POLITICAL CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN:

AN ANALYSIS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO POLITICAL PARTIES (1999 - 2008)

Supervisor
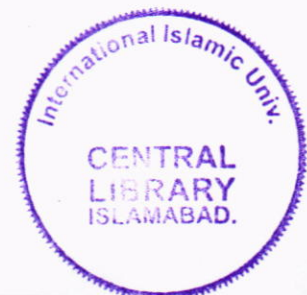
Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam
Department of Politics & IR

By
Naeem Qasim
Reg. No. 25–FSS/MSPSIR/F08

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD
2012

MS. Thesis Titled:

Political Culture and Democracy in Pakistan:

An Analysis with Special Reference to Political Parties (1999 - 2008)

By

Naeem Qasim

Reg. No. 25-FSS/MSPSIR/F08

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of

Philosophy in Politics and International Relations

Supervisor

Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam

Certification

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled **"Political Culture and Democracy in Pakistan: An Analysis with Special Reference to Political Parties (1999-2008)"** submitted by **Naeem Qasim Reg # 25-FSS/MSPSIR/F08,** have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of M.S Politics and International Relation.
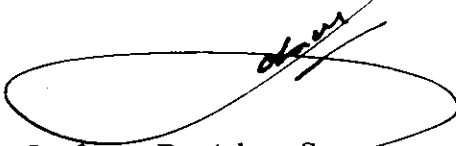
Supervisor

Dr. M. Nazrul Islam
Foreign Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations,
International Islamic University,
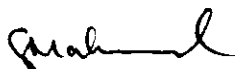Islamabad.

Internal Examiner

Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
Assistant Professor,
Department of Politics and International Relations,
International Islamic University,
Islamabad.

External Examiner

Professor Dr. Adnan Sarwar
Department of International Relations
University of Peshawar,
Peshawar.

Professor Dr. Sohail Mahmood
Chairman,
Department of Politics and International Relations

Professor Dr. Nabi Bux Jumani
Dean,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University,
Islamabad

Table of Contents

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abstract

Democracy is a successful form of government in most of the advanced countries, however, in a number of third world states like Pakistan it has always been problematic. A mature political culture is considered precondition for stable democracy. Pakistan is a country where there is a very low and immature political culture. There are a variety of factors but political parties which are considered as backbone of a democratic system, failed to play their required role in Pakistan. Due to their nondemocratic nature these organizations could not prepare the masses to make the country a democracy in the real sense. Apart from this, heterogeneous nature of the society is also a problem for a democratic political culture in Pakistan. Moreover, Socio-cultural barriers are also very important which are a source of low political culture and hinder the democratic political process in Pakistan.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the name of Allah Almighty, the most merciful and kind who made me able to complete my thesis.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents who always pray for my success. I am highly obliged to my wife Farnaz and children Ghina, Ghalia and Ateeb who have always been very helpful to me and it would never have been possible for me without their love to complete my thesis.

Above all, it is due to my supervisor and teacher Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam's guidance and highly professional attitude, which enabled me to finish my task in a best manner. I am extremely grateful to him for his sincere commitment to supervision my work, as he helped me at every critical juncture during this research.

I am also thankful to Mr. Akhlaq Rasool Khan (PhD Scholar, IIUI) who motivated and encouraged me for this dissertation. I am greatly indebted of assistance and cooperation of Ms. Aaisha Siddiqui to my research work, she always feels happier than me on my achievements.

Moreover, I pay special thanks to Syed Mansoor Ali Shah of Program Office, who helped me during my stay in the MS program on technical and academic issues in a professional manner.

List of Abbreviations

ANP	Awami National Party
APMSO	All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization
BLA	Baluchistan Liberation Army
BNP	Baluchistan National Party
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FC	Frontier Corps
FRs	Frontier Regions
IJT	Islami Jamiat e Tulaba
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
JI	Jamat e Islami
JUI	Jamiat e Ulema e Islam
JWP	Jamhuri Watan Party
KPK	Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa
MI	Military Intelligence
MMA	Muttahida Majlis e Amal
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
NAP	National Awami Party
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
PMAP	Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
SSP	Sipah e Sahaba Pakistan
TTP	Tehrik e Taliban Pakistan

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. I Statement of the Problem

In the modern era, democratic system has proved to be a story of success in many countries across the world particularly in the West. There are also examples in many other regions where democracy flourished. India is a golden example in this regard. Although, many countries successfully developed democratic systems with the passage of time, still many failed to achieve a viable democracy. Since more than 63 years of its creation Pakistan still could not achieve a stable democratic system. The country has been in turmoil for the last so many years due to its unstable democratic and political system. Democracy could not take a foothold due to diverse factors. Different segments within the Pakistani society are a source of perpetual problem for the smooth functioning of the system. A stable democracy is always dependent upon certain other factors which are considered as prerequisites for it. A genuine political culture is one of the main prerequisite for a successful democratic culture. In the absence of a genuine political culture hoping for a successful democratic system is like a dream. Political parties in a state play a key role in the development of a genuine political culture. Political parties are considered integral part of an effective democratic system. In the advaned democracies political parties are considered the backbone of the system. Mature political culture is the result of a strong party-system in stable democracies. For without vibrant political parties it is impossible even to dream about a solid democracy. Parties play an importan trole in creating a sense of politcal participation among the citizens. Political culture is the interactive behavior of individuals and groups which is related with domestic political system and its paraphernalia. A genuine political democratic system establishes positive political culture which not only addresses the genuine

1

needs of the people of the country but also ensures the continuous political development. Political development is a fairly objective path of political progress through which structural transformation of societies is happened by evolution of society. During the political process the attitudes and orientation of people have been evolved in a way to contribute the functioning of political system leading to minimize the possibilities of ethnic, linguistic and sectarian conflicts. When political parties focus their role on assimilating and aggregating various diversified interests, the political system would be able to sustain shocks and breakdowns. In this way a conducive atmosphere of harmony is developed among various segments of society and it is only way to attain national integration by the constructive role of political parties.

In parliamentary system, the main objective is good governance with the assistance and checks and balances of opposition political parties. Good governance is an art in managing public affairs to achieve self reliant, sustainable development and socio-economic justice for promoting a decent society. Through political parties, people convey their needs and demands to government, of course without political parties; individuals stand alone and are ignored by the government, so the political parties in a parliamentary democratic system give people the feelings that they are not utterly powerless. To understand the role of political parties in a democratic system, we must be familiar with the political culture of nation which is determined by the history, norms, folkways, social traditions, economy, religion and political development. Political parties have undermined democratic process in Pakistan.

Thus in 63 years history of Pakistan, political parties were in power for only 27 years, remaining 36 years have either been under military dictatorship or a quasi – democratic dispensation allowing very limited functional space to political parties. Besides this, after the death of General Zia Ul Haq, it remained the real power behind the system for 11 years and after

it Pervaiz Mushraf toppled the democratic government of Nawaz Sharif and army again began to rule directly in 1999. Although, there is a democratic set up in power, still all the policy matters of national security, nuclear issues, foreign policy, war against terrorism are decided by military top brass. Since the inception of Pakistan, more than 63 years, Pakistan has experienced four military coups due to fragile role of political parties and the alliance of certain leaders of political parties with military dictators. Our political parties are still in the initial stage of evolution, they have not emerged out of Factional Stage. Their behavioral patterns are sill factional, parochial, agitation-based, hypocritical and negative. The political party system in Pakistan has been completely failed to address the sensitive issues of the society i.e. sectarianism, ethnicity, regionalism, provincial disharmony and terrorism etc. Our political party system revolves around:

1. Personality dominated parties
2. Ideological parties
3. Parochial parties

At every juncture of the history we have been unable to maintain the process of political development, one of the most serious setbacks was the separation of East Pakistan, but our political and military elite did not derive any lesson from the bitter realties of history. The multiplicity of parties, rigging in the election, role of ISI in political affairs, horse trading in legislature, political bribes, political bargaining, exploitation and black mailing have become prominent feature of politics in Pakistan. Now Pakistan needs a strong political party system and mature political culture based on democratic norms, to evolve a strong approach through which institutions become capable of sustaining shocks and breakdowns of bureaucratic – military oligarchy by which the political culture have been alloyed with unnumbered hosts of vicissitude.

1. II. Conceptual Framework

The term democracy can be defined as government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system. It is important to mention that there are some constitutional monarchies like England having elected parliaments are also democracies. In other words democracy can be simply defined as the rule of people, by the people, and for the people. Democracy is not a new phenomenon, in ancient Greek city states democracy prevailed but that was a direct democracy whereby the entire citizens directly participated in the affairs of the government but with the exception of slaves and aliens who had no such rights. Modern liberal democracy is the outcome of last few centuries when the concept of popular sovereignty was given by J.J. Rousseau and later on the French Revolution of 1889 transformed the politics in Europe. Main characteristic of the modern democracy is the concept of universal adult franchise which makes it distinct from the ancient Greek democracy whereby the citizens directly governed (with the exclusion of slaves and aliens) while in modern democracy due to the large size of population representative government governs the state.

Political culture can be defined as the traditional orientation of the citizens of a nation toward politics, affecting their perceptions of political legitimacy. It is a distinctive and patterned form of political philosophy that consists of beliefs on how governmental, political, and economic life should be carried out. Political cultures create a framework for political change and are unique to nations, state, and other groups. A political culture differs from political ideology in that people can disagree on an ideology (what government should do) but still share a common political culture. Some ideologies, however, are so critical of the status quo that they

require a fundamental change in the way government is operated, and therefore embody a different political culture as well.

A political party can be defined as an association of people within a state, with a specific ideology having its own manifesto and office bearers at various levels, engaged in political arena for achieving political power of the state. There may be single party system (in case of communist party, USSR, China), Two-party system (USA, UK) or multi-party system as in case of Pakistan and India. Parties are further divided on the base of ideologies. In case of Pakistan there are religious, secular, moderate, and regional ethno-nationalist parties. These are termed as right, centre, and left parties. In case of Pakistan religious parties are considered as right-wing while secular parties are considered as leftist parties, while the moderate groups are called centre. It is worth mentioning, that normally pro status quo forces are termed as right-wing while anti status quo parties are considered as leftist. Leftist was the term used for radical communist parties during cold war but in recent days this division has become somehow ambiguous due to changing course of politics. In Pakistan, Muslim League was once considered as right-wing and the PPP was identified with left due to its socialist tendencies and anti status quo stance but currently both these parties are practically centre, although with centre-right and centre left orientations respectively. Jamat-e-Islami is practically extreme rightist party followed by JUI-F which is somehow softer practically (although more hardliner ideologically) while ANP, and MQM are categorized as left-wing parties due to their secular tendencies. Moreover, regional nationalist parties are generally categorized as leftist but this division is not permanent and fixed because with the changing scenario the orientation of the parties change. Therefore, it seems impossible to term a party permanently as left, right, or centre.

1. III Significance of the study

Although, a number of researchers have already wrote on party politics in Pakistan. But the significance of this research is to find out the structural weaknesses in political parties the inefficiencies of their cultural trends, behavioral patterns which hinder in continuous political development. So the significant aspect of this study is to highlight what are the real problems of democracy in Pakistan. For this purpose research is focusing on to find-out low democratic culture within the ranks of political parties. Keeping in view the current scenario and past history of political process and democracy during year 1999 to 2011 in Pakistan the findings and conclusion of this study will provide a better understanding of the issue to both academics and practitioners.

1. IV Objective of the study

a. To explore the relationship between the culture of party politics and process of democracy

b. To analyze the role of civil military oligarchy in destabilizing political parties and democracy

c. To analyze the failure of Pakistan to establish a cohesive and transparent political party system and true parliamentary system of governance.

1. V Hypothesis

Absence of genuine political culture and weak political party-system is resulting in the instability of democracy in Pakistan.

1. VI Research Questions

1. To explore the dynamics of Ethnicity and Ethno – nationalist politics and how did they affect on the political culture and democracy in Pakistan?

2. To analyze the structural and organizational deficiencies of political parties in Pakistan and how did they create problems for the growth and development of Political process visa – vis flourishment of democracy in Pakistan?

3. And finally how did the prevailing socio- culture factors contribute to the problem of democracy in Pakistan and how to improve the situation?

1. VII Literature Review

Almond & Verba in the civic culture have tried to explain the concept and operationalized on the political behavioral pattern of the people of different countries and then deducted certain hypothesis which shape the meanings of the term political culture, they defined it, "political culture refers to the specifically political orientation attitudes towards the political system and its various parts and attitudes to the role of self in the system". Furthermore, Almond and Powell have expressed as "political culture in the pattern of individual attitudes and orientation towards politics among the members of a political system".

In the perspective of the above definitions of political culture, Pakistan emerged as one of the post colonial states which have been failed to create national integration. The political system of Pakistan has encountered many shocks and a few breakdowns. At every juncture of its history, positive political development was impaired by one problem or the other. One of the serious setback was the separation of East Pakistan due to not accepting the result of the election of

1970, where Awami League emerged as winning party, but military establishment and politician of West Pakistan refused to hand over power to Sheikh Mujib–ur–Rehman.

Nazar – ul – Islam rightly pointed out the ruling elites which were mainly composed of senior civil and military bureaucrats none of whom was Bengali, which had a direct impact on the alienation of Bengalis from political system of Pakistan, although Bengali did represent nearly fifty percent in the central political elite, they had hardly any voice in any vital issues/policies, whether it was related to political, defense, economic, or diplomatic affairs, the ultimate decisions were made by the West Pakistani based civil and military bureaucrats. It is a fact that Pakistan has failed to achieve the goal of national integration. The growing feelings of alienation and standing grievances of exploitation led to the dismemberment of Pakistan. According to Dr. Nazrul Islam, democracy is universally recognized as the best form of government, military rule is its very anti-thesis. "Democracy is recognized as the rule of people or a system in which people are powerful".

In Pakistan, political parties and decision makers at the helm of affairs have been completely failed to build up the political system on the basis of true principles of democracy. After a few years of fragile and weak political set up, cracks are occurred in political edifice. The condition of praetoriannism prevails and paves ground for military to play their own side of game. S. E. Finer has rightly observed that ambitious military leaders topple the political government. For them the political leaders are incompetent mess of people who generally fail to set the quarters right. This hypothesis is partially endorsed by Cohen, Hassan Askari and Ziring.

In the light of above views, we find over 63 years of state history of Pakistan , the army has experienced direct control on power four times and always kept indirect authority and influence, when there is civilian set up of government on several occasions.

Pakistan's political history exhibits a cyclic trend of three to five years of civilian rule interrupted by almost a decade of military rule. Ayesha Siddiqa, a famous military analyst pointed out, "The military economic predatoriness especially inside its national boundaries is both a cause and effect of a feudal authoritarian and a non democratic political system". Ayesha also analyzed the phenomenon of negligence of understanding the link between military's political and economic ambitions.

