

**“18th AMENDMENT: BOON AND BANE FOR FEDERALISM
IN PAKISTAN” POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
CHALLENGES TO THE FEDERALISM IN PAKISTAN**



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ABSTRACT

The difficulties the Pakistani federation encountered after the passage of the 18th Amendment are the subject of this study. The 18th amendment to Pakistan's constitution, passed in 2010, signified a substantial change in the political landscape of the nation by giving its provinces more authority. The purpose of this research is to critically evaluate the implications and difficulties brought about by this change, particularly those pertaining to resource allocation, fiscal federalism, province autonomy, and intergovernmental relations. This study aims to provide a nuanced knowledge of the growing federal structure in Pakistan and the accompanying barriers to its stability and effectiveness through the use of a thorough assessment of policy documents, legal frameworks, and socio-political processes. However, over the years, Pakistan has experienced various phases of federal restructuring including the adoption of 1962 constitution and 1973 constitution. To streamline federalism, 18th amendment was adopted in the constitution of Pakistan in 2010. After 18th amendment, the federalism of Pakistan faces many challenges. This study aims to explore those challenges in detail. Additionally, the study considers various changes and solutions that could address these issues and encourage a more harmonious federal system in Pakistan.

Key Words: Pakistan, Federalism, 18th Amendment, Challenges, Economic and Political

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Deceleration

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my precious Assets, my father Muhammad Nawaz and my mother
Your Prayers, love, guidance, and unwavering support have been the pillars of my life.

Abbreviations

AC	Assistant Commissioner
ANP	Awami National Party
CCI	Council of Common Interest
CEC	Chief Election Commissioner
CM	Chief Minister
CoD	Charter of Democracy
CSP	Civil Service of Pakistan
FATA	Federally Administrative Tribal Areas
ICT	Islamabad CAPITAL Territory
IGP	Inspector General
IJI	Islami Jamhoree Itihad
LFO	Legal Framework Order
MP	Member of Parliament
NA	National Assembly
NAP	National Awami Party
NEC	National Economic Council
NFC	National Finance Commission
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PAS	Pakistan Administrative Services
PM	Prime Minister
PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League Noon

PMLQ	Pakistan Muslim Leagues Quaid-i-Azam
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
SAPM	Special Assistant to Prime Minister
SPCCR	Special Parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Reforms

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Federalism is not simply an abstract constitutional principle. Still, it is also a component of everyday life and an attitude toward political and social difficulties that is firmly deep-rooted in our consciousness. Federalism has deep historical roots in Germany. Its origins can be traced back to the beginnings of our state organization more than a millennium ago (Bühler, n.d) A federation is a political entity characterized by a union of partially self-governing provinces, states, or other regions under a central federal government. The federal government is typically responsible for matters of national interest, such as defense, foreign affairs, and currency. The constituent regions, or members, of the federation, are responsible for issues of local interest, such as education, healthcare, and law and order. Federations are often established in countries with a large and diverse population like Pakistan, or in countries that have a history of conflict between different regions. By dividing power between the central government and the constituent areas, federations can help to promote national unity while also respecting the diversity and autonomy of the regions (Kosar, 2019)

In Federations, the constitution divides powers between the center and federating units based on the US Model, Canadian Model, or List system. In the US model, the powers of the central government are defined and the rest of the powers are left to the provinces. In the Canadian model, the constitution defines the powers of the units and leaves residuary powers to the center, while the list system clearly defines the authority of both the center and the provinces as well as their combined powers (Ali, 2018).

General Musharraf's ouster from the presidency in 2008 and federalism are strongly linked to the events that resulted in the 18th Amendment to the Pakistani Constitution in 2010. The

principal objective of the 102-reform package implemented by the 18th Amendment of 2010 had to do with updated formal federalism definitions. But this change was furthermore to reduce the President's authority and increase the elected gatherings. Judicial nominations were another topic covered by the 18th Amendment and the lengthy process of contesting the constitutional amendment power was sparked by this problem. (Fenna et al, 2023).

Article 58(2)(b) of the 18th Amendment of 1985 gave the President the authority to dissolve the National Assembly at "his discretion where in his opinion a situation has arisen in which the Government of the Federation cannot be carried on by the provisions of the Constitution and an appeal to the electorate is necessary." Before the 13th Amendment was ratified in 1997 as a remedy, this arrangement was in place. In Pakistan, the 1990s served as a symbol of the bitter rivalry between the President and the Prime Minister, who frequently exploited the former's authority under 58(2) (b) to dissolve elected assemblies. In ten years, there were four dissolutions. Following the 1998 coup by General Musharraf and the "transition" to democracy he orchestrated in the ensuing years, he acted under a court validation of the coup and took on the role of Chief Executive, reinstating some Eighth Amendment provisions. The President's office was granted ultimate sovereign authority through the power of dissolution, but the 17th Amendment (2003) also once again increased the subject matters on which the President would exercise discretionary authority (Ahmad, M, 2023).

This system existed before the 13th Amendment was enacted in 1997 as a solution. During the 1990s, there was an internal conflict in Pakistan between the President and the Prime Minister. This conflict was reflected in the President's ability to dissolve elected assemblies under 58(2) (b) and in the extension of the subjects on which the President might use his discretion (Nazir, M. 2008).

The provinces of Pakistan served as administrative divisions before the establishment of the state in 1947. Aside from the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), which became a province in 1905 after going through a process of integration and subsequently separation from Punjab's bigger administrative unit, in none of the provinces was there a popular referendum for joining Pakistan as a newly formed state. The assembly in Sindh and Punjab, two of the remaining provinces, decided to join Pakistan, and the new nation obtained the province of Baluchistan initially by signing a "stand-by" arrangement between the national authority and the traditional leader of what was then referred to as the Kalat state. Although it has long been acknowledged that these problems must be addressed, the federal formula was altered with, as opposed to completely redesigned by the reform package that the 18th Amendment announced in 2010(Shah, A. 2012)

Considering the difficulties and prospects that appear as an outcome of these adjustments, such as political, economic, judicial governing, policy-making, law and order, power distributing difficulties and challenges faced by the country in post 18th amendment. There is a lack of knowledge concerning challenges and difficulties to the federation in Pakistan in the post-18th amendment period.

1.2. ProblemStatement

The 18th Constitutional Amendment to the Pakistan Constitution was adopted to develop federalism by devolving powers to provinces. The amendment was characterized by disputes over authority, responsibilities, and decision-making powers between the federal government and the provinces. The amendment has exacerbated regional inequalities, with some provinces experiencing growth while others grapple with enduring challenges in vital areas like infrastructure, education, healthcare, and employment opportunities. Furthermore, the political dynamics have shifted, leading to changes in power structures, coalition politics, and the ascent of regional parties,

all of which necessitate a closer examination of their influence on the stability and effectiveness of the federation of Pakistan. Identifying these Challenges which emerged with the 18th constitutional amendment and addressing these challenges is crucial to ensuring the continued cohesion and functionality of the federation of Pakistan.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The need for this research is particularly significant given the context of federalism in Pakistan, especially following the 18th Amendment. Studying these aspects is crucial to understanding and reviewing the political and economic Challenges to the federation and the provinces after the 18th Amendment. The 18th Amendment has had a profound impact on both federal and provincial governments in Pakistan, as it introduced substantial constitutional changes by modifying 102 Articles of the 1973 Constitution. Additionally, 47 critical subjects and 18 federal ministries have been decentralized to provincial governments, marking a significant shift in governance and autonomy. Furthermore, this research intends to critically assess the implications and difficulties brought about by this transition, particularly those concerning resource allocation, fiscal federalism, province autonomy, and intergovernmental relations. Through a thorough review of policy documents, legal frameworks, and socio-political processes, this study strives to provide a nuanced understanding of Pakistan's expanding federal structure and the concomitant impediments to its stability and effectiveness. The policymaker tried to address the issues faced by the federation under of 18th constitutional amendment, however, it failed up to some extent to address the issues of the federation. This study is going to find out the challenges faced by the federation in the aftermath of the 18th constitutional amendment and suggest a solution to those problems and challenges.

1.4. Research objectives

1. To analyze the challenges to federalism in Pakistan after 18th amendment.
2. To explore how the distribution of powers and resources and their impacts on the federation of Pakistan especially the political and economic.

1.5. Research Questions

1. What are the main challenges came to the federation in Pakistan after the 18th constitutional amendment?
2. How has the distribution of power and resources between the central government and the provinces impacted the federation of Pakistan, especially the political and economic?

1.6. Delimitation of the Study

The study focuses on the topic “Challenges to Federalism in Pakistan: Analysing post 18th Amendment Period”. Keeping the topic in view, the study focuses only on the post-18th amendment period. Furthermore, only those political and economic sources selected that reflect the aftermath of the 18th Amendment.

1.7. Organization of the Study

This study is based on five chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter one deals with the introduction and background of the study. It will also include research questions, research objectives, significance of the study, study, delimitation of the study, and statement of the problem.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Chapter Two deals with the systematic review of literature and theoretical framework.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Chapter Deals with the methodology of the research work

Chapter 4: The Historical Background of the Challenges to the Federation in Pakistan

Chapter fourdeals with the historical background of the study. In this chapter, the researcher explains the historical background of the challenges to the federation in Pakistan, analyzing the post-18th amendment period.

Chapter 5: Factors Responsible for Adoption of the 18th Amendment

Chapter five deals with the federation in Pakistan. It also discusses the main factors responsible for adoptingthe 18th Amendment.

Chapter 6: Post-18th Amendment and Challenges to Federalism and Provinces

Chapter Six deals with the challenges to the federation as well as to the provinces after the 18th Amendment in Pakistan. It also includes economic aspect, political, ethnic, and administrative aspects.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This chapter includes conclusions, remarks, and major findings of the study.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Literature Review

This section will provide resources that will be used to guide and assist the current research. The literature review for this research proposal has been based on reading original documents, government reports, official statements of relevant stakeholders, books, research journals, newspapers and media reports.

Federalism is a system that organizes and governs interactions between federating units and the central authority. It is a means of balancing feelings of autonomy without jeopardizing national cohesion. The national government is in charge of national affairs, while the provincial government is in charge of local affairs. Dicey asserts that this political maneuver aims to strike a balance between maintaining national unity and maintaining state sovereignty. These agreements are formed through the use of a constitution. Because of centrifugal and centripetal forces, the federation was formed. According to the origin view, forces exist. America was most likely the first state to form a union. This form of state administration gained prominence in the twentieth century as more nations embraced it following World War II for a variety of convincing reasons (Kosar, N., 2019).

Federalism is a system of government where different regions or units of a state share political and economic powers, functions, and resources collaboratively. However, ethnic diversity and pluralism can sometimes challenge this cooperation by creating divisions among the regions (Tamuno, 1998, P. 13). To harness diversity as a strength for development, federalism provides appropriate institutional arrangements that facilitate the agreed-upon sharing of power and resources. These arrangements not only strengthen the federation but also promote the autonomy of individual units by enabling meaningful political participation and increasing political and

economic benefits. In this way, federalism helps maintain the unique identities of the regions. Many political scientists believe that federalism is the most effective system for allowing distinct political units to resolve their differences, develop solutions, and create shared policies to address common issues (Naseer, 2007).

Following the 18th Constitutional Amendment, Pakistan has evolved into a participatory federation where the federal government and provinces jointly share ownership of natural resources. Historically, except for the 1962 Constitution, the country's major constitutional frameworks—including the Act of 1935 and the Constitutions of 1956 and 1973—have been predominantly federal and highly centralized. Consequently, an extremely centralized system of governance has prevailed. The frequent disruptions to the egalitarian and constitutional processes in Pakistan have exacerbated tensions over provincial autonomy and the distribution of federal powers, particularly those vested in the president's office. The 18th Amendment sought to address these longstanding disputes by taking into account the country's constitutional and democratic history, political landscape, and prevailing conditions. This amendment aimed to transform Pakistan's traditional federalist approach. However, the centralized nature of governance remains a persistent political reality in the country (Abbasi, 2010).

Federalism is primarily focused on creating an effective system of governance by establishing a well-ordered political and economic arrangement among various levels of government within a federation. The true test of federalism lies in developing an accommodative, manageable, and mutually agreed-upon power-sharing mechanism that ensures the independence of provinces. Essentially, federalism involves the devolution of political and economic powers in a structured manner (Ariyo, 2003). Additionally, some scholars argue that a federal political order is

characterized by the provision of both self-rule and shared rule, allowing regions to maintain autonomy while participating in collective governance.

