State-Building as Lawfare

State-Building as Lawfare explores the use of state and non-state legal systems by both politicians and ordinary people in postwar Chechnya. The book addresses two interrelated puzzles: why do local rulers tolerate and even promote non-state legal systems at the expense of state law, and why do some members of repressed ethnic minorities choose to resolve their everyday disputes using state legal systems instead of non-state alternatives? The book documents how the rulers of Chechnya promote and reinvent customary law and Sharia in order to borrow legitimacy from tradition and religion, increase autonomy from the metropole, and accommodate communal authorities and former rebels. At the same time, the book shows how prolonged armed conflict disrupted the traditional social hierarchies and pushed some Chechen women to use state law, spurring state formation from below.

EGOR LAZAREV is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Yale University and a Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies.

Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics

General Editor Kathleen Thelen Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Associate Editors

Catherine Boone London School of Economics Thad Dunning University of California, Berkeley Anna Grzymala-Busse Stanford University Torben Iversen Harvard University Stathis Kalyvas University of Oxford Melanie Manion Duke University Susan Stokes Yale University Tariq Thachil University of Pennsylvania Erik Wibbels Duke University

Series Founder

Peter Lange Duke University

Other Books in the Series

Christopher Adolph, Bankers, Bureaucrats, and Central Bank Politics: The Myth of Neutrality
Michael Albertus, Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform
Michael Albertus, Property without Rights: Origins and Consequences of the Property Rights Gap
Santiago Anria, When Movements Become Parties: The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective
Ben W. Ansell, From the Ballot to the Blackboard: The Redistributive Political Economy of Education
Ben W. Ansell and Johannes Lindvall, Inward Conquest: The Political Origins of Modern Public Services
Ben W. Ansell and David J. Samuels, Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach
Ana Arjona, Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War
Leonardo B. Arriola, Multi-Ethnic Conditions in Africa: Business Financing of

Leonardo R. Arriola, Multi-Ethnic Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns

(continued after index)

State-Building as Lawfare

Custom, Sharia, and State Law in Postwar Chechnya

> EGOR LAZAREV Yale University



CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-24594-4 — State-Building as Lawfare Custom, Sharia, and State Law in Postwar Chechnya Egor Lazarev Frontmatter More Information



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, 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 Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009245944

DOI: 10.1017/9781009245913

© Egor Lazarev 2023

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 & Assessment.

First published 2023 First paperback edition 2024

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

ISBN	978-1-009-24595-1	Hardback
ISBN	978-1-009-24594-4	Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 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.

To Satsita Israilova

Contents

Lis	t of Figures and Tables	<i>page</i> ix
Acknowledgments		xi
	Introduction	I
	PART I THEORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY	
I	State-Building as Lawfare: The View from Above and from Below	23
2	The Field: Ethnography of Legal Pluralism in Postwar Chechnya	59
	PART II LAWFARE AND POLITICAL ORDER	
3	The Chechen Way: Lawfare under Imperial and Soviet Rule	99
4	"There Are No Camels in Chechnya!" Lawfare during the Independence Period	119
5	"We Will Use Every Resource!" Jurisdictional Politics in Postwar Chechnya	142
	PART III LAWFARE AND SOCIAL ORDER	
6	Laws in Conflict? Hybrid Legal Order in Contemporary Chechnya	175
7	"People Need Law": Demand for Social Order after Conflict	209

viii	Contents	
8	Chechen Women Go to Court: War and Women's Lawfare	238
	Conclusion	273
	erences	291
Ind	ex	311

Figures and Tables

Figures

0.1	Map of the region	page xv
6.1	Preferences for alternative legal systems in the most	
	common disputes	196
6.2	Aggregated preferences for alternative legal systems in	
	the most common disputes	197
6.3	Factors of legal preferences	200
6.4	Map of political topography of Chechnya	205
7.1	Relationship between individual-level victimization and	
	legal preferences	216
7.2	Map of victimization among sampled communities	220
7.3	Relationship between community victimization and	
	legal preferences	221
7.4	Relationship between community victimization during	
	the First and the Second Chechen Wars and legal preference	s 221
7.5	Relationship between community victimization and the	
	number of cases heard annually in the Justice-of-the-	
	Peace Courts	222
7.6	Map of case study locations	224
7.7	Aggregated preferences for alternative legal systems in	
	Chechnya and Ingushetia	233
7.8	Differences in the aggregated preferences for state law	
	between citizens and state officials in Chechnya and	
	Ingushetia	234

х

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-24594-4 — State-Building as Lawfare Custom, Sharia, and State Law in Postwar Chechnya Egor Lazarev Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