About the defective political system and the sham democracy in Pakistan, Lawerence Ziring commented, "The interposition of the armed forces between masses and political leadership and the active suppression of latter, prevented the development of coherent political foundation". In Pakistan the role of civil bureaucracy is very much negative, which creates the hindrances to develop a genuine political culture ensuring the government of the people, for the people and by the people which is crux of genuine democracy.

According to Khalid Bin Sayeed, "we may have political leaders who not only formulate policies, but also interfere in the operations of their bureaucracies. On the other hand we have powerful bureaucracies as in Pakistan, where due to lack of political stability national consensus and a body of trained political leaders, civil servants often play a decisive and dual role in policy formulation and its execution".

Pakistan's negatively curved political development has been explained by the Muhammad Wasim as a case of institutional dysfunctionality. Dr. Hassan Askari delineated that

9

repeated military takeovers contributed to political instability in the country. Nauman has tried to apply the political economy approach in explicating the failure of decision makers in evolving long term plan.

Iftikhar Malik has rightly asserted, "The failure to establish viable all encompassing political culture despite positive idealism is at the root of Pakistan's inability to develop an integrated national cohesion or to guarantee its territorial integrity and economic development".

Whatever the explanation for the political underdevelopment of the country, it is an acknowledged fact, Pakistan's political history is replete with innumerable problems. These problems depict a pathetic state of affairs in the country. Political parties have become such a commodity that is readily available to the unconstitutional military rulers and non representative elites for political maneuverings, extending their political legitimacy. A striking contradiction in political parties of Pakistan is their internal deficiencies and undemocratic structures and practices, even though the same parties fight for or seem to struggle for democracy in the country.

The critics and writers on political culture of Pakistan portray gloomy picture. The country as a whole has clearly defined and demurred boundaries of sub cultures which are alloyed with parochial feelings, conflicting thinking and intolerant behavior but if the democratic process continues, we can design the structure of stable political system capable of sustaining that national political culture which can play its constructive role in smooth running of democracy ensuring nation-building process.

If the democratic process will be carried on , the political system becomes capable of introducing such national political culture which enables the political system to be more effectively functional for sustainable democracy in Pakistan.

1. VIII Research Methodology

This study will include both qualitative and quantitative methods. Primary as well as secondary sources will be used to conduct a thorough research. In the primary sources interviews, discussion, speeches, and statements, will be used to collect the data, while in other sources government documents, books, journals, magazines, articles, and news paper will be utilized. Electronic sources such as TV, radio, and internet will be also an important source of data collection and analysis for this study which will be carefully utilized.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICS IN PAKISTAN

In the modern day world it is impossible to imagine of a political system without political parties. Nearly all societies whether democratic, undemocratic or despotic have political parties in the cotemporary era. The task of these organizations is to link people to the government. Although, in majority cases dictators—such as Musharraf in Pakistan, Irshad in Banglades, and Pinochet in Chile accuse political parties of causing instability and corruption, paradoxically they ultimately look towards these organizations for political support and legitimacy.[1] It is a universal truth that political parties are a prerequisite for mature political culture. Until and unless a strong political parties' system came into existence in a state it is impossible to hope for a viable political culture over there. In established democracies political parties are very important as they play a crucial role by connecting societies with the governments. Parties in the advanced and mature democracies educate people about political process, government functioning, constitutional matters, and rights as well as duties of the citizens. Political parties are well entrenched among the masses, and the people consider these organizations as integral parts of their lives. Generally, these organizations frequently hold meetings throughout the state and inform people about their future plans and recent performance. In the mature democratic states, people are engaged by parties through seminars, conferences, and workshops. Governments normally encourage these activities which ultimately results in healthy democratic atmosphere. While on the contrary, in fragile or immature democracies, political parties are normally weak. The parties fail to connect state and society in weak democracies due to diverse factors. Weak political parties and corrupted party system have an adverse affect on political culture in most of

---

[1] Omar Farooq Zain, Paradox of Our Political Parties: *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, January-June 2010, p. 89.

the states. Failure of weak democracies to create a mature political culture is mainly indebted to pathetic performance of political parties in these states. As compared to developed world political parties in developing states are weak, which is one of the most important factors for low political cultures in these states.[2] .

2. I Weak Political Parties and Politics of Alliance

Political parties are considered important component of a democratic political system. Renowned social scientist Max Weber once referred to political parties as "the children of democracy".[3] In modern era, political parties play a vital role in the nourishment of political and democratic culture in the society. Among the main tasks of the political parties is one to educate and train people and broaden their vision about socio-economic and political issues. Another main duty of the political parties is to groom political workers and produce visionary political leaders and statesmen. Political parties serve as nurseries for the populace in the state. In Pakistan there are a large numbers of political parties but due to their weak position these organizations could not bring any positive change. Due to weak nature of these parties a democratic culture could not develop in Pakistan. Successive military governments since the martial law regime of Field Martial Ayub Khan pursued the policy of depoliticization of political parties for their own interests.[4] Ayub's basic democracy system whereby elections were held on non-party basis and later on during Ziaul Haque period same principles were followed when local body and general elections were held in similar manner.

---

[2] Vicky Randall, "Political Parties, their Social Ties and Role in Political Change: Politics in the Developing World 2e" , *Oxford Higher Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 2.
[3] Ivan Doherty. "Democracy Out of Balance: Civil Society Can't Political Parties" , *Policy Review*, April-May, 2010, p. 25.
[4] Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*,Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 356-358.

Politics of alliances is an important component of Pakistani politics. Political alliances have been made in the past in Pakistan. A political alliance is a temporary combination of groups or individuals fromed to pursue specific objectives through joint action.[5]It can also be defined as the union of different political parties or groups for a particular purpose, usualy for a short time.[6] Party alliances may be forged either by giving serious considrations tomporary combination of grops or individuals formed to pursue specific objecties through joint action ideological positions of respective parties on political chessboard or by ignoring them altogether.[7] IJI was an alliance which was alliance of political parties with right wing parties in 1988 and 1990 elections. ANP and PML (N) made an alliance in the part which was successfully continued for 8 years from 1990 to 1998. That is a best example of alliance between parties with the rival ideologies which was for a very long period. During 2002 MMA as the alliance of religious political parties got success in the elections and made government in KPK and Baluchistan. There are also examples of alliances which were the marriage of convenience.

The politics of political alliances has been contributing to the weakening of democracy since very long. Political alliances are most of the time a marriage of convenience whereby political forces make compromises on their ideologies. Normally political alliances are made at the expense of the people. Most of the times parties make alliance to get into power. For this purpose, parties sacrifice interest of the people. Due to multi-party system most of the time it is

---

[5]Motlemelle Anthony Kapa, " The Politics of Coalition Formation and Democracy in Lesotho", *Politikon*, Vol. 35, No.3, 2008, pp. 339-356; available on
http://www.Informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a91313642~fulltext=713240930~frm=content; accessed 15 March 2011.
[6] Arthur Lupia and Kaare Storm, "Coalition Governance Theory: Bargaining Electoral Connections and the Shaddow of the Future", Universitait De Barcelona 15 Septmber 2003); available on
http://www.ub.es/grepa/Storm_Lupia.pdf; accessed 20 June 2010
[7] Ghulam Mustafa, "Alliance Politics in Pakistan: A Study of the United Front", *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol.XXXI, No. 1, 2010, P. 104.

difficult for the parties to get majority and form government on its own. Therefore, normally parties rely on alliances, and coalition government is made.

Alliances are also formed by smaller parties for their survival. In case of Pakistan the formation of United Front was an attempt by the minor groups to balance Muslim League's power which was dominant in the early days of Pakistan.[8]

There are different types of alliances among the parties. Some alliances are organized and lasting these are formed by ideologicaly identical parties, while, others are between distant ideological groups. The first type of alliances are durable and long term but the second type are weak and disastrous due to clash of interests.[9]

After 2002 elections, coalition government was formed at the center in which PML (Q), PPP (patriot), PPP (Sherpao) and MQM were partners. This coalition was again a marriage of convenience as ideologically these parties had nothing in common but the interest of people was compromised. Because of political alliance parties had to accommodate each other which resulted in the political instability in the country.

In 2008 elections, once again there was a hung parliament which resulted in coalition government in center and provinces. Comprises on manifestos due to coalition government consequently brings corruption across the country. Law and order situation has also been deteriorating and communal violence is at its peak in Karachi. Though, representative political parties are in power both at provincial as well as federal level, still Karachi is bleeding and crying for peace. It is mainly due to the compromise for political gains between the coalition

---

[8] M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan 1947-1958*, Vol. I, Islamabad: National Institute of Histrical and Cultural Research, 1986, p.115.
[9] Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties*, Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2000, p.324.

partners. Politics of alliance has been a source of political instability along with other factors in Pakistan. Politics of alliance also leads to low democratic culture in the state of Pakistan as voters are compelled to vote and support a rival political force and it is only for the interest of party leaders.

2. II Multi-Party System

According to the constitution there is a multiparty system in Pakistan, whereby a number of political parties are allowed to register and participate in the political process. Multiparty system has a natural tendency of instability throughout the world. But in case of a third world country where literacy rate is very low and civil society is also very weak and moreover, due to a strong traditional society multiparty system is more likely to result in political instability and chaos. Pakistan can be a best example where multiparty system is culminating into political instability.

Multiparty system puts the masses in confusion and dilemma because they feel it difficult whom to choose and opt for. Since there are numerous parties with their ideologies and similar manifestos, so it becomes difficult for people whom to support. It creates bewilderment and in most cases result in the disappointment of people. Multiparty system also brings polarization in the society. Moreover, groups with same ideologies compete with each other for getting support of people. Normally this competition is not principle-based, as competing forces have same ideology which they propagate, as a result of this and due to lack of logical arguments they do character assassination to attract voters. This creates ideological confusion among the people and polarizes the society.

Pakistan is the best example where multiparty system brings in homogenous ideological groups into the political arena. There are many parties with same ideologies including a number of left as well as right wings, seculars, moderate, religious, ethnic, and regional parties which are engaged in political process. All these parties are contributing to the instability of political culture. It is evident from the analysis that multiparty system in Pakistan is a source of political instability which prevents a political democratic culture to flourish.

The number of registered political parties that participated in 2008 general elections was 147 in Pakistan. When it is compared with the two-party systems of USA and UK where only two parties are predominantly engaged in political system then one can conclude that how complex and instable is multiparty system. Political stability in the USA and UK is also due to two party systems which do not confuse the voters and helps to strengthen the democratic culture. [10]

2. III Factionalism in Political Parties

In Pakistan factionalism in political parties has been continuing since very long. Factionalism has become a norm in the Pakistani party system. Almost all mainstream national level parties have suffered factionalization phenomenon and this has caused serious damage to national integration. Factions are made within parties due to various factors. Most of the time internal rifts for the control of the party or grievances against the central leadership leads to the creation of new faction in a party and sometimes dictatorial attitude of the leadership also force the disgruntled elements to form new faction. Moreover, establishment also created factions in the political parties if they were among the party leadership.

---

[10] Nazeer Ahmad, *Political Parties in Pakistan: A Long War Ahead*, Islamabad: Khurshid Printing Company, 2004., pp. 1-2.

Pakistan has a long history of military dictatorships. It started in 1958 when General Ayub had taken over and imposed martial law. During military regimes, the dictators at some stage ventured for legitimacy and in the process they created factions within the parties. They established quasi democratic governments which provided their legitimacy. Ayub did it through his basic democratic system and for the purpose he created a faction within Muslim League. Later on Zia Ul Haq in 1985 also followed the same suit by creating a new Muslim League. Same story was repeated by General Musharaf when he patronized PML (Q) and also created two new factions within PPP that is PPP(Sherpao) and PPP(Patriot). Sometimes faction is result of the rift between family members for the succession. Same happened when Murtaza group was created when he claimed the chairmanship of PPP as successor of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

In Pakistan, there are factions within a number of political parties, such as there are factions of PML, PPP, JUI, and for sometimes ANP also faced factions when at first PQP and later on NAP was formed but finally ANP succeeded in uniting its factions. Factionalism is a great cause of polarization, confusion and political chaos in Pakistan. It is also an obstacle in the path of genuine democratic culture in Pakistan.

2. IV Undemocratic Nature of Political Parties

In Pakistan there is a culture of double standards and contradictions regarding democracy in political parties. On the one hand political parties accuse establishment and military for their actions against democratic institutions, while on the other hand parties themselves are non democratic in nature. There is no respect for democratic norms in the parties. Though, in theory these organizations use democracy as rhetoric, in practice dictatorial approach is prevalent.

Political parties are undemocratic in the sense that there is no concept of elections within the parties as yet in Pakistan.[11] Normally office holders are nominated by influential figures. Elections in parties are mandatory under regulations of Parties Act. This non democratic culture is serious problem for the cultivation of democratic culture in Pakistan.

Paradoxically, JI a fundamentalist religious right wing party is the only exemption which has a transparent electoral system in the party and that is strictly followed. Absence of elections for party position is an important factor for the decline of democracy in Pakistan. It prevents talented poor and middle class political workers from becoming a political leader which is against the spirit of political parties. It is also very harmful for the very foundation of the political parties because without election parties cannot strengthen. This attitude has led to the strengthening of personalities rather than strengthening parties as institutions. It is due to this culture that there is a continued fragmentation of political parties. Weakness of institutions such as political parties ultimately brings low and undemocratic political culture in the society. The discussion and analysis lead to the conclusion that undemocratic nature of parties is a source of democratic culture which is fatal for stable democracy in Pakistan.

2. V Dynastic Political Parties

In Pakistan the political parties are controlled by particular families at the top level. One can easily call these parties as dynastic organizations ruled by despotic leaders who are not willing to hand over leadership to others. They are in continuous struggle to perpetuate dynastic control over the parties. Party leaders like dynastical leaders in the past consider it their right to perpetuate their control over the party for generations. Top leadership is always suspicious of the

---

[11] Saeed Shafqat, Civil *Military Relations in Pakistan: From Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997, p. 21.

popular politicians in party ranks. Central party leaders want other politicians in the party ranks as subordinates and loyal to the central leadership and never allow them to rise to the political horizon.

In Case of PML (N) Javed Hashmi was at the fore front against Musharaf regime during the exile of Nawaz Sharif from 2000 – 2008. But once Javed Hashmi got popularity among the masses for his principled politics and struggle against Musharaf regime, he was gradually pushed to the background and was made inactive. He was balanced by Sharif family and replaced by Ch. Nisar Ali. In another case, Makdoom Amin faheem was sideline by Asif Ali Zardari after the assassination of Benazir Butto and Yousaf Raza Gillani was brought in as it was easy to control him.