Federalism is essentially the result of incentives provided by the federation to its provinces through institutional bargains and guarantees. Countries like Brazil, Germany, and the United States exemplify strong federalism because they have established effective institutional bargains between the central government and the provinces. Conversely, some federations are more fragile and less credible because they retain the power to dismiss provincial governments, creating a power imbalance. For instance, the imposition of governor rule in Balochistan has led to a significant trust deficit between the central government and the province. Moreover, federations often face challenges due to conflicting interests among provinces. In revenue-sharing processes, smaller provinces may advocate for representation based on territorial share, while larger provinces prefer population-based representation to secure a larger share. These clashes of interest can impede the decision-making process and politically weaken the federation. When social groups are divided along ethnic lines, protecting their interests can compromise the effectiveness of strict federal systems, especially under majority-based democratic regimes. This situation suggests that Pakistan's federalism could benefit from comparisons with consociationalism, which might offer alternative solutions for managing diverse and divided societies. Exploring this comparison could provide valuable insights into resolving the complexities and challenges faced by Pakistan's federal system (Rodden, 2004).

This article aims to provide an understanding of Pakistan's current political scene. And discusses its composition. The study uses a textual analysis approach to examine portions of the 1973 Constitution as well as the entire 18th Amendment. Interviews with those responsible for the 18th Amendment have been studied in order to obtain insight into its success in drafting a

constitution. Federalism is a democratic federation. The interviews were analyzed to ascertain the overall theme of replies and spark a conversation about the specific research questions. Following that, the final data was examined from an ontological and epistemological standpoint. The examination of the 18th Amendment demonstrates that the document is particularly favorable to the Federalist model. In the given article, the researcher talks about the post-18th Amendment and its implementation, but she was unable to provide a single piece regarding the challenges faced by the post-18th Amendment era (Afridi, 2019).

Federalism requires bicameralism. A federation must protect the rights of smaller units while still accommodating legislative variety. The upper house of the bicameral legislature, known alternately as the Senate, serves this aim by providing a practicable platform for representation on the basis of equality. As a result, having the upper house is nearly impossible for all federations. Pakistan adopted bicameralism in 1973, despite the fact that it became a federation in 1947 but continued to be governed by a unicameral legislature under the first two constitutions (of 1956 and 1962), which significantly weakened the fundamentals of federalism. However, the 1973 Constitution established a bicameral legislature to facilitate the growth of federalism. The author talks about federation and its basic ingredients, but he is unable to highlight the difficulties facing the post-18th Amendment (Khan, 2017).

Pakistan is divided into four constituent units and federal tribal territories. Due to population and land size differences, the member units that comprise the federation are of unequal size. The 1973 Constitution is the outcome of compromises. This constitution established a bicameral legislature in the country. The powers of the provinces and the central government were outlined by the constitution and the legislature. The significance of the 18th amendment, the balance of power in the federation, and the original nature of the constitution. This amendment

empowers the provinces and fosters cooperation and trust between the center and the provinces. However, due to the current severe condition of COVID-19, world relations, the economy, and terrorist operations against states and communities have changed. The government is stepping up for new administrative entities to handle the concerns of all the Federation's neglected areas and people. The author analyzes the federation of Pakistan and the constitution and its features (Qadir, 2021).

The passage of the 18th Amendment, which changed Pakistan's Constitution and governmental structures, into effect in July 2011 was marked by an unusually short length of time for such a large-scale reform. It is noteworthy because during this time, Pakistan experienced its highest ever increase in terrorist attacks. There were 25442 fatalities in total between 2009 and 2011, comprising both terrorist and civilian victims. The percentage of civilian casualties in 2011 was higher than in prior years, despite the fact that the overall fatality rate gradually dropped. The 18th Amendment was enacted during a period when law and order were waning due to the circumstances of the country. The researchers analyzed the impact of devolution on legislative reform relating to law and order in Pakistan but did not analyze challenges faced to the post-18th Amendment era (Aziz et al., 2019).

Although the passage of the 18th amendment and the NFC award are being hailed as a step towards provincial autonomy, they come with considerable financial and administrative ramifications that call for serious adjustments to work. Agreements on force and legal matters. Due to the elimination of the concurrent list and the fact that the federal government is no longer able to grant provinces development budgets, the number and nature of provincial expenditure have significantly changed (Nabi & Sheikh, 2010).

Federalism has been one of the most difficult issues in Pakistan's history. The 1973 Constitution, which formed the basis of the national consensus, attempted to address the issue by specifying fiscal federalism and lists of federal, concurrent, and residual powers. A significant sense of alienation had developed as a result of the smaller regional subdivisions (provinces) being unable to acknowledge their own cultural identities. As a result, separatist sentiments were fostered, leading to the separation of East Pakistan. Historically, the distribution of administrative and financial responsibility between the central government and the provinces has been a source of dispute. Finally, the 18th Amendment was heralded as a great step toward true federal democracy because it abolished the concurrent list and provided provinces with access to their own legislatures (Shah et al., 2021).

The legacy of British colonialism can be seen in the history of federalism in Pakistan. The state of Pakistan has faced a variety of difficulties since its founding in 1947. Another issue that has garnered a lot of attention throughout the years is the issue of federalism. There has always been a need to advocate for a real, democratic, and federal government that would satisfy all of the national entities. So far, a variety of plans, most of them legal, have been put forth to serve the interests of the provinces. But the majority of these plans have failed. As a result of the 18th Amendment, which was passed in 2010, Pakistan's federal structure has changed. The devolution and transfer of authority, notably in the administrative, political, and financial spheres, are affected by these changes. The 18th Amendment is unmistakably made better by the autonomy of the provinces. The process of moving the subjects from the federation to the provinces has been influenced by it, despite controversy and poor progress. After the 18th amendment, no one, not even politicians, especially those from the Punjab, were aware of the direction of the "transfer of power from the federation to the provinces (Arshad & Khan, 2019).

The 18th Amendment gave a crucial chance for multi-order governance reform in Pakistan that was lost when it came to tackling some challenging problems. These included reorganizing the powers and responsibilities of the federal, provincial, and local governments in the interests of peace, order, good governance, and economic prosperity. The Amendment further abrogated the federal government's fundamental responsibilities for protecting minorities and underrepresented groups from natural disasters, securing a domestic common market, and protecting people's lives and property. Potential dangers on the economic and service delivery front are much higher with provinces adopting "beggar-thy-neighbor" policies and erecting barriers to trade and factor mobility. In the absence of a legal framework for fiscal responsibility, provincial ownership of financial institutions imposes soft budget limits and poses serious dangers to macro-stability (Shah, 2012).

Pakistan is a federation, and in a federation, there is always a delicate balance between, on the one hand, the goals for greater national unity and, on the other hand, the desires for autonomy of the component parts. Since their creation, all constitutions have demonstrated a propensity towards a more powerful central authority at the expense of provincial sovereignty. Since Pakistan's founding, "the issue of provincial autonomy has been a catchphrase in Pakistani politics and is currently a central issue in the case of the small provinces." Economically and strategically, Pakistan's Gwadar port is a key project. Regarding the port, a very high level of security should be guaranteed. There is a need to develop a number of vocational training institutions and institutes in Gwadar as well as in other parts of the province in order to produce more skilled labor and workforce. It goes without saying that the best course of action in the short and long terms is to promote education, especially high-quality education. That would be absolutely necessary to improve the province's politics, work ethics, and social climate. It is

crucial to resolve the missing persons issue since it has remained central to the Baluchistan conflict (Javid, 2013).

Federalism has been a significant problem throughout Pakistan's constitutional history. Due to British bias, the provinces that joined Pakistan after 1947 had less experience with constitutional and federal rules, which had a significant impact on Pakistan's post-independence democracy and constitutional norms. Federalism was provided as one of the promises for the establishment of Pakistan; thus, it is a persistent feature of Pakistani politics. It is very distressing that even after sixty-five years of independence, Pakistan continues to grapple with the problems of federalism. The unsettled issues of federalism have brought problems of governance and strains in the nation-building process. Federalism and provincial autonomy have been the slogans from the beginning of independence. No constitutional issue has raised such a controversy as did the central unit relationship. Federalism in Pakistan became a topic of discussion due to the political instability, lack of constitutional direction, remote control of military democracy, and similar socio-political events that followed. Due to the uncertainties and ambiguities that have existed since Pakistan's independence, two factors were crucial to the excessive engagement of the Centre and the failure of federalism in Pakistan. First off, Pakistan operated for a very long time without a formal constitution, practically from the beginning until the time when the political system was transformed into a unitary one. The power balance was significantly changed in favor of the central government during the constitution-making process, which brings us to our second point. Pakistan struggled with a lack of democratic representation and through a protracted period of military rule that was anti-democratic. Therefore, the Center's influence overtook the affairs of the units under this political structure, and the federalist principles were discouraged (Raja & Hussain, 2015).

For states with a diverse population and wide territory, federalism is the best option. Some elements are shared by the federal constitutions. These characteristics include two separate governments, a written constitution, the separation of powers, and the independence of the judiciary. Each federal state, however, is distinctive. The foundational elements of a federal state are framed by a variety of factors, including history, social, and political circumstances. The 18th Amendment made important changes to Pakistan's political system, but it also significantly altered society by abolishing CLL. The aforementioned amendment made it possible for seventeen federal ministries to move to the provincial level. Addressing the call for greater regional autonomy was a wise choice. Pakistan did experience some difficulties as a result of this shift, which was ill-planned. The 1973 Constitution's 102 articles were modified by the 18th Amendment. Through the elimination of CLL and the implementation of modifications to articles 157 and 172, the foundation of the parliamentary system was restored, the function of the elected representatives was strengthened, and the long-standing demand for province autonomy was met. The Eighteenth Amendment was a topic on which all political parties in parliament displayed broad agreement. The Eighteenth Amendment, however, is still having problems with execution (Naseem & Mahmood, 2019).

2.2. Theoretical framework

Modern states, being large in the basis of population and territory, are organized either on a unitary model or a federal model. A unitary setup is that form of state that is based on centralization of powers and where only a single set of government for the whole country exists. In this system, the constitution confers all powers to the central government, and administrative units only exercise those powers that are delegated to them by the federal government. In diverse nations, the states are organized on a federal model. This research model has been analyzed in the light of the theory of federalism. The federal system is suitable for states with multi-cultural,

multi-ethnic, and multilingual populations. Federalism can resolve the problem of a diverse population by dividing powers between different types of government.

The word federalism is derived from the Latin word "feuds," which means accord or agreement (Talbot, 1998). The phenomenon of federalism is very old, but it was in the 18th century that it emerged in its early stages. The first ever confederation recorded in history is that of Switzerland's letter of alliances, 1291. In the modern era, federation was first adopted by the USA (1789) and then followed by Canada (1867) and Germany (1871). After the dissolution of colonial powers in the 19th and 20th centuries, many federal states emerged in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In order to resolve the ethnic and cultural problems of diverse nations, federation is the best solution. Federalism varies from state to state, but the basic principle of sharing powers between federal government and unit is the same. To ensure effective federalism, three things must be there.

- 1) Independence of judiciary
- 2) Supremacy of constitution
- 3) Formal division

Pakistan is a multilingual and multi-ethnic state that adopted federalism under the Constitution of 1973. The theory of federalism, which divides powers between the central government and sub-national units, is a fundamental framework applied in Pakistan's governance structure. Federalism here allows for the devolution of powers, balancing the unity of the nation with the diverse needs of its regions. It delineates legislative authority, provides mechanisms for conflict resolution, and has evolved over the years to accommodate changing dynamics. Federalism in Pakistan is both a mechanism for governance and a subject of ongoing debate, reflecting its pivotal role in managing diversity and fostering unity. So, this research study will be carried out under the theory of federalism (Nitszke, 2008).

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Methodology

The methodology serves as a guide for researchers to ensure that their study is well designed, effectively executed, and capable of generating meaningful results (Kothari, 2017). In this section of the study, the following sub-headings will be included: research design, data collection, and data analysis. This research study will provide ample data to knowledge-seeking learners about the challenges faced by the post-18th Amendment.

3.1.1. Research Design

Research designs are specific procedures involved in the research process: data collection, data analysis, and report writing (Brown, 2022). "Research design is defined as a master plan specifying the methods and procedures for collection and analyzing the needed information (Zikmund, 1988)." This research employs a qualitative descriptive design for this study based on first-hand and second-hand available data.

3.1.2. Data Collection

The researcher will use primary and secondary sources and relies on content analysis to address the research questions (Kumar, 2018). The researcher will analyze those sources that reflect the historical and present perspective of challenges to the federalism in Pakistan post-18th amendment period and also loopholes. This study will mostly rely on the documents available that are accessible either in electronic form or in printed form. Secondary data will be collected from the research papers, journals, books, newspaper stakeholder's statements, official statements, online sources, and organizational reports, while primary data will be collected through interviews.

