



## Governance in Transition: A Comparative Study of the Swat State (1915–1969) and Post-State Era (1969–2010)

Muhammad Irshad<sup>1</sup>, Muhammad Kashif Ali<sup>2</sup>, Adil Zaman<sup>3</sup> & Ayesha Iqbal<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>MPhil scholar, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat.

<sup>2</sup>Lecturer, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat

<sup>3</sup>Lecturer, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Gujrat, Gujrat.

<sup>4</sup>MPhil scholar, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat.

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#### Corresponding Author:

Muhammad Kashif Ali

#### Email:

[m.kashif@uog.edu.pk](mailto:m.kashif@uog.edu.pk)

### ABSTRACT

The paper provides a comparative historical analysis of the governance structures in Swat, pitting the centralized autocracy of the Swat State, 1915-1969, against the bureaucratic administration in the post-state era, 1969-2010. The research investigates the transformation across key institutional domains following the state's merger into Pakistan. It methodically compares civil administration, contrasting the roles of the absolute ruler (the Wali) and his officials (Wazirs, Hakims) with their Pakistani counterparts (Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, Tehsildars). The judicial systems are looked into-the state's peculiar blend of customary law or *Riwaj* and *Sharia*, administered by *Qazis* and the Wali himself-is pitted against the formal codified system of the post-merger period, with the shift in court language from Pashto to Urdu/English. It further explores the security apparatus, the economic foundations, and the rise of political institutions, tracing the transition from a state with no formal elections to one integrated into Pakistan's electoral politics. A critical theme examined is the socio-political behavior of the citizens where the perceived popular acquiescence and non-resistance during the state era are analyzed in comparison to protests and resistance that marked the post-state period. By assessing the effectiveness, weaknesses, and public perception of governance across the two periods, this research argues that the shift from a personal, accessible, and swift system of authority to a complex, impersonal, and often slower bureaucratic machinery produced a very significant transformation in the relationship of the state and its citizens, with far-reaching implications for administrative effectiveness and political stability in Swat.



## **Introduction**

Swat was one of the thirteen states acceded to Pakistan after the partition of India. This study is an attempt to compare the administrative and governance frameworks of Swat during two phases: the State era and the period following its integration into Pakistan. By evaluating the key institutions that operated in both phases, the research explores how authority, administration, and public management evolved over time. Particular attention is paid to shifts in leadership roles, from the Wali in the State period to the Deputy Commissioner in the post-merger period, indicating changes in decision-making and the locus of institutional control. The formation of the State, as well as the political and administrative process of its merger, is critically assessed to understand the structural transformation that took place. Economic conditions under the State are compared with those of District Swat, alongside a study of public attitudes toward governance in both periods. The article also assesses the institutional strengths and limitations and provides valuable insights into the functioning of government machinery in practice both before and after 1969. In general, the paper analyses how governance in Swat transformed from a centralized authority into a bureaucratic one within an administrative framework of Pakistan.

## **Formation of the Swat State**

The people of Swat were democratic and from the very beginning when they decided to have a proper state first, they offered pious person Abdul Jabbar Shah (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008). He was not Khan nor from strong Yousafzai clan but was honest, loyal and trust worthy. He was not agreed and then people requested him to give them trust worthy to run the administration of the state (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008). Now in modern democratic era it is criteria for public office holder that must be honest and loyal. Political parties of democratic countries issued ticket to the candidate after visiting of the concern area. Whether people are agreeing to vote him and what was the past of that person. When Swat state was in the formation period people were in search of noble person. Syed Abdul Jabbar Shah referred an administrative expert and pious person Syed Akbar Shah to the people of Swat. Syed Akbar Shah had already an experience of administration because he did work with Syed Ahmad Shaheed in Peshawar. People of Swat were taking onboard and some promises about state finance were taken with the people. Syed Akbar Shah started his work as administrator but due to strict Islamic laws which he was applying people were unhappy. After his death his son also faced the same problems because he followed his father's administrative rules and people were demanding reforms. Syed Abdul Jabbar knew that now situation is going to be worst. People remove through civilian Jirga. If he was not removed the war could be started between administrators and people (Khan, 1984).