In case of ANP, when Ajmal Khattak criticized Begum Nasim Wali and Azam Khan Hoti for their alleged corruption, he was sidelined by Wali Khan Family as they considered him a threat due to his popularity. Mulana Fazalurrehman also got suspicion of Hafiz Hussain Ahmed's popularity among the populace and ultimately he had to leave the party.

In mainstream party PPP, Bhutto family is dominating and controlling the party for three generations. On the other hand in PML (N) Sharif family introduced its second generation by bringing in Hamza Shahbaz and Marium Nawaz in the political arena.

ANP is another example where the third generation is in the control of party while recently Asfandyar Wali Khan has introduced his young son in party procession in Sawabi. Since the formation of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in 1929 the family is dominant in the politics and now forth generation is most likely to take the leadership in future.

Likewise in JUI, Mulana Fazalurrehman took control of the party after his father Mulana Mufti Mehmood.

Control of certain families and their monopoly on political parties can be termed as dynastic politics. In fact political parties are dynastic in nature which is contrary to the spirit of democracy and a hurdle for competent political leadership in Pakistani Politics. This testifies low democratic culture in Pakistan.

2. VI Absence of Public Funding and Dependence on Private Donations

Public funding is main source of financing for political parties in democratic states of the world. In democracies political parties are funded in order to promote and develop them as strong institutions. Public funding by the states is a normal practice for which budgets are allocated.

Main purpose of the funding by a state is to help political parties to establish themselves as solid organizations. Finance is main issue of the political parties because without enough funds it is impossible to run the organization, parties require funds to propagate its manifesto and educate the people through party meetings, seminars, conferences and publicity. Furthermore, electoral process and election campaigns need funds to run it successfully. If parties are short of funds then these activities are not possible and very existence of a party becomes doubtful.

There are different sources of party funding throughout the world and public funding is important component of it. In USA, state funding is an important source whereby state provides finances to the political parties through proper mechanism.

In Germany, public funding was introduced in 1958 whereby state patronizes the political parties and mechanism of matchable fund is applied for the purpose. In England, though, no cash money is given; state funding is given in the shape of facilities such as halls and offices for meetings, while media access is also given to the parties. In most of the countries public funding is proportionate to the number of seats while in others it is given according to the number of votes got in the elections.

In Pakistan there is no concept of public funding for political parties which is contrary to the growth and development of these institutions. Main purpose of the public funding of the parties is to strengthen democracy and establish a strong political culture in the state. As mentioned earlier, political parties are indispensible for the democratic culture and stable political system. Therefore, unless these organizations are strong there is no possibility of strong democracy. Only strong political parties and stable party system can promote a democratic culture in the state which will ultimately benefit the masses with the fruit of democracy.

Main feature of public funding is to save political parties from corruption and to lessen their dependence on private donations. Main task of the political parties is public service, therefore, public funding of these organizations is necessary in order to provide them level playing field.[12] Since parties cannot survive without funds therefore, they have to obtain it through various channels. Parties generate finances through party membership, donations by individuals, corporations and public funding in advanced countries.[13]

---

[12] Nazeer Ahmad, *Political Parties in Pakistan: A Long War Ahead*, Islamabad: Khurshid Printing Company, 2004., p. 16.
[13] NDI, *Political Parties and the Transition to Democracy*, Washington: NDI, 2000. P. 61.

In Pakistan party membership fee is one source of finance but main source is donations by private individuals, while there is no concept of public funding. As mentioned earlier, public funding is done to lessen reliance of political parties on individuals and private sources.

In Pakistan due to their reliance on private businessmen and rich class, parties become dependent on them which results in corruption and also leads to undemocratic culture and political instability.

Private donations also create hurdles for talented middle class and poor political workers to become successful political leaders. Since parties are dependent on rich individuals for funding, therefore, they have to accommodate these people which is normally at the expense of poor and middleclass workers as well as a compromise on party's ideology. It is the public funding which can prevent corruption inside parties.

In Pakistan due to non availability of public funding parties also rely on foreign sources. Sometimes parties also blame each other for getting funds from foreign countries. This act can be fatal for national interest because foreign sources can ultimately force the party to make such policies which are against the interest of the state. Different parties have been accused in the past for getting funds from USA, UK, Iran, India, Saudi Arabia, USSR and UAE etc.

Absence of public funding and dependence on donations of political parties is a source of political instability in Pakistan, which results in low democratic culture.

2. VII Political Pressure Groups

In Pakistan due to abundance of political parties there are a large number of groups that play the role of pressure groups. The role of pressure group is generally negative for politics. In

23

Pakistan due to ethnic and cultural diversity there is a large number of pressure groups. These include ethno – nationalists, regional and religio-sectarian political parties. These groups due to limited support base are mostly restricted to a small portion of people of the state. Most of the time due to their commitment to the small audience, they normally contradict the will and general interest of the general populous. Their objectives in most cases are conflicting and contrary to the national goals, these groups serve in the name of regional, ethnic, lingual, cultural or religious rights. And they normally exploit the feelings and emotions of their target groups against mainstream dominant groups. They rely on historical stereotypes, various symbols and myths to attract people to their cause and group. On the other hand, these groups glorify themselves and their leaders exaggerate the stories of their exploitation and mistreatment by the existing dominant groups in the society. The politics of these groups spread hatred which leads to extremism in society. Furthermore, they also provoke other rival groups when the leaders of their association use political slogans and rhetoric for speech which is most of the time insulting and degrading to others. Also these groups are narrow-minded and reactionary in their approach, and their radical ideologies create intolerance and violence in society. In Pakistan, as mentioned earlier, there is a trend of divided mandate and hung parliament and as a result coalition government has become a compulsion. Due to large number of political parties and overlapping ideologies and fragmentation there are very little chances of single party dominance in elections. Parties make group alliance at national level with groups sharing similar ideologies. For instance: Islami Jumhuri Ithad, Pakistan National Alliance, Muthada Majlis Amal, and Paksitan Democratic Alliance. Also they make alliances with small groups and make adjustments on seats with pressure groups in various constituencies. Pressure groups are also important in the formation of coalition government. Larger national level parties due to their dependence on

these groups always comply with their demands which weaken democracy and political institutions. The importance of pressure groups in the formation of coalition government, force lager parties to compromise on national interest. There are various aspects of these pressure groups' politics which are detrimental to political development and democratic culture in Pakistan. These political pressure groups demand more than the proportion of their vote bank due to their bargaining position and alternative options available to them. Pressure groups normally grasp substantial share in the government and that is at the expense of the interests of larger political parties. They normally demand ministries of their own choice and the senior coalition partner often has to meet their demands, otherwise these groups can join opposition parties and can topple down the government due to their decisive role in the number's game. This most of the time results in the unsatisfactory performance of the government since incompetent people are nominated by pressure groups. It increases corruption due to the appointment of corrupt ministers in the cabinet. By obliging pressure groups political parties normally lose confidence of their ideological supporters. Moreover, the lower rank political leaders and workers feel alienated and lose faith in their party leadership which ultimately results in defection from their own parties. For example, PPP emerged as the largest single party in 2008 elections but it had to form a coalition with MQM, ANP, JUI- F, and PML- N. Also later PML- N left the government and PML- Q joined it. Due to PPP dependence on pressure groups, it has to sacrifice major share of ministries for its allied parties in the cabinet. This affected the performance of PPP government very badly. The inclusion of incompetent and corrupt ministers led to the destruction of various public departments: the current situation of railway, PIA, Steel mill and WAPDA are the best examples of the bad governance and corrupt public institutions. In addition, these groups maintain their pressure on the senior coalition partners in order to get

25

more benefits. They continuously threaten the government on evacuating the coalition in order to get the maximum benefits. After the election of 2008 MQM has been pressurizing PPP government continuously for their own political agendas. Despite being the part of the government they often protest against the government polices which is unfair. In this regard we can take the example of MQM which is very much successful in building pressure on PPP to maximize their political advantages both in central and the provisional government of Sindh. PPP is aware of the fact that if MQM quit the government they would face problems from both inside and outside the parliament. Due to the fulfillment of unfair demands of MQM by PPP government, one of its stalwart and loyal political leaders Zulfiqar Ali Mirza – Ex provincial interior minister left the party. Despite being the stronghold of PPP in Sindh its workers are not happy there with soft policy of their government towards MQM. The chairman of "Jamiat Ulema Islam" Maulana Fazalurrehman also a coalition partner and chairman of Kashmir committee but on and off he contacted the opposition parties to build pressure on government and openly conduct rallies and congregations against government to secure more benefits from government. In the same way one of the ministers, Faisal Saleh Hayat of PML- Q went to the Supreme Court in rental power corruption case, which is not the tradition of any democratic government. If minister has any difference of opinion with government on some issue he should resign, but in Pakistan it is very strange that Maulana Fazalurrehaman and Faisal Saleh Hyatt are at the same time both part of opposition and government. Most of the political pressure groups have their own militant wings which create unrest in the country and force the government to meet their demands. When government doesn't meet the demands of MQM it creates law and order situation in Karachi and no government can afford the unrest in Karachi due to its larger economic base and presence of millions of people from all the parts of country. Due to strong

political position of MQM in Karachi no federal government can afford to displease its leadership. Also it is impossible for any government to maintain law and order situation in Karachi without the support of MQM and this is why PPP government always has to meet the demands and wishes of MQM in every political disagreement. Keeping in view these analyses it can be concluded that the pressure groups due to their bargaining position are a major source of instability in the political culture of Pakistan. Pressure groups are responsible for low political culture in Pakistan which has considerably proved to be fatal for democracy.

2. VIII Parties with no Ideology

In Pakistan many parties claim that they are committed to a particular ideology but it is not visible in practice its mere rhetoric. It is not reflected in the actions of leaders of political parties. Parties change their stance often for political advantages. Mostly parties are not purely committed to their ideologies. Due to illiteracy and lack of political knowledge, most of the prominent politicians even don't know about ideology and manifesto of their parties. Ideology is soul of a political party. Every political party attracts people on the basis of a particular ideology. In established democracies it is impossible for a party to survive without ideology. In Pakistan a number of parties either claim to be ideological or they are without any ideology. Though in theory, parties commit for a particular ideology, in practice it is not followed. It is very common for the parties of different ideologies to make political alliances and coalition government. By such actions political parties always hurt ideological sentiments of their voters once they make alliances with ideologically rival parties for gaining power. It is considered normal by politicians but this practice results in disillusionment of the workers from their parties. For the last two decade in Pakistan different political parties with contrasting ideologies made coalition governments after elections while in elections they attracted voters by using rhetoric. This is in

27

real terms an insult to the mandate of the people. This practice in short term helps parties to gain power but in the long term it creates mistrust among people on politicians and disbelief in politics. When people become suspicious of the political parties because of this disbelief, it results in materialism and selfishness. When this issue less politics based on rhetoric and slogans prevails in the society the outcome is in form of low political culture. In Pakistan due to less or no respect for ideologies the present political parties have lost their credibility among the masses. This is another contributing factor to the low political culture in the country. Moreover it is an important factor in weakening of democratic system. From the year 2000 to 2011 general elections have been held for two times while local party elections in 2001 and 2005 were also held for two times. In the analysis of the composition of the successive government we come to know that how rival political ideological groups made compromises for their benefits. PML – Q made alliance with MQM, one is centre right wing and the other is left wing secular ethnic group but both were in the government of Musharraf with conflicting ideologies. Besides this, two factions of PPP also joined Musharraf government, despite the fact that Musharraf was against leadership of PPP. After 2008 elections PML-N a centre right moderate party supported left wing secular PPP in formation of the government. Another example is of ANP and MQM both ethno nationalist groups having severe ideological differences with the ruling party PPP but they joined the coalition government in centre and as well as in provinces.[14] Another religious political party JUI with extreme rightist ideology (sometimes referred as the political wing of Taliban) is also part of coalition with secular PPP, ANP and MQM who are ideologically against the religious

---

[14] After 2008 elections were held, a new faction PPP (Patriot) was formed which joined the coalition government in the centre, while PPP (Sherpao) participated in the elections and it was formed by Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao long before the elections.

extremism and are known for their anti- Taliban stance.[15] After 2008 elections in order to maintain the continuations of democratic process, reconciliation among different political parties show that ideological confusion is at its peak in Pakistan. This will have negative repercussion for democratic political culture in Pakistan.

---

[15] JUI has a strong following among the Devband Madrassahs in KPK and Balochistan which are also known for their sympathies and as a support base for Talibans.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

3. I Ethnic Division and Politics

Pakistan is ethnically diverse country with different cultural and lingual groups. Firstly, division is mainly on the basis of its federating units where four major groups exit. Four federating units are Punjab, Sindh Khyber Pakhtoonkhawa, and Baluchistan which made Pakistan .Within these federating units there are further subdivisions.[16] There are sub-ethno–cultural groups within the federating units. The federating units in Pakistan are known as provinces; as far as this division is concerned Punjab is the largest province regarding population, which is followed by Sindh. Khyber-Pakhtunkhawa, and Balochistan. In contrast, however Baluchistan is that province which has largest area. Ethnic diversity is also a source of conflict in Pakistan, which has been destabilizing the country politically, since its creation.

It is important to explain here that what is meant by an ethnic group, before going into the discussion of ethnic politics in Pakistan. Earlier, an ethnic group was defined as, a set of people with common ancestry---race or, language. However, with passage of time the definition changed and broadened definitions talked of ethnic groups as based on ascriptive identities---tribe, race, caste, religion or language. In this context, religeo-sectarian groups are also termed as ethnic groups but in case of Pakistan due to contending views about state ideology these issues are dealt separately in this study. So keeping in view the definition, a class on the basis of economic status cannot be termed as an ethnic group.[17]

---

[16] Lawerence Ziring, *Pakistan: The Enigma of Politial Development*, Kent: Westview Press Inc., 1980, pp, 134.
[17] Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, pp, 21-24, 41-54.

Though, at the time of its creation ethnic diversity went in background mainly because of the threat of Hindu domination in pre-partition India. It was due to the threat of majority Hindus in India that the Muslims opted for Pakistan irrespective of their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. But soon after the creation of Pakistan ethnic identities reemerged and dominated the politics.

It started with the differences between the eastern and western wings of the united Pakistan. East Pakistan is now a days Bangladesh. It was for the first time, when Jinnah declared Urdu as the national language, Bengalis felt alienated. After the independence Bengalis were annoyed with this decision as they were of the view that since they were the largest ethnic group in Pakistan therefore, Bengali should also be declared as the national language along with Urdu. Due to the issue, strong feelings of deprivation emerged among the Bengalis, which helped generating separate nationalism based on Bengali language. A language movement was launched which not only created myths, symbols, slogans and united the vernacular elites but also gave its first martyrs to the cause.[18]Moreover, East Pakistan was poorly placed in state power structure but the Bengalis still had a hope to get their due share through the forum of parliament, as they were 54% of total population. In 1955, East and West Pakistani parliamentarian reached at an agreement whereby regional autonomy of Eastern wing was ensured but at the cost of a compromise over majority for parity principle with West Pakistan in the parliament. This was by no means a justifiable action and was against the spirit of democracy, whereby an ethnic group was forced to purchase its autonomy at the cost of its majority in the parliament.