3.1.3. Data Analysis

Data analyses play an essential role in the research process as it evolves, improving and structuring the collected data. The researcher has been using the content analysis method for data explanation and interpretation. In this study, content data analysis is used to examine primary sources and secondary sources carefully in a critical way to prove credibility and originality. Eventually, conclusions will be drawn and findings will be generated, which will help to produce more logical and fact-based answers to the main research questions.

3.2. Operational Definition of Major Terms

According to the oxford dictionary the major terms will be defined follow:

Federation: A country consisting of a group of individual states that have control over their own affairs but are controlled by a central government for national decisions, etc.

Constitution: The rules and practices that determine the composition and functions of the organs of central and local government in a state and regulate the relationship between the individual and the state.

Amendment: A small change or improvement that is made to a document or proposed new law; the process of changing a document or proposed new law.

4. The Historical Background of the Challenges to the Federalism in Pakistan

4.1. Introduction

Federalism in Pakistan is a living testament to strength of unity and the richness of diversity. Pakistan's federation includes 4 provinces, while Azad Jammu Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan are independent territories, each with its own unique identity, culture, and history. From the lofty Himalayas in the north to the deep sea of Gawader and Karachi in the south. Pakistan's federal structure is a mixture of cultural diversity and political pluralism. Each province within the federation has its own provincial government, with powers and responsibilities defined by the Constitution in the provincial list. This decentralization ensures that local needs and aspirations are addressed while maintaining a cohesive national framework. The federal government, seated in the capital Islamabad, oversees matters of national importance such as defense, foreign affairs, and economic policy, weaving the states together into a unified whole. The linguistic and cultural diversity of Pakistan is the most conspicuous feature. The Constitution recognizes Urdu as an official language, while there are many languages spoken across the state. This linguistic variety and cultural difference is a symbol of Pakistan's pluralistic ethos, where many languages, religions, and cultures coexist.

Pakistan's political environment is equally diverse, with multiple parties representing a spectrum of regional interests and ideologies. This diversity is crucial for the functioning of democracy, which provides a platform for voices from every corner of the country. Additionally, in terms of economics, the federation is a powerhouse. Province of Panjab and Sindh contributing significantly to the national GDP Meanwhile, provinces such as KPK and Baluchistan are naturally rich and provide raw materials and minerals. This economic diversity ensures a balanced growth trajectory, although challenges such as regional disparities and poverty persist.

The making of the Pakistan's first Constitution was an immense challenge, marked by the need to forge unity in a country teeming with provincialism and cultural diversity. They had to balance the interests of hundreds of princely states, multiple languages, varied religious communities, and diverse social strata. Addressing the language issue, proportional representation, resources distribution, power distribution were the main challenges to the federation of Pakistan. These including administrative problems led to the debacle of Bengal, which had left deep scars on the federation of Pakistan.

4.2. Formation of Pakistan and Initial Challenges

4.2.1. Partition and Creation of Pakistan (1947)

In 1946, the British Raj announced that they were going to grant independence to the Indian Subcontinent. Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947, in the aftermath of the freedom movement started in 1940. The British Raj came to an end, and the Indian subcontinent was divided into two states, Pakistan and India, and some small independent states. Pakistan came into being the right of self-determination. The people in Muslim-majority regions of British India either voted directly in referenda or through their elected representatives to join the new state (Sattar, 2012). Approximately 12 million refugees crossed the new demarcated borders by Sir Radcliffe, which is based upon religious affiliation with Muslim and Hindu majority states (Phillips, n.d.). With the independence from the British and separation from India, Pakistan faced several problems, as separation and independence were not the only problems; other problems included the establishment of a new setup, political problems, administrative problems, distribution of resources, unfair boundaries, refugees' problems, annexation of princely states, language issues, economic problems, defense issues, and constitution-making challenges (Wynbrandt, 2009). The independence and establishment of Pakistan were not the wholesome solution, but addressing all the key issues were the actual challenge to the newly formed state.

4.2.2. Early Political Outlook and Initial problems in Constitution Making Process

Following the independence from the British Raj in 1947, the early political setup of Pakistan is characterized by the establishment of a democratic state. The All-India Muslim League, under the leadership of Quaid-e Azam (first governor general) and Liaqat Ali Khan (prime minister), played an important role in forming the new political setup for the newly born nation. Among the severe problems, constitution-making is one of the biggest challenges for the constituent assembly. Under the India Independence Act 1947, the country's political leadership adopted the Indian Act 1935 as an interim constitution for the state (Rizwan and Hassan, 2020). The Constituent Assembly was made under the Independence Act and was given the power to frame a new constitution for the new state and formulate laws to regulate state affairs (Abbas, 2023). The father of the nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was trying to resolve the grievance of East Pakistan in the constitution-making process, but unfortunately, he died very early after independence. However, PM Liaqat Ali Khan presented the famous resolution called "Objective Resolution" in March 1949 to lay down the principles of constitution-making. The Constitution Assembly discussed it in detail and passed it unanimously as it was one of the milestones in constitutional history (Abbas, 2023). Objective resolution is considered an important document like the Magna Carta in British constitutional development. Despite the milestone of Objective Resolution, Pakistan was still stuck in the administrative and political challenges. After the death of Jinnah, Pakistan lost another national leader and PM Liaqat Ali Khan in an assassination attempt in 1951 (Zaidi, 2010). Due to his death, the constitutional progress delayed and the state's problems increased.

After the objective resolution, a Basic Principal Committee was formed under the leadership of Molvi Tamiz ud Din to frame a proper constitution for the states. The committee presents two reports on the suggested constitution for the states but faces several major issues in constitution-

making. The first issue they faced was a linguistic issue about whether Urdu will be the only national language or Bengali as well. The committee only suggests Urdu as a national language (Rizwan et al., 2017). Distribution of power and recourse between the two units, east and west Pakistan, was another major issue faced by the constitution makers. The leadership of East Pakistan wants a weak federal government and strong provinces, while the political leadership of West Pakistan wants a strong federal government. Additionally, the people of East Pakistan want proportional-based representation in the lower house and seats based on one unit system in the upper house. However, the Bogra formula suggested that representation of the lower house would be on a proportional basis, while in the upper house, the house of units will consist of 50 seats; each unit has an equal share of 10 seats (Ahmed, 2017). The language issue was addressed by the Bogra formula, as Urdu and Bengali were both declared the national languages, but it was criticized on several grounds.

In October 1954, Ghulam Muhammad, the then-Governor General, dissolved the first Constituent Assembly that was challenged by the president of the assembly, Maulvi Tamizuddin, in the Sindh court. The court decided the dissolution of the constituent assembly illegal, but the Federal Court upheld the decision of the Governor General but asked for setting up an elected constituent assembly. The second Constituent Assembly was elected indirectly by the members of provincial assemblies. The Constituent Assembly started work on constitution-making. Despite the plethora of challenges, the new Assembly completed its work under the lights of previous reports and presented it in the Assembly on January 9, 1956 (Kokab et al., 2020). With few changes, the constitution-making process was completed, and after 9 years, the first constitution was adapted by the states of Pakistan in March 1956.

4.2.3. Language Controversy

Pakistan is a heterogeneous society where multiple races and ethnicities live together under the umbrella of Islam. However, multiple languages and cultural diversity lead to challenges in federalism due to the need for provincial autonomy and national unity. After independence, Pakistan's constitution became stuck in a linguistic issue between East and West Pakistan.

After gaining independence, many countries face significant language problems due to the diversity of languages spoken within their borders. The enthusiasm for national integration while establishing a separate independent state was muddled by the language controversy. The language controversy started at the "Pakistan's Educational Conference" in November 1947. It was decided by the majority members of the conference, particularly the leadership of west Pakistan, that Urdu will be the only national language and Bengali will be expelled from all government documents, including envelopes and postcards (Jabeen et al., 2020). Declaring Urdu language caused bitterness in East Pakistan as people of west Pakistan were in majority. The decisions on national language are deeply intertwined with issues of national identity, unity, and development.

The controversy over Bengali as a national language posed a significant obstacle in the process of constitution-making in the state. The disagreement between East and West Pakistan about the official language was that some wanted Bengali to be an official language alongside Urdu, while others insisted that Urdu should be the sole official language. This debate and disagreement extended beyond the constitutional issue and affected political and financial matters as well between East and West Pakistan. Many Bengalis felt that the central government was being unjust to the people of East Pakistan, leading to growing resentment and hatred towards the central authorities (Abbas, 2023).

4.2.4. Ethnic and Cultural Differences

Pakistan came into being with the characteristic cultural diversity and heterogenous society of a state rich in different cultures, traditions, languages, and customs. The country is home to numerous ethnic groups, each contributing to its vibrant cultural mosaic. The people of Punjab, the largest ethnic group, predominantly inhabit the province of Punjab and are known for their lively festivals, folk music, and dance. In Sindh, Sindhis celebrate their heritage through the Sindhi language, Sufi music, and the famous Ajrak textiles. The Pashtuns, residing mainly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan, uphold a distinct cultural identity with Pashto poetry, traditional attire, and Pashtunwali, a code of conduct emphasizing hospitality and honor. Baluchistan is home to the Baloch people, who cherish their unique language, traditional Balochi music, and intricate handicrafts (Alimumzam, 2023).

This ethnic diversity and cultural differences not only enhance the cultural richness but also bring challenges to the newly born state in terms of power sharing, resource distribution, national unity, and cohesion. The government and civil society continually work towards promoting an inclusive national identity that respects and celebrates this diversity, ensuring that every ethnic group feels valued and represented in the national fabric. The ethnic groups, particularly Baluchistan, KPK, and Sindh, have long-standing grievances about the distribution of resources and revenue, which led to the constitutional crisis in the initial years. The central government's control over key financial matters has led to economic disparities and regional imbalances, creating political unrest (Siddiqui, 2023). Furthermore, various small ethnic groups residing in various provinces are asserting their desire for recognition through the establishment of their own provinces. However, significant constitutional, economic, and administrative challenges hinder the realization of a truly collaborative federalism in the country.

4.2.5. Governance and Administrative Challenges

Since its inception, Pakistan has been surrounded by multiple issues and challenges. Administrative and governance issues were deeply entrenched, posing significant challenges to effective governance and sustainable development for a newly born state. At the very beginning, bureaucratic inefficiency and a lack of skilled and trained human power, especially senior officers, was a serious problem in the administrative system that hindered swift decision-making and implementation. There was a shortage of office space, equipment, and furniture. This disturbed the direct connections between the federal government and provincial governments (Hussain & Hussain, 1993). On the other hand, the provincial governments were overburdened and needed very accurate connections between the center and the provinces to solve the problems of the Muslim refugees, who had nothing to eat, drink, wear, rest, etc. (Gatrell, 2013).

This inefficiency is exacerbated by widespread corruption, which erodes public trust and diverts resources away from essential public services. Additionally, there is a notable lack of coordination among various government departments and agencies, leading to duplication of efforts and wastage of resources. Furthermore, the governance structure is highly centralized, limiting the autonomy of local governments and impeding their ability to address local issues effectively. This centralization also stifles innovation and responsiveness at the grassroots level (Zia-ur-Rehman, 2023). Moreover, the legal and regulatory frameworks are often outdated and inadequately enforced, creating an environment of uncertainty that hampers investment and economic growth. These administrative and governance obstacles collectively impede Pakistan's progress towards a more efficient, transparent, and accountable system of governance.

4.2.6. Economic Disparities and Regional Inequalities

In 1949, India devalued its currency, but Pakistan chose not to follow suit. This decision led to a cessation of trade between the two nations, severely impacting Pakistan's economy, which was

heavily reliant on trade with India. At its inception, Pakistan inherited a weak economy and a limited industrial base. The early years of Pakistan's existence were fraught with challenges, exacerbated by India's uncooperative policies and the conflict in Kashmir. These difficulties profoundly influenced Pakistan's worldview and its relations with India, driving Pakistan to focus on survival and security. Many Indians and British observers predicted Pakistan's collapse, believing that Muslims would soon realize their mistake and seek to rejoin India (Hasan, 1961).

These initial economic challenges led to the economic disparities and an unequal distribution of resources between the provinces. A brief review of history reveals how regional economic disparities have created dissatisfaction among provinces towards the central government. The main source of this displeasure lies in the non-consociational conditions, primarily due to the imbalanced economic decisions made by the federal political governments. For example, investment patterns in the former Eastern and Western provinces of Pakistan were markedly different, with the Western wing receiving nearly double the investment compared to the Eastern wing, owing to the federal government's unequal policies. Consequently, per capita income and GDP grew much faster in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan. These economic disparities fueled secessionist sentiments in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and weakened the federation's legitimacy as a fair resource allocator.