After Mubarak Shah removal the people of Swat again request to Akhund to rule Swat. This time he accepts the proposal and became the ruler of Swat. He was also appointed through grand Pashtun Jirga. His period was known for social welfare activities and till his death in 1877 he ruled over Swat. After the death of Akhund struggle for thrown was started between the son of Akhund (Abdul Hanan) and Sherdil Khan. Both have their own supporters but at last the son of Akhund succeeded. It is very important that Khan of Dir who support Sher Dil Khan had strong influence in areas of Swat. In that period Swat was an unpredictable condition. Dir captured the neighboring areas of Swat but very soon Dir was involved in his own security risk from Umara Khan. An agreement was done between Abdul Hanan and Khan of Dir. Abdul Hanan was not a strong administrator because in his period state was in a great threat from outsiders. After the death of Abdul Hanan his brother Abdul Khaliq a Sufi type person became the ruler. He handled all the matters intelligently and no arms rebellions issues came across him (Khan, 1962).

After the death of Abdul Khaliq again the situation became unstable because this time royal family clashes were started for capturing the throne. Abdul Wadud son of Abdul Khaliq and his cousins were in struggle for thrown. These clashes were not stopped till to the death of his cousins. When Abdul Wadud got rest from family rivals' external threats were started. Abdul Jabbar Shah and khan of Dir were interfering in state matters. They also had very close links with local's khan and even in 1914 Abdul Jabbar Shah inter to Swat with huge army and local supporters. This time Abdul Wadud fought but was defeated. Now Abdul Jabbar became the ruler of Swat and Abdul Wadud was exiled. Abdul Wadud started re-grouping of his army. During exile and started negotiations with his friends and other local war lords who were going to support him. He also took help from khan of Dir. Jirga was held between Abdul Jabbar and Abdul Wadud but at last in 1915 Abdul Wadud was succeeded to re-capture Swat from Abdul Jabbar shah. In 1915 again with the approval of grand Jirga modern state of Swat was formed and Abdul Wadud became its ruler and proper structure of state was also given to it (Khan, 1962). The British government recognize Abdul Wadud as the ruler of Swat in 1926 when chief commissioner visited to Swat. A political agent was appointed to Swat, Dir and Chitral. About ten thousand per year of subsidies were allotted to swat state by British Indian government (Home Department, NWFP, n.d.).

### **Merger of the Swat State**

When Pakistan came into being in 1947 some of the states were very quickly merged. The Wali of Swat knew the intention of Pakistan and was ready mentally for merger. Pakistani government policy towards the frontier states were not aggressive. Instrument of accession were signed with Swat and other frontier states. In 1954 supplementary instrument of accession were signed due to it Swat state would adopt and implement any Pakistani law in the state if government of want. With this agreement Pakistani government had power to deal with the status of the state. Sometimes Pakistani government gave special status to Swat state and put into direct under the power of governor and president but yet state was not merged completely. This was just constitutional development to line up these independent states under proper constitutional umbrella. Thus in 1969 Yahya khan a martial law administrator expressed in his speech that all the frontier states should be merge in Pakistan. And from now all the administrative power in Swat should be handed over to provincial administrators. The wail of Swat had an advance idea about the merger of state. Yahya administration did not properly negotiate with him but just once called them to Rawalpindi and explained the entire plan (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008).

There were many factors behind the merger because people now aware about the democratic rights and they became aware about their rights. They wanted same status which was in his neighbor district Mardan and Swabi etc. Local khan also supported movement against state. Some of the political parties like Jamat-i-Islami were supporting the issue of merging state. The student of Swat also rose their voice and many organizations were formed by Swaties which were in Pakistan. They wanted Swat under the constitution of Pakistan. Ayub and wail family relation also create problems to royal family of Swat. Because Ayub resigned and those who were victim through Ayub policies supported the merger of state (Swati, 1970). About the formation and merging of the state it is observed that in both periods it was the need of time. It is very important to say that state formed through democratic Jirga of Pashtun tribal rules but the merger process was not done through referendum or democratic method. It is an example that both formation and merger process occur peacefully. At the time of formation people peacefully arranged Jirga and elected their ruler. At the time of merger people of Swat peacefully accepted and did not resist.