The West Pakistani ruling elite managed to approve first constitution in 1956 by exploiting the differences of East Pakistani parliamentarians, though, parity principle was intact,

---

[18] Ronaq Jahan, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration,* New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972, p.44.

the demand for regional autonomy was declined for the cause of a strong centre. Although, Bengali was given status of official language along with Urdu and according to the decision both were to replace English within twenty years, it could not win the hearts of Bengalis as the damage was already done which was irreparable.[19] Later on, due to successive military rules of. Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, as well as negligence on the part of political leadership, Pakistan disintegrated and East Pakistan became sovereign state of Bangladesh in 1971. Though, there were many other factors which lead to the dismemberment of Pakistan, it was feeling of deprivation and exploitation among the people East Pakistan at the hands of elites of West Pakistan with predominantly Punjabi ethnic group which kept the centre of state apparatus and control of politics.

Keeping in view above analysis it is cleared that ethnic diversity has been a very serious problem since beginning which resulted in disintegration of the country in 1971. It is a very serious issue for Pakistan as there is nothing more damaging and shocking for a state than losing its territorial integrity because of ethnic problem. It would never have been an option for the Bengalis to go for a separate state if they had not felt exploited at the hands of the other ethnic groups. There were other factors that lead to the event of 1971, but the feelings of exploitation among Bengalis were very strong that was ultimately exploited by the separatist elements. Today Still the same problem of ethnicity exists in the contemporary politics f Pakistan which is resulting in instability of the state.

---

[19] Ahmed Shuja Pasha, *Pakistan: sA Political Study*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995., p. 101

3. II Ethnic Politics in Contemporary Era

Punjab is the largest province in Pakistan which is politically as well as economically dominant in Pakistan. According to some estimates Punjabis are more than 50% of Pakistan population. On the other hand there is a strong agricultural base because of its fertile land in the province. Furthermore, upper Punjab region has a very strong industrial base. The cities of Lahore, Faisalabad, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujarat have very large industrial sectors which provides employment and result in the prosperity of the people of Punjab so there is a strong backward and forward economic linkage effect between the sector of agriculture and industry in Pakistan which makes it economically strong while on political front Punjab has the largest numbers of seats in national assembly so Punjab plays a major role in the formation of government in Pakistan. In addition to that military which is the most powerful stakeholder in Pakistani politics is majorly dominated by Punjabi nationals. According to some estimates around 70-75% army officers and service men belong to the province of Punjab. Besides this, civil bureaucracy is also predominantly Punjabi and currently out of 55 senior civil servants 48 officers belongs to Punjab in the federal bureaucracy. This shows the strength of Punjabi ethnic group in power apparatus of Pakistan and complements its dominance in the state in all respects. The above analysis is evident of Punjab supremacy in the state of Pakistan.

3. III Diverse Ethnic Groups and Power Share in State Structure

In the new Pakistani state national identity emerged as a major problem, besides this, economic development as well as unequal share of power in the state structure. It created potential threat to the unity of Pakistan because feelings of hatred had been prevailed between various ethnic groups.

During early days of Pakistan Punjabis and Mohajirs (migrants from northern India) were dominating in power structure of Pakistan due to their education and skills in government affairs and better economic position.[20] Mohajirs from northern India who migrated to Pakistan at the time of partition and settled at Karachi were highly educated and were at the forefront of Pakistan movement. They became instrumental for state during early days. Due to their status and power position they glorified and supported "Muslim Nationalism" in the state and used religion for their influence in the state. Punjabis also joined hands with ruling Mohajirs elites due to understanding of their common interests to adopt Urdu as a national language and other ethnic groups were marginalized. Under the patronization of ruling elite of the time, trading groups of Mohajirs emerged as new industrialist class while other ethnic group were never be given due share in the power structure of Pakistan remained unsatisfied. They were not willing to accept the dominance of the Punjabis and Mohajirs.

As mentioned earlier, their control of power structure annoyed other ethnic group and resulted in the dismemberment of the state in 1971. Moreover, within west Pakistan, Pushtuns, Sindhis and Baluch were not happy with the dominance of Punjabis/Mohajirs control of the state structure. During the earlier days of Pakistan regional ethnic groups started to organize themselves politically against the control of ruling elites. In Khyber Pukhtunkhawa Khan Abdul Ghaffer Khan who was the leader of Khudai Khidmatgar Movement before the partition of India and was allied with Indian National Congress formed a new party named Peoples' party and later started its struggle from the platform of NAP (National Awami Party) an alliance of left leaning regionalist parties.[21] But the state apparatus through religion and centrist rhetoric

---

[20] Lawerence Ziring, *Pakistan: The Enigma of Politial Development*, Kent: Westview Press Inc., 1980, pp, 149-150.
[21] Lawerence Ziring, *Op. cit.*, p.149.

propagated against this alliance and succeeded in its designe to hold the control of Punjabi/Mohajirs elites on power.

3. IV Changes in Power Structure

With the passage of time power structure begin to change somehow, as the Pushtun ethnic groups gradually started to integrate with the power structure of the state. It was mainly due to the economic interdependence and movement of Pushtuns from their traditional area to the urban centers of the state particularly towards Karachi and to the various cities of Punjab. Moreover, their entry into transport business across the urban centers of the state helped them to become part of state functions. Furthermore, shifting of capital from Karachi to Islamabad also helped Pushtuns to get closer to the center. With the passage of time, due to increase in the literacy rate and education Pushtun ethnic groups entered into bureaucracy and civil service of the state. In addition to that being part of the traditional martial region since the British times, Pushtuns had been part of the military but their numbers also increased in the military when the second and third generations of the NCOs and lower ranked army personnel joined as officers in the Pakistan Army. Tribesman from Khattak and Yousafzai tribes had been joining army since British times but now along with other tribesmen they formed the major component of Pakistan Army. Since Yousafzai and Khattaks are the largest Pushtun tribes in numbers respectively.[22] They were wealthy and highly educated; therefore their integration into Pakistani power structure brought Pushtuns into the main stream of society. Now Pushtuns have sizeable presence in Pakistan army more than their share of the population and their number is second to Punjabis' representation of population. Moreover, Karachi has become largest Pashtun city in the world with 5 to 6 million of Pushtuns. In addition, their presence in state structure (Military and civil

---

[22] Lawerence Ziring, *Op. cit.*, p.149-150.

establishment) and because of their economic activities and presence in all over the country brought Pushtuns into mainstream of Pakistan. The nationalist political party ANP got entry into Sindh assembly which has transformed its politics from regional to national level. The centrifugal tendencies have got weakened and now nationalist parties began to talk about rights of Pushtuns not only in traditional Pushtuns area but in all the provinces of Pakistan.

Now Pushtuns ethnic group has become an important shareholder with Punjabis in the state power structure and they have replaced Mohajirs at state level. Furthermore, apart from their presence in state apparatus their economic interdependence, migration and benefits at social level are also substantial which changed the demographics in most part of the country. This demographics transformation is also affecting politics for the benefits of Pushtuns.

Aware of all the developments the nationalist and separatist have also realized that they cannot afford the politics of regionalism and separation. Keeping in view these changes they also transformed their politics and now they are talking about the rights within sphere of Pakistan and are getting closer to the establishment which they severely opposed in the past.

| Ayub Khan First Commander in Chief and President |
| Yahya Khan Commander in Chief and President |
| General Gul Hassan Khan Commander in Chief |
| General Abdul Waheed Khan Army Chief |
| Abass Khattak Air Chief Marshal |

Pushtun officers prominent in military structure of Pakistan

As far as other ethnic groups are concerned Sindhis who were annoyed with the influx of Mohajirs from India in their urban centers in the beginning, now they were facing internal migration from other parts of the country as well as all these developments have been changing the demographics of the province. Sindhis considered it as a threat and their exploitation. In the

early days of Pakistan Mohajirs who were settled in the urban centers of Sindh used religion and glorified Muslim Nationalism to face the challenge of Sindhi ethnic group. Being part of power structure they not only glorified their language and culture against the local culture but also dominated in all the spheres of life due to their education and conducive atmosphere to them. This created hatred among the Sindhis as they felt deprived at the hands of Urdu speaking elites in their own province. G.M. Syed and his companions struggled against the control of Urdu speaking for the rights of Sindhi ethnic group but the state elites mainly Mohajirs and Punjabis used propaganda and other techniques to include religious rhetoric to demonize them.

As mentioned, with the passage of time due to Ayubs' military regime and other political developments Mohajirs gradually lost their control in the state machinery. Among the new important development, there was the rise of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on the political horizon of Pakistan. Being a Sindhi. Bhutto was strongly supported by his people and after coming into power he took some steps which somehow accommodated Sindhi people. For example: The introduction of quota system on the basis of rural and urban Sindh. Moreover, a language bill was also introduced in Sindh Assembly in which Sindhi was declared as compulsory subject for all the students as well as medium of instruction along with Urdu. Besides proficiency in Sindhi language it was also made mandatory for the employee of Sindh provincial government. In addition Bhutto also introduced lateral entry system in bureaucracy which helped to increase the numbers of Sindhis in federal civil service. The recognition of local Sindhi culture in the province was not welcomed by Mohajirs which they considered detrimental for the Muslim National Culture for which they suffered and sacrificed. New developments during Bhutto's government were perceived by the Urdu speaking as an effort by local Sindhis to marginalize them.

37

Execution of Bhutto as a Sindhi Prime Minister by Panjabi dominated army created bitterness among Sindhis, the populace in general considered it a deliberate assassination by Punjabi establishment of a Sindhi Prime Minister which created hatred against Punjabis in Sindh. By early 1980s, Sindhis were totally out of power. Many Sindhi officers who joined through lateral entry system were also dismissed by Zia. In these conditions when MRD started its movement against military regime, Sindhi grievances turned into a bloody reaction. Within six months 300 Sindhi were died in clashes with 45,000 army man of Zia regime.

In 1985, though a Sindhi Muhammad Khan Junajo became the Prime Minister but it could not satisfy the damage. Later on his government was also dismissed in 1985 though Peoples' Party came into power after 1988 for several times but Sindhis still felt that the military establishment did not allow them to work freely and as a result they created hurdles for their government.

In 1988 when Benazir Bhutto came into power, the powerful military establishment put their own conditions and got their favorite and confident Ghulam Ishaq Khan elected as a President of Pakistan who ultimately dismissed PPP government in 1990. And he formulated the IJI(Islamic Jamori Itehad) with the support of military establishment and stopped the PPP to come in power again. The 1990 elections are an example of accusations of riggings leveled by Sindhis against the Punjabi dominated military and as a result Nawaz Shareef came into power by the support of military establishment. During the decade of 1990's two PPP governments were dismissed and ultimately Benazir Bhutto had to leave the country. Being a National party PPP is still dominated by Sindhis' thinking that army which is dominated by Punjabis is against the PPP present government which is led by Asif Ali Zardari(Son in Law of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto).

Nawaz Sharif the leader of PML(N) and twice elected Prime Minister who belongs to Punjab is considered as heir of General Zia. The Sindhis sentiment reached to its climax, when Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in Rawalpindi in a suicide blast in 2007. After her assassination there were mourning everywhere in Sindh and a wave of violence erupted all around, government properties were damaged and set on fire and banks were also looted by violent crowds. There were several voices against Pakistan and the ruling elites were accused for the assassination. Though army was in power, General Musharaf was not Punjabi still Sindh accused Punjabi dominated army, and also Punjabi Chief Minister Ch. Pervaiz Ilahi was held responsible for the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. PPP leadership at that time declared PML (Q) as "Qatil League" (Killer League).

Nawaz Sharif after the charter of democracy was on board with PPP against the Musharaf regime, still PPP and Sindh populace accused Punjab for the death of Benazir. PPP has been using Sindh card in the center since very long whenever it faces any problem. Despite the fact that it is a national party with a sizeable presence in Punjab, PPP rhetoric against military and Punjabi elite is an effort to get the support of Sindhi populace for political benefits, and also to balance Sindhi nationalists. Since there are some genuine reasons which aggrieved Sindhis in the past, therefore, it is easy for PPP to rely on people 's sentiments in the name of anti Punjabi rhetoric.

During the present government of PPP Asif Ali Zardari the co-chairman and president of Pakistan People's Party expressed his grievances on several occasions publically. His speech at Nodero back in 2010 is a best example where he provoked the Sindhis' sentiment and criticized Punjabi political leadership and military establishment by calling Nawaz Sharif the follower of ex-president Genreal Zia Ul Haq and also declaring him as a symbol of extremist anti-Sindhi

mindset which killed Bhutto and Benazir. By this example he mainly pointed towards military's domination by Punjab. Furthermore, cultural symbolism, the use of Sindhi cap, *ajrak* and speeches in Sindhi language is the manifestation of Sindhi culture and its glorification to get popular support among Sindhi masses. Expression of Sindhi culture and symbolism by PPP leadership is also an attempt to balance Sindhi nationalist parties who are the main critics of PPP in Sindh Province. The fear of losing Sindhi vote bank also compels PPP leadership to show itself as the champion of Sindhi ethnic group and protector of its rights. Being a largest national party of Pakistan, commitment and symbolism to the Sindhi culture shows strong ethnic tendencies in the group.

The PPP government has so many issues with the military establishment during its current tenure. At first there were tensions on the issue of Kerry Lugar Bill, which was presented in US congress for the assistance of Pakistan. But some conditions in the bill were against the interest of the army; as a result, tensions arose between army and the government. Later on, it was also said that Hussain Haqqani Pakistan Ambassador to US and a diehard critic of army was responsible for the terms and conditions in Kerry Lugar Bill unacceptable to the army. Recently, he was also blamed by DG ISI Shuja Pasha that he insisted Mansoor Ijaz to write a memo to the US Admiral General Mike Mullen which is against the national security of Pakistan. Due to Memo-Gate Scandal Hussain Haqqani has to resign under the pressure of military establishment on government and still the case is in court.

In addition, the situation intensified when Osama was assassinated. After the death of Osama the memo scandal was discovered and this was pointing towards the President Asif Ali Zardari. Consequently, Mian Nawaz Sharif filed a petition in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. During the period, tensions escalated both political and military leadership started accusing each

other. Memo was called Memo-Gate Scandal to equate it with Water Gate Scandal of Richard Nixon which was done deliberately to give an impression of impeachment of Asif Ali Zardari. It was taken again as deliberate efforts of the military dominated by Punjabis against the Sindhi president. During the period Sindhi symbolism reached to its heights once again and during the absence of president his son Bilawal was repeatedly shown on media with Sindhi cap and *ajrak*.