The economic history of Pakistan reveals that economic resources were often disproportionately allocated to regions that were more accepting of military regimes (Noman, 1988). This unequal distribution led to significant economic disparities, with East Pakistan experiencing more unrest and riots compared to West Pakistan. The federal governments' tendency to favor certain regions, particularly larger provinces, exacerbated these disparities, especially in areas with diverse ethno-linguistic populations. This unequal allocation of resources has contributed to conflicts between the federal government and provinces, as well as among the

provinces themselves (Stewart, 2000). In Pakistan, the partial distribution of resources has not only created inequalities between the federation and the provinces but also intensified regional disparities. This has manifested in various forms of conflict, including the ethnic violence in Karachi, the insurgency in Balochistan, and sporadic sectarian violence across the country. Additionally, the past decade has seen ongoing violent conflicts in the North-Western regions and Southern Punjab, which have been associated with extremist activities (Malik, 2009).

The distribution of economic resources has been a key source of dissatisfaction in the federal-provincial relations of Pakistan. The provinces have long been critical of the resource distribution formula, arguing that it has been imposed by the federal government without adequate consideration of their needs (Kundi and Jahangir, 2002). In 1951, Sir Jeremy Raisman reviewed the revenue allocation between the central government and the provinces and recommended reverting to the system outlined in the Government of India Act 1935. This plan proposed that 50% of income tax revenues be shared between the provinces, with East Pakistan receiving 45% of the divisible pool and the remainder distributed among other areas of West Pakistan. While sales tax was to remain under central control, half of the receipts from specific areas could be retained by the provinces. East Pakistan was also to receive 62.5% of the basic customs duties. However, this system led to significant imbalances. The allocation of resources favored West Pakistan, leading to underfunding in the eastern province. For example, in 1951, the federal government allocated 18 crore PKRs to East Pakistan, compared to 480 crore PKRs for West Pakistan. Additionally, East Pakistan received only one-third of the total external aid (Choudhury, 2005). This disparity in resource distribution contributed to growing tensions and highlighted the challenges of achieving equitable economic development across the country.

The NFC Awards of 1961 and 1964 were based on the administrative structure established by the One Unit scheme of 1955, which consolidated the four provinces of West Pakistan into a

single unit. The distribution formula during this period was determined by collections from sales tax, income tax, export duties, and excise duties, with Eastern and Western Pakistan receiving 54% and 46% shares, respectively (Ahmed et al., 2007). After the dissolution of the One Unit scheme, the National Finance Committee in 1970 proposed a new distribution where East Pakistan received 54% of the share, and the remaining 46% was allocated among the four provinces: Punjab (56.50%), Sindh (23.50%), NWFP (15.50%), and Balochistan (4.50%). The NFC Award of 1974 shifted the criteria to population alone, resulting in the following allocations: Punjab (60.35%), Sindh (22.50%), NWFP (13.39%), and Balochistan (3.86%) (Ahmed & Khalid, 2007).

However, this population-based distribution was criticized for neglecting the development needs of provinces, such as poverty. Smaller provinces, particularly NWFP and Balochistan, expressed dissatisfaction with the 1974 NFC Award, arguing that it compromised provincial autonomy. Despite federal assurances that the NFC Awards addressed provincial concerns and aimed to ensure autonomy, provinces continued to feel that only liabilities were transferred without corresponding resources. This has led to calls for a financial devolution similar to that in India to better address regional disparities and needs (Mushtaq, 2009).

To summarize, the economic history of federal-provincial relations in Pakistan reveals that the issue of resource sharing has been a persistent source of dissatisfaction. Concerns about the formula for resource distribution and the allocation of grants have remained unresolved, leading to ongoing tensions between federal and provincial governments. The allocation of resources has often been contentious, with disputes over the fairness and adequacy of the distribution formula. A lack of political will and insufficient efforts from both federal and provincial governments have exacerbated these issues. Additionally, reliance on population-based metrics for resource allocation has contributed to conflicts, as it does not fully account for regional disparities and development needs.

4.3. Secession of East Pakistan and Federalism

During the Ayun Khan Era, the Awami League, under the leadership of Sheikh Mujeeb, initiated a movement by introducing the Six-Point Program, aimed at redefining the federal structure of Pakistan. Ayub's government disregarded the demands of the Awami League that led to a resurgence of political agitation in East Pakistan. This movement, fuelled by calls for provincial autonomy and the principle of one person, one vote, also demanded the resignation of General Ayub Khan and the holding of fresh elections. As a result of the growing unrest, Ayub Khan resigned, and in 1969, General Yahya Khan became the new martial law administrator.

Yahya Khan paid little attention to the provinces' popular demands and eventually recognized the need to address these concerns by abolishing the One-Unit system. He asserted that the previous requirement for parity among West Pakistan's provinces was no longer necessary. This move faced strong opposition from influential groups in Punjab and Urdu-speaking communities, who had clear reasons for resisting the restoration of provincial status (Kundi, 2002). The leadership of politically marginalized provinces argued that the federal government should retain only necessary political and economic powers up to a minimum level to preserve the country's unity. Although the provinces were not granted full autonomy, leading the provincial leadership to continue opposing the federal government.

The 1970 general elections exposed the federal government's previous claims of protecting provincial interests and autonomy under military leadership as superficial. When Sheikh Mujib's Awami League won a significant majority, the military shifted its strategy, hoping for a hung parliament to maintain control. The Yahaya Regime proposed governance-sharing plan was unacceptable to East Pakistan, further straining federal-provincial relations. Instead of addressing the crisis through political negotiation, the federal government launched "Operation Searchlight" to

impose control, leading to widespread violence, the deaths of hundreds of thousands, and the displacement of millions.

Political analysts viewed that the crisis to the federal government's actions, particularly its decision to adjourn the National Assembly, which prevented the Awami League from forming a government. This mismanagement ultimately led to the secession of East Pakistan.

4.3.1. The 1971 War and Aftermath

The 1971 war and succession of Bangladesh had a significant impact on Pakistan, as the problem of East Pakistan was rooted in long-standing economic, language, cultural, and political tension between the two wings, which was exacerbated by the denial of the West's Pakistan leaders to accept the electoral victory of the Awami League in the general election of 1970. The denial led to Operation Searchlight by Pakistan security forces, which was a brutal crackdown on the Bengali population in East Pakistan. The operation led to the widespread atrocities, triggering a massive refugee crisis (Saikia, 2004). Top of Form The led to the international condemnation and a massive refugee crisis, with millions fleeing to neighboring India. In response, the Mukti Bano, a Bengali guerrilla force, waged a resistance movement against the Pakistani military, supported covertly by India.

Delhi's involvement in the affair with West Pakistan escalated following increasing refugee inflows and cross-border tensions. On December 3, 1971, Pakistan launched preemptive airstrikes on Indian airbases, prompting India to officially enter the war. The conflict was short but intense, lasting only 13 days. Indian forces, in coordination with the Mukti Bahini, advanced rapidly into East Pakistan, and on December 16, 1971, Pakistani forces in Dhaka surrendered, leading to the fall of Dacca and the creation of Bangladesh (Politicon, 2020).

4.3.2. Consequences for Pakistan's federation

The fall of Dacca in 1971 had the following significant consequences for the federalism Pakistan. The fall of Dacca resulted in the loss of territory and over half of the population. This event drastically changes the political, demographic and geographic situation of the country. The separation exposed the deep ethnic, linguistic, and regional divisions between east and west Pakistan. It also alarmed the challenge of maintaining national unity in remaining provinces of west Pakistan. The fall of Dacca emboldened other provinces in Pakistan, particularly Baluchistan, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, to demand more provincial autonomy and control over provincial natural resources and power shares. This event led the issue to set a stage for ongoing debates over provincial autonomy, power sharing and federalism. The separation of Dacca also impacted the structure of economy as the East Pakistan was contributed more than the half to the state economy. Our Industry get shrink; Pakistan lost access to the jute industry which was one of the major export commodities. The economic impact was felt for years as Pakistan struggled to recover. The economic shock also felt by the small provinces as their economic share reduce which was alarming for the federation of Pakistan, the marginalized regions and small province have had already the sense of deprivation and the economic shock further increase their grievances (Tepper, 1972).

Furthermore, the consequences of the secession of East Pakistan fueled ethnic nationalism within various areas of Pakistan, particularly among those who felt marginalized by the federal government for a very long time. The rise of ethnic tensions after the secession of East Pakistan in 1971, an event heavily influenced by ethnic divisions. Ethnicity played a decisive role in the separation of East Pakistan, and today, the country continues to grapple with ethnic conflicts and the targeting of various ethnic minorities across different regions. The fact that these divisions still exist highlights a critical challenge that must be addressed to ensure national cohesion and stability

(Khan, 2018). The sense of alienation and otherness emerged, which was alarming for the federation and to look for greater recognition of ethnic and linguistic issues and resolve them on a priority basis.

4.4. Redefining the Federation Post-1971

After the succession of Bengal and 1971 war, Pakistan's federation is encountered a range of multiple challenges, as provinces held high expectations for greater political and economic autonomy from the federal government. This era was seen as a critical transitional phase for federalism in the country, with the policies and decisions made during this time shaping the future dynamics of federal-provincial relations. It prompted a re-evaluation of federalism in the Pakistan, particularly as Punjab emerged as the largest province, having 58 percent of the whole population of the state. This demographic imbalance led the smaller provinces to seek ways to limit Punjab's majority influence in the national parliament. In response, the small provinces advocated for a form of federalism that would constrain the majority power of any single province (Adeney, 2016).

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto recognized the urgency of these issues and implemented reforms to address the concerns of the small provinces. He introduced a bicameral legislature, consisting of a population-based lower house called the National Assembly and a territorial upper house called the Senate, to balance representation between large and small provinces. Additionally, provincial languages were acknowledged in an effort to respect regional identities. Sindh was the only province to officially adopt a provincial language, granting Sindhi this status in 1972, which effectively marginalized Urdu in the region. The shift of policy on languages had unintended consequences, particularly for the Mohajir community, whose native language was Urdu (Adeney, 2016). The decision to derecognize Urdu as an official language in Sindh sparked language riots, which escalated into decades of ethnic conflict between Sindhis and Mohajirs. The strife that

followed reflected the deep-seated tensions that emerged from the attempt to balance provincial autonomy with national unity.

5. Factors Responsible for Adoption of 18th Amendment

5.1. Introduction

The 18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan was introduced by the Pakistan People's Party in 2010, when Asif Ali Zardari was the president of the country. The amendment is said to be a milestone in the constitutional as well as political history of Pakistan (Afridi & Javaid, 2019). It is regarded as a milestone because it serves the objectives and goals as provided by the original 1973 constitution of Pakistan. The amendment provided for provincial autonomy, strengthening of the parliamentary system, devolution of power, judicial reforms, reinstatement of the constitution, political reforms, fundamental rights, and renaming of the province of NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Ahmed, 2020). The amendment was introduced because of the persistent political instability and military rule, aiming at strengthening democratic governance in the country. It sought to address the centralization of power and provide provinces with greater autonomy and control.

Nearly 102 articles in total were consulted, and changes were made in these articles due to the 18th amendment. It was an overhaul of the whole constitution of Pakistan. It greatly reduced the power and influence of the president at the cost of the elected parliamentarians (Aziz, 2017). It made the prime minister the real head of the government in the country by revoking Article 58(2)B of the constitution. Article 58(2)B empowers the president to dismiss the assembly if he/she deems it necessary. Similarly, the president's power to appoint the governors of the provinces was also curtailed, and after the amendment, the president will have to consult the prime minister to appoint a governor. Furthermore, it also strengthened the parliament by increasing the number of senators

in the Senate, and Article 89 ensured that no ordinance can be passed in the absence of the Senate and National Assembly (Azeem, 2021).

A best try was made for the betterment of the relation between the center and the provinces and provincial autonomy. Several articles of the constitution were in this regard. Article 144 was revised, and provincial assemblies were granted the right to repeal or amend any legislation passed by the parliament for one or more provinces on matters not mentioned in the federal legislative list. Similarly, Article 160(A) restricted the federal government to decrease provincial share in the National Finance Commission (NFC) award. Resultantly, in 2010, provincial share in the NFC was increased to 57.5%. Likewise, devolution of power was also enacted in Article 140(A), a step towards good governance and self-rule.