## **The Regions Governed during the State Era**

Swat State Extends from Landaki Pass to the Kohistan region. Six major administrative units were identified: Kohistan, Babozai, Buner, and Shangla. Saidu Sharif, Azakhel, and the upper Swat region. All these areas were governed by state authority, and state law was implemented. The state administrator exercised control over these areas. Saidu Sharif served as the capital of the state. Swat was regarded as an independent state (Ali, 1963).

## **Administrative Territories of the District Swat**

In 1969, Swat was designated as a district. Kohistan became a separate district shortly after its merger. In 1990, Buner became a separate district, followed by Shangla in 1996. The current demographic location of Swat district extends from Landaki Pass to Shangla Top. Saidu Sharif serves as the district headquarters. Swat is currently divided into two subdivisions: Matta and Swat. Swat comprises eight tehsils and a total of sixty-seven union councils. The District Swat is currently governed by the provincial administration (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008).

## **A Comparison of Analysis of Civil Administration(s)**

### **The Wail-i-Swat and District Coordination Officer (DCO)**

When the word kingship comes it clearly indicates that there is no body to challenge the ruler same is the case with Swat the wail was God father of the state. About his authorities it is clear that he was the chief justice, supreme Commander of the state. From lower ranked officer appointment to highest appointment was made by him. After him there was no final door for Swati's to knock for justice. He was law maker and law broker. He could ban the entrance of person in the state. He had the power to make a family happiest and poorest means that there were no body to challenge him. Because of his interference a serious judicial case could affect and could change the decision. But it is the reality that after partition of subcontinent Pakistani government interferes in the state but it was limited to some constitutional reforms. It did not affect the role of wail. Advisory council was formed with the direction of Pakistani government but that advisory council was just puppet and toothless council. They have no power to object the wail (Ali, 1963). Even wail announced his son as heir of his thrown. Wail has their proper administrative setup, revenue, army and other department. He had good relations with Pakistani officials and army persons. Wail of Swat often shows to Pakistan and other democratic countries that Swat is internally democratic but the setup of kingship is suited due to its tribal nature (Khan, 2017).

After merger Swat came under the provincial administration therefor deputy commissioner was appointed to Swat. Deputy Commissioner was a government servant and was responsible to provincial government and other justice department. He had no free hand like Wali but in those initial stages, deputy commissioner was powerful and he was considered as the head of the entire department. Police, health, revenue and education. Deputy Commissioner had the power to suspend or transfer any officer of other department. People who came to Wali office for demands or request in state period after merger they rush towards the deputy commissioner office. Deputy Commissioner is a government officer and any time if government want can transfer him but Wali was the ruler nobody dares to think about his removal or replacement. For a deputy commissioner there is a proper educational criteria and after a competitive process and proper training then a person can capable to became a deputy commissioner but for Wali of Swat there was not proper education but have hold on people and have strong Dalla(group) that no one rise there voice against you. With the passage of time in Pakistani government administrative setup the power and authorities of the deputy commissioner is fluctuating. Because whenever local body's elections are

conducted the power of deputy commissioner is share with public representatives. The power of deputy commissioner is also affected by member of provincial and National assemblies of the district. But still deputy commissioner has many powers. He is the head of district budgetary council. He can appoint commission for specific issue and can call explanations from any department of the district (Khan, 2017).

### **Saidu Sharif as Capital of the State and District Headquarter**

During the state period Saidu was capital territory and it had very importance in state politics. It was considered as hub of state offices. The main secretariate was there and other main offices like Darbar of Wali, residences of royal family and other state officers. Educational institutes, hospital and main state central jail was also in Saidu Sharif. All order and laws were issues from Saidu Sharif. All the main appointments were also made in capital. Saidu Sharif was very advance and had great importance for his facilities. It was also state army head quarter because Sipasalar officer was here. All the educational and social welfare departments were running directly from Saidu Sharif.