PPP government also used the rhetoric of democracy to justify themselves against military establishment. They also declared the actions of court and military as an effort to derail democracy. In addition to this. during the crisis Sindh government also passed an order about the mandatory use of *ajrak* instead of scarf for girls in educational institutions and *ajraks* were also freely distributed in the schools at the occasion. Besides this, use of Sindhi cap and *ajrak* has been frequently observed throughout the province with huge media coverage. The above analysis leads to the conclusion that ethnicity and ethnic struggles complicate democratic process in Pakistan.

3. V Baluchistan and Ethnic Problem

While discussing the problem of ethnicity and its implications for democratic culture in Pakistan, the issue of Baluchistan is of utmost importance. After the independence the state of Qalat which was the center of Baluch tribes was annexed by Pakistan. Later on, there were problems between the ruler of Qalat and Pakistan government which have been resulting in clashes from time to time.

In 1970 elections the Baluch Sardars participated in elections under the banner of NAP (National Awami Party) and were successful to form a government. But the then Prime Minister

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto dissolved the government and a military operation was launched against Baluch insurgents who were supported by Afghanistan Government.

Baluchistan is 42.9% of Pakistan total area -------- largest area-wise province while with 5% population of Pakistan it is smallest in this regard. Baluch, Barohis and Pushtuns are the major groups of Baluchistan province. Due to their commonalities regarding traditional, tribal and structural similarities Baluch and Barohis claim themselves to be one ethnic group. Against the annexation of Baluchistan, a revolt was started by Abdul Karim Khan Brother of the Khan of Qalat. He was arrested in 1950 and was imprisoned for 10 years. After his release he formed a political party with the name of *Astman Gal* in Baluchistan. It was followed by the joining of *Astman Gal* members of newly formed Pakistan National Party (PNP). Soon after PNP became part of NAP.

Afterwards, Khan of Qalat was arrested and army was deployed over time. The khan was charged for revolt. The chief of Zehri tribe Nauroz khan who led the revolt was arrested and imprisoned for life and his sons were hanged for treason charges.

The use of military force by Punjabi – Mohajirs bureaucratic control created hatred amongst Baluchs. Under the platform of NAP Baluch elites changed their resentment into ethnic consciousness. During Ayub's era, non Baluchs mainly Punjabis migrated to Baluchistan. The main purpose of settlement of non Baluchs in Baluchistan was to lessen the influence of Sardars in the province. As mentioned earlier, Baluch Sardar joined NAP and performed well in 1970's elections by winning eight out of twenty seats in Provincial Assembly. After the dismemberment of Pakistan, military transformed powers to political forces by restoring democracy. This new development led to the formation of NAP government in the province of Baluchistan.

Since the Baluch Sardars won elections by exploiting deep–rooted feelings of their masses against the Punjabi ruling elites. Therefore, the first priority was to replace Punjabi officials with locals. This resulted in sending back of several thousand Punjabi to the centre. There was a negative impact of the empowerment among Baluch youth as ethnic emotionalism resulted in the torturing as well as kidnapping of settlers. But the conflict between the centre and province began when the provincial government ventured for its second objective: Extension of the government for economic development. Later on, center charged provincial government for launching a secessionist insurgency against the state and dismissed the NAP government. Consequently, tribal resistance occurred in Mari and Mengal areas. The discriminatory use of force converted tribal resistance into a Baluch national struggle, 80,000 troops were sent to suppress the insurgents while Baluch Sardars were arrested. On the other hand government tried to pacify the people through developmental projects. According to source, 5300 Baluch fighters while 3300 security personnel lost their lives during this insurgency which continued till the fall of Bhutto Government. During Zia period due to the Afghan Jihad and new developments Baluch insurgency came to an end, General Zia released Baluch Sardars and also decided not to provoke the Baluchs and ordered army to maintain low profile. Another reason was Afghanistan situation where war was in progress and Baluch insurgent lost their sanctuary and training camps across the border which ultimately culminated into the end of their guerrilla struggle.

Later on during 1990s due to democratic regime and socioeconomic changes Sardars' hold was weakened and due to representative government situations were calmed down. Anyhow reservations over the gas royalties and provincial autonomy were still there. Moreover, the underdevelopment and unemployment were also creating sense of deprivations among the Baluch youth and the disgruntled elements were there to exploit these grievances.

All the previous development once again went back to the point of no return during Musharaf regime. Gawadar port a project of strategic importance was initially welcomed by nationalist as they were getting some share of power being part of provincial and federal government in 1992. But during the military regime after 1999 when they were out of power, they perceived the project as an attempt by the ruling elites mainly Punjabis to control the resources.

This idea got strengthened as media campaign of advertisement was launched and people from other parts of the country were persuaded to come to Gawadar and invest over there. Huge spending on publicity attracted people and businessmen rushed to the region to establish their business in future 's deep sea port. During this period Musharaf also attempted to build new cantonments in Baluchistan, which provoked Baluch nationalists further.

These new developments which combined the establishment of military cantonment with persuasion to non Baluchs to settle in Gawadar area threatened Baluch nationalists and they perceived it as an attempt of their colonization by Punjabi elite. Baluch nationalist are also fearful as mass movement due to economic opportunity may shift the demographics of the province and they may become minority in their own home. Situations delineated with passage of time and reached to the climax due to incident whereby a military officer was accused for a rape case of a lady doctor Shazia. This event created anger among the people and already infamous military's position further damaged and the nationalists exploited this situation for their benefit.

For the first tome pro – establishment influential Baluch Sardar Nawab Akbar Bugti also took notice of this event. He was one of the few Baluch Sardars, who welcomed Jinnah on his visit to Baluchistan. And was the most reliable and prominent pro – establishment figure in

Baluchistan, who served Pakistani state against the separatist Baluch Sardars. He also was the leader of JWP (Jamhury Watan Party) and was politically active and influential in Baluchistan.

When military establishment tried to hide the truth and refused to punish the accused and started pressurizing the family of Dr. Shazia, situation further worsened. Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti took a firm stand against the officer and demanded to probe into the matter.

President Musharaf refused to do so though. Ch. Shujat and Syed Mushaid Hussain had somehow convinced the Nawab and brought him on negotiating table, Musharaf was not ready to listen and show any weakness. Arrogant stand by General Musharaf ultimately provoked Nawab and he opted for revolt at the age of 80 years and shifted to the, mountains region from where he declared war against state establishment. This was a fatal blow for Pakistan and fuel was added to the fire when Nawab was assassinated in a military operation.

This was an irreversible loss when the once most powerful pro-state sardar was killed by the state machinery itself. After this episode, though, the establishment tried to support rival cousins of Nawab as Sardars, it did not work. The centrist elites propagated against Nawab Bugti but it could not work and already aggrieved Baluchs were now far beyond the control of the state.

Let alone hardliner nationalist but the pro – establishment Baluch leaders were shocked by the event and could not support the government stance. Now the situations were worst in the Baluch areas to the point that no one is allowed to raise national flag and sing national anthem even in the schools. Everywhere there are slogans against Pakistan army and the settlers are being killed regularly for the last so many years and the sentiments of hatred against Punjabis arose at their peak and were unimaginable.

No one can go to Baluch areas as the insurgents would kill them in retaliation. The people were taken out of the buses and trains when suspected to be Punjabis and were killed at the spot. There are frequent events of terrorism in which gas pipelines, infrastructure (railways track and bridges are blown; fire on train has become a routine matter). Moreover, security forces particularly FC has launched an operation in which insurgents are being targeted. Furthermore, the issue of missing persons has also become very serious whereby Baluch youth are kidnapped by the security agencies without any legal procedures thousands of Baluch youth have gone missing in the last few years. Later on, the dead bodies of most of them were found at different locations. These episodes are still continuing which is creating severe hatred among the Baluchs against state elites particularly security agencies. For most of the Baluch youth FC and intelligence agencies have become symbol of terror and hatred.

Punjabis and military are being accused by the Baluchs for their sufferings and the nationalists are exploiting these situations. Some nationalist leaders are considering the current situations as ethnic cleansing and genocide of the Baluch people by the Punjabi dominated military. The situations are very discouraging in case of Baluchistan and ethnic hatred is at its climax which is creating political instability for the state. Keeping in view the Baluch ethnic problem it is impossible to imagine of a democratic political culture in Pakistan.

3. VII Mohajirs from Muslim Nationalism to Ethnic Identity

As earlier discussed Mohajirs once dominated in state power structure, lost their power due to successive state policies. Mohajirs while in power were the protagonists of the Muslim nationalism in Pakistan. They normally voted for right wing parties like JI and JUI and center right ML. Their youth also remained active in the student wing of JI known as IJT but after the

46

realization that they have lost their power in the state apparatus, they shifted their stance. Altaf Hussain formed a student organization (APMSO) on June 11, 1978. Later on March 18, 1984 an ethnic political party (MQM) was formed by him. In further development, MQM got support of masses when a Pushtun driver killed a Mohajir girl student on April 15, 1985 by his hasty driving resulting in the communal violence in Karachi. In 1987 municipal elections, MQM succeeded. And in 1988 general elections MQM became third largest party in National assembly after winning thirteen seats.

Due to opportunities of business and employment, Karachi attracted people from across the country. Internal migration to Karachi by other ethnic groups particularly Pushtuns was on such a great scale that the Mohajirs felt threatened by their increasing numbers. At first they were competing at economic fronts particularly at lower level and doing laborer jobs with Mohajirs but gradually transport business was monopolized by Pushtuns and also they were concentrating at the entry point of the city and port areas. Among the Pushtuns there were elements who were involved in land grabbing and used political cover for the purpose.

With the increase in the number of Pushtuns, Mohajirs felt themselves encircled by rival ethnic groups. At first they struggled against Sindhis but at that time they were part of the state power structure but due to Bhutto era's reform they lost their control and felt themselves as marginalized group and now another ethnic group challenged their position and rights. So there was no state machinery to safeguard their interest because they were no more part of the power structure as they used to be in the past. Religion was no more useful to save them from the pressure of other ethnic groups who were sons of the soil. All these new developments forced Mohajirs to leave religious Muslim Nationalism and claim as an ethnic identity. Due to influx of

47

ethnic groups and fear of Mohajirs ethnic group, a violent state of nature existed in Karachi; whereby Pushtuns and Mohajirs are involved in the killing of each other.

The analysis concludes that since Pakistan is a multi-ethnic state therefore, the ethnic group which is part of the power structure is always looked suspiciously and opposed by the groups who are not the part of the power structure. As in case of Bengalis, who were annoyed with the dominance of both Punjabis and Mohajirs, felt themselves deprived of their rights which ultimately resulted in their separation.

On the other hand Pushtuns though not part of the power structure initially, integrated into the state because of their increasing share in power structure. While Mohajirs once part of power structure and dominant, lost their power and went from right to left and took a U- turn by adopting ethnic politics instead of Muslim Nationalism for which they were known earlier.

In contrast, Sindhis yet ruled the country for a number of times are still suspicious of the Punjabis centrists and Mohajirs ethnic group, as they have suffered a lot in the past due to arrival of outsiders on their land and attempts by them to marginalize them by imposing their culture on them. Most importantly, the Baluch ethnic group which due to its distance from the center and not having their due share in the state power structure, have gone very far and the feeling of hatred against establishment are at its heights.

Ethnic struggles made Pakistani politics instable, whereby an ethnic political party always gets support of the populace by spreading hatred against other ethnic groups, particularly those who are part of power structure. Ethno – nationalists always glorify their ethnic groups and demonize others. Leaders of ethnic parties exaggerate the actions of others and provoke sentiments of its people. Myths of superiority of its own groups are created to emotionally

exploit the people for their support. In some cases militant groups are established and clandestine wings are supported to suppress rival ethnic groups and critics within.

Ethnic politics has natural elements of instability throughout the world. Most of its actions are undemocratic in nature. Mostly ethnic groups and political parties play the role of pressure groups inside and outside the parliaments, which results in political instability in the state and prevents a genuine democratic culture to prevail in the state. From Pakistan's perspective it is evident from past history that ethnic diversity and ethno–nationalism has always been hurdle for democracy to flourish.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIO–CULTURAL FACTORS

The most authentic and specific definition of state is that it is a politically organized society. It is a well known fact that state is the product of society. Before the creation of political organization of the state. state less society existed in Ancient times. Ancient state less society was run through customs, norms and traditions which are part of culture. Since very long socio cultural factors have been very important for the political organizations, socio cultural factors always influence and affect the political culture of state. Even in the modern times, the in democratic political systems, socio- cultural dimensions are very important and can never be ignored. Since the type and nature of the society as well as culture is an important determinant of the politics therefore true democratic political culture requires certain socio-cultural determinants. In this chapter socio–cultural factors and their relationship with politics of Pakistan will be analyzed.

4. I Emotional Society

An important characteristic of Pakistani society is its emotionalism. Emotionalism has been a very important element which has been manifested in the society since the very inception of Pakistan. It is good in the sense that it serves as a catalyst for political movements in the country. Leaders with good reputation can mobilize the people by stimulating emotions for a political cause. But in most case emotionalism of people have been exploited by the leaders of political parties throughout the political history of Pakistan. Another important fact is that emotionalism always dominates at the expense of rationalism. Due to their emotional nature, Pakistani masses are influenced by the rhetoric and slogans of various political parties. Due to

this most of the time a best rational political choice is rejected while irrational and emotional choice is preferred by the people in general. This tendency of society does not allow serious and visionary political leadership to survive in politics. Politics of principles based on solid rational grounds is often undermined due to the supremacy of emotional political forces with no clear political programmes but equipped with tools that are used to manipulate the people's emotions. However, emotionalism ultimately ends in disappointment and disillusionment of people with political process and they begin to look towards undemocratic forces for the solution of their problems. Emotionalism also discourages serious and sincere leadership and political workers to flourish and alienates them from the political arena. Also emotionalism is evident from the chants of irrational rhetoric slogan such as " *nara*-e- Bhutto, *jeya* Bhutto" "*zindabad* " "*Murdabad*", "*raj karay gi* Benazir", Nawaz Sharif *qadam baraho hum tumharay saath hai,* etc. This shows that emotionalism results in the weakness of political culture in Pakistan which is very discouraging for democracy in.