List of Figures and Tables

8.1	Gender differences in preferences for alternative	
	legal systems	248
8.2	Gender differences in preferences for state law in family	
	and non-family disputes	249
8.3	Factors of legal preferences among women	250
8.4	Relationship between community victimization, gender, and	
	preferences for state law	252
8.5	Predicting female plaintiff in hearings on civil disputes	
	in the Justice-of-the-Peace Courts	254
8.6	Gender gaps in support for state law in Chechnya	
	and Ingushetia	256

Tables

6.1	Vignettes of the most common disputes	page 193
6.2	Average number of court cases across social cleavages	206

Acknowledgments

This book became possible thanks to the incredible support I received from many people whom I met in Chechnya and elsewhere in the North Caucasus. Here I can only name scholars and public figures who encouraged me to use their real names, but I am deeply grateful to every single person who participated in the survey, agreed to an interview, allowed me to become part of their life, shared their stories with me, and introduced me to their families and friends.

I dedicate this book to Satsita Israilova, Director of the National Library of the Chechen Republic. During the many months that I stayed with Satsita, every evening we ended up drinking strong tea and talking. Satsita not only provided me with a sense of home on my field trips to Chechnya and tirelessly guided me through the complex matters of custom, family relations, Chechen history, and civilian experiences during the wars but also became a dear friend. The depth of our conversations cannot be fully reflected in this book.

My thanks also go to Khamzat Asabaev. A lawyer and entrepreneur who works at the top global level, Khamzat cares deeply about what is happening in his home region. While some people expressed doubts that an outsider like me could ever understand the complexities of Chechen customary law and Sharia as it is practiced in the region, Khamzat always supported my academic explorations.

I am indebted to Chechen social scientists who shared with me their wisdom on the region's history and contemporary sociopolitical developments. First and foremost, I want to thank Professor Lida Kurbanova, whose guidance in matters of gender and family relations was crucial for my understandings in this domain. Lida and her family and Professor

xii

Acknowledgments

Lema Turpalov helped me a great deal with organizing the survey, and I would like to acknowledge the excellent work of my team of survey interviewers. The study also benefited from exchanges with political scientists Abbaz Osmaev and Marat Ilyasov on post-conflict political developments and with historian Mairbek Vatchagaev on the turbulent period of the 1990s and from advice from the late Chechen ethnographer Said-Magomed Khasiev, whose knowledge of the intricacies of customary law was truly unparalleled.

The book grew out of a dissertation defended at Columbia University. Tim Frye chaired my committee and has been a wonderful advisor. Even though elders and imams are perhaps not the type of political actors Tim is used to dealing with, our shared interest in how individuals and groups maintain social order led to many productive discussions. Tim read countless drafts of research and grant proposals, articles, job market presentations, the dissertation, and finally the book manuscript and always offered valuable and helpful feedback. My other professors at Columbia – Daniel Corstange, Don Green, Kimuli Kasara, Vicky Murillo, Tonya Putnam, and Jack Snyder – and my graduate school comrades – Ashraf Ahmed, Clava Brodsky, Jerome Doyon, Anselm Hager, Jorge Mangonnet, Tamar Mitts, Kunaal Sharma, Gosha Syunyaev, David Szakonyi, Adam Valen Levinson, and Colleen Wood – gave me advice and support at different points in this project.

The inspiration for this research came from Georgi Derluguian's book *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus*. After I finished reading the book overnight, I emailed the author out of the blue, which led to a mentorship and friendship I cherish. Conversations with Georgi taught me how to do fieldwork in both insightful and ethical ways and how to link ethnographic observations to big theoretical questions. From my very first trip to the Caucasus in 2010, Georgi has always been reading my field diaries. He also taught me to choose good boots for walking around mountainous villages.

In my early steps in academia, I was privileged to learn from Vladimir Gel'man; as an undergrad, I took his class on the methodology of social sciences at the European University at St. Petersburg. This class taught me the nuts and bolts of the social sciences and fundamentally shaped my way of thinking. Most importantly, Vladimir taught me how to ask meaningful research questions. Since then, Vladimir has read all drafts of my writing, including the manuscript of this book, and he always provides great suggestions about how to sharpen an argument.

Acknowledgments

I owe a great intellectual debt to Sally Engle Merry. My study benefited a lot from the class on legal anthropology I took with her at NYU, when I was only starting to dive into the world of legal pluralism. Over the years, Sally has read several versions of this work (despite the presence of regression tables inside the text) and has always found intriguing angles that she pushed me to explore. I am happy to have known Sally. Her scholarship remains an inspiration.

I largely wrote this book during my time at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies. The Academy hosted a book workshop where Melani Cammett, Erica Chenoweth, Fotini Christia, Tim Colton, Tamir Moustafa, and Roger Petersen generously gave the entire manuscript their detailed critical reading. Their suggestions helped me to seriously revise the text and, I believe, made the book much better.