When Swat was given the status of district after merger Saidu sharif was considered its head quarter because Saidu Sharif had very fine infrastructure of state time and capacity of buildings to run the district. Deputy Commissioner started his work from Saidu Sharif and gradually due to Saidu Sharif importance in region commissioner office of Malakand division was also shifted into Saidu Sharif. DIG Malakand division main office is also in Saidu Sharif. We can say that Saidu Sharif is head quarter of not only district Swat but the head quarter of whole Malakand division. All the regional offices are in Saidu sharif Swat. In Taliban insurgency they tried hard to capture the Saidu sharif. Medical college under provincial government known as Saidu medical college is also in head quarter. Branch of high court for Malakand division is in Saidu Sharif. At last, we can say that due to state capital and state special focus on Saidu Sharif was considered as head quarter of the district and then even head quarter of Malakand division (Buland Khan, 2017).

### **Wazir-i-Azam and DCO**

As we have mentioned that state administration had their own setup therefore in state period the designation of Wazir-i-Azam was also created but later this designation was removed. Wazir -i-Azam was the second highest authority after ruler. In1940 the designation of Wazir- i-Azam was created but very soon it was abolished and Wazir-i-Azam changed into Wazir-i-Mulk in 1943. After merger Swat came under provincial government many changes were made in Swat administration. Many of designations which were very authoritative in state period were removed. DCO played role instead of major state designation like ruler, Wazir-i-Azam and Wazir-i-Mulk.

### **Wazir-i-Mall and District Revenue Officer**

Wazir-i-mall was known as finance minister in state period all the revenue collection. Allocation of funds was the major duty of this post. The office of the Wazir-i-Mall was in state capital Saidu Sharif. Wazir mall was responsible to the ruler. His duty was to prepare budget for the state and allocate proposed funds for various department with the approval. Wazir mall was mostly the relative or very close person to the ruler.

After merger provincial government appoint district revenue officer to Swat. His duty was to collect revenue through his officials but he was also under the district coordination officer. Same in state period Wazir-i-mall was under the ruler. The budgeting of the state was made with discussion with ruler and other main state officials. In district budget made through a meeting of district revenue officer and other civil officer of the district. District revenue officer of Swat is a

civil servant appointed by provincial government and is responsible to district authority and IS bound to Pakistani laws and government. Wazir-e- mall was state servant appointed by ruler and was only responsible to the ruler (Buland Khan, 2017).

### **Hakim and Assistant Commissioner**

Hakim was highest civil authority on tehsil level. Hakim of state period is equal to Assistant Commissioner of post state administration. If we compare Hakim and Assistant Commissioner, we can see that Hakim was very powerful as compare to Assistant Commissioner. Hakim had judicial and civil power at that time. Without the permission of Hakim, a person cannot go outside from the state. Hakim had their own courts and he properly addressed cases. At a time, Hakim was judge, revenue officer, security officer in his respected jurisdiction. Sometime Hakim was appointed to big tehsil but some time two or three tehsil came under one Hakimi in state period. Hakim was appointed by the ruler and was loyal to ruler and friend or relative of ruler. Hakim coordinates his tehsil to state and ruler. He was responsible to ruler only.

While Assistant commissioner is civil servant and is appointed to each tehsil of Swat after merger. Assistant commissioner is head of his tehsil administration but in context of civil well fear area. He had no judicial authority like Hakim of state. Assistant commissioner is appointed through competitive examination of government. He is responsible to his senior officer, government, courts of the country. Assistant commissioner is not as such control on police because in modern form of administration all the institutions are independent. Assistant commissioner look after mostly revenue, land of his Tehsil and coordinate with district administration (Manjat Khan, 2017).

### **The Tehsildar**

Tehsildar was last civil officer from the bottom in state administration. In state period *Tehsiladar* was considered as powerful authority in *tehsil* level like Hakim in his Hakimi. Same power which Hakim had in his jurisdiction Tehsildar had in his tehsil. But in case of judicial matter Tehsildar referred some time serious cases to Hakim. Tehsildar was revenue officer of his tehsil and was responsible for law-and-order situation of his tehsil. State security on tehsil level was under Tehsildar. We can say that Tehsildar of state period was powerful then post state Assistant Commissioner. Ruler appoint directly Tehsildar and only ruler have authority to remove or transfer him.