4.II Sectarian landscape and Violence

Pakistani society is predominantly Muslim with majority belonging to Sunni sect. Pakistan's society is multi-sectarian in nature and is divided into two dominant sects mainly Sunni and Shia. But within these main divisions there are many sub- divisions of sects which are increasing in numbers with the passage of time. The Afghan war has led to increase in religious intolerance; due to its multi- sectarian landscape Afghan war has severely affected Pakistan. Things were calm till the time period of 1980s but two important incidents mainly the Iranian revolution and Afghan war sow the seeds of sectarianism in Pakistan. Shias supported by Iran while Sunnis inspired by the success of Afghan Jihad and by support of Saudi Arabia and some

elements within Pakistani establishments, clashed with each other by establishing their militant wings *"Sipha-e-Sahaba"* and *"Sipah-e-Muhammad."*

Clashes between the two militant groups resulted in the mass killings of innocent people from both sides. Increased killings and bloodshed among the two militant groups also created sectarian consciousness and hatred against each other among neutral and moderate members of both groups. Political parties also secretly took sides with these groups for benefits. Sectarian extremism proved to be disastrous for democratic norms and political culture in Pakistan. The trend of resorting to bullet from ballot damaged the culture of tolerance and left no space for difference of opinion which is a major democratic norm.

4.III Heterogeneous Society

According to classical definition of modern nation-state, state is an organization of the people with the sense of oneness. A group with common language, ancestral group, race and sometimes a common religion can form a state. After the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 state system emerged whereby nationalism took root and became the dominant ideology in Europe. Majority of the states were formed on the bases of the ideology of nationalism. When European powers colonized Asia and Africa in the process they divided traditional social groups. After the Second World War the process of decolonization began and various nation states emerged on the world map. In the process of new states in most cases, people of same social and ethnic group became divided into different states, and heterogeneous states came into being. Pakistan is also a classical example of such heterogeneous states. Due to its geographical location Pakistan has been a socio- economic and cultural hub since ancient times as invaders from time to time came from Central Asia, Middle East and China and majority of them settled there. This characteristic

of the location of this place brought diverse people in this area. Pakistan is possessor of one of the world's ancient civilizations—the Indus Valley which is the third oldest civilization in the world. It has been the hub to the oldest religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism which has a considerable impact on society. Later on, Christianity was introduced with British coming to power in subcontinent, though some Jews were also part of Pakistani society, later on they left for Israel. On the other hand people from different ethnic groups such as Aryans, Dravidians, Mongols, Persians, Turks, and Arabs have formed various lineages and kinships in the contemporary Pakistani society. In Pakistan a number of languages are spoken in different regions, major among these are Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Seraiki, Baluchi, Hindko, Shina, Gujari, Chitrali, Brahui, Pahari, Kohistani etc. Moreover, there are also other minor languages and dialects which are in use. The contemporary Pakistani society is divided into various ethnic groups. In the west of Indus there is a reflection of central Asia, Afghanistan and Persian influences of the society and culture where the tribal structure exists. Among the Pashtuns there is an egalitarian tribal structure while Baluchs have hierarchical tribal system. On the other hand in the east of Indus, in Punjab ann Sindh feudalism is prevalent particularly in rural areas; however there is a strong influence of the Hindu-caste system on the society as a whole. Heterogeneous structure of the society is main obstacle for genuine political and democratic culture. Since Pakistan is a predominantly a traditional society, therefore, social structure and parochial loyalties play an important role in politics. Political forces have to compromise on their principles due to the influence of traditional forces. To get the support of people, political parties are always dependent upon different segments of the traditional society which are diverse due to heterogeneous structure. It is impossible to seek any unified national character among the people of Pakistan, because every segment of society has its own primordial

and social backgrounds. Political parties also find it very difficult to make a uniform policy which can accommodate and satisfy all the segments of the heterogeneous society. Therefore, even political parties play politics of double standards and contradictions. Islam is the only common binding factor among the various segments of the society but now it has lost its value to a great extent. Islam was a key factor during independence movement which resulted in the creation of Pakistan and was used to counter the threat from Hindu domination. However, today Islam has various interpretations according to different schools of thought, due to heterogeneous nature of the society where a number of contending sects exist. Contrary to Iran and Saudi Arabia, both predominantly homogenous Shia and Sunni societies, Pakistan is characterized by sectarian diversity. In Pakistan there are numerous religious political parties and sub-religious sectarian groups which are not only harmful for political culture but also for democratic institutions. These groups are a main cause of religious extremism and intolerance in Pakistan. They are very powerful and can disturb the state structure by giving stimulus to people's religious sentiments in various sensitive and volatile issues of Islam. It is due to the fear of such organizations that judiciary is unable to announce decisions in cases sensitive to the religious extremists. And in case if they do so, government is unable to implement the decisions due to strong public pressures built by religious political parties.

Ethno-cultural, lingual, and religio-sectarian diversity is a problem which obstruct a national character of the society to develop in Pakistan. In the absence of national character and a vision in Pakistan it will be appropriate to call it in Aristotle's words, "a mobocracy—the government by the mob—as he calls it bad or perverted form of polity.

4.IV Weak Civil Society

Civil society is the main component of a stable political and democratic culture throughout the world. It is impossible for a community to establish a strong democracy in society without a mature and vibrant civil society. It is the civil society that acts as a catalyst for the stability of democratic institutions and creates sense of responsibility among the leader and people. Civil society plays a vital role in the development of political parties because it serves as a watchdog on the performance of these organizations.[23] It convinces the people and motivates them to participate in political process, besides it serves as the watchdog and points out mistakes of the government and bring attention of the government to important and vital issues and restrict it from corruption and malpractices. Another important task of the civil society is to create awareness among the people; they inform them about their rights and duties in a democratic political process and also tell the people about the demerits of the dictatorship. Political awareness among masses is the main task of good civil society. Though, political parties are also the institutions of political education but the role of civil society is more important because they have no political agendas and are impartial and neutral. Therefore, they educate people without any interest of their own in political process. Recently, civil society has become an important factor in the new and emerging democracies to assist democracy. Civil society is considered as the, "fountain of democracy," a fascinating, if perhaps exaggerated, claim.[24]

In Pakistan the civil society has been very weak from a very long period despite the fact that there are many civil society organizations in Pakistan but they don't play any real role in the

---

[23] Omar Farooq Zain, Paradox of Our Political Parties: *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, January-June 2010, p. 96.

[24] Ivan Doherty, "Democracy Out of Balance: Civil Society Can't Political Parties" , *Policy Review*, April-May, 2010, p. 25.

political training of the people and about their rights in society. They merely exist in name in order to get the funds of western donors. Moreover, many personnel's of these organizations don not have any knowledge or any proper education about the dynamics of the society. As a result, many people in Pakistan look at these organizations with doubts, as these are not working for the welfare of Pakistani people, but are following the agendas of their western donors who finance them. Mostly these organizations work against the national interest of Pakistan for their own personal financial gains and tend to destabilize the country and its ideological foundations. However, some positive signs were seen in Lawyers' Movement for the Restoration of the Judiciary which is considered to be the best example of civil society activism in Pakistan which transformed the role of civil society into a heroic struggle against the powerful military dictator General Musharraf. This was for the first time in history of Pakistan that a movement was able to continue for such a long period and become a symbol of resistance against oppression. Although, the lawyers were at the forefront but all other civil society organizations, human rights activists and media considerably supported the cause of lawyers. Moreover, it also forced political parties to join the rallies of lawyers, in this movement large scale mobilization of the people proved that the role of civil society is indispensable for the nourishment of democratic and political culture.

Another important development is the emergence of private electronic media which has given new dimension to the civil society. Electronic media proved that the right of freedom of expression has an important impact on the thinking of people. Although, it has some negative affects due to its structural weaknesses and limitless boundaries but it will become responsible and mature with the passage of time. In most cases, the freedom of media is contributing to disappointment among the people and spread chaos in the society and creates sensation on sensitive issues for its ratings which is unethical. As media analyst Zafarullah Khan aptly

described. Pakistan is currently faced with a strongly 'event-driven media.[25] This aspect of media and ambiguous role of civil society organizations working on the Western agenda are among the main factors of the weak political culture in Pakistan. Weak civil society organizations and immature media are hurdles in the development of political institutions and democratic norms. Until and unless civil society's position is strengthened in Pakistan there are no chances of a vibrant democracy and a favorable political culture in Pakistan.

4.V Illiteracy

Literacy is considered as an important prerequisite for a stable and strong political culture. Literacy has been instrumental for the progress and prosperity of any state. Democracy cannot prevail in any country unless it has a certain level of literacy. In any community where people are illiterate and uneducated, it is difficult to achieve a stable democratic system for the betterment of masses. A literate person can understand the importance and worth of democracy and is able to opt for it as a best choice. Political awareness can only be obtained through education and literacy. In Pakistan literacy is one of the main sources of low political culture. In Pakistan literacy rate is very low. According to CIA fact book Pakistan current literacy rate is only 49.9 percent and cannot be considered encouraging for a stable and a healthy democracy. Due to illiteracy of masses, shrewd politicians can easily manipulate them with vague claims and emotional slogans. Moreover, in most cases people do not know about the importance of voting system and they just cast it on the will of their landlords, chief of tribes, head of *biradairies* or at times for money in favour of any candidate. They do not bother to know the candidate whom they are voting is eligible and able to serve the nation. They just look upon their narrow local interests for casting vote in favour of influential candidate of a political party. Due to illiteracy

---

[25] Interview, Zafrullah Khan, Islamabad, 19th January 2010

political parties and their leaders always exploit the people. Moreover, they are not in the position to rebel against the social pressures of influential feudal and tribal chiefs in the political process and are compelled to vote for them. While in urban areas wealthy people manipulate the opinion of illiterate people through their propaganda campaigns on print and electronic media. Illiteracy is a main source which is resulting in the exploitation of masses in Pakistan.[26] Due to illiteracy the people do not know their rights in democracy; therefore, there is a need of education and political awareness in the society. Without achieving a certain level of literacy it is impossible to achieve a stable democratic political system in Pakistan.

4.VI Role of women in the political process

It is a well known fact that Pakistan is a male dominating society. The men are dominant in mostly all spheres of life and women which comprise almost fifty two percent of the county's population have often no say in the political process. Women in most cases have a secondary and often no role especially in the remote rural areas of the country. Men control almost all aspects of their life and make decision on their behalf. They are treated more as a property rather than as equal living human beings with men. They mainly act according to the wishes of their male counterparts and this is why women have political affiliations to the same parties to whom their fathers, brothers and husbands belong. In Pakistani society there is a male chauvinism and a deep rooted prejudice against women. In most of the areas of Pakistani women have not been allowed to cast a vote as it is mutually decided by their family heads especially where there is religious domination. However, the women belonging to elite feudal and rich industrial families are often nominated for parliaments as decided by their family members. In 2002 women seats have been increased in parliament but there is no effective role of women parliamentarians in the national

---

[26] Rana Ijaz Ahmed, Pakistan's Internal Security Threats in the age of Globalization

and provisional assemblies. Although, Benazir Bhutto was elected as prime minister twice but it . was very troublesome for powerful military establishment to accept her as the head of government. The then chief of the army staff avoided giving her due to protocol of salute by taking of his army cap as it was against his male ego. Such prejudices run among from top strata of men to the men of lower and poor classes. By excluding half of the population from decision making process it is difficult to develop a strong political and democratic system.

4.VII Traditional Society

Pakistan is declared as an Islamic republic and progressive state by successive government since its creation in 1947. Vision of the father of nation was also on similar lines; Jinnah himself was a progressive Muslim and a constitutionalist who wanted Pakistan to be a progressive and democratic state where the Muslim can spend their lives with peace and freedom.

Although, military establishment is blamed for the failure of democracy in the country, the very traditional nature of the Pakistani society is also a problem which does not allow a genuine political culture to prosper. Jinnah being a constitutionalist and democrat had to rely ultimately on the traditional forces for the creation of Pakistan. That was the beginning of the dominance of the traditional forces in the new state.

4.VIII Feudalism

In Pakistan, there is a feudal structure in the province of rural area of Sindh and Punjab. According to the demographics of Pakistan 60-70% people are living in the rural areas which are predominantly controlled by the feudal lords. Though, with the passage of time feudalism is

getting weak, still the feudal are in a position to dominate in the province of Punjab and Sindh (central and southern Punjab) and interior Sindh.[27]

The feudal due to their economic position and political influence are too powerful to influence the political process. Due to their economic interdependence on feudal, the common people are not in a position to challenge their masters politically. Moreover, if someone is economically well off he cannot challenge the powerful feudal in elections as they are punished for it.

In majority cases even if there is a free choice in elections, the voters will once again have to choose among the feudal. It is further found that some families are contesting elections for generations in the rural feudal areas of Punjab and Sindh. The craftsman and worker class who are known as *kammis* are looked down upon and despite their majority they are discouraged to participate in the election. They normally tie themselves with some feudal to get his protection in case of any conflict where they will need his support.

Due to illiteracy in traditional society of Pakistan, the people have conflicts and rifts with each other on various issues in general but on properties in particular. Due to family enmities and the myths of honor there are often criminal disputes whereby the people have to go to police station and court which is called the *thana/kachehri*. For this purpose masses are always dependent upon the feudal. The big feudal have a hierarchical structure whereby they ally themselves with small feudal and serve each other's interest. For instance, a *numberdar* or small landowners at village level controls the people who are dependent upon him at least for the *thana/kachehri* if not economically. During the elections, small lords exploite their people by asking them to vote for a particular candidate. The big feudal and politicians then in exchange

[27] Jalal Aysha, *Democracy and Authoratarianism in Souh Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1994, pp, 218-219.

support their allies by asking the authorities to take care of his men as well as provide jobs to his children and also oblige him by giving financial benefits such as provision of developmental projects and contracts. Sometimes to break the voters of opponent's money is used to purchase their loyalty to the rival candidate.

Even mainstream political parties rely on feudal lords for popular support and leaders most of the time request feudal class to join their parties. The strength of traditional structures is contributing to the weakness of democracy in Pakistan.

4. IX Religious Saints, Shrines and Seats/*Gaddis*

Along with feudalism there is another important element that is religio–political seats and the people of the shrines who use religion to exploit the people. This is also part of the feudalism but here belief and faith system is used to exploit the people politically. In most of the areas of Pakistan in general but partially in interior Punjab and Sindh this social structure is prevalent and is used by the *peers* , Saints and *gaddi nasheens* of the shrines for their political benefits.[28] In this case a leader is both feudal as well as religious figure whereby the voters or people are both dependent on him for worldly (material) as well as spiritual matters. The *mukdooms* of South Punjab and Sindh are the best example of it.

In such a society where religio–political leaders are involved in politics, there is no place for a genuine political culture to develop as the religio–political leaders use myths and dogmas to attract the people instead of rational arguments. If the composition of National Assembly as well as provincial assemblies is analyzed, it is evident that large number of religio–political traditional

---

[28] *Ibid,* pp. 217-219, 220

personalities has a sizeable presence there, which is a question mark and is contrary to the spirit of democracy.