5.2. Background history of 18th Amendment

In 1985, under the rule of Zia, the 8th amendment in the Constitution of 1973 was made. The amendment introduced Section 58(2)B in the constitution. According to Article 58(2)B, a president was given the authority to dismiss a democratically elected government if he/she deemed it necessary. Due to Section 2(b) of Article 58, four governments got dismissed. Resultantly, as the article had become a substantial threat to elected governments, in 1997 Nawaz Sharif tried to remove the section by introducing the 13th amendment in the constitution, and he was successful in doing so. The 13th Amendment deprived the president of dissolving the assembly, and thus the powers of the parliament and prime minister increased substantially. Unfortunately, the democratically elected government of Nawaz Sharif was once again toppled by a military dictator, i.e., Pervez Musharraf, in 1999. In the year 2003, Musharraf introduced the 17th amendment to the constitution, restoring Article 58(2) B. Hence, if looked from a critical perspective, Article 58(2)B was something dearer to the military dictators. After seven years, a momentous day came when the

18th amendment was introduced, reversing the 17th amendment and also strengthening parliamentary democracy in Pakistan (Hanif & Zahra, 2021).

During Musharraf's rule in 2005 an appointment was made in the higher judiciary when Iftikhar Chaudhry was appointed as the chief justice of Pakistan. Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry tried to challenge the chief executive i.e., Musharraf on issues such as his possession of dual offices as Chief of the Army staff and president at the same time. Chief justice's actions greatly disappointed Musharraf and thus he immediately removed him from his office accusing him of abusing his powers. As a reaction nearly 80000 attorneys came together and staged peaceful protests against the unlawful actions of Musharraf and demanded the restoration of Iftikhar Chaudhry as the chief justice of Pakistan as they considered Musharraf's action as an attack on the constitution of Pakistan. Notwithstanding the huge pressure exerted by the legal community, Musharraf reinstalled Iftikhar Chaudhry as the chief justice of Pakistan on July 20, 2007 (Shaukat, 2022).

The lawyer's movement significantly weakened Musharraf, and thus general elections were held in the year 2008. Prior to the elections, the tragic murder of Benazir took place, and the Pakistan People's Party won the general elections, and democracy was restored. All eyes were set on the democratically elected government, and 2 years later, in 2010, the government delivered and introduced the 18th Amendment in the constitution, reversing the 17th Amendment as introduced by the military dictator Pervez Musharraf.

5.3. 18th Amendment; An Over View

The 18th Constitutional Amendment to the 1973 constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan represents a significant milestone in the country's constitutional history. This amendment was passed with unanimous support from all political parties in Parliament and received

widespread acclaim from the provinces. The Constitution (Eighteenth Amendment) Act, 2010, was signed into law by the President on April 19, 2010, and officially came into effect the next day. It appears that a serious effort has been made under the 18th Amendment to revive key doctrines of the 1973 Constitution, specifically:

1. Reinforcing the structure where power is shared between the federal government and the provinces.
2. Establishing the Prime Minister as the central figure of executive power.
3. Defining the President's role as largely ceremonial and requiring the President to act on the advice of the Prime Minister in all matters.

It is worth mentioning that various political parties have proposed several solutions to unresolved and persistent political issues affecting federation-provinces relations, though these proposals have often failed to gain consensus or favorable action from the Parliamentary Committee on Constitutional Reforms (PCCR). For instance, the Awami National Party strongly advocated for the presidential election to be conducted on a rotational basis among all provinces, beginning with the smaller, neglected provinces. The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) called for the creation of a few seats in the federal parliament and provincial assemblies for overseas Pakistanis, proposing amendments to Articles 51 and 106 to achieve this. Jamaat-e-Islam demanded that the president should not exercise his power of clemency where Hudood and Qisas laws are applicable. The Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (Pashtun nationalist party of Balochistan) sought the appointment of a separate and independent chief commissioner for the southern and central parts of Pakhtunkhwa, suggesting that this region be called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Southern and that FATA be renamed Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Central (PCCR Report, 2010).

The 18th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan significantly reformed the constitution, such as provincial autonomy, abolition of the concurrent list, reallocation of resources, fiscal federalism, judicial independence, devolution of power, and changes in the powers of the president and the prime minister.

The 18th Amendment granted provinces the right to repeal or amend any legislation made by the parliament on matters not mentioned in the federal legislative list. The amendment also put a bar on the reduction of the share of the provinces in the NFC. Thus, in the 2010 NFC award, the share of the provinces was increased to 57.5%. Similarly, a devolution of power was also recommended in the amendment to the provinces, making the local government stronger (Majeed et al., 2021).

In the 4th schedule of the constitution of Pakistan, the concurrent list consisting of 47 subjects was mentioned. On these 47 subjects, the parliament as well as the provincial assemblies had the power to legislate. This list under the 18th Amendment also got abolished, granting the provinces more autonomy (Rana, 2020).

In the 18th Amendment, steps are also taken to strengthen the judiciary of the country, as in the background of the restoration of democracy and the subsequent rise of the PP was due to the lawyer's movement waged against the military dictator and for the strengthening of the judicial system of the country. Article 175A, as introduced by the 18th Amendment, aimed at balancing the powers between the legislature and the judiciary (Kuhro, 2024).

5.3.1. Importance of 18th Amendment

The 18th constitutional amendment has huge importance in the political and constitutional history of Pakistan. It is one of the most celebrated achievements in the political history of the

country because it revived democracy. The amendment is important in ample ways. The 18th Amendment provided for provisions related to the devolution of power, which is a basic tenet of a working democracy. It strengthened federalism, manifested parliamentary sovereignty, and granted independence to the judiciary. Furthermore, the amendment also paved the way for the provision of fundamental human rights. It also decentralized the fiscal management of the country, abolished the concurrent list, and granted provincial autonomy to the federating units. Last but not least, it overall strengthened the democracy of the country (Anwar et al., 2023)

5.4. Factors Responsible for the adaptation of 18th Amendment

Several factors, including political, socio-economic, legal, and institutional factors, are responsible for the successful adoption of the 18th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan. Each one of these factors is discussed under the headings below.

5.4.1. Political Factors

Probably one of the most important factors behind the 18th Amendment was the longstanding political movement that started with the adoption of the 13th Amendment in the constitution under the second prime ministership of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif in 1997. Under the 13th Amendment, the powers of the president were significantly curtailed. However, the major and immediate political precursor behind the adoption of the 18th Amendment is the political and legal movement in the Musharraf era when he forcefully removed the Chief Justice and subsequently an upheaval took place against his regime (Aziz, 2017).

Another factor responsible for the adoption of the 18th Amendment was the centralized federal structure of Pakistan. Although Pakistan, before the 18th Amendment, was a federal state, i.e., powers were distributed between the center and the provinces, practically the center or federal government was much stronger than the provincial governments. Under the concurrent list, both the

center and the provinces had the right to legislate on certain issues, but in cases of conflict, the federal government always prevailed, making the provinces completely dependent upon the center. The 18th Amendment completely abolished the concurrent list granting the provinces autonomy (Shah, 2012).

Last but not least, the consensus of the political parties played an important role in the passage of the 18th amendment from the parliament. Although the PPP government was not in majority in the parliament, they still garnered the support of other political parties on the amendment and passed it with an overwhelming majority from the house. Without the full support of other political parties, the milestone could not have been achieved. The bill was passed by the National Assembly on April 8, 2010 and got a majority of 292 in favor and none against in the 342-member house. Likewise, it was passed on April 15, 2010 from the Senate with a majority of 90 in favor and none against in the 100-member house. Finally, the amendment was passed when the president assented on April 19, 2010 (Rizwan et al., 2014).

5.4.2. Socio-economic Factors

Some socio-economic factors are also responsible for the adoption of the 18th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan, including regional disparities, demands for provincial autonomy, economic challenges, equitable distribution of resources, and the public's demand for greater provincial empowerment.

As a matter of fact, the small provinces always have reservations against the big provinces. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan are considered smaller provinces as compared to Sindh and Punjab, which are considered bigger provinces. Disparities in resources, education, jobs, and many more things are evident among the provinces. The disparities compelled the smaller provinces to get more autonomy with regard to their resources. Although 18th Amendment did not solve the

issue of disparities among the provinces, it was still a sigh of relief for the smaller provinces (Khan & Sherbaz, 2020).

Similarly, there were ample economic challenges faced by the provinces, making them ready to take on a path of struggle toward an amendment. Smaller provinces were dissatisfied with the mechanism of the distribution of resources. The reservations made the PPP government enact changes in the constitution under the broad framework of the 18th Amendment by increasing the share of the provinces in the NFC award. Furthermore, the amendment put a bar on federal government regarding the reduction of value in the NFC award of a province (Azeem, 2021).

Finally, it was the demand of the general masses to adopt the amendment. People were wary of the continued political instability, inequitable distribution of resources, shackled judiciary, overcentralization of powers, and provincial hegemony (by Punjab); thus, the amendment was adopted according to the will and wishes of the people of Pakistan (Adeney, 2012).

5.4.3. Legal and Institutional Reasons

The 1973 constitution of Pakistan provided for a federal form of government, but unfortunately, over the course of history, the real shape of the constitution got distorted by military rulers. Amendments such as the 8th amendment during the Zia regime and the 17th amendment during the Musharraf regime strengthened the president and thus weakened the federation. The mentioned amendments also weakened the parliamentary supremacy in the country (Tabassum et al., 2023). Such kinds of grave issues with the previous constitutional framework provided a ground for the adoption of the eighteenth amendment in the constitution of Pakistan.

Similarly, in order to restore the original text of the constitution, an amendment like the 18th was inevitable. As discussed earlier, the original 1973 constitution provided for a federal

parliamentary form of government, but certain amendments got it tempered, and a need was felt to restore and also strengthen its federal character. Due to the prior amendments, i.e., 8th and 17th, an imbalance was created between the powers of the center and the provinces; thus, the 18th amendment tried to balance it. Likewise, it also empowered the provinces, granting them autonomy in so many respects. Finally, the amendment also strengthened national unity and integration (Faisal et al., 2024).

Finally, less provincial autonomy and overdependence on the center for resources, funds, and legislation by the provinces led to the adoption of the 18th amendment. The amendment introduced a plan of devolution of power in the provinces, making the provinces more autonomous (Begum et al., 2018). Likewise, before the 18th Amendment, provinces were completely dependent upon the center for their finances. The amendment solved this problem by giving the provinces a certain level of financial freedom by introducing certain amendments in the NFC award as discussed earlier. It increased the share of the provincial governments in the federal revenue. The overdependence on the center by the provinces also compelled the small provinces to bring an amendment such as the 18th Amendment (Qayum, 2021). Finally, the 18th Amendment also brought some institutional changes regarding provincial autonomy. It introduced the establishment of the Council of Common Interest (CCI), meant to resolve conflicts emerging among the provinces as well as the center, thus addressing provincial reservations up to a great extent (Khan & Khan, 2020).

5.5. Conclusion

The 18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan was introduced by the Pakistan People's Party in 2010. The amendment is said to be a milestone in the constitutional as well as political history of Pakistan. It is regarded as a milestone because it serves the objectives and goals as

provided by the original 1973 constitution of Pakistan. The 18th Amendment was necessitated by history in that we had always experienced the centralization of power, and it had become evident that a more balanced, workable, and viable federal order needed to be established. By removing these flaws of the past constitutional arrangement, by trying to achieve further federation, and by enabling greater fiscal autonomy to provinces with the view to good governance, national integrity, and sharing of resources and burdens. The amendment provided for provincial autonomy, strengthening of the parliamentary system, devolution of power, judicial reforms, reinstatement of the constitution, political reforms, and fundamental rights. Nearly 102 articles in total were consulted, and changes were made in these articles due to the 18th amendment. It was an overhaul of the whole constitution of Pakistan. It greatly reduced the power and influence of the president at the cost of the elected parliamentarians. It made the prime minister the real head of the government in the country by revoking Article 58(2)B of the constitution. Article 58(2)B empowers the president to dismiss the assembly if he/she deems it necessary. Similarly, the president's power to appoint the governors of the provinces was also curtailed, and after the amendment, the president will have to consult the prime minister to appoint a governor. It will not be wrong to say that the 18th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan is next in importance only to the introduction of the 1973 constitution itself.

6. Post 18th Amendment Challenges to the Federalism and Provinces

6.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine the political and economic obstacles that have arisen in the years after the implementation of the 18th Amendment. It strives to provide a comprehensive understanding of both the achievements and constraints of this constitutional reform. This study aims to analyze the impact of federal-provincial relations, governance quality, and economic development on federalism in Pakistan. It seeks to contribute to the academic discussion on this topic and offer policy suggestions to improve the efficiency and fairness of the country's federal structure. The large-scale effects of the 18th Amendment on the political system, economic structure, and federalism in Pakistan will be thoroughly examined in the following sections.