The designation of Tehsildar continued after merger. It was the only civil administrative post which was adopted in both setups. In post state period Tehsildar work under Assistant commissioner in Tehsil. Some Tehsils in district Swat have two or three Tehsildar but it depends on population and area of Tehsil. That how much Tehsil is large area wise? Tehsildar of today in district Swat is just limited to revenue collection and land dispute commission members. Sometime district administration gave extra charges to these Tehsildar as magistrate, price controller etc. These Tehsildar are appointed through proper government procedure. They are responsible to district government and courts of the country (Manjat Khan, 2017).

### **Judicial System: A Comparative Analysis**

In state period there was no proper documented law but mostly law was based on local Pashtun customary code which was also based on Islamic values. Wali of Swat allowed the people to formed own laws for their respective areas. Mostly local laws were sharia laws to some extent. The authority to exercise the law was divided into different civil officers like Tehsildar, Hakim, Arm force officers and Wali. Some of the serious cases were sent into Qazi courts like murder etc. (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008).

After merger Swat was in confusing position no proper district administration was given to it. Only deputy commissioner was appointed and was sole administrators for few years. Riwayat Nama based on local laws was followed for judicial activities. Then in 1972 Swat was pushed into PATA. In this setup bureaucracy was highly powerful and Jirga was established under the civil servants. Combination of local khans and civil servants were made due to which masses were not satisfied. In 1994 PATA regulation was removed but new law structure was given known as Sharia regulation. Some Islamist groups who wish to implement Sharia rule in area and local khans were also motivators for this new setup. By removing PATA regulation Jirga was also removed. Khan thought that their importance is also removed. At last, in 1999 government imposed Nizam-i-Adal regulations in Malakand division. Because Sufi Muhammad leader of *Tharik-i-Nifaz-i-Islam* started movement against the government to give full Islamic setup in Malakand division. In 1994 Sharia regulations were amended and new regulation was known as Nizam-i-Adal regulation of 1999 (Bangush, 2018; Hussain, 2005). When Sharia courts were established in Malakand division Qazis were appointed. Sufi Muhammad again gathered people for Afghan jihad in 2001. Government of Pakistan arrested Sufi Muhammad. He was in jail for many years and when Swat peace agreement was signed between Taliban and government. Sufi Muhammad was free and government again implemented Nizam-i-Sharia regulation 2009 (Government of Pakistan, 2009).

### **Judicial Officers of the State and Post State Period**

The judicial responsibility was not only in the hands of Qazis in state period. But was distributed among different civil officers, Wali and his heirs.

#### **Tehsildar**

Tehsildar was a state officer on tehsil level. He had multiple judicial powers and was also revenue officer. Many civil cases were dealt in the office of the Tehsildar. Only sharia cases were shifted to Qazi and Hakim courts.

But in after merger Tehsildar is just civil administrator of tehsil and has not such judicial authority like state period. *Tehsiladar* is also revenue officer in state and post state periods. Sometime district government appoints different types of duties to tehsildar. Post state Tehsildar has no judicial power because judiciary is separate institute in Pakistan (Government of Pakistan, 2009).

#### **Hakim**

We can compare Hakim to assistant commissioner today. Hakim was state officer and had more judicial power than Tehsildar. Tehsildar often send cases to Hakim office. Hakim had authority to interfere in Tehsildar decisions. Hakim had judicial and administrative both powers. Minor crimes were dealt in hakim office. Hakim was considered as lord of his jurisdiction area.

When state was merged Hakim was replaced by Assistant Commissioner. Assistant Commissioner is head of tehsil and has some magistrate powers and administrative power. But in case of judiciary Assistant commissioner has position like Tehsildar. Assistant Commissioner has power to fine or suspend such a person when he knew that he is doing illegal work. But in criminal cases he has no power to do (Ali, 2017).