Present Prime Minister Mr. Yousaf Raza Gilani is also from the religo-political class who has the seat *gaddi* of Mossa Pak Shaeed ---- a renowned shrine in Multan district. He has a large number of *mureedains* and is spiritual leader of a segment of the society and by whom he is blindly followed---- an unimaginable democratic contradiction.

4.X Tribalism

In the western part of Pakistan in the provinces of KPK, Baluchistan, FATA and also in some parts of South Punjab there is a tribal structure. Traditional tribal structure prevalent in these regions has its own dynamics and most of the time people prefer traditional institution instead of state apparatus for their issues. For instance the Pushtum culture has its own norms and traditions which are contrary to the beliefs of other dominant cultures and democratic norms.

Revenge, hospitality, honor, protection, asylum and alliances are the main traits of punishments which predominantly influence politics. People are mostly driven by their customs, traditions as well a cultural traits rather than their mind and free choice. The tribal elders and Khans most of the time make commitments to the political leaders which the youth and tribe have to support because of respect of elders.

Sometimes due to the feeling of revenge people support corrupt people instead of a competent person, mainly because of personal, family or tribal feudal. Mostly a candidate from own tribe is supported against rival candidate only because of tribal prejudice. As there is a old saying, "the dog of one's own tribe is better than the man of other tribe".

Extreme tribal pride and honor restricts people to vote for a reasonable candidate and if someone violates this principle he is considered to be a traitor and is targeted for his actions. Among the Baluchs, tribal structure is very strong and based on hierarchy which is far stronger than Pushtuns' structure. Loyalty to the chief and tribe is the main component and characteristics of this system. For Baluch life without tribe and *sardar* is meaningless. Strong feeling of tribal pride among the Baluch has always been exploited by the chiefs/s*Sardars* and *nawabs*. Whatever *sardar* decides the tribe follows. The tribal structure discourages democratic initiative and results in low democratic culture which creates political instability in Pakistan.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.I Evaluation

Analysis of political culture and democracy in Pakistan can be verified and evaluated in the light of following important factors.

First question of thesis was an inquiry into the dynamics of ethnicity and ethno-nationalist politics and its impact on the political culture and democracy in Pakistan. Since there is ethnic diversity in Pakistan therefore in the politics ethnicity has been a dominant issue throughout the history of Pakistan. Due to their dominance in state power structure Punjabis have been always targeted by those ethnic groups who were out of power structure. Taking the example of early stages of Pakistan, it has been analyzed how Mohajirs who were part of power structure with Punjabis; gradually lost their influence as Pashtuns joined Punjabis and as result replaced them. It has also been explained that how Bengalis due to exploitation by the West Pakistani Elites lost their faith in the Islamic ideology and opted for ethnic politics which ultimately resulted in dismemberment of state, due to suspicion against dominant rival ethnic groups. Later on, roles of different ethnic groups at different stages and their struggle for the control of state apparatus and power structure pitched them against each other. It has also been analyzed that how some groups were satisfied after entering into state structure and others were estranged, due to this disappointment they reverted to arm struggles in case of Pashtuns and Baluch and respectively. The struggle of Sindhi against Mohajirs and Punjabis and then ultimately overpowered Mohajirs have been discussed. The journey and factors of Mohajirs from religion to ethnicity that how once the main protagonists of Muslim culture, adopted a new

64

identity as an ethnic group. The question also clarifies that how ethnic groups change their stance with changing circumstances. For example: Sindhis at first due to their grievances against Mohajirs considered only Sindhi speaking people in the Sindhi ethnic group but later on they changed their stance and opted for regional ethnicity as they considered every one as a Sindhi who are inhabitants of the Sindh province including Karachi and Hyderabad. Ultimately, the analysis also shows that how and why multi- ethnic landscape affects politics in Pakistan and how it is harmful for democracy and political culture of Pakistan.

The second question deals with political parties and their role in making the political process fraudulent. It has been carefully analyzed that the structural deficiencies of political parties, which includes multi- party system, fragmentation of parties, pressure groups, inter party elections, dynastic nature of politics of political parties. It can also be found out in the analysis that how the above mentioned structural deficiencies are harmful for the growth and development of political culture and democracy in Pakistan. In this portion it has been also explained that how different political parties due to the lack of political will are not complying with their role in the politics of the state. Public funding is a very sensitive issue throughout the democratic world; and in this relevance Pakistani parties have been compared with the political parties of other countries. In this question it has been tried to answer that why political parties have failed in Pakistan to develop a positive political culture and democracy in Pakistan. There is family domination and no inter party elections in all the major parties and parties are dependent upon the donations of corrupt business tycoons and wealthy individuals that demands undue favour in return. This also results in low political culture and weak democracy.

The third question is about socio- cultural factors in Pakistan which also contribute to the failure of democracy. Sate and society has a very strong relationship with each other, socio-

cultural factors have always been very important in determining the politics of society. Since Pakistan is both a traditional and heterogeneous society which is full of diversity in all respects ranging from religious, cultural lingual to racial , ethnic and sectarian. Women and civil society has also an important role in the development of democracy thorough the world. But in Pakistan both have very little role due to their weak position. Illiteracy is also an important factor for the weak political culture. In Pakistan literacy rate is very low which is harmful for politics and democratic culture. On the other hand, in Western countries literacy rate is high as a result of it democracy is more successful and stable.

5.II Findings

According to the analysis of the study important findings can be derived. The hypothesis of the study was that the absence of genuine political culture and weak political party system is resulting in the instability of democracy in Pakistan. In this study instability of democracy in Pakistan was dependent variable, while political culture and weak political party system were independent variable. During the research some important deviations were also found as their impact was minor hence therefore they may be excluded. From this careful research some evidences have been found which prove the hypothesis to be true. Following are the important findings of the research:

1. Ethnic diversity in Pakistan is one of the main reason of political instability in Pakistan

2. The politics of ethnicity pitches diverse ethnic group against each other

3. In multi- ethnic state dominant ethnic groups are disliked and are considered responsible for the sufferings of the subservient ethnic groups.

4. Unequal distribution of resources and denial of rights to a particular group may result in the disintegration of the state especially if it is multi-ethnic in nature.

5. By giving due share in the power structure deprived ethnic groups can be happy

6. Weak political parties result in weak political culture and failure of democracy in a state

7. Dynastic political parties lead to undemocratic culture in state.

8. Dependence of political parties on private donations of elite class prevents poor and middle class to progress in politics as political leaders. This significantly contributes to the weakness of democracy in Pakistan

9. Multi party systems as well as political groups with similar ideologies are also sources of confusion in society which results in low political culture.

10. Due to factionalism political culture is not conducive for democracy

11. The domination of political pressure groups is a proof of low political culture and weak democratic culture in Pakistan.

12. Heterogeneous society in Pakistan is problematic for political democratic development.

13. Weak civil society and the discouragement of women participating in the political process adversely affect democracy in Pakistan.

14. Political instability is the result of illiteracy in Pakistan

15. Traditional social structures such as tribalism and feudalism do not allow political process to flourish in a mature manner in Pakistan.

16. Good governance is an essential element for the stable democratic system to address the genuine needs of people

17. It is an obligation of all the political parties and as well as of religious and ethnic groups to cooperate with each other for the national interest of the country.

18. The role of Parliament should be strengthened to establish the democratic norms and supremacy of constitution. It must be ensured and no political party should act upon the agendas of non-political forces.

19. There must be consensus among all the political parties on the issues of national interest

20. It is the duty of political parties to ensure the rule of law in the country.

21. Every ruling party should be allowed to complete its tenure and should not be toppled in any undemocratic way.

5.III Recommendations and suggestions

After a careful research and analysis in this study following recommendations are given which may be beneficial for policy makers and stake holders engaged in the political arena:

1. Equal opportunities and equal distribution of resources must be ensured in a multi-ethnic federal state in order to achieve national cohesion

2. According to the constitution, cultural autonomy must be ensured and every ethnic group should be given opportunity and freedom to follow their own culture freely.

3. The principle of mutual respect must be followed by all groups within the state. To create national harmony in Pakistan

4. Political parties must ensure party elections in order to develop a genuine political culture.

5. Public funding of the political parties must be ensured to liberate parties from the dependence on the rich business and industrial class.

6. The dynastic nature of political parties should be ended for a stable democracy.

7. Parties without ideology should be discouraged for the stability of democracy.

8. Political pressure groups should be discouraged by the mainstream parties for the politics of principles.

9. People should not vote for ethnic and regional political parties but instead vote for national parties.

10. Civil society organization should play active role in creating awareness among the people

11. Freedom of speech must be ensured through a mature and issue oriented media.

12. Women participation in the political process must be encouraged.

13. Government must take steps to raise the level of literacy for the growth of democracy in Pakistan.

5.IV Conclusion

Keeping in view the whole discussion in previous chapters one can conclude that low political culture and weak political parties are responsible for a fragile democracy. A lot of things have been discussed under different titles of the chapter, answers of question have been given and findings have been made in a limited time period. The hypotheses have been successfully tested with slight deviations on some points, but overall the result is satisfactory. There are solid examples of low political culture and weak party system in Pakistan.

At first, political parties are considered to be the sole of political system in democracy however in case of Pakistan political parties have no adequate internal democratic system and party system is very weak. There is structural weakness in the political parties: The political parties don't have any concept of internal elections, their top leaders are elected unopposed and they nominate people on personal loyalties and bases of favoritism. Nobody can dare to do the difference of opinion with the top party leadership due to their strong personality cult. These

parties are dependent upon the funds of corrupt business mafia and in return of it there economic

interest are protected when these party's came into power, most of the political parties are

dynastic in nature and party rule in transferred inherently which is against the norms of

democracy. This is the main cause of weak democratic system and low political culture. There

are other problems which create hurdles in flourishing democracy which are multi party system

and feudalism. In addition to this due to political pressure group there is a politics of

compromises at the cost of their political ideology. Political parties make alliances for success in

elections as a result of which coalition governments come into power, also incompetent and

corrupt politicians become the part of the cabinet and exploit the people and black mail the

government.

Multi cultural and multi ethnic diversity in Pakistan is the main source of political

instability in Pakistan. Diverse ethnic groups which are transcending state borders are a threat to

the stability of the state. This diverse character of Pakistani society doesn't allow political culture

to develop effectively. It has been manifested in the disintegration of the state in 1971. Ethnic

diversity has been disturbing for Pakistan since its inception. Different ethnic groups are

struggling against each other politically and militarily from the first day of creation. Mostly the

political dominant groups have been targeted by the deprived groups for their alleged

exploitation but whenever a deprived group joined the state apparatus and becomes the part of

government it changes its stance. In Pakistan Punjabis and Mohajirs being the dominant group at

the beginning were criticized and opposed by other ethnic groups but when Mohajirs lost their

power due to various reasons and were replaced by Pashtuns their role was changed. Mohajirs

who were the champion of Muslim national culture left the religion for their recognition and

adopted an ethnic identity for the interest of their community. Earlier they suppressed the Sindhis

ethnic group but when Sindhis achieved some balance of power during the Bhutto's era Mohajirs became suspicious. On the other hand, Pashtuns became part of power structure and as a result of it ethno- nationalist ideas in Khyber Pakhtookhwa the separatist tendencies lost its value. While Baluch due to sense of deprivation at the hands of Punjabi elites and establishment could not become the part of power structure of state. Due to alienation with state they resorted to agitation and insurgency. All this shows low political culture due to ethnic diversity that resulted in instability of democracy in Pakistan.

Thirdly socio- cultural factors are also very important as main determinates of political culture. In modern societies political culture is very strong and is based on principal of tolerance and patriotism. While on the other hand in traditional and heterogeneous societies like Pakistan, the political culture is not based on strong democratic norms. In Pakistan various types of ethnic cultural, religious, lingual, racial, ethnic and sectarian groups exist. This complexity shows problematic political culture moreover instead of rationalism, emotionalism is dominant which does not create political maturity in our leaders which is very much necessary for the strengthening of democracy. In Pakistan women are denied of their right of actual participation in politics despite they are more than males in numbers. Moreover, weak civil society is another factor of weak political culture. Vibrant civil society is a main component of democratic political culture which is necessary for political awareness and education of people. Also low literacy is another important sign for low political culture. Without literacy it is impossible to get political maturity. Traditional societies where the tribal and feudal structures are very strong in the country are issues of serious concern. In such societies it is impossible to think about genuine political initiative. Besides this, multi- sectarian landscape is culminating extremism and violence due to developments in the region. After Afghan Jihad and Iranian revolution wave of

intolerance has been prevailing throughout the country and opposite religious sects are at war through their militant organizations such as *Sipah-e-Sahaba* and *Sipah-e-Muhammad.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbas, Hassan, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror*, London: M.E. Sharpe, 2005

Afzal, Rafique, Political *Parties in Pakistan1947-1958*, Islamabad: Commission On Historical and Cultural Research, 1976.

Ahmed, Feroz, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Ahmed, Jamiluddin, (ed.), *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol. 11, Lahore: Mohammad Ashraf, 1947.

Ahmed, Mukhtar, *Sectarian Conflict in Pakistan: A Case Study of Jhang*, Colombo: Regional Center for Strategic Studies, 2001

Ahmad. Mushtaq, *Government and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi: Space Publishers, 1970.

Alqama, Khawaja, *Bengali Elite's Perception of Pakistan. Road To Disillusionment: Uneven Development or Ethnicity*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997.

Amin, Tahir, *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors*, Islamabad: IPS, 1988.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983.

Ansari, Sarah, " Partition, Migration and Refugees: Responses To The Arrival Of Muhajirs in Sindh During 1947-48" in *Freedom, Trauma, Continuities: Northern India And Independence*, eds., D. A. Low and Howard Brasted, Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998.

Appleby, Scott R., *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000.

Baloch, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan, *Inside Balochistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Co, 1975.

Banuazizi, Ali and Myron Weiner (eds), *The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics in Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988.

Breseeg, Taj Mohammad, *Baloch Nationalism: Its Origin and Development*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2004.

Brown, W. Norman, *The United States and India and Pakistan,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Burki, Shahid Javed, , *Pakistan: A Nation in the Making*, Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 1986.

Choudhury, G. W., *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Chowdhury, Mustafa, *Pakistan: Its Politics and Bureaucracy*, New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1988.

Cohen, Stephen P., *Idea of Pakistan*, Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004.

Collier, P., *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Conner, Walker, *Ethnonationalism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Curle A., *Making peace*. London: Tavistock, 1971.

Davis, P. K., & K. Cragin (Eds.), *Social Science for Counterterrorism: Putting the Pieces Together*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009.

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Dupree, Louis, *Afghanistan*, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1978

Elias, Norbert, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, Oxford: Blackwell,1994.