6.2. Immediate Impact of the 18th Amendment

In 2010, Pakistan's federal system was drastically changed by the 18th Amendment to the country's constitution, which transferred a lot of power from the federal government to the provinces. This landmark piece of legislation sought to remedy long-standing regional imbalances, democratize governance, and increase province autonomy (Rizvi, 2011). There was a wide range of responses to the amendment, from strong opposition to enthusiastic approval, demonstrating the measure's rapid impact. Political parties and leaders were forced to manage the intricacies of shared governance after the amendment's implementation brought about new dynamics in federal-provincial relations (Jaffrelot, 2016). Economic difficulties were also caused by the allocation of fiscal resources and administrative duties, which widened the gap between provinces that had plenty of resources and those that had very little.

The enactment of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan in 2010 marked a significant turning point in the political history of the country. This amendment sought to transfer

substantial authorities from the federal government to the provinces, therefore increasing provincial autonomy and promoting democratic governance. The amendment also nullified the 17th Amendment, which had conferred substantial authority to the President of Pakistan, and reinstated legislative supremacy. The 18th Amendment had a substantial and wide-ranging effect on political, economic, and administrative aspects.

6.3. Initial Reactions to the 18th Amendment

The 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, implemented in April 2010, was a significant revision with the goal of redistributing power and providing more independence to the provinces (Majeed,2021). The earliest responses to this amendment were diverse and intricate. Advocates of the amendment saw it as a significant change towards genuine federalism, contending that it would tackle long-standing complaints about centralization and encourage regional self-rule. Their belief was that by removing the Concurrent Legislative List and decentralizing power to provinces, governance would become more efficient and better suited to local needs (Bengali,2015).

On the other hand, opponents raised worries over the provinces' readiness to manage the recently transferred responsibilities. They were concerned that the provinces could face difficulties in efficiently managing their increased obligations due to insufficient institutional capability and resources. The concern stemmed from the historical backdrop of Pakistan's government, characterized by centralized control that resulted in uneven development and inefficiencies (Shah, 2012). The initial phase after the amendment underscored the necessity for substantial investment in provincial administrative systems to guarantee the seamless execution of the new federal framework.

6.4. Political Challenges

Political challenges to federalism are one of the most important challenges that threaten the effectiveness of the state system. These range from power struggles between the provincial federal governments, each vying for power, influence, and authority. Among many major political challenges raised after the 18th Amendment, a few are federal-provincial relations, political resistance and support to the amendment, and the role of political parties.

6.4.1. Federal-Province Relations

The 18th Amendment had a substantial impact on federal-provincial relations by transferring a multitude of legislative functions from the central government to the provinces. The purpose of this reallocation of powers was to strengthen the authority of provincial governments and improve the effectiveness of local governance. Nevertheless, it also brought about additional intricacies in the interactions between different levels of government. In order to accommodate the increasing autonomy granted to provinces, it was necessary to reevaluate and adjust the relationship between the central government and the provinces. This involved creating new methods of coordination and dispute resolution (Zaman, 2018).

6.4.2. Political Resistance and Support

The 18th Amendment caused significant upheaval in the political environment of Pakistan. Although the amendment was hailed by proponents of increased regional autonomy, it encountered opposition from multiple sources. Some political forces expressed concerns regarding national unity and the possibility of heightened regionalism. The opposition expressed concerns that the transfer of power could weaken national unity and worsen regional inequalities (Shah, 2014). The discussion around the amendment brought attention to the conflict between the desires of individual

provinces and the overall interests of the nation, emphasizing the difficulties of reconciling a wide range of political perspectives.

6.4.3. Role of Political Parties and Leaders

Political parties and leaders were essential in determining the execution and consequences of the 18th Amendment. Political parties like the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), which were in favour of the modification, aimed to utilize the enhanced provincial autonomy to consolidate their political influence in their respective strongholds. On the other hand, political parties that held nationalistic views or were worried about the possibility of the country breaking apart were more careful or hesitant about accepting the proposed reforms (Jafri, 2016). The participation of political leaders played a crucial role in negotiating the provisions of the amendment and overseeing the subsequent political and administrative modifications.

6.5. Economic Challenges

The 18th Amendment tried to balance the economic affairs between the center and provinces, devolving substantial authority and resources to the latter. However, these amendments and devolutions of power and distribution of resources introduced few economic challenges that continue to impact the country's fiscal stability and governance.

6.5.1. Fiscal Federalism and Resource Allocation

One of the primary economic difficulties that arose with the implementation of the 18th Amendment was associated with fiscal federalism and the reallocation of financial obligations (Jin, 2014). The amendment modified the structure for distributing resources between the federal and provincial governments, requiring a redesigned strategy for fiscal transfers and budget management. Provinces were given increased autonomy over their financial resources, but this

transition necessitated meticulous strategizing to guarantee fair allocation and prevent the worsening of regional disparities (Ahmed, 2018).

6.5.2. Economic Disparities Between Provinces

The reallocation of powers and resources revealed substantial economic differences across provinces. Provinces that have abundant resources, such as those with significant quantities of natural resources, were in a favourable position to gain greater advantages from the new structure. On the other hand, provinces with limited resources have difficulties in earning enough income to sustain their increased obligations. The discrepancy emphasized the necessity of specific measures to tackle regional economic disparities and foster fair growth throughout the nation (Hussain, 1993).

6.5.3. Impact on National Economic Policies

The amendment had a significant effect on national economic policy, as the transfer of budgetary authority to local levels necessitated a reassessment of national economic strategies. The federal government had to adjust to a novel framework of intergovernmental fiscal relations, necessitating the negotiation of fresh agreements pertaining to the distribution of revenue and financial assistance to provinces. This transition has led to a reassessment of national economic goals in order to satisfy the varied requirements and capabilities of different provinces (Mirza, 2022). The resultant impact was a multifaceted and subtle economic policy landscape, necessitating continual adaptations to attain both national and regional economic objectives.

6.6. Impacts of the Distribution of Power and Resources Between the Provincial and Central

The allocation of authority and resources between the central and provincial administrations in Pakistan has a substantial impact on the implementation of federalism in the country. This

relationship has an impact not only on the relationships between the central and provincial governments, but also on larger national economic policies, the quality of governance, and socio-economic development. This analysis examines these characteristics, specifically emphasizing the existing power dynamics, utilizing case studies of interactions between provinces, and evaluating the effects on governance and development.

6.7. Central-Provincial Relations: Current Power Dynamics Between Central and Provincial Governments

6.7.1. Constitutional Framework and Evolution

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan implemented a federal structure that clearly defines the distribution of powers between the national and provincial governments. At first, this approach was heavily biased towards centralization. The 18th Amendment of 2010 brought about a notable change in provincial autonomy by eliminating the Concurrent Legislative List and assigning many powers to the provinces (Munawar, 2022.). The purpose of this change was to resolve complaints regarding centralized authority and enhance governance at the provincial level (Ahmed, 2010).

6.7.2. Fiscal Relations and Resource Distribution

The National Finance Commission (NFC) Award is crucial in the equitable distribution of federal money across the provinces. The NFC Award aims to foster fair allocation of resources and mitigate financial inequalities (NFC Award, 2020). Notwithstanding these endeavours, conflicts continue to exist regarding the sufficiency of resource distribution and fiscal independence, with provinces frequently expressing apprehensions about their portion of resources and the fiscal strategies of the central government (Nabi, 2010).

6.7.3. Current Dynamics

Practically, the central government maintains sole authority for military, foreign policy, and national currency, while provinces oversee domains such as health, education, and local governance. This split has resulted in different levels of collaboration and discord, as provinces strive for increased authority over resources and policy domains, while the central government endeavours to uphold national unity and economic prudence (Hanif, 2023).

6.8. Case Studies of Specific Provinces: Cooperation and Conflict

6.8.1. Punjab Province

Punjab, the province with the highest population, often works together with the federal government on significant infrastructure and development initiatives. An exemplary illustration of such collaboration is the construction of the Lahore-Islamabad Motorway, as mentioned by Hoodbhoy in 2012. Conflicts frequently occur, especially concerning the allocation of water from the Indus River. This river is a subject of dispute among provinces because of varying agricultural requirements and resource availability (Naseem, 2021). The political supremacy of Punjab and its significant allocation of federal resources are key factors in driving its economic and infrastructure progress. Nevertheless, this situation has resulted in a feeling of inequity and neglect among other provinces, particularly when projects such as the Orange Line Metro Train in Lahore receive significant financial support from the federal government. These factors emphasize the necessity of implementing a fair and equitable strategy for allocating resources in order to preserve the cohesion of the nation.

6.8.2. Sindh Province

Sindh has expressed strong criticism of the central government's authority over resource management and the allocation of money. The province administration frequently asserts that it is

not receiving an equitable portion of the revenue generated by its resources, including from the Karachi Port, a significant economic center. This apparent disparity has resulted in occasional clashes with the central government, affecting the administration and implementation of development initiatives in the province. In addition, Sindh has encountered difficulties in implementing provincial policy without any intervention from the central government. The provincial government's attempts to maintain peace and order in Karachi have frequently clashed with federal interventions. The conflict over the policing authority in Karachi serves as a prime example of the wider battle for provincial self-governance.

6.8.3. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) exemplifies a complex situation of collaboration and discord between the federal government, specifically in dealing with the consequences of terrorism and regional instability. The federal government has had a significant role in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), primarily focused on rehabilitation operations and development programs aimed at stabilizing and revitalizing the province. For instance, the allocation of federal funds towards the reconstruction of infrastructure projects like the Peshawar-Dera Ismail Khan Motorway and the formation of new educational institutions such as Bacha Khan University clearly indicate a dedication to aiding the recovery of KP (Ali, 2019). In addition, federal programs like the Terrorism Affected Areas Development Program have been crucial in offering financial assistance and resources to regions impacted by terrorism. Notwithstanding these endeavours, notable conflicts have emerged, namely about security protocols and the allocation of developmental assistance. Provincial officials have criticized the federal government's security operations, including as Operation Zarb-e-Azb, for not completely fitting with local requirements and worsening tensions between federal and provincial authorities.

Moreover, the distribution of development funding has been a source of disagreement, since authorities in KP assert that the province's developmental requirements are not being sufficiently addressed. The demand for more customized federal assistance highlights the necessity for a more refined strategy that takes into account KP's distinct obstacles, such as persistent security issues and economic underdevelopment, in order to cultivate a more efficient and fair collaboration between federal and provincial governments (Naseem,2021).

6.8.4. Baluchistan Province

Baluchistan, the most expansive province but among the least advanced, has a lengthy record of strife with the central administration. Grievances have been fostered by issues such as the control over natural resources, particularly gas and minerals, as well as political marginalization. Despite the assurances and economic initiatives offered by consecutive central administrations, the region nevertheless lacks development and faces on-going challenges from insurgency movements (Ahmed, 2020). The province's strategic importance, which includes its coastline and natural resources, renders it a focal point for disputes between the central government and the provincial authorities. The federal government's efforts to utilize these resources without sufficient compensation or advancement in the province have intensified local discontent. The expansion of the Gwadar port, which is a component of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), has also generated discussions regarding the beneficiaries of such initiatives.

6.9. Impact on Governance and Development

6.9.1. Effects on Governance Quality and Administrative Efficiency

Governance Quality: The delegation of powers to provincial governments has typically improved the quality of governance by allowing for more localized decision-making and implementation of policies. Provinces are more advantageous in terms of addressing regional issues

and implementing customized policies in areas such as health and education (Khan, 2016). Nevertheless, the impact of these enhancements differs between provinces due to disparities in administrative capability and expertise (Siddiqui, 2018).

Administrative Efficiency: Decentralization can enhance administrative efficiency by bringing governance closer to the people and enabling more responsive service delivery. However, this change has also exposed administrative difficulties, such as limited resources in underdeveloped provinces. The division of responsibility between the federal and provincial levels might result in difficulties in coordinating actions and inefficiencies in bureaucratic processes (Khan, 2020).

6.10. Impact on Socio-Economic Development Across Provinces

The interplay between central and provincial power dynamics significantly influences the socio-economic development of different provinces. Provinces that have increased authority over their resources and greater budgetary autonomy have the ability to give priority to development projects that address their individual needs. This, in turn, promotes a more balanced regional development (Rana, 2020). Nevertheless, in Pakistan, the inequitable allocation of authority and resources frequently results in significant discrepancies in socio-economic results. For instance, Punjab has achieved notable progress in domains such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure development, primarily as a result of its enhanced fiscal independence and more efficient administrative frameworks. The province's emphasis on agricultural development, industry, and urbanization has bolstered its economic expansion. The implementation of initiatives such as the Punjab Health Reforms Roadmap has enhanced the provision of healthcare services, while the development of infrastructure projects has stimulated economic activity (Hussain, 1993). However, Sindh and Balochistan exhibit lower performance in important socio-economic measures, partially

attributed to the perceived disregard by the national government and internal governance challenges. Sindh faces obstacles including urban poverty, insufficient infrastructure, and governance issues, despite its economic potential (Javed, 2021). Balochistan exhibits some of the lowest socio-economic indices in the country, indicating a pressing need for focused development measures (Khan, 2018). These inequalities not only impede the progress of the entire nation but also fuel social and political conflicts within the country. To tackle these inequalities, a thorough strategy is needed that encompasses fair allocation of resources, enhancing capabilities, and implementing specific programs for development, in order to guarantee that all provinces may attain their development objectives.