#### **Qazis and judges**

In state period Qazis were appointed to each village, Tehsil and Hakimi. Qazi mostly deal those cases which were shifted by Tehsildar and Hakim. Mostly Shari point of view cases were sent to Qazi courts. Qazis were respected in the state and those who had full command on Quran and Sunnah should be appointed. In post state era Qazis are appointed but they have both English and

Islamic education. Qazis of post state are doing double job as Qazi and judge of court. He can deal both type of cases according to sharia law and Pakistan penal code (PPC) and Criminal procedure code (CRPC). The Qazis or judges of today in Swat is independent and powerful as compare to state era.

### **Muhkami Qaza and Darul Qaza**

Muhkami Qaza was known as the supreme court of the state period. The head office of this department was in capital Saidu Sharif. A branch of renowned Islamic scholars were in this court and major cases of murder etc. were entertained here.

After merger When Nizam-i-Adal regulation was implemented in Swat the government of Pakistan established Darul Qaza in Swat district. A bench of Peshawar high courts is appointed here to facilitate the people and provide justice to the door step. This is the highest court of appellate in district Swat (Salahudin, 2017).

### **Wali court and Supreme Court of Pakistan**

The Wali of Swat court was in the capital Saidu sharif. Wali himself sometimes here cases and his decisions were final. No one dare to challenge. He mostly deals the case of influential people himself. The system was very flexible that an ordinary people of Swat can also met with Wali and his Darbar was open to all.

When Swat was merged in Pakistan the Wali was replace by deputy commissioner. In such a new born district administration there was not proper judicial setup. Therefor deputy commissioner follows Riwaji law or Dastur-ul-Amal which was enforce in state period. The decision of deputy commissioner can challenge in high court of the province. We are talking about of the very beginning year of merger. After some time, courts were established in Swat and now Supreme Court of Pakistan is the final decision body for the people of Swat.

### **Nature of Justice in Both Periods**

In pre-merger era there were Qazi in each village. Disputes and cases were solved in a very first step. There was neither court fee nor needs of advocate. All the proceedings were in local language. Even murder case was solved in ten days. Those who went to capital for facing his case were provided free food and stay. A common citizen could meet to Wali easily in state period. Murder case in state period was solved within one week on the other hand cases are pending for years in new post state judiciary. There was no expensive documentation work in state period very simple process no fee of advocate often people face personally their cases. But in current position judicial activities is very expensive (Ijaz Khan, 2017).

### **District Judicial Officers**

After merger district judicial department was a separate not a mixture like state period. But the thing is that after merger judiciary was very complicated for the people of Swat. People were familiar of state period simple, speedy and affordable judiciary for a long period. But after merger Swat district judicial system was not speedy and poor men cannot afford the expenses of this modern judicial system. Tehsildar, Assistant commissioner and other civil servants have nothing to do with judiciary in post-merger judicial system. We knew that in state period these civil officers have judicial power and their offices were considered as courts (A. Asif, 2017).

### **Qazi or judge**

Judge or Qazi of state period have no such authorities like after merger judges. In state period judiciary were divided into many state officials and after merger when Nizam-i-Adal regulation was passed in Swat judges were given both the duty of Qazi and judge. He would deal the Islamic matters and can also deal other cases. Both laws were implemented in Swat Sharia law and normal Pakistani laws. Qazi could deal all the criminal cases and district Qazi could also supervise all the lower courts of the district.

### **Court Language before and after the Merger**

Wali of Swat focused on native language and even work for his promotion. All the judicial work were done in Pashtun language because it was very easy for common people. When state was merged new judicial setup adopted Urdu and English both languages. But still English language is preferred. Why people are still praising speedy judiciary of state era? First in state period you have many options of trailing your case like you could solve your case through local Qazi or Jirga. You could solve through Pashtun tribal laws which was suitable to the locals. Secondly state judiciary was very speedy and crimes were controlled through efficient administration. The process was less expensive and administration was neutral (Rahman, 2017).

