am immensely grateful to my editor, Sara Doskow. Two excellent reviews from anonymous reviewers provided key feedback and comments. Other key individuals at Cambridge University Press whose efforts have been essential include Jadyn Fauconier-Herry, John Haslam, Rachel Blaifeder and Claire Sissen. For expert copyediting, typesetting and other aspects of production,

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

I thank Mathivathini Mareesan and Rashmi Motiwale Ladheriwale. John Beauregard provided me with an excellent index.

Colleagues and collaborators, with whom I worked on some of the ideas that generated the book, warrant particular recognition. Paul Staniland and I wrote an article on the concept of indirect rule that served as the starting point for the typology of colonial and postcolonial governance detailed in Chapters 2 and 5; Paul has since provided excellent feedback on integrating the project into conversations in conflict and security studies and I have benefited tremendously from his perspectives on political violence in print, including his recent book. Pradeep Chhibber and I coauthored a piece on subcontracted governance and the effective number of parties that has served as the basis for analysis in Chapter 7; Pradeep has subsequently made critical interventions in the drafting of the manuscript that sharpened it significantly. Clionadh Raleigh has helped me tremendously in exploring key concepts in the study of political violence in Chapter 6, and ACLED's fine-grained cross-national data have enabled me to demonstrate their utility in practice.

Ashutosh Varshney incisively situated distinctions at the heart of my research on contemporary violence in South Asia in broader comparative context, in a lengthy and enormously helpful exchange. Catherine Boone provided much-needed advice in framing the project and executing the analysis. Amit Ahuja, Christopher Chambers-Ju, Jody LaPorte, Susan Ostermann, and Jessica Rich provided excellent feedback on draft introductory and framework chapters. A fantastic group of historians and historically minded scholars of colonial and early postcolonial India have deeply informed the book: Neilesh Bose, Elizabeth Chatterjee, Mark Condos, Berenice Guyot-Réchard, Barton Scott, Jon Wilson, and especially Taylor Sherman. James Kurth provided invaluable insights across many conversations on the nature of empire, colonial rule, and political order in comparative perspective that have powerfully informed its conceptual and historical apparatus.

I have benefited from conversations, suggestions, critiques, and assistance over the years from Katherine Adeney, Caroline Arnold, Khalid Aziz, Bilal Baloch, Jennifer Brass, James Chiriyankandath, Jennifer Dixon, Caitriona Dowd, Kathy Gannon, Sam Handlin, Kathy Hochstetler, Bill Hurst, Lakshmi Iyer, Christophe Jaffrelot, Francesca Jensenius, Devesh Kapur, Mimi Keck, Peter Kingstone, Bill Kissane, Tomila Lankina, Adrienne LeBas, Mashail Malik, Colin Moore, Pratap Bhanu Mehta, Brian Min, Shuja Nawaz, Paula Newberg, Prerna Singh, Ekaterina Tertychnaya, Anshuman Tiwari, Steven Wilkinson, Andrew Wyatt, Emily Zackin, and Adam Ziegfeld. Conversations with postgraduate students in South Asian politics and international relations at King's and participants in Foreign Office workshops on South Asia have helped me to sharpen the presentation of my ideas. And through the last two years of writing and revising the manuscript during the coronavirus pandemic, I can only express my deepest gratitude for the (socially distanced) love, companionship, and emotional support of friends, family and community.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

I dedicate this book to the memory of my grandmother, Freda Mollie Barger, and my grandfather, Muhammad Ziaullah. My grandfather passed away when I was a small child, but his career as a government servant involved an intimate experience with colonial rule and its ongoing legacies. I knew my grandmother very well, however. She graduated from university and was conscripted into work in the India Office in London during the Blitz, experiencing three of the last years of colonial rule as a minor, unwilling functionary of the imperial project at the metropole. Her subsequent life and career were nothing short of astonishing. She has always been a source of inspiration, and this book would not have been possible without her encouragement and support.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

Abbreviations

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Database
AIML	All-India Muslim League
ANP	Awami National Party
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BNP	Bangladesh National Party
CAA	Citizenship Amendment Act
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPI-M	Communist Party of India-Marxist
CRPF	Central Reserve Police Force (India)
EIC	East India Company
ENP	effective number of parties
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area (Pakistan)
INC	Indian National Congress
IOR	India Office Records
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese nationalists)
KP	Kyber Pakhtunkhwa
MQM	Muttahida (Mohajir) Quami Movement
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE
Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-009-15842-8 — Patchwork States
Adnan Naseemullah
Frontmatter
More Information

PTL	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Labbaik
SCV	Sovereignty-challenging violence
SNV	Sovereignty-neutral violence
UP	United Provinces (of Agra and Awadh) or Uttar Pradesh
UPA	United Progressive Alliance

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment www.cambridge.org