6.11. Addressing Regional Disparities

Pakistan's federal system continues to face substantial difficulty in addressing regional inequities. Several initiatives have been undertaken to foster fair and balanced development among provinces, including the creation of the National Finance Commission (NFC) to guarantee equal allocation of resources and the implementation of targeted development programs for underdeveloped areas (F. D., 2020). The objective of the NFC Awards is to establish a revenue-sharing mechanism that is based on a formula and takes into consideration factors such as population, poverty levels, and revenue-producing capacity of each province. Nevertheless, disputes regarding the formula and the subsequent delays in executing it frequently impede its efficacy. Provinces often advocate for modifications to the formula in order to accurately account for their evolving requirements and economic contributions, resulting in lengthy talks and delays (Hussain, 1993).

In addition, economic efforts such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) have been hailed as possible catalysts for regional development. However, there are ongoing worries

regarding the fair allocation of CPEC projects, since smaller provinces are apprehensive that Punjab will receive a disproportionately larger share of the benefits from these investments (Javed, 2020). It is crucial to exercise rigorous management in the allocation of CPEC-related projects and investments to provide equitable benefits for all provinces and to effectively address regional imbalances. Efforts to mitigate regional differences encompass targeted development programs and financial assistance for provinces that are less developed. Specific development packages have been implemented for Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with the objective of enhancing infrastructure, education, and healthcare facilities. Nevertheless, it is essential to implement and monitor these initiatives effectively to ensure efficient utilization of resources and the attainment of desired development goals (Ali, 2018).

6.11.1. Role of Political Parties and Provincial Interests in Shaping Federal Relations

Political parties in Pakistan have a crucial role in determining federal relations, as the strategies and objectives of these parties are greatly influenced by provincial interests. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) are prominent political parties with significant influence in various provinces. This regional dominance has an impact on their positions and perspectives on federal matters (Tunio, 2021).

6.11.2. Political Parties and Provincial Interests

Political parties in Pakistan have a significant impact on the formation of federal relations. The Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) are major political parties in Pakistan. These parties have different regional support and priorities, which affect their stance on federalism (Khan, 2018). As an illustration:

6.11.3. Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N)

Frequently supported policies that prioritize the interests of Punjab. This entails giving priority to infrastructure improvements and industrial development in the province, even if it means neglecting neighbouring regions. For example, the construction of the Lahore Metro and other significant projects in Punjab have generated concerns of partiality (Rashid, 2018). This regional bias can result in conflicts with smaller provinces, which perceive themselves as being excluded or disregarded. The PML-N's approach exemplifies a wider pattern in which governing parties frequently prioritize their support networks, hence affecting national cohesion (Siddiqui, 2019).

6.11.4. Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP)

With its base in Sindh, particularly Karachi, PPP champions issues pertinent to Sindh. The party has consistently called for greater provincial autonomy and fairer distribution of resources, reflecting the province's economic significance and its contribution to national revenue through ports and industrial activities (Javed, 2020). PPP's advocacy for Sindh's rights can be seen in its push for more control over natural resources and revenue generated from Karachi's ports. This stance often brings it into conflict with the central government, particularly when different parties control the federal and provincial governments (Ali, 2022).

6.11.5. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)

PTI, although its nationalistic stance, also takes into account provincial concerns, particularly after assuming control in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). The policies of PTI frequently demonstrate a harmonious approach in upholding central authority while simultaneously recognizing provincial concerns, notably in relation to the allocation of resources and the implementation of development projects. PTI has prioritized enhancing administration and infrastructure in KP, thereby addressing historical provincial concerns over negligence and underdevelopment (Khan, 2021). The maintenance of national unity while recognizing provincial aspirations relies heavily on this balancing.

Political parties exert their impact on federal relations through the formulation of policies, the negotiation of resource allocations, and the mobilization of public opinion. Their localized concerns frequently result in clashes or collaboration with the central administration, influencing the equilibrium of authority and allocation of resources (Jilani, 2017).

6.12. Influence of Political Stability or Instability on Power Distribution

6.12.1. Political Stability and Power Distribution

Political stability is essential for the efficient administration of a federal government. Political stability promotes better federal-provincial ties, consistent policy implementation, and efficient resource management (Khan, 2020). On the other hand, political instability has the potential to interrupt these processes, resulting in disputes over the distribution of power and allocation of resources.

1. **Stable Periods:** During periods of political stability, such as the tenure of General Pervez Musharraf (2001-2008), there were notable federal reforms, including the implementation of the 17th and 18th Amendments that sought to establish a more

equitable distribution of power between the central and provincial governments (Ahmed, 2011).

2. **Instability and Conflict:** Political instability, observed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, frequently results in conflicts on federal policy and the allocation of resources. The political unrest that occurred in the 1990s led to a highly disputed environment about the autonomy of provinces and the control exerted by the central government (Ghaus, 2013).

6.13. Example of Key Political Events or Movements Regarding Federalism

1. **The 18th Amendment (2010):** The 18th Amendment in Pakistan's federal history resulted in a considerable transfer of authority from the central government to the provinces. It shifted multiple issues from the concurrent list to the provincial list, thereby increasing provincial autonomy. The amendment was enacted in response to persistent calls for increased provincial autonomy and sought to further the principles of federalism (Shah, 2011). The 18th Amendment changed the federal-provincial relationship by granting provinces jurisdiction over crucial sectors, including health, education, and agriculture. The purpose of this devolution was to enhance governance by making it more responsive and attentive to local needs (Ali, 2018).
2. **Provincial Autonomy Movement:** The persistent demands of Balochistan for increased authority over its resources and political matters serve as a prime example of movements within provinces seeking greater autonomy. The province's abundant natural riches, along with socio-economic underdevelopment, have prompted demands for greater provincial autonomy and equitable distribution of resources (Ali, 2019). Balochistan has historically experienced a sense of disregard from the central government, resulting in insurgencies and calls for self-governance. The Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) and other factions

frequently employ violence as a tool to assert their demands, underscoring the urgent necessity of addressing regional problems through political channels (Zeb, 2018).

3. The Lawyers' Movement (2007-2009): The Lawyers' Movement, which aimed to achieve judicial autonomy and the restoration of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, has significant ramifications for federalism. The movement emphasized the necessity for reforms in the judicial system and the establishment of a balanced federal government, which had a significant impact on following political advancements and the overall governance at the federal level (Farooq, 2021).

6.14. Economic Implications: Distribution of Financial Resources and Its Impact on Provincial Economies

6.14.1. Resource Allocation and Provincial Economies:

The allocation of financial resources between the federal and provincial governments has a substantial impact on provincial economies. The NFC Award is a mechanism that governs the distribution of federal income among provinces, playing a crucial role in promoting provincial development and ensuring economic stability (NFC Award, 2020).

a) Resource-Rich Provinces:

Provinces having vast natural resources, like as Balochistan and Sindh, profit from resource earnings, although they frequently encounter obstacles in their proper usage and administration (Yusuf, 2022). Mismanagement and political strife can limit the economic potential of resource-rich provinces.

b) Resources-Poor Provinces:

KP and other provinces with low natural resources rely significantly on federal transfers and allocations. Ensuring equitable resource allocation is critical for

reducing economic gaps and supporting balanced regional development (Hussain, 1993).

6.15. Analysis of Fiscal Federalism in Pakistan

Fiscal federalism in Pakistan seeks to balance the financial powers and obligations of the national and provincial governments. The NFC Awards play an important role in this process, as they determine the income sharing formula. However, fiscal federalism has numerous problems.

Revenue Generation: Provinces possess a restricted ability to create their own incomes and heavily depend on financial assistance from the federal government. Strengthening the ability of provinces to generate revenue is crucial for a strong system of fiscal federalism (Rashid, 2019). Provinces should enhance their tax bases and enhance systems for revenue collection in order to decrease reliance on federal transfers. It is necessary to develop the abilities of organizations and put into action strategies that promote economic activity at the local level (Khan, 2020).

Equity Versus Efficiency: It is still difficult to strike a balance between equity (fair resource distribution) and efficiency (best resource usage). Fiscal federalism relies on ensuring that all provinces have the resources to meet their development needs while fostering efficient consumption. The NFC formula must take into account both impoverished provinces' demands and the efficiency with which resources are allocated. This balance is critical for addressing regional imbalances and promoting national economic growth (Javed, 2018).

Accountability and transparency: Effective fiscal federalism necessitates open and accountable procedures for resource allocation and utilization. Improving institutional structures for monitoring and auditing cash flows can boost trust and collaboration between the federal and provincial governments (Zeb, 2019). Implementing strong accountability mechanisms and

transparent financial processes can help to prevent fund misuse and promote equitable development. This entails auditing financial transactions on a regular basis and disclosing them to the public in order to create trust and collaboration.

6.16. Resource-Rich vs. Resource-Poor Provinces: Challenges and Opportunities

The discrepancy between provinces in Pakistan that have abundant resources and those that have limited resources poses both obstacles and opportunities for the implementation of federalism.

6.16.1. Resource-rich provinces (such as Balochistan and Sindh):

Challenges: Despite their resource abundance, these provinces frequently experience underdevelopment due to insufficient revenue-sharing systems and bad governance (Rashid, 2021). Balochistan, for example, is rich in minerals and natural gas yet remains one of the least developed areas. Issues such as insufficient infrastructure, a lack of investment, and political instability impede the full utilization of resources. Furthermore, internal conflicts and insurgencies might derail development programs, increasing the province's problems

Opportunities: With proper administration and appropriate revenue-sharing arrangements, these provinces can become economic powerhouses. Developing local companies and infrastructure with resource revenues can boost economic growth and raise living standards (Shah, 2022). Investing in education, healthcare, and infrastructure is critical for transforming resource wealth into sustainable development. Effective governance and strategic planning can leverage these resources to promote economic diversification and regional growth. (Hanif, 2023).

6.16.2. Resource-poor provinces (such as Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa):

Challenges: These provinces rely mostly on agricultural production and industrial development. Due to limited natural resources, other economic sectors must be prioritized, requiring major investment and innovation (Khan, 2018). Ensuring sustainable agriculture practices and modernizing industries are significant problems. Resource-poor provinces must also deal with concerns like population growth and urbanization, which necessitate comprehensive planning and human capital investment (Zeb, 2020).

Opportunities: Diversification and industrialization provide opportunities for long-term economic progress. Punjab, for example, has used its agricultural base to build a strong agro-industrial sector that contributes significantly to the national economy (Rashid, 2022). Investing in education, technology, and infrastructure can help resource-poor provinces establish competitive sectors and foster long-term economic resilience.

6.17. Conclusion

The 18th Amendment was a watershed moment in Pakistan's federal history, representing a radical shift toward increased province autonomy and a more decentralized governance system. This historic change was intended to address long-standing inequities and empower provinces, but it also revealed a complex tapestry of difficulties and opportunities that continue to affect the country's political and economic landscape. The initial response to the amendment was a combination of optimism and skepticism, reflecting the varying expectations and concerns of numerous parties. Politically, the amendment has encouraged both cooperation and conflict as province leaders and central authorities traverse a new landscape of power dynamics, which are frequently influenced by regional interests and political parties. Economically, the move has reshaped fiscal federalism, exposing gaps in resource distribution and posing considerable difficulties to equitable development. Resource-rich provinces struggle to manage their sudden

prosperity, while resource-poor regions rely heavily on federal handouts. This uneven economic playing field has influenced national policies and regional development, emphasizing the necessity for ongoing change and debate. The interaction of political stability, party objectives, and economic reality reveals the continual growth of Pakistan's federal system. As the country progresses, federalism's success will be determined by its ability to solve these complex issues, ensuring that the promise of the 18th Amendment is realized in actual gains in governance, equity, and socioeconomic growth.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Conclusion

Federalism is a system that organizes and governs interactions between federating units and the central authority. It is a means of balancing feelings of autonomy without jeopardizing national cohesion. The national government is in charge of national affairs, while the provincial government is in charge of local affairs. Federalism is a system of government where different regions or units of a state share political and economic powers, functions, and resources collaboratively. However, ethnic diversity and pluralism can sometimes challenge this cooperation by creating divisions among the regions. In this way, federalism helps maintain the unique identities of the regions. Many political scientists believe that federalism is the most effective system for allowing distinct political units to resolve their differences, develop solutions, and create shared policies to address common issues.