### **Shift in Security Structures in Both Eras**

State army was the front-line force during the state period and has proper prestige in the society. Because of aggressive neighbor state focused on his army. The top position of the army was *Sipasalar* and in the bottom was *sipahee* (soldier). There were many forts where these army were posted and whenever the situation created army were deployed. In state period police were considered as second force. The head of police in state was police Commander and there were many inspector and sub-inspectors under him. These police assist army and were under the control of Hakim and Tehsildar in tehsil level. There were more than 200 *chokies* (police stations) where police were appointed. Direct sub-inspector was appointed through state commission and these appointments were held under the direct observation of Wali of Swat. When state was merged mostly army officer were converted into police and frontier force. State army was dissolved and now police gain the status and privileges of army in district Swat. In post state superintendent of police was head of this department in district and now head of police is known as district police officer. There are many departments within police as mention in last chapter like anti-corruption, special branch, traffic police etc. (Ayaz Khan, 2017). The question is that why army replaced by police after merger? The main reason is that after merger Swat is not remain a state but a district like others and Army is symbol of a separate state. If state is abolished then there is no reason to carry army because now it is the responsibility of Pakistan to maintain law and order in this area. Secondly Pakistan has no sufficient resources to carry such an extra army.

### **Transformations in the Political Institutions**

#### **Evolution of Electoral Processes and Representation**

First local body election was announced in Swat state in 1961. The ruler of Swat was unhappy but due to pressure from Pakistani government election was conducted. Ayub Khan was president of Pakistan and he think that the basic democratic member of the Swat will easily support me in the upcoming elections. The position of these elected members was like a toothless tiger. Because of this election a gulf created between major factions of Pashtun tribe in Swat due to which state administration became very happy. The local bodies members in state had least power they were just happy that common people calling them member sahib or chairman sahib. Mostly powerful

family participated in elections. The wail of Swat himself was member of National Assembly. There were three seats of provincial Assembly for Swat state. These three seats should Nominated by wail of state their role was as informer of wail in provincial assembly (Jabbar, 2017).

In 1969 when state merged in Pakistan the people of Swat got same rights like Pakistani citizen. The major change was that the era of kingship, dictatorial structure was finished and Swat enter into democratic setup. The elected member in post state era was active and had power to influence on the district administration decision. Because in democratic country masses or the main power. The former royal family of Swat was also active in political activities of Swat. Major political parties of Pakistan have their candidates who participated in elections from these parties. PPP, PML (N) PTI, ANPJUI (F) currently PTI is the ruling party in district Swat. In state period a member cannot denied the order of Tehsildar but now member of provincial or member of local body have more administrative power. He can transfer and can influence district administration. In state period the elected members were worried that if they against the state administration their family could be suffered. People knew that Wali was the final authority and Wali did not bear if a person influence on his administration or interference in it. In post state funds are allocates to the constituencies by the government and these public representatives decide their development projects. But in state era elected member have no funds they have just little bitter approach to state officials. State officials gave them importance some time and accept their demand. Election in state period was just eyewash to show Pakistan and other democratic countries that we are going to put our state on democratic line (Sheristan, 2017).

### **From Submission to Protest: Social Changes Across Periods**

If we thoroughly study the era of state period. We can hardly notice some resistance because the state administration was very strict and those who are caught to be involved were discharge from state. There were many strong tribal leaders in state era who could easily gave tough time to the state administration but the Badshah sahib and then his son the last Wali deal with these local lords in very expert way. Jobs were given to the strong families. This is the tribal nature of Pashtun society that if elder are agreed then a problem can be solved easily. Another reason of non-resistance of people against state was free and speedy judiciary to every citizen of state. Equal justice was provided to all. Security of the citizen was guaranteed. There was Sharia Nizam in state, Islamic courts. The state administration did not give any chance to the people for uprising because all the legal demands of the citizen were accepted. Case of murder was solved with in week if this type of speedy justice, then why people rise against state (Shah Bacha, 2017). People need at that time short term solution not long term. Movement against Swat state was started but not openly they were mostly underground or struggling from outside not within state. There was strict check in balance on non-state actors. The state administration was made according to the wishes of the people. The last wail was extremely secular but the system of the state was extremely Islamic. Because Wail knew the mind of his masses. The main thing in his administration was that if somebody or group was caught to be involved anti-state activities must be punished, never be negotiable and must be discharge from the state (Bacha, 2017).