Over the years, numerous colleagues have commented on presentations of my research and various iterations of this manuscript. I am especially grateful to Ana Arjona, Laia Balcells, Kristin Bakke, Lisa Blaydes, Jane Burbank, Jesse Driscoll, Matthew Evangelista, Eugene Finkel, Amaney Jamal, Jordan Gans-Morse, Scott Gehlbach, Kevan Harris, Kathryn Hendley, Yoshiko Herrera, Timur Kuran, Alex Kustov, Zoe Marks, Kimberly Marten, Terry Martin, Mark Massoud, Vera Mironova, Peter Rutland, Cyrus Samii, Konstantin Sonin, and Josh Tucker. Boris Sokolov read more versions of this text than anybody else did and always pushed me to formulate a big picture story about the state and social order. Anton Sobolev deserves a special thanks for helping to scrape the unique datasets of several hundred thousand hearings in the Justice-of-the-Peace Courts and make beautiful figures for the book.

I was lucky to begin my professional academic career at the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. There, I met a wonderful group of colleagues, some of whom would become close friends. I am especially thankful to Filiz Kahraman, who provided detailed comments on how to better connect my study with law and society scholarship, and to Diana Fu, who gave advice on writing ethnography. My writing benefited from my critical engagement with a fantastic group of scholars with interests in the post-Soviet world – Adam Casey, Seva Gunitsky, Alexis Lerner, Matthew Light, Ed Schatz, Peter and Susan Solomon, and Lucan Way.

I finished writing the book after I joined the Department of Political Science at Yale. This was not my first time at Yale – previously I was a pre-doc fellow at the Order, Conflict, and Violence program, where my research was enriched by conversations with Stathis Kalyvas, Jay Lyall,

xiii

xiv

Acknowledgments

Juan Masullo, Virginia Oliveros, Mara Revkin, and Anastasia Shesterinina. My colleagues working on related topics of traditional authorities, state-building, gender, and conflict – Kate Baldwin, Sarah Khan, Isabela Mares, Dan Mattingly, Liz Nugent, Steven Wilkinson, and Libby Wood – have read various versions of the manuscript and shared their insights. The reading group on post-socialism run by Doug Rogers and the Political Violence and Its Legacies workshop have been great forums of ideas. Chetana Sabnis, Grace Lan, and Catherine Zou deserve special thanks for carefully reading the manuscript in its penultimate form and for helping me improve it.

In Russia, I have received great advice on the organization of the survey work from Sergey Khaikin, a Moscow-based sociologist, who conducted public opinion polls in Chechnya during the course of the war. I have also learned much from my colleagues in the study of the Caucasus – Irina Starodubrovskaya, Konstantin Kazenin, and Evgeny Varshaver. Their studies of legal pluralism in Dagestan, which were conducted in parallel with my study in Chechnya, informed my understanding of the region and formed a comparative perspective for my study. I have presented my project and subsequently some of the results of my study at the Institute for the Rule of Law at the European University at St. Petersburg, and I am very thankful to the colleagues there for their serious treatment of this work from a socio-legal perspective.

At Cambridge University Press, I am thankful to my editor Rachel Blaifeder, Robert Judkins, Shaheer Husanne, and the two anonymous reviewers, who provided kind and thorough feedback that greatly improved the book. I am also thankful to Kathleen Thelen and the series reviewer for accepting my book into the *Studies in Comparative Politics*. Thank you to Zach Reyna and Alexei Stephenson, who edited the manuscript at different stages and made it readable, Bill Nelson, who produced the maps, and Sergey Lobachev, who made the index.

I am very grateful to Chechen artist Asya Umarova for allowing me to use her artwork "Goodbye, Grandma" for the cover of the book. This artwork represents an episode from *tezet*, a three-day Chechen wake, when relatives, friends, neighbors, and colleagues come to the house to pay respects. It captures the moving boundary between the private and the public, which is one of the central themes of this book.

An earlier version of Chapter 8 appeared as an article: "Laws in conflict: Legacies of war, gender, and legal pluralism in Chechnya." *World Politics* 71, no. 4 (2019): 667–709. I thank the editors

Acknowledgments

and anonymous reviewers at the journal for their incisive comments. I use these materials with permission from Cambridge University Press.

The Harriman Institute at Columbia University provided funding for the field trips to the region and the Frederick W. Hilles Publication Fund at the MacMillan Center at Yale supported work towards the publication of the manuscript.

Finally, I want to thank my family. My mother Tatiana, my aunt Galina, and my brother Alexei had to worry during my long trips to Chechnya. They were always supportive of my studies and made my short visits back home the most rewarding time. My life partner Renata Mustafina read many versions of this manuscript. She also inspires me to be a more thoughtful scholar with her own example.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-24594-4 — State-Building as Lawfare Custom, Sharia, and State Law in Postwar Chechnya Egor Lazarev Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>



FIGURE 0.1 Map of the region