Federalism is primarily focused on creating an effective system of governance by establishing a well-ordered political and economic arrangement among various levels of government within a federation. The true test of federalism lies in developing an accommodative, manageable, and mutually agreed-upon power-sharing mechanism that ensures the independence of provinces. A federation protects the rights of smaller units while still accommodating legislative variety. The upper house of the bicameral legislature, known alternately as the Senate, serves this aim by providing a practicable platform for representation on the basis of equality. As a result, having the upper house is nearly impossible for all federations.

The legacy of British colonialism can be seen in the history of federalism in Pakistan. The state of Pakistan has faced a variety of difficulties since its founding in 1947. With the independence from the British and separation from India, Pakistan faced server problems, as

separation and independence were not the only problems; other problems included the establishment of a new setup, political problems, administrative problems, distribution of resources, unfair boundaries, refugees' problems, annexation of princely states, language issues, economic problems, defense issues, and constitution-making challenges. Another issue that has garnered a lot of attention throughout the years is the issue of federalism. There has always been a need to advocate for a real, democratic, and federal government that would satisfy all of the national entities. Pakistan is a federation, and in a federation, there is always a delicate balance between, on the one hand, the goals for greater national unity and, on the other hand, the desires for autonomy of the component parts. Since their creation, all constitutions have demonstrated a propensity towards a more powerful central authority at the expense of provincial sovereignty. Since Pakistan's founding, the issue of provincial autonomy has been a catchphrase in Pakistani politics and is currently a central issue in the case of the small provinces.

Federalism in Pakistan is a living testament to strength of unity and the richness of diversity. Pakistan's federation includes 4 provinces, while Azad Jammu Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan are independent territories, each with its own unique identity, culture, and history. From the lofty Himalayas in the north to the deep sea of Gawader and Karachi in the south. Pakistan's federal structure is a mixture of cultural diversity and political pluralism. Each province within the federation has its own provincial government, with powers and responsibilities defined by the Constitution in the provincial list. This decentralization ensures that local needs and aspirations are addressed while maintaining a cohesive national framework. The federal government, seated in the capital Islamabad, oversees matters of national importance such as defense, foreign affairs, and economic policy, weaving the states together into a unified whole. The linguistic and cultural diversity of Pakistan is the most conspicuous feature. The Constitution recognizes Urdu as an official language, while there are many languages spoken across the state. This linguistic variety

and cultural difference is a symbol of Pakistan's pluralistic ethos, where many languages, religions, and cultures coexist.

The controversy over Bengali as a national language posed a significant obstacle in the process of constitution-making in the state. The disagreement between East and West Pakistan about the official language was that some wanted Bengali to be an official language alongside Urdu, while others insisted that Urdu should be the sole official language. This debate and disagreement extended beyond the constitutional issue and affected political and financial matters as well between East and West Pakistan. Many Bengalis felt that the central government was being unjust to the people of East Pakistan, leading to growing resentment and hatred towards the central authorities. Furthermore, the distribution of economic resources has been a key source of dissatisfaction in the federal-provincial relations of Pakistan. The provinces have long been critical of the resource distribution formula, arguing that it has been imposed by the federal government without adequate consideration of their needs. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was trying to resolve the grievance of East Pakistan in the constitution-making process, but unfortunately, he died very early after independence. However, PM Liaqat Ali Khan presented the famous resolution called "Objective Resolution" in March 1949 to lay down the principles of constitution-making. The Constitution Assembly discussed it in detail and passed it unanimously as it was one of the milestones in constitutional history. After the death of Jinnah, Pakistan lost another national leader and PM Liaqat Ali Khan in an assassination attempt in 1951, and the constitutional progress was delayed and the state's problems increased.

The NFC Awards of 1961 and 1964 were based on the administrative structure established by the One Unit scheme of 1955, which consolidated the four provinces of West Pakistan into a single unit. The distribution formula during this period was determined by collections from sales

tax, income tax, export duties, and excise duties, with Eastern and Western Pakistan receiving 54% and 46% shares, respectively. The economic history of federal-provincial relations in Pakistan reveals that the issue of resource sharing has been a persistent source of dissatisfaction. Concerns about the formula for resource distribution and the allocation of grants have remained unresolved, leading to ongoing tensions between federal and provincial governments. The allocation of resources has often been contentious, with disputes over the fairness and adequacy of the distribution formula. A lack of political will and insufficient efforts from both federal and provincial governments have exacerbated these issues.

Right after the 1971 war and succession of Bengal, federalism in Pakistan encountered a range of multiple challenges, as provinces held high expectations for greater political and economic autonomy from the federal government. This era was seen as a critical transitional phase for federalism in the country, with the policies and decisions made during this time shaping the future dynamics of federal-provincial relations. The actions taken during this period were pivotal in determining the direction of federalism and how it would evolve in response to the demands for greater provincial autonomy.

In 1985, under the rule of Zia, the 8th amendment in the Constitution of 1973 was made. The amendment introduced Section 58(2)B in the constitution. According to Article 58(2)B, a president was given the authority to dismiss a democratically elected government if he/she deemed it necessary. Due to Section 2(b) of Article 58, four governments got dismissed. Resultantly, as the article had become a substantial threat to elected governments, in 1997 Nawaz Sharif tried to remove the section by introducing the 13th amendment in the constitution, and he was successful in doing so. The 13th Amendment deprived the president of dissolving the assembly, and thus the powers of the parliament and prime minister increased substantially. Unfortunately, the

democratically elected government of Nawaz Sharif was once again toppled by a military dictator, i.e., Pervez Musharraf, in 1999. In the year 2003, Musharraf introduced the 17th amendment to the constitution, restoring Article 58(2) B. Hence, if looked from a critical perspective, Article 58(2)B was something dearer to the military dictators. After seven years, a momentous day came when the 18th amendment was introduced, reversing the 17th amendment and also strengthening parliamentary democracy in Pakistan.

The lawyer's movement significantly weakened Musharraf and thus general elections were held in the year 2008. Prior to the elections the tragic murder of Benazir took place and Pakistan people's party won the general elections and democracy was restored. All eyes were set on the democratically elected government and 2 years later in 2010 the government delivered and introduced the 18th amendment in the constitution reversing the 17th amendment as introduced by the military dictator Pervez Musharraf.

The 18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan was introduced by the Pakistan People's Party in 2010, when Asif Ali Zardari was the president of the country. The amendment is said to be a milestone in the constitutional as well as political history of Pakistan. The 18th Constitutional Amendment to the 1973 constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan represents a significant milestone in the country's constitutional history. This amendment was passed with unanimous support from all political parties in Parliament and received widespread acclaim from the provinces. Nearly 102 articles in total were consulted, and changes were made in these articles due to the 18th amendment. It was an overhaul of the whole constitution of Pakistan. It greatly reduced the power and influence of the president at the cost of the elected parliamentarians. It includes the following areas, which were amended:

1. Reinforcing the structure where power is shared between the federal government and the provinces.
2. Establishing the Prime Minister as the central figure of executive power.
3. Defining the President's role as largely ceremonial and requiring the President to act on the advice of the Prime Minister in all matters.

Pakistan's federal system was drastically changed by the 18th Amendment, which transferred a lot of power from the federal government to the provinces. This landmark piece of legislation sought to remedy long-standing regional imbalances, democratize governance, and increase province autonomy. There was a wide range of responses to the amendment, from strong opposition to enthusiastic approval, demonstrating the measure's rapid impact. Political parties and leaders were forced to manage the intricacies of shared governance after the amendment's implementation brought about new dynamics in federal-provincial relations. Economic difficulties were also caused by the allocation of fiscal resources and administrative duties, which widened the gap between provinces that had plenty of resources and those that had very little.

After the adaptation of the 18th Amendment, a few challenges arose to federalism, which included political and economic challenges. The 18th Amendment had a substantial impact on federal-provincial relations by transferring a multitude of legislative functions from the central government to the provinces. The purpose of this reallocation of powers was to strengthen the authority of provincial governments and improve the effectiveness of local governments. The 18th Amendment caused significant upheaval in the political environment of Pakistan. Although the amendment was hailed by proponents of increased regional autonomy, it encountered opposition from multiple sources. Some political forces expressed concerns regarding national unity and the possibility of heightened regionalism. The opposition expressed concerns that the transfer of power could weaken national unity and worsen regional inequalities. Political parties and leaders were

essential in determining the execution and consequences of the 18th Amendment. Political parties like the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), which were in favor of the modification, aimed to utilize the enhanced provincial autonomy to consolidate their political influence in their respective strongholds. On the other hand, political parties that held nationalistic views or were worried about the possibility of the country breaking apart were more careful or hesitant about accepting the proposed reforms.

On the other hand, the 18th Amendment ensures devolution of power and distribution of resources, which also introduce some economic challenges that continue to impact the country's fiscal stability and governance. One of the primary economic difficulties that arose with the implementation of the 18th Amendment was associated with fiscal federalism and the reallocation of financial obligations. The reallocation of powers and resources revealed substantial economic differences across provinces. Provinces that have abundant resources, such as those with significant quantities of natural resources, were in a favorable position to gain greater advantages from the new structure. The amendment had a significant effect on national economic policy, as the transfer of budgetary authority to local levels necessitated a reassessment of national economic strategies. The federal government had to adjust to a novel framework of intergovernmental fiscal relations, necessitating the negotiation of fresh agreements pertaining to the distribution of revenue and financial assistance to provinces.

The complex relation between central and provincial power dynamics significantly influences the socio-economic development of different provinces. Provinces that have increased authority over their resources and greater budgetary autonomy have the ability to give priority to development projects that address their individual needs. This, in turn, promotes a more balanced regional development.

The 18th Amendment was a watershed moment in Pakistan's federal history, representing a radical shift toward increased province autonomy and a more decentralized governance system. This historic change was intended to address long-standing inequities and empower provinces, but it also revealed a complex tapestry of difficulties and opportunities that continue to affect the country's political and economic situation. The initial response to the amendment was a combination of optimism and skepticism, reflecting the varying expectations and concerns of numerous parties. Politically, the amendment has encouraged both cooperation and conflict as province leaders and central authorities traverse a new landscape of power dynamics, which are frequently influenced by regional interests and political parties. Economically, the move has reshaped fiscal federalism, exposing gaps in resource distribution and posing considerable difficulties to equitable development. Resource-rich provinces struggle to manage their sudden prosperity, while resource-poor regions rely heavily on federal handouts. This uneven economic playing field has influenced national policies and regional development, emphasizing the necessity for ongoing change and debate. The interaction of political stability, party objectives, and economic reality reveals the continual growth of Pakistan's federal system.

7.2. Findings

- The devolution of power enhanced provincial autonomy that allowed provincial governments to control over main departments such as police, health, education, and local governance.
- The devolution of economic resources and responsibilities to the provincial governments under the 18th Amendment without any plan to increase their capacity of revenue has led to fiscal imbalances.
- Provincial governments now bear the economic burden of key sectors such as police, education, health, and infrastructure with insufficient resources.

- Provincial governments have limited powers on taxation; they have heavily relied on federal transfers through the NFC Award. This dependency of provincial government has created many challenges in ensuring adequate revenue streams for provinces, making them vulnerable.
- With the adaptation of the 18th Amendment, in some cases, it has exacerbated disparities in resource distribution among provinces. Economically strong provinces like Punjab and Sindh have benefited more, while economically weak provinces such as Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa face ongoing challenges in meeting their fiscal needs.
- It's a fact that the 18th Amendment increased provincial autonomy, but this has also raised concerns about the weakening of national cohesion. The increase in provincial subjects sometimes led to tensions between the center and the regions, particularly over resource control and policy implementation.
- With the implementation of the 18th Amendment, coordinating national policies has become more complicated. It's challenging in areas like education and health where uniform national policies are needed, but provinces may pursue different and divergent.
- It also increased inter-provincial disparities, with more developed provinces able to better leverage their provincial autonomy, while less developed provinces struggle to keep pace. The uneven development after the 18th constitutional amendment has led to growing provincial inequalities.
- The increased autonomy of provinces has sometimes led to political tensions, particularly in cases where provincial governments are controlled by parties different from the ruling party at the federal level. These tensions can manifest in disagreements over resource allocation, policy implementation, and broader governance issues.

- On the positive side, the devolution of power has also strengthened provincial governance by empowering local authorities to address their unique challenges more effectively. This has led to innovations in governance and policy at the provincial level.

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