While when state was merged in Pakistan the strict administrative setup changed. The new setup was more flexible as compare to state administration. Swat entered into democratic era in which demonstrations, speeches, gathering etc. are considered as fundamental rights (Bacha, 2017). The court system was changed new *thana* (police station) and *katchery* (court) setup was introduced, people were uneasy with the new setup. The new judicial setup was expensive, slow and considered not Islamic. People of Swat are mostly radical Muslims therefore local Mulvis got chance and starting anti state activities. Secondly the local Khans and Malaks were also unhappy

with new setup because in state period ruler gave them different types of benefits. While in new setup deputy commissioner and assistant commissioner are not bound to deal these khans. Local khans motivate the Islamist like Sufi Muhammad started Therik-i-Nifaz-i-Muhammadi people support him and his agitation. Government negotiate and accept some demands this time district administration fail and bow down in front of extremist. Again in 2009 the same situation occur people support Fazluallah this time because people wanted real implementation of Sharia in Swat. At last negotiation fail military operation started Fazluallah supports were mostly killed and he himself runaway to Afghanistan. Fazluallah was mostly supported by a specific class of people those who were suffer from the judicial system of the state, those who were suffer from poverty and those who really want Sharia Nizaam in Swat. Pakistani government many times negotiate with these non-state actors Sufi Muhammad and Fazluallah that's why non state actors were bold (Shah, 2017).

## **Conclusion**

The comparative study of Swat's governance from 1915 to 2010 therefore unfolds the story of two vastly different governance systems in terms of strengths, weaknesses, and socio-political contracts with their subjects. In fact, the shift from an autonomous Swat State to a district in Pakistan was very much more than an administrative change: it was a fundamental transformation of the whole political and social order.

The reign of Swat State, under the personal and centralized rule of the Wali, was marked by efficiency, accessibility, and swift justice. The civil administration, pyramid-shaped with the Wali at the apex, guaranteed direct accountability. The judicial system, an amalgamation of Sharia and customary law, enjoyed a reputation for being inexpensive and expeditious, while the court of the Wali acted as an ever-open final arbiter. All this created a period of comparative peace and economic stability based on a social contract whereby people by and large accepted autocracy in return for security, predictable justice, and the absence of the perceived corruption and delays of external systems. The notable lack of resistance from the people during that period stands testimony to the perceived effectiveness of this and the personal legitimacy of the Wali.

In contrast, the post-state era (1969–2010) initiated a modern, bureaucratic state apparatus that was modeled on the rest of Pakistan. This integration made for a formal political system, such as elections and party politics, and a codified legal system, but it also introduced its own set of major challenges: the Wali was replaced by a DCO; integration into a national judiciary, though more democratic in principle, was associated with impersonality, delay in procedures, and a reduction in access. A court language shift from Pashto created a barrier between the common citizen and the justice system. The security apparatus transformed from a locally recruited army to a national police force, often viewed with greater suspicion.

The post-merger period saw an increase in public resistance and political agitation. The very institutions meant to integrate Swat into the national mainstream often struggled with local legitimacy. The efficiency and decisiveness of the personal rule of the Wali were replaced by the procedural complexities of a bureaucratic machine, which, for all its democratic potential, was frequently perceived as inefficient, corrupt, and distant. In sum, the governance transition in Swat represents a classic dilemma between autocratic efficiency and democratic complexity. The Swat State provided a model of governance which was highly effective in its particular historical and cultural context but was intrinsically undemocratic and personalistic. The post-state era, while conforming to the democratic aspirations of a modern nation-state, failed to replicate the localized efficiency and accessibility of the previous system and thus turned out to be a period of tumultuous adjustment with a crisis of legitimacy that would have far-reaching consequences for the future of

the region. The study ultimately shows that good governance is indeed a matter not only of the form of institutions but also of their cultural fit, the perceived justness, and their ability to command the confidence of those ruled.

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