Feldman, Herbert, The End and the Beginning: Pakistan 1969-1971, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Frederickson, H. G. and Kevin B. Smith, *The Public Administration Theory Primer*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2003

Focault, Michel, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, 1969, trans., A. M. Sheridan Smith, New York: Roultedge, 2002.

Fukuyama, Francis, *State-building: Governance and World Order in the Twenty First Century*, London: Profile Books, 2004.

Galtung, John, Carl G. Jacobsen and Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, *Searching for Peace: The Road to TRANSCEND*, London: Pluto Press, Second Edition, 2002.

————, *Essays in Peace Research,* Vol. 1., Copenhagen, Denmark: Christian Ejlers, 1975.

————. *Peace, War and Defence: Essays in Peace Research,* Vol. 3.. Copenhagen, Denmark: Christian Ejlers, 1976.

Geertz, Clifford, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States" in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* New York: Basic, 1973.

Gerth H.H. and C. Wright Mills, ed., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* London: Routledge, 1991.

Government of Pakistan, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan,* Karachi, 1948.

Gurr, Robert Ted, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethno-political Conflicts,* Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1993.

————, *Why Men Rebel?,* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Halpern, Abraham Meyer (ed.), *Politics Towards China,* New York: McGraw Hill, 1965.

Harrison, Selig S., *In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baloch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations,* New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1981.

Hassan, S. Shamsul, (ed), *Plain Mr. Jinnah,* Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1976.

Hibbs, Douglas, *Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis,* New York: Wiley, 1973.

Hippler, J., "Violent Conflicts, Conflict Prevention and Nation-building—Terminology and Political Concepts" in *Nation-building: A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation,* London: Pluto Press, 2004.

Huntington, Samuel P., *Political Order in Changing Societies,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

_____., *the Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996.

Hussain, Asaf, *Elite Politics in an Ideological State: The Case of Pakistan*, Folkestone: Dawson, 1979.

Hutchinson, John and Anthony Smith (eds), *Ethnicity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Islam, M. Nazrul, *Pakistan: A Study in National Integration*, Lahore: Vanguard, 1990.

Jabri, V., *Discourses on Violence: Conflict Analysis Reconsidered*, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1996.

Jaffrelot, Christophe, ed., *A History of Pakistan and its Origins*, London: Anthem Press, 2002.

Jahan, Ronaq, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972.

Jalal, Ayesha, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995.

_____, *The Sole Spokesman, Jinnah, the Muslim League and Demand for Pakistan*, Lahore: Sang-e-meel Publications, 1999.

_____, The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1999.

Jeong, H.W., (Ed.), *The New Agenda for Peace Research*, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999.

Juergenmeyers, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Berkeley (California): University of California Press, 2001.

Kennedy, Charles H., *Bureaucracy in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Khan, Mohammad Ayub, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1967.

_____, *Speeches and Statements*, Vol. 1, Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1961.

Khan, Tahir Muhammad, *Siyaasat-e-Balochistan*, Queta: M. M. Tradeers, 1988.

Kymlicka, Will, *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Lederach, J. P., *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995.

———, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press.1997.

Lichbach, Mark I, *The Rebels Dilemma*, Ann Arbor MI: Michigan University Press, 1995.

Lifton, Robert Jay, *Destroying the World to Save It: Aum Shinrikyo and the New Global Terrrism*, New York: Holt, 2000.

Lijphart, Arend, "Consociational Democracy", in Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World.* 2nd end. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Malik, Iftikhar H., *State and Civil Society in Pakistan*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Maluka, Z. K., *The Myth of Constitutionalism*, London: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Maniruzzaman, Talukder, *Group Interests and Political Changes*, New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 1982.

March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen, *Democratic Governance*, New York: Free Press, 1998

Mazari, Sherbaz Khan, *A Journey to Disillusionment*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

McAdam, Doug, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*, Chicago: University of Schicago Press, 1982.

———, "International Factors in Social Movements", in Guigno, McAdam and Tilly, editors, *Social Movements*.

Migdal J., *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

Mortimer Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan: An Archeological Outline*, Karachi: Royal Book Co, 1992.

Mumtaz, Soofia, Jean-Luc Racine, and Imran Anwar Ali (eds), *Pakistan: The Contours of State and Society*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Nawaz, Shuja, *Cross Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Page, David, *Prelude to Partition: The Indian Muslims and the Imperial System of Control, 1902-1932,* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Paris, R., *At War's End: Building Peace for Civil Conflict,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Pasha, Ahmad Shuja, *Pakistan, A Political Study,* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications,1995.

Pierre, Jon and Guy B. Peters, *Governance, Politics and the State,* New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Raza, Rafi, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan, 1967-77,* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Reilly, Benjamin, *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Rizvi, Hasan Akari, *Military, State And Society in Pakistan,* Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003

Robinson, F. C., *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The politics of the United Provinces*

Muslims, 1860-1923. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Rosen, George, *Western Economists and Eastern Society, Agents of Change in South Asia, 1960-1970,* Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press,1985.

Rupesinghe K., Ed., *Conflict Transformation.* London: Macmillan, 1995.

Sageman, M., *Leaderless jihad: Terror Networks in theTtwenty-first Century,* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Samad, Yunus, *A Nation in Turmoil, Nationalism and Ethnicity in Pakistan,1937-1958,* Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995.

Sayeed, Khalid bin, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948,* Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1969.

——, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change,* New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980.

Schelling, Thomas, *The Strategy of Conflict*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Shafqat, Saeed, *Political System of Pakistan and Public Policy: Essays in Interpretation*, Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989.

Siddiqa, Ayesha, *Military Inc: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Skocpol, Theda, States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Sutton, Frank X., "Social Theory and Comparative Politics," in Harry Eck- stein and David Apter, eds., *Comparative Politics: A Reader*, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

Syed, G. M., *The Case of Sindh*,Karac hi: Naeen Sindh Academy,1994.

Talbot, Ian, *Pakistan: A Modern History*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994

Tedeschi J., & R. Felson, *Violence, Aggression, & Coercive Actions*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1994

Tilly, Charles, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime", in P. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

———_, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

———_, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, Reading MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Tinker, Hugh, *India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis*, New York: Frederick A Praeger, 1962.

Verkaaik, Oskar, *Migrants and Militants: Fun and Urban Violence in Pakistan*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Vries, Hanet de, *Religion and Violence*, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Waseem, Mohammad, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1994.

Weiner, Myron and Samuel P. Huntington (eds.), *Understanding Political Development*, Harper: Collins Publishers, 1987.

Wolpert, Stanley, *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times*, New York: Oxford University Press,1993.

Ziring, Lawrence, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

———, *Pakistan: At the Crosscurrent of History*, Oxford: One-world, 2004.

Articles from Journals

Abbas, Azhar, .Future Shock,. *The Herald*, March 1996,

Abbas, Zafar, .The Road to Anarchy,. *The Herald*, June 1988

Buhaug, Halvard, Lars-Eric Cederman and Jan Ketil Rod, "Disaggregaing ethno-nationalist civil wars: A dyadic test of exclusion theory", *International Organization*, 62(3), 2008

Carroll, Lucy, "Nizam-i-Islam: Processes and Conflicts in Pakistan's Programme of Islamization, With Special Reference to the Position of Women", *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. XX, No. 1, March 1982

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Simon Hug and Lutz F. Krebs, "Democratization and civil war: Empirical evidence" *Journal of Peace Research* 2010

Collier, Paul; Hoeffler, Anke and Rohner, Dominic, "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 61, 2009

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler, " Greed and Grievances in Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56, 2004

———, "On Economic Causes of Civil War", *Oxford Economic Papers*, 50, 1998

Connor, Walker, "Nation-Building or Nation- Destroying?", *World Politics*, Vol. 24, April 1972

Cunningham, David E., Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Idean Salehyan, "It Takes Two: A dyadic analysis of civil war duration and outcome", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(4), 2009

Davenport, Christian, "Multi-dimensional threat perception and state repression: An Inquiry into why states apply negative sanctions", *American Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 1995

Davies, James, "Towards a Theory of Revolution", *American Sociological Review*, 27, 1962

Diamond, L., 'Thinking about hybrid regimes', *Journal of Democracy*, 2002

Fearon, James D. and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War", *American Political Science Review*, 97(1), 2003

————_, "Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(4), 2005

Francois, M. and I Sud, "Promoting stability and development in fragile and failed states", *Development Policy Review*, 24(2), 2006

Fukuyama, Francis. "Building Democracy After Conflict: 'Stateness' First", *Journal of Democracy*, 16(1), 2005

Galtung, Johan, 'Editorial', *Journal of Peace Research*, 1(1), 1964

————_, "A Structural Theory of Aggression", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 1, No. 2., 1964

————_, "Cultural Violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Aug., 1990

————_, "Religions, Hard and Soft", *Cross Currents*, Winter 1997-98 (1997)

Gates, Scott, Havard Hegre, Mark P. Jones and Havard Strand, "Institutional Inconsistency and Political Stability: Polity Duration, 1800-2000 ", *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(4), 2006

Geddes, Barbara, "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?", *Annual Review of Political Science*,(2), 1999

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede, "Political Opportunity Structures, Democracy, and Civil War", *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(3), 2010

Goldstone, Jack A., Robert Bates, David Lester Epstein, Ted Robert Gurr, Michael, Lustic B., Monty G. Marshall, Jay Ulfelder, and Mark Woodward, " A Global Model for Forcasting Political Instability", *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(1), 2010

Grare, Frédéric, 'The Evolution of Sectarian Conflicts in Pakistan and the Ever-Changing Face of Islamic Violence', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 2006.

Hasan, Khurshid, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations", *Asian Survey*, 11, No. 7, 1962

81

Hegre, Havard, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates and Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, political change, and civil war,1816-1992", *American Political Science Review*, 95(1), 2001

Hendrix, Cullen S., "Measuring state capacity: Theoretical and empirical implications for the study of civil conflict", *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(3), 2010

Huntington, Samuel P., "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics", *Comparative Politics,* Vol. 3, No. 3 (Apr., 1971)

Iannaccone, L., & Berman, E., "Religious extremism: The good, the bad and the deadly", *Public Choice*, *128*(1–2), 2006

Innes, F. M., "The Political Outlook in Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 4, December 1953

Kennedy, Charles H., "Managing Ethnic Conflict: The Case of Pakistan", *Regional Politics and Policy*, Spring 1993

Kennedy, Charles H., "Islamization in Pakistan: Implementation of the Hudood Ordinances ", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 3, March 1988

Khan, Adeel, "Pakistan's Sindhi Ethnic Nationalism: Migration, Marginalization, and the Threat of "Indianization"", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Mar. - Apr., 2002)

Khan, Hamid, "Military and Judiciary in Pakistan October 1999 Onwards", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, Summer 2003

Khan, Mohammad Ayub, "Strategic Problems of the Middle East", *Islamic Review*, July-August 1958

Klare, M T, "The New Geography of Conflict", *Foreign Affairs*, May-June, 2001.

Lerski, George J., "The Pakistan-American Alliance: A Reevaluation of the Past Decade *Asian Survey*", Vol. 8, No. 5. May, 1968

Levitsky and Way, "The Rise of competitive authoritarianism", *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2), 2002

Maniruzzaman,Talukder, "Group Interests in Pakistan Politics, 1947-1958", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 1/2, Spring – Sum, 1966

Marshall, Charles Burton, "Reflections On a Revolution in Pakistan", *Foreign Affairs*, 37, January 1959

McMahon, Robert J., "United States Cold War Strategy in South Asia: Making a Military Commitment to Pakistan, 1947-1954", *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 75, No. 3, December 1988

Muller, Edward N. and Erich Weede, "Cross-national variation in political violence: A Rational Action Approach", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 34(4), 1990

Nanda, Ved P., "Self-determination in international Law the Tragic Tale of two Cities-Islamabad (West Pakistan) and Dacca (East Pakistan)", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 66, No. 2, Apr., 1972

Philport, Daniel, "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion", *Amercan Poltical Science Review*, 2007

Pipes, Daniel, " The War Against Islamic Militants", *Human Events*, Vol. 58(37): 10, October 2002

Rahman, Tariq, "Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh and Sindhi", *Ethnic Studies Report*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, January 1999

Rakisits, C. G. P., "Centre-Province Relations in Pakistan under President Zia: The Government's and the Opposition's Approaches", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 61, No. 1, Spring, 1988

Regan, Patrick M. and Daniel Norton, "Greed, Grievances and Mobilization in Civil War", *Journal of Conflict of Resolution*, 49(3), 2005

Rehman, Fazlur, " Islam in Pakistan", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.8, No.4, Summer 1985

Richter, William L. and W. Eric Gustofson, "Pakistan 1979: Back to Square One", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 20, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1979: Part II, February 1980

Rizvi, Hasan-Askari, "Islamic Fundamentalism and Democracy in Pakistan"

Robertson, G. B., "Strikes and labor organization in hybrid regimes", *American Political Science Review*, 101(4), 2007

Rubin, B., "Peace-building and state-building in Afghanistan: Constructing Sovereignty for Whose Security?", *Third World Quarterly*, 27(1), 2006

Sandler, T., and Enders, W., "An economic perspective on transnational terrorism", *European Journal of Political Economy, 20(2)*, 2004

Sayeed, K. B., "Impact of Islam: Democratic and Foreign Policies of Muslim States", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2, April 1985

Schnytzer, Adi, "An Economic Model of Regime Change: Freedom as a public good", *Public Choice*, 79(3/4),1994

Snyder, J. and E. Mansfield, "Democratization and the dander of war", *International Security*, 20, 1995

Sobek, David, "Master of Their Domains: The Role of State Capacity in Civil Wars", *Journal of Peace Research*, 47:267, 2010.

Talbot, Ian, "General Pervez Musharraf: Saviour or destroyer of Pakistan's democracy?",*Contemporary South Asia*, 11: 3, 2002

Titus, Paul, and Nina Swidler, "Knights, Not Pawns: Ethno-Nationalism and Regional Dynamics in Post-Colonial Balochistan", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Feb., 2000

Tullock, Gordon, "The Paradox of Revolution", *Public Choice*, 11(1), 1971

Waseem, Mohammad, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan*

Wilcox, Wayne Ayres, "Pakistan: A Decade of Ayub" *Asian Survey*, Vol. 9, No. 2, A Survey of Asia in 1968: Part II., Feb., 1969

_____, "The Pakistan Coup D'état of 1958", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Summer 1965

Wilkinson, Steven, "Democratic Consolidation and Failure: Lessons from Bangladesh and Pakistan", *Democratization*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Autumn 2000,

Zahab Mariam Abou, "The Regional Dimension of Sectarian Conflicts in Pakistan"

Zahid, Shahid, "License to Kill", *The Herald*, August 1989

Zaman, Rahiduz, "The Awami League in the Political Development of Pakistan", *Asian Survey*, 1970